

A Case Study on Flood Erosion and Displacement in Majuli

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Abstract

History of displacement is relatively a new subject in the academic world. The growing consciousness about environment, sustainable development and the leading environmental movements across the globe, made the academicians to have a serious look at the issue of displacement and rehabilitation. In the third world countries, the natural hazards turns into disasters for which thousands of people are losing their homes, paddy lands as flood sweep away these places. It is the flood erosion and most specifically river bank erosion, which ultimately have created havoc among the people. Even, the state's control and relief measures are turned ineffective in front of the plight of the people of these flood affected areas. In Majuli displacement due to the river bank erosion becomes the most destructive natural disaster. Every year thousands of families are affected and hundreds of them are displaced. In this paper an attempt has been made to understand the depth of this problem in Majuli. This paper tries to do an analytical study of the various aspects of flood erosion and displacement in Majuli.

KEYWORDS: Displacement, Erosion, Embankment, Flood, Koivarttas, Majuli, Mishings

INTRODUCTION

Shelter is one of the basic need factor for every human being. But due to ethnic violence, communal conflict, intra state wars, battles, extremist activities, development projects and natural disasters millions of people in the present world suffered from the trauma of displacement. Due to the growing population and certain socio- economic barriers even now lakhs of people lives in slum areas or refugee camps. In modern India, since partition, the issue of displacement and rehabilitation remains a critical problem. After Independence, many people were forced to leave their ancestral areas in the name of development projects like mining, river dam projects. Besides these, flood and erosion also came out with serious consequences of displacement in India.

Unlike other parts of India flood erosion is probably the most recurring, wide spread, disastrous and frequent natural hazard of Assam. Floods of extreme high magnitude occurred in the river in the years 1642, 1750, 1785, 1862, 1867, 1870, 1886, 1918, 1935, 1962, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1973, 1988, 1997, 1998, 2004 and 2012. Aftermath the great earthquake of 1950, flood and erosion started impacting the people of Assam seriously beginning with the devastating flood of 1954. Since then the intensity and adverse impact of this dual disaster has gradually increased and now has been posed as the most serious economic, social, agricultural, environmental as well as developmental problem of the state [1].Majuli, the youngest district in the statetill now and the centre of vaishnavite culture is now threatened by the drastic hydro-geomorphological changes in the courses of the Brahmaputra. The constant and yearly occurrence of flood led to the heavy soil erosion which poses threat to the very existence of the riverine place. A considerable number of works have been done on

several issues related to development induced displacement and conflict induced displacement. However compared to them, only a few works have been done on the problems of flood erosion and displacement in different parts of the world. So, in order to provide stimulus to the above mentioned works an attempt has been made to understand the importance of the displacement problem, the mental trauma and socio-economic obstacle faced by these displaced people due to displacement and even after resettlement in the context of Majuli.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The objective of the study is to investigate the nature of river erosion displacement in Majuli, its causes, effects and its consequences as a part of Environmental induced Displacement through oral narratives. The study finally aims at displaying the plights and sentiments associated with the people displaced from their original place and yet to be permanently settled.

Oral history is one of the emerging themes in the field of modern historiography. Issues related to partition, terrorism, natural disasters or man induced disasters, Government records can only provide only the number of casualties and the amount of loss of property and environment. But such phenomenon of displacement is not as simple as seems to be. The psychological impact, the plight of the displaced or affected people remained silenced in such Government statistical data. So, in order to get the exact experience and the other face of such stories related to displacement and rehabilitation of the victims affected by ethnic violence, terrorist or extremist atrocities, industrial or natural disasters oral sources proved as the only means for study. In this way it not only tells the history of the common affected people but also enrich the overall socio-economic and cultural history of a particular society or a period. In the context of Majuli, this study not only tries to examine the Government's role and the causes of displacement but also expose the plight of the displaced people faced due to erosion. The work is a historical study of issues related to erosion and displacement at Majuli. The socio-economic and ecological impact of the river bank erosion and displacement of the people is the important part of the study. In course of the study, the author has found that the impact of river erosion and people displaced was not uniformly felt by all the people. The response of the state in terms of mitigating flood and erosion is also within the scope this research work. Though this micro study confines to Majuli area but understanding of the multidimensional problem can help us to understand the problem of erosion and displacement.

It is mention worthy that no elaborate works had been done in the modern period on socio-culture and identity of Majuli before Dambarudhar Nath's, "Auniati Satra at a Glance, Satras in Colonial Assam-Their responses to the emerging socio-political issues". "The Majuli Island: Society Economy And Culture", and "Satra Society And Culture: Pitambardeva Goswami and History of Garamur Satra". "The Majuli Island: Society Economy and Culture" deals with the historical and sociological account of the riverine belt society and its exclusive vaishnava culture, moreover it also deals with the glimpses of flood, erosion and the sentiments of the people. "The blessed Island" edited by D.N Tamuly is also a magnificent work done to provide stimulus in recognizing Majuli as a world heritage site. But only a few works had been done on the issues regarding flood erosion and displacement in Majuli, so the present author tries to examine these problems and provide historical consciousness in such issues.

The Methodology use in this research is based on both Primary and Secondary sources. Primary sources included archival documents, field investigation, interviews, and personal observation. The secondary sources included books, research papers, published in different Journals etc. also have been analysed. Besides, secondary data are also collected from different offices such as Water Resource Department, Brahmaputra Board Office, and revenue circle offices of Majuli, Jorhat, Titabar and Teok.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Majuli is a fresh water riverine island situated between the LuhitSuti (old stream of the Brahmaputra) on its north, KherkatiyaSuti on its east and the Subansiri on its west. Majuli is formed by the hydro-geomorphological processes of the Brahmaputra[2]. The source of the LuhitSuti at its junction with the Brahmaputra through the KherkatiyaSuti has been blocked by the Government of Assam in 1979 by building an embankment across it to prevent flood in Majuli. This embankment connects Majuli with the northern mainland making it look like a peninsular extension of a landmass from the northeast. There is an apprehension that this embankment will not last for long as breaching have already started within it and it is certain that the fury of the mighty river Brahmaputra will wash away the whole of the embankment without living a trace of it. Thus Majuli, the centre of vaishnavite culture is now threatened by the drastic hydro-geomorphological changes in the courses of the Brahmaputra. Till the beginning of 20th century Majuli island comprises of a huge land mass. But owing to the consequent erosion its land mass gradually reduced which resulted in large scale displacement of the people. In 1950s the area of Majuli was 1246 square kilometres. It was reduced to 924 square kilometres in 1971. It was further reduced to 875 square kilometres in 1997 and 480 square kilometres in 2001. The Brahmaputra board however claims that since 2004 no loss of land mass has occurred in Majuli instead the area of Majuli has increased from 502.21sq km to 522.73sq km.

Displacement in Majuli

Displacement itself is a tragic phenomenon resulting in vast changes in both the displaced and settled societies. Normally displacement denotes the state of being displaced or being put out of place. Displacement is a particular form of migration, in which individuals are forced to move against their will resulting in vast changes in both displaced and settled societies. Displacement leads to changes in social, cultural, political and economic life of the displaced people. Development, displacement and rehabilitation are the serious problems faced by most of the countries in the present context. This displacement might be due to socio-political or economic factors or due to natural factors. Every year natural calamities like flood, earthquake, cyclone, landslide etc. created havoc in different parts of the world. In spite of the government, relief measures and disaster management measures, thousands of people every year are either displaced or lost their lives in such calamities. Displacement is a tragic phenomenon which resulted in socio-economic plight of the common people. Unlike, the rest of India, in Majuli, it is the natural disaster induced problems which created much more destruction. Due to flood erosion, many well to do farmers once having possessed with many acres of land, became homeless within a short period of time and awaited for government support. Even, people became mentally imbalanced. The mental trauma was so much severe that it even led to the death of people in Majuli. Being created and surrounded by the mighty river Brahmaputra, flood inundation in

Majuli is a common phenomenon and it becomes a part and parcel of the life struggle of the people. Sonaram Das, a resident of KamjanAlengiKoiborttaGaon, a erosion affected village in South-East Majuli reported the author that earlier their people felt happy when flood comes as there were plenty of fish available everywhere which they could catch and sell. Moreover the agricultural fields also received its fertility from the flood. They also believe that the flood of the Brahmaputra cleans the island by washing away the wastes[3]. DambarudharNath in his book 'The Majuli Island: Society Economy and culture' has also mentioned that flood not only brings havoc and misery to the inhabitants but also gives fertility of the soil, fish and many items of diet, and above all it brings a season of games, enjoyments and aspirations. But this scenario of Majuli is prior to 1950 earthquake when the Brahmaputra river rarely exceeded the danger level. The 1950 earthquake of 8.7 magnitude raised the bed level of the Brahmaputra (upto 3 m in Dibrugarh) leading thereby to accelerate the flood and erosion hazard potential of the river.

Flood itself a big problem but along with flood the people of Majuli have to deal with other two problems. The constant floods in Majuli leads to the problem of river bank erosion which ultimately resulted large scale displacement of people. Every year during the monsoon season both flood and river bank erosion occurs simultaneously and these dual phenomenon brings wrath to the people.

Leading to the continuous erosion of the Brahmaputra river and its tributaries after 1950 Majuli witness large scale displacement of people. The present researcher noticed five kinds of environment induced displaced people at Majuli-

1. **Temporarily displaced people-** Due to flood some people living in high flood affected areas of Majuli shifted their residence to temporary places basically to the embankments or the highlands but comes back as soon the flood water recedes. Temporal displacement is normally noticed among the people living outside the embankment where the intensity of river erosion is not extreme than flood.
2. **Internally displaced people-** Some people of Majuli are displaced from their original homes due to river erosion but are settled within Majuli with a minimum or no compensation aid received from the Government.
3. **Externally displaced people-** The people displaced from Majuli due to erosion and Rehabilitated at different places outside Majuli. Two types of externally displaced people are noticed in context of Majuli-
4. **Rehabilitated by the government**
5. **Shifted at one's own endeavour**

The field investigation is done at eight villages of South-East and South-West Majuli namely EriChapori and Missamora at Kortiparpanchayat, Salmora Kumar Gaon, SalmoraKoiborttaGaon, KamjanAlengi, BesamaraGaon, ChumoimariMishingGaon, Dakhinpat Kumar Gaon at Majuli. People from several castes and sub castes such as Kumar Kalita, Koibortta, Mishing etc. reside in these areas. The occupation of these people differs from one another. Before flood and erosion hampered their lives, the people of Salmora are engaged in their ancestral profession of pottery making and boat making industries. The people who are expert in the vocation of making pottery are called 'Kumar' mainly and the people who are expert in boat making are known

as 'Bahoi'. These two small scale industries are the mainstay of livelihood of the people of Salmora. Men, women and even children are engaged in pottery making industry. They dug the soil which is suitable for pottery from 20-30 ft below the surface of the river bank in the pre monsoon period. It is interesting that they used a different technique of pottery making in which the potter's wheel is not used; instead the clay is beaten by hand to give the form of the utensils. The people who are expert in making boats are known as 'bahoi'. It is a culture of the people of Majuli to have a boat in each family which serve as a mode of transport during the flood seasons. These 'bahoi' made boats from Ajar (*LagrsroomiaSpeciosa*) timber. They used to make boats during dry seasons from November to March and sell them. The boat making is mainly done by the male persons. They used to sell it to the people within Majuli and to the people living in the lowlands outside Majuli. DambarudharNath has mentioned that there are records that all the Satradhikars of Majuli possess special boats made for the purpose of travel built by the expert craftsmen of the Satras. HemchandradevaGoswami of AuniatiSatra possessed a boat with unique design and craftsmanship for his personal tour. Such a boat could be as large as 100 feet in length as recorded by the American Baptist Missionaries.

The Koibortta people of Majuli mainly deal in fishing. Besides they also cultivate various crops in their respective fields and chaporis. Besides the Mishings people are engaged in agricultural activities as well as fishing too.

Occupational changes in the displaced areas inside and outside Majuli

Displacement often led to the changes of occupation among the displaced communities which had far reaching impact upon their livelihood. The people of Majuli living in the river bank of Brahmaputra are adversely affected by erosion which led to the displacement of these people. Generally the communities who depend upon the river by engaging in certain professions such as fishing, boat making, pottery making and any other related activities are seen to reside in such places. In the context of Majuli the Koibarttas, Mishings are engaged in fishing activities while the kumarkalitas in the profession of pottery and boat making. But due to constant erosion by the river Brahmaputra these people are permanently displaced from their original places as a result of which their age old profession changes to new ones which completely changes their economic as well as social condition.

The change in occupation is also determined by the compensation and allowances of rehabilitation programs. Further the geographical and market conditions of the new settlement areas also contribute to determine whether occupational changes will occur or not. In the year 2001, 35 erosion affected people of Chumoimari Mishinggaon, 33 families from Kaniajan, and 33 families from Kolbari have been rehabilitated at Panikheti, Titabar in three plots by allotting 100 bighas, 1 bigha of land per family. Apart from these they did not get any compensation or allowances from the Government. They now earn their livelihood by working as labourer in the neighboring areas as well as engaging in different business activities.

3. Psychological trauma of the displaced people

According to Mindy Thompson Fullilove, "The psychology of place is based on the assumption that individuals strive for a sense of belonging to a place. This sense of belonging arises from the three psychological processes: familiarity, attachment and identity. Displacement ruptures these emotional connections. Anthony F.C. Wallace,

an anthropologist who studied people's reaction to natural disaster noted that "in the face of overwhelming catastrophe people react at first with a kind of shock and paralysis; they seem to wander as if in a days. As they emerged from this 'cocoon of apathy they are docile and eager to follow the lead of those with a plan. Later anger and despair began to emerge.' Wallace proposes that the people who lose their homes and community lose their gestalt of their surroundings." [4]

It is a part of human psychology that whenever people are displaced from a place to which they are deeply attached certain emotions such as insecurity, fear, anxiety, anger grew inside them which haunts their present life. Sometimes many displaced people could not cope with the surroundings of the newly settled areas. It seems that the sense of belongingness still works in the mindset of many displaced people which is reflected through their activities, behavior and emotions. The nostalgia of their past still haunts their present life. In the problems like displacement and rehabilitation it is the women folk who suffered the most. In a patriarchal society women are considered as secondary producers. In such geo-sociological (erosion and displacement) chaos they often fall prey to the physical and mental problems. The psychological trauma of displacement even led to the extent of losing mental balance and even death. In the year 2000, a middle aged woman named PoliSaikia, a resident of Salmora loses her mental balance when her home was eroded by the river and eventually died.

The problem of resettlement is closely related to displacement. River erosion in Majuli took such a serious turn that left the people no alternate option other than to acquire the char lands which even had no guarantee of survival in near future. Due to the shortage of proper land the people began to settle in the abandoned chars and chaporis. This growing pressure on land due to displacement is so immense that it created several problems among the people. Such growing tensions eventually took the shape of inter-community clashes which was earlier quite unknown in the context of Majuli. At Karatipar Gaon Panchayat, Majuli, in the year 2015, a violent incident took place among two communities, the Mishings (Scheduled Tribe) and the Koibarttas (Scheduled Caste) regarding the confiscating of a char land. Both the communities had share on the land but with gradual erosion in the part of the Koibartta's share they tried to extend their boundary as a result dispute arises between the two communities which took a violent form. The police administration of Garamur was also present during the time of the incident. Several people from both the communities were injured and hospitalized during the incident. The police Officer in charge had to shot blank fire to control the situation. This incident was about to take the form of inter-communal violence but ultimately the Village Defence Parties (VDPs) along with the S.D.O (civil) Kamalabari and the police administration settled the matter on mutual understanding without letting the matter to proceed to the court. [5]

6. Government measures of preventing flood and erosion at Majuli

The erosion history of Majuli can be divided in to two eras before and after the 1950 Earthquake. Prior to 1950 Earthquake erosion was insignificant but erosion in Majuli has taken a serious turn after 1954. A total of 155 km of embankments were constructed; however, at present only approximately 90 km of embankments exist[6]. The Government of Assam is trying to prevent erosion by adopting different measures such as building a gigantic Tekeliphuta-Bechamara embankment on the Brahmaputra in 1978 by the E&D department(now renamed as WRD) which blocked the source of

the LuhitSuti at its junction with the Brahmaputra through the KherkatiyaSuti. In the year 1996 The Flood control Department of Assam Government requested the Brahmaputra Board to prepare a 'Master Plan' and also carry out hydraulic studies to suggest suitable anti-erosion measures. In November 1999, the Brahmaputra Board prepared a scheme for protection of Majuli Island from Floods and Erosion at the estimated cost of Rs 86.56crore. The scheme was proposed to be implemented in three phases. Phase one at Rs 41.28crore, phase two at Rs 18.28crore and phase three at Rs 27crore. The scheme was submitted to the Central Water Commission by Brahmaputra Board during August 2000, which was cleared in August 2003 by Ministry of Water Resources, Government of India. Formal No objection of Government of Assam for execution of flood and erosion protection works in Majuli Island was communicated by the Government of Assam in August 2003. In the words of KhanindraYadav, "On execution of the works under phase-1, erosion got arrested substantially in the severely affected reaches of SonowalKachari, Salmora, Dakhinpat, Kamalabari, BhakatChapori, Kordoiguri, Malual and Ukalchuk along the Brahmaputra bank. Similarly, anti-erosion measures undertaken by Brahmaputra Board proved very effective in checking erosion along Kherkatiya-Subansiri bank at Jengrai, Chelek-Pathali and NatunChapori area. The villagers who deserted their villages at Salmora and Kordoiguri earlier returned back to their homes on improvement in situation." [7]

7. Structural measures and its impact on the people of Majuli

The report of the National Commission for Integrated Water Resources Development (NCIWRD) submitted in 1999 observes that no permanent solution can be provided for complete protection against floods. It therefore recommends a shift in strategy from structural measures to a mix of structural and non -structural measures including efficient management of flood plains, flood proofing, disaster preparedness and response planning, flood forecasting and warning, disaster relief, flood fighting including public health measures and flood insurance. In case of Majuli it is noticed that the structural measures such as erecting embankments, spurs, porcupines etc could not prevent flood erosion completely rather it turns another cause of havoc among the common masses. Government efforts to protect people living on the river banks of Majuli from flood and erosion have largely consisted of structural measures, mainly embankments, porcupines, bamboo screening and revetments. This structural measure have meet with mix success protecting people from flood and erosion effectively for a long time in some places while failing to prevent increasing flood hazards in other places. These structural measures had severe impact on the lives of the people. Due to the construction of four spurs at the southern part of Majuli the people of Salmoramouza are worst affected. The pottery mud is not allowed to collect from the river bank due to which the pottery industry at Salmora is in extinct form. Besides the agriculture is declining in the area as the river water does not enter to the agricultural fields for which it losses the fertility of soil and ultimately reduces production. Besides for the construction of the spurs the earth has been collected from a nearby beel (wetland) named Ga-Khojuabeel which hampered the existence of flora and fauna of the wetland. It is unfortunate that even today India adopts the policies and practices of flood management which are literally the same that were introduced in the 1950s with only the immediate and short term measures such as embankments being promoted more vigorously than other non-structural ones. In the context of Assam, the state's flood control measures were an emulation of the national policies and programmes. ParthaJyoti Das noted that "at present what the State has in the

name of policy is actually a set of guidelines derived from National and State level Programmes mooted for flood and erosion management from time to time during the last six decades.”[8]. The Assam State Water Resource Department has ensured protection of major townships in both the Brahmaputra and Barak valley and schemes have also been taken up to relieve the drainage congestion in the cities and other important areas. In the context of Majuli too, much priority has been given to protect Kamalabari township from erosion as maximum revenue yield from that area whereas protection of chars and chaporis have been neglected so far for being non-revenue yield area. As mentioned by KhanindraYadav, “Since the year 2004, with regular implementation of anti-erosion/ bank protection measures by the Brahmaputra Board the total area of Majuli has increased from 502.21sq. km to 522.73 sq. km.” It is mention worthy that this growth of area of Majuli has been supplemented by the protection of Dakhinpat Kumar Gaonchaporis which is adjacent to Kamalabaritownship. The Brahmaputra board knew that to protect Kamalabari Township they have to protect this chapori to minimise the velocity of the flow of river Brahmaputra.[9]

Once world’s largest river island Majuli is now facing serious threats from flood erosion. Severe flash flood leads to the erosion of its banks which is the main reason for the reduction of then area of Majuli. Flood erosion leads to the loss of agricultural fields, occupation, and education in the area. Again this problem of erosion created another havoc known as displacement. Displacement in Majuli is mainly categorized under temporal, internal and external displacement. Once a populated area like Bessamora (original) is now completely abandoned. Every year hundreds of families are displaced by flood erosion. These people faced various socio-economic problems including lack of income, occupational changes, education, psychological problems etc. Since, 1972-74, the government of Assam, took the matter of displacement in Majuli seriously because of the erosion of the KamalabariSatra. At first, about 300 displaced people from Majuli were provided land at Titabar. After that, in various places of Jorhat, Lakhimpur and Golaghat district, these people were relocated by providing home, land and other limited facilities. But these facilities were not sufficient for the people. As the number of displaced people rises up the quantity of land also decreases due to scarcity of land. In many cases, people got land in insurgency intensive areas. The erosion affected people are rehabilitated at several chaporis at Majuli which are too prone to erosion, as a result they had to abandon the land and ultimately their condition remains the same. In case of Majuli, the government’s role is noticed to be limited only in providing land for residence, whether the people are in a position to live there is seems not a serious matter of concern to the government. After displacement, these people lost their traditional occupations like fishing, boat making and pottery which do not suit in the new place. Due to the lack of skill, these people faced much trouble in earning livelihood from the new occupation so they engaged themselves as wage labourer, in other words they has to change their occupation. Even, print or satellite media do not seem to take these matters seriously. Though during the monsoon season, flood victims are telecasted and highlighted in the news channels and papers, but once flood has gone, the voices of these poor, helpless people remain unheard outside Majuli. Many N.G.Os in Majuli also became inactive along with the murder of SanjoyGhosh an eminent social worker who established the N.G.O name AVARD-NE. He was killed by ULFA militants in 1997. Unlike the other flood effected parts like Rohmorias in Dibrugarh district, large scale protest movement is not to be seen in the case of Majuli, only protest on small scale are noticed since the last decade but the intensity of these protest are to be seen

from stage-in protest in the front of panchayat offices to the level boycott of Lok-Sabha election which signifies two aspects, first is they are losing hope from the government and much anger prevails in their minds, Secondly, these protests show the incompetency of the organizations to mobilize the common masses of Majuli. In Majuli, two types of lands are found (i) cadastral (Measured) and (ii) non cadastral (not-measured). The govt. only makes estimate of the loss on the cadastral lands and assumed the number of people displaced. The govt. officials on the basis of such assumption measure the amount of disaster and displacement in such areas. That's why the govt. reports could not provide the accurate data on displacement. So, this study is based on oral interviews and personal observations only. Again, in the year 1998, Assam witnessed severe flood occurrence. And once again, Majuli faced severe problems of erosion. An official of SDC office, Kamalabari informed the author that during that period, flood was so devastating that the revenue officials had to keep all the govt. databooks maps and important documents in the strong room at Kamalabari, but they could not save these files as the flash floods swept away the strong room too and all the old records were almost become faded and invalid. Even now (November, 2016), the officials could not reproduce all the documents. It is the major constraints in getting all the necessary data related to displacement and rehabilitation. So, further research in this field will enrich the study of displacement and rehabilitation problems in Majuli.

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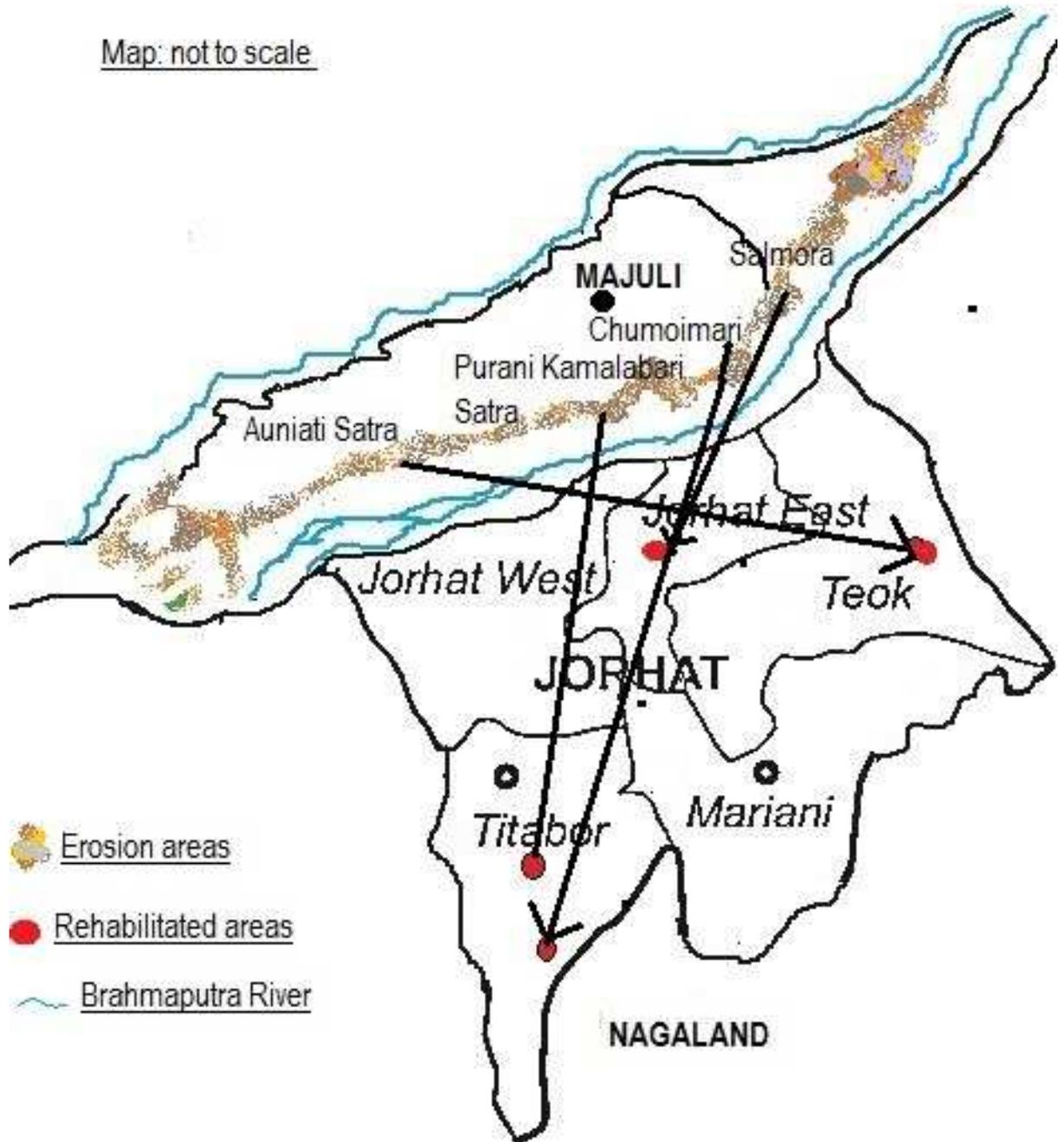
FIGURES AND TABLES

Table(a) Showing Displaced people rehabilitated at different places at Jorhat District. Source: Prepared by the author based on the data collected from Revenue circle offices Majuli, Titabar, Teok and Jorhat and Disaster Management plan Majuli (2014).

Sl no.	Year of Flood	Places affected	No. of families Affected (approx.)	Year of rehabilitation	No. of families rehabilitated	Place of rehabilitation
1.	1972	Kamalabari Salmora	300	1975	300	Mohimabari
2.	1987-1998	Kamalabari(Majuli) Kolbari(Jorhat)	200	2001	101	Panikheti
Sl no.	Year of Flood	Places affected	No. of families Affected (approx.)	Year of rehabilitation	No. of families rehabilitated	Place of rehabilitation
3.	1996	Kamalabari	122	1996	122	Teok
4.	1988-1998	Kamalabar Ahataguri Salmora	2524	1999	2524	Titabar
5.	1992	Kaniajan	146	1999	146	Jorhat west revenue circle
6.	1998-2000	Kamalabari Ahataguri Salmora	1326	2000	1326	Moriani
7.	1998	Salmora	53	2004	53	Dogachuk

Table(b) Displaced people Rehabilitated at Majuli. Source: Prepared by the author based on data collected from S.D.C Office Kamalabari.

Sl no.	Year of Rehabilitation	Place of rehabilitation	no. of families rehabilitated	quantum of land rehabilitated
1	1996	Tatibari	62	1 <i>bigha</i>
2	2004	BhakatChapori	40	1 <i>bigha</i>
3	2006	Saar Ati	26	1 <i>bigha</i>
4	2013	Grazing Chapori in Salmora	40	1 <i>bigha</i>
Sl no.	Year of Rehabilitation	Place of rehabilitation	no. of families rehabilitated	quantum of land rehabilitated
5.	2013	ChepetaChapori in Salmora	36	1 <i>bigha</i>
6.	2013	DhodangChapori at Ahatguri	34	1 <i>bigha</i>



Map showing the erosion affected areas of Majuli and the rehabilitated areas in Jorhat District where the researcher had done field investigation. Source: Prepared by the author.