

Oil-induced displacement and resettlement. Social problem and human rights issue¹

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Introduction:

Extraction and transportation of mineral resources today presents an increasing social problem, leading to environmental damage and the violation of human rights. In addition to economic and social controversies as well as political problems (such as corruption amongst state and local authorities), it caused population displacement on a large scale. The social costs of oil production illustrate, like no other issue, the asymmetric power relationship between transnational capital and the populations of developing countries, indigenous peoples in particular. Crude oil extraction also leads to massive environmental devastation, which clearly affects the living conditions of local communities. Furthermore, access to oil is a common cause of conflict, which obviously affects the scale of IDPs in many African states². Protests against the expansion of mining, oil exploitation and the topic of environmental destruction lead to violent clashes with police and forced evictions of entire villages and communities (the phenomenon of so-called petro-violence)³. Fearing for the

1 Parts of this paper were presented at `(New) Debates on Belonging` conference, Hosted by The Graduate Center Immigration Working Group at The Graduate Center City University of New York, Friday, October 14, 2011.

2 G. Prunier, R.M. Gisselquist, "The Sudan: A Successfully Failed State" [in] R.I. Rotberg (ed.), *State failure and state weakness in a time of terror*, Princeton University Press, 2003, pp. 106; P. Vandergeest, P. Idahosa and P.S. Bose (eds.), *Development's Displacements. Ecologies, Economies and Cultures at Risk*, University of British Columbia, 2006, pp. 79. According to the IDMC oil exploitation in Sudan became the principal objective and main cause of war after 1999. This problem has been analysed in several publications (Bradbury 1998; Verney 1999; Watts 2001; Courtland Robinson 2003).

3 C.I. Obi, "Oil Extraction, Dispossession, Resistance, and Conflict in Nigeria's Oil-Rich Niger Delta", *Canadian*

safety of pipelines, national authorities often force the violent displacement of local communities, sometimes involving many thousands of people. For several reasons, displacement associated with the extraction of oil is a unique and interesting issue. The multidimensional nature of the problem breaks the general division of internal displacement into three or four categories: conflict-induced displacement, environmentally-induced displacement, disaster-induced displacement, and development-induced displacement⁴. Existing classification, dating back to the late eighties, seems to be completely useless when confronted with a more detailed analysis of the displacement caused by oil extraction⁵.

Population displacement caused by the extraction of oil is a common phenomenon in many regions of the world. The biggest problems we now see, however, arise in failed states and conflicted countries with poorly-established principles of democracy, ethnic antagonism or practices of discrimination against indigenous and tribal people, and low efficiency in the institutions of legal protection. Among the countries where such problems are highly visible we can mention: Nigeria, Sudan, and Ecuador. The problem of oil-induced displacement also occurs in some other countries in Africa, as well as in Asia (Burma) and South and Central America (Colombia). The environmental consequences of oil extraction is becoming a growing social problem in the Amazon. The widespread deforestation of the Rainforest is, in fact, preparing a place for subsequent ecological havoc: the extraction of mineral resources and inappropriate agricultural practices⁶. Unfortunately, according to many scientific studies, oil production in developing countries almost never contributes to improving the situation of local communities. Loss of land lead to loss of economic base functioning of the whole community.

Oil-related displacement and resettlement, observed in different parts of the world, are phenomena rather similar in nature. Their common element is the growing economic, social, and cultural marginalization of indigenous people. Oil projects are frequently located in indigenous peoples' territories (Colombia, Ecuador, Indonesia, East Timor, Burma, Angola, Nigeria)⁷. Following the expansion of mining, indigenous groups are forced to leave land they have inhabited for generations. Yet such people almost never participate in the distribution of income from oil extraction. Rather, they play the role of hostage to the interests of government, multinational petrochemical corporations, and extremist groups. According to Michael Cernea, the most negative consequences of development-induced displacement (including mining and oil exploitation) are: landlessness, loss of access to common property, homelessness, joblessness, food insecurity, social

Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 30, No. 1–2, 2010, pp. 219–236; M. Watts, "Petro-Violence: Community, Extraction and Political Ecology of a Mythic Commodity" [in] N.L. Peluso, M. Watts (eds.), *Violent Environments*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2001, pp. 189-212. Watts analyses "petro-violence" in a very broad way (political, cultural, environmental) as a phenomenon associated with poverty and displacement.

- 4 R. Zetter, *Protecting of environmentally displaced people. Developing the capacity of legal and normative frameworks*, Research Report, Refugee Studies Centre Oxford Department of International Development University of Oxford, February 2011. K. Koser, S. Martin (eds), *The Migration-Displacement Nexus. Patterns, Processes and Policies*, Berghahn Books, 2011, pp. 8. According to Jeff Crisp forced migration studies are composed of multiple categories "development-induced displacement, disaster-induced displacement, conservation-induced displacement, environmental refugees, nomads, irregular and illegal migrants, stateless people, diasporas, transnational communities, war-affected populations and 'stayees'" J. Crisp "Closing Keynote Address" [in] J. Van Selm, K. Kamanga, J. Morrison, A. Nadig, S. Spoljar-Vrzina, L. Van Willinen, *The Refugee Convention at Fifty. A View from Forced Migration Studies*, Lexington Books, Lanham, 2003.
- 5 The theoretical frameworks of "environmental refugees" (El-Hinnawi) and "development-induced displacement" (Cernea) appeared almost simultaneously in 1985, E. El-Hinnawi, *Environmental Refugees*, UNEP, Nairobi, 1985, M.M. Cernea, *Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development*, World Bank Publications, Washington D.C., 1985.
- 6 According to M. Patricia Marchak the most negative consequences of deforestation include: reduction o biodiversity, desertification, downstream flooding, reduction of oxygen supply and human displacement, M.P. Marchak, *Logging the Globe*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995, pp. 166.
- 7 M.J. Watts, "Righteous Oil?: Human Rights, the Oil Complex and Corporate Social Responsibility", *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, vol. 30, 2005, pp. 373-407.

marginalization, increased morbidity, and social disarticulation (IRR model)⁸. The oil companies have caused not only social marginalisation but also destruction of ecology and decomposition of culture. Crude oil often leads to greater social consequences than other causes of development-induced displacement and resettlement. The development of the petrochemical industry is associated with much larger environmental damage than the construction of small dams, the building of roads, and the increasing scale nature conservation areas (e.g. the creation of national parks, etc.). Another danger is related to large corporations, equipped with huge funds and a resulting potential for impact on local authorities (corruption). The purpose of the oil industry is not to support local development, but to maximize the incomes of petrochemical corporations from developed countries.

Petrochemical companies have been present in Africa for more than forty years. Their actions are often based on the corruption of local elites and the intimidation of communities. Crude oil production in the Niger Delta was conducted in isolation from any environmental standards whatsoever⁹. If faced with big capital, local communities have only a limited chance of defending their rights and interests (e.g. property rights, environmental rights, etc.). An equally significant problem resulted from oil production in southern Sudan, in operation in 1999. Oil exploration in Southern Sudan began in 1975 (Chevron was granted a concession in the south and south-east part of Sudan). According to Robinson, the exploitation of oil in the Eastern Upper Nile region and the connected construction of a pipeline led to the burning of 48 villages and displacement of 55,000 people. The World Food Program and Operation Lifeline Sudan released numbers upwards of 174,000 people displaced following the development of oil production in Sudan (2002). Similarly, the problem of oil-related resettlement has a long history in Latin American countries. Already in 1964, the American company Texaco began an ongoing process of over 25 years of environmental devastation in the Oriente region in Ecuador. In 1960 Texaco and Ecopetrol began constructing pipelines and drilling for oil in southern Colombia. Thousands of indigenous people in this country were displaced in mid-eighties by British Petroleum oil operations¹⁰. Unocal and Total Premier joint venture companies in Burma have been accused of various human rights abuses including involuntary displacement, forced and illegal labour, torture and even murder¹¹.

Specific methods and standards for the implementation of resettlements vary, depending on the political situation in the given country, as well as on its specific ethnic and social circumstances. In countries where the ongoing involuntary resettlement (displacement) becomes a part of the overall context of conflict (e.g. Sudan 1999-2002, ethnic and religious clashes in Nigeria, internal conflict in Burma), the implementation of displacement is creating a threat to the most fundamental human rights including the right to life. Areas free from civil wars and ethnic conflicts are characterized by more humane resettlement patterns; yet even there, they can lead to acts of terror, targeting protesters. We must therefore distinguish between two basic analytical categories: displacement (often unplanned, carried out under conditions of conflict, leading to massive violations of human rights) and resettlement (based on resettlement plans and social consensus, monitored and implemented on the basis of principles of law). In fact, these two categories of involuntary

8 M. Cernea, "The Risks and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Populations", *World Development*, Vol. 25, Issue 10, 1997, pp. 1569-1587; M.M. Cernea, Ch. McDowell (eds.), *Risk and Reconstruction. Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*, World Bank, 2000, pp. 20; M.M. Cernea, "Risks, Safeguards and Reconstruction: A Model for Population Displacement and Resettlement", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 41, 7-13 October 2000, pp. 3659-3678; K.B. Saxena "Rehabilitation and resettlement of displaced persons. A critical examination of the national policy and proposed bills" [in] S. Somayaji, S. Talwar (eds.), *Development-induced Displacement, Rehabilitation and Resettlement in India. Current issues and challenges*, Routledge, London, 2011, pp. 23.

9 T. Doyle, *Environmental Movements in Majority and Minority Worlds*, Rutgers University Press, 2005, pp. 51.

10 J. Timmons Roberts, N. Demetria Thanos, *Trouble in paradise: globalization and environmental crises in Latin America*, Routledge, London, 2003, pp. 169.

11 P. Simons, "Corporate Voluntarism and Human Rights: The Adequacy and Effectiveness of Voluntary Self-Regulation Regimes" [in] Cragg W. (ed.), *Ethics Codes, Corporations and the Challenge of Globalization*, Edward Elgar Publishing Company, 2005, pp. 75-112.

resettlement are of a completely different character.

Mass displacement accompanying oil production leads to many violations of fundamental human rights. This forces us to analyze the specific nature of the problem and the associated risks. This publication does not pretend to form an exhaustive treatment of the subject. It is rather a brief compendium providing the reader with this specific and difficult-to-classify category of involuntary resettlement. The considerations offered below focus on four main issues:

- Analysis of the difficulties in the classification of population displacement caused by the extraction, production, and transport of oil.
- Description of the most famous causes of displacement and resettlement associated with crude oil (general case studies from Sudan, Nigeria, and Ecuador).
- Presentation of this category of displacement and resettlement as a source of threats to human rights and challenges for institutions of international cooperation.
- Presentation of conclusions and recommendations aimed at minimizing the social impact of the problem.

1. Three major contexts of the analysis of displacement and resettlement associated with the extraction, production, and transport of crude oil:

Before introducing more advanced considerations, it is important to raise a number of specific theoretical issues. The study of the problem requires a precise application of concepts and at least a general theoretical conceptualization of the category of displacement and resettlement. Oil-induced change of residence may be in the form of both displacement and resettlement. Displacement occurs when petroleum becomes an important factor in civil wars, ethnic conflict, and violence. Practices of displacement are characterized above all in failed states, ruled in an authoritarian manner and with strong antagonisms and conflicts. Resettlement is the situation in the presence of long-term consultations, resettlement plans, procedures for compensation for lost property, and public infrastructure agreements. A full characterization of oil-related involuntary relocation requires us to link the above-mentioned perspectives. Reviewing the literature, however, we see a large number of publications devoted to displacement and a very limited number of positions devoted to resettlement. The beginning of the academic study of displacement can be dated back to the mid eighties (M.M. Cernea, E. El-Hinnawi). Research in resettlement began to take shape at least a few years later, influenced by the adoption of the World Bank Involuntary Resettlement Guidelines (1990)¹².

Research on the problems of displacement range from tens of years. From case studies of conflict-induced displacement, the best known and most studied form of displacement, it is difficult to accurately determine the time of their beginnings¹³. The first attempts towards the theoretical conceptualization of development-induced displacement and environmentally-induced displacement (then studied under the concept of 'Environmental Refugees') date back to the mid and late eighties. Since the nineties, much attention has been paid to the category of disaster-induced displacement¹⁴.

12 M.M. Cernea (ed.), *The economics of involuntary resettlement. Questions and Challenges*, World Bank Publications, Washington D.C., 1994; M.M. Cernea, *Involuntary Resettlement in Development Projects. Policy Guidelines in World Bank-Financed Projects*, World Bank Publications, Washington D.C., 1996, R. Picciotto, W. Van Wicklin, E. Rice (eds.), *Involuntary resettlement. Comparative perspectives (World Bank Series on Evaluation and Development volume 2)*, Transactions Publishers, New Brunswick, 2001.

13 The term "conflict-induced displacement" has appeared in literature in late 80s and early 90s. R. Black, V. Robinson (eds.), *Geography and refugees: Patterns and processes of change*, Belhaven Press, 1993, pp. 44

14 Including social consequences of industrial accidents (Chernobyl, Bhopal), W. Kälin, "Natural disasters and IDPs' rights", *Forced Migration Review*, July 2005, pp.11; A. Naik, E. Stigter and F. Laczko *Migration, Development and*

Since that time, many theoretical approaches, and more or less similar classifications (conflict-induced displacement, environmentally-induced displacement, development-induced displacement, disaster-induced displacement) were created. Other proposed classifications are becoming more specific. None of this changes the fact that any attempts to express the classification of such complex phenomena as population displacement caused by the exploitation of crude oil are doomed to failure.

Studies on involuntary resettlement are much shorter. They have developed since the early nineties under the major influence of the World Bank Guidelines on involuntary resettlement. The conceptualization of the issue is still at a preliminary stage. Displacement is a phenomenon occurring almost exclusively in developing countries. Resettlement is a form of relocation characteristic of developed states. This is why so little attention is paid to the examples of development-induced displacement and resettlement in Europe and North America¹⁵.

Research on oil-induced population displacements is limited to Nigeria, Sudan and Amazon states. There, because oil production is accompanied by the largest scale of displacement, we observe organized violence, persecution of ethnic and religious minorities, and human rights violations. This problem also occurs in several other countries. To make further analysis of the most accurate sort, we have to distinguish three basic areas of the problem. The proposed classification illustrates the dominant division in the literature on three categories of internal displacement.

a) Conflict-Induced Displacement

The control of deposits, and the extraction and transportation of raw materials are nowadays one of the fundamental causes of conflict in African countries. The most common cause of conflict is, however, access to water, rather than minerals¹⁶. The relationship between the mining of gold and diamonds and outbreaks of armed conflict are well discussed in the literature. International institutions have, for several years, drawn attention to the phenomenon of conflict minerals. The so-called blood diamonds (war diamonds, conflict diamonds) are the most famous example of this problem; these are the diamonds mined in areas of armed conflict in Africa. Profit from their sale is intended to finance civil war, leading to human rights violations and mass displacement. The problem of conflict diamonds was or is present in, among others, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, The Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Zimbabwe. Diamond mining is therefore a major indirect cause of conflict-induced displacement following the aftermath of civil wars¹⁷. Bloody civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo was financed from income derived from gold mining. The “dirty gold” we see written about more and more often means gold mining which leads to violations of human rights and ecological consequences; the profits from its sale are used to finance civil wars¹⁸.

Natural Disasters: Insights from the Indian Ocean Tsunami, IOM Migration Research Series, Working Paper No. 30, Geneva, 2007.

15 M.J. Gibney, R. Hansen (eds.), *Immigration and Asylum. From 1900 to the Present*, ABC-Clio, Santa Barbara, 2005, pp. 130; C.J. De Wet (ed.), *Development-Induced Displacement. Problems, Policies and People*, Berghahn Books, 2006, pp. 138.

16 A. Alao, *Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa. The Tragedy of Endowment*, University of Rochester Press, 2007, pp. 240; W. Derman, R. Odgaard, E. Sjaastad, *Conflicts over land and water in Africa*, James Currey Ltd., 2007, pp. 235.

17 G. Campbell, *Blood diamonds: Tracing the deadly path of the world's most precious stones*, Westview Press, 2002, pp. 25; F. Bieri, *From Blood Diamonds to the Kimberley Process: How NGOs Cleaned up The Global Diamond Industry*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Farnham-Burlington, 2010, pp. 134.

18 *Dirty Metals. Mining, Communities and the Environment. A Report by Earthworks and Oxfam America*, Oxfam America, 2004.

The relationship between the extraction of raw materials and conflict is not just a question of conflict minerals. Access to raw materials is also the cause of fighting of a more local character. The extraction of raw materials becomes a factor consolidating ethnic and religious conflicts. The extraction and transportation of oil has become a cause of large-scale displacement of the Nubian population in Sudan. We observe, therefore, forced confrontation to take control over: 1. extraction; 2. production; 3. transport; 4. sales; and 5. profit from the resources. The winner is someone able to take as full control as possible over all stages. This ensures that one can reap considerable profits, often leading to local violence and conflict-induced displacement. The desire to take over the deposits leads to violent evictions and the resettlement of hundreds or even thousands of people¹⁹.

Oil is also an important cause of conflict and large-scale internal displacement. Oil exploitation is a much more complicated process, and therefore the associated violent displacement of populations is often realized by state. The exploitation of oil requires large investments and advanced technology. Its transport requires strong control over a territory. (One necessary condition for the transportation of crude oil is control over pipelines.) To profit from the exploitation of diamonds, one only needs to take control of diamond fields and gain illicit channels of disposal. However, to profit from oil, one needs: technology, transport (access to pipelines and ports), and interaction with foreign customers. Profits from oil can only be enjoyed by organisations with a great deal of control over the territory, such as the state or deeply rooted separatist groups. Crude oil is thus linked to discrimination by the state population or extremist organizations. Among factors shaping the conflict, we can mention:

1. Conflicts related to the division of profits from the extraction of raw materials (which are often only a part of the general antagonism of tribal, religious, or ethnic substrata.)
2. The displacement associated with the exploration, mining, or transport of crude oil. (In Sudan, one observes the practice of the persecution of the population by the government.)
3. Local conflicts and violence—most often caused by lack of harmony and community protests against the exploitation of raw materials and mass relocations.
4. Access to resources and income from oil as the cause of international conflicts (Iraq-Kuwait).

b) Environmentally-Induced Displacement

Crude oil may lead to uncontrolled environmental problems. The contamination of drinking water, loss of fish, low agricultural productivity, chemical contamination, and risk of disease are just some of the factors that force people to leave their current places of residence. Crude oil causes much greater havoc on the environment than the construction of dams, urbanization, and the building of roads. For example, many areas of the Niger Delta today are totally unfit to live in, and wildlife rehabilitation may take 50-100 years there.

According to Amnesty International, oil pollution in the Niger Delta "is destroying the vital resource on which they depend. Oil pollution kills fish, their food sources and fish larvae, and damages the ability of fish to reproduce, causing both immediate damage and long-term harm to fish stocks. Oil pollution also damages fishing equipment. Oil spills and waste dumping have also seriously damaged agricultural land. Long-term effects include damage to soil fertility and agricultural productivity, which in some cases can last for decades. In numerous cases, these long-term effects have un-

19 K. Ballentine, J. Sherman (eds.), *The Political Economy of Armed Conflicts. Beyond Greed and Grievance*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 2003. C.I. Obi, *The oil paradox: reflections on the violent dynamics of petro-politics and (mis)governance in Nigeria's Niger Delta*, African Institute Occasional Paper, 2008.

dermined a family's only source of livelihood."²⁰ All these problems could force thousands of people to migrate.

Environmental disasters can often be the result of oil and its transportation (industrial accidents). Pipeline explosions caused by the organized theft of oil by the local community are a common problem in Africa (e.g. Kenya, Nigeria). It is estimated that, following a pipeline explosion in Abul Egba near Lagos (December 26, 2006), around 500 people may have died. Over one hundred people were killed following a pipeline explosion in Warri (July 16, 2000). About 150 people died as a result of a pipeline explosion in Atlas Creek Island in Lagos State (May 16, 2006). In addition to fatalities and material damage, such events cause large-scale destruction of the ecosystem²¹.

Forced relocation (evacuation) caused by the environmental consequences of oil spills may also occur in highly developed countries. Hypothetically, these could be due to refinery explosions or a big leak from an oil rig. Lasting for several months, an oil spill from a drilling rig in Deepwater Horizon in the Gulf of Mexico could have serious environmental consequences. Disasters of this kind can lead to local evacuation (but mostly of a short-term nature). This raises the issue of compensation from large corporations for environmental damage.

It is difficult to assess whether these problems should be classified as environmentally-induced displacement or more detailed disaster-induced displacement. Displacement may be a consequence of both long-term and short-term environmental disasters, such as oil spills from oil rigs. When oil production leads to a prolonged and severe deterioration of environmental conditions, we should classify it as environmentally-induced displacement. If evacuation is caused by a short-term and local disaster, it is appropriate to speak of disaster-induced displacement. Evacuation is usually the result of short-term disaster relief rather than long-term environmental change. The permanent displacement caused by water pollution by oil in the Amazon forest should be classified as environmentally-induced displacement (not disaster-induced displacement or development-induced displacement).

c) Development-Induced Displacement, d) Development-Induced Resettlement

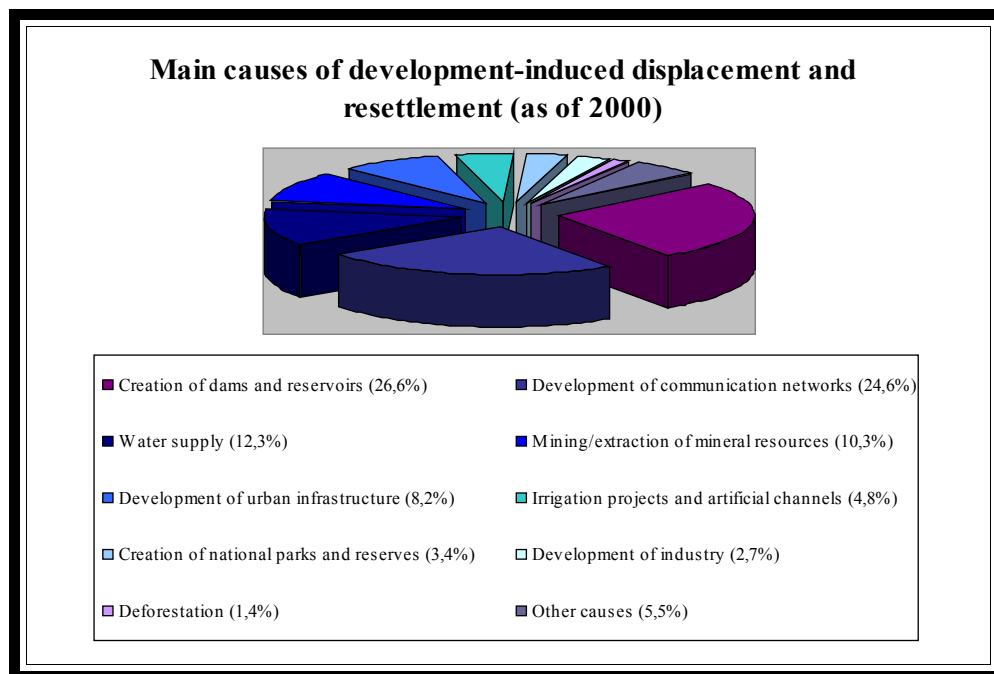
Oil-induced involuntary relocations are particularly associated with the problem of development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR). Michael Cerena, a Romanian professor of sociology cooperating with the World Bank, is considered to be the author of the concept of DIDR. The first attempt to define this issue was fixed in the mid eighties by the World Bank publication, *Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development*. Studies on development-induced displacement were strongly influenced by the big dam investments implemented since the early nineties in India and China (Sardar Sarovar Dam on the Narmada River, and Three Gorges Dam). Over the last fifteen years, several interesting books on development-induced displacement were published. These include: the work edited by Chris McDowell (1996), by Chris De Wet (2006), and a book by Peter Penz, Jay Drydyk, and Pablo S. Bose, *Displacement by Development: Ethics, Rights and Responsibilities* (Cambridge University Press, 2011). The vast majority of

20 "Oil industry has brought poverty and pollution to Niger Delta", www.amnesty.org 30 June 2009. According to the international reports in Ecuador "contaminated water from the oil deposits containing salts and oil was discharged untreated into streams and rivers. Even today the indigenous and small farmers in the region cannot use the water. Similarly, open pits dug in the ground were abandoned with toxic drilling mud and waste oil", cf. T. Haller, A. Blochlinger, M. John, E. Marthaler, S. Ziegler (eds.) *Fossil, Fuels, Oil companies and Indigenous Peoples. Strategies of multinational oil companies, states, and ethnic minorities. Impact on environment and, livelihoods, and cultural change*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 2007, pp. 351.

21 I. Adeh, *Corruption and Environmental Law. The Case of the Niger Delta*, Lit Verlag, Munster, 2010, pp. 12. F. Onuoha, "Poverty, Pipeline Vandalisation/Explosion and Human Security: Integrating Disaster Management into Poverty Reduction in Nigeria", *African Security Review*, Vol. 16, Issue 2, 2007, pp. 94-108.

publications on DIDR focused on the consequences of the construction of dams. This subject was undertaken already in the mid sixties by American anthropologist Thayer Scudder who studied micro and macro social consequences of the construction of Kariba dam on Zambezi. The subject of mining- and oil-induced displacement is an underrated subject of scientific research.

The main causes of development-induced displacement and resettlement (as of 2000)



Source: A. Rew, E. Fisher, B. Padney, *Addressing Policy Constraints and Improving Outcomes in Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement Projects* (Final Report), Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, January 2000, pp. 91. Notes: The presented estimates are only approximate in nature, referring to the global context. Do not, therefore, take into account specific resettlements in different regions of the world (cf. the applied research methodology).

Oil-caused involuntary relocation is often classified as part of a broader category of mining-induced displacement and resettlement (MIDR), which is not entirely correct. In my view, it seems reasonable to distinguish displacement caused by the mining of gold and diamonds from there caused by the extraction of crude oil. Oil-related displacement is a much more complex problem. This assumption is evidenced in the papers on mining-induced displacement and resettlement. Frequently these do not analyze population displacements caused by the exploitation of oil. Released in 2002, a report by Theodore E. Downing (*Avoiding New Poverty: Mining-Induced Displacement and Resettlement*) does not refer to the resettlement of the population caused by the exploration, extraction, and transportation of crude oil. Already we can intuitively sense the differences between the above-mentioned causes of displacement.

Oil-induced change of residence takes on a different character. It always, however, takes one of two forms: displacement and resettlement.

Displacement is primarily a phenomenon where a person is involuntarily denied his or her surroundings. Following displacement, s/he is deprived of land, which is the primary area of economic, social, and cultural reference. Often, s/he does not receive anything in return. Any form of displacement without proper compensation, resettlement plans, and appropriate social guarantees should be treated as a violation of human rights²². Displacement of people from one place should be

22 B. Pettersson, "Development-induced displacement: internal affair or international human rights issue", *Forced Migration Review*, vol. 12, 2002, pp. 16-19, M. Stavropoulou, "Displacement and Human Rights: Reflections on UN Practice", *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 20, 1998, pp. 515-554.

accompanied by the assurance of relatively good conditions for daily functioning. However, the exploitation of oil often leads to massive and violent displacement. The most common practices of this kind can include:

1. Violent displacement of permanent residents and nomadic tribes from the areas of oil exploitation.
2. Removal of people from areas where a pipeline runs. The idea is to prevent possible vandalism, terrorism, blocking the flow of oil, and theft.

The second form is resettlement. In contrast with displacement (a one-off phenomenon), resettlement should be treated as a process. It consists of at least three stages: 1. investment planning and analysis of resettlement; 2. relocation of inhabitants from the place of former residence; and 3. mechanisms to support adaptation of the population in the new place of residence. Displacement is based only on the physical transfer of people to another place; when it is not accompanied by a plan or by clearly defined instruments of support for people, displacement should be treated as a violation of human rights. Resettlement programs should be strengthened through public infrastructure agreements governing the displacees' acquiring of infrastructural and social support as well as other matters. Forcing people to leave their homes without plans can not be considered resettlement. Using the term "resettlement" seems justified only in cases of organized and planned activities, based on consultation, for which the directive is based on the World Bank or IFC guidelines on involuntary resettlement (or at least previously prepared resettlement plans). Involuntary resettlement based on social agreement is an acceptable activity. Development-induced displacement is always associated with the violation of human rights.

The most proper terms for problems mentioned above are: "oil-induced displacement and resettlement", "oil-related displacement and resettlement" and "oil induced involuntary relocation." This both highlights the broad context of the problem and distinguishes the categories of displacement and resettlement.

2. Oil-related displacement and resettlement: A human rights issue and challenge for the international community

People forced to flee their homes following the development of oil experience similar risks as other groups of development-induced displaced people. The source of the greatest challenge is the loss of land, which leads to social and economic marginalization²³. Large corporations treat the land only as a source of profit, not paying attention to its importance as a formative system of economic, cultural, and social interactions. Quite often, corporations do not understand that, for some people, adapting to conditions in a new place of residence is either impossible or very difficult. Chinese and Western corporations in particular are not interested in the situation of many thousands of indigenous people or in the negative environmental consequences of oil extraction.

Mining and oil extraction are sectors where we see a particularly strong desire for profit and strong influence of large transnational corporations. The construction of dams and roads, the infrastructure for water supply, and the conservation of nature are primarily aimed at social welfare projects. Mass displacement implemented with a view to the common good is more legitimate than displacement serving the interests of transnational corporations. Profits from oil production contribute to the

²³ M.M. Cernea, "Understanding and Preventing Impoverishment from Displacement: Reflections on the State of Knowledge", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 8, Issue 3, 1995, pp. 245-264, Ch. McDowell, G. Morell, "Development and Displacement: Institutionalizing responsibility", *Development*, Vol. 50, 2007, pp. 33-38.

development of local communities only to a negligible extent. They are usually transferred to the United States, Canada, Europe or recently more and more to China. Most companies would like to make a profit with the least possible cost. Limited ability to control, corruption and the desire of the authorities to achieve any gains that the action will not encounter this kind of resistance. National authorities often expect that the profits obtained from mining allow those who profit to contribute the necessary investments in social welfare. Development in Africa and Latin America is therefore based on the marginalization of tens of thousands displaced people, mostly indigenous people. The relationship of transnational corporations to all groups in the countries of investments (local authorities, NGOs, tribal people, courts) is characterized by profound asymmetry when it comes to opportunity and power.

Indigenous and tribal people are particularly affected by the consequences of oil extraction, especially those who do not have formal land rights. The victims of oil in the Niger Delta are the Ogoni and Ijaw ethnic minorities. The development of oil production in Chad and Cameroon could seriously threaten the Bagyeli “pygmies” living there. Crude oil production in Ecuador has led to a deterioration of living conditions among the communities of the Secoya, Siona, Huaorani, Shuar-Achuma, Quichua, Shiwiari, and Zaparos. In June 2009, at least 84 indigenous people were killed in Peru, fighting to defend their traditional territories from oil exploration and potential environmental destruction.

Indigenous people are increasingly defending their land and property rights. Land loss and limited compensation cause a number of consequences, with homelessness, unemployment, and health risks at the forefront. Indigenous people displaced from the forest do not know how to adapt to new conditions, which often leads to alcoholism. Resettlement of a population leads to a huge cultural loss, such as the extinction of languages, and the disappearance of local identity and cultural heritage of ethnic groups.

The tribal population is also discriminated against in the distribution of profits from the exploitation of raw materials. Most of them do not participate in incomes or they receive only small compensation. The lack of formal land rights becomes a pretext for economic discrimination against displaced people. Proceedings of this kind are contrary to the directives of IFC and the World Bank for involuntary resettlement. Displaced people do not have any possibility of enforcing their rights. National and transnational corporations are mainly interested in quick profits. Explicitly setting the extraction of raw materials and mining for profit distinguishes it from other causes of development-induced displacement. Construction of a dam will lead to deportation for a few hundred or even several thousand people. Most, however, receive high social returns in the form of greater access to drinking water, cheaper electricity, and jobs. Mining may not be associated with any positive consequences. Environmental destruction and massive displacement are not accompanied by any profits for local communities. Displacements related with the construction of large dams are taking place there for the purpose of public good. Displacements associated with the mining of gold, diamonds, or oil, however, mainly serve the interests of multinational corporations.

3. Case studies:

3.1 Nigeria:

- As in Sudan, oil production is associated with problems of ethnic backgrounds and political violence. The indigenous Ogoni people are particularly affected by the ongoing conflict in the last

three decades. Their homeland comprises 404-square miles (1.050 km) which they refer to as Ogoni, or Ogoniland²⁴.

- Deposits of oil were discovered in Ogoniland in 1957. The following year, Royal Dutch Shell and Chevron Corporation joined forces in production. Later in the production of this crude oil, the Shell company also became engaged. The Ogoni population did not receive any compensation, despite the increasing environmental devastation of the Niger Delta in the seventies. Long-lasting environmental degradation has forced Ogoni people to protest campaign against Shell and other oil companies. According to the words of Ken Saro-Wiwa (one of central figures of the movement) "the environment is man's first right"²⁵. Following protests in 1993, 27 villages were raided, resulting in the death of 2,000 Ogoni people and the displacement of 80,000-100,000. More than 2,000 Ogoni people have been forced to leave Ogoniland and escaped to neighboring states.

As Barbara P. Thomas-Slayer noted:

"Oil exploration by international oil companies, especially Shell, has turned the Ogoni homeland in Nigeria into a wasteland of pollution with a poisoned atmosphere and widespread devastation caused by acid rain, oil spillages, and oil blowouts. Lands, stream, and creeks are totally and continually polluted, the atmosphere has been poisoned, charged at it is with hydrocarbon, vapors, methane, carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide and soot emitted by gas ..."²⁶.

3.2 Sudan:

- In 1998, large deposits of oil in southern Sudan were discovered. Already in 1999, the Sudanese government launched the operation of exploitation in cooperation with foreign companies, Canada's Talisman Energy, Malaysia's Petronas, Sweden's Lundin Oil, and China's National Petroleum Corporation.

- An especially significant amount of displacement is associated with the rise of more than 2000 kms of pipeline here²⁷. The government of Sudan allowed the eviction of local communities in order to protect areas with oil deposits. The worst situation in this respect was between 1999 and 2003. According to Robinson, in the Eastern Upper Nile region, 48 villages were burned and over 55,000 people were displaced in 12 months. Operation Lifeline Sudan estimates that this so-called 'oilfields war' has caused the displacement of 174,000 people. The worst situation was in the Bentiu and Rubkona regions in southern Sudan. According to the United Nations Report from September 2001, more than 100,000 people were displaced between 1999 and 2001.

- Despite the emergence of Southern Sudan in 2011, oil production is still the subject of bloody conflict. People are still dying in the violent clashes in the border regions.

24 S. Carr, O. Douglas, U. Onyeagucha, "The Ogoni people's campaign over oil exploitation in the Niger Delta"[in] A. Thomas, S. Carr, D. Humphreys, *Environmental Policies and NGO Influence. Land degradation and sustainable resource management in sub-Saharan Africa*, Routledge, London, 2001, pp. 150-170, M. Watts, "Resource curse? governmentality, oil and power in the Niger Delta, Nigeria", *Geopolitics*, Vol. 9, Issue 1, 2004, pp. 50-80, O.O. Ibeanu, "Exiles in Their Own Home: Conflicts and Internal Population Displacement in Nigeria", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1999, pp. 161-179, P.E. Lovejoy, P.A.T. Williams (eds.), *Displacement and the Politics of Violence in Nigeria*, Brill, Leiden-New York-Koln, 1997, pp. 141.

25 J. Hancock, *Environmental Human Rights. Power, ethics and law*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Aldershot-Burlington, 2003, pp. 69.

26 B.P. Thomas-Slayer, *Southern Exposure. International Development and the Global South in the Twenty-First Century*, Kumarian Press, Bloomfield, 2003, pp. 238.

27 A. El Jack, "Displacement in Sudan" [in] P. Vandergeest, P. Bose, P. Idahosa (eds.), *Development Displacements. Economies, Ecologies and Cultures at Risk*, University of British Columbia Press, 2007, pp. 68, *Sudan, Oil, and Human Rights*, Human Rights Watch, Brussels-London, New York-Washington D.C., 2003.

3.3 Ecuador:

- The operations of Texaco (bought by Chevron in 2001) led to the contamination of large areas of the Amazon forest in Ecuador. Crude oil was located especially in the West Oriente region and extraction was conducted by Texpet Consortium (Texaco and Petroecuador). In the opinion of the Western press, this was known as one of the greatest environmental disasters of the second half of the twentieth century²⁸. Texaco activities lead to massive displacement of Cofan people in Ecuador (native to northeast Ecuador and southern Colombia).

- Oil pollution has affected a huge area of Amazon forest, with total ground water contamination, a high incidence of cancer, and high child mortality. It is estimated that as a result of savings conducted by Texaco from tens to hundreds of people could die (some experts even estimate up to 1,400 people).

Subsequent contamination of land caused by economic difficulties and health risks has also led to the large-scale forced migration of members of the Siona and Secoya tribes.

3.4 Colombia

According to Roberts and Thanos (2003) conflict between oil interests and local communities in Colombia dating back to the early twentieth century. In 1960 Texaco and Ecopetrol began to constructing pipelines and roads for drilling oil in the department of Putumayo (southern Colombia). These activities forced to displacement of Siona, Awa, Kofan, Inga, Huitoto and Coreguaje indigenous communities of Putumayo²⁹. Among the worst consequences of oil exploitation in Putumayo region we can mention health diseases (parasite infections, skin disease), air and water pollution, malnutrition and economic pauperisation of local communities (caused by loss of land)³⁰. Many indigenous people has been displaced following British Petroleum discoveries near the municipalities of Aguazul, Tauramena, Monterrey and Yopal in Cansanare department in central-east part of Colombia (1980s). In Casanare 800 km pipeline runs through its territory, owned by BP, extending to these a port Covenas. Oil exploitation was an important source of income for the National Liberation Army (ELN)³¹.

3.5 Burma

Large-scale gas deposits were discovered in Burma in 1982 (so-called Yadana field). In 1994 an American consortium Unocal and French company Total started to built a pipeline (completed in 1998). Three oil companies (Unocal, Total and Premier) entered into agreement with brutal Burmese regime to construct Yetagun and Yadana pipelines. Among the worst human rights violations we can mention: brutal evictions of entire communities, forced labour, sexual

28 P. Iadicola, *Violence, Inequality and Human Freedom*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Ltd., Oxford, 2003, pp. 243; L. Dematteis, K. Szymaczak, *Crude reflections: oil, ruin and resistance in the Amazon rainforest*, City Lights Books, 2008; J. Kimerling, "Indigenous Peoples and the Oil Frontier in Amazonia: The Case of Ecuador, ChevronTexaco and *Aguinda v. Texaco*", *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics*, vol. 26, J. Kimerling "Transnational Operations, Bi-National Injustice: Indigenous Amazonian Peoples and Ecuador, Chevron Texaco, and *Agunda v. Texaco*", *L'Observateur Des Nations Unies*, Vol. 24, pp. 207-274.

29 J. Timmons Roberts, N. Demetria Thanos, *Trouble in paradise: globalization and environmental crises in Latin America*, Routledge, London, 2003, pp. 169; B. Miller, "El Dorado Nuevo in Colombia", *Earth Island Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 2, Summer 1999.

30 According to the Organizacion de los Pueblos Indigenas de la Amazonia Colombiana (OPIAC): Kofan indigenous people have lost approximately 80 percent of their native territory, see: B. Miller, "El Dorado Nuevo in Colombia", *Earth Island Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 2, Summer 1999.

31 K. Ballentine, J. Sherman (eds.), *Economy of Armed Conflict. Beyond Greed & Grievance*, Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., London, 2003, pp. 83.

harassment, ect. As Marc Pilisuk noted in *Who benefits from global violence and war: Uncovering a destructive system*:

"Villagers in the pipeline region live a miserable, oppressed, precarious existence, in part of Unocal, now owned by Chevron, Total and Premier. Entire villages have been relocated at gunpoint, women have been raped, and children killed by Burmese military units providing security for the gas pipelines [...] The pipelines cut directly through Tenasserin rainforest, one of the largest intact rainforest in Southeast Asia"³².

4. Conclusions and Recommendations:

In this section, I make some general observations and conclusions. Some of them refer to activities aimed at improving the condition of displaced people. Others point out the theoretical aspects of oil-related displacement.

Mass displacement may be associated with every stage of oil production: investment planning, implementation, drilling, and the transportation of crude oil. The beginning of the investment process is associated with the displacement of populations living in the immediate vicinity of the project. These are often implemented on the basis of resettlement plans and the population receives appropriate compensation. People who are not agreeing to resettle are relocated by force. Protests against the resettlement very often end in violent clashes with government troops and forced displacement. This is not the end of the displacement caused by the production of crude oil. Further to the restrictions on access to the land, is the impossibility of maintaining the agriculture, after which many more people are forced to migrate to another location. Oil-caused water pollution, health problems, and other difficulties force more people to migrate. The number of people forced to flee their homes due to indirect consequences of the project may exceed several times the amount of people displaced during construction. Another group includes people displaced from areas surrounding the pipelines. People living near pipelines are removed by force for fear of the possibility that they will rob the pipelines. This type of displacement is often accompanied by violence, especially applied to nomads and indigenous people with no formal property rights to the land on which they live.

Population displacement caused by the exploitation of crude oil is a form of resettlement which requires a very broad analysis. This phenomenon involves development-induced displacement, environmentally-induced displacement, and conflict-induced displacement. Protest against resettlements leads to conflicts and violent clashes with the authorities, particularly visible in Amazon countries. The displacement caused by the exploitation of crude oil fits well with the issues of civil war and religious and ethnic discrimination. When the displacement is a direct result of investment, we can treat it as a form of development-induced displacement (mining-induced displacement). Crude oil exploitation also leads to large environmental consequences, and is therefore the cause of environmentally-induced displacement. A thorough analysis of these problems requires us to enhance our research. Particularly underestimated studies seem to indirect

32 M. Pilisuk, " Who benefits from global violence and war: Uncovering a destructive system", Greenwood Publishing Group Inc., 2008, pp. 91, P. Simons, "Corporate Voluntarism and Human Rights: The Adequacy and Effectiveness of Voluntary Self-Regulation Regimes" [in] Cragg W. (ed.), *Ethics Codes, Corporations and the Challenge of Globalization*, Edward Elgar Publishing Company, 2005, pp. 75-112.

effects of economic displacement. The privatization of land and the restriction of access to grazing land mean indigenous people are deprived of a livelihood. Immeasurable consequences result from cultural displacement and loss of local identity.

Oil-related resettlement and displacement differ from other categories of development-induced displacement and resettlement by two factors: 1. They often do not generate any economic benefits for the local communities. The extraction of oil does not require the employment of a large number of people. Indigenous people are generally not qualified to work in mining. Transnational petroleum corporations have only negligible relationship and responsibilities to the areas of production. They are not interested in striving for the economic development of local communities; 2. Crude oil exploitation causes much more environmental damages than most of the causes of development-induced displacement. The local population is deprived of the possibility of adaptation to sudden changes in the ecosystem. This results in their economic marginalization or even extermination.

According to specialists 60 percent of world natural resources are located in indigenous lands³³. The right of indigenous peoples to participate in the profits of oil recovery is very rarely emphasized. The only way to sustainable development is through participation all stakeholders in decision-making process. Oil overrides the social consequences of its associated land and it is extracted as such. Yet the right to profit from the exploitation of resources should be one of the most important spheres of indigenous rights. Crude oil production should contribute to regional social development and not just transfer huge funds abroad.

Indigenous peoples are deprived of effective mechanisms of protest against negative practices. Organized resistance (blockades of roads, long-term opposition against resettlement) causes friction and violence. The World Bank and the IFC do not have effective control over the projects realized in developed countries. Global and regional organizations active at a humanitarian level reduce this problem for a few countries. Local communities have asymmetrical capabilities when faced with big capital, means of coercion, and little to no help from the outside.

Among the measures for dealing with the most negative environmental and social consequences of oil, we should list:

- Publicizing negative practices in the media. The importance of informing public opinion in the West about the problems associated with petroleum investments in developing countries cannot be underestimated. Only the threat of a boycott of the company by “western” consumers may be the real mechanism of pressure. Western corporations, based on capital, do not care about opinion in developing countries because the information must reach developed countries before a difference will occur in their bottom line.
- Encouraging firms to publicize (for example, web publishing) reports on the implementation of resettlement plans. The implementation of resettlement on the basis of good practice could be a tool for promoting a business and attracting clients.
- Involving as many stakeholders as possible in project preparation and implementation of resettlement. Programs of this type should be based on the cooperation of local communities (tribal leaders), NGOs, government, and the corporate sector.
- Resettlement should be carried out based on plans complying with the law and directives of the IFC and World Bank. Resettlement should be accompanied by public infrastructure

33 M. Belausteguigoitia Rius, M. Gómez Alvarez Icaza, Iván González Márquez “Indigenous Women in Defence of Life and Land: An introduction”, *Development*, vol. 54, no. 4, 2001, pp. 470-472.

agreements governing subsequent access by communities to common goods (such as arable land and pastures). Enterprises should take upon themselves to ensure those displaced an appropriate infrastructure, access to health, education, water supply, proper housing, etc.

- Encouraging local communities to establish non-governmental organizations aimed at defending the interests of those affected by oil production.
- Informing the broad community about their rights under the World Bank, the IFCC guidelines of Involuntary Resettlement, and the World Bank's policy guidelines on Indigenous People.
- Informing public opinion about corrupt local officials and their dependence on petroleum corporations.
- The development of local entrepreneurship and education, which may create an incentive for corporate investment in local development. It is much harder to invest in the development of a region with very low social capital.
- It is pointed out that the problem of development-induced displacement and resettlement should be the subject of international cooperation. Currently, only the World Bank Group and the OECD are active in the problem of forced population displacement caused by economic development. It is essential to link this problem with the more general issue of humanitarian concerns.

5. Summary

At least ten million people each year are forced to abandon their homes following major development projects. Development-induced displacement is now the largest and most dynamic category of internal displacement. Many detailed causes of development-induced displacement are also associated with three other categories of internal displacement: conflict-induced displacement, environmentally-induced displacement and disaster-induced displacement. Crude oil production in countries like Sudan, Nigeria, and Ecuador led to an uncontrolled spiral of large-scale displacement, organized violence, and many other social and environmental problems. The intermingling of all three categories of resettlement here in these countries is a core argument for a broad analysis of the causes of this problem.

We can list at least seven major causes of development-induced displacement worldwide. These include: 1. water engineering investments (the building of dams and hydropower plants, the creation of artificial reservoirs, the construction of irrigation projects); 2. the construction of roads, highways, and railways; 3. the development of residential areas (urbanization, water supply, etc.); 4. the expansion of agricultural areas (particularly the creation of large monoculture plantations); 5. the conservation of nature (creation of national parks, nature reserves, and other biosphere conservation areas); 6. mining and extraction of mineral resources (including oil); and 7. other reasons (for example, the establishment of large landfills, construction of industrial plants).

Persons displaced as a result of oil extraction are a specific category of mining-induced displaced people. However, this problem can not be limited to the context of mining-induced displacement and resettlement. Resettlement may be a direct consequence of all stages of the production and transportation of crude oil. Crude oil is a source of conflict, forcing many thousands of people to leave their homes. Oil production also leads to major environmental disasters. Looking at the problems in Nigeria and Sudan, we can not really discern whether the affected people should be

classified under the category of conflict-induced displaced people, development-induced displaced people, or environmentally-induced displaced people. These classifications are, however, of little consequence when we realize the sheer scale of the conflicts and human rights violations such as those touching the Ogoni people in Nigeria.

Oil-induced displacement and resettlement demand from us a very broad analysis. The first element must be to examine political context alongside social and ethnic background. According to most specialists, water, oil, gold, and diamonds are the most desirable resources in the world. The desire for them is a very common cause of civil wars and ethnic conflicts. The battle for their possession often involves armed conflict, and the profits from their production makes the conflict long-lasting in nature. Indigenous people are increasingly held hostage to the conflict between legitimate authorities and separatist groups or criminal organizations over resources.

Another problem is the massive displacement associated with the processes of exploration, extraction, and transportation of crude oil. This was most evident in the case of two countries: Sudan and Nigeria. In both of these situations, displacements were clearly conditioned by ethnic tensions. Another factor linking all of them was the involvement of multinational corporations in practices leading to violations of human rights of local communities. Corporations that promote environmental preservation and ethical responsibility in Western countries commit completely different practices in other parts of the world.

The massive displacement accompanying the production of crude oil is a problem relatively well discussed in the literature. Much less is known about the involuntary resettlements from the areas of construction of pipelines and oil transport. The scale of this problem is highly visible in many African countries. The construction of pipelines is also associated with other problems: the right of local communities to land, environmental dangers caused by stolen pipelines, dangerous accidents, etc.

The consequences of oil also touch upon another category of displacement: environmentally-induced displacement. Oil production in Africa wreaks massive environmental havoc, forcing the people living there to migrate. The impact of environmental degradation on the dynamics of internal migration is relatively well-discussed in the available literature.

This publication presents a broad and complex view of displacement caused by the exploitation of oil. In contrast to previously published analyses, this one draws attention to the global dimension of this phenomenon. It occurs not only in Nigeria, Sudan, and Chad, but in many other countries of the African continent and in South/Central America. I try to pay attention political and environmental contexts of displacement and their relationship with indigenous rights, the ethical responsibility of business, and ethnic conflicts and civil wars. I also highlight the need to guarantee the rights of local communities to participate in the distribution of profits from the exploitation of resources.

Sudan, Nigeria, Indonesia, India, Burma, Chad, Uganda, Cameroon, Angola, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador

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