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Development Projects, Displacement and Resettlement: Ax Literature Review

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ABSTRACT

The displacement of people due to development projects is a worldwide phenomenon. Development-induced displacement emerged both as a major concern and as a challenge in sociology and anthropology in 1990s. The concern arose because of a dramatic rise in development-induced displacement in the 1970s and 1980s propelled mainly by a global infrastructure boom and coupled with painful and disastrous outcomes in resettlement experience (Ranjit Dwivedi 2002). Displacement or the involuntary and forced relocation of people has come to be acknowledged as among the most significant negative impacts of large water resources development projects such as dams and hydropower projects. In this backdrop, the paper presents theoretical frameworks proposed by researchers over the years and it reflects on issues related to rehabilitation and resettlement of involuntary displaced population.

Keywords: *development projects, dams, hydropower, industrial projects, involuntary displacement, resettlement and compensation*

INTRODUCTION

The number of people displaced by development programs and projects intended to promote national, regional, and local development are substantial, accounting for nearly 10 million people per year throughout the world; over the last 20 years this would mean 200 million people already displaced (McDowell 1996, Cernea 2000, Mathur, H.M 2006).

Development-induced displacement studies emerged both as a major concern and as a challenge in sociology and anthropology discipline in 1990s. The concern arose because of a dramatic rise in development-induced displacement in the 1970s and 1980s propelled mainly by a global infrastructure boom and coupled with painful and disastrous outcomes in resettlement experience (Ranjit Dwivedi, 2002). If the 1980s was a decade of displacement, then the 1990s can aptly be termed 'the decade of popular resistance to displacement. Mounting antagonisms to development-induced displacement resulted in new forms of political activism paralleled with new agendas in research. Village ethnographies combined with tools of action research. These studies showed that displacement resulted not just in asset and job losses but also in the breakdown of social and food security, loss of cultural identity and heritage as well as economic impoverishment (Baviskar, 1995).

Development-induced displacement is increasing in depth and intensity all over the world and particularly in developing countries. Infrastructural development in the period 1990-2000 caused the displacement of 90-100 million (Cernea and McDowell, 2000). The greatest burden of displacement is caused by dam construction which is credited with the displacement of 40-80 million people (Cernea, 2000; WCD, 2000). Growing developmental projects have been causing massive acquisition of land and displacing millions of people in different parts of the world, including India. The development projects in today's globalised world such as dams, industries, roads, mines, infrastructure, power plants, special economic

zones, and new cities are intended to promote national, regional, and local development. It is said that for any development project the cost has to necessarily be borne by the displaced and affected population.

A majority of the displaced people have not been properly resettled or given adequate compensation. For instance, in India 75 percent of displaced people have not been "rehabilitated" (Fernandes, W, 1991; Fernandes, Walter et al.1989). Their livelihoods have not been restored; in fact, the vast majority of development resettlers in India have become impoverished (Mahapatra, Lakshman K. 1999). Resettlement & Rehabilitation (R&R hereafter) policies have been unable to avoid the impoverishment of the displaced population and restore the previous level of well-being (Cernea and Mathur, H.M 2008).

The report of Lok Sabha Secretariat says that between 60 and 65 million people are estimated to have been displaced in India since Independence, the highest number of people uprooted for development projects in the world. In India, "This amounts to around one million displaced every year since Independence," says a report released in 2012 by the UN Working Group on Human Rights in India (WGHR). Of those displaced, over 40 per cent are tribals and another 40 per cent consist of dalits and other rural poor (Lok Sabha Secretariat 2013).

It is largely the tribal group that is paying for the development of nation. Because most of the development projects are being constructed in mountain valleys, forest and remote areas where many of the tribal groups have been living for generations together for their survival and sustenance. Many tribal pockets are crammed with natural resources such as minerals, making tribals vulnerable to displacement. Due to large development projects in tribal areas, millions of tribal people have been uprooted from their lands and homes. Thus, affected people face a broad range of impoverishment risks (Cernea, 2000).

Development and Displacement

Understanding the impact of displacement and rehabilitation on the social structure of the displaced community is a challenging task for anthropologists. They have also explored the different shades of meaning associated with the concept of "Development". For economists, development means an increase in growth rate or per capita income. For political scientists it is the acquisition of some symbols of modernization and progress. For administrators it is achieving the targets of social planning and for social anthropologists it is the enhancement of quality of life or standard of living or satisfaction of basic needs, aspiration level and happiness (Dube 1988; Mathur, H.M 1989). The study of displacement by development is complicated by the fact that development is a notoriously ambiguous term. According to UNESCO (2006) and UN (2008) the term development refers to a social goal, an ideal of social well-being to which peoples, their governments and international agencies aspire. It can also refer to a complex of social and economic policies, practices and changes that lead towards achieving such a goal. Typically, economic development policies and practices promoting growth have been advocated for the development goal of reducing or eliminating poverty; economic growth would provide employment for the poor, purchasing power for consumers to buy what poor people could produce and a tax base with which governments could provide essential services to the poor, including schooling to make them more competitive in job markets. There is no doubt that development since 1950 has accomplished much of this. Life expectancy and educational levels have increased dramatically. Nevertheless, some of the development practices serving these goals have been far from ideal. Development has also been a source of large scale human suffering insofar as it has displaced people, evicting entire communities and denying families their accustomed livelihoods. Here is the paradox - the tension between development as an ideal and development as an actual process - with which we are confronted when development causes displacement" (Peter Penz et.al. 2011).

There is a growing realization that development can no longer be understood in terms of statistical indices, political symbols or economic parameters. For an integral development of a community, the developmental strategies should be formulated in accordance with the locally-felt, culturally-conditioned individual and group needs (Patnaik, S. M., 2001).

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' (Pablo Bose, 2003). Displacement involves physical eviction from a dwelling and the expropriation of productive land and other assets to make possible an alternative use (Downing, T.E 2002). The World Bank (2004) defines displaced persons as persons who are

affected in any way by a development project and describes them as all those people who lose land or the right to use land and are synonymous with project-affected persons and not just limited to those subjected to physical displacement. Use of coercion or force of any nature by State is central to the idea of development-induced displacement. At the international level, it is viewed as a violation of human rights (http://www2.ohchr.org).

Referring to the development strategy after the Second World War and economic growth as its indicator, countries both in the developed and developing world started to grow their economies. The availability of adequate infrastructure facilities is vital for the acceleration of economic development of a country. Governments across the world have given high priority to investment in development projects such as railways, roads, power, telecommunications, ports and industries. Thus, dams are the outcome of this process and symbols of development and their multipurpose utility (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2002: 4108; Joyce, 1997: 1050–55). India has invested in industrial projects, dams, roads, mines, power plants and new cities to achieve rapid economic growth. This has been made possible through massive acquisition of land and subsequent displacement of people (Lok Sabha Secretariat 2013).

Development projects contribute to the achievement of development goals, but displacement and its adverse effects undermine them. Displacement by development projects is the single largest cause of involuntary migration in the world (Oliver-Smith, 2002; de Wet, 2006; Pankhurst and Piguet, 2009: 250).

Infrastructural development in the period 1990-2000 caused the displacement of 90-100 million (Cernea and McDowell, 2000). Such projects displace approximately 15 million people a year (Cernea, 2008). The World Bank Environment Department (WBED), for example, calculated that about 40% of the people displaced each year by development projects (e.g. 4 million people) is caused by dam projects. Thus, enormous amounts of people are being displaced due to the construction of dams, which has major consequences for their lives (Stanley. 2004) Population displacement because of development projects causes various negative effects to the displaced households both socially and economically. This is because many people who are displaced are not resettled and rehabilitated socially and economically (Cernea, M.M, 2003). Thus development on one hand brings benefits but on the other hand often causes social disruption.

Anthropology of Displacement: Theory and Practice

Studies of development-induced displacement had already emerged in the mid-fifties and early sixties, in the context of development projects such as the Great Dam of Aswan, the Kariba Dam on the Zambezi and the Akosombo Dam on Lake Volta in Ghana. However, as early as the end of the 1950s, sociologists were aiding Egyptian authorities in planning the resettlement of Nubian communities during the construction of Aswan High Dam. During the sixties, much attention was devoted to large dam projects, especially those built in Africa. Extensive research on development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) within the institutional framework of the World Bank began in earnest in the mid 1970s. The social consequences of development-induced displacement have garnered increasing attention from specialists in several disciplines and studies flourished dynamically in the 1980s and 1990s (Bogumil Terminski, 2013).

Research on displacement and rehabilitation in the anthropological domain began in the 1950s, that is, post World War II, after mass population was displaced after country borders were redrawn. This was studied in 1945 by Alexander Leightons in his popular monograph 'The governing of men: general principles and recommendation based on experiences at Japanese Refugee camp (Smith 2009). Anthropologists Colson & Scudder in 1982 studied the psycho-social impact on the people displaced by the construction of Kariba dam, which later caught the attention of anthropologists living in other parts of the world as well.

In India the studies on displacement and rehabilitation began in the early 1960s. Anthropologists Roy, Burman (1961) studied the displacement of tribes due to Rourkela Steel Plant. He highlighted various factors affecting the process of displacement. Another study by Karve and Nimbker in 1969 of the Koyna Dam Project dealt with the impact of displacement and rehabilitation on the family and kinship system of the uprooted communities of Maharashtra. The concern of anthropological studies after the 1970s and the early 1980s was the issue of economic versus social cost, the antagonism

towards big dam, the state policies on displacement and rehabilitation, and macro-level evaluation of large dams in India.

Major research studies in the areas of involuntary displacement and resettlement has started in early 1970s by anthropologists and researchers from diverse academic disciplines. These studies developed theoretical models on displacement to explain the complex and dynamic processes involved in displacement. Chamber (Chambers, R, 1969) in his study in Africa developed three stage-general model in the evolution of land settlement schemes in Africa:

1. recruitment,
2. transition
3. development

Soon after, Nelson confirmed this pattern in a synthesis of many experiences with new land settlement in Latin America. Both Chambers' and Nelson's models generalized the experiences of voluntary settlers and conceptualized the institutional or organizational dimensions of managed land settlement programs (Colson E., 1999; Cernea M.M, 2000).

Scudder's four-stage framework, initially formulated in the late 1970s and refined in subsequent years, represents one of the earliest attempts in social science to formulate a coherent analytical framework for involuntary resettlement (Scudder 1981, 1991, 1993, 1997; Scudder and Colson 1982). Scudder and Colsons (1982) in their model focused on the settlers stress and specific behavioral reactions to various stages post-displacement and resettlement. This framework considers how the majority of resettlers can be expected to behave during a successful resettlement process. Scudder defined success as development that was environmentally, economically, institutionally and culturally sustainable into the second generation. Scudder (2005) divided the process of resettlement into four graded stages:

1. planning and recruitment,
2. adjustment and coping,
3. community formulation and economic development, and
4. handing over and incorporation.

Scudder and Colson's theory has greatly affected resettlement theory and policy across many countries. His theory emphasizes two different but interrelated factors: stress and process. And this theory says that displacement of relocation, whether voluntary or involuntary is a stressful experience. This theory deals with how resettlers will respond to the actions of project authorities. This framework is very instructive, enabling resettlement institutions to work out objectives and to plan resettlement with a temporal dimension. However, as Scudder (2005) recognized, some concerns have been raised when it is applied to the real-world cases of development. One key concern is the impact and role of gender in the resettlement process (De Wet 1993).

Development-induced displacement studies flourished dynamically in the 1980s and 1990s. This was the result of large and controversial development projects undertaken in China (the Three Gorges Dam) and India (the Sardar Sarovar dam on the Narmada River). The research report entitled Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development (edited by Cernea, M.M), published by the World Bank in 1985, is considered one of the first attempts to conceptualize the issues of development, displacement and resettlement (Terminski, Bogumil, 2013). The study published by Cernea & Guggenheim (1993) through what they called 'anthropological approaches to resettlement'. This volume comprises of various case studies and offers some theoretical insights to resettlement. It focuses on development-induced displacement whereby the authors pointed out the important differences between displacement caused by development projects and other categories of population movement. Involuntary resettlement due to civil strife is unplanned and people can still return to their homelands when the conflict is resolved. In the contrary, resettlement due to development projects is a result of planned political decision embedded in national ideologies which makes the displacement permanent.

Cernea, M.M (1993) pointed out that these differences also induced the emergence of two branches in social science research on resettlement, one dealing with development-induced resettlement and the other with conflict-induced resettlement. He deplored that "the two bodies of social science research do not speak to each other" (p.375). Therefore, the author pleaded for more collaboration between researchers involved in involuntary resettlement as they can help each other and share some common tools.

Many anthropological and sociological field studies have documented the qualitative consequences of forced displacement in vivid detail (Scudder 1966, 1994; Guggenheim 1989; Baboo, 1992; Mathur, H.M 1994; Fernandes 1989, 1991; Salem-Murdock, M. 1989). These consequences vary with local circumstances, but there are basic features these cases share. Comparing the empirical findings of many field monographs, Cernea found that the common factor underlying the broad spectrum of reported displacement effects is the onset of impoverishment (Cernea, M.M, 1995).

The above studies have shown that involuntary displacement force people into new physical settings, which are alien social worlds, functioning on unfamiliar lines, and they enter at a structural disadvantage, having little educational, cultural or financial capital. The most outstanding study on involuntary displacement and its socio-economic impacts was carried out by Cernea,M.M. His model, Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model, shows how impoverishment can occur as a result of displacement. Cernea risk model says that displacement or relocation leave people worse off and leads to the social exclusion of certain social groups of people. It culminates in physical exclusion from a geographic territory, and economic and social exclusion from a set of functioning social networks. Thus, affected people face a broad range of impoverishment risks that includes the following:

- landlessness,
- joblessness,
- homelessness,
- marginalization,
- food insecurity,
- increased morbidity,
- loss of common resources, and
- social disarticulation that result in a loss of socio-cultural resilience.

In addition to the above eight risks, the others have added few more risks to the displaced people. They are loss of education (Mahapatra, L. K., 1991), loss of access to public services (Robinson), violation of human rights (Sahoo Sarbeswar, 2005), and loss of livestock (Misra Kamal K. and Narendra Bondla D.J, 2007). Cernea says the above risks contribute to the process of impoverishment that needs to be closely monitored (Cernea, 1995 & 2000).

The primary objective of any induced involuntary resettlement process should be to prevent impoverishment and to reconstruct and improve the livelihood of the affected people (Cernea 2000). Cernea (2000) also had given a framework to reconstruct the eight risks. In his risk reversal model he recommends the following components for reversing the risks of impoverishment:

- from landlessness to land-based resettlement,
- from joblessness to reemployment,
- from homelessness to house reconstruction,
- from marginalization to social inclusion,
- from increased morbidity to improved health care,
- from food insecurity to adequate nutrition,
- from loss of access to restoration of community assets and services, and
- from social disarticulation to rebuilding of networks and communities.

Cernea's impoverishment risk and reconstruction model offers a valuable tool for the assessment of the many risks inherent in development-induced displacement. Balakrishnan Rajagopal of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has noted the following five "human rights challenges" that arise in relation to development-induced displacement. These are Right to Development and Self-Determination, Right to Participation, Right to Life and Livelihood, Rights of Vulnerable Groups and Right to Remedy (Balakrishnan Rajagopal, 2000).

Michael Cernea's (1997) Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model has its own uniqueness as it has four functions.

1. A diagnostic function: Explanatory and cognitive function,
2. A predictive function: Warning and Planning function,
3. A problem-resolution function: For guiding and measuring resettlers' reestablishment.
4. A research function: For formulating hypotheses and conducting theory-led field investigations

Scudder's four-stage framework and Cernea's IRR model have complementary strengths. Their studies dealt with the severe impact and challenges of development-induced

displacement. Although the two models approach the resettlement process from very different perspectives, they clearly suggest that successful resettlement is possible, but only if policymakers and planners adequately involve affected people and provide settlers and host people with significant development opportunities. Very recently they have been combined into a single theory (Scudder, T, 2005). The combination of the two analytical frameworks provides policymakers with a relatively powerful tool for planning and implementing a successful process for development-produced involuntary resettlement.

However, the new framework needs to be further extended by incorporating a number of additional factors (or risks) that are increased for displaced persons. These are: the role of gender as a risk factor, resettlement complexity, and the political and institutional contexts in which resettlement occurs, the role of political leaders within populations undergoing displacement, and such intangibles as human rights and concepts and/or symbols of cultural importance (Scudder, T, 2005).

The IRR model of Cernea has been used as a framework for a number of studies. Mahapatra uses the model to examine India's experience with involuntary resettlement from 1947-97, examining each of the IRR risks in turn. Mahapatra concluded that "detailed examination of India's resettlement experiences confirms empirically and theoretically the validity of the conceptual model of risk and reconstruction as an analytical, explanatory, and strategic tool." Cernea's impoverishment risk and reconstruction model offers a valuable tool for the assessment of the many risks inherent in development-induced displacement (Mahapatra, L. K., 1996).

Syam Kumar, C., (2015) in his paper mentioned that anthropological studies started to stress on people's participation and involvement of anthropologist or sociologist in the issues of displacement and rehabilitation apart from the socio-ritual disarticulation due to displacement and resettlement in new areas. There are studies which provide suggestions or recommendations to policy-makers based on their empirical field-level experiences (Maninder Gill 2000; Jayantha Perera 2000; Arpan Sharma 2003; Roxamine Hakim 1996; Mamata Swan1999; Manish Kumar Verma 2004; Kunj Bihari Nayak 2004; Mathur, H.M 2006; Rambabu Mallavarapu 2007; Misra Kamal K. and Narendra Bondla D.J. 2007.

Anthropologists played a crucial role in addressing the consequences of growing development projects and their impact on environment and human ecology. The subject will continue to contribute in policy formulation as well as to debate on livelihood, human rights, and political discourses. The holistic approach of anthropology makes it more distinctive than other disciplines to address the convolution of the displacement and resettlement process (Smith 2009).

Development Projects and Magnitude of Displacement: Global Scenario

Globally it is identified that development projects have been the main cause of displacement of people. According to Cernea, M.M (1999) the following types of development projects lead in causing displacement of people:

- water supply and hydroelectric projects (dams, reservoirs and irrigation),
- energy (mining, power plants, oil industries),
- urban infrastructure and transportation projects (roads, highways, canals), and
- Agricultural expansion; parks and forest reserves, population distribution schemes.

Implementation of development is important because it improves people's lives through employment creation and provision of better services, but such development projects normally create groups of those who enjoy the benefits of the projects and those who bear its pains (Cernea, M.M, 1997). The number of people displaced by development projects annually is big and it is projected to increase over time, particularly in developing countries. In the early 1990s, due to the construction of 300 high dams, 4 million people were displaced each year, while other infrastructure development projects like urban and transportation accounted for more than 6 million displaced each year (Robinson, W.C, 2003).

In recent decades it is estimated that 15 million people are estimated to be annually displaced by development projects worldwide, and it is projected that over twenty years period between 280 and 300 million people will be displaced. The majority of those displaced are poor people living in informal settlements/slums and the large part of those displaced are not resettled (Cernea, M.M., 2008).

The accurate data on the number of persons affected by development-induced displacement throughout the world is lacking. For an indication of magnitude, most scholars, policy-makers, and activists rely on the World Bank Environment Department's (WBED) estimate of roughly 10 million people being displaced each year due to dam construction, urban development, and transportation and infrastructure programs. WBED (1996) reports a regional breakdown of World Bank projects (active in 1994) that had resettlement components. The biggest scale of development-induced displacement and resettlement is seen in the world's most densely populated countries China followed by India. The gigantic displacement following development projects is also highly visible in other Asian countries as well as in Africa and Latin America.

Table1. *Number of people displaced by World Bank projects (active in 1993)*

Region	**Projects & Percentage**	**People & Percentage**
Africa	34 (23.3)	113,000 (5.8)
South Asia	29 (19.9)	1,024,000 (52.1)
East Asia	58 (39.7)	588,000 (30.0)
Europe/Central Asia	5 (3.4)	27,000 (1.4)
Middle East/North Africa	7 (4.8)	32,000 (1.6)
Latin America	13 (8.9)	180,0000 (9.1)
Total World Bank Projects	146 (100.0)	1,963,000 (100.0)

Source: WBED, 1996

Dam Building and Displacement

There was a rapid increase in large dam construction during the last century. In 1900, there were only 600 big dams in existence and many of them were built in Asia and Africa. By 1949, there were about 5,000 big dams and by the end of the twentieth century over 45,000 large dams were built in over 140 countries. Thus, over 90 per cent of big dams were built over the last 40 years (Khagram, Sanjeev, 2004: 5–6). In fact, the top five dam-building countries today account for nearly 80 per cent of all large dams worldwide. China, which had only 22 dams prior to 1949, has built around 22,000 large dams, close to half of the world's total number. Other countries among the top five dam-building nations include the United States with over 6,390 large dams, India with 4,000 and Spain and Japan with between 1,000 and 1,200 large dams each. Estimates suggest that 1,700 large dams have been under construction in other parts of the world in the last five years. Of this, a total 40 percent were reportedly being built in India (World Commission on Dams, 2000: 8–10).

The International Commission on Large Dams (ICOLD) defines large dams as dams that fulfill either of the following:

- More than 15 meters in height
- More than 3 million cubic meters of storage capacity.
- Length of crest of the dam is not less than 500 m.
- Capacity of the reservoir is not less than one million cubic m.
- The maximum flood discharge dealt with is not less than 2000 cubic m per second

It is estimated that there were some 800,000 dams in the world by 1997, of which by 2017, more than 50,000 large dam projects in operation globally and half of them in China (ICOLD, 2018).

Table2. *Dams Construction in the World*

Sl. No.	**Country**	**Number**	% of Dams
1	China	**23,841**	40.9
2	United States of America	**9,265**	15.9
3	India	**5,100**	8.7
4	Japan	**3,118**	5.3
5	Brazil	**1,364**	2.3
6	Korea (Rep. of)	**1,338**	2.3
7	Canada	**1,169**	2.0
8	South Africa	**1,112**	1.9
9	Spain	**1,063**	1.8
10	Albania	**1,008**	1.7
11	Turkey	**974**	1.7
12	France	**709**	1.2
13	United Kingdom	**593**	1.0
14	Mexico	**570**	1.0
15	Australia	**567**	1.0
16	Italy	**541**	0.9
17	Iran	**520**	0.9
Total Dams in Countries		**58,351**	-

Source: http://www.icold-cigb.net

As on 2016 of ICOLD Report, the total number of dams in the world is 58,351. Of this, China with 23,841 dams has the most dams in the world, constituting 40.9 per cent of the total dams. USA is next with 9,265 (15.9%) dams, and India occupies the third place with 5,100 dams (8.7%).

Recent research has pointed out that 70 million people were displaced in China by development projects between 1950 and 2008 (Koppel J. Maldonado 2012). According to the National Research Center for Resettlement in China, more than 45 million people were resettled by development projects between 1950 and 2000 (Fuggle. R, and W. T Smith 2000). It is further estimated that, solely as a result of dam building in China, more than 10 million people were involuntarily resettled over a period of forty years (Cernea 1997). World Bank evaluations of dam resettlements indicate that resettlers experience high rates of unemployment and often remain dependent upon food rations from the government. Sixty percent are believed to live below the poverty line. In Bangladesh the construction of Kaptai dam, which was completed in 1962, has resulted in the involuntary resettlement of over 60,000 Chakma and Hajong tribals and many of them not properly resettled. In Nepal it is estimated that more than 13,000 people have been resettled in the aftermath of the construction of Marsayangdi Dam. The largest development project in the history of Pakistan was the construction of Mangla Dam, completed in 1967, over 110,000 people were involuntarily resettled. Another project in 1974 the Tarbela Dam on the Indus River displaced 96,000 people.

With the construction of Aswan High Dam in Africa between 1960 and 1971, between 100,000 and 120,000 people were displaced, including 50,000 on Egyptian territory (Scudder, T 1981). The construction of Merowe Dam, completed between 2003 and 2008, has displaced between 55,000 and 70,000 people, among them most were tribal people.

In Central and Latin America due to the construction of Yacyretá Dam (1983-1994) on the border of Argentina and Paraguay the total number of displaced people are more than 68,000 (37,000 on the Argentinian side and 31,000 on the Paraguayan side). The Itaipu Dam on the Paraná River (the third largest dam in the world) displaced about 10,000 families. The Miguel

Aleman Dam in Mexico displaced 20,000-25,000 Mazatec Indians.

In Europe between 1929 and 1939, due to the construction of dams 1.5 million people of the Soviet Union were displaced. The construction of the Bratsk Reservoir (Western Siberia), completed in 1964, displaced more than 70,000 people. The construction of 11 dams on the Volga River carried out over for more than forty years, displaced mass population of 643,000 people. According to Thayer Scudder in United States and Canada the construction of Norris Dam in Tennessee completed between 1933 and 1936 relocated 14,250 people. With the construction of Grand Coulee Dam on the Colombia river (in the state of Washington), between 1933 and 1975, between 5 and 6 thousand people were displaced.

Among development projects, large dams are the biggest agents of displacement. It is estimated that nearly 40.80 million people have been displaced worldwide due to the reservoirs created by large dams. A World Bank review of 192 projects worldwide for the period 1986 and 1993, estimated that 4 million people were displaced annually by 300 dams on an average large dams. In India alone, it is estimated that some 21 million to 42 million people have been displaced by dams and reservoirs. In China, by the late 1980s, some 10.2 million people were officially recognised as "reservoir resettlers" while the unofficial estimates put the number much higher.

China and India, the world's two most populous countries, have built about 57 percent of the world's large dams and also account for the largest number of people resettled (WCD, 2000). India, with about 4,200 operational dams since Independence, has the dubious distinction of having 30 – 50 million dam-induced displaced people. A recent estimate suggests that at least 55% of those displaced across India are tribal people (GoI, 2004).

International Financial Support for Development Projects

As of 2000, about 300 development projects supported by the World Bank involved involuntary resettlement. These projects represented 20 percent of the World Bank's portfolio and had "adversely affected" 2.6 million people (548,000 households) through physical or economic displacement as a result of land acquisition. Although some critics would say this was 2.6 million too many, even the World Bank's detractors generally credit the Bank as being the first major development agency to formulate a comprehensive policy on involuntary resettlement, at least for those projects with which it is involved.

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) formally adopted an involuntary resettlement policy in 1994. Like the World Bank policy on which it was modeled, it seeks to avoid involuntary resettlement, if possible, minimize displacement where it is unavoidable, and ensure that the displaced people receive adequate assistance to restore their living conditions to at least the pre-project levels. Since 1994, the ADB has financed 80 projects involving resettlement in 12 countries. Between 1994 and 1999, an average of about 120,000 people each year are affected by ADB-funded resettlement projects, 60 percent of whom are in China, followed by 17 percent in Vietnam, 12 percent in Bangladesh, 7 percent in Indonesia, and 2 percent in Cambodia. Transport projects accounted for 78 percent of all displacement with energy and water supply/irrigation projects each recording 9 percent of people relocated. (ADB, 2000)

Displacement and rehabilitation of people is not a new term on the agenda of the development; though its importance has varied depending upon the perceptions of the Government and other agencies and authorities and the reaction of the people to it. Displacement and rehabilitation both have been so far inadequately appreciated. Therefore, the consequences have been very grave. It is only after ecological consideration gained ascendency, with utmost speed, in the recent past, that greater concern is being expressed about this centerpiece of nature's schema to the people.

There is inadequate literature evidence on displacement trauma in international society, even the database of displaced population has not been maintained properly. The predominant percent of disposed population has not been resettled yet and displacement loss has not been restored due to lack of planning and implementation

Involuntary dislocation is always crisis-prone, even when necessary as part of broad and beneficial development programs. It is a profound socio-economic and cultural disruption for those affected. Dislocation breaks up living patterns and social continuity or harmony. It dismantles existing modes of production, disrupts social networks, causes the impoverishment of many of those uprooted, threatens their cultural identity, and increases the risks of epidemics and health problems.

Development Projects and Displacement in India

In India, land for development projects until very recently, was governed by the Land Acquisition Act of 1894. According to the report of the Lok Sabha Secretariat of 2013 in India around 50 million people have been displaced due to development projects in over 50 years. Around 21.3 million development-induced IDPs include those displaced by

- dams (16.4 million),
- mines (2.55 million),
- industrial development (1.25 million), and
- wild life sanctuaries and national parks (0.6 million).

The International Displacement Monitoring Centre in 2007 reveal that about 50 million people in India had been displaced due to development projects in over 50 years. A study conducted in six states estimated the figure at around 60 million between 1947-2000 (Fernandes, 2007; Nalin Singh Negi and Sujata Ganguly, 2011). According to the Working Group on Human Rights in India and the UN Report, India has the highest number of people displaced due to development projects in the world, largely the traditional forest dwellers and the Scheduled Tribes (WGHR, 2012).

Table3. *Development Projects and Magnitude of Displacement in India*

Sl. No: Types		**Number of people Displaced**		**Number of people Rehabilitated**			**Backlog**	
		Total Tribal	**Tribal Region**	**Tribal**	**Total**	**Tribal***	**Total**	**Tribal**
1	Mines	2,100	1,415	1,200	525	300	1,579	900
2	Dams	14,000	7,000	5,300	3,500	1,315	10,500	3,945
3	Industries	1,300	300	260	325	65	950	195
4	Wildlife Sanctuaries	600	600	500	150	125	562	375
5	Others	500	200	150	125	40	375	110
Total		18,500	9,515	7,410	4,625	1,850	13,962	5,560
Percentage				40	25	40	75	40.07

***Based on percentage in tribal region. Sources: Saksena, H.S. & Chandra Sen, (1999); Fernandes (1989; 1997)

In India the first displacement to be reported was for the big Durgapur steel plant in West Bengal, built by the government of India in the 1950s and 1960s which together displaced over 125,000 people. Durgapur alone displaced 33,000 people of various ethnic and caste groups. The second case is a project for port construction and enlargement, the Jawaharlal Nehru port near Mumbai, which displaced 12,000 people.

Five dams developed in Maharashtra displaced over 200,000 people. The Karnataka programme involving two dams has displaced over 220,000 people. The Bolani Iron ore mines in Orissa displaced some 1,300 people. The famous Sardar Sarovar project, a high dam on the Narmada River whose reservoir extends into three Indian states - Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, has displaced 300,000 people (Parasuraman S, 1999). According to Walter Fernandez (2007), the total number of development-induced displaced people is 50–60 million. This figure includes:

- 3 million in Jharkhand,
- 3 million in Orissa,
- 5 million in Andhra Pradesh,
- 1 million in Kerala, million in Assam,
- million in Gujarat, and
- 7.5 million in West Bengal.

India has the following over 4,300 large dams and a total of 9 percent of the world dam population (Taneja, Bansuri and Thakkar, Himanshu, 2002). Large dams in India are estimated to have submerged about 37,500 square kilometres—an area almost the size of Switzerland—and displaced tens of millions of people (International Rivers.Org).

According to one estimate, from 1951 until 2000, dams alone displaced between 21 million and 40

million people in India (Taneja, Bansuri and Thakkar, Himanshu, 2002). Mahapatra, L.K (1999) pointed that development might have displaced 25 million people in India during the second part of the twentieth century (from 1947 to 1997). Dam building in India from 1947 has contributed a lot for the displacement of population.

Table4. *State-wise List of Large Dams in India*

Sl. No	State/Union	Major Dams		
		Completed	Under Construction	Total
1	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0	1	1
2	Andhra Pradesh	161	24	185
3	Arunachal Pradesh	0	1	1
4	Assam	2	1	3
5	Bihar	24	5	29
6	Chhattisgarh	247	7	254
7	Goa	5	2	7
8	Gujarat	470	97	567
9	Haryana	0	0	0
10	Himachal Pradesh	5	1	6
11	Jammu & Kashmir	8	2	10
12	Jharkhand	48	28	76
13	Karnataka	203	28	231
14	Kerala	50	4	54
15	Madhya Pradesh	79	10	803
16	Maharashtra	1453	198	1651
17	Manipur	2	3	5
18	Meghalaya	6	0	6
19	Mizoram	0	0	0
20	Nagaland	0	0	0
21	Odisha	143	16	159
22	Punjab	11	1	12
23	Rajasthan	180	8	188
24	Sikkim	0	1	1
25	Tamil Nadu	92	8	100
26	Tripura	1	0	1
27	Uttar Pradesh	113	17	130
28	Uttaranchal	11	6	17
29	West Bengal	22	6	28
Total		**4050**	**475**	**4525**

Source: Central Water Commission, (Dam Safety Directorate), 2017

In India much of those affected by displacement are tribal people. Though the tribal population constitutes 8.6% of the country's population, among those displaced their percentage is much higher. Construction of dams and dislocation of tribal people since pre and post independence India has been discussed in table below:

Table5. *Displacement of Tribal people by large dams in India*

Sl. No.	Project	State	Total no. displaced	% of tribal persons displaced	Scheduled Caste/ Others
1	Hirakud	Orissa, Madhya Pradesh	110,000	18.34%	n.a.
2	Bhakra	Himachal Pradesh	36,000	34.76%	n.a.
3	Ponga	Himachal Pradesh	80,000	56.25%	n.a.
4	Ukai	Gujarat	52,000	18.92%	n.a.
5	Lalpur	Gujarat	11,300	83.20%	n.a.
6	Daman Ganga	Gujarat	8,700	48.70%	n.a.
7	Karjan	Gujarat	11,600	100%	n.a.
8	Icha	Orissa	30,800	80%	n.a.
9	Manas	Bihar	3,700	31%	n.a.
10	Chandil	Bihar	37,600	87.92%	n.a.
11	Polavalam	Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh	150,000	52.90%	n.a.
12	Tittuli	Maharashtra	13,600	51.61%	n.a.
13	Upper Indravati	Orissa	20,000	43.76%	13%
14	Manchkunda	Orissa	16200	51.1%	10.21%
15	Subarnarekha	Bihar	64000	67.29%	27%
16	Kabini	Karnataka	20000	30%	n.a.
17	Mandira	Orissa	n.a.	68.18%	n.a.
18	Masanjor	Bihar	16000	Mostly Tribal	n.a.
19	Bansagar	Madhya Pradesh	142000	75%	n.a.
20	Mahi Bajaj Sagar	Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh	35000	76.24%	2.13%
21	Kadana	Rajasthan, Gujarat	30000	100%	n.a.
22	Bisalpur	Rajasthan	70000	70% (SC + ST)	
23	Bargi	Madhya Pradesh	35000	43%	10% SC 19% OBC
24	Maithan and pacher	Bihar,West Bengal	93874	53.46%	n.a.
25	Nagarjun Sagar	Andra Pradesh	25490	36%	7% SC 45% OBC
26	Srisailam	Andhra Pradesh	100000	81% (SC+ ST)	
27	Rihand	Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh	47500	Mostly tribal	n.a.
28	Upper Kolab	Orissa	50771	52%	17%
29	Narmada Sagar	Madhya Pradesh	170000	20%	14%
30	Sardar Sarovar	Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh	200000	56%	9%
31	Kulku	Orissa	14000	Mostly Tribal	
32	Surya	Maharashtra	7290	100%	

Source: Fernandes and Paranjpye, 1997.

India has not maintained the database on the number of persons displaced (DPs) or deprived of livelihood without physical relocation of project affected population (PAPs), since 1947. One estimate puts the number of DP and PAPs at 60 million tribal population who are a little over 8 per cent of the country's population (Fernandes, 2013). Hence, the tribal people are adversely affected by losing their livelihoods and traditional practices, water resources, forest, forest products, beliefs, sacred places and biological attachments with the forest. It is not possible to restore the displacement loss though the affected people are paid compensation.

Conclusion

The displacement of people due to development projects is a worldwide phenomenon. Development-induced displacement emerged both as a major concern and as a challenge in sociology and anthropology in 1990s. The concern arose because of a dramatic rise in development-induced displacement in the 1970s and 1980s propelled mainly by a global infrastructure boom and coupled with painful and disastrous outcomes in resettlement experience (Ranjit Dwivedi 2002). Displacement or the involuntary and forced relocation of people has come to be acknowledged as among the most significant negative impacts of large water resources development projects such as dams.

It dislocates people from their home, land, and environment and has traumatic consequences for their lives (KB Saxena, 2013). The building of large multi-purpose river valley projects and large-scale industries have ushered the path of infrastructural development in post-independent India as euphoria of sacrifice for the building of a newly-born nation. But, all these mega-projects have left an imprint of untold misery upon a section of population through displacement which has resulted in loss of land, home, livelihood and many more. Out of various projects, dams rank as the topmost displacing agent in India.

Mathur, H.M (1995) overviewed that displacement arising from development projects affects entire communities, but for poorer groups the effects of displacement are particularly traumatic. This, however, cannot entirely be blamed on development as some critics of the development process tend to suggest. It is mostly inadequacies in the planning of resettlement which tends to overlook concerns of the poor that accounts for its unsatisfactory performance.

India alone, it is estimated that some 21million to 42 million people have been displaced by dams and reservoirs. No precise data exists on the number of persons affected by development-induced displacement throughout the world. Fernandes, Walter (2013) has pointed that proper database on dislocated population in India is also not maintained by the Government and India. A recent estimate suggests that at least 55% of those displaced across India are tribal people (GoI, 2004). Majorities of the displaced people have not been properly resettled or given adequate compensation. A number of criticisms have been raised on the implementation resettlement policies.

Social sciences have played a significant role in meeting the crisis of displacement in various countries. Such knowledge helped them to formulate national or regional rehabilitation policies in Brazil, Colombia, Guyana, Indonesia, Jamaica, Uganda, Vietnam and other countries (Ferandes and Paranjpyc 1997). Scholars from various disciplines analysed that global trends of displacement and involuntary resettlement will not disappear. Particularly in a developing countries and country like India such activities are likely to increase because our planners are conscious about the developmental efforts. In India, after independence they are involved in the process of infrastructure and economic development to reach new developmental era. Hence, in the Indian context, certain degree of forced displacements due to infrastructure development cannot be avoided in forthcoming decades. When the displacement becomes the part of national economic development the need for the scientific study of development-induced displacement and rehabilitation emerges as inevitable. In this context, such kind of studies helps to improve the overall body of social science knowledge.

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