

CHAPTER 1

DEVELOPMENT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT: CONCEPTUAL & THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Development is a procedure of arranged institutional change to achieve better alteration between human needs and goals at one side and social plans and projects on other side. It is translating economic progress into better living conditions for people in society. It is declaring war on poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, inequality, irrationality and oppression prevalent in society. It aims at not merely uplifting the weak, the under privileged and the disadvantaged people but also at improving the quality of life of all citizens.¹ Development can be comprehensively characterized to benefit the public at large as an upward movement including more prominent levels of vitality, effectiveness, quality, efficiency, imagination, happiness and achievement. Development is a procedure of social change, and not only arrangement of policies designed for some particular results. Amid the most recent five centuries, development has gotten in pace and force, and has seen a stamped surge in increasing speed. The essential system driving social change is expanding awareness leading to better organization. The new types of associations are better ready to harness the accessible social energies, abilities and assets to utilize the opportunities to get the planned results. Development is governed by many factors that influence the result of developmental efforts. There must be intention that drives the social change and essential. preconditions for that change to happen. The rationale must be effective to overcome obstacles that block that change from happening. Development additionally requires assets such as capital, innovation, and supporting infrastructure. It is the result of society's ability to sort out resources to meet difficulties and opportunities. Pioneers present new thoughts, practices, and propensities that conservative elements initially resist. At a later stage, innovations are acknowledged, imitated, composed, and utilized by different members of the community. Organizational improvements introduced to support the development

can occur all the while at four distinct levels—physical, social, mental, and psychological. Additionally four different sorts of resources are included in advancing development. Of these four, physical resources are most noticeable, however minimum capable for expansion. Productivity of resources increases massively as the nature of association and level of information inputs rise.

1.2 PROCESS AND METHOD OF DEVELOPMENT

Development is a systematic process in which there are four major stages which include assessing needs of people in society, introducing some structural changes in society, making institutions responsive to people so that they serve not few selected individuals or groups but benefit all sections of society and associate people with decision making process i.e. taking planning to grass root level. Method involved in designing social development includes **Policy Planning** which encompasses determining goals, priorities and strategies as well as constitutional plans; **Programming** which aims at allocating resources; **Administrating** involves seeking participation of individuals and groups in decision making; **Organizing** which means preparing people to gain maximum benefits from service and resources and also changing the system if necessary; and finally **Evaluation** is required to measure gaps in goals and performance, thereby providing feedback for further planning.² There are certain important indicators which determine development of any region such as change in level of living, elimination of poverty, expansion in education, increase in level of employment, social justice which means equal distribution of opportunities, to uplift the weaker group, providing security against various contingencies of life, improvement in social welfare

amenities, reducing disparity, safeguarding environment as well expansion of programme involving both qualitative and structural changes.

Development envelops social, economic, political and cultural procedure of progress in human societal order. Current ways to deal with development support frequent large scale change of natural and built in environments. The development activities, such as dams, commercial enterprises, streets, irrigation system, pipelines, and transportation system and energy assets go for creating and supporting both agriculture and industrial growth, bringing about expansion of both national and per capita incomes. However, the developments of infrastructure and commercial enterprises have led to displacement of large number of people.³

Development has made across wide spread inequalities in society while dissolving customary sources of employment, uprooting people from their long establishments. It additionally formed a consumer culture bringing about exhaustion of natural resources, increased economic dependence on outside financial and innovative organization and diminished political autonomy of host society.⁴

In developing countries, the scale of development related population displacement has grown rapidly over the past few decades due to the compelling need for infrastructure to meet the demand of fast growing population. As the developing countries have to provide the basic amenities to the people, investment in infrastructure is expected to shoot up over the next couple of decades. As the investment in infrastructure grows, the challenge of solving “resettlement dilemma” may also become bigger.

1.3 IMPORTANT PERCEPTIVES OF DEVELOPMENT

There has been a periodic paradigm shift in the concept of development ever since its inception in academic writing. This shift has been in correspondence with the changing experience of development in the less developed countries and ideological approach of looking at development and progress in society. Some of the major perspectives on development which are mentioned below:

1.3 (i) ECONOMIC GROWTH PERSPECTIVE

Since economic growth is a wide concept, its theories vary in perspective but four common points in them explain the laws of economic growth, viz accumulation of capital and improvement in technology, population change and the division of labour into specialized activities and entrepreneurship.

1.3 (ii) HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

United Nation Development Programme states that the fact needs to be realized that economic growth may not be termed as realistic and down to earth development as the growth of wealth would not necessarily ensure that nobody would really be hungry. Human development broadly refers to improvement in overall human well-being. This perspective emphasizes that there is no automatic relationship between the growth of GNP and improvement in quality of life.⁵ It is not easy to measure the level of quality of life of people and relative deprivation in this context. However UNDP has introduced Human Development Index (HDI) which may be used to measure relative human development positions. The indicators, which have been identified to measure level of human development includes life expectancy, literacy rate, birth rate, death rate and infant mortality rate. India's position is very

sad as it ranks 126 out of 177 countries of the world.⁶ There is inter-state variations, like Kerala on the HDI has progressed but Bihar, MP, Orissa, and Rajasthan and UP are lagging far behind. The reduction in death rate, birth rate and infant mortality rate in India has visibly improved but the data is not so encouraging if compared with that of developed countries. The increase in health care and family welfare services in India has contributed significantly to the performance it has made in the human development sector. The multidimensional process of development involves reorganization and reorientation of the entire system- economic, social and cultural. Development along with economic development involves radical changes in institutional, social and managerial structures & in addition individual's attitude, traditions and beliefs.⁷

1.3(iii) SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

The idea of social development is comprehensive of economic advancement however varies from it in the sense that it emphasizes the advancement of society in its totality- including economic, political, social and cultural aspects. Thus it is not concerned with planning exclusively for the social services anymore but it is also concerned with the planning of economic growth. It has high relevance in areas like population policies, policies related to urbanization, industrial location and environmental pollution, regional development income growth and distribution, land reform and acquisition policies and people's participation in planning and the implementation of the projects. Social development is a broad concept which refers to the development of society as a whole wherein society gradually evolves in the modern society with a rational outlook and the scientific temper. Social

development and economic development are mutually complimentary processes wherein the progress in one is the necessary condition for the progress in other.

1.3 (iv) SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

By the end of 70s of the last century, it was realized that the nature and extent of development, as was conceived and being pursued, would harm more than help the mankind. Alarming conditions of environmental degradation, ecological imbalance, air and water pollution as well as energy crisis forced scholars world -wide to contemplate about an approach to development which would minimize these threats. This led to the emergence of concept of sustainable development. The term Sustainable Development was authored in the paper “Our Common Future”, published by the Brundtland Commission. Sustainable Development is the sort of development that addressed the issue of the present without bargaining the capabilities of future era to address their own issues. The two key ideas of sustainable development are: “concept of needs in particular”, the fundamental needs of world’s poorest people which ought be given overriding preferences and – ‘the idea of limitation’ which is forced by the condition of innovation and social organization on the nature’s ability to meet both present and future needs. The most accepted of all the central idea of the Brundtland Commission’s meaning of sustainable development is that of ‘intergenerational value’. In aggregate the “needs” are fundamental and crucial, economic growth will encourage their fulfilment, and value is encouraged by citizen involvement.

Amid the 1990s, **Development Induced Displacement** rose as a noteworthy concern and a challenge to the sustainable economic development and strength of monetary administrations and approaches. The worry emerged as a result of

sensational rise in development induced displacements in the 1970s and 1980s reinforced for the most part with difficult and deplorable results in resettlement experiences. A corresponding retaliation to public policies and economic regimes in the form of protests, campaigns and resistance develop, scrutinized the power of policy framers and planners at diverse levels. The creating obstacles and feelings of resentments requires fresh insights into the life of affected individuals.

In India people are frequently involuntarily dislocated and the objective of resettlement remains exceedingly hard to accomplish. Additionally, the aim of sustainable development should be the improvement of people as compared to their previous standards before resettlement which is a long way from being accomplished. Looking at the issue simply as a financial one is erroneous. Compensation by itself cannot fully restore and enhance the level of earnings of those who have been forcibly displaced. In 1990, development induced displacement impelled as a noteworthy concern and also a challenge among Indian social researchers. The worry rose due to sensational rise in developmental projects and urban extensions which was fuelled by development of dams, highways, expressway, extension of transportation network, mining activities etc resulting in disappointed results of resettlement experience. This prompted an increment in protest and resentment which brought the issue in forefront. Sustainable development should enhance the prosperity of people over time. A sustainable society is a well articulated society with productive learning and the capacity for mutual self-help.

The idea of development is not a novel one for all the sections of society. Various perspectives on development have been advanced by great scholars. An insight into these perspectives is necessary to have a better understanding of the research problem.

1.4 THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

The concept of development has been understood by social scientists from different perspectives. One of the early concerns of sociologists and anthropologists was to examine the development and progress of human society from evolutionary point of view. The grand ideas of early sociologists were to examine the journey of human society through various stages of development and progress in early part of nineteenth century.

1.4 (i) CLASSICAL THINKERS

AUGUST COMTE

The founding father of sociology focused his attention on the study of change, development and progress in human society. He divided the study of society into two parts: social statics (the study of major institutions) and social dynamics (the study of development and change). He observed that certain types of societies were dying and others were being born. Those that were dying types were Theological and Military, and those being born were scientific and industrial. He gave the idea of progress through his law of three stages of human evolution. To him human mind passes through three stages of progression i.e. Theological, in which humans explain phenomena by ascribing them to beings or force, in the Metaphysical stage, human beings explain phenomena in terms of nature and in the Positive Scientific stage, man examines phenomena in terms of reasoning.⁸ Today in the scientific era, there is so much dynamism that the world is developing at a much faster pace. Beside there is an all round development of human society with scientific temper and rationality. Although the concept of social statics seems relevant because the major social institutions in society are adopting new ideology giving them a more

progressive outlook but it is not at the same pace with the technological and other factors. The major reason for the hindrance of development is that the social institutions are not ready to change their ideologies, belief and traditional pattern of living. Thus lots of resistance can be seen when displacement notification gets published.

LEWIS HENRY MORGAN

Morgan was the first person to bring forth the definite order of human society systematically. He identified three main stages of human history viz savagery, barbarism and civilisation. This progress is related to the production of means of subsistence. Mankind, it is said to have had absolute control over production of food. During Savagery human beings utilised fire and fish as food which made them independent of their locality. They also invented bow and arrow for hunting as well as learnt the use of wood vessels and utensils. During Barbarism, pottery was introduced, domestication of wild animals was learnt and alphabetical writing was invented. Morgan refers to the last stage as civilisation which is marked by sophistication and human needs which act as a motivating force to develop more and more. Development of infrastructure, means of transportation and communication, health care development, education and IT development all are now symbols of degree of civilization, a said society, has attained. A society is categorized as developed and civilized in which people have already attained their basic requirements of food shelter and clothing and are moving towards improving their standard of life. In this race of development and progress developing countries are following standards of developed countries.

KARL MARX

Karl Marx proposed ideology of radical transformation of society explaining a comprehensive theory of human advancement as far as contradictions inherent in material structure of society. In social production which men continue, they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and autonomous of their will; their relations of production correspond to a definite phase of development of their material powers of production. The aggregate of these relations of production constitute the economic structure of society, the real establishment on which rise the lawful and political superstructure and to which corresponds specific type of social consciousness. The method of production in material life decides the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. At a specific stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, leading to the beginning of period of social revolution. With the change in the economic foundation, the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. The capitalist mode of production is portrayed by huge scale commodity production, rise of free labour market and rapid growth of technology. He estimated that Capitalism will be supplemented by Socialism through violent revolution, which will obliterate the structure of capitalist society.⁹

Marx contends that the new advancement of productive forces of the society come in conflict with existing relations of production. For him, it is development of new productive forces and the contradictions built into them that outline the course of mankind history. Class struggles have been recognised as the driving force of social change and development. To him “The history of hitherto existing society is a history of class struggle”. The dichotomous class based societies would be replaced through a vehement class struggle to usher in an epoch of classless, stateless society

whereby each would contribute according to one's capacity and would receive according to one's need.¹⁰ The development of capitalism is basically widening the gap between rich and poor wherein the poor is becoming poorer and the rich is becoming richer. Along with the development of capitalist regime, the intermediate strata between the capitalists and the proletariat will be worn thin and that the increasing number of representatives from intermediate class will be absorbed by the proletariat. According to him, conflict and contradiction among these classes are the driving forces for change. Marx believed that no matter how well a society functions in terms of its own order and structure, it was destined to turmoil and revolution until the final breakdown of all class divisions.

Marx's theories and concepts seems relevant in the modern era because one can witness lopsided development, wherein the rich are being favoured at the cost of poor by making pro rich policies. All the new industries, buildings, transportation networks, highways etc are being built and expanded on the land of less powerful people by displacing them who are most of the times, not even the beneficiaries in such projects. Expropriation of land removes the main foundation upon which people's productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are built. This is the principal form of de-capitalization and pauperization of displaced people, as they lose both natural and man-made capital. It is incorrect to treat land merely as a productive element or as a commodity. It also affects the life of people both socially and culturally. The developmental projects are most of the times planned and implemented in such a manner that rich become richer and the interest of the poor people is subsidized at the expense of powerful people. Landowners are given compensation but livelihood losers are not even included in the list of affected people, leaving them unemployed with no support from project authorities. But one can witness rising class consciousness wherein the oppressed are raising their voice

against such people to some extent which is pressurising the Government and legal institutions to take steps for safeguarding the interest of the oppressed. These conflicts and contradictions are the driving force for bringing changes in the society and the best example of it is the much heated law, The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013.

HERBERT SPENCER

The central concern of Herbert Spencer was the law of progressive development of society. He propagated that there has been social evolution from simple, uniform or homogeneous societies to complex, multi fold or heterogeneous societies through ages. He also delineated the evolution of societies from military to industrial as a model of analysis. Society in the process of progression moved from compulsory cooperation to voluntary cooperation. He was of the view that progress was largely due to pressure of population. He presented analogy between society and organism and argued that “with increase in size, the structural complexity of society also increases.”¹¹

As society moves from less developed to more developed one, complexities and heterogeneity in the system and structures become multi folded. Development, on one hand, has made things easy for the masses, but on the other hand it has increased the distance between rural and urban communities. Besides it is also posing many adverse consequences on environment, wildlife, monument and nature. Compulsory cooperation by law enforcing agencies is one of the most vital features of the complex modern society in which one needs to follow the rules with or without will. Displaced people for such a long time have no say in the process of development because in the industrial and modern society, state is considered as

supreme power which none can question. As a result, millions of displaced people have been suffering in the name of development and welfare of people at large.

EMILE DURKHIEM

Durkheim discussed social solidarity by which he implied the moral beliefs and ideas which characterise common sense fundamental to social life. He opined that mechanical solidarity (a characteristic of pre- industrial society) depends on agreement and identity between people, while organic solidarity in industrial society depends on agreement to bear the heterogeneity, conflicts being resolved through courts, trade unions and political parties and there is a weakening of collective conscience. Pre- industrial society had little or no division of labor but specialization of activities is characteristic of organic solidarity. Division of labour in industrial society can resolve the issue of over population, shrinking of natural resources and growing individualism Greater freedom and more productivity is the essence of organic solidarity, which gives rise to unique problems.¹² For example, people find themselves suffering from anomie in modern world with such a weakening of common morality. Durkheim has focused on social change and progress in society Vis a Vis specialization and division of labour. Today well-coordinated team of specialized people with definite system of division of labour contributes toward development. Like if we talk about development of metro rail, it requires various specialists like administrators, engineers, supervisors, and drivers and so on then only a promising and reliable system can come into being. Division of labour and specialization increases with increase in complexities in structure; in today's world nothing is possible without the organic solidarity.

TALCOTT PARSONS

According to Talcott Parson every social system must perform four basic functions in order to persist and to be stable. It very clearly gives a framework as to how various parts of a system must work together in order to maintain a stable society. It can be derived that in the process of rehabilitating the displaced communities all the four pattern variables must work together like adequate resources must be assembled to support the affected families economically (adaptation), goal of rehabilitation and resettlement must be designed by the project authorities and strenuous actions should be taken to attain it (Goal Attainment), fair and adequate compensation must be ensured by the law regulating land acquisition(Law Agency)and finally all the efforts must be done to protect and strengthen the project affected families to cope up with negative impacts of forced shift (Latency).

He also gave the concept of pattern variables. Pattern variables are five dichotomies, to draw out the differentiating qualities to which people arrange themselves in social interactions. One side of dichotomies of pattern variables is list of the value pattern prevalent in traditional societies and the other denotes modern society pattern variable. Pattern variables are the tools for analysing the structure which outlines the derivation of mentioned categories from the intrinsic logic of social action – the inherent dilemma of choice facing actors. The presentation of pattern variables list represents the traditional variables at left and other the modern ones at right side. These are affectivity – affective neutrality, diffuseness-specificity, particularism-universalism, ascription- achievement and collectivity orientation- self orientation.

ROBERT. K. MERTON

Strain theory of Merton is influenced by the Anomie theory of Durkheim. According to him sudden social change is not a real problem, but rather same goals given by the social structure to all the members without distribution of equal means to achieve them is a concern. Deviant behaviour is caused due to the lack of integration between culture expectation and structural norms. Merton notes that society sets certain goals for its members and provides legitimate means to achieve them which are not easily accessible. This sets a stage for the emergence of anomie. This restricted access to socially approved goals and means are the foundation of five modes of adapting to strain. Adaptation modes depend on the person's attitude towards goals set by culture and institutional means to achieve the end. Adaptation models are conformity, innovative, ritualistic, retreatism and rebellion.¹³

1.4 (ii) CONTEMPORARY THEORIES

THE JUGGERNAUT OF MODERNITY

Anthony Giddens portrayed modern world as juggernaut¹⁴ (especially for advanced stage of modernity). Modernity can be understood as juggernaut which is to a greater degree dynamic, it is a “runaway world” with incredible jumps in pace, scope and profoundness of change over former frameworks. It is a runaway engine with colossal force which collectively as human beings we can drive to certain degree but there is always a threat of it to rush out of control. The juggernaut smashes the individuals who oppose it and at times it appears to have a steady path, there are times when it veers away whimsically in course we cannot predict. The

ride is not always completely unrewarding or unpleasant, it can regularly be charged with hopeful anticipation. But, it is almost impossible to completely control the institution of modernity. However, it runs across the terrain with risky consequences thereby questioning the security.¹⁵ Anthony Giddens's concept of modernity as juggernaut fits well in this century as development is taking place at a very fast pace, especially the transportation and communication network is developing so efficiently that it has really lessened the time and space separation to an unbelievable extent. Now people don't restrict themselves to migrate and travel in different countries because it's like a cakewalk to be in touch with own community, but the other side of this developmental process is quite harsh. It forces lots of people to suffer in various forms like in order to pave the way development of highways, bridges and railways large number of people has been displaced in India post independence. This development induced displacement process is no way going to decrease rather it will keep on increasing with modernity.

THEORY OF RISK SOCIETY

Ulrich Beck discussed risk society¹⁶ in which the classical stage of modernity was associated with industrial society; while the emerging new modernity and the technology is associated with risk society. Contemporary world has not only elements of industrial society but also of risk society. Just as modernization dissolved the structure of feudal society in the nineteenth century and produced the industrial society, modernization today is dissolving industrial society and post modernity is coming into being. The central issue in classical modernity was wealth and how could it be distributed more evenly; whereas in advanced modernity central issue is risk and how it can be minimized, prevented or channelled. Earlier

the ideal was equality while in the advanced society it is safety. The history of risk distribution shows that wealth risk adheres to class pattern only inversely, wealth accumulates at the top and risk at the bottom. To that extent risk seems to strengthen class society. Poverty attracts an unfortunate abundance of risk, by contrast wealthy can purchase safety and freedom from risk. Likewise risks are centred in poor nations while rich nations can push risks as far as possible.¹⁷ Development brings prosperity along with risks. On one hand, there is a race to chase the developed countries in terms of infrastructure, services and facilities while on the other hand various kinds of risks are associated with such development. Development induced displacement leads to uprooting of people from their land in which most of them are tribal or poor people who are made to sacrifice their land in the name of nation, further there is frequent news of accidents and loss of lives during the construction work with the use of heavy machineries and above all most of the modern development is strengthening the class discrepancy. Fruits of development fall in the pockets of rich at the expense of poor. Resourceful people with ownership titles who get affected with the land acquisition somehow manage the risk associated with the forced shift while the landless poor slipped to the lower levels as they lack resources. Moreover environment too is facing so much of degradation which can pose severe challenges to humankind and to escape from all such risks won't be so easy.

Development may result in certain unintended negative consequences like uprooting people (mostly the poor) from their land due to its acquisition for development sites. Modern development leads to class discrepancy where rich benefit at the expense of the poor. The development project also poses severe challenges to the environment and mankind and to escape such risk is not easy.

DEPENDENCY THEORY OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The intellectuals from both the third world and the first world hold that wealthy nations depend on peripheral poor nations for maintaining their status as rich nations. According to the research of Raul Prebisch the wealth of poor nations decreases when the wealth of rich nations increases. This theory was popular in 60s and 70s. According to this theory the world was divided between centre and periphery wherein centre are countries whose economy is dominated by manufacturing while at the periphery are those who primarily export agricultural goods and raw materials known as primary goods. The cost of importing primary material is far less than the economic benefits received by centre through exporting of manufactured goods. The centre is able to retain the saving made, since it can retain higher wages and profit through developing unions. At the periphery companies and workers are weaker and have to pass on technical savings to their customers. Through this all the benefits of technology and international trade would accrue to the centre. The solution was that the poorer economies need to stop importing goods from rich nations and come up with import substitution and thereby save their valuable foreign exchange.¹⁸

Developmental cost too increases when a country or city itself is not having enough human and material resources to develop its infrastructure by itself, in such case there is dependency on other countries from where one need to import technology, machines or specialist which all are very demanding and thus at times hinder the progress of society, especially developing or underdeveloped economies can progress well only when they become self- sufficient. The cost of high budget projects like metro rail can become sustainable when the technology and equipments required is all available in the country itself and the operation and maintenance cost is covered by the running of metro rail.

1.5 DEVELOPMENT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

We have already examined the concept of development and its paradox. It stimulates researcher to construct the concept of “Development Induced Displacement”. Before introducing the concept of development induced displacement, the next section firstly deals with some important attributes of displacement.

1.5 (i) THE CONCEPT OF DISPLACEMENT

Post Independent India has witnessed a large number of development projects for fulfilling the socio economic needs of different categories of population residing in different parts of country. Efforts were made by government authorities for the promotion of major, medium and small scale developmental projects in sectors like irrigation, industries, power, transportation etc. Development, especially large scale development, whether at the national or state level, has always been seen to incur national cost. It is well understood that without development efforts, a nation cannot progress. The various development projects have displaced about two crores of people primarily as a direct consequence of land acquisition. In addition to it, numbers of people are not included in list of project affected people. India has one of the highest rates of development induced displacement in the world. Large dams, huge industrial and mining projects, communication& transportation network as well as power projects have uprooted millions of people in many cases; instantly depriving them of their cultural identities and livelihood. Literature shows that, in majority of cases the numbers of persons displaced by development projects were underestimated.

Displacement is a multidimensional phenomenon of which physical movement is one of the most critical consequences. Nonetheless, it not only limits itself to physical relocation, but also lessens the life quality of the communities to sub human conditions as well as affects multiple aspects of life, covering economic, social and cultural spheres. Internally displaced people are those “persons” who have been forced or obliged to flee from their home or places of habitual residence in particular, as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situation of generalized violence, violation of human rights or natural as well man-made disasters, and who have not crossed the internationally recognized state border.¹⁹ Development induced displacement is caused due to decision of Government to acquire land for the development or decision of state to change the use of land owned or changes in the use of land owned by state machinery or by introduction of some new restrictions on current use of land. People have begun scrutinizing the authenticity of Development induced Displacement, an offshoot of the model of development. The non –government association not just centred on the insufficiency of resettlement and restoration programs but additionally questioned the very premise of such activities executed by government in the name of public interest. This issue is currently being debated in the context of development versus displacement. Displacement refers to not only those who are forced to physically relocate in order to make way for the project and its related aspects but also includes those who are displaced from their resource base and livelihoods.²⁰ Project affected people are group of persons who are forced to leave their lands or their possessions as a result of development process. It include the landless, seasonal farmers, the fishermen, those engaged in work of art, culture and handicrafts etc. . Scudder suggested that the list of project affected people should not only consider those who are displaced by loss of home directly; it should also

take into account the host population that accommodates the displaced and all others who live in the vicinity of project.²¹

There are three categories of affected people:

The Displaced Persons (DP's) are those who are forced to flee or move out of their land when the development projects require acquisition of their homesteads.

The Project Affected Persons (PAP's) are those who sacrifice their livelihood fully or partially without being displaced. In some cases, their individual land is acquired and in others, the common property resources like forests and fishing ground, affecting their livelihoods.

Indirectly Displaced Persons (IDP's): Disposal of waste from the projects such as cement plant and pollution from industries affects land fertility, health etc of those who are living in the close vicinity of project area. This often deprives the dependents on such lands of their livelihoods and forces them to move out. These people are called indirectly displaced persons. (**IDP's**)

Displacement is not just physical transfer of displaced people but is associated with social and economic consequences that disrupt the lives of people. As a result the affected population suffers from mental trauma and other social issues. Displacement needs to be redefined in view of emerging concerns about resettlement and rehabilitation. The definition should focus on change in norms of compensation and calculation of non –monetary items. It is equally important to recognize the customary rights and use of common property and natural resources. Compensating to displace people should consider reconstruction of livelihood that has to be the main objective along with ultimate goal of rehabilitation.

Most uprooting has been involuntary with no significant participation of the affected masses in the preparation and execution of development task, including the

resettlement and rehabilitation aspects. May be they are the last ones to get any venture related data regarding their displacement. The belief system of State and other project proponents underpins the uprooting from the point of view of its causes; proposing that such shift is justified in the interest of public at large. Such involuntary shifts are imposed on the displaced population by branding it with sacrifice in the interest of the nation. With this ideology resettlement and resettlement is perceived as token for the sacrifices and thus basic rights and entitlement of the affected people are generally neglected. Negative consequences of displacement results into multiple dysfunctions in the social, economic psychological and environmental well being of the project affected people. These disabilities may be overcome by broadening the resettlement objectives with welfare state ideology for the project affected people. For the overall welfare, rehabilitation and resettlement must go hand in hand with displacement.

Displacement can be understood as a multidimensional phenomenon in which physical movement is one of the most visible outcomes. In this context displacement refers not only to those who are forced to physically relocate in order to make way for the project and its related aspects, but also includes those who are displaced from their resource base and livelihoods. It is commonly experienced through the loss of land and the disruption of social and economic relationships.²²

1.5 (ii) CAUSES OF DISPLACEMENT

Displacement may result from environmental degradation to natural disasters and man-made disasters to internal conflicts. Implementation of development projects, outflow of migrants and external forces can also result in displacement.

The following are the causes of displacement:

1. Natural disasters force many to leave their homeland. They move out of their region because of earthquakes, cyclones, floods, and droughts. They are called disaster displaced persons.
2. People who get displaced because of man-made disasters, like gas disaster in Bhopal.
3. People get displaced from their habitats due to wars, civil unrest and social conflicts. They become refugees. For ex. Migrants from India to Pakistan and vice versa during partition in 1947.
4. Changes in economic policies also sometimes force people to relocate to new place to sustain their livelihood. In recent decades, lakhs of traditional fishing families, millions of tribal and dalit have been rendered jobless due to certain reconstruction on economic activities.
5. Majority of people in India, are displaced because of construction of large dams, mines, highways, metros as well due to process of urbanization. Land is also acquired for the development of industrial, educational and other infrastructure projects.

1.5 (iii) HISTORY OF DISPLACEMENT DUE TO DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

In India, Displacement because of developmental activities has been occurring from a long while in the in 19th century. During the colonial era, coal mines in Jharkhand, tea gardens in Assam, coffee plantations in Karnataka and other

schemes elsewhere were introduced.²³ Likewise legitimate changes were amended for the simplification of the land acquisition procedure, which prompted mass displacement to pave the way for development. The principle of State's eminent domain came into limelight with the *Permanent Settlement 1793* and culminated in the *Land Acquisition Act 1894*. Two aspects of the act are, State can control, use and own all biodiversity and natural resources as well as land with no individual titles and secondly, the State has full authority to displace individuals from their land by defining public purpose for doing so.²⁴ In any case, the vast majority of the uprooting amid those times by it was procedure instigated i.e. coming about because of loss of sustenance through innovative, economic and lawful changes. In any case, such displacement uprooted millions, specifically Dalits and tribal, a large portion of who got obliged and got to be fortified workers or moved as contracted labour in tea estates in the British provinces, world over. Numerous tribal from Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa worked in slave like conditions in the tea gardens of North Bengal and Assam.²⁵ Biodiversity and mineral rich areas witnessed revolts. Mulshi-Peta near Pune (1920's) is one of the major non-tribal struggles against involuntary displacement.²⁶ Ironically, the freedom fighters who struggled and opposed British policies against the principle of eminent domain, themselves adopted Britisher's value system. Hence, India has kept the rationale of development pretty much unaltered and has held the colonial laws as well as has even reinforced them to make land acquisition less demanding. Subsequently, people keep on being uprooted for the sake of National Development that included expansive scale interest in plans like dams, businesses, streets, mines and power plants. Various projects by public sector, private sector and on mode of public private partnership uprooted millions of people for the sake of development. Forest resources, river systems and mineral base were most alluring zones for the development activities. Tribal and backward areas were focus of the earlier

developmental projects. Tribal (adivasis) constitute approximately 8.2 % space in India's total population, remain largely a neglected group. To achieve rapid economic growth, India has invested in industrial projects, dams, roads, mines, power plants and new cities. The developmental targets were accomplished through massive acquisition of land followed by uprooting of masses. Development-related Displacement may be divided into two subcategories – Direct and Indirect. Direct displacement is when people are forced to shift from the sites where they were inhabited for generations together. In India 21 million people were internally displaced from 1955-90.²⁷ Indirect displacement deprives people from their common property resources and traditional livelihood sources. One can witness a paradigm shift in the 1950s and 1960s, from simple & traditional Indian society to modern and complex one. Technological, capital intensive and large scale developmental projects accelerated the growth in economy of Indian society. It was then followed by a 'new development paradigm', which promotes poverty reduction, environmental protection, social justice, and human rights. But such development not only brings benefit, rather it impose cost on some section of society. Among its greatest costs has been the involuntary displacement of millions of vulnerable people.²⁸ There were few protests against the large number of development projects in the first four decades of independence. First serious opposition in the history of development induced displacement was witnessed with the project of Sardar Sarovar Dam. With this protest awareness arose and voices raised for number of such displacement projects. Also the number of Displaced People (DP) or Project Affected Persons (PAP) i.e. those deprived of livelihood without physical relocation is growing. Studies point that displaced people were impoverished and marginalized. One can observe class and gender dimension in such involuntary shift, wherein the most affected ones are subaltern and women.²⁹ The intensity of such projects got intensified with post-independence planned

development. With the globalisation lots of development activities are planned for the beautification and development of cities and rural communities. Although ample of people got displaced but the most critical part to be mentioned in this note is that till recently no aggressive resettlement and rehabilitation plans were ever made for the welfare of displaced people. Rather in majority of cases these project affected people were being left on their own resources, thereby, causing impoverishment and marginalization in their lives. Recently, it has drawn attention of executive, legislative and judicial system that has led to the enforcement of “The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013”.

1.5 (4) DISPLACEMENT: CONCERNS & ISSUES

This discourses now leads to conceptual construction of development induced displacement, which in researcher’s opinion is a social issue. The problem of displacement is not merely economic; it is also a socio-cultural problem. It disturbs the entire social network relationships and thus disturbs a particular way of life. It also affects the traditional activities and an already established social order. It forces people to adopt new occupations along in an unknown environment. As such, the process leads to replacement in a new position or new location. The displaced people are forced to change their life style, without really being compensated for their social loss and thus they remain under pressure leading to socio-cultural stress.

The two reasons why displacement is viewed as a problem is that, first it is seen as both compulsory and involuntary and second that only in rare cases; fair compensation is given to the displaced. . The current system fails to acknowledge

that the oustee is deprived of the rights of access to a large number of resources, an entire way of life, and is not even given an opportunity to demand adequate price for this loss. Apart from the private land and cultural-historical heritage, an oustee holds several other livelihood generating assets which are not legally acknowledged.³⁰

Displacement caused through involuntary actions creates the scenario where people are rendered without land, shattered homes and with no job to rely upon. Being taken away of their lands result into the removal of main foundation on which rests the - system's of productive nature , activities of commercial nature , means of earning daily living. Losing a concrete house and shelter may be a situation not of a permanent nature for so many people who have been deprived of their lands, what is more peculiar and painful is the condition of homelessness. Homelessness is being without a place with one's own ownership to losing out on common minimum socio-cultural group and losing out one's own identity as a whole.³¹ The above mentioned issues results into loss of daily earnings and having no vocation to support the livelihood. The people who are losing on their livelihood are primarily labour class and artisans without any land, workers in industry and small and medium business class.

Becoming outcast in one's own land, is not only problematic temporarily rather it carries with it risk of becoming poorer than before displacement, economically vulnerable and socially disintegrated. Involuntary shift from long establishments imposes lots of mental pressure to start a life afresh. An additional cause of stress is the fear of abandoning the places of worship and community living. The result may be increased sickness and grief. The emotional stress is aggravated by feeling of helplessness as no amount of arguments; plea or revolt can prevent the inevitable forced displacement. People undergo with the process of disempowerment and

dispossession. It also disturbs their production system and income sources. Long established social standing and kinship linkages are broken. Thus from social and cultural point of view displacement is a disruptive process and it creates high risks of impoverishment among displaced.

There are multiple but different consequences of these development induced displacement. The quality of life of displaced people and potential for physical and emotional growth is dormant; family and community life is almost totally destroyed; the opportunity for cultural activity hardly exists and the right of movement is highly restricted. Those living in camps, especially women, have to endure outrageous invasions of their privacy. Basic health care for all and education of children are virtually non-existent. Their right to participate and contest in the political processes is difficult.³²

Such forced shifts disrupt the lives of women adversely. The loss of access to traditional sources of livelihood — land, forest, sea, river, pasture, cattle or salt pan land —renders additional burden on women. It is only when land and other sources are replaced that women at least partially regain their economic status. Women not only suffer in terms of health and nutrition, they also lose the capacity to provide a secure future for their children. By resorting to seasonal migration they have unwittingly denied their children access to school, health care, child welfare, and other welfare services.³³

Such outcomes lead to the necessity of enactments of laws that address the issue of fair and just compensation as well as of resettlement & restoration and additionally in recommending the options by the affected individuals which can facilitate them to lead better life. Fair Compensation, Transparency in Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 is a ray of hope, as it proposes that

comprehensive outcome of compulsory acquisition should be such that affected persons become partners in the development which can enable and empower them to improve their socio-economic status post displacement.³⁴

Development-Induced Displacement is a social issue which affects and disrupts life of not only tribal and villagers but also of those living in urban areas. Incidences of uprooting people from their homes/land/productive assets are increasing because of the race of developing countries to grow into developed ones. Suppression by the power and laws of state rendered the displaced masses helpless. .

To have better understanding of Displacement and Resettlement, it is worth to assess the theories and models of Displacement which not only bring to light the system defect but also suggest suitable course of action for its rectification.

1.5 (6) DEVELOPMENT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

EGALITARIAN MODEL

It supports development project on the premise that it reduces poverty and inequality and maintains that all people are equal in fundamental worth. This ideology is used by a number of researchers in the field of development induced displacement studies which proposes that displaced must have a share in the benefits of project. This model proposes that inequality can be conceivably reduced if benefits reach to the poor, may be by putting the burden on better off. Fair and just compensation can be one of the measures which can resolve the inequality in society. But by no means has equality implied that only displaced communities enjoy the fruits of development.³⁵ This theory emphasizes that development must

be for all and should neither adversely affect nor benefit a particular group or community. But to attain it in reality is not that easy. Although, now in order to implement this ideology various laws has been made and amended from time to time.³⁶

Development Induced Displacement & Resettlement is a moral dilemma, wherein the **interest of public at large** and **distributive concerns** clashes with claim of **individual rights** safeguarding against losses and harm and **self-determination** of the affected. Prenz remarked that under certain conditions it is possible to justify displacement and resettlement caused by development, but he added that it's not a cakewalk to implement these conditions. These conditions include the minimization of coercive displacement; strong policies of resettlement, fair compensation to the displaced and development planning must aim at inequality and poverty reduction. If the above mentioned benchmarks are followed by development authorities then displacement pains can be reduced significantly but ironically in majority of cases these are avoided.³⁷

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VOLUNTARY RESETTLEMENT MODEL

Scudder and Colson³⁸ through their four-stage model of voluntary resettlement attempted to establish a relation as how people and socio-cultural systems respond and adjust to resettlement. The stages were labeled as **(1) Recruitment:** at this stage people are not notified about the plans of development in the given area. Herein the policy-makers and developers formulate development and resettlement plans. **(2) Transition:** this is the stage where for the first time people get to know about their future displacement to pave the way for development. Such news often heightens the stress amongst the potentially affected groups. **(3) Potential**

development: this stage comes after the actual physical relocation. Once relocated, the focus of displaced people gets shifted in rebuilding their economy and social networks and lastly **Handling over or Incorporation** the process of displacement and resettlement ends at this stage where second generation of residents who identify with and feel at home in the relocated community. Once this stage has been achieved, resettlement is deemed a success.

IMPOVERISHMENT RISKS AND RECONSTRUCTION (IRR) MODEL

This model of Michel Cerena is an attempt to identify the impoverishment risks intrinsic to forced resettlement. It also talks about the processes which can facilitate the reconstruction of displaced people livelihood. Without well planned and targeted policies, involuntary shift can end up in impoverishment and marginalization of the displaced. He proposed following eight pointers:

- (1) **Landlessness:** Land acquisition can result into de- capitalization and pauperization of displaced people. It disrupts the basics of displaced people by affecting their system of production, earnings and commercial activities.
- (2) **Joblessness:** Involuntary shift threatens the wage employment of affected people working in industries, service sector or agro industries located at rural or urban areas. Discomfort of physical relocation is short lived but the negative impact due to unemployment or underemployment may linger long.
- (3) **Homelessness:** Displacement at times deprives the displaced of their shelter. Temporary homelessness is common feature in such cases and some faces this problem for longer periods.
- (4) **Marginalization:** Downward mobility is also one of the consequences of forced and involuntary shift, reason being the change in economic

conditions due to relocation. The trend of slipping to the lower levels is called as marginalization. Reduced social, psychological and economic statuses are the visible impacts of marginalization. Feeling of injustice and inequality lowers the self confidence of affected masses in society and themselves.

- (5) **Food Insecurity:** At times forced uprooting may result into temporary or chronic under-nourishment. It can obstruct normal growth and work.
- (6) **Increased Morbidity and Mortality:** Cerena found that serious decline in health levels is directly related with displacement. Involuntary shift imposes social stress and psychological trauma which at times are accompanied by outbreak of vector borne diseases such as malaria etc, supply of unsafe water, filthy drainage system. All these negatively affect the health of the family members and most vulnerable children and elderly.
- (7) **Loss of access to common property:** Many traditional activities are dependent on common property resources of particular locality. With the loss of it income and livelihood sources too deteriorates. Upon that usually displaced are not compensated for these losses by Government.
- (8) **Social Disarticulation:** Involuntary relocation ends up into number of social changes at individual, family and community levels. Fragmentation of families, scattering of kinship network, uprooting of communities and dismantling of social and interpersonal ties are some of the major social changes associated with the involuntary displacement and relocation. It disperses informal life supporting social network.

Major impoverishment risks mentioned above creates crisis situation and it affects the displaced population frequently and adversely. Further, they have to deal with these problems simultaneously as one is interlinked with the others.

Cerena also pointed out that the host population should be made party while framing the resettlement and rehabilitation policies. Doing so can reduce the resistance by the host and in turn can facilitate the adjustment of relocated communities. Recognizing specific risk to host is integral to using the risks and reconstruction model and approach.³⁹

Cerena also mentioned that impact of displacement is not necessarily same on displaced households. Rather, the model notes that, when taken together, these processes capture the reasons behind many failed resettlement operations. This model is very significant in the study if development, displacement, compensation, resettlement and rehabilitation as it is a valuable source for formulating research hypotheses and conducting theory-led field investigations research. It is predictor of impoverishment caused by displacement, thus if the mentioned risks are kept in mind while formulating plans and policies it can be beneficial for all the parties involved. It's assumption that resettlement problems can be erased by improvements in planning is overly optimistic. De Wet article points out that every development proposal has its unique complexities which can be financial, political or any other. Thus he emphasized that it is required to have an open ended and flexible approach which can be modified and modulated according to time and situation.⁴⁰

1.6 DEVELOPMENT VERSUS DISPLACEMENT

Displacement claims the social and human costs of development that some citizens have to bear in order to promote good for public at large. The evil and pain is outweighed by the larger 'good' (welfare) arising from development projects. Costs are simply inevitable as there is no development without displacement but project authorities must put strenuous efforts to minimize the number of displaced. For overall development there should be cost benefit analysis, especially factoring in social and human cost of displacement, and emphasis must be given to formulate fair and just rehabilitation and compensation policy. Most Indian developmental projects so far, have impoverished the masses and in terms of compensation only monetary considerations are taken into account.

There have been several struggles against the rules of land acquisition and the changes made in the rules in colonial times but though the colonial government was opposed on this issue, the nationalist leaders had themselves internalized much of the colonial value system including that of eminent domain. So, the thinking behind development in India remained more or less unchanged even half a century after independence. When they became the decision makers of independent India, the freedom fighters who had earlier supported the struggle, continued to use the similar colonial legislation to displace the people in the name of development. There has been much greater displacement and many more struggles after independence because of the policies adopted for the use of land, water, forest and other resources. Displacement has caused impoverishment of the already poor and the downtrodden section of the society. There has been enormous increase in the number of displaced people and project affected people. The country did not have uniform rehabilitation policy though millions have been deprived of their lands and livelihoods.

Cerena has put forth the difficulties of policy makers regarding development which is applicable to independent nations like India. This is not only because it is a free nation state, but also probably because it is a welfare state, where everyone looks up to the nation state for everything. Hence, our policy makers are facing critical situation of development which induces displacement. This is mainly due to the fact that some sections of displaced are marginalised post displacement. Thus, displacement and crisis emerging out of development are unavoidable facts. In such kind of development intervention, if gainers gain more than losers lose, it raises major issues of social justice and equity. Development is for whom? And at whose cost? It is very difficult to answer such questions. Here value loaded words of Cerena may help to answer above questions. "People are and should be the starting point, the centre, and the end goal of each development intervention. In sociological terms putting people first is above an ideological appeal."⁴¹ It calls for making social organisation as the explicit concern of development, policies and programmes and constructing development patterns, needs and potential of the population in the project area.

India has witnessed several displacement issues since independence. Lot many developmental projects have been undertaken in the name of development like construction of dams, mining projects etc and they have definitely contributed towards a better India. However, the flip side of these projects is a discouraging story. We will now look into various instances of development projects taken up in India and at the same time look at the implications.

1.6 EXAMPLES OF DEVELOPMENT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT IN INDIA.

1.6 (i) DAM BUILDING AND DISPLACEMENT

Literature on development induced displacement studies reports that building of dams in India is one of the major causes of uprooting people from their establishments. In post Independent India approximately three thousand big dams have been constructed in last fifty years. These huge constructions have led to forced eviction of millions of people. Most vulnerable amongst all are tribal who lives in outskirts and heavily rely on common property resources. One of the most significant case studies related to dam building in India is over Sardar Sarovar Dam, India's most controversial dam project. **Narmada Bachao Andolon** was the first systematic movement against forced displacement and it was spearheaded by Medha Patkar, along with other social activists and media. The beneficiaries of the dam are meant to be large landowners; but the miseries and sufferings of tribal were neglected. Although project authorities underlines the figure of affected families as about 42,000 but the social activists and other protest agencies reported it touching to 85,000 families. The Narmada Valley Development Project disrupted the lives of millions of people living in the vicinity of the project.⁴²

1.6(ii) The **Tehri project** on Ganges in Uttaranchal was built to expand irrigation and power generation. It was established in 1979 and displaced 85,600 persons.⁴³ Resettlement plan was not an integral part for the displacement pre-1980. Studies shows that resettlement in the form of house site was neither liability nor responsibility of the project authorities. Nagarjunasagar, Hirakud, Tungabhadra and Mayurakshi dams; the Rourkela, Bhilai and Bokaro steel plants displaced many people but there was no strong policy to restore their lives. Since hydraulic projects

require forced eviction of substantial population thus it is required that there should be sound rehabilitation and resettlement policy for the welfare of the displaced and project affected people. Such mega projects not only forces people to leave their land but simultaneously affect the livelihood and earnings of the people as they are dependent on the common property resources. Women especially faced the problem as with the loss of traditional houses they found it difficult to arrange for fuel and fodder. Emotional and moral break down was also reported due to the displacement as family and kinship network disintegrated. Widows were not taken care of while framing the compensation and rehabilitation policy for the displaced. Policy planners need to be considerate for the women while framing the policies to avoid marginalization and impoverishment.

1.6 (iii) MINING AND DISPLACEMENT

Mining sector is one of the most lucrative sectors from the angle of investment and profit, especially for the private players. Mining-induced displacement and resettlement (MIDR) threatens social sustainability. Because of the availability of rich mineral resources in India, numerous incidences of development induced displacement was witnessed. Such involuntary shifts are found in areas with relatively high density of politically powerless populations. Most vulnerable groups are tribal and other indigenous people. Coal mines are responsible for large scale development in mining sector. Coal mines have substantially increased in the period of 1980. The main reason is shift from underground to opencast mines for exploiting lower quality coal that resulted in acquisition of over some 1500 acres of land.⁴⁴ In case of under cast mines number of displaced are lower than open cast. The disadvantage of such displacement is that it absorbs fewer people in the jobs

created by the project. Due to technical machineries and advanced technology there is lesser scope to absorb the people affected due to its development. And in this sector vacancies require technical expertise which is also an issue hindering the rehabilitation in terms giving job to the tribal and indigenous people.

1.6 (iv) URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE, TRANSPORTATION & DISPLACEMENT

In order to develop roads, highways and rail transportation displaces people from the respective areas. 8.2% space is occupied by urban infrastructure worldwide among the development induced displacement projects. This problem is affecting most of the countries in the world in varying intensities. The Jabotabek urban development project in Indonesia, which involves widening of roads in Jakarta, displaced between 40,000 and 50,000 people.⁴⁵ The World Bank Environment Department has estimated that 60 per cent of development induced displacement every year, (about 6 million people) is a result of urban infrastructure and transportation projects.⁴⁶ As development of transportation is an ongoing phenomenon, which cannot be avoided even in well developed countries, thus it is one of the main causes of development induced displacement projects. The highway construction project in Boston has association with the displacement of several thousand people.

But the good point is that as compared to development of dams, construction of roads has much slighter social consequences. Urbanization infrastructure which includes expansion of urban areas, water supply projects, development of urban transport does not demand very huge land area for its development. In this context, it is to be pointed out that although the single displacement caused by urbanization

processes affects fewer people than the construction of dams but such projects are numerous in number. Urban infrastructure projects are developed in area with high population density, the number of people displaced per unit of area by projects of this kind is larger than the proportion displaced by a single dam. The development in India is increasing rapidly and thus to compete with other countries like Japan, China and US, there are newer demands like that of Metro rails in big cities as well as of bullet trains and special trains which in turn will require huge amount of land and thus will result in even more development induced displacement and forced migration of people.

1.6 (v) NATURAL RESOURCE EXTRACTION AND DISPLACEMENT

This includes in its domain, the activities related with the exploration and extraction of minerals and metals like oil, coal, lignite, iron etc. Even though no statistics are available on the number of people displaced by natural resource extraction projects world-wide; however, data from World Bank projects suggest that displacement in such projects is much lower than in many dam and urban renewal and development projects.

Since the issue of Development Induced Displacement is critical one and goes against the human rights it becomes important to analyze how various agencies deals with the issue.

1.7 CASE STUDIES OF DEVELOPMENT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT PROJECTS

Human population once displaced from their establishments encounter number of social, psychological and economic changes. Such development induced

displacement raises major issue of justice and equality as it exacerbates economic insecurity, helplessness and alienation. Involuntary Resettlement affects the family ties and community bond of the displaced. Irreversible deterioration is faced by displaced communities when rehabilitation plans are poorly implemented, unaccompanied by adequate compensation for lost assets. Thus project authorities must make resettlement and rehabilitation plans hand in hand so that affected people can get maximum possible assistance for the new start in their lives. Rehabilitation and resettlement policies neglect existing human rights and humanitarian standards, (including the right to adequate sheltering and residence) thus creates problems related to degradation of environment, natural or human-induced disasters, tension or unrest, internal, international or mixed conflict (having domestic and international dimensions) and public emergencies and domestic violence etc.⁴⁷ One can witness protest for the rights of land and livelihood losers by civil society, activists and affected people against the fair compensation, resettlement and rehabilitation policies. With the awareness created due to protests and resistance, people started questioning the authenticity of “**greater good**” and the concept of “**eminent domain**”.

Bhatta-Parsaul in UP, Nandigram in West Bengal, Tata Nano in Haryana, Narmada Bachao Andolan etc all pointed towards the need to examine the matter immediately as the interest of a section of society was neglected in the name of public interest. The violence witnessed in Nandigram in West Bengal state in 2007, where 14 people were killed while protesting the notification of land acquisition of 25,000 acres of land.⁴⁸ Following are some case studies to gain an insight on Development Induced Displacement projects.

1.7 (i) NARMADA RIVER VALLEY PROJECT

Construction of dams on major rivers for the purpose of irrigation and power supply has been developed in various states of India. Dam building has resulted into substantial increase in number of displaced. People living in close vicinity were affected due to construction of dams. All the large dams had displaced large number of people who were living in the close vicinity of the development area. According to UNHCR report, ‘Large scale forced eviction was faced by vulnerable groups, especially tribal to pave the way for construction of big dams. To provide the power supply and irrigational facilities 3,300 big dams were constructed in post independent India.’⁴⁹ The Narmada River which is one of the seven rivers in India is 813 miles long, starting in Madhya Pradesh flowing westward to the sea. In 1947, Narmada River valley project was discussed for the first time in which it was proposed to construct 30 large dams and hundred small dams. The project aimed to provide the benefits of hydroelectric power, water for irrigation, and drinking water for particularly drought prone areas. Conflict over distribution of electricity and water surfaced between the four states—Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. The state of Gujarat is the one that got maximum benefits from the Narmada dam projects though they are also the ones footing the largest share of the bill. However, the states of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra have experienced the most social and environmental costs. Though water issues are a state level issue, the Indian central government had to step in to negotiate a settlement between the states through the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal (NWDT) in 1969. Over a ten year period, the states came to an agreement concerning each state’s rights and responsibilities as well as refining the basin-wide vision for the project.

Sardar Sarovar Dam is the largest among all in which approx 37,000 hectares (142 square miles) of land in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh got submerged

and approximately 2, 00,000 people were displaced.⁵⁰ As this project became ‘India’s most controversial dam project’ and thus a Medha Patekar spearheaded the anti-dam movement known as the *Narmada Bachao Andolon*. The movement was to protect the rights of tribal who were totally dislocated by the project.

With respect to the compensation policy there were lots of disconnect as only those people who own land got compensated and resettled and all the peasants, adivasis and livelihood owners were deprived of it. Further the price given for the acquired land was much lower than that of market value. The most annoying part was that the allotted land was not suited to do agriculture and thus forced many into wage labour. It impoverished lives of displaced community.

1.7 (ii) DISPLACEMENT BY DELHI METRO RAIL PROJECT (DMRC)

David Harvey argues that capitalist accumulation is always in concurrence with dispossession, termed as “accumulation by dispossession”, a concept that draws upon the notion of “primitive accumulation” explicated by Marx.⁵¹ These processes at times are facilitated by the state through the use of legal powers. The DMRC fueled the process of dispossession by displacing slums to make the way for metro rail and it was also alleged that the metro routes were designed to benefit middle class at the cost of poor. In the Phase I of construction around 2,502 slums got displaced.⁵² As per the data acquired through the Right to Information Act in 2005 from the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD), 699 slum squatter families (approximately 3,500 people) inhabiting the land-owned by the MCD (Municipal Corporation Delhi) were displaced. The Delhi Metro Rail project has been modified several times since it was first proposed and its lacks credible official data of number of people who got displaced. In initial planning four stations were

planned in an manner to have direct connectivity with the slum areas but during actual implementation it was changed to support and integrate middle class colonies with business and shopping centers both within the National Capital Territory (NCT) and National Capital Region (NCR).

In the elite colonies, to save the houses metro was constructed underground, while the houses of poor people were acquired as in that area elevated metro tracks were constructed. For the establishment of modern public transport system, a huge amount of public money is invested, and the focus is on middle class, owing to their important role in the changing production and consumption relationship. This project dismantled the life of people living in slum areas and no sound rehabilitation plan was prepared for their protection and livelihood.

1.7(iii) SIMHADRI THERMAL POWER PROJECT

The project was carried in Vishakapatnam District in Andhra Pradesh. This project displaced 3120 household with the acquisition of 3,384 acres of land spread over 14 villages. In the research study of R. Janaki Rao, 156 households were studied and the data showed that the majority of respondent's financial condition deteriorated after displacement.⁵³ It may also be due to the fact that those displaced are usually not benefited from it. Displaced people were involuntary relocated and suffered while the new benefits go to others. National Government typically has justified these projects by invoking larger growth and development. The comparison of past with present makes it apparent that the displaced people have not regained their previous levels of living and on the whole, lost in the process of development. The project affected people underwent stress, strain and impoverishment and his study was in consonance with Michael Cerena model with eight characteristics which are

landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, morbidity, food insecurity, social disarticulation and loss of access to common property resources. The basic phenomenon of development induced displacement is dispossession. Land Acquisition results in 4D are which are *dispossession, displacement, dislocation and disempowerment* and rehabilitation must possess all these problems. With the development of this project 87% of respondents have lost their land and around 716 acres of land used by villagers for grazing cattle has also been lost , many families got converted from joint to nuclear as agriculture was binding force which was disrupted due to land acquisition and loss of common property resources were also not compensated.

1.7 (iv) TATA NANO PROJECT

Tata Nano Singur Controversy refers to the controversy due to acquisition of land for the development of factory of Nano car by Tata motors at Singur, West Bengal. This factory was planned to produce \$ 2,500 cars. The state government of West Bengal gave the air to the controversy by using the eminent domain conduct of Land Acquisition Act, 1894. 997 acres of farmland was acquired to build the factory.⁵⁴ This project was opposed by activists and opposition parties in west Bengal as the law for public improvement project and the state government was favoring Tata motors. The people staying in the demarcated land were forcefully evacuated by the government authorities. Compensation offered was inadequate as it was not only piece of land for the affected people, but was also source of livelihood. New housing facilities were also delayed.

The project is one of the most controversial projects in the history of land acquisition, particularly, on the question of state acquisition of fertile agricultural

land for the benefit of private enterprise. The Tata motor site being most fertile in the Singur region was the major reason for the opposition. Mamta Banerjee spearheaded the movement and received support from civil rights and human rights group, legal bodies, social activists and intellectuals. Save Sigur Farland Committee was formed to oppose the state officials and Tata motor representatives in their preliminary surveys. Finally, Tata group announced that they are pulling out of Singur due to the political unrest and agitation.

DEVELOPMENT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT PROJECTS WITH RESPECT TO RAJASTHAN

Since Rajasthan is the largest state of India in terms of geographical area thus it is centre for various developmental projects. The state of Rajasthan is developing modern amenities and alongside efforts is made to protect, preserve and enrich the traditional art and architecture of the State. In order to achieve the growth targets various people are uprooted from their land and thus are facing risk of being displaced from their villages, forests, water bodies, houses, agricultural and occupational land. Widening of roads in major projects like Ring Road , new roads & highway construction, industries, urban housing projects, sanctuary like Sita Mata etc, Oil Refinery Project in Banswara, Development of Dams like Bakhra Nangal , Bisalpur etc all kind of projects have displaced thousands of people. To get an insight on the intensity of displacement various developmental projects are discussed below.

1.7 (v) RING ROAD PROJECT, JAIPUR

It is one of the important State Projects where in the Phase I and II road with the length of 47 km is under construction in the South of Jaipur city which is going to connect Ajmer, Tonk and Agra Road. While in the Phase III of the project 97.75km road will be constructed in Northern part of Jaipur to connect Agra, Delhi, Sikar & Ajmer Road.⁵⁵ To pave the way for development JDA has demolished houses and shops in Bagarana village in October 2014. For those with clear land title, rehabilitation plan was developed and land with cash compensation for structures was provided. But the colonies where disputes between farmers and housing societies surfaced, JDA deposited compensation in civil court. This displacement too made poor people poorer and rich people richer. As land owners with the clear land title were instantly allotted houses that too in a one – kilometre periphery of development corridor but the poor farmers with no land titles sink to the lower levels of poverty because of dispute with the housing societies. And also in the survey published in Times of India residents alleged that JDA was partial in carrying out the demarcation work and owners having influence were provided with extra land while the land of poor was measured less and thus they got less compensation.

Nearly 100 residents from Bagarana village protested alleged that JDA dislocated poor and has changed the alignment to save some influential real estate developer.

1.7 (vi) SITA MATA SANCTUARY, BHARATPUR

Government of Rajasthan is planning to convert this sanctuary into a national park for the protection of wildlife. If so happens then it will outlaw all economic activities in the protected area. Also there is planning to move Asiatic lion into the sanctuary. Sita Mata lies at the heart of the conflict between the Forest Department

and the tribal who are living inside the protected area. The village Mogambia got established in this area, 13 years before the area was declared as a wildlife sanctuary. The meaning of Mogiamba is mango groves and the village is a home for 118 families with around 700 people, dispersed over large land area. The villagers grow maize, rice and two varieties of lentils on the land to support their livelihood.⁵⁶ They sell the surplus in the market. These tribal are those who were involuntarily displaced with the construction of Mahi River and that time they were not legally relocated thus they have no land titles. Now if for the second time this community will be forced to get displaced their life will become even more miserable. Previously with the declaration of this area as a sanctuary many restrictions have been imposed on these tribal as they are living in the protected area. For instance they do not have access to electricity and motorized vehicles as well as can't construct buildings like school etc.

Tendu leaves grow in this area is main source of livelihood for Mogambia Tribe. These leaves are used in making of biddi which will not be allowed to use once the area will be declared as a national park. Although five alternatives sites along with one million rupees per family have been proposed by the forest departments but the tribal are not ready to relocate. Reason being, three sites are not suitable for the agriculture and at other two sites hosts are resisting relocation.

In all the examples discussed above the underlying common thread of problem in the process of displacement and rehabilitation is unsatisfactory compensation amount and the suffering of project affected people with no land title. For that reason in the following pages compensation is discussed in terms of economic and social relevance as well as how the ideology behind providing compensation is changing with the passage of time.

Displacement for State/National welfare should be duly acknowledged and fairly compensated, with due considerations. Development projects lead to displacement and it is inevitable. In such a case, compensation policies should be clearly defined and implemented. The next section elaborates upon the compensation for the displaced.

1.8 COMPENSATION

Compensation refers to specific measures intended to make good for the losses suffered by the displaced people and/or project affected population. Generally, it takes the form of a onetime payment, either in terms of cash or land for land.⁵⁷

Till recently eligibility for receiving the amount of compensation was limited only to the legal owners of their acquired properties. In most of the instances of land acquisition, those who lose their livelihood are not included in the list of affected people eligible to receive compensation such as tenants, sharecroppers, wage-laborers, artisans and encroachers. The mentioned categories of people are the most vulnerable and because of disruption to their traditional ways of life they are drill down to lower levels of inequality. Paradoxically, they require the needed support but are denied of it. Under Land Acquisition Act, 1894 community assets and common resources such as grazing grounds, temples, wells and forests, were not considered while calculating the compensation amount. These common property resources may be critical for the livelihood of the poorest and thus in turn affects their social and economic status. The social and economic condition of the displaced worsen when cash compensation is depleted by them in short periods, by cheating, to meet social liabilities, for repayment of old debts, in alcohol and

conspicuous consumption. A condition of assured and irrevocable destitution arises when livelihood security or shelter is squandered in months and sometimes weeks.

Calculation of compensation amount does not take into account the rights of affected people; rather it focuses on loss of assets and property. The basis of compensation has thus been (i) legal ownership and (ii) individual claim. The general practice to award compensation is to pay lost fixed assets like agricultural land/houses/productive assets at the prevailing market rate. This is calculated as an average of registered sales prices of land of similar nature and locality in the recent past. Thus compensation implies the value one gets in exchange of forcible acquisition of his/her land and it should not be understood as a replacement value. This highlights a call to reframe compensation to consider restitution of rights, both at community and individual level. Compensation has been major problem in involuntary displacement and thus there was strong need for an act which can provide fair and uniform compensation not only to the directly affected people but as well to those who are indirectly affected by such projects.

Present depreciated value/market value” of assets should not be the principle of compensation rather "replacement value" must be the base for doing so. Replacement includes the economic loss, socio - psychological stress, disruption, dislocation, training of displaced people/project affected people so that they can be absorbed in the jobs created by developmental project preparing as well as preparation and participation of host community to receive the relocated.⁵⁸

In the Land Acquisition Act 1894, Section 23 of the act lays down that matter to be taken into consideration while determining the amount of compensation. The market value may be assessed according to the sales deed of the land sustained in vicinity and the comparable benefits and advantages. Under section 23 of the act,

the statutory compensation includes the damages and incidental damages to the existing assets like standing crops and trees at the time of taking possession. If any other damages are caused to owner's property as an act of acquisition and for diminution of profit from land between final declaration and taking possessions these are also to be compensated. The act provides for the payment of mandatory solatium(compensation for emotional loss) as a part of compensation. The percentage of compensation varies from time to time and place to place. After passing of amendment act in 1984, the solatium has been fixed at 30% of market value of the property. This amount is granted in lieu of injury and distress caused to the felling of owners. The act also provides for payment of additional market value on the compensation. For the first 12 months, the interest is at nine percent from the date of award. For delays beyond 12 months from the declaration of award, the rate of interest is 15%. *The ownership of landed property is an essential condition before one could claim compensation.* However those who do not have property or those who are indirectly depended on it could not claim compensation earlier but now with the land acquisition act, 2013 multiple amendments have been done which are for the benefit of the displaced people and project affected people including livelihood losers.

The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 considers farmers and livelihood losers who are dependent on the land being acquired. Simultaneously, it promotes and facilitates land acquisition for industrialization, infrastructure and urbanization project in timely and transparent manner.⁵⁹

Awarding compensation alone does not necessarily ensure that it will be utilized by the displaced people. Research studies and previous literature has thrown light on how this amount is utilized in such cases. A large number of people use the

compensation amount to construct new property on newly allotted land. Some part of compensation was used in fulfilling social obligation like marriages, in their families while others used the money to buy new assets. Compensation amount is also used for higher studies of children and some uses the amount by depositing the money in bank as savings. Some business oriented people have also utilized the compensation amount to add on their stocks.

"One of the significant observation with respect to utilization of compensation amount is that the tribal people or say the ignorant section of the society at times fail to handle the money in the way those well versed with market economy do. They are lured by the cash compensation received and are apt to indulge in conspicuous consumption in account"⁶⁰ There are several cases where money received for the acquired land was mis- utilized by affected people. It is also found that major portion of compensation amount could not be utilized gainfully because of illiteracy & poor socio economic conditions. Especially the compensation amount is misutilized by those who are addicted to alcohol, gambling and other bad habits.

Award of compensation in real terms is beneficial for the affected people when it is just and fair and wherever necessary councils can be formed to guide and follow up of the displaced as how to utilize the given amount in order to improve the living standards or at least to restore the previous condition. Compensation, relocation and rehabilitation are essential conditions for the successful relocation. But the most important aspect which should be kept in mind at the time of policy formation and implementation is that the resettlement and rehabilitation should not be taken as same concept, rather it should facilitate each other. In the next section an attempt has been made to understand these two different concepts.

1.9 RESETTLEMENT AND REHABILITATION (R&R)

“All persons, groups and the communities have the right to suitable resettlement which includes the right to alternative land or housing which is safe, secure, accessible, affordable and habitable.”⁶¹ Project authorities must ensure that people who give up their homes and land to pave the way for development should not be victimized by the process rather strenuous efforts should be made to give the benefits of the projects along with resettlement and rehabilitation planning. An overall welfare approach is required for the planning and implementation to resettle the displaced community happily. Rehabilitation & Resettlement must not be confused as a similar concept, rather they must be treated as two distinct realities. Resettlement is achieved once displaced people are relocated physically while rehabilitation is re-establishment of displaced and project affected people in totality. It aims to restore and improve the lost livelihood wherein emphasize is laid to start a new life with dignity through recreation of physical, social and cultural environment. Orientation of resettlement is economic restoration whereas rehabilitation aims at rebuilding community system disintegrated as a result of displacement. Rehabilitation programme must include stress reduction techniques for affected and counselling the displaced to adjust with the host community as its their new home.

1.9 (i) Resettlement of the displaced people is the one-time physical relocation at a new site with payment of compensation for the land acquired without other support such as jobs, training, and welfare inputs to resettle in a new society and economic situation.

When there is involuntary displacement and when affected households have to move from their place of origin to place of relocation, conflicting situation arise

because of disputes within the family with Government officials and host community. The conflict within the family are mainly about sharing of the compensation amount, purchase of land, alternative occupations, construction of new house, problem of women, education of children and problem of widow and old aged. Conflict outside are related to dealing with official machinery, property dealers, court cases, and adaptation with people at a new site. Displacement results in a conflict between the informal society to which most DP's belong and to the formal one into which they are inserted. These societies are based on contradictory frameworks and value system.

There are differences in the experience of consequences of the project affected people depending on the types of home/ dwelling/ business/ productive assets which has been acquired. Although all types of acquisition induce social, economic and psychological trauma but in case of business related property acquisition a direct impact on the pockets of the displaced can be witnessed while in the case of housing acquisition much impact can be observed on the family structures, women and elderly.

1.9 (ii) RESETTLEMENT: PLANNING & IMPLEMENTATION

Income restoration must be basic objective of rehabilitation, the restoration activities should be based on the principle that no project affected person shall be worse off than he or she was before the land acquisition. Restoration of income is an important part of rehabilitating individuals. To achieve this objective, income restoration scheme could be designed in consultation with affected people. Income restoration entitlements are provided to the person's losing livelihood or suffering loss of income as a result of land acquisition. These include both lands based and

non- land based economic activities. Long term socio – economic monitoring of the displaced is considered as important aspect of rehabilitation. Other important issue to be taken care is of social impact assessment.

Social impact is defined as ‘the result to human populations of any public or private activities that disturbs the manner in which people live, work, play, identify with each other, associate to fulfil social needs and generally cope as members of society’.⁶² Social impact assessment is carried out to study the impact on people due to development action and it is indented to identify as post development who are the losers and the gainers. Through such assessment voices, needs and aspirations of people and diverse groups are taken into account. Displacement induce insecurity and helplessness in men and vulnerable section of society i.e. children and women turned into scapegoat. Displacement also leads to health deterioration and increased rate of mortality as services in those selected areas are the first to be cut. Due to the altered circumstances somewhere nutritional requirement of family also gets affected.

Resettlement and rehabilitation issues must be taken up far more seriously than they have been in the past so far. This approach has led to widespread impoverishment of project affected –families, and also to conflict between them and project authorities that have had extremely high financial and human cost. In this context there was great pressure on Government to have a national policy on resettlement and rehabilitation which after much of debate and discussion has been enacted as The Right to Fair Compensation, Transparency in Land acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013. Future development related displacement and rehabilitation data will show the effectiveness in implementation of provisions of new national policy.

The next section deals with the considerations which should be kept in mind to reduce displacement pains by giving justice to displace.

1.9 (iii) RESETTLEMENT & JUSTICE

Justice in resettlement can't be just restricted to idea of compensating for the losses in monetary terms. Compensation ideology is linked with and restricted to material replacement: money for land, land for land, and house for house. Rawl's in his justice in resettlement argues that linking the resettlement with material replacement, leaves people worse off. To elaborate, land on which people are relocated may require different techniques of production that resettled population are not very familiar with.⁶⁴ When compensation amount is received in lump sum then people rather than using it to purchase equivalent land may consume the amount to fulfill social obligations such as debts or bride-wealth obligations. Thus despite of getting awarded with monetary compensation, affected people may become worse-off in more subtle ways. Rawl's suggested that injustice can be avoided by empowering the affected communities with certain powers need like power to negotiate freely, including the power to freely negotiate displacement and resettlement and the power to imitate, refresh or fortify the social and community networks, which are their informal support mechanism to reinforce their faith in themselves.⁶⁵ Justice requires that for the welfare of displaced communities resettlement must go beyond compensation for economic losses. Justice requires that affected communities are not to be aggravated off in assets or resources on the contrary; the outcome is to be advantageous to them. Relocation in no way should damage social and cultural means of self respect of the community members. Free

negotiations needs to encourage empowering the project affected people and the displaced communities.

Participation of displaced community alone is not enough while framing Rehabilitation and Resettlement policy. Inclusion and suggestions of host community should be invited to make the transition smooth.

1.9 (iv) RELOCATION AND HOST

Many displaced people have had a bitter experience with their hosts. The problem of relocation intensifies when the host community oppose the resettlement. It creates social tension as the host and the relocated community's losses the harmony which directly impacts the adjustment. This happens because Government agencies take the responsibility only up to the point of physical relocation and no efforts are at all made for any further assistance in resettlement. The main reason behind such disconnect is that neither the displaced and nor the host community are made to participate in the process of planning to resettle such community. As a result, it seems as a force imposed upon the host to assimilate the relocated communities and thereby ignoring attitude is observed instead of the welcoming one. Relocation alone is not sufficed to reduce the sufferings of displaced people who are forced to leave their long establishments. A sound rehabilitation policy can facilitate to restore and improve the previous standard of the displaced and project affected people.

1.10 REHABILITATION

It focuses on social and cultural factors and attempts to rebind the dispossessed livelihood of the displaced and project affected people. It is not limited to economic compensation but go beyond to include welfare approach. Rehabilitation is more often understood as an economic rather than a psycho-sociological phenomenon resulting from displacement. According to Oxford dictionary, rehabilitation is to restore original. According to chambers dictionary, it is to reinstate, to restore to former privileges, rights, ranks etc. but given the present pressure on land, scarce resources and the changing need of the people one cannot but be sceptical about the feasibility or desirability of merely restoring people to the original state, hence the demand has to be for adequate and appropriate resettlement. The project owes it to them as justice and not a concession. It is now legal obligation of the project authorities to resettle the displaced population. Now rehabilitation is recognized and followed as integral part without which no displacement can proceed. In its strict sense, it implies that, the overall objective of change is to restore the situation to its original condition. Rehabilitation is recognized as a fundamental right of DP/PAP, in the spirit of Article 21 which has been interpreted by the Supreme Court as right to live with dignity. It is a process of returning the land in a given area to the people uprooted due to natural disaster, industrial and infrastructural process etc. Mining, farming and forestry might results into degradation of land and it is rarely possible to restore the land to its original condition. The rehabilitation process usually attempts to bring some degree of restoration which is possible by modern methods which can at times even improve the degraded land.

India in the early 1980s has witnessed a sensitization towards the ever growing and all pervasive problem of resettlement and rehabilitation. Opinions of the donor agencies as well as national and international organization concerned with the

social cause shifted their attention towards protection of human rights. As a result, there was hue and cry favouring the enactment of sound national resettlement and rehabilitation policy in India, ingenious enough to solve the problems of oustees. As, such efforts are constantly made towards the composition of such policy. Country has witnessed lack of comprehensive Resettlement & Rehabilitation policy, despite of large number of development induced displacement projects. In the Indian federal structure, though resettlement is a state issue but very few states made strenuous efforts to draft a comprehensive policy of resettlement policy for the project affected people. Because of lack of common policy there was much pressure to have an act which provides for fair and transparent resettlement and compensation system and Right to Fair Compensation, Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013.

Lack of strong national policy and weaknesses in the existing policy documents are major problem. Next comes the implementation part which is also filled with flaws. In majority of cases, there is wide gap between the policies framed by project authorities and what gets implemented in actual terms. As there is so much of illiteracy and ignorance in Indian masses that most of the times they are not aware of their legal rights thus are vulnerable to get cheated easily by the payers. Rehabilitation and resettlement policies can become real solution provider only when they are framed with an open mind set with the involvement and participation of both the affected people and specialized panel. The panel must encompass social scientist from the field of sociology, economics, law and other important disciplines. When the perspectives of different people of different fields are taken into account, the policy so framed becomes worthwhile. The next section deals with the objectives of rehabilitation.

1.10 (1) OBJECTIVES OF REHABILITATION

The following objectives of rehabilitation should be kept in mind before the people are given an alternative site for living

- Displaced community should be resettled in such a manner that they are able live along the lives of their own patterns.
- Efforts must be done to protect and restore their livelihood sources.
- Displaced people of one community must be resettled in same area so that they don't feel isolated all together.
- The people displaced should get an appropriate share in the fruits of the development.
- Preference of recruitment in the development project should be given to the project affected people.
- Resettlement should be done in the nearest locality to the maximum possible extent.
- If the resettlement is not possible in the neighbouring area, efforts must be done to develop all the facilities which were available to them such as drinking water, electricity, schools, hospital and other basic amenities.

Rehabilitation, if aims at welfare of affected people can reverse the risk of impoverishment and marginalization. Cernea suggests a risk and reconstruction model of rehabilitation that would be marked by a series of transitions from: landlessness to land-based resettlement; joblessness to re-employment; food insecurity to safe nutrition; homelessness to house reconstruction; increased morbidity and mortality to improved health and well being, and social disarticulation and deprivation of common property resources to community reconstruction and social inclusion.⁶⁶

CONCLUSION

Development in any country comes with a price. Even though, the idea of welfare is inherent in the development policies, but there is definitely a section of society which receives a backlash in the name of development. Millions of people are uprooted from their habitat, displaced from their homes and sacrificed in the name of national interest. The Government is fully aware of the development consequences and has laid down certain fair compensation policies. Despite all the efforts, a large number of people continued to be displaced in the name of development with no proper resettlement and rehabilitation. The displacement process is definitely dehumanizing, disempowering and results in multiple socio-psychological consequences. It leads to personal, family and community breakdown / disorganization. The economic consequences are even harsher. The next chapter deals with the socio- economic impacts on the displaced and also the various laws which has been formulated and amended to reduce the painful experiences of the displaced and the project affected people.

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