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The Progress of Resettlers in Upper Chatment Areas of Mahaweli Development Project in Sri Lanka

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Abstract:

A significant growth in the settlement of Sri Lanka over the last three decades can be identified in relation to the Mahaweli areas. This can also be viewed as a mega scale settlement development project introduced after 1980s. The other milestone event of the settlement in this country was marked after tsunami tragedy in 2004. In addition to the communities who has to be resettled after such events, people who were resettled due to developments projects are a special segment of our society who made a sacrifice during the process. Often, these resettlement activities were carried out without their consent. This unwillingness is a turning point in their lives. However, those who have been resettled in other location due to Mahaweli development project have spent around 30 years in their new vicinities and Doragala and Peacock Hill are two such adjoining areas which had to face many hardships in the beginning. A socio-economic analysis on the living standards of the settlers in these two places was carried out.

The objective of this research was to evaluate the social economic conditions of the communities who were resettled after 30 years. Data was collected through primary and secondary sources and during the process observation and discussions were used to obtain information about these people who went through great many difficulties.

Physical situation of the people is the only issue of concern in the resettlement process in Sri Lanka. Hardly any follow up study was carried out on the difficulties faced by the settlers after a certain period of time. Even though there was such an initiative after Mahaweli, it had become a complete standstill by now. However, this research was instrumental in identifying the background for the success of resettlement through an assessment of socio- economic status of these people. These people can be categorized as a group who can overcome many challenges if they are provided with required facilities. Communities in these two locations have been able to move forward with leaps and bound after 30 years despite what they have lost.

Keywords: *resettlement, Mahaweli Development project, socio-economic development, national development, development of settlements*

1. Introduction

Displacement of humans is a result of many factors. War, political instability, famine, drought, collapse of economy are some of the factors for mass displacement. At present, displacement occurs due to climate change and global political interference. However, the situation differs within a country. When carrying out development projects in a country, displacement can take place due to internal conflicts, disasters of various scales, as well as temporary displacements. Even though, the resettlement of these people is the general process, it is vital to identify how people face such eviction due to a development programme.

Human displacement in Sri Lanka has occurred during several times due to several reasons. Development activities are the major factor. One cannot ignore the impact of internal conflict which prolonged for many decades and the disastrous tsunami. However, when paying attention to settlement development, Mahaweli settlement programmes, the country's the largest settlement development project takes a prominent place. The beginning of the settlement programme marred with many issues due to ignorance of many areas which needed close attention.

1.1. Objective

The target group of this study was the settlers relocated in upper catchment areas who were evicted from the Kotmale valley for the Mahaweli Development project. The objective of this research was to conduct an analytical review on their socio-economic condition after 30 years of resettlement.

2. Methodology

Collecting data for this research was based on primary and secondary data collection methods. Research reports in latter parts of 1980, maps, satellite images as well as published and unpublished data were also used for this purpose. Old and current information about settlers in Doragala and Peacock Hill was collected through field study. Settlers were selected randomly. Information gathered through observation, questionnaire and discussions. Data analysis was done through qualitative and quantitative methods using software related to data bases and GIS. Data presentation was done using maps and statistical methods.

2.1. *The Process of Resettlement in Developing Countries and Its Success*

There is a possibility of any community losing its land of origin at any place in the world at any period of time. This can be due to a natural or a man-made cause. This will result in displacement and give rise to the necessity of resettlement. A natural disaster, conflict, a warring situation or a development activity can be the factors for such resettlement. The impact of these factors has increased with the time. Hence, the process of resettlement has become more important locally as well as internationally. This research studies the social – economic impact of the resettled communities due to a development project. Accordingly, attention has been given to the factors of resettlement process in developing countries and Sri Lanka's experience and its success story.

'Resettlement means the response to a displacement or forceful eviction from one's land of origin. Displacement is the forced migration of persons due to external trauma, disaster, civil conflict or development project'. (Fernando et al, 2009)

'Resettlement covers all aspects including compensation, relocation, rehabilitation and measures to reduce the impact of displacement occur due to physical, social or economic involuntary eviction of a development project.' (Roads Development Authority, 2002)

When considering this study and explanations, resettlement can be termed as relocating people who are physically, socially and economically evicted due to a warring situation, natural disaster or a development programme to move on with their lives.

The factors that affect displacement and resettlement of any community in any part of the world can be identified under three main categories (Muggah, 2000). They are:

- Natural disasters
- Conflicts / warring situations
- Development activities

According to him, the main factor for displacement and resettlement is natural disasters. This is the main cause for displacement worldwide, he says.

There is another research group which expressed its opinion about this. A research conducted by Fernando et al (2009) has categorized people who are been displaced in this manner as environmental or climate refugees. They have expressed their views if a natural disaster is an occurrence of the nature or a man made one. Damages to lands, pollution and natural disasters are some of the main causes. Earth slips, floods, earth quakes, tsunamis, typhoons and the rise in sea level are some of the main disasters. Majority of the natural disasters occur due to over- consumption of natural resources by the humans for their survival. These natural disasters will result damages to the property and the lifestyles of affected communities and often the situation compels them to leave their places to origin to begin a new life in another location. Another factor for displacement and resettlement of communities is the conflicts or warring situations. According to Fernando, C., & Palipane, N. (1990) who had conducted a research on this, the starting point of the process of displacement and resettlement is the beginning of the conflict. Usually people flee from conflict areas to safer destinations. This group had pointed out that these will be housed in welfare centers or temporary shelters to meet their basic needs until they can return back to their places of origin or a new location. The process of resettlement focuses on the protection and maintenance during the transition period and will explore possibilities to send them back to their places origin while integrating the displaced with the host community.

The other main factor that affects the resettlement of people is development projects. According to Cernea (2000) who conducted the research, displacement and resettlement occur as a result of a development project is an outcome of economic activities of the people. This mainly applies to mega scale infrastructure projects such as irrigation, power and roads. These projects are normally conducted with the financial assistance of International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Available alternatives will be considered in these kinds of projects too and the final result is the displacement. International organizations are concern about the displaced people becoming poor and aims at reducing the threat in the resettlement process. According to this research threats can be various forms such as loss of lands, unemployment, loss of houses, marginalization, food insecurity lack of health facilities and lack of access to public property and community.

The development process that affects the displacement and resettlement is a broad concept. People displace due to irrigational development, urban development and extraction of natural resources. These development activities can be carried out by the state or private entities. Displacements occurred due to development projects carried out under the assistance of the World Bank in 2012 has been listed below.

Nature of the project	Extent (ha)	Percentage	Number of people	Percentage
Banks, irrigation	46	31'5	1 304 000	66'4
Urban infrastructure facilities, water supply, sewage	66	45'2	443 000	22'6
Thermo, mining industry	15	10'3	94 000	4'8
Other	19	13'0	122 000	6'2
Total	146	100'0	1 963 000	100'0

Table 1: Displacement and Resettlements Related to World Bank Funded Projects (1993)

Source - [Http://Documents.Worldbank.Org/Curated/En/412531468766148441/Pdf/Multipage.Pdf9999](http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/412531468766148441/Pdf/Multipage.Pdf9999)

Accessed Date: 2019.12.20

According to another researcher, Stanley (2004) who was interested in this subject, the main reason for the displacement of people is the infrastructure such as power plants and irrigation facilities. A large number of people become displaced due to mega reservoir projects. Dangiengkou dam in China displaced 383,000 people and Three Georges dam made 1.2 million people displaced.

According to a report of International Commission on Large Dams (ICOLD), there were 5000 mega scale reservoirs in 1950 and after 1990 that number increased to 45,000. Also, according to World Bank around 40% out of the total displaced due to development activities and annually 4 million people lose their lands due to reservoir projects.

2.2. Nature of Resettlement Process In Sri Lanka

When studying development projects in Sri Lanka, it is necessary to explore such activities even during the time of ancient kings because the development projects completed by ancient kings bring benefit to the people even today. Development projects during that time were based on agriculture. Hence, before the colonization by the British the irrigation and related water management activities can be considered as main development programmes that were carried out in Sri Lanka.

Due to the negligence of agriculture by the British during the colonial era and the expansion of plantation industry paved the way to collapse of irrigation culture in the country. The result of not paying attention to develop irrigation sector industry for more than 450 years was the disruption of self-sufficient economy in the country. However, by the time Sri Lanka gained independence, attention was once again drawn to the irrigational activities.

As per Mahawansa (Mahawansa Sinhala, 2012), the first human settlement project were Minneriya, Kagama and Thabbowa projects. Settlement projects were expanded with the development of irrigation. Development of Minipe, Kagama, Parakrama Samudraya, Elahara, Minneriya, Dewahuwa, Kande Ela and Bath Madilla which can irrigate more than 50,000 acres commenced after 1931. Around 13,500 acres of land was cultivated during 1939 – 1945. Within the 15 years between 1935 to 1950 around 6,000 farmers were resettled.

Gal Oya Development project was the largest among resettlement projects in the country. It is a multi-purpose development programme. The Gal Oya Development Board Act was adopted in 1949. The objective was to resettle 2500 families in the area within 10 years. The project was also aimed at animal husbandry, power generation and setting up other industries. First three years recorded a high growth. According to reports 3565 families were resettled by the end of 1953.

According to Hettiarachchi (1998) who conducted a research on this, Mahaweli Development Project can be identified as the largest development project in post-independent Sri Lanka. Under this project which is to be completed within 30 years with the assistance of World Food and Agriculture Organization and the United Nations it was proposed to develop a total of 364,372 hectares of land including 110,404 hectares of existing land and 253,968 hectares of new land. It was also proposed to construct 16 power generation plants within Mahaweli area. Accordingly, Polgolla Project was commenced in February 1970 and Bowathenna Project was commenced in 1973. These two projects were completed in 1976. Although this project was initially planned to complete within 30 years, the government came to power in 1977 expedited the completion due to reasons such as increasing demand for food, power crisis and unemployment.

According to another researcher Madduma Bandara (1982), Moragahakanda Project which was a part of the initial plan was removed during the implementation stage and mainly Kothmale, Victoria, Randenigala, Rantambe, Maduru Oya, Ulhitiya, Rathkinda reservoir projects carried out. Development of canal network, road development and settling farmers in developed areas were conducted under this. Resettlement was done in two phases; relocating communities affected by the development project in another area and resettling people within the developed area. It is important to pay attention to displacement occurred due to construction of reservoirs under the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Project and their resettlement process. The largest number of people displaced occurred due to the construction of Kothmale and Victoria reservoirs.

Around 2364 acres of land had affected due to the construction of Kothmale reservoir and displaced 3379 families. Out of these families, 1797 have been relocated in lower Mahaweli valley zones and 1582 families in surrounding areas. (Senani, 2004). According to relevant reports and records 6000 families (30,000 members) and 3098 houses were directly or indirectly affected. The total number of families affected due to the construction of the reservoir is 5546 (23,209 members).

The number of people who were resettled in this manner has clearly visible by 1930s. As a result of this resettlement process farmer resettlement programmes, development of highlands, village expansion programmes and

Mahaweli Development programme came into being. Mahaweli Development programme occupies a comparatively important place in the resettlement process.

The main reason for this is that the reservoir projects along the Mahaweli River Basin is a unique process based on the extensive settlement and previous experiences. The first ever human settlement programmes of Mahaweli which commenced during the middle of 1960s was conducted only in the dry zone and with the accelerated Mahaweli Development project construction of houses began in upper Mahaweli areas too. (Ratnayake, 2009). Some common features of these human settlements can be identified.

- Relocating people who are affected by the construction of reservoirs in the close vicinity
- Settling people in dry zones with their consent
- Provision of their basic needs through Mahaweli Development Project

Although there are several large reservoirs in the upper catchment areas of Mahaweli, people were mostly affected by Kothmale reservoir. Some has to be evacuated because they are been directly affected by the reservoir and some areas were in the danger of potential landslides. Thispane, Wataddara, Morape, Niyangandara, Pusulpitiya, Mawela, Maswela, Kadadora, Nawangama, Hadunuwewa, Kalapitiya, Maldeniya, Kumbaloluwa, Sangilipalama, Ramboda and Kotakepitiya are the old villages where people have been evicted. Due to the impact on the people and their properties, they had to be relocated in another place.

These families were relocated in areas closer to Kothmale such as Doragala, Waliganga, Nugawela, Riverside, Halgolla, Orchal Estate, Dambagalla, Kudaoya, Goronoya, Peacock Hill, Maldeniya, Niyangandara, Moragolla, Balapokuna, Nawathispane, Aluthwaththa, Roxchil Estate, Akkaramale and Belton. (Figure 1). In addition, people were relocated in C, H and B zones of Mahaweli (Figure 2).

2.3. Nature of Old Settlements

The community submerged in Kothmale and the people lived in reserved areas are inheritors of a proud cultural heritage. There was a huge impact on their property as well as state property and infrastructure facilities due to the construction of Kothmale reservoir commenced in 1979. Especially, not only houses, cultivation lands and permanent crops but also their relations with kith and kin and social connections and other related activities were directly affected. Also, water resources used in schools, temples, mosques, kovils, cities, administration centers, road network, drinking and cultivation purposes were partially or completely destroyed.

Hence, not only resettlement of displaced people but also relocation of state institutes was also carried out. Providing required facilities to them was also an important requirement. Lands belong to the State was also utilized to relocate people and abandoned tea estates were used for this purpose. (Fernando, et al 1990). The government had provided tea estates which were not developed or abandoned due to difficulty of developing by the Janatha Estate Development Board for the communities. This provision of marginalized tea estates to the helpless community made their condition worse.

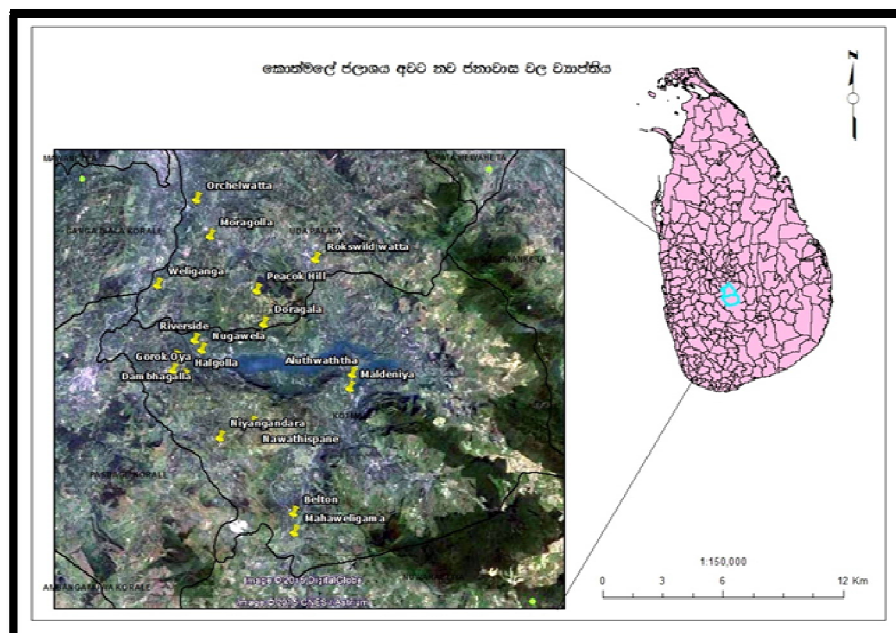


Figure 1: Study Area
Expansion of New Human Settlements Close to Kothmale Reservoir
Source – Google Maps and Data of Survey Department (2019)

However, the social and economic pattern maintained by these people in their lands of origin was quite self-sufficient. They had to face many hardships in the process of transforming into a unilateral agricultural style. This required a great effort to increase the social and economic standards of these people. The main reason for this is the relocation of

people in areas which were completely different and consisting a lifestyle based on agriculture by withdrawing them from their traditional homelands. (Premadasa, 1988). There were many challenges.

- Necessity to form an economic pattern to continue their new life style
- Requirement of providing common facilities to new settlers
- Necessity to form permanent relations based on new social connections
- Necessity to ensure the permanency of settlements

It was essential to provide material donations, consultation, upgrading social and cultural standards, providing facilities and promoting self-employment.

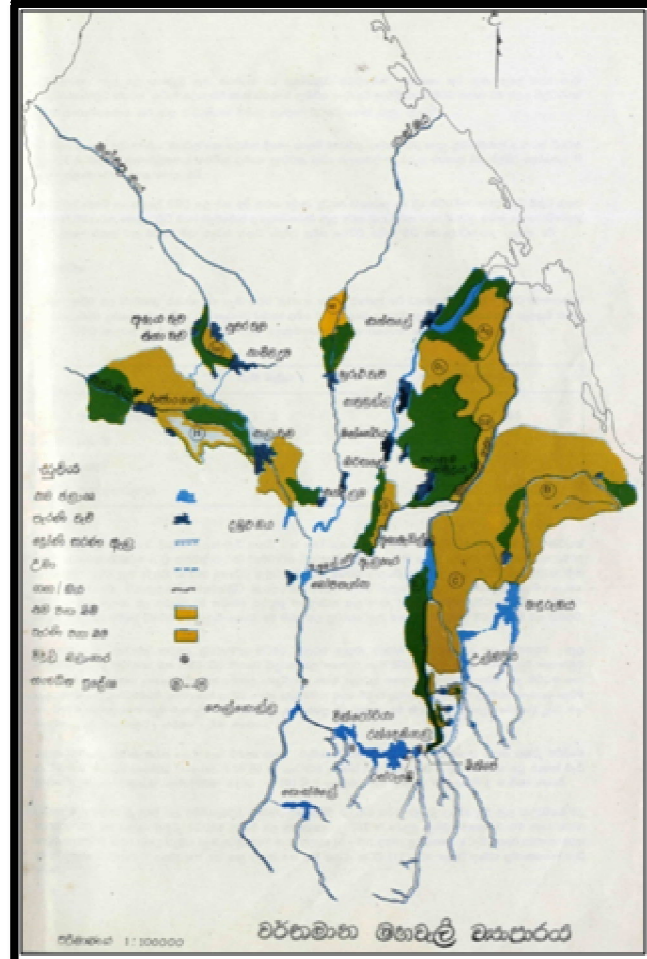


Figure 2: Current Mahaweli Area
Source – Mahaweli Development Authority (2019)

The Mahaweli Development Authority made an enormous commitment and had to take necessary measures within a certain period of time.

These people were compelled to relocate in areas which not familiar to them and with many geological differences by leaving their homelands. They were reluctant to start a new life in an unknown area with less facilities and disconnecting all their social relations. Many people had to be scattered leaving their relatives behind.

With the construction of this reservoir, they permanently lost their interconnection network built during many years and a simple life style nurtured within their gardens where there was a bio-diversity structure with many layers. Also, the people saw the construction of Kothmale reservoir as the greatest destruction caused to them by disrupting their unique socio economic interconnection built through bridges and various other basic sources. Although, the new project brought a new beginning to some, it was responsible for losing these people many of their treasured elements. They made a huge sacrifice for the development of the country. One old resident of this area said this was similar to 'breaking a bunch of arecanut' and cost them many social relationships.

However, the benefits of their sacrifice is been enjoyed by entire Sri Lankan nation. They only know if there is a follow up on their living conditions. In this context, an assessment is been done about 200 families in Doragala and Peacock Hill on how they started their lives in the new location and the success of the initiative. A comparative evaluation between the old and new condition was also conducted.

2.4. Peacock Hill and Doragala

Peacock Hill and Doragala human settlements had been established surrounding the deep valley of mountain located at the top of Mahaweli Maha Seya and tea estates. This vicinity can be reached through a difficult road around 4 km long. However, this road was only used by the vehicles belong to the Mahaweli project. Hence, people traveled through passing hundreds of steps for their daily needs. People who were relocated in Peacock Hill with a treacherous road access were given an area which was abandoned and not conducive for human living. It is a highland between two large valleys with a wind gap. People resettled in this area reluctantly where there is dry high wind and less facilities. The early settlers had to go through many hardships. In order to retain these people, Mahaweli project bestowed many perks and benefits to the settlers. Every family was given a land with two acres to settle down. However, many who could not adapt to the harsh weather conditions in the area moved out leaving all these benefits behind. There was no any other alternative despite protests of the people to relocate there.

2.4.1. Comparative Analysis of Social and Economic Condition of New and Old Settlements

Around 64% out of the total population of who were resettled are between 15-64 years and 83% of the total dependents are children below 14 years who are still schooling. (Karunanayanay and Abhayaratne, 1989). The number of active workforce at present out of the total population is 75% and 68% out of the dependents are children. Also, the number recorded at the time of resettlement who did not attend school was 3% of the total population and that number has increased to 6% today. The number who had received education from Gdare 5 to A/L was 73% and at present it had come down to 54%. The percentage who studied above A/L of the old settlement was 4% and at present had increased to 5% and the number of people who had received education upto Grade 5 had increased from 19% to 31%. Another significant feature that can be observed today is that the level of education among adults has gone from 3 to 4, the level of education among the middle-aged (30-54 years) has increased upto O/L and there is an increased tendency among youth to pursue higher education (field data, 2018). However, there is a significant decline in the level of education since resettlement and the main factors for this situation is that lack of educational facilities available and the difficulty to travel to places of education. Although, there is a school in the area teachers have to go through major difficulties in traveling. There is no adequate transportation facility available. The school is also function in an inefficient manner and children do not have an option. Teachers are reluctant to come to this school and reporting to work has become a difficulty to them. This has result in the level of education to go down. Children in the area do not have any other alternative other than attending this school which is located 04 km away from the main road. If a child wishes to pursue education in the city he has to travel around 20 km spending around one and half to three hours daily. Hence, parents tend to board their children in order to give them quality education. Their economic capability to do so is a boost to the education of their children.

When analyzing the source of income and source of livelihood, the situation at the new settlement is completely different to the old one. Around 59% of the heads of family in the old settlement were engaged in agriculture or self-employed and the percentage of unemployed was 14%. The remaining number was either engaged in permanent or temporary jobs. Especially, the limitation of land area for cultivation and lack of availability of lands for cultivation purposes had an impact on the agriculture while most lands were used for cultivation of permanent crops. Hence, the number of people who are engaged in agricultural activities is 47% out of the total number of earners. Also, there were 12% agricultural labourers and 5% non- agricultural labourers. In addition, 9% are traders and a small percentage such as 1% or 2% were engaged in occupations such as masonry, carpentry, tailoring, driving, clerical, teaching and security services.

Around 73% of the population in Doragala and Peacock Hill are engaged in agricultural sector while 9% are employed in the government sector. In addition, 12% are self-employed and 6% are businessmen. The significant feature of this settlement is that out of 27% who are not engaged in agricultural activities 76% engaged in agriculture as a source of alternate source of income. Around 23% of those who are employed in agricultural activities as their main source of income also employees as businessmen and labourers for an additional source of income. Accordingly, a stability in the source of income is visible in Peacock Hill and Doragala compared to old villages. During the cultivation period labour skills is being utilized to its best for generating adequate income.

Out of 54% and 46% of the resettled families are engaged in tea cultivation and vegetable cultivation respectively. Around 80% have used their land to cultivate tea and vegetables. Provision of 2 acres of land to each family had made this practice possible. The second generation is also been given a half acres of land by the Mahaweli.

Partnership of lands can be found in old settlements but not in new locations. Hence, there is a 100% nuclear family system exists in new settlement and in old settlement the percentage of nuclear families was 74% while the balance of 26% was extended families. However, the economic situation of the resettled families has been improved compared to the past. A tendency can be seen among the settlers to move forward with determination. Of course, at the beginning their condition was very fragile. Their efforts to adapt to unfamiliar conditions and rebuild their lives are exemplary and commendable.

They are in a stronger position with regard to the partnership of lands. The number of people who did not own land in the old settlement was 7% while only 3% owned paddy lands. 34% owned high land and 57 owned high land and paddy lands. After resettlement there is a formal land ownership of at least half an acre or two acres, there are instances of some owning 6 acres of land. This shows 17% of the families in the settlement have become land owners by paying money, 6% without approval and 5% through mortgaged a land or being gifted as a dowry. Commercial crops in old settlement (Table No. 1)

Crop	%
Pepper	27
Clove	21
Coffee	31
Tea	20
Vegetable	2

Table 2: Nature of Commercial Crops in Old Settlement – 1978

Source - Karunanayake and Abhayaratne, (1989)

98% of these are permanent crops with a long history. The history of these crops shows the traditional prosperity of the communities in the area.

A small amount of paddy is supplied to the market while consumption is the main concern. The main reason for this is the limitation of the paddy land and the cultivation is done only during a single season of the year (Table No 2).

Consumption	%
Total	80
75]	12
50]	05
25]	03

Table 3: Consumption Level of Rice in Old Settlement – 1978

Source - Karunanayake and Abhayaratne, (1989)

By this time paddy cultivation in the up country was only for consumption purposes and only one season is cultivated. Traditional villagers in the upcountry who did not believe in the market were particularly concerned about the food security. That is clear from the amount of food they retain for consumption. Also, they had built their own unique network to ensure traditional food security and exchange supported by their life style and social connections. Within a short period of time they had to resort to an isolated socio-economic system. Although, this transition period brought many hardships to the settlers, with the time they gradually adapted to the market economy and now continue their living well in the new environment. They maintain their life style satisfactorily by making tea and vegetable as their main source of income. They buy rice from the market for the consumption with the income they earn from selling tea and vegetables. Around 54% of the total land area is been used for tea while the remaining has been used to cultivate vegetables. According to the communities in Doragala and Peacock Hill now they do not face much difficulty related to food and they are economically strong to purchase food items from the market at any given time.

The other aspect of the development of human resettlement is the social progress. Compared to old settlement a growth can be seen in the attitudes of the people with regard to the social development and working in collaboration with other communities to develop their skills. (Table 4 and 5).

Society	Contribution %
Community development	35
Credit Unions	16
Farmers Associations	14
Religious Organizations	02
Funeral aids and women organizations	33

Table 4: Nature of Civil Societies and Its

Memberships in Old Settlements – 1978

Source - Karunanayake and Abhayaratne (1989)

According to the above Table societies in the old settlement were limited to those who were interested in them and these connections seemed to be less strong in nature. Those connections simple depended on personal advantages.

Membership	Contribution %
Funeral aids societies only	26
Small scale tea estate societies only	05
Farmers societies only	08
Funeral aids and small scale tea societies only	22
Funeral aids and farmers societies only	12
More than two societies	27

Table 5: Nature of Civil Societies and Its Memberships in New Settlements - 2013

Source – Field Data (2018)

Above table shows the community organizations are parallel to their livelihoods and focus on development and cooperation in the area. Also, each family is strive for the development its own as well as the area.

The environment in the old settlement was a close – knitted one based on cordial inter-relationships among the communities. Service centers were automatically developed to serve this purpose. Sangilipalama, Hadunawa and Pusulpitiya can be named as few such centers. At present, service centers function on a wide range of complex needs and connections. Especially, within the settlement priority has been given to a life style on the need basis. This is helpful to cultivate modern ideas and to approach a new life style aimed at modern market. Evolution of a market oriented rural community is a result of new settlement. At the beginning this process was not very positive. However, this community has now emerged as a group of people who can win against challenges and their current status can be termed as a blessing for the sacrifice they made in the past for future development.

Communities in upper Mahaweli catchment areas who function on different social and economic relations to a traditional settlement are making efforts to build their livelihood in an efficient and meaningful manner for the benefit of future generations instead of crying over their past prosperity.

Although, accessing facilities is not as easy as it used to be in the past, they have developed their own mechanism to overcome the difficulties so far. They are even willing to live away from their loved ones to ensure a better future for them. This development is not common in a rural society but marks a new approach. It is commendable for parents to encourage their children to look after themselves in areas where resources are available.

Despite the reason for displacement, communities in Doragala and Peacock Hill have shown the conditions of resettlement will change over the time and possible to adapt to the environment and meet the needs of the people. Although, the timely changes are common in any society, the communities in Doragala and Peacock Hill possesses a special growth momentum because the challenges ahead of them were won by themselves.

3. Conclusion

This reservoir is one among many of the main multi-purpose projects built under the accelerated Mahaweli Development Project. This was constructed submerging a vast valley and displacing thousands of families. These families sacrificed many things for the future benefits of the nation and had to go through untold hardships. Although, the beginning was bitter, they became successful after a short span of time like 30 years as a gratitude they made on behalf of the entire country.

A group of people, who lived with all the heritage of a traditional upcountry genealogy in within the golden valley, were able to break away from the extended family system and adopt a nuclear family system and their present progress is commendable. Although, the resettlers were unable to reach the expected level of development, the progress they have achieved within 30 years is a testimony to the success of the Mahaweli Development project.

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