UNIT 11: DEVELOPMENT AND DISPLACEMENT

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11.1LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- understand the adverse effects of development.
- know the meaning of displacement.
- understand the types of displacement
- analyse the risks brought by displacement to human life

11.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit emphasises on understanding some adverse effects of development. Development is a concept which has been defined in various ways. Traditionally development is defined as an economic process associated with industrialisation, urbanisation, improved facilities of transportation etc. To achieve development people do various activities which bring benefits at large but often cause disruption to society (mostly to the socially vulnerable groups) and to natural environment. With the passing of time by adding non-economic parameters development agencies try to reform or do less harm to people as well as to nature.

11.3 ADVERSE EFFECTS OF DEVELOPMENT

As mentioned above, there have been attempts to check the limitations of the development process. However, the adverse effects of development are so intense that it has already damaged the balance of both social and natural systems to a large extent.

The following account discusses some of the adverse effects of development:

- **Pollution:** There is no doubt development and economic growth provide an improved quality of life to many people. But at the same time development has some downsides which also affect much people. Pollution, one of the negative environmental consequences of development, threatens the balance of the whole bio-diversity. In many countries the rate of degradation of natural resources, i.e. land, water and air is considerably very high.The WWF states if greenhouse gas emission continues, temperature will rise more than 4 degrees Celsius within next few years. In a study it was found that since Industrial Revolution, mercury levels in upper ocean have been tripled due to various development oriented human activities like burning of fossil fuels, mining etc. Scientists reveal that due to pollution, 16% of species, or one in six, face extinction. Pollution decreases life expectancy of humans also. In China an average of 5.5 years of life expectancy becomes less due to air pollution. The Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences in 2014 opined that pollution in Beijing is near level, that is no more liveable for humans.

In India also, the current scenario regarding pollution is terrible, where 13 of 20 most polluted cities are situated. In Delhi, the capital of India, 40 people die per day from respiratory illness. In India 60% of electricity is being generated from burning coal. The coal-fired power plants of India contribute in growing air pollution.

Dumping of industrial harmful wastes is one of the major causes of pollution of Ganga, one of the most polluted rivers in the world.So all kind of pollutions like water pollution, soil pollution, air pollution, noise pollution have been growing up day by day due to various activities of human such as pollution from vehicle, fossil fuel emission from power plants, industrial dump wastes, radiations etc. and surprisingly are these activities are basically development oriented activities.

- **Deforestation:** Deforestation refers to clearing the tree cover; land that is permanently converted from forest to non-forest uses. While clearing trees there is no intention of replacing the trees or re-establishing tree covered areas.In the beginning of 20th century about 7.0 billion hectares of forests were present. By 1950 forest covers were reduced, and the present trend may further reduce forests to only 2.35 billion hectares in 2000 A.D. A UNED study describes that in every year about 7.3 million hectares of rich tropical forests and about 14 hectares of closed forest are lost.

Definitely a question comes here, what are the causes that lead to these kinds of destruction of nature. Unfortunately, the answer is development. Deforestation happens basically for infrastructural development, logging, human settlement, industrialisation, agricultural expansion etc. The effects of deforestation are climate change, loss of species, soil erosion, increasing poor health, threat to indigenous native tribes etc.

- **Appearance of Slums:** Slums are basically systemic dysfunction of development process. Development links with various processes including urbanisation. In the mainstream development process not all areas of a country are equally covered up. Due to the transformation of agriculture sector to industrial sector, high rate of population growth,scarcities of opportunities of livelihood in the villages and small towns; people migrate from the rural areas to the cities hoping for a better future. But in cities due to rapid growth of urban areas, poverty,

politics,unequal income, colonialism and segregation (e.g. Dharavi of Mumbai) etc. they have to live without the basic amenities of life. They form a slum where they have to live in an inhuman environment facing social exclusion. The consequences of slums are illiteracy, poverty, health issues as well as high rate of mortality, crime, environmental degradations, social exclusion, high growth of population etc.

- **Displacement:** There are various paths to achieve development. It is believed that expansion is essential for development. The expansion may be in various forms like urbanisation,industrialisation, various infrastructural development(e.g. roads), production of electricity through big dams etc. So, often for the purpose of expansion, development agencies displace people or deforest the forest covered areas. Besides the developmental expansions, sometimes natural and man-made disasters also displace people from their land. So, displacement is a phenomenon with various forms and it is an outcome of multiple sets of factors. Displacement has various adverse effects. However, generally displacement is justified by calling it an inevitable process to achieve development where a few have to sacrifice for larger benefit of society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. Give two examples of adverse effects of development.

11.4 MEANING AND TYPES OF DISPLACEMENT

In ferms of its its causes, displacement can be defined in two ways:

First, displacement is a process involves physical eviction of people from their locality, environment or occupational activity to make an alternative use of land.

Second, because of natural disaster or man-made disaster, people are displaced from their habitation, locality, and occupation. Displacement has economic, political, social, cultural and psychological impact.

Displacement can be of two types:

i. Disaster- Induced Displacement

ii. Development- Induced Displacement



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q2. What is the meaning of displacement?

Q3 What are the types of displacement?

11.4.1 Disaster-Induced Displacement

When disaster displaces people, it is known as disaster-induced displacement.The United Nations has defined a disaster as "a serious disruption of the functioning of a society, causing widespread human, material, or environmental losses which exceed the ability of the affected society to cope using its own resources." This definition makes it clear that not every fire, earthquake, drought, epidemic, or industrial accident is a disaster. When the losses exceed a society's ability to cope and external aid is required, then only it can be regarded as a disaster.

Most classifications of disaster identify two main types: natural and human-made.

Natural disasters may be classified into three sub-categories. They are:–

- **Sudden impact:** Floods, earthquakes, tidal waves, tropical storms, volcanic eruptions, and landslides are the sudden impact natural

disasters which cause deaths, food shortages, infrastructural damage, and sudden migration of large populations to another place.

- **Slow-onset:** Droughts, famine, environmental degradation, deforestation, pest infestation, and desertification are the slow-onset natural disasters which cause displacement in a wide range as a result of adverse weather conditions combined with poor land use.

- **Epidemic diseases:** Severe outbreak of epidemic diseases causes major disasters which threaten people especially in overcrowded and unhygienic areas. It is also one of the natural disasters which causes displacement.

Human-made disasters include two sub-categories. They are:

- Industrial/technological disasters and

- Complex emergencies

Industrial/technological disasters: After World War II technological expansions took place and at the same time technological disasters too. The features of technological disasters basically are uncontrolled events involving fires, explosions or release of toxic substances that result in death, injury of large number of people, damage of property and degradation of environment in large scale. The suffered people flee from their own habitation because of the adverse effect of technological disasters. Industrial/ technological disasters result from either human errors like poor planning, neglect of safety procedures, failure in controlling technology, etc. or malfunction of technology. Sometimes sudden on site disasters like earthquakes, floods, tsunami, and human-made factors such as armed conflict etc. also cause secondary disasters such as fires, industrial explosions etc. which further cause human displacements.

Complex Emergencies; Complex emergencies have multiple factors including war, internal conflict, failure of disaster management mechanism

etc. which are usually human-made. Complex emergencies are marked by large-scale displacement, food insecurity, human rights violations, and elevated mortality.

So, disasters are one of the major causes of displacement. Both natural disaster and human-made disasters affect human life. Norwegian Refugee Council(2015) reported on disaster-induced displacement by saying that - "In every second, one person is displaced by disaster". Disasters like desertification, soil erosion, drought,deforestation and other environmental problems associated with population pressure and profound poverty give birth to a new phenomenon: 'environmental refugees'. These are displaced people who can no longer gain their secured livelihood because of the above mentioned environmental problems.In 1995 there were 25 million of environmental refugees which became double in number by 2010.As a result of environmental degradation these people have to leave their traditional habitation, temporarily or permanently that endangered their existence and seriously degraded their quality of life.

Human- made disasters like war, terrorist activities produce conflict-induced displacement. Conflict induced displacement is a severe humanitarian crisis which have long term negative impacts on human and social capital, economic growth, poverty reduction efforts and environmental sustainability. In 2008,15.2 million people became refugees outside their country because of violence, conflict, fear of persecution. 26 million people were internally displaced by armed conflict and violence, and human rights violation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q4. What is Disaster-Induced Displacement?

Q5. How disaster-induced displacement can be classified?

11.4.2 Development-Induced Displacement

Development induced displacement is the forcing of individuals, families or communities out of their habitation, land to gain economic development.Every year development projects such as water supply (dams, reservoirs, irrigation); urban infrastructure; transportation (roads, highways, canals); energy (mining, power plants, oil exploration and extraction, pipelines); agricultural expansion; parks and forest reserves; and population redistribution schemes displace ten millions of people globally.

Development- induced displacement is a widespread, growing, and always a crisis -prone phenomenon. Although displacement has been considered as an inevitable part of development programmes but it causes socio-economic and cultural disruption for the affected population. It breaks down social continuity, living pattern, social networks, dismantles existing mode of production, brings crisis to their cultural identity and increases health problems.

Development agencies including government claim that development induced displacement brings prosperities, and beneficiaries of development are numerous. But the costs of development are being borne disproportionately by the socially, politically, economically most vulnerable and marginalized groups of society. In India from 1951 to 1990, 2 percent of total population had been displaced for development projects, and among those displaced people, 40 percent was tribal people who constitute only 8 percent of total population. The indigenous groups suffer mostly because of specific and strong cultural connection they have with the land and environment in which they live. The forced displacement is generally rationalised with principle of 'greater good for the larger numbers'. This is one of the major concerns for social justice and human rights. In India, in four decades more than 25 million people have been displaced due to development projects and 75% of these displaced people are not rehabilitated yet. Basically, evidences prove that to make comfort for larger population some people have to live vulnerable lives.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q6. What is development induced displacement?

11.5 DISPLACEMENT AND MARGINALISATION

Although population displacement has been a prerequisite of growing economies especially in developing countries, it affects the livelihood of the households which are involuntarily displaced to take off the development projects. Studies on the social impact of development projects suggest that indigenous people and ethnic minorities are disproportionately affected as they come from politically marginalised and disadvantaged strata of society, which often end up neglected and impoverished.

In India, as already mentioned above, 40-50 percent of total displacee comprises of tribal people who constitute only 8% of total population. It is not only India but world-wide that the victims of forced displacements are basically the vulnerable group of the society. For example, a dam project on the Kaligandaki River displaced indigenous group in Nepal who have lost their land and livelihood and have reportedly been inadequately compensated. In Philippines, the construction of the San Roque Dam threatened the livelihood of an estimated 35,000 indigenous Ibaloi people. In Barma, in Karen and Tavoyans indigenous people were displaced by large infrastructure projects and subject to forced labour and abuses by the military.

In the process of development the most vulnerable households are mainly affected by destructing the patterns of social organisation and mutual help networks. Thus they lose both natural and man-made physical capital as well as human and social capital. Loss of economic power leads to economic marginalisation which results in a "downward mobility" path. Loss

of economic, social, human capital increases vulnerability of displaees and it is accompanied by social and psychological marginalization.

Displacement deprives people of many things, some of which are fundamental to their lives, including homes, productive assets, and livelihoods, familiar environments to which skills and practices have been attuned, community networks, and a sense of local belonging. There are multiple facets of marginalisation. For example: the displacees in their new relocated areas are considered as strangers and they are not given the opportunities and entitlement of publicly owned resources. In Post-displacement settlement psychological marginalisation and its consequences are overlooked. Cultural and behavioural impairments, anxiety and decline in self-esteem are the obvious results of psychological marginalisation of the displacees.

Prior to actual displacements economic deprivation and marginalisation begin as most of their economic activities are discontinued before the development projects starts. Significant partial loss of farming lands, resettlement of people having high productive fertile lands to inferior soils make people more marginalised. Sometimes displacees are offered temporary job which are unsustainable as income sources.

Mostly in developing countries, development-induced displacement often comes hand in hand with rampant corruption, the use or threat of violence to evict people from their homes, undemocratic imposition of projects, and systemic failure to uphold obligations to fairly compensate the affected people. The existence of a growing body of international policies and standards on rights-respecting approaches to displacement and resettlement, are not able to stop excessive degree of displacement and it continues to happen. The resettlement and rehabilitation schemes are underfunded or never implemented, and millions of people are left with their lives destroyed and no adequate shelter or livelihood, i.e. displaced people are marginalised.

These are some inter-linked risks of displacement which are directly linked with marginalisation. These are: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, food insecurity, increased mortality, loss of access to common property, social disarticulation, etc.

Landlessness: Displacement from land removes the main foundation upon which people's productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are constructed. This mainly affects or disrupts both human, natural, social and economic capital. Landlessness results in impoverishment. There are lots of examples of impoverishment due to landlessness around the world. One of them is the displaced Kisan tribe of Orissa, India. They live on agriculture but after requisition of land, compensation could not restore their land basis. They became landless, jobless and risks and losses of the tribes have been increasing. This is the form of de-capitalization and pauperization of displaced people, as they lose both human-made and natural capital.

Joblessness: In both rural and urban displacement, the risk of becoming jobless is very high. Previously employed persons may lose their wage employment in three ways, mentioned below:

1. Workers of urban areas may lose their job in industry and service.

2. Landless workers may lose their access to work on land owned by some other people, or those who do their own cultivation may lose their own land and become jobless.

3. Small business persons or self-employed people, like producer-craftsman, shopkeepers etc. lose their place of business and customers, and become jobless.

After displacement, creating new job is very difficult and it needs substantial investments. Unemployment or underemployment endures long after resettlement has been completed. Sometimes the small shopkeepers, artisan etc. do not get any compensation. For example, in Madagascar

Tana Plain project these small business persons lost their business place, their customers, but they were not entitled to compensation.

Displacement increases unemployment as well as it brings a shift from primary to tertiary occupation. A survey on five tribal villages of Orissa found an increase in unemployment from 9 percent to 43.6 percent and a large shift from primary to tertiary occupation.

Resettlement after displacement sometimes decreases productive time of indigenous people. Field studies on people displaced by Churchill-Nelson Hydro Project, Canada, found a significant increase in non-productive time in the community after they were resettled in a different location.

Homelessness: While for some, loss of shelter may be temporary; but, for some, homelessness or worsening in their housing standards remains a long-lasting condition. Loss of a family's own home, loss of a community's cultural space or common space tends to result in status deprivation and sometimes alienation.

Homelessness has various dimensions. If the compensation for requisition is paid according to market value rather than replacement value the displaced peoples' risk of worsening housing quality increases. When government forcefully resettles people through compulsory villagization scheme, then the displaced families lose natural and man- made capital assets and have to live with a feeling of landlessness.

There are various examples of displaced people who have to live in worsening housing condition compared to that before displacement. Even after 10- 15 years of displacement, 59% of total displaced population of Kukadi Krishna irrigation sub projects in Maharastra, India, many people were found living in temporary/semi -permanent houses.

Food Insecurity: It is a result of inadequate resettlement. During relocation of displaced people, availability of crop and income of primary occupation both drop down. To rebuild regular food production capacity in resettled

area may take a long period of time or it may not rebuild for ever. So, food insecurity becomes a lingering problem for the resettlers. Horowwitz and Salem-Murdock in the context of Manantali Dam and water regime management in Senegal, described this risk of displacement as 'development-induced food insecurity.'

Increased Morbidity and Mortality: Serious decline in health level is the intense risk of displacement.Displacement-induced social stress and psychological trauma, non-availability of medical facilities, outbreak of relocation related illnesses, unsafe water supply and improvised sewage systems etc. cause serious decline in health level especially to the weakest segments of the demographic spectrum-infants, children, and the elderly.

Loss of shelter, impoverishment due to displacement directly associate with the displaced peoples' experience of higher level of exposure and vulnerability to illness and disease than they experienced prior to displacement. For example, the prevalence of schistosomiasis became 75 percent among adult lake side dwellers and close to 100% among children within a few years after impoundment in Akosombo area in Ghana. Before impoundment it was mere 1.8 percent.

According to the research done by Ferrao, Borup and assoc. (1982) the increased morbidity and mortality rates among the more vulnerable groups is an effect of losing their prior homes.

Sometimes mortality rates also increases because of accidents associated with new reservoirs or epidemic outbreaks around new bodies of water. In Indonesia more than hundred people drowned at Saguling Dam Lake at first 14 months of resettlement due to lack of proper information and precautionary measures.

Loss of Access to Common Property: For those landless and assetless people, loss of access to the common property result in significant deterioration in income and livelihood levels.Kibread analyses the linkage between assetless common property resource, poverty, and impoverishment

risks. He further states that the loss of common property leads to long term consequences on their livelihood and social standing which increases the vulnerability of the displacees. For example Sequeira (1994) shows that in semi-arid areas of India between 69 to 80 percent of poor households' grazing needs are supplied by land of common property regime. Based on a study on seven development projects of Orissa, India, it has been found that no compensation was paid for common properties by any projects. When the newly settled population try to access the common property resource of the host area's population, sometimes it became the matter of conflict between two groups.

Social Disarticulation: Forced displacement always affects at many levels such as dismantling of production system, disorganisation of long-established residential communities and settlements, disorganisation of associations: formal as well as informal, sudden scattering of members of self-organized services, etc. Because of displacement, kinship groups and family systems are often scattered and life-sustaining informal social networks which provide mutual help become non-functional. Local labour markets are disrupted and the base of trade linkages between producers and customer are interrupted.

Displacement does not simply lead to financial loss. The sociological study of Behura and Nayak (1993) finds that among the displacees there are various kinds of social disarticulation such as lower cohesion of family structure, growing alienation and anomie, the weakening of control on interpersonal behaviour, loosening of intimate bonds etc. In this context Baboo (1992) rightly remarks " The people may physically persist, but the community was-is no more".

So, from this discussion it is clear that to achieve development for the larger section of the society, the human rights of socially vulnerable groups are always subjected to violate. In the name of development the human right violation or deprivation from human rights by state or by developing agencies marginalises a section of the people.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q7. What are the risks intrinsic with development induced displacement?

Q8. Basically which group of society has to bear the pain of displacement most?



11.6 LETS SUM UP

- Development does not have a positive dimension only.
- Development has some adverse effects on the society, like pollution, deforestation, emergence of slums, displacements etc.
- Displacement involves physical eviction from a dwelling and expropriation of productive land and other assets to make possible an alternative use.
- Displacement is basically of two types: Disaster- Induced Displacement and Development- Induced Displacement
- Disaster- induced displacement is of two types: natural and human-made.
- Development-induced displacement has also both kinds of dimensions; positive as well as negative.
- The risks intrinsic with development induced displacements are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food Insecurity, loss of access to common property, social disintegration etc.

- To achieve national interest or to do favour to the larger group, the socially vulnerable groups always have to bear the pain of development-induced displacement.



11.7FURTHER READING

Balakrishna Rajagopal,2000, Human Rights and Development :World commission on Dams, Thematic Review V.4, Working Paper.

Cernea M.M., "Risks,Safeguards and Reconstruction: A Model for Populaton Displacement and Resettlement"(in) CerneaM.M.,McDowell Ch.(eds.), Risk and Reconstruction : Experiences of refugees and Resettlers, The worl Bank, Washington D.C., 2000. PP.11-55.

Fernandes, W (1991), "Power and powerlessness: Development projects and Displaced Tribals, Social Action Vol. 41, No



11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Pollution, displacement.

Ans to Q No 2: Displacement is a multi-factor process in which individuals or communities are displaced from their locality, environment, their livelihood etc.

Ans to Q No 3: Disaster- Induced Displacement and Development- Induced Displacement

Ans to Q No 4: Displacement which occurs due to natural disaster or manmade disaster is called disaster induced development.

Ans to Q No 5: Disaster induced development can be classified in two ways: Human made disaster and natural disaster.

Ans to Q No 6: Displacement that occurs due to development programmes is called development induced displacement.

Ans to Q No 7: The risks intrinsic with development induced displacements are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food Insecurity, loss of access to common property, social disintegration etc.

Ans to Q No 8: The socially vulnerable groups mostly bear the pain of displacement.

11.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short answer questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: What are the three categories of natural disastens?

Q 2: What is meant by 'Social disarticulation'?

B) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Development does not always bring positive effect to society. Discuss.

Q 2: How does development cause displacement?

Q 3: Displacement leads to marginalisation, especially to socially vulnerable groups. Discuss.

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