

LAND ACQUISITION AND DEVELOPMENT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT: INDIA AND INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK

*Balaji Naika B G**

Abstract

In the present neo liberal era, countries are moving towards a new model of development which requires investment from different countries. In order to attract foreign investment National governments are offering many incentives and providing land for cheaper price is one among them. But unfortunately, in many regions of the developing world, this development has been forced to confront a wide variety of losses. For instances, the developmental projects that convert the land on which people live into dams and industrial corridors which cause people to lose their land and forcefully displaced. What is most important is that at present there are no policies or guidelines for relief and rehabilitation for displaced people and attempt by the governments to formulate such policies have been feeble. In fact, India is not an exception the above rule, this is because the present central government has proposed an amendment to the existing land acquisition act for diluting the rehabilitation and resettlement clause and asking the states to do away with the most essential provisions such as 'prior informed consent', 'social impact assessment etc in their land acquisition acts. In this context, this paper will critically examine the inter relation between land acquisition, development and displacement. In addition, this paper analyses the rights of displaced under Indian and international laws with special reference to recent states different legislation on land acquisition. The present paper also try to consider the impact on land acquisition on displaced people and identifies loopholes in the existing legal framework and propose certain measure for bringing real development in to the life of displaced people.

I Introduction

DISPLACEMENT OR the involuntary forced relocation of people has come to be acknowledging as among the most significant negative development project.¹ From time to time displaced people have been forced to leave their home and settled elsewhere. These people often

* Research Scholar, Center for International Legal Studies, School of International Legal Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

¹The Concept of Displacement, *available at*:

http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/42080/16/16_chapter3.pdf(last visited on Dec. 25, 2016).

displaced due to armed conflict, internal strife, and natural calamities.² Interestingly, among all the forms of displacement, the numbers of development induced displacement is the highest and within the number of indigenous people constitute majority of them. With the increasing pressure on land due to urbanisation, increasing infrastructure requirement *etc*, in a fast growing economy like India the acquisition of land by government has increased. Most importantly, the government acquires land under the doctrine of ‘eminent domain’ with citing the purpose of development and as a result of which millions of people displaced in the name of development.³ At the state level it is a matter of balance between individual rights and power of state and at international level it is viewed as a violation of human rights.⁴ In this context, this paper highlights the argument between development and displacement, the rights available to the displaced people under different legal instruments it includes India and international legal instruments and with special emphasis on the recent Indian state’s enactment of land acquisition act.

II Land acquisition, development and displacement: Debate

The state and other project proponents largely seeing displacement from the standpoint of its causes, consistently maintain that displacement is justified in the larger national interest.⁵ The argument for justifying displacement in the name of development often forgets the negative effect on displaced people both socially and economically.⁶ This is because many people who displaced are not resettled and rehabilitated.⁷ In fact, the main victims of developmental projects are the indigenous people, especially the women and children and these people constitute nearly

²Francis M Deng, “The Global Challenge of International Displacement” 12 *Washington University Journal of Law and Policy*, 141-159 (2001).

³Walter Kalin and Rhodri c Williams, *et.al.* (eds.), “*Incorporating the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement in to Domestic Law: Issues and Challenges*” Brookings Institution –University of Bern Project on Internal Displacement, Brookings Institution (2005), Available at https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/0119_internal_displacement_complete.pdf , (last visited on 12 September 2016)

⁴Francis M Deng, “International Response to Internal Displacement: A Revolution in Making” 3 *Human Right Brief* 24-27 (2004).

⁵David A. Dana, “Reframing Eminent Domain: Unsupported Advocacy, Ambiguous Economics, and the Case for a New Public Use Test” 32 *Vermont Law Review*, 129. (2007-2008).

⁶Assessing the impacts and costs of forced displacement, available at: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1265299949041/6766328-1265299960363/ImpactCostStudy-volumeI2.pdf> (last visited on Nov 23, 2016)

⁷Ashok Kumar Sahay and Prabira Sethy, “Tribal Displacement and Resettlement Effective Safeguard”, 58 *Social Action* 24 (Jan-Mar 2000).

the eighty percent of the total population of displacement. Moreover, the displacement causes detrimental impact on indigenous people, because these people largely depend on their surrounding environment and displacing these people from their surrounding environment leads to adversely affect their culture and livelihood.⁸ The major reason for the displacement of tribal population is that countries natural resources available in their area and these people are easy to be targeted because most of them don't have property documents. Apart from the indigenous people, women and children are the other category who adversely affects from the development induced displacement.⁹In summary, the debate on development and displacement is a never ending process, in my view no one is against the development but development should not at the cost of poor people.

III Land rights and displacement under Indian and international legal framework

The phenomenon of displacement is leads to violation of human rights of people and the existing human rights and humanitarian instruments will provides rights to the individual against the violation of human rights. Though the displaced peoples problems can be address through the existing legal provision there are situation where IDPs (internally displaced persons) requires special set of legal instruments to address their problems. For instances, states arbitrarily acquires land from the people and displace them in the name of development. In 2013, the Indian parliament enacted legislation on land acquisition and rehabilitation.¹⁰ This legislation not only lays down the manner of land acquisition but also provides the compressive plan for the resettlement and rehabilitation of displaced people. In addition, there are state legislations on land acquisition at different states. At the international level, in 1998 the United Nation adopted a 'Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.' Main objective of the guiding principles is to prevent the state from arbitrary displacement of people.¹¹

⁸Biswaranjan Mohanty "Displacement and Rehabilitation of Tribals " 13 *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1318(2005)

⁹The Needs of Internally Displaced Women and Children: Guiding Principles and Considerations, available at <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/2E33B9CFFB3B8F7BC1256C7C004EFCAA-UNICEF.pdf>(last visited on 20 November 2016)

¹⁰The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act 2013, available at <http://indiacode.nic.in/acts-in-pdf/302013.pdf> (last visited on Oct. 12, 2016).

¹¹UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, 22 July 1998, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3c3da07f7.html> (last visited on Sep. 29, 2016).

Indian legal framework

In India, there are different legislations on land acquisition and rehabilitation. It includes Land Acquisition Act of 1894,¹² National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy of 2007,¹³ the Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement act of 2013, and the different state legislations on land acquisition. Among the different legislation on land acquisition and rehabilitation, the impact of 2013 land acquisition act and the different state legislations on land acquisition on development induced displaced people are very critical.

Land Acquisition Act of 2013

In September 2013, India adopted the legislation called “The Rights to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Resettlement and Rehabilitation Act.” This legislation is historic because for the first time addresses the concerns of displacement caused by land acquisition. In addition, the 2013 land acquisition act also abolishes century old land acquisition act of 1894 which was based on coercive land acquisition through the state power. Moreover, the 1894 act also grants power to the state authorities to violently expropriate the land of people. In fact, the states in the name of ‘eminent domain principles’ acquire the land not only for public purpose but also for private purpose and thus acted against the interest of their own people.¹⁴ This attitude of the state leads to millions of people left landless, homeless, and jobless. Apart from the above this act is also silent on providing rehabilitation and resettlement or durable solution to the people who are displaced due to forcible land acquisition.¹⁵

The magnitude and disastrous consequences of displacement have triggered the growing resistance by the people who are displaced by forceful acquisition of land. The places like Narmada, Sardar Sarover in Gujarat, and Singur in West Bengal among other became main

¹²The Land Acquisition Act, 1894 is a British era law that governed the process of land acquisition in India until 2013; it allows the acquisition of land for public purpose by a government from individual landowners after paying a government-determined compensation to cover losses incurred by landowners from surrendering their land to the agency. In India, a new Act, The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013, replaced this law.

¹³The National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy of 2007 notified on 31 October 2007 *available at* : http://www.prsindia.org/uploads/media/Rehabilitation%20and%20Resettlement/The_National_Rehabilitation_and_Resettlement_Policy_2007.pdf(last visited on Oct. 15 2016).

¹⁴Usha Ramanathan, “Displacement and the Law”, 31 *Economic and Political Weekly* 1486 (1996).

¹⁵*Id.* at 1487.

opposition to the state land acquisition policy.¹⁶ The resistance by the tribal people in this area for defense of their land succeeded in delaying or completely abandoning the state's project. In fact, the continuance of resistance also played an important role in replacing the anarchic land acquisition act.¹⁷

The land acquisition act of 2013 has diluted the most of the ruthless provisions of the land acquisition act of 1894 and the most importantly, the new act made a deliberate attempt to put in place the building block for easy accessibility of land.¹⁸ It includes, the act's fundamental change is the introduction of compulsory prior consent from the farmer for acquiring land. Secondly, the major change in terms of replacing administrative coercion for land acquisition with market transaction,¹⁹ and increased finance to those left without land or livelihood. Thirdly, the new act also provides for a new national wide institutional architecture for rehabilitation and resettlement. Due to these changes, the 2013 act is considered as progressive and people-oriented act. In addition, the land acquisition act of 2013 provides not only new rules for acquiring land but also imposes the obligation on project owners who cause displacement to resettle affected communities and provide effective assistance and protection to these peoples. In addition, the new land acquisition act also provides for the first time a measure of protection of the human rights of IDPs. The following section identifies some of the important features of this act.

Prior consent for land acquisition

As per the 2013 act, prior consent of land owner or local people is compulsory for land acquisition in two kinds of projects. These are private projects and public-private projects. In fact, this rule does not apply to state projects for public purpose. The state maintains its forced expropriation approach by invoking eminent domain law.²⁰ The fundamental object of

¹⁶Balakrishnan Rajagopal "Limits of Law in Counter-hegemonic Globalization: The Indian Supreme Court and the Narmada Valley Struggle, WORKING PAPER SERIES Centre for the Study of Law and Governance Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, available at: [http://www.jnu.ac.in/CSLG/workingPaper/04-Limits%20Law\(Rajagopal](http://www.jnu.ac.in/CSLG/workingPaper/04-Limits%20Law(Rajagopal) (last visited on Dec. 27, 2016).

¹⁷Brookings "Progress in India: New Legislation to Protect Persons Internally Displaced by Developmental Projects", Available at: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2013/10/21/progress-in-india-new-legislation-to-protect-persons-internally-displaced-by-development-projects/> (last visited on Nov. 12, 2016)

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹For at least 70 to 80 percent of the affected families.

²⁰Usha Ramanathan "Land Acquisition, Eminent Domain and the 2011 Bill" 44 and 45 *Economic & Political Weekly*, 10 (2011)

introducing prior consent clause in the new legislation is because this provision will create a new opportunity for the land owners to negotiate directly with project owner for better resettlement and rehabilitation. The land acquisition act states:

The acquisition of land for private companies requires the prior consent of at least 80% of the affected families and for public private partnership projects (PPP), the prior consent of at least 70% of the affected families is required as per this act.²¹

Better compensation

The new land acquisition act brought major changes in terms of providing effective compensation to the displaced people for their loss of land. It includes, the project owner has to provide four times the market value of the land in rural area and twice the market value of in urban area. ²² The displaced families, apart from the above stated benefit, they also receive solatium payment, in addition to the compensation that is equal to one time the market value of land. In addition, a cash allowances for transportation to the new site has to be provided. Apart from the above, a monthly cash food allowances for 12 month to prevent food insecurity risk in the first year of displacement and other cash grants.²³

Institutional mechanism for rehabilitation and resettlement

The act also mandates the incorporation of resettlement and rehabilitation plan in each project causing displacement. It includes, impose obligation on the project owner to frame rehabilitation and resettlement plan with the main project objective, design and budget.²⁴ In this way, this act places responsibility on project owner for successful recovery on the very project that displaces people. In addition, the act also mandates the creation of a new institution at national and state level for implementing the law itself.²⁵ The other important provisions of this act are:

²¹*Supra* note, 11, s. 2(2).

²²*Id.*, s. 27.

²³*Id.*, s. 10.

²⁴*Id.*, s. 16.

²⁵*Id.*, s. 5 (1).

- i. Social impact assessment will be carried out by the competent specialist for each project causing displacement. The main objective of the social impact assessment is to determine the extent of adverse impact on all affected peoples.²⁶
- ii. A special resettlement and rehabilitation plan will be adopted for all the family displaced on the basis of report of social impact assessment.²⁷
- iii. The landless laborer whose livelihood depends on the land being acquired will be given compensation and also resettlement and rehabilitation assistance.
- iv. The act also provided special focus on marginalised people. It includes, tribal and scheduled castes people are given specific entitlement and their lands are protected through special legal provision.²⁸
- v. The act also recognized basic human right to housing for the IDPs. It includes, the development projects will provide ownership of house plot and house to each family at the relocation site.²⁹
- vi. The act also provides for establishing an institution for monitoring on displacement, relocation and recovery.³⁰

New Land Acquisition Acts of different states

The recent land acquisition acts of different states main focus on the easy access of land rather than confirming the rights of displaced peoples. In this regards this section highlights how Indian states are diluting the most important provisions such as prior informed consent and social impact assessment clause of land acquisition act of 2013 in their own legislation and their impact on displaced peoples.

Comparison between center and states rules

The basic requirements under the central rules for initiating the process of obtaining consent are quite similar to those in the rules of various states. But in exception to the above rule the states like Andhra Pradesh; Telangana, Tripura and states do not have provision for obtaining consent from the people for acquiring land in their land acquisition act.³¹ In addition, interestingly the

²⁶*Id.*, s. 7(1).

²⁷*Id.*, s.(1)(2).

²⁸*Id.*,s. 41 and 42.

²⁹Another unique provision is that the family title to the land-plot and house will be written in the name of both husband and wife and incase of widow or single young adult of either gender with or without spouse or children or dependent are to be treated as a separate family with respect to entitlement.

³⁰S. 48

³¹ Mapping Dilutions in a Central Law: A Comparative Analysis of State Level Rules made under The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement (RFCTLARR) Act, 2013, *available at:*

Gujarat state has also incorporated amendment to their act in line with the amendment which was proposed by the present central government.³²

Provision Exempting the Requirement for Consent

Diluting the consent clause in certain states legislations like Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Telangana, and Rajasthan, has been done by way of amendment. For instance, the Tamil Nadu legislative assembly passed Tamil Nadu land acquisition act in 2015 and introduced new section 105-A whereby land acquisition carried out under the act exempt the consent from land owner.³³ In addition, the state of Gujarat has gone a step further than the Tamil Nadu government by incorporating all of the amendment which the present central government has been trying to pass from the last two year in the form of Gujarat amendment act, 2016. The main objective and reason for the amendment as per the act is to dilute the stringent and difficult process of land acquisition into smooth and easy to cater to the needs of development of industrial corridors in Gujarat. This amendment will exempt the projects that are vital to the national security, or defense of India, rural infrastructure projects, affordable housing for poor people, industrial corridor and other infrastructure projects including project under PPP from the preview of 2013 act and thus the provision related social impact assessment and consent do not apply to such project.³⁴ In addition, rules of Maharashtra government and Rajasthan land acquisition bill also dilute the consent requirement of the central act. both these state legislation mention that consent will be taken for private project and not for the public private partnership project but unfortunately state governments will acquires the land in the name of PPP and hand it over to private projects. In addition, the Rajasthan government has further diluted the concept of consent

https://www.academia.edu/28997121/Mapping_Dilutions_in_a_Central_Law_A_Comparative_Analysis_of_State_Level_Rules_made_under_The_Right_to_Fair_Compensation_and_Transparency_in_Land_Acquisition_Rehabilitation_and_Resettlement_RFCTLARR_Act_2013(last visited on Nov. 20, 2016).

³²*Ibid*.

³³ *Ibid* also see Tamil Nadu Government Gazette, (last visited on Dec. 29, 2016).

³⁴The Gujarat Land Acquisition Act 2016 available at: <https://revenuedepartment.gujarat.gov.in/downloads/notification-12082016-02-gh.pdf>also see New Gujarat Land Law Triggers Fears among Farmers in State, available at : <https://thewire.in/12901/new-gujarat-land-law-triggers-fears-among-farmers-in-state/>(last visited on 2 December 2016).

by enacting legislation.³⁵ The bill allows the government to enter into any land which has been declared as special investigation region and acquired the same. In addition, the Telangana government in their act proposed compensation only to the people with land and there is no provision of compensation for the landless labor who also victims of developmental projects.³⁶

International legal framework

At the international level there are many different human rights legal instruments are available to confirming the human rights of displaced peoples. Among these instruments, the guiding principles are very unique because these principles are framed exclusively for addressing the problems of displaced peoples.

Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement

The guiding principles though they contain preventive guidelines are more relevant during the time of people remain in displacement. The guiding principles contain thirty articles and relevant provision of these principles provides for the rights to have adequate housing, land and property in the context of displacement. The most important provisions of the guiding principles are, the guiding principle 5 stresses the responsibility of states to avoid displacement.³⁷ It provides all authorities and international actors shall respect for their obligation under international law including human rights and humanitarian law in all circumstances so as to prevent and avoid condition that leads to displacement of peoples.³⁸

The principle 6 provides inter alia that “every human being shall have the rights to be protected against being arbitrary displacement. This principles further provides that the prohibition of arbitrary displacement includes displacement in case of large scale development project which

³⁵Rajasthan Land Acquisition Bill 2014: Taking Away People's Right; *available at*: <http://www.developmentdebate.in/2014/08/rajasthan-land-acquisition-bill-2014.html> The Rajasthan Land Acquisition Bill, 2014, *available at*: http://www.rlarrdc.org.in/images/Rajasthan_Draft_Rules.pdf (last visited on Dec. 2, 2016).

³⁶Telangana State Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Rules, 2014, *available at* : <http://www.tredapropertyshow.com/pdf/gos/Land-aquisition-GO-Revenue-dt.19.12.2014.pdf> (last visited on Oct. 12, 2016).

³⁷Francis M Deng “Divided Nations: The Paradox of National Responsibility,” 19: *Macalester International*, 79 (2007)

³⁸Roberta Cohen, “The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement: An Innovation in International Standard Setting”, 4*Global Governance*, 459(2004).

are not justified by the compelling and overriding public interest and displacement shall last no longer than the required by the circumstances.³⁹ The principles 7 states that prior to any decision requiring the displacement of persons, the authorities shall ensure that there should be a proper alternative arrangement explored in order to avoid displacement. If no alternative exist principles 7(2) further provides that “the authorities undertaking such displacement shall ensure that the proper accommodation is provided to the displaced persons. In addition, this principles also provides that the authorities also has to consider the safety, nutrition, health and hygiene condition of displaced. ⁴⁰ According to the principles 8 “the state authorities make sure that the any forms of displacement shall not be carried out in a manner that violates the rights to life, dignity, liberty, and security of these affected.⁴¹ With relates to this, principle 9 provides that “states are under a particular obligation to protect against the displacement of indigenous people, minorities, peasants, posterities and other group with a special dependency on their land.⁴²

According to the principles 15, displaced people enjoy “the rights to seek safety in another part of the country and the rights to be protected against forcible return to or resettled in another place where their life, safety, liberty and health would be at risk.⁴³ In addition, Principle 18 provides that the competent authorities shall provide displaced persons with and ensure states access to essential food, potable water, basic shelter and housing without any discrimination.⁴⁴ Principle 21 prohibits *inter alia* arbitrary deprivation of property and possession of internally displaced persons and state authorities should ensure that the property left behind by displaced people should be protected against destruction, illegal appropriation, occupation or use.⁴⁵ And finally principles 28 provides that the competent authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to establish condition as well as provides the means which allow displaced people to return voluntary with dignity to their home or place of habitual residence or to resettle voluntary in another part of the country such authorities shall endeavor to facilitate the return or reintegration

³⁹*Supra* note 12 at Guiding Principles 6.

⁴⁰*Id.* at Guiding Principle 7.

⁴¹*Id.* at Guiding Principle 8.

⁴²*Id.* at Guiding Principle 9.

⁴³*Id.* at Guiding Principle 15

⁴⁴*Id.* at Guiding Principle 18

⁴⁵*Id.* at Guiding Principle 21

of IDPs.⁴⁶ In addition, this principle also provides that the state authorities should take special efforts to ensure the full participation of displaced in the planning and management of their return or resettlement and reintegration.

Other relevant legal provisions

Apart from the above provision, international law specifically recognizes the human rights to land of indigenous people in article 17 of the 1989 Indigenous and Tribal People Convention (No 169)⁴⁷ and articles 25 and 27 of the UN Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples.⁴⁸

Despite of all these provisions which are available under the existing international law scholar's views that the international law not yet evolved for legally recognizing the right to land as a human right. In this circumstance, the government can take the lead by incorporating the element of this rights which have already been widely recognized and promoted in their own national law and policies.⁴⁹

IV Protection of displaced: Present challenges and way forward

Forced eviction in the name of "development" is growing rapidly around the world and there is no organized solution to this human right and humanitarian crisis. The protection of Displaced People around the world is a big challenge for the world communities. In this regard the question before us is that how the nation and international law can guaranty the protection of human rights of displaced people. In my view, immediate solution to this problem is that the strong political will of national governments and effective utilization of human rights laws and policies will help in mitigating the problem of displaced people.⁵⁰ But for the long term solution to the problems of displaced can be seen in the following way. Firstly, the state authorities should define "public

⁴⁶*Id.* at Guiding Principle 28

⁴⁷Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169) Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (Entry into force: 05 Sep 1991), available at: http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C169 (last visited on Nov 23, 2016)

⁴⁸United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, available at: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf (last visited on Dec. 17, 2016).

⁴⁹Orchard, Phil. "Protection of Internally Displaced Persons: Soft Law as a Norm Generating Mechanism", 36 *International Studies Review*, 281 (2010),

⁵⁰Shivani Chaudhry "Development-induced Displacement and Forced Evictions", available at: https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/0119_internal_displacement_Ch15.pdf (last visited on 20 December 2016)

interest” in their national laws and any project which is approved for public interest must meet certain specified, pre-determined criteria to ensure that it truly is in the national interest of the majority of the people.⁵¹ Secondly, any project approved for developmental purpose need to be evaluated with certain indicators to assess whether the project brings an overall improvement in well-being for the people or does it results in more harm than good.⁵² Thirdly, the peoples who directly affected by their acquiring land or natural resources should have the right to involve in the decision making in the management and control of such resources.⁵³ Fourthly, when the authorities feel that the displacement is inevitable, in that circumstances utmost priority should be given for just and adequate rehabilitation provides immediately for displaced people.⁵⁴ Fifthly, the national authorities should strictly follow the principles of adequate ‘Consultation’ and ‘Prior Informed Consent’ from the people who are going to be displaced by the developmental activities.⁵⁵ Sixthly, comprehensive social impact assessment must be conducted to determine the appropriate compensation for the displaced peoples.⁵⁶ Finally, the rights of special vulnerable group such as indigenous people, women, and children must be taken into account. These are the some of the possible solution we can think of for bringing solution to the problems of displaced.

V Conclusion

In the current neo liberal era countries are moving towards a new model of development which requires foreign investment. But unfortunately, in many regions of the world, this development has been forced to confront a wide variety of losses. For instances, the developmental projects that convert the land on which people live and work into dams and industrial corridors because of this peoples are displaced. What is most important is that at present there are no policies or guidelines for relief and rehabilitation that must necessarily accompany development projects and attempt by the governments to formulate such policies have been weak and this is a matter concern. In fact, India is not an exception the above rule this is because the present government has proposed an amendment to the existing land acquisition act with the intention of diluting the

⁵¹ *Id.* at 643.

⁵² *Id.* at 644.

⁵³ *Id.* at 644.

⁵⁴ *Id.* at 644.

⁵⁵ *Id.* at 645.

⁵⁶ *Id.* at 645.

rehabilitation clause and asking the states to dilute the most essential provision such as prior informed consent, social impact assessment etc. in their states land acquisition acts for easy accessible of land from these people. Therefore, it is need of the hour to show the political willingness to formulate comprehensive policy at the national level to address the concerns of peoples who have been displaced due to developmental projects.