

## A people-centred approach to assessing livelihoods impacts

Ana Maria Esteves

To cite this article: Ana Maria Esteves (2021): A people-centred approach to assessing livelihoods impacts, *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, DOI: [10.1080/14615517.2021.1930833](https://doi.org/10.1080/14615517.2021.1930833)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14615517.2021.1930833>



Published online: 23 Aug 2021.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



## A people-centred approach to assessing livelihoods impacts

Ana Maria Esteves

Community Insights Group, The Netherlands, University of Strathclyde, UK

### ABSTRACT

This paper outlines the 'People's Livelihoods Analysis in Economic Displacement' (PLANNED) framework. It aims to strengthen the knowledge base that informs decisions around avoiding project-induced economic displacement in the project design phase. The PLANNED framework emphasises the need for empathy and respect for human rights. It advocates for adequate timing, resources and capacity to assess impacts on livelihoods and develop livelihood restoration and enhancement measures. It also advocates for collaborative approaches to planning that involve project and lender staff, communities, civil society, and government at early stages. The framework was developed by reflecting on a review of relevant literature and on interviews with practitioners experienced in assessing the impacts created by project-induced physical and economic displacement. The PLANNED framework places the potentially economically-displaced people at the centre of the assessment and appraisal of projects.

### ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 8 December 2020  
Accepted 8 May 2021

### KEYWORDS

Project induced displacement; involuntary resettlement; social impact assessment; livelihood restoration; corporate social responsibility; business and human rights; social performance

### Shifting attention from physical to economic displacement

This paper argues that project developers, impact assessment practitioners, and regulators should make fundamental changes to the way the impacts associated with project-induced economic displacement are considered and addressed. In this paper, I assert that the impact assessment or appraisal of projects that displace people's livelihoods are not empathetic, nor do they respect the human rights or interests of affected peoples. I also suggest that most projects are not in compliance with the expected and often-reported objective: 'to avoid, and when avoidance is not possible, minimize displacement by exploring alternative project designs' (i.e. the International Finance Corporation Performance Standard No. 5 on Land Acquisition and Involuntary Resettlement, IFC 2012a). I offer a framework (the PLANNED Framework) that places the potentially economically-displaced people at the centre of the assessment and appraisal of projects. It is based around six questions that are worded from the perspective of an affected person:

- What sources of food and income will be available to me once I lose access to my current sources?
- How will the wealth and social status of my household change in the new situation?
- How will the host community to which my livelihood activities will be relocated react to me and how will I react to them?

- What will happen if my household cannot meet its daily expenses or food needs?
- How will my household benefit from this project?
- Can I trust the government and project developer to meet their commitments to help me restore my livelihood?

After a brief explanation of what is expected of projects that adhere to international standards, this paper describes what actually happens in practice. This description is structured around five shortcomings in how project-induced economic displacement is typically managed. First, the principle of avoidance rarely features as a decision criterion in the early stages of project design. Second, current practice does not prioritise human rights. Third, inadequate timing, resources and skills are available to assess livelihood impacts or to develop livelihood restoration initiatives. Fourth, collaborative approaches to planning (i.e. involving projects, communities, civil society, and government) are still the exception rather than the rule. Fifth, the current system of impact assessment and project appraisal does not encourage accountability or learning. The playing-out of these five shortcomings mean that most projects are approved without adequate understanding of their potential impacts and without adequate mitigation measures in place. I suggest that a potential solution lies in first addressing the lack of understanding and empathy. Reflecting on interviews with practitioners and on relevant literature, I developed the six questions listed above. These questions should be answered by projects, and the

implications for project design should be carefully considered prior to any investment decision.

## Methodology

The five shortcomings in practice that were outlined above were derived from 28 in-depth interviews conducted in May and June 2019 with senior practitioners who were experienced in project-induced displacement and resettlement and livelihood restoration. The interviewees each had wide experience across a range of sectors and countries, and were working: as safeguards officers in development finance institutions (DFIs); in various government roles; as consultants in the field of impact assessment, resettlement and livelihoods restoration planning; or as implementers of livelihood programs.

Interviewees were selected from my professional network. I sought practitioners with many years of experience in implementing livelihood restoration plans. Interviewees were asked to put themselves 'in the shoes' of the displaced people they have worked with and to identify the main problems with current approaches to addressing livelihood issues in projects. Furthermore, they were also asked to identify examples of 'good practice' from their own perspective, although most found it very hard to answer that.

All interviews were conducted virtually and were between 60 and 90 minutes in length. Interviews were audio-recorded. The recordings were digitally transcribed, and the text was analysed for recurring themes. The themes that emerged from these interviews are outlined in this paper. All quotes have been de-identified and the participants were given assurances of anonymity. This was done to encourage the uninhibited sharing of challenges and lessons learnt. The interviews were done in a manner consistent with ethical social research (Vanclay et al. 2013).

The 6 questions in the framework were also derived from my personal subjective experiences as a practitioner listening to the perspectives of affected people over my career; as well as from a review of the literature on resettlement and livelihoods restoration, relevant international human rights instruments, and existing analytical frameworks and tools.

The thematic analysis led to various interpretations, which could be distilled into six analytical questions. As the resultant framework is intended for practical use, my objective was to provide guidance to project design teams, impact assessment practitioners, and lenders on how they can seek answers to these 6 questions. To meet this objective, I reviewed the literature on: relevant human rights instruments that provide justification for each question; established frameworks and tools that can be drawn on to answer each question; and possible indicators to give assurance that the question has been considered and

addressed and to establish a baseline and enable monitoring over time. The key literature included:

- Social impacts and human rights issues associated with physical and economic displacement: notably, there is little literature that considers economic displacement as a standalone topic, most considerations are infused in an analysis of physical displacement (also referred to as involuntary resettlement) and even positioned as secondary or peripheral to this. The literature reviewed for this research included: Cernea 1997, 2003; Cernea and Mathur 2007; Downing 2002; Downing and Garcia-Downing 2009; Fan et al. 2015; Hanna et al. 2016; Hay et al. 2019; Housing and Land Rights Network Habitat International Coalition 2010; ICMM 2016; Kemp and Owen 2013; Kemp and Vanclay 2013; Lillywhite. et al. 2015; Liu 2015, 2016; Mathur 2011; McDowell 2002; Perera 2014; Price 2009; Reddy et al. 2015; Scudder 2005, 2011; Smyth et al. 2015; Tagliarino 2016; Van Der Ploeg and Vanclay 2017, 2018; Vanclay 2002, 2017; Vanclay and Hanna 2019; Vanclay and Kemp 2013; United Nations 2007a; UNHABITAT and UNHCHR 2014; Wilmsen et al. 2011; World Bank 2014; Yan et al. 2018.)
- Human rights instruments relevant to these impacts: these are detailed in the framework and originate in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (United Nations 1948); United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (United Nations 2007b); International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (United Nations 1966a); International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (United Nations 1966b); and United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGP) (United Nations 2011).
- Frameworks, tools and useful concepts that exist to help practitioners in assessing and mitigating livelihoods impacts: these are abundant, see for example: Bebbington 1999; Brocklesby and Fisher 2003; CARE 2002; Carney et al. 1999; Chambers and Conway 1992; De Haan and Zoomers 2005; Esteves and Vanclay 2009; Esteves et al. 2017; FAO and ILO 2009; FAO 2012; Food Economy Group and Save the Children 2008; Giovannetti 2009; Haidar 2009; Hasan 2006; Holmes et al. 2013; IFC 2012c, 2019; ILO 2009; Kabra 2016; Krantz 2001; Kretzman and McKnight 1993; Lindenberg 2002; Moffat and Zhang 2014; Moser 1998; Moser and Dani 2008; Scoones 1998; Slater et al. 2013; Solar and Irwin 2010; Smyth and Vanclay 2017; Thomson and Boutilier 2011; World Bank's Ease of Doing Business (<https://www.doingbusiness.org/>); World Bank's Living Standards

Measurement Study (<https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/lms>); World Food Programme Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis 2009.

### What are the standards for practice?

Most projects desiring to adhere to 'international standards' for addressing economic displacement use the World Bank's private sector financing unit, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) as a benchmark. This is partly attributable to the Equator Principles (<https://equator-principles.com/>), a risk management framework for the finance industry that is aimed at determining, assessing and managing environmental and social risks. The Equator Principles have been in place since 2003 and, at the time of writing, 111 banks are signatories, representing the majority of international project finance debt within developed and emerging markets. For projects located in countries that are not members of the OECD nor on the World Bank High Income Country list, the assessment process evaluates compliance using the IFC Performance Standards on Environmental and Social Sustainability. For remaining countries, the Equator Principles assessment process only requires compliance with host country laws, since these are considered sufficient.

The IFC has eight Performance Standards (PS), and displacement is dealt with in PS5, Land Acquisition and Involuntary Resettlement (IFC 2012a p.18). PS5 refers 'both to physical displacement (relocation or loss of shelter) and to economic displacement (loss of assets or access to assets that leads to loss of income sources or other means of livelihood) as a result of project-related land acquisition and/or restrictions on land use'. In instances where a project anticipates economic displacement of people, projects are required to meet the following objectives (IFC 2012a p.18): 'To avoid or at least minimize involuntary resettlement wherever feasible by exploring alternative project designs; To mitigate adverse social and economic impacts from land acquisition or restrictions on affected persons' use of land by: (i) providing compensation for loss of assets at replacement cost; and (ii) ensuring that resettlement activities are implemented with appropriate disclosure of information, consultation, and the informed participation of those affected; To improve or at least restore the livelihoods and standards of living of displaced persons; To improve living conditions among displaced persons through provision of adequate housing with security of tenure at resettlement sites.'

This clearly demonstrates that adherence to international standards means that the principle of avoidance, which is based on the precautionary principle, applies not only to physical displacement, but also to economic displacement. In instances where avoidance

is not possible, IFC PS5 (IFC 2012b) stipulates requirements for compensation of economic losses and recommended measures to support restoration of livelihoods. Table 1 provides a summary of these measures.

The requirements are also reflected in the more recent standards applicable for government borrowers of World Bank loans. The 2019 Environmental and Social Framework Guidance Note 5 Land-Acquisition, Restrictions on Land Use and Involuntary Resettlement (ESS5) (World Bank 2019) also has avoidance and exploration of project design alternatives. Where displacement cannot be avoided, it states that (GN12.1 p.9) '*compensation alone is not sufficient to restore or improve the livelihoods and social welfare of displaced households and communities.*' A livelihood is defined as (p. 1) '*the full range of means that individuals, families, and communities utilize to make a living, such as wage-based income, agriculture, fishing, foraging, other natural resource-based livelihoods, petty trade, and bartering.*'

*"Economically displaced persons will be provided opportunities to improve, or at least restore, their means of income-earning capacity, production levels, and standards of living:*

- (a) *For persons whose livelihoods are land-based, replacement land that has a combination of productive potential, locational advantages, and other factors at least equivalent to that being lost will be offered where feasible;*
- (b) *For persons whose livelihoods are natural resource-based and where project-related restrictions on access [...] apply, measures will be implemented to either allow continued access to affected resources or to provide access to alternative resources with equivalent livelihood-earning potential and accessibility. Where common property resources are affected, benefits and compensation associated with restrictions on natural resource usage may be collective in nature; and*
- (c) *If it is demonstrated that replacement land or resources are unavailable, the Borrower will offer economically displaced persons options for alternative income earning opportunities, such as credit facilities, skills training, business start-up assistance, employment opportunities, or cash assistance additional to compensation for assets. Cash assistance alone, however, frequently fails to provide affected persons with the productive means or skills to restore livelihoods."*

(World Bank ESS5 requirement no. 35 p. 59)

There are other international requirements that are relevant to considering displacement as a factor in a go/no-go decision and are based in human rights instruments. For example, the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement prohibit arbitrary displacement for development unless it has 'compelling and overriding public interest' (United Nations 2004 Principle 6 2(c)). Consent to relocation is inferred from international

**Table 1.** Summary of IFC PS5 recommendations for economic displacement.

Type of livelihood	Compensation for losses	Examples of measures to assist with livelihoods restoration
Land-based: Households with recognised land rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Replacement land with productive potential, locational advantages, and other factors at least equivalent to that being lost</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assistance in acquiring or accessing replacement land, including access to grazing land, fallow land, forest, fuel and water resources</li> </ul>
Land-based: Households without recognised land rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Compensation for lost assets and any structures on land</li> <li>• Targeted assistance and transitional support – depending on whether livelihood is land-based, wage-based, or enterprise-based</li> <li>• Here, land-based compensation does not necessarily mean title to land, but may include continued access to land under similar tenure arrangements to enable maintaining land-based livelihoods</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Physical preparation of farmland (e.g., clearing, levelling, access routes and soil stabilization)</li> <li>• Fencing for pasture or cropland</li> <li>• Agricultural inputs (e.g. seeds, seedlings, fertilizer, irrigation)</li> <li>• Veterinary care</li> <li>• Small-scale credit, including rice banks, cattle banks and cash loans</li> </ul>
Land-based: Households and communities utilizing common property resources e.g. rangeland, pasture, fallow land, NTFR (medicinal plants, construction, handicraft materials), woodlots for timber, fuelwood, riverine fishing grounds	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Land-based compensation in the form of suitable replacement land, or access to other areas of natural resources that will offset loss of such resources to a community</li> <li>• Assistance to enhance productivity of remaining resources to which the community has access (e.g., improved resource management practices or inputs to boost productivity of the resource base)</li> <li>• In-kind or cash compensation for loss of access or access to alternative sources of the lost resource</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to markets (e.g., through transportation means and improved access to information about market opportunities)</li> </ul>
Wage-based	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wage earners whose income is interrupted during physical displacement should receive a resettlement allowance that covers these and other hidden costs</li> <li>• Affected women and men should be given equal opportunities to benefit</li> <li>• Careful consideration to ability of wage earners to continue to access place(s) of work during and after resettlement; alternatively, mitigation measures to be implemented to ensure continuity and avoid net loss in welfare for affected households and communities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Skills training</li> <li>• Job placement</li> <li>• Provisions in contracts with project subcontractors for temporary or longer-term employment of local workers</li> <li>• Small-scale credit to finance start-up enterprises</li> </ul>
Enterprise-based	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Compensation to business owner for: cost of re-establishing commercial activities elsewhere</li> <li>• Lost net income during period of transition</li> <li>• Costs of transfer and reinstallation of the plant, machinery, or other equipment</li> <li>• Assistance to employees to compensate for temporary loss of employment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Credit</li> <li>• Training to expand their business and generate local employment</li> <li>• Procuring goods and services for project from local suppliers</li> </ul>

human rights law, in particular the right to freedom of movement, in two key documents on displacement: the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, 2004 (Principle 7) and the United Nations Guidelines on Development-Based Evictions and Displacement, 2007 (para 56 (e)). In addition, the right to free, prior informed consent (FPIC) for relocation (which would not exclude economic displacement) is explicitly required for indigenous peoples (eg. United Nations 2007b). Lack of consent provides a clear no-go decision point.

'Enhancement' of livelihoods is justified as a human right. Article 1 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) states: 'All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.' Article 11 sets a right to 'continuous improvement in living conditions'. In the Declaration on the Right to Development (Resolution 41/1,281,986), the General Assembly recognized development as a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process aimed at the constant

improvement of the well-being of all individuals and peoples, on the basis of their participation in development and in the fair distribution of its benefits. The Sustainable Development Goals require ending poverty (SDG 1), reduced inequality (10) as well as decent work and sustained economic growth (SDG 8). Taking this perspective, it is insufficient simply to restore people displaced by development to a prior situation of poverty, non-sustainability and/or vulnerability. The PLANNED framework addresses this right to livelihoods enhancement through the question: How will my household benefit from this project?

There is some discussion in the literature regarding how the lender requirements do not go far enough from a human rights perspective. For example, Van Der Ploeg and Vanclay (2017) point out that IFC Guidance Note 5 (IFC 2012b) positions livelihood restoration as an 'encouragement' or 'aim', rather than positioning livelihoods enhancement as an essential minimum standard to be complied with. Project developers seeking to respect and fulfil human rights in accordance with the United Nations Guiding Principles for Business

and Human Rights (UNGP) need to be aware of the gaps between the lender standards described above and international human rights instruments. Also, inadequate attention is given in lender standards to the timeframes and resources that are required to respect the rights to information, participation and remedy (Kemp and Owen 2013; Van Der Ploeg and Vanclay 2017):

- The right to information requires that affected people must have sufficient time to process the information, the information must be inclusive and understandable by all groups including the vulnerable, and affected people need to have access to independent advice;
- The right of impacted people to participate in decision-making consistent with the principle of equality and non-discrimination, with adequate attention to the needs of vulnerable groups, requires, from a human rights perspective, 'active, free and meaningful' participation as established in the United Nations Declaration on the Right to Development under Article 2 (United Nations 1986; United Nations 2007a). Further, that participation is inclusive, requiring that all people, including women, the elderly, youth and the disabled, be encouraged to be involved (Stamford Agreement 2003);
- The right to remedy requires certain minimum standards for grievance redress mechanisms. While the IFC PS5 (IFC 2012a) and Guidance Note 5 (IFC 2012b) require that grievance mechanisms be established early in a resettlement process in order to capture and address issues in a timely manner, there is no reference to the UNGP's criteria for effective grievance mechanisms.

There has also been discussion around the absence of clear case that considering economic displacement under the umbrella of the IFC and World Bank resettlement policies provides a sufficient safeguard for livelihoods (Cernea and Maldonado 2018). While the term 'involuntary resettlement' is defined in these policies as including both physical and economic resettlement, which may be experienced separately or together, years of implementation suggests that more stringent livelihood safeguards may be required. This was already pointed out in the Asian Development Bank's 1998 Handbook on Resettlement: 'Income restoration is an important component of resettlement where affected peoples have lost their productive base, businesses, jobs or other income sources, regardless of whether they have also lost their houses.' (Asian Development Bank 1998). This begs the question of why long-

term efforts to address livelihoods have not succeeded to date.

### **The five shortcomings of current practice**

This section summarises practitioners' views under each of the five themes that emerged from the interviews. As mentioned previously, the themes are framed as shortcomings: (1) the principle of avoidance of economic displacement rarely features as a decision criterion in the early stages of project design; (2) current dominant practice does not prioritise human rights; (3) inadequate timing, resources and skills are available to assess livelihood impacts or develop livelihood restoration initiatives; (4) collaborative approaches to planning (i.e. involving projects, communities, civil society, and government) are still the exception rather than the rule; and (5) the current system of impact assessment and project appraisal does not foster accountability or learning. This fifth shortcoming is illustrated by nine problems that practitioners see frequently repeated.

#### ***The principle of avoidance of economic displacement rarely features as a decision criterion in early stages of project design***

*"Approaches to livelihood restoration are extra activities outside the project, and most times are not included in the project design concept and implementation."*

All practitioners interviewed expressed that it is rare to see at the options analysis or project design phases a robust consideration of potential displacement-induced impacts. Even more rare are instances of where data is being collected with the purpose of predicting the likelihood of potentially displaced people being able to restore their livelihoods (and the timeframes involved) and this data being used to inform a decision of whether the project should go forward or not. At the same time, it was deemed no easy task to predict whether or not viable livelihood opportunities would exist post-displacement and to be confident enough to use the prediction to influence project design and the go/no go decision.

#### ***Current practice does not prioritise human rights***

*"There is a lack of empathy and respect for human rights. Displaced persons are resettled in areas lacking basic social services and farms located very far from their new homes."*

*"We need to bring development workers into the safeguard domain – [resettlement] is too mechanical, too much about compensation."*

*"Safeguard professionals typically look for quick fixes. Development professionals have the time and skills to appreciate that it can take 3-4 years for things to crystallise."*

Practitioners identified a clash of perspectives and approaches amongst project team members and their advisors in dealing with economic displacement. A duality was noted amongst individuals who have a rights-based and social development orientation vs those who see livelihood restoration merely as 'compensation add-on'. In other words, the primary objective with the latter is to compensate people for losses of their assets with implementing programs that support livelihoods restoration as secondary. The former perspective, which prioritises people's rights and participatory process, was observed by interviewees as less prominent amongst lenders, borrowers and government partners, and more prominent amongst consultants and implementers. This is seen to lead to mismatched expectations on a project between decision-makers/funders and advisors/implementers on the time required to plan and manage livelihoods restoration.

### ***Inadequate timing, resources and skills are applied to assessing livelihoods impacts and developing livelihood restoration mitigations***

*"We learn by doing a lot of mistakes. This is like a physical doctor trying to do some intervention on people by experimenting. And we're experimenting with people's food security."*

*"We know that someone may be losing some land or some activity, but really understanding the details of that impact on someone's livelihood strategy is very challenging. Usually there is not enough time to do it, or enough resources to do a very detailed household-level livelihood study."*

*"Livelihoods restoration programs tend to fail when social experts are not adequately involved in their design."*

A consequence of livelihoods restoration not being given priority in early project preparation stage, noted by interviewees, is that adequate resources are not being made available to design and implement livelihood restoration commitments. Similarly, a consequence of the tension between practitioner perspectives described previously (and identified as one of the aspects contributing to failure) is projects employing consultancies for only short periods (e.g. six months) to develop a Livelihood Restoration Plan (LRP). The 'rights and development-orientation' practitioners interviewed appreciated that effective planning takes much longer than this, requiring time for:

Community engagement, in order to understand the community dynamics that influence

a household's livelihood strategies, how people access specific resources for their livelihood and how this access is location-dependent;

Community engagement, in order to understand the community dynamics that influence a household's livelihood strategies, how people access specific resources for their livelihood and how this access is location-dependent;

Use of local knowledge and local staff who engage with potentially displaced people, to identify opportunities and to understand economic linkages between households, exchange relationships within the community for the purpose of labour and food supply, and how people engage in commodity and labour markets; and

Efforts to retain existing livelihoods ecosystems and resources and knowledge systems post-displacement.

*"What's happening is you can go online and you can find guidance on how to do just about anything but that creates the impression that a lot of this can be sort of pulled off the shelf, plug-and-play."*

Skills gaps in performing impact assessment and practical livelihoods restoration implementation tasks emerged, evidenced in the questions listed below. This is particularly concerning considering that these questions were mentioned by highly experienced practitioners as tasks they still struggle with.

- How to define whose livelihoods will be impacted and whose who won't be? Simplistic definitions based on distinguishing between 'directly vs indirectly' impacted people, dominant in impact assessment practice are seen as flawed by social development experts that apply a value chain perspective. There could be people at risk who participate further up or down the value chain of the economic activity being displaced but who have less capacity to recover quickly than the individual performing the affected economic activity. These people would not be typically considered as project-affected people, nor eligible for livelihoods restoration support.
- How to define the loss of a livelihood?
- How to define the key individuals or groups within affected communities that will help the project identify and work with local people and knowledge systems?
- What is the livelihoods 'ecosystem' surrounding displaced people, as well as the host community that receives them? Such an ecosystem includes, for example, social norms and values in relation to livelihoods, gender division of labour, social networks, business associates, customers, transport, accommodation and food.

- What is the natural carrying capacity of the land to be used by affected people post-displacement?
- How can productive activities post-displacement aimed at income generation be linked to market demands, so as not to lead to over-supply and a decrease in selling prices?
- If community-based natural resources management is being encouraged as a livelihood activity post-displacement, what is the most appropriate model for the social context?
- How to identify and work with local structures to take on the long-term management of livelihoods restoration?
- How to understand the social norms and values of both displaced and host communities that influence livelihoods opportunities?
- When to propose local procurement or employment linked to the project as livelihoods restoration options?
- How to recognise the most powerful in communities that will try to 'grab' opportunities, and to ensure the people in need have access to opportunities rather than those who are more powerful?
- Is the project-level grievance mechanism appropriate for the needs of displaced people?

There was a general sense, however, that more assessment tools is not what is needed to answer these vexing questions, instead, greater use of existing tools to gain a deeper understanding of people being displaced.

*"You can't simply come in with 10 different programs that worked well elsewhere. You really need to start with understanding. The idea that some sort of socio-economic baseline study is going to be adequate: this is just the very beginning. It's about getting out, having face-to-face time and developing an understanding of where people are coming from. There's a reluctance to have real information about people's values and goals and hopes for the future. This doesn't come through the process of just conducting a survey, there's a lot more to it than that."*

*"You have to work with what you have. The activities that you need to identify are those that should function in the ecosystem in which they exist. If there is no electricity and if I am thinking of an activity which requires electricity then that is a fault."*

### **Collaborative approaches are still the exception than the rule**

*"We're trying to move from a company-centric model, in which the company decides, to a more collaborative partnership model in which the company comes out of the centre of attention and becomes part of the stakeholders. And in the centre,*

*you have a common objective. The common objective is sustainable development and we're trying to move away as much as we can from that centre and become part of that collaborative process in which the communities have roles and responsibilities as well. And where we can interact better with a local and regional government and also the federal government and reach other institutions that might support or help the work that we're doing."*

*"There is a whole system in which they are part of. I would say that perhaps our biggest mistake was to be in the centre of the system and raising their expectations but if we were to be alongside with them and with other stakeholders around them, we all share responsibilities and we were all working together."*

Some observations were offered by interviewees who had learnt difficult lessons from being part of projects that tried taking the lead on livelihoods restoration efforts (as observed in the two quotes above). In their view, good practice involves actively putting in measures to transition from project-led livelihoods restoration programs to community-led development aimed at improving living conditions over a longer time horizon.

*"Sustainable livelihoods requires that projects build a bridge to a new community development horizon – from project-driven community development to community-driven community development. Getting over the bridge also requires changing the drivers: moving the proponent out of the driver's seat and the local governments from the back seat to the driver's seat."*

Effective transitioning was described as supporting local development planning processes that use the existing local governance 'fabric'. Without committing adequate skills and resources and time, the transitioning may create more harm than good. Practitioners were aware of many examples of failed projects handed over to communities that have been designed poorly, where community governance structures received grants with no technical assistance, have been subject to political influence and inefficiently run.

*"The question is whether this is an environment where [displaced] people can latch onto. So, the project needs to work with the community in a participatory way to work this out."*

Successful community-led projects were characterized as those that integrate a solid support system, training, ongoing technical assistance over a substantial period of time, careful monitoring and flexibility to adapt. Transitioning, therefore, means it may be necessary for project developers to include a medium-term development plan as part of the actions to close-out the LRP. One interviewee suggested that the community-identified projects to be supported by the development



plan could be funded by a mandated benefit-sharing mechanism for the project operations phase. An example of such a mechanism is a percent of project income dedicated to local development within the project area of influence (e.g. for productive activities, enhancing infrastructure and supporting local development groups).

*“Close-out of LRP obligations does not mean walking away.”*

*“You can train people, but it is a risk that they won’t land on their feet. The problem with most countries is they don’t really have social safety nets to help these people. So during the life of the project we might be able to open a kind of community centre where people can come if they try something and it doesn’t work out and they need to be steered in another direction. But that’s often only for the life of the project. It’s not always a guarantee that institution will always be there for them.”*

Collaborative ways of working take effort and long-term commitment. This is seen in some of the measures that practitioners suggested that project lenders could be putting in place in order to mitigate some of the risks out of their client’s control:

- Education and persuasion at the highest levels in government, and long-term policy influence towards good governance in land use and industrial development planning and management;
- Applying leverage to integrate livelihood restoration into expropriation law or any legal requirements, and build governments’ capacity to pass good laws based on lessons learned;
- Putting in a contingency fund to deal with delays in compensation payment to affected people when these are made by government;
- Including and enforcing a standard provision in the Development Grant Agreement that requests the government to prepare a Transition Plan for a defined period before the close of the project, that articulates transfer of decision-making responsibility to the local governments, and government funding allocated to it before closure; and
- Requiring external, independent arms-length peer reviewers for design and monitoring of livelihood restoration.

*“It took 12 frameworks of cooperation between Ministries because on some issues they were just fighting each other ... If a framework is well established with sharing of decisions, which is very clear, you can really do something better.”*

### ***The current ‘system’ of impact assessment and project appraisal fosters repetition of the same mistakes, lack of accountability and learning***

Interviewees expressed frustration in seeing the same mistakes being repeated over and over again, which suggests a lack of learning in the system and continuous improvement. Nine frequently occurring problems were identified, which are elaborated further below:

- (a) Host communities are often not prepared for, or involved in, receiving displaced persons
- (b) Displaced people are still often treated as a homogeneous group
- (c) Cash compensation for losses is still conflated with cash payments to restore income streams
- (d) The trauma of displacement is still largely ignored
- (e) Programs are designed based on fallacious assumptions that training and equipment and credit is all that is needed for people to change their means of livelihood
- (f) People are still displaced without security of land tenure rights
- (g) The importance of social networks to livelihoods is still under-estimated
- (h) Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) of the LRP is rarely used for adaptive management
- (i) There is a lack of clarity about what projects should be accountable for

### ***Host communities are often not prepared for, or involved in, receiving displaced persons***

*“Whereas [displaced community] were seen as The Unlucky Ones for being impacted, now that’s reversed [in the host community] and the real risk is that it actually becomes divisive.”*

Conflicts between displaced people and the host (or receiving) community over land and other resources essential for livelihoods restoration are observed to happen for a number of reasons:

- Host communities feeling forced to take on displaced people;
- Unrealistic expectations about the presence and availability of arable and irrigable land to provide land replacement to displaced people;
- Failure of local governments to ascertain the rightful owners of land to be acquired for displaced persons;
- Failure to adequately compensate landowners in time for land intended for displaced owners;
- Host communities wanting to assume benefits intended for displaced people;
- Displaced people being perceived as encroachers rather than legitimate rightsholders; and/or

- Displaced people being seen as in a much better position – due to their access to livelihood restoration programs – than the host community.

### **Displaced people are still often treated as a homogeneous group**

*“Who are you as a person? What were you doing before? What skills do you have? What ambitions do you have? What kind of support would you like? Does [the displaced person] want to be treated like somebody who has no capacity or somebody who is empowered or has knowledge? It’s the perspective, right? There isn’t really an understanding of even the basics: what do they do; the women, the men, what skills do they have; what would be good opportunity.”*

It was pointed out that understanding differences amongst displaced people is essential in order to have a sense of the period that will be required for livelihood restoration. The amount of time varies widely within a household, depending on, for example, people’s age, how they are affected, whether their social networks have been destroyed, and how resilient they are

Practitioners interviewed indicated that it is rare to find tailored solutions for livelihoods restoration at the household-level and that consider gendered roles within the household. Further, failure to adequately plan for vulnerable persons (e.g. the elderly, persons living with disability and terminally ill) is still frequent.

### **Cash assistance to restore income streams is provided in conditions that make it ineffective**

*“Very quickly it gets spent and then they’re stuck. If you have a bunch of people to whom you give a ton of cash and then they spend it all very quickly, they still live outside your gate, only now, they’re destitute and angry with you.”*

Practitioners recognize the potential negative consequences associated with providing cash assistance as a measure to support livelihoods restoration. Nonetheless, they noted that there are good reasons explaining why cash is still often being provided (other than it is simply easier to implement):

- Lack of an evidence base to incentivize change. It is widely accepted that cash payments for lower-income people leads to impoverishment, however there is lack of data to demonstrate this under any reasonable doubt and therefore prompt decision-makers to change;
- Livelihood restoration requires coordination within ministries, departments and agencies that tend to operate in silos. This coordination often leads to confusion, delay and duplication of work; and
- Displaced people prefer cash as they distrust the system responsible for ongoing livelihoods

restoration support, and fear that the support could be captured by elites.

### **The trauma of displacement is still largely ignored**

*“In that process of a team of social workers going household by household, we started to understand that people were still working with the emotional upheaval that came from the physical and economic displacement and as a result of that were unable to participate in these livelihood programs.”*

Practitioners saw little attention being given to the emotional needs of affected people. The effectiveness of livelihoods restoration efforts is seen to be influenced by how people respond to the emotional impact of the displacement which affects their willingness and capacity to participate in upskilling programs.

### **Programs are still designed based on fallacious assumptions that training and equipment and credit is all that is needed for people to change their means of livelihood.**

*“In some cases people have been doing this [subsistence agricultural practice] for literally a thousand years. So this is very much part of their oral tradition and you’re asking them to completely change the way they think.”*

*“One of the biggest challenges is when you switch from rain-fed agriculture to irrigated agriculture. It means that each person is going to get less land than they had before but ideally it’s going to be more productive. But it also means that they will not have the kind of agriculture that they do.”*

‘Alternative livelihoods’ is often recommended by impact assessment and livelihoods restoration planning practitioners as a solution for people who have lived off the land or water for generations and will no longer be able to continue to do so after the project is built. The apparent lightness with which such recommendations are made is a source of frustration for interviewees, who appreciate the difficulties involved in people changing from, e.g., a subsistence-based to a market-based livelihood.

*“The entire perspective [of a market system] is different. The interactions are different and the mindset is different, so are the transactions and the ability to either control them or to navigate them.”*

### **People are still displaced without security of land tenure rights.**

*“We realized pretty early that we would probably find more replacement land available over time than we would find immediately. So what we’ve arranged with the communities through the consultation and eventually an agreement with them is that we will make the compensation payments over a period of five years and each payment will be equal to the other.”*

*Then if after the first year, second year, etc., we find replacement land, we simply deduct the value of the replacement land from any outstanding compensation payments. And so that enables us to continue looking for replacement land for people who haven't yet received all of their compensation. In the agreement, they're not really allowed to opt out of the land replacement."*

The problem of finding replacement land for displaced people persists in many projects. This is often a reason cited by projects for not providing secure tenure for land essential to restore land-based livelihoods by the time the project has received the necessary permits to commence development. As the comment above shows, with project commitment and community involvement, it can be possible to find creative solutions within such constraints.

### ***The importance of social networks to livelihoods is still under-estimated.***

*"People don't have a cousin, friend or neighbor that can help them."*

Practitioners recognize that lower income people establish interdependencies with kinship or family ties that are essential to their survival. While international standards require projects to restore social capital and maintain community networks, in practice this is seen as difficult or even impossible to achieve. The lack of well-established measures of social capital is also seen to exacerbate the difficulty in planning for such restoration.

### ***M&E of the LRP is rarely used for adaptive management.***

*"[There is] poor monitoring and evaluation of these programs. Some beneficiaries have ended up selling iron sheets, constructed houses and animals that were intended to improve their livelihoods."*

*"Success is measured in two separate categories. One is you're measuring against the quality of life that people had before this started and whether or not they're getting to the point, or exceeding the point, where they're living reasonably well. And then the other is how this translates into the smooth development and operation of the project. I think it's that second category that seems to resonate [with projects]. If we can measure that to an extent (not always easy), that it's somewhat demonstrable that we're achieving that, I think they find that fairly compelling."*

The dominant approach to M&E of LRPs, of taking mid-term and close-out snapshots in time of the livelihood situation of displaced people, is not perceived as sufficient in providing the information required for adaptive management. Using M&E for dynamic, adaptive management is seen as requiring a commitment to engage with displaced people more frequently. Better practice was described

as involving a pre-displacement baseline and an endline of living standards and measurements of how these have evolved over a period of approximately five years, including during and after livelihood restoration project implementation and at one-year intervals.

As a basic minimum, the aspect considered most important to be monitored is the economic wellbeing of the household unit: Are people better off or worse off considering income, employment, source of employment, expenditures, and availability of what is needed in order to maintain a basic livelihood (such as transport).

It was also noted that lenders advocating for international standards show reluctance to commit to supervision of a project beyond the loan disbursement period. The prolonged periods typically required for livelihoods restoration requires longer term monitoring.

### ***Lack of clarity on what precisely projects should be held accountable for***

*"I find that people feel like it's still a bit of a tick-box exercise so they can turn back to an auditor and say 'see, I followed the guidance, look at what I did' and we still have programs that don't reflect the local history, local practices, local traditional economies."*

Lenders and consultants promoting international standards are seen as often sending mixed messages to clients. Much confusion is apparent over how 'sustainable livelihoods' and 'restoration' is defined. For example, it is not always clear if the requirement under IFC PS5 is for displaced people to have: access to a basis for people to sustain their livelihoods in the future; livelihoods that are sustainable; or livelihoods that are restored back to baseline conditions (even if these are unsustainable).

Adding to the ambiguity in what projects should be held accountable for is that livelihoods restoration efforts encounter many risks over the life of a project that influence success and are difficult for a project to control. Some examples mentioned include: climate change (e.g. prolonged droughts and floods or disaster risk areas); fluctuations in commodity prices affecting market-based activities; political risks; internal displacement caused by insecurity; land conflicts; threat of diseases such as Ebola; threat of terrorism and influx of refugees competing for resources with host communities; exploitative behaviors of 'entrepreneurial' individuals in leadership positions; delays in payment of compensation for lost assets in instances where resettlement has been led by government; and displaced persons ending up in unfavorable sites selected by local governments.

**Discussion: What should be done differently?**

*“Failure in terms of livelihoods restoration can very easily backfire with local populations who are not only unsatisfied but find themselves struggling to get by while living next door to a project that appears to be spending a lot of money being rather comfortable. So it’s not that hard these days to make the argument that sub-standard practices just don’t fly.”*

The remainder of this paper offers my interpretation of practitioners’ views on the poor performance they saw in the application of international standards to project-induced economic displacement, and a possible response in terms of practice change.

One could interpret that either the standards are overly simplistic and are not commensurate with the gravity of displacement-induced impacts, or they are simply not enforced, or a combination of these reasons. Another interpretation is that the obligations imposed on projects should be more specific, and linked to practices and conditions that are within the project’s control, such as obligations to:

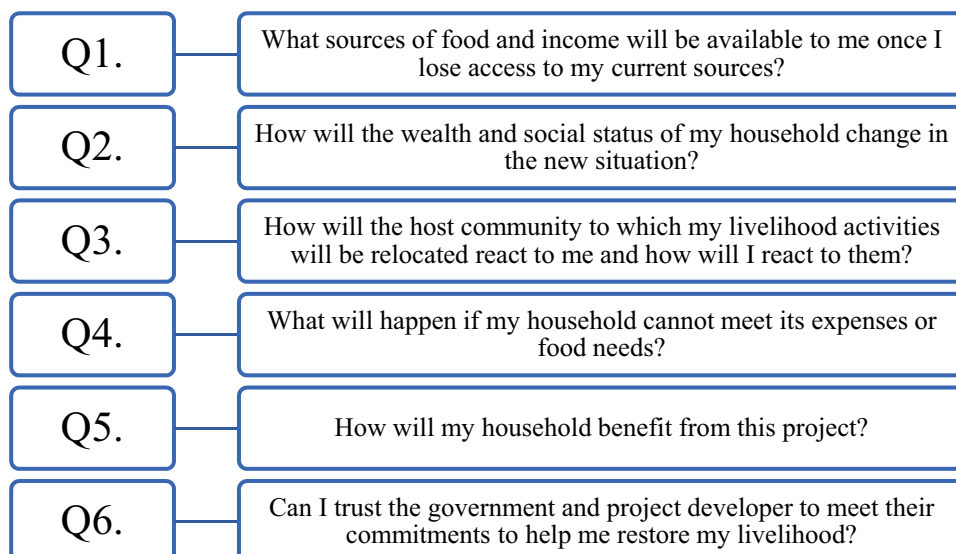
- Provide the evidence base by which decisions were made to avoid economic displacement in the project’s design;
- Collect data to compare pre- and post-project living standards and manage adaptively;
- Ensure livelihood restoration has been properly costed, with adequate timeframes assigned, at project initiation;
- Support initiatives that strengthen local government and civil society in their role in citizen engagement to hold local governments accountable;
- Demonstrate measures in management plans to avoid the problems mentioned earlier in this document; and

- Demonstrate commitment to people’s wellbeing and respect for their rights through the resources allocated to community relations.

*“You have to think about it at the earliest stage, at the moment that you are thinking about moving people, you have to think first of livelihood restoration.”*

Improvements to the existing international standards, their enforcement and design of specific obligations are all valuable avenues for further inquiry and deliberation, however these are beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, I wish to pull on a singular thread that emerged from the interviews, namely, the pervasive lack of understanding of economic displacement impacts and empathy in address these in the early stages of design of projects. To assist with building this understanding, I propose the set of six questions provided in the Introduction to this paper. These questions could be answered by the project (and its lenders) prior to finalizing the design that is to be submitted for impact assessment for regulatory permitting processes. The questions are centred on the rights and interests of economically displaced people.

It is worth noting that I have avoided the question of how lost assets are to be compensated. This was deliberate, for three reasons. First, the adequacy of compensation for losses is implicitly captured in the six higher-order questions in the framework. Second, the starting point for the framework was recognition that ‘something wasn’t working’ with the way economic displacement was currently being addressed. The typical questions of whether enough compensation has been paid or not, or what form compensation should take (e.g. cash or replacement land or some other in-kind form) are simply insufficient to address the complicated issues that arise from economic displacement. Third, there is already a body of literature



**Figure 1.** Six questions that comprise the People’s Livelihoods Analysis in Economic Displacement (PLANNED) framework.

**Table 2.** Detailed elaboration of the People's Livelihoods Analysis in Economic Displacement (PLANNED)

<p>Q1. What sources of food and income will be available to me once I lose access to my current sources?</p>	<p><b>Analytical questions for practitioners to consider in order to answer this question:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Will the land and assets that households possess post-displacement and the amount of common property they anticipate using (inclusive of any compensation received for losses) be adequate to sustain an improvement in their living standards?</li> <li>Will displaced people – women and men – have the ability to secure rights over land and land use?</li> <li>Can displaced people predict what will be their household's portfolio of livelihood activities? What this will mean for the division of activities within the household? How this portfolio will change over the course of a year? What the portfolio will look like if major activities are substantially reduced?</li> <li>What viable subsistence agricultural or fishery or other natural resource-based activities are available post-displacement? Do we know enough to be confident about the feasibility of activities if they will require re-skilling and investment by households, are we confident of their feasibility?</li> <li>What viable market-based activities are available post-displacement? Do we know enough to be confident about feasibility of activities if they will require re-skilling and investment by households?</li> <li>What are the locational dependencies for activities to be viable - between dwellings, enterprises, predicted livelihood activities and supporting activities (e.g. childcare)?</li> <li>What are the other factors enabling or inhibiting the viability of activities, e.g. traditional and political power relationships, potential for elite capture, reliance on social connectedness, relationships with host communities, ease-of-doing-business factors, access to credit, in- and out-migration, discriminatory and non-inclusive cultural practices?</li> <li>Will the project be able to influence household decisions in coping with economic displacement, to prevent women from being excluded from these decisions and accessing financial resources?</li> <li>What will be the changes to consumption and diet as a result of changed livelihood strategies which will be to the detriment of health and nutrition amongst members of the household?</li> <li>How can the project support displaced people in making decisions now so that they can get to where they want to be in 5 or 10 years?</li> </ul> <p><b>Useful analytical frameworks, tools and concepts:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gender analysis of land tenure and land use</li> <li>Carrying capacity analysis</li> <li>Household Economy</li> <li>Household Livelihood</li> <li>Security</li> <li>Sustainable Livelihoods</li> <li>Approach and other capitals/assets approaches</li> <li>Livelihoods Risks &amp; Opportunities</li> <li>Livelihoods Portfolio Analysis</li> <li>Seasonal analysis</li> <li>Sector/commodity selection</li> <li>Agricultural calendars</li> <li>Skills mapping, literacy, numeracy, financial literacy</li> <li>Value chain analysis</li> <li>Participatory Rural Mapping, Transect Walks</li> <li>Social network analysis</li> <li>Ease of Doing Business</li> <li>World Food Program Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis</li> <li>Household visioning, scenario planning and budgeting</li> </ul> <p><b>Some indicators that demonstrate whether this question has been answered:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Amount and quality of land (forest, crops, water resources) owned and used, amount of productive fixed assets</li> <li>Rights held over land and land use, including how rights are allocated, managed and transferred; and third-party interests, e.g. sharecroppers, tenants, renters, lessee, mortgage</li> <li>Differential holding of land and land use rights between women and men in the household</li> <li>Sources of income and food</li> <li>Crop yields/fish catches for subsistence consumption</li> <li>Net profits of market-based activities</li> <li>Women's participation in financial decisions and banking system</li> <li>Health and nutrition of women, men and children</li> </ul>
<p>Q2. How will the wealth and social status of my household change in the new situation?</p>	<p><b>Analytical questions for practitioners to consider in order to answer this question:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Will there be a decrease or increase in the value of net assets? (This includes predicting household expenditure items, including house maintenance and items that might have been free pre-displacement but now would need to be paid for e.g. childcare, water, electricity, fuel wood, transport, other support services.)</li> </ul> <p><b>Useful analytical frameworks, tools and concepts:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Household Economy Analysis</li> <li>Socioeconomic status</li> </ul> <p><b>Some indicators that demonstrate whether this question has been answered:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Education</li> <li>Income</li> <li>Net value of assets</li> <li>Occupation</li> <li>Membership in social networks with higher power relations</li> </ul>

<p>Q3. How will the host community to which my livelihood activities will be relocated react to me and how will I react to them?</p> <p><b>This question matters as people have a right to:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>An adequate standard of living (UDHR 25, ICESCR 11)</li> <li>Private and family life (UDHR 12, ICCPR 17)</li> <li>Culture (UDHR 15, ICCPR 27, ICESCR 15)</li> <li>Non-discrimination (UDHR 2, ICCPR 2, ICESCR 2)</li> <li>Equality before the law (UDHR 7, ICCPR 26)</li> <li>Freedom of thought, conscience and religion (UDHR 18, ICCPR 18)</li> </ul> <p>Q4. What will happen if my household cannot meet its expenses or food needs?</p> <p><b>This question matters as people have a right to:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>An adequate standard of living (UDHR 25, ICESCR 11)</li> <li>Private and family life (UDHR 12, ICCPR 17)</li> <li>Health and well-being (UDHR 25, ICESCR 12)</li> <li>Education (UDHR 26, ICESCR 10)</li> <li>Food (UDHR 25, ICESCR 11)</li> <li>Housing (UDHR 25, ICESCR 11)</li> <li>Property (UDHR 17)</li> <li>Water and sanitation (UDHR 25, ICESCR 11)</li> <li>Remedy (UDHR 8, ICCPR 2)</li> <li>Freedom from cruel inhumane or degrading treatment or punishment (UDHR 5, ICCPR 7)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Analytical questions for practitioners to consider in order to answer this question:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Will displaced people be subject to discriminatory and non-inclusive cultural practices in host communities?</li> <li>How will host communities be impacted by receiving displaced people?</li> <li>Who will assist displaced people with the psycho-social effects of displacement, adapting to the host community and new settings, and dealing with facing exclusion?</li> </ul> <p><b>Analytical questions for practitioners to consider in order to answer this question:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Will the displacement place a household at risk of hardship?</li> <li>If the predicted hardship risk is partially attributable to how compensation for losses paid in cash was used, how can the project mitigate effectively for this? (e.g. instalments, financial management awareness, supporting people who are receiving cash)</li> <li>Will there be social security/safety nets available to people at risk, e.g. unemployment subsidy, retirement pension, health insurance?</li> <li>Which other forms of support will be available to support people in hardship, e.g. vouchers for food, cash, transport, medical services, psychosocial support?</li> <li>Will people at risk have access to support in re-establishing social networks?</li> <li>Will the identified service providers have the capacity to deliver adequate support services?</li> </ul>	<p><b>Useful analytical frameworks, tools and concepts:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Same as Q5 below to understand how host communities will be impacted</li> <li>Psycho-socio-cultural disruptions</li> </ul> <p><b>Useful analytical frameworks, tools and concepts:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>World Food Program Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis; Capacity planning of government health and social welfare provision</li> </ul>	<p><b>Some indicators that demonstrate whether this question has been answered:</b></p> <p>Same indicators as Q5 below, comparing households in host communities with displaced households</p> <p><b>Some indicators that demonstrate whether this question has been answered:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Food security (physical availability of food, economic and physical access to food, food utilization)</li> <li>Child nutritional status and malnourishment</li> <li>Monetary and non-monetary poverty</li> <li>Multi-dimensional poverty (housing, basic needs, education, labour and health)</li> <li>Context-specific indicators of factors determining poverty</li> <li>Social protection system: social insurance (labour pension, temporary incapacity to work benefit, child care benefit); social assistance (family living standards enhancement benefits, social pensions for old age, disability and survivorship benefit), child birth lump-sum benefit, motherhood benefit to non-working women, school feeding programme); social services (social care services and social work provided in relation to disability, families, women and children, labour market); active labour market policies (public works programme linked to unemployment); informal social protection (remittances)</li> <li>Efficiency of social protections</li> </ul>
---	---	--	--

Q5. How will my household benefit from this project?

**This question matters as people have a right to:**

- Will there be an improvement in the level of household productive capacity (compared with host community and pre-displacement)?
- Will there be an improvement in living conditions (compared with host community and pre-displacement)?
- Will there be an improvement in the capacity of local infrastructure?
- Will displaced people have access to support in adapting to their new situation?
- Will displaced people be able to meet their own aspirations for a better life?

**Useful analytical frameworks, tools and concepts:**

- Quality of life
- Standard of Living (World Bank's Living Standards Measurement Surveys database)
- Community Wellbeing
- Social Determinants of Health
- Social Framework
- Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
- Asset-based Development
- Social resilience

**Some indicators that demonstrate whether this question has been answered:**

- Level of household productive capacity (e.g. education, number of dependents, people over 15 working, school attendance, amount of land, quality of land (forest, crops, water resources), productive fixed assets, employment conditions (education level, capacity of labour, age structure of labour, skills training, type of employment, employment location, employment stability))
- Living conditions (e.g. housing conditions (size of housing, distance between house and town, distance to main road), living environment (road conditions, type of drinking water, mode of getting water, electricity supply, accessibility to telecommunications, school and hospital, supermarket, market and public spaces), consumer durables (e.g. tv, computer, aircon, washing machine, moto scooter, fridge), income and expenditure levels (proportion of income free to use, total family income, including salary from employment, business, investments, transfers, expenditure in business, daily use, fixed assets, housing, tax, transfers, investment) and social protection (in welfare system, health pension, health insurance coverage rate, retirement pension))
- Capacity of local infrastructure (e.g. transportation, electricity supply, water, telecommunication, education and health facilities, sanitation, waste, drainage, green spaces, ability to attract residents into the area)
- Level of adaptation (e.g. economic integration (equal access to employment, new modes of production, sharing of economic interests), social integration (self-identification as a local not an outsider, freedom to marry, social networks), cultural integration (cultural differences with host communities, religions, beliefs, dialects) compared with local residents)
- Perceived extent to which benefits from project support attainment of aspirations

Q6. Can I trust the government and project developer to meet their commitments to help me restore my livelihood?

**This question matters as people have a right to:**

- Information (UDHR 19, ICCPR 19)
  - Self-determination (ILO 169, UNDRIP)
  - Remedy (UDHR 8, ICCPR 2)
  - Freedom from cruel inhumane or degrading treatment or punishment (UDHR 5, ICCPR 7)
- Analytical questions for practitioners to consider in order to answer this question:**
- What are the levels of trust and how is trust influenced by people's attitudes towards:
    - the project that is displacing them?
    - the project developer?
    - the relevant government authority?
    - the locational context? (e.g. local identity, place attachment, reliance of people on that context for their livelihood)
  - How is trust influenced by perceptions of the totality of impacts associated with the project, in addition to economic displacement? (e.g. changes to resources people rely upon for spiritual/cultural use; mental and physical health; beliefs, which result in approval or disapproval of the project, feelings (e.g., anxiety, stress), and actual behaviours (actual contestation or support, coping strategies))
  - Do displaced people feel heard and respected and are they satisfied with the quality of contact with the project?
  - Will displaced people have access to support in improving their feelings of security, reducing stress and dealing with any emotional harm experienced?
  - Which are the civil society organisations that can provide support to displaced people in anticipating and managing the transition?
  - What oversight and monitoring structures have been set up that have legitimacy and credibility in the eyes of displaced people?
  - Is government support to the area commensurate with the need, e.g. policies and planning, economic development, implementation of policies, funding use and management?
  - How is the project respecting procedural justice and rights concerning redress e.g. access to information, participation in displacement planning and process and monitoring, grievances redress, satisfaction with outcome of grievance, ease of process of making a grievance?
  - Are livelihoods restoration implementing organizations competent, e.g. well-resourced, clear job responsibilities and division of labour, adhere to standards, capable?
  - Are other support and monitoring organisations competent?
  - Is the working mechanism between implementing and other support organisations effective?

**Useful analytical frameworks, tools and concepts:**

- Social licence to operate
- Results frameworks for program monitoring and evaluation

**Some indicators that demonstrate whether this question has been answered:**

- Attitudes to project (perceived risk, legitimacy)
- Attitudes to project developer (perceived competence, credibility, trustworthiness)
- Attitudes to government authority (perceived competence, credibility, trustworthiness)
- Context-specific factors influencing levels of trust (local identity, place attachment, reliance of people on affected area for their livelihood)
- Perceptions of project impacts
- Government policies and plans directed to supporting displaced people
- Perceived quality of engagement (how often engaged, appropriateness of communication method, perceived procedural fairness)
- Perceived effectiveness of grievance mechanisms
- Perceived competence of livelihood restoration program implementers, support agencies, oversight and monitoring bodies, civil society organisations

(Source: this paper; Note: references to certain specific frameworks and tools are given in the methodology)

that deals with methodologies for valuing assets and determining compensation, and this paper does not purport to contribute to this field.

The PLANNED framework proposed by this paper is illustrated in [Figure 1](#) and elaborated in [Table 2](#). Building the framework has drawn on the empathetic stance I requested of the experienced practitioners when interviewing them for this paper, in reflecting on the experiences of people they have worked with who have been displaced by projects. In addition to the qualitative interviews, the framework has drawn on a review of the literature (indicated earlier in this paper) on the social impacts of involuntary resettlement and economic displacement; the human rights instruments pertinent to these impacts; and frameworks and tools that exist to help practitioners in assessing and mitigating livelihoods impacts.

The framework, as elaborated in [Table 2](#), has been constructed in order to have practical use to project design teams and their lenders and advisors. To this end, for each question, the relevant human rights instruments that provide justification for the question are provided. This is accompanied by guidance in the form of analytical sub-questions, examples of established frameworks and tools that can be drawn on, and possible indicators to give assurance that the questions have been considered and addressed.

### **Conclusion: putting people at the centre**

In project design and impact assessment, consideration of project-induced economic displacement tends to be overshadowed by physical displacement and the logistics around compensating and resettling people and providing replacement housing. This paper has sought to elevate economic displacement and the severity of potential consequences on livelihoods to an equal position of importance.

The People's Livelihoods Analysis in Economic Displacement (PLANNED) framework is the primary novel contribution of this paper. The objective of the framework is to strengthen the knowledge base that is used to inform the early stages of project design and decisions around avoiding economic displacement. It has also been created to emphasise the need for empathy and respect for human rights; and it advocates for adequate timing, resources and competencies for assessing livelihoods impacts and developing livelihood restoration mitigations; and for collaborative approaches to planning that involve projects, communities, civil society, and government at early stages. I hope that future contributions will test and critique applications of the framework.

A secondary contribution is to highlight the paucity of literature that deals with project-induced economic

displacement that is not dominated by questions around how the loss of assets can be compensated, or how physical resettlement is carried out. I hope that more research in this area will result in more guidance about how project design teams and their advisors and lenders can avoid harm to affected communities.

A specific topic that calls for more research is the context in which projects emerge through concept selection, feasibility, design, appraisal and approval, the role of different actors, agencies and interests in this process, and potentially conflicting agendas such as the state's responsibility both for human rights and revenue raising. While this paper draws attention to livelihoods at an early planning stage, due to length constraints it excludes examination of, for example, the difference between analysis of project alternatives as part of feasibility/design and a go/no-go decision on the project as a whole which a financier makes prior to approval. Better understanding of the decision-making pressures at work for both public and private sector projects are necessary to see how the current constraints can be addressed. There is a need to shine a light on any structural impediments to good practice. For example, the lending imperative of major financiers and pressures to move quickly on civil works do not generally allow sufficient time for livelihood planning. Few country legal frameworks for land acquisition in the public interest recognise and adequately address livelihood losses, especially for those without formal legal title to their land – and those omissions flow through to the way livelihoods are managed, financed, monitored and evaluated.

Few lenders suspend loans for non-compliance on safeguards during implementation. This heightens the importance of understanding the decision-making context to help provide clear decision points for a project go/no-go decision based on whether livelihoods can be restored. Without a clear decision point that says no-go unless re-establishment of livelihoods can be guaranteed, PLANNED faces the risk of making little impact to 'business as usual'.

### **Acknowledgments**

Heartfelt acknowledgement goes to the 28 individuals that generously shared their time and experiences as part of the research, to Frank Vanclay for his comments to an earlier version, and to two anonymous reviewers for their perceptive comments and suggestions.

### **Author bio**

Ana Maria Esteves is founder and director of Community Insights Group, a social impact management consultancy. She is Visiting Professor at the University of Strathclyde and Past President of the board of the IAIA. She led the development of INGA, an online platform for country social and human rights context reports, and of SIAhub, an online portal



where the global social impact assessment community of practice can network, access resources, share ideas and promote good practice.

## References

- Asian Development Bank 1998. Handbook on Resettlement: a Guide to Good Practice. Manila: Asian Development Bank [cited 2021 Feb 5] Available from: <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/institutional-document/32259/handbook-resettlement.pdf>.
- Bebbington A. 1999. Capitals and Capabilities: a Framework for Analyzing Peasant Viability, Rural Livelihoods and Poverty. *World Development*. 27(12):2021–2044. doi:10.1016/S0305-750X(99)00104-7.
- Brocklesby MA, Fisher E. 2003. Community development in sustainable livelihoods approaches - an introduction. *Community Development Journal*. 38(3):185–198. doi:10.1093/cdj/38.3.185.
- CARE. 2002. Household Livelihood Security Assessments. A Toolkit for Practitioners. Tucson:TANGO International Inc.
- Carney D, Drinkwater M, Rusinow T,Wanmali S, Singh, N, Neefjes, K. 1999. Livelihoods Approaches Compared. A brief comparison of the livelihoods approaches of the UK Department for International Development (DFID), CARE, Oxfam and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).
- Cernea M. 1997. The risks and reconstruction model for resettling displaced populations. *World Development*. 25 (10):1569–1587. doi:10.1016/S0305-750X(97)00054-5.
- Cernea M. 2003. For a new economics of resettlement: a sociological critique of the compensation principle. *International Social Science Journal*. 55(175):37–45. doi:10.1111/1468-2451.5501004.
- Cernea M, Maldonado JK. 2018. Challenging the prevailing paradigm of displacement and resettlement: its evolution, and constructive ways of improving it. In: Cernea MM, Maldonado JK, editors. *Challenging the Prevailing Paradigm of Displacement and Resettlement: risks, Impoverishment, Legacies, Solutions*. Milton Park: Routledge. 1–42.
- Cernea M, Mathur HM. 2007. Can compensation prevent impoverishment? Reforming resettlement through investments and benefit-sharing. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Chambers R, Conway G, 1992. Sustainable rural livelihoods: practical concepts for the 21st century. IDS Discussion Paper 296. Brighton: IDS [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <https://www.ids.ac.uk/download.php?file=files/Dp296.pdf>
- De Haan L, Zoomers A. 2005. Exploring the frontier of livelihoods research. *Development and Change*. 36(1):27–47. doi:10.1111/j.0012-155X.2005.00401.x.
- Downing T 2002. Avoiding new poverty: mining-induced displacement and resettlement. MMSD Report 58 London: International Institute for Environment and Development [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <https://pubs.iied.org/pdfs/G00549.pdf>
- Downing T, Garcia-Downing C. 2009. Routine and dissonant culture: a theory about the psycho-socio-cultural disruptions of involuntary displacement and ways to mitigate them without inflicting even more damage. In: Oliver-Smith A, editor. *Development and Dispossession: the Anthropology of Displacement and Resettlement*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press; p. 225–320.
- Esteves AM, Factor G, Vanclay F, Götzmann N, Moreira S. 2017. Adapting social impact assessment to address a project's human rights impacts and risks. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*. 67:73–87. doi:10.1016/j.eiar.2017.07.001.
- Esteves AM, Vanclay F. 2009. Social Development Needs Analysis as a tool for SIA to guide corporate-community investment: applications in the minerals industry. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*. 29 (2):137–145. doi:10.1016/j.eiar.2008.08.004.
- Fan Q, Lu Y, Qiang M, Wang H. 2015. Study on China hydro-power reservoir resettlement in the view of sustainable development. *Journal of Hydroelectric Engineering*. 34 (1):237–244.
- FAO, 2012. Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the context of National Food Security. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <http://www.fao.org/docrep/016/i2801e/i2801e.pdf>.
- FAO, ILO, 2009. The Livelihood Assessment Tool-kit, Analysing and responding to the impact of disasters on the livelihoods of people. Rome and Geneva: FAO and ILO [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <http://www.fao.org/emergencies/resources/documents/resources-detail/en/c/171069/>
- Food Economy Group (FEG) and Save the Children, 2008. The Practitioners' Guide to the Household Economy Approach. Johannesburg: Regional Hunger and Vulnerability Programme [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <http://foodeconomy.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/The-Practitioners-Guide-to-HEA.pdf>
- Giovanetti F 2009. Guidance Note on Urban Resettlement, Report No. 49000-IN. World Bank [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/848341468268845644/pdf/490000SR0white1T0Box03389391PUBLIC1.pdf>
- Haidar M 2009. Sustainable Livelihood Approaches, The framework, lessons learnt from practice and policy recommendations. UNDP Drylands Development Centre [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/679330?ln=en>
- Hanna P, Vanclay F, Langdon EJ, Arts J. 2016. The importance of cultural aspects in impact assessment and project development: reflections from a case study of a hydroelectric dam in Brazil. *Impact Assessment & Project Appraisal*. 34(4):306–318. doi:10.1080/14615517.2016.1184501.
- Hasan M. 2006. Creating new economic opportunities for displaced people: approaches to income restoration. *Social Change*. 36(1):87–108. doi:10.1177/004908570603600104.
- Hay M, Skinner J, Norton A 2019. Dam-Induced Displacement and Resettlement: a Literature Review. FutureDAMS Working Paper 004. Manchester: The University of Manchester [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <http://hummedia.manchester.ac.uk/institutes/gdi/publications/workingpapers/futuredams/futuredams-working-paper-004-hay-skinner-notron.pdf>
- Holmes R, Slater R, Bhuvanendra D 2013. Social Protection and Resilient Food Systems. The Role of Integrated Livelihoods Approaches. ODI/UK [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8615.pdf>
- Housing and Land Rights Network Habitat International Coalition, 2010. A handbook on UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement. New Delhi: Housing and Land Rights

- Network Habitat International Coalition [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: [http://www.hicsarp.org/documents/Handbook%20on%20UN%20Guidelines\\_2011.pdf](http://www.hicsarp.org/documents/Handbook%20on%20UN%20Guidelines_2011.pdf)
- ICMM, 2016. Land acquisition and resettlement: lessons Learned. London: ICMM [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <https://www.icmm.com/en-gb/publications/mining-and-communities/land-acquisition-and-resettlement-lessons-learned>.
- IFC, 2012a. IFC Performance Standards on Environmental and Social Sustainability: performance Standards. Washington D.C.: IFC [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: [https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/topics\\_ext\\_content/ifc\\_external\\_corporate\\_site/sustainability-at-ifc/publications/publications\\_handbook\\_pps](https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/topics_ext_content/ifc_external_corporate_site/sustainability-at-ifc/publications/publications_handbook_pps).
- IFC, 2012b. IFC Performance Standards on Environmental and Social Sustainability: guidance Notes. Washington D. C: IFC [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: [https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/61320ff7-0e9a-4908-bef5-5c9671c8ddfd/GN5\\_English\\_2012.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CVID=mRQJWGZ](https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/61320ff7-0e9a-4908-bef5-5c9671c8ddfd/GN5_English_2012.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CVID=mRQJWGZ)
- IFC, 2012c. Addressing Project Impacts on Fishing Based Livelihoods, A Good Practice Handbook. Washington D. C.: IFC [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <https://www.commdev.org/publications/addressing-project-impacts-on-fishing-based-livelihoods-a-good-practice-handbook-baseline-assessment-and-development-of-a-fisheries-livelihood-restoration-plan/>
- IFC, 2019. Good practice handbook: land acquisition and resettlement. Preliminary draft for review and consultation. Washington D.C.: IFC [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: [https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/74f457f6-ddf7-44ec-87bb-fed991b978fc/Draft\\_Resettlement+Handbook\\_Disclosure\\_March132019\\_Final.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CVID=mBUICKF](https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/74f457f6-ddf7-44ec-87bb-fed991b978fc/Draft_Resettlement+Handbook_Disclosure_March132019_Final.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CVID=mBUICKF)
- ILO, 2009. ILO Guide for Value Chain Analysis and Upgrading. Geneva: ILO [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: [https://www.ilo.org/empent/Publications/WCMS\\_093982/lang-en/index.htm](https://www.ilo.org/empent/Publications/WCMS_093982/lang-en/index.htm)
- Kabra A. 2016. Assessing economic impacts of forced land acquisition and displacement: a qualitative rapid research framework. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*. 34 (1):24–32. doi:10.1080/14615517.2015.1096037.
- Kemp D, Owen J. 2013. Community relations and mining: core to business but not “core business”. *Resources Policy*. 38(4):523–531. doi:10.1016/j.resourpol.2013.08.003.
- Krantz L 2001. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach to Poverty Reduction, An Introduction. SIDA [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from [https://www.sida.se/contentassets/bd474c210163447c9a7963d77c64148a/the-sustainable-livelihood-approach-to-poverty-reduction\\_2656.pdf](https://www.sida.se/contentassets/bd474c210163447c9a7963d77c64148a/the-sustainable-livelihood-approach-to-poverty-reduction_2656.pdf)
- Kretzman J, McKnight J. 1993. Building communities from the inside out: a path toward finding and mobilizing a community's assets. Chicago: ACTA Publications.
- Lillywhite, S, Kemp D, Sturman K 2015. Mining, resettlement and lost livelihoods: listening to the Voices of Resettled Communities in Mualadzi, Mozambique, Oxfam: Melbourne [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: [https://www.oxfam.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Mining-resettlement-and-lost-livelihoodsV5\\_FA\\_web.pdf](https://www.oxfam.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Mining-resettlement-and-lost-livelihoodsV5_FA_web.pdf)
- Lindenberg M. 2002. Measuring Household Livelihood Security at the Family and Community Level in the Developing World. *World Development*. 30(2):301–318. doi:10.1016/S0305-750X(01)00105-X.
- Liu L. 2015. Study on combining long-term compensation mechanism with new rural construction in the process of resettlement for water conservancy and hydropower engineering. *China Population, Resources and Environment*. 25(4):141–148.
- Liu L. 2016. Discussion on design of independent evaluation index system for resettlement. *Journal of Yangtze River Scientific Research Institute*. 47(21):110–114.
- Mathur HM. 2011. Social impact assessment: a tool for planning better resettlement. *Social Change*. 41(1):97–120. doi:10.1177/004908571104100105.
- McDowell C. 2002. Involuntary resettlement, impoverishment risks, and sustainable livelihoods. *Australasian Journal of Disaster and Trauma Studies*. 2:1–10.
- Moffat K, Zhang A. 2014. The paths to social licence to operate: an integrative model explaining community acceptance of mining. *Resources Policy*. 39:61–70. doi:10.1016/j.resourpol.2013.11.003.
- Moser C. 1998. The Asset Vulnerability Framework: reassessing Urban Poverty Reduction Strategies. *World Development*. 26(1):1–19. doi:10.1016/S0305-750X(97)10015-8.
- Moser C, Dani A 2008. Assets, Livelihoods and Social Policy. Washington (D.C.): World Bank Group [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <https://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/pdf/10.1596/978-0-8213-6995-1>
- Perera J. ed. 2014. Lose to gain. Is involuntary resettlement a development opportunity? Manila: Asian Development Bank [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/41780/lose-gain-involuntary-resettlement.pdf>
- Price S. 2009. Prologue: victims or partners? The social perspective in development-induced displacement and resettlement. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*. 10(4):266–282. doi:10.1080/14442210903305821.
- Reddy G, Smyth E, Steyn M. 2015. Land access and resettlement: a guide to best practice. Sheffield: Greenleaf.
- Scoones I. 1998. Sustainable livelihoods: a framework for analysis. Brighton (Sussex): IDS.
- Scudder T. 2005. The future of large dams: dealing with social, environmental and political costs. London: Earthscan.
- Scudder T. 2011. Development-induced community resettlement. In: Vanclay F, Esteves AM, editors. *New directions in social impact assessment: conceptual and methodological advances*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar; p. 186–201.
- Slater R, Holmes R, Bhuvanendra D 2013. Synthesis: social Protection and Resilient Food Systems. ODI/UK [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8695.pdf>
- Smyth E, Steyn M, Esteves AM, Franks DM, Vaz K. 2015. Five ‘big’ issues for land access, resettlement and livelihood restoration practice: findings of an international symposium. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*. 33 (3):220–225. doi:10.1080/14615517.2015.1037665.
- Smyth E, Vanclay F. 2017. The Social Framework for Projects: a conceptual but practical model to assist in assessing, planning and managing the social impacts of projects. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*. 35(1):65–80. doi:10.1080/14615517.2016.1271539.
- Solar O, Irwin A 2010. A conceptual framework for action on the social determinants of health. *Social Determinants of Health Discussion Paper 2 (Policy and Practice)*. Geneva: World Health Organization [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: [https://www.who.int/sdhconference/resources/ConceptualframeworkforactiononSDH\\_eng.pdf](https://www.who.int/sdhconference/resources/ConceptualframeworkforactiononSDH_eng.pdf)
- Stamford Agreement, 2003. The human rights based approach to development cooperation towards a common understanding among UN Agencies [cited

- 2020 Oct 31] Available from: [https://unsdg.un.org/sites/default/files/6959-The\\_Human\\_Rights\\_Based\\_Approach\\_to\\_Development\\_Cooperation\\_Towards\\_a\\_Common\\_Understanding\\_among\\_UN.pdf](https://unsdg.un.org/sites/default/files/6959-The_Human_Rights_Based_Approach_to_Development_Cooperation_Towards_a_Common_Understanding_among_UN.pdf)
- Tagliarino NK 2016. Encroaching on land and livelihoods: how national expropriation laws measure up against international standards. Washington (DC): World Resources Institute [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <https://www.wri.org/publication/encroaching-on-land-and-livelihoods>
- Thomson I, Boutillier RG. 2011. Social license to operate. In: Darling P, editor. SME Mining Engineering Handbook. Society for Mining: Metallurgy and Exploration, Littleton, Co; p. 1779–1796.
- UNHABITAT and UNHCHR, 2014. Forced Evictions, Fact Sheet No. 25/Rev.1. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. New York and Geneva: United Nations [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/F525.Rev.1.pdf>
- United Nations, 1948. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html>
- United Nations, 1966a. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: [https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A\\_RES\\_2200A\(XXI\)\\_civil.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_2200A(XXI)_civil.pdf)
- United Nations, 1966b. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: Available online: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cescr.aspx>
- United Nations, 1986. Declaration on the Right to Development [cited 2021 Feb 5] Available from: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/righttodevelopment.aspx>
- United Nations. 2004. Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement; [[cited 2021 Feb 5]]. <https://www.internal-displacement.org/sites/default/files/publications/documents/199808-training-OCHA-guiding-principles-Eng2.pdf>.
- United Nations, 2007a. Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-Based Evictions and Displacement. [cited 2021 Feb 5] Available from: [https://www.ohchr.org/documents/issues/housing/guidelines\\_en.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/documents/issues/housing/guidelines_en.pdf)
- United Nations, 2007b. United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html>
- United Nations, 2011. The guiding principles on business and human rights: implementing the UN 'Respect, Protect and Remedy Framework'. New York and Geneva: United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: [http://www.hic-https://www.ohchr.org/documents/publications/guidingprinciplesbusinessshr\\_en.pdf](http://www.hic-https://www.ohchr.org/documents/publications/guidingprinciplesbusinessshr_en.pdf)
- Van Der Ploeg L, Vanclay F. 2017. A human rights based approach to project induced displacement and resettlement. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*. 35(1):34–52. doi:10.1080/14615517.2016.1271538.
- Van Der Ploeg L, Vanclay F. 2018. Challenges in implementing the corporate responsibility to respect human rights in the context of project-induced displacement and resettlement. *Resources Policy*. 55:210–222. doi:10.1016/j.resourpol.2017.12.001.
- Vanclay F. 2002. Conceptualising social impacts. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*. 22(3):183–211. doi:10.1016/S0195-9255(01)00105-6.
- Vanclay, F. 2017. Project-induced displacement and resettlement: From impoverishment risks to an opportunity for development? *Impact Assessment & Project Appraisal* 35(1), 3–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14615517.2017.1278671>
- Vanclay F, Baines J, Taylor CN. 2013. Principles for ethical research involving humans: ethical professional practice in impact assessment Part I. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*. 31(4):243–253. doi:10.1080/14615517.2013.850307.
- Vanclay F, Kemp D. 2013. Displacement, resettlement and livelihoods. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*. 35(1):2–21. doi:10.1080/14615517.2016.1272212.
- Vanclay F, Kemp D. 2017b. Displacement, resettlement and livelihoods. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*. 35(1):2–2.
- Vanclay V, Hanna H. 2019. Conceptualizing Company Response to Community Protest: principles to Achieve a Social License to Operate. *Land*. 8(6):101. doi:10.3390/land8060101.
- Wilmsen B, Webber M, Yuefang D. 2011. Development for whom? Rural to urban resettlement at the Three Gorges Dam, China. *Asian Studies Review*. 35(1):21–42. doi:10.1080/10357823.2011.552707.
- World Bank, 2014. Involuntary Resettlement Portfolio Review, Phase II: implementation. Washington (D.C.): World Bank Group [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/96781425483120443/involuntary-resettlement-portfolio-review-phase2.pdf>
- World Bank 2019. Environment and Social Framework (ESF): ESF Guidance Note 5 Land Acquisition Restrictions on Land Use and Involuntary Resettlement. Environmental and Social Standards Guidance Note no. 5 Washington (D.C.): World Bank Group cited 2020 Oct 31 Available from: <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/294331530217033360/ESF-Guidance-Note-5-Land-Acquisition-Restrictions-on-Land-Use-and-Involuntary-Resettlement-English.pdf>
- World Food Programme, 2009. Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis Guidelines. Rome: World Food Program [cited 2020 Oct 31] Available from: [https://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/manual\\_guide\\_proced/wfp203208.pdf](https://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/manual_guide_proced/wfp203208.pdf)
- Yan G, Li C, Yuan C. 2018. Mental health status of rural migrants and its influencing factors in the Dongjiang Reservoir, Hunan Province. *Practical Preventive Medicine*. 25(3):313–317.