



Case Study

The Marginalisation of the Displaced of Kerala

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Abstract

India implemented various projects for improving the quality of lives of its citizens. In Kerala, the Cochin International airport and ICTT of Vallarpadam are two major initiatives undertaken to boost the economy of the state; the cost of the initiative unfortunately includes displacement of people. The study aims to inquire into the marginalisation of displaced people of both these projects. The study identifies that the economic, social, psychological and political marginalisation faced by the displaced population could be avoided if measures are taken to address them prior to the displacement.

Keywords: Marginalisation in Displacement, Mental Health

1. Introduction

Displacement and rehabilitation are a series of happenings, mainly of a qualitative nature, affecting the lives of displaced people in a myriad range of ways, especially including the weaker sections (Reddy, 2008) who are the involuntary sacrificed and are often

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understood to be 'out of capital productivity' (this means they reach social involuntary marginality). This reflects the effects of Global Capitalism that extends to the reach of people, into the structural system that disposes people from their land, livelihood and support for the development projects (Chomsky, 2001; Petras & Veltmeyer, 2001). Thus, marginalisation occurs when a person is excluded from an individual, interpersonal and societal life (Burton & Carolyn, 2015; Mark, 2000). This requires system-wide analysis with quantifiable and unquantifiable impacts (Walicki, 2017) because the aim of SDG "leave no one behind" calls for special consideration to the displaced population. The deficient or poor laws indicate the inadequate capacity of governance in resettlement (Wily 2011, 2014). It speaks of legal inertia and the need to look for the right based approach (Vanclay, 2017). This leads the displaced towards a poor economic bargaining capacity or financial instability that deteriorates the standard of living or cause downward mobility in terms of economic, social, political, cultural, and psychological life (Walicki, 2017). It is in this context that we have to look into the marginalisation of the displaced population of the development projects.

Marginalisation may manifest itself at varying levels of development of the society. To be marginalised is to have a sense that one does not belong and, in doing so, to feel that one is neither a valued member of a community and able to make a valuable contribution within that community nor able to access the range of services and /or opportunities open to others. In effect, it is to feel and be "excluded" (Mowat, 2015).

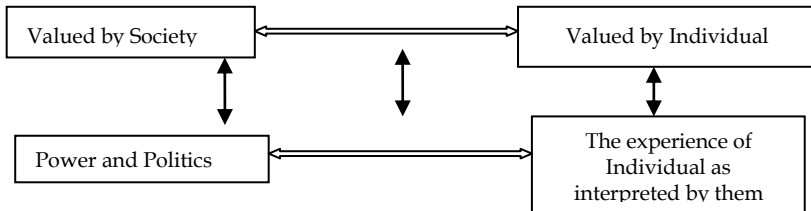
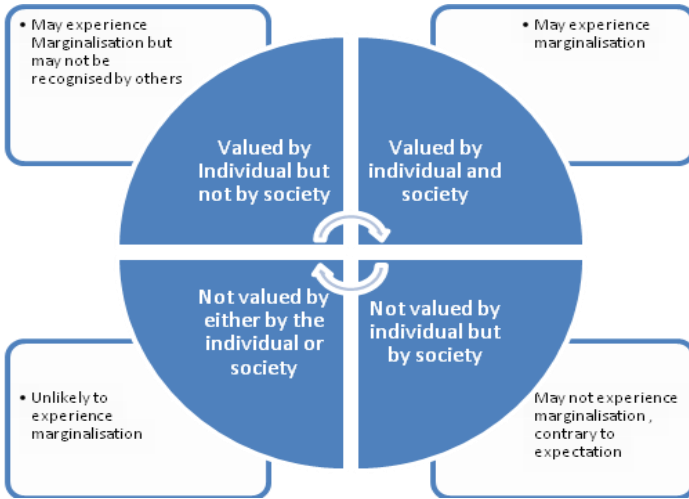
Messiou (2012) states that marginalisation has multiple conceptualisations in society. Often marginalisation is subjective as an experience but objective as others recognize it and the legitimacy of this is questionable (Mowat, 2015). Marginals are people who lack inclusion; it is one of the dangerous forms of oppression that prevent people from participating in social activities. This further is derived from material deprivation according to Marx. So "our understanding (conceptual and experiential) of marginalisation must, therefore, also be a part of our sense of place; our construction of our own metaphorical location as participants in social transformation" (Howit, 2016).

Marginalisation has affective dimensions also. This indicates how an individual interprets his or her marginalisation based on their experience and how it is valued in society.

The marginalisation of individuals in this paper looks into the isolation or exclusion experienced mainly at two levels-societal and spatial (Chaskar, 2015). Further, the social space attached to boundaries does not look into the process of exclusion but how it is processed to contribute to exclusion (Sibely, 2004). This reduces the meaning of marginality to the reduced opportunity to initiate actions or resources to sustain life (Burton & Kagan, 1996). The concept of marginality indicates the concept of 'us' versus 'them'. Multiple faces of marginality are evident in the life of millions who are affected by poverty, unemployment, disability, socially, economically, and politically discriminated and displaced. Since they are always prone to be excluded, people of a particular geographical area or spatial area find it difficult to access mainstream society (Chaskar, 2015).

There are various levels of ideological dimensions of marginalisation. The three sources for it are economy, state, and family (respective size) such that each source is contributing to the others. Marginalisation is intrinsic to the 'culture of blaming' (Farber & Azar, 1999), natural to the life of people (Burton & Kagan, 2015), and is pertinent to human agency and identity. Mostly marginalisation is also thought in the framework of social inclusion and both appear to be a connected and an interdependent process (Hansen, 2012). Social exclusion in marginalisation is often seen as a process that is built on relativity (relation to others), agency (arises from the action), and dynamics (interaction of variables). However, all three are interconnected through exclusion (Burton & Kagan, 2015).

Marginalisation is influenced by economic and political (powerlessness generated by the application of elite purchase and application of eminent domain) factors which affect the mental health (psychologically) of the ousters but also lead individuals to adopt new coping mechanisms in order to survive. A closer look at marginalisation also helps to understand the dichotomies of core and periphery, mainstream and outskirts, visible and invisible, formal and informal. It can be described in the following way:



Thus, the experience of marginalisation is always accompanied by societal experience. It commences at an individual’s economic dimensions and later spreads to other aspects. Marginalisation occurs when families lose economic power and spiral on a path of “downward mobility”. Economic marginalisation is often accompanied by social, political and psychological marginalisation.

2. Dimensions of Marginalisation

2.1 Economic Marginalisation

Economic marginalisation is an outcome of inequality. Integration of the marginalised requires a step towards making a new world. It calls for a reevaluation of the development priorities (Howit, 2016).

Prior to land acquisition, compensation needed to be paid and the untimely or delayed distribution of compensation packages especially finances generated stress and challenged livelihood. Compensation needs to include the direct and indirect cost. Studies of Fernandes (2000) and Cernea (1995) confirm economic marginalisation. They are not considered to be the contributors to development rather they are subject to group delineation and classification which leads to Ardener's concept of Muted Group. It is not ethnocentric but policy-centric (Gropper, 1983).

2.2. Social Marginalisation

Social marginalisation is a varying phenomenon connected to the social living of the people which varies in its experience of 'oppression, exclusion, vulnerability and discrimination' (Burton & Kagan, 2015). According to Gaventa (1999), displacement will bring about triple foundations of an unequal society. The first one is denying access to mainstream society clubbed with lawful inequality. The second one consists of giving preferences to a few people (that excludes the majority) and the third one is keeping alienated people who struggled to survive till last.

The availability of resources (social, political, economic and cultural) and access to the same determine the class structure and mobility in the resettlement community. As compared to weak and marginal sections of society, rich and self-resettled communities have better chances for growth in a new ambience. Resettlement sometimes leads to equilibrium but bureaucratic apathy and force eviction can trigger the vulnerability (Kaushal, 2009).

Space contributes significantly to marginalisation and entails a material and discursive relationship between space and society where marginalisation becomes peripheral. Researchers speak about the 'landscape concept' which is incorporated in cultural geography for understanding marginality and marginalisation in displacement. Space is formed by individuals in their place and home landscape (Mitchell, 2008). It means looking at things and ways which are influenced by structures of social interaction of powers (Trudeau & McMorran, 2011). In displacement, people who are resettled need to reinvent places amidst and against unsettled changes that create imagined boundaries build on the authenticity

of the power to delineate. Thus, social marginalisation of the displaced which is exclusion through injustice needs to be understood from the perspective of social identity and participation based on cultural capital, activities performed in and through the landscape and the concept of space which is “powerfully real and really powerful” (Soott, 2009).

Exclusion or inclusion involves barriers/boundaries which is not a single reality because the experience is varied in groups. Each one’s understanding of the other’s socio-space is limited due to poor knowledge of the background. Positioning exclusion depends on valuing of the ‘undesirable’ (Sibley, 1995). Here, the elite (mainstream) minority uses strategies to define marginality using power (eminent domain, development paradigms) whereas marginals use ingenious ways to become strong and be included in the mainstream. Marginalisation, therefore, consists of the separation of people, stigma, gender and stratification that speak of the rule of power over the powerless by which dominant groups contribute to socio-spatial builds of marginalisation (Sibely, 2004). The inclusion (De Cerleau, 1984) is built upon the struggles and tactics for space delineation of material and the mental world of the space. Thus, space and boundaries become an everyday concept for the displaced seeking inclusion (Trudeau & McMorran, 2011). Exclusion at home, locality or even at a national level is not a separate entity but mere shades of the same concept (Sibely, 2004). Marginalisation thus creates a person different in society (Paul, 2013; Mohanty, 2009). This also generates a new definition in the understanding of family relationship, space and distance in identifying marginals.

2.3 Psychological Marginalisation

Understanding an individual within his/her own framework helps to depict the subjective and emotional dimensions of marginalisation in its full sense (Mowat, 2015, p. 3). Forced migration always involves a threat or the use of force to drive people away from their homes (Mathur, 1998). The terminological ascription and stigma result in poor self-esteem and self-confidence. It brings about a feeling of injustice and vulnerability especially when the displaced become outsiders and newcomers in

host communities. Social marginalisation causes loneliness, helplessness and psychological stress (Woldeselassie, 2000). The displaced face psychological disturbances because of the shift from familiar situations to the new ones. The future of the oustees sometimes is uncertain due to the loss of income, livelihood and affinities. The religious affiliation to church/temple and missing places of worship/burial grounds create a psychological disturbance for the people who are rooted out to a new place. Place and personal memories are an integral part of human beings as they add meaning to their lives and their loss creates a vacuum in daily living and existence (Vanclay, 2017). This can be more of a psychological boundary than an apparent social order in society. It becomes apparent while creating a group identity when individuals are rehabilitated in groups (Sibely, 2004).

People once branded can never come out of the stigma unless concerted efforts are taken (Paul, 2013). Since many of them get emotionally affected thinking of life after displacement, it lowers their mental health. Constantly fighting with the government, the powerful agency/system, people or institutions (Brunila, 2011), they are often demotivated and compromised their lives to be victims than victorious. The aftermath of psychological impacts on being uprooted is “subject to violence, stripped of old social roles, frustrated by new and often intractable rules and limitations and by new cause of family conflict” (Colson, 2003).

2.4 Political Marginalisation

There are a number of legal frameworks in India and unfortunately, governments make use of constitutional, legal or administrative provisions like public purpose or eminent domain to acquire or expropriate land, compensating people through consultation and negotiation built up by enlisted support and cooperation accommodating potential evictees as partners (Vanclay, 2017). Development and displacement is a political process in which power asymmetry imbalances risks in the life of the displaced (IDMC, Global Report on Internal Displacement, 2017). The guiding principle ‘greater good for the larger numbers’ is applied in forced displacement contexts that glorifies the paradigm of progress and modernity (Drydyk & Atiya, 2006; Baviskar, 1995).

The concept of eminent domain refers to legal rights of the State but is often implemented without consent deteriorating the condition of the poor and creating poorer outcomes by 'created consent' instead of genuine consent. This diminishes the chance of sustainable livelihood (Verma, 2004; Paul, 2013).

Consequently, people are socially and institutionally disrupted and economically worse off since the survivors of the displacement struggle compete with a law that is unfavourable to them by imposing the power of the State (Nadani & Swain, 2016). Marginalised oustees are weak to compete with the powerful state. Being aware of this, the poor struggle to realise inclusion to avoid marginalisation and get reinstated to prior displaced conditions. (Reddy, 2008). This requires the equitable and active involvement of all stakeholders in the formulation of development policies and strategies and in the analysis, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of development activities. This is supported by Medha Patkar (Patkar 1998) when she said that the paradigm of development can only be participatory when the process of participation becomes transparent and includes all prospective oustees (Jain, 2006). Participation opens avenues for negotiation and resettlement as it provides benefits to both parties while respecting the local context.

3. Projects Profile

Vallarpadam International Container Transshipment Terminal (ICTT) is the largest single operator container terminal in India and the first in the country to operate in a Special Economic Zone. The terminal makes Kochi a key centre in the shipping world reducing India's dependence on foreign ports to handle transshipment. 316 families were displaced for the project from seven villages Eloor, Moolanpally, Kadamakudy, Cheaanallor, Edapally North, Edapally South, Kidangallor for the prestigious ICTT at Vallarpadam.

Cochin International Airport Limited (CIAL), one of the first International airports in India operating successfully in public-private partnership displaced 819 families acquiring 1200 acres of land from Ernakulam district of Kerala. Out of the 819 ousted families of CIAL, 500 families stay in 6 cent plots of the

resettlement colonies arranged by the CIA while the others stay outside the resettlement colonies.

4. Method and Material of the Study

The researcher adopted a qualitative research design for the study. The geographical area of the study is Ernakulam district and participants are selected from project-affected areas of both CIAL and ICTT who fulfil the criteria: displaced for the project and aged between 35-60 years with sound mental health status. Total participants of the study are 10, five were selected from each. An interview guide was used to conduct an in-depth interview to collect data from participants. A thematic analysis was used for the interpretation of the data.

5. A Brief Sketch of the Profile of the Participants

Out of the ten participants selected (all aged between 50-70), it is noted that five of the participants are daily wage earners, two had their own industries, one runs a grocery shop, one depended on cattle rearing and one had a government job. However, post displacement, five of them had no jobs while the remaining depended on daily wages for livelihood. Except one, the rest of the participants lost land, home and job after the displacement. Eight of the participants resettled on their own and two resettled on land provided as part of the resettlement package. Equality in terms of gender could not be maintained for the study since only three participants were female and the remaining was male. Further, it is sad to note that only four of them were able to resettle along with family members while the remaining experienced separation from family members after displacement.

There was noted a large variation between participants in terms of displacement experience; while CIAL displaced participants 21 years ago, and ICTT 7 years ago, the displacement experience remained the same for all the participants.

6. Thematic Analysis of the In-Depth Interviews of the Participants

6.1 Economic Marginalisation of the Participants of the Case Study

6.1.1 Reduced Income and Employability

The living standards of an individual depend on his economic base, the employability of a person. The displaced people of the area were agricultural dependents who mostly employed their skill to cultivate. Therefore, once the agricultural land was acquired, they were forced to find new employment. As most of the evictees were aged, it was difficult for them. As P3 said, “we are thrown into the streets as we lost our only source of living”. This acquisition also caused loss of economic property like land and house. P6 says, “I got 6 lakhs as compensation and it was a new house, but I spent 5 lakhs to purchase land as the land provided as part of the compensation package was unusable for house construction. Then I also needed to share the compensation with my sibling. Therefore, to construct a new house I took a loan of 6 lakhs which caused extra burden and reduced expenses on health”. As they were using common property, they were spending less money on recreation. Most failed to find new jobs. This reduced the income of the oustees’ family drastically.

Reduction in the income caused instances of poverty as well as clashes within the family. The expected expenses were not able to meet the available income which caused family violence and led to alcohol addiction. “I drink alcohol due to stress and spare only what is left after my expenses with family. Due to this, we have clashed in the family daily. Now I am used to it” (P.9).

Investments also had to be made for the children of the oustees. Most of them depended on money lenders/ local banks to support their expenses. This too became problematic since money lenders hesitated to assist them since they now belonged to a poor stratum of economic resources. P4 said, “Earlier they used to give us money as they were sure we will give back money but now we don’t get it as and when required. I know it is because we have become poor and do not have the capacity to pay back”.

6.1.2 Economic Liability and Mental Health Issues

The disparity between what is promised and what is provided is another cause of tension and struggle. Though people invested in learning new skills, when they did not fetch jobs, the economic burden increased along with increasing conflicts between parents and children. P 9 said, "I have borrowed money to train my son to earn a job in the new project but it was futile. Not only did he not get a job but also landed us in debts. We believed the government but it cheated us".

The unexpected and forceful eviction from homes depicts the dismaying picture of the evictees' life. P 5 recalls, "I was given no time to take my utensils and refrigerator as they used bulldozers to demolish my home". This contributes to financial strain and mental struggles to the lives of evictees. Imposing unwarranted expenses on a common man and uprooting him from his home where he lived for years does not justify the development that comes at the cost of it.

6.1.3 Amenities and Financial Indebtedness

Since the respondent resettled in the remotest places, amenities and transport facilities were scarce. Some were struggling with drinking water, and public distribution system. P 3 mentioned, "I have to chase each officer and elected representatives for four months to obtain a regular drinking water facility in my new area".

Though the respondents were promised of all facilities and resources as a part of their compensation package, they were left stranded and in dismay and disarray.

6.2 Social Marginalisation of the Participants of the Case Study

6.2.1 Eviction and Social Hiatus

Uprooting an individual is an act of social and self-alienation. Social identity is based on culture, his place of stay and the traditions one practices and inherits. The participants enjoyed a social life with certain religious, social, political and economic practices. The forceful eviction from their homes left the participants deceived and alienated. Due to displacement, they were treated as individuals who had encroached upon government land and were objecting to the development. The participants felt

they were denied their rights as a social being. On being asked, an individual said, "it was really difficult to get out of place forcefully where I lived for almost 55 years with my family" (P.3). Another respondent said, "it was tough for me to get out of the place where my parents are buried and the church I am affiliated to" (P.5).

6.2.2 Social and Personal Identity: Space and Place of the Person

Displaced people usually face a loss of identity. P 7 said, "I grew up in a place that comforted me; I was much active and related to each other in harmony; the church I went to and the work I did was very close to my heart but now I have lost them eternally and I will never get that back".

House is a place of identity and a person losing it loses his/her personal as well as social identity. The mere tag of 'oustees' and the government referring to themselves as 'Us' and them as 'They', showing a symbol of power and authority breaks these individuals spiritually.

6.2.3 Identity Security and Relationship

People enjoy staying in a place which is safe and secure. Most displaced communities in India enjoyed peaceful co-existence before they were ousted for the sake of development projects. P 5 says, "We never bothered about our religion, caste and even money. I was really happy and enjoyed the place but now I am unsafe; I don't have neighbours and we don't know each other". A majority of the displaced community found pre-displaced life happy and safe. This gets echoed in the statement of a respondent when he says, "If I have a life again or a choice again, I would love to run back to my old place though I have lived here almost 18 years".

6.2.4 Social Alienation and Integration Efforts

According to rules, oustees are to be compensated adequately so that their life shall be at least equal to prior to displacement. However, the arbitrary nature of compensation and rigid application of laws along with a biased authority have side-lined the participants. What they were eligible to get was even denied by the authority. While people objected to rules being violated, the people who didn't were given a quicker and a greater amount of compensation than they were eligible for. P 9 said, "I have to file a

case against the rules applied to compensate. The government authorities stamped me as ant-social and anti-developmental" (P.6). Further, another respondent said, "I was safe when I was silent but when I saw corruption I agitated. So, they tried to delay my compensation. Since I have a political affiliation, I got it, but the deal to the others was poor".

Such alienation is even seen in land allocation in the resettlement area as a part of the compensation. The reintegration or rehabilitation process was not realised as most of the resettlement colonies or land for land allocated was at the remotest of places. P 5 says, "I have no choice; how much rent can I pay to be with my people? I finally decided to construct a house. But, now I am alone. Nobody comes here. There is no transportation facility and this makes me feel socially and mentally isolated".

Displacements move people to the periphery. Thus, they have poor or no access to mainstream society. They are required to go beyond the so-called boundaries to reconstruct their new boundaries through willful integration and adjustment. P 3 mentions, "I know I am alone, so I go to the church and talk with people though they don't know me. In the evening, I need to walk almost for two kilometres before I can meet people and overcome the feeling of being alone".

6.2.5 Social Inclusion / Exclusion

Willful efforts have to be made to relate to the new surroundings. The reciprocity of the trust and exchange of goods are not as smooth anymore. P 7 articulates, "I find no familiar places and feel isolated and at discomfort to ask help from my neighbours who I have never seen". People resettled far away from the land of displacement always crave to enjoy and recollect celebrations of the old places and often participate in the festal and cultural celebrations. P 6 asserts, "At least once a year I visit my previous parish to attend the mass and visit the cemetery where my forefathers are buried".

6.2.6 Apathy of the Administration

The displaced develop apathy for the administration due to the chaos and misinformation passed onto them. P 2 says, "The struggle united us and we were able to survive since we knew each

other". The government used isolating tactics to their own benefit. While they exploited the poor, they influenced the rich by offering them better deals. The division among the community became obvious and evident. "I was at the forefront of the strike against the project, so they dealt with me poorly giving me a poor package and delayed compensation. This alienated me from society" (P.10). Another respondent stated, "The uncertainties about the future during the acquisition really weakened my economic and social strength" (P.8). The uncertain future caused vulnerability among the displaced. The social organisations and CBOs, especially among women were a process of empowerment. The loss of these networking relationships and sudden breakage of bond or networks among the displaced caused stress and weakening or failing of empowerment process. "I was an active member of Kudumbasree and we worked together to venture into new initiatives to support my family financially. But the displacement suddenly broke everything, and I don't know what to do" (P. 5). Settling down in an uncomfortable place without civic amenities and infrastructural facilities are equal to pushing them to borders of exclusion that is undesired, non-confirmed and against a socially acceptable process that the participants never expected. "The project gave no benefit to me. Rather, I saw it pushing me to poverty" (P. 4). "They have done no justice to us rather discriminated and treated as people of not good worth" (P. 6).

6.3 Psychological Marginalisation

6.3.1 Stress and Anxiety of Acquisition

The development projects are perceived as bringing about growth and development in the country. However, displacement also brings grim and sorrow. Rumours on the acquisition of the land prior to even the actual demarcation created panic and stress among people. "I was afraid about whether it would include my house or not. I had constructed a new house spending all my earnings" (P.2). Anxiety and fear of acquisition strained relationships within families as well as among neighbours. Communication patterns were also affected. "Rumours that unexpectedly spread negatively affected our family life and other relationships" (P.3).

As the rumours turned into reality, the displaced were stressed about the future; construction of a house, getting a new job, children's education, neighbouring relationships and so on. "I was really having a sleepless night thinking of the future" (P.6). Another respondent said, "I had to meet the doctor to calm down my stress" (P.8).

6.3.2 Government Attitude, Loss of Self-Respect and Self-Confidence

The approach of the authorities in this regard was also decisive. They treated the displacees as a group of people meant to be evicted without any regard for their life and status. The government applied the land acquisition act to acquire land and decided the price of the land without any regard for life, employment, relationship and lifetime investment of the displaced. The acquisition process initiated by the government marked yet another moment of struggle, tension, chaos and inhuman treatment. Due to the inhuman approach of the authorities, the displacees lost trust in themselves and their fate. Victimising or branding them as people destined to be displaced created a poor self-image that made one of the participants say that "we are people without rights before the government" (P.6).

6.3.3 Psychosomatic Disorders

A feeling of idleness and insecurity affected the mental health of individuals. Symptoms like sleeplessness, poor appetite, sitting idly and so on were reported as being common among the group (P.4 & P.7). They felt that their voices were not being heard by the authority. "I wondered why I would do anything when everything would eventually be acquired by the government without an adequate payment. I stopped cultivation' and I did not go anywhere during those days" (P.3).

Settling down in a new atmosphere and rebuilding the social relationship and cultural practices were difficult for many resettlers. They were unable to find a job, relate with neighbours, and were haunted by old memories. "I was unable to sleep for almost 9 months in my new place. I was mentally disturbed and would never venture out. So, I sold my house and came back to this hometown" (P.9).

6.3.4 Unfamiliarity, Social Exclusion and Mental Health

A sense of social exclusion in the newly settled area experienced as an aftermath of resettlement triggered a drop in mental health status. Due to severe loneliness experienced after resettlement by displaces, the aged especially became physically weaker and mentally depressed. "My neighbour even committed suicide due to severe isolation and depression faced in the resettlement area. He was just 65 and was active in the pre-displaced area and in the newly settled area he was lonely and not able to do anything on his on" (P.9).

6.4 Political Marginalisation

6.4.1 Individual Rights' Violation and Discrimination

The right over land has been disputed while debating on development projects. Property owned and managed by oustees for generations are taken away on the pretext of public use. The use of public purpose over private land was determined on the basis of existing laws and policies of the country. Though the government decides the domain of public purpose, it cannot negate individual rights of human beings assured in the Constitution of India and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). As the project moved on with acquiring land for the project, proper communication and consultation did not take place. An impartial assessment of land value was not carried out. It led to strikes, 'hartals' and struggles for a better deal without regard for political affiliation. "We were treated as people of contempt, not to be respected. This was expressed by the officers both through words and actions in public places" (P.5). Manipulations in fixing the price of the land are evident. Marshy lands were being converted as non-agricultural if they pay the bribe. "I was asked to pay money for a better price for my land but I declined. So, the officer degraded my land into a marshy one and paid less price as compared to my neighbour's land" (P.5).

The land rights of evictees provided as part of compensation cannot be transferred for 25 years (ICTTC). Though it seems good at first, people in need either end up mortgaging in private banks or public banks for any need.

6.4.2 Power Asymmetry and Poor Compensation

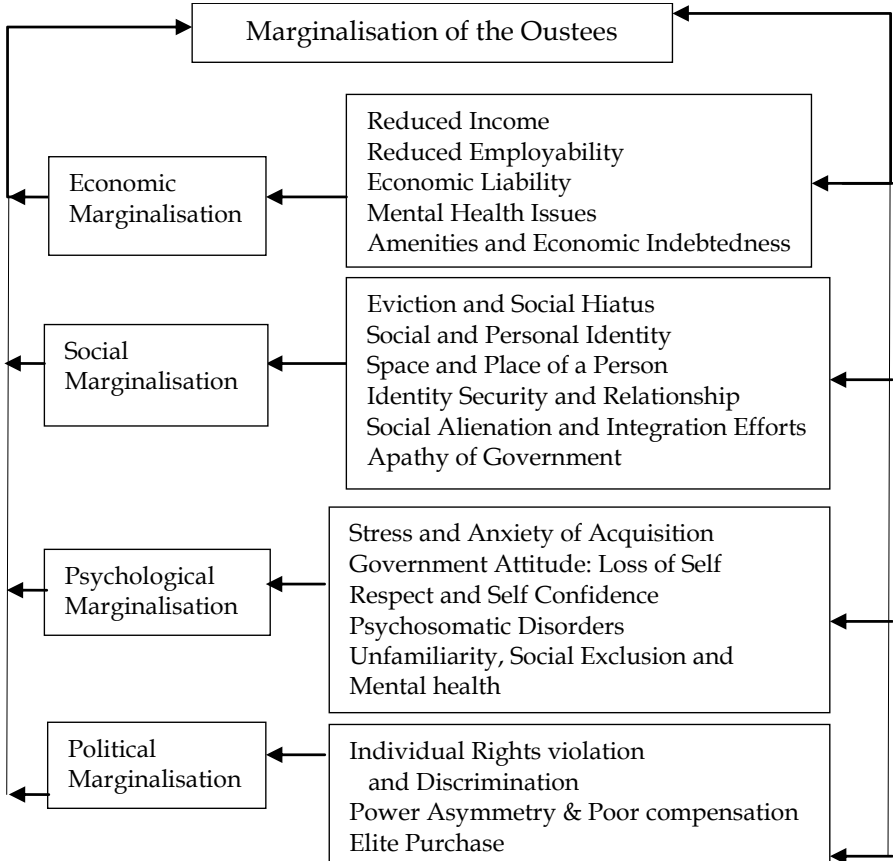
The struggles for the displaced continue. “We had to fight for years to obtain a better package for our loss. We are being brutally punished during our struggle for better package.” (P.9). They are real victims of political and social structures that treat them powerlessly, impersonally and in a dehumanising manner. On the one side, the displaced are alienated from mainstream society but on the other side, the projects are booked with benefits by powerful and socially influenced sectors.

As part of the package, all amenities are supposed to be provided to the displaced in the resettlement colonies (places provided for housing). Unfortunately, since this did not happen, the oustees were forced to go on strikes. “Even weeks after dharnas and strikes, we had to wait to be provided water and electricity.” (P.6). The strikes demanded more participation in the decision-making process. Since projects were always outcome driven, the government conveniently avoided such an interface but rather imposed a state-sponsored exclusion.

6.4.3 Elite Purchase

As the land acquisition happened and evictees struggled to obtain the better package, the influential and economic powers of the community making use of their power purchased the land nearby or adjacent to project. Thus, the project benefit was carried away by a group of elites that occupy non-acquired land in the area. This happens in both projects. Rich and affluent people possessing the land in both project areas influenced project officials to provide more facilities to them than give to the evictees. “After everything, we became the victims and those in power became rich and enjoyed the benefits” (P.3)

Marginalisation Flow Chart of the Study



7. Discussion and Conclusion

Displacement causes several disruptions in the life of the displaced at individual and community levels. Development projects though presume to be landmarks of better living standards; its implementation may not bring the expected results. It negatively impacts the life of the displaced and generates divergent risks to their life. Development projects of Kerala also have displaced individuals, families and communities at large. The number varies as the nature of the projects varies. Various scholars have studied displacement and its effects on oustees and proposed various

models to address them: Entitlement Theory and Capability Approach, Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Framework, Sustainable Livelihood Approach, Asset Based Community Development and Social Framework for Projects. Each model proposed a better side for the project development and implementation without affecting the displaced's life negatively. Considering these frameworks, models or approaches, marginalisation has been focussed on as the thrust area of the study that needs further validation through empirical evidence.

Marginalisation, though considered one of the keys and conflicting interest areas in displacement studies, the displaced are considered as outsiders while others are considered as insiders. This is also expressed in terms of mainstream and marginals, core and periphery, centre and outskirts. Marginalisation is a multidimensional concept in displacement, socially built on space and place and influenced by economic and political factors (powerlessness generated by the application of elite purchase and eminent domain) which affect mental health, economic life, social life and political life of the oustees. In studying development project and displacement in Kerala, the researcher has focussed on CIAL and ICTT for the study which is considered to be a boon to the nation's economy and social advancement. CIAL displaced 819 families and ICTT displaced 316 families respectively and both belonged to the Ernakulam District of Kerala.

As evident from studies, the ousted participants experienced a decrease in income and hike in family and individual expenses. This is added with reduced employability of the oustees as they were unskilled in other jobs that are available in the newly settled area and is corroborated in the studies of De Wet (2001). The study discloses that there is an economic liability for oustees as there is a paucity of income (George & Irudaya, 2017). This triggered their option for poor amenities and facilities including home types and new economic liabilities (Paul, 2013). It caused a downward movement of oustees in the quality of life (Cerena, 2011).

Discussion about social marginalisation of the ousted participants disclosed that the social living is been broken and forced to adapt to new situations. It is been reported that their social and individual identity which was built on reciprocity and trust was

breached. This is also proved by Burton and Kagen (2015). Space and place concept of the oustees changed drastically due to displacement, one of the building blocks to cultural identity that moulded personal and social framework of space, place and time (Tradeu & McMokes, 2011). These generate the relationship of an individual expressed in terms of public and private space and the dichotomy of 'Us' versus 'They', Ousteers and Mainstream (Sibley, 2004). This conflicting nature created social exclusion, alienation, social isolation of the participants due to development paradigm (Shils, 1954; Vanclay, 2017) promoted by the government or bureaucratic apathy or inertia or application of laws that do not favour the poor (LAA, 2015).

Stress and anxiety of participants were expressed as a serious concern in the study. This experience of stress and anxiety commenced prior to the acquisition or displacement as the participants presumed loss of space, place and an uncertain future ahead of them (MoWat, 2015). After relocating, the oustees were regarded as strangers or outsiders and were denied the opportunity to be respected (Walicki, 2017). It is more attached to the experience of personhood that results from social isolation to poor self-image (Fernades, 2000; Colson, 1983). This social exclusion or alienation often led the participants to psychosomatic disorders causing further poor mental health (IDRC, 2017).

The political marginalisation is identified among the participants often as they experienced the denial of rights and discrimination or improper application of laws or manipulation of laws in its application by bureaucracy invoking the term like public purpose or eminent domain (Paul, 2013). It has been even tacitly accepted as marginalisation as the government considered it a 'matter of cause' (LAA, 2015). The discrimination and manipulation of laws or rules often led to Elite purchase that contributed to political marginalisation. In other words, it is the gap identified between the ideal and practice of value sharing or social licensing (Vanclay, 2017).

It further calls for reflections mentioned below:

1. Attempts to make the economics of recovery and livelihood restoration which can advance the prior displaced status

through value sharing, sharing of benefits and sharing of commitment (participatory resettlement action plan). This can facilitate owning up of project and RAP by the government, oustees, and host both at individual and community levels.

2. The strategy needed to be used is an enhancement, restoration and reestablishment that are connected with shared social licenses through a right based approach. It can build individual and collective well-being and social structure clubbed with a mobility option which facilitates to overcome vulnerability through enhancement, reclaiming and reinventing identity that is been lost in displacement. It requires promoting selfhood of oustees through the promotion of autonomy of agency and autonomy of critical ability for psychological well-being.
3. It requires the revisiting (detour) of goals of the development project with economic growth. This can be realised through introspection of the development paradigm for social inclusion and incorporation of structures of social integration. Structures of social integration can cause an improvement of recognition of political power and eradicating elite purchase through social license via the convergence of individualism and collectivism that bridge between haves and have-nots of the community.
4. It demands to recognise various liabilities involved in development projects. This can improve the resilience of the displaced, especially mind-set pointing to competency at individual, social and societal levels (micro, mezzo, exo, macro and chronosystem) that develop self-esteem and self-efficacy. It commences only when there is provision for the realisation of legal rights, traditional rights, human rights and public rights of the oustees.

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