

Development-induced displacement and resettlement

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1 Introduction

Development projects often involve the introduction of direct control by a developer over land previously occupied by another group. Natural resource extraction, urban renewal or development programs, industrial parks, and infrastructure projects (such as highways, bridges, irrigation canals, and dams) all require land, often in large quantity. One common consequence of such projects is the upheaval and displacement of communities. While the literature on development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) is clear in its focus on physical development projects that require land expropriation, these are not the only types of projects that can result in displacement. Conservation

programs, such as wildlife re-introduction schemes and the creation of game parks and bio-diversity zones, also often oust communities. Issues surrounding conservation-induced displacement are dealt with in another FMO thematic research guide. Other types of policies can also induce migration. For example, a distributive policy decision that shifts jobs between two regions might cause some people to move in search of new employment. However, the literature on DIDR does not consider these types of policies. The focus is clearly on physical forms of development that require displacement by decree.

In much of the DIDR literature, scholars and activists consider development displacees to be those persons who are forced to move as a result of losing their homes to development projects. However, wider considerations of ‘project-impacted persons’ have been advocated. Scudder (1996/1999/1996) suggests that our conception of project-impacted persons should include not only those directly displaced by loss of home, but also the host population that takes in displacees; all others who are neither directly displaced, nor hosts, yet who live in the vicinity of the project; and project immigrants. The latter group includes those tasked with planning, designing, and implementing the project, as well as those who later move to the region to take advantage of project-related opportunities – these, Scudder notes, are often beneficiaries of the project, whereas the two former groups are often adversely affected by projects. Similarly, the World Commission on Dams (WCD) report refers not only to physical displacement, but also to livelihood displacement, which deprives people of their means of production and displaces them from their socio-cultural milieu. Mobile groups have been prone to this type of displacement as state and private-sector land demands have sometimes overlapped with the land claimed by these groups for grazing, hunting, migration, and other activities.

This research guide is not meant to provide a comprehensive treatment of the topic of DIDR. Rather, it offers an overview of some of the most important issues in the area. A sizeable number of electronic and print references are included; however, countless more were not included due to space limitations. The twenty-four-page *Selected Bibliography on Displacement Caused by Development Projects* prepared by Sánchez-Garzoli in 2003, which is available online, is a good resource for those in search of more references. Unfortunately, my language skills limited my search for and inclusion of non-English texts on DIDR. For this I apologize.

Websites:

World Bank Resettlement Thematic Group -

<http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/65ParentDoc/InvoluntaryResettlement?Opendocument>

The International Network on Displacement and Resettlement -
<http://www.displacement.net>

Website of Ted Downing, anthropologist with considerable experience on issues of displacement and resettlement - <http://www.ted-downing.com/>

Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK -
<http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk>

Centre for Refugee Studies, York University, Toronto, Canada -
<http://www.yorku.ca/crs>

2 Global overview

No precise data exists on the numbers of persons affected by development-induced displacement throughout the world. Unlike for refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), there are no institutions or publications dedicated to tracking overall DIDR, either at the global or national levels. For an indication of magnitude, most scholars, policy-makers, and activists rely on the World Bank Environment Department's (WBED) estimate that roughly 10 million people are displaced each year due to dam construction, urban development, and transportation and infrastructure programs. This number is shockingly high, but it still fails to account for large numbers of the displaced. As pointed out in the introduction, displacement tallies almost always refer only to persons physically ousted from legally acquired land in order to make way for the planned project, ignoring those living in the vicinity of, or downstream from, projects, whose livelihoods and socio-cultural milieu might be adversely affected by the project. A count that considers this wider conception of development-induced displacement would be much higher than the WBED's estimate. Furthermore, the global count of displacees would increase with a consideration of displacement stemming from development projects other than those included in the WBED's count, such as natural resource extraction projects.

While no statistics are available on the geographical distribution of development displacees, trends can be gleaned from the WBED's report on the World Bank's (hereafter 'World Bank' or 'Bank') experience with involuntary resettlement. Table 1, composed of data from the WBED report, gives a regional breakdown of World Bank projects (active in 1993) that had resettlement components. It is worth keeping in mind that displacement in Bank-assisted projects accounts for only a small fraction of the estimated global total – about 3 per cent of global dam displacement and 1 per cent of global displacement from urban and transportation projects.

Table 1. World Bank projects active in 1993 with resettlement, including number of people displaced (source: WBED, 1996)

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	180,000	9.1
Total World Bank	146	100	1,963,000	100

The list of examples of development-induced displacement is virtually endless. A number of case studies are listed in the sections below; many others are listed in other sections of this research guide. While an effort has been made to provide examples from different regions of the world, some regions are more represented than others in the examples given. This is due in part to the high number of displacement-inducing projects in some areas of the world, but also to the literature's biases towards certain regions and certain projects in particular.

While the analytical case studies are of great worth, it is also valuable to read the actual resettlement planning documents, with details on scheduling and budgets, prepared by governments and private project sponsors during the planning stages of a project. Both the World Bank and Asian Development Bank provide access to a large number of such documents, called Resettlement Plans (RPs), on their respective websites, the links for which are provided below.

Websites:

World Bank Resettlement Plans -

<http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/65ByDocName/KeyDocumentsResettlementPlansRPs>

Asian Development Bank resettlement plans -

<http://www.adb.org/Resettlement/plans.asp>

2.1 Asia and the Pacific

While development-induced displacement occurs throughout the world, two countries in particular – China and India – are responsible for a large portion of such displacements. According to Fuggle *et al.* (2000), the National Research Center for Resettlement in China has calculated that over 45 million people were displaced by development projects in that country between 1950 and 2000.

Taneja and Thakkar (2000) point out that estimates on displacement in India from dam projects alone range from 21 million to 40 million. The WBED report notes that, in 1993, World Bank projects in China accounted for 24.6 per cent of people displaced in Bank-assisted projects, while Bank-assisted projects in India accounted for 49.6 per cent of the Bank total.

The Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam Project in India, which is set to displace 127,000 people, has perhaps been the most widely researched and discussed project involving forced resettlement in history. The volume edited by Drèze, Samson, and Singh (1997) provides a comprehensive look at displacement and resettlement in the project. The Morse and Berger report (1992) is the final report of the Morse Commission, the World Bank's internal review of the project, which found systematic violations of Bank policies and loan agreements, particularly those concerning the environment and resettlement. That report eventually led the World Bank to withdraw funding from the project and has been cited as an important factor in pushing the Bank to create its Inspection Panel, a body tasked with investigating claims from citizens in cases where the Bank has failed to enforce its own policies, procedures, and loan agreements.

China's Three Gorges Dam Project, which will displace upwards of 1.2 million people, has also been widely written about. *Yangtze! Yangtze!*, edited by Qing (1994), is famous for having been the first book critical of the project published from within China, while *The River Dragon Has Come*, also edited by Qing (1998), provides a further cohort of essays on the dam's likely effects, a number of which deal with resettlement. Stein's article (1998) provides an analysis of the displacement and resettlement made necessary by the Three Gorges project. Fearnside's chapter (1990) offers a technical discussion of the project's resettlement plans, while several other chapters in the volume edited by Barber and Ryder (1990) discuss effects of the project that might contribute to later indirect displacement. China's National Research Center for Resettlement has published a number of reports and updates on the Three Gorges project, as well as many other displacement-inducing projects in the country.

Cernea's paper (1993) discusses the displacement of 40,000-50,000 people in Indonesia to make way for a Jabotabek urban development project, which involved the widening and upgrading of roads in Jakarta and nearby cities. The paper also discusses the modernization of Shanghai's sewerage system, which displaced 15,000 urban dwellers in the city.

Website:

National Research Center for Resettlement in China, Hohai University, Nanjing, China - <http://www.chinaresettlement.com/>

2.2 Africa

Cernea's paper *African Involuntary Resettlement in a Global Context* (1997) provides a good statistical and conceptual overview and literature review of DIDR on the continent, while De Wet's contributing paper for the WCD (2000) offers a wide-ranging review of dam displacement in Africa. Among many other things, Cernea's paper notes that while countries like China and India lead the world in the number of persons displaced by development projects, the proportion of population and territory affected by even the largest of projects in these countries is much lower than in some projects in African countries. For example, the Akosombo Dam in Ghana displaced 80,000 people, approximately 1 per cent of the country's population, while the Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam in India will displace 127,000 people, roughly 0.013 per cent of the country's population. Furthermore, with regard to land affected, projects in African countries sometimes affect a higher percentage of the host country's territory than projects elsewhere. The reservoir of the Akosombo Dam flooded 3.5 per cent of Ghana's land, while that of the Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam will cover only 0.01 per cent of India's territory.

Colson's detailed study (1971) of the impacts of the Kariba resettlement scheme on the Gwembe Tonga is a classic work, not just of the literature on displacement but also of the field of anthropology. The WCD case study by Soils Incorporated and Chalo Environmental and Sustainable Development Consultants (2000) also assesses the Kariba Dam project in Zambia, which displaced approximately 57,000 people. Fahim's book (1981) offers an in-depth look at the Aswan High Dam Project in Egypt, which displaced close to 100,000 people in Egypt and Sudan. Beyond this, the dam's reservoir inundated the summer resources previously used by nomadic groups in the Nubian region, the population of which numbered in the thousands. Resettlement and compensation schemes failed to include these displacees.

Ghana's Akosombo Dam Project on the Volta River, which displaced 80,000 people, has been closely examined by a number of researchers. The volume edited by Chambers (1970) provides an in-depth examination of the project's resettlement component. Obusu-Mensah's book (1996), based on primary fieldwork carried out in the early 1990s, discusses the factors that led to resettlement failure in the project. Hart's book (1980) offers a wider look at the history and politics behind the project. The study by Amarteifio, Butcher, and Whitham (1966) discusses the displacement and resettlement one Ghanaian village beginning in 1952 in order to make room for the construction of a new port and harbour. This study was completed and published prior to the completion of the Volta River resettlement operations in the hope that its findings could be of use to resettlement planners.

2.3 Latin America and the Caribbean

While overall displacement in Latin America and the Caribbean is not as high as in Asia, the region has seen a number of large and controversial resettlement operations. The study by La Rovere and Mendes (2000) provides a detailed discussion of Brazil's Tucurí Dam Project, Phase I of which was built between 1975 and 1984 and displaced 25,000-35,000 people, despite a pre-project prediction of displacement affecting only 1,750 families in the region.

Guatemala's Chixoy Dam Project is famous for the impunity with which resettlement was carried out. The project involved the resettlement of 2,500 Maya Achi Indians, beginning in 1979 and lasting for over a decade, including the massacring of 369 displacees whom local civil patrols and the Guatemalan Armed Forces deemed to be 'guerrillas'. The Witness for Peace (WFP) report (1996) gives an overview of the dam project, its resettlement component, and the project's effects on those displaced. Howard's article (1997) offers an account of DIDR in Haiti, looking in particular at displacement in the Péligre Dam Project and as a result of the spread of Green Revolution agricultural technologies.

Robinson's paper (2000) provides an excellent survey of Mexico's historical record of dam building and resettlement. Barabas and Bartolomé's report (1973) discusses displacement and resettlement in Mexico's Miguel Aleman Dam Project, which displaced 20,000-25,000 Mazatec Indians. As the title of the report suggests, resettlement in this case did little to prevent the impoverishment of oustees. Guggenheim's chapter (1993) looks closely at resettlement in the Mexico Hydroelectric Project (MHP), which took place in the early 1990s and included two separate dam projects, displacing a total of 3,500 people. While problems arose, resettlement in the MHP's two projects was largely considered to be a success. The low numbers of displacees involved might have made such a success easier, but the World Bank's insistence on high resettlement standards and participatory planning methods were undeniably important factors in the success.

2.4 Europe, the United States, and Canada

Large-scale DIDR is not common in industrialized countries in Europe and North America today. However, history is replete with examples of displacement-inducing projects in these countries, particularly in North America, even if the literature is not. Scudder's chapter (1996) is well known for its examination of livelihood displacement and political mobilization amongst the Cree in Canada's James Bay Power Project. The WCD case study report by Ortolano *et al.* (2000) offers a detailed examination of the Grand Coulee Dam Project in the United States – a project that extended over some forty years between 1933 and 1975 and displaced approximately 5,100-6,350

people (both indigenous and non-indigenous) in the region, while also adversely affecting (without compensation) indigenous populations north of the border in Canada. Berman (1988) provides a critical discussion of the displacement and resettlement of 300 indigenous families from land protected by treaty to make way for the Garrison Dam in the United States in the 1950s.

3 Types of development projects causing displacement

As mentioned in the introduction, the types of development projects causing displacement range across a wide spectrum. For the purposes of this research guide, these types of projects have been divided into three categories: dams, urban renewal and development, and natural resource extraction. Table 2, composed of data from the WBED report, gives a breakdown by cause of displacement of the distribution of people displaced by World Bank projects active in 1993. While these figures are likely indicative of broader trends, it is worth remembering that displacement in Bank-assisted projects accounts for only a fraction of the estimated global total – about 3 per cent of global dam displacement and 1 per cent of global displacement from urban and transportation projects.

Table 2. Distribution of displacees by cause of displacement in World Bank projects (active in 1993) with resettlement

Cause	Projects	Percentage	People	Percentage
Dams, irrigation, canals	46	31.5	1,304,000	66.4
Urban infrastructure, water supply, sewerage, transportation	66	45.2	443,000	22.6
Thermal (including mining)	15	10.3	94,000	4.8
Other	19	13.0	122,000	6.2
Total World Bank	146	100	1,963,000	100

3.1 Dams

Of the types of development projects that bring about physical displacement, dams and their related infrastructure, including power stations and irrigation canals, stand out as the largest contributor to displacees. This is partially a product of the enormous scale of many dam projects – China’s Danjiangkou Dam displaced 383,000 people, while its ongoing Three Gorges Dam project will displace 1.2 million. The high overall level of dam displacement is also a product of the speed with which dams have been built since 1950. The International Commission on Large Dams (ICOLD) reports that the world had 5,000 large dams in 1950 and over 45,000 by the late 1990s.

The WBED has calculated that roughly 40 per cent of development-induced displacement every year – over 4 million people – is a result of dam projects. Over the range of projects assisted by the World Bank, 63 per cent of involuntary displacement and resettlement occurs in dam projects. Overall estimates of dam displacement over the latter half of the twentieth century range between 30 and 80 million people. As with the figures for overall development-induced displacement, these estimates often do not cover the full extent of displacement outside dam and reservoir sites.

The literature on large dams and their economic, environmental, and social impacts is vast. McCully's book (2001) and the WCD report (2000) provide comprehensive overviews of the impacts of large dam projects, including direct displacement and resettlement, but also other impacts that could lead to indirect displacement. These include: the inundation of valuable farmland and animal habitat; the capturing of sediment by dams, leading to erosion and soil degradation downstream; the endangerment of freshwater habitats, leading to the extinction or threatening of riverine and wetland lifeforms; reservoir-induced seismicity; the spread of diseases by insects that thrive in stagnant reservoir water; and environmental destruction and human death as a result of dam failure or collapse. The report by Bartolome *et al.* (2000), prepared to inform the WCD report-writing process, offers a comprehensive discussion of recent practices concerning the displacement, resettlement, rehabilitation, and development of people adversely affected by dam projects. It also suggests a number of ways to improve accountability and facilitate negotiation in future resettlement schemes.

Case studies of dam projects dominate the literature on development-induced displacement. While only a few are listed here, many more are listed in other sections of this research guide. The volume edited by Picciotto, Van Wicklin, and Rice (2001) includes six case studies of dam displacement and resettlement, including that in the Upper Krishna Project in India, the Shuikou and Yantan dam projects in China, the Pak Mun Dam Project in Thailand, the Kedung Ombo Dam Project in Indonesia, the Itaparica Dam in Brazil, and the Nangbeto Dam in Togo. The WCD website provides online access to countless case studies of dam projects throughout the world, many of which have involved displacement and resettlement. International Rivers Network (IRN), and its regular publication *World Rivers Review*, are good sources of news on dam and water infrastructure projects and their impacts on people and the environment.

Websites:

World Commission on Dams (WCD) - <http://www.dams.org>

International Rivers Network (IRN) - <http://www.irn.org>

3.2 Urban infrastructure and transportation

Urban infrastructure and transportation projects that cause displacement include slum clearance and upgrading; the establishment of industrial and commercial estates; the building and upgrading of sewerage systems, schools, hospitals, ports, etc.; and the construction of communication and transportation networks, including those connecting different urban centres. Cernea's paper (1993), *The Urban Environment and Population Relocation*, provides a brief review of the literature and gives a comprehensive overview of some of the most important issues involved in urban displacement and resettlement.

The WBED has estimated that 60 per cent of development-induced displacement every year – about 6 million people – is a result of urban infrastructure and transportation projects. This same proportion is not reflected in World Bank-assisted projects – in 1993, only 22.6 per cent of displacement was caused by urban and transportation projects. Evidence from case studies suggests that the number of people displaced in individual urban and transportation projects is much lower than the number displaced in many large infrastructure projects. Indonesia's Jabotabek project, which displaced 40,000-50,000 people, and India's Hyderabad Water Supply Project, which ousted 50,000 people, are among the largest urban displacements on record. However, Cernea's paper points out that, while displacement from individual urban development projects is low, the frequency of such projects is higher than in some other sectors, resulting in a high overall number of displacees. Furthermore, while the amount of land appropriated for individual urban projects is often minimal compared to that acquired for individual large dam or irrigation projects, the ratio of people displaced per unit of expropriated land is usually higher as a result of high urban population densities. This situation only looks to be intensifying as the global trend of urbanization grows. While in 1980, only 15.8 per cent of the world's population lived in cities with 4 million or more residents, demographers suggest that by 2025 this will rise to 24.5 per cent globally and 28.2 per cent in developing countries. Rural development projects that have caused displacement have played their own role in this rise, as many resettlers have either been relocated to cities or have migrated there from poor resettlement sites in search of employment.

Perlman's book (1976) is a well-known account of *favela* (slum) removal and forced relocation in Rio de Janeiro, while Pereira's chapter (1994) provides a discussion of the resettlement of 130 families in two separate urban relocation operations in Mozambique, which together generated space for an urban renewal project. Manga's chapter (1994) depicts the displacement and resettlement of roughly 45,000 people in the Nylon Urban Upgrading Project in Douala, Cameroon, which aimed to restructure and improve conditions in an

urban ‘spontaneous’ settlement. As is the case in most cases of DIDR, many displacees in the Nylon project were amongst the city’s poorest residents.

3.3 Natural resource extraction

Principally, this category of projects includes those having to do with mineral and oil extraction. Despite their similarity, forestry extraction projects are dealt with in the research guide focusing on conservation-induced displacement. No cumulative or annual statistics are available on the number of people displaced by natural resource extraction projects world-wide; however, anecdotal evidence and figures from World Bank projects (shown above) suggest that displacement in such projects is much lower than in many dam and urban renewal and development projects.

The DIDR literature on mining and oil projects is sparse compared to that on dams and urban renewal and development projects. This is likely due to two factors. Firstly, mining and oil projects cause only limited displacement compared to large infrastructure projects. Secondly, the displacement caused by such projects is often indirect – for example, seepage from an oil pipeline might cause drinking-water contamination and the destruction of farmland, leading families to abandon their homes and lands for safer conditions elsewhere. In contrast to the direct displacement caused by many large infrastructure projects, such indirect forms of displacement are less apparent and seldom lead to formal resettlement operations. They are therefore less examined in the literature.

Chatty (1994) discusses a case of petroleum exploitation that led to physical and livelihood displacement among members of the Harasiis tribe, a pastoral nomadic group in Oman. Human Rights Watch’s (HRW) report (1999) on oil extraction activities in the Niger Delta of Nigeria details the abuse of local dwellers’ human rights by the Nigerian government and participating corporations in their efforts to quell local opposition to the extraction projects. It also discusses the projects’ environmental impacts, including those stemming from regular oil spills (at least 300 annually, according to Nigerian official estimates, which are likely low) and the construction of roads and canals, which contribute to the displacement of some from the region. Amnesty International’s report (2000) discusses the oil industry and its role in human rights abuses in Sudan, including the forced expulsion of tens of thousands of people from their homes. Government troops have reportedly used bombings, helicopter gunships, and mass executions as tools to ensure that people flee the region.

Downing’s report *Avoiding New Poverty: Mineral-induced displacement and resettlement* (2002) offers an overview of the issues surrounding displacement and resettlement in mining projects and suggests ways forward in preventing the impoverishment of displacees. A special issue by *Cultural Survival Quarterly*

(2001) looking at mining projects on indigenous lands contains a number of articles dealing with mining-induced displacement and resistance to it.

4 The consequences of development-induced displacement

The consequences of DIDR depend largely on how resettlement is planned, negotiated, and carried out. In modern dam-building history, displacement strategies and resettlement schemes have ranged from positive to grim. Picciotto, Van Wicklin, and Rice (2001) point out that, in the cases of China's Shuikou and Yantan dam projects, displacees' incomes and living standards improved while satisfaction with resettlement was (reportedly) high. In contrast, the WFP report (1996) on Guatemala's Chixoy Dam Project in the late 1970s points to the massacring of hundreds of Maya Achi Indians by local civil patrols and the country's Armed Forces to make way for the dam's construction. In most projects, the conditions of displacement and resettlement have fallen somewhere between these two extremes, although it is rare to find examples of positive resettlement experiences.

The literature on DIDR is largely comprised of case studies. However, several theoretical frameworks have been proposed to explain the social consequences of forced relocation. Two models – Scudder and Colson's four-stage model and Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model – are explained below. This is followed by discussions of the varying levels of risk that might exist for particular segments of a displaced population, and of the literature comparing and contrasting the experiences of development displacees and refugees.

4.1 Theoretical models

In the early 1980s, building upon earlier approaches that dealt primarily with the processes of voluntary resettlement, Scudder and Colson proposed a four-stage model of how people and socio-cultural systems respond to resettlement. The stages were labelled recruitment, transition, potential development, and handing over or incorporation. In the recruitment phase, policy-makers and/or developers formulate development and resettlement plans, often without informing those to be displaced. During transition, people learn about their future displacement, which heightens the level of stress experienced. Potential development occurs after physical relocation has occurred. Displacees begin the process of rebuilding their economy and social networks. Handing over or incorporation refers to the handing over of local production systems and community leadership to a second generation of residents that identifies with and feels at home in the community. Once this stage has been achieved, resettlement is deemed a success.

The Scudder–Colson model focused on the different behavioural tendencies common to each of a series of stages through which resettlers passed. At first, the model was formulated to explain the stages of voluntary settlement, and was only later applied to some cases of involuntary resettlement (i.e., those ‘successful’ cases that passed through all four stages). In the 1980s and 1990s, the mounting evidence of involuntary resettlement schemes that failed to pass through all four stages suggested that a new model was necessary to explain the consequences of involuntary relocation. In particular, it was recognized that a new theory was necessary to model what was increasingly seen as predictable impoverishment in forced resettlement schemes.

Cernea’s Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model arose in the 1990s in response to this recognition. In contrast to the Scudder–Colson model, the IRR model does not attempt to identify different stages of relocation, but rather aims to identify the impoverishment risks intrinsic to forced resettlement and the processes necessary for reconstructing the livelihoods of displacees. In particular, it stresses that, unless specifically addressed by targeted policies, forced displacement can cause impoverishment among displacees by bringing about landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources, increased morbidity and mortality, and community disarticulation. To these risks, Downing and others have added: loss of access to public services, disruption of formal education activities, and loss of civil and human rights. The model also recognizes risks to the host population, which, while not identical to those of displacees, can also result in impoverishment. Not all of these processes necessarily occur in each case of forced resettlement and not all displaced households are necessarily affected in the same way by each process. Rather, the model notes that, when taken together, these processes capture the reasons behind many failed resettlement operations. Aside from distinguishing risks, the IRR model serves several other functions: as a predictor of impoverishment; as a guide for formulating research hypotheses and conducting theory-led field investigations research; and as a compass for risk reversal, advocating targeted resettlement policies, such as land-based (as opposed to mere cash-based) resettlement, job creation, health and nutritional safeguards, and social network rebuilding.

The IRR model has been used as a framework for a number of studies. Mahapatra (1996) uses the model to examine India’s experience with involuntary resettlement from 1947-97, examining each of the IRR risks in turn. Thangaraj’s chapter (1996) employs the model to analyse resettlement operations in two Indian projects – the Upper Indravati Hydroelectric Project and the Orissa Water Resources Consolidation Project. Lassailly-Jacob’s chapter (1996) looks specifically at land-based resettlement strategies in African dam projects, arguing that such strategies must include not only land on which

to resettle, but also common lands, adequate productive farmland, full title for lands (rather than tenant arrangements), and resettler-directed (rather than top-down imposed) development programs.

De Wet's article (2001) casts some doubt on our capacity to ever formulate a process that will ensure that all, or at least a large majority, of those affected by a project will benefit from it. While recognizing the thoroughness of the IRR model, he concludes that the model's assumption that resettlement problems can be erased by improvements in planning is overly optimistic. His article points to the importance of recognizing the complexities inherent in the resettlement process, such as 'non-rational' political motivations and difficulties with financing and institutional capacity. De Wet advocates an open-ended, flexible approach to resettlement planning, which recognizes that projects rarely proceed according to plan.

4.2 Varying levels of risk for indigenous peoples, women, and other groups

In aggregate terms, DIDR often affects the economically, politically, and socially most vulnerable and marginalized groups in a population. However, at the individual and community levels, impoverishment risks associated with resettlement can be felt more intensely by certain segments of the displaced population.

Colchester's paper (2000) provides an overview of the impact of dam projects throughout the world on indigenous populations and ethnic minorities. It highlights that these groups make up a disproportionately large percentage of those whose livelihoods are adversely affected by development projects – for example, despite constituting only 8 per cent of India's population, Adivasis (tribal peoples) are estimated to make up 40-50 per cent of those displaced by development projects in the country. Colchester's paper points out that the experience of indigenous peoples with dams has been characterized by cultural alienation, dispossession of land and resources, lack of consultation, insufficient or a complete lack of compensation, human rights abuses, and a lowering of living standards. The specific and strong cultural connection that many indigenous groups have with the land on which, and the environment in which, they live makes their physical dislocation potentially more harmful than is often the case for other groups. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* has published several issues focusing specifically on the displacement and resettlement of indigenous populations, all of which are listed in the bibliography below.

In general, the issue of gender disparities in resettlement operations has been ignored in the literature. A small number of studies have shown that women often experience the adverse consequences of forced resettlement more strongly than men. For example, compensation payments are usually paid to the heads of

households, which can concentrate the cash value of family assets in male hands, leaving women and children at higher risk of deprivation. Agnihotri's chapter (1996) exposes another form of gender discrimination in compensation criteria in Orissa, where entitlement to land compensation for unmarried persons is set at age 18 for men and age 30 for women. Other research has shown that, in urban development projects, women can be harder hit by displacement because they are more likely to derive income from small businesses located at or near their residences. In rural areas, women can be more adversely affected because they are often more dependent than men on common property resources for income sources. Participatory methods of resettlement planning can also expose the ways in which women can be prevented from shaping and/or benefiting from projects. For example, Guggenheim's (1993) discussion of Mexico's Zimapan Dam Project highlights that, at first, women were common participants in community consultations because their husbands were working away from home for the agricultural harvest. The women's demands changed resettlement plans to include not only land compensation but also credit to open sewing and baking enterprises. However, once the consultations began producing tangible results, men began attending in place of their wives.

For children, Cernea (2000) notes that resettlement often interrupts schooling. In many households, owing to drops in income and living standards, children may never return to school, instead being drafted into the labour market earlier than might otherwise have occurred. Other groups, such as the elderly and the disabled, might also face higher risk intensities in the displacement and resettlement processes, although, as for the other groups, the conditions of the project, resettlement procedure, and resettlement site play a role in determining which groups, if any, experience different and more intense risks.

4.3 Comparing the experiences of development displacees and refugees

While few studies compare the experiences of development displacees with those of refugees and IDPs, there is a growing awareness that all types of displacement, whether by development projects or as a result of violence, persecution, or natural disaster, can lead to impoverishment. Cernea (1996) voices an interest in bridging the research and policy divide concerning both groups, and in encouraging a two-way transfer of knowledge on successful settlement experiences. While recognizing that differences exist between the two populations – for example, in the compensation for expropriated lands in most cases of DIDR – Cernea questions the divide between the bodies of knowledge, pointing out that both populations experience a major disruption in their patterns of social organisation and culture, and therefore face the same challenge of physically and culturally surviving this disruption by reorganising their economies and ways of life.

In contrast, Voutira and Harrell-Bond (2000) argue that such knowledge exchanges can only be limited because, while impoverishment serves as a methodological common denominator among the two groups, the causes of impoverishment and the definitions of success are not the same. Moreover, they note that, beyond conceptual barriers to knowledge exchange, institutional obstacles also exist. The two populations are dealt with by separate agencies that operate with separate budgets and a radical division of labour, that define their roles and relationships to host and donor states differently, that function under different legal and regulatory regimes, and that sometimes promote incompatible long-term objectives.

Muggah (2000) compares the experience of development displacees and those fleeing from conflict in the context of Colombia, discussing the validity of the IRR model in examining conflict-induced displacement (CID). While highlighting that DIDR and CID share similarities, Muggah stresses that fundamental differences exist in terms of predictability, permanence, and purposive versus arbitrary targeting. His article finds that the IRR model's impoverishment risks feature prominently in CID, but that, in the context of CID, the model fails to address potentially destabilising structural issues preceding the displacing event and focuses solely on risks without recognizing the potential and real capabilities of IDPs for poverty avoidance.

The volume edited by Cernea and McDowell (2000) contains a number of essays comparing and contrasting the experiences of development displacees and refugees in different contexts, using Cernea's IRR model as a basis for comparison. Robinson (2003) briefly considers the similarities between development displacees on the one hand and refugees and IDPs on the other. Much of his report focuses on a discussion of DIDR, including several case studies, and a consideration of the international community's responsibility towards development displacees who have been forced to bear the costs of development projects while being denied a share of their benefits.

5 Policies and international instruments relevant to DIDR

5.1 The development of policies, standards, and guidelines on involuntary resettlement

While there is nothing new about development-induced displacement, it was long the case that project sponsors – be they governments, multi-lateral or bilateral development agencies, export credit agencies, or private developers – had no policies or guidelines on involuntary resettlement. It was common for states to have policies on eminent domain, many of which dealt solely with the legal process of expropriation, a number of which outlined compensation mechanisms, but none of which dealt in detail with resettlement in ways that would prevent impoverishment.

In 1980, the World Bank broke ground by formulating the first policy on involuntary resettlement of any development agency engaged in funding or constructing projects that caused displacement. Cernea (1993) offers a brief history of the policy's birth and development up to the early 1990s. Since it first appeared, the World Bank's policy has been through a number of upgrades and alterations, although its core has remained the same. The latest version (OP/BP 4.12) was released in December 2001. The World Bank's Operations Evaluation Department (WBOED) has produced two reports – one in 1993 and one in 1998 – examining the World Bank's experience with involuntary resettlement and measuring it against the policies and standards that have been developed since 1980. The World Bank also has a policy on indigenous peoples, which is relevant in many cases of involuntary resettlement. It aims to ensure that 'the development process fosters full respect for the dignity, human rights and cultures of indigenous peoples.'

The Asian Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank have followed suit, developing their own policies on involuntary resettlement, the latest versions of which were released in 1995 and 1998 respectively. The African Development Bank's Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Unit (PSDU) is in the process of formulating a similar operation policy. Governments have been slower in developing their own policies on involuntary resettlement, although the larger multi-lateral lending agencies, particularly the World Bank, have at times used their leverage to push this process along. Today, relevant policies on involuntary resettlement exist in a number of countries, including China, Côte d'Ivoire, Uganda, and the Central African Republic. Three states in India – Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, and Karnataka – also have resettlement legislation.

Several initiatives aimed at regulating private-sector activity in international business have appeared in recent years. Among others, these have included the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) guidelines regarding human rights, sustainable development, and the environment for corporations operating in or from one of its member countries; the United Nations Global Compact; and the UN Working Group on the Working Methods and Activities of Transnational Corporations, which has formulated a code of conduct for corporations based on human rights standards. While these initiatives have produced guidelines for private companies, none of these documents are legally binding. As Feeney (2000) points out, the non-binding nature of current efforts makes them ineffective. Szablowski (2002) offers a discussion of the regulatory impact of the World Bank's involuntary resettlement policy, and the legal field that surrounds it, upon relationships between mining companies and affected communities in situations where the

policy is called upon to fill perceived voids in domestic law. The article looks in detail at a case study of mining operations in Andean Peru.

In 2000, international 'best practice' was informed by the findings and recommendations of the WCD, which was tasked with reviewing the development effectiveness of large dams and formulating international standards and guidelines for large dam projects, including those concerning resettlement. The WCD's findings criticized the level of displacement and inequitable distribution of benefits in past dam projects. Its recommendations called for a socially and environmentally more comprehensive and transparent decision-making procedure. The WCD report has increased pressure on institutions dealing with dam projects to reform (or create) resettlement policies safeguarding the needs and rights of displacees. However, as of 2003, little has been done by institutions dealing with resettlement to push these recommendations into binding policies.

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Operational Policy on Involuntary Resettlement (OP 4.12), Annex A – Involuntary Resettlement Instruments, December 2001 - <http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/Institutional/Manuals/OpManual.nsf/whatnewvrt/46FC304892280AB785256B19008197F8?OpenDocument>

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Inter-American Development Bank (IADB):

Operational Policy on Involuntary Resettlement (10/98, IND-103, E, S),
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http://www.iadb.org/sds/ind/publication/publication_138_102_e.htm

Involuntary Resettlement in IDB Projects. Principles and Guidelines, November
1999 - http://www.iadb.org/sds/ind/publication/publication_138_105_e.htm

International Finance Corporation (IFC):

Operational Directive on Involuntary Resettlement (OD 4.30), June 1990 -

<http://www.ifc.org/enviro/EnvSoc/Safeguard/Resettlement/resettlement.htm>

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Development Assistance Committee, Guidelines on Aid and Environment(3 –
Guidelines for Aid Agencies on Involuntary Displacement and Resettlement in
Development Projects, 1992 - <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/37/27/1887708.pdf>

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United Nations Global Compact - <http://www.unglobalcompact.org>

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World Commission on Dams (WCD):

‘The Way Forward’, Part III of WCD report, WCD (World Commission on
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London: Earthscan, 2000 - <http://www.dams.org/report/contents.htm>

5.2 International instruments

DIDR raises a number of human rights questions. In particular, debates often
occur over whether or not the rights of displacees are violated by forcible
resettlement or by specific strategies of resettlement. Where governments or

other agencies have resettled with impunity, basic rights listed in the 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights have often been violated. In other cases, the rights to adequate housing, education, participation in cultural life, or the advisability of measures, all listed in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, or the right to culture, listed in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, have been breached.

Shihata (1993) offers an overview of some of the important legal issues – including those relating to eminent domain and human rights law – relevant to involuntary resettlement. In her essay, Ricarda Roos (1999) examines whether or not the prohibition of genocide in international law can be applied in cases of forced resettlement of indigenous peoples or ethnic minorities. She concludes that, while a broad interpretation of ‘intent to destroy’ might cover cases of physically and culturally harmful resettlement, the case law of the international criminal courts does not support such a wide application. Yildiz’s WCD submission (2000) discusses human rights abuses in the context of Turkey’s ongoing Ilisu Dam Project.

With regard to the rights of indigenous peoples, the International Labour Organisation’s (ILO) Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries stipulates that government signatories must respect the right of indigenous peoples to participate in development planning that affects them. It furthermore requires that signatory governments take measures to preserve the institutions, goods, culture, and environment of indigenous populations.

Websites:

University of Minnesota Human Rights Library:

International Labour Organisation Convention No. 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, entered into force 5 September 1991 - <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/r1citp.htm>

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights:

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted 10 December 1948 - <http://www.unhchr.ch/udhr/lang/eng.htm>

Declaration on the Right to Development, adopted 4 December 1986 - <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/74.htm>

International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, entered into force 3 January 1976 - http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/a_cescr.htm

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, entered into force 23 March 1976 - http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/a_ccpr.htm

6 Mobilization against DIDR and/or in favour of improved standards

Over the last three decades of the twentieth century, movements have emerged throughout the world challenging dominant models of development as environmentally and socially unsustainable and harmful to the livelihoods of many. This same period, particularly the 1980s and 1990s, saw a dramatic increase in the number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the world, working on issues as diverse as human rights, democratization, poverty alleviation, inequality, gender, indigenous rights, and the environment. Social movements today commonly extend well beyond the local, involving alliances between 'disempowered' indigenous communities and powerful domestic and international actors in politics, the media, academia, and activist coalitions. The spread of new telecommunications technologies, such as mobile phones and the Internet, has been key in facilitating these alliances.

Among the many social movements and organisations that have appeared, a number are comprised of, or are working in support of or on behalf of, development displacees. No coherent movement against DIDR can be said to exist. Rather, a spectrum of smaller movements can be pointed to. Some protest the conditions of resettlement and unequal sharing of costs and benefits, while others stand in outright opposition to displacement and the wider visions of development voiced and pursued by states and powerful multi-lateral lending agencies, such as the World Bank. A short list of organisations (with websites) engaged in research and/or activism on DIDR issues is provided below.

Gray (1996) discusses several different anti-dam movements among indigenous groups, some of which succeeded in halting projects, others of which failed. He concludes that several factors must coexist simultaneously for a government or multi-lateral development bank to change its mind: a local resistance movement must be effective and have strong international support; the government must demonstrate a willingness to listen to protestors; and, if a multi-lateral bank is involved, an influential sector within the bank must be opposed to the project and the plans of the government. However, even under these circumstances, success is not guaranteed, as was proven in the case of India's Narmada Dam Project. Local and international activism against the Project was key in pushing the World Bank to establish a commission to review its involvement in the project. The commission's report offered a damning critique of the Project and the Bank's involvement, which later led the Bank to withdraw its funding and, furthermore, to create and institutionalize an Inspection Panel, tasked with investigating claims of Bank negligence. However, despite the commission's

critique and the Bank's withdrawal, the government of India stepped up its own support of the Project, pursuing it until the sluice gates were opened in 1994.

The working paper by Oliver-Smith (2002), who has published widely on resistance amongst development displacees, provides an overview of mobilization against DIDR. Chapter ten of McCully's book (2001) articulates the history and current context of the international anti-dam movement, looking in particular at past and present movements in the United States, Australia, Eastern Europe, Brazil, Thailand, and India. Scudder (1996) considers mobilization against displacement in Canada's James Bay Power Project and in Botswana's Southern Okavango Integrated Development Project, neither of which were halted by activism but both of which were delayed and changed by it.

Websites:

Bank Information Center - <http://www.bicusa.org/>

Cultural Survival - <http://www.culturalsurvival.org>

Friends of the Earth International - <http://www.foei.org>

Friends of River Narmada - <http://www.narmada.org>

International Rivers Network - <http://www.irn.org>

Ilisu Dam Campaign - <http://www.ilisu.org.uk>

Kashipur Movement protesting bauxite mining in Orissa, India - <http://www.saanet.org/kashipur>

Probe International - <http://www.probeinternational.org>

7 The ethics of DIDR

In dealing with issues of development and displacement, important ethical questions are raised. Why is displacement often considered morally objectionable? Under what conditions, if ever, can a development project justify displacement? Is it ethically just to displace people so long as they are compensated? If so, what type of compensation is owed to displacees? Should displacees share in the direct benefits of the project by which they were displaced?

Few texts on DIDR explicitly consider in-depth the ethical issues involved. Penz's two articles (1997; 2002) are exceptions. He points out that many

treatments opt for simple moral arguments, either categorically in support of industrial development without concern for the justifiability of the means used to accomplish this end, or categorically in opposition to displacement without consideration for the justifications that can be offered for DIDR. Penz's articles outline three broad ethical perspectives – public interest, self-determination, and egalitarianism – that can be used to justify development-induced displacement. The public interest perspective, embodied in cost-benefit analysis, supports the decision that brings the greatest net benefits to the population as a whole. Displacement and potential impoverishment are treated as costs that can be outweighed by benefits to others. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, once famously said to a group of development displacees, 'If you are to suffer, you should suffer in the interest of the country.' The self-determination perspective privileges freedom and personal or communal control. In its libertarian form, forced displacement (at least of those who legally own property) is unjust because it violates property rights. In its communitarian form, forced resettlement violates self-determination in its use of coercion to displace. The egalitarian perspective privileges actions that reduce poverty and/or inequality. Theoretically, DIDR can be justified here if it benefits the poor at the cost of the wealthy, but questions are raised when a project benefits an under-privileged group at the cost of another such group. Compensation can be provided, but the egalitarian perspective requires that those displaced must also share in the benefits of the project.

As Penz points out, DIDR is an ethically complex issue, in which public interest and distributive concerns stand in tension with self-determination and individual rights protecting against harm and coercion. He concludes that conditions exist under which DIDR can be justified, but that these conditions are strong. They include the avoidance of coercive displacement in favour of negotiated settlement, the minimization of resettlement numbers, the full compensation of displacees for all losses, and the use of development benefits to reduce poverty and inequality. Unfortunately, in most cases of DIDR, these conditions have been violated.

In 1998, York University's Centre for Refugee Studies (Toronto, Canada) initiated a pair of research projects on the Ethics of Development-Induced Displacement (EDID). The EDID projects have focused on assessing the ethical justifiability of DIDR and have formulated normative guidelines to be used in evaluating the justifiability of development projects that cause displacement. The projects' findings and recommendations have not yet been made available, although they are expected in print and online soon.

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Ethics of Development-Induced Displacement (EDID) research project, York University, Toronto, Canada - [PN3]<http://www.edid.yorku.ca/>

Inter-American Development Bank, Inter-American Initiative on Social Capital, Ethics and Development - <http://www.iadb.org/etica/ingles/index-i.cfm>

International Development Ethics Association - <http://www.development-ethics.org/>

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