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Applying the Concept of Human Security to Research on the Consequences of Mining-Induced Displacement and Resettlement.

Introduction:

The development of international mining projects is one of the most visible consequences of globalization. Mining activities undertaken by the private sectors of Europe and North America have recently been joined by companies from China, the Arabian Peninsula, and wealthy Asian countries. The extraction, transportation, and sale of mineral resources represent the most profitable global investments. Furthermore, mineral resources are an instrument for extending the influence of key players in international relations—nation states in the geopolitical dimension, and corporations in the sphere of international economy. The vast majority of mining projects are located in developing countries.¹ Large amounts of valuable resources are at their disposal and local authorities are interested in bringing foreign corporations to their lands. In highly-populated countries such as India and China, the extraction of resources is generally executed by public entities and destined to satisfy internal needs. A large portion of global resources are situated in rural, low urbanized areas belonging to indigenous people. Therefore, ramifications of the mining industry affect communities with limited political power and little flexibility for adapting to new living conditions.

In most cases, the beneficiaries of extractive projects are big corporations and – to a lesser degree – public national administration. The extraction of resources in developing countries very rarely contributes to an improvement in the situation of local communities. Profits are then transferred abroad (out of country, facilitated by exploitation) and do not raise the level of

¹ According to some estimations over 60 percent of mineral resources are located on indigenous territories.
economic development in these regions. The growing number of displacees (DIDPs) or people permanently affected by the negative consequences of mining (PAPs) remain a particularly relevant issue here. Technological developments and the necessity for highly-qualified workers mean that inhabitants of economically underdeveloped rural regions have less and less opportunities for employment in the mining sector. Low compensation for lost property is of equally great concern. Mining-induced environmental devastation increasingly affects inhabitants as well. The private sector is concerned with fast gains above all, and not with establishing any long-term mechanisms of local development. All of the above factors make mining-induced displacement an even greater problem for developing countries.

The scale and consequences of mining-induced displacement are especially affected by the following factors:

1. Economic globalization: The expanding network of economic ties is making extraction in distant countries much easier than ever before. Poor African countries cannot afford to develop their mining sectors based only on their own budgets. Therefore, they strive to bring in foreign capital (e.g. direct foreign investments), and do not interfere with the character of the investment and with potential resettlements that may result. Administrative control or supervision of these foreign companies is purely a formality, or is not even put into practice at all. Extraction of resources frequently takes place on the basis of cooperation between foreign corporations and local companies. Public administration and local communities participate in profits infinitesimally. The lion’s share is transferred to the investors’ countries of origin so it does not support local development, whilst administration, hoping to get one of the shares, turns a blind

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eye to mounting environmental degradation and violations of the economic rights of local communities. In poor countries, corporations do not adhere to the principles of sustainable development. Western public opinion is rarely informed about the negative consequences of such mining projects.

2. *Territorial expansion of mining areas*: The growing demand for resources forces the construction of new mines or the expansion of existing ones. According to Walter Fernandes’ estimates, the average size of coal mines in India in the last 50 years has augmented almost ten times (from 150 to 1500 acres). Building new open-cast mines leads to the resettlement of a growing number of inhabitants in many regions of the world. The automation of extraction means that merely a limited number of people has the chance to be employed. Corporations free from external control neglect the effects of their actions on the environment. Worsening conditions frequently force nearby inhabitants to migrate.

3. *Abusive practices of the private sector in the mining industry*: A lack of controls encourages the private sector to carry on with unjust practices. Displaced people regularly receive inadequately low compensations for their lost properties. Companies do not implement the promised programs of aid and support in finding alternative jobs. The resistance of local communities often ends in failure. They do not possess sufficient financial power or the opportunity to protect and defend their rights and interests in court.

4. *Little interest of local public administration in the situation of displaced persons*: Extraction of resources frequently occurs in poorly-developed areas which are located far from urban centres. Hence, the administration’s capacity to control the environmental and social

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3 Ibidem.
consequences of such activities is limited. National authorities tolerate abuses on the part of 
extractive companies, the reason being that they are afraid to lose foreign capital. Mining 
projects are in large part located in countries with poorly established democracy and low 
standards of human rights protection. The development of mining in India, which has caused the 
landlessness and increasing marginalization of tribal peoples, is one of the examples most clearly 
illustrating this problem.

Among the main causes of development-induced displacement, the experts enumerate: a) 
creation of dams (water plants, artificial lakes, irrigation projects, and man-made canals); b) 
development of communication networks (railways, roads, highways, bridges, etc.); c) 
urbanization and transformation of urban areas (including development of public transportation, 
water supply, and demolition of poverty districts, e.g. slums and favelas); d) development of 
agriculture (especially creation of large monoculture plantations, e.g. palm oil); e) extraction of 
mineral resources (e.g. oil, coal, lignite, gold, iron, copper, diamonds), and f) conservation of 
nature (creation of national parks and other protection zones). Mining development is becoming 
a direct cause of at least 10 percent of the development-induced displacement worldwide.

The first research into the social costs of development projects was already being conducted by 
the end of 1950s. It is worth mentioning here the studies of anthropologist Robert Fernea on the 
Nubian tribes resettled as a result of the Aswan High Dam. The beginning of broad research on 
the subject of development-induced displacement can be dated to the mid 1970s. The book 
entitled Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development, published in 1985

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5 However, we can mention a few earlier works concerning this subject such as: G.W. Amarteifio, D.A. Butcher, D. Whitham, Tema Manhean: A study of resettlement, Ghana University Press, Accra, 1966; N. Rubin, W.M. Warren (eds.), Dams in Africa. An inter-disciplinary study of man-made lakes in Africa, Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1968.
under the auspices of the World Bank, is now considered one of the first attempts to conceptualize the issue of DIDR. Development-induced displacement studies flourished dynamically in the 1980s (Colson-Scudder four stage model) and 1990s (IRR Model). This was the result of large and controversial development projects undertaken in China (the Three Gorges Dam) and India (the Sardar Sarovar dam on the Narmada River). Research on DIDR began to be conducted more frequently by specialists from different disciplines. The diverse nature of the issue has also been put under scrutiny. Scientists focused more closely on specific categories of DIDR (mining-induced displacement and resettlement, oil development-induced displacement, conservation-induced displacement, dam-induced displacement, etc.). The earliest studies in development-induced displacement are strongly linked to applied anthropology. During the sixties, much attention was devoted to large dam projects, especially those built in Africa (e.g. the Akosombo Dam in Ghana, the Kariba Dam in Zambia, and the Aswan High Dam in Egypt). Research under the aegis of the World Bank has led to the creation of the IRR Model, based on sociology and development studies.

The present article attempts to address the question of the theoretical usefulness of the concept of human security for the analysis of the consequences of mining-induced displacement. The first part constitutes an introduction in which I look into the major problems of people displaced as a result of mining development. In addition I describe well-known examples of resettlements observed recently. The next part concerns the research methodology for analysing the social consequences of MIDR. There, I explain the assumptions and application of certain methods such as the IRR Model, development studies, human rights, and security issues, which are the most useful theoretical concepts. The most important part of this work concentrates on the consequences of mining-induced displacement. The analysis’ frame of reference is the modified
Recently, an expansion of mining can be observed in an increasing number of countries. This fact is exemplified in both the construction of new mines and the expansion of existing ones. Forced displacements are the main social consequence of these processes. However, even the creation of large open-pit mines and the relocation of a population does not always cause far-reaching social problems. Everything depends on the norms and standards of such practices, e.g. the level of compensation for lost properties and non-material losses and the provision of adequate social assistance to people displaced to new places of residence. We may observe the resettlements induced by the expansion of extraction areas in highly-developed countries in Europe and South America. There, adopted standards preclude investments which result in large-scale displacements. The effects of this strengthened protection of rights not only make resettlements a rarity, but also provide compensatory payments in large sums. In most cases, the compensations received by displacees in countries with a high level of economic and social development incorporate the non-material costs of residence change—which seldom occurs in Africa and Asia. Yet even in Europe there were examples of displacements with many thousands of people being relocated. It is estimated that within the last seventy years the extraction of lignite in Germany has caused the forcible resettlement of at least 100,000 citizens of this country. The reason for the absence of mining-induced displacement in North America is the low population density on extractive areas.
As we see, mining-induced displacements are primarily the problem of developing countries. Technological development and pursuit of fast gains cause permanent enlarging of extraction areas. Modest compensation at best, along with a lack of further aid, means that resettlements increasingly lead to economic marginalization. Mining development and displacement lead not only to a change in the economic model of affected communities; they may also very often incur physical disintegration of larger communities (families, tribes, villages in rural areas), an erosion of collective identity, and cultural change. Indigenous and tribal people who are strongly attached to the land and have a limited adaptive capacity to shifting conditions are particularly prone to such problems. Among the worst consequences of displacements we can list: a) landlessness; b) unemployment; c) a decrease in surface area of farmlands and community resources such as forests, rivers, and pastures; d) water, soil, and air contamination, hindering and even halting current economic activity; e) health problems, affecting mostly women and children; f) forced migration of nearby inhabitants and their pauperization in the new place of residence (for example forced rural-urban migrations); and g) social disintegration and negative cultural changes. All of the above issues will be discussed in subsequent parts of the paper.

Mining-induced displacement is present in many countries worldwide. In several of them, however, it constitutes a visible and burning social issue that poses a serious threat to human rights. These countries are India, Ghana, and Mali. There is less interest in the scale of the phenomenon in China. Admittedly, the whole body of literature on this subject is exceptionally small. So let us now draw attention to the fact that MIDR is present in countries in which we observe other forms of development-induced displacement. Ghana is a country with an extremely interesting peculiarity of displacements. Environmentally-induced displacement (migration from North to South) is accompanied by various causes of DIDR (mining, the construction of the Akosombo dam). Development-induced displacement is equally heterogeneous in India and China.
Asia and Pacific: Among the countries of the region with a significant scale of MIDR, five should be mentioned: India, China, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and the Philippines. The Grasberg (Freeport) gold mine in Indonesia caused the displacement of more than 15,000 people. According to estimations, the development of coal mining in India displaced more than 2-2.55 million people between 1950 and 2000 (particularly in Jharkhand). As Walter Fernandes noted, mining-related resettlement is a part of the general context of displacement in this country. In China, coal mining has degraded the quality of land of an estimated 3.2 mln hectares (according to a 2004 estimate) and displaced thousands of people. Mining-induced displacement and resettlement is also highly visible in Papua New Guinea and the Philippines. The expansion of OK Tedi mine in Papua New Guinea as well as environmental devastation in surrounding areas has forced 4,000 people to relocate. Foreign mining projects in the Philippines continue to displace indigenous people and endanger the environment under President Aquino’s term. There is also the threat of massive mining-induced resettlement in Bangladesh. According to some sources, the open-pit coal mine in Phulbari (Bangladesh) could displace hundreds of thousands of indigenous peoples and cause serious violations of human rights. The situation of the resettled is much worse than in Europe and even in some African states. Much attention is paid to the loss of land by tribal people, marginalization, the situation of women and children, malnutrition, and poor healthcare.

Africa: Nowadays, open-pit mining is a significant environmental and social problem in Africa. The mining of coal, copper, iron, gold, bauxites, and diamonds is a common cause of highly visible environmental degradation and development-induced displacement and resettlement. The district of Tarkwa located in Ghana, characterized by the presence of half of country’s large mines, indicates the enormous environmental and social impact of ‘gold rush’. Mining in the Tarkwa region displaced about 30,000 people between 1990 and 1998, destroyed forest land and farms, and contaminated rivers. Among other countries with a particularly high scale of MIDR we can find: Mali, Namibia, Botswana, RSA, and Zimbabwe. It is also worth emphasizing the environmental devastation and concomitant mass displacement caused by oil extraction in the Niger Delta (known as the tragedy of the Ogoni people). The best-known mining projects implemented in recent years in Africa are: the Bulyanhulu gold mine in Tanzania, the Konkola copper mine in Zambia, the development of gold mining in the Tarkwa region in Ghana, the Sadiola open-pit gold mine in Zimbabwe, the Dikulushi copper and silver mine in the
Democratic Republic of Congo, and the Murowa diamond mine in Zimbabwe. According to the official report of the Southern African Development Community, “mining-induced displacement [...] was one of the most underreported causes of displacement in Africa, and one that was likely to increase, as mineral extraction remained a key economic driver in the whole region”.  

**Central and South America:** Among the Southern and Central American countries experiencing this problem on a greater or lesser scale, we can mention: Peru, Venezuela, Guyana, Argentina, Suriname, Chile, Honduras, and Venezuela. Thousands of people in Peru could be displaced because of the mining industry in this country. The most significant example of the problem is the situation of the inhabitants of Morococha town (a Chinese company plans to mine copper in this site) and the city of Cerro de Pasco (with the possible relocation of more than 11,000 people due to negative effects of mining). Despite some promises, the open-pit mining in this country could lead to huge environmental and social consequences. Just as in Asia, the situation of American indigenous people is becoming a relevant problem. In an interesting article, David Szablowski gives us some positive examples of the cooperation of mining companies and local authorities on the issue of social and environmental rights of affected populations.  

**North America:** Parallel to other categories of DIDR (i.e. dam-induced displacement), the social consequences of mining are not a serious problem in the United States and Canada. The only significant displacement was the consequence of lignite mining expansion in the U.S. The tradition of individualism, effective courts, and well-established property rights can block resettlements that are socially detrimental. Any attempt to carry out this kind of investment may result in multiple trials ending with huge financial compensations. The fear over consumers’ opinion creates a situation where no American corporation can afford unpopular environmentally

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inappropriate practices and actions. This so-called corporate social responsibility (CSR) is a major breakthrough and a step forward from the pure, anti-social pursuit of money. In Mexico, mining-related displacements are conducted on a very limited scale. The much greater problem there is resettlement caused by dam construction (Miguel Aleman Dam) and exploitation of oil.

*Europe:* Displacement caused by mining is the only major category of development-induced displacement observed in contemporary Europe. Particularly important are open-pit brown coal mines in Germany, Poland, and recently in Serbia and Kosovo. The best known example of population displacement involved the creation of the Garzweiler open-pit mine (Tagebau Garzweiler – operated by Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk AG) in the North-Rhine Westphalia.\(^8\) Taking into account the amount of compensations and the effectiveness of legal institutions, resettlements in Europe are not a main social problem or a human rights issue. As elsewhere scale of compensation and social losses remains a contentious issue. Problems of the German and Polish energy sectors may still lead to the development of lignite mines, which will probably raise opposition from environmental organizations and groups of residents. Controversies of this kind are particularly visible in Germany – a country with a long tradition of ecological movements and strong political influence of the Green Party. Projects related to potential environmental hazards and social problems often encounter criticism from the institutions of the European Union.

Mining-induced displacement is an issue superficially discussed in the literature. The majority of publications cover the situation in India, but still there are no works analyzing resettlements in the mining regions of Ghana, Indonesia, and Papua New Guinea. Experts on development-induced displacement in Africa far more frequently discuss the problems of displacement in oil-bearing areas such as Nigeria and Sudan. Resettlements in Ogoniland and South Sudan prompt much more interest than the less politically significant cases of mining-induced displacement in

Ghana and the Democratic Republic of Congo. This fact seems even more skewed if we take into account that the scale of relocations in Ghana (Tarkwa), Mali (Sadiola), or Indonesia concerns at least a few tens of thousands of people. Reports on the realization of displacement projects, and their financial compensations and mechanisms are also lacking. A small minority of corporations publishes this kind of data on their websites.

A report *Avoiding New Poverty: Mining-Induced Displacement and Resettlement*, written by Theodore E. Downing, is regarded as the most important work on MIDR. There is another report by the same author also worth mentioning concerning the impact of mining on the situation of tribal people. The second publication especially seems to provide a valuable frame of reference for studying the threats to human security caused by the development of mining and forced displacements. We should remember that people with low social status and who remain outside of society’s mainstream bear the biggest costs of resettlement. In the gloomiest cases, mining is the factor responsible for reducing safety and driving marginalized communities into deeper poverty.

Among the publications scrutinizing the mining-induced displacement phenomenon in India, we should include works by Fernandes (2006), Areeparampil (1996), Bhengara (1996), and Herbert and Lahiri-Dutt (2004). There are also several articles available depicting mining-induced displacement in Ghana, Guatemala, and Chile. However, we can still observe a lack of studies

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aimed at a theoretical conceptualization of the issue. Apart from Downing, none of the above-mentioned reports offers in-depth deliberation.

Nevertheless an attempt to apply the concept of human security to the analysis of the social consequences of development-induced displacement is not itself a novelty. G. Caspary applied it in the context of dam-induced displacements and the financing of large-scale projects.\textsuperscript{12} Interesting theoretical considerations are also present in an article by G. Bharali: “Development-Induced Displacement and Human Security in Assam.”\textsuperscript{13} Hence, experts are noticing the utility of human security as an analytical resource for social problems with complex effects.

**Analysing the consequences of mining-induced displacement and resettlement. Empirically useful concepts**

The consequences of mining-induced displacement and resettlement form a subject of concern among specialists from several disciplines. One characteristic of human rights and development studies is that their broad classifications are a good scientific tool enabling research on displaced persons or those affected by the mining sector. Yet we should also bear in mind the key role played in this domain by sociological concepts. Development-induced displacement studies pioneered by social anthropologists and sociologists performed a decisive function in the development of later more specific research. If not for their efforts, development-induced displacement would never have become a full-fledged discipline as it is today. Assuming that


mining-induced displacement and resettlement are a relevant part of development-induced displacement and resettlement, sociological concepts will serve as the starting point.

In the next part I will present concepts that are particularly useful in the analysis of the social consequences of mining-induced displacement. They do not exhaust all classification options. Each of the presented approaches aims at different goal. Some of them tend simply to identify basic hazards affecting displacees. Others combine theoretical considerations with an endeavour to prescribe mechanisms of aid provided to this category of people.

*Social Science (sociology, applied anthropology)*: Research on the social consequences of mining-induced displacement has a short history. For many years sociologists and anthropologists have expended great effort to describe the consequences of dam construction rather than those of mining. This can be tied to several factors. The dynamics of mining in the 1970s were not as active as they currently are. The expansion of open-cast mining means that resettlements are becoming a problem that affects more and more people. The scale of the problem and its irreversible character now more significantly resemble those displacements induced by man-made reservoirs.

Sociological research has had an enormous impact on current approaches to the problem. One particularly useful scientific tool is the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model, known as the IRR Model, created within the realm of the social sciences. It points to landlessness, unemployment, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property and resources, and social disintegration as the basic threats determining the situation of displacees.\(^\text{14}\) As Michael Cernea noticed, proper financing

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and strategies of risk management should be the elementary instruments oriented towards the mitigation of impoverishment risks. The author specifies the hazards most crucially affecting resettled people. According to Mahapatra, the catalogue of dangers found in the IRR may be augmented by the addition of temporary loss of access to schooling. Mathur (2006) adds “the loss of access to social services” to the entire list. Further, Jain and Dixena claim that “displacement mostly affects indigenous people and ethnic minorities.” To the above list we can add two more problems: the reduction of economic activity of women, and negative cultural impacts.

Human rights studies: The domain of human rights provides us with another analytical tool that enables research into the outcomes of development-induced displacement. Resettlements may lead to violations of practically every category of human rights: from the right to life and political rights to cultural rights, indigenous peoples’ rights, and highly-advanced third- and fourth-generation rights (e.g. the right to development, the right to environment). Therefore the consequences of mining-induced displacement can be scrutinized on the basis of the categories of human rights violated during and after concrete displacement. Threats to human rights caused by mining activities are primarily the result of landlessness and induced by the loss of a material base and a network of social ties. Mere resettlement deprived of social assistance programs becomes detrimental to fundamental rights and liberties, in extreme cases even the protection of one’s own life. Let us now examine certain types of hazards potentially leading to loss of life amongst displacees.

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16 S. Jain, Y. Dixena, “Development-Induced Displacement”, http://www.manupatrafast.com/articles/PopOpenArticle.aspx?ID=d03848b7-dff9-4b57-b7c8-c7e7a4df797f&txtsearch=Subject:%20Property
In authoritarian regimes and in countries encumbered with armed conflicts, the lack of a public resettlement agreement may imply the brutal pacification of entire villages. Civil and political rights are another category of human rights mentioned in international documents. We can observe violations of these rights as early as the initial planning stages of the investment. Displaced persons, even those from the lowest social classes, are entitled to the same civil and political rights as any citizen. Cases of legal discrimination are the obvious example of a violation of these types of entitlements. Resettlements in urban zones or in areas inhabited by wealthy people coming from higher classes are more often carried out than are resettlements in regions populated by the indigenous and in the countryside. In confrontations with national authorities and the national or transnational business sector, displacees are in a no-win situation. Specific cases of discriminatory practices in the sphere of property rights can be regarded as violations of civil rights. Indigenous people who are deprived of the formal right to own the land are intensely affected by such violations. Problems of this kind can usually be found in countries where societies are strongly diversified and which exclude underprivileged classes from the category of full citizens. Active participation in political life and public protest against contentious decisions of the government are one of the most apparent manifestations of political rights. However, displaced people are often constrained in their rights to oppose the power, and cases of taking to the streets end with brutal clashes with police and pacification of the protesters.

In the first place, resettlements and their effects lead to the violation of economic and social human rights. Such problems occur already at the planning stages of the investment. The amount of compensation seems inadequate compared to the value of the abandoned properties and non-material losses connected with displacement. Displaced persons are deprived of any assistance in
their resulting job search, which leads to long-term unemployment. People living in rural areas, and various categories of tribal people and endangered groups are the most frequent victims of such violations of economic rights. As experts have noted, development-induced displacement significantly limits or even disables women from continuing their existing economic activity within domicile structures. Moreover, there are countries in which the freedom to choose a place of residence is constrained. In those cases, the problem of homelessness should be recognized as a violation of the right to adequate housing. Impoverishment of access to common resources (pasture lands, forests, rivers) and lack of promised social assistance towards communities is an evident violation of economic rights. Therefore, concomitant deforestation becomes one of the factors standing behind the marginalization of the displacees. Imposing upon indigenous people external patterns of economic organization is one of the reasons for social problems that later appear.

The violation of social rights is especially observed after the displacement process. It is the result of the interplay of economic problems and a lack of proper aid in the new place of residence. Hence deliberate action as well as its absence on the part of actors which ought to support the displacees—local communities, the private sector (in this case, mining companies) and local administration—can explain this dramatic logic of events. A combination of poor material conditions and a lack of social assistance in the place to which people are moved creates most of the problems. A change of economic organization and low flexibility on the job market are primary causes of the unemployment of the displacees. Resettlement without adequate compensation or new living place often ends with homelessness. Deteriorating economic conditions present still another hazard. Water, soil, and air contamination caused by mining jeopardizes the health of the whole population. The most vulnerable victims of such
contamination consist of women, children, elderly people, and tribespeople. The atomization of local communities and relocation far from their homelands can be regarded as a violation of cultural rights. If coherent communities are not entirely displaced to one place, their homogeneity will be broken and group identity will gradually decline. One reason for a loss of identity is resettlement to areas with totally different patterns of economic and cultural organization. Displacing rural communities to the suburbs of big metropolises constitutes not only an economic and social phenomenon but also a cultural one. Among the dangerous cultural consequences of resettlement are the loss of collective identity, the lack of sense of group affiliation, and even specific cultural phenomena such as the atrophy of local traditions. Displacements are collective actions determining the functioning of broad social groups: families, tribes, rural communities, or minorities. Therefore studying their effects using the rubric of third-generation human rights stands to provide an essential current of research.\(^{17}\) The right to self-determination is being extended to smaller communities. Those social entities which inhabit certain pieces of land for many generations should become viable actors, capable of determining their own future. Self-determination also concerns the right to freely choose their path to economic, social, and cultural development. The outcome of mining development directly or indirectly constrains this right. The perfect example of this are the arbitrary orders of resettlement put out without public consultations with local communities. The right to self-determination is also violated by indirect consequences such as soil pollution and landlessness. Social and economic development are categories of rights violated altogether too frequently in developing countries. Instead of contributing to the realization of social justice, large development projects maximize the welfare of the few. Full-fledged socio-economic

\(^{17}\) The third generation of human rights consists of the following rights: group of collective rights; right to self-determination, right to economic and social development, right to a healthy environment, right to natural resources, right to communicate and communication rights, right to participation in cultural heritage, right to intergenerational equity and sustainability.
development is not feasible under the conditions of unemployment, homelessness, and environmental problems. The expansion of the mining industry, devoid of proper control, infringes upon the right to a healthy environment. Open-pit mines cause contamination of field waters and impose limits on the possibilities of living in their direct environs. The most obvious example of environmental rights violation is the long-lasting activity of transnational corporations in the Niger Delta.\textsuperscript{18} A particularly important issue is the right of local communities to wealth that is on their territory. The definition of wealth should not be reduced to natural resources such as oil, gas, or coal. Equally valuable are the resources of forests, unpolluted water, air, and even the beauty of the landscape. A large part of such resources is located in areas inhabited by indigenous people. Limited financial resources and legal difficulties imply that they usually do not participate in profits gained from the exploitation of their land. Communities initially possessing the resource-rich land become more and more disadvantaged and marginalized as a result of these actions. The overwhelming majority of all mining income is then transferred to corporations’ countries of origin. Thus it does not have any impact on the local national or regional socio-economic development.

Human rights are a theoretical concept useful for analyzing the individual and collective consequences of internal displacement. Beyond the theoretical, however, real-life support for the displacees is much harder to implement. Though it is not binding, the document “Guiding Principles of Internal Displacement” enacted in February 1998 is currently the most respected international text dealing with this issue. According to the definition included in article 2, the IDP refers to “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the

effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border.”

Hence, in the definition as cited, there is clearly no reference to development projects as a category of action influencing the dynamics of internal displacements; this, from the point of view of the matter presented herein, significantly reduces its analytical utility. Viewing large investments as a sub-category of human-induced natural disasters seems extremely inappropriate. Yet direct references to the situation of persons displaced due to development projects may be found in the document. In Section 2 (Principle 6) there is a provision instituting a prohibition against resettling people when a given project does not serve the public interest. Furthermore the guarantees towards IDPs (cf. Paragraph 7c) included in point 3 are of great importance here.

The African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention), adopted in October 2009, may become the first binding legal instrument of the protection of IDPs. To a large extent, it also relates to the situation of persons displaced as a result of development projects. Article 10, entitled “Displacement Induced by Projects,” outlines the most important principles guiding the realization of socially costly projects and the resettlements they cause. According to point 1, the signatories of the document should make every effort to limit development-induced displacement (caused by private- as well as public-sector projects). Taking into account the current state of economic development and the positive impact of modernization, the aforementioned provisions seems excessively restrictive. Institutions responsible for the realization of the projects ought to seek alternative solutions, which are the least costly in social terms, and should also conduct broad consultations with the

representatives of local communities (point 2). State administration ought to study carefully the social and economic impact of any project before endorsing it (point 3). The low level of acceptance of the specific provisions may erect a significant barrier preventing the implementation of the principles suggested in the document.

The next theoretical approach which is useful for the analysis of the consequences of displacement is the concept of human development. Its objective consists of scrutinizing the interplay between the human condition and international economic development. The impact of economic growth on inhabitants’ well-being seems to be the key element here. As is well-known in the case of development-induced displacement, this interrelation is most often reversed – instead of maximizing well-being, development can contribute to an increase in alienation, economic pauperization, and social exclusion. The influence of modernization upon inhabitants of developing countries is a subject of interest for social anthropologists and sociologists as well as specialists in political economics and development studies. Nonetheless, the concepts of human development and human security are still rarely applied in analyzing the consequences of development-induced displacement.

State-led projects such as the construction of roads, the expansion of urban areas, or the creation of hydroelectric power plants are primarily aimed at boosting a country’s social and economic development. Thus, inconveniences related to their realization ought to be compensated with interest with a view to raising the level of human development among the largest possible circle of inhabitants. Conversely, private-sector projects such as gold mining and the extraction of oil are primarily aimed at making a profit. Hence, they need not increase the well-being of the
surrounding communities and country.\(^\text{20}\) In other words, in the case of public projects the ultimate goal is the maximization of human development among the widest possible circle of people, but in the case of private projects it is the maximization of the profits of a narrow circle of investors, frequently by no means related to the country where the resource extraction is carried out.

**Human security as a tool for analyzing the social consequences of mining-induced displacement**

The concept of Human security is a useful analytical tool for many global problems. The reasons for this are: a) the general and cross-sectional character of the issue; b) a concentration on the situation of the individual; c) the limited importance of politics as just one of the factors affecting the general level of human security; and d) the assertion that the state is only one of the institutions influencing security (there are also individuals, social groups, NGOs, international organizations, etc.).

The extraction of natural resources, like many other activities, has a powerful impact on all categories of human security. The seven basic pillars of human security proposed by the UNDP in 1994 seem to offer an essential instrument for classification, especially at the earliest planning stages of development projects. This tool must be supplemented at subsequent stages by more specific sociological research (i.e. the IRR Model) connected with practically-oriented studies.

The birth of the concept of human security is tied to post-cold war revaluations within the international system. At that time, attention was drawn to the extra-political culprits of some

security threats. Human security assumes that the main subjects and recipients of security are not the states but individuals and social groups. In fact, the activity of the state can often even lead to decline in the level of human security of its citizens. Moreover, in the case of the extraction of resources, actions or desistance on the part of the state very frequently leads directly to the erosion of human security for displaced and otherwise affected people. Hence it is worth considering how mining and the resettlement it causes can influence different categories of human security for surrounding communities.

The classification of human security included in the Human Development Report from 1994 will here provide the basis for further reflection. Seven main areas of human security were specified therein: a) economic security; b) food security; c) health security; d) environmental security; e) personal security; f) community security; and g) political security. In the following years, this conceptualization was discussed during international fora organized by the United Nations, among others, during the World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995. The propounded taxonomy leaves much space for various applications, and therefore it is ideal for analyzing complex global issues such as mining-induced displacement and resettlement. In my opinion, it functions best when complemented by at least two other categories: gender security and cultural security.

_Economic security._ Lack of or decrease in economic security is one of the problems of displaced people. According to Walter Fernandes, a scientist who conducted research on tribal people in India, the main cause of economic problems for displacees is the loss of land.\(^{21}\) Sadly, the abandonment of inhabited areas is not accompanied by adequate compensation for losses. A lack

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of future prospects for the new place of residence leads to joblessness and homelessness. This undercuts the economic basis of entire displaced social structures. Today, development-induced displacement is above all an economic phenomenon. This means that even resettlement to nearby or adjacent territory implicates substantial changes in the economic base of individuals and groups. Local communities predominantly do not have any opportunities to participate in profits resulting from resource extraction. Even being the owner of these resources does not automatically make them an economic asset. Building dams and hydroelectric power plants generally brings a variety of benefits to local communities: a decrease in energy prices, new jobs, the development of tourism, and better access to water. The vast majority of dams do not generate substantial environmental problems during their exploitation. However, the goal of mining development is not economic development but rather the maximization of profits by extraction companies. Technological development and automation mean that less and less workers are required in order to extract resources, and the employees that do get hired must have higher qualifications. Only a fraction of the inhabitants can expect to be employed in such a highly-automated and technical mining sector.

**Food security.** As experts maintain, mining development may have an impact on a decline in food security for the surrounding communities. Landlessness poses one of the most important problems for displacees in every region of the world. Resettlement means that rural communities have less and less farmland at their disposal. Loss of access to community resources such as forests, pastures, and rivers also affects the level of food security. The pollution of water, air, and soil decreases nature’s economic efficiency and concurrently the quantity of available food. Mining-induced water pollution spells great difficulties in agriculture and a decline in fish in
contaminated rivers. Relocation to other places triggers loss, or at least significant change, in existing networks of economic ties. A particular problem is the loss of the possibility of making commercial exchanges or maintaining cooperation within families, etc. Mass displacements frequently end up with rapid population growth in a given area. In a situation where there is over-population, food becomes an increasingly rare commodity and even a reason for conflict (casus belli). Usually it is the displaced persons and not the natives that bear the costs of these arising problems. The latter are able to work out alternative ways to acquire food. Being accustomed to changes in the economic base and in the means of gaining resources is the key element for adaption to a new place of residence. Even resettlement to nearby territories similar to the abandoned ones forces changes in the means of gaining food, as, in cases of over-population and shrinking supplies, food becomes a cause of conflict between the natives and the newcomers. Problems of this kind may considerably hinder the integration of the displaced people with the previous residents. Decreases in the level of economic security also arise from changes in the situation of women. Due to the results of mining, (e.g. landlessness, difficult access to pastures, rivers and forests) they cannot gain enough food to support their families. This prompts a decline in women’s economic utility, and thus they lose their position in the society.

Health Security. Mining significantly affects in a negative way the state of health of whole communities. Large open-pit mines pose serious threats, mainly because they pollute the water and interrupt the lives of ordinary people in nearby areas. Mining of certain kinds (e.g. uranium mining) is more dangerous to health than others (e.g. coal mining). The groups most vulnerable

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in terms of health are the above-mentioned categories: women, children, and indigenous people. Furthermore, let us not forget other displacement-induced health problems such as alcoholism and mental illness. Keeping private businesses in check using local and central administration seems to be the only way to strengthen health security. However, in most cases, the authorities are not concerned with interfering in the standards of mining investors. There are several reasons for this. Generally, mining investments are far from city centers and thus affect the poor, who are the lowest stratum of the society. Companies owned by the state cooperate with foreign extraction corporations, and the authorities are afraid of the outflow of capital and profits from the mining industry, which can often account for a majority of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

**Environmental Security.** Among the most crucial environmental consequences we can mention the following: a) chemical contamination of air, water, and land; b) loss of biodiversity; and c) erosion and mountain topping. Environmental problems translate to effects on the economic, food, and health security of the displaced people and the communities affected by mining. Problems of this kind concern a growing number of inhabitants of developing countries. A healthy and uncontaminated environment becomes an increasingly rare and desirable commodity. More and more indigenous people living in harmony with nature become victims of intensive economic growth that excludes the principles of sustainable development. Among the methods for maximizing environmental security are: a) cooperation with NGOs dealing with the issues of environmental protection, ecology, and environmental justice; b) publication (in the Western media) of examples of investments leading to environmental degradation; and c) development of the principles of environmental protection and corporate social responsibility (CSR) in the lawmaking of developing countries.
Personal Security. The basic indicator for the maximization of personal security is the protection of the individual against physical violence. Mining and the displacement it causes may lead to many cases of violence: confrontations with police, threats on the part of transnational corporations, or conflicts with local communities reluctant to welcome the displacees. The protests of the latter against leaving their initial place of residence often end in brutal clashes with emergency services. For those communities with limited political potential and discrimination in their access to courts, going to the streets for peaceful manifestations can be their only means of fighting for their rights. Yet much of this kind of action is deemed illegal and fiercely halted by the police. The persecution of local communities is also observed in the activity of corporations interested in swift seizure of the land on which the resources linger. Allowing brutal violations of human rights, their goal is to intimidate and minimize resistance. Corporations often force state authorities to pursue hard displacements from the areas of future exploitation of resources. Mass resettlements of new inhabitants procure problems for the native communities, that is, the ones living for a long period of time on the territory in question. Acquiring scarce resources such as food or employment is frequently a cause of competition with existing inhabitants and results in a difficult integration for the displacees into the new living place. The most dangerous cases of violence occur in countries struggling with civil conflicts, during which displacements merge with the problems of minority discrimination. A perfect illustration of this is the situation of Ogoni and Ijaw tribes inhabiting the Niger Delta. During the war in Guatemala, the authoritarian regime killed over 150 people protesting against the construction of Chixoy Dam.

Community Security. Mining-induced displacement is increasingly treated as a community issue. Hence it is worth reflecting upon the impact of mining development on the level of security of
small social groups: families, tribes, minorities, villages, etc. Currently, small-sized communities have virtually no instruments of prevention against top-down and arbitrary decisions of resettlements, legal discrimination, low compensations for lost properties, and further social marginalization. It can be even claimed that many threats are visible at the community level first and foremost, and only afterwards concern individuals. The level of community security depends on the degree of group cohesiveness. Programs of social assistance towards displaced people are the important factor in maximizing this particular kind of security. We put much emphasis especially on the country which is able to provide: a) education; b) social services; c) help in finding jobs; and d) support for the most vulnerable groups.

**Political Security.** The goal of mining is to quickly generate substantial profits for private entities, such as large transnational corporations and state-owned companies. More rarely is mining pursued by state firms aimed at satisfying the energy needs of their own citizens and as an instrument of national development. Capital possessed by companies is the main factor in pushing concrete decisions through. The mobility of this capital constitutes the strategic element in the blackmail of authorities of poor countries in order to force decisions which are favourable to big corporations. Corporate interests become more important than the economic and social rights of citizens. Indigenous or tribal people are meaningless political actors. In the face of competition from big business, they possess no instrument whatsoever enabling them to protest against unfavourable decisions. Therefore, social and political rights give way to economic interests, as do the majority of categories of human security and human rights. Empowering local communities to be actors with a genuine impact on society seems to be the only way they can choose to brighten their situation. Above all, this requires political and economic

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strengthening of those categories of people that are already marginalized and excluded from society. Big companies can easily violate the interests of indigenous and tribal people. This frequently occurs with the acquiescence of national authorities. They do not recognize these people as citizens with full rights.

\textit{Gender Security}. Mining-induced displacement significantly worsens the situation of women.\footnote{On the subject of impact of mining-induced displacement and resettlement on the situation of women see especially: Ahmad, Nesar, \textit{Women, mining, and displacement: report of a pilot study conducted in Jharkhand}, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 2003. See also: R. Modi, “Gender and development-induced displacement: case studies from Zambia and India”, (Researching Internal Displacement: State of the Art Conference Report) published in \textit{Forced Migration Review}, 2003.} Loss of land is one of the main consequences of mining expansion. In connection with loss of access to common resources and properties (forests, pastures, rivers), it leads to decline in women’s economic utility. They do not possess enough arable land, which negatively affects the economic situation of entire families. The expansion of mining may lead to forced unemployment and the erosion of women’s economic function. Displaced women frequently have little chance of finding a job, as a result of their lack of labour flexibility and relatively long period of adaption to changing conditions. Water and soil contamination cause profits from agriculture to drop. Furthermore, women are more strongly affected by the health problems induced by mining. According to some sources mining can have a negative impact on women’s reproductive health in the surrounding areas. As Renu Modi noticed, the situation of a majority of people displaced as a result of development projects is worse than it had been before the project started.\footnote{R. Modi, “Gender and development-induced displacement: case studies from Zambia and India”, (Researching Internal Displacement: State of the Art Conference Report) published in \textit{Forced Migration Review}, 2003.} Thus development-induced displacement causes further marginalization of whole groups which already have a very low social position (tribal people, women, children).
Cultural Security. All categories of development-induced displacement pose a big threat to cultural security. Conflict-induced or disaster-induced displacements are short-lived and reversible phenomena. Resettlements caused by development projects often force irreversible abandonment of certain territory. The scale of cultural hazards is subordinated to many factors. Displacements in the immediate surroundings of the abandoned households or the nearby neighbourhood are not tied to significant cultural changes. Much greater problems are rooted in resettlements to distant areas, very different from the particulars of the initial place of residence. Relocating local communities to other places leads to their physical decomposition and evident cultural effects. The example of China shows that it is very hard to adapt members of rural communities with limited flexibility to new and unfavourable urban conditions. Hence the level of cultural security is determined by the level of integration within local communities. It is much easier for persons displaced due to armed conflicts (conflict-induced displaced people) to preserve their independence and group identity. The hope for coming back home is a very important factor shaping both features. Absence of any such expectations facilitates the integration into a living place. Resettlements induced by large development projects may lead to at least partial erosion of cultural traditions and unification of economic model.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The concept of human security is a useful analytical tool for the situation of people affected or displaced by the mining sector. Just like the concept of human rights, it reveals not only individual but also collective problems of the displacees. The aforementioned dichotomy enables concentration on issues such as food, environment, and health. Human security seems better than human development as an instrument for the analysis of the situation of displacees. Human
development focuses our attention on the impact of developmental parameters upon the maximization of well-being of individual and social groups. Extraction of coal very rarely leads to such maximization. Usually, the goal of commercial projects is to make profits, not to generate or sustain social development. It would be more acceptable if the situation of people affected or resettled by the mining industry were approached in terms of a minimization of threats. The classifications outlined in the Human Development Report should be complemented by at least two other categories: gender security and cultural security. The goal of modernization should include the equalization of opportunities, with regards to both the social position of particular categories of people as well as to men and women. Development-induced displacement leads to further marginalization of already excluded groups. This process is particularly visible in India and in countries with meaningful social disproportions. Unlike dam construction, mining does not bring about any positive outcome for local communities. Globalization and the flow of capital often mean that a growing number of people in developing countries end up excluded. Cultural threats caused by large investments are a vital and frequently omitted issue.

**Summary:**

According to a report published in recent years, developments in the mining industry are the cause of about 10 percent of all displacements in the world. This means that more than a million people per year may be resettled as a result of resource extraction in various parts of the globe. Countries displaying the greatest growth rate of this phenomenon include India, China, Ghana, and many other African counties. The most burning issue is the establishment of large open-pit mines in developing countries, such as the Tarkwa Mine in Ghana, and the Tedi and Porgera
Mines in Papua Island. The impact of mining on the dynamics of internal displacements remains a topic rarely analyzed in the literature. Authors are more concerned with displacements induced by the construction of large dams and the creation of national parks or by ongoing urbanization processes. Instead of contributing to the well-being of local communities, the extraction of resources leads to a growing number of resettlements, environmental destruction, and a deterioration of the situation of marginalized groups. The consequences of the aforementioned problem do not diverge significantly from other categories of development-induced displacements such as oil-induced displacement, dam-induced displacement, or conservation-induced displacement.

The analysis of internal displacement has become the focus of different fields of study. Sociology, social anthropology, human rights and development studies, and even philosophy are amongst disciplines particularly useful in the exploration of the consequences of development-induced displacement. Research into this category of displacements, now under development for more than 40 years, has prompted the creation of specific theoretical concepts (i.e. the IRR model). The notion of human security also appears to be a useful scientific tool for more in-depth social analyses. Classification included in the Human Development Report published in 1994 distinguishes seven basic aspects of human security: economic security, food security, personal security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security. Extraction of mineral resources leads to substantial threats to each of these aspects. An application of the aforementioned classifications to the research on the consequences of mining-induced displacement and resettlement helps to understand the broader context of problems encountered by the displacees. However, it should also be supplemented by two specific categories: gender security and cultural security.


