

CHAPTER III

Making Sense of Resettlement-A Theory and Models

“Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override.” - John Rawls⁶⁸

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

3.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.1 Basic Theory of Social Justice

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

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

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

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

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

- ❖ Communities members' social and cultural means of self-respect are not to be damaged by relocation and resettlement are to be freely negotiated by the community, in a process in which all members are fairly represented.
- ❖ A community has the right to refuse displacement if, in doing so, they do not perpetuate or impose deeper disadvantages upon other communities or other segments of the society⁶⁹.

Development-induced displacement can be defined as the forcing of communities and individuals out of their homes, often also their homelands, for the purposes of economic development⁷⁰. At the international level, it is viewed as a violation of human rights⁷¹. The contribution that Rawlsian thinking can make to this issue is not so much to offer new standards or new lines of criticism, but rather, to offer clarification and endorsement for some criticisms that have already been made of displacement -inducing projects, and for corresponding standards of “best practice”. The connection with Rawls is clear when we see that development projects which displace whole communities such as infrastructure projects can be utilitarian nightmares. Imagine that such a project actually did promote greater good for a greater number; never mind that in many cases there are grounds for doubting this. A criticism often made of projects like these is that the sacrifices and impoverishment that are imposed upon the “oustees” in order to achieve this “greater good” are intolerable⁷². This sort of insight is central to Rawls's project. It corresponds to a more general insight, that utilitarian thinking is inherently tolerant of social injustice, and this is the starting-point of Rawls's theorizing about social and political justice. One of his most salient results, for our purposes, is a particular conception of *injustice*, namely: that a scheme or system which creates advantages for some parts of a community is unjust unless

⁶⁹ www.carleton.ca/cove/papers/Displacement.pdf

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

⁷¹ See, <http://www2.ohchr.org>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The second principle of justice says:

Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both: to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, consistent with the just savings principle, and attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity⁷⁵.

Those with similar abilities and skills should have similar life chances. More specifically, assuming that there is a distribution of natural assets, those who are at the same level of talent and ability, and have the same willingness to use them, should have the same prospectus of success regardless of their initial place in the social system. In all sectors of society there should be roughly equal prospects of culture and achievement for everyone similarly motivated and endowed. The expectations of those with the same abilities and aspirations should not be affected by their social class⁷⁶.

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

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

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

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

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

Rarely can any individual ever know whether his economic choice is more or less beneficial to the less advantage. Rawls assumes that individuals normally will act like ordinary economic agents, seeking to opt time as much “bang for the buck” as they can and thereby maximize their economic utility. This does not mean Rawls assumes that only self interested market motives are an ineluctable fact of human nature. Instead he thinks that taking advantage of markets in production results in the most rational use of economic resources- land, labour, and capital. Because of limitations on the information that any person or planning committee can have regarding supply, demand, and other relevant information, market allocations better utilize available resources to satisfy individuals’ demands than any non market allocation and distribution procedure. Now it is against a background of market allocation of factors of productions that Rawls assumes that the difference principle will work best to advance the position of the worst-off within a market economy where people act in their own interest in making their economic choices. The difference principle applies directly to institutions and only indirectly to individuals⁷⁷.

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

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

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

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

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

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

By contrast with classical liberalism's efficiency criterion of distributive justice, the difference principle requires that economic institutions be designed so that the least advantaged class enjoys a greater share of income, wealth, and economic powers more generally, than it would under any other economic arrangement (with the important qualification that the final distribution is compatible with equal basic liberties and fair equal opportunities.) For purposes of illustration, imagine difference principle is applied by the legislators to choose from among a range of economic system⁷⁸.

The difference principle says the preferred economic system along this continuum is one whose mix of economic and legal institutions makes the least advantaged class better off (in terms of its members' share of income and wealth and powers and position of office) than all other systems along the continuum. Later we will discuss the Rawls's conjecture that the preferred system will be either of property-owning democracy or market socialism⁷⁹. He believes that the least advantaged will fare better in terms of economic power and income and wealth in one or the other of these two economic systems, depending on cultural conditions, than under welfare-state capitalism or some other form of capitalism or socialism.

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

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

3.1.3 Who are the Least Advantaged Members of the Society?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

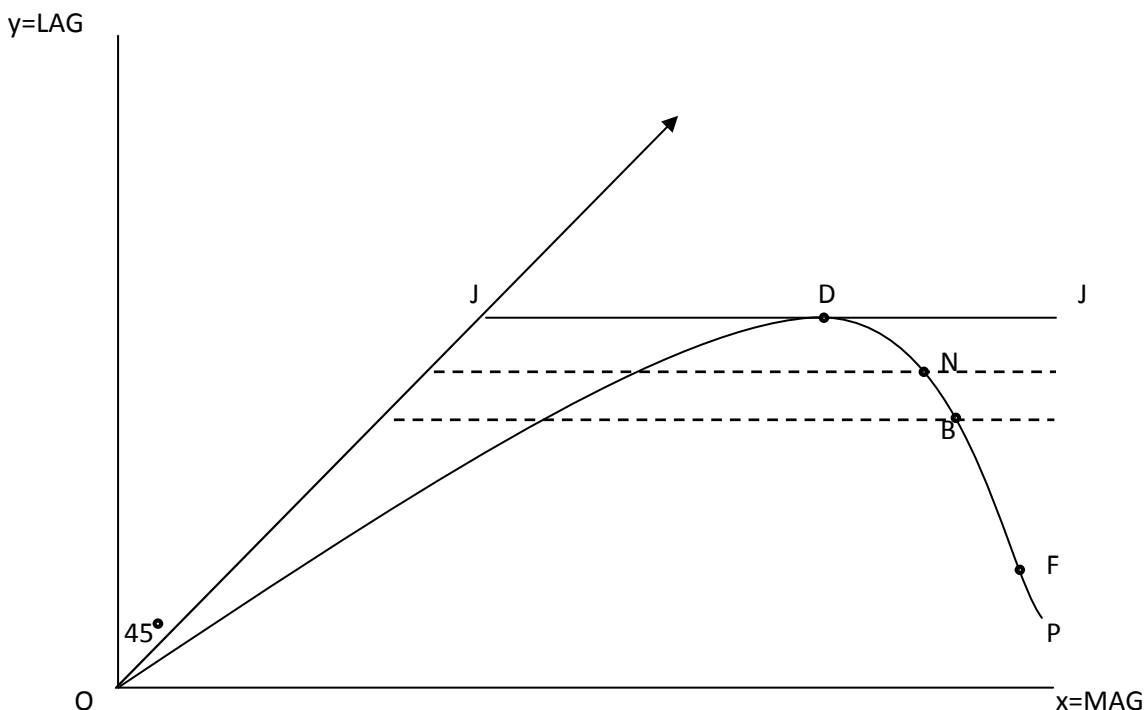
MAG's share of income and wealth increases along the X-axis, LAG's share does too, until the point D is reached, at which point LAG's share declines as MAG's continues to rise. B (for Bentham) is the point at which over all wealth and income (and economic utility too) in society are maximized; it is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

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

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

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

Figure: 8- Illustration of Difference Principle



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

3.2 Models

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

3.2.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.2 Definitions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸³ J Coomer, (1979), *Quest for a Sustainable Society*, Oxford, Pergamon.

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.3 A Model of Risks and Risk Avoidance

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

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

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

3.2.4 Four Basic Functions of the Model:

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

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

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

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

3.2.5 The Predictive Function

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

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

3.2.6 The Diagnostic Function

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

3.2.7 The Problem-Resolution Function

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

3.2.8 The Research Function

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

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

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

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

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

(a) From Landlessness to Land-Based resettlement

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

(b) From Joblessness to Re-Employment

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

(c) From Homelessness to House Reconstruction

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

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

(d) From marginalization to social inclusion

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

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

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

(e) From food insecurity to adequate nutrition

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

(f) From increased morbidity to improved health care;

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.9 Resettlers' Participation in Risk Analysis.

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

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

3.2.10 Colson and Scudder model

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

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

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

3.2.11 Sustainability: A Human Development Perspective⁸⁵

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

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

fundamental to any discussion on human development today. The human development report (UNDP 1990) defines human development as ‘the process of enlarging people’s choices. The most critical of these wide-ranging choices are to live a long and healthy life, to be educated and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living’. The concept has a different connotation which is very positive in nature. The concept of enlarging people’s choices can arise basically if the people are having something to live with. Until and unless that criteria is fulfilled there is no point in discussing about having different choices. The Human Development Index (HDI) includes measures based on three broad aspects of societal life-health, education, and standard of living. These specifics vary based on local context and flexibility. These concepts also include good governance, environmental protection, economic progress and technological development. Policies are developed at different levels in society. These policies may be considered to comprise five general but distinctive features⁸⁶:

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

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

⁸⁶ UN, Viet Nam 2002.

3.2.12 Indicators of Sustainable Development⁸⁷

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

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

The indicators of sustainability can be put through a table:

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

Fig: 9-Identifying Indicators for Sustainable Development⁸⁸

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.13 Sustainable Human Settlements

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

significance. In the case of urban area the settlements have significance as to whether it is in the heart of the city or in the outskirts of the city. Most of the time the classification is according to the population and the sustainability is for the already existing community. The cases are entirely peculiar if it is a case of displacement and then the people are resettled. The present work tries to concentrate on such cases wherein the inferences can be drawn by having a standard through which sustainability of a community is measured and which is desirable. Although entirely all the standards are not applicable but to have conceptual clarity and having few indicators which converge in both type of cases are of great use for this type of research. There are classifications based on population, geographical distribution. In classification based on population size itself there are three types. The classification can be seen in five ways⁸⁹, they are:

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

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

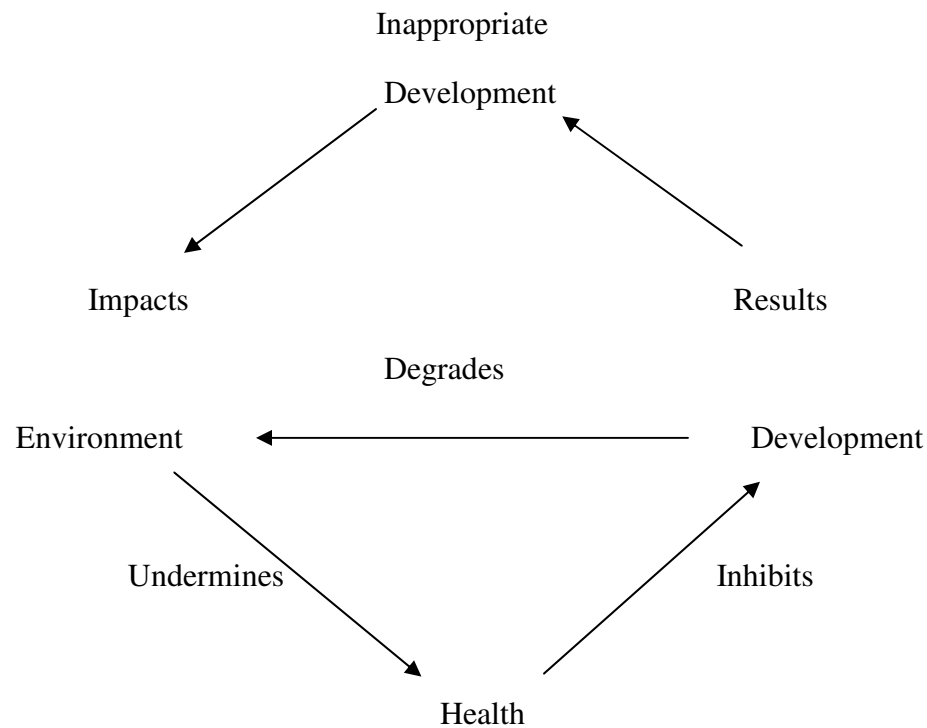
3.2.14 Sustainability of human settlements.

Sustainability of human settlement is vital part of human development. the human settlements today have become, most of the time to show just that settlements have been given to people or alternative settlements have been provided for the people who are displaced so that the political parties and civil society groups do not question the ruling party. The key issues that threaten human settlements sustainability are a growing population, poverty and severely overexploited, disrupted and polluted natural environment. These problems which have been mentioned are not new but they have taken a new dimension in the present scenario. It has been emphasized several times that sustainable human settlements should seek to achieve a healthy environment that enables fulfillment of societal, economical and governance needs by trying to achieve a balance between resource needs for human development and protection of environmental vitality. Human sustainable development does not aim at helping in restoring only for the present generation but also keeping in mind about the future generation also. Achieving sustainability in the urban sphere becomes crucial, as urban areas are growing everyday with additional population. The infrastructure is not enough and the facilities which are already there are not enough to handle the populations in the town as the populations have crossed the limit which must be according to the capacity of the cities. There are seven dimensions which can be used to understand the role of sustainable development with sustainable settlements⁹⁰.

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

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

Fig: 10 Comparison between Inappropriate Development and Sustainable Development



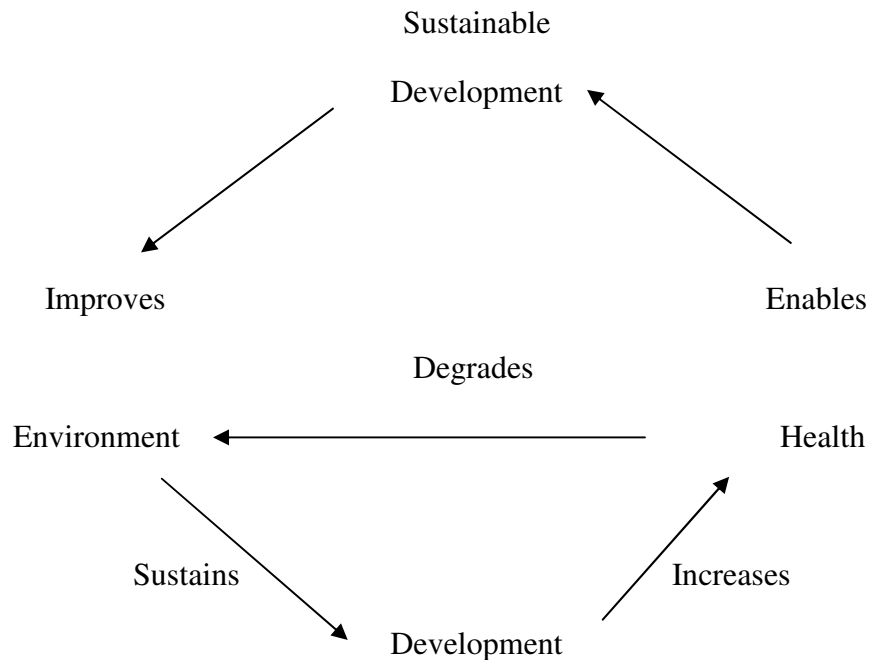
Vicious cycle of Inappropriate Development

In wake of the above points we can conclude that sustainable human settlements does not mean only the environment but also the other aspect of human being’s life through which he can sustain basically. The concept also includes the concept like participation, which is very crucial, and people like Robert Chambers⁹¹ have discussed it at length. Participation is as important as living in the society. The problem has turned out to be the one which has made everybody to think for a minute. With regarding urban population it has invited wide attention. Rapid urbanization, the concentration of the urban population in large cities, the spread of cities into wider geographical areas and the rapid growth of mega-cities are among the most significant transformation of human settlements. Urban areas will strongly influence the world in the twenty first century, and urban and rural populations will be increasingly interdependent for their economic, environmental and social well-being. Among the economic and social factors

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

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

Fig: 11 Virtuous cycle of Sustainable Development



Source: Adapted from UNEP (1986).

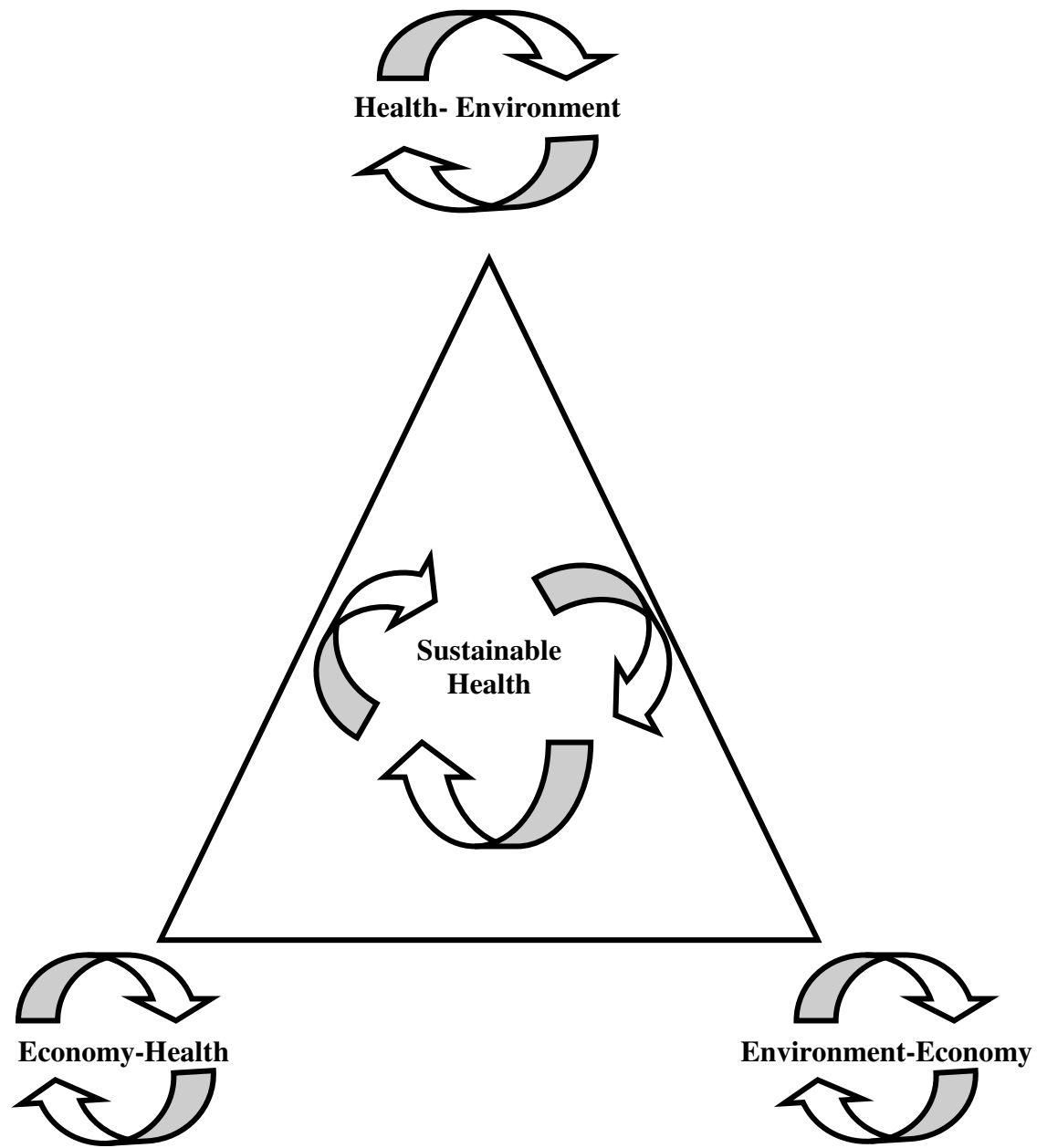
The above diagram shows the difference between the two different types of situations, wherein the distinction is very clear as to see development which is sustainable is as necessary as living of human beings. The support systems help the people to take care of their lives in a more sustainable manner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

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

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

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

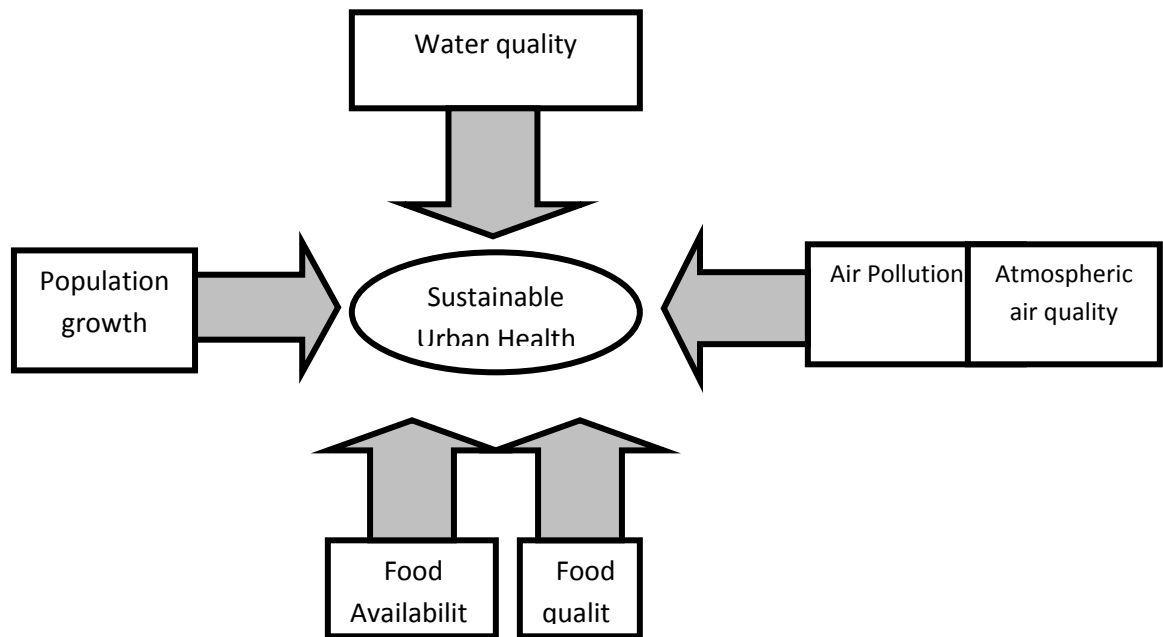
Fig 12 The Health, Economy and Environmental Triangle



Source: Adapted from Harpham and Werna (1996).

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

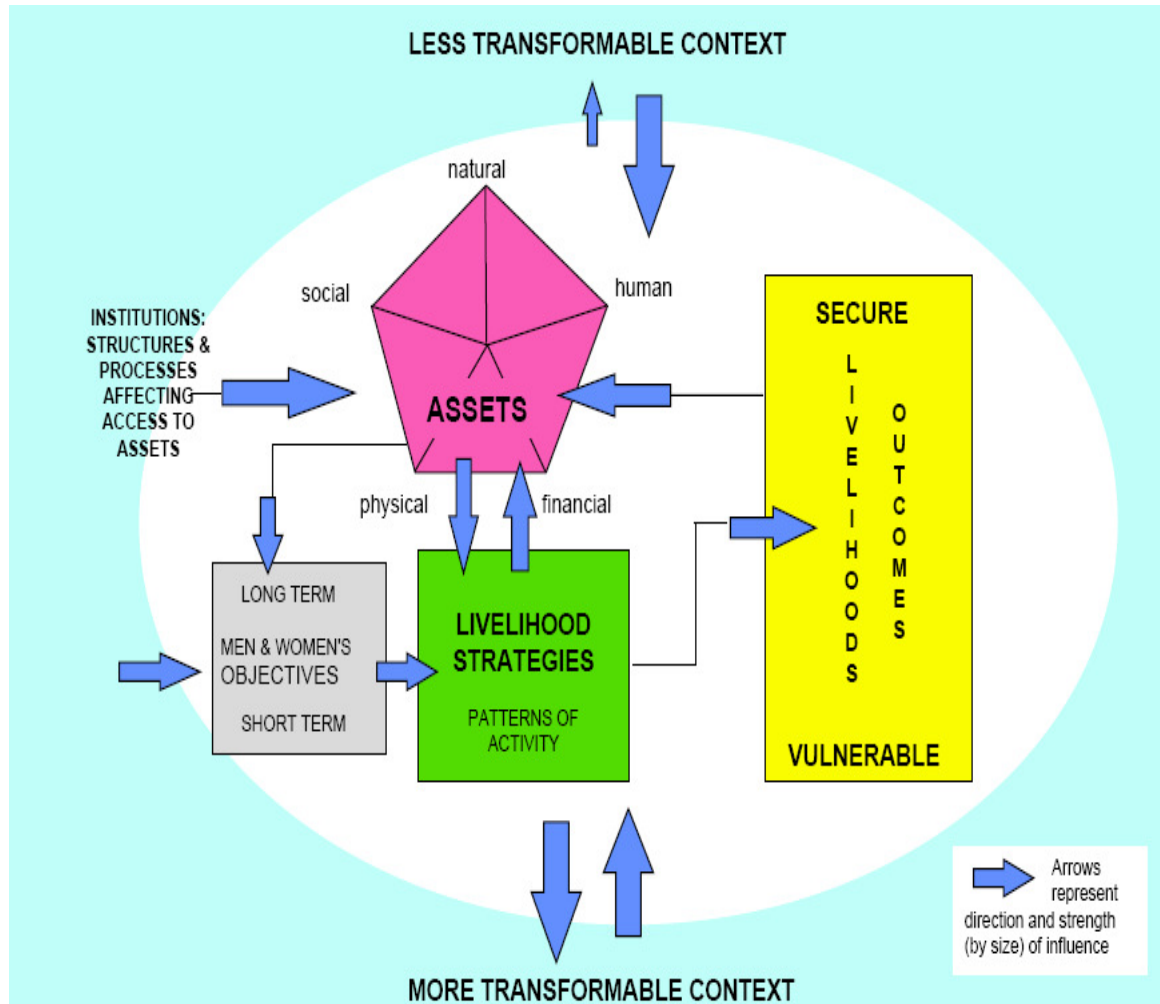
Fig:13 Framework for Sustainable Urban Health



Source: Adapted from Harpham and Werna (1996).

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

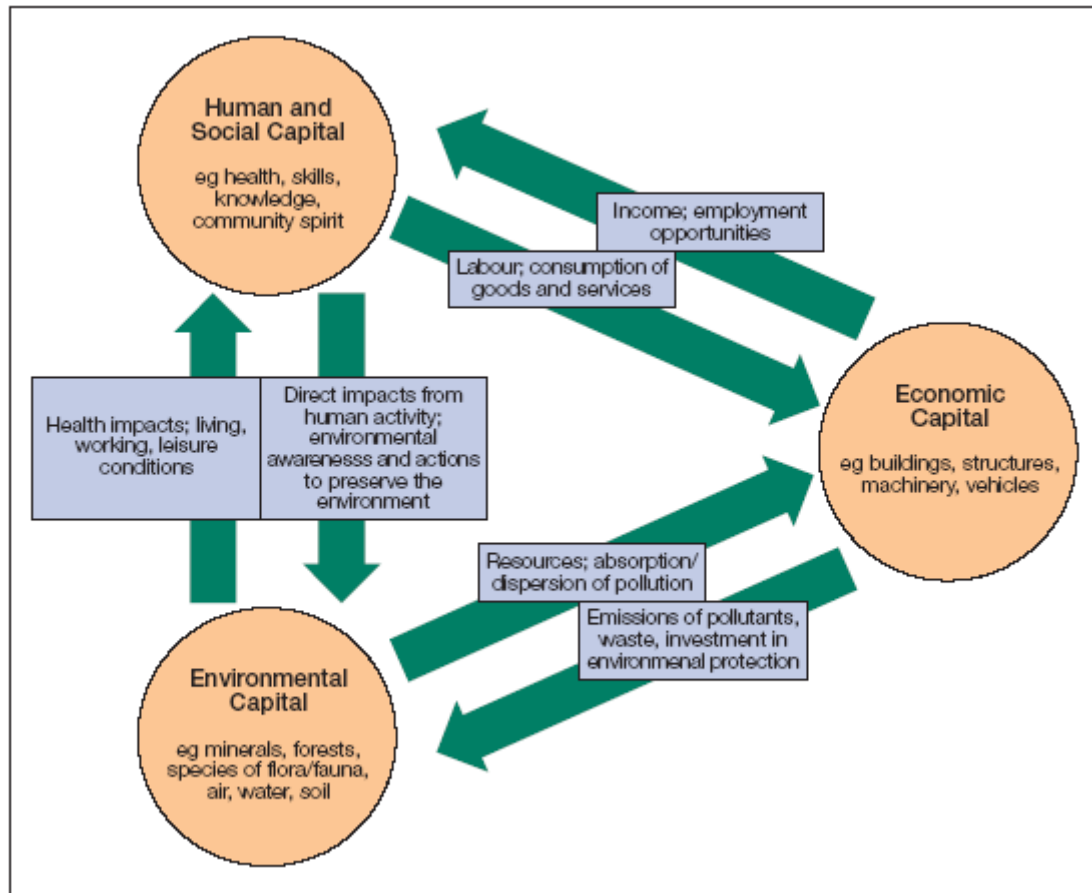
Fig: 14 “Sustain able urban livelihoods: Concepts and implications for policy”-concept paper produce for DFID, London.



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

3.2.15 Sustainable Human Settlement model Implementation

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

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

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

3.2.16 Preliminary Study and Investigation

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

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

The challenges to be overcome in developing a model design are⁹²:

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

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

3.2.17 Necessary Improvements in Current Resettlement Practices

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

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

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

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