

## DEVELOPMENT, DISPLACEMENT AND RELOCATION: A STUDY OF JAIPUR RAIL METRO PROJECT

*Radhika Sharma<sup>1</sup> & Nisha Yadav<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>*PGT Sociology, Maharaja Sawai Mansingh Vidyalaya, Jaipur, India*

<sup>2</sup>*Professor Sociology, the IIS University, Jaipur, India*

---

**Received: 27 Jul 2018**

**Accepted: 27 Aug 2018**

**Published: 31 Aug 2018**

---

### **ABSTRACT**

*The rapid expansion and new breakthroughs in the arena of development have taken humankind into a new age. The development process has, on the one hand, eased out human life, but on the other, has imposed suffering on a few sections of society. One of the greatest costs of the development process has been the involuntary displacement of millions of vulnerable people. Development brings with it not just physical displacement and relocation but also reduces the quality of life of the affected to sub-human conditions affecting their lives in entirety. The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 directs acquisition of land and frames the procedures to be followed for granting compensation, rehabilitation, and resettlement to the persons affected or displaced due to development. Scudder-Colson points out that relocation, voluntary or involuntary, induces an experience of stress. Community members facing transition responded in familiar and broadly similar manner because the pressure of relocation limits the coping mechanism of the affected people. Even though the government provides comfortable rehabilitation to the affected population, very little attention is paid to the psycho-social consequences associated with the process. The paper is based on the primary study conducted on the people displaced due to Jaipur Metro Project. It studies how forced shift affects the adjustment of diverse socio-economic population and analyses the changes in life-style, social network, community bonds and family relations during the period of transition.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Compensation, Rehabilitation, and Resettlement, Development Envelops Social, Economic, Political and Cultural Progress in Human Society*

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **Development-Induced Displacement: A Conceptual Framework**

Development can be comprehensively characterized as to benefit the public at large and as an upward movement including more prominent levels of vitality, effectiveness, quality, efficiency and progress. Development is a process of social change and not the only arrangement of policies designed for some particular results. Amid the most recent five centuries, development has gotten in pace and force and seen a stamped surge in increasing speed. Development envelops social, economic, political and cultural progress in human society. Although on one hand development brings expansion in terms of infrastructure and per capita income but on the other hand it results in the displacement of a large number of people.

Development Induced Displacement brings new opportunities for some section of society and for others it becomes a reason for the loss of livelihood and hope. It creates widespread inequality in society by dissolving customary sources of employment and uprooting people from their long establishments. It additionally forms a consumer culture bringing about exhaustion of natural resources, increased economic dependence on outside financial organization and diminished political autonomy of host society.

In the developing countries, the scale of development related population displacement has grown rapidly over the past few decades due to the compelling need for infrastructure to meet the demand of the fast growing population. As the investment in infrastructure grows, the challenge of solving “resettlement dilemma” may also become critical. Thereby Development-Induced Displacement rose as a noteworthy concern and a challenge to sustainable development. The worry emerged as a consequence of the sensational rise in development-induced displacement post-independence till date and it is reinforced for the most part with difficult and deplorable results in resettlement experiences. A corresponding retaliation and felling of resentment among those who are either directly or indirectly affected or uprooted in the name of comprehensive developments need to address with fresh insight in the life of affected people.

In India, people are frequently involuntarily dislocated from their long establishment and the objective of resettlement remains exceedingly hard to accomplish. Additionally, the aim of sustainable development should be the improvement of people as compared to their previous standards before resettlement which is a long way from being accomplished. Monetary Compensation by itself cannot fully ensure, restore and enhance the level of earning of those who have been forcibly displaced. There is multiple but different impacts of development-induced displacement. Displacement may or may not result into proper and desirable resettlement. When the resettlement and relocation of the displaced people are not considered seriously by the development bodies then it may disturb their social, cultural and economic life. The heat of displacement and experience of relocation is diverse depending upon the type of home/dwelling/business/productive assets which has been acquired. However, all types of forced acquisition induce social, economic and psychological trauma but in case of commercial or business properties acquisition has a direct impact on the pockets of the displaced while in case of housing properties direct impact can be observed on the family structure, women, children and elderly. Thus the next session will focus on considerations which should be kept in mind to reduce displacement pain by relocating people through proper planning and execution.

## **RESETTLEMENT: ISSUES AND IMPLEMENTATION**

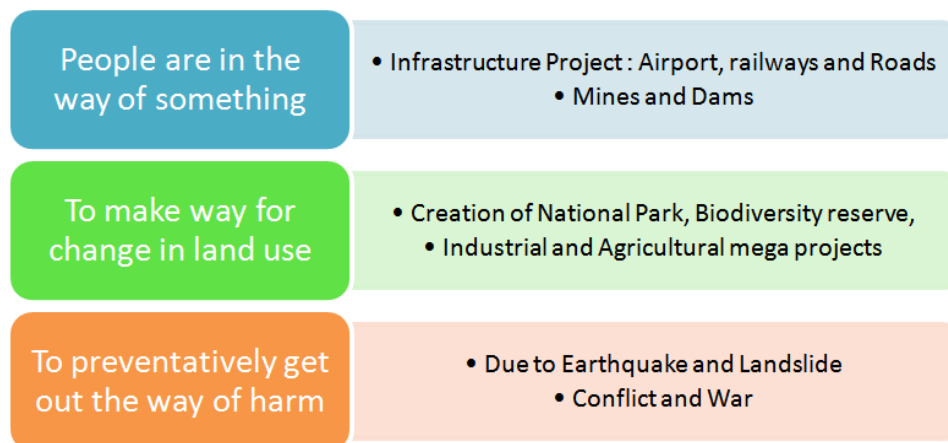
Resettlement can be defined as the comprehensive process of planning the relocation of people, household and communities in order to restore to improve or at least restore to their previous living standards.

### **Objectives**

- the displaced people should get an appropriate share in the fruits of development
- the provision of support for livelihood restoration and enhancement
- re-establishment of social network
- income Restoration
- must not be limited to economic compensation rather aim should be welfare approach.

Income restoration must be the foremost goal of rehabilitation, the restoration activities should be based on the principle that no project affected person shall be worse off than he/she was before land acquisition. Income restoration scheme should be so designed that it should include both land-based and non land-based economic activities. Of course, rehabilitation should not be confused and restricted as a one-time restoration program rather it should be long-term socio-economic and psychological monitoring of the displaced people.

#### **Possible Reasons for Resettlement: Under the Umbrella of Development-Induced Displacement**



**Figure 1**

Rehabilitation, if aims at the welfare and comprehensive well-being of people can reverse the risk of impoverishment and marginalization. To have a better understanding of displacement and resettlement, it is worth to highlight the consequences of the forced shift on the displaced population.

### **SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF FORCED SHIFT**

#### **Impact on the Community**

The focus should not be merely on the quantitative aspect i.e number of displaced people, there is a need to recognize the change in the qualitative aspects of displaced and project affected families. By disintegrating the local communities, development-induced displacement affects the most fundamental element of community felling. It is the huge threat to the cohesion of the entire community as it compels the displaced people to change residence, establishment or occupational site. When displaced people are forced to change workplace or job, their previous economic communities no longer function. The change of residence is the first step towards the erosion of existing relationship and community ties. Loss of common property resource is one of the most important sources of distress in such a shift.

#### **Change in Culture**

Threats to the cultural identity of the displaced are very often observed when there are major differences in the lifestyle, resources, environment and community structure of the previous and relocated site. Modernization in India significantly impoverishes the cultural traditions of the tribal and indigenous people. Anthropological studies confirm the impact of resettlement on the reduction of cultural diversity and even the extinction of language and dialects.

### **Change in Caste & Class Identity**

It has been observed that in many rural areas; people of one caste reside at one locality. They are dependent on the region for common property resources like grazing field; wells, temples, playground etc and the land in some way facilitate their occupation and source of livelihood. In such a case relocation becomes very tough as these people are highly dependent on the lands for their livelihood and expect a similar structure and community network during relocation and rehabilitation. Besides, the cast members who are employed in the form of barbers, washer men, scavengers etc are severed from their patent families as a result of which they not only get unsettled but also face the loss of their traditional occupation. Once displaced the people are not in a position to help one another in times of need due to physical distance. All of them therefore, struggle to survive due to the disintegration of a community network. Land Acquisition in urban areas causes certain changes in the class characteristics of affected persons. Change in income, expenditure, occasional expenditure, occupation and self-assessment of status can be noticed before and after the acquisition. Risk of a shift in class character becomes critical in case of occupational area displacement because it hits the pocket directly if the resettlement site does not support the business class.

### **Impact on Family Structure**

In India, the traditional family pattern has been patrilineal and patrilocal. The Joint family system is still dominant in rural societies because of agricultural occupation as a livelihood is directly affected by ownership of land. Distribution of compensation amount can become one of the reasons for the conflict in joint families. Disputes in ownership titles at times increase the risk of the disintegration of joint families. In urban areas, although one can witness more nuclear families but the joint family system is common in business communities. The experience of forced displacement increases irritability and insecurity among the family members

### **Impact on Women**

However involuntary shift affects men and women, but still, the episode of displacement and relocation affects the female part of the displaced families in a particularly gendered way. The female part is differently affected in the process due to gendered division of labor, wherein men's responsibility is income generation and labor-oriented tasks and female's responsibility is to manage and arrange the food for the family. Generally, policies of resettlement and rehabilitation neglect the needs of women.

Women are compelled into adjusting with an unfamiliar culture, and it creates restrictions in their social space which obstruct them to rebuild their daily practices in a new set up. When there is a relocation of house, women experience more insecurity than males as they are more attached & dependent on the neighborhood, while when there is some change in the place of productive assets it is the men who are more affected because he bears the responsibility of feeding the family.

For affected communities, development projects have in a way promoted the trend of gender disparities through the inequitable allocation of the benefits generated. This is because, in most of the state laws which are operative for the land acquisition, compensation, rehabilitation, and resettlement, men are treated as heads of household, thereby, compensation, either cash or land, is invariably awarded to men. Widows particularly become vulnerable in this situation. Thus, the women remain deprived of their at the community level as well as at the national level policy

framework because of their lower status in power structure ascribed by gender relations in patriarchal society.

### **Impact on Children**

Resettlement may generate a feeling of insecurity among children as they are vulnerable. When their parents find it difficult to re-establish their livelihood in order to make ends meet, cope with lack of resources, struggle with project authorities over land title and negotiation for compensation, and are disturbed by an overwhelming sense of helplessness. With so much pressure on guardians in dealing with the sudden shift, somewhere they fail to give required attention on children. Rather irritability increase in parents and they displace their anger on children by scolding them every now and then. The impact of displacement on children cannot be underestimated: it may affect the health, academics and future. Many children are often forced to discontinue their education. Probabilities of girl children are high as compared to boys to drop out because of lack of easy access to educational institutions and safety concerns. Still, in various communities, girl's education is not preferred, therefore in the circumstances of financial crunch, it is the majority of the times girl-child who is dropped out of school first.

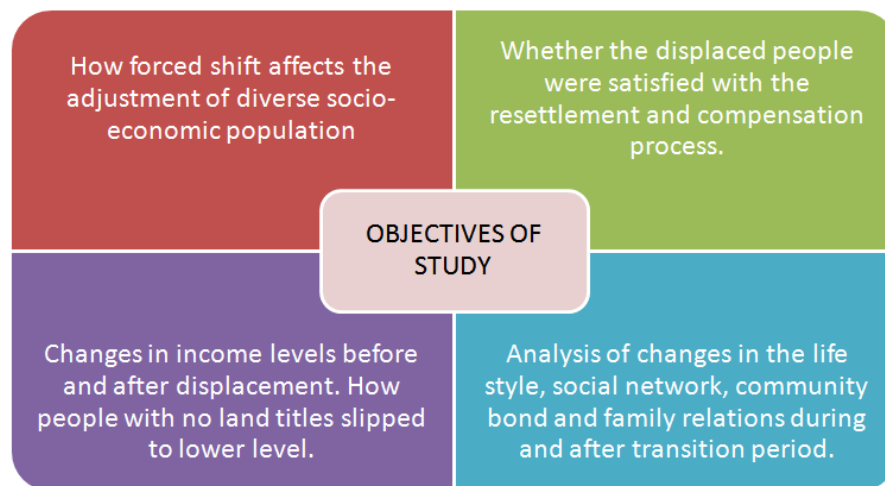
### **Impact on Elderly**

The most common problems due to displacement amongst the elderly include felling of alienation from own property, isolation, increased risk of heart attack, depression and other diseases due to the sudden shock of evicting the property. Elderly are more associated and attached to their neighborhood, community and common property resources thus leaving all these behind creates lots of anxiety in this age group. The health of elderly often get affected primarily they are neglected due to a shift of focus of family members to cope up with the sudden transition and further they might face more problems to adjust in new milieu.

### **Impact on Economic Structure of Affected Family**

Acquisition of land, especially occupational land, indicates changes in the economic status of the affected community. When people are forcibly moved, from ancestral habitat it not only alienates them but also dismantles their production system. The socio-economic dispossession due to displacement breaks the life support system, which brings about disorganization and insecurity in the lives of displaced people.

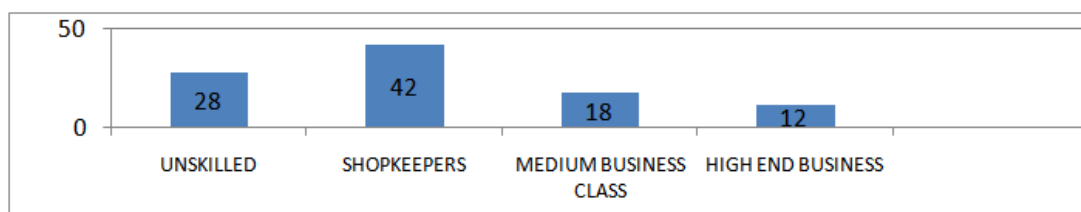
The paper therefore, is an attempt to understand how the forced shift affects the adjustment of diverse socio-economic population during the transition period. Following were the major objectives of the study



**Figure 2**

According to official records, total 170 were displaced due to development of Metro Rail. For the purpose of the present study, 100 respondents were selected through the Lottery Method of Probability Sampling. In the sample selected 80% were those who had ownership titles of their properties, while 20% of a sample selected, comprised of those who were working on Government land, which was the only source of livelihood and has been rehabilitated for four years from now. They were interview by the researcher through a structured schedule and observation method. Following were the findings

### Occupational Status of the Respondents



**Figure 3**

An analysis of the occupational status of the respondents is done to find out which occupational group is dominant in Jaipur City and how such development-induced displacement projects to affect it. The occupational status of the respondents is presented in the above diagram. The data in the diagram shows that 12% displaced were from high-end business community who were having marriage gardens, export houses, property dealers, jewellery houses and hotels, 18% had business of medical stores, restaurants, construction work, thekas, sweet shops and footwear shops, 42% mainly had business of hardware, sanitary, clothing and property and 28% were unskilled shopkeepers like barbers, cobblers, dhabas, small handicraft shops, electricians and tea stall etc.

### Land Holding Pattern of the Displaced (Before & After Acquisition)

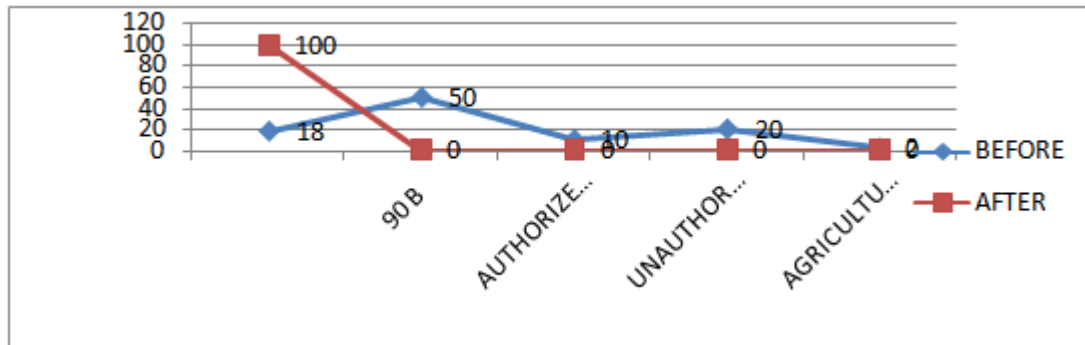


Figure 4

The data on the ownership of the land of the respondents before acquisition; and after the acquisition of land is presented in the above table. The data shows that 50% of respondents had 90B registration; 20% of them had land which was either unauthorized or with no title whereas only 18% had JDA approved land while 10% had disputed land and 2% agricultural land before the acquisition. The positive aspect of this displacement and rehabilitation is that newly allotted land to all affected people is JDA approved. It can be concluded that all 100% respondents now have JDA approved land indicating a positive change in the land ownership of the displaced respondents after allotment of new land; a commendable step taken by the Jaipur Metro Rail Corporation. The respondents also reported that while earlier they did not possess a roof title, they now own the whole property. This has improved their living condition rather than deteriorating which mostly happens in case of displacement and resettlement.

Those respondents who did not possess a land title before acquisition (20%) suffered untold miseries for a longer period as compared to the ones having ownership titles. Since they were not relocated for a couple of years, they had no source of their livelihood making their condition deplorable. These people were very apprehensive regarding getting an alternate land by the project authorities, but with continuous appeals and efforts of Land Acquisition Officer, *they are now finally the owners of land with clear property titles; a blessing in disguise for them.*

### Level of Satisfaction WITH Land Resettlement Process

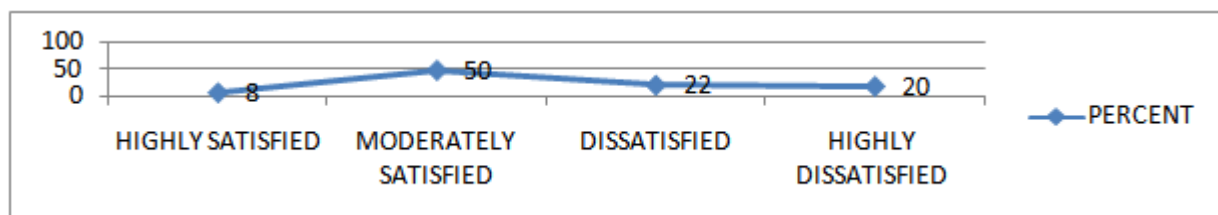


Figure 5

The data in the table shows the satisfaction levels of the respondents with the land re-allotment process. The data suggests that the majority (50%) of the respondents have expressed moderate satisfaction over the land re-allotment process while 8% of them are highly satisfied with the process due to multiple reasons. For instance, earlier the shops owned by the displaced were not JDA approved. Some of them did not possess a roof title as a result of which they were restricted to work from limited space. Re- location of the respondents has bought bright future prospects for the

displaced as the market value of new property is almost double than the previous one. However, 22% of the respondents were dissatisfied with the land re-allotment process reasons such as ancestral property, loss of rent and unfair cash compensation. 20% of the respondents were highly dissatisfied with the land acquisition process as they were given possession of alternate land after four years marginalizing them further.

#### Compensation Paid by JMRC (Jaipur Metro Rail Corporation)

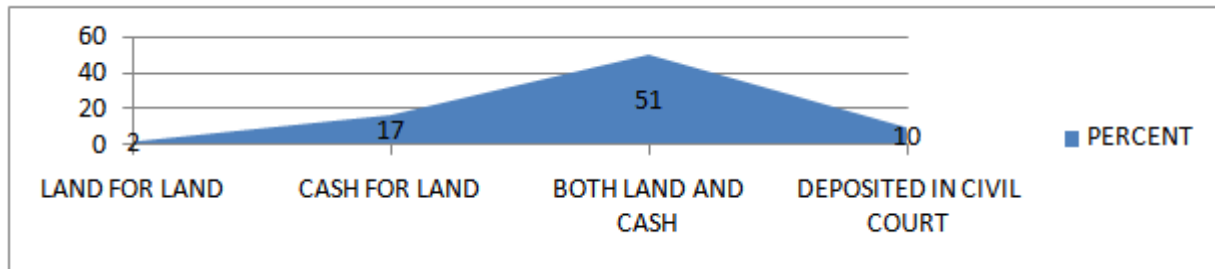


Figure 6

The above data was collected to gather information as how JMRC has compensated DP/PAP in return of the land acquired by constructing Metro railways. Those who received official designation of Project Affected People with clear land titles were provided with compensation either in terms of both land for land and cash for the structures or cash alone, as per the agreed terms with the landowners. According to the data, the majority (51%) were awarded both i.e. land in return of land as well cash compensation for the structure of their property. 17% of respondent didn't receive any land but were compensated with cash according to the market value of their land at that point of time. The major reason for this was that the Government could not arrange for alternate land for them as the size of land was big, 2% received the only to land with no cash compensation as it was an open land with no construction on it. Since the remaining 10% of the respondents were not satisfied with the compensation amount their money was deposited in civil court.

But those 20% who had their shops on the Government land and had no ownership rights, suffered from various legalities and delays in getting alternate land. Compensation provided by the project authorities to them for the business loss was almost negligible, making their condition deplorable. On one side their earnings were reduced to almost nil and on the other hand they were not provided with any monetary benefits by the Government. But after a struggle of four years finally, they were given land by the JMRC.

#### Resettlement & Business Loss

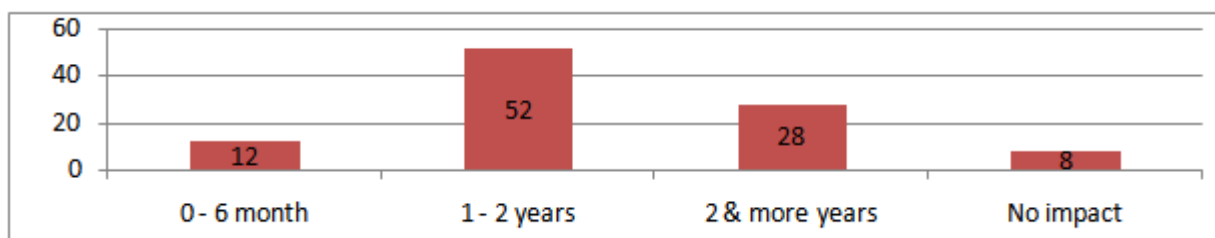


Figure 7



The above table represents the number of months/years of business loss which affected people has faced due to the metro railways development project. With the first notice of land acquisition disturbances started affecting business. Shifting a well-established business to some new area is a very challenging task. It is in a way social, psychological, economic & physical loss. Those who were included in the oustees list but had no ownership title suffered maximum business loss. All the savings got dismantled in this process and future has become very uncertain as displacement has resulted in unemployment with no alternate place to work from. The analysis inferred that there is a tremendous change in the financial and economic status of the project affected people with no lands ownership, they have been marginalized and as the gap is huge thereby it will take quite a long time fully restore their prior economic status.

### Resettlement & Income Change

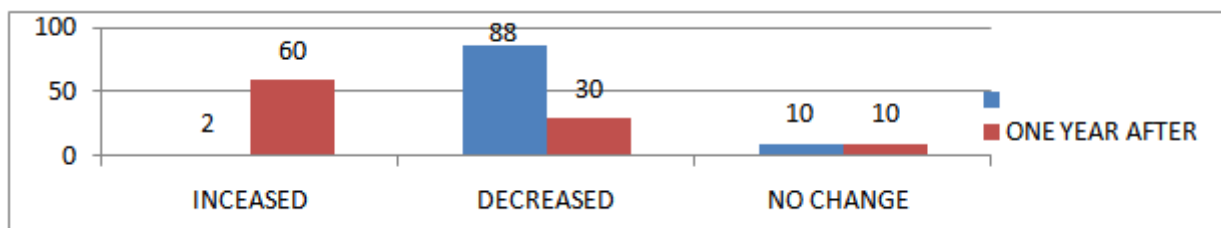


Figure 8

The diagram shows the variation in income change immediately after displacement and one year after displacement. The data of income change was initially taken recently after displacement which shows that a significant number of PAP/DP (i.e. 88%) faced a significant decrease in the income level. Only 2% reported their income increased while 10% had no impact on the income level. The statistics altered approximately one year after resettlement. Around 60% of respondents happily reported that their income has increased. The reason for this was that they were given roof titles (which were not with them earlier). They could thus construct multiple floors and store & sell more goods. Increased size of the shops also made them attractive. Besides an approved JDA title, the value of new land has almost doubled. Those shopkeepers who either possessed unauthorized land or conflicted title earlier were also satisfied as they were now given the commercial title. 30% of respondents reported that their income has decreased because of lack of customer footfall in the new shop. Some even reported loss of rent; while 10% respondents maintained no change in income status because of the nature of business such as property dealing and residential property.

### Civic Ammenities Before and after Acquisition: A Comparison

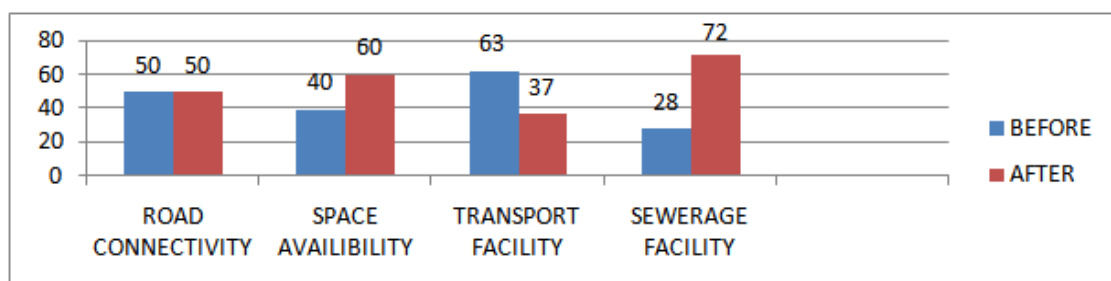
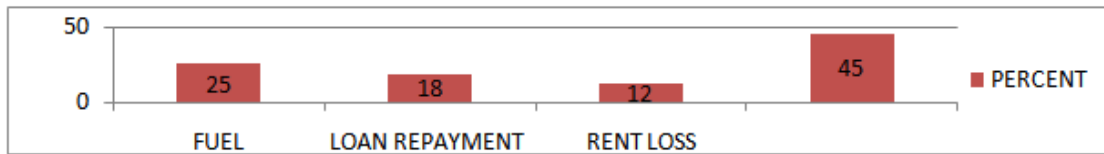


Figure 9

### Impact on Expenditure Due to Relocation



**Figure 10**

Above diagram represents as how displacement & shift can impact displaced people economically. 45% of them were of the opinion that displacement has burdened their pockets as they have to construct new buildings which is a costly affair, while 18% reported that their loans have increased suddenly in order to relocate themselves in the new location and hence loan repayment has become tough. 12% of respondents reported a loss of rental income which was their secondary income. 25% of the respondents reported the increase in fuel consumption as the new area is far from their residence as compared to the previous one. It has also increased their travel time.

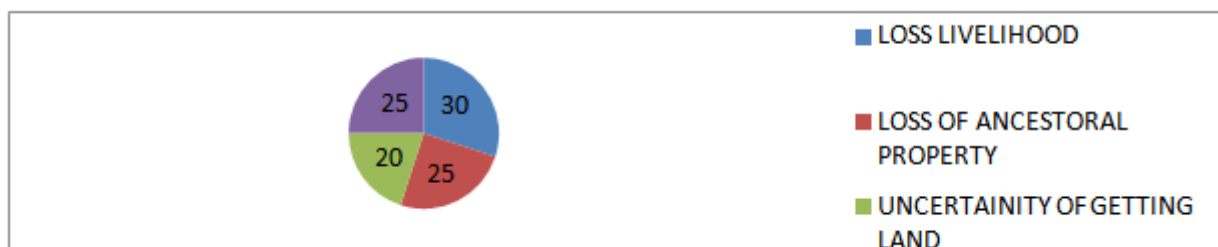
### Response of Respondents on Land being Acquisition



**Figure 11**

The above table shows the initial reaction of respondents when they got preliminary notice of their land being acquired by JMRC. For 38% of respondents, it came as shocking news which disturbed their whole family, while 30% of respondents were convinced that they would not get any compensation for it because of unauthorized/disputed land titles. 7% of respondent & family members broke down emotionally & 25% reported the feeling of helplessness. In the initial few months, the displacement process aroused intense anxiety & tension in the families of displaced.

### Reason for Mental Stress



**Figure 12**

Displacement does not indicate only one-time relocation; rather it ensures lots of adjustment with the new environment, people and culture. Right from the publication of initial notification up-till their resettlement, the affected people face a number of insecurities which affect the whole family leading to mental stress and strain. 30% respondents reported loss of livelihood as the reason of stress because of the shift and resettlement, 25% reported the loss of ancestral property, and 20% reported the stress due to apprehension regarding alternate land as their titles were disputed. 25% respondents were under tremendous stress due to reduced earnings. Those who had no land title were more stressed as they sustained on daily earnings and were not sure whether they would get any compensation.

### Impact on Future Family Plans

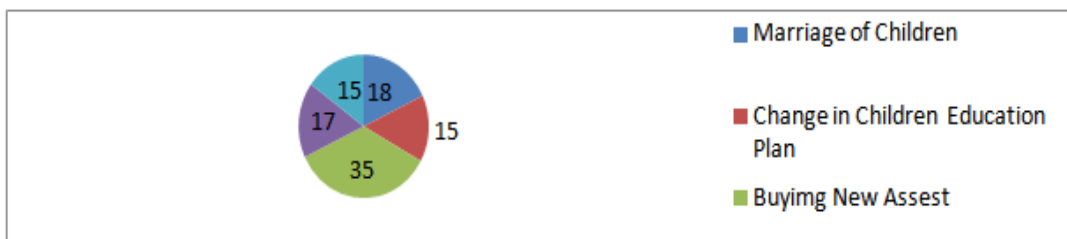


Figure 13

### Addiction amongst Respondents

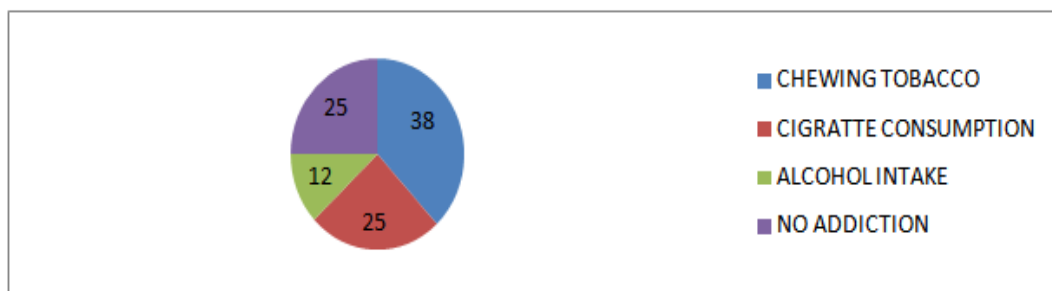


Figure 14

It is generally believed that sometimes people tend to indulge in tobacco/alcohol consumption to overcome their stress/anxiety. 38% of respondents agreed that they chewed more tobacco than usual in stress, while 25% of them increased their cigarettes per day as it help relieving stress, 12% agreed that alcohol intake became a need to relieve their mind from stress temporarily while 25% did not report any such habit of them were not into habit of taking any such item.

### Impact on Family Members

#### Impact on Women



Figure 15

### Impact on Children

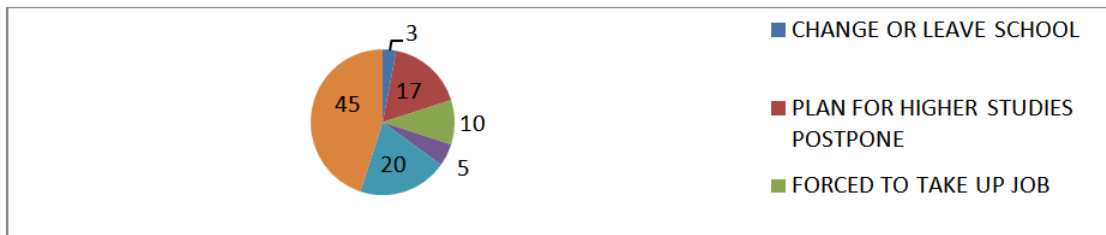


Figure 16

### Impact on Health

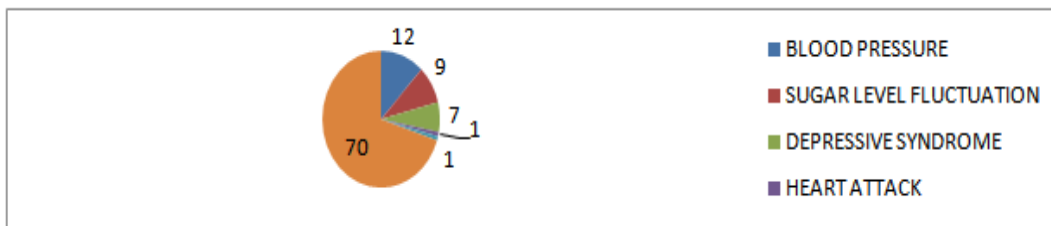


Figure 17

The above three charts show that displacement is undoubtedly a traumatic experience. However, the impact of forced uprooting and relocation is not homogeneous, but it alters life of everyone in the family of affected people. It forces people to alter their plans and way of life as development induced displacement is involuntary in nature.

### EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY IN JMRC

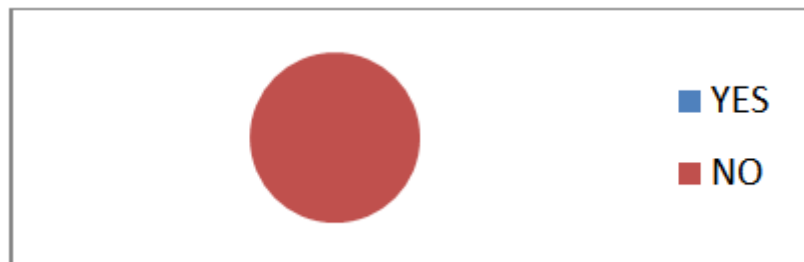


Figure 18

The above diagram represents the data on the jobs secured by project affected people in JMRC. Despite of a huge recruitment drive, none of the family members of the aggrieved got preference in the ongoing project. As per the respondents, acquiring jobs in the project would have been a great support for them would have saved their families from facing tough times during the process.

### CONCLUSIONS

The land was acquired to develop metro rail in Phase I from Mansarovar to Badi Chaupar as per the provisions of Land Acquisition Act 1894, which is considered as a draconian act. This act makes it possible for the state to acquire private land for 'public purpose'. Albeit this, the definition of 'public purpose' is vaguely defined therefore this makes the

application of the whole act an arbitrary one. The main issue in the act is that it provides compensation provision only for those who are physically uprooted from their land but completely ignores those who lose their source of living due to the forceful acquisition of land and thus marginalizes the Project Affected People (PAP). The authorities were not liable to plan rehabilitation of displaced and project affected people. Such an ideology created a situation of hue and cry among people on the process related to development-induced displacement issues in India. The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 is like a ray of hope due to its provision like social impact assessment, inclusion of livelihood losers, provisions for solatium (compensation made for moral and mental loss, not just financial) and subsistence allowance. Now the project authorities are bound to not just relocate but rehabilitate the affected people. Looking at the regime prevailing in the world today and in past, it is evident that development-induced displacement is inevitable. But the development of infrastructure, dams, irrigation and of the linear project must not become the root cause of poverty and marginalization of those who pave the way for greater good by sacrificing their establishment. The only solution to escape the paradox is to have sound relocation and rehabilitation policy with the welfare approach.

Since the above discussion focuses on the development paradox thus, the following new paradigm becomes an important step where displacement can be understood as a consequence of development.

**Paradigm: Development Induced Displacement**

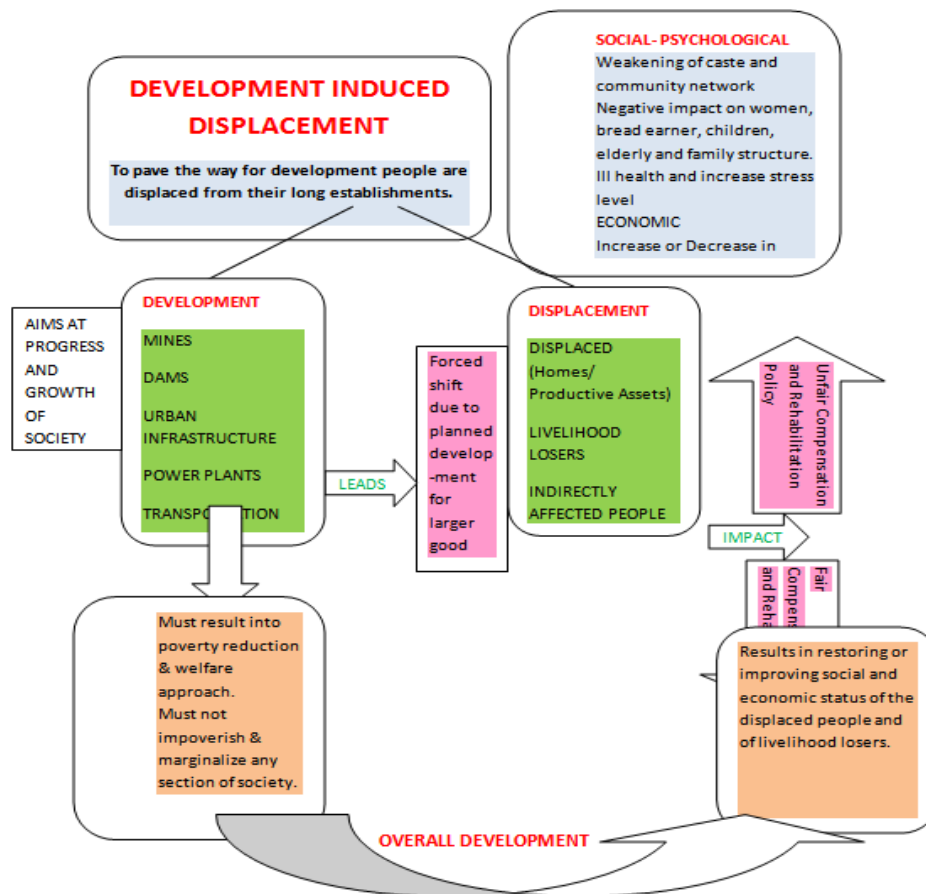


Figure 19

To conclude for the overall development a strong determination is required on the part of project authorities to execute and implement a well-planned policy for rehabilitation with consultation and participation of affected people. As the social change affects the whole structure of society thus all four pattern variables economic, political, legal and social institution must work together for the better adjustment with the transition and changed circumstances. Economic consideration alone should not be the focus point but strenuous efforts must be made to minimize the harm and burnt of alienating man from land, community and kinship ties. The land is not just asset and property, it's also home of memories and attachment which a person develops. There is always room for the improvement so that final part of the research paper focuses on significant suggestions for the better experience of displaced and therefore relocated population.

## **POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

- The project authorities should purchase and develop certain commercial areas before the start of any project to facilitate resettlement and rehabilitation of the displaced.
- A government should also ensure evaluation of existing physical facilities and amenities at the resettlement site developed by project authorities so that the living condition at the new sites may be improved upon and the problem of displaced persons may be reduced to a greater extent.
- Establishing a panel of experts for the preparation of the resettlement program is the need of the hour. The use of such panels during the planning stage can help substantially improve the resettlement program and afterward through regular follow up can facilitate the project affected people in adjusting to the new life.
- Special measures must be taken to support the weaker section of society who got affected in the project which should include the poor, women, children and the elderly.
- Rehabilitation and Relocation should be designed in a manner that it gives equal rights to men & women in holding of the property so that females can be empowered socially and economically.
- Project Affected People and Displaced must be given job training to take up jobs created by the development project.

## **REFERENCES**

1. Abraham F. & Morgan. (1985). *Sociological Thought*, New Delhi: Mcmillian
2. Cernea, M. (2000). 'Risks, Safeguards, and Reconstruction: A Model for Population Displacement and Resettlement', in M. Cernea and C. McDowell (eds.), *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees* Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees, Washington D.C: World Bank Report
3. Kapoor, S. (2014). *Sociology of Displacement, Policies and Practice*, New Delhi: Omega Publication
4. *Detailed Project Report (2012)*, Jaipur Metro Phase I Mansarovar to Badi Chaupar, Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, Delhi.
5. Dwivedi R. (2002). *Development and Change*, The Hague: International Institute of Social Studies

6. *Environmental Assessment Report (2013), Jaipur Metro Rail Project Phase I-B, Jaipur Metro Rail Corporation, Jaipur, 88-90.*
7. *Fernandes,W.(1991).Power and Powerless: Development Projects and Displacement of Tribals*
8. *Hoshour K. & Jennifer Kalafut. (2007). A Growing Global Crisis: Development-Induced Displacement & Resettlement, International Accountability Project, Issue Paper*
9. *Mahapatra, L.K (2000), Resettlement with Participation: The Indian Experience, The Eastern Anthropologist, Vol.53.*
10. *Parasurama, S. (1995), Development Projects and Displacement : Impact on Families, Indian Journal on Social Work, Vol.56.*
11. *Rao J. (2012). Development Induced Displacement, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi.*
12. *Ritzer G. (2000). Sociological Theory, New Delhi: Rawat Publications*
13. *Scudder.T. and E Colson. (1982). From Welfare to Development: Conceptual Framework for Analysis of Dislocated People, Westview Press*
14. *World Bank Report (2011), "Resettlement and Rehabilitation in India", World Bank India Department.*

## APPENDICES

### Annexure 1: Map Route of Jaipur Metro Track

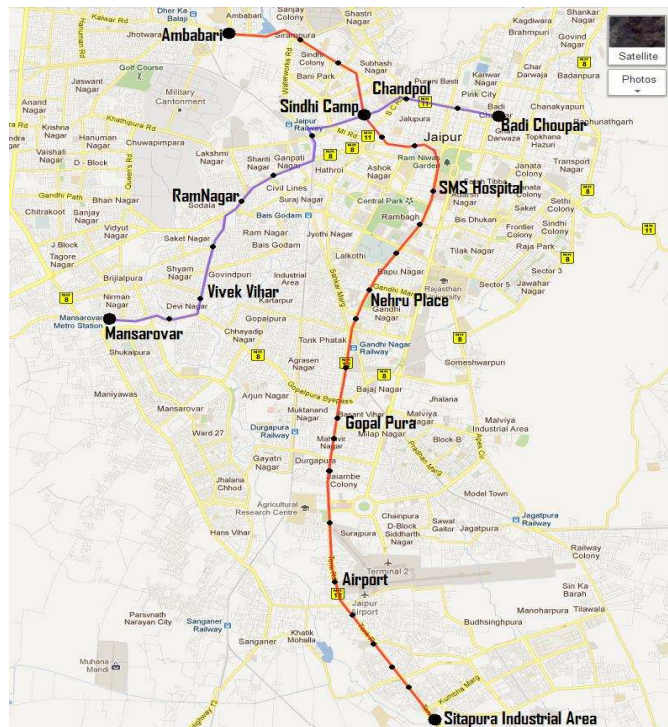


Figure 20

