

**Urban Resettlement and Sustainable Urban Development:  
Three Comparative Case Studies in the City of Hyderabad**

A thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad in fulfillment of  
the requirement for the award of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**By**

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## DECLARATION



I, **Nanda Kishor M.S**, hereby declare that the research embodied in the present thesis entitled “**Urban Resettlement and Sustainable Urban Development: Three Comparative Case Studies in the city of Hyderabad**” is an original research work carried out by me under the supervision of Prof. Arun Kumar Patnaik, Department of Political Science, for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science in the University of Hyderabad.

I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of research degree in part or full to this or any other university

Date:

Place:

Signature of the Candidate

## CERTIFICATE



This is to certify that Mr. **Nanda Kishor M.S** has carried out the research work embodied in the present thesis entitled “**Urban Resettlement and Sustainable Urban Development: Three Comparative Case Studies in the city of Hyderabad**” for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science and the thesis is prepared under our supervision.

We declare to the best of our knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of research degree in part or full at any university.

Research Supervisor

Head of the Department

Dean, Social Sciences

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- Nanda Kishor M. S.

## CONTENTS

### **Chapter I**

<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>1-27</b>
---------------------------	-------------

### **Chapter II**

<b>Facets of displacement and resettlement- Policy Reviews, Approaches and Gender perspectives.....</b>	<b>28-104</b>
---	---------------

### **Chapter III**

<b>Making sense of resettlement: A Theory and Models.....</b>	<b>105-159</b>
---	----------------

### **Chapter IV**

<b>Three Case Studies in Hyderabad.....</b>	<b>160-259</b>
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### **Chapter V**

<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>260-297</b>
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<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>298-315</b>
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### **Abbreviations**

ADB	-Asian Development Bank
Andhra Pradesh	- One of the 27 States in India
APIICL	- Andhra Pradesh Industrial and Investment Corporation Limited
BJP	- Bharatiya Janata Party, National Political Party
BPL	- Below Poverty Line
CBA	- Cost Benefit Analyses
CEDAW	- Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
Congress party	- National Political Party
DRO	- District Revenue Officer
GHMC	- Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation
HDI	-Human Development Index
HPI	-Human Poverty Index
Hyderabad	- Capital City and a Mega City of Andhra Pradesh
HUA	- Hyderabad Urban Agglomeration
HUDA	- Hyderabad Urban Development Authority
IDP	- Internally Displaced Persons
ILO	-International Labour Organisation
IRR	- Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction
IT	- Information Technology
JF	- Justice as Fairness
LAA	- Land Acquisition Act
LAG	- Least Advantaged Group

Madarasa	- Religious Educational Institution of Islam
MCH	- Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad
MAG	-More Advantaged Group
MMTS	- Multi Modal Transportation System
MRO	- Mandal Revenue Officer
NRP	- National Rehabilitation Policy
NTPC	- National Thermal Power Corporation
NTR Nagar	- Nandamuri Taraka Ramarao Nagar (Name of the former chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh from Telugu Desam Party)
ORR	- Outer Ring Road
PAF	- Project Affected Families
PAP	- Project Affected People
Patta	- Land Registration Form in Andhra Pradesh
Sabita Indra Reddy	- Minister for Information and Technology (Congress Party)
SC ST	- Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Marginalized Groups)
SEZ	- Special Economic Zone\
SIA	-Special Impact Assesment
SIALLWEL	-Shamshabad International Airport Land Losers Welfare Association
SPSS	-Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TDP	- Telugu Desam Party (Regional Party of Andhra Pradesh)
TJ	- Theory of Justice
UN	- United Nations
WCED	- World Commission on Environment and Development
WID	- Women In Development

# Introduction

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*"We must act so that poverty will be alleviated, our environment protected, social justice extended, human rights strengthened. Social injustice can destroy economic and political advances"*

*- (James D. Wolfensohn, Former World Bank President)*

## 1.1 Background

Today, almost one half of the world's population lives in cities. The world's cities are growing by one million people each week. Cities play a significant role in development and they continue to attract migrants from rural areas because they enable people to advance socially and economically. Cities offer significant substantial livelihood options in the form of jobs, housing and services, and are important centers of productivity and social development. India in the post independence period planned economic development that led to development for sure but there is also another face to it where large number of people had to suffer in several ways in the name of national development, the "city-dwellers" are no exception.

Today large numbers of people live in the cities but do not have any entitlements. These people are called as informal dwellers as they live in the so called slums. "The existence of a slum means the authorities have failed," says the World Bank. "The slum population of the country works out as above 40 million accounting for 14.12% of the total urban population. The States reporting high share of slum population in total urban population are Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Haryana constituting 25.9%, 25.1% and 23% of the urban population respectively. Andhra Pradesh has 5, 149,272 population in slums which come up to 25.11% of urban population. Specifically Hyderabad has 17.43% of slum population"<sup>1</sup>. This population has no rights or entitlements and they reside in public places. The major cause for population displacement has been the projects undertaken to promote development at different level for different reasons. Displacement for development is the process of physically uprooting large

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<sup>1</sup> K. C Shivaramakrishnan, Amitabh Kundu, B. N. Singh, (2005) '*Handbook of Urbanization in India-An Analysis of Trends and Processes*', Oxford University Press, Delhi, pp 107-110.

section of people from their land, economy, resources and culture. The ideology of development is used to strengthen inequitable social relations in society, through the acts like displacement. This phenomenon needs a different approach as they are also part of the society and they too have all the rights to have a dignified life.

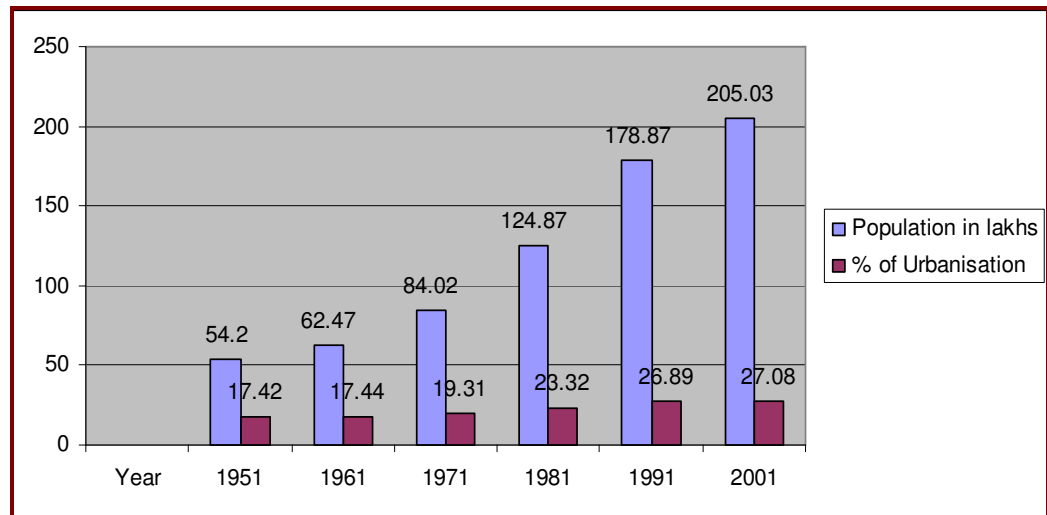
Andhra Pradesh has witnessed a sustained increase in urban population. Over the last fifty years from 54 lakhs in the year 1951, it touched 205 lakhs (400%) in the year 2001 and continues to grow at an accelerated pace. Urban population today, constitutes about 27% of the total population of the State as against mere 17.42% in 1951. There are periods of stagnation as well as acceleration in urban levels in different decades as can be seen from Table 1:

**Table - 1: Urbanization Trends: 1951-2001**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total Population</b>	<b>Urban Population</b>	<b>No. of Towns/ Urban Areas</b>	<b>% of Urban population</b>	<b>Decadal Growth Rate</b>	<b>Annual Exponential Growth Rate</b>
<b>1951</b>	<b>31,115,259</b>	<b>5,420,325</b>	<b>291</b>	<b>17.42</b>	<b>47.86</b>	<b>3.91</b>
<b>1961</b>	<b>35,983,447</b>	<b>6,247,508</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>17.44</b>	<b>15.76</b>	<b>1.46</b>
<b>1971</b>	<b>43,502,708</b>	<b>8,402,527</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>19.31</b>	<b>33.92</b>	<b>2.92</b>
<b>1981</b>	<b>53,549,673</b>	<b>12,487,576</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>23.32</b>	<b>48.62</b>	<b>3.96</b>
<b>1991</b>	<b>66,508,008</b>	<b>17,817,126</b>	<b>264</b>	<b>26.89</b>	<b>43.24</b>	<b>3.59</b>
<b>2001</b>	<b>75,727,541</b>	<b>20,503,597</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>27.08</b>	<b>14.63</b>	<b>1.37</b>

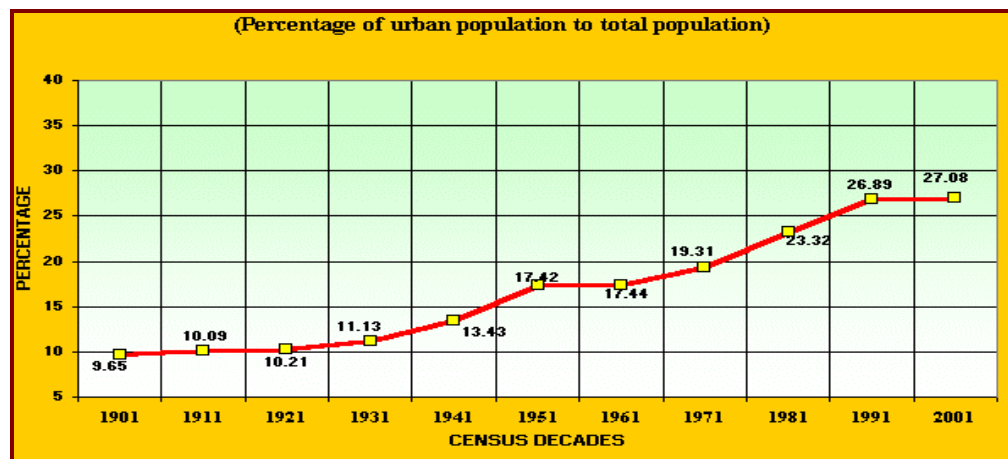
Source: Source:Census of India 2001, Registrar General, India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi- Urban population growth trends in Andhra Pradesh, both in number and percentage to total population.



**Figure .1– Urban Population Growth Trend in India**

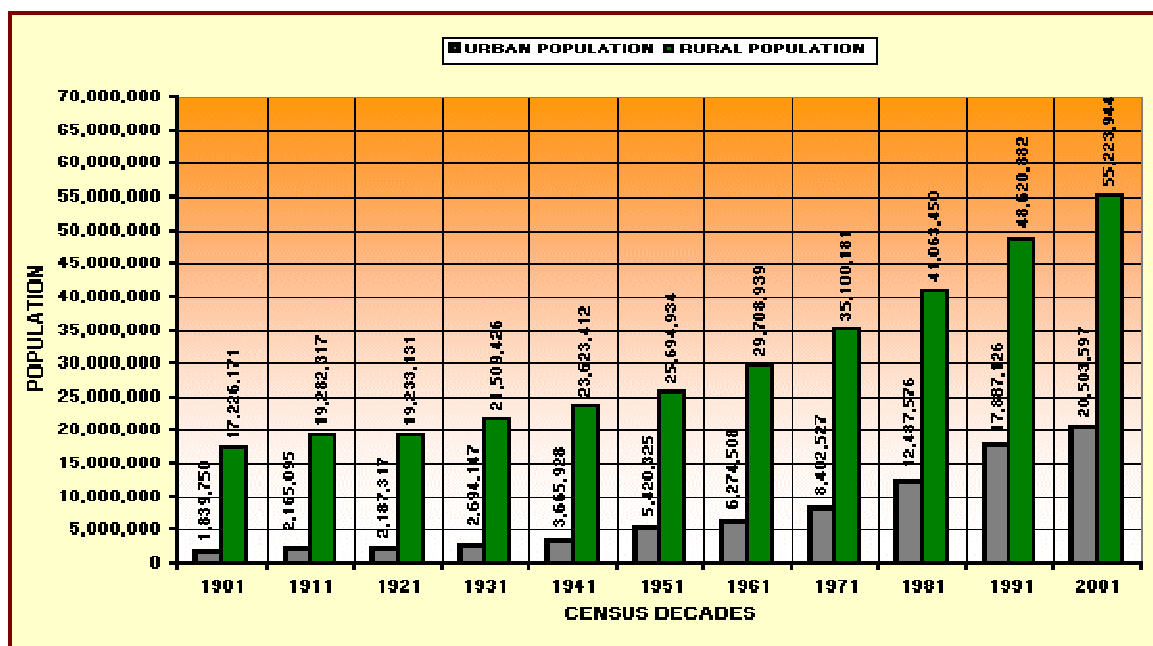
Source: Census of India 2001, Registrar General, India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi

On the one side the population is increasing day by day and the pressure on the cities is also increasing subsequently. The global report on Human Settlements 2005 has found that ‘during the next thirty years, the urban population will increase by more than 2 billion in the world and the greatest impact will be felt in the developing world. It is a fact that the huge increase in urban populations amounts to a crisis of unprecedented magnitude in urban shelter provision. Every year, the world’s urban population is increasing by about 70 million and these people need to be provided with shelter, with employment and with urban services.

**Figure 2: Pace of Urbanization 1901-2001**

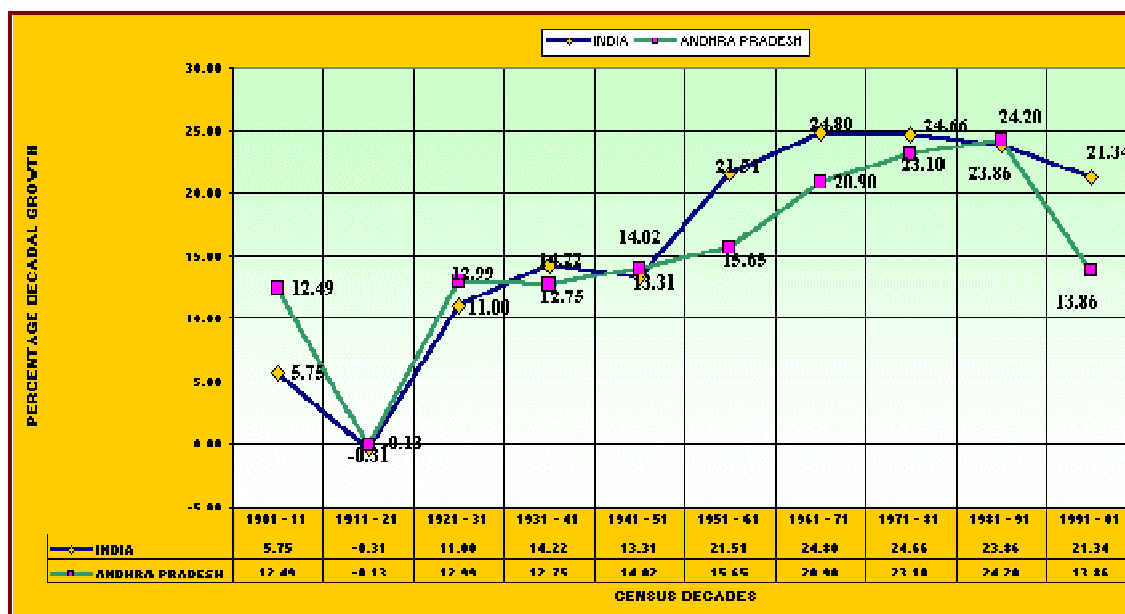
Source: Census of India 2001, Registrar General, India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi

Fig:3-Urban and rural Population of Andhra Pradesh 1901-2001



Source: Census of India 2001, Registrar General, India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi

Fig 4: Decadal Growth of Population from 1901-2001



Source: Census of India 2001, Registrar General, India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi

## 1.2 Human Development Index (HDI)

As population growth continues, going out of control, migration from rural to urban areas is also on the rise. Before explicating that part, it is necessary to see the Human Development Index in Andhra Pradesh along with other Indian States. Human development Index would give us the clear picture of where the population stands and the necessity of having different programmes in Andhra Pradesh. The table below would form a base for the logic which would be put forth in the succeeding chapters in the lines of justice and empowerment.

**Table 2: Human Development Index (HDI) among Indian States**

Sno	States	Index			Ranking	
		1993-94	2004-05	Change	1993-94	2004-05
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Andhra Pradesh	0.415	0.503	21.2	10	10
2	Assam	0.429	0.509	18.6	9	10
3	Bihar	0.349	0.441	26.3	16	16
4	Gujarat	0.462	0.535	15.7	6	7
5	Haryana	0.470	0.558	18.9	5	5
6	Karnataka	0.448	0.526	17.5	7	9
7	Kerala	0.621	0.673	8.3	1	1
8	Madhya Pradesh	0.369	0.452	22.5	13	15
9	Maharashtra	0.499	0.570	14.3	3	4
10	Orissa	0.360	0.453	25.6	15	14
11	Punjab	0.518	0.588	13.4	2	2
12	Rajasthan	0.391	0.463	18.4	12	13
13	Tamil Nadu	0.481	0.586	22.0	4	3
14	Uttar Pradesh	0.363	0.476	31.2	14	12
15	West Bengal	0.442	0.533	20.6	8	8
	<b>India</b>	<b>0.416</b>	<b>0.544</b>	<b>20.6</b>		

Source: AP Human Development Report 2007 (2008), Government of Andhra Pradesh and Centre for Economic and Social Studies, Hyderabad

The Human Development Index is a simple composite measure that gauges the overall status of a region in terms of three basic dimensions - long and healthy life, knowledge and decent standard of living - of human development. According to the UNDP methodology, literacy rate, enrolment

rate, life expectancy and per capita GNP are the representative indicators for these basic dimensions.

### 1.3 Andhra Pradesh in All-India Context

The Planning Commission of India considered the following indicators for three dimensions of HDI in NHDR: literacy rate (7+ years of age) and adjusted intensity of formal education for education, life expectancy at age one and Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) for health, and consumption expenditure (per capita per month) for command over resources (NHDR, 2001). According to NHDR 2001, the performance of Andhra Pradesh appears to be lagging among the 15 major Indian states. Though the state improved the level of human development over the period, its relative position slipped as the other backward states began to perform better, especially in the 1990s. The HDI value of AP increased from 0.298 in 1981 to 0.377 in 1991 and further to 0.416, but the rank of the state was 9 in 1981 and 1991 and 10 in 2001. The HDI value in the state has been consistently lower than the all-India average and the other South Indian states. When compared to BiMaRU<sup>2</sup> states, the state was ahead in the 1980s but in the 1990s the state was lagging behind Rajasthan, which was one among the poorer states in India. Based on the analysis of development radar, the comment of NHDR on Andhra Pradesh was that “on the whole, the attainment on the indicators seems reasonably balanced, though the attainment levels are less than half the norms for most indicators even in the early 1990s” (NHDR, 2001:16).

The human poverty index is constructed for two points of time - 1991 and 2001 - to trace the decline in the level of deprivation. It indicates that between 1991 and 2001 the deprivation levels were brought down across all the districts. Importantly, the rate of decline during 1991-2001 in the level of deprivation was higher in those districts where levels of deprivation were relatively higher in 1991.

However, the relative position of many districts did not change. The three most backward districts and relatively the most deprived ones were Vizianagaram, Srikakulam and

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<sup>2</sup> The term refers to Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

Mahabubnagar. Hyderabad, Ranga Reddy, Krishna and Guntur were districts that were the least deprived. The value of coefficient of variation (CV) indicates that there was a slight reduction in regional variation across districts in terms of deprivation during 1991-2001.

**Table 3: Human Poverty Index (HPI) across Districts of Andhra Pradesh**

Sno	District	HPI			Rank		
		1991	2001	% Change	1991	2001	Change
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Srikakulam	0.729	0.566	22.4	22	21	5
2	Vizianagaram	0.766	0.597	22.0	23	23	6
3	Visakhapatnam	0.620	0.504	18.7	15	17	18
4	East Godavari	0.587	0.465	20.8	9	9	12
5	West Godavari	0.548	0.449	18.2	4	5	19
6	Krishna	0.518	0.399	22.9	3	3	4
7	Guntur	0.561	0.428	23.7	5	4	2
8	Prakasam	0.630	0.494	21.5	17	13	8
9	Nellore	0.592	0.466	22.1	10	10	10
10	Chittoor	0.570	0.461	19.1	6	8	16
11	Kadapa	0.575	0.451	21.6	7	6	7
12	Anantapur	0.636	0.515	19.1	18	20	17
13	Kurnool	0.648	0.494	23.7	19	14	3
14	Mahabubnagar	0.712	0.592	16.9	21	22	22
15	Rangareddy	0.494	0.369	25.3	2	2	1
16	Hyderabad	0.233	0.213	8.3	1	1	23
17	Medak	0.620	0.498	19.7	16	15	15
18	Nizamabad	0.592	0.470	20.6	11	11	13
19	Adilabad	0.650	0.514	20.9	20	19	11
20	Karimnagar	0.575	0.452	21.4	8	7	9
21	Warangal	0.615	0.492	20.0	13	12	14
22	Khammam	0.604	0.500	17.2	12	16	20
23	Nalgonda	0.619	0.513	17.1	14	18	21
	<i>Andhra Pradesh</i>	<i>0.583</i>	<i>0.469</i>	<i>19.5</i>			
	<i>CV</i>	<i>17.0</i>	<i>16.5</i>	<i>16.9</i>			

Source: AP Human Development Report 2007 (2008), Government of Andhra Pradesh and Centre for Economic and Social Studies, Hyderabad

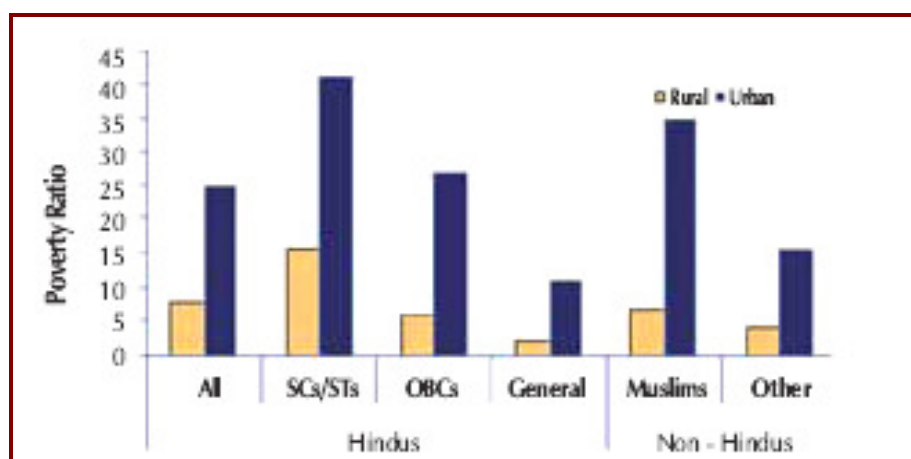
While the HDI measures the overall progress in achieving human development, the HPI measures the distribution of progress through the level of deprivation. The broad dimension by which this deprivation is measured is the same as those of HDI – health, knowledge and standard of living – but there is a slight variation in the indicators. Moreover, the level of deprivation is the yardstick for measurement while achievement levels are considered for HDI. Therefore, the indicators taken are as follows: adult illiteracy rate and percentage of children (6-14 age) not attending school for education; infant mortality rate for health; and percentage of household not having access to basic amenities like drinking water, housing, sanitation, cooking fuel and electricity for command over resources.

**Table 4: Poverty Ratios-Rural and Urban (India and Andhra Pradesh)**

Year	Andhra Pradesh			All-India		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1983	27.31	37.49	29.75	45.76	42.27	44.93
1993-94	16.64	37.63	22.30	37.26	32.56	36.02
2004-05	11.2	28.0	15.5	28.3	25.70	-

Source: Planning Commission, National Human Development Report 2001, Government of India, New Delhi

**Fig 5: Poverty Ratio by Religion and Caste- AP 2004-05**



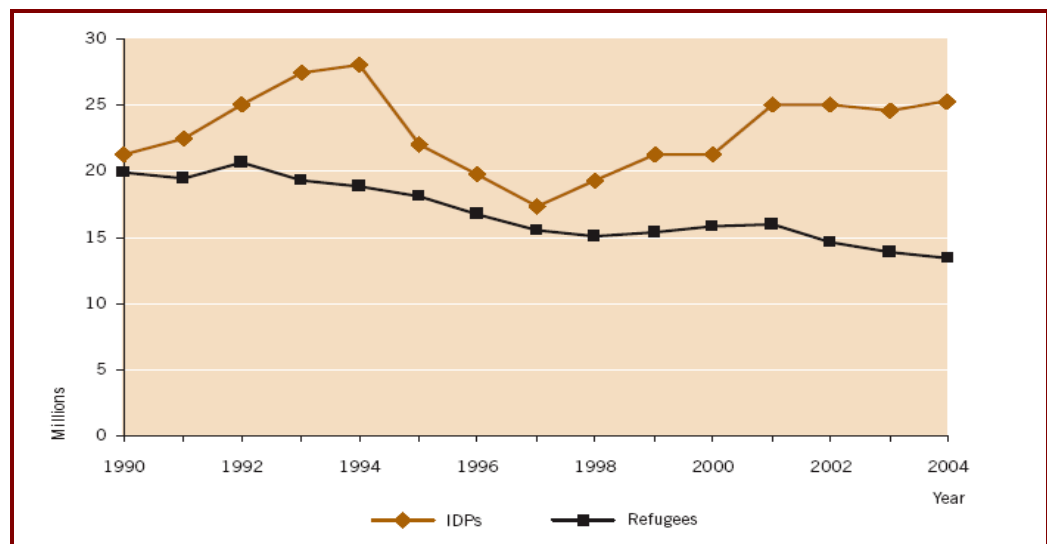
Source: Sachar Committee Report 2006, High level Committee on the social, economic and education status of Muslim Community of India, Govt. of India.

## 1.4 Poverty and Displacement

With all the problems magnified that can be traced back to legacies of their own, there are some man made or created inequalities which have led people to poverty and misery. One such example is that of development-induced displacement. During the last two decades of the previous century, the magnitude of forced population displacements caused by development programs was approximately 10 million people each year or some 200 million people globally during that period. Thus, by their frequency, size, and dire consequences, development-caused displacements have become a problem of worldwide proportions.

Rare is the development project, policy or process that only creates winners. The displacement theme brings the losers to centre stage. One form of displacement or another is often part of the development footprint. Technological change displaces workers in traditional activities. Dams displace families from their homes and villages. Interaction with the outside world displaces, or at least threatens to displace, long established cultures.

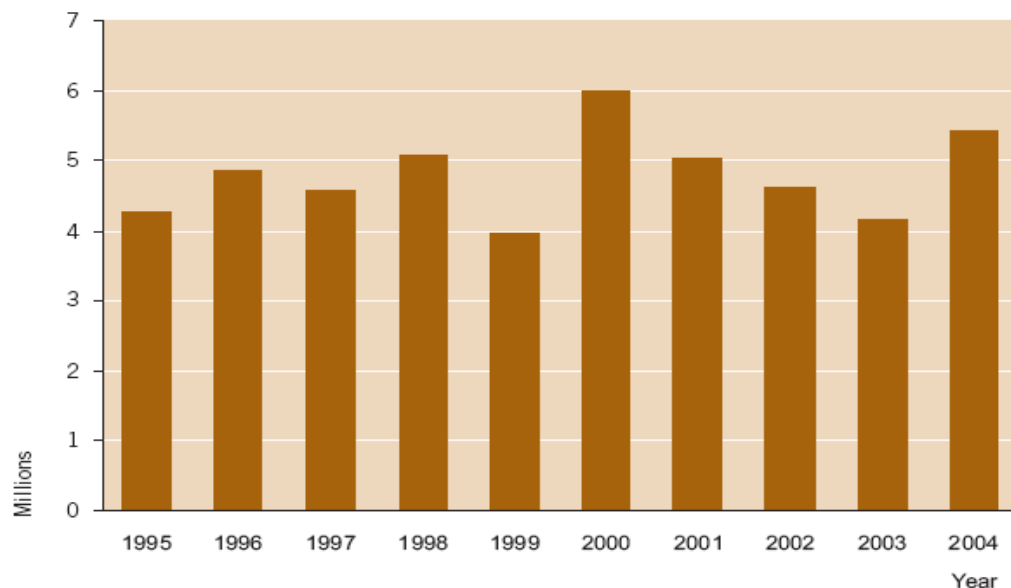
**Fig 6: Global number of Internally Displaced and Refugees from 1990-2004**



Source: UNHCR; UNRWA; US Committee for Refugees (1990-2000); the Global IDP Project/Norwegian Refugee Council (2001-2004).

Although the present study is about a South Indian city, it is essential for us to know the global reality and the whole issue has to be seen through a global perspective. The very logic behind this attempt is for the reason that displacement can not be studied in isolation. The global scenario would give us the magnitude of the problem. It is a phenomenon which has been haunting the world in all possible aspects as on the one hand the whole world is hoping to bring people out of poverty and respective countries have been struggling to achieve it but it is just in rhetoric as the countries which project themselves as democratic and egalitarian are into development which displaces people and subsequently leads to their poverty.

**Fig 7: Global number of Internally Displaced (in Millions)**



Source: UNHCR; UNRWA; US Committee for Refugees (1990-2000); the Global IDP

### **1.5 Forced Displacement- A Phenomenon**

Forced displacement occurs as a result of the need to improve infrastructure and consequently development like new industries, irrigation, transportation highways, power generation, and other developmental activities such as hospitals, schools, and airports. Such programs are indisputably needed. They improve many people's lives, provide employment, and supply better



services. Nevertheless, the involuntary displacements caused by such programs also create major impositions on some population segments. They restrict the rights of the population's by state-power intervention and are often carried out in ways that cause the affected populations to end up worse off.

This raises major issues of social justice and equity. The principle of the "greater good for the larger numbers," routinely invoked to rationalize forced displacements, is, in fact, often abused and turned into an unwarranted justification for tolerating ills that are avoidable. The outcome is an unjustifiable repartition of development's costs and benefits. Some people enjoy the gains of development, while others bear its pains.

The most widespread effect of involuntary displacement is the impoverishment of considerable population. In India, for instance, researchers found that the country's development programs have caused an aggregate displacement of more than 20 million people during roughly four decades, but that 75 percent of these people have not been "rehabilitated" (Fernandes 1991; Fernandes, Das, and Rao 1989). Their livelihoods have not been restored; in fact, the vast majority of development resettlers in India have become impoverished (Mahapatra 1999b).

Development will continue, however, to require changes in land use and water use and thus make various degrees of population relocation at times unavoidable. Yet, this does not mean that the inequitable distribution of development gains is itself inevitable, or ethically justified. Such inequity is, in fact, profoundly contrary to the proclaimed goals of induced development. There is no reason to accept spatial rearrangements and their pernicious consequences with resignation as an ineluctable tragedy. Adherence to social justice and equity norms and respect for civil rights and people's entitlements should remain paramount whenever development brings about risks and exacts predictable tolls.

Involuntary population resettlements entailed by development programmes have reached a magnitude and frequency that has been demanding a strong policy guided solution in the present

century. Involuntary urban resettlement can be defined as displacement of people (with coercion rather than cooperation) from a specific area and reconstruction of their livelihood; sometimes can be called as rehabilitation. There has been a record where 10,000,000 people each year are displaced worldwide by infrastructural development programmes that may be dam construction, urban development or transportation.

Historically Social Sciences has been a discipline, which has taken a strong note in tune with recording the effect. As Cernea puts it, “Public policy responses to hard development issues can gain much from listening better to social research. But it is important to state that social scientists themselves have to do much more to equip governments and public organizations with adequate practical and public advice”<sup>3</sup>. The present task of finding a long lasting sustainable solution to the problem has shifted over to the arena of public policy. On the other side there has been an inability of social science research to acknowledge the full impact of the process of resettlement. The real challenge has come now, as this has to be grounded in a larger structural critique of development.

The constituents of adequate and appropriate resettlement and rehabilitation of people displaced by development projects have been a subject of considerable debate. “The involuntary resettlement destroys productive assets and disorganizes production systems, and creates a high risk of chronic impoverishment that typically occurs along one or several of the following dimensions: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, morbidity and social disarticulation”<sup>4</sup>. The whole problem warrants the attention of the civilized population. The violations of individual or group rights that have occurred due to the development projects and resettlement have shattered the lives of thousands running in number. Urban resettlement is increasingly understood as a multidimensional phenomenon, affecting not only the economic but also the social and cultural sphere. Development projects cannot take the education, health facilities and progressive feature for granted.

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<sup>3</sup> Michael Cernea. M, ‘Public Policy Response to Development- Induced Population Displacements’. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 31, No.24, (1996), pp 1515-1523.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Cernea. M, ‘From unused social knowledge to policy creation: the case of population resettlement’, *Development Discussion paper no.342*, Harvard institute of international development, Harvard university, USA. (1990).

There is also a large section of the society that is of the view that the resettled can never be compensated and taken care to the fullest. Having a strong and sustainable public policy can contend this. There is also a view that the very concept of taking up a development project which affects people can be used as an opportunity for creating overall sustainable feature for the project affected people. “It is universally accepted that every human being has a right to just and sustainable development and it can be taken as a strong base in development projects”<sup>5</sup>. Most of the time the urban resettlements have failed to keep up the “*standard of living*” of the people as they were there previously. The renowned economist *Amartya Sen* defines “standard of living” as “at a general level, the standard of living of an individual can be seen to depend on his or her ‘entitlements’ to the commodities that make the relevant activities possible”<sup>6</sup>. In the wake of the definition the present urban resettlements have not reached this position. The debate on resettlement can not be held in isolation. The problem has to be seen against the background of our whole economy and in light of the needs of our country for at least one generation. The essence of any resettlement must be comprehensive enough to put them on a sustainable development basis rather than just giving relief and a place to live. The research concentrates on the urban resettlement and how it can be converted into sustainable development of the resettled.

## 1.6 Research Problem and Significance of Study

The development process has been leading to displacement, which is coercive, and this calls for proper resettlement of the displaced. The resettlement has to be a sustainable one and such a resettlement can take place only if there is a participatory approach involving the dwellers as few studies point out this has to be worked at the very ground level of formation of public policy of a development project. There has been a good number of works done on resettlement. But specifically on urban resettlement few pioneers like Michael Cernea, Harimohan Mathur have worked extensively. There has been a considerable projection of the problem through the prism of social justice, vulnerability of the marginalized, gender sensitivity, impoverishment and such

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<sup>5</sup> Enakshi Ganguly Thukral, ‘Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation: Locating Gender’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31, 24, June 15, 1996. pp 1500-1503.

<sup>6</sup> Amartya Sen (1990), ‘*The Standard of Living*’, Tanner Lectures, Clare Hall (Ed) by Geoffrey Hawthorn, Cambridge University Press.

other psychological trauma, which occurs on the people who are resettled. The process has also witnessed a diagnostic and a predictive study of the phenomena. The works also show how development projects can operate through development of the displaced. A few public policy issues have also come up in the process.

The involuntary displacement and consequent resettlement of populations has been a major concern all over the world during the past two decades. During this period, investigators from a variety of scientific fields have conducted research on the impacts of official policies and procedures-or lack of policies-for resettled populations. Most of these efforts have focused on "mega projects" for hydroelectricity and irrigation in rural areas, while the experience with involuntary displacement of urban populations, especially in the slums and poverty belts of large cities, has been less systematically assessed. A disciplined effort to understand the specific features of urban resettlement would help in designing operational policies, strategies, and procedures that are compatible with the socio-economic and political realities in the urban context.

If the above mentioned is the case with the resettlement which is the basic and backbone of research, the other case, which deals with sustainable development has also been the most pampered word and a word which has got a unique character and position of getting adopted according to the problem. A massive body of works has been done on sustainable development but the works pertain and restrict themselves at producing a solution to keep the urban sphere sustainable with the given condition. The significance of the research will be in getting both the concepts of urban resettlement and sustainable development together. The research will focus on giving new dimension to the development induced displacement with concepts of justice, right and opportunity. The study aims at even being innovative in circumstances where displacement is inevitable as an opportunity to develop the city, make it sustainable on overall basis and improve the living condition of the large number of informal dwellers who are not in the best of the socio-economic and psychological conditions. The combination of both the concepts will

certainly come out with some practical solutions and allowing development of not just a section of the society but aiming at overall development, which leads to an egalitarian society.

The significance of the research will be in bringing both the concepts of Urban resettlement and Sustainable Development together. The research will focus on giving new dimension to the development induced displacement which can be used as an opportunity to develop the city, make it sustainable on overall basis and improve the living conditions of the large number of informal dwellers who are not in the best of the Socio-Economic and psychological conditions.

### **1.7 Objectives**

- A) To use John Rawls's concept of justice to assess the problem of displacement and resettlement in the urban scenario.
- B) To analyze, how unplanned development leads to the problem of displacement in Mega cities like Hyderabad.
- C) To assess the impact of displacement on the communities before and after displacement, and investigate the impact of unplanned development in the city of Hyderabad.
- D) To study whether urban resettlement can be used as an opportunity for sustainable urban development.

### **1.8 Research Methodology**

There have been methodologies used by many authors and researchers. The methodologies are time bound and the extent of the methodologies used proves that the research can be taken up in many ways according to the need of the work.

Ethnographic research methodology has been used by Michael Cernea<sup>7</sup> in many of his works. Some are even operational and action oriented research methods. His method involves the techniques of being participant observer in the process, in some cases participant actors too. His works are both descriptive and prescriptive. The descriptive research is like any other research, but the special features in his works are that they are prescriptive too, by ways in which they guide policy making in order that the upcoming projects at least can be taken care of.

The research follows a line:- Academic analysis→ Operational research→ Descriptive →prescriptive. Cernea also uses income curve<sup>8</sup> in his work to find out the position of resettler during the process resettlement. It involves the following aspects

- a) a slow growing or flat segment preceding displacement;
- b) a sudden downward segment at dislocation;
- c) a more-or-less flat segment during the adjustment/transition period at the new site;  
and
- d) An upward segment once income restoration begins.

Cernea's use of income curve is methodologically flawless and explicably one of the best, but with regard to his use in the displacement and resettlement, the method income curve has some problem. If the displacement has taken place in the year 1980 and the period, as Cernea says, it is a slow growing or flat segment preceding displacement which is almost flat on the graph, but the second one, in which a sudden downward segment at dislocation takes place, the graph goes down fully, the growth is nil and there are no development activities which take place as the government and the agencies involved are no way interested to bring any development activity to the place which is going to get displaced. There are times when even the poverty alleviation programmes are not implemented. Then comes, the third in which a

<sup>7</sup> Michael Cernea, 'The Risks and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Population', *World Development*, volume 25, no 10, 1997, pp. 1569-1587

<sup>8</sup> Michael Cernea, 'Understanding and Preventing Impoverishment from Displacement: Reflections on the State of knowledge', *Social Action*, July-September, Volume 45, 1995, pp. 261-276.

more-or-less flat segment during the adjustment/transition period at the new site, but this has some problem as the place is new to the displaced people and they have lost the place where they were residing. There is no surety that the people have been provided with the same type facilities they had previously. In the period of implementation and the construction of the project may be some crucial twenty years have passed. Then Cernea makes his last point which is more exposed to criticism, he puts it as an upward segment once income restoration begins, which is according to Cernea almost restoration of the previous position and income which was there in the initial stage, that is 1980. But the years have passed and it is 2000, where the positions regarding many things have changed.

The income curve shows an upward move in the graph and at last being equal to the first. The crucial thing here is that of income, the income in 1980's cannot be compared with the income of a person in 2000. The amount of money spent by a person in the year 1980 is different from 2000. If the person used to spend 2,000 for his family in a month the amount has increased to much more than it, and the same money is nowhere sufficient to run the family. In this regard the income curve is under criticism. The restoration can never be compared to the previous one. The numbers of cases show that no resettlement has been able to restore the previous situation, keeping aside even the impoverishment risks and considering only income. The incidents are in abundance as no resettlement has been proper and the fight is still going on with regard to Narmada River (Sardar Sarovar Project).

Cernea has been clear in using different methods for different cases. By recognizing the intensity of the case he has been using methods aptly. In his risk and reconstruction model he uses,

- a) A diagnostic method—which is explanatory and does cognitive function. It tries to find analytical evidence for the study of post settlement. It also diagnoses the recurrent pathologies of forced displacement and resettlement.
- b) A predictive method--- which does the function of warning and planning. The predictive method has the ability of converting the diagnoses into prognosis for better

planning. The outcome will equip the planners with better understanding and anticipation power. It will also show different ways to avoid displacement and respond with effective mitigatory and coping strategies.

Cernea makes an important effort to explore relationship between the psychological and economic aspects of marginalization; the variables he uses facilitate Multivariate Analysis. He has used even survey method in one of his works which was carried out among tribal households in five villages at Talcher, Orissa to find out the employment level, which was surprisingly found increasing.

Comparative methods have been adopted by Veena Das<sup>9</sup>, this specific method has two different techniques,

- a) Synchronic comparisons
- b) Diachronic comparisons

The synchronic comparison makes the research very clear and sets some goals which have to be achieved. The task of the technique can be listed

- 1) It has to identify the process of land acquisition and the policy prevailing for any type of land acquisition and displacement
- 2) To what extent the displacement has affected education, health and career and how the resettlement has responded to that.
- 3) It has to identify the extent of disturbance created by displacement with regard to skill enhancement. The technique has to show the extent of skill enhancement taken place after the resettlement.

The diachronic comparison is one which gives a comprehensive picture of the history of the case and administers better understanding through which the comparison becomes more important and vital. The task of the techniques is

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<sup>9</sup> Veena Das, 'Dislocation and Rehabilitation, *Defining a Field*', *Economic and Political weekly*, 31, 24, June 15, 1996, pp. 1509-1514.



- 1) Understanding the history of the place and the people who are involved and where the displacement has taken place. Until and unless the researcher understands the history of the place and the people who are settling there it is highly impossible to conduct a research, if done so, the work does not become complete as it would have not fulfilled the thrust of the research.
- 2) The most striking feature of the technique lies in making an intensive study of the pre-settlement and post-settlement. The status of both the times is highlighted and inferences are drawn accordingly. This comparison enables the implementing agencies to go ahead with much better implementation of the project or programme.
- 3) The third issue it takes up has been the comparison between the changes in the local life which can not be evaluated in economic terms. This technique raises the important issue about 'culture' as an administrative and legal value. One can not be compensated for all the losses the person has come across.

The work stands as one of the best methodologies used for displacement and resettlement as it covers most of the aspects of the issue.

Standard methodology is being used by Savithri Ramaiah<sup>10</sup> for retrospective studies. A pilot study is conducted in one resettlement area with a suitable control group of one project to determine the prevalence of severe malnutrition in both areas. A sample size of 211 children below the age of six years (as determined utilizing the formula for estimating the difference between two population proportions with specified absolute precision) is adequate at 95 percentage of confidence level with absolute precision required on either side of the true value of difference between the proportions within 5 percentage points. A multi stage random sampling method is used to select resettlement village for the survey. The control groups are selected from amongst villages closest in distance to the affected villages. The health and development indicators are selected and an ordinal scale is assigned to each indicator to determine the level of living in both the study and control groups. The data are analyzed

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<sup>10</sup> Savithri Ramaiah, 1998, 'Impact of Involuntary Resettlement on levels of Living, in Development Projects and Impoverishment Risks *Resettling Project -Affected People in India*' (ed) H. M. Mathur and David M, Oxford University Press, pp. 93-109.

using SPSS<sup>11</sup> version 6.0 for windows. The statistical tests applied for analysis of data include tests of significance, analysis of variance<sup>12</sup> (ANOVA) and multivariate analysis<sup>13</sup>.

Data collection can be one in several ways and A.B. Ota<sup>14</sup> has used participant observation method, participatory rural appraisal and genealogy methods. The facilities and provision that existed previous to displacement are collected through cluster schedule. Information from families pertaining to socio-economic conditions, health, education and the like is collected by using a family schedule from 624 families covering all the 156 RC (resettled colonies) and clusters. Roughly 10 per cent of the total families are covered by using Random sampling method. To substantiate the findings the case study method is also being used. An effort is made at all stages to draw a comparative account of the quality of living of the PDF's (project displaced people) pre-displacement and post displacement with a view to examine the extent to which they have overcome impoverishment risks.

For the Rengali barrage project, badanalla medium irrigation project, Harabhangi medium irrigation project, Baghua medium irrigation project Anita Agnihotri<sup>15</sup> primarily use participatory rural appraisal method. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) method is used at the grassroots level and the information is being presented through a case study method. Wherever required, the data on Economic indicators are being collected from secondary

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<sup>11</sup> Computer based tool called as *statistical package for the social sciences*. Used for perfect and easy way of statistical calculations.

<sup>12</sup> ANOVA-will identify whether or not there is a significant difference in the means across a number of different groups. The null hypothesis for this test is that there is no difference in the means for the different groups. It will not tell us if the significance is between the groups or just between some of the groups.

<sup>13</sup> Come under *Inferential Statistics* and are used to identify differences between groups, look for relationships between attributes and create models in order to be able to make predictions. The statistics which can be applied more than two variables can be called as *multivariate analysis*.

<sup>14</sup> A.B. OTA, 1996, 'Countering Impoverishment Risks in Development Projects and Impoverishment Risks Resettling Project -Affected People in India' (Eds) H. M. Mathur and David M, Oxford University Press, pp. 125-133.

<sup>15</sup> Anita Agnihotri, 1996, 'Poverty Alleviation Concerns in the Orissa State, Policy on Resettlement in Development Projects and Impoverishment Risks Resettling Project -Affected People in India' (Eds) H. M. Mathur and David M, Oxford University Press, pp. 237-254.

sources such as RAPs, Indigenous People's Development Programme (IPDP) and other project level Socio-Economic studies. Through Case Study method, the study identifies one or more impoverishment risks in each project and analyses the effectiveness of the policy, taking all aspects into consideration in removing the risks.

Survey method is extensively used by Bela Bhatia<sup>16</sup>. The information is collected by conducting Depth-interviews with residents of the five study villages and the eleven resettlement sites. Group Discussion is also extensively being used. These are partly guided by an open-ended questionnaire. The field work is conducted in two phases as to understand the dynamics of the situation. The author accepts that, however, the emphasis on field work is less. It relies more on quantitative data than on a qualitative assessment of the prevailing situation.

Institute for Socio-Economic Development (ISED)<sup>17</sup> has done extensive work in Orissa regarding Displacement and Resettlement. They have taken a sample of 31 villages of 441 households, with 2,274 people, selected from among 95 affected villages with 1,977 households. The survey is made by using case study method and participatory observation method. The random sampling method is used to collect data; there is the usage of structured interviews and focus group discussion.

Chris De Wet<sup>18</sup> has done his research on projects which are project-based. He has conducted a lot of work by using the Case Study Method. His Volta River project is the best of the work done on Displacement and resettlement. He has exclusively used Robert Chambers' Participatory Rural Appraisal on Bank funded projects. He has done research to find out the

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<sup>16</sup> Bela Bhatia, 'Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada valley, forced eviction in the Narmada Valley' in *The Dam and The Nation* (Ed) by Jean Dreze, Meera Samson and Satyajit Singh, Oxford University Press, pp. 267-327.

<sup>17</sup> Has done exclusive research in Orissa, on Displacement and Resettlement.

<sup>18</sup> Chris De wet, 'Economic development and Population Displacement, *can everybody win?*' *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No. 50, December 15, 2001, pp. 4637-4646.

participation level, which is to find the level of involvement of the local people in the project and its implementation, the income level and the change in income pattern after displacement due to the project.

Enakshi Ganguly Thukral<sup>19</sup> has done research using case study method and most of her works focus on gender issues. Her works explore the working patterns, income and the level of energy consumption. Some exclusive work has been done on employment level after displacement. There has been the usage of survey method for a village called Parveta in Maharashtra. Random sampling method has been used to collect the data.

### **1.9 Selection of the Field and Brief Profile of the field**

The selection of the case studies is based on a pilot study of several displaced sites and finally three case studies are chosen based on the magnitude of the problem. The other logic behind choosing the field is to see how different cases come under development induced displacement and the resettlement. The first case is of MMTS project, it displaces 433 families and it has a devastating effect. The case is interesting as the displaced community is living in a declared slum by the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (MCH)<sup>20</sup>. As the displaced community can articulate and enjoy the support of the ruling political party they can get resettlement after displacement. The case is interesting as it has lot of politics involved. The second case is that of industrial expansion project and it displaces 440 families. This place was also a recognized slum and people settled there are all from other parts of Andhra Pradesh and are living in the sites for more than 25-30 years. The case is very sensitive as this particular displaced community has to go through multiple displacement and had to live without proper resettlement for almost 1 ½ years. The case is of high importance as the trick used by the political party is that of ‘divide and rule’. The third case is chosen based on the merit of the project as displacement of eleven villages in the

<sup>19</sup> Enakshi Ganguly Thukral, ‘Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation, *Locating Gender*’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 15, 1996, pp 1500-1503

<sup>20</sup> Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad is changed as Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation in the year 2008.

Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) which is considered to be the largest displacement in the urban areas in the recent times. This case needs a special reference as the people displaced have entitlements and most of them are dependent on their lands and all of them lost agriculture lands. This case is a fitting example of the inhumane policies of displacement and resettlement pushing the people from Above Poverty Line (APL) to Below Poverty Line (BPL) and high impoverishment risks. All three cases are unique in nature and provide substantial understanding of displacement, resettlement in terms of sustainable development.

### **1.10 The Methodology of the Present Research Work**

As part of the research a pilot study of the place was conducted through a questionnaire formulated according to the need, requirement and keeping in mind the diversity of the population. With frequent visits to the field a tangible rapport was built up and in the later stage the field study was conducted. The study is based on both primary and secondary sources and data collection. Primary data is used to have ground level understanding. The primary data is collected by having a basic information sheet which was similar to all the families, and it is considered for sampling. The secondary data is used to have the conceptual understanding of the wide area of resettlement and sustainable urban development.

The primary data is collected at two levels; one, at the stage of official level in order to know their approach at the policy as well as personal level towards resettlement. The second one was with the resettled people in order to understand the implications of resettlement in social, economical and political life. The study is carried out through Case Study method<sup>21</sup>,

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<sup>21</sup> Rather than using samples and following a rigid protocol to examine limited number of variables, case study methods involve an in-depth, longitudinal examination of a single instance or event: a case. They provide a systematic way of looking at events, collecting data, analyzing information, and reporting the results. As a result the researcher may gain a sharpened understanding of why the instance happened as it did, and what might become important to look at more extensively in future research. Case studies lend themselves to both generating and testing hypotheses.

Participant Observation Method<sup>22</sup>, Questionnaire Method<sup>23</sup> and proportionate Stratified Random Sampling<sup>24</sup>. Apart from this the process is carried out through structured interviews, focused group discussions and informal interactions. 15% of the total displaced population is taken and investigated through Proportionate Stratified Random Sampling for quantifying the data. The collected data is cross checked with Triangulation method<sup>25</sup> so that the accuracy of the data is maintained. The collected data is analyzed through Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS)<sup>26</sup> with sufficient graphs and pie charts as to illustrate in the form of comparative case studies and many of the case studies have been formulated through informal interactions and focused group discussions. The major part of the research relies upon Diachronic Method to analyze the status of the people with different parameters in pre-

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<sup>22</sup> Participant observation is a type of research strategy and is the chief methodology of contemporary cultural anthropology. Its aim is to gain a close and intimate familiarity with a given group of individuals (such as a religious, occupational, or sub cultural group, or a particular community) and their practices through an intensive involvement with people in their natural environment, usually over an extended period of time.

<sup>23</sup> A questionnaire is a research instrument consisting of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. Although they are often designed for statistical analysis of the responses, this is not always the case.

<sup>24</sup> Proportionate sampling is a variation of stratified random sampling. We use this technique when our subgroups vary dramatically in size in our population. For example, we are interested in risk taking among college students and suspect that risk taking might differ between smokers and nonsmokers. Given increasing societal pressures against smoking, there are many fewer smokers on campus than nonsmokers. Rather than take equal numbers of smokers and nonsmokers, we want each group represented in their proportions in the population. Proportionate sampling strategies begin by stratifying the population into relevant subgroups and then random sampling within each subgroup. The number of participants that we recruit from each subgroup is equal to their proportion in the population.

<sup>25</sup> Triangulation Method-In the social sciences, Triangulation is often used to indicate that more than one method is used in a study with a view to double (or triple) checking results. This is also called "cross examination". The idea is that one can be more confident with a result if different methods lead to the same result. If an investigator uses only one method, the temptation is strong to believe in the findings. If an investigator uses two methods, the results may well clash. By using three methods to get at the answer to one question, the hope is that: a) two of the three will produce similar answers, or b) if three clashing answers are produced, the investigator knows that the question needs to be reframed, methods reconsidered, or both. Triangulation is the application and combination of several research methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon. It can be employed in both quantitative (validation) and qualitative (inquiry) studies. It is a method-appropriate strategy of founding the credibility of qualitative analyses. It becomes an alternative to traditional criteria like reliability and validity. It is the preferred line in the social sciences.

<sup>26</sup> Computer based tool called as *statistical package for the social sciences (SPSS)*. Used for perfect and easy way of statistical calculations.

displacement and post resettlement. The questionnaire method is used for the better understanding of the pre-settlement and post-resettlement scenario. Following Kothari's study, the diachronic comparison is being made by focusing on the pre and post settlement process.

### 1.11 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into five chapters apart from Introduction and conclusions. The chapters are:

Chapter I	Introduction
Chapter II	Facets of Displacement and Resettlement-Policy Reviews, Approaches and Gender Perspectives
Chapter III	Making Sense of Resettlement-A Theory and Models
Chapter IV	Three Comparative Case Studies in Hyderabad
Chapter V	Conclusion

**The Second Chapter: Facets of Displacement and Resettlement-Policy Reviews, Approaches and Gender Perspectives** starts with the first section on **policy reviews** with rehabilitation and resettlement policy in India and its nature. The section in detail explains the draconian law of Land Acquisition existing in the form of Land Acquisition act of 1984 and its features that has been a matter of concern from almost a century. The concepts of public domain and public purposes which are of high controversy are dealt with considerable care. This section not only finds problem with the policy but also suggests the model type which can be of better use for the displaced community using the empirical experience. Series of amendments and national laws have been presented with a critical tone as to sensitize the system to the agony of the displaced mass.

The second section on **approaches to displacement and resettlement** consist a wide range of literature reviewed on displacement and resettlement in India as well as other parts of the world.

The literature review consists of several approaches to displacement and the severity of displacement through different techniques. The chapter consists of assessment of capability and well being approach to absolutist approach used by several governments and departments. The last section on **gender perspectives** has greater importance in this particular work, there are very few works which have paid attention to the gender dimension to displacement. The women are the most vulnerable among the vulnerable and they are neglected in the resettlement process. The amount of psychological stress and risks they go through goes unnoticed most of the time.

**The Third Chapter: Making Sense of Resettlement-A Theory and Models** is the innovation of this thesis and it formulates the crux of the findings and the applicability of Rawlsian approach to displacement and resettlement in the first section. This section discusses the justice concept in general proposed by Rawls and particularly deals with difference principle used by Rawls. The applicability of Difference Principle in Indian scenario and the least advantaged group has been dealt elaborately. Attempt has been made to use Rawls's concept of least advantaged in the context of India. This attempt has been made as the section of the population displaced in the chosen three case studies from Hyderabad consist the categories which are called as reserved and minorities in India. The second section of the chapter on **models** is of high utility in the context of growing number of displacements happening around the world and particularly in the third world countries. The speciality of the concept of sustainable development being adaptable to several contexts is the logic behind including this in the thesis. The sustainable model speaks about livelihoods, human development and sustainable settlements. The concept is of high utility as displacement disrupts all the above mentioned factors when it occurs due to which the generations suffer. The chapter gives some of the applied models to promote livelihood and settlements.

**The Fourth Chapter:** This is an empirical study titled **Three Comparative Case Studies in Hyderabad**. The chapter deals with three cases of displacement and resettlement in the city of Hyderabad. The chapter begins with the profile of the place and the process of displacement and



resettlement. There is a description of how the displacement occurred and later the problems of the displacement and related aspects. After the explanation of each of the case a comparative description is given with regard to demographic data, social stratification, political affiliation, religious status and such other things. The major finding of income before and after displacement using diachronic method is also presented.

The last chapter of the thesis is the **Conclusion** and this chapter essentially contains some of the revelations and policy imperatives. Fifty years of research has shown that development-induced displacement is likely to unleash widespread changes called the resettlement effect, these changes include multi-dimensional impoverishment, the loss of homes, communities, productive land, income-earning assets, subsistence, community-shared resources, and cultural sites. The non-material impacts may be even greater, including human rights violations, deep fractures in social structures, networks and ties; threats to cultural identity and health; and destruction of social capital. From this perspective, women, children and the elderly are particularly vulnerable to the resettlement effect. The loss of social capital is particularly serious, as it diminishes the society's capacity to withstand non-project related threats. The section suggests how best a displacement can be prevented and in case of inevitable displacement how best a resettlement can be given. The process of participation and appropriate compensation aspects are also covered apart from using right based approach for displacement and resettlement rather than charity approach. The section contains several case studies analyzed in line with the theory and models used for the work.

## Chapter II

### **Facets of Displacement and Resettlement-Policy Reviews, Approaches and Gender perspectives**

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*"If you are to suffer, you should suffer in the interest of the country."* - Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>27</sup>

**Abstract:** This chapter *Facets of Displacement and Resettlement-Policy reviews, Approaches and Gender Perspectives* is divided into three parts. The first part deals with policy reviews, the second with different approaches and the last with the most important gender perspective. The first section on **policy reviews** deals with rehabilitation and resettlement policy in India and its nature. The section in detail explains the draconian law of Land Acquisition existing in the form of Land Acquisition act of 1984 and its features that has been a matter of concern from almost a century. The concepts of public domain and public purposes which are of high controversy are dealt with considerable care. This section not only finds problem with the policy but also suggests the model type which can be of better use for the displaced community using the empirical experience. Series of amendments and national laws have been presented with a critical tone as to sensitize the system to the agony of the displaced mass. The second section on **approaches to displacement and resettlement** consist a wide range of literature reviewed on displacement and resettlement in India as well as other parts of the world. The literature review consists of several approaches to displacement and the severity of displacement through different techniques. The chapter consists of assessment of capability and well being approach to absolutist approach used by several governments and departments. The last section on **gender perspectives** has greater importance in this particular work, there are very few works which have paid attention to the gender dimension to displacement. The women are the most vulnerable among the vulnerable and they are neglected in the resettlement process. The amount of psychological stress and risks they go through goes unnoticed most of the time.

#### **2.1 Policy Reviews**

After independence India has faced the epoch of Nehruvian socialism and the period saw virtually every kind of state intervention on the subject of property in land. The tenancy legislation, the anti Zamindari Act, the Ceiling Act followed one after another in quick succession. Several of these legislative measures were struck down by various high courts on the

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<sup>27</sup> Speaking to villagers who were to be displaced by the Hirakud Dam in 1948.

ground that they encroached upon the fundamental rights of the citizen. Instead of giving it a pro-poor and pro-people orientation, the 1984 amendments made acquisition easier. It empowered the state to acquire the land for even private industries. When the demand was for compensation based replacement value, the Act retained the market value as its criterion. But enough scope was given for filing the petition.

The national rehabilitation policy was first mooted in 1985 by a committee of the ministry of welfare. Then the ministry of rural development developed a rehabilitation policy. Then every two years, new policies were drafted which were not significant. The Resettlement and Rehabilitation Bill of 2007 has some value as it includes several problems of the displaced. To understand displacement and resettlement in India it is necessary to understand the history of the policy on which it was based.

### **2.1.1 Land acquisition and amendment of the Land Acquisition Act 1894**

For the last 114 years, land acquisition in India has been conducted under the aegis of the Colonial Land Acquisition Act of 1894 for whatever was deemed “public purpose”, using the principle of “eminent domain”. Last year, the Indian government announced its intention of amending this ancient Act by suitably defining the phrase “public purpose”. This move to complement policy with legislation is commendable. But the attempt at redefining “public purpose” actually favours private interest and big companies over the poor and marginalised who, under the principle of “greater good” are still asked to bear the cost of development. The Land Acquisition Act 1894 has been the centre of debate. It is of some significance that the act is of colonial vintage. What is also of the same vintage is the rule of law. This is an overreaching principle that was held out as the antithesis of arbitrary state action. The statute was one of the more definitive expression of the rule of law. The prescription contained in a statute- whether procedure, of substantive rights or of sanctions-acquired a legitimacy which was not easy to dislodge, something which continues to this day. And such a statute is the Land Acquisition Act 1894 [LAA]. The Land Acquisition Act 1894 is a statutory statement of the state’s power of eminent domain, which vests the state with ultimate control over land within the territory. It

denies to the person from whom the land is acquired the right to exercise the choice as to whether to part with the land or not so long as the acquisition is avowedly for a public purpose. The definition of public purpose in the act is inclusive, not exhaustive; and the 1984 amendment. Which was an attempt to update the law only increased the inclusive categories. The state is, however, only to acquire the land: the act therefore provides for payment of compensation. And, again, in the interests of justice and fair play, the Act lays down a procedure by which the land is to be acquired: an endorsement of the principle of processual justice.

The Land Acquisition Act (LAA) of 1894 (amended 1984), an archaic law carried over from the colonial past. The LAA is an assertion of the doctrine of eminent domain that is invoked for compulsory acquisition of land for public purpose, but has no accompanying provision for resettlement. In the urban context, due to the limitations of Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) policy in urban areas the policy focuses merely on re-housing in concrete buildings in distant locations, with none of the income generation and livelihood mitigation measures or access to public utilities promised prior to displacement. The land acquisition act of 1894 in India stands out as one of the most oldest and important act in India regarding land acquisition. Every displacement will start with acquisition of land. The law enabling acquisition should be examined, as it will be the deciding factor. There are few definitions regarding the acquisition, they can be listed below:

### **2.1.2 Eminent Domain and ‘Public Purpose’**

An important issue in the debate around displacement in India is the question of whether the state should retain the power to compulsorily acquire private land for development projects without the consent of the owner or owners of such land. The only prevailing law relating to involuntary displacement with an all-India coverage remains the colonial Land Acquisition Act of 1894 (LAA). Other such laws include the Coal Bearing Areas (Acquisition and Development) Act 1957, the Forest Act 1927 and the Army Manoeuvres and Practice Act 1938. The most important principle underlying the LAA and related acts is the doctrine of eminent domain, according to

which the state enjoys ultimate power over all land within its territory. It follows that the state has the right to invoke this right for the 'public good', and the consequent compulsory acquisition of land cannot be legally challenged or resisted by any person or community.

What constitutes 'public purpose' is deliberately left open in the law, and the power to determine its definition rests essentially with the state. It is significant that subsequent amendments to the LAA, and the new draft of the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill 1998, currently under consideration by the Government of India, do not undermine either the eminent domain of the state nor the unassailable power of the state to determine what constitutes in any specific instance a 'public purpose'. The power of eminent domain conflicts most obviously with Constitutional imperatives contained in Part XVI of the Constitution of India, designed to protect Scheduled Tribes.

Most state legislatures have passed elaborate statutes to protect tribal land owners from alienation of their lands, but paradoxically no protection is extended to the tribals for loss of lands to the single most important source of their expropriation, namely the state itself. Concerned with a case of enhanced compensation where land had been acquired from tribals in the process of constructing an earthen dam for Jalleru and Yerrakaluva reservoirs, the court used invented logic for lowering the compensation. It sought to apply one of the standards used in the computation of compensation which requires consideration of what a willing purchaser will pay a willing seller. 'It must be borne in mind that the lands are situated in an agency area where the alienation of the lands is prohibited to any outsider except to a Scheduled Tribe by virtue of A.P. Scheduled Area Land Transfer Regulation, 1959', the Court said.' Therefore what the capacity of a Scheduled Tribe willing to purchase the property will have to be taken into consideration and not with reference to the capacity or willingness of a plainsman. Scheduled Tribes may not have the capacity and may not be willing to pay huge amounts s for purchasing the lands and there is no demand for the land from the tribal (Ramanathan 1995). In general, courts in India have endorsed the doctrine of eminent domain. For instance, the Supreme Court in a ruling in 1994 (Usha Ramanathan 1996) held the power to acquire private property for public use is an attribute of sovereignty and is essential to the existence of a government. The power of eminent domain

was recognised on the principle that the sovereign state can always acquire the property of a citizen for public good, without the owner's consent..... The right to acquire an interest in land compulsorily has assumed increasing importance as a result of requirement of such land more and more every day, for different public purposes and to implement the promises made by the framers of the Constitution to the people of India (Ramanathan 1995). However, such unbridled power of the state, both to unilaterally determine what constitutes the 'public good' and to compulsorily appropriate private and community lands for such alleged 'good' has been challenged by people's movements as intolerably undemocratic and not egalitarian. They argue how it is incongruous that a colonial law, designed to promote colonial interests, has been retained in what is claimed to be a democratic welfare state.

One body of opinion calls for the complete elimination of the power of the State for compulsory acquisition. However, the belief that all displacement should be consensual also is not without its problems, because it can be used to justify the full play of unbridled market forces and the retreat of the state, even in its responsibility for equity-promoting interventions. The state must continue to be held responsible and accountable, for instance, for land reforms, health, education, shelter and livelihood security of the poor, and each of these can on occasion require the compulsory acquisition of land. One answer that has been suggested is that for commercial and profit-making activities, consensual displacement based on free negotiation with those in occupation and dependent for their livelihoods on the land in question, should become the rule. However, such negotiations between economically powerful corporations and relatively powerless and disorganized small land-owners allowing the free play of the market also has obvious attendant dangers. Moreover those without legal rights on land would not be involved in the negotiations at all. Therefore, although compulsory acquisition may be debarred in such cases, but state regulation to ensure the equity of the negotiations would continue.

'Public purpose' must be defined without ambiguity and in a limited sense. The burden of proof must be on the state to establish the public good involved in any proposed acquisition, and this must be judiciable. A draft Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill, 1999 prepared after a series of consultations with people's movements, academics and NGOs is a step

in this direction. It proposes that ‘public purpose’ should include such purposes by which the Government intends to bring into effect the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India. The Directive Principles of State Policy are an unimpeachable listing, as part of the Constitution, of responsibilities of the state, chiefly related to social equity. Further, the draft proposes that land acquired for individuals or companies producing or offering goods or services for profit shall not be considered a public purpose. However, it is silent about the need for the state to regulate such negotiations to ensure equity. Therefore the purpose of the suggested amendment is that when acquisition is sought to be resorted to by state, the burden of proof must be on the state to prove that it is for a purpose related to social equity.

The doctrine of eminent domain is itself contested, as it raises the classic debate of power of state versus individual rights. Development-induced displacement can be defined as the forcing of communities and individuals out of their homes, often also their homelands, for the purposes of economic development<sup>28</sup>. At the international level, it is viewed as a violation of human rights.

Under Section-4 of the Act, the Government is required to make a public notification of the intention to take over the land for a “public purpose”, the definition of which under Section-3(f) is inclusive, and is often interpreted very liberally to include a variety of uses such as housing schemes, roads, play grounds, offices and factories, benefiting only a portion of the society by the Collector and State Government taking advantage of the wide definition<sup>29</sup>. In fact, the Supreme Court in various cases has laid down that not only is “Public Purpose” hard to define, the Government is the best judge to decide whether a purpose falls under this definition. Under the existing legislation, even private corporations are granted the right to acquire land under certain sections.

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<sup>28</sup> Recently, the Supreme Court has taken up the issue of testing the Constitutional validity of the definition of “Public Purpose”. See Tannu Sharma, *Public Purpose in Land Acquisition Act under SC Scrutiny*, (Indian Express, 11 May 2007) available at <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/Public-purpose-in-Land-Acquisition-Act-under-SC-scrutiny/31142/>

<sup>29</sup> See for example, the case of *State of Bombay v. R. S. \_anji*, as referred to in Rao, Sanjeeva, *Law of Land Acquisition and Compensation*, (New Delhi: Butterworths, 2001), p 65

### **2.1.3 Justifiability of ‘Public Purpose’**

The only ‘public purpose’ that should be recognized by the law should be a purpose that has a clear and direct linkage to promoting the objectives enshrined in the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Indian Constitution, and should exclude any activity which related to the creation of profit. It must be incumbent upon government to justify the public purpose of the proposed project, by publishing for public dissemination, the following information, in addition to how far the project is expected to promote which Directive Principle of State Policy? How far does it lead to the optimum utilization of existing resources, keeping in mind the priority needs of the common people, especially the disadvantaged and dependent sections? How does it alter the existing distribution, use, access and control over the natural resources in question? In whose favour and in accordance with what principles of equity and distributive justice, and at whose costs, is such a change made? In other words, who are the beneficiaries and who are the victims of the development project? The total impact of the project upon life, society and the ecosystems within which these survive is of greater importance. It should be legally permissible for not only persons to be affected by the project, but also any other person or group, to challenge this claim of ‘public purpose’ of the project. This would be in conformity with the principle established in the context of public interest litigation in India, that in issues involving concerns of social justice one does not need to establish that one is directly affected to have recourse to legal remedies.

### **2.1.4 The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, 1984 - Extract of Section 30- Transitional provisions.**

The Land Acquisition Act of 1894 was amended in the year 1984, although there were many attempts made by the Government to amend the act, it could not make any major difference. The amendment of 1984 included certain things which were missing in the 1894 land acquisition act.

The land acquisition is on the concurrent list of the Indian constitution. Land can either be purchased directly or acquired through any of the relevant legislation created by the state or central governments. The land requirement of the public sector projects as well as the major private sector projects are met through the land acquisition act 1894. Section 16 of the act stipulates that when the district collector has made an award under the section 11 of the act, he or



she may take possession of the land, which shall thereupon vest absolutely in the government, free from all encumbrances. The owner compulsorily loses his right, title and interest to the land in return for a cash compensation declared under the terms of the award. In 1984, the Land Acquisition Act was comprehensively amended based on the recommendation of the law commission. A Land Acquisition Review Committee headed by Justice A N Maula was constituted which held due consultation with the state governments. The aim was to make the Land Acquisition Act internally efficient, while strengthening the rights of the individual and guaranteeing a modicum of public accountability<sup>30</sup>. The governing principle however remained the same.

In addition to the Land Acquisition Act, land can be acquired under the number of other acts. Yet, the Land Acquisition Act 1894 continues to be the principle instrument for the Land Acquisition in India. There has been a noticeable tendency on the part of the state governments to enact special legislations for each major project, without regard for uniformity. As the legislative provisions of the act vary from project to project, this leads to selective justice. The conference of the Revenue Secretaries of States (July 1989) has recommended that all lands should be acquired under the provision of the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 alone and other laws repugnant thereto should be amended or repealed altogether [Government of India 1989].

The Land Acquisition Act has provided provision under section 11(3) for the grant of land in lieu of money compensation, but the provision has seldom been used. As cash compensation alone has not been acceptable to the majority of the tribal people, where large scale displacement has taken place.

30(1) The provisions of sub-section (1A) of section 23 of the principal Act, as inserted by Clause (a) of section 15 of this Act, shall apply, and shall be deemed to have applied, also to and in relation to;

(a) Every proceeding for the acquisition of any land under the principal Act pending on the 30th day of April, 1982 (the date of introduction of the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill in the House of people) in which no award has been made by the Collector before that date;

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(b) Every proceeding for the acquisition of any land under the principal Act commenced after that date, whether or not an award has been made by the Collector before the commencement of this Act.

(2) The provisions of sub-section (2) of section 23 and section 28 of the principal Act, as amended by clause (b) of section 15 and section 18 of this Act respectively, shall apply, and shall be deemed to have applied, also to, and in relation to, any award made by the Collector or Court or to any order passed, by the High Court or Supreme Court in appeal against any such award under the provisions of the principal Act after the 30th day of April 1982 (the date of introduction of the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill 1982, in the House of the People and before the commencement of this Act.

(3) The provisions of section 34 of the principal Act, as amended by section 20 of this Act, shall apply, and shall be deemed to have applied, also to, and in relation to,

(a) Every case in which possession of any land acquired under the principal Act had been taken before the 30th of April, 1982 (the date of introduction of the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill 1982, in the House of the People), and the amount of compensation for such acquisition had not been paid or deposited under section 31 of the principal Act until such date, with effect on and from that date; and

(b) Every case in which such possession had been taken on or after that date but before the commencement of this Act without the amount of compensation having been paid or deposited under the said section 31 with effect on and from the date of taking such possession.

In 1984, the Parliament felt that this period of three years between a notification under section 4(1) and the declaration under section 6 should be reduced to one year. Therefore, the 1984 Amendment provided that the sec. 6 declaration must be made within one year from the date of publication of the sec. 4(1) notification, where such notification under section 4(1) was published after the 1984 Amendment Act. In law, if sec. 6 declaration was not made within one year as provided by the 1984 Amendment, it would be invalid. Once there was no valid section 6 declaration made within one year as aforesaid, the sec. 4(1) notification issued earlier would also

lapse and the State would have to come forward with a fresh sec. 4(1) notification. May be, if the market value had increased between the date of earlier sec. 4(1) notification that has lapsed and the new sec. 4(1) notification that was issued, then the State would have to pay increased price for the lethargy of its officers and for their not making the sec. 6 declaration within one year of the sec. 4(1) notification. The 1984 Amendment, while fixing a period of one year for making of the declaration under sec. 6 from the date of publication of a sec. 4(1) notification, however, took care to see that those who went to Court and obtained stay orders did not deprive the State of the benefit of the full one year for taking the various steps necessary to reach the stage of declaration under sec. 6 – namely the holding of an inquiry under sec. 5A etc. It, therefore, inserted an Explanation below sec. 6(1) to the effect that if stay of any action or proceeding taken in pursuance of sec. 4(1) notification was obtained, the period covered by the stay orders could be excluded while computing the period of one year.

The section 6, as amended in 1984, reads as follows, to the extent relevant for our purpose:

*“Section 6. Declaration that land is required for a public purpose:- (1) Subject to the provisions of part VII of this Act, when the appropriate government is satisfied after considering the report, if any, made under section 5A, sub-section (2), that any particular land is needed for a public purpose, or for a company, a declaration shall be made to that effect under the signature of a secretary to such Government or of some officer duly authorized to certify its orders and different declarations may be made from time to time in respect of different parcels of any land covered by the same notification under section 4, sub-section (1), irrespective of whether one report or different reports has or have been made (wherever required) under section 5-A, sub-section (2):*

Provided that no declaration with respect to any particular land covered by a notification under section 4, sub-section (1)-

(i) Published after the commencement of the Land Acquisition (Amendment and Validation) Ordinance, 1967, but before the commencement of the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, 1984 shall be made after the expiry of three years from the date of the publication of the notification; or

(ii) Published after the commencement of the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, 1984, shall be made after the expiry of one year from the date of the publication of the notification:

Provided further that no such declaration shall be made unless the compensation to be awarded for such property is to be paid by a company, or wholly or partly out of public revenues or some fund controlled or managed by a local authority.

Explanation 1.- In computing any of the periods referred to in the first proviso, the period during which any action or proceeding to be taken in pursuance of the notification issued under section 4, sub-section (1), is stayed by an order of a court shall be excluded.”

It will be noticed that under Explanation-I of 1984 Amendment Act introduced as above, the period covered by a stay order is liable to be excluded. But, this Explanation is applicable only to cases where the Court granted stay and vacated the stay order either by an interlocutory order or where the stay got vacated by the dismissal of writ petition. Whatever period is lost in taking the various steps between the sec. 4(1) notification and the sec. 6 declarations is again restored to the department by virtue of this Explanation.

But, the Explanation inserted in 1984 does not exclude the period covered by the litigation where the various proceedings after sec. 4(1) notification (such as the sec. 5A inquiry) or the consequential section 6 declaration are held to be bad by the Court. This can happen, for example, where the sec. 5A inquiry is held vitiated on account of breach of principles of natural justice and consequentially the sec. 6 declarations is also quashed. The Explanation –I, it will be noticed, only covers cases where sec. 6 declaration is not quashed. In that event, in the absence of a provision in sec. 6, the Court cannot exclude the period covered by the Court proceedings leading up to the date of quashing of the proceedings or of the section 6 declaration.

Hidden in the folds of statutes, which appear to have little relation with displacement can be found with extensive powers enabling state authorities to take over control of land and related sources, for the purpose of constructing or maintaining a railway, a railway administration may construct ‘in or upon, across, under or over any lands, or any streets, hills, valleys, roads, railway, tramways....’ “As it thinks it is proper”. This discretion to decide and act is tucked away in the railways act of 1989. The extent of power is vivid in the clause which would have it ‘do all....acts necessary for making, maintaining, altering or repairing and using the railway’<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> Usha Ramanathan, 1996, Displacement and the Law, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31, 24, Pp. 1486-1492.

Interestingly, the one limitation on this power omnibus is when it is government property that is involved; the administration can then act only with the consent of the concerned government. With this one exception, these transactions are treated as acquisitions for a public purpose within the Land Acquisition Act. Displacement, while inevitable, is neither in the statement of the law, nor is its apparent concern.

There are but instances of a statutory order which are constructed as legitimate, and these facilitate the displacement of persons, as of communities. In its ordering of priorities, it has not reckoned with displacement. Instead, it has attributed a cost to the acquisition process, and displacement is an unstated incident in the process. Law depends, for its legitimacy, on its popular acceptance. The patent injustice that have resulted from employing the extant statutory regimes for situations which it could never have been intended-and mass displacement is an outstanding example and the popular condemnation that has followed, have concerned the law into rethinking its propositions. To get the laws to revise its priorities, to relocate expediency, to redefine development, to reassess the meaning of cost requires a liberal dose of legal imagination, political will and the induction of empirical knowledge.

The policy also has some instructions to the state Governments regarding the resettlement and rehabilitation. Every state has to follow those basic policy frameworks as to maintain certain standards. Those provisions are as below:

Where the appropriate Government is satisfied that acquisition of land for any project involves displacement of 500 families or more enmasse in plain areas and 250 families or more enmasse in hilly areas, DDP blocks, areas mentioned in Schedule V and Schedule VI of the Constitution of India as a result of acquisition of land for any project, it shall, by notification, appoint in respect of that project, an officer not below the rank of District Collector of the State Government to be the Administrator for R&R in respect of that project. Provided that, if the appropriate Government in respect of the project is the Central Government, such appointment, shall be made in consultation with the Central Government. Subject to the superintendence, directions and control of the appropriate Government and Commissioner for R&R, the Administrator for Resettlement & Rehabilitation shall take all measures for the rehabilitation and

resettlement of all project affected families (PAF) in respect of that project. The overall control and superintendence of the formulation of resettlement and rehabilitation plan and execution of the same shall vest in the Administrator, Resettlement & Rehabilitation. Subject to any general or special order of the appropriate Government, the Administrator for Resettlement & Rehabilitation shall perform the following functions/duties:-

- ❖ Minimize displacement of persons and identify non-displacing or least displacing alternatives in consultation with the requiring body ;
- ❖ Hold consultation with the project affected families while preparing a resettlement and rehabilitation scheme/ plan;
- ❖ Ensure that interest of the adversely project affected families of Scheduled Tribes and weaker sections are protected.

The respective government has to prepare a draft plan/ scheme of resettlement and rehabilitation as required under Chapter V of the national resettlement and rehabilitation Policy; it has to prepare a budget including estimated expenditure of various components of acquisition of land, resettlement and rehabilitation activities or programmes in consultation with representatives of the project affected families and requiring body for whom the land is acquired; it is clearly mentioned to acquire adequate land for the project and also for settling the project affected families; so there is no question of throwing out any of the families to without any proper resettlement. It is not just a resettlement and rehabilitation but the State Government has to make sure to appoint an officer of the rank of Commissioner/Secretary of that Government for resettlement and rehabilitation in respect of such projects to which this Policy applies to be called the Commissioner for Resettlement & Rehabilitation. For the purposes of this Policy, the Administrator for Resettlement & Rehabilitation and other officers and employees appointed for the purposes of resettlement and rehabilitation of PAF shall be subordinate to the Commissioner for Resettlement and Rehabilitation. The Commissioner shall be responsible for supervising the formulation of resettlement and rehabilitation plans/schemes, proper implementation of such plans/schemes and redressal of grievances as mentioned in Chapter VII of the national resettlement and rehabilitation policy of 2003.

The policy also makes some clarity regarding compensation and such other factors of resettlement. In the case of acquisition of land in emergent situation such as under Section 17 of the Land Acquisition Act 1894 or similar provision of other Act in force, each PAF shall be provided with transit accommodation, pending resettlement and rehabilitation scheme. Such families shall also get R&R benefits as mentioned under the Policy. Acquisition of Long Stretches of Land: In case of projects relating to Railway Lines, Highways, Transmission Lines and laying pipelines wherein only a narrow stretch of land extending over several kilometers is being acquired, the Project Affected Families will be offered an ex-gratia amount of Rs. 10,000/- per family, and no other Resettlement & Rehabilitation benefits shall be available to them. The Project Affected Families shall be provided necessary training facilities for development of entrepreneurship to take up self-employment projects at the resettlement zone as part of R&R benefits.

While shifting the population of the Affected Zone to the Resettlement Zone, the Administrator for R&R may as far as possible, ensure that:

- a) In case the entire population of the village/area to be shifted belongs to a particular community, such population/families may be resettled enmasse in a compact area so that socio-cultural relations (social harmony) amongst shifted families are not disturbed.
- b) In case of resettlement of Scheduled Castes PAFs, it may be ensured that they are resettled in sites close to the villages.

The Project Affected Families shall be provided the basic amenities and infrastructural facilities at the resettlement site as per norms specified by the Appropriate Govt. It is desirable that provision of drinking water, electricity, schools, dispensaries and access to the resettlement sites amongst others be included in the resettlement plan formulated by the Administrator for R&R.

### **2.1.5 National Policy for Rehabilitation and Resettlement 2007**

Although the 2007 National Policy for Rehabilitation and Resettlement lays down the principle of ‘minimizing displacement’ there have been no visible attempts to implement it. The policy fails to examine the process of displacement, which is taken for granted. The draft makes no attempt to question the need for displacement in the first place, or to seek out and actively promote non-displacing or least-displacing alternatives. On October 11, 2007, the central government announced the National Policy for Rehabilitation and Resettlement 2007 (NPRR 2007), replacing the National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation for Project-Affected Families 2003. During the winter session of Parliament, two Bills, namely the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill and the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill were also introduced.

After decades of deliberation and two earlier draft policies of 2003 and 2006, Cabinet’s announcement of a fresh policy -- ostensibly to live up to its promise of announcing a “just and humane” rehabilitation policy for those involuntarily displaced by development projects, including Special Economic Zones (SEZs) -- may be lauded. Information and Broadcasting Minister P R Dasmunshi was quick to point out that benefits under the new policy would be available to all affected persons and their families whose land, property or livelihood had been adversely affected by land acquisition or by involuntary displacement of a permanent nature for any other reason, such as a natural calamity; and that the policy would be applicable to all these cases, irrespective of their number. However, the timing and true intention of the new policy along with its declaration to amend the outdated Land Acquisition Act of 1894, the existing legal framework within which land is acquired by the State, are suspect.

As the announcement comes in the wake of nationwide protests against SEZs, critics of India’s rehabilitation policy process have been quick to see this not merely as an attempt to deceive project-affected families (PAFs) into believing that their lost rights will be restored but also to quell the large-scale protests against forcible land acquisition that have erupted all over the country. Although the stated intention of “backing policy with law” may be praiseworthy, as activists have for years been demanding that a just rehabilitation process must be backed by law, a close hard look reveals that, once again, the new policy is riddled with loopholes.



Under the 2007 policy it is now simpler for corporates as, along with land required for strategic and public infrastructure projects, “public purpose” has being redefined to allow the state government to acquire land for a private company, association or body of individuals, provided it is “useful for general public” (for example, employment-generation). Unfortunately, the state decides what is “useful for general public”. This determination, however, is limited to those cases where the developers of SEZs/industrial projects have already purchased 70% of the land, and allows the state to buy the remaining 30% to give the developers “crucial contiguity”. Activists like Harsh Mander have pointed out that there is a high probability of those owning/occupying/using the 30% of land not giving their “consent” in such cases, leading to forcible land acquisitions.

Enunciation of the “land for land” principle in the 2007 policy also suffers from similar ambiguity, as land is being offered as compensation but “to the extent that government land is available in resettlement areas”. Conditional terms like “subject to availability” offer escape routes for policy implementers and corrupt bureaucrats, as past experiences of resettlement and rehabilitation in India have shown that availability of government land for resettlement is almost always low. Nonetheless, this policy makes an important announcement that land acquired by the government will revert to the government in case the proposed project does not take off within five years of the acquisition. Since land is often acquired in excess of what is needed, and later handed over to the developers for extraneous purposes like building hotels, parks and golf courses, this new clause is a positive one.

Another creditable clause in the new policy is that if the land is sold after the project has taken off, 80% of the net profit earned from the sale goes to the original landowner. In addition, the policy states that if land is acquired in an “emergency”, its selling price will be higher (the solatium will be 75% of the market value, against 60% in routine cases). Also, that land acquired for “public purpose” cannot be changed to any other purpose. There is an “order of magnitude” jump in “compensation” for land acquired by the government in NPRR 2007; it has been fixed at the average rate of 50% of the highest land sale deeds over the previous three years, or the market rate decided by the state government, whichever is higher. However, there is an inherent danger when/if landholders are given the option of being able to avail of either one-time

monetary compensation or a mix of compensation and equity, as poor landholders are often tempted to opt for full cash compensation. Cash compensation tends to be used quickly, leaving families impoverished in the long run. This near-complete reliance on cash compensation sadly reveals that, yet again, the policy has “been silent on critical and long-standing problems... and (that) one of the most crucial demands of project-affected and displaced persons has been severely compromised”.

Then there is also the enlightened objective of making those entitled to compensation “stockholders in development” by allowing them to take up to 20% of the amount in the form of shares, if the acquiring entity is authorised to issue such instruments. How far this intention to make project-affected persons partners in the development process translates into reality is yet to be seen, although there has been a notable addition: for the first time tenants and dependents on the land are eligible for compensation.

Although the new policy lays down the principle of “minimizing displacement”, there have been no visible attempts to implement it. The policy fails to examine the process of displacement, which is taken for granted. The minister for rural development may laud the 2007 policy as one that puts rehabilitation before displacement, but in reality, the draft makes no attempt to question the need for displacement in the first place, or to seek out and actively promote non-displacing or least-displacing alternatives. Minimizing displacement does not mean simply altering the size of the project; it implies questioning the choice of technology, whether the project is needed at all, and whether the subsequent displacement of people can be avoided. These questions must be seriously considered while the project is being conceived, not reserved for deliberation at a later stage.

But the severest critique of the policy has been an outright violation of the vital principle of “prior informed consent”. The draft of the policy was made public only several days after it was announced. Why can’t our policymakers ensure that PAFs (Project Affected Families) and civil society groups participate in the formulation of policy and deliberations on project plans? Why are people who are going to be affected by projects not given their rightful place in the decision-making? The policy spells out a rehabilitation package but it provides PAFs with no legal

guarantee to the “right to resettlement or rehabilitation”. Resettlement rights must be guaranteed before any project begins and, in the event of faulty or inadequate resettlement, the project should be stopped from proceeding any further and the project developers held accountable. NPRR 2007 does not address any of these issues; nor does it give displaced persons “first rights” over the benefits of the project in question.

### **2.1.6 Employment and social impact assessment in the policy**

The policy outlines a number of benefits such as scholarships for the education of eligible people from affected families; preference for groups of cooperatives of affected persons in the allotment of contracts and other economic opportunities in and around the project site; housing benefits to landless affected families in both rural and urban areas; and wage employment to willing affected persons in construction work on the project. But the “employment guarantee” to one person from each nuclear family is “subject to the availability of vacancies and suitability of the affected person”. Such qualifying clauses like “if available” and “as far as possible” are widely used by project authorities and policymakers to shirk responsibility. One must note, however, that special provisions have been included in this draft for providing a lifetime monthly pension to vulnerable persons like the disabled, destitute, orphans, widows, unmarried girls, abandoned women, or people above 50 years of age who are not or cannot be provided alternative livelihoods.

Conducting a Social Impact Assessment (SIA) has been made mandatory in the policy, but only if more than 400 families have been displaced in the plains areas, and 200 in tribal, hilly and other scheduled areas. SIA is mandatory only in projects above a certain size. Every project that causes displacement must be subject to assessment, irrespective of the number of families it displaces? Besides, SIAs should be conducted in such a manner that the process of rehabilitation is monitored over a longer period of time. In an attempt to push responsibility on to lower levels, provisions in the new R&R Bill are being changed to include panchayats in all consultations relating to land acquisitions prior to the issue of a notification under the Land Acquisition Bill. The new policy makes it mandatory to consult gram sabhas, but gives no corresponding powers to the gram sabha to ensure accountability.

There are provisions in the new 2007 policy to introduce a Land Acquisition Compensation Settlement Authority (at the local level, removed from normal civil courts, to assist quick disposal of cases involving compensation disputes), a standing relief and rehabilitation authority at the district level, an ombudsman at the state level (to monitor rehabilitation under any project), a national monitoring committee and national monitoring cell (for effective monitoring of implementation of resettlement plans, with which state governments will have to share information) and a national rehabilitation commission (which will be empowered to exercise independent oversight over the rehabilitation and resettlement of affected families). Aggrieved persons can appeal to the high court and above against settlements decided by the Land Acquisition Compensation Settlement Authority. But the policy does not answer the crucial question as to whether these committees and commissions are empowered to stop a project from proceeding if there are indeed any discrepancies or issues of inadequate resettlement.

The stated premise of the new rehabilitation and resettlement policy is to “strike a balance between the need for land for development activities, and protecting the interests of farmers, landowners, tenants, the landless and those dependent on it”. In the long run, however, provisions in the policy lean more towards meeting the need for land for development purposes than protecting the interests of those who are being deprived of their lands and are dependent on those lands. The rights of those deprived of their lands cannot be restored unless the right to rehabilitation and resettlement is made a legally enforceable right.

The suggested amendments to the Land Acquisition Act appear dubious, to say the least. And activists and critics accuse the new draft of the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy of being deceptive and pandering to private interests. So land rights issues remain trapped in the quagmire of political disruptions, in the process further impoverishing the displaced.

### **2.1.6 Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy by the World Bank and Asian Development Bank.**

Until recently, development-induced displacement of population was considered a "sacrifice" some people have to make for the larger good. Resettlement programs in general were limited to

statutory monetary compensation for land acquired for the project, and occasionally development of a resettlement site.

However, perceptions are changing because of delays in project implementation and benefits foregone; growing awareness about the potential adverse economic, social, and environmental consequences of population displacement; and increasing concern about people's welfare. Resettlement is viewed increasingly as a development issue. Policymakers, planners, and development practitioners have come to accept that inadequate attention to resettlement does not pay in the long run; and costs of implementation problems caused by lack of good involuntary resettlement can far exceed the costs of proper resettlement. Furthermore, impoverished people are, a drain on the national economy; thus, avoiding or minimizing displacement as well as proper rehabilitation of those displaced make good economic sense as well as being fair to those adversely affected.

The Bank sees these changes in perceptions as an opportunity rather than an impediment. With the recent renewed emphasis on project quality and impact, the focus on affected persons and their welfare should (i) improve the way development projects are conceived, planned, and implemented; and (ii) make development not only economically but also socially and environmentally beneficial. This approach is in tune with the twin objectives of poverty reduction and sustainable economic growth.

So far, the Bank has not adopted a formal policy on involuntary resettlement. However, in recent years, some staff has been using the World Bank's operational directive (OD 4.30) as a guide in addressing resettlement issues in selected projects. The Bank's Guidelines for Social Analysis of Development Projects issued in June 1991 incorporated the essential features of OD 4.30 in an appendix<sup>32</sup>. More recently, the President issued instructions to staff to adhere to the principles

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<sup>32</sup> Asian Development Bank, 1993, Guidelines for Social Analysis of Development Projects, Appendix 6, Manila, June 1991. These Guidelines have been superseded by the Guidelines for Incorporation of Social Dimensions in Bank Operations, issued in October.

and approaches in OD 4.30 to deal with involuntary resettlement in Bank operations, pending formal adoption of a Bank policy on the subject<sup>33</sup>.

Formal adoption and implementation of a policy on involuntary resettlement is necessary to promote consistent improvements in Bank assistance to DMCs in this sensitive area. A policy on involuntary resettlement is necessary to-

- 1) Spell out the objectives and approaches,
- 2) Set the standards in Bank operations,
- 3) Provide staff with a clear perspective on the issues,
- 4) Assist borrowers in addressing the issues, and
- 5) Adopt formal procedures to address systematically these aspects in Bank operations.

### **2.1.7 Bank Policy**

The objectives of the Bank's policy on involuntary resettlement is to (i) avoid involuntary resettlement wherever feasible; and (ii) minimize resettlement where population displacement is unavoidable, and ensure that displaced people receive assistance, preferably under the project, so that they would be at least as well-off as they would have been in the absence of the project, as contemplated in the following paragraphs.

Involuntary resettlement should be an important consideration in project identification. The three important elements of involuntary resettlement are *(I) compensation for lost assets and loss of livelihood and income, (ii) assistance for relocation including provision of relocation sites with appropriate facilities and services, and (iii) assistance for rehabilitation to achieve at least the same level of well-being with the project as without it.* Some or all of these elements may be present in projects involving involuntary resettlement. For any project that requires relocating people, resettlement should be an integral part of project design and should be dealt with from the earliest stages of the project cycle, taking into account the following basic principles:

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<sup>33</sup> Asian Development Bank, 1994, Staff Instructions on Certain Policy/Administrative Issues Involuntary Resettlement, 15 February.

- i. Involuntary resettlement should be avoided where ver it is not feasible.
- ii. Where population displacement is unavoidable, it should be minimized by exploring all viable project options.
- iii. If individuals or a community must lose their land, means of livelihood, social support systems, or way of life in order that a project might proceed, they should be compensated and assisted so that their economic and social future will generally be at least as favorable with the project as without it. Appropriate land, housing, infrastructure, and other compensation, comparable to the without project situation, should be provided to the adversely affected population, including indigenous groups, ethnic minorities, and pastoralists who may have usufruct or customary rights to the land or other resources taken for the project.
- iv. Any involuntary resettlement should, as far as possible, be conceived and executed as a part of a development project or program and resettlement plans should be prepared with appropriate time bound actions and budgets. Resettlers should be provided sufficient resources and opportunities to reestablish their homes and livelihoods as soon as possible.
- v. The affected people should be fully informed and closely consulted on resettlement and compensation options. Where adversely affected people are particularly vulnerable, resettlement and compensation decisions should be preceded by a social preparation phase to build up the capacity of the vulnerable people to deal with the issues.
- vi. Appropriate patterns of social organization should be promoted, and existing social and cultural institutions of resettlers and their hosts should be supported and used to the greatest extent possible. Resettlers should be integrated economically and socially into host communities so that adverse impacts on host communities are minimized. One of the effective ways of achieving this integration may be by extending development benefits to host communities.
- vii. The absence of formal legal title to land by some affected groups should not be a bar to compensation. Affected persons entitled to compensation and rehabilitation should be identified and recorded as early as possible, preferably at the project identification stage, in order to prevent an influx of illegal encroachers, squatters, and other nonresidents who wish to take advantage of such benefits. Particular attention should be paid to the needs

of the poorest affected persons including those without legal title to assets, female-headed households and other vulnerable groups, such as indigenous peoples, and appropriate assistance provided to help them improve their status.

- viii. The full costs of resettlement and compensation, including the costs of social preparation and livelihood programs as well as the incremental benefits over the "without project" situation, should be included in the presentation of project costs and benefits.
- ix. To better assure timely availability of required resources and to ensure compliance with involuntary resettlement procedures during implementation, eligible costs of resettlement and compensation may be considered for inclusion in Bank loan financing for the project, if requested.

The Bank's support for projects requiring significant involuntary resettlement should include assistance to the government and other project sponsors to *(i) adopt and implement the above objectives and principles of the Bank's policy on involuntary resettlement within their own legal, policy, administrative and institutional frameworks; (ii) build the capacity of the government and other project sponsors to effectively plan and implement involuntary resettlement in the projects; and (iii) strengthen the capacities and macro frameworks for involuntary resettlement.* Where serious differences on major aspects between project sponsors and affected persons are evident, adequate time should be allowed for the government and other project sponsors to resolve these differences before the Bank commits support for the project. If requested by the government, the Bank would be prepared to assist as appropriate. The government and project sponsors are responsible for resolving the differences.

For projects or programs involving displacement of people and for projects that are likely to encounter significant social resistance, the social preparation of the adversely affected persons and their communities into which they will be resettled would be an important means to obtain their cooperation for the project to proceed. For all public and private sector projects that involve significant involuntary resettlement, the government and other project sponsors should be assisted in preparing and submitting to the Bank, before loan appraisal, a satisfactory resettlement plan with time-bound actions and budgets.



Although there are several policies and acts, the displacements and resettlement has not been taken as an opportunity for developing the affected communities. The policy should enable in a way to make sure that the affected families are well settled and they too come under the development paradigm. The policy must recognize historically established rights of communities over land and such other natural resources. The procedures for the evaluation of the assets lost should be done under the concept of social justice. Some of the procedures can be listed below:

- ❖ While assessing the economic value of assets lost, there should be some understanding between the lost and the acquired, which is most of the time the State Government or Central Government.
- ❖ The policy should recognize the social and psychological trauma caused by displacement and dislocation. Enough attention should be given on the mechanisms to compensate and relieve the distress caused.
- ❖ Efforts have to be made to prepare the Oustees for a new life, economically, socially and psychologically.
- ❖ It should also include mechanisms to make the host population appreciate the problems of the Oustees and accept it.

In all cases, any policy should re-examine and redefine the concept of family as a unit, emphasis on woman's presence in it and enunciate her rights. The draft policy is gender blind. It restricts the family to the household, with the male as the head and the sole deciding factor for compensation and rehabilitation. The policy must address itself specifically to the gender question and enunciate the rights of women. The concept of family should be re-examined as to the basic entitlements of women, including their right to rehabilitation and to participate in the decision-making process.

The Oustees of the project have lost faith in the implementing agency ~~in~~over the past five years. The government being the implementer has breached the law. The government has to make sure that it fulfills the basic promise made to the people during the displacement. There should be a policy applicable to all the states with regard to some fundamental requirements by any state during the process of displacement and resettlement.

### **2.1.8 United Nations Comprehensive Guidelines on Development-Based Displacement**

#### **Basic Human Rights Principles:**

- a) According to international human rights law, everyone has the right to adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living. The right to adequate housing includes, inter alia, the right to protection against arbitrary or unlawful interference with privacy, family, home, and to legal security of tenure.
- b) According to international law, States must ensure that protection against forced evictions, and the human right to adequate housing and secure tenure, are guaranteed without discrimination of any kind on the basis of race, colour, sex, language, religion or belief, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, legal or social status, age, disability, property, birth or other status.
- c) States must ensure the equal right of women and men to protection from forced evictions and the equal enjoyment of the human right to adequate housing and security of tenure, as reflected in the present guidelines.
- d) All persons, groups and communities have the right to resettlement, which includes the right to alternative land of better or equal quality and housing that must satisfy the following criteria for adequacy: accessibility, affordability, habitability, security of tenure, cultural adequacy, suitability of location, and access to essential services such as health and education.
- e) States must ensure that adequate and effective legal or other appropriate remedies are available to any person claiming that his/her right to protection against forced evictions has been violated or is under threat of violation.
- f) States must refrain from introducing any deliberately retrogressive measures with respect to de jure or de facto protection against forced evictions.

- g) States must recognize that the prohibition of forced evictions includes arbitrary displacement that results in altering the ethnic, religious or racial composition of the affected population.
- h) States must formulate and conduct their international policies and activities in compliance with their human rights obligations, including through both the pursuit and provision of international development assistance.

### **2.1.9 Implementation of State obligations**

States shall ensure that evictions only occur in exceptional circumstances. Evictions require full justification given their adverse impact on a wide range of internationally recognized human rights. Any eviction must be (a) authorized by law; (b) carried out in accordance with international human rights law; (c) undertaken solely for the purpose of promoting the general welfare;**d** (d) reasonable and proportional; (e) regulated so as to ensure full and fair compensation and rehabilitation; and (f) carried out in accordance with the present guidelines. The protection provided by these procedural requirements applies to all vulnerable persons and affected groups, irrespective of whether they hold title to home and property under domestic law.

States must adopt legislative and policy measures prohibiting the execution of evictions that are not in conformity with their international human rights obligations. States should refrain, to the maximum extent possible, from claiming or confiscating housing or land, and in particular when such action does not contribute to the enjoyment of human rights. For instance, an eviction may be considered justified if measures of land reform or redistribution, especially for the benefit of vulnerable or deprived persons, groups or communities are involved. States should apply appropriate civil or criminal penalties against any public or private person or entity within its jurisdiction that carries out evictions in a manner not fully consistent with applicable law and international human rights standards. States must ensure that adequate and effective legal or other appropriate remedies are available to all those who undergo, remain vulnerable to, or defend against forced evictions.

States shall take steps, to the maximum of their available resources, to ensure the equal enjoyment of the right to adequate housing by all. The obligation of States to adopt appropriate legislative and policy measures to ensure the protection of individuals, groups and communities from evictions that are not in conformity with existing international human rights standards is immediate.

In order to ensure that no form of discrimination, statutory or otherwise, adversely affects the enjoyment of the human right to adequate housing, States should carry out comprehensive reviews of relevant national legislation and policy with a view to ensuring their conformity with international human rights provisions. Such comprehensive review should also ensure that existing legislation, regulation and policy address the privatization of public services, inheritance and cultural practices, so as not to lead to, or facilitate forced evictions.

In order to secure a maximum degree of effective legal protection against the practice of forced evictions for all persons under their jurisdiction, States should take immediate measures aimed at conferring legal security of tenure upon those persons, households and communities currently lacking such protection, including all those who do not have formal titles to home and land.

States must ensure the equal enjoyment of the right to adequate housing by women and men. This requires States to adopt and implement special measures to protect women from forced evictions. Such measures should ensure that titles to housing and land are conferred on all women.

States should ensure that binding human rights standards are integrated in their international relations, including through trade and investment, development assistance and participation in multilateral forums and organizations. States should implement their human rights obligations with regard to international cooperation, whether as donors or as beneficiaries. States should ensure that international organizations in which they are represented refrain from sponsoring or implementing any project, programme or policy that may involve forced evictions, that is, evictions not in full conformity with international law, and as specified in the present guideline

### **2.1.10 Prior to Evictions**

Urban or rural planning and development processes should involve all those likely to be affected and should include the following elements: (a) appropriate notice to all potentially affected persons that eviction is being considered and that there will be public hearings on the proposed plans and alternatives; (b) effective dissemination by the authorities of relevant information in advance, including land records and proposed comprehensive resettlement plans specifically addressing efforts to protect vulnerable groups; (c) a reasonable time period for public review of, comment on, and/or objection to the proposed plan; (d) opportunities and efforts to facilitate the provision of legal, technical and other advice to affected persons about their rights and options; and (e) holding of public hearing(s) that provide(s) affected persons and their advocates with opportunities to challenge the eviction decision and/or to present alternative proposals and to articulate their demands and development priorities.

States should explore fully all possible alternatives to evictions. All potentially affected groups and persons, including women, indigenous peoples and persons with disabilities, as well as others working on behalf of the affected, have the right to relevant information, full consultation and participation throughout the entire process, and to propose alternatives that authorities should duly consider. In the event that agreement cannot be reached on a proposed alternative among concerned parties, an independent body having constitutional authority, such as a court of law, tribunal or ombudsperson should mediate, arbitrate or adjudicate as appropriate.

During planning processes, opportunities for dialogue and consultation must be extended effectively to include the full spectrum of affected persons: the women, vulnerable and marginalized groups, and when necessary, the same must be achieved through the adoption of special measures or procedures.

Prior to any decision to initiate an eviction, authorities must demonstrate that the eviction is unavoidable and consistent with international human rights commitments protective of the general welfare.

Any decision relating to evictions should be announced in writing in the local language to all individuals concerned, sufficiently in advance. The eviction notice should contain a detailed justification for the decision, including on: (a) absence of reasonable alternatives; (b) the full details of the proposed alternative; and (c) where no alternatives exist, all measures taken and foreseen to minimize the adverse effects of evictions. All final decisions should be subject to administrative and judicial review.

Due eviction notice should allow and enable those subject to eviction to take an inventory in order to assess the values of their properties, investments and other material goods that may be damaged. Those subject to eviction should also be given the opportunity to assess and document non-monetary losses to be compensated.

Evictions should not result in individuals being rendered homeless or vulnerable to the violation of other human rights. The State must make provision for the adoption of all appropriate measures, to the maximum of its available resources, especially for those who are unable to provide for themselves, to ensure that adequate alternative housing, resettlement or access to productive land, as the case may be, is available and provided. Alternative housing should be situated as close as possible to the original place of residence and source of livelihood of those evicted.

All resettlement measures, such as construction of homes, provision of water, electricity, sanitation, schools, access roads and allocation of land and sites, must be consistent with the present guidelines and internationally recognized human rights principles, and completed before those who are to be evicted are moved from their original areas of dwelling.

### **2.1.11 During Evictions**

The procedural requirements for ensuring respect for human rights standards include the mandatory presence of governmental officials or their representatives on site during evictions. The governmental officials, their representatives and persons implementing the eviction must

identify themselves to the persons being evicted and present formal authorization for the eviction action.

Neutral observers, including regional and international observers, should be allowed access upon request, to ensure transparency and compliance with international human rights principles during the carrying out of any eviction.

Evictions shall not be carried out in a manner that violates the dignity and human rights to life and security of those affected. States must also take steps to ensure that women are not subject to gender-based violence and discrimination in the course of evictions, and that the human rights of children are protected.

Any legal use of force must respect the principles of necessity and proportionality, as well as the Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials and any national or local code of conduct consistent with international law enforcement and human rights standards. Evictions must not take place in inclement weather, at night, during festivals or religious holidays, prior to elections, or during or just prior to school examinations

States and their agents must take steps to ensure that no one is subject to direct or indiscriminate attacks or other acts of violence, especially against women and children, or arbitrarily deprived of property or possessions as a result of demolition, arson and other forms of deliberate destruction, negligence or any form of collective punishment. Property and possessions left behind involuntarily should be protected against destruction and arbitrary and illegal appropriation, occupation or use. Authorities and their agents should never require or force those evicted to demolish their own dwellings or other structures. The option to do so must be provided to affected persons, however, as this would facilitate salvaging of possessions and building material.

### **2.1.12 After an Eviction: Immediate Relief and Relocation**

The Government and any other parties responsible for providing just compensation and sufficient alternative accommodation, or restitution when feasible, must do so immediately upon the eviction, except in cases of force majeure. At a minimum, regardless of the circumstances and without discrimination, competent authorities shall ensure that evicted persons or groups, especially those who are unable to provide for themselves, have safe and secure access to: (a) essential food, potable water and sanitation; (b) basic shelter and housing; (c) appropriate clothing; (d) essential medical services; (e) livelihood sources; (f) fodder for livestock and access to common property resources previously depended upon; and (g) education for children and childcare facilities. States should also ensure that members of the same extended family or community are not separated as a result of evictions. Special efforts should be made to ensure equal participation of women in all planning processes and in the distribution of basic services and supplies.

In order to ensure the protection of the human right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, all evicted persons who are wounded and sick, as well as those with disabilities, should receive the medical care and attention they require to the fullest extent practicable and with the least possible delay, without distinction on any non-medically relevant grounds. Whenever necessary, evicted persons should have access to psychological and social services. Special attention should be paid to: (a) the health needs of women and children, including access to female health-care providers where necessary, and to services such as reproductive health care and appropriate counseling for victims of sexual and other abuses; (b) ensuring that ongoing medical treatment is not disrupted as a result of eviction or relocation; and (c) the prevention of contagious and infectious diseases, including HIV/AIDS, at relocation sites. Identified relocation sites must fulfill the criteria for adequate housing according to international human rights law. These include: i (a) security of tenure; (b) services, materials, facilities and infrastructure such as potable water, energy for cooking, heating and lighting, sanitation and washing facilities, means of food storage, refuse disposal, site drainage and emergency services, and to natural and common resources, where appropriate; (c) affordable housing; (d) habitable housing providing inhabitants with adequate space, protection from cold, damp, heat, rain, wind



or other threats to health, structural hazards and disease vectors, and ensuring the physical safety of occupants; (e) accessibility for disadvantaged groups; (f) access to employment options, health-care services, schools, childcare centres and other social facilities, whether in urban or rural areas; and (g) culturally appropriate housing. In order to ensure security of the home, adequate housing should also include the following essential elements: privacy and security; participation in decision-making; freedom from violence; and access to remedies for any violations suffered.

In determining the compatibility of resettlement with the present guidelines, States should ensure that in the context of any case of resettlement the following criteria are adhered to:

- (a) No resettlement shall take place until such time as a comprehensive resettlement policy consistent with the present guidelines and internationally recognized human rights principles is in place;
- (b) Resettlement must ensure that the human rights of women, children, indigenous peoples and other vulnerable groups are equally protected, including their right to property ownership and access to resources;
- (c) The actor proposing and/or carrying out the resettlement shall be required by law to pay for any associated costs, including all resettlement costs;
- (d) No affected persons, groups or communities shall suffer detriment as far as their human rights are concerned, nor shall their right to the continuous improvement of living conditions be subject to infringement. This applies equally to host communities at resettlement sites, and affected persons, groups and communities subjected to forced eviction;
- (e) The right of affected persons, groups and communities to full and prior informed consent regarding relocation must be guaranteed. The State shall provide all necessary amenities, services and economic opportunities at the proposed site;

(f) The time and financial cost required for travel to and from the place of work or to access essential services should not place excessive demands upon the budgets of low-income households;

(g) Relocation sites must not be situated on polluted land or in immediate proximity to pollution sources that threaten the right to the highest attainable standards of mental and physical health of the inhabitants;

(h) Sufficient information shall be provided to the affected persons, groups and communities on all State projects and planning and implementation processes relating to the concerned resettlement, including information on the purported use of the eviction dwelling or site and its proposed beneficiaries. Particular attention must be paid to ensuring that indigenous peoples, minorities, the landless, women and children are represented and included in this process.

The entire resettlement process should be carried out with full participation by and with affected persons, groups and communities. States should, in particular, take into account all alternative plans proposed by the affected persons, groups and communities;

(j) If, after a full and fair public hearing, it is found that there still exists a need to proceed with the resettlement, then the affected persons, groups and communities shall be given at least 90 days' notice prior to the date of the resettlement; and

(k) Local government officials and neutral observers, properly identified, shall be present during the resettlement so as to ensure that no force, violence or intimidation is involved.

Rehabilitation policies must include programmes designed for women and marginalized and vulnerable groups to ensure their equal enjoyment of the human rights to housing, food, water, health, education, work, and security of the person, security of the home, freedom from cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, and freedom of movement. Persons, groups or communities affected by an eviction should not suffer detriment to their human rights, including their right to the progressive realization of the right to adequate housing. This applies equally to host communities at relocation sites.

The experience of the past almost five decades of planned development demonstrates that large-scale displacement is inbuilt in the patterns of economic development which themselves are incompatible with social justice and genuine long-term environmental sustainability. The social impacts of the recent thrust, towards a greater market driven economic process, point to realities that as the national and global economies penetrate deeper into every part of the country. The lives, livelihoods and lifestyles of those who critically depend on the natural resources base will continue to be seriously threatened.

## **2.2 Displacement, Resettlement and Approaches**

The extreme analytical attention on resettlement makes the understanding more broad and specifically shows the much amplified growing political resistance and active opposition developed in several countries against involuntary resettlement. Resettlement is defined as “Displacement of people and reconstruction of their livelihood; this reconstruction is sometimes called rehabilitation. Each has its own demands, risks, costs, logistics and socio-cultural and economic effects”. Even if sheer size is considered; population displacement fully calls for structured public policy responses, as well as for continuous attention from social scientists. The study mainly concentrates on how public policy responses to hard development issues can gain much from listening better to social research<sup>34</sup>.

Cernea makes a very interesting and equally important statement on resettlement by referring as “*Narrowing the Development Gap*”. When the resettlement occurs a development gap is created. That gap can be quoted as *new standard and the old*. The gap appears when the new policy is formulated in any domain, policies that set challenges; objectives intended to improve the prior practice and to induce change and development. It is more of a political issue because the policy statements ultimately remain with the policy makers and implementing agency. Many a times it happens so that all the resettled people cannot gain what they expect at the resettled

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<sup>34</sup> Michael Cernea m. ‘Public Policy Responses to Development-Induced Population Displacements’, *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol.31, No. 24 June 15, 1996, pp1515-1523

place for ever, as the resettled place is not a sustainable one. If that were to be through a best policy then everybody can win. There is an optimistic view in the author as he feels if at all, there is a sincere effort by the concerned authorities then nothing is impossible if not hundred percent<sup>35</sup>.

Displacement is a move which is effectively permanent, in the sense that the area where people used to live has been transformed by the intervention, and there is no going back'. Displacement with resettlement is thus to be distinguished from resettlement, where people may simply have to go out of the way and make provision for themselves, and which should perhaps rather be termed 'expulsion'. The major policy message embodied in the models of resettlements is that, general risk pattern inherent in displacement can be controlled through a policy response that mandates and finances integrated problem resolution. Participatory planning in displacement is severely restricted and what planning does take place is effectively reduced to preparing for the actual relocation of the people. Any preparation and planning for the long term needs of those who are moved, tends to be delayed, or even abandoned, thus fields are not prepared properly before move is clearly seen and which has successfully led to failures of the resettlements. Involuntary resettlement is not a problem that will fade away in the foreseeable future. The large-scale infrastructure projects, which give rise to it, are regarded as a development necessity. Therefore the number of land acquisition is certain to go up. Owing to heavy population pressure, the uninhabited areas where projects could be set up without displacement are becoming increasingly scarce<sup>36</sup>. This is very much true in the case of urban development. Special attention is needed on the problem of the weaker section getting marginalized to the worst from already being oppressed. The work throws some very useful dimension on how far the development-induced displacement can be converted into a development scenario through which the development of the vulnerable groups also can take place. Work of Mathur has adopted a method of different case studies throughout the world, which give clear picture of resettlement and its consequences. Improving resettlement should indeed be a matter of highest priority and now it is

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<sup>35</sup> Chris De Wet, (2001), 'Economic development and Population Displacement, *can everybody win?*' *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No. 50 December 15, pp 4637-4646

<sup>36</sup> Hari Mohan Mathur, (1995) 'Development, Displacement and Resettlement, *Focus on Asian Experience*', (Ed) by Hari Mohan Mathur and Michael M Cernea, Vikas publishing house, New Delhi.

the time where much has been learnt from the past experience with various types of displacement and resettlement. Much more has to be done on a continuing basis to ensure more effective planning and management. Undoubtedly task is a challenging one.

It is important to locate gender and the consequences of resettlement and displacement on women and the problem faced by women in different displacement contexts and how public policy has to respond to this problem. Displacement is essentially the acquisition of land in the name of development and national development. Planners in the ground justify the displacements that they provide benefits to large number of people. However they tend to forget or overlook the short term and long-term consequences, such as loss of productive assets, dismantling of social networks<sup>37</sup>. It is universally accepted that every human being has a right to just and sustainable development, development processes, as they are implemented, affect vulnerable groups in ways that extend the cost way beyond monetary value of the previous life. Schedule castes and other minority groups are the worst hit. Displacement is increasingly being understood as a multidimensional phenomenon, affecting people's lives in their entirety, encompassing not only the economic but also the social and cultural sphere, all of which feedback into each other.<sup>38</sup> Land acquisition is the major cause of displacement. The land acquisition laws being favorable to the administrators have deteriorated the chances of people getting equal justice in the case of displacement and this is also a major reason which has facilitated several displacements. There are two important views or two ways how displacement and resettlement is being understood.

- 1) ***Absolutist Stand*** – this type of view says that there are large numbers of people in the society who take this absolutist stand, which says that the displaced can never be adequately compensated for what they lose. This has been the stand of even the activists and organizations involved in the issue, but the author feels that this view should be discarded and a positive attitude with proper planning and public policy has to take place, which can give scope for best resettlement.

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<sup>37</sup> Enakshi Ganguly Thukral, 'Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation, *Locating Gender*', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1500-1503

<sup>38</sup> Sangeeta Goyal, 'Economic Perspectives and Resettlement and Rehabilitation', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1461-1484

- 2) ***Standard of Living Approach*** - Sangeeta Goyal argues that the principle most generally invoked with regard to resettlement and rehabilitation is that, compared with the pre-displacement situation, all projects affected persons should have similar or higher 'standard of living'. This principle has a broader thrust than just resettling people for the sake of resettling.

There should be a generous resettlement and rehabilitation so that the life of the displaced will gain some respect and value accordingly, which brings them also to the mainstream. One has to concentrate on policy of resettlement and experiences in different case studies, which have led to come out with different ideas regarding making resettlement as a continuation of the livelihood but not as end of their livelihood. This aspect brings interdisciplinary approach to the problem of urban resettlement.

There is basic fault in the very policy on resettlement as 'displacement is an unequal struggle for the control of the natural resources and the powerful minority will continue to appropriate most of them to their own benefit. This process of the further impoverishment of the marginalized sections and transfer of their resources will continue, unless the weak organize themselves to resist this onslaught'. While the families getting displaced make a sacrifice for the sake of the community and the country at large, the planners seem to view their uprooting and resettlement as one of the unavoidable logistical operations of project building. Therefore, the problem of resettlement has not gone beyond compensation (kind or cash). There is little understanding of the ethos of the people who are getting displaced. The logical steps in the process of displacement and rehabilitation must be elaborated as time bound conditions, e.g. the kind of base line survey, which uses a participatory approach, the criteria of compensation, and the requirements of total rehabilitation<sup>39</sup>.

There is a problem of recognizing the claims of those who are in railway squatters or beside the streets as they have no legal rights to the space they have occupied. The interesting conceptual

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<sup>39</sup> Walter Fernandes, 'An Activist Around the Draft National Rehabilitation Policy', *Social Action*, Vol. 45, July-September, 1995, pp 1461-1448.

move that has reordered the numerous ad hoc and paralegal solutions in this area is the distinction between *rights* and *entitlements*. Rights belong to those who have proper legal title to the lands or buildings that the authorities acquire; they are, we might say, proper citizens who must be paid the legally stipulated compensation. Those who do not have such rights may nevertheless have entitlements; they deserve not compensation but assistance in rebuilding a home or finding a new livelihood. The problem remains, however, of how these different kinds of rights and entitlements are to be identified and validated and how to ensure that the compensation or assistance reaches the right people<sup>40</sup>. Efforts at minimizing displacement or improving resettlement will only be marginal, palliative and temporary if they are not conceptualized in a wider socio-political context. Stress on planning is required as it is the most important and essential part of any resettlement. Planners and administrators invariably capitalize on and manipulate the relatively weaker socio-economic and political position of most of the people facing. Their numbers are underestimated, they are treated indifferently and only minimal cash compensation, if at all, is paid. There is an extraordinary unwillingness to grant them clear rights, such as security of tenure on alternative developed land sites. Historically social scientists have been better in recording the tragedies and trauma of evictions and displacement than at generating conditions that would prevent these from happening<sup>41</sup>.

The experiences in the past two decades of struggle and debate across the country and concrete situations of displacement, and resettlements have given a new dimension and understanding to the problem. Given several similar experiences and situation has led to some type of strong initiative regarding displacement and resettlement. There is need to look beyond just rehabilitation, and there is a need to look at more fundamental questions. Any resettlement policy has to be in accordance with article 19(1)(e) of Indian constitution, guaranteeing to people the freedom and right to settle and reside anywhere in the country, and also international law, which is acknowledged in national rehabilitation policy (NRP). Displacement has become a common

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<sup>40</sup> Partha Chatterjee, (2004) 'The Politics Of The Governed, *Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*', Permanent Black, New Delhi

<sup>41</sup> Smitu Kothari, 'Who's Nation? The Displaced as Victims of Development', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1476-1484.

phenomenon, both project and non-project. This involves lot of coercion. Some 100-200 lakh people have been displaced in urban and urbanizing areas over the five decades since independence. The right of the displaced to reside at the constitutional level has to be respected<sup>42</sup>. The status of displacement and resettlement processes are at project designer's negligence. The designer's and implementers clearly treat involuntary resettlement component as subordinate to construction process and schedules, and as economic externality. The planners many a time term it as an unfortunate side effect of the main project. If projects are for development then that process has to keep in mind and ideally provide the affected people with an enhancement of (a) their material circumstances; (b) their range of options or choices; (c) their control over their day to day affairs. Any model should speak about the general risk pattern inherent in displacement, which can be controlled through a policy response that mandates and finances integrated problem resolution<sup>43</sup>. Displacement is an expropriation of land and other assets in order to allow a project to proceed for the overall social good. Displacement may be partial or total. Resettlement refers to the process of reconstruction of the livelihood; there is a loss of home and the kith and kin. Displacement and resettlement have paved path for larger debate as they are considered to be beneficial for the larger society, but also for that project-affected person's displacement represents the imposed unraveling of their economy and society. If development has to occur then at no point it can just forget the project affected people and their welfare as they are also part and parcel of the society in which we live<sup>44</sup>.

Involuntary resettlement consists of two closely related yet distinct processes: displacing people and rebuilding their livelihoods. The complexity of involuntary resettlement and the enormous diversity of project situation make achieving good resettlement a formidable task. When people are displaced, production systems may be dismantled, kinship groupings disrupted, and long established residential settlements disorganized. People's lives are affected in very painful ways.

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<sup>42</sup> Jai Sen, 'National Rehabilitation Policy: A Critique', *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 4, 1995, pp 241-244.

<sup>43</sup> Eriksen J H, 'Comparing the Economic Planning for Voluntary and Involuntary Resettlement' in Cernea, M. M (Ed), *The Economics of Involuntary Resettlement: The World Bank (series; Directions in Development)*, Washington, 1999.

<sup>44</sup> B K Sinha, 'Draft National Policy for Rehabilitation, *Objectives and Principle*', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1453-1460.



Many jobs and assets are lost. Health care tends to deteriorate. Links between producers and customers are often severed, and local labour markets are disrupted. The special feature in his paper is that he makes a clear distinction between voluntary and involuntary resettlement. On the other hand he uses scudder-colson relocation theory and discusses it in a great extent so that the model can be adapted to Indian situation in a meticulous way. Several international experiences of involuntary resettlement give us an understanding of Indian situation regarding the problem<sup>45</sup>. The “paradigm of development that has found favour with the planners makes displacement of large number of people, even whole communities, and an unavoidable event. The utilitarian principle of maximum happiness for the maximum numbers has been invoked to end respectability to making the lives of communities into a cost in the public interest. The law is ill equipped to counter this attitude and in fact abets it by lending the force of state power”. The example of one of the land acquisition act that of railways acts of 1989 is very apt for the present situation. The extent of powers is vivid in the clause says that in a very crude way ‘do all.... acts necessary for making, maintaining, altering or repairing and using the railway’. Interestingly the land belongs to the government directly and here too the displacement takes place and the involuntary resettlement has become inevitable<sup>46</sup>.

Resettlement is an ‘administrative category’ rather than a sociological one, and the administrative category will make clear classification as to make clear legal and administrative claims which is important for any policy on rehabilitation. Due to displacement in the rural areas there is direct link between displacement and migration to urban folds. This leads to creation of slums and the informal dwellers stay there for some years and when any new development project comes up there is displacement and resettlement. Policy problems relating to urban resettlement projects are acute since the population of the third world cities is increasing at an alarming rate and resettlement is inevitable if a proper service like infrastructure has to be given<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> Roli Asthana, ‘Involuntary Resettlement, *Survey of International Experience*’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1468-1475.

<sup>46</sup> Usha Ramanathan, ‘Displacement and the law’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 31, No. 24, June 15, 1996, pp 1486-1491.

<sup>47</sup> Veena Das, ‘Dislocation and rehabilitation, *Defining a Field*’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No. 24, June 15, 1996, pp 1509-1514.

Involuntary resettlement is neither technically nor socially intractable and can be successful. If addressed with political commitment, adequate financial and institutional resources, and participatory execution, the formidable task of population relocation may result in beneficial development. The understanding of involuntary resettlement is an integral part of some major development programs. It is essential to handle the difficult process of resettlement equitably and efficiently; if involuntary resettlement is mismanaged, the displaced people will suffer unjustifiably and will be impoverished. Social, cultural, and economic complexities of resettlement, and to address them better in practice. It comes after three rounds of improvements in the Bank's 1980 policy and operational procedures, which were introduced in 1986, 1988, and 1990. Rehabilitation does not occur automatically, just because people are resettled. Indeed, resettlement may occur without rehabilitation, and unfortunately, it often does. Involuntary resettlement is also distinct from voluntary population movements. Voluntary mobility, including rural-urban migration, stimulates economic growth, reflecting people willing to pursue new opportunities. In contrast, involuntary resettlement does not include the choice to remain in place, and resettlers often face more risks than opportunities. The infrastructure projects underpin growth and development, but they typically involve changes in land and water use patterns: often this requires that people be displaced. The numbers of people requiring resettlement can often be reduced, in specific situations, but the need for resettlement cannot be eliminated (World Bank, 1996)<sup>48</sup>

Urban resettlement has been viewed differently by different authors and researchers, but the point is very clear as all of them want to clearly state that the state of affairs regarding the displacement and resettlement has been worst and there have been several movements which have taken place, and taking place now also. Policies and programs designed to resettle populations internally displaced as a result of “conflict” or “development projects” can be clustered into two distinct narratives, with separate theoretical moorings, legal guidelines, governmental and non-governmental responses, and valuations of “success” or “failure. The

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<sup>48</sup> Resettlement and Development’, The Bank Wide Review of Projects Involving Resettlement, *Environment Department Papers*, Paper No. 032, 1986-1993, World Bank, 1996.

intention of carrying on such research has been to convey the message that there have been grave inequalities meted to the displaced people, to the government as well as the implementing agency.

### **2.2.1 Socio - Economic Impact of Displacement and Resettlement**

Displacement is a socially caused disruption, not a natural disaster, and its perverse effects must and can be counter balanced. Redressing the inequities caused by displacement and enabling affected people to share in the benefits of growth is not only possible but is also necessary, on both economic and moral grounds”. Cernea gives distinct but interrelated concepts regarding the involuntary urban resettlement and its consequences in every sphere and aspects, which demand wide attention of the civilized segment of the population. The basic goal after the resettlement has to be restoring the living standards and earning capacities of the displaced as that will be the most affecting factor in their lives. Spatial rearrangements and their pernicious consequences should not be accepted and can not be accepted as god given tragedy, worthy of a little more than a compassionate shrug of the shoulders. It can be understood that it cannot be achieved nor done overnight but this has to be done through a proper public policy, which gives more stress on economic stability of the displaced. Marginalization materializes also in the question of social status, which leads to anomic behavior. Relative economic marginalization begins long before actual displacement takes place, as the threat of displacement does not allow the dwellers to work and earn their livelihoods. Most of the time of the dwellers goes off in how to protest or how to convince the authorities not to carry out the resettlement process<sup>49</sup>.

Following four steps can combat displacement, which causes problem in the economic and social life of the displaced

- a) Having a meticulous resettlement plans;
- b) A budget for resettlement;
- c) A clear timetable for operating the plan;

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<sup>49</sup> Michael Cernea m. ‘The Risks and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Population’, *World Development*, Vol. 25, No. 10, 1997, pp 1569-1587

- d) An implementation monitoring system.

Development-induced displacement neglects resettlements many a times, if at all, any takes place also they do not encourage and envisage the ability of the displaced but underestimate. Their income generating skills are spoiled, as they do not get a place closer to the resettled colony. A few selected Project Affected People (PAP's) seem to be surviving successfully along with the new place to an extent. Once the project is implemented the authorities never bother about the economic and social condition of the displaced.

The Following three steps can be adopted

- A) Comprehensive planning with extensive local government participation before getting into field.
- B) Involvement of all the affected families in the decisions surrounding their location and employment.
- C) Continuation of commitment by government to create jobs as the best means of ensuring income restoration.

Government at no point of time should give reasons of financial constraints towards the displaced people, as it is due to government's decision; people have sacrificed their habitats and livelihoods for the sake of national development. Government should become guarantor of employment for the displaced and provide social welfare support. It should some how plan to give employment opportunity as the very displacement itself is a trauma and it will be very difficult for those people to search work for themselves in an alien place. The resettlement should involve a planned movement of people in such a way that provision is made for sustainable livelihoods in the new area<sup>50</sup>.

Development is not undertaken to provide opportunities exclusively for any particular group. Its purpose is to promote wider national interests for the benefit of all. No doubt, those who consider

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<sup>50</sup> Chris De Wet, 'Economic development and Population Displacement, *Can everybody win?*' *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No.50 December 15, 2001, pp 4637-4646

the present manner of development as iniquitous have a point. Their concern for the poor is entirely laudable. But many who see nothing good coming out of development, and have amazed data pointing to its negative aspects only paint a one sided picture. However the development has led to forced relocation of thousands of people, uprooting their communities and shredding to pieces their essential social fabric. Yet, the human problems associated with involuntary resettlement seem to have received attention as much they require. The failure has been in addressing complex socio-economic problems. Most of the studies show that the evacuees have become at least temporarily and in many cases permanently worse off as a result, both economically and socially by loosing the job and being thrown out to far off places where the days earning will go in paying the traveling charges. Many of the experiences say that even though compensation is made in very little amount of cash the resettler is tend to waste it in pleasure seeking and for petty things as they will not be having any job to after the resettlement. Needless to say, that the cash award does not necessarily restore productivity and well being of the displaced population<sup>51</sup>. Displacement mainly causes unemployment, which directly hits the economic life of the displaced, and resettled, the basic needs of socio-economic needs of the resettled have not been taken care off. To an extent men will find the job but it is not the case with the women as first of all the jobs are scarce in nature and if at all few they involve hard work which is beyond women's capacity. Given the situation of landlessness, much reduced land assets; joblessness of the men the women also should also find some work to sustain the family. Migration of the men in search of employment, undoubtedly, is another outcome of displacement, which increases the workload and responsibilities of men in multiple ways. The social pressure of living is worst in adjusting with the new environment<sup>52</sup>.

It is for sure that the displacement shall destroy the productive assets and it shall directly affect the economic life of the people in the way of taking them out of the work and making it a Herculean task for them to search for the job in new resettled place. The problem becomes severe when the people of the locality from where the people are displaced are not aware of the entitlements and not in any position to go and approach the concerned authorities. The ignorance

<sup>51</sup> Hari Mohan Mathur, Development Projects and Impoverishment Risks, '*Resettling Project Affected People In India*' (ed) by Hari Mohan Mathur and David Marsden, Oxford University Press, 1998.

<sup>52</sup> Enakshi Ganguly Thukral, 'Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation, *Locating Gender*', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1500-1503.

and innocence should not be taken for granted and there should be a sincere effort from the project-implementing agency to do justice they deserve. The benefits in the mainstream society like education, health facilities and progressive future schemes should be their entitlements. The displaced families should be given access to sufficient productive sources to recreate, and sometimes improve, lost income-earning opportunities. The essence of any comprehensive rehabilitation process should be development-affected people on a sustainable basis rather than concentration on mere relief and meager welfare activities<sup>53</sup>.

The benefits which will be given to the voluntarily displaced people are fairly obvious and this situation is seen in many places. But the case of involuntarily displaced is totally different. Aside from helping to guarantee that the resettlement process does not adversely affect displaced persons, this approach greatly (bargaining approach) facilitates the implementation of resettlement measures since all the parties are involved have an incentive<sup>54</sup>. Development-induced displacement has become a mode of transferring the livelihood of the powerless communities to the corporate sector to which they are a source of profit or raw material to produce consumer goods for the middle class. The economic deprivation and the level of social problems the resettled people face cannot be quantified, in the wake of such an argument. Fernandes asks that can a state that calls itself democratic; deprive people of their livelihood without their involvement in its decisions? Most of the project affected people, illiterate and inadequately exposed to the formal economy, are pushed overnight from sustenance to a competitive economy. Until and unless they are prepared socially and economically the transition will be the worst<sup>55</sup>.

Experience from across the country illustrates the severe difficulties that displaced people have in dealing with the market economy. Their low level of modern skills coupled with almost non-existent official efforts to facilitate an easier entry into the dominant economy, pushes the

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<sup>53</sup> Sangeeta Goyal, 'Economic Perspectives and Resettlement and Rehabilitation', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1461-1484.

<sup>54</sup> Jean Dreze, 'Resettlement of Narmada Oustees', *Economic Times*, Feb 22, 1994.

<sup>55</sup> Walter Fernandes, 'An Activist Around the Draft National Rehabilitation Policy', *Social Action*, Vol. 45, July-September, 1995, pp 278-298.

majority of the resettled into conditions of severity and bondage. To the agony of these displaced the planners and administrators invariably capitalize and manipulate the relatively weaker socio-economic and political position of the most people facing displacement. Their numbers are underestimated, they are treated indifferently and only a minimum help is made to pacify the civil society. However it is a great difficulty to adjust with the new resettled place but the minimum requirement of the resettled will be a well-planned strategy to the social and economic security of the displaced<sup>56</sup>.

Involuntary displacement brings trauma and insecurity in a way to feel having lost the 'home in the world'. They are often being thrown into alien environments which they do not understand and which are devoid of the symbols that give them security and meaning. The loss of social identity and autonomy, the discrimination they suffer in a new and alien environment, and the economic and social dependence and even bondage they are often forced into as a consequence:

- Implicitly, the question of social, economic, and political marginalization from the mainstream.
- The loss of their basis of material, and often also spiritual, subsistence that usually takes place.

There is also the question of life, community, and society in which they will be placed at the last and no respect in the society as if they have done some crime. It is for sure that all the displaced lose their occupation after the displacement and the transition period from displacement and resettlement is the worst they ever face<sup>57</sup>.

Displacement caused by development projects is the outcome of a planned political decision. Development projects causing resettlement, unlike famines and wars, are seen to fit into the nation's ideology and the larger social good. The project spoils the socio-economic basis of the displaced, if this is restored then the displaced will also get strength to face the period of stress

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<sup>56</sup> Smitu Kothari, 'Who's Nation? The Displaced as Victims of Development', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1476-1484

<sup>57</sup> Jai Sen, 'National Rehabilitation Policy: A Critique', *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 4, 1995, pp 241-244.

and risk. A community may be deemed to have successfully passed through relocation experience when it is no longer outside management, and when it has become integrated into the wider regional setting in such a way that it has attained economic and administrative ability. But the problems arise when the resettled have been kept away from their work and they have nothing to do. As the displacement is permanent in nature, just interim support is not enough for the requirements of the oustees. Successful resettlement programmes for development projects must provide the elements for developing long-term attachments to the new sites: social connections with host communities, and symbolic identification with the new environment<sup>58</sup>. When displacement and resettlement happens basically the social change takes place. When there is no proper work and the previous jobs are lost that depression directly leads to alcoholism and drug addiction. In case of women as men turn hostile to their family without having much option they may even turn out to prostitution. There is unintended consequence of both prosperity and adversities are bound to have implication on the displaced<sup>59</sup>.

Involuntary displacement is a phenomenon, which only the people who have experienced only can understand; more than understanding it is the experience that is required to assess the best way. Nothing could be more irksome than being asked to switch over to a vocation which the family has not practiced before. Yet the uprooting has to be done. Because the land occupied by the family is required for a development project which holds promise of progress and prosperity for the country and the people in general. The family getting displaced thus makes a sacrifice for the sake of the community. It undergoes hardship and distress and faces an uncertain future so that others may live in happiness and be economically better off. The research analyses and the experience had by all the authors and researchers gives rich knowledge to understand and do something for the resettled and come out with certain policy measures.

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<sup>58</sup> Roli Asthana, 'Involuntary Resettlement, *Survey of International Experience*', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1468-1475

<sup>59</sup> Veena Das, 'Dislocation and rehabilitation, *Defining a Field*', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1509-1514.



### 2.2.2 Impoverishment Risks and Other Implications.

Impoverishment of displaced people is the central risk in development-caused displacement. Impoverishment is not a fatality and that it should not be tolerated with passive resignation. The concept of social justice in the context of displacement, which leads to impoverishment, is not frequently used in the development discourse, yet it is essential; recently this concept has been brought to the public forums and awaiting institutionalization. Cernea conceptualizes impoverishment in eight ways.

A) *Landlessness* B) *Joblessness* C) *Homelessness* D) *Marginalization* E) *Increased morbidity* F) *Food insecurity* G) *Loss of access to common property* H) *social disarticulation*<sup>60</sup>.

These eight impoverishment risks are social hazards and later become disaster. These not only result in economic deprivation but are the most important one, which lead to psychological stress also. Impoverishment becomes an important concept when the displaced are poor. Development programmes are not supposed to induce poverty or impoverishment, but that is what happens most of the time. The poor become the most vulnerable in the process as no one even dares to care about them. This happens typically without the knowledge of the residents, their consent and participation. Historically, involuntary displaced people have shared more pains than gains caused by development. For those who are displaced, development projects usually have overwhelmingly negative consequences, resulting in social and psychological disruption, and often long term impoverishment of health and hunger. They have effectively become what one might call ‘people in the way of progress’, having to move to make way for, and to suffer for, the kind infrastructure development that is, for many people the hall mark of progress, but for the displaced also it will remain as a dark spot that is a pain for forever and remains as a pain through out life. The displaced people remain as mere spectators many a time as they are not the one who is benefited out of the project. The people who are benefited are those who are affluent and these people suffer from different type of impoverishment, which are not given minimum

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<sup>60</sup> Michael Cernea, ‘Impoverishment or Social justice? A Model for Planning Resettlement, in Development Projects and Impoverishment risks’, Resettling project-Affected People in India (ed) by Hari Mohan Mathur and David Marsden, OUP, Delhi, 1998

attention by the authorities once the project is completed, many a times immediately after displacing the people<sup>61</sup>.

Project Affected Person's (PAP) are usually from the less powerful, and economically more marginalized. Involuntary resettlement disrupts and even destroys the sets of relationship, the pattern of resource allocation, and the marketing relationships and which the productive activity depends. It also undermines the territorially based sets of social relationships of family and neighborhood. Even when the people are compensated still as they lose their old connectivity it results in material impoverishment. But it is very much proved by different experiences that impoverishment risks are "demonstrably preventable".

Displacement is to the life of the poor is total. Stripped off their possessions, they are compelled to move in search of livelihood to unknown destination. On arrival in new terms and cities where they usually gravitate, they soon discover that even for unskilled jobs the ques ahead of them are distressingly long. On the other hand, the affluent groups' don't lose so completely. They are in a better position to adjust to the change. But the resettled people in mass face the effect of impoverishment. It is for sure that no trauma can be more painful for a family than to get uprooted from a place where it has lived for generations and to move to a place where it may be a total stranger, and nothing could be more irksome than being asked to switch over to an avocation which the family has not practiced before. The situation becomes further intolerable when those in authority, does not even heed to give basic necessity to the resettled. It has been proved that involuntary resettlement leads to increased stress, both psychological and socio-cultural, and also heightens morbidity and mortality. Hazard to health are common experience for those being resettled. Another unfortunate outcome is a feeling of alienation, helplessness and powerlessness that overtakes the displaced. On the one side the development project makes

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<sup>61</sup> Chris De Wet, 'Economic development and Population Displacement, *can everybody win?*' *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No.50, December 15, 2001, pp 4637-4646

positive contribution to the national well being, but also has unavoidable negative impact on certain groups, some means of reconciling the conflict interests must be found<sup>62</sup>.

The transition period between actual displacement and resettlement is a difficult phase, in which, again the women suffer somewhat more. In the absence of sensitive handling and a supportive atmosphere, the oustees find it difficult to shift to the new site. Many, therefore, many families result in ending up as fractured families. Family life is disturbed and it is difficult on the women for whom responsibilities increase as to keep the family together. Most of the time, the families suffer from lack of basic facilities and face lot of difficulty in adjusting to the new locality<sup>63</sup>. When the displaced people are resettled in new place and they come in contact with the economically advanced and politically more powerful sections of the society, their material impoverishment and social integration inevitably follows. The empirical validity of that assumption, however, is far from clear. The author sees impoverishment from the point of view of economic stability, as she is an economist. But the basic problem in her writings has been that she has nowhere mentioned about the impoverishment which they face as strangers in the resettled colony and the absence of basic amenities which are more necessary rather than comparing oneself with more politically affluent people and economically affluent people. More over the problem faced by women in the new locality does not get any attention in her writings although she is from the same gender<sup>64</sup>.

The concept of resettlement as a traumatic experience with psychological stress can be characterized by a number of responses such as the “grieving for a lost home” syndrome, anxiety concerning the unknown future and a feeling of helplessness at one’s inability to protect one’s home and community from disruption. Physical consequences can be in terms of illness and increased morbidity and mortality rates during the transition period and may continue over a

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<sup>62</sup> Hari Mohan Mathur, ‘Development Projects and Impoverishment Risks, *Resettling Project Affected People In India*’ (Ed) by Hari Mohan Mathur and David Marsden, Oxford University Press, 1998.

<sup>63</sup> Enakshi Ganguly Thukral, ‘Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation, *Locating Gender*’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1500-1503

<sup>64</sup> Sangeeta Goyal, ‘Economic Perspectives and Resettlement and Rehabilitation’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1461-1484

number of years following relocation. The planners rarely, if ever, foresee the consequences on the people. Fernandes is more concerned about the psychological experiences and the trauma faced by the people who are resettled. He also stresses the need for a better planning and a humane care, which should not end just with monetary compensation. The scholar speaks for the downtrodden with lot of concern and he warns of the consequences of displacement<sup>65</sup>. The experience of the post independence period from projects across the country suggests that the long drawn out process of displacement has caused widespread traumatic psychological and socio-cultural consequences. These include the dismantling the production systems, scattering family and kinship groups as the resettled place can not accommodate all, disorganization of informal social networks that provide mutual support, weakening of self management and social control. Except very few cases the displacement and resettlement has ended up in becoming ‘a spiral of impoverishment’. The worst impoverishment stage is of the transition period where the people will be moving from the displaced to the resettled. The phase is evidently long and people have faced the adjustment problem<sup>66</sup>.

The impoverishment risks are high in the displacement and resettlement colonies. The trauma can be of the fragmentation of the communities, the breakdown of support structures, and the indigence of displaced populations, the increased susceptibility to exploitation regarding the new resettlement colony is another factor. The poverty of the displaced is not taken into consideration by any project-implementing agency. The trauma of displacement has to be reduced and there should be justice and fairness in dealing with their problem without any pre occupied assumptions. The content of the law has to draw upon empirical knowledge, providing an understanding of poverty, acknowledging the impoverishment through law that mass displacement has caused, recognizing the inequality of the powerlessness should be a primordial concern<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>65</sup> Walter Fernandes, ‘An Activist Around the Draft National Rehabilitation Policy’, *Social Action*, Vol. 45, July-September, 1995, pp 278-298

<sup>66</sup> Smitu Kothari, ‘Who’s Nation? The Displaced as Victims of Development’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31, No. 24 June 15, 1996, pp 1476-1484.

<sup>67</sup> Usha Ramanathan, ‘Displacement and the law’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1486-1491.

Displacements are often seen as the archetypal indictment of cost-benefit analysis (CBA) and all that it has wrought. Michael Cernea's (2000, p 47) critique is one among many: "CBA is utterly insufficient because it is only a macroeconomic tool that does not explore the distribution of either costs or benefits among project stakeholders....The cost-benefit methodology justifies project investments by determining that the aggregate of a project's benefits outweighs the sum of a project's costs by an acceptable margin". But there is one aspect of Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) framework that ties straight into the 1930s and 1940s debate in economics. In that debate there was a strong feeling among some protagonists that designing elaborate compensation mechanisms as part of the project, while theoretically desirable since it got one closer to the Pareto improvement criterion, might not be practicable, and might be too costly—that doing this might actually reduce the overall aggregate benefits of the project. It was for this reason that there was tendency to lay great store by the "law of large numbers"—that over a large number of projects the distributional effects would cancel out, leaving everyone better off, if every time the choice was made on the basis of aggregate benefits. As was recognised in the debate, this position could not be sustained logically if projects were large or if distributions of gains and losses were not distributed statistically randomly in the population. These conditions are clearly not satisfied in the case of large displacements, and in terms of its own logic economic analysis has to support something like the methodology for first of all delineating the distribution of costs and benefits, and then designing mechanisms for compensation. Consider the relationship between the distributional sensitive approach to CBA advocated by Stiglitz (1999), and the IRR approach of Cernea (2000). Without the compensations envisaged in the Cernea (2000) approach, use of distributional sensitive weights *à la* Stiglitz might well reject the project as producing negative social benefit. But suppose now that, despite its best efforts, the Cernea method still leaves some poor people worse off than they would have been before. The distributional sensitive weights would pick this up but, unless these weights gave an infinite weight to the losses suffered by even a single poor person, the project may well pass the Cernea (2000) and the Stiglitz (1999) criteria. But some poor people will have been made worse off. What to do in this case, which is likely to be the case in almost any project of significant size, despite all possible efforts to redesign and compensate? This is an inescapable dilemma, which of course is the dilemma economists struggled with in the 1930s and 1940s. It

doesn't go away just because there is some compensation, or even elaborate compensation. It is present whenever compensation is not perfect, in other words, when the Pareto improvement criterion is not met. It is not enough to modify the Pareto criterion to allow the rich to be made worse off, because the problem will arise whenever a poor person is unavoidably made worse off. To stop the project in this case means that those poor who would have been made better off will now stay as poor as they were. This is the other face of the inescapable dilemma—development projects sometimes pit not the rich against the poor, but one group of poor against another group of poor.

Physical and other forms of displacement are almost always the concomitants if not the consequences of the development process. Displacement losses can come in a variety of forms. There are those investors and secure members of society who realize less gain than they had expected as a result of development processes. Then there are the severe consequences for those individuals and communities who involuntarily move, leaving behind homes, networks, jobs, social capital and emotional ties to place.

We can emphasize that forcibly displaced people may not be returned in conditions of danger, and set out protections for women and children, provisions for compensation or reparation for lost property and possessions, and assert the right not to be displaced and conditions under which displacement is unlawful. The international and popular concern for the development-induced displaced people, however, has only evolved in the past two or three decades – and independently of the processes leading to the development of the class which is powerful and affluent. Considerable attention has been devoted to the negative consequences of large-scale development projects but they are not at the expected level. While there is considerable disagreement over who should or should not be described as a conflict or development-induced internally displaced person, there appears to be a growing consensus among policy and academic communities over their overwhelming exposure and risk of impoverishment and rights to protection and assistance. In reality, however, there is a bewildering array of motives for development-induced displacement.

## **2.3 Gender Perspectives**

*'....a lot of women are often worsened by settlement. It is true that there have been cases where they have benefited....but such cases are exceptional....' Robert Chambers in Colson (1999)*

Gender is increasingly seen as a powerful social and cultural construct determining the ways in which social relations are structured between men and women. It constitutes the entire ambit of relations that govern the social, cultural and economic exchanges between women and men in different arenas from the household to the community, state and multi-lateral agencies (Jackson and Pearson, 1998). Gender is central to how societies assign roles, responsibilities, resources and rights between women and men. Allocation, distribution, utilisation and control of resources are thus incumbent upon gender relations embedded in both ideology and practice. In most parts of the world, there exist gender biases, which disadvantage women. Gender is not a static concept but differs in different cultural, geographical and historical contexts. It is contingent on factors such as age, class, culture and history. Therefore, it is wrong to assume homogeneity amongst women. Gender analyses do not merely focus on women but also look at the ways in which men and women interact with each other and the gendered nature of their roles, relations and control over resources.

Due to its crosscutting nature, no social or equity and distribution analysis can proceed without a discussion of gender. Thus, a growing constituency of policy-makers, social advisers and gender scholars talk of gender mainstreaming and “engendering” activities. They use gender conceptually and practically to approach a whole array of issues ranging from forced migration (Indra 1999) to development co-operation (DFID 1999) and health. In the following section, we look briefly at the long process which led to the mainstreaming of gender – at least at the de jure level - in international development.

### **2.3.1 Gender Equality: A Goal of International Development**

In the past few decades, there has been a growing recognition that development processes such as economic growth are not gender neutral. There is a significant gap in the ways in which the fruits of development are distributed and calculated. Women's unpaid labour has either not been calculated, or benefits have disproportionately been enjoyed by men (cf. Agarwal, 1996; Elson, 1998). This gender gap still exists in both policy and practice. Gender blindness, for instance in resettlement policies, has led to negative outcomes for women (Thukral, 1996). In practice, despite good policy intentions cultural biases and gender stereotypes have exacerbated gender inequalities. Attempts to make women a visible category in development led to the emergence of the WID (Women in Development) approach. Women came to be explicitly targeted in development projects and programmes. There was the belief that the failure to do so would both undermine efficiency (given women's concrete role in contributing to the economy and process of development), and welfare concerns. However, these efforts led to the pigeonholing of women's concerns. They did not lead to a fundamental re-thinking of the ways in which women and men accessed and controlled resources. Neither did it examine the ideologies underpinning power equations in various areas ranging from the household to the community and state. By contrast, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach is concerned with the way power is structured in social relations that legitimize the subordination of women and its continuation. The concern is to unpack the institutionalization of male power and privilege in domestic domains.

The primary institutions are the household and wider institutions such as development agencies and state bureaucracies (Kabeer, 1994). The objective is to understand how notions of gender are constructed. GAD analyses, thus, are concerned with the unequal distribution of rights, resources, power and division of labour amongst men and women. It also looks at how these crosscut with categories such as class, caste and tribe. However both men and women are seen as crucial to allow change to take place, hence women explicitly should not be targeted. There is a growing international consensus on the need to achieve gender equality. The Fourth World Women's Conference in Beijing emphasized the reduction of gender inequality both as an end in itself and as a contribution towards sustainable development. There is a widespread international consensus on the need to achieve gender equality in development and development co-operation.



Thus, bilateral and multi-lateral agencies are currently engaged in processes that seek to mainstream gender equality in all areas of their work such as poverty, health and environmentally sustainable development. Other international processes around human rights also make clear commitments to gender equality.

The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) of 1979 explicitly makes a commitment to address uneven social conditions, which have supported discrimination and violence against women (Koenig, 1999). The Human Rights conference in Vienna in 1993 affirmed the interconnectedness of rights from a gender-perspective. This was reiterated in Beijing's Platform for Action, which affirmed the need to see gender rights as human rights. Despite these international commitments, glaring gaps still remain. Development agencies such as Britain's Department for International Development have acknowledged that gender equality goals sometimes "evaporate" with good policy intentions not being followed through in practice (DFID 1999). If dams are built as part of the development process, the goal of gender equality in policy and practice should be unequivocally espoused by dam-building multilateral, international and national agencies. The failure to do so would make the distribution of benefits and costs highly unequal on gender terms. Moreover, the lack of equity concerns could also undermine their efficiency which is a high priority in dam-building activities.

Gender relationships and power structures are all too often detrimental to women. Extensive research has documented gender inequalities in access to, and control of, economic and natural resources. In Asia for example, women may have use rights over land and forests, but are rarely allowed to own and/or inherit the land they use. Given the gender-blindness of the planning process development projects typically build on the imbalance in existing gender relations. For affected communities development projects have widened gender disparities either by imposing a disproportionate share of social costs on women or through an inequitable allocation of the benefits generated. In spite of the fact that many countries and funding agencies have adopted specific gender policies in recent years aimed at mainstreaming gender issues in their development interventions, actual project planning and implementation continue to overlook gender aspects.

An assessment by the Operations Evaluation Department of the World Bank of a number of projects funded by the Bank noted that gender aspect of resettlement were largely oblivious. Similarly, after the Asian Development Bank approved a gender policy in 1998, a review of its dam projects observed that the impacts on gender at the project preparation and implementation stages were often not considered. It may be here noted that the World Bank and the Asian Bank are two major donors for a large number of development projects in India. Where planning is insensitive to gender, project impacts can at best be neutral, and at worst aggravate existing gender disparities to the extent of radically affecting the pre project gender balance.

Growing evidence shows that, while development projects may create vulnerability through impoverishment, they disproportionately affect groups that are vulnerable to begin with, particularly indigenous groups and women. Human rights of vulnerable groups are protected generically in the International Bill of Human Rights. The ILO Convention 169 spells out protections for indigenous groups. Some governments still recognize only male heads of household as legitimate landowners, denying women compensation for submerged lands and exacerbating pre-existing gender inequalities. In tribal communities where women enjoy user rights over land but not ownership rights, governments do not provide these women with any compensation. In addition to suffering greater negative effects due to dams, women also generally do not enjoy the same benefits men do, such as enhanced employment opportunities (Aird, 2001). As a multi-year study of development-induced displacement by the World Commission on Dams concluded, impoverishment and disempowerment have been the rule rather than the exception with respect to resettled people around the world (Leopoldo J. Bartolomé, et. al., 2000)

The impact has been felt most heavily by marginalized and vulnerable populations. Evidence suggests that for a vast majority of the indigenous/tribal peoples displaced by big projects, the experience has been extremely negative in cultural, economic, and health terms. The outcomes have included assetlessness, unemployment, debt-bondage, hunger, and cultural disintegration. For both indigenous and non-indigenous communities, studies show that displacement has disproportionately impacted on women and children. The travails of displaced women basically

stem from the already existing gender inequalities within the Indian society and family. The laws, policies and government procedures also discriminate against women. It is a consequence of the unequal social and political set-up that men get preference over women in the matter of land, security, physical space, food intake, jobs, etc. within home, society and in the government. These inequalities accentuate in the event of a crisis situation like displacement resettlement (Hemadri, et al, 1999).

Examining the involuntary nature of displacement from the urban slums of Delhi, Amita Baviskar has found that displacement for women has brought emotional stress. Men migrate and women are left behind to look after the home and children. Control of women's sexuality becomes a serious issue. When women migrate, they work as domestic workers, daily wage earners, etc. Their additional income is extremely important for the family since it is often used to finance their children's education and health. They suffer great hardships in urban slums with regard to sanitation and privacy (Asif, Mehta and Mander, 2002).

As mentioned above, there is wide gender disparity in several respects in India. Thus, displacement may affect women differently. In a broad sense, displacement brings loss of access to common property resources, loss of access to livelihood, loss of access to services, lack of sanitation, breakdown of family life during transition period, additional burden of workloads and responsibilities, deteriorating health status, breakdown of community networks, problem of marriage of daughters, rise in alcoholism and increase in domestic violence, deterioration of social status of tribal women, sense of insecurity, breakdown of lifestyle etc. Here is an account of the major impacts of development induced displacement on women in the country.

### **2.3.2 Loss of access to Common Property Resources**

Access to land, forest, river, sea, fisheries, cattle, grazing land and other common property resources are lost due to displacement, which support subsistence livelihoods and provide greater security against risk of poverty to women. In addition, women have the responsibility of collecting fuel, wood, fodder, and minor forest produce and water for their family. As women have no rights on these resources, thus, their loss of access to these resources is seldom focused

upon when displacement takes place. Whenever, these resources are often not replaced during resettlement with women often bearing a disproportionate share of the resulting costs. It is only when land and other sources are replaced that women at least partially regain their economic status. Balaji Pandey (1998b) in the study on impact of open cast coal mining on women found that the women were facing problems in collecting fuel, fodder, and water for the family; they have lost their earnings from forest and other common property resources and other non-farm activities like handicraft, cottage industry, and livestock rearing.

### **2.3.3 Loss of Livelihoods and Marginalization of Women**

Given the situation of landlessness, much reduced land assets, joblessness of the men, and impoverishment, it becomes imperative that women work. The traditional occupations, such as agriculture, fishing, basket-making etc. become unfeasible, either because of unavailability of raw material once the forest or the water source is taken away, or due to the dispersion of the clientele as a consequence of the breakdown of the community network. As a result, the women find that they have to settle for unskilled wage labour which is most often irregular and underpaid. In the Korba area as the men were not interested for daily wage labour, the women were seeking unskilled daily wage labour, sometimes as hazardous as emptying cylinders of explosives, for recycling. Other sought employment as domestic help or construction workers. The displaced women of the Sardar Sarovar Project too were forced to seek wage labour, following their resettlement (Thukral, 1996).

The attitude of the rest of the displaced people towards their own women is not always positive concerning jobs. Many consider women not intelligent enough for good jobs. Some others think that women are interested in getting good jobs. Women cannot compete in the formal sector, as there is high illiteracy among them. They lack training and professional education. Others who are biased say that women are not capable of doing a good job and others maintain that women's place is at home and not outside in the offices etc. (Ekka and Asif, 2000). The study by Balaji Pandey (1998a) has found that women have been further marginalized as a consequence of their displacement. Most of the women said that at no stage they were told about the R&R benefits by

the project authorities, nor were they consulted by their men folk about the decisions such as purchase of land and purchase or construction of houses. Due to declining access to land and other common property resources, their productive activities that they usually carried out at home such as livestock rearing, kitchen gardening, fishery, poultry or petty business etc got disrupted which adversely affected their status in the family.

The marginalization of women is greater after displacement because the land and forests they lose were the sources of their nutrition and work outside their house, as well as the relatively high status they enjoyed. Deprivation of women due to displacement is compounded with the absence of productive employment in the resettlement area (Walter Fernandes, 1996). Women are, therefore, forced to remain at home and only look after the household, without any productive work outside. The impact of displacement on women in six projects has found that firstly, due to the loss of access to traditional sources of livelihood and the inability of the household to replace these sources, women get pushed into work in the most exploitative sectors. They end up working as construction, mining and stone workers, domestic services, and agricultural labourers in markets flooded with dispossessed men and women. Secondly, industries, irrigation and power projects have failed to assist women with skill training and facilitate entry into self-employment activities. All projects examined in the study, except Sardar Sarovar, made no attempt at enabling women to gain access to non-farm employment opportunities. Often, however, women and children seem to have paid very heavy price for displacement in a large proportion of households affected by Upper Krishna Project, Bolani Iron Ore mines and Jawaharlal Nehru Port women not only suffered in terms of poor health and malnutrition, they also lost the capacity to provide a secure future for their children. By engaging in seasonal migration in the absence of other alternatives they have denied access to their children to school, health, child welfare, preschool and other welfare services. Thirdly, women found work as agricultural labourers in projects only when men moved out to take employment in non-agricultural sector. Women from the partially affected villages of Durgapur Steel Plant and completely affected villages of Upper Krishna Irrigation fit into this category. Earnings of men from non-agricultural activities, and women's earnings from agriculture enhanced the income level of most households that were landless or engaged in cultivation as sharecroppers

prior to land loss. Fourthly, when the land loss was compensated with land, women regained their status as workers on own land. In the case of Maharashtra II Irrigation and Sardar Sarovar Project the labour force participation rate after resettlement of women remained as high or increased after resettlement. Fifthly, displacement from the original land and loss of diversified sources of livelihood in Sardar Sarovar Project and Bolani meant that women joined men in taking up wage labour in and outside the village. The proportion of women engaged in agricultural and non-agricultural wage labour increased steadily after resettlement (Parasuraman,1993).

A number of inadequacies in the implementation of the R&R policies and lack of benefit sharing have left the women worse off than before. It is been observed that prosperity in the command area due to profits from the cash crops need not necessarily leading to an improvement in living standards, food security, or gender equity. Access to irrigation has brought a change in cropping patterns. As a result the agriculturists have switched to water-intensive crops like sugarcane, rice, and soybean. Due to a reduced supply of food crops their prices have increased. This led to a fall in the calorie intake among the relocates as their diet was devoid of milk, fish, eggs and coarse grains that they had access to earlier. To include increased costs and additional expenses on fuel, seeds and fertilizer family budget were readjusted and expenses on food were reduced. Women and female children were the first victims of the budget revision. The World Bank has advanced loans of more than four billion dollars to the National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) in the Singrauli region, where as many as 300,000 people have been displaced in the last 40 years. Still people do not have basic amenities in the resettled place.

Issues of information among displaced women takes center stage in any displacement scenario, their knowledge about displacement and rehabilitation, their roles in decision-making, employment opportunities offered and specific problems faced. The invisibility of gender in displacement and resettlement and rehabilitation emerged as a key conclusion and a serious concern. Women are subsumed within the family and are ignored for rehabilitation purposes. Since women were not landholders, they were not invited to meetings on land acquisition. Neither do the male members of the family tell them what transpired at such meetings. The

number of women engaged as cultivators and agricultural labour had declined after displacement. On the other hand, there was a rise in off land employment like contract labour and domestic help. Surprisingly, before and after displacement the working population of women remained constant. The increased distance between the woman's natal home and her marriage home due to displacement takes away the emotional support available to married women. (Asif, Mehta and Mander, 2002).

### **2.3.4 Breakdown of Family**

During the transition period between actual displacement and resettlement, women suffer more being homeless. During this period the displaced people continue to have two houses. Experiences from the field reveal that it is mostly the aged and the children who are left behind are dependent on the women adding to the responsibilities even more (Ekkaand Asif, 2000). In the absence of sensitive handling and a supportive atmosphere, the displaced people of the Sardar Sarovar Project found it difficult to shift to the new site. Many, therefore, continued to maintain two homes, one in the submerging village and the other in the resettlement, resulting in fracturing of families (Thukral, 1996).

### **2.3.5 Additional Workload and Responsibilities**

Due to reduced family income as a consequence of displacement, women are burden on two counts such as search livelihood to add to the household income as well as the responsibility of household chores. Migration of the men in search of employment, undoubtedly, is another outcome of displacement, which increases the workload and responsibility of the displaced women. Additionally; they have the social pressure of living alone.

### **2.3.6 Breakdown in Social Support Network**

The displaced women prefer to move as a part of a preexisting community, neighboring or kinship group for various reasons. Women are less mobile, the breakdown of village and social units, thus, affects them much more severely (Thukral, 1992). For women in rural and tribal areas, kin relationships still constitutes the prime avenues of access to scarce resources such as

information, economic assistance, and other social support. Much of the support provisions flow from close networks, child care, assistance during sickness, access to information, economic assistance and a variety of other support. Resettlement that takes women far away from their natal home might severely affect their welfare, as support in times of crises that might have come from parents and brothers may not be forthcoming due to loss of frequent contact (Parasuraman, 1993) Thus, if the resettlement of the displaced women is not carefully executed, it may lead to breakdown in community networks as well as seriously affect the welfare of the women. It has been pointed out that since women's dependence on men is greater, breakdown of these networks creates tremendous insecurity and trauma, which the women experience more than men.

Disruption of social, kinship networks due to displacement needs some attention. Easy access to their natal homes gave most a sense of security at their original villages. At resettlement sites the security has been shattered as they feel threatened all the time. The supposed to be mobility does not mean much when people do have busses at their doorsteps but have no money for the fare. Women do not commute by buses for fear of sexual harassment. No woman can sit in these buses and go to their natal homes 50 kilometers away (Patabardhan, 1999).

### **2.3.7 Problem of Marriage of Daughters**

Several studies have found out that girls have been married off early among the displaced families due to the availability of ready cash, which is paid as dowry, through compensation against their land being acquired by the project. Dowry rates have also gone up, as a result of which some families find it difficult to get their daughters married. The most important fallouts for women of the resettlement work in the air port colony of Hyderabad (Kishor, 2007) was the increase in dowry cash and commodities, and the lowering of the age of marriage age for the girls. Girls were given in marriage immediately when the cash compensation was received in the locality. The parents were not sure what would be their economic status later on. The girls of the affected families were sought after by the unaffected people with greed to acquire more dowries. All this have long-term consequences for women and not thought during the formulation of the R&R Policy and resettlement authorities.



In a study by Anita Agnihotri (1996) found that the unmarried girls of the displaced villages of Languabeda and Sagadipal of the Rengali Irrigation Project in Orissa have revealed that marriage market has suddenly shrunk for them and dowry rates have gone up. The villages along the Narmada the women were worried about the marriage of their daughters. Some were worried that they would never see them once they moved to a new area. Other said that they were finding it hard to get their children married because the other party did not know where they would go. Some even found people reluctant to get into alliance with them (Thukral, 1996).

### **2.3.9 Rise in Alcoholism And Increase in Violence Against Women**

As a consequences of displacement there are a number of cases of the rise in social disturbances reflected by alcoholism, prostitution, gambling and theft noticed in earlier instances of displacement such as Ukai dam, Hirakud dam, and those affected by the Kutku dam in Bihar. This increase in social problem is bound to have affected directly the lives and status of women by way of violence inflicted on them (Thukral, 1996). For example, at resettlement sites for the Sardar Sarovar Project, increased alcoholism markedly increased domestic violence. As men face powerlessness, women (and children) become scapegoats (Mehta and Srinivasan, 1999). Similarly in several cases displacement, resulting anxiety, idleness and insecurity has caused increase in drinking, wife-beating and domestic violence (Fernandes, 1998), again adversely affecting women. The study by Balaji Pandey (1998b) on impact of open cast coal mining on women also noted that the breakup of families, weakening of kinship ties, and loss of the security and insurance as a fallout of displacement, the availability of cash received in compensation has led to increase in alcohol intake by men folk resulting in violence against women.

Because of the trauma of displacement, drinking has increased considerably among men, so have wife beating and quarrels in the family. In many cases women too have taken drinking and family in order to cope with leisure and loneliness during the day (Walter Fernandes 1996).

### **2.3.10 Sense of Insecurity:**

Sense of insecurity linked with rehabilitation has to do with the change in topographical and social environment. Villagers of Indra Reddy Nagar who had lived in the Gachibowli area were shifted to Rajendra Nagar Mandal in Hyderabad under the high tech spaces project. They had to go through a lot of physical and mental harassment as the surrounding village people used to come in the night and threaten the women of dire consequences if they were to stay in the resettlement colony as the villagers feared of losing common property resources surrounding the resettlement colony, which they had been using since ages (Kishor, 2007).

### **2.3.11 Breakdown of Lifestyles:**

All these incidences just illustrate the myriad ways in which displacement leads to a breakdown of lifestyles. Childcare is one of the main responsibilities fulfilled by women (Parasuraman, 1999). Women not only suffer in terms of health and nutrition, they also lost the capacity to provide a secured 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.

### **2.3.12 Impact on Women as Psychological Trauma**

A review of existing literature on development-induced displacement reveals that there is a lot of evidence available on the socio-economic impact of displacement and resettlement on the communities, and some information is available on some vulnerable sections of the populations such as the Dalits, there is very little empirical data available on the issue of development-induced displacement from gender perspective. It may be noted here that gender dimension of the displacement issue is missing in most of these literatures. The burden of displacement affects women negatively because of the fact that there exist gender disparities in the country. There are intra-household inequalities between male and female in terms of literacy, health, nutrition, access to and control over resources and income, ownership of assets etc. Only recently the links between gender and development-induced displacement are slowly being made in bit and pieces (Pandey, 1998a, 1998b; Parasuraman, 1993; Thukral, 1996; Ray, 1998; Agnihotri, 1998).

The risk and reconstruction model for resettling displaced population makes a specific mention on women and children. Children, as an age category, are subjected to particularly perverse consequences. One of the impoverishment risk model out of eight, which are mentioned education loss of children affected by project take the primordial position. Indeed relocation often interrupts schooling and some children never return to school. This is very much true with the case of female children of the displaced locality; this is due to the drop of the family income, many children are drafted into the labor market earlier than the age of working and earlier than the age of taking burden on them. Women become vulnerable as the new locality restricts them from working, as they will not be having any knowledge about the locality due to which security reasons become a concern (Cernea, 1997). Cernea gives 8 new models for reconstructing the livelihoods and reversing the risks.

- A) From landlessness to land based reestablishment. B) From joblessness to reemployment.
- C) From homelessness to house construction. D) From social disarticulation to community reconstruction. E) From Marginalization to social inclusion. F) From expropriation to restoration of community assets. G) From food insecurity to adequate nutrition. H) From increased morbidity to better health care.

Women are vulnerable in every possible way in a displaced place. While there is an overall negative effect on the poor, women and female children are bound to be affected more because of intra-household inequalities that already exist in the levels of literacy, health, nutrition etc. although the displacement effect looks same at the outer layer it is very dangerous to club women into homogeneous category. Their experiences, even as a woman would be different depending on their caste, class and ethnicity. However, in the family context, as women, they suffer greater vulnerability, even within their own social groups. After the resettlement is made irrespective of the gender all of the people lose their job but it is less difficult for men to find a job according to their capacity, but it is not the same case with women as compulsorily they have to work the women end up in settling for unskilled wage labour which is most often irregular and underpaid. Other problem is that it involves many risks and harassment (Thukral, 1996).

The tragedy of displacement due to development projects is compounded because the affected bear the cost but have no share in the benefits. In case of women, of course they have even lesser access. They are mere passive recipients in the fallouts. Women's underdevelopment is not due to insufficient and inadequate participation, rather it is due to their enforced but asymmetric participation whereby they bear the cost but were excluded from the benefits. The concern is through different set of ideas where in the process of displacement and resettlement women are not consulted and women have been neglected in the policy process. The authorities in charge of the relocation do not understand the women's problems of adjusting to the new locality. Since even under normal circumstances society has yet to treat women equally, the displaced women will need some extra attention to cope with the changed circumstances till such time that they can begin as equals. The traumas of displacements have direct connection with the rights of the women and her civil liberties (Shiva, 1993).

The women and children are the worst hit due to displacement and resettlement. First of all children and women are vulnerable in the family, if the resettlement happens then the situation will go out of imagination. She strongly proposes that interest of the children and women should be clearly represented in plans of rehabilitation (Dhagamwar, 1998). This will clearly mean added emphasis on education. The interest of women should be given extra attention as they feel out of place in the newly resettled place. The debate on rehabilitation cannot be held in isolation. The problem has to be seen against the background of our whole economy and in light of the needs of our country for at least one generation.

### **2.3.13 The Impact of Gender on Internal Displacement**

Having briefly considered the meaning of gender and earlier today the problem of internal displacement, the linkage between the two must be drawn. Gender may impact upon a situation of internal displacement in any and all of its phases: the pre-displacement phase, the experience of displacement, and the processes of return or resettlement and reintegration. It can be a

determining factor in terms of cause of displacement, the consequences for the internally displaced and remedies to their plight.

(I) Gender may be a determining factor in the cause of displacement, for instance, if women and girls are targeted with human rights violations compelling flight. Notably, the displacing effect of gender-based persecution is not necessarily limited to women. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, campaigns of mass rape were an instrument of "ethnic cleansing" designed to ensure the displacement not only of women but, in instilling widespread fear and communal shame, of entire communities.

(ii) The consequences of displacement also raise gender issues, with the experience of being displaced tending to affect men and women in different ways. Displacement tends to alter the structure of families and households and to change gender roles. Adult and adolescent males often become separated from the family as they stay behind to maintain land or migrate in search of work. In conflict situations, they likely serve -- or are suspected as serving -- as combatants and as a result are susceptible to go missing, be killed or become disabled in combat. In cases where families are able to remain together, the experience of displacement nonetheless places severe strains on the family unit to the extent that divorces have been found to be common in IDP settings.<sup>4</sup> For all of these reasons, in situations of displacement the number of female-headed households increases significantly. This not only places a very heavy burden on women as they become the sole supporters of their families, but in most situations of displacement limited economic opportunities and discriminatory practices mean that it is a responsibility that proves difficult for displaced women to fully discharge.

Bereft of the protection provided by their homes and communities, internally displaced women are at greater risk of gender-based violence including physical and sexual attacks, rape, enforced prostitution and sale into marriage or slavery. In cases where the family unit remains intact, the stress of displacement often increases the incidence of domestic violence, including spousal abuse and marital rape. Consequently, large numbers of internally displaced women suffer psychological and physical trauma and, moreover, many are infected with sexually transmitted diseases.

The consequences of displacement that are common to men and women alike nonetheless may affect women more adversely. For example, documentation regularly is lost in the course of displacement but may be difficult, especially for internally displaced women, to replace. In some situations, women may not be entitled to documentation in their own names. Discriminatory legislation or practice to this effect proves particularly problematic for internally displaced women separated, as they often are, from their husbands or parents.

(iii) Gender issues also may impact upon remedies to the plight of the internally displaced. In the short-term, remedies relate to the needs of internally displaced persons for protection and assistance. IDP women routinely face discrimination in efforts to address their needs. In the planning of assistance programmes, women generally are consulted less than men. In one camp in Burundi, where there were only 25 men out of a camp population of several thousands, when the Representative asked to consult with representatives of the camp to discuss the problems faced by its residents, only men appeared.

Gender-based problems also may arise in the distribution of material assistance: when it is distributed solely through or to men, women may be forced to trade sexual favours in order to obtain at least part of their ration. Sexual exploitation may occur in exchange not only for food, shelter and other items of material assistance but also for physical protection.

A high incidence of rape and sexual violence among internally displaced women also is associated with the collection of firewood, which may require women to venture out alone and far from their camps or settlements into unsafe areas. The experience of Somali refugee women in northeastern Kenya is a well-documented example but others exist and the problem is not limited to refugees; it affects IDPs as well. Similar problems may arise relating to the collection of water.

### **2.3.14 The Policy Regime: International Context**

For understanding the issues of displacement, development and resettlement and rehabilitation in India holistically, there is a need of reference to the policies and programmes of multilateral and bilateral agencies, particularly the World Bank, ADB, DFID and UNDP from gender

perspective. It is needless to note here that the World Bank has been the single largest international donor for development initiatives in India. The Bank's policy on R&R continues to remain gender blind. The World Bank, in the past the Bank's R & R policies have failed to adequately address resettlement and gender concerns, but efforts are being made by the Bank to learn from the past by introducing social planning and assessments. The unequal development in the Singrauli region has happened because of disparities between affluent workers of large corporations and poor and displaced people living in the surrounding areas. Due to inadequate social planning, high social tension ensued, women were very negatively impacted and the risk of displacement increased. The adverse consequences could have been avoided had comprehensive social assessments of projects been undertaken before implementation (Asif, Mehta. and Mander, 2002).

In the context of involuntary resettlement there exists a lacunae between the Bank.s policies and practices. This is mainly because of the pervasive tension between the Bank and its borrowing countries over implementation of not just the R&R policy but also most of the environmental and social safeguard policies. The Bank always shifts the blame on the borrowing country.s government, when it is challenged on failed resettlement. Discussing the gender implications of the Bank's policy, it is understood that the Bank does not have much to say about gender. The word 'gender' does not appear anywhere in the policy. In the policy revision process, the World Bank took no proactive steps to address issues of gender or to try to improve the status or rights of women in the context of displacement. In fact the net effect of the policy revisions is to reduce rather than increase attention to women in the context of displacement (Asif, Mehta. and Mander, 2002).

ADB.s R&R policy of 1998 has recognized gender issues in resettlement. The Bank feels that the needs and problems of women affected by relocation are likely to be different from those of men, particularly in terms of social support, services, employment, and means of subsistence for survival. Under unit of entitlement, the ADB policy recognizes that the households headed by women are to be recognized and compensated equally with households headed by men. Widowed women or divorcees living within male-headed households and having no legal rights

to land may be considered as separate units for relocation purposes (ADB, 1998). In recognizing the women may have lacking property rights on land, the R&R policy of the Bank suggests .The absence of a formal legal title to land by some affected groups should not be a bar to compensation; particular attention should be paid to households headed by women and other vulnerable groups, such as indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities, and appropriate assistance provided to help them improve their status.

The Bank's policy has further recognized that .Cash for land acquisition has never been a satisfactory mode of compensation if it is not paid at replacement values. There is also the risk that affected persons (APs) might spend their cash quickly and become impoverished, or that women and children's subsistence needs might not be met if cash compensation is paid to the head of the household. In many cases, land-based resettlement programs work better than non-land options. Where there is insufficient replacement land of reasonable quality, income generating and retraining schemes may be suitable alternatives. The aim is to establish multiple options to enable APs to select the best option to restore their lost incomes.

While developing resettlement plan, the ADB.s policy further suggests to .Specify how project will impact on the poor, indigenous people, ethnic minorities, and other vulnerable groups, including women, and any special measures needed to restore fully, or enhance, their economic and social base. Besides, ADB has also prepared a gender checklist for resettlement, which needs to be used by the donor countries along with its R&R policy of 1998 (ADB, 2003).

### **2.3.15 The Policy Regime: National Context**

National policies with specific reference to gender issues: The Indian Constitution guarantees justice, liberty and equality to all citizens of the country that means both women and men are equal as per the Constitution. The Preamble of the Constitution also speaks of equality of status of opportunity for all citizens. Also all the laws in the country emanate from the Constitutions, which should also treat equally to women at par with their male counterparts. Article 14 in the Constitution prescribes social, economic, and political justice, as well as equality before law, for both sexes. It also prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex. Article 15 (3) authorizes the State



to make special provisions for the welfare and development of women. Rights guaranteed under articles 14, 15 and 16 are fundamental rights and if they are violated by the State, a citizen can move the High Court or even the Supreme Court. There have, however, been relatively few cases in which women have asserted their rights to equality by moving the courts (Government of India, 1988).

India has ratified various international agreements concerning human rights. However, there is much discrimination against women in the country. There is wide gap between the Constitutional mandates and the reality situation. Women have greater poverty, lower literacy and education, less rights, social and economic marginalisation, exposure to violence and abuse, etc. However, gender and displacement does not seem to be mentioned anywhere in any of the national policy documents (Ray, 1998).

### **2.3.16 National Policies on Gender and Displacement**

**Compensation:** In India, the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (as amended in 1984) is the only legal instrument available in the country to address the issue of development-induced displacement. Compensation and rehabilitation benefit for the project affected/displaced people in the project is determined on the basis of ownership to land as per the said Act. A serious weakness of the Act is that it only offers cash compensation for the land being acquired in the project. The resettlement and rehabilitation of affected/displaced people does not fall within the scope of the Act. The Act recognizes only the individuals, not collective or community rights and hereditary\usufruct rights. Again the Act recognises only the legal records of rights. Thus, those who have encroached upon government land for generations but do not have any records of rights, or traditionally depended on the common property resources, or have survived by rendering services to the village community as a whole, are not entitled to get any compensation according to the present legislation.

Land Acquisition Act, 1894 is gender biased and merely reinforces the existing situation of women's lack of ownership of land and property. She further remarks that the notice of

acquisition served on a woman in the absence of any male person in the family is not legal. All R&R policies in the country go by the ownership of land or property, when working out compensation, and reflect similar gender bias (Enakshi Ganguly Thukral, 1996).

It has been noted that in the context of rehabilitation, one of the most glaring instances of gender disparity has been the issue of compensation. According to them as men are treated as heads of households, compensation, either cash or land, is invariably awarded to men. Women are not considered to be farmers or house owners. Single women, widowed women are particularly vulnerable in this situation. Similarly, R&R policy often gives land to major sons, but major daughters are excluded from such provisions (Lyla Mehta and Bina Srinivasan, 1999). Since the land documents are in the name of the male members of the family and women rarely having ownership of lands being acquired by the project, this has serious implications for giving of compensation to women and for an equal right to R&R benefits. Development-induced displacement has a particularly adverse impact on women as they have no control over the cash compensation that is paid to the man of the family (Thangraj, 1996). The women even forfeit their traditional and customary rights over forestland together with male folk that the Government takes as encroached by the tribes.

Anita Agnihotri (1998) has observed that the gender dimensions of displacement have not been closely studied in the state of Orissa. The problem does not lie in defining the entitlements of a woman head of the households that is entitlements in terms of material and money. The complex role a woman perform as a food collector, collector of fuel, and water, as a number of children and partner in agricultural activities gets a more than disproportionate blow vis-à-vis men in the process of displacement. She has to be placed back in her original place if not at a position of advantage - after relocation.

### **2.3.17 Gender and the Rights-Based Approach**

Protecting the rights of displaced men and women is at the heart of the humanitarian response. Their rights are enshrined in bodies of law, mainly international human rights law and

humanitarian law. UN mechanisms, such as Special Rapporteurs and UN Resolutions also aim to protect the rights of the displaced. This brief section will focus on a few legal documents and mechanisms which specifically promote equality between men and women in times of conflict.

### 2.3.18 Human Rights Law

Most of the provisions in human rights treaties are gender neutral – they apply to all. In spite of this, men and women are not always able to exercise their human rights equally for the reasons we have seen previously. The promotion and protection of women’s human rights has therefore been the subject of a lot of discussion as well as standard-setting in recent years. The most important one is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), 1979. CEDAW requires state parties to:

- Eliminate all forms of discrimination against women in the political, social, cultural, civil or any other field;
- Eliminate discrimination in the public and private spheres;
- Eliminate discrimination in customs and practice.

Agencies working with internally displaced people in various cultural settings must be

**Box No: 1**  
**Gender-specific provisions of the Guiding Principles**

- |        |   |
|--------|---|
| 4.1    | No discrimination against IDPs on the basis of sex  |
| 4.2    | Protection and assistance to female heads of household and expectant mothers  |
| 7.3.d  | In cases other than the emergency phases of a conflict, governments will try to involve affected women in the planning and management of their relocation   |
| 11.2.a | Protection against gender-specific violence   |
| 18.3   | Full participation of displaced women in the distribution of basic supplies   |
| 19.2   | Special attention to the health needs of women, including access to female health care providers and services, and counselling for victims of sexual abuses |
| 20.3   | Equal rights for women and men to obtain documents such as personal identification documents, birth and marriage certificates, in their own names           |
| 23.3   | Special efforts to ensure the full and equal participation of women and girls in education programmes   |
| 23.4   | Make education and training facilities available to IDPs, especially  |

prepared to address misconceptions regarding cultural practices when dealing with issues such as those in the cases mentioned above. Agencies and their staff should bear in mind that one of the founding principles of human rights law is that it is not culturally relative, but that basic human rights are universally applicable as a matter of law. It should be emphasized that culture should never be used to suppress or harm another individual. The Optional Protocol to CEDAW, 1999,

enables individuals to raise complaints with the UN Committee for CEDAW and the Committee to probe into violations of human rights in member states.

### **2.3.19 Humanitarian Law**

The 1949 Geneva Conventions and their two Additional Protocols of 1977 implicitly and explicitly condemn rape and other forms of sexual violence as serious violations of humanitarian law in both international and internal conflicts. Through its prohibition of "outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment," Common Article 3 implicitly condemns sexual violence. The statute of the new International Criminal Court of 1998 (art 7) designates rape, sexual slavery and forced prostitution as war crimes and crimes against humanity. For the first time, gender based persecution is considered a crime against humanity. The ICC can now judge the authors of these crimes in international armed conflict as well as non-international conflicts.

### **2.3.20 The UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement**

The Guiding Principles generally apply to women as well as to men, and underline the need not to discriminate on basis of ethnic origin, gender, etc (GP 4.1). But the Guiding Principles also offer an explicit protection to women. GP 4.2 states for example that "children, expectant mothers, mothers with young children, female heads of household, shall be entitled to protection and assistance required by their condition and to treatment which takes into account their special needs."

Women are the worst victims of development-induced displacement. The problems of displacement are enormous for them. It is also clear from the foregoing discussions that in the absence of a national policy on R & R, whatsoever policies made applicable for the rehabilitation of the displaced people in the country, those policies have not accorded equal status to the displaced women at par with their male counterparts. Given that the country has pledged to ensure equality to women and promised not to discriminate against them on the basis of sex, it is

imperative that all R & R policies, plans and laws imbibe the ideology that emanates from the Constitution and various UN declarations and conventions that India has ratified.

Women have hardly any property rights on the land for which they are not entitled to compensation as per the present legislation. In the resettlement colonies women also lack sanitation facilities. Similarly, there are not equally treated for jobs in the R & R packages. Although women have participated in large numbers in the protest movements against the development projects inducing displacement, yet they have not been equal beneficiaries in the R&R packages. Until recently whatsoever rehabilitation of the displaced people is being made, the men officials mostly represent the R&R authorities who may not be able to address the gender issues and concerns in rehabilitation. Gender is increasingly seen as a powerful social and cultural construct determining the ways in which social relations are structured between men and women. It constitutes the entire ambit of relations that govern the social, cultural and economic exchanges between women and men in different arenas from the household to the community, state and multi-lateral agencies. Gender is central to how societies assign roles, responsibilities, resources and rights between women and men. Allocation, distribution, utilization and control of resources are thus incumbent upon gender relations embedded in both ideology and practice.

In most parts of the world, there exist gender biases, which disadvantage women. Gender is not a static concept but differs in different cultural, geographical and historical contexts. It is contingent on factors such as age, class, culture and history. Therefore, it is wrong to assume homogeneity amongst women. Gender analyses do not merely focus on women but also look at the ways in which men and women interact with each other and the gendered nature of their roles, relations and control over resources.

Due to its crosscutting nature, no social or equity and distribution analysis can proceed without a discussion of gender. Thus, a growing constituency of policy-makers, social advisers and gender scholars talk of gender mainstreaming and “engendering” activities. They use gender conceptually and practically to approach a whole array of issues ranging from forced migration to development co-operation (DFID 1999) and health. In the following section, we look briefly at

the long process which led to the mainstreaming of gender – at least at the de jure level - in international development.

The lack of global attention can be partly attributed to limited official recognition among governments and international agencies of the problem of conflict and development-induced internal displacement to begin with. Though many states have evolved sophisticated land seizure and expropriation policies and eminent domain laws, there are few national protective policies or legal safeguards for those targeted for displacement. In the case of conflict-affected internally displaced people. . The absence of (and inability to enforce) legal frameworks notwithstanding, there is growing attention to the (human) rights and entitlements of those displaced as a consequence of conflict and development, though little consensus on appropriate institutional responses. The resettlement of internally displaced populations has, until recently, been treated as a peripheral issue, the reasons for this are varied and interconnected – including the absence of international attention, the marginal status and voicelessness of the displaced, and the limited attention devoted to the subject by social scientists. Despite sharing the common feature of being overlooked, with few exceptions, the mainstream literature has treated each phenomenon separately, with policy-makers, scholars and practitioners in each field divided by conceptual and disciplinary barriers, which is of great use to assess the problem.

## CHAPTER III

### **Making Sense of Resettlement-A Theory and Models**

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*“Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override.” - John Rawls<sup>68</sup>*

*Abstract: The Third Chapter: **Making Sense of Resettlement-A Theory and Models** is the innovation of this thesis and it formulates the crux of the findings and the applicability of Rawlsian approach to displacement and resettlement in the first section. This section discusses the justice concept in general proposed by Rawls and particularly deals with difference principle used by Rawls. The applicability of Difference Principle in Indian scenario and the least advantaged group has been dealt elaborately. Attempt has been made to use Rawls’s concept of least advantaged in the context of India. This attempt has been made as the section of the population displaced in the chosen three case studies from Hyderabad consist the categories which are called as reserved and minorities in India. The second section of the chapter on **Models** is of high utility in the context of growing number of displacements happening around the world and particularly in the third world countries. The uniqueness of the concept of sustainable development being adaptable to several contexts is the logic behind including this in the thesis. The sustainable model speaks about livelihoods, human development and sustainable settlements. The concept is of high utility as displacement disrupts all the above mentioned factors when it occurs due to which the generations suffer. The chapter gives some of the applied models to promote livelihood and settlements.*

#### **3.1 Introduction**

All social values - liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect - are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any, or all, of these values is to everyone’s’ advantage. With respect to development-induced displacement Rawls's general conception enables us to recognize some of the problems encountered by the “oustees” as *injustices*. An unsuccessful resettlement scheme cannot only fail to benefit displaced persons and family, but, as the literature shows, it can impoverish them. In Rawlsian terms, it can create

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<sup>68</sup> John Rawls, (1971), *A Theory of Justice*, (Harvard University Press, USA), p3.

new inequalities by depriving people not only of income and wealth but also of social goods in two other categories: liberty and opportunity, and social bases of respect. If we follow Rawls in thinking that justice forbids any inequalities unless they work to everyone's advantage, then we can see these effects of displacement not only as impoverishing but as unjust. The first contribution of the Rawlsian general conception of justice, then, is to synthesize these various impoverishing effects of bad resettlement plans as evidence of injustice.

Rawls' theory of justice is about fairness involving the ideas of original position, the veil of ignorance and the derivation of two principles of justice (Theory of Justice, 1971); where he asks for commitment for the holders to a minimum level of standards in relation to other beneficiaries in society. He emphasizes on egalitarianism and distributive justice. He favors the right to own private property as one of the basic liberties of the persons. These concepts have their relevance to the concepts of involuntary resettlement particularly when we argue for distributive justice, land for land and evaluation of pre and post development projects conditions under involuntary resettlement. In this backdrop, this present work seeks to examine critically the Rawls theory of social justice in the context of involuntary resettlement.

What is justice? Is it the quality of being just; righteousness, equitableness, or morality to uphold the justice for a cause? Or is it the rightfulness or lawfulness to a claim or title or entitlement on some ground or reason? Is it possible for a society in this present market economy to be just? Unlike Marxists, egalitarian liberals believe that there are some circumstances under which such a society could fulfill the requirements of social justice. A market economy need not be exploitative. Rawls theory of justice endorses the same viewpoint and shows how with the help of difference principle the basic structure of society could be arranged to meet the requirements of social justice. A society, which protects the rights and liberties of people and provides all the economic and social advantages to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged sections in the society, could be considered just.



In this context development projects in developing countries that are the basis of market economy, are expected to alleviate poverty by improving livelihood options. On the contrary such development projects, while resettling the population from one place to another, create process related poverty or the new poor in the society. Hence if development projects lead to impoverishment and create process related poverty; such situation negates the very premise of social justice while moving on the path to development. Therefore, the present paper explores Rawls' theory of social justice and endeavors to place it in the circumstances of involuntary resettlement. The objective of this effort is to find out whether the concepts propounded by Rawls in his theory of justice such as entitlements, equality, participation and distributive justice are relevant in the context of involuntary resettlement.

### 3.1.1 Basic Theory of Social Justice

Rawls theory of Justice talks about fair and rightful allocation of resources. It discusses both the aspects i.e. governing and organizing society and consequences for people and their lives. He while accepting that *Society is a cooperative enterprise for mutual benefits for all, expounds that it is also marked with conflicts and diverse interests. These conflicts and diverse interest specify rights and duties of people and determine appropriate distributive shares.* But Rawls enumeration of this “Society” is the one, which is closed, well organized and comprises of rational individuals. Although justice as fairness is embodied in entering into a “social contract” which is the beginning of one of the most general of all choices, which rational individuals collectively make. But in reality “social contract is entered upon by individuals with differential capabilities, conflicts and rights”. In saying so he, however, negates his basic presupposition that all parties are equal and have the same rights in choosing principles as reality is reversed. This social contract, according to Rawls is entered under the “*veil of ignorance*” i.e. people are unaware of their place, class etc in society that ultimately defines their roles, basic rights and duties.

The concept of right, according to Rawls, is a set of such principles, which are general, universally applicable to, and publicly recognizable with the capability of sequencing conflicting claims. He then proceeded on to narrate, that the desire to follow rules impartially are intimately

connected with the desire to recognize the “rights and liberties of others”. Thus he believed in the entitlements of people. The basic rights and liberties of citizens, Rawls defines among others are, the right to vote together with freedom of speech, freedom of thought; and freedom of the person to hold (personal) property. Rawls, however, accepts the inherent limitations of “these liberties” by recognizing that “the inability to take advantage of one’s rights and opportunities as a result of poverty, ignorance and lack of available means, itself acts as constraints in actualization of liberty in its true spirit. Thus Rawls firmly believed in the development with social justice where entitlements of people are recognized. Scholars like Noble laureate Amartya Sen also express similar sentiments when he refers to development as freedom and as basic liberties. For Sen (1999), development involves reducing deprivation or broadening choices. So overcoming deprivations is central to development. Contrary to this, in reality, the development projects in developing countries by relocating population in new habitats are leading to their deprivations and marginalization. Hence although concept of social justice is frequently employed in the discourse of development, yet it is surprisingly absent in the discussions and practices of the “resettlement process”.

The argument made by Rawls is to support and somewhat strengthen standards for best practice in treatment of people displaced by development projects. The ideas of compensation and mitigation come nowhere close to satisfying this conception of justice, which would require that the condition of displaced people be improved not only in terms of income and wealth (conceived broadly to include access to land, to productive resources, and to other subsistence resources such as forests) but also in terms of liberty and opportunity (entailing consultation and self-determination for affected communities and individuals) as well as social bases for respect (including community social organization sufficient for cultural survival). This would suggest an alternative set of principles for justice in resettlement:

- ❖ The community and its members are not to be made worse-off in assets or resources (broadly conceived); on the contrary, the outcome is to be advantageous to them.
- ❖ Displacement and resettlement are to be freely negotiated by the community, in a process in which all members are fairly represented.

- ❖ Communities members' social and cultural means of self-respect are not to be damaged by relocation and resettlement are to be freely negotiated by the community, in a process in which all members are fairly represented.
- ❖ A community has the right to refuse displacement if, in doing so, they do not perpetuate or impose deeper disadvantages upon other communities or other segments of the society<sup>69</sup>.

Development-induced displacement can be defined as the forcing of communities and individuals out of their homes, often also their homelands, for the purposes of economic development<sup>70</sup>. At the international level, it is viewed as a violation of human rights<sup>71</sup>. The contribution that Rawlsian thinking can make to this issue is not so much to offer new standards or new lines of criticism, but rather, to offer clarification and endorsement for some criticisms that have already been made of displacement -inducing projects, and for corresponding standards of “best practice”. The connection with Rawls is clear when we see that development projects which displace whole communities such as infrastructure projects can be utilitarian nightmares. Imagine that such a project actually did promote greater good for a greater number; never mind that in many cases there are grounds for doubting this. A criticism often made of projects like these is that the sacrifices and impoverishment that are imposed upon the “oustees” in order to achieve this “greater good” are intolerable<sup>72</sup>. This sort of insight is central to Rawls's project. It corresponds to a more general insight, that utilitarian thinking is inherently tolerant of social injustice, and this is the starting-point of Rawls's theorizing about social and political justice. One of his most salient results, for our purposes, is a particular conception of *injustice*, namely: that a scheme or system which creates advantages for some parts of a community is unjust unless

<sup>69</sup> [www.carleton.ca/cove/papers/Displacement.pdf](http://www.carleton.ca/cove/papers/Displacement.pdf)

<sup>70</sup> Pablo Bose, *Development Induced Displacement and Participation*, at <http://www.yorku.ca/crs/EDID/EDID%20Documents/EDID%20WP%202.pdf>

<sup>71</sup> See, <http://www2.ohchr.org>

<sup>72</sup> Anthony Oliver-Smith, (1996), “Fighting for a Place; The Policy Implications of Resistance to Development-Induced Resettlement,” in *Understanding Impoverishment; The Consequences of Development-Induced displacement* ed. Christopher McDowell (Providence, Rhode Island, and Oxford: Berghahn Books) p78.

it creates benefits for all. “Injustice,” he wrote in 1971, “is simply inequalities that are not to the benefit of all”.<sup>73</sup>

Rawls concept of distributive justice holds ground and significance to the process of resettlement of people and process related poverty. In lines with the fundamental principles of democracy and participatory development, John Rawls comes as an answer to address this concern where he says ‘social and economic inequalities have to be arranged so that they are both a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged and b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity’. He argues and debates the premise of traditional concept of “efficiency” by ‘a principle of efficiency as adjusted to distribution, or in this case, to institutions and the basic structure of the society. According to him certain individuals are efficient if there exists no redistribution of goods that improves the circumstances of at least one of these individuals without another being disadvantaged’. Moreover, he propounds equality of opportunity, i.e. society must give more attention to those with fewer assets and to those born into the less favorable social positions. The idea is to level out the biases in the direction of equality. Deriving from the above his importance is explicable in the context of involuntary resettlement. In echoing his concept of “social justice”, the question arises is ‘is it equitable to support development programmes that benefit vast majority even when the same account for loss of livelihood opportunities for others?

The general conception attaches a burden of proof to social inequalities, none of which are permissible under this conception of justice unless they can be shown to have advantageous consequences for all:

*All social values - liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect - are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any, or all, of these values is to everyone's advantage*<sup>74</sup>.

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<sup>73</sup> John Rawls, (1971), *A Theory of Justice*, (Harvard University Press, USA), p62.

<sup>74</sup> John Rawls, (1971) *A Theory of Justice*, (Harvard University Press, USA), p62

Rawls's general conception of justice is more rigorously egalitarian, since (i) it requires development that not only aims but succeeds at improving the conditions of all, and (ii) it stipulates that any unequal distribution of benefits is unfair unless everyone is made better-off than they would have been otherwise. With respect to development-induced displacement Rawls's general conception enables us to recognize some of the problems encountered by the “oustees” as injustices. An unsuccessful resettlement scheme cannot only fail to benefit displaced persons and family, but, as the literature shows, it can impoverish them. In Rawlsian terms, it can create new inequalities by depriving them not only of income and wealth but also of social goods in two other categories: liberty and opportunity, and social bases of respect. If we follow Rawls in thinking that justice forbids any inequalities unless they work to everyone's advantage, then we can see these effects of displacement not only as impoverishing but as unjust. The effects of displacement spill over to generations in many ways, such as loss of traditional means of employment, change of environment, disrupted community life and relationships, marginalization, a profound psychological trauma and more. Such consequences lead to the requirement of legislations that address not only the issue of compensation, but also of resettlement, rehabilitation and participation in negotiation.

The first contribution of the Rawlsian general conception of justice, then, is to synthesize these various impoverishing effects of bad resettlement plans as evidence of injustice. The second contribution is to support and somewhat strengthen standards for best practice in treatment of people displaced by development projects: the idea of compensation comes nowhere close to satisfying this conception of justice, which would require that the condition of displaced people be *improved* not only in terms of income and wealth (conceived broadly to include access to land, to productive resources, and to other subsistence resources such as forests) but also in terms of liberty and opportunity (entailing consultation and self-determination for affected communities and individuals) as well as social bases for respect (including community social organization sufficient for cultural survival).

The types of assets and resources that are lost, inadequately replaced, or degraded are quite varied, and while some of them would count as “wealth” in an economic sense, others may count

as “wealth” or “assets” only in a broader, non-monetary sense. Some may have been owned by the displaced people; others (including common property as well as rented property) may have been used though not owned by the users, while others (such as jobs) may only have been held. Nevertheless, there is no stretch of meaning at all involved in saying that, for these people, losing these assets and resources is *impoverishing*. We can say quite literally and straight forwardly that, by losing these kinds of assets and resources, people are made worse-off. Consequently these are clearly the sorts of assets and resources that Rawls would consider “social goods”, subject to the general conception of justice.

When people displaced by development projects are impoverished in many ways, then, the project not only creates an inequality that fails to benefit all, but it creates an inequality precisely by making these people worse-off. According to the general conception, then, when the sorts of impoverishment that Cernea lists result from development-induced displacement. To be displaced involuntary entails that one's liberty has been curtailed. However, this involuntariness can be mitigated by consultation and negotiation. In the ideal case, if the terms of resettlement are negotiated freely between the states (and project) and the displaced community, then arguably the relocation is not involuntary at all, and no liberty has been lost.

From the Rawlsian perspective, liberty and opportunity are social goods subject to the general conception of justice. It is one of the social goods in which inequalities are not to be created, unless they work to everyone's advantage. The principle has interesting implications concerning consent to displacement. On one hand, imposed displacement or resettlement that is not freely negotiated with the displaced community would not only fail to make everyone better-off, in terms of liberty, opportunity, and self-determination, but it would directly disadvantage this community in particular. On the other hand, it would also be unjust for the community to withhold consent if the project were actually necessary for raising opportunities elsewhere and thus (moving towards) equalizing them within the larger society. The general conception of justice, then, cuts both ways. It raises a standard for states and projects to consult with potentially displaced communities, but it also sets a standard for those communities, should they

find themselves in a negotiating position where refusal of the project might have unjust effects on other communities and other sections of the society.

Self-respect, as Rawls understands it, means believing that one's life-plans and, more broadly, one's conception of a good life are *worth* carrying out. This, in turn, requires two things. One is having a life-plan and conception of one's own good that is not self-frustrating but, on the contrary, develops one's abilities. The other is having a community in which one's life, deeds, and conception of the good can be appreciated, esteemed and enjoyed by other people. Communitarian criticism of Rawls notwithstanding, he has always included this aspect of belonging to a community as a primary social good. Thus, according to the general conception of justice, any inequality which is not advantageous to everyone's participation in such a community is unjust. From this angle, the social disruption that results in some cases of displacement can be seen as unjust. Cernea lists both “loss of place” and “social disarticulation” as types of DID-induced impoverishment. While the losses that Cernea cites are not exactly the sorts of losses that Rawls would call losses in social bases for self-respect, there is nevertheless a close causal connection between them. Loss of cultural space and identity are likely to undermine the degree of support people can draw from each other, to believe that their life-plans, their view of a good life, and their conceptions of their own good, are worth pursuing and carrying out. The same effect predictably results from losing the networks and associations in which people's sense of their own worth is reflected in the opinions and attitudes of others towards them. From the Rawlsian point of view, then, having these kinds of social means for sustaining people's belief in themselves is a social good that is subject to the general conception of justice. A social scheme or arrangement that systematically deprived some people of them would be unjust.

The standard which the general conception sets is an interestingly high one. Justice according to this conception does not forbid merely that a group be deprived of all means to sustain self-esteem. It requires rather that no group's means for sustaining self-esteem should be held below any others. It requires, in other words, not merely that no group's social bases of self-respect be destroyed. It requires that, compared to any other group, no group's social bases of self-respect

be damaged. Can the social bases for self-respect be damaged by forced displacement or resettlement? The extent of social disarticulation that is documented in the literature on resettlement seems so great that it would be surprising indeed if the socio-cultural bases for self-respect somehow emerged intact and unscathed.

The second principle of justice says:

*Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both: to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, consistent with the just savings principle, and attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity<sup>75</sup>.*

*Those with similar abilities and skills should have similar life chances. More specifically, assuming that there is a distribution of natural assets, those who are at the same level of talent and ability, and have the same willingness to use them, should have the same prospectus of success regardless of their initial place in the social system. In all sectors of society there should be roughly equal prospects of culture and achievement for everyone similarly motivated and endowed. The expectations of those with the same abilities and aspirations should not be affected by their social class<sup>76</sup>.*

### **3.1.2 The Application of the Difference Principle to the Basic Structure of Society**

The difference principle is a principle for institutions, not for individuals. This is not to say that the difference principle does not imply duties for individuals- it creates innumerable duties for them. It means rather that the difference principle applies in the first instance to regulate economic conventions and legal institutions, such as the market mechanism, the system of property, contract, inheritance, securities, taxation, and so on. It is, we might say, a “rule for making the rules” individuals are to observe in daily life. It is then to be applied directly by legislators and regulators as they make decisions about the rules that govern the many complicated institutions within which economic production, trade, and consumption take place. Rawls envisions the difference principles as the primary principle to guide the deliberations of

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<sup>75</sup> John Rawls, (1999), *A Theory of Justice*, rev.ed, (Harvard University Press, USA), p302/266.

<sup>76</sup> John Rawls, (1999), *A Theory of Justice*, rev.ed, (Harvard University Press, USA), p73/63.



democratic citizens as they debate the common good and the decisions of legislators as they enact laws to realize the common good of democratic citizens. Individual conduct is to be guided or regulated by these laws and norms made pursuant to the difference principle. In this way the difference principle applies indirectly to individuals. This means that the difference principle is not designed to be taken in to consideration and directly applied by consumers or firms as they make specific economic choices. For example, in my buying decisions the difference principle does not impose a duty to buy Indian or to purchase more costly goods from less efficient firm when this leads to greater benefit for the worst-off. Consumers do not have the kind of information needed to apply the difference principle in their individual economic choices.

Rarely can any individual ever know whether his economic choice is more or less beneficial to the less advantage. Rawls assumes that individuals normally will act like ordinary economic agents, seeking to opt time as much “bang for the buck” as they can and thereby maximize their economic utility. This does not mean Rawls assumes that only self interested market motives are an ineluctable fact of human nature. Instead he thinks that taking advantage of markets in production results in the most rational use of economic resources- land, labour, and capital. Because of limitations on the information that any person or planning committee can have regarding supply, demand, and other relevant information, market allocations better utilize available resources to satisfy individuals’ demands than any non market allocation and distribution procedure. Now it is against a background of market allocation of factors of productions that Rawls assumes that the difference principle will work best to advance the position of the worst-off within a market economy where people act in their own interest in making their economic choices. The difference principle applies directly to institutions and only indirectly to individuals<sup>77</sup>.

The direct application of the difference principle to structure economic institutions and its indirect application to individual conduct, exhibit what Rawls means when he says that the “primary subject of justice is the basic structure of society” (TJ, 7/6 rev.) the basic structure of the society consists of the arrangements of the political, social, and economic institutions that

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<sup>77</sup> Samuel Freeman, (2002), *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls*, Cambridge University Press.

make social cooperation possible and productive. These institutions have a profound influence on individuals' everyday lives, their characters, desires and ambitions, as well as their future prospects. The basic institutions that are the part of the basic structure include, first, the political constitutions and the resulting form of the government and the legal system that it supports, including the system of trials and other legal procedures; second the system of property, whether public or private, that must exist in any society to specify who has exclusive rights to and responsibilities for the use of goods and resources. The system of property specifies the rights, powers and duties that individuals and groups have with respect to the use and enjoyment of resources and other things; third, the system of markets and other means of transfer and disposal of economic goods and more generally the structure and the norms of the economic system of production, transfer and distribution of goods and resources among individuals; and , fourth, the family in some form, which from a political perspective is the primary mechanism any society must have for raising and education of children, and thus the reproduction of society over time.

The basic social institutions that make up a society's basic structure can be designed in different ways, and can be combined with other basic institutions to potentially many different socially cooperative schemes. A primary role of the difference principle is that it is to be applied to specify appropriate forms of ownership and property rights and responsibilities, as well as permissible and impermissible transactions in the economic system.

It is not only the difference principle that is to apply to the basic structure, but the first principle and fair equality of opportunity too. The first principle of justice is the primary principle to be used for designing the political constitution, while the second principle is the primary principle to apply to economic institutions and property. This is what Rawls means when he says that the basic structure of society is "the first subject of justice". The most basic principles of social justice are to apply in the first instance and most directly to the basic institutions that make social cooperation possible. Indeed the main point of the difference principle is to provide a non-market criterion for deciding the proper division of income and wealth resulting from market allocations of productive resources and the resulting social product. This is clear from Rawls's

initial contrast of democratic equality and the difference principle with liberal equality and the system of natural liberty, both of which advocate the principle of efficiency (TJ, sect. 12-13). The principle of efficiency is a market criterion for distribution characteristic of classical liberalism. Taken by itself, the principle of efficiency implies that any distribution that results from market transactions is just (TJ, 72/62 rev.). As such, it seems to allow for most any distribution, even one where small minorities of people have most everything, and the great majority have next to nothing.

By contrast with classical liberalism's efficiency criterion of distributive justice, the difference principle requires that economic institutions be designed so that the least advantaged class enjoys a greater share of income, wealth, and economic powers more generally, than it would under any other economic arrangement (with the important qualification that the final distribution is compatible with equal basic liberties and fair equal opportunities.) For purposes of illustration, imagine difference principle is applied by the legislators to choose from among a range of economic system<sup>78</sup>.

The difference principle says the preferred economic system along this continuum is one whose mix of economic and legal institutions makes the least advantaged class better off (in terms of its members' share of income and wealth and powers and position of office) than all other systems along the continuum. Later we will discuss the Rawls's conjecture that the preferred system will be either of property-owning democracy or market socialism<sup>79</sup>. He believes that the least advantaged will fare better in terms of economic power and income and wealth in one or the other of these two economic systems, depending on cultural conditions, than under welfare-state capitalism or some other form of capitalism or socialism.

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<sup>78</sup> Rawls says, "The main problem of distributive justice is the choice of a social system" (TJ, 274/242 rev.). This is one way he sees the difference principle as applying holistically.

<sup>79</sup> Erin Kelly, (2001), *Justice as fairness: A Restatement*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p138-39

### 3.1.3 Who are the Least Advantaged Members of the Society?

Rawls means least advantaged in the sense of a group's share of primary goods. He says that, since one share of income and wealth generally corresponds also with one's share of primary goods of powers, positions of authority, and bases of self respect, we can regard the least advantaged to be the economic least advantaged people in a society i.e., the poorest people (though they may not in fact be poor in an absolute sense). So the least advantaged are not the people who are the unhappiest or the unluckiest, nor are they most handicapped. Rawls deals with the problem of special needs, such as handicaps, separately from the difference principle. Nor are they least advantaged even the poorest among people, those who are unemployed because they are unable or unwilling to work; for example, the least advantaged are not beggars or homeless people, or people who hate work. Again, Rawls deals with the beggars, homeless people and unemployed under separate principles other than the difference principle. By "least advantaged", Rawls means the least advantaged working person, as measured by the income he/she obtains for gainful employment. So the least advantaged are, in effect, people who earn the least and whose skills are least in demand-in effect, the class of minimum-wage workers.

Rawls has been widely criticized for leaving the handicapped out of his account of distributive justice. The objection is that surely people with severe mental and physical handicaps are worse off than the working poor; at least the poor have the potential to improve their situation. Why does Rawls define "least advantaged" this way? Basically he conceives of society in terms of social cooperation, which he regards as productive and mutually beneficial, and which involves the idea of reciprocity of fair terms. Since social cooperation is by nature productive and involves reciprocity, for a person to fully engage in social cooperation suggests that this person has that requisite capacities of cooperation (including the moral powers and capacities for productive labor), that he or she exercises these capacities, and is willing and able to do his or her fair share in contributing towards social cooperation and the resulting social product. More specifically Rawls is concerned with finding the most appropriate principles of justice that specify the fair terms of social cooperation among free and equal persons who cooperate with one another on grounds of reciprocity and mutual respect. He assumes the ideal case where

people live a normal course of life, engage in gainful employment, and are capable of making contributions to the social product. The question he raises regards to the distribution justice is, then is, what are the most appropriate principles of designing basic economic institutions and distributing the product among socially productive and freely associating equal citizens, each of whom is willing to contribute his /her fair share to social cooperation? This is the question that, Rawls assumes, underlies discussions of economic justice in a democratic society at least since Mill and Marx. It was the question that motivated the social criticism of laissez-faire capitalism in the nineteenth century. Since this question concerns how to design and structure the basic economic and legal institutions that are necessary for society and social cooperation, it is a question that must be answered first, before a democratic society can address more specific questions of special needs of the handicapped, the unemployed and so on.

For Rawls it is the role of democratic legislations (or any government) to decide what kind and how much in the way of special benefits are to be extended to the mentally and physically handicapped, once they know the level of resources and wealth available in society. Surely there is some social minimum that follows from the various duties of assistance society owes the handicapped. But it is separate from the question of how much society owes to its members who are fully engaged in productive social cooperation, and who must produce the resources that ultimately are needed to satisfy special needs. The handicapped, who are socially productive, as many are, are due their fair share under both principles of distributive and remedial justice.

Another point is that “least advantaged” refers to a relative position in society that people can move into or out of. This point is apt in using this concept in the Indian context and to specifically to displacement scenario where the displaced population comes under the Below Poverty Line (BPL). The BPL is not a fixed criterion as Rawls says that when the population gets empowered and economically comes out from the defined category of BPL, they no more stay in the least advantaged group. This is also a reason why affirmative actions and reservations are given to specific groups of people and it is categorized as caste in India. It is not a name for a

group of people who are known by name and who remain fixed members of this group (as Rawls has said, ‘least advantaged’ is not a rigid designator). So when the difference principle says that economic institutions are to be designed to maximally benefit the least advantaged, the idea is not that we are to make the poorest people in the society (A,B,C...) better off than some other group of people whose names we also know (T,U,V...). This would just create a new group of least advantaged people whose needs would have to be addressed, ad infinitum. Instead, the idea is that in any society where income and wealth are unequally distributed, there is a least advantaged position (e.g. the minimum wage position), the occupants of which earn less and are less powerful than those in other social positions. We are to maximize the prospects of people occupying this social position while they are members of it, i.e. the prospects of minimum-wage workers whoever they might be.

Let us consider Rawls’s abstract illustration of the difference principle, which gives a still better idea of how it works. First, **what does the OP curve represent?** Rawls says “the curve OP represent(s) the contribution to  $x_2$ ’s [or LAG’s = least Advantaged Group’s] explanation made by the greater expectation of  $x_1$  [MAG = More Advantaged Group]” (TJ, 76/66 rev.). Rawls also calls OP “the production curve”. Any point on the curve is allocatively efficient; given the shares held by LAG and MAG productive output is optimized. Moreover, as we proceed further to right along the OP curve, with increasing return to the more advantaged, there are corresponding increases in productive output and hence in society’s total income and wealth. Point O represents equal division, where “both groups receive the same remuneration” (JF, 63). O is not then a zero point where no one has anything; rather it refers to the origin point of equality where all have much as can be expected given an equal distribution. The “P” in the “OP” curve refers, again, to “production” (JF, 61). The OP curve itself captures Rawls’s assumption that departures from equality under cooperative circumstances are productive and can result in gain to both the least advantaged as well as the most advantaged up to a point. The OP curve represents the respective gains to each over equality under cooperative circumstances where production is assumed to be efficient. The expectations Rawls refers to are of primary goods- not welfare or utility- and particularly expectations of income and wealth. (Or shares in output, Rawls say, JF, 63). So as

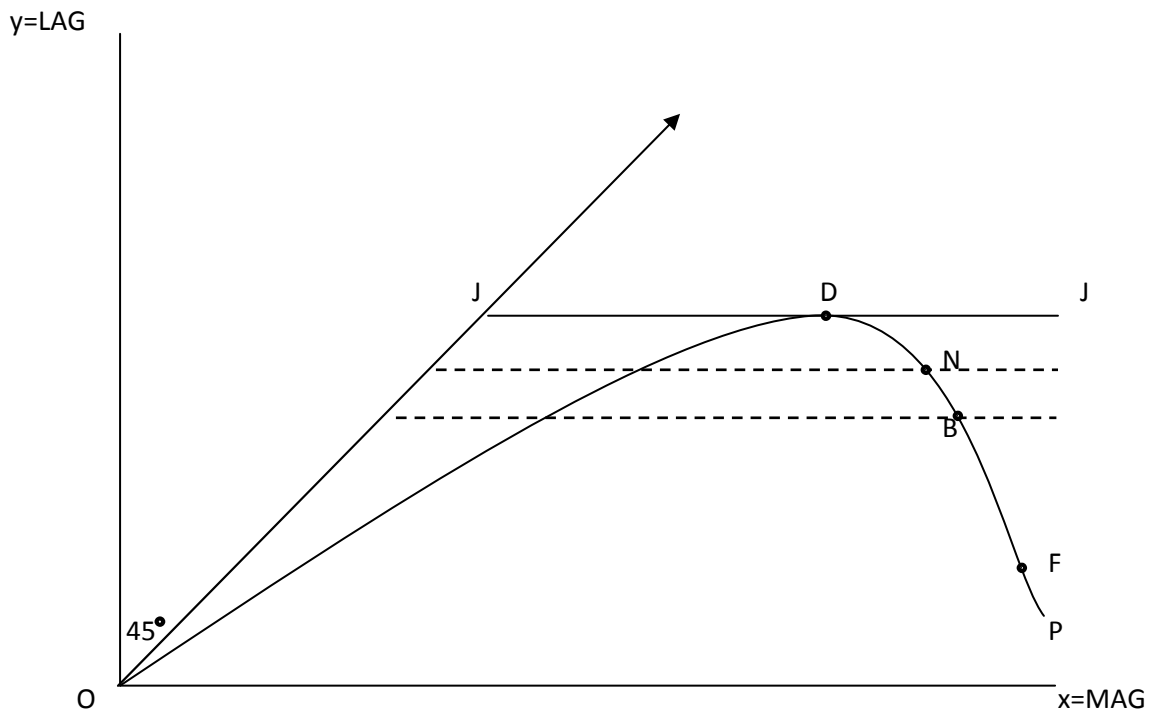
MAG's share of income and wealth increases along the X-axis, LAG's share does too, until the point D is reached, at which point LAG's share declines as MAG's continues to rise. B (for Bentham) is the point at which over all wealth and income (and economic utility too) in society are maximized; it is then "efficient", in the way idealized by utilitarian economists. The difference principle is not satisfied by point B, even though B represents a point of greater total income and wealth than at D, the point on the OP curve that is closest equality of income and wealth. At this point the share that goes to the worst off is maximized.

A question frequently asked is: "Why don't we allow for the conditions that achieve point "B", with maximal aggregate income and wealth, and then just redistribute from MAG to LAG, thereby giving LAG the maximum amount they would receive at point D, and giving MAG still more than they would otherwise receive at D?" The answer is that this possibility have already been taken into account in Rawls's graphical depiction below (figure 6 in TJ, 76/66 rev. and figure 1 in JF, 62.). The redistribution envisioned would change the expectations of both classes. If LAG expects the amount of income they would achieve at point D, then MAG could no longer expect the share that leads them to undertake the risks that will get them to point B, as they would end up with shares that put them back at D as well.

What is envisioned by the question is in effect an ad hoc redrawing of the OP curves that allows for greater inequality, with the shifting of the D point further to the right on the x-axis while remaining at the same point on the y-axis. But this would just create a different B (Bentham) point than that in Rawls's text. Moreover, there is a little reason to assume that the B point and the D point will ever be the same; it would be fortuitous if the worst-off were made as well off as they can be, right at the point at which overall wealth is maximized in society. Some classical liberals (e.g. Adam Smith) claim that the worst-off are made better off in a laissez-faire economy which maximizes wealth than in any other economic system. But the comparisons of the circumstances of the worst-off in countries that rely more heavily on market distributions, such as the U.S., with social democratic countries such as Sweden or Germany where the least

advantaged have greater social dividends and are better situated, empirically disproves such claims.

**Figure: 8- Illustration of Difference Principle**



Source: Justice as Fairness: A Restatement by John Rawls, p.62, Cambridge Mass, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Rawls says there are “different OP curves for different schemes of cooperation” (JF, 63). We can draw an OP curve which represents the amount that goes to the least advantaged, given the expectations of the most advantaged under that economic system. (for example, in welfare-state capitalism, the shape of its OP curve would reflect the level of welfare payments going to the poorest. The D point then would be the optimal level of welfare payments to the poor, which is the point at which the poor receive the largest sustainable level of transfers without undermining incentives needed to create payments at that level). Now the difference principle does not simply say that, given whatever economic system a society already has in existence, it should aim to



maximize the position of the least advantaged within the existing institutions of that already established system. Instead the difference principle requires that over time society seeks to institute the economic system that is “the most effectively designed” in so far as the least advantaged fare better than in any other alternative economic arrangement. Then, second, “other things being equal, the difference principle directs that society aim at the highest point on the OP curve of the most effectively designed scheme of cooperation” (JF, 63); that is, it should aim to maximize the position of the worst-off within this most effective system.

This seems to suggest that a society is under a duty to put into place the economic system that maximally benefits the least advantaged, and then continually increase productive output within this system so long as it accrues to the benefit of the least advantaged. There appears to be nothing in “A theory of Justice that suggests otherwise”. (It is very important as it is a criticism that Rawls is against development.) Taken by itself, this would rule out a society’s democratic decision to avoid a high degree of industrial development and technological advantages, and pursue instead a more relaxed or even pastoral existence. What is puzzling about this is that in Justice as Fairness: A restatement, Rawls says-

*‘A feature of the difference principle is that it does not require continual economic growth over generations to maximize upward indefinitely the expectations of the least advantaged measured in terms of income and wealth... that would not be a reasonable conception of justice. We certainly do not want to rule out Mill’s idea of a society in a just stationary state where (real) capital accumulation may cease. A property-owning democracy should allow for this possibility’.* (Justice as fairness, 159)

First, notice that Rawls says a society is not required to maximize the expectations of the least advantaged “measured in terms of income and wealth”. While it is true that Rawls defines the least advantaged primarily in terms of the class with the least income and wealth, this is mainly a heuristic device to make for ease of application of the difference principle. But the fact is that the relative well being of the least advantaged is determined by an index of primary goods, including not simply their share of income and wealth, but also their opportunities for powers and positions

of office, non-basic rights and liberties, and the institutional bases of self-respect. The difference principle is a criterion for the just distribution of these primary goods as well. (The distribution of the other primary goods of basic liberties and opportunities to compete are already settled by the principles of justice; that is they must be equally distributed.) Suppose a society democratically decides to afford all its members, including the least advantaged, a greater share of opportunities for powers and positions of office and bases of self-respect, by structuring its economy so as to give workers more control over their working conditions and the means of production, and ownership interests in real capital (e.g., by workers' cooperatives, or a "share economy" where workers have partial ownership of the firms they work in.) this contrasts with the traditional capitalists economy with a welfare state, where there is a sharp division between owners of capital and workers who work for an hourly wage. In this economic system- one version of what Rawls calls "property owning democracy"-workers may well have less income and wealth than they might have achieved in an capitalist welfare state, where a separate class of owners make all economic decisions regarding production and investment, and wage workers and the unemployed are insured against misfortune but otherwise have no powers or positions of control within the productive process. But in a property owning democracy, workers' share of economic powers and the bases of self –respect are greater than they are in a capitalist welfare state, since they have partial control over their working conditions and the management of production.

In this regard, the index of primary goods of the least advantaged can exceed that of the least advantaged in the capitalist welfare state, even though the latter has greater income and wealth. As we will see in the next chapter when a property-owning democracy is discussed, this is one way to explain the seeming incongruity above in Rawls's claim, in effect, that the difference principle does not require ever-increasing economic growth, even if it benefits the least advantaged in terms of income and wealth. It is not, however, his suggestion, but our attempt to make sense of what he says.

The difference principle does not simply require that society maximize the position of the worst-off within the economic system that happens to be in place. Rather, it imposes a two-fold requirement

- 1) To institute that economy that consistently makes the poorest class better off than they would be in any other economy (compatible with basic liberties and fair equal opportunities), and then
- 2) To maximize the Poor's position within the most effective system

If a non-competitive economy were more effective in instilling motives that leads people to act in ways that make the poor better off than they would be in a market economy, then the difference principle would require that non-market system (again, so long as it did not violate the priority of liberty and fair equal opportunity). Taken in abstraction from human nature and facts about how economic systems work, the difference principle does not decide whether market economies are preferable to non-market economies. It is only once the difference principle is applied to institutions, in light of knowledge about human nature and how economic systems work, that Rawls believes a market system of some form will be preferable to any non-market alternative.

There is no duty of justice in Rawls that says that we must express concern for the well-being of the least advantaged in our daily economic choices. That attitude is not part of the sense of justice as Rawls conceives it. Instead, for Rawls sense of justice is a settled disposition to act from the principles of justice and their requirements, and therefore respect and abide by laws and institutions that are designed to maximally benefit the least advantaged. Peoples' sense of justice should be informed by an "ethos" of justice that inspires them, not simply to observe and politically support laws and constraints that are designed to maximally benefit the least advantaged, but also to make everyday economic choices that directly benefit (if not maximally benefit) the poorest in society. If the naturally talented had this disposition, then they would not demand such high premiums for the exercise of superior natural talents, and this would accrue to the greater benefit of the less advantaged.

## Conclusion

Rawls account of distributive justice is complex. The difference principle plays the central role, but other principles have important distributive effects. The difference principle requires society to structure its basic economic institutions so that, over time, they maximize the index of primary good- income and wealth, and powers and positions- available to the least advantaged members of society. But for Rawls the difference principle “cannot be taken seriously” independent of institutions guaranteeing fair equality of opportunity and the fair value of equal political liberties. Inequalities in income and wealth that might otherwise benefit the least advantaged under the difference principle are not allowed if they undermine fair equal opportunities or the fair value of political liberties to others or to the less advantaged themselves. Moreover, greater educational and professional opportunities for the less advantaged cannot be exchanged for greater income and wealth for them. Finally, Rawls’ preference of a property-owning democracy over the capitalist welfare state to suggest that both the difference principle and the FEO principle are to be read to render the less advantaged economically independent, providing them fair opportunities to accede to powers and positions of office and owns and control of the means of production they professionally employ. These conditions are necessary bases of self-respect among equal citizens in a well-ordered society.

The difference principle can also be criticized for focusing too much on income and wealth as indexes of who is well off in a society. It seems perfectly possible that a group may do relatively well financially, but may sorely lack "the social bases of self-respect" (meaning that social institutions of various kinds do not affirm their worth). Rawls acknowledges that self-respect is a primary good, but his difference principle measures the least well off with regard to income and wealth alone. One might argue, however, that gays and lesbians in our own society, while not the least well off with regard to income and wealth, are very badly off with regard to the social bases of self-respect, in that such fundamental social institutions as the structure of marriage deny their equal worth. But Rawls's difference principle would not recognize them as a group in need of special attention to remove the inequalities that they suffer.

Hence to integrate Rawls *differential capabilities* and *equal access, to public offices*, programmatic interventions like capacity building and participation of the persons forcibly resettled should be taken into account for formulating policies and action plans for better management of involuntary resettlement. The development projects seldom make any efforts to integrate these aspects an indispensable part of their involuntary Resettlement plans. It may be pointed out that according to Rawls, *while the distribution of wealth and income need not be equal, to begin with, it must be to everyone's advantage, and at the same time, position of authority and offices of command must be accessible to all.*

Rawls' theory of distributive justice that entails just allocation of resources coupled with the livelihood options, which encompasses the right to livelihood and right to work make him extremely relevant and significant to the discourse on resettlement and rehabilitation. The right to livelihood and right to work of the involuntary resettled persons have been overlooked in most of the cases. Therefore, in today's globalized world where rights based approach has crept into all fields of life, John Rawls' theory of justice strongly holds its base. In addition within the market economy, deliverance of social justice to involuntary resettled persons is equally possible when policies for them are based on the principles propounded by Rawls.

The points on self respect and income-wealth have been discussed in length above but the point of departure is the inequalities in income and wealth are the primordial conditions along with FEO for someone to be called as least advantaged and here is the case where a group of people for the sake of 'larger good' had to move from a position of self respect and self sustainability to the position of least advantaged. This is the whole problem the displacement and resettlement creates and it accounts to a severe level of injustice and this injustice is seen from the angle of Rawls' difference principle and the concept of least advantaged in the coming chapters. The chapter on the field work would give substantial answer to the injustices pushed on the communities and the requirement of attention to restructure the institutions to bring them out of the least advantaged group. The field work chapter has wide range of illustrations of impoverishments and other consequences of displacement leading to the demise of justice in the process of resettlement.

## **3.2 Models**

*“Every human society exhibits a tension between a desire to exploit and an obligation to protect. Some turn to the gods to help them, some to more natural orders, and others to science, technology and managerial ingenuity”<sup>80</sup>*

### **3.2.1 Introduction**

Sustainable development is the most widely discussed and most acclaimed concept in the past two decades. Perhaps no other term has found such usage and relevance to humanity in the past decade as sustainable development. The word means the ability to sustain or continue. Development is something which we all aspire and ideas about the best means of achieving our own aspiration and needs are potentially as old as human civilization. But the concept can not be understood in a historical vacuum, where in we need to probe into the concept and its beginning. The concept of sustainable development is accepted in two different ideologies:

- As pure economic viability of societal development; and
- As an environmental concept advocating the maintenance and repair of current environmental conditions.

Nevertheless, the stand that human beings are the center of concern for sustainable development is being well received and accepted globally. In the year 1986 a definition was produced at a conference and development organized by the world conservation union (ICUN). The definition clearly emphasized on equity, social justice and human needs. In a more methodological way and in the language and in the language of development, it can be presented in this way.

- Integration of conservation and development.
- Satisfaction of basic human needs.
- Achievement of equity and social justice.
- Provision of social self-determination and cultural diversity, and
- Maintenance of ecological diversity.

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<sup>80</sup> O’Riordan. T, (1990) ‘Major Projects and the Environment’, Geographical Journal 156(2), pp.141-148.

### 3.2.2 Definitions

Sustainable development is development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The definition highlights the need for cautious planning where in no human beings life can be taken for granted. This is apt to the situation where displacement occurs and people are not consulted and their involvement is minimal. The positivist approach by the authorities or by the implementing agency, which never even thinks about consulting the people, although, the so called development process is for the people of the place or other (WCED)<sup>81</sup>.

Sustainable development is a development that is likely to achieve lasting satisfaction of human needs and improvement of the quality of human life. The definition implies help the very poor because they are left with no option other than to destroy their own environment. The notion that people-centered initiatives are needed, human beings, in other words, is the resources in the concept. The concept quality of human life is something, which is debatable, and which is much deeper than it appears. The concept has to set parameters and indicators of development, as development in one place cannot be accepted as development in all the places as the regions and their standards vary at large. So the generalization of quality of human life will sound faulty until and unless an empirical study is carried out in every place (**Robert Allen**)<sup>82</sup>.

The sustainable society is one that lives within the self- perpetuating limits of its environment. That society is not a 'no-growth' society but it is rather, a society that recognizes the limits of growth and looks for alternatives of growing. The above statement of not a no-growth has some great significance. The concept has a broad vision for development with the participation of people as the very word growth cannot happen without the presence of the people. More over the concept also looks for alternative ways of growing, which itself shows the quest for development

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<sup>81</sup> World Commission on Environment and Development, (1987), Our Common Future, Oxford, Oxford University press.

<sup>82</sup> Robert Allen, (1980), How to Save the World, London, Kogan Page.

at large. Here the environment van is an already existing one or the one which has a settlement which has happened due to a displacement also (**J Coomer**)<sup>83</sup>.

Improving the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems. The word carrying capacity is hard to explain and define. More over the concept of quality of life has been for a long subject of debate. Particularly, in the context of significant differences between the developed/industrialized and developing countries. It is in general accepted that sustainable development is a complex multidimensional concept, and finding simple, unified definition is extremely difficult. However, some consensus does exist on two critical aspects, namely:

- a) Sustainability not only refers to environmental protection but, also embraces economic and social factors.
- b) Sustainability deals with a dynamic, balanced and adaptive evolutionary process, in which the balanced use and management of the natural environment base of economic development, is protected.

As stated earlier, sustainability is the state of being sustainable. As the most fundamental level it addresses the issue of survival. But in the context of humans, mere survival is not the goal. The most essential requirement for this is the ability of all to live a safe, healthy and productive life in harmony with nature and local culture. The resources required to support a standard of living can be classified into needs, necessities and desires. The wide discussion on sustainable development has come in the past two decades, because the human existence has been threatened. The very reason being in response to lack of employment opportunities within the formal sector, many people have moved from rural areas to the urban areas in search of labour and food. The very problem arose there. There are three distinct types of poor urban dwellers in cities of the developing world, specifically India. The homeless, those who are living in slums or tenements, and squatters occupying 'illegal' shanty town developments have become common in India. In

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<sup>83</sup> J Coomer, (1979), Quest for a Sustainable Society, Oxford, Pergamon.



India, more than half of the urban households occupy a single room, with an average occupancy per room of 4.4 persons. Many others are forced to sleep on the pavements at night.

The major problem in having sustainable development has been due to displacements at different level. This happens due to the problem of growing population and poor planning. Most of the time, the reasons given for any displacement, in the urban areas has been of infrastructure. The informal dwellers do not possess any legal property of their own due to which they are vulnerable at the highest level. These people are thrown out in the name of infrastructure development due to which these people are not given any importance and proper settlements, which directly affects sustainability. The very meaning of sustaining or having a continuation is hampered. In such situation the failure of the public policy and the implementing agency is seen very clearly. To have sustainable development in our society there is a need to have an understanding on the concept and different models, which will enable for a sustainable resettlement and sustainable urban development.

The social aspect of sustainable development should try to achieve a fair and just society that would foster positive human development and provide people with an acceptable quality of life, including opportunities for self-actualization. The economic aspects of sustainable development should aim for an economic system that will facilitate equitable to finite natural resources and opportunities for viable businesses and industries based on sound ethical principles to enable sustainable livelihoods and realization of basic human rights. The focus should be equitable prosperity for all, within the bounds of ecological feasibility.

There is a great problem in displacement and resettlement in the urban areas, which result in impoverishment risks. To overcome such a hazardous impact there is need for a vision and there is need for cautious effort in converting the risk to an opportunity. In wake of such a situation there are few models, which can give us better understanding and make the resettlement more sustainable.

If impoverishment is the looming risk in displacement, the challenge is to organize risk prevention and provide safeguards. This can increase the benefits of development by eliminating some of its avoidable pathologies. It may not be feasible to prevent every single adverse effect. But it is certainly possible to put in place sets of procedures, backed up by financial resources, which would increase equity in bearing the burden of loss and in the distribution of benefits. It is certainly possible, under enlightened policies, to protect much more effectively than current practices do the civil rights, human dignity, and economic entitlements of those subject to involuntary relocation. There are practical ways to fully avoid specific instances of involuntary displacement, or at least to decrease their magnitude. Although, historically speaking, relocations (as a class of processes) are unavoidable, not every individual case of displacement proposed by planners is either inevitable or justified. Further, even when displacement is planned, mass impoverishment itself is not a necessary outcome and therefore should not be tolerated as inexorable. There are many ways to reduce displacement's hazards and adverse socio-economic effects.

### 3.2.3 A Model of Risks and Risk Avoidance

The first model to overcome impoverishment and its risk we can go for the model proposed by **Michael Cernea**<sup>84</sup> is used widely and it is of excellent strategies. It is a theoretical model for involuntary resettlement that highlights the intrinsic risks that cause impoverishment through displacement, as well as the ways to counteract-eliminate or mitigate-these risks. This conceptual model is defined as the impoverishment risks and reconstruction model for resettling displaced populations. In elaborating this model, the aim has been (a) to explain what happens during massive forced displacements-a task very important in itself, and (b) to create a theoretical and safeguarding tool capable of guiding policy, planning, and actual development programs to counteract these adverse effects. We believe that this impoverishment risks and reconstruction

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<sup>84</sup> Michael Cernea M and Christopher Mc Dowell (Eds) (2000), *Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction: A Model for Population Displacement and Resettlement*, Washington DC, pp.498.

(IRR) model substantively adds to the tools of explaining, diagnosing, predicting, and planning for development and thus helps create the knowledge compass needed for complex resettlement situations. In presenting the impoverishment risks and livelihood reconstruction framework, the model works in four ways.

### **3.2.4 Four Basic Functions of the Model:**

The impoverishment risks and reconstruction model focuses on the social and economic content of both segments of the process: the forced displacement and the re establishment. The model is essentially synchronic, in that it captures processes are simultaneous, but it also reflects the movement in time from the displacement to recovery in resettlement. At the core of the model are three fundamental concepts: risk, impoverishment, and reconstruction. The conceptual framework captures the dialectic between potential risk and actuality. All forced displacements are prone to major socio-economic risks, but not fatally condemned to succumb to them. The modeling of displacement risks results from deconstructing the syncretic, multifaceted process of displacement into its identifiable, principal, and most widespread, components. These are:

- (a) Landlessness, (b) Joblessness, (c) Homelessness, (d) Marginalization, (e) Food insecurity, (f) Increased morbidity, (g) Loss of access to common property resources; and
- (h) Community disarticulation.

The four distinct but interlinked functions that the risks and reconstruction model performs are:

- (1) A predictive (warning and planning) function;
- (2) A diagnostic (explanatory and assessment) function;
- (3) A problem-resolution function, in guiding and measuring resettlers' reestablishment;
- (4) A research function, in formulating hypotheses and conducting theory-led field investigations.

### **3.2.5 The Predictive Function**

The model's predictive capacity results from the in-depth knowledge of past processes stored and synthesized by the model. This knowledge helps predict likely problems "hidden" in the new situations: These are conceptualized as the eight major impoverishment risks. The predictions are, in fact, early warnings of major social pathologies likely to recur, warnings that can be issued long before the decision to displace is adopted. Thus, the model equips management and planners with a power to anticipate that is essential in planning for risk-avoidance or risk-reduction.

The practical utility of this function is that it enables both the planners and the would-be displacees to transparently recognize the risks in advance, search for alternatives to avoid displacement, and/or respond with mitigatory measures, bargaining strategies, and coping approaches. Governments, agencies, and planners that omit the explicit identification of the risks in advance expose themselves, and the populations affected, to more unmitigated negative outcomes.

### **3.2.6 The Diagnostic Function**

This refers to the capacity of the model to explain and assess, by converting the general prognosis into a specific on-the-ground diagnosis of the project situation at hand. The model functions as a cognitive tool for guiding assessment fieldwork and "weighing" the likely intensity of one or another impoverishment risk in a given context. The practical utility of this diagnostic function is that it reveals-to policy officials, who decide on triggering displacements, and to the affected populations who incur the consequences-the socioeconomic hazards and possible outcomes of the impending displacements. The specific risk assessment (diagnosis) supplies advance information and recommendations crucial for project preparation and planning of counter-risk measures.

### **3.2.7 The Problem-Resolution Function**

The problem-resolution capacity results from the model's analytical incisiveness and its explicit action orientation. The IRR model is formulated with awareness of the social actors in resettlement, their interaction, communication, and ability to contribute to resolution. To achieve problem resolution, the part of the model that identifies pauperization risks must be fully reversed, "stood on its head," as will be shown further. As a result, the practical utility of the model increases greatly by moving from prediction and diagnosis to prescription for action. The model becomes a compass for strategies to reconstruct resettlers' livelihoods, "pushing" beyond immediate relief mechanisms and making possible a redevelopment orientation.

### **3.2.8 The Research Function**

For social researchers, the IRR model provides conceptual scaffolding for conducting and organizing their theory-led fieldwork. The model stimulates the generation of hypotheses about relations between key variables in both displacement and relocation. It facilitates the exploration of mutual linkages of and the reciprocal reinforcement or weakening effects between related risks. The research utility of the model comes from its ability to guide data collection in the field and coherently aggregate disparate empirical findings along the model's key variables. It also makes possible comparisons of responses to risks across cultures, countries, and time periods.

The model suggests that preventing or overcoming the pattern of impoverishment requires targeted risk reversal or mitigation. This can be accomplished through focused strategies, backed up by commensurate financing. Turning the model on its head shows which strategic directions should be pursued:

- (a) From landlessness to land-based resettlement;
- (b) From joblessness to re-employment;
- (c) From homelessness to house reconstruction;

- (d) From marginalization to social inclusion;
- (e) From food insecurity to adequate nutrition;
- (f) From increased morbidity to improved health care;
- (g) From loss of access to restoration of community assets and services; and
- (h) From social disarticulation to networks and community rebuilding.

The risks of displacement are of high intensity and initial precautions can only do anything for the displaced. These risks threaten not only the people displaced, they are risks incurred by the local (regional) economy as well, to which they may inflict major loss and disruption. Depending on local conditions, the intensity of individual risk varies. But pattern identification makes it possible to predict that such risks are typical and are likely to emerge in future comparable displacement situations. A concise description of each fundamental risk follows, illustrated by some empirical evidence.

#### **(a) From Landlessness to Land-Based resettlement**

Expropriation of land removes the main foundation upon which people's productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are constructed. This is the principal form of de-capitalization and pauperization of displaced people, as they lose both natural and man-made capital. Cernea gives example by quoting different authors and different literatures. This specific character of displacement can be taken into consideration only when there is loss of land of the displaced but if the land is of the government then the real problem arises. Then the government has to come under the influence of the concept of social justice and it has to make sure that the displaced people most of the time from the slums in the urban areas do not create another slum in some place which is empty and not property of any individual but the government again. If this happens it results in another nuisance as the intention of the government is fulfilled on the one hand and has invited problem on the other hand. The government has to make itself very clear that if it is going for any resettlement then it shall first construct a resettled colony for the displaced with basic facilities and then go for displacement.

### **(b) From Joblessness to Re-Employment**

The risk of losing wage employment is very high both in urban and rural displacements for those employed in enterprises, services, or agriculture. Yet, creating new jobs is difficult and requires substantial investment. Unemployment or underemployment among resettlers often endures long after physical relocation has been completed. The previously employed may lose in three ways: In urban areas, workers lose jobs in industry and services. In rural areas, landless laborers lose access to work on land owned by others (leased or sharecropped) and also lose the use of assets under Joblessness among resettlers often surfaces after a time delay, rather than immediately, because in the short run resettlers may receive employment in project related jobs. Such employment, however, is short-lived and not sustainable. The “employment boom” created by new construction temporarily absorbs some resettlers, but severely drops toward the end of the project. This compounds the incidence of chronic or temporary joblessness among the displaced. The working people in the displaced place will be put on roads that too especially in the case work as daily labourers. They will be far away from their working place if at all there is resettlement. So the government has to keep in mind all those problems which hamper the work and accordingly plan for resettlement, then only the problem of displacement ending up in taking away the jobs of the displaced will end.

### **(c) From Homelessness to House Reconstruction**

Loss of shelter tends to be only temporary for many resettlers; but, for some, homelessness or a worsening in their housing standards remains a lingering condition. In a broader cultural sense, loss of a family’s individual home and the loss of a group’s cultural space tend to result in alienation and status-deprivation. For the displaced, homelessness and “placelessness” are intrinsic by definition. Resettlers often cannot incur the labor and financial costs of rebuilding a house quickly and are compelled to move into “temporary” shelters. These resemble the condition of refugee camps, set up overnight. The “emergency housing centers” and “temporary relocation camps” used by some projects as a “temporary” backup often make homelessness chronic rather than temporary. In this regard the government can take precaution by incurring in a discussion with the displaced people and a group of social scientists who can give better vision

as to resettle the displaced in a more humane and dignified way as to maintain the basic human right. The shelter less life is one of the worst as all the seasons have to be faced by the displaced along with the whole family. By giving some minimum level shelter with good quality will make the displaced to stay in a sustainable place with sustainable livelihood. There is a controversy that why there should be any type of help should be given to the people who do not have place as registered one. To this argument there is always the concept of social justice, according to which the government has to take care of all the citizens and the citizens have the right to live a dignified life. The government always has the responsibility of taking care of its citizen that reason alone fulfils the vacuum of why government should assist the displaced.

#### **(d) From marginalization to social inclusion**

Marginalization occurs when families lose economic power and spiral on a “downward mobility” path. Middle-income farm households do not become landless, they become small landholders; small shopkeepers and craftsmen downsize and slip below poverty thresholds. Many individuals cannot use their earlier acquired skills at the new location; human capital is lost or rendered inactive or obsolete. Economic marginalization is often accompanied by social and psychological marginalization, expressed in a drop in social status, in resettlers’ loss of confidence in society and in themselves, a feeling of injustice, and deepened vulnerability.

The coerciveness of displacement and the victimization of resettlers tend to depreciate resettlers’ self-image, and they are often perceived by host communities as a socially degrading stigma. The facets of marginalization are multiple. The cultural status of displacees is belittled when they go to new relocation areas, where they are regarded as “strangers” and denied opportunities and entitlements. Psychological marginalization and its consequences are typically overlooked in resettlement planning. Yet, cultural and behavioral impairments, anxiety and decline in self-esteem, have been widely reported from many areas. Relative economic deprivation and marginalization begins prior to actual displacement, because new investments in infrastructure and services in condemned areas are discontinued long before projects start. Partial but significant loss of farming land (e.g., to roads or canals) renders some small farms economically nonviable, even though physically they may seem to survive. High-productivity farmers from



fertile valley-bottom lands tend to become marginalized when moved uphill to inferior soils. Marginalization also occurs through the loss of the income sources, for urban resettlers, marginalization is sometimes gradual and may occur after relocation, when, for example, resettlers receive temporary jobs (instead of land) that, in the long term, turn out to be unsustainable as income sources. Government agencies also tacitly accept lasting marginalization of resettlers when they consider it “a matter of course” that the displaced cannot restore their prior standards of living. Marginalization can happen in several ways. If we take the Indian situation, all the displacements have led the people to stop their children from getting educated in most of the cases. The reason behind is that, the displaced will not be having proper food all the three times a day and in such a situation where there can be a possibility of sending the children to the school. This is also one type of marginalization.

**(e) From food insecurity to adequate nutrition**

Forced uprooting increases the risk that people will fall into temporary or chronic undernourishment, defined as calorie-protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work. Food insecurity and undernourishment are both symptoms and results of inadequate resettlement. During physical relocation, sudden drops in food crop availability and incomes are predictable. Subsequently, as rebuilding regular food production capacity at the relocation site may take years, hunger and undernourishment tends to become a lingering long-term effect. Convergent findings are reported from virtually all sites. Nutrition-related risks reinforce morbidity and mortality risks (see further) and largely depend on whether the primary risks of landlessness and joblessness are effectively counteracted.

**(f) From increased morbidity to improved health care;**

Massive population displacement threatens to cause serious declines in health levels. Displacement-induced social stress and psychological trauma are sometimes accompanied by the outbreak of relocation-related illnesses, particularly parasitic and vector-borne diseases such as malaria and schistose miasis. Unsafe water supply and improvised sewage systems increase vulnerability to epidemics and chronic diarrhea, dysentery, etc. The weakest segments of the

demographic spectrum-infants, children, and the elderly-are affected most strongly. Empirical research shows that displaced people experience higher levels of exposure and vulnerability to illness and severe disease than they did prior to displacement. An unintended byproduct of large infrastructure programs is often increased morbidity also among area groups that are not displaced. Overall, in the absence of preventive health measures, direct and secondary effects of dislocation include psychosomatic diseases, diseases of poor hygiene (such as diarrhea and dysentery), and parasitic and vector-borne diseases caused by unsafe and insufficient water supplies and unsanitary waste systems. The interaction between two processes included in the risk model-decrease in health and loss of shelter-has been long established empirically. Research has documented that more vulnerable groups, such as the aged, suffer increased morbidity and mortality rates as an effect of losing their prior homes. Increased mortality rates are reported also as a result either of accidents associated with new reservoirs or epidemic outbreaks around new bodies of water.

**(g) From loss of access to restoration of community assets and services and from Social Disarticulation to networks and community rebuilding.**

The reconstruction of communities, networks, and social cohesion is essential, yet seldom is it deliberately pursued in current government approaches. Planners tend to overlook these socio cultural and psychological (not just economic) dimensions, and are rarely concerned with facilitating reintegration within host populations or compensating community-owned assets. Community reconstruction refers to group structures, including informal and formal institutions, while overcoming marginalization refers primarily to the individual family/household level. On-the-ground approaches would differ when villages or neighborhoods are created as new social units that need community assets and public services, or when fill-in operations insert scattered resettlers within pre-existing communities, increasing pressure on existing services and host-owned common resources.

Recreating community structures and community-owned resources is a complex endeavor that cannot be accomplished overnight. Research on the Mahaweli resettlement program in Sri Lanka (Rodrigo 1991) has concluded that the initial allocation of resources to resettlers, including

access to common property resources is virtually decisive for resettlers' successful "take off" at the new site. If access to resources is below a critical limit (on a per-family or per-capita basis) the take off is jeopardized, but if it provides a minimal but viable basis, post-resettlement development can build upon it and be successful. Thus, because of its incrementality over the family owned resources, the access to community-owned resources, in some form or another, often becomes critical for overall successful reconstruction. Findings elsewhere have confirmed this conclusion. Thus, by design, some patterns of the social organization of the displaced village are empowered to have a function in resettlement, and thus to continue their existence and role. Experiences are precious especially because the restoration of access to community resources tends to occur less frequently than the replacement of private assets, leaving room for competition and conflict between resettlers and hosts. Overall, all these three facets of the reconstruction processes require institution building and concurrence from the host area population.

### **3.2.9 Resettlers' Participation in Risk Analysis.**

Finally, the lack of consultation with the populations likely to be displaced during project preparation and before final decision making compounds the fallacies introduced by inadequate economic analytical methods. It is correctly argued that participation through consultation with potentially affected people is indispensable for 'resettlement in development mode' The weak institutional capacity of state agencies for resettlement planning and implementation in many developing countries make participation of affected people even more necessary. Information and communication between planners and resettlers is instrumental, in this respect, for early warnings and for making possible joint preventive activities. However, transparent information is still a rare occurrence. Dysfunctional communication between decision makers and groups affected by displacement are one of the roots of resettlement failure. The risk-perception of would-be resettlers differs considerably from what technical experts and agencies tend to think about risks resulting from displacement.

The research has confirmed the hypothesis that agencies' failure to grasp what is socially perceived as risks has "played an essential role in the escalation of conflict. For resettlers themselves, the predictive (warning) utility of the IRR model is that it enables them, and their organizations, be informed for conscious participation, negotiation, and adoption of coping (resource-mobilization) strategies, with lead time. Resettlers must receive information in a timely and transparent manner; understand well the impending displacement, and overcome disbelief or the tendency to denial. By forecasting the chain effects of displacement, the IRR model helps informed participation and prompts resettlers to search for alternatives, to resist inadequately prepared displacements before they occur, and to pursue their entitlements when displacement is unavoidable. Conversely, breakdowns in information and communication tend to result in 'reverse participation,' i.e., in active opposition movements against development programs. The ill-advised position taken by some agencies, which maintain an information embargo about likely displacements and resettlers' entitlements, virtually guarantees such opposition. Withholding information, instead of participation and transparency, is often "justified" by officials to prevent panic and stress. In fact, however, this is deceptive and self-defeating. It preempts the early mobilization of resettlers in the reconstruction of their own livelihoods. Their energy is an exceptionally important factor, which even the resettlement literature has seldom highlighted.

### **3.2.10 Colson and scudder model**

Scudder and Colson formulated in 1982 a theoretical model of settlement processes distinguishing four, rather than three, stages: recruitment, transition, development, and incorporation/handling over. The Scudder-Colson diachronic framework was built around the key concept of "stage"; it focused on settlers' stress and their specific behavioral reactions in each stage.

Initially, the model was formulated to apply to voluntary settlement processes. Subsequently, Scudder extended it to some involuntary resettlement processes as well, but only to those

involuntary relocations that succeed and move through all four stages, as the model is not intended to apply to resettlement operations that fail and do not complete the last two stages. From one theoretical framework to the other, these attempts to distill accumulated knowledge into patterns and conceptual models have created intellectual tools that helped many researchers to interpret their particular field findings. They have helped distinguish regularities and build theories on settlement processes. Beyond their merits, however, these models were less productive in some important respects. None of these models has placed at its center the onset of impoverishment, its unfolding, and the process of escaping impoverishment. Among the conceptual models mentioned above only one, the Scudder-Colson model, addressed involuntary resettlements as well, and it did so only for cases of successful resettlement. Historically, however, the majority of involuntary resettlement operations have been unsuccessful. The cumulative impacts of failed resettlements were not "modeled" in the Scudder-Colson framework of stages. Scudder (1996) rightly observed. But there was, and is, a broad consensus on the need to persevere in searching for theoretical constructs that explain and illuminate the complexities of resettlement.

### **3.2.11 Sustainability: A Human Development Perspective<sup>85</sup>**

It is virtually impossible to propose any unified perspective of sustainable development that would be applicable everywhere, connoting the range from local to global scale, beginning with an individual residence/shelter at its smallest local scale and the entire planet globally. What implies is that, though there is extreme diversity in human society, in terms of varying environments, social practices and economies, each societal section or group must strive to achieve sustainability, such that it contributes to the sustainability of the whole, globally? Thus, it is very likely that sustainable practices applicable to one section of society or a particular community or settlement might be radically different from those of another. Despite the diversity in local sustainability efforts, their resulting contribution to global sustainability should be unified. Decision taken at the local level by the community as a whole can establish a framework required for mobilizing and guiding local initiatives and action. The concept of sustainability is

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<sup>85</sup> M.Monto, L.S. Ganesh, Koshy Varghese (Eds) ,(2005), sustainability and human settlements, fundamental issues, modeling and simulations, Sage publications, New Delhi. Pp.34.

fundamental to any discussion on human development today. The human development report (UNDP 1990) defines human development as ‘the process of enlarging people’s choices. The most critical of these wide-ranging choices are to live a long and healthy life, to be educated and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living’. The concept has a different connotation which is very positive in nature. The concept of enlarging people’s choices can arise basically if the people are having something to live with. Until and unless that criteria is fulfilled there is no point in discussing about having different choices. The Human Development Index (HDI) includes measures based on three broad aspects of societal life-health, education, and standard of living. These specifics vary based on local context and flexibility. These concepts also include good governance, environmental protection, economic progress and technological development. Policies are developed at different levels in society. These policies may be considered to comprise five general but distinctive features<sup>86</sup>:

- ***Humanity***: Human development is an end in itself.
- ***People as means and ends***: A well-nourished, healthy, educated society is better prepared to strive for further development.
- ***Empowerment***: Involve the community in development processes, particularly participation by women to reduce population growth and its pressure by lowering desired family size.
- ***Equity***: Human development refers to all people regardless of race, class, religion, sex and nationality.
- ***Comprehensiveness***: Embrace all sectors of society for a healthy civil society, democracy and greater social stability.

With regard to these policies there is need of giving lot of stress as many of these aspects are missing in the present day resettlements. First of all the human factor itself is missing as at no point of time they have been consulted. They have been treated like animals and asked to behave according to order. The very concept of human development perspective is missing very much.

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<sup>86</sup> UN, Viet Nam 2002.

### 3.2.12 Indicators of Sustainable Development<sup>87</sup>

For any community to progress towards sustainability there is need for a perspective and there is need for a vision. Especially the communities which are displaced need all these features. But to evaluate whether those communities resettled are sustainable are not there is always the need for indicators. In the case of these communities which are resettled they are called sustainability indicators. They are of great use in evaluating the present situation and the situation which is going to be ideal to the society. They essentially reveal or highlight the state of and change(s) in a system. They serve as tool in assessing the level of sustainability. They can also be of great help as they sound alarms, reflect successes, and make better and smarter decisions possible. They also provide feedback to the decision makers, researchers and public community.

Though the concept of indicators is not new, its applicability has turned out to be smarter and better in the present days. Indicators have worked out wonders in progress of humanity as enough precautions and the standards are maintained. As in practice there is always the requirement of a coherent and integrated vision of society, environment and economic well-being. Progress towards sustainability is a vision consciously shared and chosen by a particular society. So accordingly every society develops certain indicators which suit well in making sustainable progress. Sustainable indicators are related to the quality of life of a community. They are suppose to asses whether the living environment is providing healthy, productive and conducive life for all, the present and future generations. The indicators cannot be universal but they can be specific and community oriented. They are of diversity as having single standard globally would end up as a disaster. The sustainable development has some principles, which are intended to be more locally relevant in making sustainable progress operational. For illustrative purpose, a set of sustainable indicators are developed and tested.

The indicators of sustainability can be put through a table:

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<sup>87</sup> M.Monto, L.S. Ganesh, Koshy Varghese (Eds) ,(2005), sustainability and human settlements, fundamental issues, modeling and simulations, Sage publications, New Delhi. Pp.37.

**Fig: 9-Identifying Indicators for Sustainable Development<sup>88</sup>**

<b>How has quality of life changed since the last twenty years?</b>	<b>What has changed?</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How has it changed economically?</li> <li>• How it has changed socially?</li> <li>• How has the living environment changed?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unemployment level</li> <li>• Poverty level</li> <li>• Level of exports</li> <li>• Crime level</li> <li>• Community interaction</li> <li>• Homelessness level</li> <li>• Level of migration</li> <li>• Groundwater pollution</li> <li>• Air pollution level</li> <li>• Contaminated fish stock levels</li> </ul>
<b>How should quality of life be in the next decade?</b>	<b>What should change?</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How should it change economically?</li> <li>• How should it change socially?</li> <li>• How should the living environment change?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reduce unemployment</li> <li>• Eliminate poverty</li> <li>• Reduce crime rate</li> <li>• Reduce homelessness</li> <li>• Reduce air pollution</li> </ul>

Although the above mentioned table is not fully useful in the case of urban resettlement, but it is of high importance that we have something which can form an outline. If the above mentioned

<sup>88</sup> M.Monto, L.S. Ganesh, Koshy Varghese (Eds) ,(2005), sustainability and human settlements, fundamental issues, modeling and simulations, Sage publications, New Delhi. Pp.40.



are kept in mind and the policies are framed and worked accordingly the condition of the resettled colony as well as the resettled people will be much better than the present situation. These can serve more as a check list before implementation and in assessing the already settled colony.

The commission on sustainable development at its third session April 1995, a working list of 134 indicators and related methodologies were developed, improved and tested at the national level by the countries. The methodology sheets provided a basis to develop other region-specific indicators. Beyond commonly used economic indicators of well-being, the commission on sustainable development addressed social, environmental and institutional indicator to arrive at a broader, more complete picture of societal development. The commission also kept in mind the vision it is supposed to have which is acceptable for the community. The indicators that are developed should bear a careful balance between complex technicality and ease of comprehension and communication to the local people.

### 3.2.13 Sustainable Human Settlements

Sustainable can be studied, first through discussing the structure and classification. The second way will focus on the sustainability of human settlements. Final section presents a study models for human settlement sustainability. **Structure:** sustainability assessment and forecasts are valuable inputs to policy making for sustainable development. As the communities are under threat, studying sustainability of human settlements is of paramount importance. The word human settlement implies to individual settlements in every scale, ranging from the smallest tribal settlement to large metropolis. Rural settlements reflect similar characters as the urban settlements, only to a lesser degree, particularly in terms of population size and occupation they pursue. Most of the urban resettlements are however, built environments made by altering natural environments. These are the one which are threatened with unsuitable lifestyle and unstable settlements. The structure even varies from place to place within the urban areas. The resettlements, in some places, range from 300 to 1000 families. It depends most of the time how the government plans and how it wants to arrange the resettled colonies in the city. **Classification:** At the most fundamental level, human settlements can be classified on the spatial

significance. In the case of urban area the settlements have significance as to whether it is in the heart of the city or in the outskirts of the city. Most of the time the classification is according to the population and the sustainability is for the already existing community. The cases are entirely peculiar if it is a case of displacement and then the people are resettled. The present work tries to concentrate on such cases wherein the inferences can be drawn by having a standard through which sustainability of a community is measured and which is desirable. Although entirely all the standards are not applicable but to have conceptual clarity and having few indicators which converge in both type of cases are of great use for this type of research. There are classifications based on population, geographical distribution. In classification based on population size itself there are three types. The classification can be seen in five ways<sup>89</sup>, they are:

1. ***Urban core/ centre settlements***, comprising settlements situated within the city/urban limits close to the city's main commercial and business employment generating and providing areas, often involved in major (global) economies.
2. ***Urban fringe/out skirts settlements***, comprising settlements situated within the greater/larger urban/metropolitan area (city municipal limits), but distant from city/urban (employment) centers. They are well connected to city/urban centers, but well connected to city/urban centers by mass transit networks.
3. ***Displaced or isolated urban or rural settlements***, comprising settlements isolated from city/urban centers, but well connected to city/urban (employment) centers.
4. ***Rural or countryside settlements***, comprising isolated non-urban settlements, often driving small local economies.
5. ***Tribes***, comprising settlers, either nomadic or forest dwellers, living temporary shelters and cut off from city life

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<sup>89</sup> M.Monto, L.S. Ganesh, Koshy Varghese (Eds) ,(2005), sustainability and human settlements, fundamental issues, modeling and simulations, Sage publications, New Delhi. Pp.54.

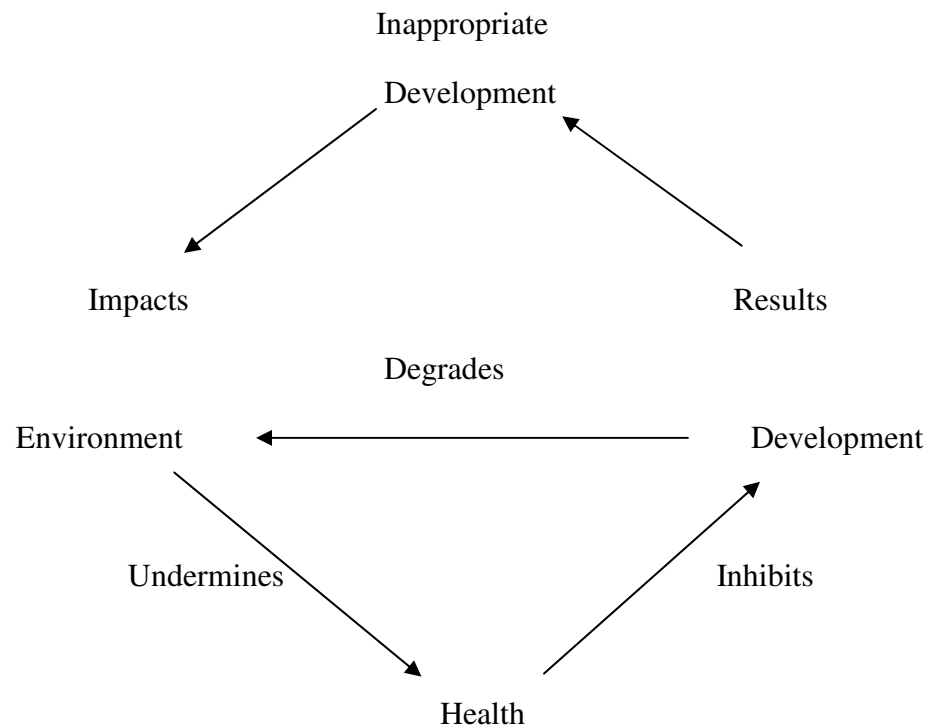
### 3.2.14 Sustainability of human settlements.

Sustainability of human settlement is vital part of human development. the human settlements today have become, most of the time to show just that settlements have been given to people or alternative settlements have been provided for the people who are displaced so that the political parties and civil society groups do not question the ruling party. The key issues that threaten human settlements sustainability are a growing population, poverty and severely overexploited, disrupted and polluted natural environment. These problems which have been mentioned are not new but they have taken a new dimension in the present scenario. It has been emphasized several times that sustainable human settlements should seek to achieve a healthy environment that enables fulfillment of societal, economical and governance needs by trying to achieve a balance between resource needs for human development and protection of environmental vitality. Human sustainable development does not aim at helping in restoring only for the present generation but also keeping in mind about the future generation also. Achieving sustainability in the urban sphere becomes crucial, as urban areas are growing everyday with additional population. The infrastructure is not enough and the facilities which are already there are not enough to handle the populations in the town as the populations have crossed the limit which must be according to the capacity of the cities. There are seven dimensions which can be used to understand the role of sustainable development with sustainable settlements<sup>90</sup>.

1. Sustainable economy providing employment (work) and prosperity (wealth).
2. Sustainable community with social coherence, stability and solidarity.
3. Sustainable shelter providing decent, affordable housing for all.
4. Sustainable living environment with stable ecosystems.
5. Sustainable accessibility between human settlements using mobility that conserves resources.
6. Sustainable lifestyles, and
7. Sustainable democracy through an empowered citizenry (people's participation).

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<sup>90</sup> M.Monto, L.S. Ganesh, Koshy Varghese (Eds) ,(2005), sustainability and human settlements, fundamental issues, modeling and simulations, Sage publications, New Delhi. Pp.58.

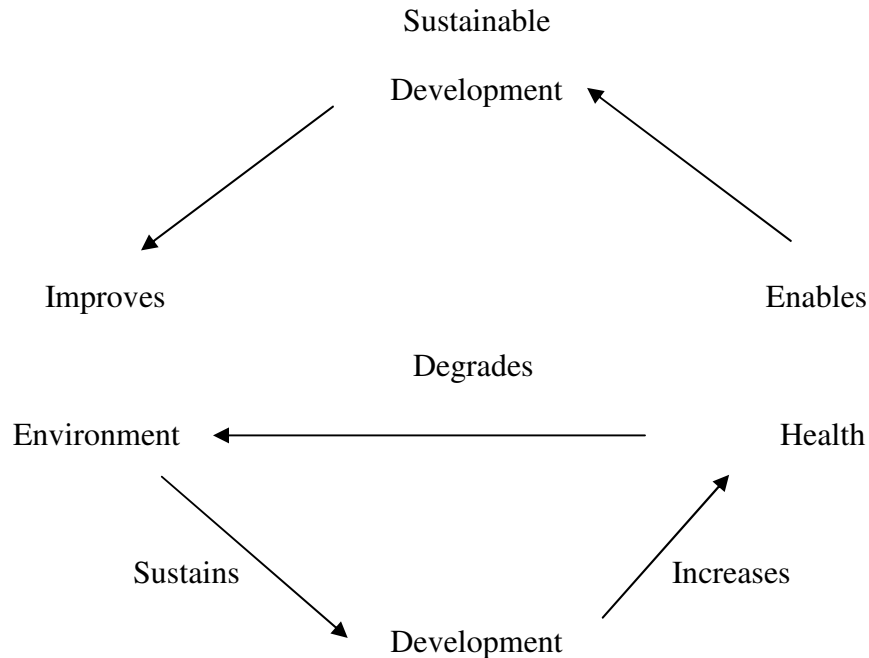
**Fig: 10 Comparison between Inappropriate Development and Sustainable Development****Vicious cycle of Inappropriate Development**

In wake of the above points we can conclude that sustainable human settlements does not mean only the environment but also the other aspect of human being's life through which he can sustain basically. The concept also includes the concept like participation, which is very crucial, and people like Robert Chambers<sup>91</sup> have discussed it at length. Participation is as important as living in the society. The problem has turned out to be the one which has made everybody to think for a minute. With regarding urban population it has invited wide attention. Rapid urbanization, the concentration of the urban population in large cities, the spread of cities into wider geographical areas and the rapid growth of mega-cities are among the most significant transformation of human settlements. Urban areas will strongly influence the world in the twenty first century, and urban and rural populations will be increasingly interdependent for their economic, environmental and social well-being. Among the economic and social factors

<sup>91</sup> Robert Chambers, (1994), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA): Analysis of Experience, World Development, Vol.22, No.9. Pp.1253-1268.

influencing this process are population growth and voluntary and involuntary migration, real and perceived employment opportunities, cultural expectations, changing consumptions and production patterns, and disparities among regions.

**Fig: 11 Virtuous cycle of Sustainable Development**



Source: Adapted from UNEP (1986).

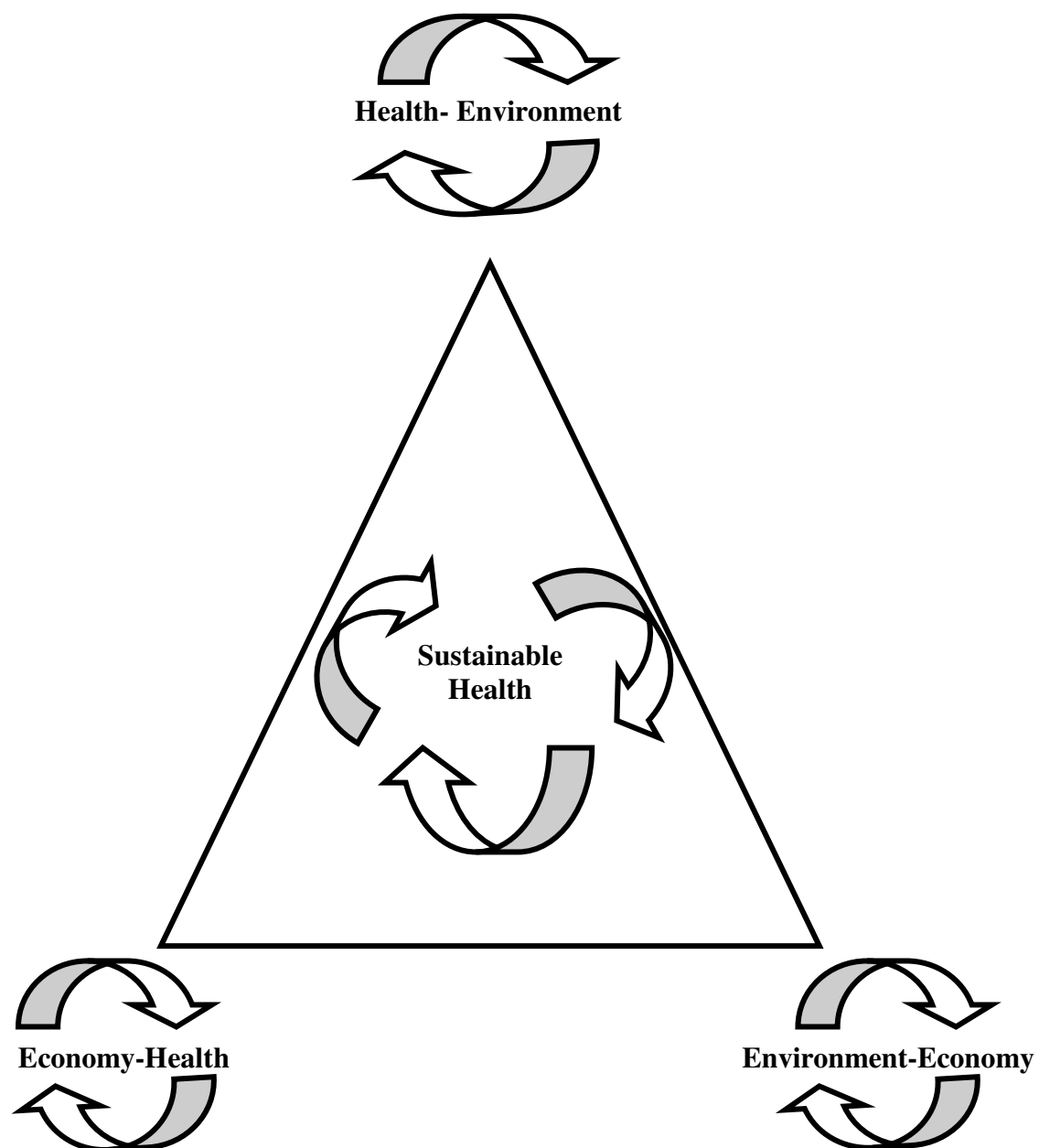
The above diagram shows the difference between the two different types of situations, wherein the distinction is very clear as to see development which is sustainable is as necessary as living of human beings. The support systems help the people to take care of their lives in a more sustainable manner even after displacement if at all there is proper planning and proper execution of the plan.

The change in personal lifestyles is one of the lesser known but very strong policy interventions to achieve sustainable development, particularly in the context of modern urban resettlements. In developing countries, every day there is additional population which comes to the city in the name of migration and in the name of searching for jobs. This additional population being

basically poor has no refuge, other than to stay in any place which is found to be not anybody's personal property. This happens most of the time in the places of the government which is no man's land. But the problem arises when the government thinks and prefers to keep them out of city in the name of beauty of the city and to appease the external funding agencies but not owing the responsibility as the citizens of the country. To get rid of these people the governments of the respective places throw them out of the cities and few times give them some temporary shelter. This temporary shelter creates the entire problem and they are in no way comparable with sustainable standards.

The second problem with urban resettlements has been of, no specific policy by the central government, the central government has given only the policy outlines and the autonomy of having state wide policy is left to the states. So due to this problem the states are having resettlement policies in different departments. Due to this problem the policies are not clear and the resettlements are not done in proper way. The third problem can be attributed to the carelessness of the political representatives. The politicians are not interested in taking care of the displacements and resettlements in their own constituencies. There are incidents where people who are displaced have stayed without proper shelter for more than four months under the heavy pouring of rain, despite of all the effort to meet their representative.

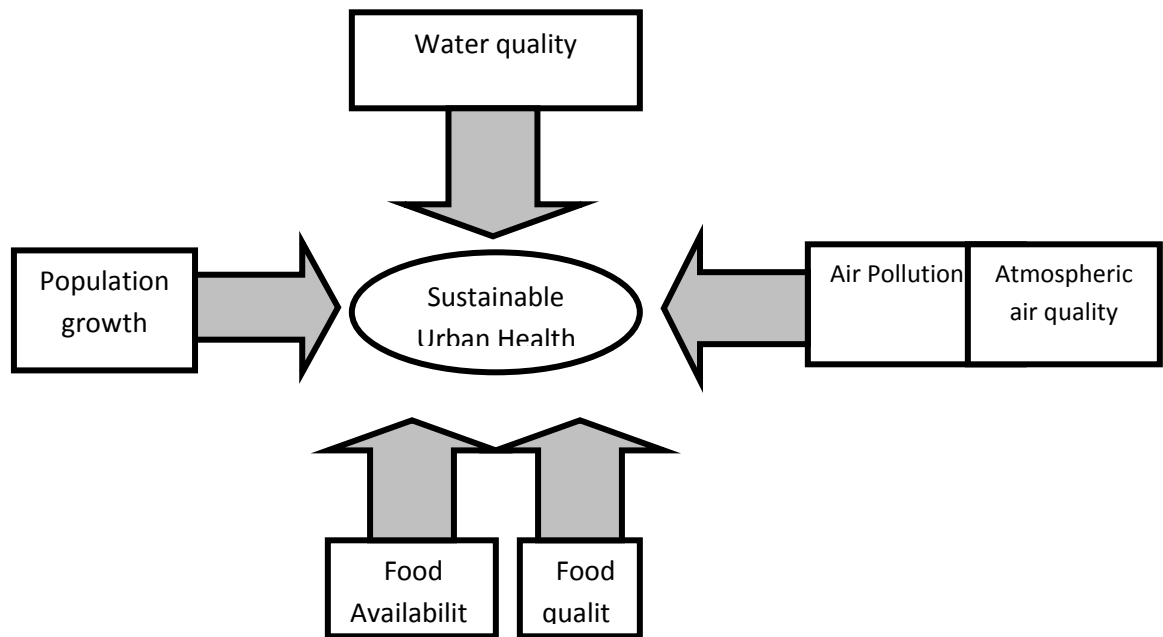
**Fig 12 The Health, Economy and Environmental Triangle**



Source: Adapted from Harpham and Werna (1996).

The stress is on the importance of an integrated approach to developing urban models, wherein, the use of sustainable health and sustainable health and sustainable urban development concepts can provide a sound framework. It is stated that sustainable development initiatives in urban human settlements should include the influence of ‘supra urban’ actors, along with those of local actors. Where local actors should be thinking globally and acting locally. This concept holds well when the implementing agency has the mentality of adopting such democratic measures.

**Fig:13 Framework for Sustainable Urban Health**

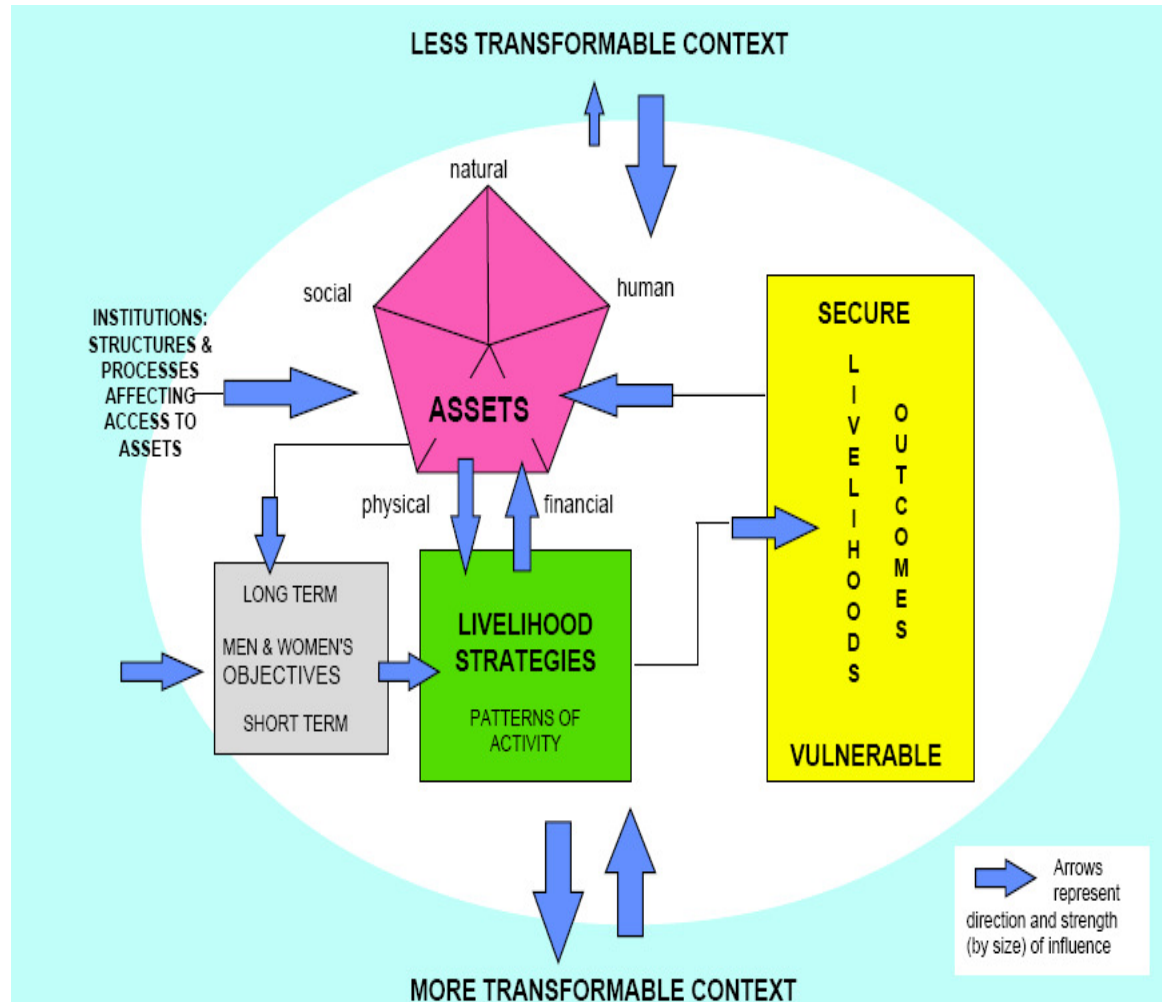


Source: Adapted from Harpham and Werna (1996).

Churchill and Baetz (1999) argue that sustainability is not a design technique, but rather a philosophy that can be applied to many different aspects of life. If the characteristics of sustainable urban form are clearly outlined, it is then possible to develop design rules to create diverse types of sustainable community design for the future, currently there are no set standards for a development to be classified as a sustainable community.



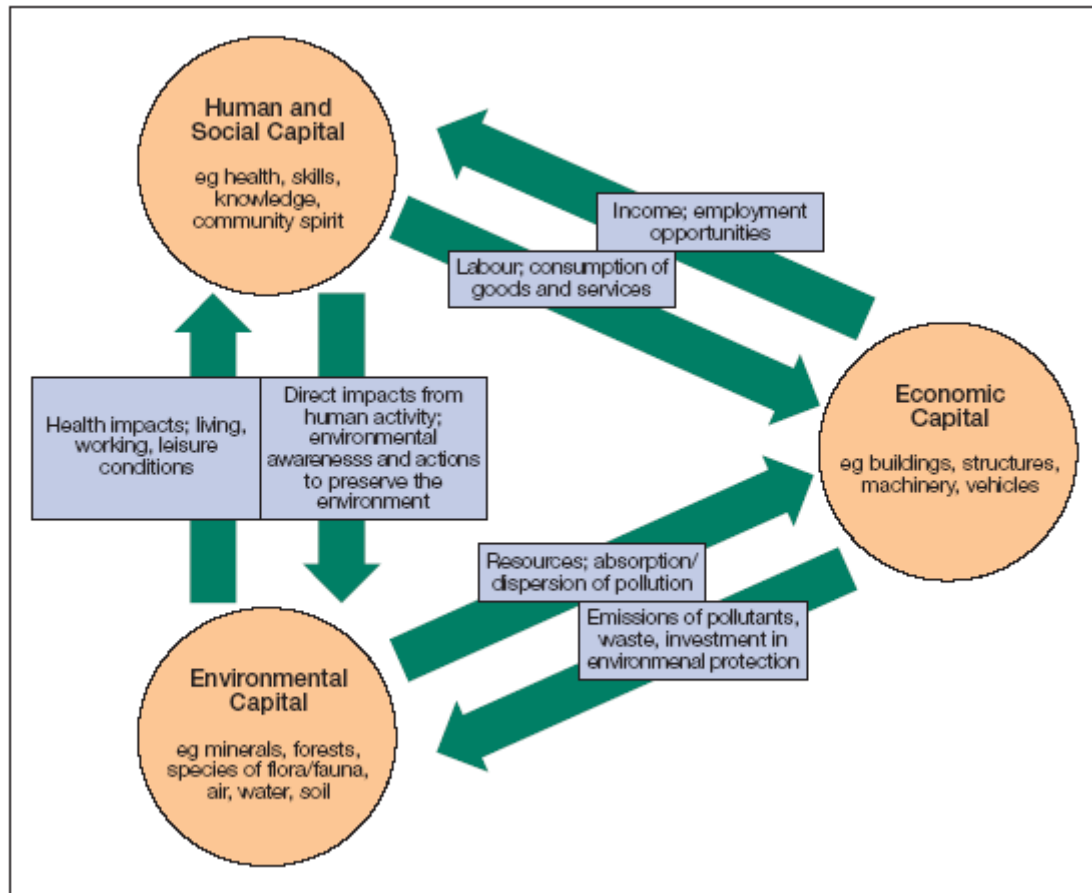
**Fig: 14 “Sustain able urban livelihoods: Concepts and implications for policy”-concept paper produce for DFID, London.**



Source: S. Meikle, T. Ramasut and J. Walker, 1999

### 3.2.15 Sustainable Human Settlement model Implementation

This section provides a generic picture of the implementation methodology for sustainable human settlements. The first section explains the methodology underlying the proposed integrated model concept. The second explains the methodology used for the development of the model design.

**Fig:15 Some Interactions between Economic, Social and Environmental Capital**

*An environmental SRV is defined as ‘any value for an environmental variable which is established and broadly agreed, mainly on a scientific basis, to be either acceptably safe or tolerable for human health and welfare, ecosystems or other natural resources’.*

### 3.2.16 Preliminary Study and Investigation

Sustainability is predominantly perceived and understood through the medium of indicators, that is, more like approaching a disease through its symptoms. Such an approach is difficult, as the disease is identifiable only when the symptoms show up, and very often the resulting situation is not easily controllable. Also, new symptoms remain unidentified till they actually surface. On the other hand, the approaches where the disease is identified and understood prior to it becoming symptomatic will enable problems to be tackled at a very early and manageable stage. Using research terminology, the former approach can be termed **Reactive management** and the latter as **proactive management** involves **forecasting**. Forecasting systems can be developed to support

scenario generation and evaluation capabilities, which make them invaluable in testing the effectiveness of different policy and decision options, identifying the preparing for likely problems before they occur. Keeping the development of the model as a whole in focus on one side, while at the same time, focusing on developing details of individual components is also important. Such an approach is invaluable in model design development. There are always chances of having problems which disrupt the model design and the model has to overcome some problems so as to be applicable to situation for sustainable development. The concept has its own limitation. But having different models will certainly give a vision for attaining sustainable development.

The challenges to be overcome in developing a model design are<sup>92</sup>:

- 1) Developing a graphical representation for the model concept.
- 2) Evolving a methodology to assess sustainability of human settlements.
- 3) Outlining the model scope.
- 4) Identifying model components, entities and their attributes.
- 5) Characterizing the nature of interaction between the entities in terms of their attributes.
- 6) Identifying the methods for measuring/valuing the attributes; a majority of them would be subjective in nature.
- 7) Developing a methodology for representing the interactions between subjective and quantifiable variables.
- 8) Delineating the procedure and methodology for data collection.
  - What data needs to be obtained?
  - Where and how to obtain the data.

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<sup>92</sup> M.Monto, L.S. Ganesh, Koshy Varghese (Eds) ,(2005), sustainability and human settlements, fundamental issues, modeling and simulations, Sage publications, New Delhi. Pp.98.

### 3.2.17 Necessary Improvements in Current Resettlement Practices

Evidence indicates that the IRR framework is in some important respects ahead of current mainstream practices, and its wider adoption would significantly improve standards and performances. It brings a set of new elements, different from conventional approaches and methods. It builds upon the more advanced scholarly analyses of resettlement to date and proposes to development programs an improved way of diagnosing, costing, planning, financing, and implementing resettlement. This can substantially correct many of the current analytical flaws and implementation weaknesses, widely and legitimately criticized. The model is fully compatible with the most advanced resettlement policies in existence today and offers a methodology capable to vastly increase consistency and effectiveness in the implementation of these policies. For the vast majority of developing countries, and some developed countries, which do not have any explicit policy for involuntary resettlement, the IRR model can serve as one of the building blocks for formulating such overdue policy guidelines.

For the most part, however, the risks of impoverishment are currently not addressed explicitly and systematically during the planning of very many projects that cause displacement. This occurs frequently in domestic projects that are not subject to in-depth and multisided screening; but to a considerable extent it has also been true in projects assisted by various bilateral or multilateral donor agencies or by credit-export entities. The IRR model is to be used in conjunction with other analytical project tools, and it can help correct and improve some of them. We emphasize primarily the need to correct three entrenched flaws in the routine methodology of planning for such projects, flaws that account for the recurrent under treatment of impoverishment risks. These include:

- (a) The flaws and incompleteness of the conventional methods for project risk analysis
- (b) The over-reliance of project justification on the cost-benefit analysis (CBA) despite its glaring insufficiencies and
- (c) The absence of genuine consultation and involvement of the affected Populations.

All the models and different type of assessments aim at providing the best possible opportunity for achieving sustainability after displacement and resettlement. The models intent at having appropriate techniques to achieve sustainability, which is crucial and deciding factors in the life of the displaced. All these models or techniques are handy if at all there is any resettlement after displacement. If there is no question of resettlement all the models fail and there is no relevance at all. Now in the recent times the governments have become more responsible and the civil society is responding in a different way. The consciousness of the people and realization amongst the people regarding their rights and entitlements would enable people to get access to at least minimum basic necessities after displacement.

## Chapter IV

### Three Case Studies in Hyderabad

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*"Hesitating to act because the whole vision might not be achieved, or because others do not yet share it, is an attitude that only hinders progress"- Mahatma Gandhi*

*Abstract: This chapter concerns the empirical study titled **Three Studies in Hyderabad**. The Chapter deals with three cases of displacement and resettlement in the city of Hyderabad. The chapter begins with the profile of the place and the process of displacement and resettlement. There is a description of how the displacement occurred and later the problems of the displacement and related aspects. The data is analyzed through SPSS and graphs are also generated through SPSS. With the explanation of each of the case, a comparative description is given with regard to demographic data, social stratification, political affiliation, religious status and such other things. The major finding of income before and after displacement using diachronic method is also presented. By the end of the chapter, it brings out the picture of how injustice has been meted out against the displaced people in three different cases.*

#### 4.1 Introduction

The term ‘Development’ envisages a battery of changes; changes for the betterment of the community. It involves the notion of progress, growth, upliftment and welfare of the collective. ‘Development’ has to be an innovative process leading to the structural transformation of social systems. The development is multifaceted and it is not always progressive as it is supposed to be by its definition. Sometimes (Cernea 1996) “both history and daily experiences teach us that development processes, be they spontaneous or induced, bring not just benefits. True development is undoubtedly beneficial to very many people. But development changes the status quo and such change usually entails social disruption and undesirable consequences for some population segments”<sup>93</sup>. The world of the development practitioner has been subject to some shocks in recent times. The instances of weak capacity in the working of the nation state continue to manifest in consequences that are diverse but uniformly invidious in their impact. Even as the finish line of a self-imposed set of goals approaches, the task of pulling people out of

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<sup>93</sup>Michael M Cernea., 1996: “Public Policy Responses to Development-Induced Population Displacement”, in: *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31,No 24, pp.1515-1523

poverty is not happening fast enough. Development delivery, as it were, has stalled. In the last half-decade, if all the symptoms that have beleaguered development effectiveness were to be aggregated, two major culprits begin to emerge: the varying weak status of institutional capacity all over the world; and the new global shocks emerging from a combination of nationally and trans-nationally originated factors like unplanned development, displacement and food crisis. Institutional capacity can be identified as the ability of state institutions to manage the business of the executive, judiciary and the legislature towards human development ends. The measure of effective state capacity would be how national policies are made, how services are delivered, how markets are developed and justice and security is provided, and how the rights of all people are protected. Where this is done well, where the largest numbers of people benefit over time from development, where an economy grows and a society is engaged in the democratic process and feels secure – there state capacity is effective. But many a times what state institution feels development is not development according to people and the state never makes any attempt to understand the people as a result there is a wide gap between the state and the people. This adversely gives rise to unrest and large scale injustice happens which goes unnoticed many a times as all the protests against unplanned development is not lead by great personalities. Here is one such attempt to show three unplanned development process which changed the course of life of thousands of people in the city of Hyderabad. This work analyzes three typical cases of displacement due to unplanned development taken up by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, in its capital Hyderabad, India.

Hyderabad is one among the six metropolitan cities in India and it is located in the Deccan plateau in the southern part of India. It is the capital city of one of the provinces called Andhra Pradesh with a population of 3,829,753 (2001 census of India).<sup>94</sup> Situated at an altitude of 536 meters above sea level and it is located on the East coast of India. The city is considered to be one of the fastest growing cities with respect to information and technology. More than one-third of Hyderabad's population resides in slums, squatters and other poor settlements. Their contribution to city's economy has been also been growing over the period. In the absence of

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<sup>94</sup> [http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Tables\\_Published/A-Series/A-Series\\_links/t\\_00\\_005.aspx](http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Tables_Published/A-Series/A-Series_links/t_00_005.aspx)

developed land and clear policy to address their problems, the poor suffer from many inadequacies in terms of access to basic services, socio- economic needs.

**Table 5: Urban Population of Different States in India 2001**

Sl. No.	State / UT	Persons	Males	Females
	<b>India@</b>	286,119,689	<b>150,554,098</b>	<b>135,565,591</b>
1	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	116,198	64,011	52,187
2	<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	20,808,940	10,590,209	10,218,731
3	Arunachal Pradesh	227,881	125,261	102,620
4	Assam	3,439,240	1,837,092	1,602,148
5	Bihar	8,681,800	4,648,799	4,033,001
6	Chandigarh	808,515	450,122	358,393
7	Chhattisgarh	4,185,747	2,166,775	2,018,972
8	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	50,463	29,834	20,629
9	Daman & Diu	57,348	28,906	28,442
10	Delhi	12,905,780	7,085,147	5,820,633
11	Goa	670,577	346,703	323,874
12	Gujarat	18,930,250	10,067,806	8,862,444
13	Haryana	6,115,304	3,310,965	2,804,339
14	Himachal Pradesh	595,581	331,867	263,714
15	Jammu & Kashmir	2,516,638	1,383,274	1,133,364
16	Jharkhand	5,993,741	3,205,441	2,788,300
17	Karnataka	17,961,529	9,249,960	8,711,569
18	Kerala	8,266,925	4,017,332	4,249,593
19	Lakshadweep	26,967	13,940	13,027
20	Madhya Pradesh	15,967,145	8,412,559	7,554,586
21	Maharashtra	41,100,980	21,941,919	19,159,061
22	Manipur	575,968	286,681	289,287
23	Meghalaya	454,111	229,088	225,023
24	Mizoram	441,006	226,383	214,623
25	Nagaland	342,787	187,425	155,362
26	Orissa	5,517,238	2,911,600	2,605,638
27	Pondicherry	648,619	323,258	325,361
28	Punjab	8,262,511	4,468,449	3,794,062
29	Rajasthan	13,214,375	6,993,371	6,221,004
30	Sikkim	59,870	32,710	27,160
31	Tamil Nadu	27,483,998	13,869,415	13,614,583
32	Tripura	545,750	278,587	267,163
33	Uttar Pradesh	34,539,582	18,407,899	16,131,683
34	Uttaranchal	2,179,074	1,181,334	997,740
35	West Bengal	22,427,251	11,849,976	10,577,275

Source: Census of India 2001, Registrar General, India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi



The table above reveals the position of Andhra Pradesh in terms of its population against others states in India.

**Fig.16: Map of Andhra Pradesh**



*Map of Andhra Pradesh (the one marked with green is Hyderabad, capital city of AP)*

Source: Maps of India

## 4.2 Population Below Poverty Line

This is a very important factor to be discussed as I have previously mentioned that more than one third of the population resides in slums and they belong to the Below Poverty Line. This particular issue has been taken up as two cases of the present study come under slums. As per the available data, the number of people living below the poverty line is 540 thousand of which about 430 thousand live in the GHMC area and the rest in the surrounding municipalities. The BPL population is quite substantial and constitutes around 13 percent of the total population. There are wide variations in the number of people living below the poverty line across the

municipalities. For example, the percentage of BPL population is very high in Quthbullahpur and Rajendranagar constituting about 37 and 24 percent respectively and very low in Serilingampally, Uppal and LB Nagar constituting around 3 to 4 percent.

**Table 6: BPL Population in GHMC and Surrounding Municipalities**

Town	BPL population	% of BPL Population
MCH	429189	14.10
Serilingampally	2722	3.76
Kukatpally	16434	8.79
Quthbullahpur	38990	36.58
Alwal	7824	11.77
Malkajgiri	4021	3.16
Kapra	14982	17.07
Uppal Kalan	2438	3.22
LB Nagar	3566	2.29
Rajendranagar	20000	23.66
Total	540166	13.48

*Source: HUDA Master Plan 2011, Hyderabad Vision 2020 p.216*

### 4.3 Definition of Slum

It is a necessary to know about slums and their existence in Hyderabad before we proceed to the heart of the issue. Slums have come to form an integral part of the phenomena of urbanization in India. Comprehensive information on the slums is essential for formulation of effective and coordinated policy for their improvement. Formation and identification of slum enumeration blocks prior to the conduct of 2001 Census has made it possible to compile and prepare special tables for slums. It is for the first time in the history of census in the country that the slum demography is being presented on the basis of the actual count. The systematic delineation of slums for collection of primary data on their population characteristics during population enumeration itself may perhaps be the first of its type in the world.

For the purpose of Census of India, 2001, the slum areas broadly constitute of:-

- (i) All specified areas in a town or city notified as 'Slum' by State/Local Government and UT Administration under any Act including a 'Slum Act'.
- (ii) All areas recognized as 'Slum' by State/Local Government and UT Administration, Housing and Slum Boards, which may have not been formally notified as slum under any act;
- (iii) A compact area of at least 300 populations or about 60-70 households of poorly built congested tenements, in unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water facilities.

#### **4.4 Growth of Slums and Slum Population in Hyderabad**

Hyderabad is characterized by a very significant presence of the urban poor, with a growing poverty profile. Slum settlements have multiplied over decades and the living conditions of the poor have not improved. Environmental decline, vehicular pollution, inadequate basic services and infrastructure in the poor settlements hit the poor hardest. Slums are scattered across the city and surrounding municipalities, with high population densities and the number of people inhabiting them estimated to be around two million. It is estimated that more than half of these slums are on private land, and the rest on lands belonging to various public entities. Poverty has a visible gender dimension too. This has made Hyderabad a more vulnerable place for the poor. To the added problems, the new trend of demolishing the old sites and beautification of the places in Hyderabad has been a threatening factor.

The population inflow from the rural sector has become rapid and it has been noticed that there is a wide range of migration from rural to urban areas. Previously the trend used be that the population come for couple of months to the urban areas and go back to their villages but with large number of constructions going on and coming up the guarantee of employment has gone

high. Due to this reason the population in thousands have come and settled in Hyderabad and this is also a cause for the rapid growth of slums in Hyderabad.

**Table 7: Slum Population in India 2001**

S. No.	State / UT	Total Slum population		
		Persons	Males	Females
	<b>INDIA</b>	<b>42,578,150</b>	<b>22,697,218</b>	<b>19,880,932</b>
1	Andaman & Nicobar Is.	16,244	8,855	7,389
2	<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	<b>5,187,493</b>	<b>2,625,745</b>	<b>2,561,748</b>
3	Assam	82,289	43,472	38,817
4	Bihar	531,481	282,772	248,709
5	Chandigarh	107,125	62,762	44,363
6	Chhatisgarh	817,908	422,096	395,812
7	Delhi	2,029,755	1,140,334	889,421
8	Goa	14,482	7,469	7,013
9	Gujarat	1,866,797	1,020,288	846,509
10	Haryana	1,420,407	778,734	641,673
11	Jammu & Kashmir	268,513	143,416	125,097
12	Jharkhand	301,569	158,532	143,037
13	Karnataka	1,402,971	714,413	688,558
14	Kerala	64,556	31,699	32,857
15	Madhya Pradesh	2,417,091	1,269,757	1,147,334
16	Maharashtra	11,202,762	6,137,624	5,065,138
17	Meghalaya	86,304	43,078	43,226
18	Orissa	629,999	330,054	299,945
19	Pondicherry	73,169	36,012	37,157
20	Punjab	1,159,561	629,326	530,235
21	Rajasthan	1,294,106	681,541	612,565
22	Tamil Nadu	2,866,893	1,441,437	1,425,456
23	Tripura	29,949	15,093	14,856
24	Uttar Pradesh	4,395,276	2,348,679	2,046,597
25	Uttanchal	195,470	103,895	91,575
26	West Bengal	4,115,980	2,220,135	1,895,845

Source: Census of India 2001, Registrar General, India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi

The incidence of poverty among women is higher and female-headed households constitute the poorest of poor. The number of slums and slum population in Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (then MCH and now on GHMC) has been increasing at a faster pace over the decades. In addition, in the municipalities around the GHMC constituting the Hyderabad Urban Agglomeration (HUA), there are around 500 slums. As these municipalities were constituted only in the late 1980s the slum population is high. For example in Quthbullahpur, Alwal and Rajendranagar they constitute about 60% of the total population underpinning the enormity of the problem. Their slum populations are presented in the below Table. In the Hyderabad Urban Area, as can be seen from Table, there are 1631 slums with an approximate population of 2.0 million which are not concentric at a particular location. They are spatially spread all over the HUA area, which is a cause for concern and requires appropriate strategies. Another concern is that several of them are non-notified making it difficult for the provision of infrastructure and other services on sustainable basis. Some of the slums in the GHMC area are very old established more than five decades ago and continue to suffer deprivations. The poor, not only habitat in slums of HUA area but are spread in squatter and informal settlements in small groups deprived of basic services. This makes them more vulnerable in the hands of nature and increasing threat of eviction.

**Table 8: Slum Population in GHMC and Surrounding Municipalities**

Town	Number of slums	Slum Population (2001)	% of Slum Population
MCH	1142	1411000	38.83
Serilingampally	59	73866	49.07
Kukatpally	81	19585	6.74
Quthbullahpur	77	138360	61.27
Alwal	61	62585	58.81
Malkajgiri	44	47396	27.08
Kapra	33	47064	29.57
Uppal Kalan	21	43586	36.86
LB Nagar	75	23478	8.96
Rajendranagar	38	84287	58.87
Total	1631	1951207	37.47

Source: ULB's (it was MCH in 2001 Census)

## 4.5 Socio-economic Characteristics of slum population

### 4.5.1 Communities

Slum population in HUDA is heterogeneous in character - with Hindus, Muslims and Christians having migrated from different neighboring districts, which once formed part of the erstwhile Nizam's dominion. Languages predominantly spoken in slums in Hyderabad and Secunderabad are Telugu and Urdu, followed by a smattering of Marathi and Kannada. Similar pattern exists in surrounding the municipalities as well.

### 4.5.2 Literacy

As per the census 2001, the literacy rate of slum population was found to vary between 60 - 80%. Female literacy in slums varied from 52 - 73%. Table below gives the literacy status of slum population in MCH and surrounding municipalities.

**Table 9: Literacy among Slum Population**

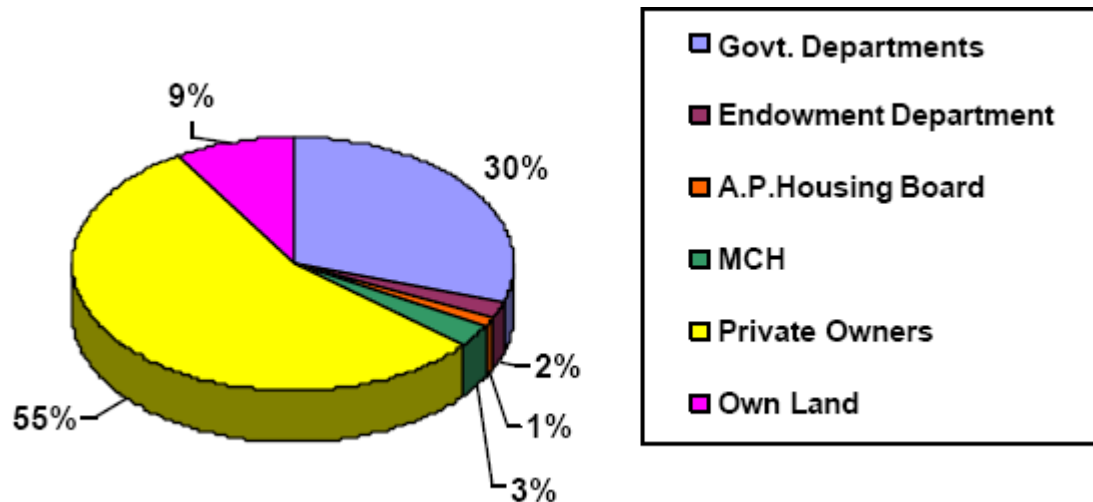
Town	Literacy Rate (2001)	Female Literacy Rate (2001)
MCH	72.5	65.94
Serilingampally	63.75	55.79
Kukatpally	72	63.48
Quthbullahpur	73.5	64.62
Alwal	80.29	72.38
Malkajgiri	75.34	67.38
Kapra	69.55	59.37
Uppal Kalan	73.05	63.14
LBNagar	63.67	53.25
Rajendranagar	60.15	51.66

Source: Census of India 2001, Registrar General, India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi

### 4.5.3 Land Holdings

Slums in HUA are located on state government, municipal and quasi government land, Abadi land, central government land, private land and unclaimed land. Government of Andhra Pradesh classified all the slums on government land into objectionable and unobjectionable in 1985. Categorization as "objectionable" was based on location and land use - location on riverbeds, low lying areas, drains, road margins, railway tracks etc. Only a few slums were cleared as 'unobjectionable'. In case of surrounding municipalities, they were the small and scattered villages inhabited by the poor; particularly the labour from the industrial areas. They suffer from worse deprivations in terms of physical and social amenities as well as sustainable livelihoods.

**Fig. 17: Land Holdings by different stakeholders in the city of Hyderabad.**



Source: GHMC Hyderabad.

### 4.5.4 Environmental Conditions and Health Status

The environmental conditions in slums are very poor and lack basic civic amenities like dust proof roads, drainage, protected water supply, street lights and adequate number of community toilets. Earlier studies have recorded that the common diseases prevalent in slums in Hyderabad are gastro-enteritis, dysentery, liver enlargement, malnutrition, ringworm, scabies and other skin diseases. To overcome these hazards health infrastructure was developed and 64 urban primary

health centers were established under IPP VIII. Most of the slum communities and the poor access the services from these centers. However in surrounding municipalities such facilities are not available.

#### 4.5. 5 Basic Infrastructure

Access of slum population to basic services is a key indicator of the quality of life in slums in particular and the city in general. The infrastructure provided during the Slum Improvement Projects is presented in the Table below.

**Table 10: Basic infrastructure in the Slums of Hyderabad**

Services	Units	MCH	Surrounding ULBs
Roads	Km	1175	473
Sewer Lines	Km	548	124
Storm Water Drains	Km	366	236
Community Latrines	Seats	111	42
Street Lights	No.	35824	16506
Drinking Water Supply Piped Supply	Km	107	261
Drinking Water Supply Public Stand Posts (PSPs)	No.	508	1623
LCS Units	No.	6659	13216
Community Centres	No.	380	135
Schools	No.	340	332
Water Supply Coverage	%	70	52
Sanitation Facility	%	55	70
Electricity	%	70	77

Source: GHMC Hyderabad

About one third of the slums have individual service connections and the rest depend upon public taps. A significant feature is that despite 90% coverage of slum areas with water supply lines, the individual service connections are less.

#### 4.5.6 Community Facilities

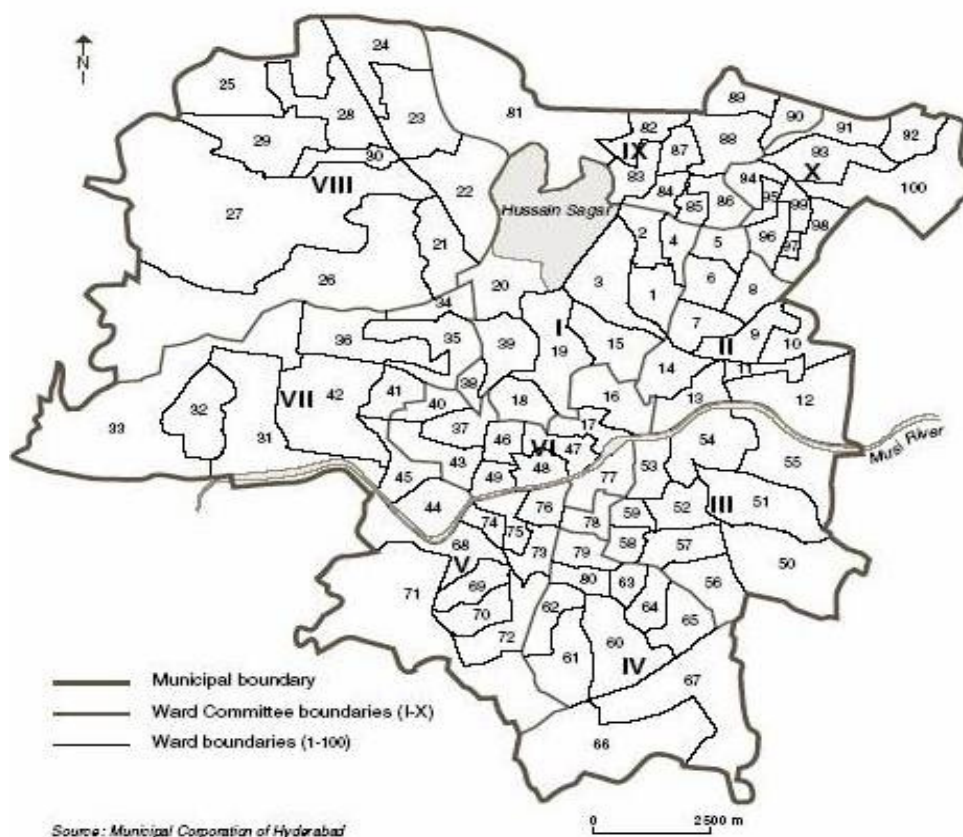
The community facilities in the slums comprise schools, community halls, etc. No other amenities are available in the slum areas. The existing community infrastructure facilities in slums of Hyderabad are presented in Table.



**Table 11: Community facilities in the slums of Hyderabad**

Sl. No.	Description	Schools No.					Community Halls (no.)
		Govt. School	Schools running in Pvt. Bldg.	Anganwadi	Sarva Siksha Abhiyan	Bala Jyothi	
1	MCH	164	78	93	-	5	380
2	Surrounding ULBs	241	97	107	47	15	148
	Total	405	175	200	47	20	528

Source: GHMC Hyderabad

**Fig.18: Map of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad**

Source: GHMC Hyderabad, Map of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad

#### **4.6 Present Cases of Empirical Research**

The present empirical research is a comparative case study of three displacement sites in the city of Hyderabad. The first case is that of a MMTS (Multi Modal Transport System) project under the expansion of infrastructure under transportation. The second is that of Industrial expansion in Hyderabad which led to displacement of a village and the third is also in the lines of having advanced infrastructure in the city by having an International Airport. The third case of International Airport ended up in massive displacement of more than eleven villages and has pushed the people into impoverishment risks. In the sections to follow, all the cases will be dealt with substantial data and illustration.

As part of the research, a pilot study of the NTR Nagar, Indra Reddy Nagar and Airport colony was conducted through a questionnaire formulated according to the need, requirement and keeping in mind the diversity of the population. With frequent visits to the field a tangible rapport was built up and in the later stage the study was conducted. The study is based on both primary and secondary sources and data collection. Primary data was used to have ground level understanding. The primary data was collected by having a basic information sheet which was similar to all the families, and it was considered for sampling. Where as the secondary data was used to have the conceptual understanding of the wide area of resettlement and sustainable urban development.

The primary data were collected at two levels; one, at the stage of official level in order to know their approach at the policy as well as personal level towards resettlement. The second one was with the resettled people in order to understand the implications of resettlement in social, economical and political life. The study was carried out through the Case Study method, Participant Observation Method, Questionnaire Method and proportionate Stratified Random Sampling. Apart from this the process was carried out through structured interviews, focus group discussions and informal interactions. 15% of the total displaced population was taken and investigated through Proportionate Stratified Random Sampling for quantifying the

data. The collected data were cross checked with Triangulation method so that the accuracy of the data is maintained. The collected data were analyzed through Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS)<sup>95</sup> and many of the case studies have been formulated through informal interactions and focused group discussions. The major part of the research relies upon Diachronic Method to analyze the status of the people with different parameters in pre-displacement and post resettlement. The questionnaire will be used for the better understanding of the pre-settlement and post-resettlement scenario. Following Kothari's study the diachronic comparison is being made by focusing on the pre and post settlement process. To validate the collected data triangulation method was followed (internal mechanism of cross checking). The major part of the research relies upon Diachronic Method to analyze the status of the people with different parameters in pre- displacement and post resettlement. Each case would be presented with a background of the place and the sequences that led to displacement. The illustration would begin with the MMTS project and move on to industrial expansion project and finally to International Airport.

#### **4.7 Case Study I: The Multi Modal Transport System (MMTS) Project**

It is apt to mention some facts before moving into introducing the field. The Multi Modal Transport System (MMTS now on) is already functional in the city of Hyderabad and the locality displaced due to project is now a MMTS station called as Lakdi ka Pool. The illustration below is about the situation and place prior to displacement.

The place displaced was called as Nirankari Nagar and presently the locality does not exist as the project cleared the whole site and we can find no settlement there. In Hyderabad city the land was located in survey No.2, Block. L, Ward No.83 of Kairthabad village, admeasuring 21820 Sq.Mtrs and the place was called Nirankari Nagar. The land belonged to the government,

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<sup>95</sup> Computer based tool called as *statistical package for the social sciences (SPSS)*. Used for perfect and easy way of statistical calculations.

recorded in the name of South Central Railway. But thirty to thirty five years back few families went and settled over there as the place was empty. The locality was settled on both the sides of the railway line. The people who settled there were all from very poor background and the large number belonged to the scheduled caste group. Good number of Muslim population was there in the locality. It is then the city was not that developed and moreover the people found some place which was not questioned by any authority and small houses were also built. When we trace the history the truth we get to know is that these people were previously staying in one or the other private property illegally in the city of Hyderabad.

As the city was getting crowded and the real estate boom was high in the city, the private property could not be used any more and the people were threatened of police action by the private property owners. Due to these problems the people went in search of some place, where they could stay without fear and threat. It was only three or four families first found out the locality and built small huts and later they invited the friends and relatives of them to the locality. Within no time the locality became popular as one of the place where a large number of people can fit in and stay in safe.

As the time passed, all the people in the locality started building small houses with whatever they earned. As the locality was situated in the heart of the city, the working place was very close, due to which the people could save even the transport charges. They even had food in their house by coming from the locality where they used to work. This saved large portion of their money due to which they built good houses which had more than two or three rooms. It is striking to notice that as the time passed by the people who were settled there from the beginning and after two or three years of its inception built houses and they had even given it for rent.

The people in the locality were from different working groups. Some people were painters, auto drivers, poster sellers, few had small shops (daily needs), kalai work, snake charmers etc. the people were from different place. Some people were from the city itself and large number of

them were from other place. When the interview was conducted people revealed, there was a big famine and there was nothing to grow, as a result the people left the village and other towns and came in search of work to survive, one such group was that of poster sellers belonging to Narsaraopet near Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh. Large groups had come with all the members of the family to Hyderabad and settled in Nirankari Nagar. Within a span of thirty to thirty five years, the place got so developed that more than five hundred families started living there. Out of this five hundred, around two hundred and eighty four families got numbers for their houses by the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad.

The problem arose in the year 2002, when a Telugu daily called *Eenadu* carried a news item which spoke about the proposed multi model transport system and made it clear that the people of Nirankari Nagar locality had to vacate for the construction multi model transport system. It came as a shock to the people of the locality as they were not even informed by any authority. After the news item appeared the people of the locality approached the Divisional Revenue Officer and the Mandal Revenue Officer, being the authorities of the government, with regard to the proposed model. The people of the locality were not given adequate information but were told by the Divisional Revenue Officer and the Mandal Revenue Officer that they had to vacate the locality within three months. The people had no other choice, but went on to approach the law court regarding the problem by claiming that, it was very much acceptable that the place does not belong to them but to the government and they claimed for the stay only on the basis of having virtue of staying there for more than thirty years.

The District Revenue Officer and the Mandal Revenue Officer of Khairthabad Mandal of Ranga Reddy district approached the people of the locality and conveyed them that they will be given proper resettlement. But keeping in mind, the common interest of large number of people to whom the Nirankari Nagar locality was best suitable in their daily life and work, the leaders of the locality went on to protest against any type of displacement. The Divisional Revenue Officer and the Mandal Revenue Officer who were in charge of displacement came out with a new

solution by asking the locality people to choose themselves, a place where all four hundred and odd families could fit in. This was more of a trick played by the bureaucracy as they were very sure that the people of the locality would not be able find a place where all the families could get resettled. If this was one angle of the move, there is another angle in which the government tried to pose itself being democratic and following the concept of justice at the behest. The truth behind the whole incident was that, all the people including politicians, civil servants, and few people with vested interest had come to an understanding and had already made up their mind as to at any cost bring the Multi Model Transport System (MMTS).

The people of the locality realized that the cup was slipping from their hand and they were losing the grip on the situation completely. They consulted the people of other localities, who were also staying in illegal squatters. In the year 2002, July itself the people of the locality formed an association called Nirankari Nagar Huts Development Association, which was represented by President S.D.Bhasheer Miya. In the same year the people of the locality filed an affidavit in the High Court of Andhra Pradesh at Hyderabad. The writ was between the District Collector and others and Nirankari Nagar Huts Development Association represented by its president Sri. S.D.Bhasheer Miya, Address being Nirankari Nagar, Lakdikapool, Hyderabad. The then Mandal Revenue Officer G.Venkateshwarulu of Khairthabad mandal filed an affidavit on behalf of the Caveat Petitioners. In the petition it was mentioned that “The land in T.S.No.2, Block L, and Ward No.83 of Khairthabad village, admeasuring 21820 Sq.Mtrs. is a Government land recorded in the name of the South Central Railway. Some unauthorized persons illegally occupied the said land and constructed houses on either side of the railway track.

An affidavit said “The locality was called Nirankari Nagar. It is submitted that the Government of Andhra Pradesh in collaboration with Railway Department has taken up a project titled ‘Multi Model Transport System’ (MMTS) to meet the traffic requirements of Hyderabad, as there is heavy traffic congestion in the twin cities. In the other areas of the city also the new Railway Stations have been constructed. But in Nirankari Nagar, the residents have constructed unauthorized houses. However, as the residents of the Nirankari Nagar slum have occupied the

land in question and were living there in for the last several years, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has decided to shift the residence of Nirankari Nagar to accommodate them in alternative land situated in survey number 336 part of Kukatpally Village and survey number 57 part of Shamshiguda village, Kukkatpally Mandal, Ranga Reddy District and steps are being taken to evict the occupants and shift them to the places stated supra. It is submitted that the petitioners herein apprehend that the president of the respondent herein may approach this honorable court by way of writ petition and obtain interim orders, stopping the rehabilitation work being taken up by the State Government. In such a case the petitioners herein may put to serious and irreparable loss. It is therefore prayed that the court may be pleased to register the caveat petition and in the event of the filing any writ petition by the respondent herein questioning the rehabilitation work taken up by the petitioners herein in T. S. No.2. Block L. Ward No.83 known as Nirankari Nagar, situated behind the Collectorate, Ranga Reddy District, Lakdikapool, Hyderabad before granting any interim orders, a notice may be issued to the petitioners herein or their counsel, Government pleader for assignment , High Court buildings, Hyderabad and pass such other order or orders as this honorable court may be deem fit and proper. The petition was signed by the Mandal Revenue Officer as the Deponent in front of the Administrative Officer O/o. Revenue Divisional Office, Hyderabad Division”.

In the same year a memorandum of Caveat Petition was filed under the section 148-A of C.P.C in the High Court of judicature of Andhra Pradesh at Hyderabad. The Caveat Petitioners being

1. District Collector, Hyderabad.
2. Revenue Divisional Officer, Secunderabad.
3. Mandal Revenue Officer, Khairthabad Mandal, the respondent being Nirankari Nagar Huts Development Association represented by its president Sri. S.D.Bhasheer Miya, Address being Nirankari Nagar, Lakdikapool, Hyderabad”<sup>96</sup>. The request was that of same as the previous affidavit filed. But all the efforts made by the people of the locality were put down in one or the other way. There was an incident when a police case was filed against Mr.Bhasheer Miya the

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<sup>96</sup> Court affidavit filed by the representator of the locality.

President of the Nirankari Nagar Huts Development Association. The allegation was that Mr. Bhasheer has been lending houses for rent and selling some places by saying it as his own property. He was threatened by Government agencies in several ways as to take back the petition he had filed in the High Court.

#### **4.7.1 The Politics of Displacement**

It was very striking that there were no political parties who intervened the displacement case. It was understood by default that the ruling party of that time had a man who single handedly owned the party and there was none to question him. This was again another reason why the Member of Parliament and the MLA could not come into help in anyway. Still with a hope of gaining some solution and a better place to live the representatives met Mr. Vijaya Rama Rao the then Minister in the State Government and he promised them that they would be resettled properly but the stopping of the project was ruled out. The reason given was that, the plan was being made and several railway stations for the purpose have been built. Even Mr. Vijaya Rama Rao visited the place where the people were supposed to be resettled. The opposition party being Congress did not take any interest in speaking to the people of the locality. The people's representator of that time Mr. P. Janardhan Reddy did not show any interest in resolving the problem. If the opposition wanted it, it would have gone for a protest and stood by the people of the locality. The whole episode sounded like a conspiracy made by all the politicians against the informal dwellers. In the meanwhile Mr. Bandaru Dattatreya of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) had visited the locality and assured of some help to the people. It was clearly understood that he too could not do anything as nothing happened to the situation faced by the people. The representatives of the locality pleaded the Mayor Mr. Teegala Krishna Reddy to visit the site of proposed displacement. But to the dismay of the people the revenue officer and other officials told the Mayor that the whole problem was settled and there was no conflict at all.

The locality was declared as slum by the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (MCH) way back in 1989. The intention behind giving slum certificate was that the ruling Congress Party was getting several votes from the locality. The voting list of that time had more than 3000 people.



The slum certificate had been given to the people of the locality who had registration. The certificates say:

“This is to certify that Nirankari Nagar slum in ward No.6 Block No.2 circle No. 400 MCH is included in the list of slums identified during 1979 survey. There are about 400 houses in the slum from House No. 6-2-971/1 to House No. 6-2-971/200. It is reported by the concerned slum development officer, Urban Community Development (UCD) that Sri/Smt. ----- is residing in the house bearing No. ----- In the slum.

The certificate is being undersigned by the Project Officer/ Dy. Project Officer, Urban Community Development, Project No. 5 Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad, Khairthabad, Hyderabad, dated 07-04-1989”<sup>97</sup>.

The representatives of the locality met different organizations and associations, like the one which was there in Nandanavanam Colony of Hyderabad. The people from Musi River were made to vacate and settle down in a resettlement colony called Nandanavanam.

#### **4.7.2 The Day of Displacement**

The organizations suggested going ahead with agitation, but the government was well prepared to face any type of consequences for the cost of getting the project done. On the day of displacement the people of the locality decided not to vacate the place and went for a protest. The Government as it was well prepared to handle the situation, it had got the police force along with bulldozers. People went on to cry for mercy but in vain. Police had taken over the charge of shifting the people and making the place ready for building Railway Station. Within few hours all the people were forcibly put in the vehicle nothing less than animals and shifted to the new locality. At that point of time the representatives approached the DRO and the MRO for some help. The authorities as they came to know that shifting of all the people would not be an easy task and it would end up in bringing political pressure, promised the people that they would be

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<sup>97</sup> Slum certificate given by the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad, Khairthabad, Hyderabad, Dated 07-04-1989.

given Rs. 5,000, 100 Kilograms of rice and a dinner party would be hosted at the new resettlement colony. This was a great relief for the people of the locality as they found some refuge which was really helpful but the reality was something different and horrifying wherein they found only some lemon rice being served to those who reached the place early and there were no party, no money and no rice. In the resettlement colony they could only find the MRO and his other officials sitting around with a table and allotting the houses according to the previous house numbers, given by the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad. At the time of vacating the people with houses which were registered were only given photocopies of the numbers given to them by the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad. Other than two hundred and eighty four families, rest one hundred forty six families did not even get houses.

## **4.8 Case Study II: Cyberabad Project**

This specific case study is an illustration of how the capitalistic forces can be the worst agency to the poor in disguise. In the spree of having information and technology (IT) the government forgot that there are other citizens also who will be affected by the measures taken in support of a small section of the society. Within the city of Hyderabad, there is a division called Cyberabad and this has become the hub of information and technology. This specific place was developed for the information technology displaced several hundreds of families. This specific case throws light on the consequences and intensity of displacement and resettlement.

### **4.8.1 Background**

Due to extreme poverty and no employment large number of people have come to the city of Hyderabad in search of livelihood. The people are in large number from Karnataka and some parts of Andhra Pradesh. People have been staying in a place called Durga Bhavani Nagar in Manikonda village from past 15 to 20 years. All the residents have been involved in construction works in and around Gachibowli. As the expansion of the high tech city was done in Gachibowli, large number of companies showed interest and borrowed land from the Government of Andhra Pradesh. As a result of this most of these families came under threat of forced eviction. The land

in Survey No.203 and 210 of Manikonda (J) village has been handed over to the Andhra Pradesh Industrial and Investment Corporation (APIIC). Similarly some part of the land in Survey No. 203/1 and 210 was allotted to a private company called MR Properties to develop Golf course by the same Corporation. Large number of economic migrants from all over Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka had come and settled in Manikonda village.

There were 440 families living by cutting stones, working as construction laborers and drivers. Ironically after the inception of companies like Microsoft, Wipro, Infosys and Polaris the place had lot of construction. All these 440 families were totally involved in the construction work of all the companies. The land was always in trouble as the Andhra Pradesh Industrial and Investment Corporation (APIICL) was in the process of extending the land for the IT companies and one such occasion which played as a platform to acquire the land totally was that of the visit of the CEO of the Microsoft Mr. Bill Gates in the year 2004. He was visiting the city and immediately in the madness of wooing the CEO the government got a wild idea of evacuating all the families there and using the place for many more IT companies.

#### **4.8.2 Politics of Displacement**

The people, being informal dwellers, got the notice to vacate the place within month. There were two established leaders among the people of the locality and they were determined to fight for the cause without evacuating. The government again ended up in the dilemma of whether to displace the people with force or try some other measure. This is the time when the politics of displacement sneaked again, this time the authorities used the *Divide and Rule* method. One of the leaders called Mr. Tirupati of the locality was taken to the IT minister Sabita Indra Reddy and he was wooed with some gifts and assurance of all the support he required. The tragedy of the story was that, this leader convinced almost large number of people that they had all come with nothing to the city but now the government was ready to give them house and proper resettlement. This convinced many people and most of them went ahead with this leader to get displaced and resettled which resulted only in getting the other leader arrested through a false case of theft and his voice was silenced.

#### 4.8.3 Day of Displacements

Another reality of forced eviction followed and people were sent to a village which was ten kilometers away in a place Vattinagulapally, but the village people did not allow them to stay. The revenue officials of Rajendra Nagar Mandal found some land to rehabilitate the informal dwellers of Manikonda. Later it was allotted to the 440 families on the basis of the list of the informal dwellers in the previous place. The plot is 60 yards per family. The Government of Andhra Pradesh entrusted this work to District Collector of Rangareddy District. The District Collector entrusted this work to the Revenue Divisional Officer and finally it was given to Mandal Revenue Officer of Rajendra Nagar Mandal. Smt. P. Sabita Indra Reddy, Minister for Mines and Geology, Investment IT&C from Chevella Constituent Assembly shouldered the responsibility to resettle the people from the Government side. The reason behind naming the colony as Indra Reddy Nagar was to justify that the resettlement had happened in her constituency and under her leadership.

All the people were asked to move to Indra Reddy Nagar located in Survey No. 192 of Janawada Village in Sankarpally Mandal, Ranga Reddy district. As the land belonged to the government, the nearby village people were upset that some outsiders were being given lands freely so they started intimidating the displacees and the women were the worst hit. After a great struggle and some letters to the concerned authorities the people were provided with some security. The worst part of the whole episode was that the displaced people had to spend almost two years in small huts which were susceptible to nature's furies. As the pressure started growing from the side of the academic groups around, the government took some steps in getting the houses built for them but to the consternation of the people, in the process of foundation itself the government came up with another infrastructure project of Outer Ring Road (ORR) for the city. The ORR was passing through the locality, so again the people were displaced and this led to multiple displacements. Again the people have started building houses in the new locality. With regard to the facilities in the locality, it is worst and these people have no voice to get the things done.

#### **4.9 Case Study III: International Airport Project**

This case is the most devastating and one of the biggest displacements in a mega city like Hyderabad. The government of Andhra Pradesh under the leadership of chief minister Chandra Babu Naidu of the previous government run by the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) had proposed the plan for an International Airport in the year 2000, but it had not got any type of assurance as the leadership was changing in the state. The TDP lost the elections and the congress party came to power in the year 2004 under the leadership of present Chief Minister Dr. Y S Rajashekara Reddy and instantaneously got the approval of the central government as it was also led by the Congress Party and started the work. Ironically the second and the third cases of displacements happened under the same legislator Sabita Indra Reddy. Just fifteen days before the displacement people of all the four villages were informed through a notice. The short notice came as a shock although the people were anticipating the project. The people were not in a position to take any precautionary measures. Sabita Indra Reddy assured the people of proper compensation and resettlement as all these people had land. She also explained the inevitability of having such project and made it clear that the project was certain to happen. As all these processes were going on, the people were unable to decide if they were to move or stay back and protest.

Most of the people of all the affected villages were dependent on agricultural crops. They were flower-growers and sold their produce in the city of Hyderabad. Most of the people even with the land holdings of 2 or 3 acre also had seen enough profit. They used to employ ten to twelve people a day for the work.

The whole process of displacement and resettlement was supposed to take place under the special officer of the IAS cadre Mr. Prabhakar Reddy. The district collector of Ranga Reddy District was also involved in this. After the given time of 15 days the authorities came with the police forces and asked the people to vacate. But people had several ceremonies fixed before the notification came on displacement. On the request to the concerned legislator, they got grace period of fifteen days to vacate. On 13<sup>th</sup> May 2004, with more than 500 Special Police Forces in the process, the people were asked to evacuate and all of them were shifted in lorries like animals and the land was forcefully acquired.

#### **4.9.1 The Politics of Displacement and Compensation**

The uniqueness of this specific case study and other cases has been the fact that the other two cases are without land and people had occupied a place which was later declared as legal. But, this specific case people from 11 villages most of them with land and some of them with assigned lands and a very small number of people with no land have been displaced. The government of Andhra Pradesh has acquired 5,480 acres of land for the project and more than eleven villages have got affected either fully or partially. Out of the 5,480 acres of land 3,400 acres belong to the private owners who have Pattas (registered forms or official Land Titles), the other 1,600 acres are said to be government land and they have been occupied by the local people specifically by the people belonging to Schedule Caste and other Backward Classes for the sake of agriculture before fifty or sixty years. The government made it very clear through the special officer Mr. Prabhakar that there will not be the question of Land for Land in the compensation process. The people of the locality decided to organize a struggle against the government. The caste stratification in the place is also according to the different political parties. The Reddy group people largely support the Congress party as it is led by a person belonging to Reddy caste. The BC and SC (Backward Class and Schedule Caste) groups largely support the TDP (Telugu Desam Party). Due to this even the plan to organize the struggle also did not happen in a very strong manner. But as the compensation policy was quite clumsy and there was fear among the people of losing their assets, they decided to start an association of their own. This led to the inception of SIALLWEL (Shamshabad International Airport Land Losers Welfare Association).

The talks on compensation measures started with a very low note as the officials had made it clear that there will be no 'Land for Land' policy. The question of fixing the compensation for land came in terms of money. The government fixed price for the land under categories as A, B, C and D. The initial compensation rate of Rs. 2 lakhs per acre was protested and people did not agree. A district committee was formed led by the collector but it was a failure as the compensation money didn't move beyond 2 lakhs. This led to the formation of a state committee. The committee raised the compensation from 2 lakhs to 4 lakhs in the month of February and

March 2002. The A B C D categories were made on the basis of quality of the land. A) A-Irrigated Land-4 lakhs. B) B-Semi Irrigated Land-3 ½ lakhs C) C-Un Irrigated Land-3 lakhs D) D- Assigned Land-65,000. This compensation is not at all justifiable. The land value is far higher than the price offered by the Government. That time land value was up to 60 lakhs per acre. Due to illiteracy and fear of losing everything most of the people agreed and wanted some of their demands to be fulfilled. The demands were-

- Giving employment opportunity to two members of every family. The Collector of the Ranga Reddy District agreed to the same and promised that it will be fulfilled.
- The second demand of land for construction of house was also agreed and the demand to be within the city limits was also agreed and the land was located closer to the Shamshabad main road.
- Demand for compensation to be given at one time. Even this demand was agreed.

The assigned land was also divided into three categories. a)  $80,000 + 30\% = 1,04,000$  (wet Land) b)  $60,000 + 30\% = 78,000$  (rainy crops) c)  $50,000 + 30\% = 65,000$  (waste land). In the meanwhile when all this process was happening there were some tensions in a place called Kothaguda or Rashidguda. After the survey and the compensation policy was spelt out an elderly person from the Muslim community put a case showing some old references and saying that all the land in the village belonged to him. Some other person also put a case saying that land belonged to him. This virtually stalled the compensation process and a large amount of tension prevailed in the village. The people were confused and eventually feared that they may not get any compensation if all the lands belong to a Muslim man. This led to another type of consequence where a villager committed suicide. This was a quite disturbing factor for the Congress Government as the stone laying function for the project was to be done by the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Congress President Sonia Gandhi. The government feared the backlash and the repercussions by the people as well as the central government, which would lead to the delay and stopping of the project immediately asked the officials to take action to restore the compensation process. Because of this, a special G.O was issued and although the

case was still going on the compensation process also took place continuously. So the people with lavani Patta<sup>98</sup> also got a compensation of 65, 000 per acre.

If the incident narrated was a case of rare happening, there were also constant debates regarding the site of resettlement colony. After several rounds of discussion and strong protest against moving the people away from the city limits the government identified a place which comes under GHMC (the then HADA) and fixed 250 square yards of land per family. The locality is 6 km away from one of the displaced village called Chinna Gollapally, 8 km away from Galvaguda, and 7 km from Anantha Reddyguda, and 9 km from Seethamma Thanda. The sites were allotted according to the survey number. This again made certain groups to be away from the present resettled colony.

There were some tensions during the time of displacement. The displaced people from all the villages together requested for a separate Panchayat. The authorities did not agree for such an arrangement. This again had its own political tinge. The groups were however divided and this led to worse after the separate Panchayat demand was denied. The people had a point to say. The lands of the people who were closer to the airport had different market value and other people it was different. Government did not make any such distinctions. The people who were closer to the airport also got 4 lakhs per acre and people who were 10 kilometers away also got the same amount of money. The land at Shamshabad cost something like 50 lakhs at that time, where as in mankul the land value was below 5 lakhs. But, the government did not make any such difference. This was also one of the factors why the displaced people were not very happy with the attitude of the officials.

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<sup>98</sup> Certificate that allows the farmers to use Government land but not to sale.



## **4.10 Resettlement**

### **4.10.1 The Resettlement Colony of MMTS Project and Consequences of displacement**

The Resettlement Colony is called NTR Nagar and it is situated in the survey No.336 which is part of Kukkatpally village and survey No.57 part of Shamshiguda village, Kukkatpally Mandal, and Ranga Reddy district. The locality is around four kilometers to the Housing Board colony and can be approached through auto rickshaws and buses which go there once in a while. Near the locality there are other few slums which have cropped up illegally as those people were also thrown out from one or the other place. The locality has more than four hundred and thirty three (433) houses which are built one above the other. The houses in the new locality have been allotted according to the previous registration number but a new number has been given to the houses as Ground Floor (GF) and First Floor (FF). The locality is good enough for only one family where parents with one child can stay. The place is congested and it has very less space within the house.

The NTR Nagar locality has public transport system which is not frequent and any urgency in approaching the city can be made only through a sharing auto. The place has a manageable water supply for which one person from the same colony has been appointed. The water which is given to the locality can be used only for bath and washing purpose and for drinking water; again they have to wait for the vehicle which brings drinking water. There are no drainages in the locality. This has made the locality so unclean that the roads stink and it is very difficult for the people to live in the locality. The water which is used for washing and bath is left to the road as there is no drainage. There has been no proper planning for the locality. It looks as if the government wanted to shrug off its shoulders from responsibility by just building few houses. Due to no drainages and water getting clogged at different places the people of the place have become vulnerable to several diseases. There is no health centre for the locality; there is an elementary school which is crowded, on the other side there is a private school to which sending the children will cost more. As these come as the part and parcel of the urban basic services the place has been missing several basic needs which are most necessary and appropriate.

When a comparison is made by using diachronic comparison, the findings are very interesting. The previous locality had very good transport facility. The place had buses coming from most of the parts like Mehdiapatnam and such other places. Regarding the drinking water, the locality had water supply from Manjeera, which provides drinking water to the Hyderabad city. There was good drainage system and frequently the Municipal Corporation used to send workers to clean the locality.

The children could not commute to school anymore and the women who used to go to work along with their men also could not go as it is not that easy for women to adjust in the same way as the men. The transportation is a hazard for the group of *Masons*<sup>99</sup>. The locality is far off from the place and the Mestris have to get into the place of work early in the morning, so even transportation is not available to them where in many a times they have walked more than four kilometers to catch vehicles to get in to the working place. Regarding the food all these people used to take boxes to the working place or else they used to come back to the houses. Now due to resettlement they are not able to reach the houses, as they are far off from the working place. Many a times, the amount they spend on transportation and food is more than half of their earnings. Due to this reason now they are sending their wives to the bungalows to work as housemaids. The men are not happy to send their women to work but due to economic compulsions they are forced to send. Resettlement which brought some hope in the beginning as there was a promise by the authorities of the permanent house turned out to become a problem for their very work itself. The earnings have come down drastically. The life of the Mestris and other working groups have become vulnerable in a way as they have not been given care and no officials or politicians have visited their place to hear their problems. When anybody goes who is a new person to the locality people throng around him and expect something to be done for their locality. The problem to the outer world may sound not that severe but when the people come and tell their problem it is heartening.

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<sup>99</sup> *Mason* is a craftsman who works with stone and brick

#### 4.10.2 Gender Sensitivity and Education

As part of the case study and survey, a questionnaire was prepared and focused group discussions were held with more than sixty women. Most of the women feel handicapped here after having lost the touch with the city life; this is very much true with the case of Muslim women. The women who belong to the Hindu community express their dissatisfaction as they are not getting the expected work unlike the previous locality. The women folk used to help men in the construction work and they used even carry food for their men to the working place which saved lot of money for them which was spent on food. In the new locality men go to work very early in the morning and get back to the place only in the late evenings and in few families in the late night.

If this is the case of the Hindu women, the problem of the Muslim women is something different. Unlike the Hindu women these women cannot even go to work even though they are interested as the Muslim families are conservative. It is even very difficult to speak to the Muslim women in the locality as they do not even respond to the stranger which is not the case with the Hindu women. The Muslim women are interested to go out of their houses and work like the Hindu women and earn for their families. The men are so conservative that they do not even allow them to come out of their houses in the presence of the strangers. Muslim women are capable enough of speaking to the outsiders and they can earn their bread if they are given an opportunity. Even to approach the Muslim women there has to be a lady even along with any research investigators or officials. The locality has equal number of Muslim as well as the Hindu families. However, there has been no communal violence among the people of this locality. They stand united in every aspect the reason being that of staying together for more than thirty years. In a way, if at all the people of the place have succeeded in getting a decent resettlement without personal entitlement that can be traced to the unity they have among the whole community.

### 4.10.3 Education Status

With regard to education of the female children in both the communities, one could observe a lot of difference. The Hindu families are interested in sending the children to the schools and at no point of time they want their children to be like them. The main problem with the Hindu families is that the women folk have not been educated previously. When interviewed, the women expressed that they did not even had a piece meal when they came to Hyderabad but their children are getting food without any problem as the women use to go to work. At least most of the children who are below fourteen do not work. One person who is involved in Kalai<sup>100</sup> making has three daughters and a son. The desire to have male issues is the force behind having several children. It is not that there is any grave inequality they meet out to their children but it is the insecurity they have towards their life without male issue which has brought them this attitude.

The female children in the locality have strong desire to go to school but the circumstances are so different that they are unable to. The main reason for the female children not going to school can be traced to the Government's failure in constructing a school for the resettled children. If at all there would have been an elementary school at least the children would have become literates. Now without a Government school the parents are not ready to send the children to private school by paying more money. There are instances where the family members are also willing to send their children to school. One of the painters has three sisters who are below fifteen and he desires to educate his sisters, and so sends them to a Madarasa. The person has no father now. His father was a Christian and mother was a Muslim. Theirs was a love marriage, to which the community where they lived previously did not agree. The Nirankari Nagar people came in help to this couple and got them married. This again shows the level of communal harmony which prevailed in the previous location and by getting a house for the son of this couple, the community stood by its values of communal harmony and caring. The irony is that how many female children get brothers like the one who is involved in painting, who is interested in getting his sisters educated is the question haunts when we enter the locality. The female children are the worst hit of the displacement and the improper resettlement.

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<sup>100</sup> People who repair and make utensils.

Vandana Shiva<sup>101</sup> writes in her work, that the future of the women and the children cannot be taken for granted by the authorities. The women are mere passive recipients in the fallouts. It is very clear by the other facts in a very strong way by saying that women's underdevelopment is not due to insufficient and inadequate participation; rather it is due to their enforced but asymmetric participation whereby they bore the cost but are excluded from the benefits. Vandana Shiva shows her concern through different set of ideas where in the process of displacement and resettlement, women are not consulted and women have been neglected in the policy process. The authorities in charge of the relocation do not understand the women's problems of adjusting to the new locality. Since even under normal circumstances, society is yet to treat women equally. The displaced women will need some extra attention to cope with the changed circumstances till such time that they can begin as equals. The traumas of displacements have direct connection with the rights of the women and her civil liberties. First of all children and women are vulnerable in the family, after the resettlement the situation will go out of imagination. There is a need to strongly propose the interest of the children and women which should be clearly represented in plans of rehabilitation. This will clearly mean added emphasis on education. The interest of women should be given extra attention as they feel out of place in the newly resettled place. The debate on rehabilitation cannot be held in isolation. The problem has to be seen against the background of our whole economy and in light of the needs of our country for at least one generation.

#### **4.10.4 The Resettlement Colony of Cyberabad Project and Consequences of displacement**

The resettlement colony is called 'Indraredy Nagar' is carved out of a part of isolated place which is located exactly in between the Janawada and Kolluru villages. This colony is located in an open place near to Cozy Club (Resort situated next to the resettlement site). It is semi arid forest area and has not been used for anything. There were no human settlements and it is far away from the surrounding villages. 440 families from Manikonda were forcibly sent to this place by government in order to resettle the displaced people. The resettlement colony consists

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<sup>101</sup> Vandana Shiva, (1993) *Impoverishment of the Environment: Women and Children Last* in Mies, Maria and Vandana Shiva, *Ecofeminism*, Kali for women, New Delhi.

of different caste groups and different religions and different language spoken people. All these caste groups belong to Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes. In this colony people belong to three important religions Islam, Hinduism and Christianity.

There is tremendous change due to land acquisition for the displacement on the residents of Durga Bahavani Nagar Colony. They have lost everything as a result of this displacement. In Durga Bhavani Nagar there was no fear in place of stay and it was sufficient to be the way they wanted but this is not the case in the new place. The plot is limited and anything above the land limits these people are in tremendous pressure from the villages closer by. They were in trauma because of the fact that they were asked to move out of the place where they lived along with the other people and they always felt that they were part of the society. This specific place which is remote and isolated from the mainstream society has put them in a more disgusting position

#### **4.10.5 Economic impact of Displacement**

The economic impact of the land acquisition is the most important one although other impacts are also equally important. The land acquisition had several impacts. First and foremost was that of all these people lost their job which was at the doorsteps. Secondly, the women and the children also used to get jobs in the same place where their men used to work but due to displacement, most of the men travel more than 10 to 15 kilometers and go to their work. Whereas women have not got any job and it is really difficult for them to travel such distance and then take care of the familial responsibilities. The earning of the family is lost and they are not able to retain it. The men have lost more than 1000 or 1500 rupees due to displacement. The money earned is spent on transportation and gaining such other facilities. At the time of eviction each family was given Rs.1000 which was not sufficient even to construct a small hut in the place.

#### **4.10.6 Lack of Facilities**

1. Protected water is not provided to the resettlement colony. There are three hand pumps, Out of the three bore wells only one bore well is functioning and rest other not working. Very

recently, one over tank was sanctioned to the colony and the construction work was also done but there is no water to use the tank efficiently. For this purpose, colony people have proposed a separate bore well in Mikanagadda village. If the plan works out, they have plans of have pipeline from the bore well and storing water in the overhead tank.

2. There are no roads in the colony even today. People are walking through unclean places where there are so many plants and trees with thorns and stones. It is also found that there are so many snakes, scorpions entering into the huts of displaced people. It has become the most scary affair in the colony to move after it becomes dark as anyone may end up as a pray to the snakes and scorpions. There are several incidents when many people were bitten by the snakes but the displaced people could not take them anywhere as there was no transportation facility available and there is not even a single health centre in the colony.
3. Summer is the worst time for the people in the colony. They do not get drinking water in the place and they are not even allowed to draw in the closer by places as the village people have problems with the displaced and resettled people. This is one of the main reasons why the tank was built but by not digging the well before the construction of the tank, the tank has no use and the suffering for water continues. This unbearable position has forced the people of the locality to request the leader of the colony to arrange for a tanker to provide them with water. This is an additional burden on this labor class who have been struggling so much to earn their bread. One positive thing is that the extra water is stored in cans near the house of the leader of the colony and given when it is required.
4. Apart from land sites, Government has provided few facilities like water, electricity in the colony after a long time and after so many representations made by these people. But the problem is water is not potable water, but it is bore well water. This water is only other purposes not for drinking.
5. Continuous efforts have brought electricity into the colony but to the dismay this has become a curse for the people. The electricity has not been provided with the poles instead the electric

wires have been left on the ground. Due to the vehicular movements like tractor and other two wheelers the wires have got cut and patch up work has been done. These patch ups have lead to short circuits during the rainy seasons. There are hundreds of children in the colony and certainly they are not aware that something is dangerous to then or anything as such. The children are bound to touch them and walk across the wires which will result in getting shock. There have been several incidents of hospitalization of people due to this problem and it still continues. The temporary huts have been of real concern as the wires lying on ground may lead to short circuits and there are chances of huts getting burnt and people losing their lives. After the constant persuasion by some of the research scholars visiting the locality, now they have insisted in having some wooden poles from the closer by forest but the whole locality has not been given this facility.

The situation in the colony has been really miserable and it is really heartening to know the fact that even today people have been living in and around the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation in these types of positions and the government does not feel the responsibility to improve the living conditions of these people.

#### **4.10.7 Transportation**

It is a fact that most of these people are daily wage laborers and few are earning monthly salaries. First and foremost problem is that these people could not get proper resettlement in the closer by place of work. As it was a case of multiple displacements, the displaced people had to suffer a lot. The distance from the previous working place is around 10 kilometers and it has to be reached through transportation. But the locality does not have any such facility. These people have to get closer to a main road which connects the main road and reach via autos or goods vans. The other option being left to them is the bus which comes to a nearby village and these people have to walk a distance of more than a kilometer. If this is part of the physical labor which these people have to invest there is the other problem of traveling cost. As these people earn very less, spending a lot of money on transportation is really a big problem. For common people the money may sound less as it is the fact of 25 to 30 rupees but for daily wage laborers it is loss of income. Apart from this the fact to be remembered is that these people never paid a



single penny when they were in the previous location for transportation as the place of work was walkable distance. Half of the monthly earnings now go in transportation.

Another problem of the locality is that if the people work for extra hours and get back to the place of stay, the autos and other vehicles resist coming as the place of stay is remote and people get scared to drive in. There are at times when these people have walked all the way to the colony and reached by mid night. This leaves the children and the women in the house restless. Each day the family waits to see the earning of the male member. When the male member does not come on time it makes the family members restless and they go through this phase of anxiety which can only be expressed with the other women around who will also be waiting for the family members to come. Sometimes the auto rickshaws will come to the colony in the late nights but with the demand of the earnings they make by working two days. This is one of the major problems the people of the colony have been facing. When someone is sick and wants to go to hospital there is a great risk in relaying on the public transport. It will be more appropriate to discuss that issue in the section dedicated to medical facilities.

#### **4.10.8 Medical Facility**

One of the major concerns and major drawback of the resettlement colony is that of the medical facilities. The resettlement site does not have a health centre. There are more than 439 families and where the population is more than 2000 does not has a health centre. In the initial stage of the resettlement no person had proper house and everyone was living in huts. As the resettlement site is located close to a semi forest like land attracted huge large number of mosquitoes and several other type of insects apart from snakes and such other poisonous creatures. For any health related problem these people have to either go to Lingampally or any other area in the city. For this again they have the problem with the transportation. Each of the problems in the colony is related to the other. The elders who were vulnerable to all types of diseases had to suffer the most along with the children. To quote some incidents how lack of health facilities led to the death few children will be apt to the situation. One boy in the colony was moving around in the colony in the night time and he was bitten by a poisonous snake in the main road of the colony. The people did not have any transportation facilities so they had to wait for some to find

a vehicle to take the boy to the hospital in Lingampally. But due to the lack of basic medical care the boy passed away on the way itself. After the people of the colony became angry and forced the leader of the colony to get medical facility to the locality then only two nurses started visiting the locality once in a week and started some checkup. The people of the colony cannot afford to spend lot of money on the medication and the prescribed medicine. This has been one major area where the government has failed in providing the good resettlement and can be quoted as one of the major reason why people deny getting displaced and resettled. The resettlement colony will be far below the expectation and standards of the facilities which have to be given as per the papers and the directives.

#### **4.10.9 Education Facility**

Education is one of the primordial value and necessity every society requires. The resettlement colony of Indra Reddy Nagar lacks a school. The situation is explained keeping in mind the pre displacement situation. Before displacement most of the children used to go to school in the nearby place and somehow they were getting their education. But, all of a sudden when the whole colony was displaced the children who were going to school had no place to go and there was no facility to have a safe home itself so in such a situation there was no chance of having a school. All the children had to remain in home and few people who had real interest in getting their children educated started taking the children along with them when they were going to work and drop them on the way to a Government school and later while coming from the school pick them and get back to the colony or used to ask the children to be in a group and get back to the place of stay. After a long time then the Government thought of sending two teachers to the colony and they had to teach in a half constructed building with no proper facility to teach the children. The building did not have a black board also. Even this school got closed as the teachers denied coming to the colony due to lack of transportation facilities.

This situation is not a welcome note for a country which wants 100 percent literacy on the one hand and displaces people and makes them not to attend any type of schooling on the other hand. It sounds more like these people have been cornered and they are not even considered on par with the other children. The authorities who have the responsibility of making the country 100

percent literate and respect the rights of the children have been violating the rights and fiddling with the life of the younger generation. The resettlement authorities have never taken these type issues into concern and they never seem to be even bothered about these issues. The issue is that large numbers of children are of the age from 3 to 16 and they need the education very badly. Until and unless very important issues are given attention it will never lead to a perfect resettlement colony and the generations to come will curse our generation for having denied them the fundamental rights.

**Table 12: Information and Facilities at Indra Reddy Nagar resettlement Colony**

The following table gives the basic information about both the conditions and facilities in previous location and present location.

<i>Sl.No</i>	<i>Facility</i>	<i>Earlier Colony</i>	<i>Present Colony</i>
1	Name of the colony	Durga Bhavani Nagar	Indra Reddy Nagar
2.	Number of families	440	440
3	Health Facility (local or at what distance)	No facility	No, Lingam ally or Mehidipatnam
4	Does any health official visit periodically	NO , at least there were few RMPs use to visited	No
5	School (local or at what distance)	Primary School	Primary School started temporarily but closed recently
6	Number of students, teachers	80 students 2 teachers	89- 100 2 teachers (temporary and stopped coming to school)
7	Drinking water (type of source: Municipal tap/ bore well/ water tanker)	Bore water, Panchayat tap water	Bore wells and hand pumps - 3
8	Adequate of the water. Is the supply sufficient?	Yes	No, Deficiency
9	Sanitation facilities	Very well	Not at all good
10	Any other (specify)	Transport access	No transport access

Source: Primary Data

#### **4.10.10 The Resettlement Colony of International Airport project**

Immediately after the displacement people could not find a place to stay. They were promised sites in a place which will be named as Airport Colony. Due to this, most of the people accepted and decided to vacate. The people were also threatened with the use of police forces. More than 550 families from 4 villages have been given place to stay. Presently 400 families have built houses in the Airport colony. As there was summer holidays for the children the transition period did not make a big difference on education. Most of the people who belonged to the Reddy group did not build houses instead they invested the money in real estate business and started staying in rented houses. Just before the news of displacement the rent was just 1400 or 1500 hundred rupees. Once the displacement occurred and people realized that all the people from 11 villages would come to Shamshabad for shelter, the rents went high. On the day of resettlement itself the displaced people were paid the compensation money at one go. This is one positive thing happened to these people. The problems faced by the residents of new colony are discussed below.

#### **4.10.11 Problems in Airport Colony**

Most of the people who have been displaced belong to the agriculture group at large and specifically to the flora culture. Most of them were trained in these areas only. This is the major problem for the people as they do not know any other work. They all are semi skilled laborers. The problems are listed below.

- School facility is available only till Class 4
- All the children have to go to Shamshabad for their education and there is no transport facility.
- The transport facility is so bad that there is no single bus operating through the State Government and the people have to rely upon private vehicles and autos.
- There is no primary health centre in the colony. People have to go to Shamshabad for even small illness like headache and fever.

#### **4.10.11 Problems of Caste and Political Parties**

The biggest tragedy of this specific displacement and resettlement has been that of the people getting separated in the name of caste and political parties. As mentioned earlier the displaced people belong to Reddy groups who come under upper caste, yadavas of Backward class and Scheduled Caste. The Reddy groups are in favour of the congress party and the other group of Backward Class is in favour of Telugu Desam Party. The Scheduled Caste is divided between both the parties. Due to this problem the resettlement process also saw some major differences. According to the survey numbers the plots were distributed but the Reddy caste people have not gone to build houses to the resettlement colony as they have to live with SC and BC people. So all the people belonging to Reddy group have been living in a place called Madhura Nagar near Shamshabad. This is one dimension to the whole problem. The other problem is that of the political parties. The people are divided in the name of political parties. The political rivalry has gone up to the level of the groups not even interacting with each other. The Chairman of the Shamshabad Panchayat is from the TDP background and the BC people have been favouring him but the Reddy group has some problem with them. Although the Reddy groups deny the charges the issue is true and it has been revealed by the BC group.

#### **4.11 Displacement leading to Vulnerability**

Displacement by nature itself will lead to vulnerability and that too if it is in the urban arena the agony cannot be explained but has to be experienced. Vulnerability can be explained as Kaspersen (2001) says “The degree to which an exposure unit is susceptible to harm due to exposure to a perturbation or stress, and the ability (or lack thereof) of the exposure unit to cope, recover, or fundamentally adapt (become a new system or become extinct)”. This is the same situation faced by all the displacees of all the three crucial cases taken in this study. It is a fact that all the people lost their job and the very existence came under threat. Many a time men and women used to work simultaneously and earn bread for the family but the new conditions were not conducive enough for the women to work. First of all, all these people in the first and the second case studies are economic migrants and they had come in search of work to survive. Along with this, after twenty or thirty years of stay in the localities, this displacement came more

as a shock and it has made them weak mentally and physically. With regard to the people who got displaced due to airport project their conditions have become the worst as they do not have work to do and the dignity of having had several employees working in their own field, it has become extremely difficult for them to accept that they themselves have become the daily wage labourers now.

The vulnerability level at the resettlement colony is the worst in all the three resettlements. The people were staying without even a proper roof. The people were displaced in the year 2004 and they stayed without proper housing facilities till the mid of 2005. The huts were so small that a person could not stand and it was built with small wooden sticks and leaves. The worst part was during the summer when throughout Andhra Pradesh it rained incessantly. The belongings got washed away along with the huts and the people had to take shelter in the building around which were under construction. As the people had tapped the power from the electric poles directly many of the children got electrocuted. In one such incident a boy called Ravi passed away and he was the only son of the family. The resettlement colony made people extremely vulnerable during the nights. The resettlement colony is so away from the city and it is surrounded by small forest where several snakes used to sneak through the houses and snakes used to be on the small roads of the colony. There are several incidents where so many elderly people and the children got bitten by the snakes.

#### **4.11.1 Vulnerable within the Vulnerable**

The resettlement colonies have made the people vulnerable due to the environmental conditions in which they are living. The places are not clean and the residents are prone to all type of diseases. The ‘Urban Basic Services’ have not been provided to the people. The displacement has led to several vulnerabilities and that includes cultural alienation, dispossession of land resources, human rights abuse, lowering of living standards. Due to the crosscutting nature of displacement, no social or equity and distribution analysis can proceed without a discussion of gender. Thus, a growing constituency of policy-makers, social advisers and gender scholars talk of gender mainstreaming and “engendering” activities. They use gender conceptually and practically to approach a whole array of issues ranging from forced migration to development co-

operation and health. In the following section, we look briefly at the long process which led to the mainstreaming of gender – at least at the de Jure level - in national development. The tragedy of displacement due to development projects is compounded because the affected bear the cost but have no share in the benefits. In the case of women, of course they have even lesser access. They are mere passive recipients in the fallouts.

Vandana Shiva<sup>102</sup> (1993) puts the other facts in a very strong way by saying that women's underdevelopment was not due to insufficient and inadequate participation, rather it was due to their enforced but asymmetric participation where by they bore the cost but were excluded from the benefits. The concern is that the different set of ideas where in the process of displacement and resettlement women are not consulted and women have been neglected in the policy process. The authorities in charge of the relocation do not understand the women's problems of adjusting to the new locality. Since even under normal circumstances society has yet to treat women equally, the displaced women will need some extra attention to cope with the changed circumstances till such time that they can begin as equals. The traumas of displacements have direct connection with the rights of the women and their civil liberties. There is a necessity for upholding the social rights of all those who are vulnerable, but the required attention is not paid. Ursula Oswald Spring<sup>103</sup> (2006) addresses this problem and says that "human rights and its phases of development do not guarantee minimal life conditions, but reinforce the individualization process increasing social vulnerability. On the contrary, social rights reinforce networks and create within diverse cultural contexts and Cosmo visions options for resilience building, reduction of social vulnerability, self reliance and peaceful conflict resolutions". The women have become vulnerable within the vulnerable. The concept may sound slightly different as the argument is that all the people displaced are vulnerable, but the truth is that the women are the first hit due to the fact that women need time to adjust with the new community and all the communities are not that safe for the women. For example the men in the resettlement colonies where they do not have toilet facilities will go out to the field to finish their ablutions but it is not

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<sup>102</sup> Vandana Shiva, 1993: "Impoverishment of the Environment: Women and Children in last" in, Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, *Ecofeminism-kali for Women* (1993,70-91), London: Zed Books.

<sup>103</sup> Ursula Oswald Spring, 2007: "Climate Change: A Gender Perspective on Human and State Security Approaches to Global Security"- Concept paper for International Women Leaders' Global Security Summit. See [http://www.afes-press.de/pdf/Oswald\\_Climate\\_Change\\_gender\\_perspective\\_abs.pdf](http://www.afes-press.de/pdf/Oswald_Climate_Change_gender_perspective_abs.pdf).

that easy for the women to do the same all the time during the day time. If this is one example of vulnerability there are several more examples to prove that women are the worst hit in any developmental project. One of the most shocking and disgraceful situation which happened at the Indra Reddy Nagar resettlement colony is worth mentioning. A woman called Uma was pregnant and during the summer when it was raining heavily in Andhra Pradesh due to unhealthy conditions at the resettlement colony she fell sick during the night and as the colony did not have any transportation facility and a health centre Uma passed away in a horrendous situation without proper medical care along with the child.

#### **4.12 Comparative Analysis of three Cases of Displacement**

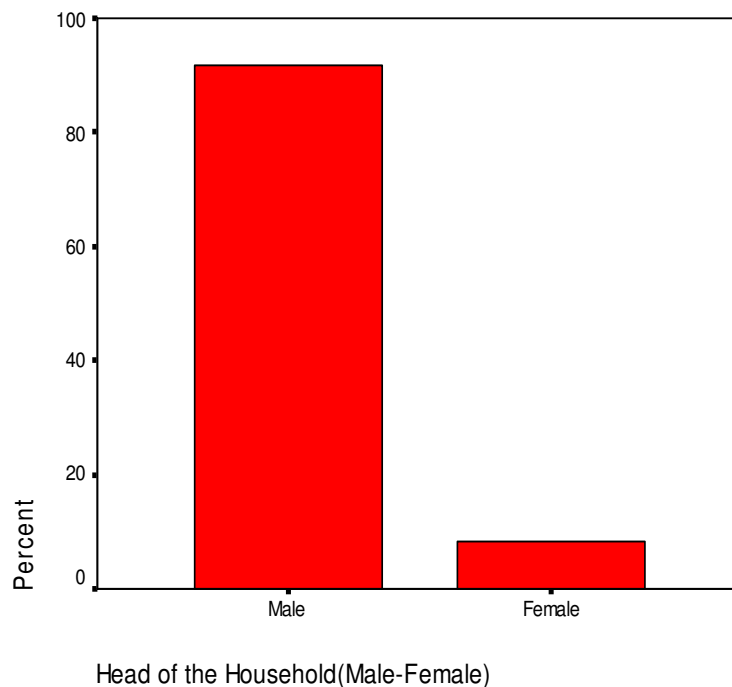
Below is the comparative analysis of the three cases chosen for empirical research. There are tables and graphs to show the analyses of the sampling method adopted. The analyses of each of the component are given and accordingly explanation is also given. The first and foremost table is that of the head of the household and later it moves on to the demographic data of all three cases. The main components like loss of income before and after displacement are also covered. The land holding and the quality of land possessed along with present land holding are discussed. The eight impoverishment risks given by Cernea in displaced communities are tested and an analysis of that is also given. The role of political parties and the affiliation of the displaced communities also give an interesting output to the whole work. The awareness of having a national policy of rehabilitation and resettlement gives us the picture of the ignorance of the displaced communities and how the state agencies exploit such situation.



**Table: 13. Head of the Household - Marital Status in three study areas**

		Marital Status		Total
		Married	Widows	
Head of the Household	Male	196		196
	Female		18	18
<b>Total</b>		<b>196</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

**Fig.19: Head of the Household-Marital Status in three study areas**

Source: Primary Data

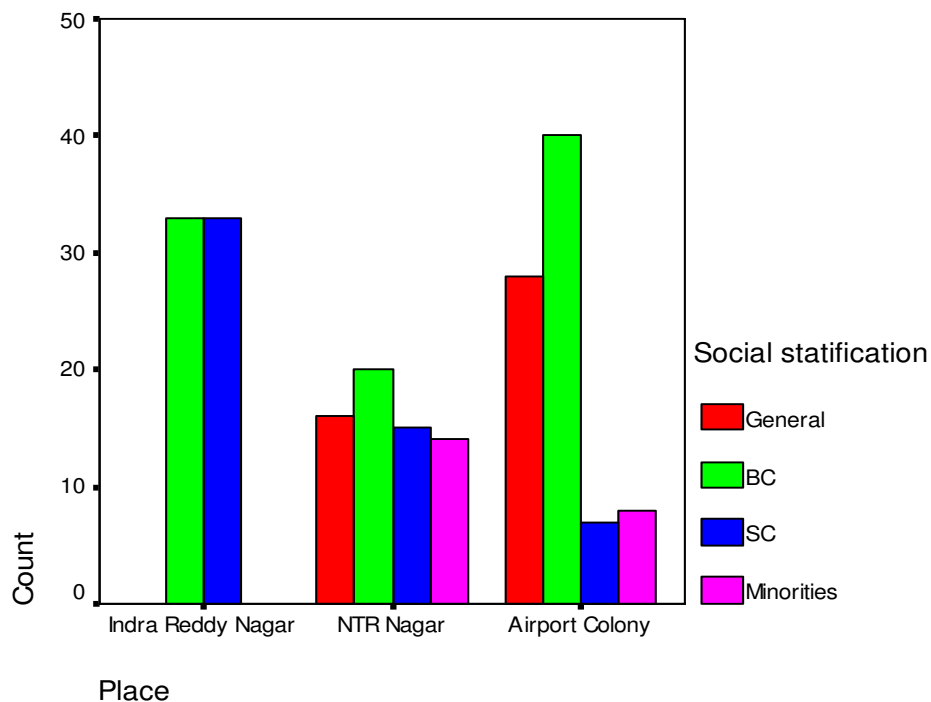
The comparative case studies reveal that most of the head of the household are men. The men are leading the families in 196 families of the 214 sample cases studied and eighteen widows are also leading the families. The study clearly reveals that the decision making process and the authority lies with the men in most of the families used for sampling.

**Table:14**  
**Social stratification of IR Nagar, NTR Nagar and Airport Colony**

		Social Stratification				Total
		General	BC	SC	Minorities	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar		33	33		66
	NTR Nagar	16	20	15	14	65
	Airport Colony	28	40	7	8	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>44</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

**Fig.20: Social stratification of IR Nagar, NTR Nagar and Airport Colony**

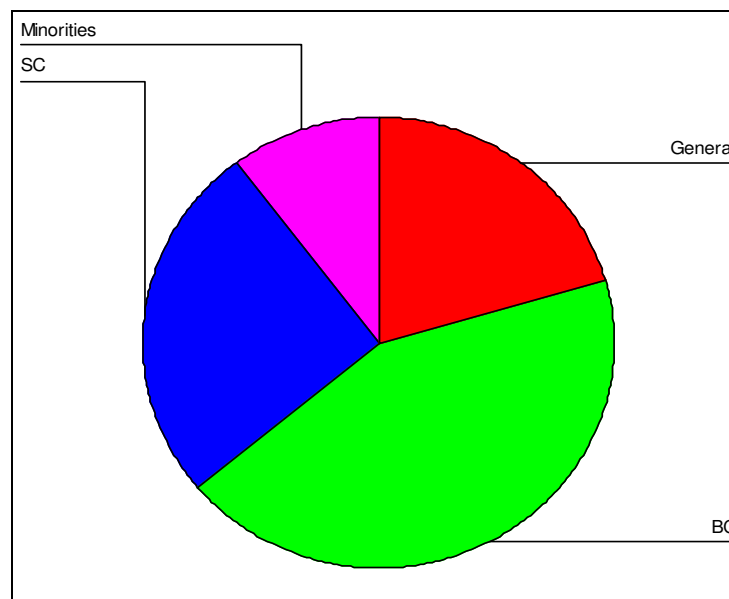


Source: Primary Data

The social stratification of the three cases is interesting as NTR Nagar has highest mixed population with BCs being the highest in number. The general category people are in the second place with SC population being the next in position. Minorities also find a significant position in the stratification. The most startling thing about the colony is that of social harmony and co-

ordination between all the four categories as against the common idea of communal clashes and differences. Displacement remains as a binding factor rather than a factor of disintegrating the different groups. It is interesting to note that IR Nagar population is divided into only two categories. The SCs and BCs are almost in same number. The community does not have any other population. Although the SCs are in good number it is the BCs who are coherent and strong. The SCs are in good number but mostly dependent on the BC population to guide them and support them in almost all the matters.

**Fig.21: Social stratification of IR Nagar, NTR Nagar and Airport Colony**



Source: Primary Data

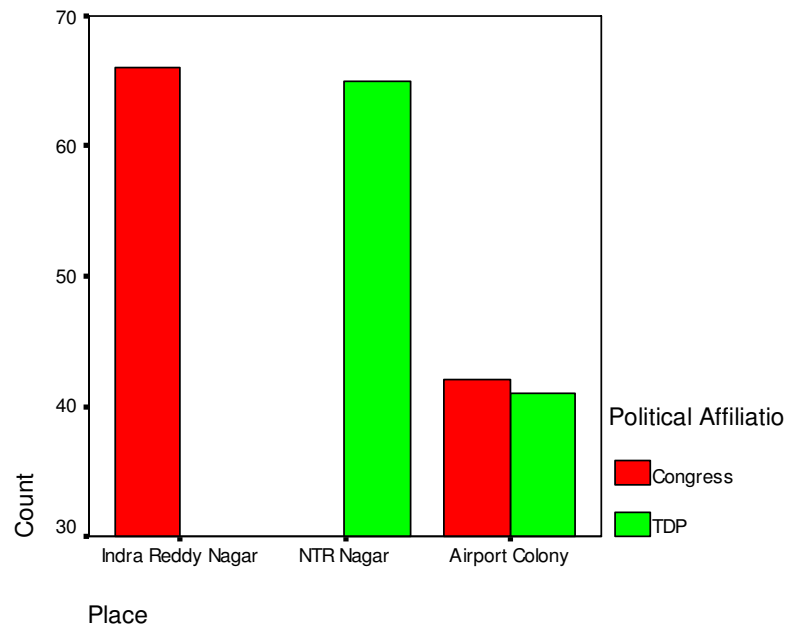
Airport colony has mixed population like NTR Nagar and here too the BCs top the list with highest population. The BCs are the people who were known for traditionally taking care of the cows. There is substantial number of general category populations with a major number of people belonging to Reddy group followed by several other general category populations. Although there is a good number of the SC and Minorities population it is not much and they too form a good proportion of the population.

**Table:15**  
**Political Affiliation of IR Nagar, NTR Nagar and Airport Colony**

		Political Affiliation		Total
		Congress	TDP	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar		65	65
	Airport Colony	42	41	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>108</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

**Fig.22: Political Affiliation of IR Nagar, NTR Nagar and Airport Colony**



Source: Primary Data

The political affiliations of the displacement communities are very interesting. NTR Nagar is a typical Telugu Desam Party (TDP) follower and it has been showing its complete loyalty towards TDP. The reason as told by the community itself is that of the help they received from

the TDP. During the TDP rule the displacement happened and the Minister in charge was Vijaya Rama Rao and his help is remembered by the community at large. The major reason behind showing complete loyalty is because unlike other displaced communities the people of NTR nagar did not face the problem of staying at sheds and get exposed to the wrath of the sun and rain. The day they were displaced they were asked to enter a colony which was ready to occupy. Although the promises made before the displacement with regard to the monetary benefits along with other benefits like 50 kg rice to each family were not fulfilled, they are all happy for the factor that they got a place to stay rather staying like beggars on the road side. Out of the 65 number used for the sampling all of them expressed their loyalty towards TDP.

The Indra Reddy Nagar is a contrast to the NTR Nagar in their political affiliation to Congress party for the same reasons given by people of NTR Nagar for supporting TDP. Indra Reddy Nagar people are staunch followers of the congress party. When the displacement happened, the minister in charge of the displacement and resettlement was Sabita Indra Reddy wife of former Home Minister Indra Reddy. Compared to the NTR Nagar colony displacement, Indra Reddy Nagar was worst in terms of accommodation and treatment. After the people were displaced they were moved to one of the villages closer by and they had to face the wrath of the host community due to which they became the victims of multiple displacement. But as no political party came to their rescue as they were put in the outskirts of Hyderabad in Rajendra Nagar Mandal. It was only Sabita Indra Reddy who visited them once in a while and heard to their plea. Although there was a high level politics behind the whole issue, it was Sabita Indra Reddy who assured them of things. This is a major reason behind people of IR Nagar supporting Congress party.

With regard to Airport Colony we can see a division in the loyalty of people between two major political parties. Out of 83 samples taken for study congress is just ahead with one number than TDP. The issue is clear as the people displaced had land, the choice of being in any political party shows the empowerment in them unlike the other two cases where they were dependent on the sympathy of the leaders. The BC's are with TDP and the Reddy group is with the congress. Recently even the Shamshabad Mandal Chairman position was bagged by TDP to the

displeasure of the ruling party Congress. The other fact of Reddy's being affiliated to Congress is very well understood as the Chief Minister also belongs to the same caste and the Reddy's feel proud about their affiliation to the congress.

**Table:16**  
**Political Affiliation from different age groups in three studies**

		Political Affiliation from different age groups		Total
		Congress	TDP	
Age	15-30	19	8	27
	30-50	89	98	187
<b>Total</b>		<b>108</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

The above Table would give us the picture of political affiliation of people at different age groups. In the age group of 15-30 there are 19 people are affiliated to the Congress and 8 people are affiliated to the TDP in the whole sample of 214. This shows the trend that the Congress has been attracting the youth better than the TDP. At the same time in the age group of 30-50, 89 people are affiliated to the congress and 98 people are affiliated to the TDP. In the age group of 30-50, the TDP has been attracting large number of people.

**Table:17**  
**Religious composition in three case studies**

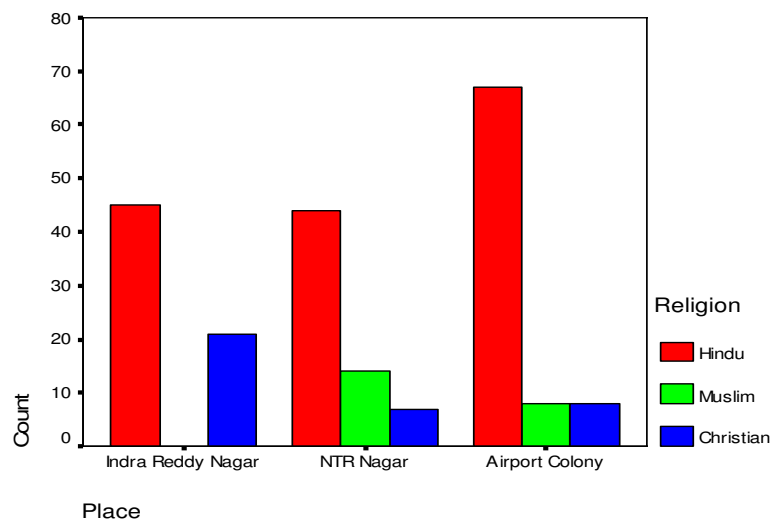
		Religious composition in three case studies			Total
		Hindu	Muslim	Christian	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	45		21	66
	NTR Nagar	44	14	7	65
	Airport Colony	67	8	8	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>156</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

With regard to religion a major number of people belong to Hindu Religion then followed by Christians and then a good number of Muslims. IR Nagar has Hindu as well as Christian

population. Hindu group consists of BC's and the Christian group has its own church in the place and they stay aloof from the Hindu group. Whereas NTR Nagar consists of Hindu population in major and followed by Muslim population and then a small number of Christians. Airport colony has a major chunk of the Hindu population shared between the BC's and the Reddy's, where as the Muslim and the Christian population remains the same. Below is the graph which shows the segregation of population into different religions in respective resettlement colonies.

**Fig.23: Religion of IR Nagar, NTR Nagar and Airport Colony**



Source: Primary Data

**Table:18**  
**Possession of Land before acquisition in three cases**

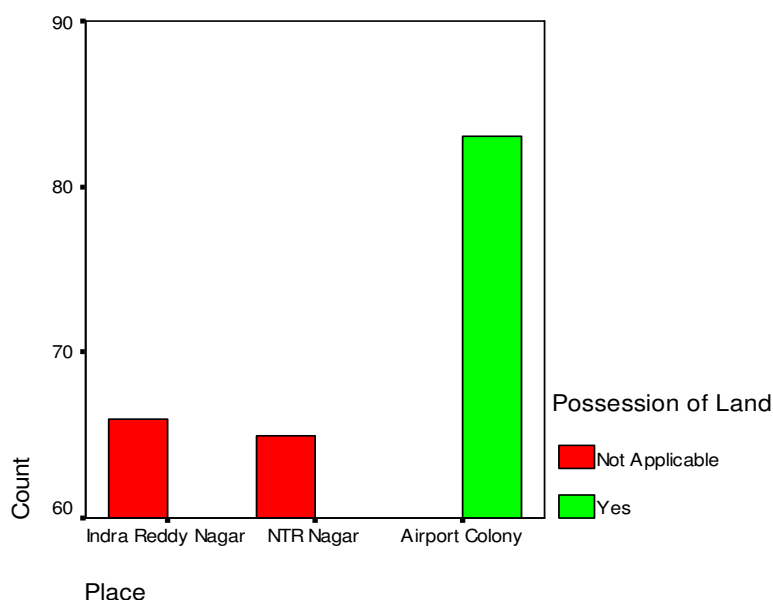
		Possession of Land before acquisition		Total
		Not Applicable	Yes	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony		83	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>131</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

Land becomes an important factor when the displacement occurs in private property and in the present empirical work airport colony is the only one which has the issue of land. In IR Nagar and NTR Nagar there was no question of possession of land as the land belonged to the government and people had just occupied it from several years. Out of 83 samples taken in

airport colony almost all of them had land and the amount of land and the quality of land issues are discussed in the next table.

**Fig.24: Possession of Land before Land Acquisition**



Source: Primary Data

**Table:19**  
**Quantity of land Possessed before displacement in three case studies**

		Quantity of land Possessed before displacement (Quantity in Acres)							Total
		Not Applicable	0-1	1-3	3-5	5-10	10-20	20-50	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66							66
	NTR Nagar	65							65
	Airport Colony		1	19	31	12	6	14	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>131</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>214</b>

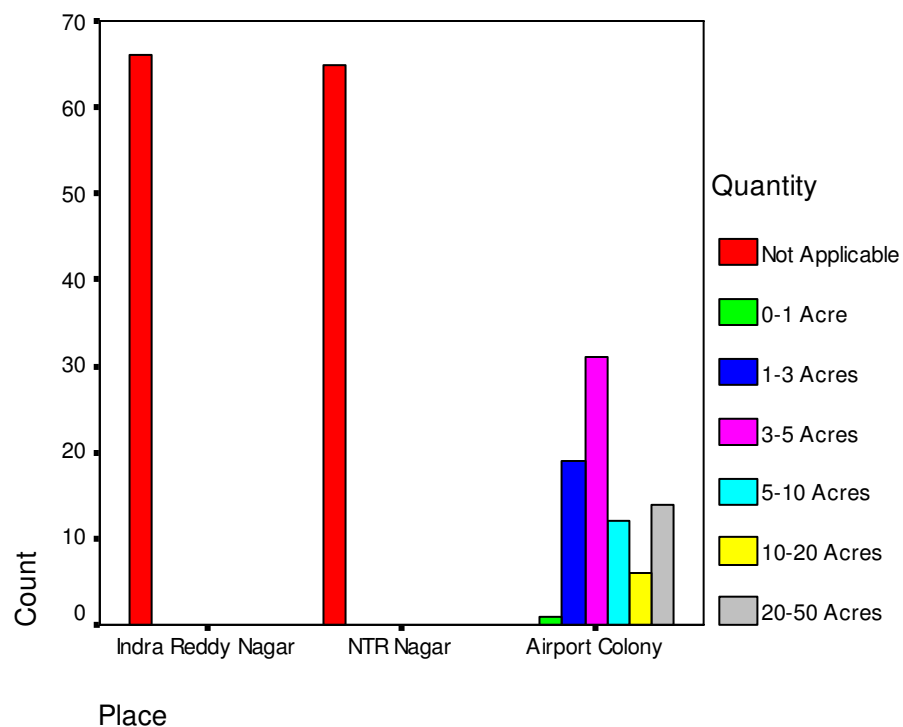
Source: Primary data

The land possessed by the people before displacement varies from 1 acre to almost 40 acres. As the above table explains, out of 83 samples taken one person possessed one acre and 19 people possessed land between 01-03 acres, 31 people possessed land between 03-05 acres, 12 people possessed land between 05-10 acres, 06 people possessed land between 10-20 acres and finally



14 people possessed land between 20-50 acres. The first three categories is a mixture of SC's, BC's and Muslims. The next two categories also have a good number of BC's and Reddy's. The last category of land between 20-50 acres has a big share by the Reddy group. This again has reflected in the rehabilitation and resettlement policy of the Government of Andhra Pradesh. The Reddy Groups possessed purely private lands whereas the other group had the mixture of assigned land (Government land) and other occupied land. Below is the illustration of the land possessed through a graph.

**Fig.25: Quantity of Land Possessed before Displacement**



Source: Primary data

The biggest groups of people belong to the category of possession of land between 03-05 acres and this is essentially the BCs and SCs. The compensation was divided based on the quality of land and the compensation did not come the way people expected. These plots, most of them are semi irrigated and some depend on the rains even. This reduced the values of the land as the categorization of the land was done based on the survey conducted and most of these lands did not figure in the irrigated land. Below is the table of quality of land and that will give us the clear picture of the situation

**Table:20****Type of land ownership before Acquisition** (Household Units)

		Type of land Possessed before Acquisition					Total
		Not Applicable	Irrigated (A)	Semi Irrigated(B)	Un Irrigated(C)	Assigned Land (D)	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66					66
	NTR Nagar	65					65
	Airport Colony	-	31	12	6	14	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>131</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary data

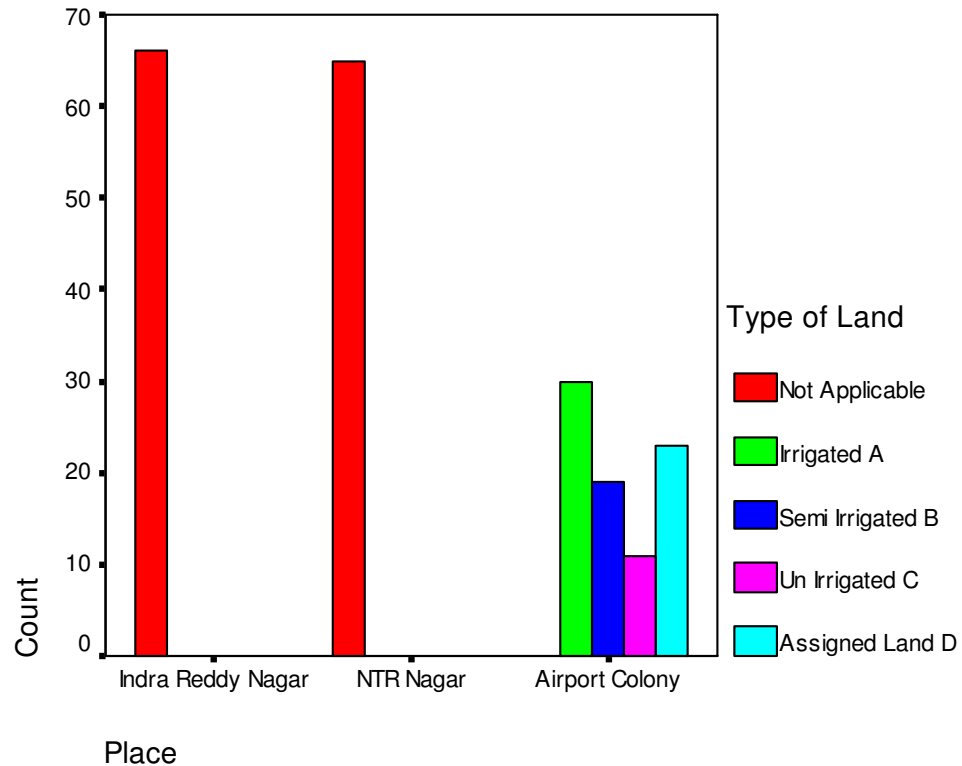
The land to be acquired was divided into four categories. They were:

- a) Irrigated-A
- b) Semi Irrigated-B
- c) Un Irrigated-C
- d) Assigned Land-D

Out of the 83 samples taken 30 people had irrigated land before acquisition and 19 people had semi irrigated land. 11 people had un irrigated land and a big number of 23 had assigned land. There were several families which depended on the assigned lands as they were using them from past 40-50 years. Many farmers did not even know that their land was assigned land. The present generation was not told by their parents in many cases about their land being that of governments. So the notice to acquire came as a mere shock and it was indigestible. There is a sort of logic in their panic as the acquiring agency never showed signs of restoring the livelihood options for the families. It was only in the later stage when the communities started revolting against moves of acquisition by the government that the announcement of one job per family in the international airport was assured. This was again a verbal assurance and the people also believed that the politicians and the bureaucrats were really feeling for them and did not feel the necessity of having it in writing. This became one of the major issues in post resettlement scenario when the people did not get jobs in the airport and questioned, government came up

with a very clever answer that the promise was made by one of the collector and it was not on paper. As the new collector had come there was no chance of voicing their opinion as the new officer carried out what was assigned to him.

**Fig 26: Type of Land possessed before Land Acquisition**



Source: Primary data

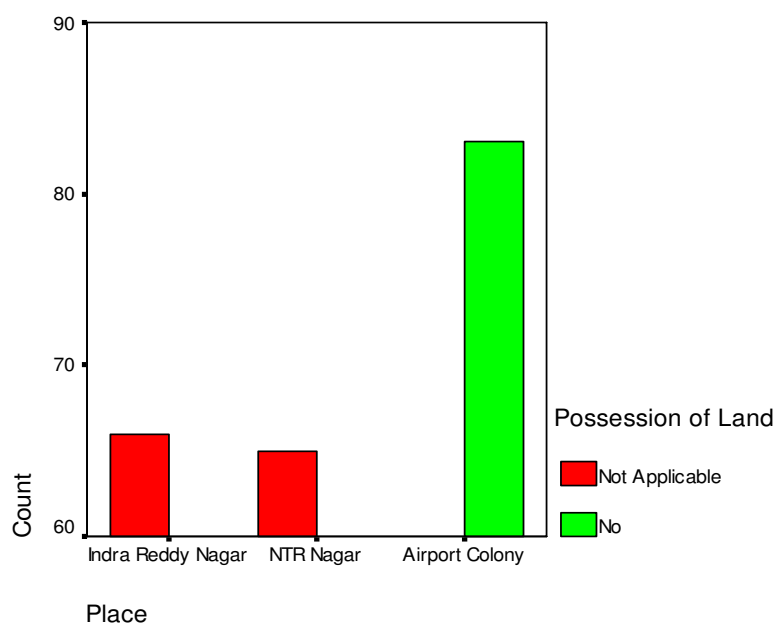
Below table gives us the illustration of possession of land by the people after displacement and resettlement. Here too like the previous one to IR Nagar and NTR Nagar the land question is not applicable as they all lived in the Government land. But with regard to the people of airport colony it is very apt as they lost all the land and some of them lost agricultural land and are left with only the habitat. Out of the 83 samples taken all of them said that they do not possess any land after displacement.

**Table:21**  
**Present status of Land possession in three cases**

		Present status of Land possession		Total
		Not Applicable	No Possession	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony	-	83	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>131</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary data

**Fig.28: Present status of Land possession**

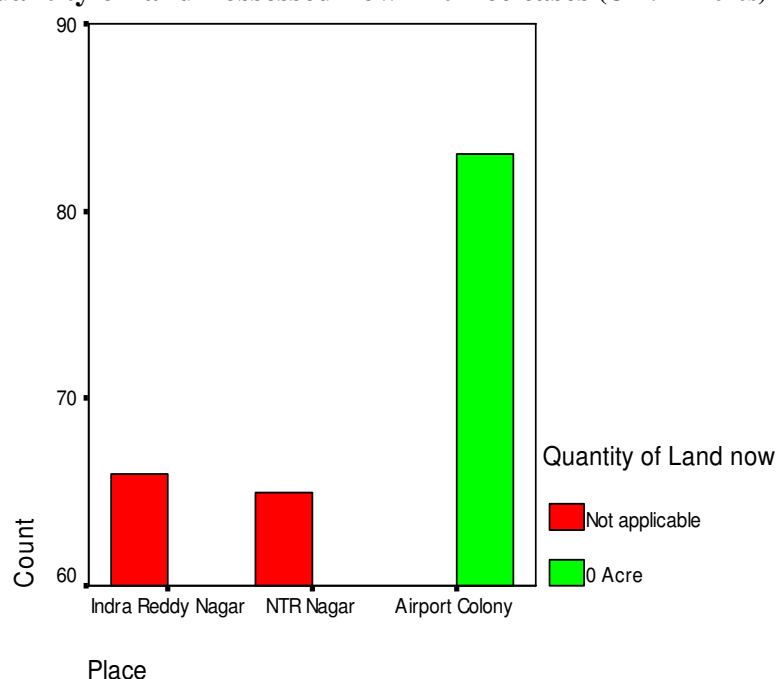


Source: Primary data

**Table:22**  
**Quantity of land Possessed now in three cases (Unit in Acres)**

		Quantity of land Possessed now		Total
		Not Applicable	0 Acres	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony	-	83	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>131</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary data

**Fig.29: Quantity of land Possessed now in three cases (Unit in Acres)**

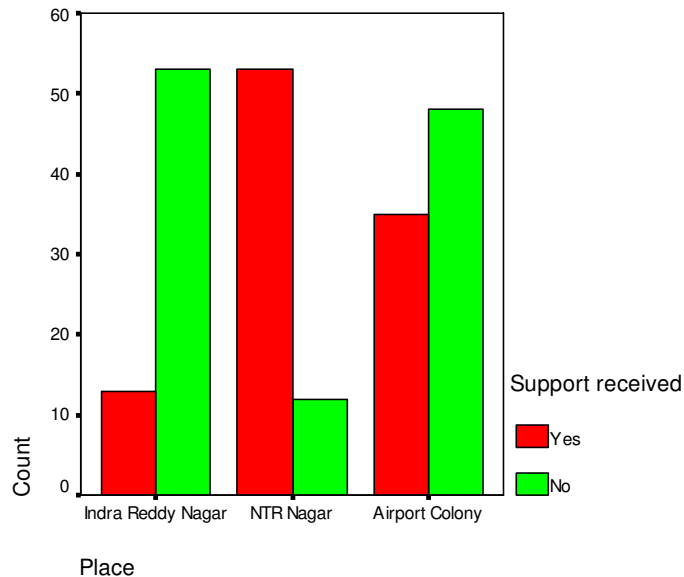
Source: Primary data

The above Table is any way not applicable for the first two cases of IR Nagar and NTR Nagar as both the sites of displacement were of the government and there was no question of land. Where as the people of airport colony have lost all the land except those villages left with habitat. But the people settled in the resettlement colony (airport colony) do not possess any land. The compensation money is getting exhausted for many families and for few of them it has already got exhausted, this has made their lives vulnerable. With the compensation money they were not in a position to buy land as the rate of the land in the region had gone to sky heights. In the spirit of helping the larger mass these people are pushed from well-settled positions to poverty lines.

**Table:23**  
**Support received from Political Parties in three cases**

		Support received from Political Parties		Total
		Yes	No	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	13	53	66
	NTR Nagar	53	12	65
	Airport Colony	35	48	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>101</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary data

**Fig.30: Support Received from Political Parties in three cases**

Source: Primary data

With regard to the support received from the political parties there is a mixed response among the displaced communities and it also proves the fact that however good the community is and has solidarity, politics has adverse effect. All three cases are befitting examples for this. The protests and movements of the displaced communities could not bring any positive results because of the political card played over them. The political affiliations and the favoritism done by political parties are clearly depicted in the above table. Out 66 samples taken in IR Nagar, 13 of them said that they have received support from political parties and 53 people said they have not. This question was specifically asked to people as they were not ready to reveal in the group discussions. This small group of 13 people was used as pawns by the ruling political parties to carry on the acquisition work.

In NTR Nagar the choice of the people is very clear as 53 out of 65 said that they have received support from political parties. The people of NTR Nagar feel that they got houses before they were displaced and this avoided lot of confrontation as well as large amount of problem usually faced by displaced communities. They also expressed that one of the leaders of TDP was accessible to them to put up their grievances most of the time. They were of the opinion that they

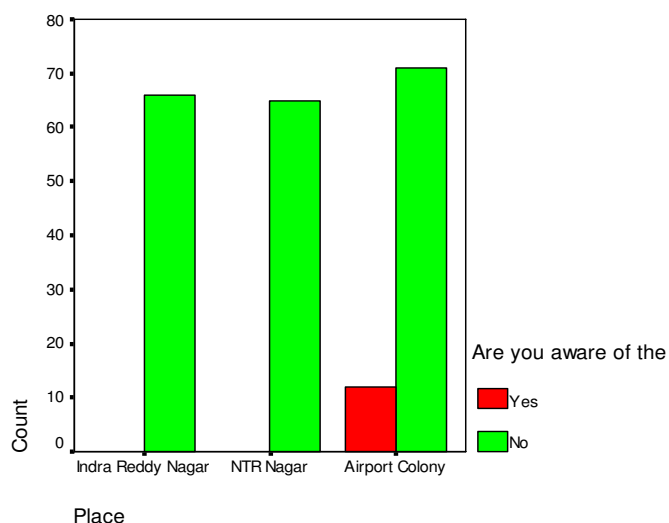
were given resettlement colony in a quite prime and accessible place compared with several other displaced communities. Only a small number of 12 people said that they did not receive any support from political parties.

The people of airport colony are divided on the lines of political ideologies. Both political parties like Congress and TDP have large number of followers. As mentioned earlier it is this affiliation with political parties divided the group which was taking forward demands before acquisition. Out of 83 samples taken 35 said that they received support from political parties and 48 of them said they did not. The group of people who opposed said, that they were also followers of these political parties but after the displacement there was no single party that helped the BC's and the other backward castes. They have come to a conclusion that only those who have money and muscle power would say that political parties helped the displaced community. It is an interesting factor to know from the field that some of the BC leaders are also aligned with some political parties as they think that they can enter politics and make their career. The subtle message in the voice against the political parties is to prove that they have made the lives of the displaced people miserable.

**Table:24**  
**Aware of Land Acquisition Act of the Government of India in three cases**

		Aware of Land Acquisition Act of The Government of India		Total
		Yes	No	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar		66	66
	NTR Nagar		65	65
	Airport Colony	12	71	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>12</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

**Fig.31: Aware of the land Acquisition Act of the Government of India in three cases**

Source: Primary data

It is a fact that has remained common since the large scale displacements happened for Bakra Nangal, Hirakud and Nagarjuna Sagar that people displaced never knew something called Land Acquisition Policy in India. People are not aware of the provisions and legalities. None of the person in either IR Nagar or NTR Nagar was aware of Land Acquisition Act and Rehabilitation and resettlement Policy of India. Only in airport colony a small number of highly educated Reddy group was aware of the act and accordingly they have moved the court in their cases regarding displacement and compensation policy.

**Table:25**  
**Source of Income before Displacement in three cases**

		Source of Income Before Displacement (in household units)			Total
		Daily Wage	Agriculture	Business	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66			66
	NTR Nagar	65			65
	Airport Colony		82	1	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>131</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

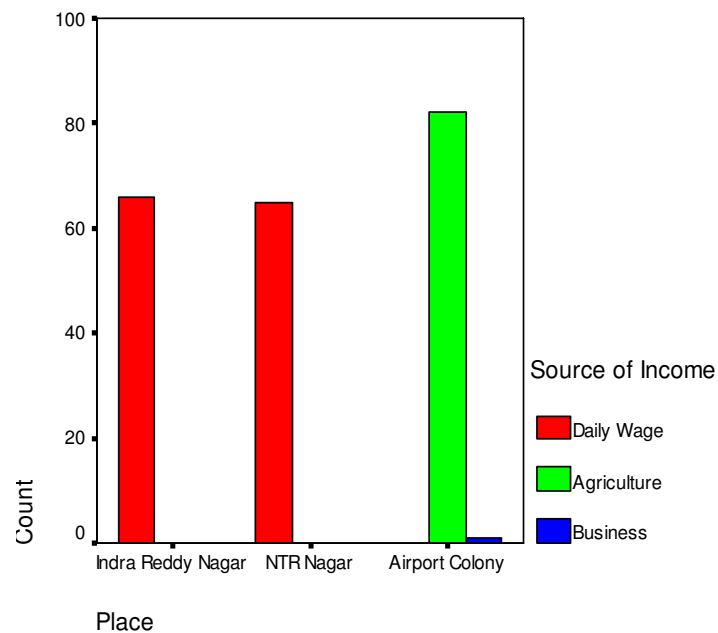


This table is of greater importance in the context of displacement and resettlement as the phenomena of displacement has shattered the lives with loss of livelihood and the skills they had acquired prior to displacement.

Indra Reddy Nagar had the whole population working in the construction sites of Gachibowli and the surrounding areas where the IT hub was coming up. The people were getting work regularly and they were making a decent living.

The people of NTR Nagar in the previous place of Nirahankari Nagar were involved in daily wage. They used to work in constructions, they used to sell posters or work with some of the construction companies as painters. The place of work was very closer by and they never spent money on transportation.

**Fig.32: Source of Income before Displacement in three places**



Source: Primary Data

It is only the airport colony residents in their respective villages prior to displacement were involved in agriculture, specifically flora culture. There were also a small number people

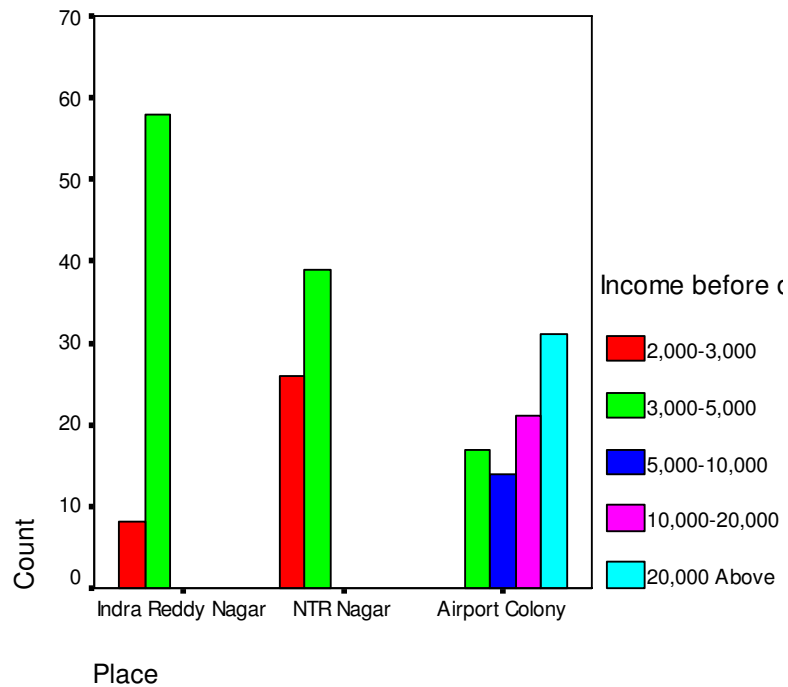
involved in business before displacement. The people dependent on flora culture used to sell the flowers in the markets of the city where they had regular agents to cater to their needs.

**Table:26**  
**Income before displacement in three cases**

		Income before displacement (Unit In terms of Rupees per month)					Total
		2,000-3000	3000-5,000	5,000-10,000	10,000-20,000	20,000 & Above	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	8	58	-	-		66
	NTR Nagar	26	39	-	-		65
	Airport Colony	-	17	14	21	31	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>34</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

**Fig.33: Income before displacement in terms of Rupees (Per month)**



Source: Primary Data

With regard to the income before displacement (in terms of rupees), in IR Nagar out of the 66 number of samplings taken 8 people earned between Rs.2,000-3,000. Whereas other 58 people earned between Rs.3,000-5,000. The reason behind good number of people in the second category of Rs.3,000-5,000 is due to the fact that they were getting the work regularly closer their households.

In NTR Nagar same like IR Nagar the income is between Rs.2,000-5,000. 26 people out of the 65 number of sampling earn between Rs.2,000-3,000 and 39 people out of 65 earn between 3,000-5,000. The factor to be mentioned here is that of the convenience people had in earning before displacement. They used to go by walk to their work place and it saved the major part of the expenditure they have been making on transportation to the work place. In both the cases of IR Nagar and NTR Nagar there are no people who earn above Rs.5,000 and the standard of living could be understood accordingly.

Airport colony is one such example where it had population belonging to all the income categories mentioned above in the table. The fact adding to this dynamics is that the displaced communities belong to 11 villages. Although not all the villages were displaced completely as some of the villages lost only agricultural land and were left with habitat, still those villages which were completely routed out had population belonging to different income groups. The graph shows the population belonging to different categories of income. As many as 17 people out of 83 samples taken belonged to the group earning Rs.3,000-5,000 a month. 14 people belonged to the category of people earning between Rs.5,000-10,000. 21 people out of 83 sampling earned between Rs.10,000-20,000 which again is a significant amount for agriculturists. This could happen only because of the flora culture as the place is closer to Hyderabad and has good transportation facility the savings were good enough and the sustainability of the business was highly appreciable. The last category of people earning Rs.20,000 and above has a substantial number of being 31. This group mainly belonged to the Reddy group and a few BCs who had good amount of land. The factor that strikes is that of the

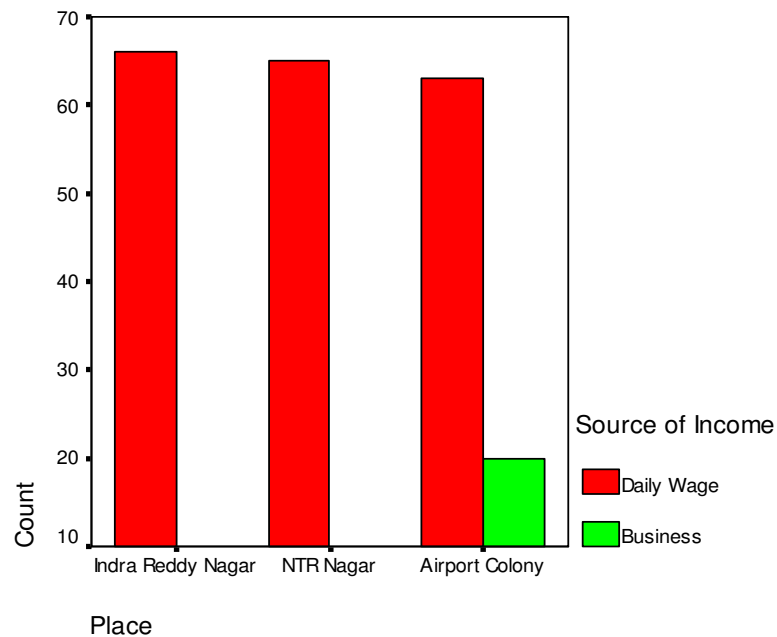
standard of living of the people who used to earn Rs.10,000 and above are living in penury now and the compensation money is also getting exhausted.

**Table:27**  
**Source of Income after displacement in three cases**

		Source of Income after displacement		Total
		Daily Wage	Business	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony	63	20	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>194</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

**Fig.34: Source of Income after Displacement (Per Month)**



Source: Primary Data

In comparison to the source of income before displacement we can find a drastic change in the pattern. Although there is no change in the first two cases of IR Nagar and NTR Nagar except that the daily wage earned before and now has changed in terms of rupees earned and the

struggle they have been going through in the new place. The question is more about the way they have been earning and the quality of work they are getting. The immediate change one can notice is that of the airport colony people. In the previous table, out of 83 samples taken 82 of them had agriculture as their source of income where as only one family was dependent on business. But after the displacement 63 people out of 83 samples taken have moved into daily wages. This is a major change and has psychological angle also. Those who were giving employment to several people have become dependent on somebody else and the daily wages is not sustainable as it depends on the demand. Many of them have not been going to work regularly as somewhere it hurts their status and the feeling of being under someone else's hand. 20 people out of the 83 samples taken have moved into business and this number is specifically from the Reddy group. The Reddy group is specifically smart in the whole displacement and resettlement process. This can be seen in the table of compensation utilized. All other families displaced utilized the compensation money for building house and household utilities but the Reddy group by not staying at airport colony and by taking house for rent in a place closer to Shamshabad invested the money in Business.

**Table:28**  
**Income after displacement in three cases**

		Income after displacement (Unit: In terms of Rupees per month)					Total
		2,000-3000	3000-5,000	5,000-10,000	10,000-20,000	20,000 & Above	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	22	44				66
	NTR Nagar	26	39				65
	Airport Colony	1	29	33	8	12	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>49</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

Income after displacement in terms of rupees has significant things to explain as the change in work is not seen significantly in the previous table as before displacement also people were involved in daily wages in IR Nagar and NTR Nagar. The work has remained the same but has significantly reduced the earnings in terms of rupees. In IR Nagar only 8 people out of 66 sample

taken were earning between Rs.2,000-3,000 now in the resettled colony 44 out of 66 have moved into this category and a significant number of 22 people have moved into earnings of Rs.1,000-2,000. 58 people out of 66 samples taken were earning Rs.3,000-5,000 in the previous colony where as now not even a single member is earning in this category. The total earnings of the families have gone down drastically. One can understand earning Rs.1,000 or 2,000 in the present world and conditions can lead to such difference is standard of living.

With regard to NTR Nagar the trend is same as IR Nagar as the daily wage remains the same but the amount earned in terms of rupees per month has changed drastically. 26 out of 65 samples taken earned Rs.2,000-3,000 before displacement whereas the same number of people earned only Rs.1,000-2,000 in the new resettlement colony. Around 39 people out of the 65 samples earned Rs.3,000-5,000 before displacement but in the new resettlement colony the same number of people earned Rs.2,000-3,000. The change might Rs. 1,000 to 2,000 but this amount is huge for the families displaced. The transportation charges and the mental agony faced by the family by reaching late from work place have caused several psychological weaknesses to the family members.

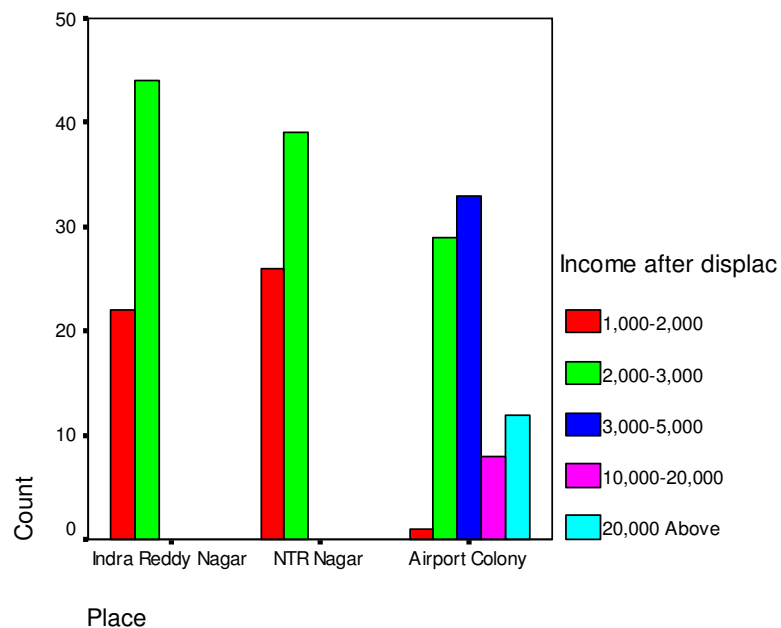
In the airport colony, 17 people earned between Rs.3,000-5,000 before displacement whereas after displacement the number has increased from 17 to 33 but on the other hand one person has been pushed to the category of earning Rs.1,000-2,000 and 29 people are pushed to earning group of Rs.2,000-3,000. This is a drastic change as the scenario, the situation before displacement was completely different as there were no population who earned below Rs.3,000-5,000, the least earning was in this category. Whereas in the situation after displacement the big number which earned between Rs.5,000-10,000 has vanished and the number of people earned between Rs.10,000-20,000 was 21 before displacement out of the 83 samples taken but the number has declined to 8 in the new scenario after displacement.

The other interesting factor is that in this category there were BC's also before displacement but after displacement this has been taken over by the Reddy's and the other castes do not find any place. In the category of Rs.20,000 and above there were 31 people out of the 83 samples were

taken before displacement but after displacement it is mere 12 people who have been earning in this category and as explained above this number belongs to the Reddy's as they are into business.

The graph below would give us the clear picture of how the income category is divided and the differences have come in the income generation after displacement affecting in the standard of living and the lifestyle they had adopted. This is not just that but it has long term effect on the coming generation as they are the one who would face the heat of poverty and destitution.

**Fig.35: Income after displacement in terms of Rupees (Per month)**



Source: Primary Data

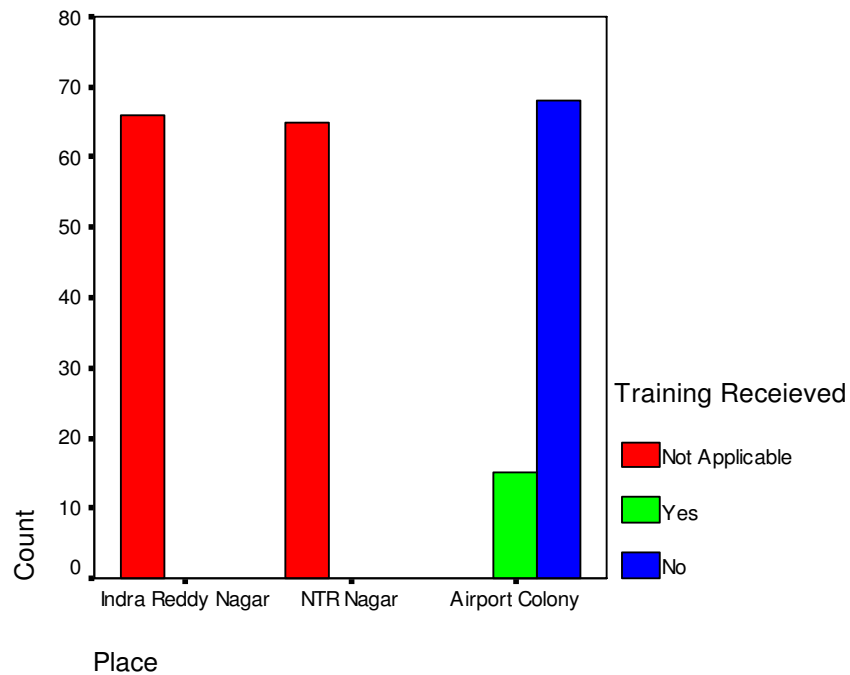
**Table:29**  
**Training Received for getting job in all the three locations after displacement**

		Training Received for getting job in all the three locations after displacement			Total
		Not Applicable	Yes	No	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66			66
	NTR Nagar	65			65
	Airport Colony		15	68	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>131</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

This specific concept was introduced keeping in mind the livelihood options and the limited skills of the displaced communities. The displaced community except the airport colony which followed the traditional method of agriculture rest all has learnt other skills for the sake of survival and it is not their traditional work. As a reason the skills they possess are not up to standards and they are either in semi skilled or unskilled employees category.

**Fig.36: Training Received for getting Job in three locations**



Source: Primary Data

The major consequence of the displacement is loss of work and the communities are in helpless condition as they have to make new contacts and relations and find their livelihood. All the three cases faced the same problem and none of them were given any sort of systematic training except the airport colony that too covering only a small number of people who were influential or paid a sum of amount and joined for the training. The people of NTR Nagar and IR Nagar somehow got back to the work they used to do before displacement by going through all the hurdles of transportation and late working hours and leaving the families for longer times. Whereas the people of airport colony were in a typical situation as they were all involved in flora culture and all of them were skilled labour the options were very few for them as they did not find any work



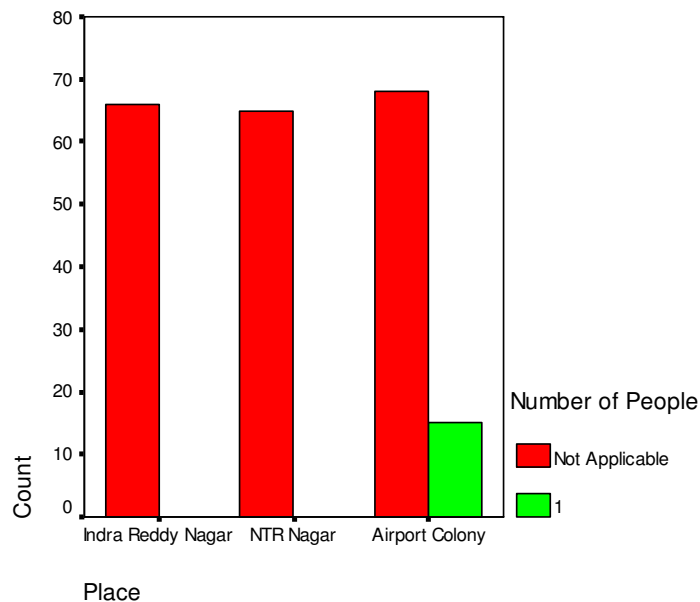
pertaining to their skills. Typically, the status is also a factor which has played very crucial role in India. Most of the people used in the sampling were of the opinion that if they work in constructions or any other work other than agriculture it is below their status and the personal dignity does not allow them to do so. They were to an extent saying that they would remain idle in the houses rather than working in such sectors and situations.

**Table:30**  
**Number of People received Training in all three cases**

		Number of People received Training		Total
		Not Applicable	Exact Number of People	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony	68	15	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>199</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary data

**Fig.37: Number of People Received Training**



Source: Primary Data

The number of people received training for work has been put as not applicable to IR Nagar and NTR Nagar as there was no question of any skill training as such. They were treated as burden to the society and due to pressure from political parties they were given resettlement and not out of

real interest and commitment. In the airport colony as many as 15 people said that they have got training for work out of 83 samples taken. This is merely a real small number as the colony has almost 550 families and the number does not cross even 150. The displaced community was promised a work in the airport for at least one member in the family by the authorities responsible for displacement but as like any other displacement case even these people were cheated and today a huge number of people remain idle in the colony and are getting indulged in unwanted activities for the society.

**Table:31**  
**Agency that imparted Training in all three cases**

		Agency that imparted Training		Total
		Not Applicable	GMR Foundation	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony	68	15	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>199</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

The training for a menial number was given by GMR foundation. GMR is the construction company which has taken the construction of the International Airport. GMR has a foundation called GMR Varalaxmi which caters for these types of needs. The agency had promised that it will take at least one member from each family but failed to do so. More than all these, the works within the airport is outsourced and if one questions GMR they plainly say that they have outsourced and the rest is left with those companies concerned whether to take or not to. GMR trained 15 members out of the 83 samples taken and they were trained based on their educational qualifications. No person was chosen for training beyond the age of 30. This is a major problem that has come up in the post displacement scenario. GMR does not want people beyond the age of 30 and the colony is filled with people in the age group of 30 and above.

The selection of the candidates was also a very controversial process. The focused group discussions revealed that the employees of the GMR foundation involved in bribe and they took those people who shed a good amount of money to get into the training. The favoritism is a major factor of concern as the officials in GMR deny charges and say that they can not go to the grassroots level to find how recruitments are made. The criteria of keeping the age limit of 30

has no logic as reasons like people beyond that age are lazy and they want people who can work for years. There are several families where the bread earner is beyond 30 and the other members come below the age of 14 or they are all pursuing their education. In such case the reason given by GMR sound ridiculous.

With regard to the working conditions at the airport, it is one of the disheartening factors. The people were made to work for longer hours. For security reasons they were all given identity cards and if someone went late to the work by even ten minutes, the identity cards were taken and the employees were sent home. It is a fact that in villages each family cares for the other and the interpersonal relations are really strong. In such setup when deaths happen it is a custom that all the members of the village go and console the family which has lost the member. In such situations most of the village people abstain from the work and attend the ceremonies to show their solidarity with the suffering family. But this has been a point of objection and the companies do not accept any such excuses and there are instances of officials snatching away the identity cards. Humiliation at workplace has made several of them to come out of the work offered by GMR and other companies inside the airport. GMR has hired manual labour from Bihar and other northern Indian states but they never took the local people who sacrificed their land for the sake of larger good. To the amusement of the displaced people they were not even called for the inauguration. No representative from the displaced community was called. So the larger sacrifice undergone by the displaced community has gone in vain and no mention of them was made in the inaugural function of the airport.

**Table:32**  
**Compensation Utilization Scheme after displacement in three cases**

		Compensation Utilization Scheme after displacement				Total
		Construction of House	Real Estate	Business	Household Needs	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66				66
	NTR Nagar				65	65
	Airport Colony	63	18	2		83
<b>Total</b>		<b>129</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

The compensation utilization is one of the key factors in displacement and resettlement scenario. This also brings us the picture of the sustainability of the community. In IR Nagar, all most all of them used the compensation money for construction purpose. Immediately after displacement nearly year and half they were all staying in sheds which were not even worthy mentioning missing basic facilities. The money which was given to them as compensation was used for construction of houses after the government allotted plots to them. The mere compensation of Rs.25,000 was not enough in any way for them. There was none to even lend them money. This made their situation worse as they could not even build house even after getting the plot due to shortage of funds. The compensation money was saved by the families for the construction sake but few families did use the money for daily needs also as they did not get work regularly. Their earnings are good enough for the same day of earning as the families are also big. The delayed resettlement caused lot of psychological stress due to which they were unable to go for work for few days. I have already mentioned in specific case of IR Nagar, the women in the resettlement colony were harassed and threatened of dire consequences if they continued to stay there. These type of situations caused psychological stress for male as well as female members of the family.

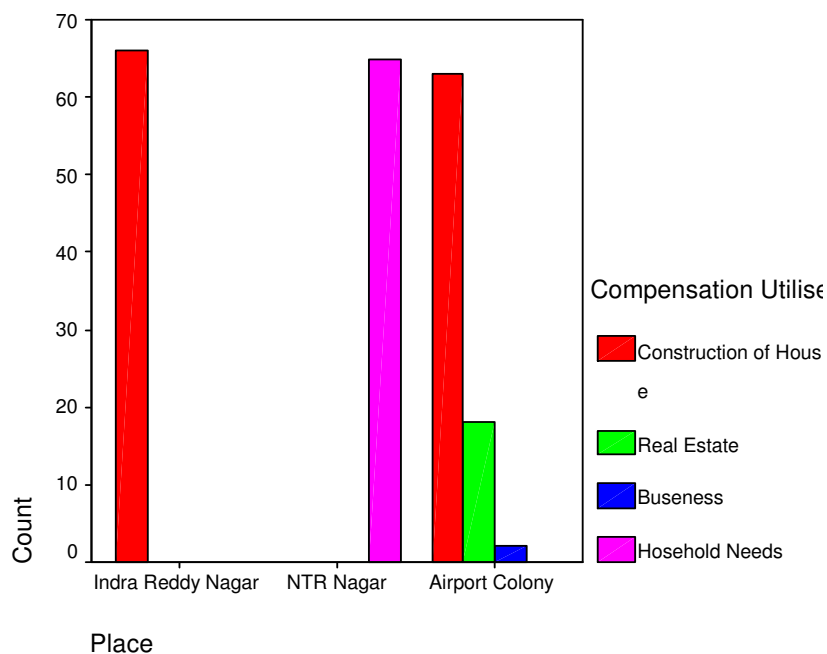
The members of NTR Nagar colony did not have the problem like that of IR Nagar people with regard to building up of houses as the resettlement had ready to occupy houses. This reduced the immediate burden for the displaced community. The resettlers were asked to pay a sum of amount for the houses in installments. This allowed the families to resume their work easily and get the required household things to the family.

Where as in airport colony the share of three major components stand as highlight. 63 people out of 83 samples taken said that they have used the compensation for construction of house. This is specifically from the BC population. Losing the habitat almost shattered their lives and due to this factor the moment they were displaced from the villages to the resettlement colony they chose building house as first priority. The factor needs special mention here is that of the way these people lived before displacement. All these people displaced had very good house and they all lived with dignity in their respective communities. It is still a fact that, a persons' dignity is

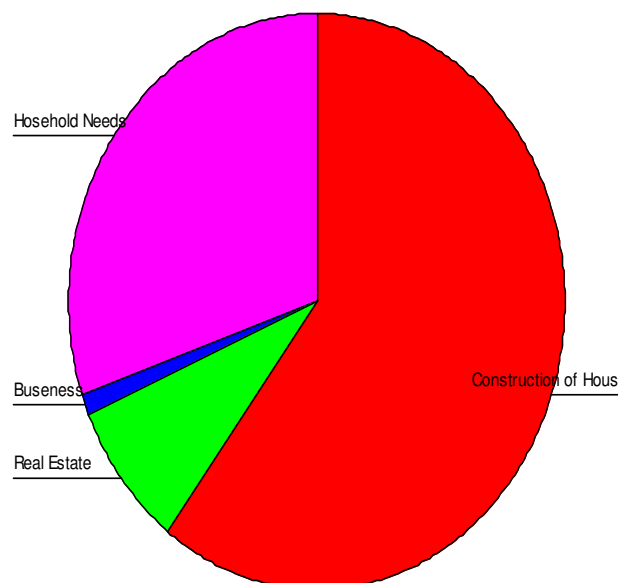
measured in the villages by the type of house he/she lives in. so building up of house took a priority in the displaced community.

There are 18 families which invested the compensation money in real estate and 2 of them invested in business. This 20 peoples group is that of Reddy's and the compensation money was also high for these people as they possessed large amount of land. This allowed them to invest the compensation money in real estate and business. The other factor worth mentioning here is that, in the new resettlement colony (airport colony) plots are given randomly to bring solidarity and harmony amongst different castes. But this has not worked out the way it was thought. The Reddy's reluctant to be part of the new community living structure chose not to live in airport colony; instead they have just taken the plots. The other groups have already exhausted the compensation money in construction of house and other needs like paying children's school fees and other household needs. The smart investments made by the Reddy groups have doubled and they have grown well in their assets. Two graphs showing the compensation utilized will give clear picture of the investments made by the displaced community.

**Fig.38 : Compensation utilization Scheme after displacement in three cases**



Source: Primary Data

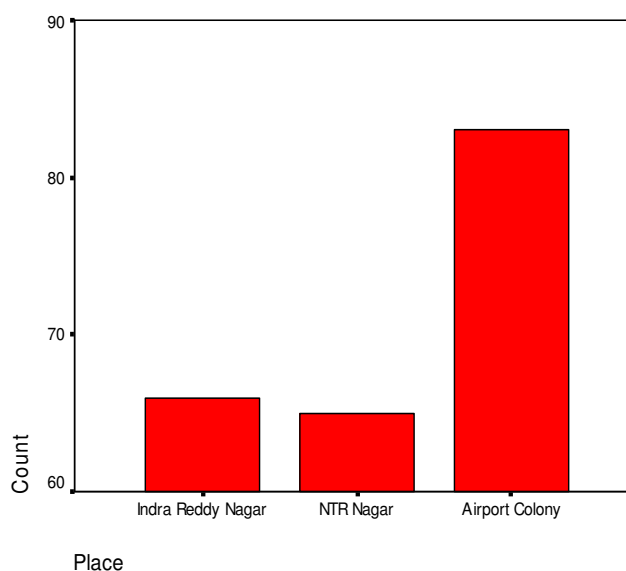
**Fig.39: Compensation utilized Scheme after Displacement in three cases**

Source: Primary Data

**Table:33 Impoverishment Risks**  
**Loss of Income after displacement in three cases**

		Loss of Income		Total
		Yes		
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony	83		83
Total		214		214

Source: Primary Data

**Fig.40: Impoverishment Risks-Loss of Income after displacement in three cases**

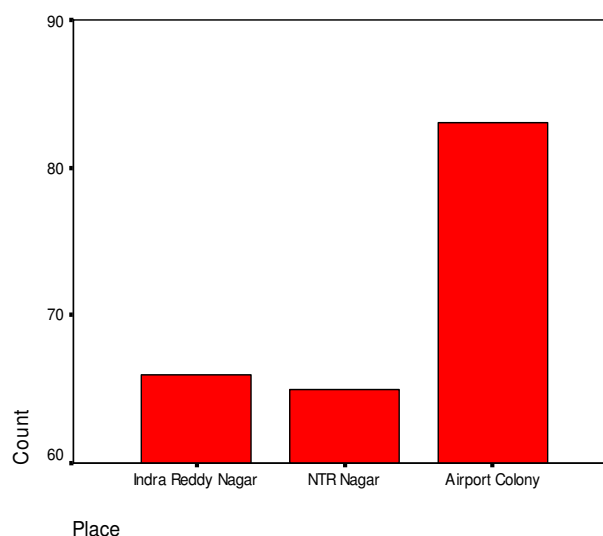
Source: Primary Data

Impoverishment risks are something which have deprived the displaced communities of several things ranging from income, community property resources, health care, education, emotional wellbeing, social support network, no relevant skills as obstacle in finding new jobs, no access to credit are some of them. Almost all the people said that the loss of income has been the major problem in due to displacement. The previous income itself was not enough to carry out the needs of the family, now, with the additional burden of other costs like transportation and other things the condition has become worse.

**Table:34 Impoverishment Risks**  
**Loss of Community Property Resources after displacement in three cases**

		Loss of Community Property Resources	
		Yes	Total
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66	66
	NTR Nagar	65	65
	Airport Colony	83	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>214</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

**Fig.41: Loss of Community Property Resources after displacement in three cases**

Source: Primary Data

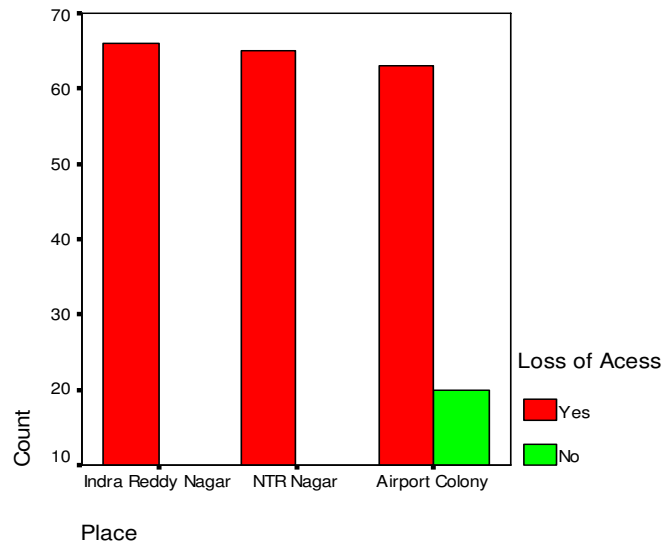
This specific concept is applicable to the airport colony as others did not have CPR in the exact sense of what it is. The first two cases did not have enough space for living itself, so there is no question of CPR. The eleven villages which got displaced due to the land acquisition for airport lost the common property resources where they used to graze their domestic animals. These places were used for fodder of the animals. In the new resettlement colony there is no question of CPR and they all just live in the space given to them. So the displaced community feels it as a major loss as due to the unavailability of the space they are not even keeping animals with them which reduce the cost of buying milk and other related products for the family.

**Table:35 Impoverishment Risks**  
**Loss of Access to Health Care Facilities after displacement in three cases**

		Loss of Access to Health Care Facilities		Total
		Yes	No	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony	63	20	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>194</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data



**Fig.42: Loss of Access to Healthcare Facilities after displacement in three cases**

Source: Primary Data

Loss of access to Health Care is a major issue among the displaced communities. In the previous settlement, due to the proximity to the health centers and government hospitals, the community could access the health care facilities easily. Even most of the emergency cases were also easily handled. But, in the resettlement colony, due to the distance between health center and hospitals they do not have any access to health care. IR Nagar is the worst hit among all the three cases. The resettlement colony is located almost 15 kilometers away from the city and it is not accessible after 7 PM. Even in the day time to visit a health center the residents have to travel 15 kilometers. Due to the bad resettlement prior to building of houses, there were large number of snake bites and several children died due to lack of health care. People do not have personal vehicles to take patients to hospitals in the night time. This has resulted in three pregnant women's death.

Airport colony is also not very close to the hospital but due to the lesser distance of three kilometers they are able to reach the hospitals and health centers. Lot of people faced health problems after displacement and resettlement to the new colony but due to unavailability of health care many of them had to go through the suffering. There are aged people who can not move on their own for such people the resettlement colony has become a nightmare. Around 20 people of

the 83 samples taken told that displacement did not make any difference with regard to health facilities. This group is of Reddy's and they were of the opinion that even at the previous settlement they never went to the health centers or hospitals but to the super speciality hospitals like Care, Yashoda etc. according to them the facilities at the health centers are not worth taking and health problem would not reduce but increase.

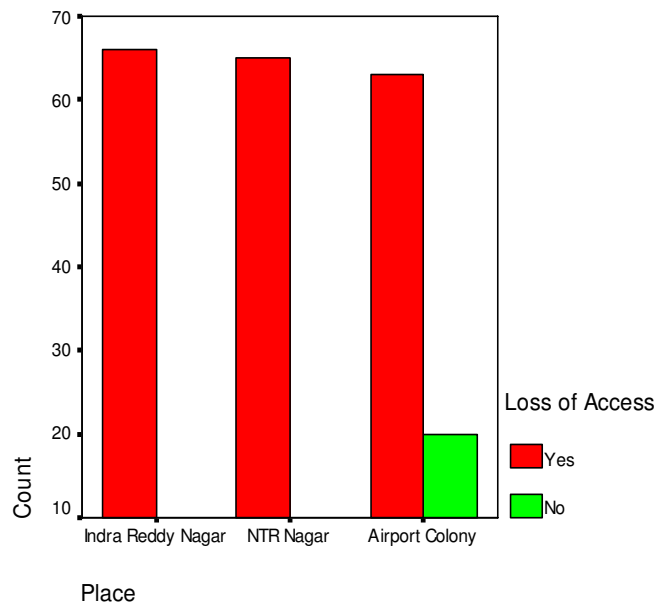
**Table:36 Impoverishment Risks**  
**Loss of Access to Education Facilities after displacement in three cases**

		Loss of Access to Education Facilities		Total
		Yes	No	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony	63	20	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>194</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

Loss of access to education facilities is a major factor among the displaced communities as it has effect over coming generation. The people of IR Nagar were the worst victims of the problem. The moment people were displaced from the original site the children also had to move to the new locality along with the parents, due to this they had to move out of their schools and come to the new place where there was no primary school even. For more than a year children did not have any access to education. To send them to any private schools the parents felt that they could not afford to do so.

The agencies involved in resettlement have not thought about the younger generation at all and due to bad planning all the children who were going to school had to forego and sit idle at homes. It was only after an year with the intervention of some researchers from the central university the government agreed to open a primary school with a teacher in the colony. There was no proper building for the school instead they used to conduct classes in one of the half constructed house of the displaced person. The adverse effects of loss of access to educational facilities are not given proper attention.

**Fig.43: Loss of Access to Education Facilities after displacement in three cases**

Source: Primary Data

The people of NTR Nagar could get their children admitted to a government school closer by and the transition was not too bad for the children. Even now all the children are into schools except a countable few Muslim girls. The Muslim girls were going to schools run by the Muslims and the parents also wanted traditional education for their children, once that did not happen they have stopped these children from schooling.

In the airport colony the problem has been different. Only 550 families which were resettled have been facing the problem. Most of the resettled families felt that the displacement has resulted in loss of education but again the upper caste did not feel it so as they used to send their children to private schools even in the previous settlement. For the rest of the resettled it is the problem of transportation for the children to even to reach to the closer by government school which is three kilometer away from the airport colony.

**Table:37 Impoverishment Risks**  
**Loss of Social Support Network after displacement in three cases**

		Loss of Social Support Network		Total
		Yes	No	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony	63	20	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>194</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

The answer to the loss of social support network is absolute in the first two cases. Only in airport colony some of the people belonging to the upper castes were of the opinion that there was no major difference as they still stay united and they have social support network working excellently. Good numbers of families are of the opinion that the displacement has caused them great agony as the kith and kin no more feel that the displaced communities are equal in their status. The social status possessed has been lost due to which the social support network is also withering away. For any celebrations or observing death ceremonies the relatives of the displaced people use to gather and the situation has changed now as they do not feel worth coming as the status of the families have come down financially as well as socially.

**Table:38 Impoverishment Risks**  
**No relevant skills as key obstacle in finding new source of Income after displacement in three cases**

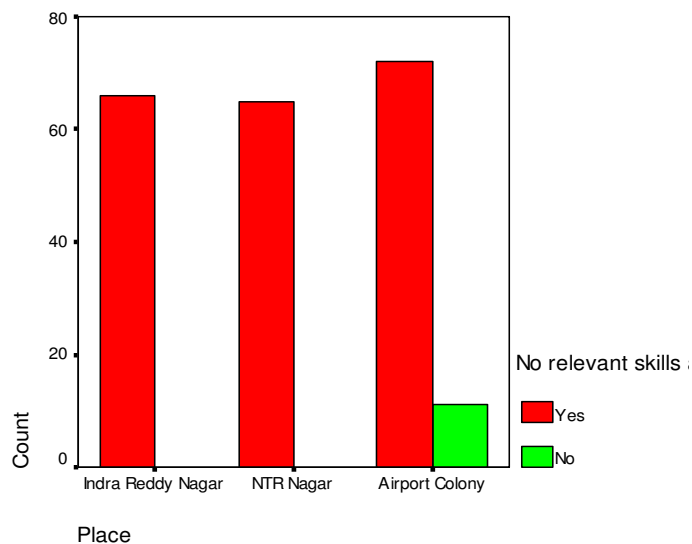
		No relevant skills as key obstacle in finding new source of Income		Total
		Yes	No	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony	72	11	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>203</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

Indeed it is true that skills make all the difference for the displaced communities when they move to resettlement colonies. Although the people of IR Nagar and NTR Nagar have found their places of work now still the phase they went through in gaining confidence amongst the employer was a painful one. There are instances when people who were into painting had to opt for construction work as they did not find appropriate opportunities for their skills. But this took

a lot of time for them to gain the new skill to show their employability. Many a times they had work for no money as it was their own requirement to learn the new skill. Only in airport colony the upper castes felt that they were aware of both business as well as agriculture and that did not make a large difference in finding new source of income. They also revealed that being in agriculture also they would have invested in real estate. A large number of people who were into flora culture felt that they were fit for nothing as the jobs other than flora culture are difficult and acquiring new skill after the age of 40 is a real difficult task. Many of them to survive and get themselves engaged had to go for different type of jobs which they had never done before. From flora culture many of them moved to construction and some of them have been going as daily wage labourers to the closer by farms. One of the persons in the resettlement colony was saying that he used to give employment to 5 people every day and now the situation has come for him to work as daily wage labourer in someone else's field. The people feel that the livelihood options are bleak for the future and are worried about the generations to come.

**Fig.44: No relevant skills as key obstacle in finding new source of Income after displacement in three cases**



Source: Primary Data

**Table:39 Impoverishment Risks**  
**Reduction of emotional wellbeing after displacement in three cases**

Reduction of Emotional Wellbeing after displacement in three cases			
		Reduction of Emotional Wellbeing	
		Yes	Total
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66	66
	NTR Nagar	65	65
	Airport Colony	83	83
Total		214	214

Source: Primary Data

All the displaced people of three cases felt that it reduced emotional wellbeing of the people as they had an attachment to the place. The nostalgic moments of childhood and their relation with the land makes them to feel that they have been deprived of something which is beyond price. The psychological attachment they had towards the place and the home cannot be wiped out easily from the memory. This attachment had different effects on some of the families.

One Mr. Krishna of the airport colony narrated that his father died due to the shock of moving away from the place of birth. His mother got paralyzed seeing her husband dying in front of her eyes. There are several such cases and Krishna's father's case is only an example to narrate

**Table:40 Impoverishment Risks**  
**No access to credit as key obstacle in finding new source of Income after displacement in three cases**

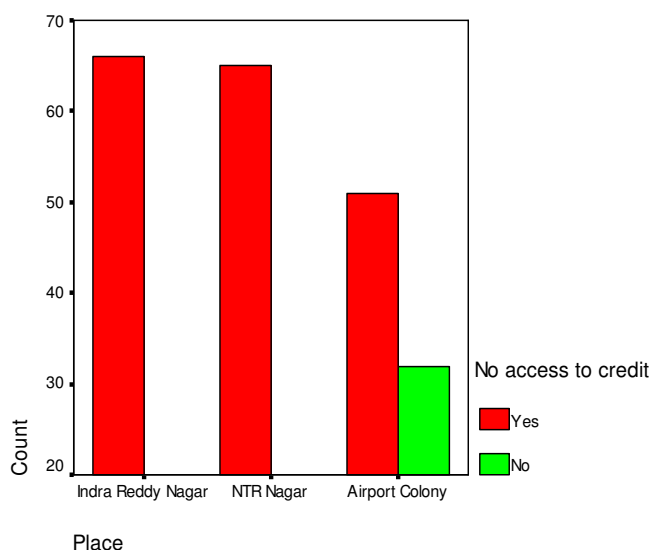
		No Access to Credit as key obstacle in finding new source of Income		Total
		Yes	No	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony	51	32	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>182</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

No access to credit is one of the major problems for the displaced communities. The local money lenders do stop giving them money by thinking that the displaced people can run away without paying any day as they have been thrown away from the place where they had constructed marginal houses. On the other side there are ample numbers of cases where the local money lenders torture the displaced people with exorbitant rate of interest as they feel the necessity of the situation would make them to pay. For the first two cases of IR Nagar and NTR Nagar,

access to credit was a Herculean task. Where as in the airport colony there are some mixed opinions. A good number of 51 out of the 83 samples taken were of the opinion that access to credit was a difficult thing but 32 out of 83 felt it was not as difficult, as they knew some of the money lenders before displacement and they imposed trust on them and gave credit. The other problem getting credit is of the surety one has to give. Most of the time people do not feel comfortable in extending their support being witnesses as the position of the other person is also equally bad and if he/she does not pay back the money then the whole burden would come on the witness. To avoid this problem most of the resettled people do not want to be as eyewitness.

**Fig.45: No access to credit as key obstacle in finding new source after displacement in three cases**



Source: Primary Data

**Table:41 Impoverishment Risks**

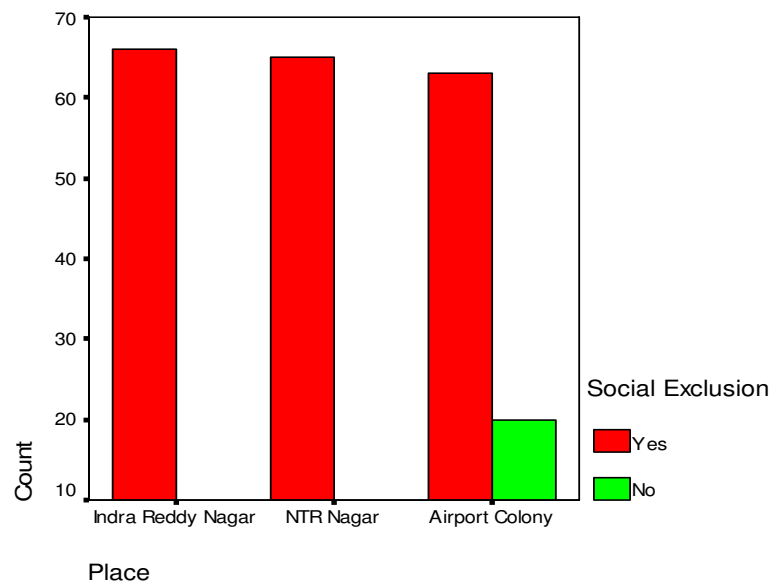
**Social Exclusion as key obstacle in finding new source of income after displacement in three cases**

		Social Exclusion as Key Obstacle in Finding New Source of Income		Total
		Yes	No	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony	63	20	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>194</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

Social exclusion is one of the major factors that disturb the displaced communities. Social exclusion happens at different stages and in different ways. For the displaced communities the social exclusions happens in the form of suspicion, denying jobs, denying loans and many more. There are several times the host communities have troubled the displaced communities and practiced social exclusion. One such incident is that of IR Nagar. When they were shifted to the new resettlement colony the closer by village people used to threaten the women asking them to vacate the place. The practice of social exclusion happened here because the local people felt that the government land was going away to the displaced people and not to them after having stayed for centuries. On the other hand the village people were not allowing the men and women to work in their field saying that they are not trustworthy. This was also the case in NTR Nagar as the women wanted to work no family was taking them as they suspected that all the displaced community people are thieves and they are capable of stealing things and runaway as they do not posses any particular identity to trace. It took nearly four months for them to convince the people around and then got in as domestic helpers.

**Fig.46: Social exclusion as key obstacle in finding new source of income after displacement in three cases**



Source: Primary Data

Airport colony people too felt largely that social exclusion has happened to them at a different level. In their own words ‘people do not treat us like how they used to before; they see us like



beggars and people living at the mercy of government, in most of the government offices they do not even mind us and treat us like secondary citizens'. But the upper caste groups feel that it has not mattered much to them as they still maintain themselves at the society in the same way and people respect them as they used to be before. This point is also valid for the fact that the Reddy group did not waste their money in construction of houses; instead they invested in real estate and business. So this has kept their financial position sound and equally their social status.

**Table:42 Impoverishment Risks**  
**No employment opportunities as key obstacle in finding new source of income after displacement in three cases**

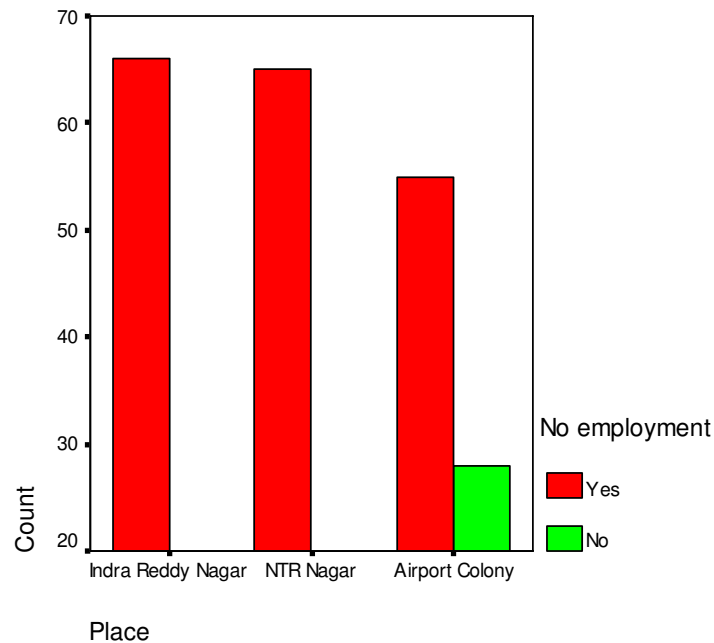
		No Employment Opportunities as Key Obstacle in Finding New Source of Income		Total
		Yes	No	
Place	Indra Reddy Nagar	66		66
	NTR Nagar	65		65
	Airport Colony	55	28	83
<b>Total</b>		<b>186</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>214</b>

Source: Primary Data

The displaced communities have found it very hard to find employment opportunities after displacement and resettlement. For this there are several reasons. The reasons vary from no skills required for the available job, distance from and to the workplace, the workplace, availability of jobs etc. There are times when the displaced population wants to work but there is no work available for such a huge population. As the people have skills in specific areas, after displacement people do not fit into those jobs which are available. This has become a major problem and it has hindered the livelihood options of the displaced people.

In airport colony, like any other component even in this the upper castes deny the statement that no employment opportunity is the key obstacle in finding new source of income. They say that if one is capable and innovative he/she will find a job. But the concepts of capability and innovation are subjective matters and the social, educational and economical background of the people is also important as it is the one which makes one capable, innovative and approachable. If one is from a moderate or poor background then where is the question of one becoming capable and innovative in finding new jobs.

**Fig.47: No employment opportunities as key obstacle in finding new source of income after displacement in three cases**



Source: Primary Data

There are certain factors which have not been given clear attention in the process of displacement and resettlement and those components are listed below.

#### 4.13 Right to Information

The right of populations that may be affected by any proposed project, and all other concerned citizens or groups, to challenge claims regarding the necessity of displacement and public purpose of any project, is dependent critically on the right to information. It is imperative that the population likely to be affected by the acquisition be involved in the process from the time that decisions are sought to be made about where a project is to be located. They should be given full information;

- ❖ To help them participate in decisions about whether the stated purpose is a public purpose;
- ❖ To explore options which may be less displacing;
- ❖ To work out the costs it involves for them;
- ❖ To find out how they may gain from the process of change that the acquisition will bring

The right to information must extend to all aspects of the project, including the detailed project report, financial plan, economic/financial viability studies, social impact-assessment and other studies, social cost-benefit analysis, environmental impact assessment, environment rehabilitation plans, detailed resettlement and rehabilitation plans, and conditionality of loan sanction for the project etc. but not even a single aspect mentioned above is revealed to the people except a notice. It is not enough that all this information is available in public libraries, including in the district headquarters of all affected areas. An endeavor must also be made to demystify and translate it into non-technical local terminology, to actively distribute and explain it to the affected populations. Each project must provide for an information centre at the project site itself. Project and state authorities must be legally bound to consult with potentially affected people about all viable alternatives to avoid or minimize displacement. Even these aspects are not covered at any point of time.

#### **4.14 Right to be Consulted**

Apart from the right to information of the individual, it is the right of affected populations to be actively consulted in the event of any proposed land acquisition. As the NRR 1998 states it must be a compulsory obligation on the part of the project planning and implementation authorities to involve and consult the representatives of the affected communities, including women and members of least advantaged groups, in all phases of planning, execution and monitoring of the RR (resettlement and rehabilitation) Plan. The entire decision making process regarding RR Plans must be completely transparent. The comprehensive plan for resettlement must be made public. It must be brought to the notice of the people likely to be affected through channels like the local language media, local exhibition, meetings, etc. It is important that the government and the project authority are under an obligation to take the information to the doorstep of the affected population so as to enable even non-literate persons in the most distant area to acquire full knowledge of the plan for their resettlement. It should be mandatory and enforceable that the project-affected people [must] be given the right to participate at this very stage so that they can bring their full weight to bear on the design and content of the plan. Along with a request to

commence acquisition proceedings under the LAA, the acquiring authority would have to prepare and submit to the District Collector, the following information:

- ❖ Full details of land proposed to be acquired along with exact numbers and other details;
- ❖ Full details of land expected to be affected by the project but which is not being acquired;
- ❖ Purpose for which acquisition is proposed with full details including the specific use to which each segment of land is expected to be put to;
- ❖ Reasons why the quantity of land proposed to be acquired is necessary and justified in relation to the purpose of the project;
- ❖ Details of all options considered and reasons why the proposed acquisition is the least displacing alternative available
- ❖ Full details including plot numbers of land-for-land and resettlement sites, capacity building and employment and phasing of the rehabilitation plan in consonance with the national rehabilitation policy;
- ❖ Full details of social impacts including on host community in area of resettlement;
- ❖ Full time-table with details on phasing of resettlement and rehabilitation; and
- ❖ Full details of the expected environmental impacts—both short and long-term especially its impact on public health and on the forests, water, air and mineral resources.
- ❖ The Collector, with the co-operation of the acquiring authority, will ensure that the information indicated above is communicated in a manner fully accessible to affected individuals, using a variety of methods such as:
  - (a) Publication in two local newspapers in the local language;
  - (b) Beat of drum ;
  - (c) Pasting on the notice board of the municipality or Mandal office; and
  - (d) Individual notices to all affected persons. The Collector would also be encouraged to elicit the help and cooperation of from the elected representatives, especially of the district, block and mandals, and local NGOs in communicating this information.

Except the stage of giving notice no other procedures are followed in all the three cases of IR Nagar, NTR Nagar and Airport colony. Affected individuals must be given at least 60 days after the date of such publication to submit their queries, requests for further information and

objections. On a date duly publicised in advance, a meeting must be organized in each affected place. All written requests for clarifications and further information must necessarily be met prior to this meeting. The Collector or a senior official deputed by the Collector and the acquiring authority would both necessarily attend this meeting. In the meeting, the Collector and requiring authority would again present and elaborate on the information referred to above. All objections obtained in advance, as well as verbally during the consultation, must be dealt with one-by-one. The members of the representatives of the place must be given the opportunity to explain the reasons for their objections and the requiring authority would be free to respond. In case of a consensus, this would be duly recorded. However, in case of a disagreement, the Collector would record a synopsis presenting the arguments of both sides and her or his decision in a speaking Order. This Order would be appealable as with any other orders of the Collector.

After the maximum period for appeal against any such order of the Collector has lapsed and if no such appeal has been lodged, the Collector would be free to initiate land acquisition proceedings. However, in case of an appeal being filed, the Collector would await the decision of the appeal. Even if urgency clauses for acquisition are invoked, it would continue to be mandatory that the consultation procedure defined above be followed. In the case of three cases of present study of Hyderabad, all the procedures were followed and grievances were acknowledged but no action was taken and government went ahead with its own plan.

#### **4.15 Failure to be Consulted and Informed**

From the inception of planning of most projects, through various stages of displacement and resettlement, it is to be expected that those likely to be negatively affected by the projects would be consulted and kept informed in such a way as to enable them to best rebuild their ravaged lives. This, however, is very far from being the case. There is typically bewilderment and confusion among resettlers in virtually every large project about even the precise contours of displacement — which villages or segments of villages would be displaced, and when.

Again, typically oustees were rarely consulted or even informed about the phasing and content of their rehabilitation package, their entitlements and their choices. This is partly because of

bureaucratic lassitude and insensitivity, but as it is found, misinformation may not always be by oversight. In all the three cases, the level of information that the oustees had regarding the project, eviction and subsequent displacement due to them, was lamentably low. By and large the oustees had received little or no information from official sources i.e. the authorities formally required to communicate relevant information. As other officials seldom or never visited these villages, it was from the survey teams who had either come to take down details of their family, landed property etc. or lay stone markers, or during the site visits, that the villagers had gathered stray information about their subsequent displacement. In the absence of any proper information the oustees had guessed from looking at the stone markers, the extent of loss of land.

#### **4.16 Absence of Advance and Comprehensive Planning for Rehabilitation**

In the absence of a statutory rehabilitation law or even a national policy, there is no legal imperative for state governments or project authorities to integrate comprehensive rehabilitation planning into the planning of a project. Indeed, it has been found that even the existence of state and project-specific policies is not sufficient to ensure this. The so-called incremental approach of allowing land acquisition and project construction activities to proceed parallel to displacement and rehabilitation, has led in practice to ad hoc, piecemeal and minimalist rehabilitation. More often than not, project authorities are interested mainly in the relocation rather than the rehabilitation of project affected persons, in their physical transference from the submergence zone rather than their long-term welfare.

In fact, it is pointed out that ‘generally rehabilitation policies are made up by State Governments, most often as knee-jerk reactions to the manifestations of disaffection of populations on land which is acquired for "public purposes". Further, Reports in the case of the airport colony confirm that the rehabilitation policy consisted several resolutions made by various departments of the Andhra Pradesh state government over a period of four years. The Andhra Pradesh government in the early 1960s had a project-specific rehabilitation policy. In the case of the Nagarjunasagar Project in 1960, the state government declared its willingness to take the responsibility for the full rehabilitation of the dislocated. However, by 1965 this concern for full rehabilitation had been considerably eroded. In the case of Pochampad in 1965 and Srisailem in

1977, the Andhra Pradesh government did away with the practice of an elaborate rehabilitation policy. Instead it was replaced by departmental memos and orders to suit the need of the hour. Obviously governance by executive fiats gives the executive greater room to maneuver. However, for the potential oustees it raises uncertainty and stress which could have been avoided if government at the outset had set clear guidelines covering various aspects of resettlement.

#### **4.17 Undervaluation of Compensation**

The only significant reparation for displaced persons guaranteed by law is the payment of monetary compensation for compulsorily acquired individual assets, mainly land or houses. However, the manner in which the law is framed and interpreted ensures that the displaced land-owner or house-owner is always the loser.

Some of the major problems leading to the undervaluation of compensation are as follows:

- The practice is to pay compensation for lost fixed assets like agricultural land at the prevailing market rate, calculated as an average of registered sales prices of land of similar quality and location in the preceding three or five years. However, it is an open secret that most land transactions in India are grossly undervalued to evade registration fees. Therefore, the oustee receives a rate which is much below the market rate, and the solatium of 30 per cent (or even 100 per cent as is being proposed in a new draft Land Acquisition Act (LAA) Bill under consideration with the Government of India) is far from enough to bridge the gap between the market and the registered prices.
- Land and houses are paid for at the alleged market value rather than 'replacement value'. To consider only one typical example, the Fact-finding Committee on the Srisailem Project (1986) found that the replacement value of one acre of dry land was around Rs 5000, and for one acre of wet land Rs. 13,800. The compensation actually paid (including solatium) was only Rs. 932 and Rs. 2,332 respectively. In this way, the amount paid as compensation was five times less than the amount that would be required by the oustees to purchase agricultural land of equivalent quantity and quality.
- Typically land prices shoot up sharply around any large project because of enhanced demand for land and in anticipation for infrastructure; likewise houses are depreciated in

value for age. In this way, oustees are not compensated for their land or houses at rates which would enable them to buy land or construct houses elsewhere similar to those that are lost.

- Compensation is only for persons in possession of undisputed legal title. In any average Indian village, the tyranny and corruption of the Mandals charged with the responsibility of maintaining land records ensures that land records are neither accurate nor updated, and this complicates the chances a land-owner will be able to prove title and secure compensation.
- Tenants, sharecroppers, wage-laborers, artisans and encroachers are usually not considered eligible for compensation because they do not have legal title to agricultural land, whereas they are paradoxically the most vulnerable and in need of support.
- Community assets like grazing grounds and forests, which again may be critical for the livelihood of the poorest, are not compensated for under the LAA. The value of the land is calculated as on the date of the gazette notification and interest is liable to be paid only from the date of taking possession up to the date of payment of full compensation. The LAA thus does not take into consideration the escalation of the market value between the time of notification and the date of actual possession.
- The limited provisions in the LAA to challenge the rate of compensation are, in practice, inaccessible to the indigent and illiterate oustees, because they may not be aware of the legal nuances or else cannot afford the expensive remedy of courts. Even those that are able to access courts fritter away a substantial

#### **4.18 Failure to Acquire Alternate Cultivable Lands**

The problems listed earlier, of the absence of a comprehensive rehabilitation plan, of undervaluation of compensation and the inability to negotiate a money economy, combine as serious barriers for displaced land owners to secure alternate cultivable lands. The only recourse for the dispossessed cultivator caught in what Cernea describes as the 'spiral of impoverishment' is typically one of two alternatives. The erstwhile land-owner either migrates to the slums of the cities in search of work, or fans out to neighboring wastelands. In the airport colony case, there



are many people who have left to the city from villages to avoid humiliation and are working in constructions and such other works.

#### **4.19 Traumatic Forced and Delayed Relocation**

Involuntary relocation is always extremely painful, but a sensitive project bureaucracy can do much to relieve its trauma. In practice however, it has been observed that the driving objective of project authorities has not been to prepare and assist the families to relocate and to make a gradual and less painful transition to their new habitats. Instead frequently the only objective is to vacate the required zone of what are perceived to be its human encumbrances, with the brute force of the state if necessary. The evacuation of the villages taken for the airport was carried out with brutal insensitivity towards the feelings of the villagers who, not unnaturally, were bewildered and distressed at being forced out of their homes.

The villagers were not properly informed about the details of the evacuation: some did not even know where to go once they had been ordered to move. Many villagers did not take government announcements about the evacuation seriously. Some refused to believe that their villages would be used for international airport or thought that, at worst; their lands would only be taken partially. Still others delayed moving either because they had no money to do so or because they had failed to find alternative housing and employment. The evacuation programme was so rushed that few villagers had enough time to move all their belongings to the resettlement sites. Worse still, when the villagers reached the new sites, they found them lacking in basic amenities including proper housing.

#### **4.20 Problems at Resettlement Sites**

Resettlement sites are often inhospitable in a number of ways and their locations are selected without reference to availability of livelihood opportunities, or the preferences of displaced persons themselves. For instance, contrary to official claims with regard to IR Nagar and airport colony oustees, people reported that they had not been consulted about where they would like to be relocated; only where the surveyors were slightly more conscientious, they had asked the oustees if they would like to go to the outskirts of the city. A resettlement colony was established

at considerable cost, but because no cultivable land was made available and there were no livelihood prospects in the vicinity.

There is little attempt to recreate the lost milieu of the previous places, and many oustees feel lost in the semi-urban design construction of the new settlements. Sometimes even temporary shelters are unavailable, and since forced eviction often takes place without any time frame, the first few months in the new site are spent in the monsoon rains under the open sky. House-sites are often much smaller than those in which the oustees lived in the village/slum, and temporary structures where they exist are made of tin or other inappropriate material and design. There is also the problem of learning modes of survival in an entirely alien surrounding, from 'being self-sufficient and free, to being impoverished live a substandard life.

The majority of the settlements of displaced families remain in darkness, with no prospect of electrification even decades ahead. Similarly, health and education facilities are 'provided' merely by the creation of buildings for schools. Teachers are not positioned, classroom is not provided with the requisite equipment and infrastructure, and in the end buildings crumble and trouble the children

With the destruction of community and social bonds, the displaced are mired in anomie and a profound sense of loneliness and helplessness. The inflow of money creates greater pressure on family bonds. The outcomes are psychological pathologies and alcoholism, common among displaced populations. It has been documented that this greatly enhanced psychological and psycho-social stress caused by involuntary resettlement heightens morbidity and mortality.

Water impoundments will increase favourable vector sites at times of the year when they were previously scanty. Water is essential for the development of mosquitoes. They transit a number of tropical diseases. A majority holds that 'real economic returns from infrastructure development projects may be seriously compromised by enhanced disease transmission of vector-borne diseases.

#### **4.21 Multiple Displacements and Problems of Host Communities**

Arguably the most culpable aspect of state-induced impoverishment of displaced populations is the phenomenon of multiple displacements. It has been documented, for instance, that as a direct result of the lack of co-ordination between the concerned authorities and displaced people multiple displacements occur. IR Nagar residents are victims of such incidents. The people of IR Nagar were asked to go to Vattinagulapalli and the host community rejected the displaced people and they chased them away from the village. With all the luggage, women and children they had to wait for the government decision from the next place for hours and finally they were placed at NTR Nagar without basic amenities.

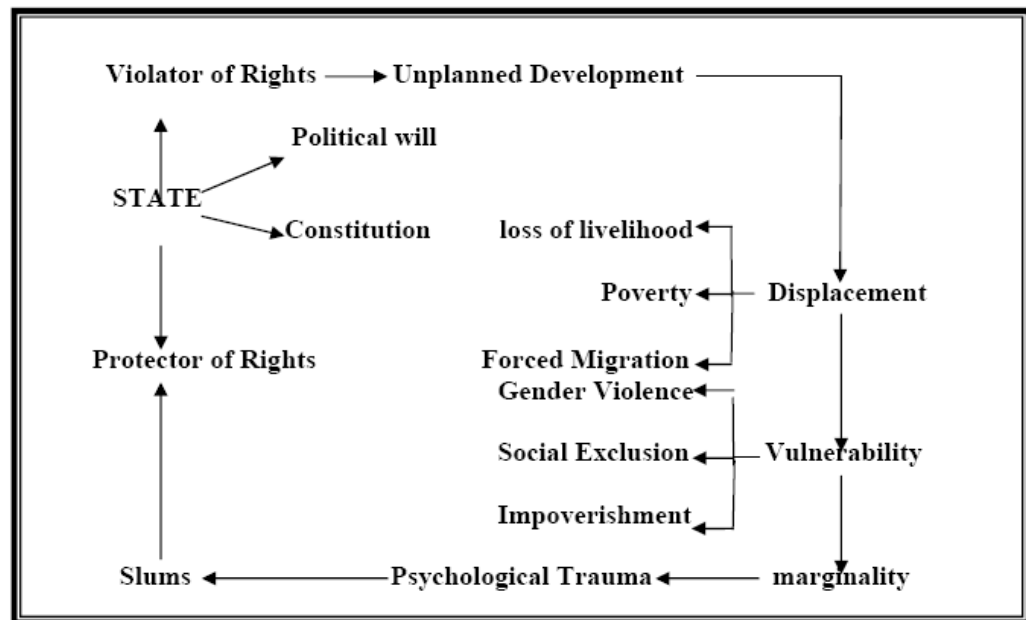
A frequently neglected, but extremely serious problem, is the unwillingness of host populations to accept resettled oustees in their midst. The problem is that rarely do there exist large unoccupied areas available for resettlement of oustees (and such as exist are unsuitable or degraded lands). Where they are settled amidst existing settlements, there is inevitably competition for scarce resources and jobs. There may also be social and cultural incompatibility. In most cases, the displaced people are at a disadvantage in these conflicts: because they are outsiders, because of their economic fragility and frequent social vulnerability. If such conflicts are not mitigated, the result can be distress sales by resettled oustees, resulting de facto in one more forced resettlement on even more disadvantaged terms.

#### **4.22 Special Vulnerabilities**

The various problems associated with displacement are compounded several times over for oustees who are also otherwise especially vulnerable, variously by class, caste, gender or age. The vast majority of tribal people displaced by big projects are thus pushed inexorably into a vortex of increasing assetlessness, unemployment, debt-bondage and hunger. The respondents' debt burden was found to have increased manifold in the post-relocation period; a sizeable part of cash compensation was reportedly used towards redeeming debts which further constrained investment into production assets and aspects required for agriculture.

The payment of compensation in cash directly disempowers women, because typically women are much less able, within the family, to influence decisions related to how the money is to be spent. The case studies have one outcome in common. That is, any loss of access to traditional sources of livelihood-land, cattle or saltpan land-marginalizes women in the labour market. It is only when land and other sources are replaced that women at least partially regain their economic status. Women not only suffered in terms of health and nutrition, they also lost 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.

Women are not recognized as a separate entity unit. A widow, unmarried adult daughter and a deserted woman will be considered as dependents. According to the definition of a family laid down in the policies, a widow is to be treated as a dependent to the head of the family. A widow's right ceases to exist in the allotted land as the alternative land is allotted to the head of the family, i.e., her son. Another extremely vulnerable group of Oustees is Oustees without land, including landless workers. We have already observed that the only legal reparation to displaced persons recognized by the statutes in India today is compensation for loss of assets that are compulsorily acquired by the state for what the state designates as a 'public purpose'. However a landless family dependent on the acquired land for their livelihood may be most severely pauperized by the displacement because it loses its only source of economic survival. However, the law and most rehabilitation policies still do not recognize this profound vulnerability.

**Fig.48 States Role in Development and Displacement (Consequences of Displacement)**

Source: Primary Data

The diagram above shows certain causes and the consequences of displacement through several different factors along with models like the Impoverishment. But it does not show all the factors leading to and happening after displacement as there are umpteen number of vulnerability risks. The diagram shows how State as a violator of the rights takes up unplanned development that leads to displacement. The Displacement has three major consequences a) Loss of livelihood b) Poverty c) forced Migration and these three consequences lead to Vulnerability along with gender violence, social exclusion and impoverishment risks. All these factors together lead to marginality and through the psychological trauma the people are pushed to make fresh slums or join the existing slums and again plead the government to protect their rights by recognizing them from the slums. This whole process of accepting and recognizing which remains with the state and the states decision remains with the political will by invoking the rights of the citizens which are constitutionally recognized. The process continues as the state again comes up with an unplanned development and being a protector of the rights it turns out to be the violator of the rights. It is a vicious circle in which the citizens are totally vulnerable as the state has been using coercive methods to carry out involuntary displacements.

At the margins of any society are people like the destitute, beggars, the uncared for aged, women victims of violence and abandonment, the disabled, leprosy patients, the mentally ill, and children deprived of adult care. In normal circumstances, rural society has traditional means of social security and support for some but not all of these groups. These support systems collapse in times of crisis, and people who are anyway condemned to the margins are likely to be the first to fall by the wayside.

#### **4.23 Livelihood**

There are several other problems like that of work and future of the people. Most of the people were growing agricultural crops like flowers and vegetables by employing ten to fifteen laborers everyday in airport colony, but now the situation has made them go and work in someone else's field after displacement. Although the compensation was given to these people, it was menial. Apart from the 250 square yard site they got to construct house from the government no other land has been given to these displaced people. As it has been mentioned previously all these people are trained only in agricultural works and specifically flora culture. This is a major challenge as these people do not know any other work to do. Along with this the self respect in which they lived has made them not to go for any work with other people for a long time.

It is only in the year 2007 few people have started going for work as the compensation money is getting exhausted. But, still a major group is not ready to go and work in any constructions and other places. However in and around Shamshabad there are no agricultural lands to a large extent as all the lands have been used for the real estate business. The resettlement policy has not even thought about the present generation where the talks are being made in several displacement and resettlement discourses about next generation. The life is under threat of losing everything including the place given for building the house. People are staying near their houses throughout the day and spending time doing nothing. On the other hand contrarily the groups involved in hereditary business have survived and have made some property by keeping the compensation money in circulation.

#### 4.24 Conclusion

The lack of global attention can be partly attributed to limited official recognition among governments and international agencies of the problem of conflict and development-induced internal displacement to begin with. Though many states have evolved sophisticated land seizure and expropriation policies and eminent domain laws, there are few national protective policies or legal safeguards for those targeted for displacement. In the case of conflict-affected internally displaced people.

The absence of (and inability to enforce) legal frameworks notwithstanding, there is growing attention to the (human) rights and entitlements of those displaced as a consequence of conflict and development, though little consensus on appropriate institutional responses. The resettlement of internally displaced populations has, until recently, been treated as a peripheral issue. The reasons for this are varied and interconnected – including the absence of international attention, the marginal status and voicelessness of the displaced, and the limited attention devoted to the subject by social scientists. Despite sharing the common feature of being overlooked, with few exceptions, the mainstream literature has treated each phenomenon separately, with policy-makers, scholars and practitioners in each field divided by conceptual and disciplinary barriers, which is of great use to assess the problem.

The whole arguments on rights and entitlements of these resettled people are seen through the prism of social justice. It is very much clear that these people do not have registered property of their own but at the same time they are also citizens of the country and more over they come under the vulnerable group. My line of argument will be that of Government giving hundreds and thousands of acres land to the information technology based agencies, which has been given justification by the Government, although it comes under the preview of land grabbing. The justification is clear in way as it says that they are the backbone of the economy. But the argument here is that even these people contribute to the economy by helping in the construction and without them most of the things which are fundamental are not possible. They are paid less

and they have been made to work day and night. If this is the situation then what is wrong in giving some amount of land for the whole community, again not asking for private property but for minimum basic services. If without paying even a rupee the information technology agencies can be given hundreds of acres by the state Government then it is very much possible for the same government to give an acre or two to these people under the concept of social justice as these people also contribute to the economy in the best possible way by toiling out day and night.

The future of the women and children has been taken for granted by the authorities. The children who are displaced have no proper education and the utter poverty has made them vulnerable at one level and on the other hand there are instances of children becoming anti-social elements by indulging in theft and several other crimes. The parents due to the burden have even sold their children and there are instances of girl child being sold for a very cheap price like any other commodity. Women trafficking and child abuse have been other major factors in vulnerability indicators.

The women are mere passive recipients in the fallout. First of all the children and the women are vulnerable in the family, post displacement situation goes beyond imagination. This will clearly mean that there is a necessity of paying more emphasis on education. The debate on resettlement and rehabilitation cannot be held in isolation. The hasty decisions of this generation will affect the needs of the coming two generations and we do not have rights to give a devastating future to the coming generations and for any such act every citizen will be blamed and held responsible. The development induced displacements leading to social, economical and political vulnerability and moving to psychological trauma has to be given a pause and any development has to be egalitarian, then only a country can progress the way it wants to and build a conducive and healthy environment for everyone to live.

Understanding the complex social nature of involuntary resettlement should help governments, external agencies, and project managers address the issues with sociological tools of analysis and resources as a process of planned change. Rather than seek mitigation measures only, those



involved would focus on involuntary resettlement as a socioeconomic development process through which the resettled people would be helped to reach generally at least the same level of well-being they might have attained in the absence of the development intervention. The affected people should be fully informed and closely consulted on resettlement and compensation options. Where adversely affected people are particularly vulnerable, resettlement and compensation decisions should be preceded by a social preparation phase to build up the capacity of the vulnerable people to deal with the issues.

Appropriate patterns of social organization should be promoted, and existing social and cultural institutions of resettlers and their hosts should be supported and used to the greatest extent possible. Resettlers should be integrated economically and socially into host communities so that adverse impacts on host communities are minimized. One of the effective ways of achieving this integration maybe by extending development benefits to host communities.

Where population displacement is unavoidable, a detailed resettlement plan with time-bound actions specified and a budget are required. Resettlement plans should be built around a development strategy; and compensation, resettlement, and rehabilitation packages should be designed to generally improve or at least restore the social and economic base of those to be relocated. Monetary compensation for land alone may not be adequate. Voluntary relocation by some affected persons may form part of a resettlement plan, but measures to address the special circumstances of involuntary resettlers should also be included. Preference should be given to resettlement of people dislocated from agricultural settings unto similar settings. This is particularly important for indigenous peoples whose degree of acculturation to mainstream society is limited. If suitable land is unavailable, other strategies built around opportunities for wage employment or self-employment may be used.

## Chapter V

### Conclusion

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*We had tongues but could not speak, we had feet but could not walk, Now that we have land, we have the strength to speak and walk<sup>104</sup>.*

**Abstract:** *This chapter essentially contains some of the revelations and policy imperatives. Fifty years of research has shown that development-induced displacement is likely to unleash widespread changes called the resettlement effect, these changes include multi-dimensional impoverishment, the loss of homes, communities, productive land, income-earning assets, subsistence, community-shared resources, and cultural sites. The non-material impacts may be even greater, including human rights violations, deep fractures in social structures, networks and ties; threats to cultural identity and health; and destruction of social capital. From this perspective, women, children and the elderly are particularly vulnerable to the resettlement effect. The loss of social capital is particularly serious, as it diminishes the society's capacity to withstand non-project related threats. The section suggests how best a displacement can be prevented and in case of inevitable displacement how best a resettlement can be given. The process of participation and appropriate compensation aspects are also covered apart from using right based approach for displacement and resettlement rather than charity approach. The section contains several case studies analyzed in line with the theory and models used for the work.*

#### 5.1 Displacement and its Adverse Effects

The resettlement of internally displaced populations has, until recently, been treated as a peripheral issue in the field of migration. The reasons for this are varied and interconnected including the absence of international attention, the marginal status and voicelessness of the displaced, and the limited attention devoted to the subject by social scientists. Despite sharing the common feature of being overlooked, with few exceptions, the mainstream literature has treated each phenomenon separately, with policy-makers, scholars and practitioners in each field divided by conceptual and disciplinary barrier.

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<sup>104</sup> Agarwal, B. (1996), *A Field of One's Own, Gender and Land Rights in South Asia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

For a long time, it has been clear that those displaced by development initiatives have usually not benefited from them. Instead, they are more often impoverished, as they lose economic, social, and cultural resources while the new benefits go to others. National governments typically have justified these projects by invoking larger goals of national growth and development. They appear to have believed that the greater good could justify losses among a small segment of the population.

The approach to development has been called into question by many: development practitioners, human rights advocates, and even funders, who have extensively documented the losses sustained by those involuntarily displaced and resettled. While some critiques have questioned whether large-scale development projects could ever offer equitable or just development, others have argued that impoverishment can be mitigated or avoided by careful planning that includes development initiatives that specifically target the displaced and others affected by these larger projects.

The present study of the three cases IR Nagar, NTR Nagar and Airport colony is one of the hundreds and thousands of cases of displacement, where grave injustice has been meted out to people. IR Nagar had no hopes of proper resettlement but the good factor about the displacement and resettlement of NTR Nagar is that there has been a proper arrangement of a place instead of leaving the people on the road and making the people capable of constructing another slum which is again a menace to a city like Hyderabad. The cropping up of slums is not a positive factor for any city. The IR Nagar displacement in the city had severe problems and there was a major problem of constructing the shelter to the displaced people. The infrastructure project was not meticulously planned, the survey itself was not done properly due to which the people faced lot of problem from the nearby village people who can be called as host community. There was threat even to the life of the people in the resettled location. The people had to live in the sheds which were built on their own and the time was so bad that they had to face the wrath of nature in the form of rain for more than four months and the concerned minister had been in-charge of the resettlement had visited the locality prior to resettlement and she made sure that the resettlement houses in the colony were built without any hurdles. The plan was so bad that the basic survey

itself was faulty due to which the displaced people had to suffer for prolonged time. With regard to the airport colony, it is a typical case of pushing people from a better position to the worst without creating livelihood opportunities. It is a befitting example for the concept of justice and specifically the difference principle. The loss of dignity and self respect has been a factor of concern.

It has been previously discussed that how displacement can be taken as an opportunity to make sustainable urban development, with regard to that the policy makers have to make meticulous and concerned effort as displacement can occur to anybody, even to the people with property. The indifferent attitude of why to worry for somebody getting displaced will not fetch anything rather a day may come when everybody may face the same problem. The civil society has to act appropriately and respond to the situations like displacement. Until and unless the awareness comes among the people regarding the concepts of displacement along with sharing not only the benefits but burdens also, there will not be any hope of having equity in the true spirit for the displaced people; it remains only in the constitution of the land.

It is not that everybody from the place of displacement gets resettled properly, there are instances like that of the three cases dealt in this work, where more than five hundred families were staying but only three hundred and eighty four families only could get houses in the resettlement colony. There can always be a debate on can everybody win? The answer can be that, there are possibilities if people become cautious of human rights violation and the Government becomes sensitive to the civil society concerns. In the vast majority of situations, not everybody can win when it comes to the development projects involving resettlement of displaced people is a general perception. This is in significant measure because of the complexities inherent in the resettlement process. Development-with-resettlement projects are about a power differential- outsiders intervene via an infrastructure project and put pressure on people to get out of the way. If we are to enable the less powerful to keep open their options, and hence their chances of benefiting, we need to acknowledge the political issue. The choice for an open-ended, more participatory

approach for greater co-ownership of development projects is a political choice. These type of opinions and strong suggestions are given by people like Chris De Wet<sup>105</sup> in their works.

## 5.2 Justice and Impoverishment Risks

The intuitive idea from which Rawls's theory starts is simple and profound; each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override. In other words, the pursuit of a greater social good should not make us mar the lives of individuals by abridging their basic rights and entitlements. In particular, Rawls is concerned with the many ways in which attributes that have no moral worth -- like class, race, and sex-- frequently deform people's prospects in life.

Starting from the basic idea of fairness, Rawls famously argues that all parties would insist on a very strong priority for basic liberties, because they would not want to risk something as important, say, as religious freedom on the luck of where they might be placed in society. Then he argues, more controversially, that the parties would prefer a distribution of basic goods that would tolerate inequalities (because inequalities provide incentives to production) only when those inequalities raise the level of the least well off. It means that society may undertake projects that require giving some persons more power, income, status, etc. than others, e.g., paying accountants and upper-level managers more than assembly-line operatives, provided that the project will make life better off for the people who are now worst off, for example, by raising the living standards of everyone in the community and empowering the least advantaged persons to the extent consistent with their well-being.

In most countries, compensation is used by the state as the virtually single financial tool for handling expropriation, displacement and resettlement. In official vocabularies, compensation is vested with almost mythical virtues, as if it were able to cure all the ills of uprooting, dispossession, emotional pain, expropriation and economic impoverishment inflicted by forced displacement. In real life, however, compensation reveals itself to be both impotent and

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<sup>105</sup> Chris De Wet (2001) Economic development and Population Displacement, *can everybody win? Economic and Political Weekly*, December 15, pp 4637-4646.

misleading: it is unable to perform the restorative miracles with which it is officially and rhetorically credited. Compensation is flawed and reconstruction is under-financed. The revealing fact is that numerous projects that do pay compensation fail to restore livelihoods and leave people worse off.

Without any doubt, compensation for expropriated land and assets is economically justified, legally obligatory, and indispensable. But it is not capable of achieving what it is assumed to achieve: livelihood restoration and improvement. It leaves a financial gap, unfilled by other financing sources. Compensation has been found again and again, in study after study, to be not only poorly conceived and implemented, but also financially insufficient—in short, not up to its task of restitution and of actually “compensating” in the full sense of this term. By its nature, as defined in economics, compensation is neither a “benefit” to displaced oustees nor an “investment” in their development (as it is often falsely claimed to be): it is only an (incomplete) restitution for what is taken away from those displaced.

The scholarly critique of compensation theory, of its financial insufficiency, and of its operational dysfunctions has sharpened in recent years, striving to pierce the deafness of officialdom. Such critique has multiplied particularly in India, more at the level of empirical observation and reporting, however, than at the level of theoretical deconstruction and critique. In their book on India’s ongoing development, Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen noted, without elaborating, that “it has been possible for large development projects to displace millions...over the years, *without any compensation worth the name and without anyone taking much interest in them in the corridors of power*”. In addition to being functionally insufficient from a strictly financial viewpoint, even if it were calculated objectively, compensation is further vitiated by corrupt subtractions and distortions during delivery, as aptly described by Mathur: “Poor people don’t get in their hands the full amount of compensation for their properties, meant to aid them in getting back on their feet”. Even in land acquisition for private sector projects, government’s unnecessary interference in transactions that should be market-based, between a willing buyer and a willing seller, results in a much diminished amount of compensation for the small landowners, largely accounting for their impoverishment.

The financial insufficiency of compensation as a source for restoring and improving livelihoods is by now well known by the understanding we had through the chapter on three case studies. It is fully predictable that the outcomes will continue to be de-capitalization and impoverishment, with countless people becoming worse off. To continue a financing pattern based on compensation alone means largely to continue financing the certainty of repeated failure and further impoverishment. Financing is in itself a factor of such paramount importance for achieving economically sustainable resettlement that, when flawed, it causes failure, even if other necessary factors of success are present. Certainly, money alone wouldn't solve all resettlement's problems either. But the absence of adequate financing foreordains failure by definition. Avoiding altogether or reducing displacement whenever possible remains always the desirable and paramount goal. But when compulsory displacement becomes unavoidable, these mechanisms are crucial for placing the people who are physically or economically displaced on a new and economically robust productive foundation. Endowing development projects that cause displacement with the budgeted financial resources needed to correct the harm through sustainable resettlement is nothing more than a normal, elementary prerequisite for creating the capacity to do the job. Yet although this is a fundamental premise, project economists underestimate it.

Analysis of the compensation principle and practices followed in the case studies of Hyderabad cannot but conclude that compensation is structurally insufficient to achieve full restoration and is even less capable of generating improvements in livelihoods. Empirical findings show beyond any doubt that the delivery of compensation is subject to structural dysfunctions, diverting practices, delays, etc., leaving the goal of oustees reintegration and reconstruction unachieved. Given that the historical record of forced displacements is a reliable predictor, the absence of legislation mandating benefit sharing in public sector projects causing displacement means, in unambiguous terms, accepting in advance that resettlement will most likely fail to achieve restoration of livelihoods. Equally starkly, it means not repaying in full the society's debt to those expropriated and condoning cost-externalization and impoverishment.

The lands formerly owned by the displaced population are used and “invested” in the new companies, but the people themselves are bought out and economically excluded through imposed expropriation. The price they receive in a non-market transaction forced upon them, a price that carries the label of “compensation”, may, at the very best, be equal to the replacement value of their land itself as a piece of agricultural land, but does not pay for the lands’ developmental potential. What the land purchasers buy are, in fact, the yet unused opportunities for development embedded in these lands. Without these lands, the new enterprises would be impossible. This is why the people yielding their lands to the projects can reasonably be regarded as shareholders. Their contribution is not only their land but also its development potential, i.e., the opportunity to realize this potential. The social contract embedded in the principle of land acquisition for development purposes must involve the obligation of the purchasers (or expropriators) not to worsen the condition of the land sellers but to enable them also to benefit from the opportunities for development and improve their livelihood. Since they surrender not just any non-essential, indifferent good, but the very economic foundation of their pre-project existence, it is this economic foundation that must be reconstructed.

When land of the displaced becomes part of the equity of the new enterprise, the displaced people give up their daily livelihood source. This makes it imperative that an alternative livelihood source be established immediately, through the offer of alternative land, or of a cash lump sum for alternative land purchase, and through guaranteed access to employment for the economically uprooted families in the new enterprise being built.

### **5.2.1 Impoverishment Risks**

As a whole the above risks can be categorized and put henceforth to say how concept of justice can be located and the requirement of identification of the least advantaged needs to be done meticulously. The Michael Cernea<sup>106</sup> model is the best to assess any displacement and resettlement and fit into the justice model. The model can be applied in any resettlement context. The present case of displacements at three places can be seen through the prism of Cernea’s model. Cernea

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<sup>106</sup> Michael Cernea, (1998) Impoverishment or Social justice? A Model for Planning Resettlement, in Development Projects and Impoverishment risks, Resettling project-Affected People in India(Ed) by Hari Mohan Mathur and David Marsden, OUP, Delhi.



characterizes his model through eight impoverishment risks which has been discussed in the previous chapter. Cernea has created by seeing the general pattern of risk in all the parts of the world where displacement is involuntary. These risks threaten not only the people who are displaced but even the risk incurred by the local economy, which may lead to major losses and disruption.

The risks are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property, social disarticulation.

**Landlessness** can be explained as expropriation. It removes the main foundation upon which people's productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are constructed. This is the principal form of decapitalization and pauperization of displaced people, as they lose both natural and man-made capital. The people lost the land from where they used to get money. This is a bit different type of statement as to consider how the land fetched them capital, But the answer is that the very place from where the people are displaced was source of income in a way it saved the money they invested on transportation and food. The land even made their income more by giving them mobility to reach the working place at any point of time and the location of the place allowed them to earn the best of the day which varied from Rs.100 to Rs.120. the same situation is not there in the resettled place. If the resettlement would have been same as the previous one and it would have been conducive for their work then there was all the possibility of hailing the resettlement as the best one. The resettlement could have been called as a step towards development activity. The situation is different, it has been place from where their production has come down, and as a result the loss in income has given rise to illiteracy and high discrimination among the gender.

### **Case Study-I**

#### **Landlessness-Krishna of Airport Colony**

In the present work landlessness is a major factor. To say particularly, this has made the life of the people displaced in international airport project. The people were completely dependent on land as it was their basic source of income as well as habitat. If we consider the case of Mr.Krishna, an oustee belonging to BC community, went through a heartening situation in the post displacement scenario. His father died due to the shock of losing land used by generations. Krishnas' mother passed away as she could not take the news of her husband's death. Krishna being a person affected with minor handicap was able to look after the land through workers. Once he lost the land, his dreams of cultivating the land and educating his three sons got devastated. Within six months after displacement his first son Chethan, realized that his dreams of getting into engineering would never be realized. The other two children are thinking to quit the school and help their father in supporting the family.

**Joblessness** comes under the connotation of loss of wage employment which occurs both in urban and rural displacement. The people who lose jobs are the landless and the small shop owners who have had the shops by taking it for rent. It is for sure that creating the same level of employment opportunity is highly difficult but not impossible. Unemployment and under employment among the resettlers often endures long after physical relocation has been completed. The concept of joblessness is very appropriate among the resettlers in all the three cases as most of them lost the job which they were doing previously. The whole community had to search for the jobs freshly as the link in the previous place was lost. The distance between the old locality and the new resettled locality varies from six to 16 kilometers. It is very difficult to have any type of communication with the previous contractors and until and unless the locality is seen by the contractors they would not accept to give work. Joblessness is more appropriate to the women folk as they lost the place where they had small shops (Kirana). The women used to manage the household by the earnings they made in the small petty shops in the location. The population of the locality was more as it had many families which were staying even by paying rent.

## **Case Study II**

### **Joblessness-Razzak of NTR Nagar**

Razzak is a daily wage earner from the present NTR Nagar colony (Victim of MMTS project). Joblessness was so severe to Razzak, he did not know what to do for the first ten to fifteen days. The problem was that of getting used to the new place and getting rapport with the new locality and people around. The authorities in his displacement case had promised Rs.5000 during resettlement and they never got it. This made his life miserable; he could even fetch three time meals to his family. He was not prepared enough to face the situation. When Razzak went in search of job to the nearby locality they were asking him to come with someone who is familiar with the locality. As Razzak had none to take along with him even finding a job became a herculean task. As I put it in his own words “the trauma faced by the families along with joblessness can only be experienced and not expressed”.

**Homelessness** is very much applicable to the present case study as the people of the locality lost their house and were given houses after the displacement. But the large number of people who were paying low rent and staying there did not get any registration forms and they did not get houses also in the first two cases. The fear of getting displaced is severe and it can be felt at the threat they would have faced. The people in the locality were staying in the place from more than thirty to thirty five years. They were told to vacate within few months. The mystery behind the whole episode is that the people of the locality came to know about the displacement only through an advertisement in a daily news paper. There was no official who informed them. The locality is just behind the collectorate office of the Ranga Reddy district, in a way it should fetch them with more information regarding the displacement, but to the amusement the officials had kept it as an secret due to fear of backlash and agitation. The sudden news of displacement came as a shock to the people, which was really difficult to digest.

**Case study III**  
**Homelessness-Lakshmi of Indra Reddy Nagar**

Lakshmi is 30 year old married to Balu with a daughter and son. Lakshmi use to go to work to the construction site near her house in Durga Bhavani colony. With both husband and wife earning, they were able to build a small house and were living. Once the displacement occurred, they were put through severe mental stress as they were the victims of multiple displacements. Within a month, the monsoon started in Hyderabad and they did not have a place to live. With children below 6 years were exposed to the inadequate hut they built to protect themselves. After having led a decent life in the previous locality, did not even have a place for bathing and ablutions. The family had to spend more than a year and half in the hut and every day she was put through the task of protecting herself from the men around waiting for an opportunity to sneak when her husband was away. The family use to suffer everyday during the rainy season as the water use to surge through their hose as the house was located in a lower altitude. This is not just lakshmis' case but more than four hundred families of the colony.

As Cernea says the concept of homelessness and the feeling is for very small time, but it is 'chronic'. The anxiety which the people face before displacement, with the fear that whether they get houses or not to stay in the future lands people in trauma to which there are several case studies stand as example. The concept of homelessness is not just the physical land or the structure they lose but the long acquaintance they would have had with the land where they stayed for more than thirty to thirty years. For some it is the birth place and they shed tears when they remember the place where they took place, the nostalgia haunts them.

**Marginalization** occurs when the families lose economic power and slide on a 'downward mobility' path. Marginalization happens at different levels. It need not be that of the literary meaning of the word only. Each person's income level goes down one step along with the displacement. Many individuals cannot use their previously acquired skills at the new location and human capital is lost or rendered inactive, useless. The coerciveness of displacement also

depreciates the image of self. Marginalization materializes also in a drop in social status and in a psychological downward slide of resettlers. Confidence in society and self, a sense of injustice, a premise of anomic behavior appears at the peoples mind. Relative economic marginalization begins long before actual displacement, because of disinvestments and no investments on infrastructure and services in the neglected areas.

Basically the people belong to the marginalized section in the Indian caste hierarchy. They all come under the groups of scheduled caste and minorities. This is one reason why the displaced people could not get what they expected. The same would have been with the case of some community which is up in the hierarchy surely the situation would have been different. The political parties leave the ruling party as the plan was the brain child of the then chief minister there was no question of anybody questioning his authority in word and spirit, but the opposition party also did not come to any help as their intervention would have made some difference certainly. This very attitude can be traced to the negligence of the authorities and the politicians towards the vulnerable groups which are marginal. The vulnerable groups faced all the problems of even having police case against them. The president of the locality faced a police case filed against in the name of selling the land to outsiders and getting people in the name of giving land. The whole incident sound ridiculous as the president never had even the earning as the other people of the community. He had only petty shops which use to take care of his family. The marginalization concept is more appropriate to these people as they are marginalized at different levels, one at the level of they got abused for doing nothing by the authorities, and at the next level of not getting the promised things by the authorities.

**Case study IV**  
**Marginalization-Mary Gangaiah**

Mary Gangaiah is the resident of the airport colony and belongs to the scheduled caste. Marys' husband use to work as a daily wage labourer in a land belonging to a Reddy from the same village. As the Reddy's do not cultivate by themselves, the place was looked after by Gangaiah from past 10 years. Mary Gangaiah used to work as daily wage labourer in nearby farm house. Being from the scheduled caste they did not own any land and had ½ acre of assigned land. With displacement coming as a sheer shock they lost the land for a meager amount. The Government fixed least amount as compensation for assigned land. The Reddy landlords having lost all of their property could not give job to any of these families. This made Mary's family vulnerable to debt and belonging to the marginalized group put them through a greater hardship in getting debt.

**Increased Morbidity and Mortality** can be seen as a result of displacement through serious decline in health condition. The social stress, insecurity, psychological trauma, and the outbreak of relocation-related illness, particularly parasitic and vector-born diseases, such as malaria and schistosomiasis attack the resettled people if the resettled colony is not clean and has proper water supply. The poor water supply and drainage system will make the people vulnerable to all type of diseases. The children are prone to get dysentery and such other problems. The present resettled place, there are no drainages and due to this problem the people of the locality leave the water used by them to the roads. This has been one major problem which has not been addressed by any authorities from the beginning of the colony. This problem has given place for mosquitoes which are harmful to the children and even elders as there is a high chance of getting malaria. The place is better than many other resettled places in the rural areas as there is some better level of awareness among the people in the present resettlement locality.

**Case Study V**  
**Increased Mortality and Morbidity-Sujatha of Indra Reddy Nagar**

Sujatha was newly married in the year 2004 and within four months of her marriage the displacement occurred. Sujatha was pregnant by the time the family moved to Indra Reddy Nagar. There were no basic facilities in the resettlement colony. Even for medical checkup, Sujatha was forced to travel more than twenty kilometers one way. It was manageable in the initial stage but as her pregnancy advanced towards 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> month it was not possible for her to travel by the auto on sharing basis. It was not economically viable for her to travel by a rented auto for herself. With all the difficulties she gave birth to a baby boy with the assistance of her parents assisting her in medical expenses. The baby was under weight and not well developed. Doctors cited the reason of not consuming adequate calories of food. Within a month the delivery the boy passed away. The family did not have money to take the child for the medical checkup. It was in the later stage the girls family came to know that, after Sujatha moved to the resettlement colony she could never afford to have food sufficiently.

**Food Insecurity** is one of the main risks which are faced by the people who are displaced. Forced uprooting increases the risk that people will fall into chronic undernourishment, defined as calorie-protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work. Undernourishment is both a symptom and result of inadequate resettlement. It is natural that the income and food availability level goes down during the displacement and resettlement. The predictability of such happenings should make the authorities alert and they should make sure that such things do not happen. The same case happened with the three cases of the resettled people. On the day of displacement, it was told that the people would be provided one hundred kilograms of rice and they will be given five thousand rupees. This assurance made the people not to keep anything in stock. Basically the men had lost their job and they were searching for work and there was no food in the house to feed the people adequately. This made people to go undernourished. The children were not fed properly and due to this problem the children's health got deteriorated.

### **Case Study VI** **Food Security–Yadagiri of Indra Reddy Nagar**

Yadagiri belongs to the BC community and has quite big family of six persons including him. He has a wife, three daughters and a son. All the children are grown up except the son who is in 4<sup>th</sup> standard. Being a daily wage earner his monthly income, if not sufficient, was enough to manage his family. There was no fear of losing the job throughout his stay near Manikonda as many construction companies were coming up. The work place was also closer by and had no other investment on his transportation etc. his wife was working as a domestic helper in a software engineers house and was earning decent enough to support her husband's income. Immediately after displacement they were pushed to a far off place like Indra Reddy Nagar in Shankarpally mandal and just to commute to the work place he started spending more than Rs.28 per day. There were days he has spent much more when the work has got delayed or when he went to buy things for house. His wife could not commute and reach the place where she was working before. This was a blow to the family. Now the earnings of Yadagiri is not sufficient for the family and there are at times when the husband wife along with the first two daughters starve and give food to the son and the youngest daughter.

**Loss of access to Common Property** is one risk due to which not one family but all the people in the displaced population lose. For poor people, particularly for the landless, and the assetless, loss of access to common property assets that belong to relocated communities previously would be lost. This is a major risk as these people would have had their burial ground and place for the children to play in the displaced land. The common property in the present case study was one that where the people of the locality had petty shops. There was lot of space for the people to park their vehicles in front of their houses and there was lot of security. The loss of access to common property can be seen in a way as the place which measured in the previous place is more than the place they have in the new locality. The access to common property concept is not there in the new resettlement locality as there is nothing called common property, only there are houses that too are congested and enough place is not there for people to live.



### **Case Study VII** **Loss of access to Common Property Resources**

This is particularly applicable to the Airport Colony resettled people as they belonged to eleven different villages. Common property was one of the major source of livelihoods for a large number of people. Many of the BC community members are popularly called as Yadavs and their major source of income comes from selling milk. The milk was sold in Shamshabad and around places. This was fetching them a considerable amount of money. The cows and the buffaloes use to graze in the common properties of the village. These places were used extensively as everybody had the scarcity of land. With the loss of common property resources the people were forced to sell the cows and buffaloes. This was a major loss of income. Even in the villages where agricultural lands were taken and only habitat is left, there is no common property left now to keep the animals. Apart from cows and buffaloes, there were good number of goats and sheep's reared by the villagers.

**Social Disarticulation** is the most and important risk factor in the displacement and resettlement. Forced displacement tears apart the existing social fabric; it disperses and fragments communities, dismantles patterns of social organization and interpersonal ties. Kinship groups get shattered. Life sustaining informal networks of reciprocal help, local voluntary associations, and self organized mutual service arrangements are dismantled. The destabilization of community life is apt to generate a typical state of anomie, crisis laden insecurity, and loss of sense of cultural identity, tending to transform displacement zones into what has been termed as 'anomic regions' or anomic ridden areas. The loss of social capital that compounds the loss of natural and manmade capital is one biggest risk in involuntary resettlement. The social capital lost through social disarticulation remains unperceived and uncompensated by planners, and this real loss will reverberate long and detrimentally during subsequent periods. The community may physically persist, but the community that was is no more, because of its spatial, temporal, and cultural determinants are gone. In the present resettlement also the people have lost the kith and kin of them at the time of displacement. Many of them were not given houses as a consequence those people could not come to the new resettled colony. The small savings groups and organizations whatever they had got dismantled and the loss is irreparable. It is Herculean task to

rebuild and to restore the situation which prevailed previously. These facts are not given that importance by the planners during the displacement and the least bothered attitude has appeared have brought very bad memories along with people.

The above eight basic impoverishment risks affect various categories of vulnerable people differentially. The evidence suggests that, depending on the sector in which displacement occurs, or on local circumstances, resettlers at different locations may experience some or all of the eight basic risks. Moreover, certain population groups are hurt more than others. Children, as a category, are subjected to particularly perverse consequences. To add emphasis to the problem of the children along with the eight-fold impoverishment risks model, loss of education to children can be added and should be added. Indeed, relocation often interrupts schooling and some children never return to the school. After displacement, as a result of drops in the family income, many children are drafted into the labor market earlier than what would have otherwise been the case. Differences between particularly vulnerable groups clearly call for targeted response. The risk recognition and analysis are a crucial prerequisite for the practice of sound planning. Indeed, more than offering just general warnings, the planners should be in a position to make the best use of the opportunity of displacement to turn it as an advantage in reducing cropping up slums in the city drastically. The model should be used as a tool to actual planning and the inaction of the plan has to be meticulously kept a watch.

### **5.3 Economic issues**

The economic aspects of impoverishment and reconstitution of livelihoods concern the loss of economic resources and the reconstitution of access to those resources in such a way as to earn a viable living and reproduce the next generation. They include resources that produce income, such as land or common property, as well as jobs. Cernea has broken these down into three separate risks. Landlessness can be seen as both land for housing and for production, although land for production is particularly important. Landlessness is more crucial when people have land-based production systems. Farmers are the primary category here although land can be used

for other purposes as well, e.g., ranching or tree production. Loss of common property is important where people gain a significant part of their production from a commons or an open-access resource, e.g., forests, rivers, inundatable river banks, etc. These may provide the primary productive resources or may serve as complementary resources for individuals or households. The poor are especially likely to depend on common property resources. Finally, joblessness will be confronted by those who lose employment because of displacement. This includes those who lose jobs with larger firms because the commute becomes too long or because the firm itself folds as a consequence of the resettlement. It also affects those who are self-employed, who may lose either a source of raw materials or their clientele. The ways to reconstitute these livelihoods most successfully is not obvious, but rather entails various complexities. Three are particularly important. First is the issue of tenure regimes. While a significant number of land users have title, many do not. In rural areas, some of those without title are considered to have types of customary tenure, while others are considered “squatters” or “encroachers.” In urban areas as well, rapid urban growth often implies neighborhoods where many are considered squatters. While it is now generally recognized that long-term “squatters” ought to receive compensation, there remains the practical issue of weeding out individuals who come into a displacement area simply so they can get rights to new land. Common property is often of ambiguous tenure status as well; moreover, governments are often reluctant to allot land to groups rather than individuals.

Second is the fact that people rarely live by one kind of resource. The poor especially are often required to make use of multiple productive resources to make ends meet. Therefore, many displaced do not need to face the risk of only landlessness or joblessness or loss of common property, but two or all three simultaneously. Resettlement initiatives need to consider complex combinations of resource replacement in an environment that is itself changing because of the resettlement.

Third, replacement of economic resources is not only about replacing incomes, but also assets. For example, a displaced peasant farmer loses not only the yearly income from his or her crop at the time of displacement, but the asset (land) that will allow production of a crop (subsistence and/or income) after resettlement. Compensation for the loss of assets needs to be at replacement

cost, not market value. The loss of productive capacity is one of the major causes of impoverishment. In this light, the reconstitution of productive resources has come to be at the heart of livelihood reconstitution strategies because without a way to make a reasonable living, people are bound to become impoverished. However, reconstituting productive resources is usually insufficient in and of itself to reconstitute meaningful lives. In Cernea's model, five of the eight impoverishment risks are oriented around other sources of impoverishment.

#### **5.4 Socio-Cultural Issues**

Human beings are not simply individual economic beings, but are part of social and cultural systems that give meaning to their lives. When displacement weakens or dismantles vital social networks and life-support mechanisms, local authority systems collapse and groups lose their capacity to manage themselves. This causes social disarticulation, the dispersion and fragmentation of existing communities. The loss of reciprocity networks and resulting social cohesion can also increase powerlessness, dependence, and vulnerability. Social disarticulation is especially common when existing social groups cannot resettle together, but may also occur even when groups stay together, but lose their ability to act effectively in the context of new social and political forces. Marginalization is seen by Cernea as a more individualized process and occurs when families or individuals lose economic power and experience downward mobility. This may be because they cannot use their old skills at a new location, finding their existing human capital obsolete. Resettlement may bring a loss of control over physical space, as well as a new environment in which existing knowledge and skills, either individual or social, are less useful. Economic marginality can lead in turn to social or psychological marginality, such as a drop in social status or psychological problems. It is also possible for entire ethnic groups to lose status as they become incorporated into states at the bottom of national stratification systems.

The major way to mitigate both social disarticulation and marginalization is through resettlement strategies that emphasize the reconstruction of communities and social networks and deliberately pursue strategies of social cohesion. Some have seen educational loss as a distinctive and additional risk. Building education and skills that allow people to make use of new resources in the new environment is a necessary part of strategies to combat marginalization. Even though the

concept of resettling groups as communities has been important, other aspects of resettlement introduce complexities into reconstituting social and cultural resources. These relate in part to the power distributions of both local and larger society. Resettlement situations introduce the possibility for some groups to increase power and access to resources; these are often those with much power already who want more. At the national level, powerful national groups may pursue strategies that allow them to increase control. For example the power struggles between immigrants and local residents that may arise when a resettlement scheme can provide elite the opportunity to realize its political goals at the expense of the local population. The ability of local groups to use resettlement to increase their control has been much more problematic; as they are usually fighting maintain to maintain what they have. Lacking the ability to maintain this control, existing local leaders can often lose credibility.

However, it is not only the distribution of power between the displaced and the larger society that offers possibilities for change, but also the distribution within the displaced community. Diverse interests often appear among those replaced, as some of them will not want to reconstruct communities that did not work in their interest. In terms of reconstruction as social units, this means that certain groups will not want to reconstruct the units and types of social cohesion that disfavored them. This was seen in some cases of Indian resettlement where lower castes chose to resettle apart from upper caste villagers with whom they had previously lives, where hamlets (politically inferior to officially recognized villages) chose to regroup in larger units so they could compete effectively with villages for status and power. Divergent interests between men and women and youth and elders are also common because children have not yet completed developing their cultural spatial-temporal orders, the simple act of displacement seems to affect them less than adults. Youth, especially young men, may also see opportunities for new jobs and be more in favor of the resettlement than older adults. These internal divisions among relocates facilitate any implicit or explicit divide and- conquer strategies of the powerful and affect the ability of the displaced to determine and act in their interest as a group. Participatory strategies of development that assume homogeneity of interests are not likely to work in such a situation. Rather, the strategies to reconstitute cohesive social units and to avoid marginalization need to take into account the diverse interests among resettlers.

The loss of social and cultural resources, however, is not only a problem with economic impact, but also a significant loss in and of itself. An integral part of human culture is attachment to existing conceptions of time and space and the ways in which they are prioritized; societies often order themselves internally through their relationship to space; resettlement disturbs this order. The destruction of the local economic order may not be primary reason for social disarticulation, since signs of social disorder often appear before loss of productive activities, as people begin to act in light of what they believe the future will bring. Individuals create and make meaningful a common identity through their relationships to place and the artifacts they use to define space. These artifacts include not only productive resources, but also social resources, tangible evidence of a group identity. These may include such things as burial grounds, community and religious shrines and centers, etc. These also may include economic infrastructure that creates a local identity, e.g., a periodic marketplace, bus station, crossroads, etc.

The final three risks identified in the risks and reconstructions can be categorized as social welfare risks. They include homelessness and lack of shelter, food insecurity when people do not have enough to eat, and increased morbidity and mortality caused by the stress and environmental changes of moving. These can be risks over either the long or short term. Over the short term, these are humanitarian social welfare issues that can be dealt with along the lines of other projects that deal with these problems, for example, the aftermath of natural disasters. They require the mobilization of significant resources but over relatively short time periods. Homelessness can be dealt with by plans for housing construction or provision of construction materials in a great number of different formats. Food insecurity over the short term can be dealt with by a range of food-aid programs. Physical morbidity can be addressed by vaccination and disease prevention programs before displacement, and by assigning appropriate medical and mental health personnel during the resettlement phase. Time is of the essence, but these programs can follow procedures laid out for other humanitarian assistance programs. It appears that issues of short-term homelessness, food insecurity, and increased morbidity and mortality are among the easiest to address successfully. They have been relatively well addressed by many resettlement programs. The problem is rather that because these risks are both highly visible and relatively easy to mitigate in the short term, many resettlement projects stop after addressing

these social welfare risks and do not go on to development initiatives that deal with the other risks identified in the model.

Food insecurity, homelessness, and increased morbidity and mortality may also continue to be risks over the long term. The major attribution can be to scarcity of wage work, the poverty of the land, and the lack of access to forest produce, that is, to landlessness, joblessness, and lack of access to common property resources. In this sense, social welfare risks need to be addressed immediately, but if they persist over the long term, it is usually because the other two major categories of risk have not been effectively addressed.

### 5.5 The Guiding Principles of Internal Displacement

The guiding principles of internal displacement would give us greater vision and the task ahead of displacement and resettlement as to show how important is to identify and protect the internally displaced people (IDP's)

**Identification challenges** Of course, it may be that not all internally displaced people (IDPs) will necessarily be in the sort of *relatively* clear-cut situations described above. There may be cases where it is difficult to ascertain the degree of involuntariness or coercion involved in the decision to leave their homes and where it is difficult to decide whether individuals or groups have special needs due to their forced displacement. Indeed, the Guiding Principles set the generic boundaries for describing IDPs by outlining the broad situations in which people can be considered as displaced. Using this description to fit the context should facilitate the task of profiling. However, in many cases there may be doubts as to whether some population groups fit the IDP description. Considerations to be taken into account include: • acknowledging that people may become internally displaced either after suffering the effects of coercive factors or *in anticipation* of such effects; • the nature of coercion or involuntariness experienced; • the fact that people can become 'displaced in place' even though the original reason for their movement may have been voluntary (eg. migration for economic reasons, nomads cut off from their

migratory routes, squatters evicted, etc); • the possibility that there may have been several reasons for displacement, ie. A combination of conflict and disaster related factors, for example, as well as multiple displacement movements. It is important to note that identification challenges are a common occurrence in profiling exercises, as clear policy guidance on a number of grey areas is currently not available. Where such difficulties arise, it is crucial that a consistent and commonly-agreed approach be sought at the country level, wherever possible.

A number of which are illustrated below:

**Example 1:** IDPs may be unable to identify themselves as displaced or to cite any displacement-related rights violations. It is important to take into account the possibility that, if claims are not being voiced, this might be due to fear of retribution. Continuing violations of human rights may still be occurring but the individual(s) affected are at risk of being persecuted or killed if they denounce the perpetrator(s).

**Example 2:** People may appear to have moved for voluntary, or economic reasons. It may be assumed they are not IDPs – but their seemingly voluntary movement may have had roots in some form of coercion, danger or anticipation thereof, or, having left home voluntarily, that movement may have turned into an involuntary one if they subsequently became unable to return. The guiding factor will be whether or to what extent involuntariness, or coercion, or anticipation of coercion or danger, were the main reasons for leaving. For instance, seasonal workers and other migrants might appear to move freely and without coercion, but they may have been displaced due to coercive factors that may take more time and effort to uncover. This includes nomads, a category of migrant<sup>12</sup>, who may have been forced to abandon their nomadic lifestyle for a variety of reasons beyond their control, involving conflict, disaster, development factors or a combination. Consideration of the reasons for an unusual movement of nomadic populations should carefully focus on the same elements that apply to non- nomadic populations to determine if their movement has been forced, ie. due to coercion, danger or anticipation thereof. Questioning, where possible, may often, but not always, enable one to determine the level of coercion.



**Example 3:** The Guiding Principles indicate that both nationals of a country and also those who have taken up habitual residence in the country can be considered IDPs if subjected to forced displacement. Thus, aliens who are legally present in a state's territory can also be IDPs. Displaced illegal aliens are usually not considered as IDPs, but do have a right to have their basic human rights respected and protected.

**Example 4:** Individuals or families who claim that they received little or no compensation for their loss of land or property, or acknowledge receiving compensation but maintain it is of inferior quality, size or location to what they lost. These IDPs may not be experiencing any particular vulnerability or material need, but while they are unable to reclaim full enjoyment of their rights, they should still be considered IDPs alternatively, they may find themselves in a state of 'protracted displacement', and unable to improve their livelihoods.

**Example 5:** Combatants and those associated with them: porters, sex slaves, family members, etc. In situations of armed conflict, relief actions must be exclusively humanitarian in character and may only be intended for the civilian population. Combatants and those associated with them may indeed be internally displaced. However, while bearing arms or otherwise involved in the fighting, combatants shall not be recipients of humanitarian assistance or be profiled, whereas those accompanying them are often among the most vulnerable groups of IDPs and may need to be identified accordingly so that they can be included in protection strategies and programming.

**Example 6:** The 'displaced in place': this might be a group of people who are in their original place of residence and have been arbitrarily evicted from their homes but, finding nowhere else to go, have returned to what might now be empty plots of land where their dwellings once stood. They continue to live in fear of further displacement and have no redress to their violated right to adequate shelter or compensation for having lost it.

Internal displacement 'shall last no longer than required by the circumstances,' the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement stipulate. It is now well recognized that to be internally

displaced is to be exposed to a range of particular risks and vulnerabilities, even if it does not create a legal status. Bringing an end to this precarious plight is critically important. However, if decided prematurely, it can have serious ramifications. There consequently has to be an understanding of how to define and realize this end in a manner that respects the safety and security of the displaced.

Providing solutions to IDPs and ensuring their protection and assistance primarily lie with national authorities and, where applicable, with non state actors who control a given territory. This framework should enable humanitarian organizations to assist the relevant authorities and non state actors to take on this responsibility. Their purpose is also to assist them and the displaced themselves to determine whether durable solutions to internal displacements have been found and, if not, to identify what is still required towards reaching that goal. The framework addresses those displaced by conflict, human rights abuses and natural or man-made disasters. It may also provide guidance to those displaced by development projects although in such situations return most often is not possible and, in addition, special guidelines on resettlement exist. The framework does not aim to address the question of disengagement of humanitarian organizations specifically, which is a operational and mandate driven decision, although the achievement of durable solutions can be a criterion for it.

Currently, there is no consensus as to when to stop considering someone as an internally displaced person (IDP). Because identification as an IDP does not confer a special status under international law, there is no cessation clause as for refugees. For some, internal displacement ends only upon the reversal of displacement, that is, upon IDPs' return to their place of origin. In many cases, such return can occur only when the causes of the displacement have been resolved. However, because return is not always possible or even desired by IDPs, this can lead to a situation where internal displacement holds little prospect of ever ending, and instead is an "identity" passed down from one generation to the next, which can impede their integration and even undermine their rights. At the other extreme, internal displacement may abruptly be deemed to have ended. It may, for instance, be in the interest of a government to claim there are no longer any IDPs in the country, in an effort to give the appearance of a return to normality and to

direct international scrutiny elsewhere. Or, resources may dictate who is considered an IDP, with displacement “ending” when funding ends. To end specific actions for IDPs prematurely may lead to some IDPs’ particular protection needs being neglected, without having found a durable solution.

As prevention, which should be the first priority, is not always successful, there is a need to find durable solutions for the displaced, once their forced displacement has occurred. Three types of durable solutions to internal displacement exist: return to the place of origin, local integration in the areas in which IDPs initially take refuge or settlement in another part of the country, the latter two being termed “resettlement” by the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.<sup>3</sup> In order to be considered durable, they must be based on three elements, long-term safety and security, restitution of or compensation for lost property and an environment that sustains the life of the former IDPs under normal economic and social conditions.

Displacement ends when one of these durable solutions occurs and IDPs no longer have needs specifically related to their displacement. This does not mean that they may not continue to have a need for protection and assistance, but their needs would be no different from other similarly situated citizens. Having found a durable solution, formerly displaced persons continue be protected by human rights law and, if applicable, by international humanitarian law (IHL). Consequently, they continue to have all of the rights of citizens, and the international community should support these rights on the same basis as for others in the country. The fact that a person is no longer being considered an IDP shall have no repercussions for the enjoyment of her or his citizen’s and human rights, and, when applicable, the protection offered by IHL, including the right to seek redress/compensation, or the right not to be discriminated against because of having been displaced. The end of displacement is achieved when the persons concerned no longer have specific protection and assistance needs related to their having been displaced, and thus can enjoy their human rights, in a non-discriminatory manner vis-à-vis citizens who were never displaced. In order to assess whether this situation has been achieved, an analysis of the individual’s access to rights needs to take place for each situation Internal displacement does not generally end abruptly. Rather, ending displacement is a process through which the need for

specialized assistance and protection diminishes. Sometimes, for long periods after return, those who have been displaced may find themselves in markedly different circumstances and with different needs than those who never left their home communities. For example, claims to their property may not be adjudicated immediately, leaving them without shelter or a means of livelihood in places of return. Similarly, those who are settled elsewhere may require humanitarian and financial aid until they are able to obtain shelter and employment in their new location. Even in the context of a durable peace agreement, insecurity may continue to pose problems for uprooted populations, particularly if there are resentments and conflicts between returning, locally integrated or settled IDP populations and the already resident population. Under these circumstances, even if the people have returned, they still have residual displacement related problems and are therefore of concern.

Deciding that displacement has ended includes both subjective and objective aspects. IDPs may continue to see themselves as displaced long after national authorities and international observers determine that their situation has been resolved using a set of objective criteria. Conversely, IDPs may see their displacement at an end upon returning home, even though a more objective analysis would indicate that they remain vulnerable as persons who have been previously uprooted and who would continue to need protection and assistance as returnees, locally integrated or persons who have settled elsewhere in their country.

## **5.6 Right to Participation.**

The affected communities must be able to participate in different levels of decision-making, from the local (project), state (programme), national and international levels. The right to participation is well grounded in the International Bill of Human Rights (for instance, ICCPR, art. 25). More specifically, the 1991 International Labour Organisation Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO Convention 169) stipulates (Article 7) that indigenous and tribal peoples shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of national and regional development plans that affect them.

## **5.7 Right to Life and Livelihood**

When security forces take action to move people forcibly or to quell civil dissent against development projects, this may constitute a direct threat to the right to life, which is protected in the UDHR (Article 3) and the ICCPR (Article 6). The right to livelihood is threatened by the loss of home and the means to make a living – whether farming, fishing, hunting, trading or the like – when people are displaced from habitual residences and traditional homelands. The right to own property and not to be arbitrarily deprived of this property as well as the right to work are spelled out in the UDHR (Articles 17 and 23, respectively) as well as in Article 6 of the ICESCR. Article 11 of the ICESCR, moreover, provides for "the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions". Included in the right to life is the right to environment. This concept has also been phrased as “intergenerational equity” or the right of future generations to inherit a planet, or a particular piece of it, that is capable of sustaining life. The many linkages between protection of human rights and protection of the environment have long been recognised. The 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment declared that "man's environment, the natural and the man-made, are essential to his well-being and to the enjoyment of basic human rights- even the right to life itself".

## **5.8 Rights of Vulnerable Groups**

While development projects may create vulnerability through impoverishment, they disproportionately affect groups that are vulnerable to begin with, particularly indigenous peoples and women. Human rights of vulnerable groups are protected generically in the International Bill of Human Rights. The ILO Convention 169 spells out protections for indigenous groups. The principle of non-discrimination is not only codified in the UDHR (Article 2), the ICCPR (Article 2) and the ICESCR (Article 2) but also in the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

## 5.9 Right to Remedy

The right to remedy is asserted in the UDHR (Article 8) and in the ICCPR (Article 2). As noted in a report to the World Commission on Dams, often, due to the nature of the development process, the project-affected peoples come to know about actions that have been taken without their knowledge or consent. Therefore, they need a quick and efficacious remedy that can halt on-going violations and prevent future ones. The right to remedy is therefore crucial to all development projects.

It is very clear that the political intervention is one from where the idea of having a development project arises. It is very clear that every political party tries to show its prowess during the time when they are in power. So it is very clear that the problem of displacement and resettlement, very much lies in the hand of the political elite. So having an understanding about the concept in this regard it is great use to have some clarity as to how a resettlement has to go on. The recommendations to the political class in this regard can be listed below.

- 1) There should be clarity, whether resettlement should take place at all, it should be discussed and negotiated to the satisfaction of those who are due to be moved.
- 2) Project Affected People should enjoy 'genuine participation' in the planning and implementation.
- 3) Infrastructure projects should be planned as to minimize resettlement.
- 4) Effective legal mechanism should be put in place guarantee the rights of those to be displaced to representation, complaint and redress.
- 5) Government should follow internationally accepted resettlement guidelines.
- 6) Sufficient funding should be made available to achieve resettlement without development.

Involuntary resettlement is addressed by governments, aid agencies, consultants, and the public under the general category of "environmental problems." This is probably because

environmentalists have traditionally been at the forefront in identifying and publicizing the adverse effects of development interventions on environment and people. Therefore, the proper understanding of involuntary resettlement— with its social, cultural, psychological, economic, and environmental ramifications has strategic consequences, because it may lead to a different choice of project options including resettlement actions. Also, the social acceptance of a project by affected people may be critical for a project to proceed without costly delays and adjustments.

Perceptions are changing because of delays in project implementation and benefits foregone; growing awareness about the potential adverse economic, social, and environmental consequences of population displacement; and increasing concern about people's welfare. Resettlement is viewed increasingly as a development issue. Policy makers, planners, and development practitioners have come to accept that inadequate attention to resettlement does not pay in the long run; and costs of implementation problems caused by lack of good involuntary resettlement can far exceed the costs of proper resettlement. Furthermore, impoverished people are drains on the national economy; thus, avoiding or minimizing displacement as well as proper rehabilitation of those displaced make good economic sense as well as being fair to those adversely affected.

Direct displacement in the form of evictions to more indirect processes that force people to move as a result of indirect chains of causation, as are mediated by the market and ecosystems, for example, the picture becomes still more complicated. What does it mean to be *forced* to move? The libertarian position, that only violations of one's rights as a person and informal dweller in the form of the deprivation of freedom of movement (other than by the constraints of the property rights of others), of freedom of expression, and of possessions, does not capture the complexity of loss of freedom resulting from more indirect effects and, more widely, from structural social processes. While treating only directly forced displacement as manifestations of coercion is clearly insufficient, interpreting all movements of people as coerced and thus as forms of displacement would just as clearly be going too far in the other direction. It would deny that mobility, the freedom and capacity to move, is desirable. Mobility represents choice. Those without it are deprived in an important way. This brings out another important distinction to

make, namely between those who stay because they *choose* to do so and those who stay because they *cannot* move. The challenge is to articulate what **forms** of movements are objectionable and on what **grounds** they are objectionable, and in the process to distinguish between desirable and objectionable forms of staying.

The life of women is often worsened by displacement and resettlement. It is true that there have been cases where they have benefited, but such cases are exceptional<sup>107</sup>. The exclusion of gender considerations in the planning and implementation of displacement and resettlement is seen in the study. Largely, technical issues have been given more importance than socio-cultural and socio-economic considerations. Equity has not been an explicit goal of development projects. It has been fallaciously assumed that all benefits are shared equally by a community or society, without analyzing the relational aspects of large dams or other infrastructure projects and how these are linked with issues concerning a wider political economy.

There are some findings from the research work which have to be highlighted and have to be kept in mind before having the plan of displacement. These points very straight and they speak the empirical findings and can be used before the formulation of policy framework. The concept of displacement as Sangeeta Goyal<sup>108</sup> says can't be taken for granted. The people with absolutists stand have to keep in mind that the fight by the civil liberty groups for the absolute and proper resettlement is to make the concerned government to feel responsible and avoid it by taking decisions in haste. The efforts should be made by the concerned agency to make the resettlement the best then at least it will end up in being good. If at all the process starts with the notion that there can never be a absolute resettlement as that of the position before displacement then the whole process will end up in being not up to the mark of even being manageable. The findings and suggestions are presented as below.

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<sup>107</sup> Robert Chambers in Colson, E. (1999), Engendering those uprooted by 'Development, in Indra, D. (ed.). Engendering Forced Migration: Theory and Practice. Oxford: Refugee Studies Program. Pp.23-39.

<sup>108</sup> Sangeeta Goyal, Economic Perspectives and Resettlement and Rehabilitation, Economic and Political Weekly, June 15, 1996, pp 1461-1484.



- 1) Interventions such as transportation are not gender-neutral or apolitical. They build on or feed into existing social and power relations. Unless these are addressed, the goals of equity and fair and just distribution of resources will not be addressed.
- 2) Resettlement policy and planning are often ignorant of local organizational and institutional arrangements to govern natural resources and local notions of justice and equity. Thus, in some circumstances there might be an erosion of existing rights that women have over land and water which are enshrined in customary arrangements.
- 3) Cost-benefit analysis has failed to take intangibles into account. As women's labour and roles in social organization are often invisible, existing measures of costs and benefits tend to reflect gender biases.
- 4) Cost-benefit analyses also lack social components with the economic interests of powerful stakeholders often being prioritized over the non-economic interests of the less powerful. It is very unlikely that the interests of a large group of poor or landless people will be favored when compared with the interests of a much smaller group from a powerful constituency (e.g. industrialists in the urban area).
- 5) There is a greater need for more gender-aware and gender-sensitive policies concerning the planning, implementation and monitoring of resettlements. These policies should be extended to include all the project-affected areas.
- 6) Agencies involved in development activities should be commitment to achieving gender equality in the project areas.
- 7) The notion of the project-affected-person needs to be gender-inclusive. Thus, interventions should be targeted at both women and men. With respect to resettlement this would mean that women and men should be co-beneficiaries of the compensation packages awarded to households. Single and widowed women should receive individual compensation.
- 8) Developmental processes that infringe upon the human rights of any section of society are inimical to the long-term goals of progress. Development activities cannot be taken up with the use of coercion and force. It is important to set up human rights monitoring institutions and

ensure the protection of the human rights of the affected population. As women are generally more vulnerable to manipulation by the state and other agencies, special care should be taken to ensure that women are not subjected to any kind of violence as a result of displacement due to development projects.

9) Project planners and managers should not just interact with leaders and elites who are usually men. Instead, women's networks and interest groups should be given a priority in consultative processes involving the affected communities. If local male leaders resist the formation of women's groups, additional time and effort will have to be invested in dealing with on-the-ground gender biases and stereotypes. Extension workers should be gender-aware.

10) Equity should be an explicit concern in planning and executing development projects. Attempts should be made to realize an even spread of the gains and pains across different social groupings including men/ women; urban and rural citizens and the powerful and powerless. Projects should aim to reduce inequality in a way that the better off pay most costs and the worse off get most of the benefits.

11) Project planners need to be sensitive to local understandings of equity. Often ignorance of customary law and local use understandings of access to and control over resources can undermine the existing rights that women or indigenous people's have over resources, in particular common property resources.

## **5.10 Gender**

Control of women's sexuality has become a serious issue. When women are displaced, they work as domestic workers, daily wage earners, etc. Their additional income is extremely important for the family since it is often used to finance their children's education and health. They are suffering from great hardships in urban slums with regard to sanitation and privacy. In a broad sense, displacement brings loss of access to common property resources, loss of access to livelihood, loss of access to services, lack of sanitation, breakdown of family life during transition period, additional burden of workloads and responsibilities, deteriorating health status, breakdown of community networks, problem of marriage of daughters, rise in alcoholism and

increase in domestic violence, deterioration of social status of women, sense of insecurity, breakdown of lifestyle etc have been common in all three cases.

Given the situation of landlessness, much reduced land assets, joblessness of the men, and impoverishment, it has become imperative that women work. As a result, the women have found that they have to settle for unskilled wage labour which is most often irregular and underpaid. In the airport colony area as the men are not interested for daily wage labour, the women are seeking unskilled daily wage labour and other sought employment as domestic help or construction workers. The attitude of the rest of the displaced people towards their own women is not always positive concerning jobs. Many Women cannot compete in the formal sector, as there is high illiteracy among them. They lack training and professional education. Others who are biased say that women are not capable of doing a good job and others maintain that women's place is at home and not outside in the offices etc.

Policy formulation should take into account the varied roles that women play in the domestic sphere and should be flexible enough to accommodate this in the consultation process. For example, if women are not able to attend community level meetings due to domestic or other chores, care should be taken to schedule meetings at their convenience. Policy should not merely pay lip service to gender representation at meetings; it should have mechanisms to ensure the full participation of women. As is often the case, women are not used to partaking of public spaces. Resettlement policy should therefore be sensitive to women's use of space and accommodate their specific needs in such cases. Gender-sensitive policies will ensure that women can articulate their fears and apprehensions without intimidation from state, community or agencies.

A clear commitment to gender justice will ensure that women do not have to bear a disproportionate cost in developmental processes. Thus, there is a need for greater awareness of existing gender roles, relations and biases in the development projects. Care should be taken to minimize existing inequalities in gendered access to and control over resources. Under no circumstance, should development projects exacerbate existing gender inequalities. Project appraisal should be sensitive to, and take account of the gender division of labour in the

household and community. It should include gender impacts on social practices like shared labour and the consequences of fragmentation of kinship support systems.

Gender mainstreaming is indispensable as a means of integrating gender into resettlement policy, planning and implementation. For this it is important to generate gender-specific indicators that take into account the varied locations of men and women at all levels of society. Gender mainstreaming will help to avoid the omissions that characterize existing resettlement policy.

It is essential to generate detailed gender-specific data of affected communities in all development projects. Lack of information can nullify the most well meaning intentions and policies. Given the fact that gender is one of the most neglected areas of displacement impacts assessments, there is an urgent need for detailed long-term studies investigating gender/displacement linkages. The possible benefits of development projects can be realized far more extensively if there are studies that look into women's rights, roles and responsibilities and their position in the affected communities

The work of Partha Chatterjee<sup>109</sup> can be taken at this instance for conceptual clarity. The case he has examined is as similar to that of the three cases of the present empirical study. Chatterjee strongly opines that there is problem of recognizing the claims of those who are in railway squatters or beside the streets as they have no legal rights to the space they have occupied. The interesting conceptual move that has reordered the numerous ad hoc and paralegal solutions in this area is the distinction between *rights* and *entitlements*. Rights belong to those who have proper legal title to the lands or buildings that the authorities acquire; they are, we might say, proper citizens who must be paid the legally stipulated compensation. Those who do not have such rights may nevertheless have entitlements; they may not deserve compensation but assistance in rebuilding a home or finding a new livelihood. The problem remains, however, of how these different kinds of rights and entitlements are to be identified and validated and how to ensure that the compensation or assistance reaches the right people. In wake of Partha Chatterjee's argument the present resettlement holds very apt. here too all the people are not given the resettlement but around two hundred and eighty four families have got the houses.

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<sup>109</sup> Partha Chatterjee,(2004) *The Politics Of The Governed, Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*, Permanent Black, New Delhi.

There is no question of rights at any point of time but on the basis of social justice it can be justified and there are several reasons which stay as backbone for all these arguments.

### **5. 11 Concept of Local Consensus**

The concept is of high utility in the displacement, resettlement and rehabilitation. Most of the time it happens that the political leaders and the local representators try to avoid the problem of the oustees and they never seem to be bothering about the problem of the oustees. In a genuine case in Bengal, the land acquisition which happened was for the new Industrial town of Haldia, in 1988-91 leading to considerable organized agitation demanding resettlement across the river from, and to the south of Calcutta. In 1995, it was decided that rehabilitation cases would be dealt with on the recommendation of a Rehabilitation Advisory Committee. The Committee would consist of two administrators, two land acquisition officers, and four political persons representing the main government and opposition parties. All processing of applications for resettlement, hearing of cases, allotments, dealing with grievances, were to be done by this committee. The most genuine part of the resettlement and rehabilitation was that there was a ground level agreement between political representatives. This represented the local consensus as the ruling and the opposition party came together to the help of the people. These types of agreements would enable the administration to carry out the decision smoothly.

The Committee decided, that the minimum rehabilitation plot would be 0.04 acres, that families with a larger number of dependants would get larger plots, that no one could get cash instead of rehabilitation plots, that those who own houses elsewhere would not qualify, that those who had built structures on their homesteads in anticipation of the land being acquired would not qualify, etc. all of these matters were decided on the basis of local investigations and the feeling was that if both political parties were represented, there was no way that the qualification criteria could be misapplied. The committee also decided that particular plots in the rehabilitation areas would be drawn by lottery, with the displaced persons drawing their own lots. Consequently, there could

be no complaints that particular individuals had been favored with better located plots. Looking through the decisions made by the committee, It was even found cases where it reversed its earlier decisions in the light of new information brought to its notice by the political representatives and one case where a woman was given a rehabilitation plot on humanitarian grounds even though she did not meet the stipulated norms.

We must also remember that a local consensus among rival political representatives is likely to reflect that locally dominant interests and values. It would be effective in securing the demands of those who are able to find organized political support, but could ignore and could suppress the demands of locally marginalized interests. Besides, let us not forget that a local political consensus is also likely to be socially conservative and could be particularly insensitive, for instance, to gender or minority issues. If a comparison between the cases studied by Chatterjee and the present one, there is political intervention in both the cases but the political intervention is high in case of the Bengal resettlement which is not in the present study. The local consensus was high as the committees were formed and the local people were involved. But in all the three cases it did not happen. The people were informed only after news daily carried out the news item on the proposed model. The houses were built before the people were resettled so in a way the political parties and the representators have played enough roles in making the resettlement a success and an opportunity to make the city clean and sustainable.

Where population displacement is unavoidable, a detailed resettlement plan with time-bound actions specified and a budget are required. Resettlement plans should be built around a development strategy; and compensation, resettlement, and rehabilitation packages should be designed to generally improve or at least restore the social and economic base of those to be relocated. Monetary compensation for land alone may not be adequate. Voluntary relocation by some affected persons may form part of a resettlement plan, but measures to address the special circumstances of involuntary resettlers should also be included. Preference should be given to resettlement of people dislocated from agricultural settings unto similar settings.

Thinking about costs brings up some of the contradictions about resettlement thinking that may be addressed by a more participatory, learning-process approach. One issue is whether resettlers should participate by bearing some of the costs. While many have argued that resettlers should not be made to bear any costs because they are being involuntarily moved, this is sometimes seen to bring about a spirit of dependency. Moreover, participation itself demands costs in time and sometimes in money as well. This issue is perhaps brought out most directly in the matter of housing. It has been argued that participation in housing reconstruction (either by building or by paying for some materials) gives people a sense of ownership over their new residences. On the other hand, this requires participants to bear certain costs. Both may be true; in any case, there is a fair amount of empirical evidence that simply handing people a house involves problems, especially when the house is very different from the one they had lived in previously. Real participation and real control over the direction of the resettlement project may make people willing to bear some of the costs, particularly those of time commitment, but also some of the costs required to adapt project benefits to their individual needs. This should not become an excuse for outside organizations to lower their financial commitment or their threshold for benefit loss. Yet it should be recognized that autonomy and control can to some extent substitute for tangible economic benefits.

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### **Field Photographs**



**Situation after displacement at Indra Reddy Nagar colony**



**Joblessness at Indra Reddy Nagar**



**Airport Colony**



**Airport Colony**





**Airport Colony**



**Airport Colony**

### **Field Photographs**



**Situation after displacement at Indra Reddy Nagar colony**



**Joblessness at Indra Reddy Nagar**





**Airport Colony**



**Airport Colony**



**Airport Colony**



**Airport Colony**





**NTR Nagar Resettlement colony**



**NTR Nagar Resettlement colony**





**NTR Nagar Resettlement colony**



**NTR Nagar Resettlement colony**



**NTR Nagar Resettlement colony**



**Left out habitat in one of the displaced village by Airport project**

**Ph. D Synopsis**

**Title: Urban Resettlement and Sustainable Urban Development:  
Three Comparative Case Studies in the City of Hyderabad**

**Submitted to**

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## **Ph. D Synopsis**

### **Urban Resettlement and Sustainable Urban Development: Three Comparative Case Studies in the City of Hyderabad**

#### **Introduction**

Today, almost one half of the world's population lives in cities. The world's cities are growing by one million people each week. Cities play a significant role in development and they continue to attract migrants from rural areas because they enable people to advance socially and economically. Cities offer significant substantial livelihood options in the form of jobs, housing and services, and are important centers of productivity and social development. India in the post independence period planned economic development that led to development for sure but there is also another face to it where large number of people had to suffer in several ways in the name of national development, the "city-dwellers" are no exception.

Today large numbers of people live in the cities but do not have any entitlements. These people are called as informal dwellers as they live in the so called slums. "The existence of a slum means the authorities have failed," says the World Bank. "The slum population of the country works out as above 40 million accounting for 14.12% of the total urban population. The States reporting high share of slum population in total urban population are Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Haryana constituting 25.9%, 25.1% and 23% of the urban population respectively. Andhra Pradesh has 5, 149,272 population in slums which come up to 25.11% of urban population. Specifically Hyderabad has 17.43% of slum population"<sup>1</sup>. This population has no rights or entitlements and they reside in public places. The major cause for population displacement has been the projects undertaken to promote development at different level for different reasons. Displacement for development is the process of physically uprooting large section of people from their land, economy, resources and culture. The ideology of development is used to strengthen inequitable social relations in society, through the acts like displacement.

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<sup>1</sup> K. C Shivaramakrishnan, Amitabh Kundu, B. N. Singh, (2005) '*Handbook of Urbanization in India-An Analysis of Trends and Processes*', Oxford University Press, Delhi, pp 107-110.

This phenomenon needs a different approach as they are also part of the society and they too have all the rights to have a dignified life.

## **Literature Review**

### **Forced Displacement- A Phenomenon**

Forced displacement occurs as a result of the need to improve infrastructure and consequently development like new industries, irrigation, transportation highways, power generation, and other developmental activities such as hospitals, schools, and airports. Such programs are indisputably needed. They improve many people's lives, provide employment, and supply better services. Nevertheless, the involuntary displacements caused by such programs also create major impositions on some population segments. They restrict the rights of the population's by state-power intervention and are often carried out in ways that cause the affected populations to end up worse off. This raises major issues of social justice and equity. The principle of the "greater good for the larger numbers," routinely invoked to rationalize forced displacements, is, in fact, often abused and turned into an unwarranted justification for tolerating ills that are avoidable. The outcome is an unjustifiable repartition of development's costs and benefits. Some people enjoy the gains of development, while others bear its pains.

The most widespread effect of involuntary displacement is the impoverishment of considerable population. In India, for instance, researchers found that the country's development programs have caused an aggregate displacement of more than 20 million people during roughly four decades, but that 75 percent of these people have not been "rehabilitated" (Fernandes 1991; Fernandes, Das, and Rao 1989). Their livelihoods have not been restored; in fact, the vast majority of development resettlers in India have become impoverished (Mahapatra 1999b).

Involuntary population resettlements entailed by development programmes have reached a magnitude and frequency that has been demanding a strong policy guided solution in the present century. Involuntary urban resettlement can be defined as displacement of people (with coercion rather than cooperation) from a specific area and reconstruction of their livelihood; sometimes can be called as rehabilitation. There has been a record where 10,000,000 people each year are

displaced worldwide by infrastructural development programmes that may be dam construction, urban development or transportation.

Historically Social Sciences has been a discipline, which has taken a strong note in tune with recording the effect. As Cernea puts it, “Public policy responses to hard development issues can gain much from listening better to social research. But it is important to state that social scientists themselves have to do much more to equip governments and public organizations with adequate practical and public advice”<sup>2</sup>. The present task of finding a long lasting sustainable solution to the problem has shifted over to the arena of public policy. On the other side there has been an inability of social science research to acknowledge the full impact of the process of resettlement. The real challenge has come now, as this has to be grounded in a larger structural critique of development.

The extreme analytical attention on resettlement makes the understanding more broad and specifically shows the much amplified growing political resistance and active opposition developed in several countries against involuntary resettlement. Resettlement is defined as “Displacement of people and reconstruction of their livelihood; this reconstruction is sometimes called rehabilitation. Each has its own demands, risks, costs, logistics and socio-cultural and economic effects”. Even if sheer size is considered; population displacement fully calls for structured public policy responses, as well as for continuous attention from social scientists. The study mainly concentrates on how public policy responses to hard development issues can gain much from listening better to social research<sup>3</sup>.

Displacement is a move which is effectively permanent, in the sense that the area where people used to live has been transformed by the intervention, and there is no going back’. Displacement with resettlement is thus to be distinguished from resettlement, where people may simply have to go out of the way and make provision for themselves, and which should perhaps rather be termed

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<sup>2</sup> Michael Cernea. M, ‘Public Policy Response to Development- Induced Population Displacements’. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 31, No.24, (1996), pp 1515-1523.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Cernea m. ‘Public Policy Responses to Development-Induced Population Displacements’, *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol.31,No. 24 June 15, 1996, pp1515-1523



‘expulsion’. The major policy message embodied in the models of resettlements is that, general risk pattern inherent in displacement can be controlled through a policy response that mandates and finances integrated problem resolution. Participatory planning in displacement is severely restricted and what planning does take place is effectively reduced to preparing for the actual relocation of the people. Any preparation and planning for the long term needs of those who are moved, tends to be delayed, or even abandoned, thus fields are not prepared properly before move is clearly seen and which has successfully led to failures of the resettlements. Involuntary resettlement is not a problem that will fade away in the foreseeable future.

It is important to locate gender and the consequences of resettlement and displacement on women and the problem faced by women in different displacement contexts and how public policy has to respond to this problem. Displacement is essentially the acquisition of land in the name of development and national development. Planners in the ground justify the displacements that they provide benefits to large number of people. However they tend to forget or overlook the short term and long-term consequences, such as loss of productive assets, dismantling of social networks<sup>4</sup>. It is universally accepted that every human being has a right to just and sustainable development, development processes, as they are implemented, affect vulnerable groups in ways that extend the cost way beyond monetary value of the previous life. Schedule castes and other minority groups are the worst hit. Displacement is increasingly being understood as a multidimensional phenomenon, affecting people’s lives in their entirety, encompassing not only the economic but also the social and cultural sphere, all of which feedback into each other.<sup>5</sup> Land acquisition is the major cause of displacement. The land acquisition laws being favorable to the administrators have deteriorated the chances of people getting equal justice in the case of displacement and this is also a major reason which has facilitated several displacements. There are two important views or two ways how displacement and resettlement is being understood.

- 1) ***Absolutist Stand*** – this type of view says that there are large numbers of people in the society who take this absolutist stand, which says that the displaced can never be

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<sup>4</sup> Enakshi Ganguly Thukral, ‘Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation, *Locating Gender*’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1500-1503

<sup>5</sup> Sangeeta Goyal, ‘Economic Perspectives and Resettlement and Rehabilitation’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1461-1484

adequately compensated for what they lose. This has been the stand of even the activists and organizations involved in the issue, but the author feels that this view should be discarded and a positive attitude with proper planning and public policy has to take place, which can give scope for best resettlement.

- 2) ***Standard of Living Approach*** - Sangeeta Goyal argues that the principle most generally invoked with regard to resettlement and rehabilitation is that, compared with the pre-displacement situation, all projects affected persons should have similar or higher 'standard of living'. This principle has a broader thrust than just resettling people for the sake of resettling.

There is a problem of recognizing the claims of those who are in railway squatters or beside the streets as they have no legal rights to the space they have occupied. The interesting conceptual move that has reordered the numerous ad hoc and paralegal solutions in this area is the distinction between *rights* and *entitlements*. Rights belong to those who have proper legal title to the lands or buildings that the authorities acquire; they are, we might say, proper citizens who must be paid the legally stipulated compensation. Those who do not have such rights may nevertheless have entitlements; they deserve not compensation but assistance in rebuilding a home or finding a new livelihood. The problem remains, however, of how these different kinds of rights and entitlements are to be identified and validated and how to ensure that the compensation or assistance reaches the right people<sup>6</sup>. Efforts at minimizing displacement or improving resettlement will only be marginal, palliative and temporary if they are not conceptualized in a wider socio-political context. Stress on planning is required as it is the most important and essential part of any resettlement. Planners and administrators invariably capitalize on and manipulate the relatively weaker socio-economic and political position of most of the people facing. Their numbers are underestimated, they are treated indifferently and only minimal cash compensation, if at all, is paid. There is an extraordinary unwillingness to grant them clear rights, such as security of tenure on alternative developed land sites. Historically social scientists

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<sup>6</sup> Partha Chatterjee, (2004) 'The Politics Of The Governed, *Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*', Permanent Black, New Delhi



have been better in recording the tragedies and trauma of evictions and displacement than at generating conditions that would prevent these from happening<sup>7</sup>.

The experiences in the past two decades of struggle and debate across the country and concrete situations of displacement, and resettlements have given a new dimension and understanding to the problem. Given several similar experiences and situation has led to some type of strong initiative regarding displacement and resettlement. There is need to look beyond just rehabilitation, and there is a need to look at more fundamental questions. Any resettlement policy has to be in accordance with article 19(1)(e) of Indian constitution, guaranteeing to people the freedom and right to settle and reside anywhere in the country, and also international law, which is acknowledged in national rehabilitation policy (NRP). Displacement has become a common phenomenon, both project and non-project. This involves lot of coercion. Some 100-200 lakh people have been displaced in urban and urbanizing areas over the five decades since independence. The right of the displaced to reside at the constitutional level has to be respected<sup>8</sup>. The status of displacement and resettlement processes are at project designer's negligence. The designer's and implementers clearly treat involuntary resettlement component as subordinate to construction process and schedules, and as economic externality. The planners many a time term it as an unfortunate side effect of the main project. If projects are for development then that process has to keep in mind and ideally provide the affected people with an enhancement of (a) their material circumstances; (b) their range of options or choices; (c) their control over their day to day affairs. Any model should speak about the general risk pattern inherent in displacement, which can be controlled through a policy response that mandates and finances integrated problem resolution<sup>9</sup>. Displacement is an expropriation of land and other assets in order to allow a project to proceed for the overall social good. Displacement may be partial or total. Resettlement refers to the process of reconstruction of the livelihood; there is a loss of home and the kith and

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<sup>7</sup> Smitu Kothari, 'Who's Nation? The Displaced as Victims of Development', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1476-1484.

<sup>8</sup> Jai Sen, 'National Rehabilitation Policy: A Critique', *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 4, 1995, pp 241-244.

<sup>9</sup> Eriksen J H, 'Comparing the Economic Planning for Voluntary and Involuntary Resettlement' in Cernea, M. M (Ed), *The Economics of Involuntary Resettlement: The World Bank (series; Directions in Development)*, Washington, 1999.

kin. Displacement and resettlement have paved path for larger debate as they are considered to be beneficial for the larger society, but also for that project-affected person's displacement represents the imposed unraveling of their economy and society. If development has to occur then at no point it can just forget the project affected people and their welfare as they are also part and parcel of the society in which we live<sup>10</sup>.

Involuntary resettlement consists of two closely related yet distinct processes: displacing people and rebuilding their livelihoods. The complexity of involuntary resettlement and the enormous diversity of project situation make achieving good resettlement a formidable task. When people are displaced, production systems may be dismantled, kinship groupings disrupted, and long established residential settlements disorganized. People's lives are affected in very painful ways. Many jobs and assets are lost. Health care tends to deteriorate. Links between producers and customers are often severed, and local labour markets are disrupted. The special feature in his paper is that he makes a clear distinction between voluntary and involuntary resettlement. On the other hand he uses scudder-colson relocation theory and discusses it in a great extent so that the model can be adapted to Indian situation in a meticulous way. Several international experiences of involuntary resettlement give us an understanding of Indian situation regarding the problem<sup>11</sup>.

Gender is increasingly seen as a powerful social and cultural construct determining the ways in which social relations are structured between men and women. It constitutes the entire ambit of relations that govern the social, cultural and economic exchanges between women and men in different arenas from the household to the community, state and multi-lateral agencies (Jackson and Pearson, 1998). Gender is central to how societies assign roles, responsibilities, resources and rights between women and men. Allocation, distribution, utilisation and control of resources are thus incumbent upon gender relations embedded in both ideology and practice. In most parts of the world, there exist gender biases, which disadvantage women. Gender is not a static concept but differs in different cultural, geographical and historical contexts. It is contingent on

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<sup>10</sup> B K Sinha, 'Draft National Policy for Rehabilitation, *Objectives and Principle*', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1453-1460.

<sup>11</sup> Roli Asthana, 'Involuntary Resettlement, *Survey of International Experience*', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.24, June 15, 1996, pp 1468-1475.

factors such as age, class, culture and history. Therefore, it is wrong to assume homogeneity amongst women. Gender analyses do not merely focus on women but also look at the ways in which men and women interact with each other and the gendered nature of their roles, relations and control over resources.

## **Research Problem and Significance of Study**

The development process has been leading to displacement, which is coercive, and this calls for proper resettlement of the displaced. The resettlement has to be a sustainable one and such a resettlement can take place only if there is a participatory approach involving the dwellers as few studies point out this has to be worked at the very ground level of formation of public policy of a development project. There has been a good number of works done on resettlement. But specifically on urban resettlement few pioneers like Michael Cernea, Harimohan Mathur, Paula Banerjee and Ranavir Samaddar have worked extensively. There has been a considerable projection of the problem through the prism of social justice, vulnerability of the marginalized, gender sensitivity, impoverishment and such other psychological trauma, which occurs on the people who are resettled. The process has also witnessed a diagnostic and a predictive study of the phenomena. The works also show how development projects can operate through development of the displaced. A few public policy issues have also come up in the process.

The involuntary displacement and consequent resettlement of populations has been a major concern all over the world during the past two decades. During this period, investigators from a variety of scientific fields have conducted research on the impacts of official policies and procedures-or lack of policies-for resettled populations. Most of these efforts have focused on "mega projects" for hydroelectricity and irrigation in rural areas, while the experience with involuntary displacement of urban populations, especially in the slums and poverty belts of large cities, has been less systematically assessed. A disciplined effort to understand the specific features of urban resettlement would help in designing operational policies, strategies, and procedures that are compatible with the socio-economic and political realities in the urban context.

If the above mentioned is the case with the resettlement which is the basic and backbone of research, the other case, which deals with sustainable development has also been the most pampered word and a word which has got a unique character and position of getting adopted according to the problem. A massive body of works has been done on sustainable development but the works pertain and restrict themselves at producing a solution to keep the urban sphere sustainable with the given condition. The significance of the research is in getting both the concepts of urban resettlement and sustainable development together. The research is focused on giving new dimension to the development induced displacement with concepts of justice, right and opportunity. The study aims at even being innovative in circumstances where displacement is inevitable as an opportunity to develop the city, make it sustainable on overall basis and improve the living condition of the large number of informal dwellers who are not in the best of the socio-economic and psychological conditions. The combination of both the concepts is expected to come out with some practical solutions and allowing development of not just a section of the society but aiming at overall development, which leads to an egalitarian society.

## **Objectives**

- A) To use John Rawls's concept of justice to assess the problem of displacement and resettlement in the urban scenario.
- B) To analyze, how unplanned development leads to the problem of displacement in Mega cities like Hyderabad.
- C) To assess the impact of displacement on the communities before and after displacement, and investigate the impact of unplanned development in the city of Hyderabad.
- D) To study whether urban resettlement can be used as an opportunity for sustainable urban development.

## **The Research Methodology**

As part of the research a pilot study of the place was conducted through a questionnaire formulated according to the need, requirement and keeping in mind the diversity of the population. With frequent visits to the field a tangible rapport was built up and in the later stage the field study was conducted. The study is based on both primary and secondary

sources and data collection. Primary data is used to have ground level understanding. The primary data is collected by having a basic information sheet which was similar to all the families, and it is considered for sampling. The secondary data is used to have the conceptual understanding of the wide area of resettlement and sustainable urban development.

The primary data is collected at two levels; one, at the stage of official level in order to know their approach at the policy as well as personal level towards resettlement. The second one was with the resettled people in order to understand the implications of resettlement in social, economical and political life. The study is carried out through Case Study method, Participant Observation Method, Questionnaire Method and proportionate Stratified Random Sampling. Apart from this the process is carried out through structured interviews, focused group discussions and informal interactions. 15% of the total displaced population is taken and investigated through Proportionate Stratified Random Sampling for quantifying the data. The collected data is cross checked with Triangulation method so that the accuracy of the data is maintained. The collected data is analyzed through Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) with sufficient graphs and pie charts as to illustrate in the form of comparative case studies and many of the case studies have been formulated through informal interactions and focused group discussions. The major part of the research relies upon Diachronic Method to analyze the status of the people with different parameters in pre-displacement and post resettlement. The questionnaire method is used for the better understanding of the pre-settlement and post-resettlement scenario. Following Kothari's study, the diachronic comparison is being made by focusing on the pre and post settlement process.

## Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into five chapters apart from Introduction and conclusions. The chapters are:

Chapter I	Introduction
Chapter II	Facets of Displacement and Resettlement-Policy Reviews, Approaches and Gender Perspectives
Chapter III	Making Sense of Resettlement-A Theory and Models
Chapter IV	Three Comparative Case Studies in Hyderabad
Chapter V	Conclusion

**The Second Chapter: Facets of Displacement and Resettlement-Policy Reviews, Approaches and Gender Perspectives** starts with the first section on **policy reviews** with rehabilitation and resettlement policy in India and its nature. The section in detail explains the draconian law of Land Acquisition existing in the form of Land Acquisition act of 1984 and its features that has been a matter of concern from almost a century. The concepts of public domain and public purposes which are of high controversy are dealt with considerable care. This section not only finds problem with the policy but also suggests the model type which can be of better use for the displaced community using the empirical experience. Series of amendments and national laws have been presented with a critical tone as to sensitize the system to the agony of the displaced mass.

The second section on **approaches to displacement and resettlement** consist a wide range of literature reviewed on displacement and resettlement in India as well as other parts of the world. The literature review consists of several approaches to displacement and the severity of displacement through different techniques. The chapter consists of assessment of capability and well being approach to absolutist approach used by several governments and departments. The last section on **gender perspectives** has greater importance in this particular work, there are very few works which have paid attention to the gender dimension to displacement. The women are

the most vulnerable among the vulnerable and they are neglected in the resettlement process. The amount of psychological stress and risks they go through goes unnoticed most of the time.

**The Third Chapter: Making Sense of Resettlement-A Theory and Models** is the innovation of this thesis and it formulates the crux of the findings and the applicability of Rawlsian approach to displacement and resettlement in the first section. This section discusses the justice concept in general proposed by Rawls and particularly deals with difference principle used by Rawls. The applicability of Difference Principle in Indian scenario and the least advantaged group has been dealt elaborately. Attempt has been made to use Rawls's concept of least advantaged in the context of India. This attempt has been made as the section of the population displaced in the chosen three case studies from Hyderabad consist the categories which are called as reserved and minorities in India. The second section of the chapter on **models** is of high utility in the context of growing number of displacements happening around the world and particularly in the third world countries. The speciality of the concept of sustainable development being adaptable to several contexts is the logic behind including this in the thesis. The sustainable model speaks about livelihoods, human development and sustainable settlements. The concept is of high utility as displacement disrupts all the above mentioned factors when it occurs due to which the generations suffer. The chapter gives some of the applied models to promote livelihood and settlements.

**The Fourth Chapter:** This is an empirical study titled **Three Comparative Case Studies in Hyderabad**. The chapter deals with three cases of displacement and resettlement in the city of Hyderabad. The chapter begins with the profile of the place and the process of displacement and resettlement. There is a description of how the displacement occurred and later the problems of the displacement and related aspects. After the explanation of each of the case a comparative description is given with regard to demographic data, social stratification, political affiliation, religious status and such other things. The major finding of income before and after displacement using diachronic method is also presented.

The last chapter of the thesis is the **Conclusion** and this chapter essentially contains some of the revelations and policy imperatives. Fifty years of research has shown that development-induced displacement is likely to unleash widespread changes called the resettlement effect, these changes include multi-dimensional impoverishment, the loss of homes, communities, productive land, income-earning assets, subsistence, community-shared resources, and cultural sites. The non-material impacts may be even greater, including human rights violations, deep fractures in social structures, networks and ties; threats to cultural identity and health; and destruction of social capital. From this perspective, women, children and the elderly are particularly vulnerable to the resettlement effect. The loss of social capital is particularly serious, as it diminishes the society's capacity to withstand non-project related threats. The section suggests how best a displacement can be prevented and in case of inevitable displacement how best a resettlement can be given. The process of participation and appropriate compensation aspects are also covered apart from using right based approach for displacement and resettlement rather than charity approach. The section contains several case studies analyzed in line with the theory and models used for the work.