Migration Letters
May 2021
Volume: 18, No: 3, pp. 237 – 259
ISSN: 1741-8984 (Print) ISSN: 1741-8992 (Online)
journals.tplondon.com/ml

TRANSNATIONAL PRESS® LONDON

Received: 1 March 2020 Accepted: 20 August 2020
DOI: https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v18i3.877

Adaptation and Acculturation: Resettling displaced tribal communities from wildlife sanctuaries in India

Madhulika Sahoo[1] and Jalandhar Pradhan[2]

Abstract

Tribal population across the world, especially in Asia and Africa, face violence and abuse in the name of conservation that carries a heavy human cost. A report on the eviction of populations from 34 protected areas in Africa made it evident that the Congo DRC, Cameroon, Gabon, the Central African Republic of Congo had displaced whole villages leading to conflict and multiple human rights abuses. Recently in India, around 400 families from Amchang wildlife sanctuary in Assam and 78 families from Satkosia wildlife sanctuary in Odisha were forcefully evicted and their houses demolished. The population thus forcefully evicted from wildlife sanctuaries are subjected to disruption of the original settlement, cultural shift and scattered kinship groups. Studies have also highlighted the consequences of displacement on health since it leads to collapses in mutual help in childcare and deteriorates healthcare trends. The present study was conducted among the displaced tribal communities from wildlife sanctuaries in Odisha and Chhattisgarh States in India. The paper analyzes the acculturation process observed among the displaced tribals and the ways in which they adapted themselves into host communities.

Keywords: *Acculturation; chhattisgarh; displacement; odisha; resettlement*

Introduction

Exclusion of people from the protected areas began in the late nineteenth century and continued throughout the first half of the twentieth century. According to some conservationists, conservation was taken to meant preservation of flora and fauna and exclusion of people (Chatty and Colchester, 2002). The first conservation project in the world, Yellowstone National Park, had caused forced displacement of many local foragers. Latter several displacements took place from national parks in Latin America, Africa, Asia and much of the developing world that excluded local communities from protected areas (Redford and Fearn, 2007). Globally tribals constitute at least 55.16 percent of the total displaced population from National Parks (Mackay and Caruso, 2016). According to a study done in Central Africa in nine protected areas, about 400,000 to 450,000 people had been displaced (Cernea and Solatu, 2003). However, there is a lack of proper data on people relocated from wildlife sanctuaries (Agarwal and Hedford, 2007).

In India, the number of people displaced by development projects is reportedly among the highest in the world (IDMC, 2016). Tribal populations worldwide, especially in Asia and Africa, face violence and abuse in the name of conservation that carries a heavy human cost

[1] Madhulika Sahoo, Assistant Professor (Socio-cultural Anthropology), School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vellore Institute of Technology University, Andhra Pradesh-522237, India. Email: madhulika.sahoo@hotmail.co.uk.
[2] Jalandhar Pradhan, Associate Professor, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, National Institute of Technology, Rourkela-769 008, India. Email: jpp.pradhan@gmail.com.
Acknowledgement: Authors would like to thank the displaced tribal families for giving their valuable time to participate in the research. Authors also acknowledge the NGO personnel for facilitating this study.

(Alcorn, 2010). A report on the eviction of populations from 34 protected areas in Africa made it evident that the Congo DRC, Cameroon, Gabon, the Central African Republic of Congo had displaced entire villages leading to conflict and multiple human rights abuses (Vidal, 2016). Nearly 85.39 lakh tribals were displaced until 1990 on account of mega projects, preservation of forests as National Parks (PRS, 2014). In India, around 400 families from Amchang wildlife sanctuary in Assam and 78 families from Satkosia wildlife sanctuary in Odisha were recently evicted and their houses were demolished (The Indian Express, 2017; The New Indian Express, 2017). In Madhya Pradesh, about 180 villages in Mandla have already been relocated due to other development projects and wildlife sanctuaries (Hindustan times, 2019). Increased movement and mobility of people across the borders are now an everyday experience in many areas (Kou, 2014). Such movements are mostly caused by both developmental and environmental changes. A study on displacement found that more people were involuntarily displaced in the 20th century than at any other time in recorded history. Forced displacement affects the cultural, spiritual, psychological, institutional, environmental and economic conditions of social groups (Smith, 2010; Cernea, 1997). Circumstances push the displaced people to adjust to environmental changes. Consequently, when these displaced populations come in contact with the host population, they exchange social and cultural traits and go through an acculturation process. Acculturation is a phenomenon that occurs especially when a group of people or community having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with a host culture, causing changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups (Redfield et al., 1936). It is a process of change and adaptation resulting from continuous contact between individuals of different cultural origins, for instance, asylum seekers or internally displaced persons coming in contact with the host population. Adaptation is also one of the components of acculturation, which relates to an adjustment to a new culture or environment (Berry et al., 2006). The present study was conducted among displaced tribal communities from wildlife sanctuaries in Odisha and Chhattisgarh States in India. It was an attempt to examine socio-economic, housing and socio-cultural life before and after the relocation of the displaced communities. The present study has applied Berry's model to understand the acculturation process among displaced tribal communities. The analysis focused on group level acculturation among displaced tribal communities relocated from wildlife sanctuaries to new settings for resettlement.

Berry's acculturation model

In the early 1900s, several social scientists offered different acculturation theories. The most influential models were set forth by sociologists from the human ecological school of thought (Park, 1975; Redfield et al., 1936). Subsequently, Berry's acculturation model was used widely in other disciplines, particularly in psychology (Berry, 2002), migration studies, epidemiology (Henry and Cassel, 1969) and public health (Cohen, 2011; Abraido-Lanza, et al., 2006). The acculturation model is one of the most suitable models describing the process of acculturation. The components identify what challenges the migrants face, such as maintaining home culture and adopting the host culture (Kunurglu et al., 2015). The present study identified Berry's acculturation model as most appropriate to understand the acculturation process among displaced Indian tribal communities after relocation from wildlife sanctuaries.

Acculturation theories often deal with immigrants and the dominant culture (Fox et al., 2017). For instance, when a single group is exposed to another culture, assuming the changes in the individual exposed to another culture, changes in the individual's beliefs, values, and practices

may occur (Berry, 1997). According to Berry, acculturation denotes ways in which individuals undergo cultural transitions in their lives, incorporating the two cultures in their lives. Acculturative styles adopted by individuals can be seen as ways of coping with the cultural transition (Berry, 1980). Acculturation or cultural adaptation is viewed as an inevitable process that the human species undergo in an effort to manage and cope with stressors and changes brought upon by migration and by being in prolonged contact with a new host culture (Berry, 1997). Consequently, for individuals undergoing cultural change and transition, acculturation has an interwoven relationship with coping.

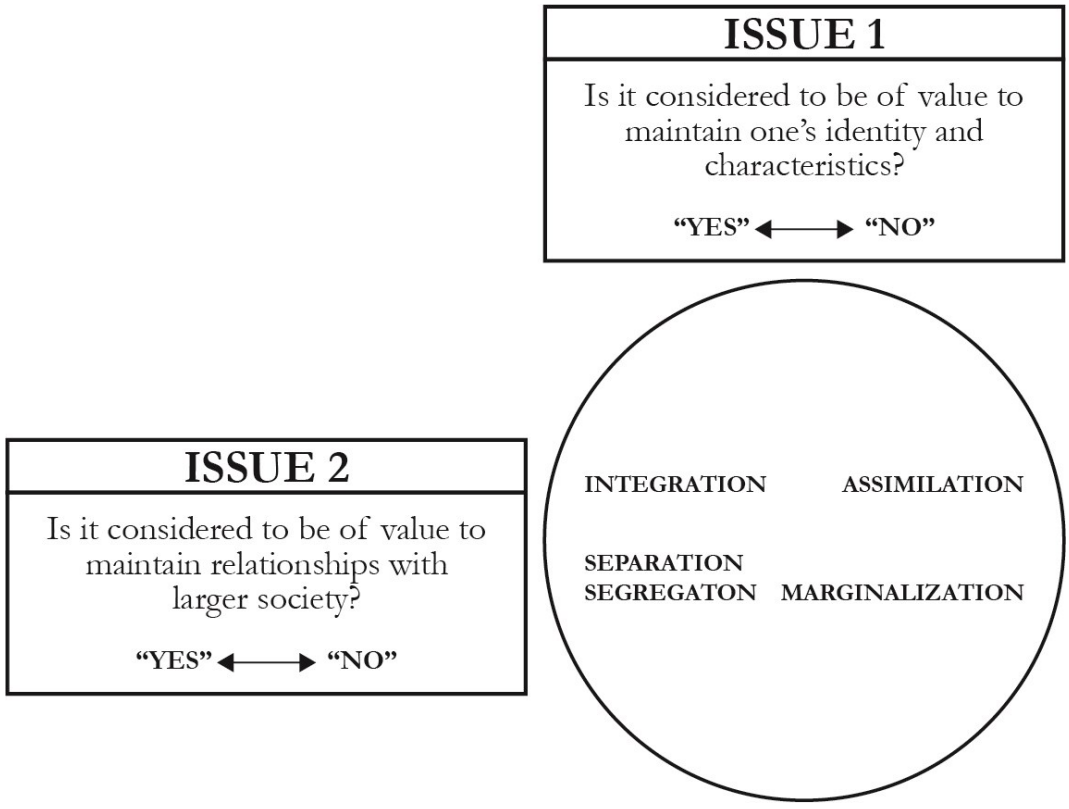
In the acculturation framework, four different strategies are proposed. The strategies are assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization. Integration refers to the conservation of the group's cultural identity and its movement to become an integral part of a larger society or new culture. Assimilation is the rejection of the original culture and accepting the new culture. Separation is evident when there is no positive acceptance of the new culture and maintenance of ethnic identity and traditions. Marginalization is when both original and new cultures are rejected. It is characterized by striking out against the larger society and by feelings of alienation and loss of identity from one's own group with evidence for experience of stress (Berry and Annis, 1974; Berry et al., 1987; Mishra and Chaubey, 2002). Berry's model suggests that not all incoming groups become similar to the dominant group. Instead, they develop four distinct models of acculturation, assimilation, marginalization, separation and integration (see Figure 1) (Karipek, 2017). It also suggests that a model based on two factors such as how well the immigrant maintains relationships with other members of the receiving country; and how much the immigrant retains his or her cultural characteristics. Similarly, with the assimilation strategy, individuals may stop following their own culture and start giving importance to the culture of the receiving country. On the contrary, in the separation strategy, individuals may have little interest in the new culture and may resort to retaining the culture of origin. In the marginalization strategy, individuals neither maintain their cultural identity nor build relationships with those of the receiving country. Finally, in the integration strategy, immigrants maintain their culture of origin and at the same time adopt their culture of the destination. This group of people value both cultural maintenance and intergroup relations. Taken together, the newcomers develop four strategies based on their desire to maintain their culture of origin and their desire to embrace the values of the receiving country (Berry, 1997).

Furthermore, Berry distinguished acculturation in terms of 'group level' and 'individual level' impacts. At the individual level, factors existing prior to acculturation and during acculturation contribute to or limit the outcome of the acculturation process. However, at the group level, the process may go through profound changes at the group level in multiple areas, including physical, biological, economic, social and cultural changes (Fox et al., 2017 p.406; Boas, 1888; Redfield et al., 1936). The change can be either positive or negative, but when a new group introduces culture to a new area, the area changes because of the contact between the two groups (Hamilton, 2004).

The present study among the displaced tribes in India identified the group level acculturation. Physical changes included the socio-structure and population density, while biological changes included food habits and exposure to new health problems. In addition, loss of status and new employment opportunities for the group are seen to be related to economic changes. Social changes include changes such as disrupted communities and the need to form new

relationships with the host population. Finally, cultural changes pertaining to the core of the acculturation process mainly range from superficial changes such as transformation in food and clothing to deeper changes such as language shifts, marital assimilation and changes in festivals and rituals. These are the key findings.

Figure 1. Berry's acculturation model



Source: Berry, JW. "Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation." Applied Psychology 1997

Methods and data

In this study, we identified Scheduled Tribes (STs) and the community of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) who were displaced from three wildlife sanctuaries, namely, Similipal, Chandaka and Achanakmar wildlife sanctuaries (See Figure 2). This section indicates the study site and describes the displacement process in three wildlife sanctuaries.

Similipal sanctuary is located in Mayurbhanj district which is in the north-eastern part of Odisha. Similipal reserved forest was notified as a proposed sanctuary in 1979. A total of 41 tribal families were relocated from three villages, namely Jamunagarh, Jenabil, and Kabatghai. There was further relocation in the year 2013 when about 31 families from Baharkamuda village were relocated to the buffer area Asankudar (Sahoo and Pradhan, 2020a). In 1980, a survey of the families residing in these villages was conducted. To resettle 149 Khadia and Mankedia primitive tribal families, who are hunters and gatherers by practice, a portion of Ambadiha 168.67 hectares was de-reserved by the Government of India under the Forest (Conservation) Act 1980. Land acquisition proceedings were started under the Land

Acquisition Act 1894 and were finalized. As a result, pre-relocation houses were constructed and the land developed by the Integrated Tribal Development Agency at Ambadiha for resettlement of the villagers. Similarly, houses were made ready in the revenue village at Kapand village in Jashipur block. The resettlement colony was named 'Kapanda banabasa' for people relocating from Kabatghai and Jamunagarh village. A total of 41 families were relocated from these villages in 1994 and 2003, and 61 families were relocated from Jenabil in March 2010, where 29 families were earlier had been relocated to Ambadiha in Udala block in 1998 and 2003 (Sahoo, 2012; Similipal tiger reserve office, 2010). Again in 2015, total of 35 families from Jamunagarh were relocated to Bahuban in Udala block. Government guarantees in its relocation package to provide health, education, electricity, and water along with a compensation of Rs 10 lakh to each family. Furthermore, 30 families were relocated in 2012 from Baharkamuda village from the fringe areas of Similipal sanctuary. The families were kept in a temporary hut at Asankudar village near Karanjia.

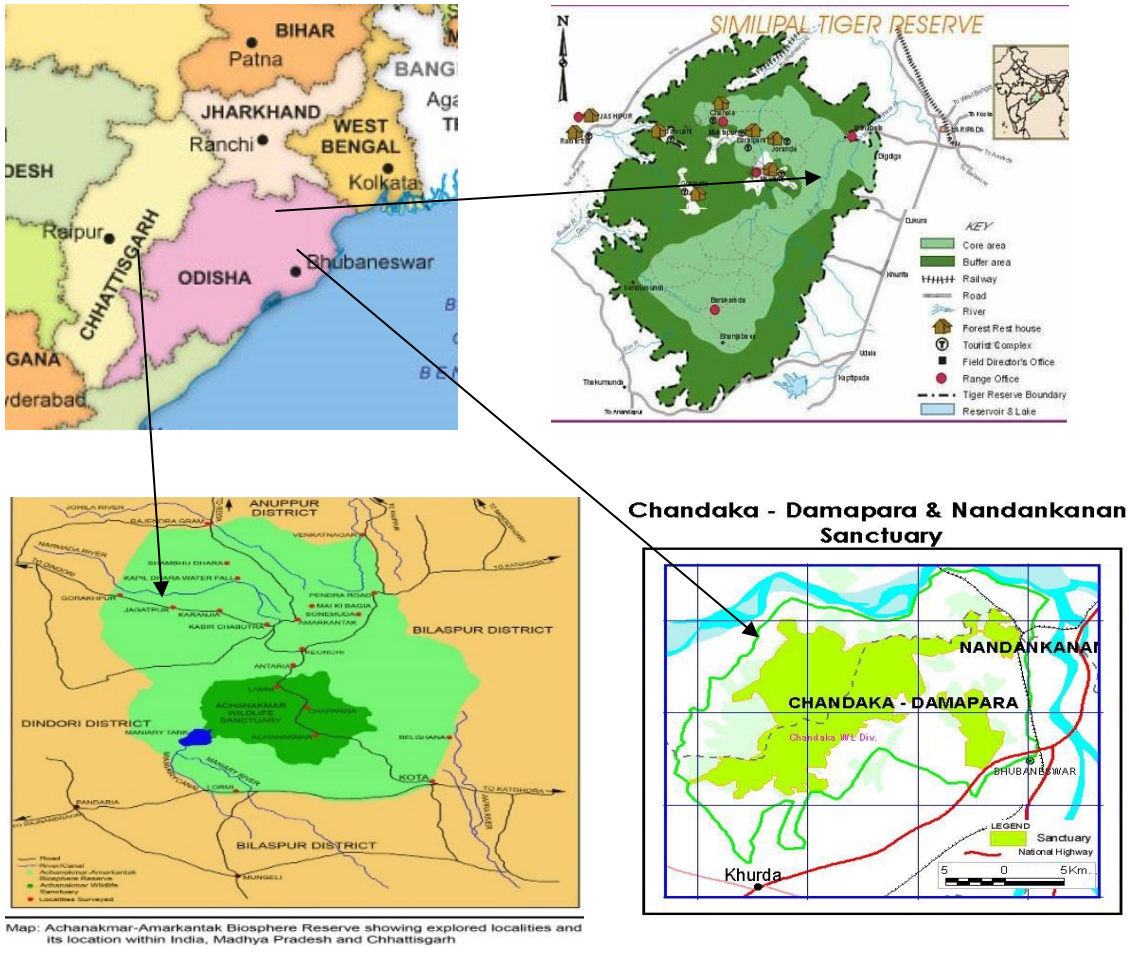
Achnakmar sanctuary is located in Mungeli district of Chhattisgarh was declared as a wildlife sanctuary in 2009. The induced displacement was initiated in phases; about 249 families were displaced from six villages, namely Kuba, Bokrakachhar, Bahud, Bankal, Jalda and Sambhar Dhasan to various rehabilitation colonies in different locations as planned by the Government of India (Table 1). The main inhabitants of these villages were Baiga followed by Gond and Yadavs communities. In February 2009, the tiger reserve was notified under Project Tiger, with the condition of relocating all the villages from the core area of the reserve to make "inviolate space" for tigers. Villagers were promised a fixed compensation package of Rs 1 Lakh and basic amenities in the new settlement place such as 5 acres of agriculture land/household, accommodation, school, healthcare and better livelihood opportunities. But when this relocation was carried out, the alternative location had not been made ready for the displaced population, and each household was given a petty amount of Rs.5000/- cash and Rs.45,000/- in a bank account, which was spent mostly in meeting daily needs and housing arrangements (Deccan Herral, 2013; EQUATIONS, 2010).

Chandaka-Dampara Wildlife Sanctuary is located in Khurda district in Odisha and was declared a wildlife sanctuary in 1982. In 1980, about 57 wild elephants were identified in the Chandaka forest. Due to emerging threats to city dwellers, it was decided to declare the forest as Elephant Park/Reserve with dual objectives; one was to protect wild elephants and second, to develop the area for tourism. With this aim, a scheme for forming Chandaka Elephant Reserve was prepared by the Wildlife Conservation Officer Shri Choudhury Gaurahari Mishra in the year 1980. There were five hamlets inside the core area, namely Bentesahi, Nuakua, Pitakhai, Dahnigadia and Dholkatah. These hamlets were mostly inhabited by the Sabara Adivasi tribes. According to the 1991 Census, the village had a total of 855 households with population of 4581 (Panigrahi and Pattnaik, 2004)

Total three tribal villages, namely Bentsahi, Nuakua and Dholkatha, consisting of 188 families, were voluntarily relocated from Chandaka-Dampara Wildlife Sanctuary after 1984. In 1994, a total of 85 tribal families was displaced in an induced way from the sanctuary and relocated to Krishnanagar and Tulsasidaiepur villages which were about 40-50km from their place of origin (Lasgorceix and Kothari, 2009; Sahoo and Pradhan, 2020b). Later about 32 families were relocated from Nuakua to Bhuasuni rehabilitation colony. Before the relocation, Government officials showed location of the rehabilitation colonies and constructed houses for each family in the respective rehabilitation colonies. The government had promised to

provide good fertile land apart from providing educational, health facilities, drinking water and monetary compensation of around Rs 12000/- per acre of agricultural land and Rs 18000/- per acre of homestead land. Agricultural lands provided to the displaced families were infertile and hard to cultivate (Panigrahi and Patttnaik, 2004). Since the displacement occurred before the introduction of the Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy 2006, the package was different from that of the newly relocated people from Similipal.

Figure 2. Study locations



Map: Achanakmar-Amarkantak Biosphere Reserve showing explored localities and its location within India, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh

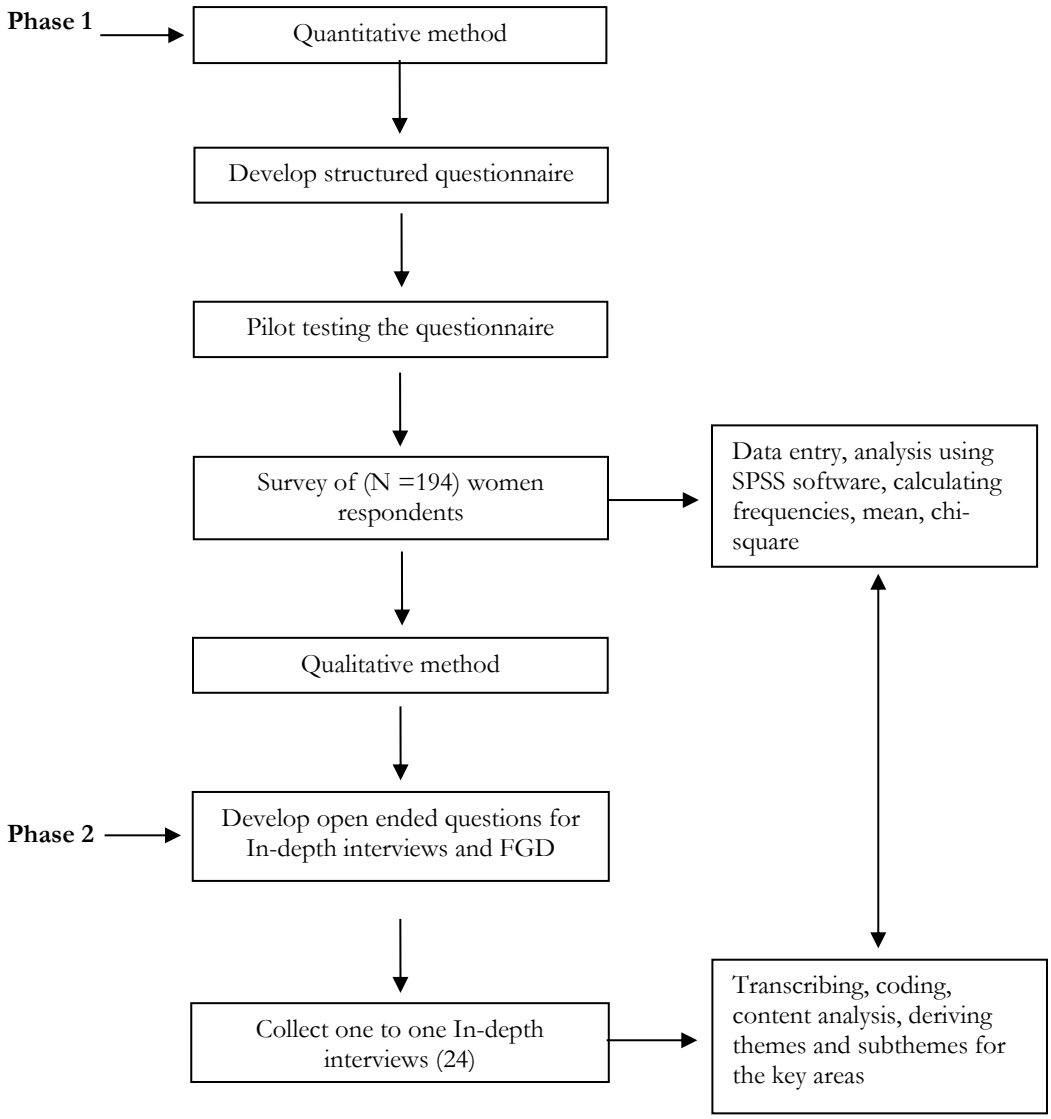
Achanakmar Sanctuary, Source: Google map

Source: Google map

Map showing Similipal, Chandaka and Achankmar wildlife Sanctuary

We selected a total of twelve rehabilitation colonies from Odisha and Chhattisgarh for data collection. A stratified random sampling method was used to select the sample. Respondents who had experienced the displacement process were selected for the study. The targeted sample size was 200, but the achieved sample was 194 due to the unavailability of respondents at the time of the study. The data was collected from July 2016 to February 2017.

Figure 3. Flowchart showing data collection process



The study has used an exploratory sequential research design for data collection. The ethnographic data was collected in two phases. In the first phase, quantitative data was collected using a structured questionnaire. In the second phase, qualitative data was collected using in-depth interviews with the respondents. The rationale for using this approach was that quantitative data and subsequent analysis would provide a general understanding of the research problem. Qualitative data and analysis would refine and explain these statistical results by exploring participants' views in more depth (Creswell et al., 2003). We collected a range of key independent variables such as rehabilitation details, socio-economy, housing, socio-culture before and after relocation was also collected through the survey structured questionnaire. The year of the relocation was taken as a turning point, and the periods before

and after were considered. For example, the relocation of Bahud village was in the year 2009 and the period prior to 2009 was considered as 'before relocation'.

In the second phase total of 24 in-depth interviews were conducted in 12 rehabilitation colonies. Two in-depth interviews were conducted in each rehabilitation colony. An interview guide was prepared with open-ended questions on food habits, changes in cultural practices, indigenous medicinal practices, for instance, *Have your food habits changed after displacement? Do you still practice the same festival that you used to practice before displacement? Have you felt a change in your lifestyle after relocation? Were you able to adapt yourself to the host community? New habits after relocation?* The interview guide was pre-tested before data collection. We segregated the rehabilitation colony into new and old resettlement, i.e. where people had experienced displacement spanning more than ten years were taken as old resettlement and the people displaced less than ten years were taken as the new resettlement. The idea behind choosing old and new settlements was to understand the acculturation process taking place over a period of time before and after the relocation. The in-depth interviews were carried out in the local language Odiya. Each interview took about 45mintues. The discussions were tape-recorded, and field notes were maintained separately for verification of the data. All data were transcribed and translated into English. To maintain confidentiality, and privacy of the respondents an oral consent was taken from them before the interviews. The study protocol was approved by the Doctoral Research Committee (DRC), Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, National Institute of Technology, Rourkela, India.

Data analysis

Quantitative data was analyzed using the SPSS version 20. To summarize the socio-demography characteristics, before and after social infrastructure, family structure, forest dependency frequencies were derived using descriptive statistics.

The in-depth interviews were analyzed to identify common thematic patterns by content analysis method. Data were coded, and themes were derived. Keywords were first identified and coded by open coding process. Then, the themes and categories were identified according to the proposed acculturation model. A code manual was prepared, the in-depth interviews were numbered and each rehabilitation colony was given a code such as Kapanda Banbasa-KB, Ambadiha-AM, Jamunagarh bahuban-JB, Asankudar-AK, Tulasidaiepur-TD, Bhuasuni-BH, Kirshna Nagar-KN, Bahud-BD, Bankal, BK, Bokragachar-BG, Sambhardasah-SB, Jalda-JL. In-depth interviews were numbered including the code for the rehabilitation colony, for example, AM 1 and AM2, JB3 and JB4

Voice recordings of the in-depth interviews were transcribed and translated into English. Backup field notes in English were kept to check the accuracy of translation. Verification and accuracy of translation of each transcript were read thoroughly and double checked with the field notes. Transcripts were subsequently language edited to ensure contextual translation after proofreading and making a correction in the transcripts.

Results

Resettlement and rehabilitation of displaced families

Tribal people are characterized by distinct cultures and close relationships with the land they inhabit. They make up to 5 percent of the world's population, but 15 percent of such people

are reported to be living in poverty (UNCED, 2016). They face deprivations caused by social, economic and political exclusion (IFAD, 2012). In Similipal, Odisha relocation that took place in 2012 from Baharkamuda village to Asankudar rehabilitation colony displaced tribals narrated the relocation experience. According to the displaced tribals at Asankudar the Government had promised regular compensation money, food, safe drinking water, health and education facilities, livestock (12 goats) and two-room houses to relocate from Baharkamuda. However, they had only received a fraction of the money. Their houses were under construction, but only one room of 200 sq. feet per family. They were living under polythene sheets which leaked in the rain and were too hot in the sun. They were worried to leave since there was no security. Earlier, when they were living in the forest, they almost entirely depended on the forest produce such as honey, arrowroot and medicinal roots and herbs. According to some displaced women, "*In this place, we are living like cows in a cow shed*".

Similar situation was faced by displaced tribals from Jamunagarh who were relocated to Bahuban Jamunagarh in 2015. The 35 families were living in temporary huts while their houses were still under construction. Villagers narrated the relocation process where before relocation, the tribals were shown 84 acres of lands to be given to them in Udala block. However, after relocation, the tribals were not even given 1acre of agricultural land. The villagers complained of not being given any place for keeping the community god and no gotchar land (herding land) for domestic animals. The villagers also complained of no access to the forest for collecting forest produce and medicinal plants. Due to the hot climate and no forest, domestic animals remained unwell. The families were given interest on the deposited compensation amount of Rs. 10 lakh for rehabilitation. Many families had constructed houses from the rehabilitation package money.

Relocation process in Achanakmar, Chhattisgarh, shows that displaced families from Sambhar Dhasan, Bankal, Jalda, Bokrakachhar and Bahud villages got relocated in 2009. The families were promised Rs. 10 lakh compensation, as per the National Tiger Conservation Authority (NTCA) guidelines. The compensation amount was used by the government authority to develop housing for the displaced families, agricultural land and cash allowance. At the time of relocation, the families were given Rs.50000/- cash per family (Table 1). The Forest Department claimed that the remaining Rs. 9.5 lakh was used in building of concrete houses, preparing two-hectare lands for agriculture, constructing roads, providing water and electricity. Villagers claim that before relocation, forest officials took consent with a signature from the villagers, and promised to provide houses, school, health centres, roads and access to the forest for livelihood. However, the displaced families felt betrayed after moving to the rehabilitation site because they lost access to the forest to collect Sal and Tendu leaves for regular income. Agricultural lands that were given to the families were not fertile due to the absence of irrigation facilities; the families could merely harvest two crops per year. Access to the forest had become difficult for the Baiga tribes because it took two full days to reach the forest.

According to a fact-finding team who visited the rehabilitation colonies in the year 2010, the displaced families were pressurized to relocate from the core area. Government officials threatened the tribals by shutting down schools and restricting their access to forest resources. The tribal population did not have access to the social infrastructure inside the sanctuary. Nevertheless, the relocation had made a progressive impact on infrastructure and housing facilities for the tribal population. The displaced population in the rehabilitation colonies had

basic infrastructure such as roads, electricity, drinking water, school provided by the Government (see Table 1).

Table 1. Resettlement and rehabilitation details

Name of the rehabilitation colony	Relocation site	Place	Year of Relocation	Total HH relocated	Types of relief and the no. of days provided
Bahuban Jamunagarh	Similipal	Odisha	2015	35	Grocery/cooked food-less than 6momths Temporary shelter- 1year Medicine-Continue Health check-ups-one week Cloths-one week Wages- still getting Blanket/solar light/kitchen utensils-one time
Asankudar	Similipal	Odisha	2012	30	Grocery/cooked food-one week Drinking water- less than 6months Temporary shelter- one year Medicines- less than 6months Health check-ups-less than 6months Wages-1 year
Ambadiha	Similipal	Odisha	2010	61	Grocery/cooked food- less than 6months Drinking water-less than 6months Sanitation facilities-6months Temporary shelter-6months Medicines- 6months Health checkups-6months Wages-6months
Kapanda banbasa	Similipal	Odisha	1994	42	Grocery/cooked food- 6months. Temporary shelter- 1 years Wages-less than 6months.
Tulasidaiepur	Chandaka	Odisha	1999	23	Grocery/cooked food-less than 6months Permanent houses and drinking water Medicines-6months Household compensation- 6months
Krishna Nagar	Chandaka	Òdisha	1994	62	Grocery/cooked food-1month Drinking water- less than 6months Permanent houses and drinking water Medicines-one week Health check-ups- less than 6months

Name of the rehabilitation colony	Relocation site	Place	Year of Relocation	Total HH relocated	Types of relief and the no. of days provided
Bhuasuni	Chandaka	Odisha	2008	35	Grocery/cooked food- less than 6months Permanent houses and drinking water Health check-ups- one week Cloths- one week Cows
Bankal	Achanakmar	Chhatti sgarh	2009	32	Grocery/cooked food- 6months Temporary shelter- 6months Health check-ups- one week Compensation money- 50000
Bokrakachhar	Achanakmar	Chhatti sgarh	2009	41	Grocery/cooked food- 6months Temporary shelter- 6months Health check-ups- one week Compensation money- INR 50000
Sambhar Dhasan	Achanakmar	Chhatti sgarh	2009	17	Grocery/cooked food- 6months Temporary shelter- 6months Health check-ups- one week Compensation money- INR 50000
Bahud	Achanakmar	Chhatti sgarh	2009	66	Grocery/cooked food- 6months Drinking water- 6months Temporary shelter- 6months Compensation money- INR 50000
Jalda	Achanakmar	Chhatti sgarh	2009	74	Drinking water- 6months Temporary shelter- 6months Compensation money- INR 50000
Total				**518**	

Socio-demography details of the respondents

Socio-demography details of the respondents suggest that a large number of respondents belongs to PVTGs (51.5%) and Scheduled Tribe (47%) (Table 2). About 75.8 % respondents were in the age group of 18-28 years. It was found that 70% of women had no formal schooling. 56.7% of women were engaged in daily wage labour and 35.1% were not working. The husband's educational attainment status indicated that about 42.3% men did not have formal education and 35.1% had studied less than primary school. About 79.4% respondent's husbands worked as daily labourers in the rehabilitation colonies.

Table 2. Socio-demographic profile of the respondents

Socio-demographic variables	%	N
Population type		
Particularly Vulnerable Tribe (PVTG)	51.5	100
Scheduled Tribe (ST)	47	91
Scheduled Caste (SC)	1.5	3

Socio-demographic variables	%	N
Age of the women		
18-28 years	75.8	147
29-39 years	21.1	41
>40 years	3.1	6
Education of the women		
No formal schooling	69.1	134
Less than primary school	19.6	38
Primary school completed	6.7	13
Secondary school completed	4.1	8
High school completed	.5	1
College/university	0	0
Occupation of the women		
Government employee	2.1	4
Self-employment	1.5	3
Daily wage labourer	56.7	110
Not working for pay	4.6	9
Not working	35.1	68
Husband Education		
No formal schooling	42.3	82
Less than primary school	35.1	68
Primary school completed	14.9	29
Secondary school completed	5.7	11
High school completed	1.5	3
College/university	.5	1
Husband occupation		
Government employee	1.0	2
Self-employment	6.2	12
Daily wage labourer	79.4	154
Not working	13.4	26

Housing conditions of the displaced families before and after relocation

Housing details of the displaced communities in the rehabilitation colony indicates that the displaced families have better infrastructural facilities as compared to their previous villages. Results show that the rehabilitation colonies have toilet facility (53.6%), semi-pucca houses (85.1%), drainage system (47.9%) and tubewells (100%) (Table 3). The displaced families lacked infrastructure facilities in previous villages inside the wildlife sanctuary. However, a major change that occurred among displaced families was the growing number of nuclear families (72.2%) and declining number of joint families (26.3%) and extended (0%) families, in comparison to before relocation. The figures indicate that prior to relocation, they lived as close- knit extended and joint families.

Table 3. Housing details of the displaced families

Variables	**Period**			
	Before		**After**	
Family types	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**
Single headed	0	0	1.5	3
Nuclear	8.2	16	72.2	140
Joint	83	161	26.3	51
Extended	8.8	17	0	0
House Type				
Pucca	0	0	10.8	21
Semi-pucca	0	0	85.1	165
Kutcha	25.3	49	.5	1
Hut	73.7	143	1.5	3
Temporary	1	2	2.1	4
Toilet facility				
Available	0	0	53.6	104
Not available	100	194	46.4	90
Drainage system				
Available	0	0	47.9	93
Not available	100	194	52.1	101
Separate room for kitchen				
Yes	11.3	22	85.6	166
No	88.7	172	14.4	28
Fuel for cooking				
Wood	100	194	100	194
Source of drinking water				
Tube well	0	0	100	194
Open well	19.1	37	0	0
Spring/stream	73.2	142	0	0
Pond	7.7	15	0	0
Source of lightning				
Electricity	0	0	66	128
Kerosene	63.4	123	34	66
Solar	35.5	71	0	0
Total	**100**	**194**	**100**	**194**

Government facilities before and after relocation

After relocation, the displaced families had been provided numerous government facilities such as BPL card (87.6%), job card (83.5%), Antodaya card (68.6%), old age pension card (58.6%) (Table 4). However, before relocation, many families were not provided with government facilities such as BPL card (53.5%), job card (32%), Antodaya card (5.2%), old age pension card (2.6%). They had less access to government facilities inside the forest that had been notified as a wildlife sanctuary.

Table 4. Government facilities details before and after relocation

Variables	Period			
	Before		After	
	%	N	%	N
BPL Card				
Card holder	53.5	103	87.6	170
Availing BPL benefits				
Fully	55.7	108	90.2	175
Partially	0	0	3.1	6
Not availing	44.3	86	6.7	13
Job card				
Card holder	32	62	83.5	162
Antodaya				
Card holder	5.2	10	68.6	133
Old age pension				
Card holder	2.6	5	58.8	114
Bidyut yojana				
Card holder	0	0	49.5	96
Others				
Yes	0	0	20.1	39
No	0	0	79.9	155
Total	100	194	100	194

Socio-economic details before and after relocation from the wildlife sanctuary

Socio-economic details of the displaced families indicate that after relocation, the villagers had lesser amount of common property resources (12.9%) as against prior to relocation (95.4%) (Table 5). It was also found that possession of livestock was lower among the displaced families after relocation such as cows (25.3%), buffaloes (27.3%), goats (14.9%) and hens (17%). Before relocation, the villagers had a good number of cows (43.8%), buffalo (45.9%), hens (61.3%). However, results indicate that possession of other assets among the displaced families had doubled. After relocating to the new place, about 68% houses had electricity, bed (69.1%), mobile (38.7%), color TV (15%), refrigerator (5.2%), bicycle (64.4%), motorcycle (9.2%). Compensation amount that each family received made them financially capable of acquiring these assets after displacement.

After analyzing land ownership among the displaced families, it was found that after relocation, the families' possessed a smaller size of land, i.e., less than 1 acre (96.9%) and agricultural land less than 1 acre (38.1%), 1-5 acre (41.8%), no land (20.1%), as compared to before the displacement. The displaced families mentioned that lands given by the Government in their name were not demarcated and not very fertile for cultivation. For instance, in Krishna Nagar and Tulasidaiepur, though the villagers had been given agricultural land, they could not cultivate any crop on the land due to the land being unfertile and barren. Villagers had complained to the Government about putting electric transformers on the same piece of land, making it inaccessible to them. Nonetheless, the same villagers had more agricultural land before relocation, 1-5 acre (35.6%) and 5-10 acre lands (52.6%).

Table 5. Socio-economic details before and after relocation

Variables	Period			
	Before		After	
Common property resources	**%**	**N**	**N**	**%**
Yes	95.4	185	25	12.9
No	4.6	9	191	87.1
Possession of livestock				
Cow	43.8	85	49	25.3
Buffalo	45.9	89	53	27.3
Goat	61.3	119	29	14.9
Hen	48	96	33	17
Household assets				
Electrification	0	0	132	68
Mattress	0	0	36	18.6
Pressure cooker	0	0	41	21.1
Chair	0	0	104	53.6
Cot/bed	14.9	29	134	69.1
Table	0	0	94	48.5
Electric fan	0	0	84	43.3
Radio	4.6	9	83	42.8
Color TV	0	0	29	14.9
Sewing machine	0	0	21	10.8
Mobile	2.6	5	75	38.7
Other phone	0	0	6	3.1
Refrigerator	0	0	10	5.2
Watch	1.5	3	25	12.9
Bicycle	47.5	93	125	64.4
Motor cycle	0	0	19	9.8
Auto	0	0	4	2.1
Water pump	0	0	5	2.6
Homestead land				
Less than 1 acre	4.6	9	188	96.9
1-5 acre	69.5	139	6	3.1
5-10 acre	21.5	43	0	0
No land	1.5	3	0	0
Agricultural land				
Less than 1 acre	1.0	2	74	38.1
1-5 acre	35.6	69	81	41.8
5-10 acre	52.6	102	0	0
No land	2.5	5	39	20.1
Dependency on forest				
Fuel wood	98.5	191	186	95.9
Medicinal plants	99	192	52	26.8
Wild fruits/vegetables	100	194	102	52.6
Others	83.0	161	24	12.4

One significant change found among the displaced tribals was the lesser dependency on forest resources; they have no access to the forest after relocation. The main livelihood of PVTGs was generated from the forest before relocation; after relocation, they were forced to have lesser access and hence dependency on the forest for resources such as fuelwood (95.9%),

medicinal plants (26.8%), wild fruits and vegetables (52.6%), others (12.4%). Before relocation, the dependency was far more: fuelwood (98.5%), medicinal plants (99%), wild fruits and vegetables (100%), others (83%). In many cases, fuelwood was mostly brought from local areas and not the forest directly.

Changes in food habits

After relocation to new settings, the tribal communities underwent substantial changes in food habits. Analysis indicates that about 80% of the displaced have experienced changes in food habits (Table 6). According to the displaced tribal families, about 63.4% experienced change from indigenous forest resources to market food. About 33% experienced change from consumption of organic food to non-organic food.

Table 6. Change in food habits

Variables	%	N
Changes in food habits		
Yes	78.9	153
No	21.1	41
Types of change		
Indigenous to market food	63.4	123
Organic to non-organic food	33.0	64
Others	3.6	7
Total	100	194

Cultural shift

It was revealed that about 63.9% of the displaced families had experienced a major cultural shift and 35.1% experienced less cultural shift (Table 7). Around 31.4% of the displaced families experienced changes in celebration of festivals, 29.9% changes in food habits, 6.2% changes in rituals, 4.7% changes in language. About 27.8% of families mentioned their lifestyles being more of expensive than it was inside the wildlife sanctuary. This could be because the lowest level of stress is experienced when displaced families manage to combine key cultural aspects of their own as well as host culture.

Table 7. Cultural shift

Variables	%	N
Cultural changes		
Yes changes	63.9	124
Less change	35.1	68
No change	1.0	2
Types of changes		
Changes in celebration of festival	31.4	61
Changes in food habits	29.9	58
Changes in rituals	6.2	12
Changes in language	4.7	9
More expensive than before	27.8	54
Total	100	194

Results from qualitative data analysis

To understand the acculturation among displaced families, the study has used Berry's acculturation model. Figure 1 shows the different responses to acculturation, where the value of maintaining an 'old' culture is balanced with exposure and adaptation to the 'new'. The 'choice' of one response over another can change, depending on shifting of stressors. As already mentioned the model suggests four types of acculturation namely integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. Analysis of the data identified six key themes namely cultural shift, food habits, expenses, relationship with the host community, language problem and sense of belonging. The themes in the process of acculturation among displaced tribal communities are discussed below.

Cultural shift

The displaced tribal families from Similipal, Chandaka and Achanakmar wildlife sanctuaries were relocated to distant places in rural areas with the lesser influence of similar tribal groups. The displaced families lacked familiarity with the host communities' language and culture, having been accustomed to different dialects and culture. It was found from the in-depth interviews that the displaced tribal families from Similipal and Chandaka experienced more cultural shifts than the tribal families from Achankamar.

> *"We celebrate Rajo[3], khudurukini[4] and Makar[5] festival with the host community and in more modern ways now. The young boys and girls wear new dresses and dance to tribal music in the festival. In the old village, we used to have a special place called Burupidi in front of our community god to dance and celebrate which is not available here in this place". (JB.1)*

> *"Before displacement, we used to celebrate in a simple manner. But after relocation new mode of celebration is experienced more colourful decoration, music, different types of food" (KN.13)*

> *"We spend more on the celebration of Chati (child naming ceremony) after relocation. There is more consumption of alcohol among the people after relocation" (BD.15).*

The tribals experience lower levels of stress as they were able to combine their culture with the host population for the celebration of festivals which has made the displaced people more integrated and adapted to the new settings.

Food habits

One major change experienced by displaced families after relocating to the resettlement colony was a change in food habits. Before relocation, the tribal families used to depend on varieties of forest products viz., wild fruits and vegetables such as *pitalu[6], sweet potato, green leafy vegetables,* honey, medicinal plants, and other edible roots. The families consumed collection of the forest produce that was more organic. However, after displacement, the tribals were more dependent on market products; indigenous food had been replaced with non-indigenous food, changing habits among tribal families in the resettlement colony.

[3] Traditional festival celebrated in Odisha
[4] Traditional festival celebrated in Odisha
[5] Traditional festival celebrated in most places in India
[6] Local term for indigenous plant roots

> *"We used to have better food habits inside the forest. We used to get all kinds of wild fruits and vegetables. Now we rely more on market products which are not organic"(JD.22, KN.14, TD.9, AM.4, KB.2)*

> *"We used to get varieties of wild vegetables karil, bhaji, phiripatu and medicinal roots such as chind kandha but after relocation, we have no access to the forest" (JD.21 and BK.24)*

Expenses

The tribal population had been living inside the forest for ages; they depended on forest products and followed a market free economy. After relocation from the forest, they were exposed to the market economy. Before relocation, the tribal women were engaged in collecting forest products such as fuelwood, wild fruits and vegetables but now, many were working as manual labour to meet daily expenses in the rehabilitation colony. Tribals were burdened with more expenses on festivals as well. For instance, the Baiga tribes celebrated the *Chati*[7] in a bigger way but had lesser expenses inside the forest. After relocation, expenses for celebrating *Chati* had increased.

> *"Earlier we used to spend less money in celebrating Chati but after relocation, I have spent more than Rs5000 for Chati celebration. We spent more on alcohol, food and gifts"(BK.23)*

> *"Earlier we used to depend on forest produces not much expense for food, after relocation we buy everything from the market because there is no forest to collect wild fruits, vegetables and other edible roots" (KB.2 and TD.10)*

> *"The Government has given us lands for cultivation but the type of land is not good and they have put electric polls on those lands, we are unable to use those lands for cultivation. We are more dependent on manual labour work, if we get work, we get money for food" (KN.13 and KN.14)*

> *"After relocating to this place, we are unable to find work, there is no cultivable lands given to us yet. We depend on the compensation amount for managing daily expenses" (JB.6 and KN.7)*

The rising cost of living in the resettlement colony made many men and women take up manual labour work along with the host community.

Relationship with the host community

The host community has a very crucial role to play in the acculturation process. They are the larger society where smaller groups of displaced population live with after relocation. Cultural and language exchange has made the displaced community acculturate more with the community. Acculturation conditions refer to characteristics of the receiving society which reflect among the displaced tribals in the relationship with the host communities. *"We have no problem with the host community. They were very helpful to us when we shifted to this place. We had a meeting with the host community after shifting to this new place." (JB.5)*

> *"We do not get to drink country liquor or eat our tribal food after relocation. In this new place, there are other scheduled tribe people here; they don't trouble us. We have been celebrating festivals with the new set of people. We have adapted to this new place and people." (AK.8)*

[7] Local term for child naming ceremony among the tribal community

"We have been living in this village for long now. Now this rehabilitation colony is our home" (BD.15)

Language barrier

The Kolho and Hill Kharia tribes from Similipal speak a different tribal dialect than the non-tribal host community. The Munda speaking people who cannot speak the local language face a language barrier in assimilating with the host community. However, in the case of Baiga and Sabara tribal people who speak the local language, they do not face any kind of language barrier with the host communities

"Due to our Munda language barrier, we are unable to get local manual labour work in the rehabilitation colony" (AK.8)

"Our women can't speak the local language due to which they fail to understand the awareness created by the healthcare workers in the rehabilitation colony. Men who speak the local language are not involved in the awareness process due to which it becomes difficult for the women to understand." (JB.5 and JB.6).

Sense of belonging

After relocation, the displaced tribal people have been longing for the good life they used to live inside the forest, types of festivals they used to celebrate and the community god they used to offer prayers to in the old village. Many also long for the common property resources they had in the old village. Nevertheless, rehabilitation colonies in Chhattisgarh were given the same name as that of the old village, which is a good initiative by the Government to retain the old village identity. For instance, the Bahud rehabilitation colony kept a similar name as that of their old village name. This certainly had a positive impact on the displaced Baiga community for not losing their identity and providing the Baiga tribe a sense of belonging.

"We used to celebrate different festivals like Batoli[8] puja, Nuakhai[9], Kalipuja, Makara etc. in our old place. After relocation, we don't celebrate the way we used to celebrate in our old village. Here we don't have Burupidi[10] which has to be near sal tree and Gramasala[11]. This new place does not have a place for herding cows and cattle, no cremation ground and no pond" (JB.6)

"At times, we feel that we are caught in a place similar to a cow shed. Here our kids are having skin infection, malaria, fever. Summer is making us weaker and tired specially the older tribal people in the rehabilitation colony. Our animals are weak too. We remember our old village a lot it was good we used to live in cool and disease-free place surrounded by forest" (AK.7 and AK.8).

Even though the displaced tribal families long for their old village inside the sanctuary, they have now adapted themselves to the culture and lifestyle of the new place and people. Many also say, "We are used to this place and our belongings we cannot go back to our old village, we don't have anything left in the old village" (AM.3 and AM.4).

[8] Traditional tribal festival in Odisha
[9] Traditional festival celebrated in Odisha
[10] Auspicious place for the tribal community to dance and chant songs
[11] Place where tribals offer prayer to their community god

The above findings indicate that even though changes among the displaced tribals can be either positive or negative, but when a new group introduces culture to a new area, the area changes because of the contact between the two groups due to the acculturation process.

Discussion

Our findings indicate that the displaced tribes are more friendly with the host population and are adapting themselves to new settings. However, the slight influence of separation is observed among newly displaced population in Bahuban Jamunagarh rehabilitation colony. This could be mainly because the displaced tribals still live in temporary shelters and there are fewer healthcare facilities; there is a lack of opportunity of livelihood for resettlement. Whereas the displaced tribes in Ambadiha, who came much earlier than the tribes in the Bahuban Jamunagarh rehabilitation colony, have developed good integration orientation with the increasing duration of contact with the outside world. This could be because the families maintain certain features of the home culture and adopt the new culture as well. A study conducted among the Agaria and Kharwar tribal groups in Uttar Pradesh, India, also indicated similar results. The Kharwar group, more than the Aagaria group, demonstrate similar integration features (Mishra and Chaubey, 2002). It was found that the displaced tribes have retained elements of their own culture by celebrating the same festivals after relocation, even though they were exposed to other cultures such as the displaced Baiga tribes in Chattisgarh and Simlipal. Another study on Brihor, Asur and Oraon tribes in Bihar, India also indicated coexistence and integration among tribes (Mishra et al., 1996). Acculturation is more prominent when there is more participation in the process of cultural exchange. A similar study among immigrants indicates that group level context variables including physical, biological, economic, social and cultural changes, which occur on a larger scale, also play an integral role in migrants' acculturation process (Karipek, 2017; Berry, 1997). A study using Berry's acculturation model among Syrian asylum seeker students in Turkey found four key dimensions of acculturation such as the acquisition of the majority language, cultural distance, ethnic identity and desire to return to homeland (Karipek, 2017). Another study on Turkish migrants from western Europe indicated typical characteristics of the receiving society, society of origin of the immigrant group, and personal attributes. These conditions influence acculturation outcomes, encompassing psychological well-being and sociocultural competence, both in the ethnic and the host cultures (Kunuroglu, 2015).

However, groups who have a lower degree of contact with the outside world and are reluctant to adapt to changes, restricting themselves to sharing characteristics, and are more prone to marginalization (Berry, 1990). A study on Kaiabi indigenous people of the Brazilian Amazon, who were displaced and resettled in the Xingu Park, illustrated support from the host villages, cultural exchange and inter-ethnic marriages establishing stronger acculturation (Athayde and Silva-Lugo, 2018). Other studies indicated a multi-dimensional model for understanding and differentiating between the many documented cases of ethnocultural groups that did not fully assimilate, even after generations of interaction with the larger society (Cohen, 2011; Cheung-Blunden and Juang, 2008; Featherstone, 1990).

Other studies also indicated similar findings (Karipek, 2017; Arica et al., 2001). Syrian individuals who were less interested to learn the host community language expressed higher levels of frustration and confusion. Similar findings were also found among displaced tribal women from Simlipal in Bahuban Jamunagarh and Ambadiha, who experienced language

problems due to less exposure to other cultures and languages. This led to poor communication with the host villagers. Studies indicate that male members acculturate more rapidly than female members (Arica et al., 2001; Cortes et al., 1994). However, the findings indicate that shorter cultural distance among the displaced tribal communities brings more positive adaptation to the new settings. According to Berry, the shorter the distance between the host culture and one's own, the smoother is the acculturation process (Berry, 1976). According to Park (1928), the linear and directional process brings loss to the original culture through greater acculturation. Changes were noticed in the attributes of the original culture among tribal communities during exposure to the new culture after relocation. Families are breaking into nuclear types from joint and extended families.

Conclusion

After relocating from forests declared as wildlife sanctuaries, displaced tribal communities have better housing and infrastructural facilities in the rehabilitation colonies. But their socio-economic condition showed less improvement due to loss of the established livelihood system inside the forest and being dependent on manual labour after displacement. Many displaced families do not have livestock and agricultural land for making a living. This has rendered the life of displaced families more stressful after relocation. However, adapting to the new settings has been rather easy for these communities because the displaced tribal families have been able to integrate with the host population and have established stronger acculturation. Changes in food habits, culture, ritual practices and language are the main sources of cultural exchange with the host population. At the same time, there has been a decline of the original culture and family ties. For example, there were fewer joint families and extended families due to a lack of similar resources and community.

References

Abraído-Lanza, A.F., Armbrister, A.N., Flórez, K.R. and Aguirre, A.N. (2006). Toward a theory-driven model of acculturation in public health research. *American journal of public health*, *96*(8): 1342-1346.

Alcorn, J. (2010). Indigenous peoples and conservation, Macarthur foundation. Available at: https://www.macfound.org/media/files/CSD_Indigenous_Peoples_White_Paper.pdf (accessed on January 2019)

Arica, E., Snikker. M., Bailey. D. and Correa. V. (2001). Models of acculturation and behaviours among Latino immigrants to the US, *Social Science and Medicine*. 53 (1): 41-53

Athayde, S., and Silva-logu, J. (2018). Adaptive strategies to displacement and environmental change among the Kaiabi indigenous people of the Brazialian amazon. *Society and natural resources*.

Bera, S. (2012). Baigas in exile, *Down to earth*, Available at http://www.downtoearth.org.in/coverage/baigas-in-exile-38674 (accessed on November 2017)

Bera, S. (2014). Remaining tribals in Similipal tiger reserve to be displaced, *Down to Earth*. Available at http://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/remaining-tribals-in-Similipal-tiger-reserve-to-be-displaced--44475 (accessed on December 2019)

Berry, J. (1976). *Human ecology and cognitive style: comparative studies in cultural and psychological adaptation*. Sage.

Berry, J. (1990). Psychology of acculturation: understanding individuals moving between cultures. In R.W. Brislin (Ed.), *Applied cross-cultural psychology*. Sage.

Berry, J. (1997). Immigration adaptation and acculturation. *Applied psychology: An international review*. 46(1): 5-68.

Berry, J.W., Phinney, J.S., Sam, D.L. and Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An international review*. 55(3): 303-332

Birman, D., Trickett, E.J., and Vinokurov, A. (2002). Acculturation and adaptation of soviet jweish refugee adolescents: Predictors of adjustment across life domain. *American Journal of community Psychology.* 30(5): 585-607

Cernea, M. (1997). The risks and reconstruction model for resettling displaced populations. *World Development* 25 (10):1569–1687

Cernea, M.M & Soultau, K.S. (2003). The end of forcible displacement? Conservation must not impoverish people, *Policy Matters* 14, September

Chatty, D., & Colchester, M. (Eds.). (2002). *Conservation and mobile indigenous peoples: Displacement, forced settlement, and sustainable development* (Vol. 10). Berghahn Books.

Cheung-Blunden, V., and L. Juang (2008). "Expanding acculturation theory: are acculturation models and the adaptiveness of acculturation strategies generalizable in a colonial context?" *International Journal of Behavioural Development,* 32(1): 21–33.

Cohen, E.H. (2011). Impact of the Group of Co-migrants on Strategies of Acculturation: Towards an Expansion of the Berry Model. *International Migration*, *49*(4), pp.1-22.

Cortes, D. E., Rogler, L. H., and Malgady, R. G. (1994). Biculturality among Puerto Rican adults in the United States. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 22: 707–721.

Creswell, J.W., Plano Clark, V.L., Gutmann, M.L., Hanson, W.E. (2003). Advances in mixed methods research designs. In: Tashakkori A, Teddlie C, editors. *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research*. Sage; Thousand Oaks, CA. pp. 209–240.

Hearld, D. (2013). Tribals relocated from tiger reserve face livelihood crisis. Retrieved from https://www.deccanherald.com/content/351434/tribals-relocated-tiger-reserve-face.html

EQUATIONS (2010). Land rights violations at Achanakmar wildlife Sanctuary. Retrieved from http://www.equitabletourism.org/files/fileDocuments1001_uid18.pdf

Featherstone, M. (Ed.) (1990). *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, Sage Publications, London.

Hindustan Times. (2019). Madhya Pradesh redraws plan for 10 wildlife sanctuaries after MLAs, villagers object. Retrieve from https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/madhya-pradesh-redraws-plan-for-10-wildlife-sanctuaries-after-mlas-villagers-object/story-VgaELlKsKA4m0cq1hbDOxK.html (accessed on 9th July 2020)

Henry, J. P., & Cassel, J. C. (1969). Psychosocial factors in essential hypertension recent epidemiologic and animal experimental evidence. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, *90*(3), 171-200

Internally Displacement Monitoring Centre. (2016). Global report on internal displacement' Norwegian refugee council. Available at: http://www.internal-displacement.org/assets/publications/2016/2016-global-report-internal-displacement-IDMC.pdf (accesses on 6 April 2019)

International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). (2012). Indigenous Peoples: Valuing, Respecting and Supporting Diversity. Available at www.ifad.org/documents/10180/0f2e8980-09bc-45d6-b43b-8518a64962b3. (Accessed on January 2019)

Karipek, Y.Z. (2017). Asylum seekers experience and acculturation: A study of Syrian university students in Turkey. *Turkish Journal of Middle Eastern studies.* p105-133. Available at: http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/365565 (accessed May 2019)

Kou, B.C.H. (2014). Coping, acculturation, and psychological adaptation among migrants: a theoretical and empirical review and synthesis of literature. *Health psychology and behavioural medicine.* 2(1)16-33.

Kunuroglu, F., Yagmur, K., Van de Vijver, F.J. and Kroon, S., (2015). Consequences of Turkish return migration from Western Europe. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *49*, pp.198-211.

Lasgorceix, A. and Kothari, A., (2009). Displacement and relocation of protected areas: A synthesis & analysis of case studies. *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol XLIV No 49.

Mackay, F., and Caruso, E. (2016). Indigenous lands or national park. Available at https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/indigenous-lands-or-national-parks (accessed on December 2019)

Mahapatra, A.K., Tiwari, D.D., and Baboo, B. (2015). Displacement, Deprivation and Development: The Impact of Relocation on Income and Livelihood of Tribes in Similipal Tiger and Biosphere Reserve, India. *Environmental management* 56 (2):420-432.

Mishra, R.C., and Chaubey, A.C. (2002). Acculturation attitudes of Kharwar and Agaria tribal groups of Sonebhadra. *Psychology and developing societies.*14(2): 202-220

Mishra, R.C., Sinha, D., Widdup, J. (1996). *Ecology, acculturation and psychological adaptation: A study of adivasis in Bihar*. New Delhi, Sage publication

Oliver-Smith, A. (2009). *Introduction in development-forced displacement and resettlement: A human rights crisis*. Ed. A. Oliver-Smith, 3-23. Santa Fe: SAR press.

Oliver-Smith, A. (2010). *Defying displacement: Grassroots resistance and the critique of development*. Austin: University of Texas.

Panigrahi, R. and Patttnaik, P.P. (2004). Study on issues relating to sustainable livelihood of tribals and marginalized sections Chandaka wildlife sanctuary. Vasundhara. Available at: http://www.vasundharaodisha.org/Research%20Reports/Chandaka%20Wild%20Life%20Sanctuary.pdf (accessed April 2019)

Park, R.E. (1928). Human migration and the marginal man. *American Journal of Sociology*. 33:881-983

PRS (2014). Tribal draft policy. Available at http://www.prsindia.org/uploads/ media/ 1167469383/ bill53_2007010353_Draft_National_Policy_on_Tribals.pdf (accessed on December 2019)

Redfield, R., Linton, B., Herskovit, M.J. (1936). Memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*. 28 (1): 149-152

Redford, K. H., & Fearn, E. (Eds.). (2007). *Protected areas and human displacement: a conservation perspective*. New York: Wildlife Conservation Society.

Sahoo, M. and Pradhan, J. (2020a). Reproductive health care status of the displaced tribal women in India: An analysis using Nussbaum Central human capabilities. *Health Care for Women International*, pp.1-30. https://doi.org/10.1080/07399332.2020.1743994

Sahoo, M. and Pradhan, J. (2020b). Using three delay model to understand the social factors responsible for neonatal deaths among displaced tribal communities in India. *Journal of immigrant and minority health*, pp.1-13. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-020-00990-y

Schwartz, S.J., Unger, J.B, Zamboanga, B.L., and Szapocznik, J. (2010). Rethinking the concept of acculturation, *American Psychology*. 65(4): 237–251

The Indian Express. (2017). 400 families evicted from Amchang wildlife sanctuary. Available at http://indianexpress.com/article/india/400-families-evicted-from-amchang-wildlife-sanctuary-in-guwahati-4957372/. (accessed February 2019)

The New Indian Express. (2017). Villages relocated from tiger turf. Available at http://www.newindianexpress.com/states/odisha/2017/dec/08/villagers-relocated-from-tiger-turf-1721761.html. (accessed February 2019)

Tonsing, K. (2014). Acculturation and adaptation of first and second generation South Asians in Hong Kong. *International journal of social welfare.* 23(1): 410-420

United Nation Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). 2016. Global Sustainable Development Report. New York. Available at https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/ documents/2328Global%20Sustainable%20 development%20report%202016%20(final).pdf. (Accessed February 2019).

Vidal, J. (2016). The tribes paying the brutal price of conservation. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/aug/28/exiles-human-cost-of-conservation-indigenous-peoples-eco-tourism (Accessed on April 2019)