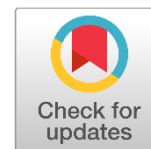




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Resettlement and Displaced Communities: Challenges and Prospects – A Case Study of M-4 Project from Gojra to Shorkot Section

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ABSTRACT

Development is crucial for the prosperity of any country. Infrastructural development plays a vital role in the socioeconomic development of the country. However, sometimes it causes development-induced displacement that results in trauma for displaced community and creates challenges for them. In this vein, the current paper aims to explore challenges and prospects of development-induced development of the M-4 project where in 3674 persons were affected from Gojra to Shorkot. A qualitative stance was adopted to account the actual experiences of the Projected Affected Persons (PAPs), whose families were displaced due to M-4 project. A total of twelve Focus Group Discussions (FDGs) were conducted. In which 93 Project Affected Persons (PAPs) participated. Thematic analysis was carried out to draw major themes. It was found that the affected families faced many social cultural and economic challenges while being displaced from their owned assets. The Project Affected Persons families became homeless and landholders became landless. Their source of livelihood vanished and they felt hard to change their means of livelihood. It is suggested that the government and other funding agencies should play their vibrant role in the diminution of the challenges they are still facing in bringing themselves back into mainstream society.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Post-colonial development policy acted upon the utilitarian logic of “the greatest happiness for the greatest number” (Rayner, 2003). This logic provides the basis for the displacement of millions of people for the common good (Roy, 2006). In 1950, the infrastructure projects were the

symbol of modernity that helped to “catch up with the west” for the developing countries (Hemadri et al, 2000). High modernism and technical progress led to hegemonic progress that had diverse perspectives (James Scott, 1998). Economic liberalization causing capital flow is likely to increase the number of projects that involve the forced displacement of the marginal population especially in the rising powers. The first study on the social impacts of big development was conducted by the anthropologists Elizabeth Colson, Robert Fernea and Thayer Scudder. They were of the view that such projects are mostly constituted at the top by national or regional agencies and superimposed on the people at bottom who have no say in these projects. In 1985 Professor Essan El Hinnawi firstly make an effort to present the concept of forced migration due to environmental factors. He named migrants “environmental refugees” and defined environmental refugees are those people who have been forced to leave their traditional

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habitat, temporarily or permanently, because of marked environmental disruptions, natural and/or triggered by people that jeopardized their existence and/or seriously affected the quality of their life" (Bogumil Terminski, 2013).

World Bank played an important role in resettlement studies. In 1980, the World Bank first adopted the planning and implementation of involuntary guidelines. World Bank published Micheal, M. Cernea volume Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development. The term Development Induced Displacement was first used in the first half of the eighties. In 1990, the World Bank adopted the Operational Directive (OD 4.30), and later in December 2001, Operational Policy 4.12 (OP 4.12) on involuntary resettlement was introduced (Bogumil Terminski, 2013). Involuntary resettlement effects both smaller and larger groups globally. The social groups are knitted in common fabrics. The groups set in trauma, when they are forced to leave their ancestral lands. They have deep sense of emotional feelings with the land. In case if forcible removal, they feel unrecoverable emotional set back. The intensity of resettlement is not measured with the number of displaced persons but, the consequences faced by those evicted persons. These consequences may include 1). Socio-cultural consequence, 2) economic consequences and various stress factors (Goldsmith and Hildvard 1984, 1986; Saifullah & Khan, 2022) including psychological and socio-cultural stress (Colchester 1986; Colson 1971; Partidge; Brown and Nugeat 1982; Khan et al., 2020).

Roads, carriageways and motorways play an important role in transportation and economic mobility. It is an important part of the social infrastructure of any country. Due to its importance, government provides provision of heavy budget to construct new ways to improve the facilities of mobility. The common issue aroused by these projects is the displacement of the communities. Mega projects have their own hazards, especially in the environment. Socially, mega projects create adverse impacts on large populations causing the local people to be displaced from their ancestral residential structures and other sources of livelihood like, agricultural land and commercial area etc. For instance, the Terbela Dam Project resulted in the displacement of about 96000 people in District Swabi, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan (Rabih Azhar, 2013). It is estimated that in last century 10 million people were being displaced annually due to development projects globally (Cernea). Resettlement requires physical and economic measures including the restoration of community and individual livelihood, income, dignity, well-being and the capacity adjust in a new environment (Scudder, 2005 and Asif, 2000). In resettlement mostly the economic standard of the displaced persons slides down (Grabska and Mehta 2008; Scudder 2005).

This study examines resettlement challenges of displaced community of M-4 Project from Gojra to Shorkot Section-II. In Pakistan, there is Land Acquisition Act (LAA) 1894 was implemented to acquire land for public projects. This LAA only deals with the titled effected persons. The LAA does not deal with those Displaced Persons (DPs) who have no formal rights. On the contrary the latest definition of displacement says that people are not deprived of their physical belongings during migration or displacement but the indigenous communities are deprived of the moral, emotional, cultural and psychological assets and identities.

Keeping in view the current definitions and changing demands, almost all development agencies have defined

their policies of intervention through prescribed safeguard policies and social security nets such as World Bank and Asian Development Bank aided development they apply their own resettlement policies OP 4.12 and SPS 2009 respectively. But unfortunately, successive governments in Pakistan? Launched ambitious mega projects in both urban and rural areas without any comprehensive rehabilitation and resettlement plan. One of the documents of the World Bank says "Bank experience has shown that resettlement of indigenous peoples with traditional land-based modes of production is particularly complex and may have significant adverse impacts on their cultural survival". Despite the challenges outlined above, it is believed that collaboration between natural and physical scientists, engineers, and social scientists can result in social impact assessment that accurately predicts and examines the effects of large projects.

The M-4 Motorway is one of the key infrastructural development in the existing road network. The route of M-4 Motorway starts from the end point of M-3 near Faisalabad to Multan-Bahawalpur Road (N-5). The total length of the proposed Motorway is 229 kms. The alignment of the Motorway crosses through five districts of the Punjab Province (Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Jhang, Khanewal and Multan). The construction of M-4 Motorway will link major cities of the country like Peshawar, Islamabad, Lahore and Faisalabad with Multan and southern areas. The M-4 from Gojra to Shorkot section II passes through 33 mozas. In district Jhang and Toba Tek Singh total of 1554.96 Acres will be acquired whereas, the total numbers of Displaced Persons (DPs) are 3674. The division of these DPs is 2115 in Toba Tek Singh and 1559 in Jhang respectively (NESPAK, 2015).

2. METHODOLOGY

The study is based on the post-positivistic research paradigm of qualitative research. The sociological research is mostly not value-free and recommends that people should be studied in natural settings (S.L.T. Mc Gregor and J.A. Murnane). Keeping in view the nature of the study, the study adopted focus group discussion as the technique of data collection. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) is a "way of collecting qualitative data, which—essentially—involves engaging a small number of people in an informal group discussion (or discussions), 'focused' around a particular topic or set of issues" (Wilkinson, 2004, p. 177). In focus group discussion the researcher can collect data swiftly, economically and competently from a group of people (Kureger & Casey, 2000). A total of twelve focus group discussions were conducted where participation ranged from 6 to 12 participants in each focus group (Baumgartner, Strong, & Hensley, 2014; Krueger, 1988, 1994, 2000; Langford, Schoenfeld, & Izzo, 2002; Morgan, 1997; Onwuegbuzie, Jiao, & Bostick, 2004). To analyze the data, thematic analysis was conducted that resulted into six themes. The result of thematic analysis is given in the following section.

3. RESULTS & DISCUSSION

This section outlines the main theme of the study and discussion around these themes. There are total of six themed emerged as a result of thematic analysis. These theme are i) Project Disclosure and community Reaction ii) Community Consultation about the Project iii)

Compensation Criteria and Challenges iv) Grievance Nature Dynamics and Challenges v) Resettlement Difficulties and Challenges and vi) Direct and indirect Implications. Each theme is discussed in detail in the following section.

Project Disclosure & Community Reaction

Project disclosure and community consultation is an important aspect of sustainable development. The meaningful participation of stakeholders helps to achieve the aims and objectives of resettlement planning and implementation in a more efficient way (Cernea, 1997). The Asian Development Bank (ADB) involuntary resettlement policy provides importance to the project disclosure and meaningful community consultation to make the project more successful and acceptable to the community. The M-4 LARP from Gojra to Shorkot Section explains that project disclosure meetings were done from January 21st to 24th, 2007. Participants were of the view that they heard about the project from NHA Patwaries first, but later, the NHA officials conducted formal meetings at the village level where the NHA officials briefed the local community about the project and disclosed information according to the procedure. As one of the FGDs participants explained this in the following words;

"In village meeting the NHA officials along with consultants briefed about the project in which they showed us route map. They discussed the potential impacts of the project on our assets like residential, commercial structures and other livelihood resources, especially agricultural land. They also narrated the procedure of compensation. When the PAPs came to know about Project impacts, their first reaction was a mix of hope, frustration and anger. As one of the respondents told to the researcher. When we came to know that our assets are under project impact, majority of the PAPs were showing the feeling of anger and grief. They were in shock. They were showing their concerns about the future. They were saying that we have small landholdings and we have no other source of income".

It was noted that a small portion of the community had a ray of hope for their future generation while the majority were found frustrated with anger and grief. The reason behind their sadness were the loss of their agricultural land, means of livelihood, landholding and homes.

Community Consultation about the Project

Community consultation is an important aspect of ADB Social Safeguard Policy. ADB involuntary resettlement policy stresses that the Project Affected Persons (PAPs) and other stakeholders should remain in liaison during the entire project cycle especially in designing and implementation phases (ADB, 1998). The governments make decisions without proper consultation with stakeholders. Due to this poor consultation, collaboration a very little choice often remains open for affected people in the compensation and resettlement plan (Amm Huu, Wan Westen and Zoomers, 2013). "Resettlement implemented without consultation may lead to inappropriate strategies and eventual impoverishment" (ADB, 1998). "Without consultation, the people affected may oppose the project, causing social disruption, substantial delay in achieving targets or even abandonment, and cost increases" (ADB, 1998).

In M-4 Section II, there are some 3674 people being affected by the Project (NESPAC, 2015). The LARP shows that the PAPs as well as the Project Community were kept informed at different phases of the Project. The researcher was interested to know, whether the PAPs were involved in involuntary resettlement phase. When the researcher asked about their involvement in resettlement process the PAPs revealed that NHA Staff and consultant took place some consultation meetings with the Project Affected People (PAPs). The concerned officials responded their concerns like the provision of alternative route and underpasses for connectivity to perform their routine activities, waterways to irrigate their fields across the motorway and promised to mitigate in design phase. During the discussion the PAPs raised their concerns for the remaining agriculture land as Shabir 48, Basti Nasarwali explained the issue:

"We had small landholdings, in past we were able to cultivate our lands but after the construction of M-4 our land will be divided in two parts, with the provision of underpass we have to travel long to cultivate agriculture land. This practice will disturb our agriculture".

The participants also showed concern about the availability of water to irrigate their fields. As Allah Ditta 52, Faridabad, opened the issue

"The big issue is the availability of water to our fields because NHA is providing crossing only for government watercourses. Secondly the size of watercourse also matters, watercourse requires frequent desilting otherwise water conveyance efficiency interrupts"

The participants also raised their voice for the land share of case of collective land. As Fazal Ahmad43, Ahmad Nagar narrates

"The motorway created row among us because the revenue record do not clearly mention Wanda (The distribution of land in revenue record) of the affected land, that has created land division issues among shareholders of same Khata (land in revenue record) ".

The finalization of compensation price for the lost assets plays a mitigation role in resettlement risks management. ADB policy describes that the PAPs should be consulted on the issue of assets valuation but don't encourages cash in reward of compensation. Because the agriculture land in rural areas and business land in urban area is source of livelihood. The acquisition of this land deprives them from their source of income and make worsen their economic condition (A Guide to Good Practice, 1998).

The comparable sale approach works on the rule that the buyer don't pay high price whereas the buyer don't accepts the lower price. The true valuation of the land requires few steps. In order to assess land valuation, the collection of deeds with other aspects of land including fertility. Location, land quality, land sale price date, category of land use and restrictions on land Community Consultation about the Project (Capacity Building for Resettlement risk Management, 2007). In government sector the required land price is assessed through District Price Assessment Committee (DPAC). NHA officials told to researcher that

"The land price is assessed through the average of last three year deeds of the same village, including the land use, future prospects of land, market rate including 15%

land acquisition surcharge are used as indicators in land price valuation”.

In this approach one issue is that the people show less land value on deeds to prevent government taxes. So, the land value does not come up to the market value. When the researcher asked the PAPs about the consultation in land valuation process, the response was not very optimistic. One of the respondent Falak Sher42, Chak Munshiwala told to the researcher that

“In community consultation the NHA officials told the PAPs that land compensation will be given according to the market rates. Whereas the given valuation rates were below the market value. When the PAPs consulted the officials on undervaluation, they responded that land valuation was done by DPAC as per registry deeds”.

Compensation Criteria & Challenges

Compensation is important element in resettlement process. A good compensation may provide some relief to PAPs and their difficulties. ADB involuntary resettlement focus that affected person should at least restrain status that was before resettlement. The policy reveals that “People affected should be at least as well off after resettlement as they were before” (A Guide to Good Practice, 1998). Though the bank prefer land for land instead of cash compensation, but the majority of the PAPs were agreed for cash compensation. The compensation rates were decided according the nature of affected assets as one of the PAPs Nisar Ali38, Chak Shumali told that

“The compensation rates of land and structures were different according to the nature of the loss.”.

The researcher was interested to know that whether the compensation was received prior to the start of civil work. The PAPs told that they received compensation amount prior to the start of construction work as Ali Naqi, 45, Naqiabad told that

“In the start consultant and NHA officials told us that the compensation for the affected assets will be paid prior to the acquisition process. So, we have received compensation prior to the acquisition process”.

The compensation receiving process has some set procedures. The affected person has to present the evidence of ownership for the lost land. This includes the provision of Fard Malkiat (official proof of land ownership). The next step is to open bank account. The PAPs told that compensation receiving process was lengthy and cumbersome. As Naik Muhammad, 47, Chak Shumali told the researcher that

“The PAP has to receive Fard Malkiat from Patwari and file to the NHA office. The NHA officers issue the compensation cheque in the presentation of tehsildar before the witness. Then the cheque is to submit in bank. All this process is very lengthy and time taking”.

The researcher asked whether the compensation was according to the market rates. The response was not satisfactory. As Shah Nawz 42, chak Noor Shah told that “the compensation rates are not according to the market rates. The land compensation rates are low ven than current government schedule rates”.

For some time, the compensation fails to restore the livelihood as PAPs spent their compensation amount on purposes other than the restoration of their livelihood. The majority of the PAPs spend their compensation in social, cultural and religious obligations (Kumar, 2013). As Noshier Khan, 58, Basti Noor Shah told that “I have spent my compensation money on my daughter marriage”. This situation pushes them below the poverty line.

Grievance

Nature, Dynamics & Challenges

The Project Affected People may arise grievances regarding lost assets, lost assets, entitlement, compensation distribution, income restoration or on compensation rates. These grievances may harm project. Grievance Redress Mechanism (GRM) provides a venue for bot project and PAPs to solve the issue at grass root level. Grievance Committee (GRC) is responsible to keeps record of all grievances that arise in different phases of the project (ADB, 2010). Prior to the constituting the GRC, the PAPs grievances are presented before Affected Persons Committee (APC).

When the researcher asked about the presence of APC, the PAPs were not aware bout the existence of APC. As Atta Muhammad, 48, Kot Abdullah told the researcher “we are aware about the Affected Persons Committee (APC)”. In response to the questions about the problems faced by the PAPs in resettlement process. The respondents raised many issues. Some were of individual level issues whereas, some of the problems were of common at community level. As Muhammad Nawaz, 42, Basti Kher Din told the researcher,

We are facing problem for the passage to get access across the motorway to get access the agriculture fields. This was common problem of the affected community as well as of people of the area.

The PAPs also showed concerns about the rates and share of the land. As Anwar Ali, 49, Basti Nisarwali told the researcher about the problems that they were facing. Our current land and tree prices are low than the market rates. The shareholders are shifting the burden on individual basis, rather than sharing it on equal basis. The government officials especially the revenue department should acquire land in one Khewat on an equal basis.

The squatters told the researcher that government has paid them for their affected structure. As one squatter told that “I am poor man, living on government land. The government is giving compensation for the affected structure not of the land. I am not able to purchase new piece of land”

Resettlement Process

Difficulties & Challenges

Involuntary resettlement causes difficulties and challenges for displaced community. There should be tool to measure risk factors. Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) model is a tool to measure these factors. IRR model was developed on empirical findings. IRR model highlights the risks of Joblessness, Homelessness, Marginalization, and Increase in Morbidity, Mortality, Food Security and loss of access to common property. (Cernea, 2002). The PAPs feel them victim in society. This feeling changes their psychology and set them in state of stress.

This state of stress degrades their health (Cernea, 2002; Ahmad, Khattak & Shah, 2013). The respondents told the researcher that there are many people, who are in condition of depression and anxiety due to land acquisition.

Social groups have great importance in society. Displacement breaks social groups, social organization and peer groups. The host group generally do not accept the intruders (Cernea, 2002). Resettlement is difficult process. The PAPs told the researcher that they have to be displaced from their ancestral hamlets. They are deprived from their capital to earn their livelihood. The unskilled people have to join labor work for their livelihood (Cernea, 2002). As Azeem Khan, 37, Basti Kukarpindi told that "it is very difficult to leave our landholdings as we were dependent on it to earn livelihood. We have no other skill other than agriculture".

Previously the people who were earning food from their own fields have to compete for food due to the reduction of the cropping field area, as Rai Hassan Nawaz, 32, Basti Mirpur told that "My two elder brothers moved to Hyderabad to earn their livelihood. We have small landholding. Some patch of the land is under project impact. It was difficult to survive on the remaining of agriculture land. So, my brothers decided to move Hyderabad in search of job".

Social networking plays important role in social life of human being. People are dependent on one another for their daily doings (Ali, Ahmad & Khan, 2021). The researcher was interested to know how resettlement disturbed these social fabrics that were nicely knitted. Abur Rehman, 53, Basti Rana Anayat Ali explained post resettlement scenario. "The replacement disturbed their social networking. The interconnected people become disconnected and social fabrics are broken". The problem of wanda put the blood relation on strife. Muhammad Ali Jutta, 52, Basti Gaugh narrated that "I have filed case for the equal distribution of the lost land among all shareholders"

Future Challenges & Prospects

Future challenges and prospects reveals the pros and cons of the project. The apparent objectives for the construction of transport infrastructure is to improve transport availability and accelerate economic development (Bogdanski, 2016). Amjad, 39, Baseerpur told that "the transportation network plays an important role in the economic development of the country". The Project M-4 is widely exercised on benefit sharing approach (NESPAK, 2015)

Conversantly to this point of view, another group of the respondents presented the different point of view on the project. They were considering that the project is for wealthy and privileged class, who is already enjoying the facilities. Naveed Khan, 42, Hussainabad told that "the construction of this road is to benefit the privileged class, who already has abundant income sources like business and mill owners. The road is not for the use of common people. Only big vehicles will run on this motorway".

Discussion

The purpose of the study was to explore the difficulties and challenges faced by the M-4 Project from Gojra to shorkot section. Development attracts involuntary resettlement. The residents become Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs). The development in seventies attracted the

attention towards involuntary resettlement caused by the development. In 1985 Professor Essam Ei Hinnawi named these refugees as "Environmental Refugees" and defined them as "the people who have been forced to leave their traditional habitats temporary or permanently, because of disruption (natural or triggered by people). Michael M. Cernea played vital role as initiator of more advance studies in this area. In last two decades, there have been significant advancement on development studies. This problem has also attracted the attention of different international agencies like UNHCR and International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for debate. The World Bank Operational Policy changed the term of environmental "Environmental Refugees to Environmentally-induced displacement people and forced environmental migrants". The new standards on forced displacement are used as a tool to address the displacement consequences of development by the states. A study in 1994 reflects the facts that in World Bank funded projects from 1985 to 1993, half of the population was displaced due to water supply, transportation and urban development sector projects. Whereas, every year four million people were annually displaced due to 300 high raised dams. This displacement of people from their ancestral hamlets deprives them from their assets and earning sources like agriculture or commercial land. This deprivation from resources results into social and economic issues and creates the risk of poverty for displaced people. Development induced displacement from their territories escalate the risk of impoverishment (Bogumil Terminski, 2013, development induced displacement).

The purpose of this study was to explore the major challenges and prospects for the displaced communities in the project area M-4 from Gojra to Shorkot. The purpose of the resettlement policy to reduce the possible social and economic impacts of the project to the project affected community and keep them in streamline of the society. In the study, the researcher covered all aspects of the resettlement process ranging from project disclosure to community consultation during different phases of the project, compensation criteria to get compensation for the project affected people and the challenges faced by the PAPs. In the study, the grievances, grievances redress process including the difficulties and challenges that were faced by the PAPs in the same area, at new place, the behavior of the host community, distortion in social networking were also discussed. The direct and indirect implication of the project on livelihood sources like business, agriculture, on living standards, livelihood status and additional challenges faced by the vulnerable community including future challenges, social change due to project and cultural impacts were also discussed.

The purpose of the project disclosure is to find out different individuals, communities and stakeholders. Effective project disclosure helps in reducing the concerns through incorporation of their concerns in projects design phase and increase project popularity. The Consultant and NHA officials arranged meeting with project affected communities for project disclosure. The PAPs showed their concerns as their assets were coming under impact. The reaction of the people about the project had variety. Some were distressing as; their assets were under impact. Whereas, some were considering it as an opportunity and venue to the development and prosperity.

Compensation is important in resettlement process. Good compensation relieves the PAPs difficulties and works as

pressure valve for the project to some extent. Under compensation risks the PAPs to push them to poverty cycle. IRR model reflects that under compensation increases the risks of poverty, joblessness, homelessness, landlessness, marginalization and increase in morbidity, mortality, food insecurity and loss of access to common property. As the project affected persons social connectivity or income sources shrinks, the PAPs feel them as the victim of the society. This feeling makes them sensitive. They remain in stress. On the other aspect of the involuntary resettlement PAPs also suffering from the human rights violation. When PAPs shift to other place from their aboriginal place. The host community do not accept them. The host community feel them invaders to their resources. The women and children are more vulnerable fragment in this situation (Dutta et al., 2019).

As their activities remains restricted in new community. They feeling of insecurity emerges. Moreover, sometime the children fail to adjust in new place. This effects their ability to get education. They remain illiterate or less educated. Even left their education to economically help their families. Peer groups, social groups increase the feeling of power and security. In rural area, the more people in joint family system. They work jointly in fields, that reduces their labor cost and increase profitability. The communal activity increases the sense of responsibility that leads of self-motivation.

The empirical research reflects multiple types of social cost. This social cost is sometime measureable, land, crop, house, productive time, cultural assets, common properties, burial and prayer places and social services. Whereas, the intangible assets are unmeasurable, like the sacrifices of PAPs (Cernea, 1999). The construction of roads increases mobility and improves economic activities. All this activity brings cultural change in society.

4. CONCLUSION

The main route of M-4 motorway from Gojra to Shorkot section is passing through the village. Mainly the agriculture land, residential structures are coming under the corridor of impact. The PAPs are being deprived from their ancestral agricultural land as well as habitats. People have small landholdings. They have to locate and to adopt other sources of livelihood earning. This change in livelihood will increase their economic strains. The researcher also observed that the PAPs showed their over compensation rates. The community was aware about the importance of the project. In result of resettlement many families who were living in joint family system, broke into nuclear. The affected community passed through psychological trauma. In general, the PAPs were satisfied with the services provided by the project implementing agency. There was some reservation about the compensation process that, it was lengthy and cumbersome. The researcher concluded from discussion that the majority of the people spent their compensation amount on other purposes rather than to improve their livelihood. It was also found that majority of the PAPs were living in the same village. Only few families moved to cities. The project disturbed their peer groups and social networking. On some places the social amenities were in other village. The motorway cut their road connectivity. The PAPs and other community members were facing difficulties to avail facility. Despite all these difficulties, the PAPs were hopeful that M-4 project will open new venues

towards economic development in the area and help to accelerate the economic growth in the area.

Competing Interests

The author did not declare any competing interest.

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