

**THE POLITICS OF LAND ACQUISITION, DISPOSSESSION AND
REINTEGRATION:**

A Case Study of Industrial Model Township, Rohtak, Haryana

A Thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the Award of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY

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The thesis has not been submitted previously, in full or in parts, to this or any other University or Institute for the award of any degree or diploma.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work embodied in the present thesis entitled '**The Politics of Land Acquisition, Dispossession and Reintegration: A Case Study of Industrial Model Township, Rohtak, Haryana**' carried out under the supervision of Prof. Arun Kumar Patnaik, Department of Political Science, for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science from University of Hyderabad, is an original work of mine, and to the best of my knowledge no part of this thesis has been submitted for the award of any research degree or diploma at any University.

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March 7th, 2023

Rajesh Kumar Karna



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This is to certify that the thesis titled '**The Politics of Land Acquisition, Dispossession and Reintegration: A Case Study of Industrial Model Township, Rohtak, Haryana**' submitted by Rajesh Kumar Karna bearing Regd. No.15SPPH10, is a bonafide work carried out by him under the guidance and supervision of Prof Arun Kumar Patnaik. The thesis is free from plagiarism and has not been submitted previously in part or full to this or any other university or institution to award any degree or diploma. However, parts of this thesis have been published in the following articles or/and presented in the Conferences:

A. Articles Published in Journals

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Dedicated to Rima and my friends, whose confidence made this
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ABBREVIATION

ABD	Accumulation by Dispossession
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADJ	Additional District Judge
BBSS	Bhoomi Bachao Sangarsh Samiti
BJP	Bharatiya Janta Party
BKU	Bharatiya Kisan Union
BSP	Bahujan Samajwadi Party
CAGR	Compound annual growth rate
CIL	Coal India Limited
CM	Chief Minister
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GOI	Government of India
GSDP	Gross State Domestic Product
HC	High Court
HDRUA	Haryana Development and Regulation of Urban Areas Act
HSAMB	Haryana State Agricultural Marketing Board
HSIIDC	Haryana State Industrial and Infrastructure Development Corporation
HUDA	Haryana Urban Development Authority
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IMT	Industrial Model Township
INLD	Indian National Lok Dal
KMP	Kunduli-Manesar-Palwal
KMSS	Kisan Majdoor Sangharsh Samiti
LAA	Land Acquisition Act
LACs	Land Acquisition Collector
LPG	Liquified Petroleum Gas
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Madhya Pradesh
MRD	Ministry of Rural Development
NBA	Narmada Bachao Andolan
NCR	National Capital Region

NH	National Highways
NRP	National Rehabilitation Policy
NTPC	National Thermal Power Corporation
OECD	Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PWD	Public Work Department
R&R	Rehabilitation and Resettlement
RFCTLAR&R	Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement
SC	Scheduled Caste
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
UN	United Nations
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPA	United Progressive Alliance
USD	United States Dollar
WB	World Bank

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Introduction

1.1 Background

Since the beginning of the new millennium, land dispossession in the name of global land rush gained notoriety throughout the world involving a wide range of individuals, groups and institutions; starting from affected smallholders or indigenous communities, local and national institutions, civil society organisations, global institutions of governance. For a long time and with an acute new interest after this, academia and journalists are documenting the uneven impact of this global rush for land and other natural resources and on the players involved (Borras jr, Hall, Scoones, White, & Wolford, 2011; Borras jr. & Franco, 2012; Edelman, Oya, & Borras jr., 2013; Grajales, 2013; Hall, 2013; Levien M. , 2018; Zoomers, 2010; Nyantakyi-Frimpong & Kerr, 2017). Whether it has been called ‘resource grabbing’, ‘land acquisition’, ‘land grabbing’, ‘new enclosures’, ‘green grabbing’, ‘water grabbing’ etc. (Mehta, Veldwisch, & Franco, 2012; Fairhead, Leach, & Scoones, 2010; White, Borras jr., Hall, Scoones, & Wolford, 2012). This phenomenon, in majority cases, instead of leading towards development and growth, resulted in changing of agrarian relation in terms of land, labour and identity, leading towards dispossession and impoverishment of affected communities.

The unfolding of Global land grab, mainly in the Third World, is not a new phenomenon but a part of a long historical process since colonial days or even before. For some, it is an ongoing process of what Karl Marx called ‘Primitive Accumulation’ that unfolded in 17th-century Britain (Sanyal, 2007; Adnan, 2013; Chatterjee P. , 2017). But what is new is the volume, purpose and players involved, although the motive remains the same; accumulation of new spaces previously not included in the capitalist fold, whether domestic or foreign (Harvey, 2003; Arrighi, Aschoff, & Scully, 2010; Borras jr. & Franco, 2012). Unlike colonial regimes, accumulation now is not only driven by capital investment from developed nations to relatively poor and weak governance territories of South America, Africa, South and East Asia but also involves capital from all directions; north, south, east and west, along with middle-income states with considerable involvement of inter-regional and local power elites (Mehta, Veldwisch, & Franco, 2012). The involvement of multiple countries and firms in the acquisition of foreign land in response to various crises within their own country or at the global level ranging from food security crisis, fuel crisis, environmental degradation and climate

change and crises of over-accumulation and under-investments along with many more are the discursive motives leading to a global rush for land and other natural resources. The target of this rush is not always land but rather bio-fuel, water, green capital, precious metals, labour and many others. But, 'land' played a pivotal role, not because it's scarce but because it provides an outlet for extracting other resources (White, Borras jr., Hall, Scoones, & Wolford, 2012). However, this land grabbing and subsequent dispossession are considered a 'top-down' phenomenon as many linked these processes with 'globalisation', 'neo-imperialism' and a new form of colonialism in the developing world.

Moreover, the involvement of national governments, whether local, national or provincial and the roles of domestic power elites in these recent transformations is a great matter of debate, discussion and academic exploration, which is central to this thesis. However, this study focuses on land dispossession in the context of India and its provincial governments.¹ It tries to go beyond these established norms of political economy approaches and adopt 'political ecology' as a supplementary lens to grasp these processes holistically. Answer to the central question "How land grabs shape and are shaped by the dynamics of political ecology?" would be attempted to be answered in the context of India in general and Haryana in particular (Borras jr. & Franco, 2012).

Further, there is always a binary of development vs dispossession involved in each project. While some welcomed it as it will generate avenues for new livelihood opportunities for the marginalized, answer to the food security crisis, etc. Many raised serious objections to the possible adverse impacts of these big land deals on local communities' socio-economic and environmental aspects, including loss of land, job and habitat (Cotula, 2012, p. 649). Despite the adverse impacts of land grabbing and large-scale land acquisition, the World Bank and many national governments, along with the corporate bodies, are critical of the term 'land grab' and instead consider it as 'large-scale land investment'. They devised a 'code of conduct' for disciplining large-scale land acquisition and transformed it into a 'win-win' scenario for all stakeholders; later on, it was converted into the concept of 'Corporate Social Responsibility' (CSR). World Bank pushing for 'Good Governance' and new roles of firms as agents of social change expects to minimise the human and environmental cost of land deals; but for social activists and others, it remains a form of 'Corporate extreme makeover' (Borras jr. & Franco, 2012)

¹ Land is a provincial subject in India

Therefore, each case of land dispossession needs to be understood beyond the binary of development vs. dispossession and how ‘micro-politics of negotiation of land control, access and exclusion are played out’ within the household. (Nyantakyi-Frimpong & Kerr, 2017, p. 422). Further, the impact of land grab needs to be seen in ‘household’ not as “an undifferentiated unit with uniformly effected by land deals but rather a heterogeneous conglomeration of own articulation and perceptiveness of impact and responses” (Nyantakyi-Frimpong & Kerr, 2017, p. 422).

The main crux of this thesis, the dispossession of agricultural land, has remained a major aspect of capitalist development throughout the world for quite a long period. India too, where a significant portion of the world's rural agrarian population resides, has been at the centre of ‘land wars’ for decades. Although India has a long history of land dispossession, beginning with the British encroachment of private and common land for railway extension and plantation by clearing forests and displacing the rural poor, attention of Indian academics and analysts generally began after millions had been displaced due to large-scale industrial and infrastructural projects like multipurpose dams, industrial projects, mines, etc., under the influence of Nehruvian developmentalism (Levien M. , 2013). The disproportionate impacts of these ‘developmental projects’ were documented by generations of scholars under the heading of ‘development-induced displacement’ (Cernea M. M., 2004; Mathur, 1995; Bisht, 2009; Kothari, 1996; Robinson, 2003; Fernandes & Ganguly Thukral, 1989; Mohapatra, 1999). In recent decades it has regenerated a fresh interest from academia to media houses to civil and political associations and individuals due to its accelerated speed of accumulation not for state-sponsored developmental projects that it used to be but to serve private capital and its development, which has become a dominant feature of Indian political economy after 1990s reforms. Although Michael Levien (2013) argues that “dispossession has been a constitutive feature of the socio-spatial transformations engendered by colonial, post-colonial and neoliberal political economies” but are part of various ‘regimes of dispossession’. However, this current rush for land in India by the private capital has been considered a part of ‘global land grabbing’, as discussed in the introductory paragraph. Recently, attention has been paid to land dispossession in India due to corporate actors' acute interest. Its attempt is to gain significantly through land commodification in the global speculative financial market with the help of the state, which drives out small peasantry from robs them of their land and their livelihood in the name of development- ‘Special Economic Zones’ (SEZ), industrial corridor, housing, township, hi-tech cities and expressways, etc. Though the big dams, the largest single cause for mass dispossession have become a phenomenon of the past now, but land is being

acquired for urban extension, housing projects, industrial development, infrastructure building, highways, railway extension, airports and for private parties too, that regenerated intensified conflict and land-wars in India. Many considered the land question the “biggest problem in Indian development today” and said to be the root cause of India’s biggest internal security challenge, the Maoists’ (Chakravorty S. , 2013). Therefore, the question of land becoming the prime issue affecting all segments of the population is a matter of debate and discussion among every voice in the political spectrum. The academicians too, articulate the nature and extent of dispossession of the peasantry in the cases where state after acquiring, adjudicating and developing land by itself, made it available for capitalist development: the dominant way of development of today.

It is difficult to estimate the volume of land dispossession that resulted in ‘land wars’; ‘farmer protests over land dispossession’, and other agrarian transformations (Levien M. , 2018, p. 2). However, many organisations and platforms, like GRAIN, Oxfam, Land Matrix, etc., are estimating the volume of global land grabs. They have devised specific estimations collected from media reports and other sources. But caution requires in using these figures as authentic due to inherent secrecy and lack of transparency around the land deals (Cotula, 2012, p. 651)². Estimation is always a challenging endeavour because of the motives, players and issues involved in it. Many of these estimates are made on foreign capital investment to grab land in other countries. In contrast, land acquired by the national government for its own developmental projects remains unaccountable.

Similarly, there is no accurate or approximate volume on how much land has been dispossessed or acquired in India³. The land has never been a resource to be abandoned. In a country like India, where a majority of the population depends upon agriculture with constantly declining land holdings size, diversion and destruction of green land for non-agricultural purposes without ensuring both livelihood and food security has been a significant matter of concern (Shiva, Jani, & Fontana, 2011). Ratan Khasnabis (2007) reported that around 20 million hectares of agricultural land had been converted for non-agricultural purposes within three decades of independence. Now, after economic liberalisation, it has sped up rapidly. Only private capital transformed around 5 million hectares into non-agricultural purposes during

² As per GRAIN website; around 56.6 million hectares of land changed their ownership only within 2008-09 worldwide (majority land deals are taken place in Africa and Southeast Asia). Oxfam in partnership with Land Matrix (2011) estimated that around 227 million hectares of land has been acquired in between 2001-10 globally

³ land dispossession here signify land acquired by the powerful (state and corporate actors) entities by dispossessing millions of self-sustaining peasantry for various purposes i.e. construction of dams, mining activities, large industrial and infrastructure projects, urban development etc. summed under one heading ‘developmental projects’.

1991-2005. It is estimated that by various developmental projects, more than 22 million people have been displaced during the first four decades of Independence, while less than 25 percent were rehabilitated in a way (Fernandes, 2005). Another estimate by Fernandes and Thukral (1989) claims that during 1980-90, around 11.5 million people were displaced but not rehabilitated (p.4). Sanjoy Chakrobarty (2013) assumed that since 1947, about 50 million acres, or around 6 percent of the country's total land mass, had been converted. A parliamentary report showed that about 60 million people in India had been displaced during initial fifty years after independence only by developmental projects, the largest cause of internal displacement worldwide⁴. The primary victims of displacement are often marginalised rural poor and indigenous people. The statistic shows that in India, out of the total displaced persons, 40 percent are tribal only, although they constitute a mere 8-9 percent of the total population. That is why scholars like Balakrishnan Rajagopal (2002) argue that this displacement trend is a kind of 'development cleansing' like ethnic cleansing; its major victims are from minority ethnic and racial communities. Before economic liberalisation, irrigation projects like dams were the main sector that caused the displacement of more than 110 lakhs population, more than 1 percent of the total population (Fernandas, Das, & Rao, 1989, p. 73). Along with dams, mines, industries and wildlife sanctuaries were other major causes of development-induced displacement. In the last one and half decades, Special Economic Zones (SEZs)⁵ have become the prime source of land dispossession and displacement of millions and the cause of land wars in India (Jenkins, Kennedy, & Mukhopadhyay, 2014).

As Karl Polanyi (1944 (2001)) outlined on 'double movements'; a process of commodification of land and labour with possible dispossession by the neoliberal state on one side and growing socio-political mobilisation of the subaltern classes on the other in recent years made significant changes in the approach of the state towards dispossession and post-dispossession reconstruction measures too. Acquiring land by dispossessing people without making proper measures for reconstruction is gradually turning into stories of the past. Resistance movements became so informed and global in scale that even political regimes were constantly being threatened and even uprooted if they have tried for it⁶. These changes in circumstances, context,

⁴ Displacement; internal displacement can be natural calamities-induced or man-made like war, violence and developmental projects. The main concern of this paper is development-induced displacement that has been caused through mining activities, constriction of dam, large industrial projects, township, economic zones and other large scale activities that need large chunk of land and meant to be for development of human beings.

⁵ There has been 373 approved SEZs in India and out of which 230 are operational (<https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/economy/62-of-sezs-are-operational-and-have-created-20-lakh-jobs/article25827760.ece#:~:text=The%20Ministry%20of%20Commerce%20and,many%20as%2020%20lakh%20people.>

⁶ CPI (M) government in West Bengal post Nandigram incident and political crisis in Madagascar in 2009 due to the policy of President Marc Ravalomanana to leased out large part of land to Korean Company Daewoo.

purpose and policies have made ‘rehabilitation and resettlement’ (R&R henceforth) a focused area of contemporary developmental discourse. Many states are coming up with positive measures to satisfy the landowners’ interests to a significant extent before acquiring their land in this era of liberalised economy⁷. Benefit-sharing R&R packages, long-term royalty and annuity schemes, land co-operatives, land pooling schemes and the recent promulgation of the Land Acquisition Act 2013 could be considered as part of that shift in the state behaviour in India. In recent years, India witnessed some successful and peaceful land acquisitions in Western Uttar Pradesh (U.P.), Haryana and Maharashtra, where sometimes farmers voluntarily came together and, in some places, the state negotiated with them to voluntarily give their land for industrial and infrastructure development projects (Balakrishnan, 2013; Pai, 2010; Sathe D. , 2017). This dissertation tries to understand and address the impact and issues of this ‘new shift’ in the state behaviour as a form of ‘reintegration’ project over the rural peasantry and how far it has been able to minimise the intensity of dispossession and reverse the process of primitive accumulation (Sanyal, 2007; Chatterjee P. , 2008). The case of the Haryana model of land acquisition based upon the Haryana Rehabilitation and Resettlement policy 2007 (amended in 2010), replicated by many states later on, will be interesting to explore in this context.

1.2 Defining land dispossession

As a part of the larger discourse of resource grabbing, land dispossession can result from the appropriation of natural resources; land and water, and control of their associated use and benefits, with or without transfer of ownership, usually from poor and marginalised to powerful actors (Fairhead, Leach, & Scoones, 2010). Land occupies a unique position historically among all other natural resources, not only for its scarcity but because it provides outlets for extracting other resources. However, in recent years with the growing population and demands of land for agriculture and non-agriculture-related purposes, land wars are constantly exploding everywhere (White & Dasgupta, 2010, p. 598).

Land dispossession, a much-debated political economy question, had many connotations such as grabbing, new enclosures, displacement, acquisition, compulsory purchase and eminent domain in prevailing discourses. In this context, Michael Levien (2018), in his book ‘Dispossession without Development’ elaborated on the applicability of the term

⁷ A shift from state-led development to liberalised economic development and land acquisition for that purpose has generated considerable anger and agitation among mass throughout the country (Singur to Niyamgiri Hills of Odisha; from Haryana to Navi Mumbai) that forced the state to shift its action towards land acquisition and reconstruction.

‘dispossession’ against all other synonyms to understand the contemporary process of land alienation from the marginalised and poor by the powerful, mostly the state (pp. 6-7). In India, since the colonial introduction of the Land Acquisition Act 1894, this legal phase of ‘acquisition’ is popular to describe state-led land dispossession processes. The ‘eminent domain’ concept initiated in India by this law signifies the right of the state to take away private property for public use with compensation. However, vaguely defined ‘public purpose’ and its misuse in the past remained a concern of public debates in India. This British-era law remained the sole legal basis for the expropriation of private land until a new law replaced it in 2013.

Generations of research on public dispossession of land and habitat due to mega projects like dams, industries, and others in the 20th century referred to it as ‘displacement’; more precisely, ‘development-induced displacement’ in order to make it different from other forms of displacement such as violence and natural disaster-induced (Cernea M. M., 2004; Mathur, 1995; Bisht, 2009; Kothari, 1996; Robinson, 2003; Fernandes & Ganguly Thukral, 1989; Mohapatra, 1999). However, many used ‘displacement’ in a similar sense as dispossession but Levien (2018) pointed out that displacement “lacks the active and relational sense of dispossession . . . appears to just happen, rather has been taken away by someone forcibly” (p. 6). Hence, dispossession could be an appropriate term and includes both ‘displaced persons’ (DPs) and ‘project-affected persons’ (PAPs). But how do we define it?

Land dispossession for this current research could be used synonym only with land grab and displacement. Walter Fernandes and others (1989) define displacement as “primarily the consequences of the struggle for the control of the natural resources such as the forest, water and other products. It is a transition of these resources from being the life-support system of the community and form an informal economy to individual and corporate ownership of the formal capitalist economy” (p.63). Land acquisition can also be used when land dispossession is led by the state or any of its agencies. According to Ben White et al. (2012), it signifies “the large-scale acquisition of land or land-related rights and resources by corporate (business, non-profit or profit) entities” (p. 619). However, both definitions refer to a sort of transformation of land from a basic subsistence to mere capital to be accumulated for capitalist development but conceal the role of the state and are silent about the nature of transactions. Still, it is precise that land dispossession or grabbing implies transferring natural resources, including land, from the poor and the marginalised to the powerful ones. Zoomers (2010), while defining land grab in a neoliberal global context, called it the ‘foreignisation of space’, which resulted in a combination of forces such as globalisation, liberalisation of land market, rapid growth in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and the recent real estate boom. He identified seven processes

that drive current global land grab i.e., food production, bio-fuel and non-food agriculture, ecotourism and environmental protection investments; SEZ, large scale infrastructure building projects and urban expansion; residential and housing sector expansion; tourist complexes and migration (Zoomers, 2010).

Borras jr & Franco (2013) define it more precisely as “the capturing of control of relatively vast tracts of land and other natural resources through a variety of mechanisms and forms, carried out through extra-economic coercion that involves large-scale capital, which often shifts resource use orientation into extraction, whether for international or domestic purposes” (p.1725). On similar lines, Michael Levien formulated his conception of land dispossession. Taking from the definition of ‘dispossession’ in Oxford English Dictionary as “the act of depriving someone of land, property or other possessions”, Michael Levien (2018, p. 6) defines land dispossession as “coercive redistribution” of land by the state, which controls the means of coercion. Therefore, a land acquisition without any measures of compensation from the involuntary population remained the principal process in this mechanism. However, Levien has underplayed the role of compensation in generating consensus of the dispossessed population to transfer the land to the state or any associate powers. Therefore, by differentiating two forms of transactions, i.e., market-led and state-led, representing consent and coercive nature, respectively, dispossession occurs by extra-economic means of state power. However, all market-led transactions can’t be seen as an act of free will as they can also involve depressed sales, which can be manufactured by state actions or apathy. Similarly, there are also instances of land acquisitions that have been perceived as voluntary acts of selling land, as discussed below in length.

Levien's conceptualisation of land dispossession has been debated largely through the binary division of coercive state-led and voluntary market-led processes of transactions. In the former case, land transformation, generally from one class to another, mainly in the case of big land deals, used to take place through extra-economic measures deployed by the state via land acquisition acts, legally obliged coercive measures that take away land ownership or use rights of the peasantry by giving a state decided market rate as compensation in exchange. This phenomenon has been considered as ‘involuntary transaction’ where deals were done through the deployment of extra-economic means of the state and literally, land has been forcefully acquired or grabbed. Extra-economic means refer to laws, state power, parliamentary acts, violence, etc. These processes are generally initiated through the state or its agencies by the power of ‘eminent domain’ and the land owners have no option but to flee from the land.

In other cases, normal and day-to-day property transfers are taken place through market mechanism and the nature of transactions is voluntaristic market exchange. These land deals are negotiated through an economic bargain between willing buyers and willing sellers and are deemed to be voluntary acts by both parties. In other words, people are not coerced or legally obliged to sell to any particular party or at any particular price (Hall, 2013, p. 1592). These are called ‘market-led transaction’. These types of transactions and other free-market transactions come under economic means of market-driven processes in contrast to state-led extra-economic means of transactions. But the role of compulsion directly or indirectly manufactured by the state apparatus or due to constant negligence on their part, which may lead to voluntary selling of land, can’t be ruled out. Therefore, a free-market transaction is not necessarily voluntaristic as it seems to be.

Derek Hall (2013) argued that this dichotomy between economic and extra-economic means of accumulation “is hard to maintain’ as these relationships are very porous. Firstly market, particularly in the global south, is rarely based on the economic relation of free transaction, rather, it is usually shaped by state power, regulation and force. The condition governing the so-called ‘free market’ is always set by state apparatus. Secondly, ‘extra-economic means’ are considered involuntary due to the explicit nature of the force involved in the process, but the threat can also be present implicitly in ‘economic transaction’. Sales can be motivated, however, by a diffuse sense that land seizure could occur” (p. 1593). The distinction between economic and extra-economic means is very tricky, particularly concerning contract farming and other transactions that may involve offers that are ‘very hard to refuse’. Thirdly, the voluntary and market-driven transactions can also take the course of fraud and are driven by unkept promises that have been seen in many cases. Therefore, “economic/extra economic distinction may be better seen as a continuum than as a dichotomy” (Hall, 2013, p. 1594).

In India and around the globe, we are witnessing voluntary and state-led land transactions that cut through economic/extra-economic dichotomous relationships. Many farmers voluntarily come up and sell their land to corporate firms due to constant agrarian distress and chronic negligence by the state towards agriculture, particularly after economic liberalisation. Vijayabaskar & Menon (2018), while exploring the land transformation from a rural economy to corporate firms through market transactions in South India, found that constant negligence and less encouragement towards the farming sector by the state, in reality, induce these voluntary acts of selling on the part of the poor peasantry. Authors considered these types of land grabbing as ‘dispossession by neglect’ (Vijayabaskar & Menon, 2018). Smallholder farming has been witnessing a multifaceted crisis in the last few decades among many

developing countries and the states are unwilling to provide the much-needed supporting role and are gradually withdrawing all sorts of incentives and subsidies available to farming. State's investment in rural development, irrigation, agro-technologies, etc., are not up to the mark of farmer's requirements. The pressure of the neoliberal market on agriculture made it unviable for small farmers unless they upgrade themselves to the speed of technological advancement, otherwise need to move out of farming. This resulted in farmer suicides in India, stagnation of agricultural productivity in Africa and increasing de-agrarianism of the peasantry from farming to non-farming sectors or migration to urban spaces. This backdrop of constant negligence by national governments to the farming sector and other rural development creates opportunities for these governments to attract more foreign and domestic investments in corporate farming, agro-fuel production and large infrastructure and industrial projects (White & Dasgupta, 2010, p. 579). Apart from state's systematic negligence towards agriculture, spreading of misinformation and creating confusion among dispossessed population (Oskarsson, 2013), aspirations of the affected community on raising hopes or fear of social dislocation (Jakobsen & Nielsen, 2019) and class of 'men in the middle' facilitating, negotiating land deals (Sud, 2014), etc., are 'determinants that soften the rigid distinction between 'coercive' and 'voluntary' processes of dispossession (Jakobsen & Nielsen, 2019, p. 4). But, how state policies, representing coercion are deploying market-mechanisms to generate consent for land dispossession, is not studied by many.

Similarly, states in North and West India, have been witnessing successful land deals and/or acquisition negotiated for urban and industrial development by offering transactions through market mechanisms or by providing compensation packages hard-to-refuse that reduce the use of violence and other coercive measures. So far, land commodification in neoliberal capitalism is a belief to be carried out through violence and coercion, whose integral parts are displacement and dispossession. The role of consent is mostly side-lined. However, the commodification of land has simultaneously given birth to new practices of dispossession in rural India but transactions are deemed to be less coercive and more market-led (Levien M. , 2018; Sathe D. , 2017; Kan, 2019; Jakobsen & Nielsen, 2019). But law (acquisition is a legal act) itself represents the state's coercive power, but perceived to a lesser extent if the brutal use of force has not backed it. There are many cases of land acquisition where land has been acquired without indulging much in violence or without deployment of forces. Hence, beyond the definitional nuances, the questions are: besides coercion, what are the policy processes through which dispossession of land from poor peasantry with customary rights is made acceptable? Also, how are these land deals discursively justified, legitimised, challenged, and

opposed? (Borras jr, Hall, Scoones, White, & Wolford, 2011). Apart from the consensus that global processes have significantly driven land dispossession, there is a grave need to critically analyse the local nuances of these land grab deals.

1.3 Land Dispossession and Reintegration: Theoretical Framework

‘Development’ that is routed in common sense is mainly portrayed as “a state or a process associated with such concepts as material well-being, progress, social justice, economic growth, personal blossoming or even ecological equilibrium” (Rist, 2014, p. 8). The classical liberal thinkers (John Locke, J. S. Mill, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, etc.) propagated that ‘growth’ and ‘improvement’ come with the destruction of backwardness and tradition manifested by lesser productive modes of production. Starting in sixteenth-seventeenth century England with the dispossession and expulsion of small peasantry and accumulation of their land and labour, the capitalist development process reaches its peak through “colonial conquest, plunder and genocide’ and sometimes ‘god mission to civilized the other by the white” (Neeson, 1993; Banner, 2005; Gidwani, 2008). After decolonization and the emergence of the Third World, improvement and growth were transformed into ‘development’ and ‘modernization’; based on modernization theories. Agriculture, peasantry, rural, etc., were regarded as embodiments of backwardness and the main hurdles to modernization (Rostow, 1959). Thus, the technocratic elites of newly independent nations undertook large development projects like dams, steel towns, ports, power plants, etc., justified in the name of nation-building by dispossessing millions of people. Dependency theorists criticize modernization theorists for undermining the consequences of these growths but ignore the rural land dispossession. After the re-emergence of ‘neo-liberalism’, private companies became the major agents of national economic growth. It advocated for state-sponsored coercive measures to remove the obstacle of small land holdings to make the ‘highest and best use’ of land (Levien M. , 2018, p. 11).

Karl Marx, considered as the greatest champion for the marginalized working class, vehemently criticised capitalist development and the persistent exploitation of the proletariat embedded in its trajectory. However, his understanding of preconditions for establishing socialism was dependent on annihilating peasantry, tribal and other undesirable impediments in the growth of class consciousness among the proletariat. In the trajectory of capitalist development at the stage of primitive accumulation, the peasantry and dwellers of all other modes of production have been expelled and dispossessed by fraud, violence and predation and have been turned into labourers to be accumulated in capitalist reproduction. The ultimate

purpose of primitive accumulation (PA) was the destruction of other modes of production and productive relations and giving way to the universality of the capitalist mode of production and relations generated out of it. In the primitive accumulation process, there was an integration project by which people expelled from their land and means of production were included in the capitalist system as a labourer, on whose further exploitation and accumulation in expanded reproduction of capital, the capitalist production maximised its profit and reached its peak (the monopoly capitalism). It is a “historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production’ and transforming ‘the social means of subsistence and of production into capital and the immediate producers into wage labour” (Glassman, 2006, p. 714). This process eventually broke the smog of ‘false consciousness’ and gave way to class consciousness, class struggle, proletariat revolution and at last socialist order, where all contradictions wither away (the Marxian trajectory of historical materialism). Therefore, primitive accumulation for Marx is a historical phase in the initial stage of capitalist development, and the dispossession of land as a pre-condition for the creation of capitalist social relations rather than a consequence that continues to be an integral part of the capitalist order.

Thus, it becomes imperative to ask, more importantly, how the ‘original sin’ of accumulation and dispossession of land and labour through fraud, violence and predation, instead of leading into the chronic crisis of over-accumulation and eventually giving way to socialism, remains and continues to be the core value of prevalent capitalist order even after imperialism? In this regard, the conceptualisation of David Harvey (2003) on ‘accumulation by dispossession’ (ABD) provides a more suitable answer to this question. He builds his concept of ABD in reference to neoliberalism based on Rosa Luxemburg’s analysis of primitive accumulation. Luxemburg (2003) argues that capitalism always faces the chronic crisis of under-consumption and over-accumulation due to its internal contradictions. Hence, capitalist continually needs to use power and violence over non-capitalist societies not only to keep them open for trade but also to permit capital to invest in profitable sectors by using cheap labour, raw material and low-cost land. “Capitalism must perpetually have something outside of itself in order to stabilize itself” (Harvey, 2003, p. 140). This ‘outside’ could be pre-existing non-capitalist territories or some sectors within capitalism which are yet to be proletarianised. Harvey (2003, p. 141) argued that “the organic relation between expanded reproduction and violent process of dispossession have shaped the historical geography of capitalism”. Luxemburg was the “first to argue that dispossession was systematically connected to capitalist expansion by way of its demand for land, not labour” (Levien M. , 2018, p. 15). This search and continued accumulation of non-capitalist spaces led to colonial plunder during Imperialism, outbreak of

world wars and change its course during neoliberalism by making profits out of commission and financial speculation that started in the 1980s and 1990s. Many features of primitive accumulation like commodification and privatization of land, forceful expulsion of the peasantry, conversion of the communal and collective property into exclusive private property, suppression of rights of commons, the commodification of labour, destruction of other means of production and consumption like indigenous peoples, etc. continue to be the core values of capitalist expansion in this age of neoliberalism. Therefore, it would be inappropriate to call it 'primitive accumulation' or 'original sin of accumulation' as Karl Marx phrased it. Hence, Harvey (2003) substituted it with a new word called 'Accumulation by Dispossession'.

Harvey (2003) does not extend a clear definition of ABD. However, it is considered the continuation and proliferation of forces of capitalist accumulation to non-capitalist spaces in the neoliberal phase of the economy. However, many features of primitive accumulation have been fine-tuned. Firstly, accumulation and dispossession remain an integral part of capitalist development, not of the nascent capitalism of 17th century Europe but of contemporary, fully developed advanced capitalism. Secondly, proletarianisation remains universal but incorporates a heterogeneous character by incorporating primordial identities like caste, gender, religion, etc. Further, consent and choice also play roles, apart from coercion, in formulating the working class. Thirdly, though the financial capital and credit system under the leadership of the United States and neoliberal Global Institutions play a greater role now than before, but predation, fraud, violence and thievery remain powerful means. Lastly and most importantly was dispossession by accumulation undertaking with the strong backing of state power (Harvey, 2003, pp. 150-154).

Though in this neoliberal era of land dispossession, pressure from foreign capital is immense but same as the eagerness of national governments to attract investment. The involvement of the national government as a facilitator, negotiator and service provider has been a well-proven phenomena in land grab literature (Fairbrain, 2013; Grajales, 2013; Sullivan, 2013; White & Dasgupta, 2010). The domestic elites are actively facilitating land and other natural resources to foreign companies and nations by encroaching large tracts of land as found in the Global South. Side by side, many cases of dispossession and displacement of communities as consequences of large industrial and infrastructural development projects developed by the national and state government in order to connect their economies into the global market are also taking place (Fairbrain, 2013; Pedlowski, 2013). Many of these land deals are facilitated by the state intervention through its coercive mechanism to displace and dispose and disfranchise marginalised as a necessary action towards economic development (Pedlowski,

2013). That is why Jim Glassman (2006) defined primitive accumulation or accumulation by dispossession as ‘accumulation by extra-economic means’ (p. 617).

But, the question arises here is how these deals of dispossession are discursively justified and negotiated at the ground? What if people revolted as Karl Polanyi (1944 (2001)) argued that commodification of land causes social disturbance and leads to ‘counter movements’? In the recent past, world witnessed protest movements everywhere, from the rain forest of Brazil to the jungle of Madagascar to the mountains of Niyamgiri and the plains of Ganga and Narmada in India. Nonetheless, land-grabbing practices continue to grow and become more severe these days, facilitated by the democratic states. But, unlike earlier, these marginalized populations are incorporated into the fold of capitalist society through a process called ‘reintegration’. Reintegration could be defined as a process by which the state (capitalist class) accommodates the dispossessed population while accumulating their modes of production or grabbing resources on which their livelihood would have sustained into the larger interest of ‘development’ with due consent or say, ‘manufactured consent’.

Gramscian concept of ‘hegemony’ and state-civil society division would be useful to understand this phenomenon discursively. Gramsci's whole project was on how the bourgeoisie seized and retain power. By deviating from Marxian base-superstructure logic, Gramsci argued that the super-structure influences and controls the economic relations; the base. He used the civil society-state division to address the hegemonic project of the Capitalist class to control and regulate both private and public spheres. Hegemony signifies “ideological appropriation of the dominated classes by the ruling class . . . the ruling class projected its own sectional interest as the universal interest which the other classes identify with and the universal is reified in the body of the state” (Sanyal, 2007, p. 27.). It has done by separating civil society from the state and propagating it as “an abstract and neutral institution above the sectional interests and conflicts of civil society, and this is in sharp contrast with the direct political nature of civil society in pre-capitalist societies⁸” (Sanyal, 2007, p. 27.). The ruling classes with the help of the civil society institutions (family, education, religious organisations, etc.) propagated their own worldview as the world-view of the entire society and manufactured and harnessed the consent of the subaltern classes towards its dominance. In this process, the capitalist class emerges as the hegemonic class, capable of absorbing the entire society through the elements of coercion and consent.

⁸ Pre-capitalist society here signifies all those societies where the capitalist notion of separation of labour and means of labour is yet to emerge.

However, in societies where the capitalist class is relatively weak and struggling to control the civil society, particularly in post-colonial capitalism, it resorts to a path of ‘passive revolution’ in which it allies with dominant classes to get into political power and then engages in a molecular transformation of the civil society to further capitalist development. Therefore, capitalist classes in this case, propagated a mixed agenda, its own and the interest of pre-existing dominant classes to legitimise itself. Many neo-Gramscian scholars like Parth Chatterjee, Kalyan Sanyal and others articulated the Indian independence struggle and post-colonial development as a case of passive revolution by the Indian bourgeoisie. The hegemonic project, therefore, is about forging a ‘universalistic ideological discourse’ where the “dominated classes accept the universal projected by the ruling classes not because they are fooled or misled; they do so because they interpret the universal in their own way and find in it element in which they can identify consciously” (Sanyal, 2007, p. 29).

It is only in a higher moment of consciousness that the subaltern is able to recognise the inequality and hierarchy concealed by the project of Universal. The subaltern's acquiescence to the hegemonic order reflects a particular movement of his consciousness, a movement that can be surpassed. To put it another way, the ideological ties that bind the ruling and the ruled in capitalism are deeply ingrained in society. And in this way, the dominated classes actively support the hegemonic class's moral and intellectual leadership. This unity is accomplished by the numerous ways that Civil Society institutions work to alter, directly or indirectly, the cognitive and affective frameworks through which people see and assess problematic social realities. The ruling class's projected universal is not necessarily a straightforward one, though. It may take on a complex form, and Gramsci is primarily concerned with this complexity. If the dominant and dominated classes share the same cultural space, the former's influence results in collaboration as its mirror image in the latter's consciousness. However, because they live in different cultural contexts, the elite's efforts to influence them failed to create the subaltern consciousness' mirror image. Hegemony takes on a complex form when the elite in this situation must appropriate components of subaltern awareness collaboration that are anchored in an independent cultural realm (Sanyal, 2007).

But a universal idea does not last forever; rather, with emerging interests, leaders and groups and context, it failed to satisfy this newness among the subaltern consciousness. The capitalist classes tried to defend these outdated universal ideas even through coercive means, while on the other side, the subaltern classes tried to revolt and constantly challenge it with new social movements. All these took place in the domain of ‘civil society’ and the hegemonic process as always mediated in and through the ‘integral state’, which is itself an embodiment of both

political and civil society and regulates the everyday life of subaltern classes through various institutions, discourses and technologies⁹ (Nielsen & Nilsen, 2015; Gramsci, 1971). The hegemonic process is about forming an ‘unstable equilibrium’ between the interests of the dominant and subaltern groups though mostly favoured the former as it manufactures and regulates the consent of the latter.

However, apart from civil society, representative democracy, bureaucracy and political institutions like Parliaments, courts, etc., along with legal processes, were employed to sustain the hegemony by maintaining the 'unstable equilibrium' that can also become sites of subaltern contestation. Even in order to do that, sometimes it incorporates some aspect of the aspirations, interests and ideology of the subaltern groups (Nielsen & Nilsen, 2015). Therefore, it is a perpetual political struggle of negotiating and bargaining aimed at forging a ‘compromise equilibrium’ and sometimes even formulating a new ‘universal idea’ where a new aspiration of the subaltern will be adhered to. We consider this process of negotiating ‘compromise equilibrium’ and its outcomes, constitute our project of reintegration. We believe that these reintegration processes (reintegration into the hegemonic process) are forged at various levels, national, provincial and local and its outcomes depend upon the societal setup it deals with. But whatever means the state used (coercive or consent) in order to secure the equilibrium, or whatever the outcome may be, whether it has incorporated subaltern interests or not but it ultimately intended to advance capitalist development and the duty of both state and civil society is to ensure it.

In the current research project, the process of land dispossession as the core element of capitalist accumulation and how this ‘compromise equilibrium’ as a project of reintegration has been forged in the Indian context during various political regimes is analysed. Michael Levien’s (2013; 2018) concept of ‘regimes of dispossession’ has been quite useful in understanding land dispossession in this context. He defines it as “socially and historically specific constellations of state structure, economic logic tied to particular class interests and ideological justification that generate a consistent pattern of dispossession” (Levien M. , 2018, p. 383). Patterns of dispossession refer to what is being expropriated, from and for whom, to what end and what level of success. Resources have been expropriated for and from different groups for various purposes under different political and economic regimes with varied

⁹ In the context of civil and political society, Partha Chatterjee (2004) formulation and conceptualisation of civil and political society gave fresh perspectives to understand development and dispossession politics in India, mainly during neoliberal capitalist transformation, but need a more rigorous ethnographic study which better to be kept for further expansion of this current research project.

ideological justification and acceptance levels that may have generated conditions more or less conducive for resistance (Levien M. , 2013). Large-scale land acquisition and dispossession of the population started during the colonial era for plantation and railway extension. The Colonial state armed with the power of 'eminent domain' used to forcefully acquire the personal property of any subject for 'public purpose'¹⁰ under the Land Acquisition Act 1894, and obviously as capital always intended to do by paying a compensation of the land at prevailing market rate to the formal land owners¹¹. This colonial regime of dispossession represents a crude use of coercive mechanisms to expel and extraction of people and resources for the ruling class ends without any obligatory role in rehabilitating the dispossessed.

The apparent 'universal interest' of national development in the Nehruvian Developmental era started to manifest dissensions around 1980, as the plight of the dispossessed subaltern communities without rehabilitation and compensation for large-scale industrial and developmental projects became prominent. Thereafter, India witnessed large-scale resistance movements against these projects of dispossession and with Narmada Bachao Andolan, it came into national discourse (Nilsen, 2010). With time, Nehruvian Developmentalism had failed to build the consensus and with rising subaltern consciousness maintaining equilibrium became difficult, which eventually gave birth to the discourse of 'Rehabilitation and Resettlement' at the national level. Global processes, mainly the role of the World Bank also important in this regard. But until economic liberalisation, Nehruvian developmental projects, despite displacing millions and rehabilitating very few, are considered to be based on the values of employment creation, minimising regional imbalances, social security and upliftment of the marginalised that are able to keep at bay resistance movements against land dispossession at the local level (project level) and to have stopped them from growing into a national movement, as happened later on.

After dismantling state regulation and control over the market, Nehruvian developmentalism gave space to the emergence of neoliberal economic development in India. Private capital rather public sector becomes the driver of economic development and capitalist accumulation thereafter. Thousands of acres of land have been acquired and millions have been dispossessed. This neoliberal capitalist development for private interest has produced a new pattern under the 'neoliberal regimes of dispossession' where millions of subalterns were dispossessed of their means of production and livelihood and excluded from the productive sectors of the economy.

¹⁰ Public purposes are always defined from the perspectives of the ruling class and their interest

¹¹ Formal land owners signify legal land owner of the land and it excluded largest dispossessed population who had customary rights over the land like tribal and also peasantry using those land through client-patron relationship with the zamindar, Kings or landlords.

(Levien M. , 2018). The circumstances of electoral democracy, however, make it "unacceptable and illegitimate for the government to leave these marginalized populations without the means of labour to fend for themselves. That carries the risk of turning them into 'dangerous classes.' Hence, a whole series of government policies are being, and will be, devised to reverse the effects of primitive accumulation" (Chatterjee P. , 2008, p. 62). Further, the accumulation of land and other resources, which speeded up after passing the Special Economic Zone act 2005, has constantly been attacked by civil society and subaltern classes because of its less developmental approach towards the dispossessed population. This gave way to forming a new 'compromise equilibrium' between capitalist and subaltern classes. Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) can be seen as a part of that compromise. A new discourse of Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) of the dispossessed population gained considerable momentum in this era. Demands for just compensation and reconstruction of displaced people, which remain as part of local (project level) discourse, have become part of the discussion at the national level. Formation of a national R&R policy and eventually the invention of new rehabilitation packages with benefit sharing approach, long-term social security, and land pooling schemes by making dispossessed population partners in capitalist ventures also turned up. In some cases, this new compromise equilibrium also allows subaltern classes to enter into capitalist development as a player as happened in the case of Magarpatta, Pune of Maharashtra where land owners become land developers (Magar, 2011). States and private firms constantly came up with new R&R packages and expanded the scope to incorporate new interests and groups to accumulate. In a recent development, the formulation of 'The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013' after dismantling the centuries-old colonial Land Acquisition Act 1894 was also a part of forging a new compromise (Nielsen & Nilsen, 2015).

In this context, it becomes imperative to probe the reasons behind the insistence on these compromise equilibriums in reintegration, albeit the prevalence of somewhat coercive 'eminent domain'. Neo-Gramscian scholars like Kalyan Sanyal and Patha Chatterjee argued that the preservation and recreation of space for the pre-capitalist modes has been an integral part of post-colonial capitalism because of its own legitimisation in a democratic setup and in the colonial experience. Therefore, these reintegration projects under developmental and reconstruction discourse are basically the need of the capital for its own legitimacy.

For some authors like Michael Levien (2007; 2011;2018), Sanjay Ruparelia (2013), John Harriss (2013), Kenneth Nielsen (2015), Dhanmanjari Sathe (2016; 2017), these reintegration projects have been necessary for the state (capitalist class) due to growing resistance and

agitation by the subaltern group against the process of land dispossession that makes large scale land acquisition as a mere impossibility. The dispossession process unleashed through capitalist development without any intention to develop the expelled population and new magnitude of land acquisition (mainly for SEZs) after the new millennium, along with growing consciousness and mobilising capability among subaltern classes, has given birth to this new discourse of rehabilitation. All of these scholars refer that India is witnessing what Karl Polanyi outlined as ‘double movement’; a process of commodification of land and labour with possible dispossession on one side and growing socio-political mobilisation of the subaltern classes on the other. This formulation of livelihood-sustaining, benefit-sharing compensation packages under R&R policies both at state and national levels, along with many other right-based social security legislation as a part of the reintegration project, can be seen as a part of the ‘New Rights Agenda’ advocated by John Harriss (2013), Sanjay Ruparelia (2013) and Kenneth Nielsen et al. (2015). This ‘new rights agenda’ basically signify “a series of national legislative acts that enshrine new civil liberties and socio-economic entitlements through legally enforceable rights” manifested since the UPA government in 2004 (Ruparelia, 2013, p. 569)¹². John Harriss (2013) points out that these new-rights agendas of India are based more on social welfare and protection as a ‘safety net’ to legitimise state action in the wake of neoliberal capitalist development rather than on social development. However, he also considers that these new legislations, including the Land Acquisition Act 2013, constitute what Merilee Grindle called ‘audacious reforms’ which “change how public issues are framed and resolved; alter the methods by which political actors calculate cost-benefit trade-offs; and reconfigure relationships between various social groups and political life.” (cited by Harriss, 2013, pp. 567-568).

Kenneth Nielsen et al. (2015), who studied these new legislations on social welfare and the promulgation of the new Land Acquisition Act 2013 from a Gramscian perspective, argued that these processes are neither an expansion of democratic accountability nor a process of cooperation rather a strategy aimed at negotiating a ‘compromise equilibrium’ (discussed above) to facilitate advanced global capitalist’s accumulation in neoliberal India. For Levian (2018), it is a response to growing resistance movements against land brokering acts of neo-

¹² Genesis of these new rights agenda can be traced back from 1980s, mainly these legal protections of subaltern rights are products of three slow-burning processes i.e., first, proliferation of socio-legal activism; proliferation of civil rights movements and pro-active role played by judiciary. Secondly, rapid uneven development due to introduction of economy liberalisation. Although India witnessed high growth rate in term of GDP in one hand whereas on the other socio-economic deprivation and inequalities started deepening. Finally, expansion of the popular foundation of parliamentary democracy in India with greater political participation of OBCs, Dalit, Adivasis and women and other marginalised sections along with involvement of regional political parties at national politics (Ruparelia, 2013, pp. 572-581).

liberal states to attract more private investment after economic liberalisation. Whereas Dhanmanjari Sathe (2016; 2017) called this an act of a 'learning state' that is learning from its past behaviour and changed circumstances due to global insistence on human rights protection, the emergence of the farmer, Dalit and Adivasi as a politically motivated group and Polanyi's double movement unfolded in India (Sathe D. , 2016). There is another argument that capitalist development and accumulation have been a requirement of local power elites and dominant groups. Domestic elites, for their own benefit, may also attract private capital by making necessary changes in the administrative and legal structure that will benefit the capital accumulation process and ultimately help the local elites and social classes who have 'access to authority' to maximise profit first through corruption and secondly through negotiating good compensation to be payable for acquiring their land and other possession.

Therefore, with the proliferating various resistance and movements by the affected communities against the 'developmental projects' all around the country, one must ponder over the questions of their plural intents, their agentive role in bringing forth paradigm shift in developmental schemes, and reclaiming space to be an active participant in this whole developmental process. Certainly, the intent to manufacture the 'bargain space' seems unavoidable. But the question remains whether these spaces cater to the interests of all the communities or just that of the hierarchically dominant groups.

1.4 The questions of reintegration

Reintegration could be defined as a process by which the state accommodates the dispossessed population while appropriating their means of production or grabbing the resources on which their livelihood would have sustained, into the larger interest of 'development'. In other words, after accumulating resources, the state allots a share of benefit to be generated by the process of resource accumulation itself and eventually used for the reconstruction of the expelled population to reintegrate and stop further dispossession. These can be in the form of compensation, policy inputs or any other means meant to minimise the effect of dispossession and check further impoverishment of the marginalised. Many define it as the 'reversal of primitive accumulation' 'reconstruction' or, in the popular notion, 'rehabilitation and resettlement' (R&R). For analysis purpose, these words are used synonymously in this thesis, albeit by recognising their differences.

UNHCR (2008, p. 7) define reintegration in the context of refugee as "the progressive establishment of conditions which enable returnees and their communities to exercise their social, economic, civil, political and cultural rights, and on that basis to enjoy peaceful,

productive and dignified lives”. Therefore, it is beyond the physical relocation of resettlement and restoration to rank, privileges or reputation etc.; one had lost i.e., rehabilitation (Murickan, George, Emmanuel, Bodan, & Pillai, 2003, pp. 276-277). Reintegration, therefore, by incorporating elements of rehabilitation and resettlement, signifies the reconstruction of lost livelihood to cope with a changed environment and the creation of opportunities to lead a dignified life for both the present and the next generation. The core aspects of reintegration are **consensus building, benefit sharing and creating prospect for sustainable development** for the dispossessed communities

Ismail Serageldin (2006) segregated the prevailing resettlement approaches into property compensation and people-centred approach.

The property compensation approach tried to economically compensate the value of the land to its legal owner, whereas other aspects like psychological, cultural, social and political aspects were just overlooked. It does not even recognize those communities who have no formal right over the land but live over it. This was the most dominant and flawed approach throughout the world for decades (Cernea M. M., 2008).

The people-centred approach criticized the former that mere economic compensation alone is incapable of reconstructing livelihood and needs a development investment to ensure sustainable reintegration. Hence, the focus must be on the people affected and how to help them sustain their livelihood once again. This approach valued the participation of all stakeholders in decision-making, proper planning and benefit sharing (Serageldin, 2006).

Michael Cernea (1997) identified eight impoverishment risks of forced dispossession i.e., landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources, increased morbidity and community disarticulation faced by displaced persons if rehabilitation measures were not taken care of. Loss of education, livestock, political disempowerment, social disarticulation etc., are some other adverse impacts found by others (Guha, 2007; Patnaik, 1996; Mohapatra, 1999; Kothari, 1996). The non-material impacts, such as human rights violations, deep fractures in social structures, networks and ties; threats to cultural identity and health, and destruction of social capital became more grievous than material costs (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2007; Rajagopal, no date). Failure to mitigate all these impoverishment risks will create ‘new poverty’ as opposed to ‘old poverty’ suffered by oustees before displacement (Downing T. E., 2002). Resettlement and rehabilitation planning, therefore, provides the means to mitigate these adverse impacts (Mathur, 2006). Cernea (1997) suggested eight components of the reconstruction process, i.e.,

land-based reestablishment, reemployment (through either self-employment or jobs created by or for the project), house reconstruction, social inclusion (status improvement), better health care, adequate nutrition, restoration of community assets (creation of new common property resources), and community reconstruction (social reintegration) to reverse eight impoverishment risks.

As mentioned above, sustainable reintegration and post-displacement reconstruction is based on three core aspects. Firstly, development is all about **building consensus** by including all interested parties rather than an imposition from above. A development project and reconstruction programme would be sustainable if the decisions are based on explicit dialogues and discussions among all parties. Both feasibility of the project and the post-displacement rehabilitation programme should be formed through the involvement of well-informed parties in decision-making. “Meaningful participation increases the chances that those displaced will come to perceive themselves not as victims, but as beneficiaries, proactively negotiating opportunities for benefit sharing rather than disproportionately bearing the loss” (Price, 2009, p. 279). Secondly, in order to achieve a ‘win-win’ scenario for everybody, it must be based on a ‘**benefit-sharing approach**’ with equitable distribution of resources and benefits (Wet, 2009, pp. 85-87). Michael Cernea elaborated different components of benefit sharing in next paragraph. Lastly, a benefit-sharing model built on consensus will lead to ‘**sustainable development**’, where the needs of present and future generation converge. However, sustainable development will be effective if it gives primacy to creation of sustainable livelihoods. Sustainable livelihood refers “a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base” (Scoones, 1998).

Cernea (2009), in addition to Wet’s argument, added that creating institutional and financial capacity is critical to benefit sharing principle in resettlement. Institutional capacity signifies “the state willingness to adopt or the state’s avoidance to adopt explicit legislation to regulate resettlement, resettlers’ structured participation in decision-making, the formal recognition of special group vulnerabilities . . .” (Cernea M. M., 2009). Apart from making suitable legislation at the national, state and local levels, this also includes creating special authorities or departments for resettlement and rehabilitation purposes. Many resettlement cases in India failed due to the absence of formal national or state-level R&R guidelines at one hand and lack of proper coordination among various departments responsible for sustainable relocation and

rehabilitation of oustees despite the availability of good packages. Another key cause for the failure of resettlement is the financial aspect, faulty compensation and sometime under-financing of reconstruction. Till recent years, compensation was used as the single financial instrument to handle acquisition, displacement and rehabilitation without making a separate fund solely for the reconstruction of the displaced population. Despite having a good resettlement policy, many also failed at the implementation stage. Issues involved in it are “political will, corruption, lack of resources, lack of capacity, including poor training, inadequate participation, poor planning and problems with management, inadequate monitoring and inability to handle conflict, and so on” (Wet, 2009, p. 87)

Scholars like Michael Cernea (2008) and Amartya Sen (2007), argued that state arbitration in the land acquisition process is the main culprit; instead the government should treat any land available for any purpose in general and encourage the private parties to directly purchase land from the sellers through a fair means of market bargain. Government acquisition of land is mostly a non-market and non-competitive way of determining land compensation. Most of the time, unrest and resistance arises because state-decided compensation packages are not mutually acceptable to land owners (Mahalingam & Vyas, 2011). The compensation amount would naturally be high in a market-led transaction as compared to state-led land acquisition. However, it would be difficult to accumulate a large tract of land for any project through a market-led voluntary land transaction. Further, compensation prices would vary for different people based on their bargaining and manipulative capacity and may open up doors for the involvement of the land mafia more often than in government-led acquisition. Another important lacuna in the voluntary market-led transaction would be that the buyer only valued the land it purchased rather than the issues of loss of livelihood, disruption of socio-cultural and environmental fabric, and concerns of landless population whose livelihood depended upon that land.

On the other hand, the benefit-sharing approach could use the future capital gain of the projects as financial resources for reconstructing the oustees’ livelihoods. To do so, it needs to be long-term, well supported by the policy as a core principle fully backed by political support. The government must have legal provisions for the allocation of benefits to the oustees and the host community, if any. Their land could be considered an investment in the new enterprise, and oustees need to be treated as ‘shareholders’ rather than project beneficiaries. In addition to the reconstruction of livelihoods, benefit sharing would be ethical, politically sound and useful in reducing overall poverty by preventing the potential risks of impoverishment (Cernea M. M., 2008, p. 97). Countries like Colombia, Brazil, China, Canada, Japan, and Norway adopted

various benefit-sharing measures such as royalty transfer, financing development through resettlement, allotting a percentage of project benefits as investments in the development of displaced population, granting equity share in the project, land-leasing rather acquiring and non-financial alternatives like allocating irrigated land or creation of land pool by the state in order to relocate displaced persons (Cernea M. M., 2009; 2008). In the cases of Australia and Hong Kong, the constitution directs the acquiring authority to compensate the affected community by assessing land values of tangible and intangible benefits attached to the land, both monetary and non-monetary (Mahalingam & Vyas, 2011). Moreover, developing agencies and the affected party in Japan need to reach a mutually acceptable compensation package through negotiation before the acquisition process starts. In the Philippines and Singapore, the state must resort to compulsory acquisition only after the negotiation fails. Even global funding agencies like the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, African Development Bank, European Investment Bank, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) etc., have prescribed resettlement guidelines (Price, 2015; Asian Development Bank, 1998; OECD, 1992). And United Nations 'Guiding Principles for Internal Displacement' protecting the rights of oustees need special mention (United Nations, 2004).

1.4.1 Rehabilitation issues in India: Policy and Planning

India, since colonial times, remains at the core of experimentation of 'Haussmannist' developmental projects where violence and dispossession are central tenants throughout colonial, developmentalist and neo-liberal political economy (Visvanathan, 1997; Levien M. , 2018). And till 2013, it did not have a comprehensive National Resettlement and Rehabilitation policy. The colonial era Land Acquisition Act 1894 (LAA) was the only legal instrument which acquired private land for loosely defined 'public purposes' by evoking 'eminent domain' power. The ambiguity surrounding the interpretation of 'public purposes' for acquiring land was a matter of great controversy and unrest throughout India, well-articulated in piles of literature (Goyal, 1996; Asif M. , 2000; Asif M. , 1999; Das, 2005; Fernandes, 2008; Murickan, George, Emmanuel, Bodan, & Pillai, 2003). The act was based on a cash-for-land approach, only to be payable to formal titleholders by excluding a large mass of people whose land ownership was communal. Apart from that, payment of land on prevailing market rates was always undervalued in India, leading to faulty compensation and popular unrest against state action. For decades even after independence, this was the dominant approach where resettlement and rehabilitation of displaced populations were unknown in public discourse (Iyer, 2007). However, there were some project-specific R&R measures practiced in many

countries. The tribals oustees of the Rourkela Steel plant in Odisha were allotted land for land rehabilitation, monetary compensation, resettlement colonies and employment in the steel plant (Roy-Burman, 1961).

In some cases, like the Upper Indravati Dam project in Odisha in 1978 and Tehri Dam Uttarakhand, multi-variable packages were granted (Bisht, 2009; Parida, 2006). But, these R&R packages failed to materialise into reconstructed livelihoods for the oustees, either due to lack of planning and participation or absence of proper policy guidelines. In some places, compensation never reached the actual allottees. In many cases, genuine oustees were declared ineligible for compensation due to faulty, narrow and lack of inclusive policy guidelines (Kothari, 1996; Asif M. , 1999). Conditions were so bad that people refused to take Project-sponsored rehabilitation packages and opted for monetary compensation instead, as Asif (2000) found in cases like Hirakud, Mayurakshi and Nagarjuna Sagar dam, Rourkela, Bhilai and Bokaro steel plants, the Damodar Valley Corporation, etc. Much literature recorded oustees' experiences in these state-sponsored ad hoc rehabilitation projects (Mcandrew, 1995; Kothari, 1996; Mohapatra, 1999; Fernandes, 2005; Parida, 2006; Bisht, 2009). In the absence of any national policy guidelines on sustainable resettlement and rehabilitation, project authorities for all these years opted for ad hoc case-by-case and sometimes sector/project-specific rehabilitation policies (mainly out of pressure from donor agencies). As a result, only a mere 25 percent of oustees could rehabilitate in a way out of millions displaced since independence (Mathur, 2006; Fernandes, 2005; Iyer, 2007).

In sum, there were mainly four approaches practiced in India for the reconstruction of oustees' livelihoods i.e., land-based remedies, cash compensation, employment and self-employment or a comprehensive approach involving some of these, each approach with its own limitations (Mathur, 2006). Cash compensation in exchange for land has proved fatal and devastating for various reasons. Land-based compensation is proven to be effective as it is seen as a “means of ensuring that resettlement is sustainable, given the unique characteristic of land as an asset, as a factor of production, as a commodity, and as a basis for community living” (Goyal, 1996) but not free of errors. Availability of land, its suitability and effectiveness in sustaining livelihoods are major concerns, along with piles of ownership disputes due to faulty land settlements. Many project authorities and state governments adopted ‘employment’ provisions for one family member of oustees. Assumed to be a sustainable measure for reintegration, this leads to many issues like trauma related to the sudden change in occupation and lifestyle, employed person bonding with other family members, sustenance of family after all others got

unemployed due to loss of traditional means of livelihood etc. The fourth one is a comprehensive approach adopting features of all these measures.

Since the late 1970s, due to large-scale protest movements by the displaced persons along with NGOs and activist organisations, academicians and civil society members, mainly after *Narmada Bachao Andolan* (NBA), felt the necessity of a national resettlement and rehabilitation policy to minimise the displacement and to ensure sustainable livelihoods for oustees. NBA significantly challenged the World Bank position in large-scale development projects, mainly dams, and stimulated international reaction to post-displacement rehabilitation issues of oustees, consequently leading to the establishment of the World Commission on Dams (Wet, 2009). Subsequently, many state governments like Maharashtra, MP and Karnataka, Odisha, Rajasthan etc. and a few departments like the National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) in 1993 and Coal India in 1994 promulgated their own R&R policies (Fernandes, 2005). The provision of only monetary compensation has undergone some changes, and other principles of R&R emerged which go beyond mere cash compensation (Goyal, 1996, p. 1462). But, R&R remained a peripheral activity with no infrastructural support and benefit-sharing during the implementation of development projects (Sharma, 2009, p. 202).

The process of drafting a National R&R policy was originally initiated in 1985 by B. D. Sharma Committee, but only in 2003-04 did India get its first National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation (NPRR) despite deliberate demands. But it was withdrawn after civil society outrage and a few reservations of the Congress party which was leading a coalition government (UPA), then. The Ministry of Rural Development (MRD) prepared another draft called 'National Rehabilitation Policy' (NRP) in 2006 and revised it again in 2007. Despite its improvement from the previous policy, the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy 2007 (NRRP 2007) suffered tremendous ambiguity. It remains a policy guideline that directs authorities to take care of certain aspects before acquiring land without being backed by any legal sanctions and the LAA 1894 remains the primary act. Farmer and tribal unrest and political movements against state brokering for private capital that dispossessed millions of people, and subsequently civil society movement finally brought the first National Rehabilitation and Resettlement act of India in 2013. The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 (RFCTLAR&R Act, 2013), which was subsequently called, received the nod of the President of India on 27th Sept. 2013 and came into force from January 2014. This act replaced the two-century-old colonial LAA 1894 and, for the first time, brought both land acquisition and rehabilitation of oustees in one act (Nielsen & Nilsen, 2015).

RFCTLAR&R Act, 2013 prescribed higher compensation rates and has provisions like consent of the affected communities, mandatory Social Impact Assessment (SIA) and an automatic R&R package in cases of land acquired exceeding 100 acres in rural and 50 acres in Urban areas. In addition to compensation, the policy has provisions for granting civil amenities, construction of alternative houses and means of livelihoods, guarantee employment, resettlement allowances, transport allowance, etc., for both affected landowners and landless communities. Moreover, this act tries to resolve the ambiguity surrounding the meaning of 'public purpose' in the LAA 1894 by providing a precise definition. Special provision has been made to protect 'green zone', irrigated and multi-cropped land from falling into private capital. Thus, for the first time in India, a comprehensive and reconstruction-oriented land acquisition law was promulgated, that give primacy to ethical development aimed at wellbeing of affected population (Price, et al., 2020).

However, despite a failed attempt made by the BJP-led national government in 2015 to dilute the act, high scepticism surrounded its prospect for reintegration in various states having their own complexity (Sathe D. , 2016; Chakravorty S. , 2013). Implementing the act falls unto the state (provincial) governments as land acquisition is a state subject and the states acquired most land in India in the past. Therefore, the outcomes of land acquisition will completely depend upon how different states respond to it (Chakravorty S. , 2013). Indian states responded to the issues of land acquisition and resistance in diverse ways in the past, "ranging from change in the terms of deals (Rajasthan), manipulation of legal or procedural processes (Gujarat and Maharashtra) and co-option of resistance to land acquisition (West Bengal and Goa) to complete non-response (Karnataka)" (Singh S. , 2016, p. 70). We have also witnessed projects in Gujarat and Maharashtra postponed or completely cancelled in response to resistance movements.

In some cases, changes were made to allow new projects by accommodating the demands of landowners. Haryana, Punjab, Delhi and Western Uttar Pradesh witnessing policies give higher compensation or a fixed portion in the developed land to accommodate the interest of dominant landowning castes. These multifaceted responses to land acquisition and protest movements gave birth to certain alternative approaches to rehabilitation and resettlements that provide higher prospects for benefit sharing. Therefore, these innovative land acquisition cases and land developments need to be tested as out-of-the-box models for the ongoing land war in India. One of such approach is the 'political consensus building model' developed for Haldia Petrochemical Limited (HPL) in 1988-91 in West Bengal. A Rehabilitation Advisory committee comprised members of government representatives, project authorities, and local

political representatives from ruling and opposition parties, which took responsibility for processing rehabilitation cases, settlement of grievances, allotments of R&R packages, and even hearing of cases. The idea was to determine the rates of compensation and other components of R&R, and identify genuinely deserving cases of rehabilitation based on mutually accepted ground-level agreements between political representatives. In some cases, the committee granted rehabilitation benefits to families who were not eligible as per norms, but the humanitarian ground and social justice demanded so (Chatterjee P. , 2000). Ashwin Mahalingam and Aditi Vyas (2011) argued that lack of meaningful negotiation among stakeholders is a major issue causing delay in land acquisition in India. This model practiced in Haldia shows a way out of this problem. Another successful acquisition and reintegration case was in the Bangarmau Bypass in Uttar Pradesh, where compensation rates were decided after a negotiation with the landholders (Mahalingam & Vyas, 2011).

Magarpatta city, a cyber-cum-residential complex built through a farmers' cooperative on the outskirts of Pune, is another innovative land development strategy. The city is built by a company owned by farmers who pooled around 400 acres of their land for the purpose. They still own the land, become shareholders in the company and enjoy dividends and rent generated out of the city. Even the landless communities living around were accommodated into this whole venture by sharing benefits generated from the project. An out-of-the-box innovation proved that land could also be developed in the way modernity demands not only by private capital or the state but rather by the landowners without losing their stake over it (Magar, 2011). Both Haldia and Magarpatta models, based on building consensus, benefit sharing and sustainable and inclusive development, gave prospects for the reintegration of oustees.

Haryana, a northern province of India with majority of its population are in agriculture and living in villages, is witnessing an unprecedented urban and industrial growth due to its locational advantage of surrounding the national capital of India; New Delhi from three directions. These neoliberal economic developments demanding huge mass of farmland for non-farm purposes. But, despite the fact that farmers of Haryana are well-informed, organized and conscious with powerful political lobbies, thousands of acres of land were acquired by the state in last one and half decades. Interestingly and contrary to popular belief, Haryana witnessed less anti-acquisition mass movements as compared to other parts of the country. The reason behind this is the Rehabilitation and Resettlement policy of Haryana 2007 (revised in 2010). The policy promises compensation on floor rates, 33 years long annuity scheme, developed residential and commercial plots and an additional amount of 20 percent for no-litigation in exchange of land. In addition to those, separate provisions for landless

communities, civic infrastructure facilities for the dispossessed community and investment advisory services for landowners. Cumulatively these provisions are dubbed as ‘the Haryana model of land acquisition and R&R’, that able to minimize land wars particularly in Haryana. The model was later replicated by many other states of India.

1.5 Statement of the problem

The Haryana model of land acquisition based on the R&R policy 2007 (2010), in light of theoretical and empirical debates, received lots of praise from various state parties, political elites and even academia. Sunjay Chakraborty (2011), Dhanmanjari Sathe (2016) Sugata Marjit (2010) and Sukhpal Singh (2016) called it a composite approach of R&R with provisions of compensation paid on floor rates, the minimum price for different locations of land, annuity scheme, commercial plots, etc. in the midst of political struggle on land acquisition and nationwide outrage. The Haryana Model of land acquisition and R&R is considered an innovative approach to land acquisition and an alternate solution to ongoing land wars in India that later on influenced the Central land acquisition laws and rehabilitation policies of many states, including Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh (Chatterjee T. , 2013, p. 274). However, very few works are available that interrogate the ground-level impacts of these R&R policies. Hence, the present study tries to critically assess the Haryana model of land acquisition and R&R from the perspectives of people affected by the Industrial Model Township (IMT), Rohtak, where the Haryana industrial development authority, HSIIDC, acquired approximately 3500 acres of farmland, affecting more than 30,000 people, the majority of whom are Jats, a politically powerful and well-organized agrarian caste, but with little opposition during. Further, how and in which ways the land acquisition impacts the existing pattern of rural social differentiation in terms of class, caste and gender following the changing land use patterns; and property and labour relationship are also major aspects to analyse.

1.6 Objectives of the study

The present research tried to address broader and area-specific questions related to large-scale land acquisition and possible dispossession, which are later resented within the larger theoretical discourse and empirical research. In the question of land dispossession of rural India with special reference to Haryana and the reintegration process through R&R policies, the objectives of the study are:

- a) Firstly, it will examine the Haryana model of land acquisition in its historical background, which will incorporate the trajectories of rural and state responses to this land acquisition project.

- b) Secondly, the process of land acquisition for IMT Rohtak by the state will also be probed around the discursive questions of investment and modernisation versus marginalization and dispossession.
- c) Thirdly, it will investigate the impacts of agrarian land acquisition in segments and intersections of society in terms of class, caste and gender following the changing land use and labour relationship.
- d) Fourthly, it will critically engage with the question of the effectiveness of Haryana R&R policies as a part of benefit sharing and social security approach that will reverse the effect of dispossession and reintegrate them into the mainstream.

1.7 Methodology and study area

To understand the politics of land acquisition, dispossession and the impacts of R&R policy of Haryana 2007 (amended in 2010), the Industrial Model Township (IMT) of Rohtak, Haryana, is purposively selected as a case study. Industrial Model Townships (IMT) are modern international standard industrial townships with all kinds of facilities like uninterrupted power and water supply, wide roads for transportation, sewage, waste disposal and management facilities etc. As per Haryana State Industrial and Infrastructure Development Corporation (HSIIDC), who developed these industrial estates must have over 1500 acres of land at a particular location to define as an 'Industrial Model Township'. It will be a hub for industries with space marked for ICT Park, residential areas, commercial and institutional areas, health facilities, educational institutions, amusement parks etc. HSIIDC acquired around 3700 acres of farmland on the outskirts of Rohtak city for establishing an IMT during 2007-2011 in three phases, covering both R&R policies of 2007 and 2010. Major villages affected by the land acquisition are Kheri Sadh, Baliyana, Bohar, Ghari Bohar, Nonand and Kharawa. Many factors influenced the selection of IMT Rohtak as an ideal site to study. First, as the current research is a policy evaluation study that intends to assess the impact of Haryana R&R policies 2007 and 2010, IMT Rohtak provides the space to examine it as land had been acquired in different phases covering both R&R policies. It was the main motive for choosing IMT Rohtak as the study area. Secondly, the study intends to understand both benefits and negative impacts of land acquisition on the economy and socio-cultural life of the affected people, particularly the small and marginal farmers as the majority of the affected families are small and marginal landholders with less than two hectares of land. Third, it also intends to comprehend the interplay between the state's developmental discourse to acquire land on the one hand and the struggle of the people to reclaim their land on the other. On such grounds, IMT Rohtak, where no significant and intense protest movements were taking place, even

though most of the affected people belong to the dominant caste of Haryana, the Jats, is going to be an exciting case of exploration.

The study anticipates understanding the state's role in reconstruction and reintegration, in this case, its parastatal agency, the HSIIDC. Moreover, it also analyses the impacts of land acquisition on the life and livelihoods of different sections of society, mainly women and the landless class. With landless Dalit and traditional service provider castes constituting 30 percent of the population, these affected villages remain critical zones to explore the politics of land war in India.

Multiple sources and methods of data collection, examples, questionnaires, in-depth interviews, documents and archival records, etc., are employed in this case study research. It is an instrumental case study (Christensen, Johnson, & Turner, 2015), intended to study the villages affected by the land acquisition for IMT Rohtak to understand the politics of land acquisition and dispossession in general and R&R model of Haryana, in particular. It is a mixed methods case study as both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods are deployed to understand the impacts of land acquisition and prospects for reintegration in these villages. Multiple methods data collection techniques, including household surveys, schedules, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions are used mainly because mixed methods are more compatible and pragmatic for effective research and better outcomes (Christensen, Johnson, & Turner, 2015, p. 383). However, as the target population is divided into various clusters based on their socio-economic profiles, phases in which land was acquired, and which provision of the R&R policy opted, etc. simple random sampling method is not feasible. Therefore, 'stratified purposeful sampling' has been used to select samples from the study area. This sampling technique is widely used in qualitative research to select information-rich cases. As Patton (2002, p. 240) explained, "the purpose of a stratified purposeful sample is to capture major variations rather than to identify a common core, although the latter may also emerge in the analysis. Each of the strata would constitute a fairly homogeneous sample."

A total of 399 household surveys with structured questionnaires were administered to collect general information like educational profile, family structure, occupational changes, and impacts of land acquisition on the affected villages' economic, socio-cultural and environmental life. In addition, group-specific impacts have been recorded from 278 landowners, 158 women respondents and 120 landless households through the Schedule method of data collection. Enumerators were employed to collect qualitative data through structured and unstructured questions to comprehend the impacts of land acquisition on the life

and livelihoods of different sections of society, including land owners, women and landless labour. In some cases, methods like semi-structured interviews of individual case studies, government officials, local leaders, daily wage labourers, women and youths, and focus group discussions were conducted to understand general perceptions and subjective nuances. Contextual and life history information were also collected to investigate the case and understand the causal trajectories that might have influenced the case.

A pilot study for the research was conducted in December 2018 and primary field studies were held in two phases, first during May-June 2019 and then from March to May 2021. During each phase, the researcher revisited the questions and tried to validate the responses by using multiple techniques. However, the field research has been severely disrupted first by the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 and later by nationwide farmers' protests against the three controversial farm laws passed by the Indian Parliament in September 2020. It was impossible to visit fields during the pandemic-induced lockdown, whereas during the farmers' movement, it was difficult to meet farmers and conduct a survey as many of them were sceptical about sharing information regarding their income and land details in lieu of government targeting innocent farmers.

Quantitative data collected through household surveys and structured questionnaires are analysed using SPSS statistical package. Mainly, frequency, simple ratio, percentage analyses, cross-tabulation method and graphs were used to obtain results for the present thesis. Secondary sources of data are collected from reports by government and non-government agencies, reports of case studies conducted by sociologists and anthropologists, books, available published scholarly articles, unpublished dissertations, commentaries, media sources, both print and social, webpages and blogs.

1.8 Chapterisation

The present thesis contains eight chapters, including the introduction and the conclusion. **The introductory chapter** outlines the concepts and approaches of dispossession and reintegration, theoretical frameworks employed, debates and issues surrounding the concepts, research questions and methodology. **The second chapter** provides a historical and analytical description of the genesis of the Haryana model of land acquisition and R&R approaches with an initial account of Haryana's socio-cultural, economic and political profile. **The third chapter** introduces the IMT, Rohtak as a case of dispossession with narratives of how dispossession has been carried out in affected villages by the HSIIDC and how the establishment of Industrial Model Township has been discursively justified by the state and in

return, responded by the rural folks. **The fourth chapter** tries to understand the impacts of land acquisition on the socio-cultural, economic, environmental and community life of affected villages. This chapter also provides a complete demographic profile of respondents collected through household surveys with a comparative analysis of pre- and post-land acquisitions life and livelihood. The **fifth chapter** situates women as an important category severely affected by agricultural land acquisition in rural India. It contrasted the narrative of the household as a monolithic category perceiving development and displacement uniformly and even questioned the homogenisation of women as a single category in displacement studies by providing accounts of intersections of women affected by the IMT, Rohtak. In a similar line, the **sixth chapter** outlines the impacts of land acquisition on life and livelihood of landless communities, who constituted around 30 percent population in rural Haryana. The **seventh chapter** critically assesses the Haryana R&R Policies (2007&2010) and its prospect for reintegration. The central question examined in this chapter is how far these policies, based on benefit-sharing and social security approaches, addressed the issues of reintegration and stopped further marginalization and pauperization of the dispossessed population. The **Conclusion chapter** made an effort to analyse and summarise the empirical findings based on the conceptual framework and literature reviews outlined in the introduction chapter.

1.9 Limitation

This study's shortcoming lies in the fact that it used a case study method in the first place, which prevents it from being broadly generalised to other cases of land dispossession. Second, stratified random sampling and participatory observation were challenging due to the population's composition, particularly its vastness and diversity based on several clusters. Consequently, as a study, non-random sampling has its own limitations, and the outcomes cannot be accurately generalised to the population. (Patton, 2002). Additionally, limitations in terms of time and money had a big impact on the number of participants I was able to recruit for this study. This might have an impact on how generalizable the findings are overall. An ethnographic study was initially intended to be conducted in order to critically comprehend a number of different aspects, such as the interplay between caste, land, and power; the emergence of new labour relations; the counter-hegemonic movement through everyday forms of resistance; the role of Khap Panchayat and political parties; etc. Moreover, the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic and persistent restrictions induced by it in the first place, as well as nationwide farmers' unrest led by farmers of Haryana, Punjab and Western U.P. in 2020-21 curbed the scope and methods of this research, significantly. Over a two-year period, visiting the field was all but impossible due to the pandemic and farmers' protest. Third, the research

was carried out at a specific time when IMT Rohtak was still in the planning stages. When the IMT begins operating fully, the local conditions may change. Therefore, since the data gathered on the effects of land dispossession and reconstruction only reflect on a given moment, it will be premature to conclude that the situation will be better or worse in the future. Lastly, so far personal bias is concerned, I quote from O’Leary (2004, p. 43): “*We are all products of the social forces that surround us. We carry with us the biases and prejudices of both our attributes and our socialization*”. So accordingly, the personal bias and prejudices may have influenced the study, but the researcher has tried to avoid it to the best of his knowledge.

Coming of the Haryana Model: Changing face of the State

Situated between the 27 39 N to 30 35 N latitude and 74 28 E to 76 73 E longitude in the very heartland of the Indian Union, Haryana is one of the highly developed states. Although it only constitutes 1.4 percent geographical area and 2.09 percent of the country's total population, it contributed 3.63 percent to the national GDP pool in 2018-19 (IBEF, 2019). Being a place of high socio-cultural values, Haryana has always held a central place in the country's belief system historically and geographically. Since the beginning of civilization in India, great kingdoms flourished and declined in the land of Haryana. Curved out of erstwhile East Punjab, Haryana always had a distinct cultural identity of its own and since its merger with Punjab province in 1956, people demanded a separate *Haryana prant* out of Hindi-speaking territories and finally became a separate state in 1966 through Punjab Reorganisation Act 1966. Chandigarh is still the joint capital of both Punjab and Haryana. Situating in the Gangetic plain that sustains Indian civilization through the ages, the state's land is fertile and highly prosperous. Surrounded by National Capital Region (NCR) in three directions from the East side, Haryana borders Punjab and Himachal Pradesh to the north and Rajasthan to the south and west.

2.1 Profile of the state of Haryana

2.1.1 Demography

Haryana is one of India's most densely populated states, with a total population of 2.53 crores, of which 65.21 percent live in rural areas and the remaining 34.73 percent in urban settlements as per the 2011 census. It is one of the states with a wide sex ratio in the country with every 1000 males, only 879 were females (943 was the national average). In the total population, males constitute 53.23 percent. In terms of literacy rate, 75.64 percent are literate (85.06 % among males and 65.94% among females), slightly higher than the national average of 74.04 percent (Govt. of Haryana, 2013).

Figure 2-1 Map of Haryana



Source: <https://haryana.gov.in/map-of-haryana/index.html>

The total workforce participation per the 2011 census was 35.17%, of which 50.44% are males and 17.79% are females. Workforce participation among women in Haryana has declined considerably from 27.8% in 2001 to 17.79% in 2011. However, females still engage in various activities, mostly in unorganised sectors, mainly agriculture and allied ones (Govt. of Haryana, 2013). Administratively the state is divided into four divisions, i.e., Hisar, Ambala, Rohtak, and Gurgaon. There are 22 districts, 57 subdivisions, 74 tehsils, 44 sub-tehsils and 119 blocks. There are 154 towns and 6841 villages, out of which the number of inhabited villages is 6764 in the state as per the 2011 census.

2.1.2 Socio-cultural profile

Since the pre-independence period, the social strata of Haryana was divided into two rival division in terms of class and caste; the agriculturalist and the non-agriculturalist. The Unionist party of Sir Chhotu Ram mobilised the rural agriculturalist people of Haryana against the urban non-agriculturalist, who used to exploit the former. The agriculturalist classes constitute the

majority of the population and have a significant hold over the power structure of rural Haryana (Devi, 2010). Among agriculturalists, Jats constituted the largest caste group, with around 38 percent of the population dominating rural Haryana. Apart from them, Ahir 7%, Gujars 6%, Rajputs 4% and Rors, Tygis and Saini each 15 percent. If we include 5% Brahmins, the agriculturalist will constitute 55-60 percent. Besides these, a considerable number of refugees, mainly Hindu Punjabi, migrated from West Punjab along with Baniya. A marginal population of backward castes consists of Artisans, Kumbhars, Nairs, Telis, Khatri, etc. Around 20.17% of the state population consists of Scheduled Castes communities, including Chamaras, Balmikis, Khatiks, Dhnaks, etc.; the remaining are miscellaneous. Haryana does not have any scheduled tribe population. Regarding religion, the majority are Hindus (90%), thereafter Sikhs 6.25%, Muslims 4.05% and Christian 0.01% (Narwal, 2013, p. 27).

Despite high economic growth, the state is considered socially backward. Cases of atrocity against the Dalit community, gender disparity and violence for dowry and inter-community marriages, and issues of 'honor killing' directed by '*Khap Panchayat*'¹³ are usually reported in news media (Jodhka & Dhar, 2003; India Today, 2019; The Pioneer, 2018). The state is one of the lowest sex ratios and is known for high crime and violence against women (Kennedy, 2019).

2.1.3 Economic Profile

Haryana is one of the states with the largest economy in terms of per capita income, with Rs.264207 (3300 USD), much higher than the national average of Rs.134432 (1900 USD) in the year 2019-20. The Compound annual growth rate (CAGR) was at 12.89 percent (2019-20) (IBEF, 2019). For many decades Haryana was predominantly an agrarian economy. The scientific inputs provided through Green Revolution, a well-connected concrete road network, early rural electrification and well-supported irrigation canals, etc., provided a much-needed boost to agriculture when it became a separate state in 1966. The dominant role of agriculturist castes in the power structure of state politics is another factor for such impressive growth. Around 80 percent of the state's total geographical area is under cultivation and a highly prosperous state blessed with rich natural and agricultural resources. With just 1.3 percent of India's land mass, Haryana is India's second largest food grain producer, with 180.32 lakh tons during 2017-18; popularly known as the 'Food Mine' of India (Govt. of Haryana, 2019; IBEF, 2018). Situated in the moist plain land of north-central India, around 86% area of the state is arable and 96% is cultivated. The state also has a well-developed allied sector which includes

¹³ A type of kangaroo court very prevalent and powerful in the Haryana region

horticulture, fisheries, livestock, milk and milk products, etc. (Govt. of Haryana, 2019). However, with changing land use patterns and the sinking of common grazing lands, the number of livestock reduced significantly these days. The state also witnessed declining land holdings, with 2.25 hectares on average (2010-11)¹⁴. This declining size of land holdings is one of the main causes of farmer distress in the state as it limits the farmer's capacity to invest in advanced technologies. "Decreasing farm productivity clubbed with increasing cost of cultivation and poor price realisation is pushing farmers, especially in small and marginal categories into poverty trap" (ICFA, 2015, p. 6).

But over the past few decades, a significant structural transformation has taken place and mainly after the economic liberalisation of the Indian economy, the state is heading towards a high growth trajectory with industry and service sectors emerging as prime (Chatterjee T. , 2013, p. 278). As per the economic survey report of Haryana 2019-20, the service sector contributes the largest share i.e., 50.6% in the state economy, followed by industry at 32.8% and agriculture at 16.6%. The share of agriculture has declined over a while but still, a majority of the workforce is engaged in agricultural and allied activities, and the state is still one of the largest food grain producers in the country.

Despite being an agrarian society, Haryana has a locational advantage for industrialization because it is close to the National Capital Region (NCR) Delhi, and the political elites are well aware of that. With agriculture experiencing stagnation and marginalisation in the development discourse of India after the 1990s, the industrial and service sectors replaced it, beginning from the NCR region (Jodhka S. S., 2014). After the opening up of the Indian economy to the private sector both Indian and foreign in 1991, the industry and service sectors of Haryana grew at an unprecedented speed, unparalleled to any other state in the sub-continent. Within a few decades, Haryana became the top state for manufacturing, export processing facilities, textile, handloom, automotive, and food processing sectors. The service industry, which includes IT and petrochemicals along with other support services (real estate, banking, hotel, housing, etc.), is also expanding at a faster rate. Enforced with other factors, the state emerged as the most favourable destination for investment and location for many large, medium and small industries. Out of a total of 205 large and medium Original Equipment Manufacturers (OEMs) in India, about 50 are located in Haryana only (IBEF, 2018).

¹⁴ As per the 2011 census, out of 16.2 lakh operational holdings in Haryana majority i.e., 67% are small and marginal farmers with less than 1 hectare of land. Semi medium farmers with 2-4 hectares land holders are 18% and medium landholders with 4-10 hectares are 19%. Only 3% of farmers are having land holding size bigger than 10 hectares.

In the year 2017-18, the state had 12528 registered factories with a total workforce of 931929 (Govt. of Haryana, 2019), with hundreds collaborating with foreign Multinational Corporations (MNCs). Haryana, in general, and the Gurgaon-Manesar-Bawal belt, in particular, is known as the auto hub of India¹⁵. Besides automobiles, many companies in other sectors, like food processing, manufacturing, etc., are situated in this belt, mainly adjoining areas of NCR. Gurugram emerged as the most preferred location for IT industries, with 49 IT parks and 6 Special Economic Zones (SEZ) out of 7 operational SEZs of Haryana¹⁶. Petrochemical industries are also a major player in the state economy (IBEF, 2018). Haryana is also the largest base of the highly skilled labourer with other support services like banking, residential estates, health care, amusement parks, etc. Apart from that, the housing sector- the real estate market is booming in the districts of Gurgaon, Jhajjar, Rohtak, Faridabad, Panchkula, Yamuna Nagar, etc. due to magnificent growth in the industrial and service sector (IBEF, 2018).

Surrounded by the NCR in three directions, Haryana geographically became the ideal destination for investment and emerged as an Industrial giant with many factors contributing to it. A state with early electrification of each village in the 1970s and connected them with metal roads, Haryana's economy was already boosted with the Green revolution in the 1970s. Long before the opening of the Indian economy for private sectors in the 1990s, Haryana has allowed private firms to invest in the urban development sector since 1977 itself (Chatterjee T. , 2013). It adopted a cluster-based development approach to industries such as IT, textile, food and handloom and concentrated on an infrastructural development-driven strategy after the 1990s. The extensive 26313 km of road network with further developing expressways and 171049 km rail route connecting all far northern states of Rajasthan, Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, etc., with the National Capital; the presence of both domestic and international airports in and around gave the state a locational advantage for investment and export processing. An already developed agriculture sector with well-connected rural Haryana and growing urbanisation provided much-required market outlets and raw materials. Other support services, such as uninterrupted power supply (11242.01 MV in 2018), education, telecom, health, and housing, among others, are also developed in Haryana and are crucial for the growth of industrialization and urbanisation.

¹⁵ Two-thirds of all passenger cars, 50 percent of tractors and 60 percent of two-wheelers in India are manufactured here in Haryana. Maruti Suzuki Ltd, Hero Motocorp Ltd., Yamaha Motors, Escorts Group, Mahindra tractors, JCB, Harley Davidson, etc. are some giant automobile companies located in Haryana and a significant portion of the workforce is engaged in the automobile sector.

¹⁶It accounted for around 6.2 percent of the country's total software export in the year 2016-17 and made Haryana one of the leading states of software export all over the world. The key IT giants located in Haryana are IBM, Microsoft, Tata consultancy, Google, Bharati Airtel, Reliance, etc.

A natural calamity-free zone in an investor and business-friendly state with a stable political atmosphere extended the prospect of economic development further. The political elites of Haryana in order to attract more investment, mainly Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), developed world-class infrastructure facilities in the form of Industrial Model Township, Industrial Estates, IT Parks, Special Economic Zone (SEZs), economic Hubs, Theme parks, etc. Many mega projects like Kundli-Manesar-Palware (KMP) expressway, Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor, Manesar-Bawal Investment Region, Global city project, Mass-rapid Transit System between Gurgaon-Manesar-Bawal, and Integrated multimodal logistic Hub are being developed in Haryana. Up to 2018, seven SEZs were operational in the state while 23 SEZs were formally approved, 3 SEZs approved in principle and 20 SEZs notified (the majority of them are in the areas adjoining NCR).

As per the Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion report, the cumulative foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows in Haryana from 2000 to 2018 stood at 79.76 billion USD. Between 2015-2018, Haryana received an investment of around Rupees 80000 crores. Since July 1991, 3914 Industrial Entrepreneur Memorandums (IEMs) were filed and up to May 2008, 2274 IEMs were implemented with Capital Investment of Rs. 24,034 crores and generated employment for 4,02,129 persons (IBEF, 2018). The State has developed industrial model townships at Kharkhoda, Faridabad, Rohtak and Jagadhari, besides expanding Industrial Model Township (henceforth IMT) Manesar in Gurgaon. Petrochemical Hub is coming up with an investment of Rs.33000 crores at Panipat over 2000 acres. HSIIDC is developing the Kundli-Manesar-Palwal Expressway with an investment of Rs.2500 crore and after its completion, the government will plan more economic hubs along the expressway that would further attract more investment and generate prospects for industries and service sectors (HSIIDC, n.d.).

Apart from all these factors, a stable political atmosphere within the state with investors and successive business-friendly governments contributed a lot to the state's industrial development. Haryana government, particularly in the new millennium, has taken many policy measures and incentives (detail discussed in next section) to boost industrialisation and to create a hassle-free atmosphere for the entrepreneurs in the state. The state apparatus, mainly Haryana State Industrial and Infrastructural Development Corporation (henceforth HSIIDC), Haryana Urban Development Authority (henceforth HUDA) and Haryana State Agricultural Marketing Board (HSAMB) has been contributing significantly to the sector of industrial infrastructural development, promotion of housing and agri-processing and agricultural export facilities respectively. There is a great demand from industries for allotment of industrial land in the industrial estates developed by the HSIDC and residential plots by HUDA.

2.1.4 Political profile

Created out of the Akhali movement that separated Hindi speaking areas of Punjab province in 1966; Haryana, over time, developed its own way of politics and its most distinct feature is the predominance of caste over all other aspects of socio-political life and identities. “The political strategies here are worked out on caste lines, elections are contested on caste lines and even political analyses are carried out on caste lines” (Jodhka S. S., 1999, p. 2218). Due to the success of the Green Revolution in the 1960-70s and land reforms, the members of different agriculturist castes not only became economically strong but also grew caste conscious and politically powerful and became regionally dominant. They continued to be a powerful and dominant section for almost five decades. Even today, they are influential when the political matrix in rural Haryana has come into play but no longer remains hegemonic (Jodhka S. S., 2019).

Categorically speaking, there are a few castes who control and regulate all political analyses in Haryana; prominent among them are Jats. It is the dominant caste of Haryana, comprising 25-30 percent of the total state population and owning most of its prosperous agricultural land. Jats are present throughout the State but are mostly in Rohtak, Jhajjar, Sonapat Hissar, Jind and some parts of Bhiwani; famously called ‘Jatland’¹⁷. Since the pre-colonial era, political elites in Haryana, despite party affiliations, mainly hail from the *Jats*. They carry an important electoral weight (about 35 of 90 seats) in the State Assembly. Their economic weight is even heavier because they possess about half the prosperous arable land and control other weaker sections of the rural economy. Till today almost the majority of Chief Ministers and ministers belong to Jats (Jodhka S. S., 1999, p. 2218). They are proud of their political stalwarts like Sir Chhotu Ram, Chaudhary Devi Lal, and Bansi Lal; and Om Prakash Chautala and Bhupendra Singh Hudda.

The other landowning castes are Rajputs, Gujjars and Rors constitute 2 to 3 percent of the state population, and Ahirs, which comprise 6-8 percent. Kambhoj and Sainis are also other major landowning castes. Muslims, particularly Meos, concentrated in the Mewat region, are another major section. Except for Rajputs and Rors, all others are listed in Other Backward Classes (OBC). But all these castes have relatively smaller landholdings than Jats (Jodhka S. S., 2019). Punjabi Hindus who migrated from West Punjab during partition are another prominent caste category of Haryana. Inhabitants around the urban spaces comprise 28-30 percent of the total

¹⁷ Out of 90 assembly constituencies in Haryana 30 are considered to be in Jatland only (Kumar R. , 2015)

population. Apart from them, Bharmins and Banias are another distinct, politically strong caste of Haryana (Jodhka S. S., 1999).

Dalit comprise around 18-19 percent of the state and are numerically another important caste category in Haryana. But being economically poor, landless and politically less mobilised, they failed to emerge as a strong political force in the state. Unlike neighbouring Uttar Pradesh, Dalit in Haryana didn't experience any political assertion since the pre-colonial period and fragmented within¹⁸ failed to make a significant impact in state politics. Therefore, even dominant castes did not care for the support of Dalit for decades until BSP emerged as a force representing Dalit's interest in the state (Jodhka & Dhar, 2003; Singh J. , 1997, p. 2788).

In rural Haryana, these peasant castes, commonly called '*zamindar*', decide and determine all aspects of life; political, socio-cultural and economic. Major agriculturist castes, such as Jats and Ahirs, politically mobilised early since the Unionist party of Chhotu Ram and dominated the political spheres of Haryana for a long. Traditionally Jats supported regional political parties like the Unionist party, Haryana Vikas party, Lok Dal (later Indian National Lok Dal) etc., whereas the Congress was strong among urban voters until Jan Sangh (later BJP) captured them after the 1980s. However, over time these castes changed their party affiliations but always remained the champion of farmers and had a stronghold among agriculturalists. The Congress, which was tagged as a party of urban-based Aroras, Baniya and Bharmin castes, was also able to make its strong presence in the rural agriculturist classes and among Jats and non-jats and emerged as the most successful political party of the state. The dominance of rural agricultural castes and classes over urban non-agricultural classes was created as a result of caste polarisation along urban-rural lines, and it continues to be Haryana's most defining political feature despite their shifting political support base. Political life for decades remains a perpetual conflict between urban vs rural and agriculturist vs non-agriculturist (Kumar R. , 2015). Therefore, the dominance of agriculturist castes/class "could be attributed to their economic power, numerical strength, demographic distribution, political awareness, and social status in the rural caste hierarchy" (Devi, 2010, p. 74).

For decades Haryana witnessed perpetual conflicts between different caste categories for domination, mainly Jats vs non-jats; and similarly, conflict between urban occupation aspirants and already established urban-based Punjabi with their respective political party support (Jodhka S. S., 1999). Sunil Devi (2010) rightly said that "the quest for power in Haryana is still

¹⁸ The non-jatav Dalit (valmiki) feel discriminated and dominated by the Jatvas who were comparatively educated and outnumbered in government jobs.

restricted to those representing the rural elites, even if they are not living in rural areas, but their identification still remains with the rural castes and communities” (p. 83). And land-owning castes, mainly Jats organised under *khap panchayats and sarv-khap*¹⁹, work as a pressure group controlling the state’s political and economic policies, including land acquisitions and compensation. In recent years, many protest movements against land acquisitions in Haryana were organised under *khap panchayats and serv-khap*.

The economic and socio-cultural transformations considerably impacted its political landscape in the last two decades. With the declining significance of agriculture in the state economy, mainly after the 1990s; the hegemonic grip of the agriculturist class in village politics also started fading. Agriculture no longer remains as profitable as it used to be in Haryana due to many factors such as the sinking of land holdings, high input cost, lack of state incentives, non-performing agri-market and non-availability of labour. Haryana's dominant castes are also facing challenges with dismantling traditional dominance over other caste categories, particularly over Dalit. Firstly, the occupational transformation has taken place among the Dalit; although many are labourers, most work outside the farming sector. The traditional ‘*Jajmani system*’ has disappeared from rural life. The works that the Dalit carried out in the farms of dominant landowners now are not based on old client-patron relationships but on casual or contractual fixed wages basis. Haryana, for ages, witnessed a perpetual conflict between Dalit and land-owned castes, mainly Jats; they gradually withdrew from farming and moved out to urban spaces and the majority to its fastest-growing informal sectors. Newly grown urban spaces in NCR open up more alternative sources of livelihood and are ready to absorb these traditional labour class (Chatterjee T. , 2013). By refusing to work on the farmland, they are not only negating the dominance of the dominant castes but also showing dissent to the traditionally exploitative patron-client relationship (Jodhka S. S., 2014). Many others aspire for urban lifestyles and occupations after receiving modern education, and those who secured government jobs out of reservation show the way to others.

Secondly, these landowning castes no longer remained economically powerful as the circle of economic transformation has tilted towards the industry and service sector; both are urban-based and agriculture became the least discussed sector in state budgets. Most of them do not

¹⁹ Khaps are traditional caste councils consisting of people of the same caste of several villages with the same *gotra* (clan) constituted to act as a quasi-judicial body adhering to social traditions and customs. They usually issue diktats against inter-caste marriages, marriages within the same gotra, etc. Khaps are pretty dominant among the Jats population in Western Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, and some parts of Rajasthan. Serv-khap, on the other hand, larger assemblies of representatives of all khaps in a particular locality. It consists of different castes and gotras (Kumar A. , 2012).

have more than 2 hectares of land holdings. Moreover, they face challenges from their own young generation, who are urban aspirants. Many of these economically prosperous agriculturist castes of Haryana all these years invest their surplus from agriculture in their children's education. Although many owned lands, they hardly did farm on their own. The third generation of the Green Revolution did not want to connect themselves with agriculture and wanted to move out to urban centres. Since the last one and half decades, the price of land has also grown ten times and these aspiring urban middle classes consider land as mere commodity. "The social order of the caste hierarchy is a thing of past and the collective identity of village is fragmented" (Jodhka S. S., 2014, p. 14). These changes are the end of the dominance and power of these castes and instigating them to move out of village life as their young generation had already changed occupations and moved into urban life (Jodhka S. , 2012). Within changing circumstances, the landowning castes still have a strong attachment towards land but no longer see agriculture as a profitable and desirable occupation.

Therefore, these rural transformations in Haryana have negated the decade-long political traditions. The dominance of agriculturist classes became the talks of the past, although 'caste' remains the prominent player. Or we can say that the dominance of castes is still intact in the political matrix of Haryana, but they no longer remain or want to be agriculturists. Haryana is witnessing the fastest urban growth rate, with around 35 percent population living in urban settlements as per the 2011 census, and is among the highest among Indian states. Hence, the political dominance of rural elites also declined gradually with sinking cleavages between rural and urban spaces. Although many are still living in villages, they have become urbanised in their lifestyles. The assembly election of 2014 has confirmed the paradigm shift in the political landscape of Haryana with the emergence of the BJP, traditionally strong in urban areas as the new force in the state with popular support among youth and other sections of society (Gupta, Kumar, & Sardesai, 2014; Kumar R. , 2015). The selection of Manohar Lal Khattar, a non-Jat Punjabi Hindu as Chief Minister, challenged the established tradition.

Apart from this, Jats perceived that the castes above them are advancing at the fastest rate and so as the castes below them, though at marginal speed in the changing economic structure, whereas their status either remains stagnant or declines gradually. Their high dependence on agriculture, mostly small and marginal farmers, found themselves left out in urbanisation and industrial development, which valued skill and expertise over traditional caste occupation. This changing socio-economic and political equilibrium in Haryana forces the Jats, who once considered themselves dominant and Khatriya to seek OBC status to access jobs and education (Jaffrelot & Kalaiyarasan A, 2019).

Therefore, while problematizing these rural transformations, Haryana villagers are now witnessing the fastest growing industrial and urban spaces, the impact of land acquisition (the crusader) on the political economy of the village and once dominant peasantry of Haryana is a matter of concern. The fastest disappearance of village common properties (grazing land, for example), which makes poor and landless people more vulnerable because they depend on it most, and secondly, the declining number of livestock, which was once the identity of Haryana, a source of nutrition, and a significant asset to be used during emergencies, were found by Jodhka (2014) to be two additional major vulnerabilities in the changing rural economy and social setting of Haryana. The present study also deals with the reintegration of these unequal and fragmented social sections of rural life into the global economic transformation unfolding in their life in the form of industrialisation and urbanisation.

2.2 Urban and Industrial Expansion in Haryana and genesis of Caste-State Nexus on Land Market

The current industrial and urban development in Haryana, particularly in the sub-region of its NCR, significantly benefited from two processes of Nehruvian Developmentalism. First, the matter of urbanisation was taken up in the Third five-year plan (1961-65) and the subsequent idea of having a National Capital Region with the passing of New Delhi's First Master Plan in 1962. It incorporated much of Gurgaon and Faridabad into its proposed Ring Towns. Secondly, the Green Revolution that the central government launched to modernise the agricultural sector and production through extensive use of modern technologies, as reported by many, has favoured rich farmers, mainly Jats in Haryana (Gurunani, 2013).

As per the Delhi master plan 1962, the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) earmarked an area of 2072 square kilometres as the Delhi Metropolitan Area, although it has legislative control over only 1485 sq. km. of areas (the remaining areas fall under the legislative jurisdiction of Uttar Pradesh and Haryana, a part of the then Punjab province). DDA was the sole agency to implement the master plan along with other urban infrastructures also provided housing to the poor but, in reality, subsidized to middle and upper class more, that eventually with the increasing migration from rural India pushing the urban expansion to peri-urban areas of designated ring towns in the neighbouring state of Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. Among these ring towns, Faridabad and Ghaziabad were developed as 'industrial towns', whereas Gurgaon was considered for modest urban expansion due to a water shortage in the region. Unlike Uttar Pradesh, the Panjab government didn't address the administration of these new urban spaces and so happened even after creating a separate state of Haryana in 1966. The absence of an urban administrative body provides ample room for 'flexible and regionally variegated

planning’ (Gurunani, 2013). The pace of urbanisation accelerated in Gurgaon when compared to Faridabad was still a ‘village’ with cheap land even after 1970-80s.

Although to prevent haphazard and substandard urban development in controlled areas and concentration of land among few with administrative regulation of land use, the state government promulgated many acts, mainly The Punjab Scheduled Roads and Controlled Areas Restrictions of Unregulated Development Act-1963, Haryana Urban Land Ceiling Act 1972 and Haryana Development and Regulation of Urban Area Act 1975, but were constantly violated, manipulated and modified to facilitate the private capital. This happens particularly due to the nexus between “big developers, land-grabbers and politicians” with caste playing a dominant role. The lands were constantly grabbed from the land owners and converted into non-agricultural use through private capital using legal and extra-legal mechanisms. However, despite using various means to grab land, good compensations were paid due to the dominance of caste. The state bypassed the land-used regulations to facilitate private developers into urban development ventures through various politicised and bureaucratic procedures. This initiated a private sector-led urban development process in India, which eventually became known as the ‘Gurgaon Model’ (Cowan, 2018). Contrary to other states where parastatal urban development agencies carried out urbanisation through land acquisition, this process has been handed up to private developers (85% of Gurgaon’s land has been bought and developed by private developers between 1991 and 2014). The Haryana Development and Regulation of Urban Areas Act (HDRUA) 1975 that eventually created the Haryana Urban Development Authority (HUDA) in 1977 as the sole agency to regulate, manage and develop land for urban development has been diluted to allow these private entities to acquire developmental licenses by the successive political regimes mainly during the reign of Bhajan Lal and during 1979-1996 around 6000 acres developmental licenses were allotted to private developers (Cowan, 2018, p. 1250). Good compensation, even beyond market rates, was paid to the land owners (who belong to dominant castes) and the state mediated political tension with land owners by protecting the residential *abadi* land of the village called ‘*lal dora*’²⁰ from accumulation by the private capital. As a result, landowners though dispossessed of the farmland, were never actually displaced but slowly became the ‘rentier’ class in urban villages surrounded by rich industrial and urban infrastructure, as happened in South Delhi and Gurgaon (Pati S. , 2014; Cowan, 2018). Therefore, it is the monetary compensation and rent which became the basis of landowners to enter into different entrepreneurship and business such as transportation and

²⁰ In Land settlement of 1908-09, the agricultural land and *abadi* residential areas of villages were demarcated by encircling residential *abadi* land in village map in red ink that called *lal dora* (red ink). It is still in use as village residential areas.

construction and real estate, but all these grow and intensify through traditional kinship structure based on caste (Pati S. , 2017, p. 95).

The urban development in Haryana, which started in the era of Nehruvian Developmentalism, constantly violates its central notions of nation-building, social justice and balanced development for private capital. It serves the interest of dominant castes who disproportionately distribute its profits, with the maximum going to own communities. Land accumulation by a private developer in Gurgaon urban development has unevenly benefited different landowning caste communities with Ahir (Yadav); the dominant caste (again within big landlord) in Gurgaon region took a large size of the pie (Cowan, 2018, p. 1254). The land grabbing in Gurgaon eventually makes way for a ‘messy politics of land and caste’ with the expansion of urban and industrial corridors mainly after economic liberalisation in the other part of Haryana where Jats are dominant (Gurunani, 2013). The predominance of caste in Haryana's political and economic spheres made the dominant castes define each tract of political and non-political decisions. Due to this, whether the agrarian change was brought on by private land developers buying land or the government acquiring land for a range of purposes, these dominant landowner communities with access to power and social capital have used land acquisition to disproportionately benefit rural communities, with the maximum profits going to big land owners who primarily came from their own castes (Jats, Ahir, etc.) (Gurunani, 2013; Cowan, 2018).

2.3 Economic Liberalisation and shift in the attitude of sub-national actors

A two-fold decentralisation occurred with the economic liberalisation and elimination of the licence-permit raj in 1991; first, private firms were given the decision for investment regarding location and other factors, and second, subnational actors can also influence the investment prospects in the state through various economic development incentives (Kennedy, 2009, p. 1056). This quickly starts a form of competition among states to attract private capital. States, therefore, started adopting a variety of instruments for shaping their business climate by owing private capital into their state. A well-developed social and infrastructure based i.e., road, water facilities, electricity and other modes of transportation facilities always attract capital, apart from locational advantage and conducive legal framework to promote business. In addition to that, many states started offering incentives packages, comprising subsidies in cash or kind (e.g., land; uninterrupted supply of electricity, water, telecommunications; exemption, reduction or deferral of taxes; assistance with procedures), propose ad hoc investment conditions related to sectorial or spatial considerations (e.g., in high tech sectors and particular

priority zones) or financial packages including equity finance (Kennedy, Robin, & Zamuner, 2013).

Haryana, in this regard, was already in a better position. Due to the locational advantage of the surrounding National Capital Region from three directions, Haryana already has the edge over other states about attracting FDI. And moreover, with a consensus in favour of industrial growth, urbanisation and service sector, policymakers of Haryana, irrespective of party affiliations, invested well in the development of public infrastructure such as roads, irrigation, water, sanitisation for decades which just started multiplying in order to attract private capital.

The old strategy of relying on generous tax benefits to attract new investments has changed to infrastructure-led industrial development with the passing of the Industrial policy 1997. In order to attract investment, mainly FDI and to facilitate interaction with industry locally and with potential investors, the Haryana government decentralized certain services and opened branches of some departments in Gurgaon itself. The growth rate of industrialisation rejuvenated with the entry of private firms into the infrastructure-building process through the Industrial Policy 1999. The degree of political will mobilised to support each industrial policy has remained fairly stable across successive governments (Kennedy, Robin, & Zamuner, 2013). Between 1990-2000 there were 3322 new industrial units established in Haryana, almost double the growth from the previous decade (table 2-1) and intensified after 2005. The pressure for industrial development was immense as we can understand by looking at the growth of industrial units during that time. Manufacturing, IT, Automobile, housing and export processing units were in high demand. The majority of these newly established industries (75%) are located in the NCR region of Haryana as shown in table no 2-2.

Table 2-1 Number of Registered Factories in Haryana

Year	Number of Registered working Factories	Increment
1966	1168	
1970	1359	191
1980	3176	1817
1990	4843	1667
1995	6498	1655
2000	8631	2133
2005	9282	651
2010	10513	1231
2015	11574	1061
2017	12528	954

Source: Labour Commissioner, Haryana cited in Statistical Abstract of Haryana-2018-19

Table 2-2 Number of Registered Factories in NCR region of Haryana-2017			
Sl.No	District	No. of Factories	Workers employed
1	Faridabad	2783	224307
2	Gurgaon	2476	300222
3	Nuh/Mewat	22	2223
4	Rohtak	358	19430
5	Sonepat	830	56169
6	Rewari	276	34716
7	Jhajjar	673	37548
8	Panipat	942	59704
9	Palwal	82	6626
10	Bhiwani	229	15619
11	Mahendragarh	61	12269
12	Jind	202	15120
13	Karnal	586	36655
	Total in NCR region	9520 (75.99%)	820608 (88.05%)
	Total in Haryana	12528	931929

Source: Labour Commissioner, Haryana cited in Statistical Abstract of Haryana-2018-19

Industrial growth has also contributed to significant urban expansion in Haryana, mainly in the NCR region. The number of towns increased from 106 in 2001 to 158 in 2011; similarly, urban population increased by 34.8 percent (2011) from 27.8% in 2001 (Govt. of Haryana, 2019). Unprecedented urban growth in the NCR region and the fastest communication and transport technologies in the form of expressways, metro, airways, etc. made the far away cities of Haryana such as Bhiwani, Karnal, Sonipat, Rohtak, Panipat, as if they were the suburb cities of Delhi. This leads to unmatched demands for residential and commercial property development by the private capital and political elites-cum-dominant sections were fully aware of its trajectories (Kennedy, 2019, p. 4).

With the rapid growth in the NCR region, Haryana witnessed increasing land value in the area adjoining it and so as the value of land transactions. Major townships around NCR, such as Gurgaon, Panipat, Rohtak, Sonipat, Bahadurgarh, etc. accumulated enormous land values. The land value was a few lakhs per acre few years back and is now selling one square yard per lakh. Private estate developers started purchasing a volume of land at high prices and turning it into residential and industrial estates. The pressure to sell land to the landowners was tremendous due to skyrocketing land values and so was the pressure on local elites such as the traditional

village and political leaders. At this juncture, the state of Haryana accelerated land acquisition through its agency like HUDA and HSIDC to create a land pool for the housing sector and industrial estates, respectively. From 1973 to 1994, HSIDC acquired 1500 acres only while in the subsequent year (1995-96) it acquired 1000 acres at Bawal and 1800 acres at Manesar. In 1996 Haryana government entered into the 'Industrial Model Township (IMT)' venture by developing IMT Manesar to attract foreign investors and was a great success. During 1996-2005, the Urban Estate department acquired more than 8000 acres only in 13 districts of Haryana to accelerate urbanisation and built a 'land bank' (table 2-4 & 2-5).

Forceful land acquisition, even for 'public purpose' or via private developers for non-agricultural purposes, posed a grave threat to farmers' lives and livelihood, as found in many case studies. While the peasantry in Haryana is no exception, they were quite economically and politically powerful and mobilised as compared to any other state of the Union. The political economy of the state is still dominated by the rural-based agriculturist castes, who are politically powerful vis-à-vis the urban non-agriculturist classes. Through capital-intensive cultivation, widespread incentives in the forms of market outlets, well-developed irrigation via canals and tube wells with a cheap power supply to farms, a well-connected communication network and other scientific inputs, the agriculture sector in Haryana is quite prosperous and rare in India. The land in rural Haryana "is a source of security *par excellence* and is imbued with strong symbolic value. In addition, farmers in Haryana are organized in unions and have been a powerful lobby in the State for decades" (Kennedy, Robin, & Zamuner, 2013). Despite increasing demands from both private developers and government organisations like HSIDC and HUDA for more privately owned agricultural land to be used for non-agricultural purposes, the state's political elites, the majority of whom, regardless of party affiliation, belonged to the agriculturist classes, were well aware of the political repercussions of any forcible land acquisition because the agriculturist caste constitutes a powerful constituency (Kennedy, 2019, p. 5). Jats, the landowners who possessed more than half of the state's arable land are important in electoral politics.

However, restructuring the state economy via rapid urbanisation and industrialisation has already rifted the decade-old connection between the economy and politics in the state. Changes took place after economic liberalisation shifted the economic engine from agriculture and rural to urban, mainly industry and service sectors such as real estate, manufacturing, commerce business and financial services, while the political base remained with farmers, "primarily (though not exclusively) based in rural areas" (Kennedy, 2019, p. 5). Austerity measures taken up by the states by cutting down subsidies to agriculture made it no longer

profitable with rising inputs cost and sinking land holdings. With the shift in the political economy of Haryana, the material interest of all-powerful Jats and other landowning sections no longer confine to agricultural activities rather, they are looking at agriculture as a 'capital-intensive business' and land as a tradable commodity, a 'transactional asset' (Nair, 2020). Conversion of agricultural land into real estate business became much more profitable than agriculture. Industrial and urban developments in the form of SEZs, housing, commercial space, etc. brought tremendous scope for that and their future is very much associated with that. A survey conducted in 2009 in Jhajjar district, the hotbed of the movement against Reliance SEZ at that time, reported that many farmers were willing to sell their land but half of their land holdings. Though the reason for such action varies from person to person, some want to continue farming while others consider it a great fortune and security for the future (Kennedy, 2019, p. 14). However, these groups still identify as farmers and remain influential in farming lobbies. In this rural transformation of Haryana, these agriculturist classes found themselves in flux.

The political elite must implement several pro-farmer and pro-landowner policy decisions along with investor-friendly and business-friendly incentives to address this contradiction and strike a balance between industrial and urban growth and the interests of the politically influential agriculturist class. The Congress government's decision to weave out the electricity utility debt of farmers, a long-standing demand of farmers mainly raised by the Bharatiya Kisan Union (BKU) through successive governments and one of the war cries of Lok Sabha and Assembly elections just after Congress came into power in 2005 was one of such (Joshi & Rai, 2004, p. 5447). At the same time, both national and sub-national governments took bold steps to attract more FDI and to create a conducive atmosphere for business and investment. For example, the adoption of the Chinese model of a Special Economic Zone in India. UPA govt. passed the Special Economic Zone Act 2005 in June 2005 and Haryana was one of the first states to adopt these SEZs by formulating state-level legislation of similar law called the Haryana Special Economic Zone Act, 2005²¹. It encourages private developers to invest in the industrial and manufacturing sectors and the booming real estate market of the state by developing free-processing economic enclaves. In return, the state will exempt them from domestic duties and traffics for trade operation (Shiva, Jani, & Fontana, 2011, p. 2). In the long run, these SEZs played significant roles in Haryana's socio-political and economic development. Within four years of passing the law, the state government received a total of 94 proposals and until 2009, it has approved 46 SEZs formally, 17 in principle and 31 notified

²¹ It received approval from the Governor in January 2006 only.

(Kennedy, 2009). Till 2017 with many de-notifications of SEZs, there are 7 operational SEZs in Haryana along with 24 formally approved, 3 approved-in-principles and 20 notified SEZs (Govt. of India, 2017). The majority of these approved SEZs and six out of seven operational SEZs are located in the NCR region of Haryana, particularly Gurgaon.

In follow-up action to all these structural changes, Bhupinder Singh Hooda's government adopts the New Industrial Policy of Haryana 2005. By this policy, the Haryana State Industrial Development Corporation (HSIDC) has been converted into 'Haryana State Industrial and Infrastructure Development Corporation' (HSIIDC) to coordinate infrastructure development and participation of the private sector through FDI (Govt. of Haryana, 2005). The HSIIDC is tasked with accelerating the pace of industrialisation in the state by offering the financial services it used to provide and adding the infrastructure-building dimension to it. The HSIIDC remains the sole agency for developing all kinds of industrial infrastructures required to attract more business and to provide them with world-class infrastructural facilities while doing business in Haryana. It has to promote and develop facilities which include Industrial Estates, New Economic Hub, Special Economic Zone (SEZ), Industrial Model Township (IMT), Petro-chemical hubs, Theme parks, Free Enterprise Zones, etc. (Financial Express, 2005; Govt. of Haryana, 2005). It has established a Single-window clearance mechanism to start up new units and its three-tier setup of investment promotion centres at New Delhi, Chandigarh and at district levels provided all support services. It made necessary changes in labour laws as it streamlined the inspection process by introducing the 'self-certification scheme'. It has also made various sector-specific policy changes to provide a pleasant and supporting regime to start new industrial units. They also provide other incentives in the form of financial and support services to make business friendlier in the state (Govt. of Haryana, 2005).

Apart from HSIIDC or even before the adoption of the new industrial policy, the Haryana Urban Development Authority (HUDA) already boosted the urbanisation process by acquiring thousands of acres of agricultural lands adjoining urban centres of Haryana mainly within the NCR region and turned into housing plots. Haryana State Agricultural Marketing Board (HSAMB) is another major player primarily responsible for developing and promoting agriculture by establishing agri-processing and agricultural export units, market outlets and other infrastructures required for the purpose. Apart from HSIIDC, HUDA and HSAMB, all other departments can also acquire private land for a public purpose under Land Acquisition Act 1894, but these three agencies emerged as the main players who led Haryana to prosperity, at least, they believe so.

In spite of being public development authorities, HUDA and HSIIDC have emerged as the two largest real estate agencies in India thanks to a number of factors, including the flourishing real estate and industrial markets in the NCR region, growing urbanisation throughout the state, calculative bureaucracy, shifting economic priorities of dominant castes with strong political linkages, etc.²² But unlike the parastatal agencies of other states, these agencies adopted a multifaceted and flexible approach to tackle both the pressure of corporate capital to accumulate more land to transform into non-agricultural purposes and the changing material interest of the dominant land-owning class. For example, in the last two-three decades, HUDA transformed the urban spaces of Haryana by absorbing the peri-urban farming land into it. It curbed thousands of acres of sector out of it by evoking acquisition law and sale to private developers and aspiring urban dwellers, most of whom were erstwhile rural-based landowners. Rural landowners are increasingly interested in urban spaces and non-agricultural activities, mainly property development. Instead of acquiring land at cheaper rates and handing it over to private developers, who later on developed those into housing sites, HUDA has adopted an innovative method of developing those sites on its own and then selling them to private developers and the public at a genuine price.

Similarly, HSIIDC also adopted a multi-approach for industrial development. Like other places in the country, HSIIDC acts as a 'land broker' for the private firm by acquiring land for them in the name of public purposes and allotting it to private developers at higher prices (Levien M. , 2018). Mainly SEZs are being developed in Haryana in this model. But, in the cases of IMT and industrial estates, another major industrial infrastructure boosting project of Haryana, HSIIDC itself developed the acquired land and then sold it to both private companies and direct public (including oustees). Here it became a 'land developer' rather than a broker for private capital. In the third case scenario, it is also going for joint ventures (like Reliance SEZ) with the private firm and together, they are developing the industrial site in the PPP model. This flexible approach of a 'learning state' balanced the hunger of private capital for more land on the one hand and the material interest of its urban aspiring political base, the land owners, without losing their own identity. This act of a 'developer state' instead of a 'land broker' state may be presumed to be the answer to the political economy of Haryana on the eve of land wars, but it needs further theoretical and empirical exploration.

In order to please the land owners, who were already under pressure from skyrocketing land prices in the region, mainly adjoining NCR, the state via the Haryana Government Memo No.

²² HUDA for decades was the richest urban development corporation of Asia.

2025-R-5-2005/4299, dt. 28-4-2005 introduced the concept of floor rate for land²³. The guidelines fixed a minimum floor rate for land located in various places of Haryana into three categories.

Table 2-3 Minimum Floor rate fixed for land in Haryana in 2006

Minimum floor rate for urbanisable area of Gurgaon	Rs.15.00 Lakhs per acre
Minimum floor rate for rest of the Haryana Sub-region of NCR including Panchkula and area of Chandigarh periphery in the Haryana State	Rs.12.50 Lakhs per acre
Minimum floor rate for the rest of the Haryana State	Rs.05.00 Lakhs per acre

Source: Revenue and Disaster management Department, Government of Haryana Memo No. 2025-R-5-2005/4299, dt. 28-4-2005

The minimum fixed floor rates (indicated in table no.2-3) to be paid to the land owner in the case of acquisition by government agencies or purchased through private entities excluded the interest and solatium payable under section 23 (1A) & 23 (2) respectively under LAA 1894. The memo ensured a better deal for landowners with a true market value of their land rather than what was provided for it in the previous Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) government during 1999-2005, despite being silent about any other facilities to be paid to the land-owner dispossessing their livelihood by imposing minimum floor prices for land acquired by the government. This is the first of its kind in India and put considerable impacts on the land acquisition process of Haryana (Kennedy, 2019). Tables 2-4 & 2-5 indicate the difference created in average compensation paid to land owners per acre before fixing the floor rate and after. For instance, the then PWD minister Shri Randeep Singh Surjewala stated that the HSIIDC acquired approximately 4392 acres and paid an average of Rs. 6.53 lakh per acre as compensation before 2005 and the average amount paid during 2005-2012 was Rs. 22.74 (four times of the previous regime) (Haryana Legislative Assembly, 2012).

The same month in 2005, the central government in principle approved the setting up of a Special Economic Zone at Gari Harsaru in the district of Gurgaon (located near NH-8 or Delhi-Jaipur Highway) over an area of 3000 acres (Times of India, 2005). The township would be created at the expense of Rs. 2060 crores in two phases and was expected to create 60,000 jobs. Decisions were also made to develop more expressways connecting the National capital with

²³ Current compensation rates are based on the valuation of land on basis of sale deeds in the vicinity. This is a flawed procedure, not least because in practice (throughout India) sale deeds do not reflect the actual price paid for land since the latter is deflated on paper to avoid ‘stamp duties’ or tax on land transactions (Kennedy, 2009).

adjoining states via Gurgaon, the expansion of IMT Manesar, and the development of many more industrial parks (Financial Express, 2005). During this period central government approved in-principle more than eight SEZs to be developed by the private sector, in total nine, including SEZ Gurgaon. In December 2005, Reliance India Ltd. signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the HSIIDC to develop a multi-product SEZ with a cost of Rs. 25000 crores over an area of 25000 acres; expected to be the largest SEZ in Asia (The Hindu, 2005). Some portion of land for the proposed Reliance SEZ has to be acquired by the state, while others will be acquired privately from the farmers. The main opposition parties, including INLD, demanded cancellation of the Reliance SEZ deal with an allegation of extensive financial irregularities and revenue loss to the state after the Government of Haryana allotted land acquired earlier for the phase-I of Gurgaon-SEZ in Gari Harsaru to Reliance Group to begin the project. They accused the Hooda Government of allotting land worth Rs 8500 crores to Reliance Company at a throwaway price after acquiring from farmers by paying a nominal compensation of Rs 350 crores which sparked protest and agitation against it (Economics Times, 2006).

But meanwhile, the state adopts a policy regarding the Acquisition of Land for Private Development and Public-Private-Partnerships for setting up Special Economic Zones, Technology Cities, industrial Parks and Industrial Model Townships via notification no 49/48/2006 41BI dt. 04-05-2006. The policy emphasises the role of private capital in the economic development of a state and encourages Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) in infrastructure-building projects (Govt. of Haryana, 2006). The new industrial policy 2005 has really boosted the investment atmosphere of the state as many new proposals for setting up infrastructure development projects were received by the state from private firms along with the in-principal approval of 23 SEZs proposal. HSIIDC, the sole agency for industrial infrastructure development also planning to acquire more than 10,000 acres of land apart from the 8,000 acres it has already acquired and developed up to 2005. The state encourages private entities to purchase land directly from the land owners but also understands the requirements of state intervention in the land acquisition process for building large infrastructure projects. HSIIDC is ready to acquire land on behalf of private developers or even go for a joint venture on the PPP model (the state must have 26 percent or more share of equity in such joint venture) by paying full compensation rates on floor rate fixed by the state and on fulfillment of certain other policy guidelines. The other conditions are that the developer will pay the total cost of land acquisition with administrative expenses, rehabilitation of oustees with build-in houses in the case of relocation, construction and development of all essential civic services like roads,

street lights, drainage and sewage, drinking water, healthcare, etc. for the affected villages, setting up of industrial and vocational training institutes for the children of oustees, reservation of at least 25% of jobs going to be created by the project for the domicile of Haryana, etc. with a written agreement with the state government to comply with these terms and conditions (Govt. of Haryana, 2006). The state felt the necessity to prepare these policy guidelines only in land acquisition for the private firms by keeping in view the eagerness of private capital to accumulate more and more land for capitalist development in the state, mainly in the NCR region on the one hand and mitigate the adverse impact of land acquisition on the politically powerful landowning class on the other. This approach of the state government's ability to formulate policy guidelines to regulate and ensure land developers, including private entities' responsibilities towards rehabilitation and reconstruction of oustees' livelihoods, laid the foundation of what was later known as 'Haryana Model of Land acquisition'. Kennedy (2019) believes that the use of 'eminent domain' power of the state and forceful acquisition on the one hand; and, formulation of such R&R policies which address the concern and welfare of land owners, mainly dominant castes-Jats, on the other hand, was the reason behind the farmers of Haryana not moving towards a mass movement against land acquisition. She called it the most 'pragmatic approach' and 'first of their kind' response to the issue of the land war in India (Kennedy, 2019, p. 14).

On 19th June 2006, the deal was signed between the HSIDC and Reliance Ventures Limited, a fully owned subsidiary of Reliance India Ltd. (RIL) to jointly develop India's largest multi-purpose world-class SEZ over 25000 acres of land with industrial areas, residential areas, entertainment and institutional establishments in the district of Gurgaon and Jhajjar (Projects Today, 2006). And on the same date, the HSIIDC transferred 1395 acres to the joint venture company acquired around Garhi-Harsaru of Gurgaon. This decision raised a storm in the political circle in Haryana. As Vandana Shiva et al. (2011) reported that "this land would in open market cost around 10 crores per acre, and the SEZ has got it for undisclosed prices, which are bound to be very low, as the State is also a partner in the SEZ. So, it has already got land worth 13950 crores at a throwaway price/free, and even if it gives Rs. 22 lakhs/acre for the rest of the 23,605 acres, it spends only 5193.1 crores over it and has a straight profit of 8756.9 crores from the deal without even starting any business there" (p. 24). Immediately this issue was raised by the opposition parties and also people within the party who were "concern over the revenue loss of the government from tax exemption, the loss of agricultural land, the fate of landless and the social consequences of change of land use from agriculture to commercial purposes" (Rajalakshmi, 2006). Many insisted on the lack of transparency in the

land acquisition policy and compensation paid to the displaced people (Rajalakshmi, 2006). Due to the booming land market in Gurgaon and lack of inputs in the farm sector, many farmers wish to sell their land, though half of their holding at the price of 22 lakhs/acre (before that Govt. acquired land at approximately 6-7 lakhs/acre) while another half they want to keep as a form of security in speculation of much higher price in the future. The unemployed youth also expected to get a job in the SEZs when they became fully operational. While the Reliance venture has already obtained a physiological victory by accumulating half of the land required (15,000 of 31,000 acres) by purchasing land in small pockets and dividing people for any possible unity to resist the project (Shiva, Jani, & Fontana, 2011, pp. 25-26; Kennedy, 2019).

In a very short period of time, Gurgaon witnessed skyrocketing land prices due to the booming real estate market, the high demand for land for industrial and service sector development and the presence of more competition between private land developers as compared to other parts of Haryana. This region also already experiences both large-scale land acquisitions by the state agencies along with land sold to private entities and farmers were quite aware and mobilised in terms of the value of the land and their economic-political powers. Therefore, any underpayment of the land price below the market rate was unacceptable and raised to protest the movement, even against the state. Farmer discontent against land acquisition for Gurgaon SEZ, Kunduli-Manesar-Palwal (KMP) expressway and Reliance venture SEZ gained momentum at the beginning of the year 2007. At the end of April 2007, around 1000 farmers from 24 villages gathered in the protest meeting of Garoli Village of Gurgaon against the proposed acquisition of 3700 acres of farmland for 15-KM KMP Expressway (Indian Realty News, 2007). Agitation intensified with more than 3000 farmers of 130 villages of Gurgaon and adjoining areas and they blocked NH-8 for 2 hrs against the proposed land acquisition for the SEZ and KMP expressway; staged protest movements and hosted rallies under the banner of *Krishi Bhoomi Bachao Kishan Majdoor Sangharsh Samiti*; an agglomeration of two organisations; *Krishi Bhoomi Bachao Sangharsh Samiti-BBSS* (Save Agricultural Land struggle council) of Gurgaon who were fighting against acquired land for Gurgaon SEZ and *Kisan Majdoor Sangharsh Samiti-KMSS* (Farmer & Workers Struggle council) of Jhajjar fighting for proposed Reliance SEZ -on 13th May 2007 near Manesar. They represented the CM of Haryana through the district collector of Gurgaon (The Times of India, 2007).

'Pachgaon Banega Nandigram' (Pachgaon becomes Nandigram) one of the banners shown by the protesters. Pachgaon is one of the villages which was served notice from the government for land acquisition. The protesters cautioned the government of serious action if the latter did not refrain from forcefully acquiring land from farmers for the benefit of corporate and

demanding that the selling of land should be left to the discretion of the farmer and if at all the government acquires their land, they must get market price (The Times of India, 2007). While both organisations mobilised farmers against land acquisition, their demands and conditions differed. BBSS mobilised farmers in Gurgaon against an already completed forceful land acquisition of Gurgaon SEZ, whereas the KMSS of Jhajjar tried to pursue the farmers not to sell their land to the proposed Reliance SEZ where the company was purchasing land directly from willing sellers. Interestingly many of the farmers of Jhajjar were already sold their land as discussed above. However, organisers of the movement tried to convince them that the price offered by the company was too low and there is no guarantee about the promised employment to oustees in Reliance SEZ. While the demands of BBSS of Gurgaon were equity stake of landowners in Reliance SEZ, the priority of locals on employment, enhancement of compensation price, the extension of basic infrastructure facilities to all affected villages and alternative residential provision to approximately 500 households living on site (Kennedy, 2019). Though rhetorically, both cases opposed the land acquisition of farmland for non-agricultural purposes and demanded greater choices of land owners over its land, but enhancement of compensation price was more evident from their actions. Haryana witnessed some other instances of protest movements against land acquisitions in Gurgaon in the subsequent months (The Tribune, 2007).

In addition to protest movements going on across the state against the forceful acquisition of land for SEZ just followed by the Nandigram violence in West Bengal; the Janadesh Yatra from Madhya Pradesh to New Delhi (Oct 2 to Oct. 28, 2007) has brought the land question into the front of national agenda. Thousands of farmers from around 18 states marched against the state brutality in the land acquisition process and demanded a National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy that would recognise the rights of small farmers, landless labourers, artisans, tribal, etc. (Ghosh, 2007). In response to that, the UPA Government promised to draft a National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy and protect the rights of all affected persons. But, in contrast to other geographical zones witnessing political mobilization against land acquisition where the marginalised assert their rights to reclaim the land (Nielsen & Nilsen, 2015; Bedi, 2015), the political agitations in and around NCR, mainly among the Jats were to use both state apparatus and market mechanism to attain maximum profit from land deals. The land started as transitional assets and became the means for the future economic assimilation of Jat farmers into the urban economy and rescuer in social identity crisis amid agrarian change and rural socio-economic transformation. Nair (2020) argued that the fear of patronage crisis among Jat landowners drives these protest movements.

2.4 Haryana model of Land Acquisition and R&R

The "Policy for Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Land Owners-Land Acquisition Oustees" (henceforth R&R policy 2007), which provides rehabilitation and resettlement measures to affected land owners along with compensation amount payable under the LAA 1894, was created by the Department of Revenue and Disaster Management, Government of Haryana, in December 2007²⁴. Loraine Kennedy (2009) rightfully said, "it does not make electoral sense in Haryana to ignore the interests of landowners. Indeed, farmers represent a powerful political force in State politics, and a decision taken in late 2007 indicates the government is sensitive to the ways its industrial policy is affecting them" (p. 1063). Further, via Memo no. 1298-R-5-200/4174 dt. 6th April 2007, the state government had already revised the minimum floor rates of land in various places of Haryana such as minimum floor rate for the urbanised area of Gurgaon was enhanced to Rs. 20.00 lakh/acre from Rs. 15.00 lakh/acre. Such as, rates for the rest of the areas of the sub-region of NCR of Haryana, including Panchkula and Chandigarh periphery, becomes Rs. 16.00 lakhs per acre while the rest of Haryana was re-fixed to Rs. 08.00 Lakhs/acre²⁵. Coincidentally, the Haryana Government passed the R&R Policy 2007 along with the Haryana Special Economic Zone rules 2007 (a part of the Special Economic Zone act), which has simplified projects approval procedures with a single evaluation and monitoring committee consisting of the Chief Secretary and representatives of all other relevant departments (The Tribune, 2007).

The Rehabilitation and Resettlement policy 2007 applies to all land acquired by the state of Haryana for public purposes except land acquired for defence purposes on or after 5th March 2005. It has divided the R&R packages into two types of land acquisition, i.e., land acquired by HSIIDC and HUDA; and the land acquired by various agencies of Haryana except for HSIIDC and HUDA. For the first time in the politics of land acquisition and rehabilitation of India, this policy has brought a long-term provision of financial security to the oustees in the form of 'Annuity'. The government will pay an annual annuity or royalty of Rs. 15,000/ acre with an increment of a sum of Rs.500/year (amount is fixed) for 33 years over and above the usual compensation to be paid under the LAA 1894. This provision radically transformed the R&R discourse as many states like Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh thereafter adopted this long-term social security scheme in their own R&R packages. This is like getting an annual annuity over sold land for a long period as if it is given on rent or lease. Renting land for non-agricultural purposes is pretty successful and land-owner friendly; adopted and demanded in

²⁴ via notification No.5451-R-V-2007/13258 Dt.07/12/2007

²⁵ these rates were excluding the interest and solatium payable under the LAA-1894

many places around the world²⁶. This provision in the policy adheres to the scheme of complete land transfer from private entities to the state and getting an annual annuity for life (33 years is quite a long period). At the same time, land acquired for SEZs, Technology cities/parks, etc. for private developers will be paid Rs. 30,000/acre annually with Rs. 1000/year increment for 33 years in addition to R&R packages notified on 4th May 2006.

For land or dwelling sites acquired by HSIIDC and HUDA, the R&R policy provided allotment of residential and commercial plots in the project site to each co-sharer depending upon their share in the land under the condition that 75% or more of land owned by the owner is acquired. Landowners are entitled to a residential plot of a maximum of 14 marlas and a minimum of 3 marlas or a minimum of 50 sq. yd. and a maximum of 350 sq. yd. depending upon the size of the land or residential site acquired.

The residential plot price was kept as the issue price of such plots, decided by the agency. The acquiring agency will allot these residential plots near the village. HSIIDC and HUDA are also obliged, as per the policy, to develop and create necessary social infrastructure facilities and/or employment for the affected villages. In case of the death of the beneficiaries, all these benefits, including compensation, will be paid to the nominee/s made by the land owner or else their legal heirs.

The R&R policy of Haryana 2007 has brought a revolutionary change in the discourse of post-displacement reconstruction measures. This was the only policy at that time that for the first time in India, introduced the scheme of long-term social security (Annuity) and benefit-sharing approach (residential plot) to reconstruct the livelihood of oustees. This is a more pragmatic approach to protests and agitation of land owners as 'land to land' was not feasible in Haryana due to high population density and acute land scarcity. Offering a piece of developed plots to each co-sharer can be seen as a form of protecting and securing the future of the next generation, as land is always considered a security par excellence in Haryana. It also offers payment of usual land compensation at floor rates to the land owner, which was quite higher than the market value of the land at that time.

Although these changes boosted the state economy and growth rate, the state demanded more land to be converted for non-agricultural purposes. The pressure for land was so intense that after the establishment of the Congress government in 2005, the state almost doubled the speed

²⁶ Michael Cernea in Renu Modi (2009) referred land renting concept of Japan as a successful and sustainable resettlement practice and Sathe (2017) also pointed out that farmers of Pune demanded for putting land on rent instead of complete ownership handover.

of land acquisition. For instance, from 1999 to 2005, HSIIDC, under the INLD government, acquired 4392 acres 6 *kanals* and 11 *marlas*²⁷ agricultural land and from 2005 to 2010, it acquired 19868 acres of land. Similarly, HUDA acquired 16,362 acres, 6617.87 acres, by the Department of Irrigation and Public Works (B&R) 385.82 acres during that same period (The Indian Express, 2011). Table no 2-4 made a comparison between the amounts of land acquired by the State Government for some major projects during the INLD government (1999-2005) and after 2005-2012 during Congress Government; and the average compensation paid to land owners per acre. The table indicates that compared to the INLD government, the land acquisition process in Haryana became faster and more intense after 2005. Almost the state government acquired more than double the land within seven years (2005-2012) as compared to the previous five years (1999-2005). The average compensation paid to the land owner per acre was also enhanced multiple times after 2005²⁸. For instance, the land owners of Bahadurgarh, a municipality adjoining to New Delhi in the district of Jhajjar, received four times higher amount per acre for land acquired within a span of one year due to fixation of minimum floor rate (land owner received per acre Rs. 8.60 Lakhs in 2004-5 whereas in 2005-06 they got Rs. 24 Lakhs/acre).

Table 2-4 Some Major Land Acquisition during 1999-05 & 2005-2012

Sl.no	Particular of land acquired	Land acquired (in acres)	Year of Award	Average amount of Gross compensation paid/acre
During 1999-2005				
1	Bahadurgarh	710	2003-04 2004-05	Rs. 8.60 lakh
2	Barhi Phase-II	322	2004-05	Rs. 8.38 lakh
3	Narwana	108	2004-05	Rs. 3.90 lakh
4	Saha	410	2004-05	Rs. 2.94 lakh
5	IMT Manesar Phase-I	255 1490	28-03-1997 03-4-1997	Rs. 6.08 lakh Rs. 6.59 lakh
	Phase-II	172	22-7-2003	Rs. 6.35 Lakh
	Phase-III	598	24-12-2003	Rs. 5.36 Lakh
	Phase-IV	657	20-5-2004	Rs. 4.74 Lakh
During 2005-2012				
1	Bahadurgarh	176	2007-08	Rs. 24.00 lakh
2	Barhi Phase-III	646	2009-10	Rs. 49.07 lakh
3	Bawal Phase-II	1015 acres	2006-07	Rs. 16.44 lakh
	Bawal Phase-III	452	2008-09	Rs. 23.12 lakh
	Bawal Phase-IV	679	2009-10	Rs. 23.46 lakh

²⁷ Kanal and Marla are unit of measurement of land, particularly use in Northern Indian states. 1 acre=8 kanal and 1 kanal= 20 marla, therefore 1 acre=160 marla

²⁸ Average compensation price per acre after 2005 was based on the floor rate fixed by the R&R policy 2007 & 2010.

4	IMT Faridabad	1784	2008-09	Rs. 25.88 lakh
5	IMT Rohtak Phase-I	859	2007-08	Rs. 23.49 lakh
	IMT Rohtak Phase-II	1893	2009-10	Rs. 28.74 lakh
6	Karnal sector-3-A	81	2005-06	Rs. 14.68 lakh
7	Karnal ext.	62	2008-09	Rs. 21.84 lakh
8	Karnal Sector 37	228	2009-10	Rs. 22.44 lakh
9	Saha	250	2008-09	Rs. 14.68 lakh
10	IMT Roz-Ka-Meo	1501	2010-11	Rs. 24.66 lakh
11	IMT Manesar Ph-V	956	2005-06	Rs. 18.46
	IMT Manesar Ph-VI Part-I	466	2006-07 2007-08	Rs. 18.09 lakh Rs. 16.98 lakh
12	Bawal Phase-II	566	2011-12	Rs. 49.00 lakh
13	IMT Manesar Pataudi Road	53	2011-12	Rs. 108.45 lakh
14	IMT Rohtak (CETP)	92	2011-12	Rs. 36.73 lakh
15	Power plant Jhajjar	175 acre	2011-12	Rs. 36.31 lakh
16	IMT Manesar Integrated Complex	1128	2011-12	Rs. 80.08 lakh

Source: Proceedings, Haryana Legislative Assembly, 7th March 2012, Vol.1, No.7, pp.140-141

The Urban Estates department of Haryana also acquired almost more than double the size of land from 13 districts of Haryana during the period 2005-2012. Table no. 2-5 compares land acquired for urban development in thirteen districts during 1999-2005 and 2005-2012, along with the total cost of land and the average amount paid during these periods per acre. During the regime of Lok Dal (1999-2005), the department acquired a sum of 8,200 acres of land with a total cost of Rs. 52712.48 Lakhs, whereas during the Congress period (2005-2012), it accumulated a total of 19,326.47 acres with a cost of Rs. 525713.43 Lakhs. The average compensation paid to the land owner per acre during these periods was Rs. 6.42 Lakhs and Rs. 27.20 Lakhs, respectively.

Table 2-5 District-wise Land Acquired by Urban Estates Dept., Haryana during 1999-2012

Sl. No	Name of the district	Total land acquired (in acres)	Total cost of land (Rs. In lakh)	Average rates/acre (in lakh)	Total land acquired (in acres)	Total cost of land (Rs. In lakh)	Average rates/acre (in lakh)
		From Oct. 1999 to 4 March 2005			From 5 March 2005 to 17 Feb. 2012		
1	Faridabad	61.17	325.96	5.32	1885.34	6904.13	36.60
2	Gurgaon	1928.773	17891.50	9.27	4584.22	201526.99	43.96
3	Hisar	27.64	6136	2.22	1155.55	21772.49	12.84
4	Jind	29.53	95.55	3.23	851.90	13510.62	15.86
5	Jhajjar	1238.74	4688.47	3.78	498.67	6555.49	13.15
6	Karnal	710.69	2846.04	4.00	185.18	3735.05	20.70
7	Panchkula	1037.80	7146.02	6.88	1235.44	28042.98	22.70
8	Panipat	577.37	2104.53	3.64	185.40	88071.14	43.52
9	Rohtak	1035.76	4242.54	4.09	2727.74	49332.42	18.08
10	Rewari	31.08	52.20	1.68	1222.37	16289.68	13.32
11	Sirsa	1.36	2.04	1.50	764.96	18604.92	24.32
12	Sonipat	1166.86	5060.87	4.34	2781.86	42252.21	15.37
13	Yamunanagar	353.46	2120.76	6.00	1248.11	29115.31	23.33
Total		8200.233	52712.48	6.42817	19326.74	525713.43	27.2014

Source: Source: Proceedings, Haryana Legislative Assembly, 7th March 2012, Vol.1, No.7, p.142

Though the acquisition of thousands of acres of farmland is threatening the life and livelihood of millions of farmers, how the state of Haryana is able to acquire it? Loraine Kennedy and et.al (2013), answering the question, argued that the political elites dare to take this gambling because as it has been seen that with the changing mode of economy, many land owners are turning towards non-farming activities such as business, trade and more importantly real estate. The pressure of the market on land is so intense in Haryana that even land owners, mainly the young generation, can't resist it. Therefore, some land owners are selling their land (partially holdings at least) to private developers or the state and purchasing land in neighbouring states of Punjab and Rajasthan and continuing agriculture or moving towards non-farming areas mostly to the housing sector. Hence, the government understands that by making favourable policies like the R&R policy 2007 and the fixation of minimum floor rates, it can also protect the interest of the powerful agriculturist class and simultaneously offer a business-friendly

regime for industrial development in the state without destroying its traditional support base. These “traditional elites act increasingly as a ‘growth coalition’ in the State, lending their support for a growth strategy favourable to other types of investors” (Kennedy, Robin, & Zamuner, 2013).

However, the state has to develop and keep bending its policies favourable to or at least attractive to the interests of land-owning class; otherwise, it will taste the heat of farmers’ resistance. Although Haryana acquired a considerable portion of land through the R&R policy in 2007, many protest movements took place in various places of Haryana, mainly in Gurgaon and Jhajjar regions. The Reliance-SEZ remains controversial in the land war of Haryana, and farmers kept resisting the project and accused the government of ‘grabbing’ the farmland and acting as a ‘*dalal*’ (broker) for private companies (Kennedy, 2019). In April 2008, the KMSS organised an eight-day ‘*kisan padayatra*’ (Farmers’ March) in collaboration with the state unit of *Bharat Krishak Samaj*, a national farmers’ union. The main aim of the march was to make landowners aware of the negative impacts of the project and build solidarity among them. Shortly after the *padayatra*, it organised a ‘*mahapanchayat*’ with *khap panchayats* (traditional caste governing body) of neighbouring areas at Pelpa village in Jhajjar. Khap Panchayat occupies a powerful position in the social milieu of Haryana and holds a large portion of the population, mainly among the powerful Jat community. Thousands of people attended the gathering and urged the state to cancel the project as it would adversely affect the food security and livelihood options of lakhs of people and return the land. Another agitation took place in the summer of 2008 in Gurgaon, which turned violent and forced the authority to seal the Delhi-Gurgaon Expressway. These agitations have the support of opposition parties like INLD, BJP, etc. and some factions of the ruling Congress party too (Kennedy, 2014). Apart from agitations, many litigation cases against land acquisition delayed the developmental process significantly; another important factor compelled the state and private capital to adopt more pro-farmer policies.

When land wars were at their peak and thousands of acres of land had been acquired for developing SEZs, the state was constantly criticised for working on behalf of private land developers at the expense of the life and livelihood of farmers, Haryana R&R policy made an exception. The pressure of corporate capital is immense in the state, particularly in the NCR region, which is responsible for the majority of state revenue where “as the subnational state seeks to offer attractive and competitive production platforms for national and global capital, it has to contend with social forces that operate at the local and regional level” (Kennedy, 2009, p. 1063). This pressure from both sides, the pressure of global capital for the commodification

of land on one hand and socio-economic protection of politically mobilised land owning class from marketization on the other hand, has given birth to this new discourse of benefit sharing approach. However, this policy addressed the concern of the land-owning community, it was completely silent about the fate of agricultural labour, artisan and other landless communities whose livelihoods were too adversely affected due to land acquisition. This policy simply ignored the SC community, the second largest social group in Haryana after Jats. Dalit communities in Haryana are generally landless and work as agriculture labourers or sustain livelihood through self-employment. However, they possess some influence in the state's political circle but lack unity. They are less mobilised politically and economically and were at the receiving end of caste-dominated Haryanvi social life (Shiva, Jani, & Fontana, 2011, pp. 25-26; Kennedy, 2019). Congress falls short of six seats to form government in the 2009 assembly election, but Bhupinder Singh Hooda was sworn as the Chief Minister by managing the support of six independent and lone Bahujan Samajwadi Party (BSP) MLA²⁹. And in 2010, Hooda's government came up with a revised and more comprehensive R&R policy of 2007, with the sole purpose to avoid litigation, said a former Chief Secretary of Haryana.

2.4.1 Haryana R&R policy 2010

The amendments made in the R&R policy 2007 in 2010 (Annexure 1) are an upgradation of it and the most comprehensive policy which address the basic lacuna of the previous one. The major features of the policy are:

- ❖ **The preamble:** It has recognised the suffering of oustees and destruction of livelihood by land acquisition and also limitations of any compensation packages to reconstruct lost livelihood. However, the policy is trying to minimise the pain by initiating certain provisions such as a) through payment of compensation by fixing a minimum floor rate depending upon location and value of the land, b) introduction of a 'no-litigation' scheme to reduce the piles of litigation cases; c) enhancement in the rates of annuity payable to land owners in long term basis; d) allotment of residential and commercial/industrial plots to oustees as a part of benefit sharing approach; e) assurance of a government job to the dependent of a family member whose land was acquired by the Government of Haryana and its agencies other than HUDA, HSIIDC and HSAMB; f) recognise the landless labourer and artisan as a potential victim of agricultural land acquisition too along with farmers and

²⁹ BSP emerged in Haryana by gaining the support of Dalit, who were traditionally the support base of Congress and formed the Government with Congress in 2009. However, this influenced the Government to incorporate some provisions for Dalit community in the R&R policy 2010 was unknown.

provided some measures for sustaining their livelihood in post-acquisition society and g) provisions for community development programme, etc.

- ❖ **Revised floor rate and a greater emphasis on urban development:** The policy has revised the minimum floor rate payable to the land owners by keeping in mind the skyrocketing land value in Haryana in the market, particularly after its recovery from the global recession in 2008-09. But unlike the previous policy, it has divided the land into 5 broad categories depending upon the value of the land at different locations of the state³⁰ and fixed minimum floor rates for different locations. The government revised the floor rates fixed in 2007 as mentioned in table no.2-6.

Table 2-6 Minimum floor rate land in Haryana (2010)

Sl. No.	Particulars	Floor Rates per acre of land (pre-revision)	Floor Rates per acre as revised w.e.f. 07.09.2010
1	Land situated within the notified limits of Gurgaon Municipal Corporation	Rs. 20.00 Lakh	Rs. 40.00 Lakh
2	Land situated within (i) the notified limits of Faridabad Municipal Corporation, (ii) the notified limits of Panchkula Municipal Corporation as on 07.09.2010, (iii) Development Plans of (a) Gurgaon-Manesar Urban Complex (excluding the areas falling within the limits of Municipal Corporation Gurgaon) (b) Sohna, and (c) Sonapat-Kundli Urban Complex	Rs. 16.00 lakh	Rs. 30.00 lakh
3	Areas situated within the Development Plans of Bahadurgarh, Rohtak, Rewari, Dharuhera, Bawal and Panipat towns	Rs. 16.00 Lakh	Rs. 25.00 Lakh
4	Rest of the National Capital Region, areas situated outside the limits of Panchkula Municipal Corporation (as on 07.09.2010) in Panchkula District, and the land situated within the Development Plans of all other district headquarters outside the NCR	Rs. 16.00 Lakh Rs. 8.00 Lakh	Rs. 20.00 Lakh
5	Remaining Parts of the State	Rs. 8.00 Lakh	Rs. 12.00 Lakh
Note	1. The floor rates mentioned above represent the basic rate of land and do not include the amount payable under Section 23 (1A) and 30% Solatium [U/s 23(2)], payable in addition. 2. Please see Appendix-1 for an indicative total amount payable to a landowner based on these floor rates.		

Source: The Revision of minimum floor rates and the Policy for Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Land Owners - Land Acquisition Oustees 2010, Govt. of Haryana

³⁰ The R&R policy 2007 and the previous policy divided land value into three categories depending upon location.

Fixation of basic rates of land situated in various locations of Haryana into these five broad categories indicating the emphasis on urban development. Except for Gurgaon, special care was given to new urban centres such as Faridabad, Panchkula, Gurgaon-Manesar, Suhana and Sonipat-Kundli urban complexes which are attracting more capital in terms of the housing market. In the same way, it has also given special attention to fast-growing urban centres adjoining NCR i.e., Bahadurgarh, Rohtak, Rewari, Dharuhera, Biwal and Panipat. Interestingly, this division has given importance to urban development rather than industrial development, which was more focused on earlier.

Apart from the revision of basic rates of floor rate and unlike the previous policies, it has also provided flexible approaches to decide the basic rate of compensation payable to land owners. During the last couple of years preceding 2010, the land values of many places, particularly Gurgaon, Faridabad, Bahadurgarh, etc. have increased like anything and even higher than the fixed floor rates. Private developers were ready to pay any amount to purchase the land. Therefore, it was quite apparent that any fixed rate approach would be less than the market rate and spark dissatisfaction among landowners. Hence, this policy has given the power to the divisional commissioner to decide the basic rate of compensation based on the prices of land transactions during the last year, prescribed collector rates for charging stamp duty on sale deeds and revised minimum floor rate under this policy. The highest of all these three rates would be considered for basic rates. This was a pragmatic approach to deciding the basic rates of compensation by keeping in mind the growing land value in various locations of Haryana.

- ❖ **No-litigation Scheme:** it was brought to reduce the piles of litigation cases by the farmers against land acquisition and please them with enhanced compensation. During one decade of land acquisition, it was found that thousands of farmers challenged the land acquisition process in a court of law. Most cases were on the rate of compensation paid in return. Due to these large volumes of litigation, the project got unnecessarily delayed and caused heavy losses to the exchequer. Therefore, this scheme brought a solution to the problem by providing the land owners an additional amount equal to 20% of the basic land rate if they undertake not to move to the court of law to challenge the rate of compensation. Interestingly, the same undertaking also asked the landowners to declare that they are not against acquisition too. Some called this scheme 'consent acquisition' also.
- ❖ **Revised and enhanced rates of Annuity:** this policy also enhanced the amount of Royalty payable to the land-owners for 33 years in all cases of land acquisition. After 2010 the eligible land owners will receive a royalty of Rs. 21,000 per acre per year for 33 years as a

form of social security and benefit-sharing approach. The annuity amount will be increased by a fixed amount of Rs. 750/- per year. In case of land acquired for SEZ or Technology cities/Parks, a sum of Rs. 42,000/- will be paid per acre per year with an annual fixed increment of Rs.1500/- up to 33 years.

The landowners will appoint their nominees who will get the benefits for up to 33 years in case of untimely demise and can change the same at any time before that. For instance, if the land owner dies without leaving a nominee behind, the benefits will automatically be payable to the legal heirs for the remaining period.

The landowner/s whose size of the land is very small (less than one acre), can also opt to avail “the commuted value of the annuity amounts upfront in one go, which is fixed @ 30% of the gross amount of Annuity payable during the 33 years” (Govt. of Haryana, 2010).

- ❖ **Allotment of Residential Plot for acquisition of self-occupied residential structure:** The state understands the sensitivity of acquiring a residential structure, henceforth, all efforts will be met to not acquire any residential settlements except during unavoidable circumstances. But in case of acquisition, the site's owner will be eligible for a residential plot of a minimum of 90sqm and maximum of 450 sqm depending upon the size of the residential structure acquired. As the compensation will be paid for the acquired land or any structure thereon; the owner has to pay the price of the residential plot decided by the acquiring agency. Care will be taken for allotting residential plots in close proximity to the nearby village. If the land is acquired by HUDA or HSIIDC, the plot will be allotted in the residential areas reserved for the oustees category. Allotment of residential plots for this category will be applicable to all land acquisitions done by the Government of Haryana or any of its agencies for public purposes but for the case of HUDA and HSIIDC the price of the plot would be 20% lesser than the price decided for the general public.
- ❖ **Categories of land Acquisition cases:** The Policy divides all cases of Land acquisition into two broad categories:
 - a) Land acquired for the urban/industrial or agri-marketing infrastructure development projects developed by HUDA, HSIIDC and the HSAMB in large clusters. These projects required large mass of land compared to any other projects
 - b) Land acquired for comparatively smaller projects such as waterworks, sewages facilities, power stations, roads, canals, etc., for which a government required small pockets of land in strip form.

These divisions are made on the ground that certain benefits like residential/commercial plots are only feasible to allot in case of large cluster development, whereas not for the second categories. Therefore, benefits are also divided following these categories of cases

❖ **Benefits for the oustees of land acquired by HUDA, HSIIDC and the HSAMB:** the government decided to grant residential plots and commercial/industrial plots to these categories of displaces as a form of benefit-sharing approach

- a) **Allotment of ‘Oustee-category’ Residential Plots:** Each landowner or co-sharer is eligible for a residential plot of a minimum size of 90 sq. mts. or maximum 450 sq. mts. depending upon the size of land acquired (for detail see Annexure -1).
- b) **Allotment of Commercial plot/Industrial Sites:** in case of a land owner or co-sharers lost 75 percent of their land holding subjected to a minimum of one acre to these agencies, are, therefore, eligible for commercial sites (12 sq. mtrs.) or an Industrial plot measuring 450 sq. mtrs. (Only in the case of HSIIDC) to sustain their means of livelihood.
- c) These plots will be available at a discount price of 20% lesser than the price decided for the general public.
- d) In case a land owner who lost both his self-occupied residential site and farmland; he/she will be eligible for a residential plot only in one category, depending upon the choice of landowners.
- e) In the case of phase-wise land acquisition and a land owner is eligible for a bigger size of residential plot due to subsequent acquisition, he will be eligible for additional area depending upon his/her revised entitlement.
- f) The allotment of plots will be on a lottery basis in the areas reserved for the oustee category in close proximity to nearby habitant.

❖ **Benefits for the oustees of land acquired by other than HUDA, HSIIDC and HSAMB:** as providing commercial/industrial plots are not feasible for the second category of land acquisition, the state, in order to sustain their livelihood, will provide **job to one dependent of the land owner/co-sharer family** in the project for which land was acquired in the government department or its agencies depending upon the availability of vacancies. But subject to the condition that 75% or more of their total land holdings in one revenue estate

with a minimum of two acres of land has been acquired. The employment would be provided in the class 'C' or 'D' category based on the fulfilment of prescribed eligibility criteria. However, in cases the dependents are minors or didn't complete their education, a five-year entitlement time will be given for getting the job. In order to decide the genuineness of the land ownership, the last four years of revenue record will be taken into consideration and eligible applicants will be permitted to apply for such jobs within six months after the announcement of awards.

- ❖ In case of Acquisition of one or more installed tube-well with an electricity connection, the land owners are **eligible for alternate tube-well connection(s)** in their un-acquired land or any other agricultural land purchased by him thereafter up to two years within the state of Haryana.
- ❖ The landowners are eligible for **exemption from stamp duty and registration charges for purchasing alternative agricultural land in Haryana within** two years.
- ❖ **Scheme for the Landless and artisan dependent upon the acquired agricultural land:** unlike the previous policy, this policy recognised the suffering of landless labourers and artisan communities due to the acquisition of farm land over which their livelihoods were sustained. Therefore, in order to protect these categories from further impoverishment, the policy will provide certain measures i.e.
 - a) Govt. will provide free technical education to the dependents of their families in the government-run Industrial and Polytechnic training institutes.
 - b) A fund equal to 1 percent of the compensation paid would be kept apart by the HUDA, HSIIDC and HSAMB for creating a skill set among the dependents of land-owners and landless communities.
 - c) HSIIDC would take initiation to request the allottees of industrial plots to give preference to these people in their industrial firms
 - d) These provisions are equally applicable to the land acquired by private developers.
- ❖ **Investment advisory Services:** the state is well aware of the inability of landowners to invest one-time compensation received in the right direction due to the lack of education/information and little exposure to the outside world. In many cases throughout the country, it was evident that oustees ended up with nothing after exhausting all

compensation on petty consumable goods and purchasing lavish items. Hence, the government would engage some experts/professionals who could help them use money in better, sustainable, long-term investment plans. The service of the investment advisory professional would be completely advisory without compulsion over land owner choices, which will be the final.

- ❖ **Social and Community Development infrastructure facilities:** acquisition of these large volumes of land by disrupting normal means of livelihood should be for the betterment of the community. These projects owe a great deal to the entire community and under this policy, an amount equal to 2 percent of the total compensation amount should be kept by the acquiring agencies for the creation and development of community infrastructures in the respective villages. A separate junk of land should be reserved for the social infrastructure facilities which may later exchange with the Panchayat land.
- ❖ Another interesting feature is that the financial benefits payable to the landowners, whether in the form of compensation or royalty, would be **directly transferred to the bank account of the beneficiaries** or their legal heirs so that the actual beneficiary will enjoy the benefit.

The policy has provided one of the most comprehensive R&R packages to the oustees ever paid in any state of India. It's provided a detailed account of various benefits available to the land-owners along with the prescribed procedures to be followed to avail of that. Indeed, this is an up-gradation over the previous policy by keeping in mind changing circumstances in Haryanvi society, polite and economy too. There are certain observations made on this policy:

- a) For the first time in the discourse of land war in India, this policy is able to provide a long-term social security and benefit-sharing approach in the R&R schemes in the form of annuity for long 33 years, allotment of residential/commercial/industrial plots in developed land, community development infrastructure facilities, etc. after paying due compensation.
- b) Special attention has also been paid to the growing land values in Haryana, particularly in the urban centres for housing sector development and there was a necessity to satisfy the expectation of land owners in these fastest-growing neo-liberal land markets. Enhancement of minimum floor rates, division of land with various land values in five locations, and adopting a flexible approach to deciding basis rates of compensation are truly important steps in that regard. Further, unlike the previous policy, which followed a

top-down approach in the fixation of basic rates of compensation (minimum floor rate + solatium + interest), it has decentralised it by giving power to the divisional commissioner to decide it. In order to reduce the volume of litigation cases against acquisition, mainly for enhancement of compensation, a very practical solution has been brought in the form of a 'no-litigation' scheme.

- c) The policy has taken an equity measure by dividing the cases of land acquisition into two categories and providing employment provision to the family of oustees whose land would be acquired for public purposes other than urban/industrial/agri-market development and not feasible to allot them industrial sites or commercial plots.
- d) The policy, instead of considering a piece of land with one revenue record registered on one or many owners (co-sharers) as one-unit, extended R&R benefits to all co-sharers, which will give justice to the farmers when the size of landholdings are sinking due to population growth and dismantling of erstwhile joint families.
- e) The policy has given a choice to the beneficiaries to decide nominee to receive R&R benefits after his demise and can change so within that period. In case the land-owner dies without leaving any nominee's name behind, all the project benefits will be paid to his/her all legal heirs (both sons and daughters). Therefore, both sons and daughters are equally eligible for R&R benefits.
- f) The R&R benefits payable in the form of money would be directly credited to the bank account of the beneficiaries so that it minimises the chances of corruption. The exact amount payable to the oustees will directly reach him without any kind of interference from middlemen.
- g) The provision of residential plots in addition to industrial sites/commercial plots will be able to provide the same security and a sustainable means of subsistence as the farmland used to provide before land acquisition. Whereas the royalty amount for such a long 33 years would be a minimum assured financial security for any mischief that happened to plots or compensation amount.
- h) Although unlike the previous policy, this amendment recognises the adverse impact of agricultural land acquisition on the life and livelihood of landless agriculture labourer and artisan community, but undermine them by not extending social security and benefit sharing approach in the form of annuity and developed plots. Provision of skill-

development training to their dependents may be helpful to them in the long run, but they will perish without any kind of immediate support system just after the acquisition.

- i) It solves the long-standing problem of oustees with regard to misutilisation and dis-investment of compensation amounts, as found in many cases by providing investment advisory services. However, the final decision regarding investments is with landowners only.
- j) The provision for alternate tube-well connections and exemption from stamp duty and registration charges for the purchase of new land would encourage the landowners to purchase new land rather than exhausting money on consumable goods only.
- k) It also has provisions for the creation of civic infrastructure for community development in the affected villages.
- l) As per the policy, the government will take due care not to acquire any self-occupied residential structures. The policy tries to acquire only farmland and the 'habitant' of people remains intact. As per the record, none of the places a full '*basti*' or habitant was acquired.
- m) Last but not least, table no. 7 demonstrates the total compensation to be payable to land owners as per the R&R policy 2010.

Even though the passing of the R&R policy 2010, the Hooda government keep experiencing protests in different parts of the state against various land acquisition projects like the Multipurpose Logistics Hub in Rewari sector 20-21 during 2010-11. The opposition parties also keep accusing the government of large-scale financial irregularities and land grabs has taken place in the name of public purposes. When opposition to the land acquisition process started intensifying not only in Haryana but in all other states, the Haryana government drafted the bill of the Land Pooling policy 2012. Haryana Land Pooling Scheme 2012 claimed to make landowners partners in the development project by giving a fixed share in the development plots (Haryana News Desk, 2012). In 2013, the Congress government adopted the first national R&R policy by scrapping the two-century-old Land Acquisition Act 1894. The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 (RFCTLAR&R Act, 2013), which was subsequently called and, received the nod of the President of India on 27th Sept. 2013 and came into force from January 2014. Subsequently, different states of the Union, including Haryana, adopted as primary law for both land acquisition and rehabilitation of oustees

Table 2-7 An illustration of total amount Payable under R&R Policy-2010

Sl. No.	Particulars	Minimum Floor Rate (Pre-revision) /acre	Minimum Floor Rate (revised) /acre w.e.f. 07.09. 2010	Solatium @ 30%	Amount under Section 23(1A) For 30 months	No Litigation Incentive @ 20% of the floor rate	Total Amount / Acre
1	Land situated within the notified limits of Gurgaon municipal corporation	20 lakh	40 lakh	12 lakh	12 lakh	8 lakh	72 lakh
2	Land situated within the notified limits of Faridabad and Panchkula municipal corporations: areas forming part of the development plans of Gurgaon - Manesar urban complex (excluding the areas falling within the limits of municipal corporation Gurgaon) Sohna and Sonapat Kundli urban complex.	16 lakh	30 lakh	9 lakh	9 lakh	6 lakh	54 lakh
3	Area situated within the development plans of Bahadurgarh, Rohtak, Rewari, Dharuhera, Bawal and Panipat towns	16 lakh	25 lakh	7.5 lakh	7.5 lakh	5 lakh	45 lakh
4	Rest of the NCR, areas situated outside the limits of Panchkula municipal corporation in Panchkula district and the land situated within the development plans of all other districts headquarters outside the NCR	16 lakh	20 lakh	6 lakh	6 lakh	4 lakh	36 lakh
5	Remaining parts of the State	8 lakh	12 lakh	3.6 lakh	3.6 lakh	2.4 lakh	21.6 lakh

Source: The Revision of minimum floor rates and the Policy for Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Land Owners - Land Acquisition Oustees 2010, Govt. of Haryana

2.5 Conclusion

Historically land-owning agrarian class dominated the socio-economic and political spheres of Haryana. The ability to disproportionately extract benefits from the green revolution and the state policies in the past gave them an edge in comparison to the other class categories. The prospect of Industrial development and a booming real estate economy in the state, particularly in the national capital region and mainly after economic liberalisation, enabled the political class to make a coalition with parastatal state agencies, corporate actors and local land-rich caste elite by joining hands together to accumulate thousands of acres of land. While making policies advantageous to each of them and, more precisely to land-owning castes by offering deals hard to refuse were made, interests of all these actors converged in the rapidly growing real estate market of Haryana and each tried to maximise their own advantage without diluting advantages to others. A consensus was made and implemented through policy decisions that offered various benefits. For example, the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy of Haryana 2007 (2010) facilitates compensation at floor rates, long-term annuity, and benefit-sharing through residential and commercial plots made to the land owners on an optional basis. The pragmatism the Haryana state showed in facilitating thousands of acres of farmland to urban and industrial development, even for private capital amid land wars in other parts of the nation, helped the party in power to retain its political base. The farming class constituted the core of the Haryana model of land acquisition and rehabilitation. However, whether it resulted in a win-win scenario for all the communities or gave way to the dispossession of the dispossessed needs to be probed through a case study of villages affected by land acquisition for Industrial Model Township, Rohtak.

Interrogating Industrial Model Township, Rohtak: The Saga of Acquisition and Dispossession

Mohan Halule, an informal village leader says: "You know, sister, a man on the land is like a bullock tied to a cart without wheels. He can't walk with it, and he can't walk away from it." and he sighs deeply, deeply. . .

When we had land, Aparna Pallavi, Info Change News & Features, April 2008

Outlines

- Investment feasibility of Rohtak
- How IMT as a means of Land dispossession unfolded in Rohtak
- How local responded into this trajectory

3.1 Background

Situated in the heart of Haryana, Rohtak district is surrounded by Jind on the North; Jhajjar and Chakri Dadri districts on the South; Delhi and Sonapat on the east and Bhiwani and Hisar districts on the West (see figure no.2-1). With an area of 1,745 sq. km., the district is named after its headquarter; Rohtak city. It is just 75 kilometers far from Delhi and comes under National Capital Region with National Highway-10 directly connecting Delhi with Rohtak city. It is only 37 Km. from Bahadurgarh, a well-known industrial area located on the outskirts of Delhi. It is also well connected with Delhi-Jind -Ferozpur broad gauge line. Rohtak is also a rail junction connecting rail links to Bhivani, Rewari, Panipat, and other industrial townships of Haryana.

Though tracing out the origin of the name 'Rohtak' is quite debatable but there are some well-established beliefs concerning its genesis. Many believe that it's an abbreviated version of 'Rohtasgarh' the old name of the city, while for others, it is named after the Raja Rohtas, the city's founder in common belief (Haryana Government, 2011). The district of Rohtak was created in 1824 with areas of Gohana, Kharkhoda-Mandothi, Rohtak-Beri and Bhiwani-Mahamn and historically was a part of Delhi Division until it was along with Jhajjar district and the rest of Delhi and Hisar division merged with the Punjab Province after the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857. Erstwhile Dujana state merged with the district in 1948. Further, it was bifurcated in July 1997 and the district of Jhajjar was curbed out of it. The present district of

Rohtak consists of Rohtak, Meham and Sampla divisions; sub-divided into Rohtak, Meham, Sampla and Kalanaur thasil and one sub-tehsil; Lakhan Majra (Govt of Haryana, 2011, pp. 8-11; Govt. of Haryana, n.d.; Punam, 2015, p. 64).

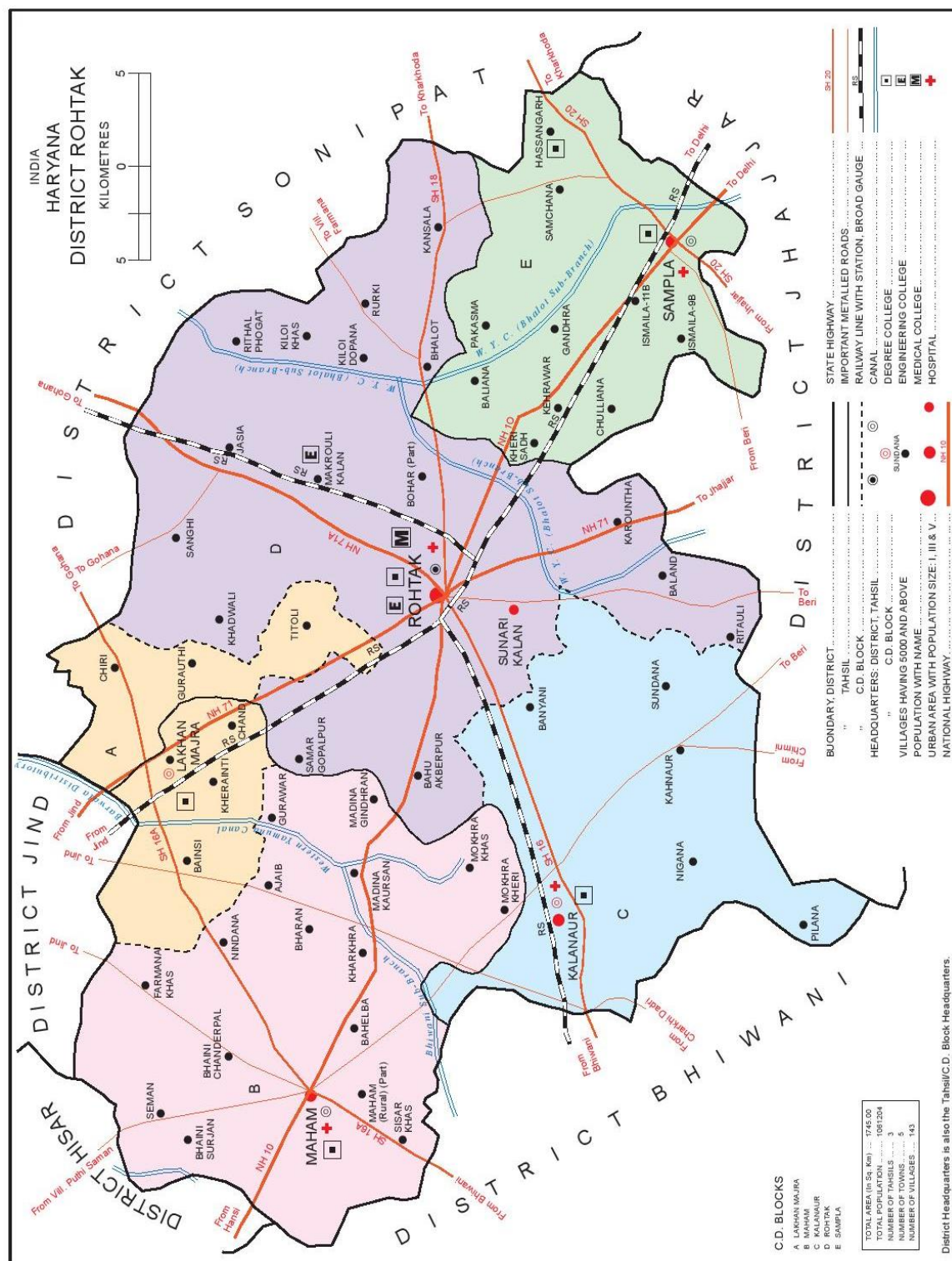
As per the 2011 census, the district's total population was 10, 61,204 living in 143 villages and five urban settlements. As compared to the state average, 42% live in urban spaces (the state average is 34.88%). The literacy rate in the district is 80.2%, higher than the state's 75 percent. The literacy rate among males is 87.7%, whereas 71.7 percent among females. The sex ratio of the district was 867 females per thousand males in 2011, while in rural areas, that is 852 as compared to urban areas. The scheduled caste (SCs) constitutes 20.4 percent of the total population in the district. The total workforce participation rate in the district was 32.6 percent out of which the participation rate among males was 40% and 14.9% among females. Out of the total workers (main and marginal), cultivators are 27.67%, agricultural labour is 10.5% and the remaining are household industry workers and others (Govt of Haryana, 2011). This grand old city of Rohtak is known as the 'education hub' of Haryana as many national and state-reputed educational institutions such as Maharsi Dayananda University, IIM, National Institute for Hotel Management, Pandit Bhagwat Dayal Sharma Post Graduate Institute of Medical Sciences, State Institute of Film and Television, State Institute of Urban Planning and Architecture and many arts/science and engineer colleges are located here (Nandal, 2017).

The district's economy has transformed from an agrarian to a mixed economy. Although 84.99 percent of the geographical area of the district is under cultivation, but the participation of the main workforce in cultivation is significantly dropping. In the last two decades, it went down to 34.98 % in 2011 from 46.00 percent in 2001, but the participation of marginal workers in agriculture is still high. Out of the total net sown areas, 80% of the land was irrigated through canal and tube well. As it comes under the zone of seasonal rain shortfall and with no perennial river, Rohtak has a network of artificial canals to irrigate its arable lands because the underground water in the district is brackish; not fit for cultivation. Jawahar Lal Nehru Feeder and Bhalaut Sub Branch are the two main canals in the district. During 2011-12, the total net sown area was 133274 hectares out of 156809 hectares, the remaining 2674 hectares are cultivable wasteland and gochar, and 2382 hectares are uncultivable lands. Just like the state of Haryana, the farmers of Rohtak too engaged in '*Khudkashth*' (self-cultivation), sometimes land owners used to lease their land to small/marginal farmers³¹ on *theka* (contract) or *batai*

³¹ As per Agricultural Census, the land holdings are classified into five categories: a marginal farmer with less than 1 hectares (2.5 acres) of land, a small farmer with 1-2 hectares (up to 5 acres), semi-medium with 2-4 hectares, medium with 4-10 hectares and large holdings with more than 10 hectares.

(share-cropping). The major crops grown in the district in the Rabi season are wheat, vegetables, grams, rapeseeds, and mustard, whereas paddy, bajra, sugarcane, and cotton are major Kharif crops.

Figure 3-1 Map of Rohtak



Source: District census Handbook Rohtak-2011, Government of Haryana

Like the rest of the country, the size of per capita land holding in Haryana is sinking gradually and contributing to the growing number of small and marginal landholders. Out of the total 165,441 landholdings in the district as per the 2011 census, around 27.4 percent accounted for less than half a hectare of land, while 20 percent of the landholders had a land size of between a half hectare and one hectare. The composite land holding size of less than 1 hectare of land was 47.4 percent (see table no.3-1). While comparing the size of land holdings in Rohtak in 1995-96 and 2011-12, it is clearly marked that the number of marginal and small farmers is growing gradually. However, unlike the trends at the state and national level, the average size of land holding in the district has increased in the last two decades from 1.8 hectares in 1995 to 2.4 hectares in 2011. Almost half of the landholders have less than one hectare of land, which signifies that more people are depending upon a smaller land holding and sustaining livelihood with lower income per capita from agriculture (Kaul, 2016).

Further reducing the workforce in the farming sector, as mentioned above, also indicates the shifting of the main occupations of people when thousands of acres of arable land have been transformed into non-agricultural purposes. With the cultivators, the agricultural labourer, primarily the SCs, also started looking for non-agricultural activities as alternative means of livelihood (Jodhka S. S., 2014). In 2001, the percentage of agricultural labourers was 12.3 percent which declined to 10.6 percent in the 2011 census. The most interesting observation from the census report is the participation of females in the workforce. Although the census recorded only 14.9 percent of women participating in work (paid work), it is well known that Haryanvi women, irrespective of castes in rural areas, extensively engaged in agriculture and allied activities with their male counterparts. Mainly rearing livestock falls in the work avenue of women. And animal husbandry since ages is a major source of income and nutrition for this part of the country (Haryana Government, 2011).

Table 3-1 Land Holdings in Rohtak District

Sl. No.	Size of Land Holdings	Percentage
1	Less than 1 hectare	47.4%
2	1-2 Hectares	17.1%
3	2-5 hectares	17.5%
4	5-10 hectares	15.6%
5	10-20 Hectares	2.4%
	Average size of Land Holding	2.4 Hectares

Source: District Handbook Rohtak-2011

Over the last two decades, the district's economic structure has witnessed significant changes. Rohtak was incorporated as one of the priority towns in the National Capital Region Planning Board in 2001. Geographical proximity to the capital region and the shifting economic preference of the state from agriculture to industrialisation and urbanisation considerably impacted Rohtak. The service and Industrial sectors are growing significantly in the district. This district also witnessed the fastest growth in urbanisation within the state, only behind Faridabad, Gurgaon, Panchukla and Panipath³². The tertiary activities grew from 51.7% in 2001 to 54.7% in 2011; similarly, it had 358 registered factories in 2017-18. As per the 2010 estimation, there were 41 large and medium-scale industrial units in the district and half of them are situated in Industrial Model Township (IMT) Rohtak. The district has a high potential for industrial and urban development. IDC, Rohtak; Industrial Estate, Kutana and IMT Rohtak are some large industrial estates developed by the HSIIDC in the district for Industrial development. Therefore, these recent trends of urbanisation and industrialisation in the district and the state significantly contributed to the dispossession of rural communities.

3.2 The Dispossession

Dispossession of the peasantry in the state of Haryana picked up speed only after economic liberalisation. With the adoption of infrastructure-led economic development, the state gave its primer agencies, i.e., HUDA and HSIIDC, a free hand to accumulate thousands of acres of farmland for private developers and state agencies in the name of the public by imposing the LAA 1894. HUDA has already started developing housing plots and expanding the urban spaces in most of Haryana's cities, including Rohtak. With the success of IMT, Manesar; the state came up with more industrial estates to be developed at different strategic locations. Due to its proximity to NCR and directly connecting with it by NH-10 and railways, Rohtak is an ideal destination for such kinds of industrial development.

Until 2006 farmers of Kheri Sadh, a village on the outskirts of Rohtak city and on the verge of NH 10, which connect the city with the national capital, were unaware of the plan of the Government regarding an Industrial Model township to be set up in their farmland. However, before 2006, a few landowners of the village had already sold some land to Omaxe Ltd., a private real estate company for developing a township called Omaxe city on the right side of the village. Some also lost their land for the expansion of NH 10, but they were unsatisfied with the rate of compensation paid to them. Similarly, Bohar and Ghari Bohar, two neighboring villages affected by the IMT, sold a considerable portion of village land holdings to private and

³² Urban population of Rohtak as per the 2001 census was 35.06 percent and has grown to 42.04 percent in 2011

state agencies even before IMT landed in 2006. Notification regarding the acquisition of land in the villages of Kheri Sadh and Baliyana; was published in the state Gazette via notification no 216/10-I-IB-II-2006 dt. 09.06.2006 for a public purpose, namely to set up an Industrial Model Township, an integrated complex of industrial and residential spaces with all other support services. The notification came in the local Hindi newspaper on 19th June 2006 and subsequently, section 4 of the LAA 1894 was imposed immediately. Although few land owners were aware of the notification, most reported that they heard about the news later from other farmers. Section 6 under the LAA 1894 was imposed just six months after the first notification on 11-01-2007 to acquire 1037 kanal 16 marlas and 5934 kanal 15 marla land from village Kheri Sadh and Baliyana (after measurement land came down to 1015 kanal 10 marla and 5848 kanal 16 marla), respectively.

Few reported that they heard about the rate of dispossession i.e., around 16 lakhs, whereas the annuity and residential plots under the R&R policy 2007 formulated one year later on Dec. 2007. Many farmers also argued that the then Chief Minister (CM) Shri Bhupinder Singh Hooda while laying the foundation stone of the IMT, Rohtak, in February 2008, also promised employment to the dependent of oustees. The acquisition for the 1st phase was initiated in mid-summer 2007, and compensations were awarded in April-May the same year. Subsequently, the government acquired around 3600 acres of land from the villages of Kheri Sadh, Baliyana, Bohar, Ghari Bohar, Kharawar and Nonand in three phases, i.e., Phase-I in 2007, Phase-II in 2009 and Phase-III in 2011 covering both R&R policies 2007 and 2010 (see table no. 3-2). Most lands were acquired in the first two phases, i.e., around 80% under the 2007 policy.

Table 3-2 Phase and Village wise acquisition of land for IMT, Rohtak

Phase	Village	(A-K-M)	Award date
Phase –I	Kheri Sadh	126-7-16	5/ dt.30-4-2007
	Baliyana	731-0-16	6/ dt.15-5-2007
Phase-II	Baliyana	701-2-11	3/ dt.6-7—2009
	Bohar	343-2-8	4/ dt.13-7-2009
	Garhi Bohar	305-6-6	5/ dt. 17-8-2009
	Kheri Sadh	421-2-16	13/ dt.30-11-2009
	Kharawar	121-2-11	14/ dt.30-11-2009
Phase-III 928-3-12	Baliyana	295-3-18	20/ dt. 4-1-2013
	Kharawar	316-2-13	19/ dt. 4-1-2013
	Khedi Shad	310-5-10	18/ dt.3-1-2013
	Nonand	5-5-11	17/ dt.3-1-2013
Land has been acquired from these villages thereafter also, but the current study only considers these three phases.			

Source: HSIIDC site office, IMT Rohtak

After the death of Choudhry Ranbir Singh Hooda, freedom fighter, politician and father of former C.M. Shri Bhupinder Singh Hooda, on Feb. 2009 was cremated here at IMT complex, the township is named after him as Ch. Ranbir Singh Industrial Model Township, Rohtak. Accumulation of more than 3000 acres of farmlands for IMT was peaceful, or at least what the government claimed it was, but no substantial protest movement was taken place against the acquisition of land despite directly affecting the life and livelihood of around 35,000 people living in those villages and the majority of them are marginal/small farmers and landless Dalit. Although some urban dwellers, particularly those whose lands were adjoining to National Highway or close to Rohtak city and claimed to be high in demand (in crores), filed objections against acquisition after phase II, but their numbers were few. Most farmers didn't file any objection against the acquisition under section 5A, though many claimed they were unaware of such a section in the land acquisition act. However, over five years (2007-2011), the state accumulated around 4000 acres of farmland and successfully transformed into non-agricultural usage peacefully amid land wars in other parts of the country. Land acquisition has occurred through the LAA 1894, mostly a 'top-down' process. The law neither allowed wide deliberation with affected communities nor authority tried to build a consensus on matters related to the acquisition, compensation rates and R&R packages.

3.2.1 HSIIDC as the agent of Dispossession

Haryana State Industrial and Infrastructure Development Corporation Ltd. (HSIIDC) is a Haryana Government owned undertaking established in 1967 to develop industrial infrastructure in the state. It comes under the Department of Industries and Commerce of Haryana. Since its inception, it has been the prime body bestowed with the responsibility of industrial development and promotion in the state. After Haryana adopted an infrastructure-led industrial development approach in 1997 and mainly after the passing of the new Industrial Policy of Haryana in 2005, the Haryana State Industrial Development Corporation (HSIDC) converted into Haryana State Industrial and Infrastructure Development Corporation (HSIIDC). The responsibility lies not only in promoting and accelerating the pace of industrialisation in the state by offering financial services falls onto it but also in adding the infrastructure-building dimension to it (Financial Express, 2005). Thereafter, the HSIIDC has become the sole nodal agency for developing all industrial infrastructure which, per the above policy, includes industrial estates, new economic hubs, SEZs, industrial model townships, petrochemical hubs, theme parks and free enterprise zones. It also has acquired agricultural land on behalf of private developers, and mainly SEZs are being developed by private entities in Haryana.

HSI IDC is developing industrial estates in more than 27000 acres of land throughout Haryana. It has already developed estates sized around 16000 acres; the remaining are under the developing stage, with 511 acres at the raw land stage. Till 30.06.2019, out of its 16971 industrial plots carved out of these industrial estates, allotments were completed for 14684 plots (86.52%) (HSI IDC, 2019). Only within five years (2005-2010), HSI IDC acquired 19,868 acres of land and paid Rs. 4780.38 crores as compensation under R&R policy 2007 and 2010 (The Indian Express, 2011). The mounting value of enhanced compensation to be paid to the land owners declared by the Court and reducing prices of industrial plots due to poor response to allotment caused once a cash surplus undertaking of the Government is now facing financial trouble due to high public borrowing (Hindustan Times, 2017). But despite its financial turbulence, HSI IDC remains the prime agency that transformed an agrarian society into an industrial one through the dispossession of thousands of peasants.

3.2.2 The project- IMT, Rohtak

Industrial Model Townships (IMT) are modern international standard industrial townships with all kinds of facilities like uninterrupted power and water supply, wide roads for transportation, sewage, waste disposal and management facilities, etc. As per HSI IDC, an industrial estate developed over 1500 acres of land at a particular location would be defined as an 'Industrial Model Township' (HSI IDC, n.d.). IMT used to have space for big industries, ICT parks, industrial plots, residential areas, commercial and institutional areas, health facilities, educational institutions, amusement parks, etc. (Industrial policy of Haryana 2005). The state of Haryana adopted IMT as an infrastructure-building project to attract investors and private companies to set up manufacturing and export units in Haryana. The Industrial Policy of Haryana 1997 shifted its focus to infrastructure-led industrial development instead of relying on generous tax benefits to attract investment. This changed approach transformed the whole economy in the subsequent years. The first IMT in Haryana was developed at Manesar, a small township of Gurgaon, 32 km from Delhi, as a pilot project in 1996. Started with the acquisition of 1746 acres of land back in 1997-99 for phase I; IMT Manesar expanded into four phases with a Transport Hub and warehousing over more than ten years. Spread across 4000 acres of land now, IMT Manesar is an integrated complex of industrial and residential sites with 2186 plots (94.73 % plots already allotted). Maruti Suzuki ltd., Hero Motors Ltd., Honda Motorcycle & Scooter India Ltd., Munjal Jiri Ind. Pvt. Ltd., etc., are some of the giant firms in operational out of a total of 1316 units of production (HSI IDC, n.d.).

With the success of IMT Manesar, HSIIDC developed more Industrial townships at various strategic locations of Haryana in the same model. IMT were developed at Bawal, Faridabad, Sohna, Kharkhoda and Rohtak. IMT Rohtak was developed in three phases that started in 2007. It spread across around 3700 acres of land on the verge of NH-10 near the village Kheri Sadh in the mouth of Rohtak city. Land acquisition of 859 acres from Kheri Sadh and Baliyana for phase I was completed in 2007, and subsequently, 1893.19 acres and 928.46 acres were acquired in 2009 and 2011 for Phase II & III, respectively. Land for phases I and II are already developed and phase III is in the developing stage. When fully developed, the IMT would be an integrated township with demarcated sites for industries, institutions, residential and other amazement facilities. It has all kinds of facilities and support systems, such as wide internal road networks, drainage, sewerage channel, undisrupted water and electricity supply, green belt, waste disposal processing plant, etc., necessary for industrial development. A separate junk of land has already been acquired for installing the power station and Common Effluent Treatment Plant (CETP) as an extension to IMT. Separate areas are demarcated for each facility in the township as per table no.3-3 and annexure 2 (indicating map of IMT).

Table 3-3 IMT Rohtak Project Component

Sl. No.	Description	Area in acres				
		Phase-I	Phase-II		Phase-III	Phase (I,II,III)
		EC Accorded areas	EC applied area	Amendment in EC applied area	Expansion area	
1	Total area under acquisition	859	1893.19		923.82	3627.01
2	Area to be planned later	-----	61.09	59.16	124.77	183.93
3	Net planned area	859	1,832.10	1,834.03	799.05	3,492.08
4	Area under roads, green belt, drains, labour chowk and open spaces	276.45	633.82	634.26	325.67	1,236.38
5	Area reserved for industrial plots, biotechnology units	434.07	834.36	836.19	364.14	1,634.40
6	Area under schools	5.49	5	5	-----	10.49
7	Area under institutional and commercial use	73.40	249.83	249.49	22.65	345.54
8	Area under R&R residential plots	53.14	45.68	45.68	84.80	183.62
9	Area reserved for godowns	-----	22.68	22.68	-----	22.68
10	Area under informal sector and dhaba sites	-----	1.06	1.06	-----	1.06

11	Area under community center	3.86	3.14	3.14	-----	7.00
12	Area under fire station	-----	2.40	2.40	-----	2.40
13	Area under police station	-----	1.43	1.43	-----	1.43
14	Area reserved for electric sub station	1.14	19.93	19.93	----	21.07
15	Area reserved for dispensary/hospital	1.08	4.98	4.98	----	6.06
16	Area reserved for religious site	1.45	0.28	0.28	----	1.73
17	Area reserved for multilevel parking and utilities etc.	8.92	7.51	7.51	1.79	18.22

Source: EAI report of IMT, Rohtak Phase-III via no.21-138/2015-IA.III, Ministry of Environment, Forest & Climate Change, Govt. of India.

Till 2015 a total of 511 plots were curved and allotted. Industrial sites were allotted to General Manufacturing industries, Automobile, Mechanical, R&D and Auxiliary industries. Major allottees in IMT are Asian Paints ltd., Maruti Suzuki, Aisin Automotive Haryana Pvt. Ltd., Sabarkantha District co-operative milk Producers ltd. and Nippon Carbide India Pvt. Ltd., etc. The rate of allotment of industrial plots till 2019 was Rs. 7362/sq. mts. (land purchased at Rs. 593-1334/sq. mts.).

3.2.3 Feasibility and objectives of development envisaged by the state

In the pre-feasibility reports and Final Environment Impact Assessment Reports of various phases of the IMT, Rohtak, HSIIDC categorically identified the needs, objectives and significance of the Industrial Model Township at Rohtak. The main objectives for establishing the industrial estate in Rohtak were “to encourage and support the creation, expansion and modernization of Small Scale Industries (SSI) through the provision of factory accommodation, common service facilities and assistance and servicing through all stages of establishment and operations as well as developing sub-contracting relationship within the small scale and large scale industries and specialized manufacturing activities” (HSIIDC, n.d., p. 19). The main purposes were to encourage and promote industrialisation in Rohtak, which is so well connected with the NCR and other parts via roadways and railways and is located near to international Airport. Historically Rohtak was an agricultural district with a marginal presence of industries. In 2005 there were only 269 registered factories operational in the district, which was comparatively lesser than other adjoining districts like Gurgaon, Jhajjar, Sonipat etc. (Govt.of Haryana, 2008, p. 372). The number grew to 299 in 2011-12 (Govt. of

Haryana, 2013, p. 393) and 358 in 017-18 (Govt. of Haryana, 2019, p. 413). Majorities of large and medium size industries operational in the district are located within the IMT premises. Another major objective was to restrict industrial activities in a confined area by providing all support services. As happened in Manesar and other places, integrated industrial estates are effective tools to stimulate economic growth that attract private capital for industrial development in Haryana.

Significance of the project to economic growth noted in the reports are as follows: speed up industrialisation in the region as well as in the country, attract more investment in the form of FDI and also from domestic private firms, promotion of small and medium scale industries which will create more employment opportunities for local people, particularly of rural areas. It will develop the efficiency of labourers through proper training and encourage better resource allocation via industrial development. It also plays important roles:

- a) To achieve economies in the provisions of urban services and utilities
- b) To increase the economic, productive and employment base of regional communities
- c) To promote decentralization by preventing or checking excessive concentration in or growth of single urban areas, especially large metropolitan areas
- d) To minimize distance to work and to reduce load on the transport system
- e) To maximize efficient land usage and reduce the cost of land and land development.

(HSI IDC, n.d., pp. 19-20; HSI IDC, n.d., pp. 6-7)

It also serves the local community to:

- **Reduce pressure over natural resources of the cities and control pollution:**

Industrial estates generally used to have their own water supply, distribution, and generation facilities. The IMT acquired land for a water treatment plant also. It has facilities for its own power supply, waste disposal and management facilities too. A separate junk of land was demarcated for a green belt within the township area. Sewage treatment and pre-treatment plants will be created (land has already been acquired for that purpose) to treat and dispose of industrial wastewater, lubricants, oil and other solid and liquid industrial waste. Therefore, the project developers expect that the development of these facilities within the premises of IMT would decrease the heavy burden on the city. Integrating industrial activities into an integrated industrial estate will reduce groundwater pollution, noise and air pollution. Farmers can also use treated wastewater for agricultural purposes.

- **Infrastructure Development**

The Industrial model township project will give way for the social, physical and community infrastructure developments. It will develop roads, parks, playgrounds, parking areas, bus shelters, power stations, etc. A separate piece of land is kept reserved for the development of schools, medical institutions, police stations, fire stations, community centres, etc. (see table no.3-3). IMT will have industrial, commercial and institutional sites, areas for hotels, eateries and other facilities to fulfil the demands of the Industrial Township. To meet the daily recreational needs of the township, shopping centres and other amusement facilities will also be developed later. HSIIDC also assure that under Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and the R&R policies, a separate fund will be kept for community infrastructure development in the affected villages in the form of sewage channel, road, street lights, playgrounds, park, etc. This will positively impact the local and state economy and generate more employment opportunities for the residents.

- **Impact on Health Facilities**

There are no institutional health facilities in affecting villages surrounding the IMT. One or two villages have primary health care centres and Allopathic and Homeopathic dispensaries. To afford better health care facilities and in times of emergencies, the villagers are approaching nearby Rohtak city. Therefore, by recognising the dire need for affordable and effective healthcare facilities in the neighbourhood, the project authority, with the increasing population in the township, will set up a Health care centre. Around six acres of land is reserved for the purpose (HSIIDC, n.d., p. 117).

- **Awareness and involvement of locals in the Project**

HSIIDC argued in the reports submitted for clearance that the local people are well aware of the project. A survey on people's perception of the IMT project reveals that around 80% of the people interviewed welcomed it and the remaining refused to comment. They believe establishing the model township will speed up urbanisation and boost the local economy by generating employment opportunities for them. HSIIDC claims that around 3600 acres of land were acquired from six villages' landowners without any agitation and protest. They called it '**consent acquisition**'. HSIIDC office situated in the site is working deliberately to ensure that the benefits of the R&R packages should be available to the oustees transparently and efficiently and with the participation of all.

- **Mitigation Measures during the transitional phase:**

As found in other industrial and mega infrastructure development projects, during the transitional phase, the neighbourhood and environment suffer the most in the construction phase. As no blasting and large-scale digging has taken place in the IMT, no such kind of disturbance has been created for the locals. Suitable and hygienic measures were taken for the temporary accommodation of the labourer. Adequate measures were taken to preserve the land's topsoil and use in landscaping (HSI IDC, n.d., p. 118).

- **Solid Waste Management:**

Another major concern for the locals in Industrial Township is the management of solid waste discarded from the factories. The HSI IDC acquired an additional 165 acres of land at Bohar Village to establish a Water Treatment Plant (WTP). Sewage and proper drainage channel will be made and wastewater will be channelized to the plant for treatment and recycling. Similarly, land was acquired for the establishment of a 10 MLD capacity Common Effluent Treatment Plant (CETP) in Nonand village for “effluent transportation, treatment and operation activities, material consumption, hazardous waste generation and mitigation measures to reduce the pollution and to delineate an Environmental Management Plan” (HSI IDC, 2015-16, p. 2).

- **Creating Employment Opportunities:**

Industrial development tends to play an important role in improving economic conditions and has greater potential for employment generation. The state envisaged transforming Rohtak as an Industrial hub in Haryana and anticipated that the establishment of IMT in the locality would increase the rate of employment creation up to 30 percent of what was present then. According to the Impact Assessment and Pre-Feasibility Reports of the project, once operational, the township will create around 30,000 direct jobs, most of which will go to the local people. Apart from direct employment, many a thousand employment will come up due to the establishment of an Industrial estate and directly contribute to the growth of the socio-economic condition of the local habitants. As the model township has been constructed phase-wise, large-scale semi-skilled, skilled and manual workers will be hired during the construction period. It will provide various business opportunities for entrepreneurs to set up different industries. The project will help infrastructure development in the villages and other economically weaker sections. A need-based survey will be conducted, and people under this category will be assisted as per the requirement (HSI IDC, n.d., p. 153).

During the public hearing for the Environmental Clearance of IMT phase II under the chairmanship of the Additional Deputy Commissioner (ADC) in 2013; the committee cited many benefits of setting up Phase II of IMT. These include increasing industrialization in the state, improving the social and economic conditions of the populace, increasing revenue collection, giving many people both direct and indirect business opportunities, developing general infrastructure near the project, planting trees, taking adequate measures to manage waste, investing in village development, offering skill development programmes and training under both R&R policies and CSR, and creating jobs. When many of the affected land owners raised questions regarding employment opportunities for the affected communities, the authority assured them that preference would be provided to the domicile of Haryana in the employment created in the project and asked oustees to send bio-data of eligible candidates to the HSIIDC office in that regard (Govt. of Haryana, 2013).

These are some objectives and significance of IMT as noted by the HSIIDC for acquiring around 4000 acres of farm land from six villages. This is the ‘development’ envisioned by the state while promoting a mega infrastructure development project. The public purpose that stood over the destruction of thousands of livelihoods and uprooted farmers needs to be interrogated from the state-centric and people-centric development approaches. The following chapters and sections will deal with that.

3.3 Profiles of the Villages:

Six villages are affected by the establishment of IMT, Rohtak directly. Lands were acquired from the following villages of Sampla and Rohtak Tehsils, i.e., Garhi Bohar, Baliyana, Kheri Sadh, Bohar, Kharawar and Nunond (partially affected).

3.3.1 Kheri Sadh:

Located on the edge of NH 10 connecting Delhi with Rohtak city, Kheri Sadh is at the entrance of Rohtak Municipal Corporation. It comes under the Sampla Tehsil. The total population of the village was 5200 residing in 1056 families. There were 53.13 percent males and 46.86 percent females. The average sex ratio of the village was 882 (higher than the state average of 879). The literacy rate of the village was 79.28% (males 88.69% and females 68.88%). It’s a multi-caste village with a substantial presence of all caste categories such as Brahmin, trading castes, artisan communities, agriculturist castes (Jats and Saini) and Scheduled caste. Jat is the dominant caste (Sindu and Gehlawat) in the village numerically and economically as a majority

of land belongs to them. However, Dalit constitute one-fourth of the village (26.27%) but are landless and lived through labour.

3.3.2 Baliyana

Baliyana is another major panchayat of Sampla Tehsil located at 28.8794845 latitudes and 76.6889136 longitudes around 5 K.M. from Rohtak city. Around 1532 families resided in the village. The total population of the village was 7697, divided into 4151 males and 3546 females. The average sex ratio of the village (854) as per the 2011 census was significantly lower than the state average. The literacy rate of the village was 79.92 percent compared to the state average of 75.55%. Most of the village belongs to the farming class, mainly Jats, whereas Dalit too has a substantial presence (21.51%) along with other caste categories. Around 2367 participated in the workforce (main & marginal), while 827 owned agricultural land and cultivate by themselves. The number of agricultural labourer in the village was less (71).

3.3.3 Bohar

Located on the outskirts of Rohtak city (3 KM) and on the verge of the Rohtak-Sonapat state Highway, Bohar is one of the large villages of Rohtak Tahsil. With a population of 11267, with 6031 males and 5236 females residing in a total of 2184 families (Census 2011). The literacy rate of the village was 72.32 percent in 2011; male literacy rate was 85.46 percent and female was 68.09%. Bohar is a predominantly Jat community village though all other castes found in Haryana, such as Brahmins, Khatis, Kumbhar, Saini, Lohar, Baniya, etc., reside in the village. Apart from Jats, the SC community, divided into Chamar, Balmiki, Doom, Dhanak, etc., has a substantial presence (26.60 percent). Agriculture was the prime occupation of the villagers until a significant amount of land was converted for non-agriculture purposes. The HUDA acquired around 702.46 acres of land to develop residential sectors and private developers directly purchased some 1035.619 acres for property development (Nandal, 2017). Like other parts of Haryana, Jats owned most of the land, whereas Dalit were landless. As per the 2011 census, around 790 were cultivators and 233 were agriculture labourers, mainly from the SC community.

3.3.4 Ghari Bohar

Ghari Bohar is one of a subsidiary village of Bohar, located just 2 KM from NH 10. The total population of the village was 2894, residing in 560 families. The male population was 1548 and the females were 1346 as per the 2011 census. Although the literacy rate of the village

(77.27%) was higher than the state average, it has a lower sex ratio of 870. Just the Bohar village majority of the families are Jats but has a majority Dalit population (38.80%) compared to other villages under study. One hundred fifty-seven cultivators own or co-owned agriculture lands and 17 agriculture labourers in 2011. It signifies the changing preference of the Dalit community from agricultural labour to non-agricultural work.

3.3.5 Kehrawar

Kehrawar is another village of Sampla Tehsil affected by the land acquisition but partially. The villagers, mainly Jats still own most agricultural land. With a population of 7415 divided into 4009 males and 3406 females residing in 1447 families, Kehrawar is one of the major Panchayat of Sampla. In terms of literacy rate, it also has a higher average (82.23%) than the state. Male literacy was as high as 90.67 percent and females were 72.54 percent. One-fifth of the village population is Dalit. Workforce participation was 2095 both main and marginal at 84.94% and 15.08%, respectively. There were 577 cultivators and 54 agricultural labourers.

3.3.6 Nunond

Another small Village of Sampla tehsil with 626 families, Nunond, also lost a marginal amount of land to IMT, Rohtak and its extension in the form of a Common Effluent Treatment Plant. With 15.87 percent of the Dalit population, most villagers belong to upper castes. The literacy rate of the village was 79.74% and the sex ratio was 866. Out of 853 who participated in the main work, 295 were farmers and 5 were agricultural labourers. As less land is acquired, the majority still perform cultivation as a primary occupation. However, due to the boundary wall construction of the IMT, over the small canals that supply water, other farmers are facing some issues regarding irrigation.

As a part of 'Jatland', most habitants of these affected villages are Jats. This 'dominant caste' of Haryana controls these villages' socio-cultural, economic and political life too. Politically mobilised since the time of Ch. Chottu Ram's Unionist party, Rohtak is the heart of Jats and the politics surrounding them. Situated in the peri-urban space of Rohtak city, most of these villages had already lost a substantial amount of their land before IMT came in 2007. Half of the village land of Kheri Sadh was acquired for the four-Line extension of NH-10 and purchased by private property developers. Similarly, Bohar and Ghari Bohar lost most of their land to both government and private sectors. The majority of HUDA sectors, Maharshi Dayanand University, Tilak Nagar, Bharat Colony, Tau Nagar and Sun City, etc., are located in the demarcated boundaries of Bohar and Ghari Bohar. Therefore, these villages had already

experienced the heat of the growing urbanisation of Haryana and were well aware of the growing value of their land in a booming real estate economy. The political setup of these villages is Panchayat with Sarapanch at its head. In 2010 Bohar, Ghari Bohar, Baliyana and Kheri Sadh, along with five other adjoining villages, were merged in the Rohtak Municipality to form Rohtak Municipal Corporation.

3.4 The process of Dispossession

It is important to understand the politics of land dispossession in Haryana before 2005 to understand what happened afterward. Before Bhupinder Singh Hooda took over the ship of development (as CM), urbanisation and industrialisation of the state was mostly centred around Gurgaon, Faridabad and Panchkula regions. The Land Acquisition Act 1894 was used to acquire land for public use, though relatively less than under the subsequent regime. Compensation was paid at a market rate based on the average price of land recorded on sale deeds; both were usually lower than the real value. But when the Congress Government took over in 2005, it revolutionised the whole process by taking certain major policy initiatives. First, it made necessary changes at both policy and structure levels to enable a business-friendly environment to attract more private capital inflow. The government started acquiring thousands of acres of land for industrial and urban growth through its two major parastatal agencies, i.e., HSIIDC and HUDA, and started developing land by itself (some through private developers) to facilitate private capital. Secondly, the state enhanced the value of land payable to the land owners in case of acquisition by fixing minimum floor rates for the entire state, which were comparatively higher than the market value of the land at that time (seen in the previous chapter). For instance, in Kheri Sadh, before IMT landed, the price of *Nehri* land per acre was Rs. 3 lakhs and *banjar*, *barani* and *gair mumkin*³³ were Rs. 1 to 2 lakh per acre depending upon the fertility and location of the land. If the land is near the highway, city, village, or any strategic location, it acquires higher values for the site. But after the fixation of minimum floor rates in 2006 (amended in 2007), the basic rate was fixed @ Rs.16 lakhs per acre, excluding the additional amount payable on solatium @ 30% and interest amount under Section 23(1A) under the land acquisition act. In sum, the compensation paid to the land owners for IMT Phase-I was Rs. 22 lacks (approximate) per acre. It is eight times higher than what was prevailing at that time for all types of land regardless of fertility and location. Therefore, no farmer could certainly resist such an attractive deal and agree to sell at least a piece of land holdings and keep remaining for the future.

³³ *Nehri* means land irrigated through canal, *banjar* are fallow land whereas *barani* and *gair mumkin* are raidfed and uncultivable waste land respectively.

However, the enhanced price of land was one of the major factors but not the only factor for such a non-refusal. When HSIIDC notification was published in 2006 to acquire 859 acres of land from Baliyana and Kheri Sadh, agriculture was not profitable in the region. A significant portion of land in these villages were barren and one-crop (see table no.3-4)³⁴. Some were irrigated through tube wells and sometimes through canals, but lots of labour was required to bring water as Baliyana is situated at the tail end of the canal system and there is always a fear that farmers in the upper side (Khedi Shad/Bohar) may divert the flow into their farm. The groundwater is not suitable for cultivation; therefore, irrigation through a tube well was not beneficial and the government deliberately neglected canal irrigation for all these years. Around half of the land acquired for phase I, as per the land revenue record, was rainfed one-crop land. Many land owners also pointed out the issue of labour scarcity in Haryana. Generally, the daily wage rates in Haryana is higher than in other neighbouring states and for decades, migrated labourer from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh used to work in the fields of Haryana, but in recent decades the inflow of labour reduced considerably and farmers are blaming social security policies like free subsidy grain available to poor through PDS system and MGNREGA. Like all over India, agriculture sectors lack state encouragement as it used to get before and farming entered into a zone of stagnation; many farmers are trying to move out due to high input costs and less profit (Shiva, Jani, & Fontana, 2011). Therefore, in this background, a price of Rs. 16 lakhs/acre deal for Rs. 2 lakhs rain-fed land did not seem to be a deal to refuse for the landowners of Baliyana and Kheri Sadh. A separate amount was paid for trees, tube-well, and other structures in the acquired land. The number of persons displaced (who had to leave their home) due to land acquisition in IMT Rohtak was nil³⁵.

Table 3-4 Types of Land Acquired in Phase I

Sl.no	Class of land	Baliyana	Kheri Sadh
		Size of land (K - M)	Size of land (K - M)
1	<i>Nahari</i> (land irrigated through Canal)	2746 -18	765
2	<i>Chahi</i> (land irrigated through Tube-well)	665 - 08	25 -18
3	<i>Barani</i> (rainfed)	2038 -11	186 -09
4	<i>Banjar Qadim</i> (fallow land)	180 - 18	19 - 06
5	<i>Gair Mumkin</i> (uncultivable waste land)	217 - 01	18 -17
	Total	5848 - 16 (731.01 acre)	1015 -10 (126 acre)

Source: Award letter no 5 & 6 of IMT phase-I³⁶

³⁴ As per government record and agreed by many of villagers

³⁵ As per letter no. HSIIDC/IMT/RTK/11/1716 dated 21/02/2011

³⁶ Except Phase II, land acquired in phase I and III were divided into different types as mentioned.

Unlike the land market in Gurgaon, which acquired skyrocketing prices due to excessive capital pressure and the growing real estate business, the land market in Rohtak was less competitive and at the developing stage. Rohtak, until 2007-08 was a primarily agricultural belt, with the majority still indulging in farming activities. Indeed, some educated farmers articulated the changing trend of Haryana's economy from agriculture to real estate. They were the first to sell their land and the most beneficial section. But landowners of affected villages envisioned something else. When the land was sold out to HSIIDC for Rs. 22 lakhs; the price of agricultural land in the adjoining districts and other states was available at cheaper rates. Landowners purchased multiple acres of land in neighbouring districts and the state of Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh (discussed in the next chapter) depending upon the size of land holding they lost. They have calculated the potential benefit of investing the compensation money in purchasing farmland at cheaper rates wherever available and in property development too. Many farmers multiplied their land holding size into six seven times bigger than their original holdings (see next chapter). The prospect of purchasing additional land was a major factor in pacifying farmers' anger against forced land acquisition.

When land was acquired for the first phase in 2007 and compensation was awarded in April-May 2007, the R&R policy 2007 was yet to be formalised. Subsequent declaration of R&R packages in the form of royalty and residential plots were also strong factors for making a conducive public opinion about the land acquisition, which materialised in phase II notified on 13-02-2008 for the acquisition of 1856 acres of farmland. This time land was acquired from Ghari Bohar, Bohar and Kharawar, along with Baliyana and Kheri Sadh. Selling land in exchange for handsome compensation along with 33 years long royalty @ Rs.15000/year per acre and a plot in the developed project area as a token of future economic security for the next generation was a good return felt by many. Some landowners argued that the C.M. of Haryana made promises to employ affected families in the companies located in IMT while laying the foundation stone in 2008.

These were some factors to convince many landowners to give away their land to the HSIIDC but not all. Particularly small & marginal farmers were reluctant to the deal, and they were the majority. A piece of land less than 10-15 kanal not able to attach a good amount of compensation, though able to sustain the livelihood of a family. But they were helpless in many ways. First, despite the personal willingness of many to sell their land, it is still a land acquisition notified under the LAA 1894, and the state, as per the act, has the power of 'eminent domain' to take away private land for public purposes by paying an arbitrarily decided compensation rate. Any objection or opposition except on the amount of compensation paid

would be considered an unlawful activity and stood against the state itself³⁷. The landowners, who were divided on willingness to sell or not, could not go against the might of state power. Secondly, after awarding of R&R benefits, cheques of compensation amount were issued in the name of landowners, while in case of any disputes over land acquisition, compensation amount was kept in the revenue deposit till the party settled. When many accepted their share of compensation, it was difficult for small farmers to go against it, and they had no other option but to withdraw their own share of compensation. As found in other cases, the policy did not purchase the 'consent' of all but softened the opposition and transformed collective action against dispossession into individual relation to the state (Levien M. , 2018).

The majority of the land for the IMT Rohtak was acquired in the 2nd phase, notified in 2008 and awarded in 2009. This time the basic rate of all types of land, despite location and fertility for villages of Kheri Sadh, Baliyana and Kharawar, remained the same as @ RS. 16 Lakh per acre, while for Ghari Bohar and Bohar was Rs. 20 lakh per acre due to their proximity to the national highway and Rohtak city. Many landowners of Baliyana and Kheri Sadh were dissatisfied over this asymmetrical valuation of land and no change in compensation amount in phase II. The land acquisition officers decided the rates arbitrarily without active participation of different stakeholders, mainly landowners. Although because of delayed payment, they got an additional interest amount under sec. 23(1A) of the LAA 1894, they received Rs. 24 lakh/acres (approximate) at the basic rate of Rs. 16 lakh per acre. But still, many farmers reported dissatisfaction over the rate of compensation.

The increasing value of land outside IMT and the reality of no development and socioeconomic improvements anticipated by the residents were the main reasons for unhappiness that persisted over phase III and until this day (discussed in the subsequent chapters). Land as a speculative capital is hard to satisfy the owners and moreover, in a state like Haryana, land prices grow 10-20 times within a short span of time. Due to the presence of IMT, demands for the land in adjoining areas are in high demand in the private market now and high competition among private developers made it into crores. The increasing value of farm land in the adjoining districts also deprived the affected landowners of Phase II & III of owning the same amount of agricultural land as purchased by land owners affected by Phase I, even with enhanced compensation prices³⁸. A farmer of Baliyana reported that the land owners who purchased multiple acres of land in 2007-08 in exchange for one acre sold in Rohtak at Rs. 22 lakhs per

³⁷ Majority are reporting now that land was acquired forcefully by the government against their will.

³⁸ Due to amendment of R&R policy in 2010, the total compensation paid to the land owners in Phase III was approximately Rs. 54 lakhs per acre.

acre could not be able to purchase even a half-acre of land with Rs. 54 lakhs/acre paid during Phase III. While those land left out of acquisition are now selling at Rs. 3-4 crores per acre. This created a sense of relative deprivation among the landowners whose land was acquired in phases II and III. Most of them reported their disappointment over the compensation rates awarded in exchange for their land. Punam (2015) reported that the differential price paid to the farmers for the same place at the same times by government and private developers is one of the main reasons for growing stress and dissatisfaction among peasants against the state-led land acquisition process (p.113). Many farmers argued in favour of a market-led land transaction where private developers will come directly to the land owners and purchase land as per the agreement of both sides; the buyers and sellers. There should not be legal pressure from the state for acquisition. But some case studies found in rural India also depicted negative impacts of market-driven land transactions as farmers felt cheated after the price of their land grew higher and market-led transactions are based on norms of a free competitive market is also a matter of debate (Vijayabaskar & Menon, 2018).

Table 3-5 Reasons for selling land

Sl. No	Reasons	1st pref	2nd pref	3rd pref	4th pref	5th pref	6th pref	7th pref	8th pref	Total points	Rank
1	Forcefully acquired	233	28	5	1	0	0	0	3	2098	1
2	Less income from Agriculture	10	25	75	66	23	5	1	4	1148	3
3	Land was not suitable for agriculture	4	16	70	93	24	3	0	5	1139	4
4	Good Compensation in return	30	129	29	10	5	10	0	1	1418	2
5	Next generation not interested in agriculture	0	3	14	13	37	44	35	53	573	7
6	Labour were not available	0	1	10	12	47	51	51	32	602	5
7	Repayment of loan	0	6	9	9	42	38	58	37	576	6
8	Irrigation issues	1	8	3	3	24	49	49	64	502	8
Total	Frequencies	278	216	215	207	202	200	194	199		

Source: Compiled from field data

An attempt has been made to understand the factors influencing the landowners' decision to sell their lands. From the responses collected through a pilot study in 2018, we divided the reasons for selling land into eight categories, as indicated in Table 3-5 and asked the landowners to choose preference-wise. As no single factor influences the decision regarding the sale of land and many major and intervening variable works, we assign points to each factor based on preference (1 preference = 8 points, 2nd preference = 7 points . . .) and multiply it by total count a factor accumulated in a given preference. After summing up the total points of factors gathered in different preference levels, a rank chart has been made to understand which factors played a crucial role in land acquisition and farmers' decisions. As per the result based on the model discussed, the law's coercive nature was the predominant factor for giving away land. Around 86 percent of respondents reported that the state forcefully acquired land without much deliberation or participation. However, it is quite interesting that despite huge discontent over the land acquisition among Jats farmers, unlike farmers of Gurgaon, Jhajjar and Sonapat, it could not transform into any strong mobilisation or movement against the acquisition, except a very short-lived *dharana*. Here other factors also played determining roles. The second most important reason for sealing of land, as reported, was the rates of compensation paid and R&R benefits received in exchange for land. Remarkably other factors such as land not suitable for cultivation, less income from land and labour scarcity stood after it at 3rd, 4th and 5th rank respectively. Despite reported by many scholars (Jodhka S. S., 2014; Jaffrelot & Kalaiyarasan A, 2019) that the apathy of youth towards agriculture is a major factor in rural transformation, it is one of the last causes for selling out farming land, except the irrigation issues. The interplay of various factors determining the peaceful acquisition of land in Rohtak has been discussed in detail below.

Surprisingly, despite discontent over forceful acquisition and low payment, it could not transform into strong protest movements or opposition to land acquisition in the initial years (2008-2011). At the same time, different parts of India and neighbouring districts of Gurgaon and Jhajjar experienced intense protests against land acquisition. It was when memories of Singur and Nandigram violence were still fresh in the nation's mind. Further, Haryana is known for farmer mobilisation and powerful political lobbies that mold state action in favour of the farming community. The locational advantage of being near the national capital and wide civil society and media coverage won't leave any injustice unnoticed. However, no organised movement took place against IMT Rohtak despite grave dissatisfaction. Multiple factors overlapped and interwoven into complex and layered reality are responsible for such an apolitical response.

Many reported that when IMT first arrived in 2007, they found the compensation very attractive and were unaware of the prospect of the land market in Haryana. Gradually they started getting information about compensation rates paid in Gurgaon and Faridabad. Purchasing land outside is also no longer a cheap deal anymore. And when they became aware, they had already lost half of their land holdings. They were well aware of the protest movements going on around Gurgaon and Faridabad against land acquisition also but found themselves in a different reality. Unlike Gurgaon and Faridabad, Rohtak's industrialisation and rapid urban growth started only after the 2000s. Further, land markets in Rohtak were in the developing stage compared to Gurgaon's already developed land markets. The land price was also comparatively lower in and around Rohtak due to a lack of competition among private capital. Unlike farmers of Gurgaon, who united against any form of forceful land acquisition with less than market rates and awareness about land values in the private market, land market and farmers' mobilisation in Rohtak was at the developing stage. Moreover, for the first time, they got a very good price for their land with other additional benefits (1st phase). In many cases, it was found that farmers (mainly big and medium) were willing to sell a piece of land to gain significantly from a sudden spurt in the price of their remaining land in the booming real estate market (Mathur, 2006).

So, they don't want to lose the opportunity. But the compensation price of phase II remained constant for two years after Phase I, which disappointed them. But, still, they failed to come into a united forum to agitate against the acquisition. Generally, the market value of land is evaluated based on its location, fertility and purpose, but the decision of the Government of Haryana to pay the same basic compensation rates for all types of land irrespective of market values, location and fertility divided the farmers into various factions and groups. Land owners with higher-valued land could not convince others whose land was of lesser value due to infertility or locational disadvantages. Land situated near to HUDA sectors of Rohtak city and adjoin to highways, i.e., villages of Ghari Bohar and Bohar are definitely of higher value than the interior ones of Baliyana and Nonand. Subsequently, a higher basic rate was fixed for these two villages @ Rs. 20 lakhs per acre as compared to Rs. 16 lakhs for other villages normalising the anger of highly valued land owners. Landowners were divided into two other major groups; those who wanted to sell and those who won't. Landowners with barren and rain-fed land agreed to sell them at the same price, while landowners of good land were unsatisfied and opposed. Therefore, the internal division among landowners produced a fractured perception of land acquisition and barred them from uniting.

The second major factor was the constant changes at the policy level by extending the horizon of benefits to be payable to land owners made it a more convincing approach to acquire

thousands of acres of land without much opposition. When land was acquired for phase I in April-May 2007; the minimum floor rate fixed on the same month was the prime mover for acquiring land in the villages of Kheri Sadh and Baliyana. While after six months, the benefits of the annuity scheme and a residential plot were extended to them with the adaptation of the R&R policy 2007 in December same year. Many of the landowners found it a magnificent deal as it would pay compensation @ Rs. 22 lakhs per acre for Rs. 1-3 lakhs priced land and in addition, they will be eligible to get Rs. 15000/- per acre/year up to 33 years with an annual increment of Rs. 500/-. The provision of residential plots in the developed land at a discount price (prices were not decided at that time), in addition to royalty, was a convincing deal for the politically powerful big Jats farmers. While few were moved with the employment provision promised by the C.M. in February 2008, section 4 for Phase II was imposed in the very month. Many small farmers noted that they were unaware of the benefits available in exchange for their land but heard some rumours about these provisions. These policies were flexible to absorb any opposition from the landowners. The state constantly enhanced the floor rates payable to the land owners by keeping in mind the rising market value of the land at different locations and growing agitation against land acquisition. With a span of five years (2005-2010), Haryana state enhanced floor rates of land three times. And when the notification for the acquisition of around 964 acres of land for IMT phase III was published in the daily Hindi newspaper 'Dainik Tribune' on 15-01-2010³⁹, it was time for another enhancement in the form of the Haryana R&R policy 2010. The R&R policy 2010 was a more detailed and deliberate rehabilitation package by any state then. It has brought major changes in the rates of compensation and annuity; expanded the provision of residential plots and a commercial site, scheme for no-litigation, benefits for landless labour, artisan and other 'Project Affected Categories' along with community development and infrastructure building provisions. These deliberate and constant policy changes with additional material benefits each time made it the most pragmatic package ever practised in India (Chakravorty S. , 2011).

Moreover, another major policy intervention of the Haryana Government was not to acquire any homestead land; land falling under '*lal dora*', contributed significantly in pacifying the disappointment against dispossession. **IMT Rohtak caused economic dispossession rather than any physical displacement that usually leads to cultural disruption, identity crisis, social alienation, and other forms of displacement-related trauma.** However, the justification given for not acquiring land within the *lal dora*, as replied by one senior retired Chief Secretary of Haryana, was not because of the government's sympathy but rather the

³⁹ Notification no. 2/5/1-11-BII-2009

overwhelming growth of population within the *abadi* areas that fall within *lal dora* and non-availability of revenue records of land within the *lal dora* as no proper geographical survey was conducted in this regard. Hence, the government decided to acquire land that was available outside the *lal dora*; both private and panchayat land which eventually led to no-physical displacement.

The R&R policy 2010, unlike the 2007 policy, instead of making a rigid adherence to minimum floor rate to fix the basic compensation rate, gave powers to the Deputy Commissioner. He decides the basic rates based on his articulation of various factors prevailing on the ground, including the political lobbies of the farmers. For instance, in the public hearing under the chairmanship of the District Collector, Rohtak, on 16th November 2012, the basic rate of compensation to be paid for land acquired in IMT phase III was decided @ Rs 31 lakh per acre (minimum floor rate was Rs. 20 Lakhs/acre for Rohtak) for villages of Baliyana, Kheri Sadh, Kharawar and Nonend. But the landowners were dissatisfied with the rate of compensation. According to them, the land acquired are fertile, adjoin to highways and has a good value which was under-calculated at that meeting. Hence, they represented the Chief Minister and other high officials regarding their dissatisfaction and urged them to re-calculate the basic compensation rate. Suddenly, in the very next month, another committee chaired by the same District Collector reconsidered and enhanced the basic rates of compensation from Rs. 31 lakhs to Rs. 33 lakhs per acre. Hence, the system, instead of having a formal mechanism to build consensus, informally allowed the political lobbies to play their role and options for negotiation were kept open. The system was quite flexible to absorb even the voice of dissent rather to suppressed, as happened in other parts of the country. However, by this action, the state intended not to have the active participation of stakeholders but rather to strengthen its political base among landowners.

The political society also plays an important role in this regard. Political society here refers to the big farmers with strong party affiliations, lawyers, party leaders, local elites and government officials performed anger management roles. In some cases, they created anger among the land owners by incorporating a sense of deprivation from good compensation in the skyrocketing real estate market and asked them to register cases in court for enhancement of compensation. In this process, the party men channelized the sense of deprivation by encouraging the landholders to move to the court of law to get the actual price of land in the form of enhanced compensation. This anger management process helps in two ways; first, to neutralise the sense of anger and deprivation on the part of land owners and second, contributes to the political base of the ruling party for facilitating a better deal without leaving farmers into

oblivion. For instance, farmers affected by phase 1 were quite positive regarding the rate of compensation paid to them and accepted it, except few who challenged the rate of compensation in the court of law for enhancement. But with time, remaining farmers felt deprived of enjoying the growing values of their land as has happened to adjoin un-acquired land. This whole artificial market that has grown suddenly was also created by the very political society that contributed to conditions for dissatisfaction among the early satisfied farmers. Again, the political society came to their rescue by encouraging them to move to the Court for price enhancement. It is found that many farmers filed an objection against the compensation amount paid to them in phase I and phase II after 3-4 years of awards.

The political class was not only able to pacify the resentment of land owners by offering R&R packages hard to refuse with constant adoption of new benefits but also successfully transformed these erstwhile agrarian classes into consumers of Haryana's real estate market economy. Before 2005 the real estate business was hardly successful in urban centres of Haryana except in Gurgaon, Faridabad and Panchkula. Urban Development Authority, responsible for developing urban spaces and their expansion, failed to attract significant buyers despite developing large sectors in the Peri-urban spaces, outskirts of main city centres. People were reluctant to purchase plots outside the main city and away from villages without proper civic facilities. Haryana was, for centuries, a rural-based agrarian society with refugees and business classes centred on the urban spaces. Since the new millennium, the state has witnessed high urban and industrial growth, initially concentrated around Panchkula, Faridabad, Jamunanagar and Gurgaon only. The land-owning classes whose land was acquired also ended with little compensation, making it impossible to invest in housing sectors on their farmland. When the Congress government came into power, it revolutionised the whole process and dragged an agrarian economy into a manufacturing and real estate-driven economy. It made policy changes such as fixation of minimum floor rate payable to the land owners in case of acquisition and allotment of residential plots and industrial/commercial sites in the 'oustees category'. Allotment of these discounted plots was optional and had no compulsion over the land owners, but they found this option a deal not to refuse and most of them opted for it. First of all, the compensation amounts payable to the landowners got enhanced and in addition, annuities for a long 33 years were paid. Secondly, the big farmers particularly found no harm in investing a part of the compensation amount in the booming land market of Haryana with a discount offer, while small and marginal farmers (they are in the majority) who lost all of their landholdings saw these plots as a form of security for the next generation or a fortune only available to them at a discounted price. Payment on an instalment basis made it easier for these

farmers to afford these expensive plots. Another major step the authority took was to quickly develop the land by installing all basic infrastructural facilities such as roads, water supply, power station and all necessary clearance needed for residential sectors. Therefore, with the acquirement of land and subsequent development in the form of residential sites (HUDA) or industrial estates (HSIIDC), developers already accumulated a significant number of buyers in the form of oustees which not only attract others to purchase the leftover residential plots but also proved as a security for the developers over its investment. On the other side, this caused large landowners and their young offspring to accrue enormous amounts of compensation and enter the real estate market, generating enormous profits (Kennedy, 2019).

When section 6 was imposed for acquiring 928 acres of land in 2010 from Baliyana, Kheri Sadh and Kharawar for Phase III, many landowners were unwilling to give away their leftover land. Many of these farmers were organised under the banner of '*Kisan Sangharsha Samiti*' (Farmer's Struggle Committee). They sat on *dharana* (strike) at the entrance of IMT at Kheri Sadh under the leadership of local Jats leaders in February 2011. But on 24th February, an unfortunate event occurred when Shri Manoj Sindhu, ex-sarapanch of Kheri Sadh was shot dead by five masked armed youths at the *dharana* site. Police captured them later on. Angry villagers damaged public properties, fired one state-owned bus and blocked NH-10 connecting Delhi with Rohtak (The Tribune, 2011). However, the agitation ended the next day after deliberation between protestors and district authorities. The administration promised that no land would be acquired forcible and asked them to file objections under section 5A of the LAA 1894. The authorities also assured to provide all necessary assistance to the deceased's family. Police later reported that the murder was caused due to old personal enmity and had no relation with the victim's participation in the strike against land acquisition. The agitation was over after 29 hours block of NH-10. In response to the demands of agitating committee for not acquiring land from unwilling farmers, the HSIIDC replied that only 11 landowners filed objections against land acquisition under section 5A of the LAA 1894. While going through various documents, we came across some applications given by land owners requesting the Deputy Commissioner Rohtak not to acquire their land as it is adjoined to educational institutes, residential plots, etc. and is valued up to 3 crores per acre⁴⁰. They also filed objections under section 5A of land acquisition Act 1894. Data was collected regarding objections against land acquisition and compensation, as found in table 3-6, that most land owners did not file any objection against land acquisition (88.4%). However, most objected to the compensation rate

⁴⁰ Smt Anjana W/o Sh, Kultar Singh; Shamsheer Singh and his wife Smt Veena and Bhagat Singh of Kharawar Village submitted objection against acquisition of their land as per notification no 2/5/1-11-b11-2009 published in Dainik Tribune newspaper on 15-01-2010

(78.8%). However, many deny information regarding filing an objection against land acquisition, and only 11.6 percent filed it. Similarly, there are around 21.3 percent land owners didn't file any case against compensation though their satisfaction varied from phase to phase.

Table 3-6 Objection filed?

Objection filed particulars	Yes		No		Total
	Frequencies	Percentage	Frequencies	Percentage	
Against land acquisition	32	11.6%	246	88.4%	278
Against rate of compensation	219	78.8%	59	21.2%	278

Source: Compiled from field data

The declaration of Haryana R&R policy 2010 also diluted some farmers' anger. The agitation for phase-III land acquisition ended abruptly without any desired results. Later, in 2013 the land owners received compensation of Rs. 54 lakhs (approximate) per acre with enhanced royalty, provision of residential and commercial sites that are yet to be allotted, and other community and group-specific benefits discussed in succeeding chapters.

A farmer from Baliyana replied that it is a kind of 'No Loss, No Profit' scenario for them, but made it clear also that IMT has not brought any progress in their life. While asking why, he replied, "Earlier we were not earning much out of farming as some of our lands were one crop and some were Banjar. Groundwater is not suitable here for cultivation. Lots of time and labours were required to rinse through canal from nearby Nahar (canal) via passing the neighbouring village Bohar, as chances were there that they might divert the flow of water into their field as our village is at the tail-end. The availability of labourers is also very difficult as labour inflow to the farm sector from other states declined considerably. So, in general, we were not much happy with farming. When HSIIDC acquired our lands in 2007 at the rate of Rs. 16 lakhs per acre some of us purchased lands; some are in a 1:2 ratio but at faraway places. We are not cultivating those lands as it is impossible to go there and cultivate. Therefore, we have given those lands on lease and earned the same profit without doing any work. Earlier, neither we used to get more from our land nor were the profits made out of rents from leased lands sufficient as our expenses increased. Therefore, it's a no-loss and no-profit situation for us"⁴¹.

Apart from these locally nuanced factors, some general factors that affect the other region of Haryana and elsewhere also impacted the land deal for IMT Rohtak. A study in Haryana reveals that around 35 percent of farmers are willing to sell their land to move out to other sectors.

⁴¹ Personal interview in December 2018

Since the last two decades, Haryana has experienced a tremendous structural transformation, with secondary and tertiary sectors contributing more than 80 percent of the state economy. Although total food grain production in Haryana has recorded growth upwards but sinking landholding sizes, more input costs and distressed sales in the agrarian market with fewer incentives from the state forced many farmers to look for alternatives (Shiva, Jani, & Fontana, 2011; Jaffrelot & Kalaiyarasan A, 2019). As discussed above, the structural transformation of Haryana and the booming land market with attractive deals from parastatal agencies and private developers have forced many farmers to give off their land. A considerable portion of village Bohar, Kheri Sadh and Ghari Bohar was already sold to private estate developers. Shortage of labour is another factor. Due to the declining size of land holdings, farming with modern technologies and scientific methods becomes less profitable as small and marginal farmers are unwilling to invest more in their small holdings. Therefore, manual farming is the only option left and it depends upon the participation of landless Dalit labourers or seasonal migrant labourers during the time of harvesting, sowing, etc. But due to rapid urbanisation and industrialisation in NCR, Dalit youths are moving out from agriculture and working in informal sectors of these urban spaces (Jodhka S. , 2012). Due to social security and welfare policies adopted by various governments, the inflow of migrant labourers into agriculture also reduced significantly⁴² and many are not interested in working in agriculture farms.

Fall in the agrarian sector, rapid rural transformation with the dismantling of traditional patron-client ties and loss of hegemonic influence over village community due to declining economic status and political power too, the dominant castes of Haryana found themselves in a state of dismay (Jodhka S. S., 2019, p. 19). The agrarian sector is gradually becoming stagnant and no profit has been generated as it used to be after the green revolution in Haryana. All these factors are also responsible for giving away the land in exchange for a good compensation package if offered. Another factor is the aspiration for a modern urban lifestyle among educated youth. However, a significant population of the old guard of the rural economy of Haryana are still sceptical about the sustainability of these new aspirations and changed their way of life. This also gave birth to an aspirational fight between Haryana's young and old generations and a war of orientation toward sustainable livelihood. The old are still unwilling to move out completely from agriculture and are doubtful regarding the future of their next generation of land has gone. For them, land constitutes a perennial security source and a sense of identity. Purchasing agricultural land at faraway places in Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan and Punjab in exchange for

⁴² Migration of labourer are still high into this state but more to urban and industrial spaces and construction work rather than farming jobs.

compensation money was proving it. At the same time, the youth look towards these as mere commodities meant to be sold at the open market at good value and invest in more profitable sectors such as rental housing, share market, real estate, commercial purposes, etc. Many landowners, particularly young ones, started investing money in transportation businesses such as cab taxis, chartered buses, retail sector businesses, and the construction of rental houses in city spaces. Many big landowners entered the real estate business and brokering, too (Chatterjee T. , 2013). While discussing farmers' perception of land acquisition in a focus group discussion at Nonand village, a young man, Sambit, whose land is located adjoining IMT, argued that

“Land acquisition has brought prosperity to these people. I want to sell my land if good compensation is paid equal to phase III (Rs.54 lakhs per acre). These land are not good for cultivation and not much output also generates and cultivation become expensive too. So it would be a good deal to sell these land in exchange for good compensation and other R&R benefits. It was the initial idea of the people when HSIIDC acquired their land and nobody oppose it. Now they are complaining about getting more benefits. Even if good cultivable lands are acquired, it will also be a good deal. Suppose a farmer is getting Rs.20,000/- per acre after deducting all expenses per season by growing rice, wheat bajra, sarsoo etc. and if he sold that land @ Rs. 50 lakhs per acre, he will be in profits. He can invest that money by purchasing more land outside, may invest in the share market and get good returns or may construct a building in Rohtak city and put it on rent, he will earn Rs.20000 per month by doing nothing. Returns from business are way higher in comparison to farming. These days youth are not interested in farming and wish to move out.”⁴³

This calculation of Sambit towards alternative sources of livelihood other than farming represents the voice of many urban aspiring youths who no longer wish to continue farming. And the transformation of the political economy of Haryana from a rural-based agrarian society to an urban-centric manufacturing and service hub has been reinforced by the rising urban expectation of the new generation and taste towards consumerism, reported by scholars (Chowdhry, 2012; Jodhka S. S., 2014; Jaffrelot & Kalaiyarasan A, 2019). As per the national sample survey report on agriculture in 2003, 40% of total farmers at the national level and 32% in Haryana want to move out from agriculture as they no longer feel it is profitable. People, mainly young ones, are moving out for better opportunities. But on the other hand, Ramdwaj of Baliyana, a lawyer by profession and land owner representing the old generation, denied any kind of devaluation of land and farming. He argued that the political class wants to make more

⁴³ Personal interview in June 2019

money by facilitating such kinds of land acquisition for private companies by taking away small holdings of farmers, but they will purchase large estates of farms and do cultivation. “If nobody is interested in cultivation, then what will we eat, and why these private firms are so interested in corporate farming if it is no longer a profitable business” argued Ramdwaj. “Companies want to take away our land and make us customers of their processed packaged foods as found in America and Europe by destroying our self-sufficient economies. The state is acting on their behalf, not for us, who elected it. After our land has gone, we no longer have sustained livelihood and like in a city, we will depend on shopping malls for everything”.

Another old landowner of Kheri Sadh, pointing out to some young boys playing cards and smoking hookah in the daylight in December, said, “if we have land, these all would be helping out there in cultivation or taking care of livestock. After the land has gone, everything has gone. Now we old are sick and our youth are jobless. This idleness will destroy the whole society. A huge amount of compensation in exchange for land made them lazy and addicted to all these drugs and alcohol. Growing crimes in the locality are the outcome of this new world as many possess guns in villages, legally and illegally”.

3.5 Conclusion

Global inflow of capital and growing pressure of industrial and urban expansion in and around NCR brought Rohtak as a favoured destination for Capitalist development in the form of an Industrial Model Township that subsequently acquired thousands of acres of land. However, contrary to the popular belief that the Haryana land acquisition model is based on granting higher rates of compensation to the dominant landowning and politically powerful sections nipped the resistance against land acquisition in the bud, the reality is much more nuanced and complex. It is true that dynamic R&R policies and constant changes made in policies expanding the horizon of the benefits payable to the landowners remained the most pragmatic approach to the land war in India and did able to ‘soften’ the opposition of farmers that ultimately favoured the state to acquired large tracts of land under the banner of ‘consent acquisition’. But, other factors like the stagnant farming sector, sinking landholdings, state negligence towards agriculture and constant inducement towards industry and service sectors, including real estate, played their role. The civil and political society also contributed significantly to negotiating peasantry in making a consensus towards hegemonic neoliberal capitalist development.

Disproportionate land holding with considerable single crop and *barani*(rainfed) land in IMT-affected villages were neither overjoyed by the arrival of the IMT as development nor

collectively resisted as plunder. Smallholders neither celebrated assimilating in Haryana's booming real estate market nor were able to oppose the state's eminent domain power. As Levian (2018) points out in the case of Rajpura that the stories of this collusion between a neoliberal land dispossession regime and expectations of 21st-century agrarian villages of India is "far more uneven and contradictory one: of gains and losses; continuity and change; winners and losers; hope and disappointment" (Levien M. , 2018, p. 80). The reality would be more complex and contradictory rather the binary projection of development and dispossession. The countryside of India is not only witnessing conflict between the urban class and rural for the accumulation of more land (capital) into industrial and urban development. But it is also happening in the minds of two contrasting generations; the traditionally rural-rooted old who considered land a source of sustenance and the urban aspiring youth. Coercion and consent intertwined in manifold ways contributing in the deepening hegemonic process of capitalist development in rural India. Time can only prove which mode of livelihood is more sustainable, but currently, more and more farming land are slipping out to urban usage. These layered and complex realities with over lapping factors at the end contribute more land into the capitalist grips and dispossession of thousands of peasantries. Whether the dispossession has happened with or without development has to be found in the subsequent chapters, but undoubtedly it has happened first through dispossession by neglect and then by the 'Haryana model' of land acquisition that itself resulted out of a coalition of neoliberal market, a state with its parastatal agencies (HUDA & HSIIDC) and changing interest of land-owning dominant castes in the global transformation that is unfolding in India and Haryana, in particular. The implication and impacts of this transformation on local agrarian society and different intersectionality like caste, class and gender have been discussed in the subsequent chapters.

**Lives at Stake: Measuring the Impact of Industrial Model Township
on the Dispossessed**

“His clothes are no longer soiled. The moneylender has stopped driving him around. His children study in prestigious schools. Banks that were chasing him earlier to realise loan instalments now woo him for deposits. His social and economic stock having gone up, he has come to command respect. The life of this Haryana farmer has taken a 360-degree turn.”

[Reported on the website of Financial Express on May 1, 2009 about Haryana R&R policy]

Outlines:

- Demographic profile of the respondents
- Impact of land acquisition on Economic life
- Impact on Socio-cultural and Environmental aspects of the oustees
- Impact on the civic infrastructure of the affected villages

This chapter discussed and analysed the impacts of land acquisition on the oustees' sociocultural, economic and environmental aspects. A comparison has also been made on the life and livelihood of oustees 'Before Land Acquisition' (henceforth BLA) and 'After Land Acquisition' (ALA). Issues concerning occupational change, agricultural production, numbers of domestic animals, availability of employment in the locality, impact on common property resources, village infrastructure, environmental pollution and others are deliberated in detail.

4.1 Methodology:

This study is trying to understand the impacts of land acquisition on the life and livelihood of different sections of rural Haryana, the kind of changes brought by land acquisition and how far the Haryana Resettlement and Rehabilitation (henceforth R&R) Policy 2007 & 2010 has able to mitigate the impacts. The land was acquired from the study area in three different phases from 2007 to 2011 and covered the benefits of both 2007 and 2010 policies. As the present research intends to understand the impacts of land acquisition on rural communities and different intersections within and evaluate the R&R policy, a thorough ethnographic study is most desirable. But, due to time and resource-related constraints, analyses are made based on survey research. Household surveys, interviews, scheduled (both open and semi-structured) and focus group discussions are the methods used to collect quantitate and qualitative information. Further, being a policy evaluative research, a simple random sampling method for

the selection of respondents is not feasible as the targeted population are divided into various cluster based on their socio-economic profile, phases in which land is acquired, the extent of effects on their life, and whether opted for various R&R packages or not. Therefore, ‘Stratified purposeful sampling’ has been used to select samples from the study area. This sampling technique is widely used in qualitative research to select information-rich cases. Moreover, the employment of the mixed method technique would be good for reducing biases and data errors.

4.2 Demographic profile of the sample:

The data has been collected from Baliyana, Bohar, Kheri Sadh and partially affected villages of Kharawar and Nonand. The nature of data is not uniform but stratified into various categories based on demographic and socio-economic characteristics such as age, gender, caste, marital status, education status, occupation, etc.

4.2.1 Village:

The land has been acquired from all five villages, i.e., Kheri Sadh, Baliyana, Bohar, Kharawar and Nonand but at different proportions. Accordingly, samples are also collected as per the distribution shown in table no.4-1.

Table 4-1 Village-wise Distribution of Sample

Villages	Frequency	Percentage
Baliyana	161	40.4
Kheri Sadh	149	37.3
Bohar	71	17.8
Kharawar	18	4.5
Total	399	100.00

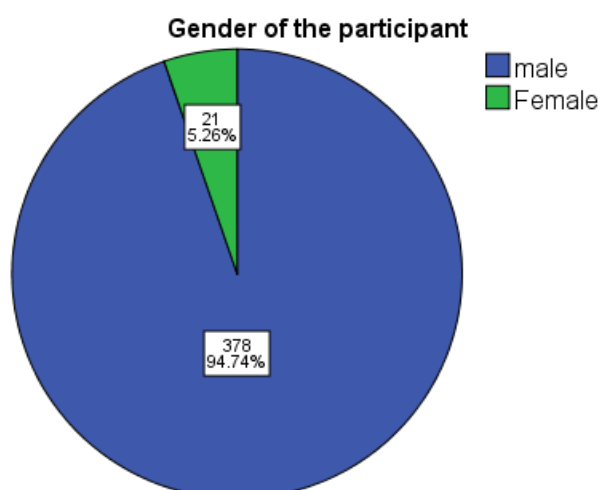
Source: Compiled from the field data

Most of the land has been acquired from the village of Kheri Sadh, Bohar and Baliyana. Hence, more samples have been collected from these villages. As shown in table no. 4-1, 161 samples (40.4%) were from Baliyana, 149 samples were from Kheri Sadh and 71 were collected from Bohar village. As Kharawar and Nonand have been partially affected by the land acquisition till 2013, few samples are taken, especially from Kharawar, except for a few interviews from Nonand. In total, around 399 samples are collected.

4.2.2 Gender:

Figure 4-1 indicates the gender distribution of the respondents and the majority of the participant; around 94.74 percent are male, while only 5.26 percent are women. In a male-dominated society, women are not encouraged to interact with outsiders. And generally, a male head of the household, in most cases, participates in the discussion. The twenty-one women who participated in this survey were mostly from women-headed households. Apart from a household survey, another set of women-specific questionnaires has also been administered to 154 women of these families.

Figure 4-1 Gender of the Sample



4.2.3 Age:

Table 4-2 Age-wise Distribution of Sample

Age Group	Frequency	Percentage
19-30	21	5.3
31-45	116	29.1
46-60	159	39.8
61 & above	103	25.8
Total	399	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

The respondents are of various age that has been divided into four age groups i.e., 19-30, 31-45, 46-60 and 61 & above. Most of the respondents are in their middle age (30-60); 29.1 % are from 31-45 age, 39.8 percent from the 46-60 group and around 25.8 percent are persons more than 61 years old. As the land was acquired in 2007, most of the present old farmers are in their middle age and their children were young enough to articulate the process of land acquisition that had unfolded in their life. We have also taken some young respondents (19-30 age group) whose views regarding changes in society will help us to understand the course of rural transformation and development.

4.2.4 Educational Qualification:

Rohtak is in 7th position with an 80.2 percent literacy rate (2011 census) among all districts of Haryana. The city is well-known as the education hub of Haryana, with institutes like Maharshi Dayanand University, Baba Mastnath University, IIM, Indian Institute of Tourism, and Agriculture University, along with many colleges and schools. The study villages have moderately high literacy rates compared to the state average. Literacy rate in Bohar, Kheri Sadh, Baliyana and Kharawar as per the 2011 census were 77.32 %, 79.28 %, 79.92% and 82.23%, respectively, while the male literacy rate of these villages is comparatively higher, i.e., 85.46%, 88.69%, 89.87% and 90.67% (Haryana Government, 2011).

Table 4-3 Educational Qualification of the respondents

Educational Qualifications		Frequency	Percentage
	Illiterate	74	18.5
	Primary	35	8.8
	Middle	91	22.8
	Matriculation	121	30.3
	Senior Secondary	46	11.5
	Graduation and above	32	8.0
	Total	399	100.00

Source: Compiled from the field data

Educational qualification wise (Table 4-3), around 18.5 percent of respondents are illiterate, while of remaining 12.2 percent went up to primary education (1-5th class). 22.8% studied up to Middle school (5-9th class), and 30.11 percent completed 10th Class. The remaining 18-19 % have received intermediate and higher education.

4.2.5 Marital Status

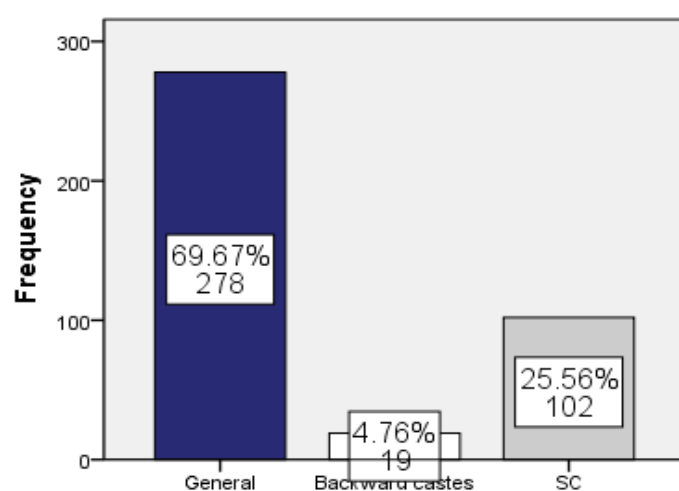
The marital status of the respondents, as indicated in table 4-4 refers to the fact that most of the participants are married (95.2%), with only 0.5 percent being unmarried and the remaining 4.3 percent being widowed (mostly women).

Table 4-4 Marital Status of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percentage
Unmarried	2	0.5
Married	380	95.2
Widowed	17	4.3
Total	399	100.0

4.2.6 Caste

Figure 4-2 Caste-wise distribution of the Respondents



In proportionate to the caste/class-wise population in the state, respondents, as shown in figure 4-2, are distributed accordingly. Forward or general castes constitute around 69.67 percent of the total sample, while OBCs and SCs constitute 4.76 percent and 25.56 percent, respectively. Castes

like *Balmiki* (sweeper), *danak*, *chamar*, *domm*, *dhobi* (washerman), etc. are from scheduled castes in these villages. Artisan and traditional service providers and *bania* (business communities) are mostly from backward castes. There are no Scheduled Tribes in Haryana.

4.2.7 Caste Occupation:

Haryana is primarily an agricultural society, with most of its population in farming and other allied sectors. The land-owning classes, mainly Jats, control both economy and politics of Haryana. If we look at the caste occupations of our samples (Table 4-5), the majority (around 69.7%) belong to the farming community, mainly Jats. These people have been cultivators for generations. The scheduled castes who are landless and constitute around 25.6 percent of our participants generally engaged in manual labour in agriculture, allied and non-farming sectors. Artisan (pottery maker, mason, blacksmith, etc.) and traditional service provider castes like *khathi* (carpenter), *rohila* (tailor), *Saini* (sharecropper), *maniar* (bangles makers), *baragi*, *naii* (barber), etc. are also constituting a marginal but significant population. Many of them were sharecroppers on leased land before acquisition. Almost all of them abandoned their traditional caste occupations either out of compulsion or by choice and now doing odd jobs or are self-employed in the growing urban spaces. Many women particularly from the SC communities are now working as servant maids in Rohtak Sectors.

Table 4-5 Caste Occupation of the Respondents

Occupations	Frequency	Percentage
Farming	278	69.7
Artisan	8	2.0
Labour	102	25.6
Service Provider	6	1.5
Business	5	1.3
Total	399	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

4.2.8 Economic Category

Economic profiles wise, the participants are divided into six categories, i.e., absentee farmers, self-cultivators, sharecroppers, agricultural labour, non-agricultural labour and traditional service providers like milkmen, potters, blacksmiths, etc. (table 4-6). All these categories of people were connected with agriculture to an extent and directly or indirectly affected by land acquisition. Most of our respondents (67.7%) used to cultivate their own land, while only 2 percent were absentee farmers and 1 percent were sharecroppers. Labourer, agriculture and non-agriculture, along with the traditional service provider classes are landless, but the loss of agricultural land affected their livelihood too. Around 23.6 percent of respondents were agricultural labourers and 1.8 percent were non-agricultural labour. The remaining 2.3 percent were traditional service providers.

Table 4-6 Economic Category

Name of the Category	Frequency	Percentage
Absentee Farmer	8	2.0
Self-cultivation	270	67.7
Sharecropper	3	0.8
Artisan	8	2.0
Landless Agri Labour	94	23.6
Non-Agri Labour	7	1.8
Traditional Service provider	9	2.3
Total	399	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

4.2.9 Affected Categories

All the economic categories are not affected at the same level. Generally, in displacement studies, oustees are divided into two broad categories, i.e., displaced persons (DPs) and Project affected Persons (PAPs). DPs are people whose land, home, occupations, or entire livelihood has been replaced due to the acquisition of land and PAPs are those who are not directly

affected by the acquisition as neither they owned any land nor were resident in acquired land but their livelihoods depended upon acquired land or the community who lived there. In the present study, none were physically displaced, nor was any homestead land acquired, rather, it was a case of economic dispossession as livelihoods were severely disrupted. Hence, for analysis purposes, we have divided the affected people into four categories (as indicated in Table 4-7).

Table 4-7 Affected categories

Affected Category	Frequency	Percentage
Partially acquired land	82	20.6
All land acquired	197	49.4
Landless labour	103	25.8
service provider/artisan	17	4.3
Total	399	100.0

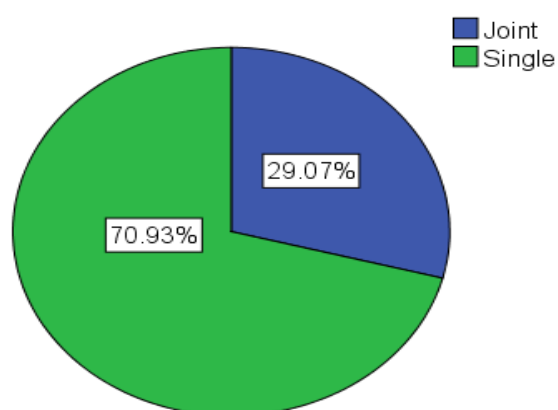
Source: Compiled from the field data

Out of all participants, around 49.4 percent lost their entire land holdings, while 20.6 percent lost a portion only. Landless labour constitutes 25.8 percent of the distribution, whereas traditional service providers and artisan classes are the remaining 4.3 percent.

4.2.10 Family structure:

Figure 4-3 Family structure of the participants

As found in many cases of displacement, involuntary land acquisition negatively impacts to family structures; mainly, it caused the dismantling of traditional joint family life into modern nuclear families. The old families' ties, emotional attachments and affections started fading away with land acquisition and compensation distribution. However, the



formation of nuclear families by breaking out from joint families is not always caused by land acquisition rather, it is a common trend in many societies shifting from agrarian community

life to modern and urban ones. But, in cases of land dispossession, it may be an immediate cause though not necessarily the only cause.

As found in many sociological studies, joint families were common among landowning communities in India, mainly in upper castes. In Haryana and more precisely Jats revere joint family life and share the same house and hearth. Many case studies found that before the land acquisition, they shared ancestral properties and lived in one house. Table 4-8 also indicates that before the land acquisition, around 78.2 percent of households lived in joint families compared to 29.1 percent of nuclear families. However, the present reality is quite the opposite as more families (70.93% in this case) now prefer to stay in single nuclear families. The remaining 29.07 percent of families are still living in joint families. Acquisition of ancestral land and subsequent distribution of compensation and R&R benefits among the siblings is one of the immediate factors responsible for dismantling joint families, apart from the influence of modern forces like urbanisation and industrialisation. Many of the respondents made land acquisition the main culprit because people who were staying together and doing farming collectively started dividing themselves to use their own share of compensation in their own ways. Acquisition of land and subsequently the flow of money and its use became a matter of great confrontation among siblings, between father and sons, resulting in the division of families, breaking down of emotional ties and traditional support system. However, some families remain together to maximise returns from collectively investing compensation amounts in purchasing land and other assets.

Table 4-8 Family Structure of the Participant before and After Land Acquisition

Family Structure	BLA		ALA	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Joint	312	78.2	116	29.1
Single	87	21.8	283	70.9
Total	399	100.0	399	100.0

Source: Compiled from field Data

4.3 Impacts of land acquisition on different aspects of life and livelihood of oustees:

Acquisition of land and subsequent physical and economic dispossession, as found throughout the world, cause severe hardship to the affected communities if reconstruction measures are not planned properly. The effects would not be only on livelihood and other economic aspects of life rather, personal, psychological, social, cultural, communal and environmental areas also

got affected. Loss of cultural identity, social status around kinship, cultural spaces handed over through generations, hardship in adjusting to changed landscape, morbidity, food insecurity, etc., and other economic impacts are well-documented impoverishment risks in dispossession studies. However, non-tangible impacts were mostly overlooked. Hence, in this chapter, an attempt has been made to understand the impacts of land acquisition for the establishment of IMT, Rohtak on various aspects of affected villages and people, mainly economic, socio-cultural, environmental and civic infrastructure, in the following sections.

4.3.1 Impacts on the Economic aspect

4.3.1.1 Changing Occupational Profile of Oustees

Land dispossession always used to adversely impact the occupational pattern of the oustees, not only primary but secondary too. Primary occupation means when one person gains a major source of income and devotes the majority of time to that. At the same time, Secondary occupation refers to a lesser preferred occupation that one carries out along with the primary one as a part-time occupation. Nonetheless, secondary occupation also plays a significant role in sustaining livelihood. It not only provides an additional source of income but also gives one mental relaxation. A person practicing cultivation or a land-related occupation for years suddenly stopped due to land acquisition. Many studies examined the impact of land acquisition on the occupational pattern of people. They found that sudden transformation adversely affected the sociocultural, economic, physiological and physical spheres of life. It is not only those who directly depend upon the land, such as farmers and agricultural labourers, but also people who indirectly depend upon it, like vegetable vendors, animal husbandry, and other service providers whose professions are related to agriculture and land.

Table 4-9 signifies the changes in sample families' primary and secondary occupational patterns. For analysis, 15 occupations have been considered based on respondents' preferences. A comparison between the primary and secondary occupations of the head of the family and two other family members before and after land acquisition has also been made for impact assessment.

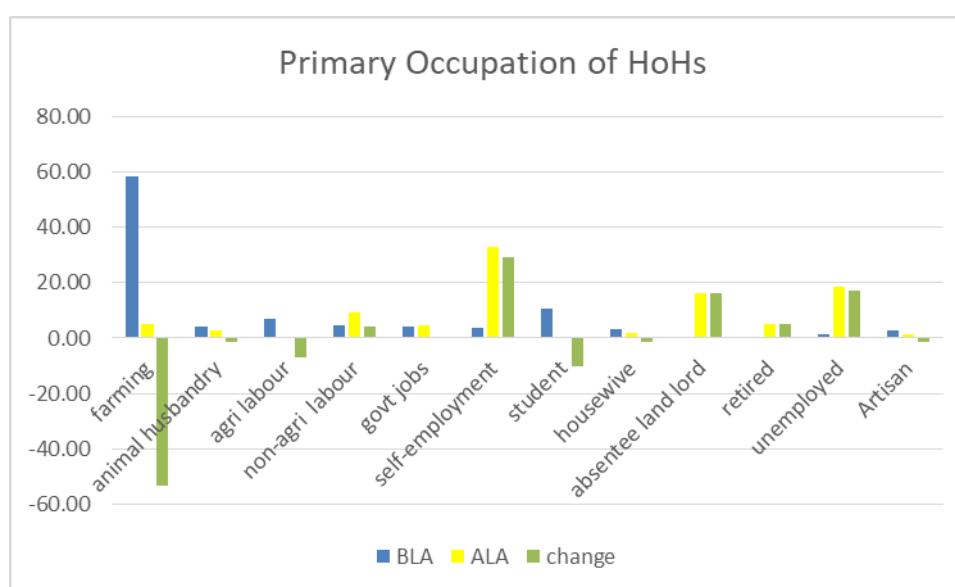
Table 4-9 Changing Occupation of Participants

Name of the Occupation		Primary Occupation		Secondary Occupation		Primary Occupation		Secondary Occupation		Primary Occupation		Secondary Occupation	
		Head of the Family				1st family member				2nd family member			
		BLA	ALA	BLA	ALA	BLA	ALA	BLA	ALA	BLA	ALA	BLA	ALA
1	Farming	231 (57.9)	20 (5.1)	7 (1.8)	1 (0.3)	6 (1.7)	2 (0.6)	1 (0.3)	00	14 (7.4)	2 (1.1)	3 (1.6)	00
2	Animal Husbandry	17 (4.3)	11 (2.8)	264 (68.2)	30 (8.5)	4 (1.1)	00	53 (15.5)	23 (7.1)	00	00	26 (13.9)	7 (4.8)
3	Agricultural Labour	27 (6.8)	00	32 (8.3)	1 (0.3)	12 (3.4)	1 (0.3)	13 (3.8)	00	3 (1.6)	00	3 (1.6)	00
4	Non-Agriculture Labour	19 (4.8)	36 (9.1)	30 (7.8)	18 (4.8)	6 (1.7)	8 (2.3)	17 (5.0)	4 (1.2)	00	2 (1.1)	3 (1.6)	2 (1.4)
5	Govt. Jobs	17 (4.3)	18 (4.5)	00	00	1 (0.3)	6 (1.7)	00	00	00	15 (8.0)	00	00
6	Self-Employment	15 (3.8)	131 (33.1)	6 (1.6)	15 (4.8)	1(0.3)	19 (5.4)	6 (1.8)	7 (2.1)	4 (2.1)	87 (46.3)	3 (1.6)	4 (2.7)
7	Student	42 (10.6)	1 (0.3)	00	1 (0.3)	30 (8.5)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.3)	00	155 (82.4)	15 (8.0)	00	00
8	Housewives	13 (3.3)	8 (3.0)	3 (0.8)	6 (1.6)	287 (80.8)	298 (83.9)	10 (2.9)	4 (1.2)	10 (5.3)	13 (6.9)	2 (1.1)	1 (0.7)
9	Business	00	5 (1.3)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.3)	00	00	1 (0.3)	1 (0.5)	2 (1.1)	00	1 (0.7)
10	Skilled Labour	00	3 (0.8)	4 (1.0)	3 (0.8)	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
11	Help In Farming	00	00	36 (9.3)	1 (0.3)	4 (1.1)	00	230 (67.3)	8 (2.5)	1 (0.5)	00	147 (78.2)	3 (2.1)
12	Absentee Land Lord	00	64 (16.2)	00	7 (1.9)	00	00	00	00	00	2 (1.1)	00	00
13	Retired	00	20 (5.1)	00	17 (4.5)	00	10 (2.8)	00	10 (3.1)	00	1 (0.5)	00	1 (0.7)
14	Unemployed	5 (1.3)	73 (18.4)	00	269 (71.9)	1 (0.3)	10 (2.8)	2 (0.5)	268 (82.2)	00	49 (26.1)	1 (0.5)	124 (84.9)
15	Artisan	11 (2.8)	6 (1.5)	4 (1.0)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.6)	00	8 (2.3)	1 (0.3)	00	00	00	00
	Total	397	396	387	371	355	355	341	326	188	188	187	

4.3.1.1.1 Occupational changes of Head of the Household

In our sample, most of the heads of the family are male except for some female-headed families (figure 4-1). Out of them, around 57.9 percent used to be cultivators before acquisition. Some 6.8 % were agricultural labourer, around 4 percent each were housewives, government employees, and non-agricultural labourers, while another 6.8 percent were in animal husbandry and the remaining were self-employed, students, artisans and a few unemployed. But, once the land has gone, drastic changes have occurred in these people's occupational patterns (see Figures 4-4). The erstwhile farmers turned into absentee landlords as they purchased land at faraway places and were given on lease (16.2%). Some retired from work due to old age, while many started a small business, became auto drivers operating within IMT and in Rohtak, or took private jobs as self-employed (33.1%). Those who used to work as agriculture labourers (mainly SCs) converted into non-farm labour and vendors, and a few took security guard jobs in companies within IMT. A considerable amount of people, i.e., 18.4 percent become unemployed along with those absentee farmers who are now doing nothing, solely dependent upon the rents of their purchased land and annual royalty.

Figure 4-4 Primary occupation of HoH



Ajit Singh, an erstwhile farmer now in his seventies, opened a grocery shop in Kheri Sadh, explaining that he used to cultivate four acres of land along with two brothers before the HSIIDC has acquired it. Compensation was not enough as it was divided among all three brothers and got exhausted in house construction, marriages of children and medical expenses.

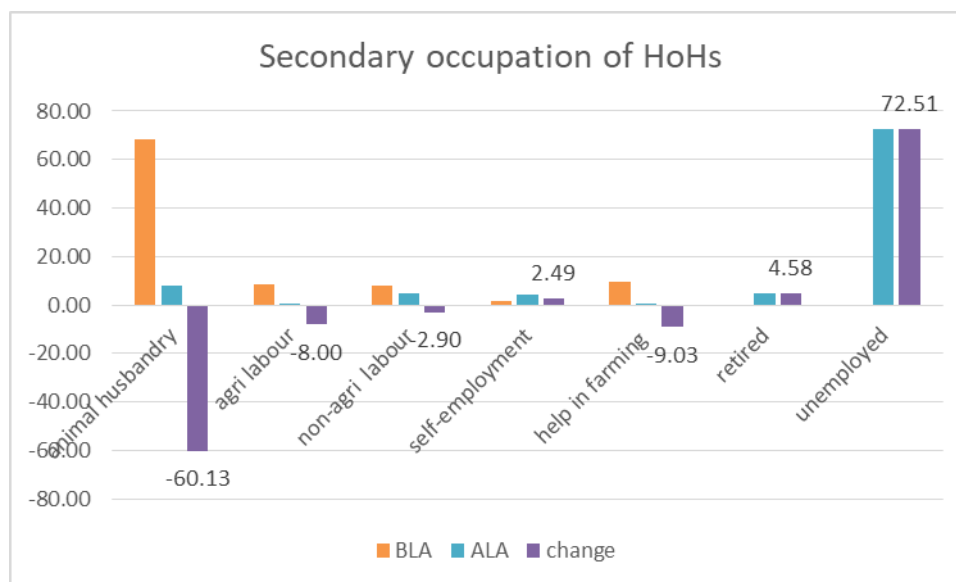
Nothing was left after that to purchase another piece of land; now he was sitting on a small grocery shop which he had opened later. That business generates little profit as people prefer adjoining Rohtak city for all their basic needs. Now the whole life of Ajit Singh and his family is dependent upon the Rs.15000/year royalty and the small income of his son, who is working as a security guard in a private company in the nearby district.

Many farmers like Santjir of Bohar have become unemployed now. They failed to invest their compensation amount in the proper direction and exhausted all in consumption goods. Santjir lost 4 acres of land to IMT in the II phase and received around Rs. 28.30 (approx.) lakhs/acre but spent all money on purchasing luxurious goods, drinking and other consumption. Now he is sitting idly after everything has gone. Santjir represents those farmers who were unable to productively use their huge compensation to buy a livelihood for post-acquisition life. However, the skills of cultivators or their expertise in allied sectors are now redundant due to the loss of land. Getting older with the inability to adjust to new jobs (particularly for farmers to become labourer) makes life harder and darker for many. The social structure of Haryana, where landowning castes took pride in self-cultivation, found themselves demeaned to work as labourers or in other fields. Though rent from purchased land and royalty is trying to help but not sustainable.

Compared to the primary occupation, the hard hit is the secondary occupation. Peasants used to engage in allied activities, mainly animal husbandry, as an extension of farming. Livestock plays a significant role in income, food security, and collateral during emergencies, even for landless communities. Business and going for labour during harvesting season, leisure time, or part-time employment were also secondary occupations for some in the study area. This helped to generate additional source income along with their primary occupation. Women, in particular, performed farming and animal husbandry with their male counterparts, while SC women worked as labourers before land acquisition. Even children used to help their parents in farming and other activities. But land acquisition transformed the secondary occupations of oustees most (Figure 4-5). Due to the loss of agricultural land, the number of domestic animals decreased significantly and people lost animal husbandry as a major source of income. It has come down to 8.5 percent from 68.2 percent after the acquisition (declined 60%). The women who used to help in farming and animal husbandry are now full-time housewives and confined themselves within four walls of homes. The number of persons who lost their secondary source

of income in the form of livestock, helping in farming, agricultural labour, etc., is highest in the current study, with 71.9 percent becoming jobless now.

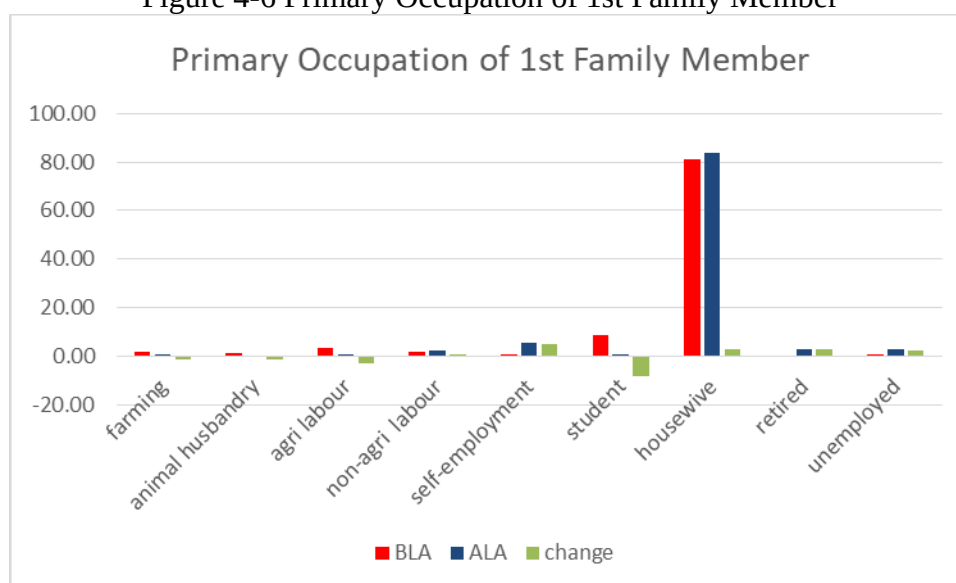
Figure 4-5 Secondary Occupation of Head of the Family



4.3.1.1.2 Occupational Changes of the family member

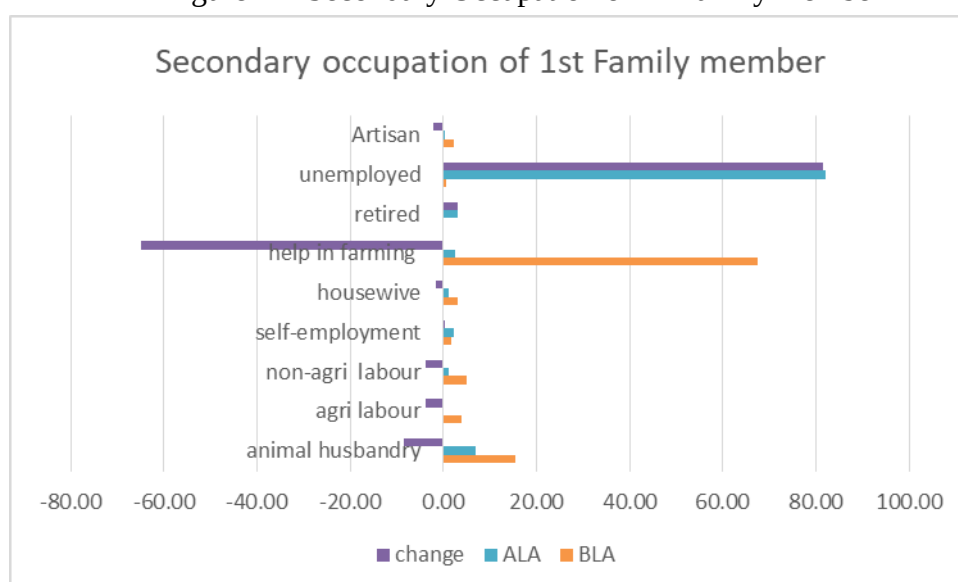
The process of land acquisition brought not only occupational changes in the life of the head of the household but also of other family members. Though family size varies depending on joint and nuclear ones, but for analysis purposes, we have taken the occupational changes of two family members mostly the spouse and one child. As the majority of respondents are male, in most cases, the 1st family members are women (80%); their spouses, while in some cases are children (8%). In most cases, women are housewives, except a few from SC communities who were labourers. Others engaged in farming activities, private jobs, animal husbandry and labour jobs {Figure 4-6}.

Figure 4-6 Primary Occupation of 1st Family Member



Apart from household work, women in Haryana used to take part in farming, rearing domestic animals, bringing fodder for them, collecting firewood, preparing cow-dung cakes for fire and helping other family members on the farm. Figure 4-7 indicates that around 68 percent and 16 percent of women used to help in cultivation and animal husbandry after finishing their household activities. In addition to household activities, women of SC communities used to perform labour work mainly in the field of Jat farmer during harvesting and sowing.

Figure 4-7 Secondary Occupation of 1st Family member

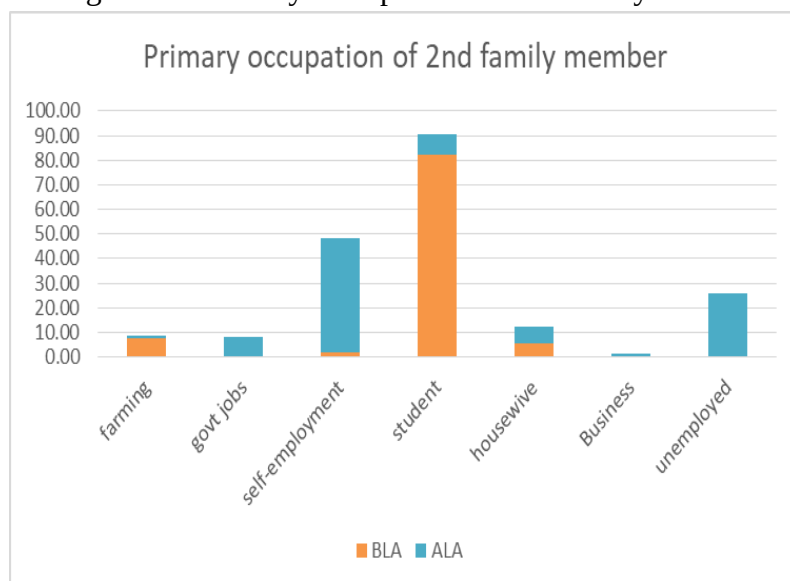


Despite poor social status in rural Haryanvi society, women extensively perform all sorts of economic activities from all caste categories. But, the acquisition of farmland brought occupational changes among women and adversely affected their socio-cultural, personal, and economic aspects, as discussed in the next chapter. As of figure 4-6, 80 percent reported being housewives, but they actively participated in farming (67.3) and animal husbandry as an extension of household activities before acquisition. However, now some of them have grown old and retired from all activities, but they lost a major source of secondary occupations and income through acquisition. It caused them to lose the social, psychological and physical space and little economic autonomy they used to enjoy earlier, with the loss of agriculture and domestic animals reduced to the minimum. Around 82.2 percent reported losing their secondary occupation of indulging in farming activities and animal husbandry. Some still perform animal husbandry (8%), though the number of animals has reduced considerably. But now, it is no longer a profitable source of income as it needs more resource and attention after the loss of farm and common land, which supply free and cheap fodder and grazing spaces.

4.3.1.1.3 Occupational Changes of 2nd family member:

The children of oustees who were students earlier are now full-grown adults. Around 82.4 percent (figure no. 4-8) were students before the land acquisition, except a few others who were self-employed or in business and cultivation. Apart from studying, they used to help their parents in farming (78%) and animal husbandry (14%). Farming required constant care and attention. Irrespective of the size of land holdings and economic status, Jats saw their women, children and old as major workforces to be utilised in agricultural and allied activities. As persons from the SC community in Rohtak reported that even before the land acquisition, the availability of work in the agricultural field of Jats was mainly seasonal. Remaining days it was the family members, including women, old and children, who used performed all farming activities.

Figure 4-8 Primary Occupation of 2nd Family member



But nothing came true after the acquisition of agricultural land and the time they grew as adults to enjoy the fruit of development brought by the IMT into their land. Most have now opted for private jobs offered by both organised and unorganised sectors in and around Rohtak and NCR. Some are still studying, while others are in government jobs,

doing business, etc. Around 26 percent are unemployed despite some of them possessing professional and technical qualifications, which the companies located in IMT sought for. Unemployment among youth is a major problem in these villages as IMT failed to absorb the surplus population and got dispossessed from their land. A detailed discussion is made in the employment section on subsequent pages.

4.3.1.2 Landholding status of oustees before and after land Acquisition

Land was never a mere commodity for rural India. It is a symbol of socio-economic status and collateral during emergencies. The bigger the land holding, the higher the status and more security. But once the land was taken away by the government for public purposes, changes were taken place in the size of the land holding and their socio-economic status. Table no. 4-10 compared the landholding status of displacees before and after land acquisition and noted down the changes that occurred after that.

For the analysis purpose and to understand the impacts of land acquisition on various socio-economic groups, we have subdivided the landholders into six categories based on the land size (shown in Table no. 4-10). Before the land acquisition, only SC and backward caste communities were landless. The landholders are mainly from upper castes, mostly Jats in our study area, and almost everyone used to have a piece of land. But after land acquisition, landlessness raised to 25 percent among the farming community (excluding SCs and OBC). They are primarily farmers who had less than ten kanal (up to 1.25 acre) as their number has declined from 37.9 percent before to a mere 13.9 percent. With the small piece of land

cultivated through traditional modes, these marginal farmers can manage their daily requirements but largely depend on livestock and allied activities for livelihood. The size of their land holdings was small to receive a reasonable sum of compensation and hence, insufficient to purchase any other land.

Table 4-10 Land Holding Before and After Acquisition

Size of Land Holdings		Before Land Acquisition		After Land Acquisition		Changes (%)
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
1	Landless ⁴⁴	0	0	59	25.5	25.5
2	Upto 1.25 acres	102	37.9	32	13.9	-24
3	1.26-2.5 acres	47	17.5	22	9.5	-8
4	2.6-5 acres	82	26.3	49	21.2	-5.1
5	5-10 acres	29	10.8	49	18.2	7.4
6	10 acres & above	9	3.3	27	11.7	8.4
	Total	269	100	232	100	

Source: Compiled from the field data

It is also found that some families while living together, used to have a bigger land size before acquisition but got divided later along with their land holdings too. After the acquisition, these families got separated and distributed compensation amounts. That divided amount was not of much help to invest for a long-term return, probably for purchasing land. However, this is not the case with all joint families. Vejpal, a marginal farmer of Kheri Sadh, is still living in a joint family along with the families of his three brothers (the other brothers are in Government jobs). Before the land acquisition, they used to have 4 acres of land (each 1 acre) which were acquired in Phase II (3 acres) and phase III (1 Acre). As they were living jointly, they received a good chunk of money and together, they purchased 16 acres of land in Kelanga of Bhiwani district (around 70-80 km from Rohtak) at Rupees 5-7 lakhs/acre. Now, Vejpal is not doing anything and earning rent and annual royalty as an absentee landlord. But he was complaining about the insecurity of earning from leased out land and growing necessities of life and livelihood. He is unsatisfied with his present economic life; according to him, life was easy with four acres of self-cultivated lands rather than now with rents of sixteen acres. Like Vejpal,

⁴⁴ SCs and OBC community who are landless is not included in the table

many families could multiply their land holdings by combining the compensation of siblings instead of dividing it.

The number of families with land holding between 1.2-2.5 acres and 2.5-5 acres declined in the post-acquisition period from 17.5 percent to 9.5 percent and from 26.3% to 21.2% respectively (Table 4-10). However, unlike marginal farmers, they do not become landless and rather able to purchase alternative land holdings at various places, as discussed in subsequent sections. Similarly, the number of medium and large landholders (with 5 to 10 acres and more than 10 acres) also grew from 10.8% to 18.2% and 3.3% to 11.7%, respectively. A rentier class emerged due to land acquisition among the people who had at least 2 acres of land and were able to utilise the compensation amount in purchasing lands at cheaper rates. The medium and large landholders multiplied their holdings into two to three times what they had before, while families with less than 10 kanal ended with landlessness and impoverishment. These smallholders are the worst-hit farming community in the study area, and despite being numerically more, they lack the economic and political capital to mobilise against dispossession. Land acquisition in Haryana showed an asymmetric picture as different classes of land owners benefiting and dispossessing unevenly resulted in unorganised and failed mobilisation.

4.3.1.2.1 Land purchased after the acquisition

Figure 4-9 Land Purchased after

Further, an analysis of how land acquisition impacted on land holding status of different class categories has been made by articulating the land purchase status after acquisition. As figure 4-9 shown below that, among oustees, around 56.4 percent of farmers purchased land, whereas the remaining 43.6 percent didn't purchase any land after acquisition. Many farmers refuse to disclose information on whether they have purchased land or not. Further, collecting data on the amount of land purchased, location of land, annual income, etc., during the nationwide farmers' protest in 2020 was challenging as they became suspicious of the government and reluctant to disclose any income-related information to strangers.

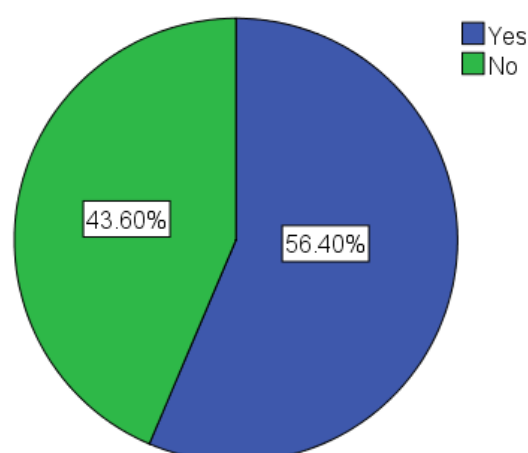


Figure 4-9 as discussed above, provides information on how many farmers were able to purchase land after the acquisition but is silent on how different class categories purchase land and any pattern found. For critical analysis, cross-tabulations are made between the original land holding status with land purchased status and the size of land purchased in tables 4-11 and 4-12. Confirming the above assumptions, except for 26.7 percent among marginal landholders, almost the majority within other class categories purchased land. Approximately 71% of farmers with between 1.26 and 12.5 acres afterwards purchased land. Such are the cases of households with land between 2.6-5 acres and 5 to 10 acres i.e., 80 percent and 73.9 percent, respectively and almost all large farmers with more than 10 acres. However, there are cases in which, despite receiving a good amount of compensation, they do not purchase land but rather invest in areas like real estate, business and entrepreneurship. The same applies to families who lost partial land holding, mainly from Nonand and Kharawar.

Table 4-11 Cross-tabulation of Land Holding Status BLA * Land Purchased

Land Holding Status Before Land Acquisition			Land Purchased		Total
			Yes	No	
	Upto 1.25 acres	Count	24	66	90
		%	26.7%	73.3%	100.0
	1.26-2.5 acres	Count	20	8	28
		%	71.4%	28.6%	100.0%
	2.6-5 acres	Count	48	12	60
		%	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	5-10 acres	Count	17	6	23
		%	73.9%	26.1%	100.0%
	10 acres & above	Count	9	0	9
		%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	51	26	77
		%	66.2%	33.8%	100.0%

Source: Compiled from the field data

Table 4-12 shows the amount of land purchased by different class categories after land acquisition. Around 26.1 percent of marginal farmers within those who purchased land was able to purchase the same amount of land, whereas 32.8 percent purchased land up to 2.5 acres and the remaining 39 percent purchased between 2.6 to 5 acres of land (a five times larger size from the original) depending upon the phase of land acquisition.

Table 4-12 cross-tabulation of land holding BLA*size of Land Purchased ALA

Land holding before acquisition	Size of Land purchased							Total
	upto 1.25 acre	1.25-2.5 acre	2.6-5 acre	5-10 acre	10-20 acre	20-30 acres	more than 30	
Upto 1.25 acres	6 (26.1)	8 (32.8)	9 (39.1)	00	00	00	00	23 (100.0%)
1.26-2.5 acres	1 (4.8)	4 (19.0)	14 (66.7)	1 (4.8)	1 (4.8)	00	00	21 (100.0%)
2.6-5 acres	00	5 (10.4)	10 (20.8)	26 (54.2)	6 (12.5)	1 (2.1)	00	48 (100.0%)
5-10 acres	00	1 (5.6)	00	8 (44.4)	9 (50.0)	00	00	11 (100.0%)
10 acres & above	00	00	00	1 (11.1)	7 (77.8)	00	1 (11.0)	100.0%

Source: Compiled from the field data

The same happens with those with 1.25 to 2.5 acres of land. They could either replace the same size of land or purchase bigger holdings of up to 5 acres afterwards. The most benefited families were those with more than 2 acres of land because they multiplied their land holdings into bigger estates than they had initially or the same size they lost to IMT Rohtak, as shown in table 4-12. However, the above table does not indicate any clear pattern as smallholders can also purchase bigger or at least the exact size of land for small, medium, and big farmers. The major reason found in the interview and focus group discussion was on which phase land was acquired. The families who lost their land, even a small piece of a few kanals in phase I (2007), could purchase a good portion of land in adjoining districts. Many of them multiplied land size into three to four times bigger as the land was available at a lower price than the compensation amount received by these families, i.e., Rs. 22 lakhs per acre (approx.). However, with urban growth and industrialisation in and around Rohtak and NCR, land prices started rising within a few years, reaching crores per acre mainly after 2010. Therefore, people who lost their land in phase II and mainly in phase III were not able to purchase the same portion of land as it was purchased by those of phase I, despite the rate of compensation paid in Phase III being double that of Phase I and II (Rs. 54 lakhs approx.). It is one of the major dissatisfaction factors among farmers who lost their land in phases II and III. But cultural aspects and being a land-based caste, they purchased land wherever it was available at cheaper price, even in the desert state of Rajasthan or in the far state of Chhattisgarh, which is situated more than a thousand

kilometers away from Haryana. However, cultivating those land are not feasible due to distance and given on lease. The husband of Bimla Devi, the late Ram Dwaj of Kheri Sadh, is one such case. Ram Dwaj and his brothers had 4 acres of land, including one *barani* type, acquired in phases I and III. Initially, they thought the compensation price was good and purchased around 30 acres of land (7.5 times more) at Durg, Chhattisgarh. It was impossible to cultivate those land, hence giving on lease and receiving rent annually. Their overall socioeconomic condition is better off now.

Few other findings also came out of those interviews and group discussions. Firstly, Jats' cultural, psychological and financial attachment to the land through generations motivates them to invest the compensation primarily on purchasing alternative land rather than investing more in emerging real estate and speculative markets of NCR. Many invested quite rationally, i.e., securing a piece of land and trying their luck in the real estate market, except for the plot they received in IMT. By overcoming the problem of scarcity of land (a major issue in the land-for-land approach of compensation) in Haryana, farmers were quite flexible on where to purchase land. They went to great extents to buy land in places like Punjab, Rajasthan and even Chhattisgarh, if available at cheaper rates. Secondly, except marginal farmers, many could purchase quite a good amount of land; none less than the size they had before. Non-emergence of landlessness (except for marginal farmers) among these communities and satisfaction over the possibility of buying the same or larger size of land holding became instrumental in mitigating the impact of dispossession, though not able to give satisfaction. Thirdly, the dispossession of land in one location resulted in the possession of land at another, even by extra-legal means. Specifically, the Durg district of Chhattisgarh witnessed an unprecedented flow of investment on land by the Jats of Haryana, causing the expulsion of the tribal and local peasant population (Jha, 2009).

4.3.1.2.2 Farming status of Purchased land After Land Acquisition

In the previous discussion, we found that except marginal farmers, all other landholders could purchase at least the same portion or bigger land estates compared to original holdings in exchange for compensation money. Even some families multiplied their land holdings by more than three-four or more times. But, ironically, most reported that bigger landholdings have not transformed into prosperity and economic viability for their family. They revealed that even after purchasing a bigger portion of land, not much improvement has occurred in their economic condition; instead felt degradation. The reasons cited are their inability to cultivate

the newly purchased land and the growing demands of a post-acquisition, market-oriented urban society.

Table 4-13 Farming Status of Purchased land

Status of farming	Frequency	Percentage
self-cultivation	3	2.5
on lease	114	95.0
laying vacated	1	0.8
sold it	2	1.7
Total	120	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

Table 4-13 indicate that the majority, i.e., 95 percent, are not cultivating their newly purchased land and given on lease due to long distance. They had undoubtedly purchased a larger size than they had before but failed to make a profit. They bought land wherever it was available at cheaper rates but not based on the feasibility of cultivation. For example, Hari Lal of Baliyana, lost 1.5 acres out of his total 2.4 acres in 2009 at Rs. 24 lakhs/acre (approximate. Like others, he did not object to land acquisition and tried other means of livelihood. His family purchased around some 4-5 acres of land at a value of 4-6 lakh per acre in Rajasthan by spending both personal savings and compensation money. They went there and tried cultivating that land for some years but later realised it was not feasible to go there occasionally and cultivate. Unlike native places, new places have their own limitations. They sold all of their purchased lands and now his son is in Chhattisgarh working on leased land⁴⁵. They refused to purchase a residential plot in IMT as money was insufficient after purchasing land at that time. He argued that “if the government had taken all of our land or none of it, we would be in a different state, probably better off than today”.

An analysis is made in table no. 4-14 to know the actual distance of land farmers have purchased from their place of habitat. Merely 5 percent of households can only purchase land within 20 kilometers from home and farming now, despite facing few difficulties in those villages as farming needs constant and rigorous care. Some 15 percent of the households

⁴⁵ In Chhattisgarh, particularly in Durg district, many people of Haryana migrated long back and settled down after purchasing large estates of lands at cheaper rates. Hari Lal is having some relative there and his son has taken up some land on lease and doing cultivation

purchased land at an approximate distance of 20-50 km, while 33.3 percent in around 50-99 kilometres and 29.2 percent beyond 100 km. and within 200 km. The remaining 17.5 percent purchased land at more than 200 km. away from Rohtak. They have given their land on lease and get annual rent as absentee landlords. One of them argued that “between self-cultivation and earning rent on leased out land, even the size of the land is bigger, profitable is always former. We won’t have any control over the production of the leased land and will get whatever the tenant gives after keeping his own profit. If he didn't have good harvesting for reasons like natural calamities or pests, he won’t pay rent. As the distance of land is far, we can’t demand more rent; otherwise, nobody will take it on lease. You are helpless over a piece of land situated hundreds of kilometers away and nobody to look after it”.

Table 4-14 Distance of Purchased Land from Village

Distance	Frequency	Percentage
Within 10 KM	1	0.8
10-20 KM	5	4.2
20-50 KM	18	15.0
51-99 KM	40	33.3
100-200 KM	35	29.2
more than 200 KM	21	17.5
Total	120	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

He added, "we have purchased land as much as we can at various locations depending upon the price as land gives perennial socio-economic security compared to any other commodity. But migrating these places away from your own kin is not a good option. When we were cultivating land here in our own locality, we used to take care of each other crops on a reciprocal basis at a time of necessity and there were cooperation and coordination between villagers. But in a new place away from our own kin, we won't get that social support needed for cultivation. You won’t be available all the time and you need the support of others. Moving there, constructing a new home, and starting life afresh is a big risk and demands large capital too. And even if one does, nothing will be left afterwards to purchase new land or buy another livelihood”.

As seen in the above table, more than 15 percent of families purchased land at places located as far as hundreds of kilometres in Chhattisgarh and Rajasthan. Some of the lands were not even suitable for cultivation at the time of purchase and they spent a good amount to develop

and make that arable. The same happened with the family of Ram Singh of Baliyana. They had a small piece of land that the HSIIDC acquired in phase II. It was highly valued land near the national highway and Rohtak city. They purchased around 8-9 acres of land at a cheaper price in an interior village of Rajasthan. They moved there, developed that land, installed a tube well, made it arable and even built a small house. They spent their own saving money and some from personal borrowing apart from compensation amount. But the investment went wrong and failed to generate as much profit as expected. Conditions turned so severe that they could not even repay their loans, and at last, they sold all the land, even the residential plot allotted in the IMT to repay debts and returned to their village as landless. Hence, in the present study, except for marginal farmers, land dispossession has not turned landlords into landless, but they no longer remain peasants. They purchased larger estates but were not sufficient to manage their changed life. They are receiving rent and become absentee landlords but have lost life's rhythm.

4.3.1.3 Consumption pattern and Household food security

Household food security has been defined by the World Food Summit Declaration 1996 as the physical, social and economic access of all family members to sufficient, safe and nutritious food at all-time which is essential to lead an active and healthy life (FAO, 2006). Four aspects are important in food security, i.e., *availability* of food grain and other food products, *accessibility* to it (purchasing power); the economic ability to acquire food, the capability to extract desired nutrients out of food; the *utilization* aspect and lastly, the *stability* in access (FAO, 2006). Large-scale land acquisition has the potential to threaten all these four aspects of food security and alter the consumption pattern of not only the landowning communities but of those dependent on the land, directly or indirectly. Food insecurity generated out of loss of land could result in malnutrition, poverty, morbidity and mortality, which could be felt differently at class, caste and gender levels (Cotula, 2013; Bottazzi, Crespo, Bangura, & Rist, 2018; Reuter, Singh, Sinha, & Mehta, 2021). An attempt has been made to understand the impacts of land acquisition on the consumption patterns and household food security of the oustees below.

4.3.1.3.1 Lasting of food grain after land acquisition

The crop pattern and annual food grain output significantly impact a society's food security. A sufficient amount of food grain strengthens the socio-economic status of a family. Moreover,

in a rural economy, food grain plays a significant role as the whole economy runs through the barter system. It is quite natural that the number of month's food grain last in a year will depend upon the size of the land holding and the quality of the land. Still, in rural areas, even landless can manage food grain for a couple of months in exchange for their labour and personal relationship with landowners.

Table 4-15 Lasting of food grain after land acquisition

Food Grain used to last a year		BLA		ALA	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
	Purchased from market	60	15.9	288	76.4
	1-6 month	34	9.0	32	8.5
	6-8 month	62	16.4	22	5.8
	whole Year	221	58.6	35	9.3
	Total	377	100.0	377	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

Table 4-15 shows the number of months food grain used to last before and after the land was acquired for IMT. Around 15.9 percent of households used to purchase their food grain from the open market before land acquisition and all of them are from landless communities, while for 9% and 16.4% of families, the grain used to last up to 6 months and 6 to 8 months in a year respectively. Table 4-16 indicates that these people are mostly from SC and backward communities and some small landholders. Within the marginal farmers, many families were somehow able to manage food grains throughout the year but afterwards, nothing was left to save and they had to depend upon the market. The remaining 58.6 percent of households used to manage their food grain for an entire year.

After the land acquisition, most households (76.4%) can no longer manage food grains and are now fully dependent on market supplies. This transformation has adversely impacted their family's livelihood, dietary and economic conditions. No doubt that they have purchased a bigger land as compared to earlier and getting both rents from purchased land and royalty from sold land but not sufficient when you depend upon the market for everything. Farmers used to grow everything from their farms except for a few ingredients. But, land acquisition has transformed them from producers to consumers in this market society. However, some families are still managing their own food grain but their number is less. Some 8.5 percent manage up

to six months and 5.8 percent of families are up to 8 months. Few families who lost a part of their holdings are still getting enough grain to last for an entire year from their remaining un-acquired land.

Table 4-16 Cross-tabulation of Food grain used to last in a year *Caste

Particulars	BLA				ALA			
	Caste			Total	Caste			Total
	General	OBC	SC		General	OBC	SC	
	In Percentage							
Purchased from Market	0.7	52.9	59.8	15.9	68.7	94.1	98.8	76.4
1-6 months	0.7	29.4	32.9	9.0	11.2	5.9	0	8.5
6-8 Months	20.5	5.9	4.9	16.4	7.9	0	0	5.8
Whole year	78.1	11.8	2.4	58.6	12.2	0	1.2	9.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

Purchasing food grain, vegetables and other items from outside also causes health problems. Those farmers who used to take their own grown organic and healthy food grain and green vegetables are now dependable on grain and vegetables grown on fertilizers and pesticides. Narrating a similar situation among the oustees of Upper Indravati Dam in Odisha in his own words, "We were getting everything from the *donger* (hills) especially in their original habitation except salt for food. But now they are buying everything except paddy" (Patnaik, 1996, p. 213). Similarly, farmers of these villages, except few things were never much dependent on the market for daily needs. Irrespective of the size of the land, they used to practice multi-crop farming, gardening and orchard to sustain a self-sufficient lifestyle. But, the acquisition significantly impacted their self-sustaining livelihoods and transformed them into consumers from producers. This caused severe repercussions over the health, food security and overall sustainability of oustees.

4.3.1.3.2 Food Consumption intakes after land acquisition

Food consumption intake is one of the important factors for household food security and an indicator to be considered while measuring a family's living standard. High food consumption implies a high economic standard. Both economic and physical accessibility of food grains and other nutrition influences consumption patterns. A higher income leads to a higher level of food consumption, similarly, own production of grains and other food products such as milk,

meat and fruits, etc., will have higher and healthy consumption compared to families purchasing from the market. Therefore, a correlation exists between the availability of farming land and food consumption intake among the affected community. In the present study, as indicated in table 4-17, there is a sharp decline in food consumption intake among 58.5 percent of families after land acquisition. This is not only among the land-owning communities but also among the landless. Being part of a larger agrarian community helps each family to manage grain, vegetables, milk (including milk-made products), fruits and meats as it is available at a cheaper price or in exchange for goods or labour. Despite growth in income levels, food consumption has fallen sharply in these families due to the loss of land, occupation and livestock. However, some 24 percent of families whose food consumption increased after the acquisition, whereas for 17.3 percent, it is the same as before.

Table 4-17 Food consumption intakes

Food consumption	Frequency	Percentage
Increase	95	24.2
Decrease	230	58.5
Same as Before	68	17.3
Total	393	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

4.3.1.3.3 Milk and milk products intakes

Haryanvi people are known for their milk consumption. ‘*Haryana dudh dahi ka desh*’ (Haryana a country of milk and curd) is a very popular phrase. The people of Haryana are very fond of milk products like butter, yogurt, *lassi*, *chhac* (buttermilk). Milk plays a vital role in the dietary habit of Haryanvi cuisine. Almost every family in rural Haryana have milch animals that serve both consumption requirements and generate a viable income source after agriculture. Many of our sample households had animal husbandry as their major secondary occupation and for some primary too as shown in table 4-9. Agriculture and animal husbandry maintain an organic relationship, and any transformation in the agricultural pattern is also marked on animal husbandry. The establishment of Industrial Model Township naturally causes adverse effects on animal husbandry as well as the consumption of milk and milk production of the habitats. Table 4-18 shows that after land acquisition, almost in the majority of households, i.e., approximately 87 percent, milk items reduced considerably and affected their dietary habits

and health. But, when an item is the main ingredient of your cuisine and dietary habits just like milk in Haryana, people purchase from outside, putting additional financial burden. This is true across different caste communities and economic categories as milk consumption have been declined across all castes and economic categories.

Table 4-18 Consumption of Milk and milk-based products

Milk based food intakes	Frequency	Percentage
Increase	20	5.1
Decrease	344	86.9
Same as Before	32	8.1
Total	396	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

4.3.1.3.4 Management and sufficiency of Daily needs

The sufficiency of income to manage daily household needs clearly depends upon a household's socio-economic status. Dispossession or a sudden change in livelihood pattern as found in many displacement studies, impacted significantly over it. In agrarian societies, self-cultivation of multiple crops helps a family to manage its daily consumption and the little saving will help to satisfy the other needs. Indian village life is known for its simple living and moderate requirements. Even the landless people used to manage their household requirements as a part of a larger agrarian community. The common property resources like jungle, grazing land, river and small stream or lake served as a source of income, consumption and sustenance but once it has gone, village life lost its rhythm. They found themselves in great difficulties managing all of these and the post-displacement market society has left no stone unturned to perish them further.

Table 4-19 Sufficiency of Need

Particulars	BLA		ALA	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Sufficient	292	73.6	79	20.0
not sufficient	30	7.6	92	23.3
manageable	75	18.9	224	56.7
Total	397	100.0	395	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

In our sample villages, we found a similar scenario. When asked about the management of daily needs and its efficiency before the land acquisition, 73.6 percent of households reported that earlier they could manage household consumption better than now. It is true for all households of different castes and classes. Only a marginal 7.6% of families reported that it was insufficient and for 18.9%, it was manageable before land acquisition. But post displacement scenario is completely different and difficult too. Most households have reported that the present income is insufficient to satisfy modern consumption needs. Around 56.7% of families registered their displeasure about managing and sufficiency daily needs; for 23.3 percent it is manageable and for the remaining 20 %, it is still sufficient.

Marginal farmers like Rohtas are at the receiving end of this whole process. Rohtas is a marginal farmer with a land of 4 kanal (half acre) from Kharawar. He used to grow wheat, mustard, rice, vegetable (in Rabi) and Bjara (millet) and jware (Sorghum) in the Kharif season. Jware was particularly grown as fodder for his two large cows and two buffalos which generate a good income in the form of milk and calf. The small piece of land was not enough but quite sufficiently generating enough food grains to last a year. Although not much saving was left after keeping household consumption, but yes, they were leading a quite manageable life before the HSIIDC acquired land in Phase III at the rate of Rs. 54 lakhs/acre (approx.). Like others, he also didn't oppose the land acquisition. He was quite satisfied with the compensation amount, i.e., approximately Rs. 22 lakhs for his 4 kanal. But now he is retired from his long farming life and looking towards his two young sons working as daily wage contract workers. After all these years, his experience in the post-development scenario and loss of land is still fresh like an old wound. He said, "my land was quite a good piece of land though a small one, but we were happy with our fewer requirements. But along with land, our happiness has also gone. The money I got in exchange for my land was not enough to purchase another land in this booming land market. Money was exhausted in household consumption only. Now I am getting around Rs. 11000/year in the form of royalty, which is not sufficient even for one month of groceries as now we are purchasing everything from outsides, even milk. I have to depend upon my son's income in this old age with lots of health problems that have grasped me after acquisition."

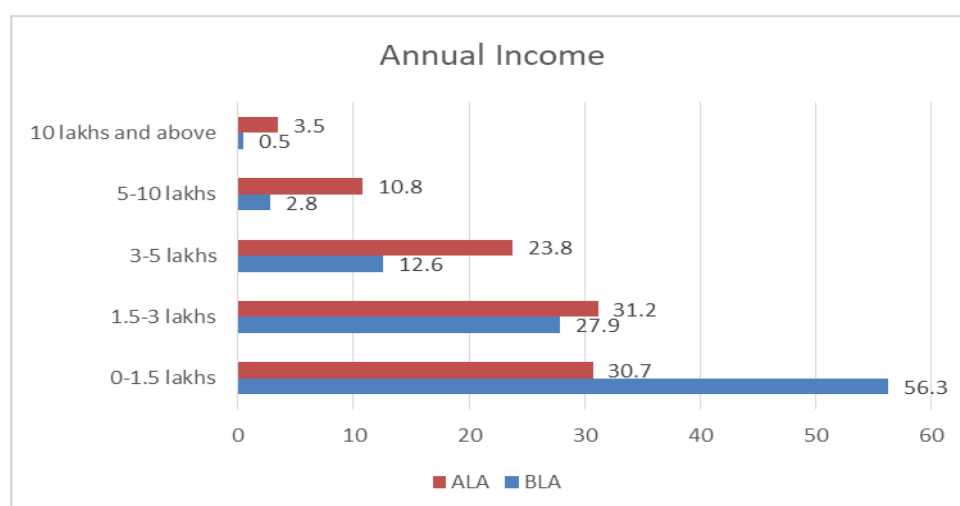
Land dispossession and unstable livelihoods affected the food security of these households acutely, depending on how families mediated with it. Loss of farming land and allied sectors like livestock, orchard, and kitchen gardens, etc., cause a sharp decline in per capita food

intakes, severely affecting the nutritional and health status of women, children and the old. Villages lost more than 3000 acres of farmland, the main source of their food security. However, they purchased land after that but at faraway places and certainly not cultivating. As a result, every household is witnessing food shortage compared to before the acquisition. Dispossession of land threatens the adequacy of food grains, timely availability and presence of quality food, causing severe food insecurity, declined nutritional intakes and overall sustainability of family well-being. And in cases of growing food insecurity and difficulties in managing daily needs, the women go underfeeding.

4.3.1.4 Changes in Annual Family Income

An attempt has been made in figures 4-10 to understand the impact of land acquisition on the annual family income of oustees. Caste, occupation and size of land holdings are some of the yardsticks of annual family income. It has been discovered in many cases of dispossession that acquiring agricultural land—the main source of income for rural people—has had a negative impact on their household income.

Figure 4-10 Annual Income of Oustees



Though everyone does not own land, particularly Dalit and OBC (artisan, service provider and business community) in our cases who are landless, the presence of farming and village commons also influence their livelihood. Therefore, there are chances that the annual income of the affected communities will decline once land has been acquired unless they acquire alternative means of livelihood.

Table 4-20 Average Annual Income BLA and ALA

		Annual Income BLA	Annual Income ALA
N	Valid	398	398
	Missing	1	1
Mean		1.63 (2.4 lakhs)	2.25 (3.75 lakhs)

Source: Compiled from the field data

For analysis purposes, we divided the annual incomes of respondents into five categories i.e., up to rupees 1.5 lakhs, 1.5 lakhs to 3 lakhs, 3-5 lakhs, 5-10 lakhs and more than 10 lakhs. Revealing annual income is considered sensitive, secretive, and subject to reporting biases. Hence, the above data should be interpreted with caution. Around 56.3 percent of families had annual income up to rupees 1.5 lakhs before land acquisition. These were families belonging to SC and OBC communities and those Jat farmers with less than 1.25 acres of land (see tables 4-21&4-22). The remaining 40 percent of families had an annual income of between rupees 1.5 lakhs to 5 lakhs. However, some 3 percent of families, mainly big landholders and economically well-established families used to earn more than five lakh rupees per annum. But, there is a significant improvement in the annual family income after land acquisition. The number of families with an average annual family income of up to rupees 1.5 lakhs has declined from 56 percent to 30 percent, except those of landless communities. Families with annual income between rupees 1.5 lakhs to 3 lakhs, and 3 lakhs to 5 lakhs have increased to 31.2 percent and 23.8 percent, respectively. Families with more than five lakhs annual income are now 15 percent. Farmers, despite the size of land holdings, can increase their annual income. Though the increment level depends on factors like quality and quantity of land purchased, annual royalty received, nature of occupation and returns received from the investment made out of compensation money. As absentee landlords, many families are receiving rent from their purchased land. On average, if we look at the table no 4-20, there is an improvement in average annual income from rupees 2.4 lakhs before land acquisition to rupees 3.75 lakhs after the acquisition.

Table 4-21 Cross-tabulation Caste and Annual Income

Count % within Caste	BLA				ALA			
	General	OBC	SC	Total	General	OBC	SC	Total
0-1.5 lakhs	41.0	84.2	93.1	56.3	12.6	52.6	76.2	30.7
1.5-3 lakhs	36.7	10.5	6.9	27.9	34.5	31.6	21.8	31.2
3-5 lakhs	18.0	0	0	12.6	32.7	10.5	2.0	23.9
5-10 lakhs	4.0	0	0	2.8	15.5	0	0	10.8
10 lakhs and above	0.4	5.3	0	0.5	4.7	5.3	0	3.5

Table 4-22 Cross-tabulation of Land Holding Status BLA * Annual Income BLA & ALA

% within Land Holding Status BLA	Annual Income BLA					Annual Income ALA				
	0-1.5 lakhs	1.5-3 lakhs	3-5 lakhs	5-10 lakhs	10 lakh & more	0-1.5 lakhs	1.5-3 lakhs	3-5 lakhs	5-10 lakhs	10 lakh & more
Landless	91.6	7.6	00	00	00	72.3	23.5	3.4	00	00
Upto 1.25 acres	70.6	23.5	5.9	00	00	28.4	45.1	18.6	7.8	00
1.26-2.5 acres	46.8	46.8	6.4	00	00	4.3	48.9	40.4	6.4	00
2.6-5 acres	22.9	49.4	26.5	1.2	00	4.8	26.5	47.0	18.1	3.6
5-10 acres	3.4	37.9	44.8	10.3	3.4	3.4	13.8	31.0	41.4	10.3
10 acres & above	0	11.1	33.3	55.6	00	00	0	00	44.4	55.6
Total	57.3	27.8	12.1	2.3	0.5	31.4	31.6	23.1	10.8	3.1

Source: Compiled from the field data

4.3.1.5 Impact on Housing pattern

Land acquisition and subsequent developments have also brought some changes in the housing pattern of oustees. To understand the nature of changes, we have taken certain parameters i.e., structure of the house, number of rooms, availability of latrine and bathroom in the house, source of water consumption and type of fuel used for cooking.

4.3.1.5.1 Structure of the House

Compensations received in exchange for agricultural land and through other government housing projects brought significant changes in the house structure of many families. Earlier, only 48.2 percent of pucca houses were made out of concrete in these villages, while 15.3 percent were semi-pucca houses and the remaining 36.4 percent were kutcha houses (table no 4-23). But after land acquisition, many constructed new homes by dismantling the old ones or repaired. After the land acquisition, almost 84.4 percent of houses are pucca, while 7 percent

are semi-pucca, and the remaining 8.5 percent live in kutchha houses. Improvement of house building is true among oustees of all communities. Even families who didn't receive compensation are also constructed pucca houses with the help of various state and Central government housing programs. Hence, apart from compensation, other factors also contributed to improving the housing structure. Overall, the house structure of affected families improved after acquisition.

Table 4-23 Structure of the House

Nature of house structure	BLA		ALA	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Pucca	192	48.2	336	84.4
Semi-Pucca	61	15.3	28	7.0
Katcha	145	36.4	34	8.5
Total	398	100.0	398	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

4.3.1.5.2 Number of Rooms

Table 4-24 Number of Rooms

Number of Rooms		BLA		ALA	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Rooms	1 room	29	7.3	11	2.8
	2-3 room	192	48.7	128	35.1
	3-5 room	154	38.9	183	46.2
	more than 5	20	5.1	72	18.2
	Total	396	100.0	396	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

Land acquisition has changed not only the structure of the house but also the number of rooms. Table 4-24 shows that before the land acquisition, around 7.3% of households had only one room in their house; most of them are from the SC community and marginal farmers. Some 48% of households had 2-3 rooms and 38.9 percent families had 3-5 rooms, and some 5.1 percent large farmers, mainly Jat joint families, had more than five rooms. After the acquisition, most houses' rooms have increased significantly, irrespective of caste and class categories. Now around 18.2 percent of houses have more than five rooms compared to 5.1% earlier. Around 46 percent have 3-5 rooms and 35.1% have 2-3 rooms. A cross-tabulation among

different categories reveals that the number of rooms available in a house has improved for all caste categories, irrespective of the effects acquisition. However, in landowners' cases, a positive correlation has been found between the size of land holdings lost and the number of rooms improved thereafter. Generally, in earlier times, irrespective of economic status, people used to have few rooms in houses and lived in joint families. But, after land acquisition, many people constructed new houses or repaired old ones and built more rooms depending upon the economic class and the size of compensation received.

Table 4-25 cross-tabulation of size of land holding BLA and number of rooms

Percentage within Land Holding Status BLA	BLA				ALA			
	1 room	2-3 rooms	3-5 rooms	More than 5	1 room	2-3 rooms	3-5 rooms	More than 5
Landless	19.2	65.8	14.2	0.8	8.3	65.8	24.2	1.7
Upto 1.25 acres	5.0	57.4	30.7	6.9	1.0	28.7	45.5	24.8
1.26-2.5 acres	00	43.5	50.0	6.5	00	19.6	67.4	13.0
2.6-5 acres	00	32.9	58.5	7.3	00	8.5	63.4	28.0
5-10 acres	00	20.7	75.9	3.4	00	17.2	48.3	34.5
10 acres & above	00	22.2	66.7	11.1	00	00	44.4	55.6
Total	7.5	49.6	38.0	4.9	2.8	33.3	45.5	18.3

Source: Compiled from the field data

4.3.1.5.3 Availability of Latrine and bathroom

In our sample villages, almost 84.9 percent of families had own bathroom and lavatory before the land acquisition, except a few families (15 percent). But after land acquisition, almost every household i.e., 99.5%, constructed their own latrine and bathrooms. Many families constructed toilets and bathrooms under various government schemes and under village development schemes taken up by the Maruti Company under Corporate Social Responsibility.

Table 4-26 Availability of Latrine and Bathroom

Particulars	BLA		ALA	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	337	84.9	395	99.5
No	60	15.1	2	0.5
Total	397	100.0	397	100.0

4.3.1.5.4 Source of Water Consumption

Many villagers have reported that drinking water is the most long-standing local problem. The groundwater levels were high and rejuvenated periodically when all the surrounding lands were cultivated through rain-fed and canal irrigation systems. Therefore, well, tanks, ponds and other water bodies were always full and there were no problems with drinking water. Around 20.7 percent of households were dependent on wells for drinking water. As villagers were using those wells for household purposes, they used to be clean and less polluted. Panchayat also used to look after those well and clean regularly. Most of the family (42.7 percent) were dependent upon hand-pump (tube well), both personal and common for drinking water. While the remaining 36.4 percent of households were dependent on public water supplies; the second major source of drinking water (table 4-27).

Table 4-27 Source of Water Consumption

Sources	BLA		ALA	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Well	82	20.7	3	0.8
Hand Pump	169	42.7	95	23.9
Public Water Supply	144	36.4	266	67.0
Tankers	1	0.3	33	8.3
Total	396	100.0	397	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

After the loss of agricultural land, wells and tube wells started drying out and gradually became polluted due to less use and lack of proper care and attention. These are now full of silt mud sediment and abandoned conditions that used to be a major source of drinking water once. The groundwater level also started declining and even personal pumps and other water sources started drying out. While wells are now deserted, some 23.9 percent of families use hand pumps. Most households (67 percent) now depend upon public water supply for their drinking water. However, they are complaining that Panchyat/Municipality is not taking proper care of these public water tanks and excessive use of chloride powder, causing various skin-related health problems. Many households started purchasing water through tankers, mainly from Baliyana and Kheri Sadh. As shown in the table above, around 8 percent are now purchasing tanker water for daily consumption, causing additional financial burdens.

4.3.1.5.5 Fuel used for Cooking

Before the land acquisition, every family of the sample villages used cow dung and firewood for cooking as it was available in abundance. But after the land acquisition, the number of domestic animals started declining and so as the availability of firewood in the locality. Except for a few families, around 97.7 percent now depend on LPG for cooking. This transformation in the kitchen, pushed both by local transformation and state policies, has positively impacted women's health and the environment while raising household expenditure.

Table 4-28 Fuel used for Cooking

Fuel Type	BLA		ALA	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Fire wood & Cow Dung	367	92.2	8	2.0
LPG Gas	28	7.0	388	97.7
Electricity	3	0.8	00	00
Others	00	00	1	0.3
Total	398	100.0	397	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

4.3.1.6 Impact on Animal Husbandry/livestock

Animal husbandry plays a significant and vital role in the rural economy and has an organic relationship with agriculture. Livestock resource occupies a central role in shaping families' economic condition and meaningfully in Haryana, Punjab and other north Indian states. In rural Haryana, after agriculture, it is the second bloodline of household economies, cross-cutting caste/class differences. Topographically also, Haryana is ideal for animal husbandry due to its dry climate and sandy soil that could be conducive to producing fodder and grazing land in abundance (Chowdhry, 1994, p. 26). Landless communities overwhelmingly depend upon non-milch and poultry resources as a major source of household income. The state is also known for its quality of livestock, mainly its cattle breed. Haryanvi cows and buffalo generally cost lakhs and produce approximately 15 to 20 litres of milk daily. One buffalo or cow generates around 4-5 lakhs of rupees annually in milk and calf. As we have discussed above, a major family workforce also reared domestic animals as the main secondary occupation and had large livestock before the land acquisition (table 4-29). Landowning castes used to have milch

animals like cows and buffalo, while SC communities mostly depend upon non-milch animals like goats, sheep, pigs, birds and sometimes one or two cattle.

Table 4-29 Numbers of Milch After Land Acquisition

Number	BLA		ALA	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
zero	00	00	254	73.4
1	21	6.2	48	13.9
2-5	167	48.4	30	8.7
5-10	123	30.8	10	2.9
Ten and more	34	9.9	4	1.2
Total	345	100.0	346	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

As per the field report in table 4-29, all sample households had livestock before the land acquisition, while very few households (6.2%) had only one animal. Keeping 2-5 animals (48.4 percent), and 5-10 animals (30.8 percent) were common in every household. There were families with more than ten cattle. The bigger size of the herd also symbolizes higher socioeconomic status, with some people taking pride in the quality of livestock. However, the land acquisition had left a devastating impact on the once-successful livestock economy of Haryana. Loss of farmland and village commons had severely affected animal husbandry. A drastic decline in grazing land and the non-availability of fodder has contributed to a near demise of the livestock economy in the locality and the state too. Since the last two decades, the total number of livestock in Haryana has sharply declined from 88.5 million in 2007 to 71.2 million in 2019 (Government of India, 2008; Government of Haryana, 2020).

Similarly, in Rohtak district also, within 6-7 years, the number of livestock recorded a reduction of more than one lakh. Once prosperous and the backbone of rural Haryana, animal husbandry is now in decay due to the extensive disappearance of farm and grazing land. Now maximum families are out of their livestock, i.e., 73.4% in the case of milch animals and 61% in non-milch animals (Table No.4-30). Some still have, but the number has declined to a minimum, hardly one or two. As acquired lands are still vacant and some are cultivating too, some farmers can manage fodder for their left-out livestock. But once IMT starts full-fledged, this prosperous

source of the household economy will certainly die. Hence, the acquisition ended a major source of family income and severely affected oustees' dietary and health habits. High dependency on packaged milk for daily consumption now brought additional financial burden over their stagnant income.

Table 4-30 Number of Non-milch animal

	Numbers	BLA	ALA
		Percent	Percent
Number of Goats/Sheep/ pigs and other non milch animal	Zero	00	61.0
	2-5	00	9.3
	5-10	22.0	4.9
	10 -20	39.0	9.8
	20-50	24.4	12.2
	50 and more	14.6	2.4
	Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

Landless communities generally used to have non-milch animals like pigs, sheep, goats, and, if manageable, one or two cattle. For landless communities, livestock is not the only source of income but a sure means of food security. As data indicates, around 22% of families had 5 to 10 livestock before land acquisition, while 39% had 10-20 and the remaining 40% had more than 20. Some families had more than 100 animals, mainly pigs and sheep but once the land had gone, their number started declining. Farming of non-milch animals extensively depends upon the availability of grazing land in the surrounding area and once it has been acquired, the number will naturally fall. Today 61 percent of Dalit families do not have any livestock except some in decaying states.

For instant, Suresh, a 50-year-old landless Dalit from Kheri Sadh used to have 50-60 pigs (each at full grown stage used to be valued up to Rs. 20-25000/-) before acquisition. He and his wife also worked as agricultural labour in the field of Jat farmers during harvesting and sowing seasons. Earlier, he used to earn around 2-3 lakhs per year, but now the number of pigs has come down to less than five as they need large grounds to graze. His income too reduced to less than 1 lakh as he lost both the primary and secondary occupation of his family. Now both of them are unemployed and occasionally go for labour work if available. Along with them, their only son is also unemployed and sitting at home after completion of secondary school. In the initial stages of IMT, he used to go to Maruti Company, the largest company operating in

IMT as daily-wage labour through a contractor with Rs. 500/day wages. But once a cheap labour force from Bihar and Chhattisgarh pumped into IMT, the contractor reduced the daily wages to Rs. 300/- per day and preferred outsiders over locals.

“Everything used to grow on land and mostly organic only. But, now everything comes from the market. We are purchasing vegetables from Rohtak town grown by excessive use of fertilizer. The life expectancy of our people is decreasing. Some skin diseases affect us each year (show his body infected by itches). Cases of cancer are also growing daily; I don’t know why? Pollution is also increasing mainly due to Asian Paint” said Surendra. Dilawar Singh, a senior citizen of Baliyana, referred that not many socio-economic changes have taken place in their life but were very particular about the declining animal husbandry in the locality. “Early time animals were one of our major sources of income and main occupation. Each house has to have its own domestic animal, mainly cows and buffalo. Forget about selling milk products outside, our domestic consumption was much more and milk is a major part of our diet. Now that is changing as the number of animals started declining due to non-availability of grazing land and fodder” said Dilawar. Table 4-31 more precisely shows the impact of land acquisition on the livestock resources of these villages as the average number of milch animals has reduced to 1.26 on average from 6.63 after acquisition. In the case of non-milch animals, it has declined from 21.7 per family to 4.79 on average now.

Table 4-31 Average size of livestock BLA & ALA

	Numbers of Milch BLA	Numbers of Milch ALA	Numbers of Goat/Sheep/Pigs BLA	Numbers of Goat/Sheep/Pigs ALA
Mean	6.63	1.28	21.71	4.79
N	345	346	41	41

Source: Compiled from the field data

4.3.1.7 Impact on schooling patterns

In many cases of land acquisition, it is found that forceful displacement affects the schooling pattern of oustees’ children both positively and negatively (Mohapatra, 1999; Fernandes, 2007; Fernandes, 2008). After getting a good amount of compensation, landholders started sending their children to private schools hoping for quality education. But this happened in a few cases while incidents of negative impacts were more as the number of dropouts among the children, particularly among girls, increased drastically after displacement. Many pulled out their children in the middle of schooling and sent them for earning. In other cases, the children who

used to study at private schools were pulled out and sent to government schools after acquisition. Articulating the impacts of land acquisition on schooling patterns, L.K. Mohapatra (1999) added loss of education as the eighth impoverishment risk into the model of forced displacement formulated by Michael Cernea (1997). Loss of education has also felt unevenly on gender and class lines (Fernandes, 2007).

Table 4-32 Types of Schooling of children

School Type	Boys				Girls			
	BLA		ALA		BLA		ALA	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Private	8	2.6	148	48.2	7	3.0	111	47.6
Government	296	97.4	159	51.8	223	97.0	122	52.4
Total	304	100.0	307	100.0	230	100.0	233	100.0

Source: Compiled from the field data

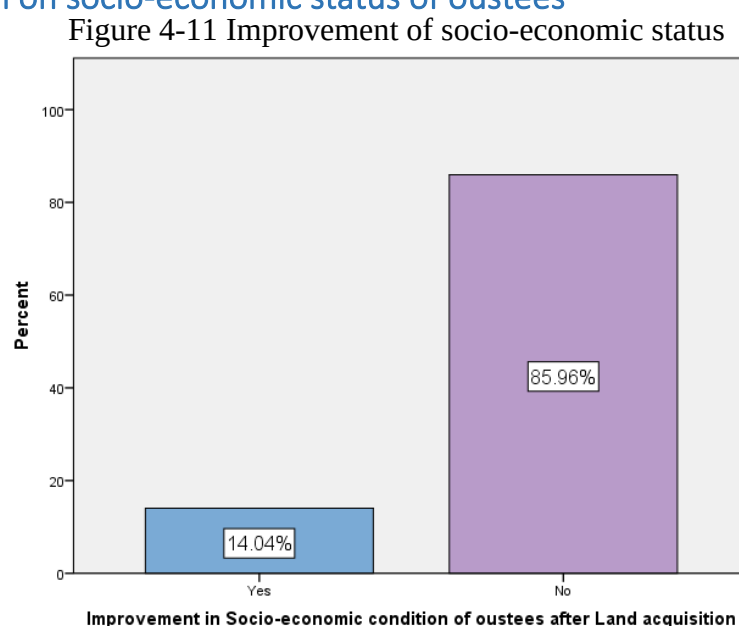
An attempt has been made to understand the impacts of land acquisition on the education pattern of oustees in a present case study of Haryana. The study area, Rohtak is known as the educational hub of Haryana. Many governments and private schools, colleges, and universities are located in Rohtak city. However, the number of private institutions is booming at unprecedented speed, as reflected in our schooling pattern. In response to the impact of land acquisition on the schooling pattern, it is found that (table 4-32) the majority of boys and girls (around 97 percent) were studying at government schools before land acquisition, while only mere 2-3 percent used to go private schools. But after land acquisition, many families, irrespective of caste and class affiliation, started sending their children to private schools. From 2-3 percent before, more than half of the children (both boys and girls) now pursue their schooling in private institutions. A significant proportion (around 48 percent) still prefer government institutions, but their number is sharply declining.

The above table also indicates that there is not much distinction in the schooling pattern of boys and girls before and after land acquisition. Another major finding is that there are similar schooling patterns among all caste and class communities, including landless SCs and landholders Jats. This indicates the non-significant impact of land acquisition over the schooling pattern of oustees. Though accumulation and utilization of compensation and post-acquisition livelihood status of land owners have influenced the schooling pattern, preference

for private schooling seems to be influenced by the larger trend of privatisation of education and parents' preference for a better quality of learning.

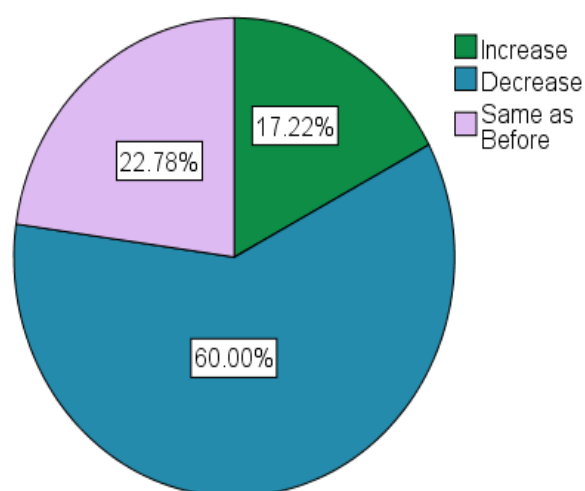
4.3.1.8 Impact of land acquisition on socio-economic status of oustees

Data collected on the overall impact of land acquisition on the socio-economic status of displacees indicates that only 14.04% felt that their socio-economic status improved after land acquisition. But for most households, i.e., 85.96 percent, socioeconomic status has degraded further (Figure 4-11).



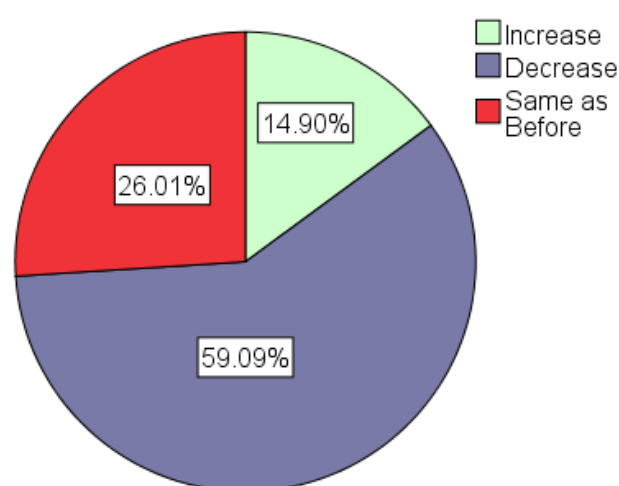
Regarding economic status, as shown in figure 4-12, 60 percent reported a decline in economic condition, whereas 22.7 % is the same as before. In the remaining cases of 17.2%, economic status has improved

Figure 4-12 Economic status



Similarly, 59 percent feel that their social status degraded after the land was acquired (figure 4-13). The disintegration of old traditional joint family life, conflict among siblings and loss of land are some of the reasons for social degradation. In a rural society, landholding is the prime cause of one's social status. Names and deeds of big farmers are cited, heard, and respected because of their larger land holdings. A big farmer has a strong voice over the village's political and other societal matters. Moreover, Haryana is known for political mobilisation among farmers. But once the land has gone, they are presumed to be lost their pride. No doubt that big farmers have purchased bigger holdings, but in a place where nobody recognises them, nobody seeks their advice and no one cites them. This identity crisis causes psychological trauma for some farmers.

Figure 4-13 Social Status



However, this is not the case for all. There are around 26 percent whose social status is the same as before. For the remaining 15 percent, it has improved. Sri Bhagwan, a farmer of Kheri Sadh, is one among them. He was a big farmer with 10 acres of land and all were acquired in three phases at different proportions but acquisition brought prosperity as he believed. He says, “earlier, we used to earn around fifty thousand rupees out of agriculture and now we are earning around two lakhs. We were farmers and my children were students at the time of acquisition, but now one got a government job (police) and another one is in a private company after completing a professional course. We are doing animal husbandry and earning good money. Life before the acquisition was not good, as our land was barren. Now our standard has increased. My grandchildren are studying at good private schools, which would not be possible if the land was not acquired. The future of the next generation seems to be better.” But he is

worried about the growing criminal activities and alcoholism in the village, nonetheless, he is hopeful about the future of his grandchildren as he can now afford better education for them, mainly in private institutions (his personal view).

A cross-tabulation between the improvement of socio-economic status with different castes and class categories further reveals that despite their differences, majorities of them feel that land acquisition and subsequent development in the locality has not improved their socio-economic status. More severely hit by the process are farmers with land holding up to 10 kanals (1.25 acre) and unfortunately, they constituted the majority among farming communities.

4.3.1.8.1 Reasons for not improvement of socio-economic status

The majority who reported a declining trend in socio-economic conditions cited different reasons, as shown in table 4-33. The majority of the household reported that the non-availability of regular employment opportunities in the locality (98%) and lack of sustainable livelihoods (90%) are the main reasons for declining socio-economic status. While 52.1 percent SCs and OBC, strongly felt that losing their traditional occupation adversely impacted their present social and economic status. All of these reasons are interconnected, and the main culprit is the acquisition of agricultural land by HSIIDC. The land has been acquired in the name of development, i.e., industrial development but nothing of such kind has taken place in the locality even after ten years. IMT has failed to generate enough employment opportunities as claimed in the pre-feasibility report and promised by the then Chief Minister rather dispossessed the existing sustainable sources of income. Direct jobs available in IMT that require high skill and professional knowledge naturally do not go into locals' pockets. As per the HSIIDC website, major allottees of IMT plots, such as Asian paints ltd., Maruti Suzuki Ltd., Aisin Automotive Ltd., etc., have generated only 1200 jobs so far (HSIIDC, 2019). The next section discusses employment-related issues in detail. Few families (21.8%) cited that mis-utilisation of compensation money has affected their socio-economic status.

Table 4-33 Reasons for no improvement in socio-economic conditions

Reasons		Count	Percentage
No regular employment in the locality	Yes	335	98.0
Lack of Sustainable Livelihood	Yes	309	90.1
Loss of Traditional occupation	Yes	177	52.1
Loss of Agricultural Land	Yes	268	78.1
Mis-utilisation of compensation money	Yes	72	21.8

4.3.1.9 Availability of employment opportunities (direct/indirect) due to IMT.

Table 4-34 Employment opportunities in IMT for locals.

Type of Employment	Yes	No	No Idea
	Percent	Percent	percent
Employment Provision in the Companies for locals	11.0	86.7	2.3
Contractual/daily wage/seasonal Labour	69.6	27.6	2.8
Security Guard	68.1	30.1	1.8
Transportation and Driving jobs	45.0	40.6	14.4
<i>Dhaba</i> and others eateries	46.7	43.9	9.4
Service sectors	18.4	54.5	27.1
Vender jobs like tea shop, vegetable shops etc.	16.4	60.0	23.6
Small Scale Business	3.8	53.6	42.6
Residential Township in the locality	17.9	36.4	45.6

Source: Compiled from the field data

A developmental project in the form of dams, industry, mines or townships supposes to create more livelihood opportunities, both direct and indirect, for the local population. Job creation is a major aspect while approving a project to acquire private land. HSIIDC also claimed that IMT Rohtak would create thousands of employment opportunities for the locals directly and indirectly. The administration also emphasized this issue in various meetings and discussion forums with affected people on the usefulness and feasibility of IMT.

Table 4-34 indicates that only 11% reported that employment opportunities are provided to local people, while 86.7 percent denied that. Around 70 percent of respondents agreed that some contractual, seasonal and daily wage labour jobs and security guard jobs are given to the local people. Some of our respondents are working as security guards at Maruti Company. Many women from Kheri Sadh, Baliyana and Bohar (mainly from Dalit communities) are going to Asian paints, Amol Chocolate Ltd. and a shoe manufacturing company as daily wage labour through contractors. Most people complained that companies functioning in IMT do not prefer local people for any employment. These companies are reluctant to take local people. Even if anybody is engaged, it is mainly through contractors on a daily-rated or contract basis. Destabilising permanent labour forces are strategies of capitalist accumulation to refrain workers from making any organised claims regarding wages, better working conditions and safety measures (Glassman, 2006, p. 618).

In a group discussion with farmers of Kheri Sadh, they said that the then CM Shri Bhupinder Singh Hooda while laying the foundation stone of IMT in the presence of other government

officials, promised jobs for each family and community infrastructure along with other economic developments. Like others, they too believed that when big companies like Maruti and Asian paint came to their land; definitely lots of direct and indirect job opportunities would be created for them. “But nothing has happened here,” said Surrender (one among them). Further, “the companies outrageously rejecting the local people for employment. They clearly instructed that no jobs will be given to people within a 30 km range because local people may create ‘trade union’ kinds of pretty politics and put unnecessary local political interference. Some people work in IMT but on a temporary basis and mainly through contractors. Even for manual jobs, they are taking people from other states like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh as they are ready to work at cheaper rates. The people working in those companies are not willing to stay in our village and the city. Nobody is taking our houses on rent.”

While talking about the future of the village and the young generation, Surrender pointed out some young people below 30 years playing cards and smoking hookah, “I don’t know what will happen to the future of my village and them. I feel like it will be in the dark grave. If the land was there, they might work there, but it has gone. Some of us purchased new land, but at faraway places, so we are not cultivating it. In the age of doing hard work, these all are sitting at home doing nothing and moreover will indulge in anti-social activities like loot and collecting *hapta/batti* (pizzo) from company people. Look how they are playing cards the whole day and smoking hookah. What you will guess is the future of a village where youth sit and play cards in daylight.”

Some are engaged in transportation activities like driver, helper, etc., on the transport vehicles, and Mahendar from Kheri Sadh is among them (45 percent reported that transportation jobs are open due to IMT). He was a marginal farmer with 8 kanal (1 acre) of land further divided among four of his brothers (each with 2 kanal). He, his wife, and his children used to survive through cultivation before the HSIIDC acquired it. They used to have a few animals too but everything has gone now. In the form of compensation, he and his brothers received a sum of Rs. 8 lakhs which was exhausted in the construction of one 2 BHK house and repayment of an old loan. Now he is driving a transport bus in IMT through a contractor with Rs. 8,000/month, accompanied by his computer science graduate and an I.T.I degree holder only son as a helper. His whole family now depends on him and Rs. 2000 royalty yearly.

Few people work as security guards through contractors but complain that neither proper wages nor safety measures are taken care of by the company or the contractor. Jaswant from Baliyana

is one of those. He lost 1.5 acres of land in the third phase and was able to purchase the same amount at 80 km far place, which is given on lease now. Earlier, he used to cultivate all of his father's land, but when it was acquired, the compensation amount was distributed among him and his sisters. His sisters demanded a share in both royalty and compensation. So, after paying everyone, not much amount was left for him. This whole acquisition process becomes disastrous for him and his personal relationship with his siblings turns sour. Now he works as a security guard in the Asian Paint Company (another major plant in IMT) through a Delhi-based contractor. He is getting Rs. 9500/- per month for 10-11 hrs. of work per day. The permanent employees of the plant used to get some safety kits but the contractor not provided anything to them. His brother, who used to work in the field with his mother and wife, is now unemployed. They used to have 8-10 buffalo earlier but now only two remain as grazing land vanished after acquisition. All of his seven-member family are now dependent upon his monthly income only. They open a small grocery shop at home to generate some extra income and his wife will be engaged, but due to the proximity of their village to Rohtak city, people prefer city for daily needs rather than shops in the village.

Moreover, some women of Kheri Sadh and Baliyana, mainly from the SC community, also go to the Amol factory as daily rated workers. They are engaged and receive payment through a contractor. Many of the women complained that though the Company is allotting wages as per DC (Deputy Commissioner) rates i.e., Rs. 450/day and a total of around Rs. 13500/month, the contractor is paying them Rs. 7800/month (Rs.260/day), much lower than DC rates. Rakhi, the wife of Rakesh (a youth from the SC community of Kheri Sadh), who helped us in data collection, is among many women going to Amol Factory as daily wage workers. She argued that 'these companies do not prefer local people in jobs. There is a 1:4 ratio of locals and outsiders. It is not like jobs are not there, but they are paying much low for 10-11 hrs. work per day. Further, we must work all 30 days a month without any leave; otherwise, we will lose wages for being absent'. She suspects that the contractor might be charging wages as per DC rates from the company and paying less to them, not even depositing PPF as he is supposed to do. From her neighbourhood, around 10 women go daily. She said, "women from mostly economically poor families are going for work. Whose family condition is a bit better are not preferring to send their women, even if from my community."

We inquired about any indirect employment opportunities that came to the locality due to IMT, such as eateries, *dhaba*, tea stalls, vegetable vendors, small business outlets and others; most

people denied them. Within IMT, few companies are functioning and land remains vacant (land development is under process). Manoj, a 29 year B. Tech. engineer of Baliyana shares his experience about how the IMT ruined their secure livelihood by acquiring land. “They promised us employment per family in the companies as per our qualifications. We got compensation and royalty, which are insufficient to lead a sustainable life. Money is never enough and depends upon how a person uses it. But most people don’t know how to invest for a long-term return. However, many people purchased land, in faraway places, where neither they can settle there by leaving their own kin nor suitable to go and cultivate on their own. Everybody has given their land on lease and sitting here idly.” Asking about professional jobs in these companies, he said, “People from Delhi with the same B. Tech. degree are working on these companies standing on our land but we are not welcome. They told us that local people are simply unsuitable for work and made an informal policy that no jobs will be given to people from the locality. This is the tragedy of development in India”.

An industrial township was supposed to generate lots of income from residential colonies. But nothing of such development has taken place. Most respondents denied any development in business, service sector, eateries, vending jobs, or rented houses in the locality because of the establishment of IMT. No doubt people work in these companies in various capacities, but none stay in the neighbouring villages. Most professional employees are transported from Delhi to Rohtak daily through transportation services provided by companies and labourers migrated from Chhattisgarh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh live in the slums of Rohtak city. No residential township has come up in the locality that could benefit the locals, except in Bohar, situated close to Rohtak municipal sectors. Therefore, the dream of a model township for the locals is still far to achieve.

4.3.2 Impact on Socio-cultural and Environmental aspects of the oustees

A sudden shift in livelihood patterns has always brought various changes in the life of displacees. Displacement affects both personal and communal aspects of life. An attempt has been made to understand the impact of land acquisition on the socio-cultural and environmental aspects of the oustees and local community via Table no.4-35.

Table 4-35 Impact of land acquisition on socio-cultural and environmental aspects

Particulars	Increase		Decrease		Same as Before	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Air Pollution	374	94.4	00	00	22	5.6
Water Pollution	386	97.5	00	00	10	2.5
Noise Pollution	387	97.7	00	00	9	2.3
Health Issues	359	90.9	4	1.0	32	8.1
Health Status of Women	157	40.7	125	32.4	104	26.9
Drugs Addiction & Alcoholism	339	85.6	6	1.5	51	12.9
Crime rates in the Locality	360	90.9	1	0.3	35	8.8
Disputes among Family Members	83	21.0	167	42.3	145	36.7
Social Status	59	14.9	234	59.1	103	26.0
Economic Status	68	17.2	237	60.0	90	22.0
Availability of work in the locality	241	61.3	109	27.7	43	10.9
Food consumption	95	24.2	230	58.5	68	17.3
Consumption of milk, butter etc.	20	5.1	344	86.9	32	8.1
Forced Migration	94	23.9	49	12.5	250	63.6
Standard of living	202	51.3	139	35.3	53	13.5
Indebtedness status	80	20.3	151	38.3	163	41.4
Traditional culture and festival	102	25.8	73	18.5	220	55.7

Source: Compiled from the field data

Regarding Pollution, it is true that none of the companies operating within the premises of IMT is directly emitting high pollutant contents into the open space. But while asking about pollution, almost all villagers reported that air, water and noise pollution in the surroundings increased. The main reasons we can cite are the loss of irrigated farming lands and green cover situated in the village commons, presence of companies and transport facilities.

The increasing population, loss of farmland, non-availability of own-grown grains, vegetable and changes in daily routine pattern has negatively impacted oustees' health. A sudden change in the daily routine and lack of manual work they used to perform before acquisition has further contributed to increasing health issues of sample households. Mainly women are suffering from various health problems due to obesity which has grown due to sudden changes in livelihood patterns and confinement to home after land acquisition. Around 90% of households reported that health issues had increased tremendously after land acquisition. While pointing out the health status of women, 40.7% reported that it had degraded significantly after the land acquisition. Lack of open space, a sudden departure from earlier daily routine, obesity due to

lack of hard work, non-availability of traditional food and vegetables and consumption of junk foods, etc., are some of the reasons cited by households for degrading the health status of women. Around 32.4 % reported that it has improved due to more comfort and leisure they are enjoying now. Home appliances like washing machines, mixture grinders, refrigerators, roti makers, LPG gas, etc., came through compensation money and made women's life a bit easier. It has reduced women's hard work and now they enjoy leisure hours. Using LPG for cooking also significantly impacts women's health, as the polluted air generated through firewood and cow dung cake is one of the major reasons for heart-related issues among women. For 26.9 percent, it is the same as before.

Another major area triggered by acquisition is rising crime rates in the locality. Around 90% reported that crime rates in the locality had increased severely. Some misused the money received in the form of compensation for purchasing guns and consumption of alcohol and drugs. 85.6 percent of household reported that drug addiction and alcoholism has rapidly increased in the villages after the land acquisition, while for 12 percent it is the same as before. The presence of easy money in the form of compensation, royalty or rent with youth sitting idly (without employment opportunities) added to extensive consumption of alcohol and other drugs, leading to increasing rates of crime and violence, majorly against women. The presence of licensed and illegal weapons in the locality also triggers violence and hostility among villagers. “*Ab baat baat main banduk nikal abe hain*” (Now, people are showing guns on small small issues also) replied an old farmer of Kheri Sadh.

Baljeet Jee, an old farmer in his eighties and his brother of Baliyana shared their view about the major social transformation his village witnessed after acquisition. While sitting in his old bed and smoking hookah, he told us that “suddenly crime rates become double due to possession of arms and presence of money. Alcoholism has become rapid among villagers these days as compared to earlier. Earlier, around 3000-4000 bottles of wine were sold per month in our village but now it has become 35000-40000 (a 10-fold increase). IMT acquired thousands of lands and constructed wide starched roads to attract investors, but many of the lands are lying vacant. Empty and wide roads near to highway and outskirts of the city premises become the den for all anti-social activities”. Further, “when farmers were cultivating their land, people used to be present there to protect their crops from animals and pests. Their presence in many ways checked criminal activities earlier, but now a thousand acres of land remain deserted and slowly turning into a jungle, a perfect zone for criminals.”

Elders of the family reported that easy money in the hand through compensation has not been valued by the farmers mainly the young generation. Most young people are sitting idle due to the non-availability of jobs and other employment opportunities. “*khali dimag shaitan ka ghar*” (empty mind is devil’s house), said one old man. Therefore, the young got all kinds of bad habits, such as drug addictions, alcoholism, etc. They sit the whole day due to no work and smoking hookah; even children below ten are doing that. In this post-displacement society, these people consider possessing guns as a symbol of high status, and many acquire it both legally and illegally. Possession of arms sometimes turns into fatal accidents.

Money has brought evils with it. Many joint families are turning into nuclear families. Disputes started arising among siblings, between parents and children. As per Hindu tradition, the father's property is only passed down to their son, while daughters go to their in-laws' houses and have no claim over the parental property. Haryanvi society has no exception, somewhat famous for denying the rights of women. This generation-old discriminatory tradition has somehow normalised itself and managed an emotional relationship between brother and sister after her marriage. Despite legal sanctions against it, the patrilineal society of Haryana has denied inheriting property rights of women, mainly daughters and sisters. Violence against women, opposition to inter-caste marriages and honour killing, in case of any deviation and subjugation of women, could be seen as means to protect this customary norm (Chowdhry, 2012). The commercialisation of land and enormous growth in land values due to growing industrialisation and urbanisation forced women to rethink about the customary practice of male inheritance right over the ancestral property and her claim over it (Chowdhry, 2012, p. 47).

The R&R policy also clearly argued for giving compensation benefits in the name of the *pattadar* (on whose name land has been registered) and afterwards his/her legal heirs, including married daughters. Although many families tried hard to resist the claim of women over the property, but as benefits are directly credited to the bank accounts of beneficiaries, around 30 percent of women (daughter and wife) are receiving compensation and annuity. This provision generates a mixed response among families. For some families, it has a negative impact (21%). After the father's death (*pattadar*), compensation and royalty got divided among all siblings and daughters took their share. This process has created fractures in the relationship between siblings and turned it sour; many daughters lost their paternal support. Not only among siblings but also in some cases relationship between parents and children turned bitter. While asking

about the rate of disputes within families, 21 percent reported that disputes among family members have increased due to land acquisition. Ironically some used this compensation money in a much more productive way by combining it instead of dividing and purchasing bigger landholdings. Some recognise that daughters also have an equal share in the property. Distribution of land and compensation among siblings also positively affect land-related disputes among family members. For 42.3 percent the disputes among family members have gone down, whereas 36.7 percent said the disputes are the same as before

When asked about the status of forced migration in the locality, 63.6 percent reported that migration is the same as before. People are going outside in search of work voluntarily and coming back home and have not had much impact on migration. However, for some SC families, it has increased as many of their family members migrated to Delhi, Faridabad, and Gurgaon, etc., searching for jobs after acquiring land.

The Standard of living for 51.3 percent of families has increased after the land acquisition as they have constructed new houses and purchased cars, bikes and other household machinery to ease their lifestyle. But for 35.3 percent it has declined due to loss of land, non-availability of employment opportunities in IMT and higher expenses of post-acquisition lifestyle. They found themselves in a difficult situation to manage the modern lifestyle without any sustainable means of livelihood, resulting in increasing indebtedness. 20.3 percent of sample households reported that their debt has increased after land acquisition. The compensation money and annual royalty are not enough to lead a decent lifestyle now, and they are ending with lots of borrowings. For 38.3% it has decreased as they paid their old loan with compensation money; for the remaining 41.4 %, it is the same as before. Surinder Singh, a small peasant of Kheri Sadh, pointed out another major post-acquisition problem faced by small and marginal farmers. They used to manage finance in times of need by taking a bank loan or borrowing from fellow farmers when there was land. They used to have internal 'len-den' (reciprocal cooperation). *'lekin ab jamin jane ke baad, na bank loan deti he na hi apas main paise milte hain. Matlab paise ka apasi len-den bilkul khatam ho geya'* (but, after the loss of land, neither bank lend us money nor fellow farmers. In other words, reciprocal cooperation on financial matters is now disappeared) said Surinder.

The most important issue in the displacement study is cultural change. In many projects, it was reported that forceful land acquisition had dismantled the old cultural norms and festivities. It generated a hybrid culture due to relocation and the non-availability of old habitats where old

culture was rooted. But in the case of IMT Rohtak, no such problem arises, mainly because of no physical displacement. No homestead land or village was relocated, except a few farmhouses. Most farmland surrounding villages was targeted for acquisition; therefore, it helped people continue their old traditions, culture and festivities. Most households, i.e., 55.7%, reported that cultural norms and festivities are the same as before. Some 18.5 percent of families felt a declining trend in the cultural aspect and were sceptical about its continuity in the future. For the remaining 25.8 percent, culture and tradition are reborn with the advent of modernism and the rise of urban-oriented middle classes in these erstwhile agrarian societies.

4.3.3 Impacts on the civic infrastructure of the affected villages

The land was acquired to bring development to society. Sacrifice has been made for the greater good. HSIIDC also made various claims regarding the infrastructural development of the affected villages. Even Haryana R&R policies had provisions for investing one percent of the total project cost in village infrastructure development.

Table 4-36 Impact on Civic Infrastructure of the Affected Villages

Particulars	BLA			ALA		
	Poor	Average	Good	Poor	Average	Good
Development in Road Transportation	19.8	45.2	34.9	6.8	26.4	66.8
Drinking water Facilities	12.8	34.4	52.8	42.0	19.3	38.7
Medical Facilities	8.1	51.5	40.4	2.3	26.2	71.5
Electricity	15.6	40.1	44.3	25.0	29.8	45.2
Education	1.0	36.6	62.4	1.0	15.6	83.4
Sewerage Facilities	87.7	10.5	1.8	43.7	36.7	19.6
Street Lights	32.7	38.0	29.2	8.3	51.8	39.9
Parks	88.7	9.8	1.5	32.6	39.6	27.8
Availability of LPG Gas	54.2	15.9	30.0	6.8	32.2	61.0
Stadium/Playground	85.1	8.8	6.0	55.2	20.9	23.9

Source: Compiled from the field data

The above table 4-36 made a comparative analysis of various civic infrastructures available before and after land acquisition in the affected villages. In the case of road transportation, more people viewed it as on average or good before land acquisition. But after the land acquisition, it has further improved. Highways now connect every village via bituminous and concrete roads. As the issue of drinking water facilities has been discussed, earlier villages used to have better quality drinking water facilities. 52.8 percent said it was good and unpolluted, while 34.4 percent said it was average, but after the land acquisition, it got polluted. The groundwater level has already declined due to the loss of agricultural land; well and other water bodies got polluted and full of sediment due to lack of water treatment. Public water supply, which is not regular, is the only source of drinking water and those who can afford it are purchasing water through tankers. Villagers of Kheri Sadh and Baliyana continuously complain about drinking water problems to various public authorities, but the problem persists. A farmer said, “now we depend upon water tankers; one tank of water is Rs. 350/- and a minimum of ten is required per month. It seems like our life is stuck around the water tankers. We requested the IMT officials to provide water for our domestic animals but they refused. Electricity used to come 22 hrs. per day early but now 12 hrs.”

In the case of medical facilities and access to the healthcare system, they felt improvement as compared to an earlier time. Some of these villages have primary health care centres, and they depend upon adjoining Rohtak city for better facilities. Now, most of these villages have become part of Rohtak Municipality and have some private and public health care centres. Besides that, Rohtak is near National Capital Region and connected well with all weather and frequently communicated roadways, which take one hour to reach from Delhi. However, the promises made by HSIIDC officials to establish a well-equipped healthcare centre inside the IMT is yet to be materialised.

Like drinking water, these villages used to have a good and uninterrupted power supply (24*7) for household consumption and irrigation purposes before land acquisition. Haryana was one of the first states in India to make electricity available to each village in the 1970-80s. Around 44 percent said that the power supply was good, whereas 40 percent said it was on average before. But now the power supply is coming on an average of 12 to 14 hours per day. Although on an overall basis there is not much change has happened in electricity, but 25 percent reported poor power supply after acquisition.

Surinder explained that there is a college inside the IMT, but admissions are not given to local people and even there used to be a doctor also in IMT so that people of Khadi Shad and Baliyana could refer to in case of emergency. A few years back, HSIIDC people sent him back and he is sitting at his home. Hence, no emergency healthcare facilities are available now in the whole IMT. He was discussing with other farmers that “earlier all tenders for small works were used to give to local villagers, but now all are going in the hands of Delhi people. No substantial community development programs have taken place. Whatever marginal works they are doing, like street lights, sewerage lines, etc., are under ‘corporate social responsibility’ not because they have the responsibility to take care of people on whose land, they are generating profits. They have promised skilled development, but that is also not provided”.

Rohtak, for many years, is the centre for good educational institutions like Maharshi Dayanand University, Baba Mastnath University and some national and state-level reputed institutions. These days, many more private institutions are also started; on average, education is in good condition in the surrounding areas. Land acquisition has no adverse impact, and many still believe it is better than before.

The remaining civic infrastructure, like sewage facilities, streetlights, parks, LPG connections and playgrounds or stadiums, were unavailable or negligible earlier. After land acquisition and mainly after incorporating these villages into Rohtak municipality, installation of these facilities has started. Asian Paint Company and Maruti Suzuki Company, also under the CSR scheme, has adopted Baliyana and Bohar village for infrastructural development and providing various facilities such as Maruti Suzuki has constructed playground and other sports facilities in the schools of Bohar. They have also constructed sewerage lines throughout the village and provided street lights at various junctions in one or two villages. Waste disposal trucks sponsored by some of these companies are also working daily. HSIIDC has constructed a park near the IMT entrance too.

But many farmers complained that the HSIIDC acquired Panchayat lands (Common Land) whose value was in crores without compensating anything to the village. That money should be used for village development or handed over to Panchayat (now Municipality) for investing in community development. The government acquired that land without paying anything to the village in return. However, on average, it has improved by taking into all aspects of civic infrastructure in the affected villages compared to the earlier stage.

4.4 Conclusion

Following the success of IMT Manesar, Industrial Model Township as an integrated international standard township remains central to Haryana's industrial and urban development. IMT Rohtak was established with an identical vision resulting in the dispossession of thousands who lost their land and common property resources in exchange. An interrogation of this process of dispossession led to interactions with the affected communities, community leaders, HSIIDC and other government officials. It has certainly revealed the failure of this IMT project to induce any significant improvement and development in the quality of life and livelihood as promised.

It is significant to note that the average size of land-holdings increased among those with more than two acres of land, who consists as much as forty-three per cent of the affected population, owing to the investment of compensations back in land purchases. The medium and big farmers transformed their lands into larger estates. With the advent of IMT, annual family income seems to be improving in a certain respect. The civic and sanitation infrastructure in the affected villages has also improved despite some persistent drinking water crises at certain localities. Housing structure, number of rooms, availability of latrines and bathrooms, and LPG gas and piped water supply have been significantly improved. Same as the standard of education received by the children as many started sending their children (both boy and girl) to private schools in search of better-quality education. Yet, this post-dispossession society is witnessing joblessness, landlessness, food insecurity, socio-economic marginalisation and rising health issues.

In contrast to the larger estates, the marginal farmers with lesser land holdings succumb into landlessness and further marginalisation. Landlessness has increased by twenty-five per cent among the peasants, excluding Dalit and other backward classes. Growth in the land holding size hardly resulted in economic prosperity as newly purchased lands were mostly in faraway areas and therefore have mostly been given on lease. Consequently, IMT Rohtak has brought significant changes in the affected communities' occupational profiles, with many turning into unemployed or/and absentee landlords. Several of them have shifted to unstable self-employment like auto drivers, small businesses, etc. Secondary occupation, i.e., mostly animal husbandry and other allied jobs, became absolute due to land loss, severely impacting additional income sources. IMT, established with the vision to generate thousands of employment opportunities for the local population, has failed miserably. Affected communities

are now witnessing the devaluation of certificates owing to the corporate pushing for its own agenda of 'no local allowed', and emphasis on contractual employment to those who will be ready to work on minimum wages. This further pushed poor families into joblessness, marginalisation, and the exploitative informal economy.

Once a prosperous, sustainable and major source of household income, animal husbandry is on decayed after acquiring farmlands and village commons. Marginal and small farmers along with landless communities whose survival depends upon livestock lost a major source of income as the number of average household animals was reduced to almost minimal. Loss of farming and allied activities along with village commons also resulted in food insecurity, causing a shift in dietary habits and consumption patterns. Landless communities and marginal farmers who depend on agriculture and animal husbandry for their food security are realising a steep decline in the availability of food grain, food intakes, including milk and other dairy products, exacerbating the difficulties in managing daily household needs.

Affected communities witnessed degradation in socio-economic status. Rising unemployment, loss of sustainable sources of income, incapacity of IMT to generate significant direct and indirect income opportunities etc., are the main reasons for economic marginalisation, whereas loss of land, dismantling of joint family and traditional values due to the push of market societies resulted in the decline of social status. Dispossession of land also impacted the socio-cultural and environmental aspects of the affected communities. Pollution has grown up and, along with the cases of health issues. Sudden changes in livelihood and lifestyle due to the inflow of lots of money in the form of compensation led to growing alcoholism and drug addiction among the youths resulting in rising crime in general and against women in particular. However, contrary to other land acquisition cases, indebtedness and outmigration remain the same as before.

**Gendered Dispossession: Situating Women in Land Acquisition and R&R of
Haryana**

*“women veiled, yet highly visible in the fields, the women acknowledged as
an economic asset, but lacking substantive economic worth”*

[Prem Chowdhry (1994) *The Veiled Women: Shifting Gender Equations in Rural Haryana
1880-1990*, Oxford University Press, Delhi]

Chapter outlines:

- State of women in Haryanvi society and economy, particularly Agriculture and Allied sectors.
- How did land dispossession impact on the life of rural women?
- Questioning homogenization of women in displacement studies
- Impacts of land acquisitions on various aspects of the life of women in IMT, Rohtak affected villages

5.1 Introduction:

The role of agriculture in providing employment, livelihood, food and powerful tools against poverty reduction has been widely recognised worldwide. Though its role has been undermined for quite a few years, around 65 percent of the global populace sustains their livelihoods via agriculture and other allied activities. It still contributes significantly to national growth, even up to 25 percent of GDP for some developing countries. In this connection, the global land grab as a means of monopolising access to natural resources (land, water and others) by the corporate capital becomes the greatest impoverishment risk. Inaccessibility to farmland (different from commercial farming), mainly in rural (developing) societies, proved disastrous regarding economic growth, sustenance and food security. And women and landless labour (largest among rural communities) would be the worst hit by such acts of dispossession as their livelihood is sustained over the land. Without any formal (legal) entitlement over land (their access is mainly communal), naturally, they were excluded both in the negotiation process and post-dispossession reconstruction. Women, the largest landless labourer in our society, are the severe victims of such agrarian change as despite contributing significantly to the household economy and food security, their concerns were ignored for ages. They face systematic discrimination in access to productive assets, ownership and control over the land and income

it generates (Daley, 2011). They are the most vulnerable in patriarchal societies because of the discrimination against them via customary and legal laws. It became worst in case of desertion or death of husband as societal inheritance norms discriminate against them.

Addressing the gender and caste factors in development studies is important mainly because development projects, instead of mitigating the pre-existing cleavages, further the gaps; first, by imposing an inordinate share of social costs on them and, secondly, with an unjust allocation of benefits generated out of it. Existing literature on the impacts of development projects recorded the disproportionate effect of impoverishment risks on various vulnerable sections, mainly women, landless, tribal, etc. Hence, articulating the effects of displacement (involuntary) on women and other vulnerable sections of society should not be considered as an add-on to the general understanding of dispossession rather, addressing gender and social justice concerns would be the essential aspect of a holistic study. For many decades, national and international donor agencies, including World Bank, failed to adequately address these aspects in planning and assessment. However, quite a large number of literatures over decades recorded that impoverishment and disempowerment remain the inherent rule of development projects rather than an exception, borne heavily by these vulnerable and marginalised sections.

5.2 Women in agriculture and allied activities

In a predominantly patriarchal society like ours, women hardly owned land as compared to men, but they have always played an important role in agriculture- as farmers, co-farmers, wage labours and managers. According to an Oxfam report in 2013 around 80 percent of agricultural activities are performed by women, whereas they own only 13 percent of the land. As much as 60% of the agricultural operations, like sowing, winnowing, harvesting, etc., are performed by women, and the remaining work is shared with men. They have conventionally been producers of food from seeds to kitchens. Further, with males migrating to other sectors from agriculture, the female counterparts were increasingly appropriated into farming and allied sectors. Census data of India found an increasing number of female agricultural labour. The mechanisation of agriculture also has not replaced women's labour and they continue to perform their traditional low-paid roles of winnowing, sowing and animal rearing activities, whereas men look after all major decisions. Despite that, they were considered agricultural labourers rather than cultivators or farmers as it required land ownership. As a result, they were denied credits, insurance, other subsidies, and agricultural inputs. Therefore, Indian agriculture is witnessing a simultaneous process where both defeminisation (women denied their entitled

roles in agriculture) and feminisation of agriculture co-exist together (De, 2015; Pachuri, 2018). In this process, women exercise certain decision-making powers, enjoy some space in the field, and have financial autonomy, particularly in rural areas. But, in recent years, mainly after the neo-liberal economic revolution, large portions of agricultural land have been converted into non-agricultural usage through land acquisition. While in this whole process of negotiation, protest, conciliation and compensation, men, the owner and sole decision-maker, hardly pay attention to the concerns of women. At the same time, the state also negates her concern in the reconstruction stage, as a consequence the land acquisition has caused further vulnerability and marginalisation among women. Marxist understanding of capitalist development and production and reproduction relationships gives further clarity. Capitalism gives value to the reproduction of ‘labour’ forces, which could be sold and purchased in the market, whereas the ‘subsistence reproduction’ performed mainly by women are of no value and ignored (Mies, 1980)⁴⁶. Hence, capitalist accumulation only considers the acquisition of forces of production, including means of production (land, tools, etc.) and paid labour, done mainly by man. The subsistence work performed by women and other marginalized poor is deliberately undermined, resulting in a differentiated impact of capitalist development in terms of caste, gender and class. Decades of literature tried to comprehensively record the effects of land acquisition and impoverishment risks through a gender lens, as discussed below.

5.2.1 Impacts of land acquisition on women: a general perspective

The existing social and political system prefers men over women in access to land, the economy, and politics. Within the household, resources and power are distributed accordingly and men receive preferential treatment in food, employment, socio-cultural aspects and physical spaces. These structural inequalities became prominent during crises, including displacement and dispossession. As women are not landholders, they are not allowed to participate in the displacement and reconstruction process. Many studies reported a sudden increase in women-headed households after displacement due to the out-migration of male members. They bear the responsibilities of management of household needs and taking care of children and ageing members with severe emotional stress. For example, it has been found that development projects after acquiring land have widened the gender gap within affected communities “either by imposing a disproportionate share of social costs on women or through

⁴⁶ Maria Miles (1980) defines ‘subsistence reproduction’ involved “a variety of human activities ranging from pregnancy, the birth of children, to production, processing and preparation of food, clothing, making of a home, cleaning, as well as the satisfaction of emotional and sexual needs” (p.2)

an inequitable allocation of the benefits generated” (Pandey & Rout, 2004, p. 19). Loss of common property resources such as forests, rivers, grazing fields, etc., causes heavy losses to landless communities, including women. These community resources provide additional livelihood options and support wider security from impoverishment risks. Livestock resources predominantly maintained and controlled by the women folks suddenly found it problematic to maintain due to the lack of grazing land and cheap fodder (Thukral, 1996). In addition to agricultural income, dispossession of allied livelihood activities in the form of loss of vegetation, declined livestock, acute food insecurity generated out of the acquisition of land, loss of common property resources, redundant household businesses and industries depend upon those land, etc. caused severe vulnerabilities for women and her family (Asif, Mehta, & Mander, 2002). Joblessness occurred out of displacement, morbidity and other health issues germinated as upshots of post-displacement development, the disintegration of old family ties and kinship etc., affects women more severely than men. Secure rights of livelihood, housing, education, adequate health facilities, sufficient nutrition and a safe locality as major requirements of women are constantly violated and neglected by both men and the state in the post-acquisition reconstruction stage, causing further marginalization of women.

Joblessness is a major risk of involuntary displacement as scarcity of employment became prominent after the loss of agricultural land, a holistic source of livelihood. Post-displacement society found it difficult to accommodate this large pool of unemployed and only preferred young males by dispossessing women, landless and old. Women are the first ones to lose jobs in land acquisition cases as they need to make way for men first and secondly need to take care of family and children in cases men migrate to other sectors. Loss of land made all allied sectors unfeasible, and people depended upon it, mainly women as jobless. Therefore, the dispossession of land creates a large pool of unemployed and marginalised sections in society and women are the largest among them. Decline livelihoods and home confinement of women in post-displacement society lead to the decline of women's status within and outside the family. Further, the decision-making and control over the household she used to enjoy as a wage earner get weakened. It also degraded the cultural practices as women from small and marginal farmer families could not continue their agri-based religious festivals. Morbidity, acute food insecurity and the declining status of women are some other impacts of land dispossession found in many sites.

In many cases, it was found that men adopt some habits such as drunkenness, idleness, forced migration, drug trafficking, gambling, internalisation of dominant ideologies and high caste cultures that resulted in domestic violence, female feticide, dowry, consumerism as coping mechanisms in post-dispossession life. However, all these habits target women's subjugation and suppression (Fernandes, 2007; Mehta, 2011). Cases of domestic violence and crime against women were high among oustees. With fewer tenure rights or landlessness, prevalent illiteracy, less mobility, and subordinated roles in family (for women) and community, women and landless are excluded in decision-making, ignored in rehabilitation and reintegration processes and almost side-lined in the post-dispossession planning and reconstruction. Women and other landless hardly receive compensation for losing livelihoods and access to resources from the river, forest, grazing field, and other village commons. They were forced to take up wage labour in other sectors despite being exploited and underpaid. While after the acquisition, confinement of women in the home took place among caste society. Conversely, women from landless communities were pushed to the labour market after being dislodged from farmland and their self-sufficient lifestyle (Chowdhry, 1994; Modi, 2004). In sum, dispossession is lethal in disempowering women in a marginalized and subjugated society, pushing them into oblivion.

Further, as found in various studies, women and men perceive the effects of development and dispossession differently. Women mostly received it negatively because they were generally vulnerable as a group. Elizabeth Daley (2011) identified the four-fold vulnerability of women. First, discrimination against women in access to, ownership and control over resources, including land. Both customary and legal systems systematically perpetuate this discrimination. The second vulnerability is related to women's decision-making roles. The socio-cultural and political constraints that control and regulate women's choices concerning matters affecting their life and livelihood. The third one is gender-relative income poverty. The first two vulnerabilities contribute severely to producing gender-based income inequality. It restricts women's ability to participate in the market mechanism freely. Lastly, women's physical vulnerability i.e., physical and sexual violence against women (pp. 7-8). In this regard, access and control over land; both communal and personal, gives women a bargaining position vis-a-vis men and patriarchy. Therefore, women enjoy relatively higher autonomy in Sub-Saharan African societies compared to Asian societies, mainly Middle East, East and South Asian societies, which Deniz Kandiyoti (1988) called 'classical patriarchy'. Women do not claim over the ancestral patrimony and their labour and contribution are constantly kept

invisible. If she claims the property, she may lose the support of her natal family, which is much needed in cases of ill-treatment, desertion, or separation.

Women enter into the in-law's house as a 'dispossessed individual' whose place in patriliney depends on giving birth to a male heir (Kandiyoti, 1988, p. 279). Hence, the household as a unit of congruent interests and preferences, among whose members the benefits of available resources are shared equitably, irrespective of gender, has been contrasted by the academic and civil society for quite a few decades. Many accepted that the approaches to development are not gender-neutral. Therefore, interrogating gender analysis on agrarian change provides opportunities to rethink the role and relation of different sections in managing resources. It also critically explores the peasant household not as a unitary unit but as a sphere in which resources and power are distributed unequally on gender and generational lines (Razavi, 2009). Moreover, women as a homogenous category perceiving impact of the agrarian change, mainly in dispossession, need to be challenged. This demands a critical understanding of how women as a common category are affected by these processes vis-à-vis patriarchy and state and how the intersectionality that exists among women based on caste, class, age, education, etc., plays their roles in this perceivness.

5.3 State of Women in the Haryana Society and economy

Highly rugged terrain, un-irrigated landscape unfit for agriculture and the migration of male members from household to police, army and other defence sectors, adopted as the secondary occupation during the colonial period, has brought women of Haryana into the forefront of economic activities as a necessity. Moreover, a family was seen as a major source of labour, particularly after the Green Revolution, to ensure women's economic participation extensively. State inputs induced to agriculture in those years in the form of irrigation, high-yielding seeds, machinery, and subsidies led to the foundation of capital-intensive agriculture in Haryana with multiple high-yielding crops, maximization of outputs, and within a decade, a grain surplus state. This revolution in agriculture has escalated high demands for labour power and bestowed high dependency on family labour too, with women continuing to be at the forefront (Chowdhry, 1994). Hence, women's participation in economic activities, mainly among agriculturalist castes (except a few urban-centred castes like *Rajputs*, *Bania* and *Arora* who considered women working in the field a dishonour to the family) became an unalienable part of peasant culture and ethos of Haryana (Sethi, 2009). Although impacts of the Green Revolution felt unevenly in various geographical regions of Haryana, with more advantages to

Karnal, Hisar and Rohtak regions and within these only some specific peasant castes/classes came beneficial⁴⁷. But, as a part of family labour, women still occupied predominant capital inputs for poor and progressive farmers and continued to perform the assigned roles (Chowdhry, 1993). Women performed all sorts of activities besides their regular household work, fetching water and fodder for the livestock, except ploughing, digging, or driving ox-cart. In the words of Prem Chowdhry (1994) “women continue to perform more or less every kind of field labour except ploughing; they help men in preparing the fields for sowing, breaking clods with mallets, making embankments on the fields, following the plough, dropping seeds during the sowing season, managing water application in the fields, hoeing, weeding, harvesting, threshing, winnowing, and transplanting of all produce” (p.146). When modernisation came into agriculture as labour replacing machines, it, in reality, reduces man’s jobs while women continue to perform the same economic activities (Sethi, 2009, p. 43). It only recasts women’s roles, not reducing them (Chowdhry, 1994). Women perform these as an extension of their subsistence reproduction activities. They are more intense among small peasant households that are not prone to highly mechanised agriculture and depend on family labour. Even women constantly engage them in animal husbandry and farm-supporting activities at home. Animal husbandry as an allied activity falls under women's work domain; males only look after breeding, bringing medicine, selling and purchasing animals and other outside works (Malik, Gautam, & Kamaldeep, 2015). Therefore, unlike housewives of developed capitalist societies, these women (subsistence reproducers) enjoy marginal control over means of production by performing a bulk of economic activities alongside household activities (Mies, 1980, p. 3).

The extensive participation of women in agriculture and other allied activities in Haryana is found across caste and class divisions. Those peasant castes (including rich farmers) highly benefited from the Green Revolution initiatives and saw women as a significant economic asset and a substitute for hiring labour from outside. Unlike other parts of the country where women performing manual labour in the field is considered social backwardness, in Haryana, it is a matter of high social status with the condition that it must be in the family’s own field (Chowdhry, 1994). The women from landless castes like Chamars, Balmiki, Chuhars and Jhewere and their male members traditionally provided agricultural labour in the field of others. Although for a few decades, deproletarianisation of agriculture has been taking

⁴⁷ For detail see Bhalla, Seila (1981) “Islands of Growth: A note on Haryana Experience and Some Possible Implications”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, XVI (23), pp.1022-30

place in Haryana with male-attached labour moving out to other sectors, women still perform various agricultural labour due to their immobile social constrain.

However, despite the high participation in economic activities, particularly among the peasant caste, women continue to enjoy low socio-economic and political freedom and need to be always under 'purdah' (veil) to protect themselves from the gaze of men. Ownership of land determines the domination of a way of life over others. Jat dominates Haryana's social life; similarly, women's suppression also reflects this aspect that women enjoy very few land rights in Haryanvi agrarian society. Prem Chowdhry (1994) unravel the paradoxical nature of the state of women in Haryanvi society in these words: "women veiled, yet highly visible in the fields, the women acknowledged as an economic asset, but lacking substantive economic worth, customs and cultural practices such as bride-price, widow remarriages, and polyandry, which generally have been seen as indicators of high status, but which women perceived as repressive" (p. 24). And "male access to, or ownership of, land for household production effectively deepened the exploitation of women's labour through heavier workloads in the form of generally unpaid family labour" (Razavi, 2009, p. 201).

Despite all sorts of economic development and progress the state of Haryana has achieved, when it comes to the social domain, particularly the choices and freedom available and enjoyed by the women community, it lies behind many states of the country. Even practised today, many of its customs and traditions are controversial for barring women from exercising their rights (Pal, 2018). "Haryana shows a sign of a globalising economy, on social front, social groups, particularly in rural areas remain confined to rigid social frameworks" (Tandon & Preisler, 2013). The sex ratio of the state as per the National Family Household Survey (NFHS) 2015-16 was 876 females per 1000 males (among 1-7 years, it was 838 per 1000), whereas the national average was around 940 per 1000 males. As per the NITI Ayog report of 2018, the birth rates among girl children are low in Haryana and despite all legal sanctions, cases of female feticide are rising. Despite taking all measures, literacy rates among females are considerably lower in the state than the national average. Every year around 49.3 percent of girls leave school before completion of their matriculation, and conditions are worst among Dalit families. Similarly, women's health status is more miserable compared to many states. As per the state fact sheet on health 2017, around 71.1 percent of women suffer from anemia (56.1% in 2006). The state of crimes against women is the worst in Haryana. Thirty-three percent of women aged 15-49 experienced some form of physical violence, whereas 8 percent

experienced sexual violence. Overall, 34% of women in Haryana have gone through some form of domestic violence. Educated women are more unlikely to encounter domestic violence than others. Women whose husbands consume alcohol are more likely to experience domestic violence and in an overall category, more than 77% of women have neither sought help nor disclosed it to anyone about it. Surprisingly 38 percent believed that a husband beating his wife is justifiable (International Institute for Population Sciences, 2008; 2017; 2017; The Tribune, 2018).

More women are now participating in non-agricultural activities as compared to an earlier time. One can easily identify the shift taking place in the state of Haryanvi women with the growing use of salwar kameez instead of '*ghagara-kameez*', (traditionally being worn by Haryanvi women as attire to be comfortable in working at the farm and other allied activities) by the young ladies, with agriculture losing its importance as the major source of state GDP and with a large tract of land converting into service and manufacturing sectors. Middle-aged and old ladies were still wearing those despite their movement to firm and other activities became severely restricted with land acquisition by state and non-state entities. But impacts of the acquisition of agricultural land on women vary as naturally, women are not a homogenous category as considered by many scholars rather, each aspect of land-relation changes, and it impacted differently over intersections of women based on age, class, caste and context. A policy that failed to address different intersectional issues of women in mitigating the effects of dispossession gradually led to the marginalisation of certain sections.

Women's ownership of land and other assets is advantageous for women's empowerment in patrilineal societies, including Haryana. As an agent of social reform, the state has failed in this regard despite promulgating many legal safeguards and sanctions. Women are still denied inheritance rights over ancestral property. Men continue to be the master of the land and other private property, including women, and it has been perpetuated further through various socio-cultural and sometimes legal norms and regulations. In this context acquisition of land, the prime source of rural subsistence seems to be an important phenomenon to see whether the state, society and law are reinforcing patriarchy over land rights and post-acquisition development processes or trying to create an egalitarian space by recognising the role and rights of women.

5.3.1 Profile of the Women in Project site

Women constitute a significant (45-47 percent) proportion of the overall population of these villages and are equally affected by the acquisition of land, though at different levels and aspects. An attempt has been made here to understand how women are affected by the acquisition process by collecting responses from around 154 samples. Responses are randomly collected based on the willingness and availability of women respondents for interview. In a patriarchal society like Haryana, women's interactions with outsiders are not welcoming. Hence, all interviews were conducted with due permission of family members and some time in their presence. The researcher employs structured and open-ended interview methods to understand key areas impacted by the process and the prospects of emergence.

Table 5-1 Demographic profile of women respondents

Demographic Categories		Frequencies	Percentage
Village			
	Baliyana	85	55.2
	Kheri Sadh	35	22.7
	Bohar	23	14.9
	Kharawar	11	7.1
Caste			
	General	109	70.8
	Backward Castes	5	3.2
	SC	40	26.0
Educational Qualification			
	Illiterate	40	30.1
	Primary	14	10.5
	Middle	29	21.8
	Matriculation	29	21.8
	Senior Secondary	11	8.3
	Graduation and above	10	7.5
Age			
	19-30	20	15.0
	31-45	55	41.4
	46-60	40	30.1
	61 and above	18	13.5
Affected Categories			
	Partially acquired land	27	17.5
	All land Acquired	82	53.2
	Landless Labour	42	27.3
	Traditional Service Provider	3	1.9
	Total	154	100.00

Source: Compiled from Field Data

Responses have been collected from women of all major villages affected by the land acquisition. As per table 5-1, most of the responses were collected from the Baliyana Village, i.e., 85 responses (55.2 percent). Around 35 are from Kheri Sadh village and 23 respondents are from Bohar. The remaining 11 are from Kharawar. Caste-wise, most of the women respondents are from the general caste (70.8 percent), mostly Jat, the dominant land-owning caste. Apart from that, there are around 26 percent from the SC community and 3.2 percent from backward caste communities, mainly Kamar (potter). The respondents' educational levels have been divided into six categories as seen in the table above. A considerable portion of women are illiterate (30%), whereas 10.5 percent went up to primary schooling, 21.8 percent each possess up to high school and matriculation. Some 15 percent of women completed intermediate and higher education, including some professional courses like teacher education. Age-wise, we collected responses from all age groups except those who are below 18 years. Most of them are in their middle age (31-60), old enough to articulate the impact of land acquisition on their lives. There are also some 13.5 percent older women, more than 60 years of age and some young women.

The impact of any event, despite its importance, neither felt similarly to everyone nor everyone perceives it in the same way. Age, caste, level of education attained, occupation, class affiliation, etc., are important independent variables that determine one's articulation of an event or a process, including the acquisition of farmland. An older woman who used to take part in farming will perceive the loss of land differently than a young housewife who saw the kitchen as its empire and modern appliances as a means of liberation. Hence, an attempt has been made to articulate the impact of land acquisition felt generally by treating women not as a homogenous category but rather as an amalgamation of various caste, class, and age groups; whose perceivance of the acquisition of land would not only influence by the gender but also other variables of analysis. Affected category wise also women respondents hailed from various groups. Majorities are from those families who lost complete land holdings to the HSIIDC, whereas some 17 percent were partially affected. Around 27 percent are from the SC communities and 1.7 percent are from the backward caste communities that were indirectly affected by the acquisition process.

5.3.2 Women's inheritance rights and land acquisition:

A positive correlation has been found between women's control over property rights and empowerment (Agrawal, 2002). It is believed that secure access to property rights and land for women may be a significant means to women's economic empowerment (Nagarajan &

MacDermott, 2013). Women who enjoy control over assets (mainly in low-income families) in terms of farmland, gardening and other income-generating resources witnessed not only positive impacts on overall poverty alleviation and general well-being of the household but also strengthened the decision-making power of women in connection to consumption, investment in human capital and intergenerational transfer (Meinzen-Dick, Quisumbing, Doss, & Theis, 2019). Further, women with land ownership have substantive bargaining power regarding the well-being of the family, including the rights of the girl child, which is replicated into a more gender-equal home space with proper allocation of resources and benefits. Noted here that land rights to women signify not only land registration on her name but control and management of income generated from it. It is already proved that family ownership of land and mere land ownership rights without the ability to control it does not lead to real entitlement over land as the distribution of benefits within the family from household resources exclusively favours male rights.

Similarly, women who were denied control over these assets are highly vulnerable regarding their own and their children's wellbeing, particularly when they are poor. In case of desertion, widowhood and divorce will lead to morbidity, poverty and helplessness. Women enjoying ownership over the property generally receive more care and attention during desertion or old age from their children and relatives than women with no assets in their name. Bina Agrawal (2002) rightly said that the role of land rights to women serves in multiple ways in terms of welfare, efficiency, equality and empowerment that could not be replicated via any other. But actual data on women's rights over land shows how little we have achieved so far. In India, women own around 12.8 percent of the land (2010-11). These figures were as low as 1-3 percent in the Middle East and African Nations and as high as 30-40 percent in European countries (FAO, 2021). Even widows whose land rights are protected by social and state laws, only 51 percent inherit land rights. Few cases, land ownership was registered jointly in the name of her and her elder son. But, widows constitute a small portion of rural women, hence it cannot be compensated as being disinherited as daughters (Agrawal, 2002).

Despite their economic development and prosperity, Haryana and Punjab still lag far behind in granting equal legal rights to women, including inheritance. Traditional norms and customary practices before independence denied the inheritance rights of women over ancestral property. Despite legal sanctions for the equal right of women over parental property through the Hindu Succession Act 1956 and subsequent land reform measures, this society's societal and cultural

practices firmly denied it. Inheritance rights of women have also been denied and violated for a long time through various social control measures like customs and traditions that have been considered as the way of life of Haryanvi society (Chowdhry, 2012). Strict adherence to endogamy marriage practices, norms like *karewa* (levirate marriage) and incidents of ‘honour killing’ because of inter-caste marriages are the mechanisms to control and regulate male dominance over the land and women.

Disproportionate land ownership rights in Haryana with substantial land owned by a particular social section is another factor for such denial. Dominance over economic means like land has naturally replicated in the dominance over other socio-economic, cultural, and communal aspects of life, particularly over the landless, including women and Dalit. As G. C. Pal (2018) rightly pointed out that the practice of caste superiority and patriarchy very often resulted in suppressing or denying the rights and entitlements supposed to enjoy by the lower castes and women as per legal and constitutional norms. However, denial of inheritance rights to the women justifies in the ground of making disturbance in the societal fabric and family bond among siblings in case they claim over the property and may lead to the breaking of the relationship and losing monetary, social and moral support they received from the natal family. The diminishing size of land holding in case of a daughter or sister staking claims over the land is another reason for such denial. Dowry was paid to the husband of the daughters or sisters to abstain them from any claim over the ancestral property in the future and women, too, demanded high-value gifts from their parents in this regard. In the process, many women withdrew their claim over the property in favour of their brothers or fathers. Parental sites also tried all measures to inform her not to claim it. There were very few cases when women took legal resorts to acquire inheritance right over ancestral property. But, traditionally, not all women were denied property rights; widows, mothers of minor children, unmarried daughters or sisters, etc., were usually allotted some land rights, but even then, enjoyed by the male members of their families as women in patriarchal families depends upon a male for everything. Even though land records show that many women own land titles on their names and are shown as cultivators in official records, cultural practices and societal norms ultimately give authority over this land to the male member of the family (Sethi, 2009).

But reality has changed now, particularly in capital regions. With rising land values (some in crores per acre), the number of daughters staking claims over the share in the ancestral property (Dogra, 2015; Chandran, 2019; Chowdhry, 2012). But those married daughters who stake

claim over their ancestral property certainly face the wrath of patriarchy under the *Khap Panchayat*. In almost the majority of cases, women's claim over property leads to disputes among families with many cases they were barred from their natal villages by losing all support and protection they usually receive. In around 72.73% of cases, the married daughter/sisters demanded a share of the compensation in Bohar village were denied. While only in 27.27% of cases, a stake has been given to married daughters and sisters (Nandal, 2017).

Land acquisition Act 1894 discriminates against women as it reinforces the existing male inheritance of land and property by recognising the *pattedar* as the sole recipients of compensation by negating the role of women (Thukral, 1996). In a similar line, the R&R policy of Haryana also considers the *pattedar* as the only beneficiary eligible for compensation, reinforcing male ownership over land and property by negating decades of mobilisation against gender discrimination in rehabilitation and resettlement policies (Fernandes, 2007). Though the R&R policy of Haryana didn't explicitly recognise that male heirs are solely eligible for compensations and other benefits, recognising only those whose names were registered in land records reinforced the patrilineal inheritance. As we can see from table 5-2, that 69.23 percent are receiving compensation and annuity are male. However, suppose a landholder died before the award of R&R packages or without nominating any male heir as the recipient of these benefits. In that case, all legal heirs, including spouse and daughter (both married and unmarried), are considered the rightful owners of the land and compensation and annuity benefits are distributed based on their share in the land. Financial benefits under these schemes are directly credited to the recipient's bank accounts. As a result, around 18.87 percent of daughters, 11.89 percent wife and widows are receiving compensation and annuity. In sum, out of 15935 recipients of compensation and annuity, around 30.76 percent are women. These women also include those who stake a claim over their ancestral property through legal channels. These daughters of Haryana, though, won the share in ancestral property but lost their natal families (Dogra, 2013)

Table 5-2 The R&R package recipients through the gender lens

Sl. No	Person receiving Compensation and Royalty	No of person	Percentage	
1	Son	11033	69.23	Total females: 30.76%
2	Wife	617	3.87	
	Widow	1278	8.02	
3	Daughter	3007	18.87	
	Total	15935	100	

Source: Data collected from HSIIDC Camp office, IMT Rohtak

Sangita of Bohar village is one of those daughters facing the wrath of the patriarchy and *khap panchayat* because they defy the social opprobrium. She and her sister Seema approached the court to claim their share. Both of them are married and asked for a share of the ancestral property to their father and brothers when they sold 6 acres of land to a private developer for Rs. 3 crore/acre. The HSIIDC acquired 4 acres of their ancestral land earlier for IMT, Rohtak. Now they are unwelcomed in their own home. Even the panchayat backed their father and brothers (Dogra, 2015)

However, with the growing number of women asserting their inheritance rights, patriarchy under the powerful Khap Panchayats and political parties are evolving newer methods for denial. ‘It is the deepest source of shame for a family if their married daughters claim their share’, said Hardeep Singh, the head of 84 Khap Panchayats of Rohtak (Dogra, 2015). Members of powerful Khap panchayats and men in and out of political circles constantly warned of the social consequences of such acts by women. Women (married) staking claims over property are losing the support and protection of the natal village. Political mobilisation is in constant motion by different political parties under Khap panchayat to gather support over the abrogation of the Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act, 2005, the main culprit. There are cases where father with no sons transferred his ancestral land to his brothers’ grandsons/sons instead of giving it to his own daughters. Two daughters of Hawa Singh of Dhakla Village in Jhahhar district are not allowed in their natal village because they claim a share of ancestral property. Their father transferred all his land to the brothers’ grandsons to keep property within the family, obviously with the support of the Khap panchayat (Dogra, 2013). Release deeds, transfer deeds and *will-nama* are the most common tools exercised by the father and brothers to deprive women of ancestral property by transferring land to male heirs. In the districts of Rohtak and Jhajjar, these deeds are almost equal to the number of sale deeds reported in Indian Express. Role of ‘Blood Relation Transfer Deeds’; government waiver of stamp duty attached to land transfer within blood relations launched by the Hooda government in 2014 paved the way for patriarchy to register their land in the name of sons and grandsons with state support. However, the state government granting a discount on stamp duty in case people registered land in the name of their women made no difference. The R&R policy 2007 (2010) provided options for landowners to provide nominee names for receiving royalty and residential plots in case of death. Most of the landowners, as per the official records of the HSIIDC camp office, nominated their male heirs. However, there are few cases where landowners died before

nominating any persons and now all of their legal heirs, including wives and daughters, are receiving royalties.

Another mechanism adopted by the landowners for denying women claims over property is purchasing new land in the name of male members after acquisition. As discussed in the previous chapter, many landowners of these villages invested the compensation money in purchasing farmlands. Many are purchased outside the state where stamp duty exemption is not applicable. And as table 5-3 indicates that almost all of them registered land in their names. 272 landowners who lost their land holdings were registered in the name of themselves (67.6%), their father (28.7%) and their sibling, mother and husband; the majority are males. However, after the acquisition, many of them purchased land and as reported by 176 farmers (174 males and 2 females), 85.6 percent purchased on their names, which means males only (except 2 females). For 10.9 percent of oustees, lands were purchased in their father's name and some 2.9 % in sibling names. Hence, the lack of women's land rights leads to women's exclusion and discrimination from decision-making processes in land acquisition projects and negotiating compensation packages (Levien M. , 2017).

Table 5-3 Land Registration

Sl. No	Land registered on whose name	Before land Acquisition		After Land Acquisition	
1	Self	184	67.6%	151	85.8%
2	Father	78	28.7%	19	10.8%
3	Husband	3	1.1%	00	00
4	Siblings	6	2.2%	5	2.8%
5	Mother and Spouse	1	0.4%	00	00
6	others	0	0	1	0.6%
	Total	272	100.00%	176	100.00

Source: Data collected from HSIIDC Camp office, IMT Rohtak

5.3.3 Participation of Women in economic activities before & after land acquisition

Women as subsistence reproducers perform many responsibilities like taking care of children, cooking and other household activities alongside agriculture and allied ones. In pre-capitalist societies like rural Haryana, family labour, particularly women in agriculture, has been considered a potential asset regardless of social and economic divisions. Further, Green Revolution contributed extensively to the high dependency on family (mainly women) labour

in farming activities (Chowdhry, 1993). This has been true regardless of the size of land holdings that women extensively participated in all activities. As women hardly own land, their access to land and allied activities is mediated through their husbands. Some scholars reported that women perform up to 60 percent of agricultural activities, individually or in collaboration with male members. In the present case study, it is found that around 58.7 percent of women used to perform various farming activities like hoeing, weeding, harvesting, threshing, winnowing, transplanting etc., though high economic participation didn't contribute to high social status as discussed before. Women's participation in subsistence reproduction, including agriculture and allied ones, particularly among landowning families, is constantly kept invisible. Now within affected families, women's participation in agricultural activities has become almost 'nil'. Prem Chowdhry (1994) noted that women's participation in agriculture activities, unlike other parts, is considered to be of high social status in Haryanvi culture unless she is performing in her own field. Hence, the loss of agricultural land seems to be the biggest cause of joblessness among caste women (unlike Dalit and OBC women) as they are not allowed to perform economic activities outside.

Another major area where women's labour power was extensively used is animal husbandry, the second most important lifeline of rural Haryana after agriculture. Throughout Haryana for generations, it became a supplementary income source with high dependency over the landless and women population. It is reported that around 82 percent of work related to animal husbandry and poultry was contributed by women and children (Chowdhry, 1994, p. 163). Traditionally animal husbandry has been treated as an extension of domestic activities, falling exclusively on women. They are primarily responsible for feeding animal, cleaning sheds, milking, processing milk products, looking after their health, dung management etc., whereas men (with a clear division of work based on ideas of masculine and feminine) generally look after outside work. A study conducted by Ankita Malik et al. (2015) revealed that out of 6.76 hours of average time spent by each household on animal husbandry, women contributed 5.17 hours. Women's contributions in feeding, management of animals, dung disposal and milking are 64%, 76%, 100% and 89%, respectively. This and substantial farming and kitchen gardening are a major source of economic resources for small households and their women in villages adjoined to Rohtak city, like Baliyana, Bohar, Kheri Shad etc. Vegetables and grain grown out of their field, milk products like ghee, curd, lassi; egg, meat and income generated

by selling livestock and poultry⁴⁸ are the economic backbone of many agrarian rural households. Apart from providing a self-sufficient economy, livestock also protects households (majorly women and children) from hunger, poverty and food insecurity.

With the acquisition of land, these households (mainly women) not only lost a substantial source of economic resources but their productive activities like rearing of livestock, milking, feeding animals, dung management, collection of fodder, weeding, sowing and cutting of plants, collection of firewood etc. got severely disrupted, resulting in degradation of her status within the household. Further, the social status and decision-making powers women enjoyed within the family and in rural society as an ‘earner’ got significantly weakened. Hence, the dispossession of land and subsequent decline in livestock disrupt a major sustenance source and women suffer more due to it (Modi, 2004). Tables no 5-4 and 5.5 clearly show the extensive roles played by women before the land acquisition in all caste and class categories, which has declined to almost nil after the loss of farm and village commons.

Women in other parts of the country also perform other kinds of economic activities like trade and business, small and medium size cottage/household industries and taking up permanent employment both in private and government sectors, which is found to be very meagre in the study area. As discussed, despite high economic growth, women are barred from participating in outdoor activities in the state, mainly among high castes. Some OBC families traditionally belong to service provider castes like potters, blacksmiths, etc., used to participate in their ancestral occupations. Here many of the respondents within the OBC category are ‘potter’. And it has been found that around 33.3 percent of women were engaged in household industries before they turned obsolete after land acquisition. Wage employment in agricultural and non-farm sectors is mostly performed by women from landless (Dalit and OBCs) families. Before the acquisition of land as found in table 5-5 that around 33.3 percent of OBC and 84.2 percent of Dalit women used to do agricultural labour on both daily-wage and annual contract basis.

However, after land acquisition, their skill and expertise in the agricultural sector are now obsolescent. “Those women of Dalit communities working as agricultural labourer are now confined to their homes only. Male members quickly jumped into other sectors as they are prone to migration, but those who lost the jobs are women” said Seema of Kheri Sadh. Ratni, a 65 old Dalit woman, further added that “labour (agriculture) and animal husbandry were the

⁴⁸ Dalit and other landless communities are exclusively dependent on poultry and other livestock

main sources of income for women in my community. Men used to work both in the agriculture and non-agriculture sector. But for us, mostly those two. We used to earn good money out of doing business with animals. Animals were gone with declining farmland and other grazing grounds. Our labour is no longer required. Men migrated to other sectors, but we bear the cost of acquisition. We lost our livelihood”. A study by Usha Tuteja (2000) found that in 1994-95, women from small land-holding families and landless Dalit families used to contribute around 35-45 percent of total household income. It was 70-80 percent in dairy-related income. In the case of wage employment, mainly among small and landless families, 35 and 28 percent of income was from women. Considering this, we could better understand what kinds of effects the acquisition of land has impacted on the economic status of Dalit households and, more precisely on their women. These incomes played a major role in providing rural employment in Haryana and throughout India, with a marking impact on poverty alleviation, food security and employment. Dispossession of land and its spillover effects in these families become one of the major causes of growing poverty, joblessness and vulnerability of women in rural India.

Table 5-4 Women’s participation in economic activities

Sl. No.	Economic and allied activities	BLA	ALA
1	Participation in agricultural activities	58.7	00
2	Animal husbandry	76.5	1.8
3	Trade and Business	1.0	00
4	Agricultural labour	50.0	00
5	Non-agricultural labour	9.1	19.3
6	Household industries	3.2	00
7	Service	1.0	1.0
8	Household work	100.0	97.7
9	Collection of Firewood and Cow dung cake	79.0	63.6
10	Collection of drinking water	53.6	22.2

Source: Compiled from Field Data

In general, women have fewer livelihood options than men in a patriarchal society and mostly, those are domestic supplementary activities. For example, men consider livestock, orchard, horticulture, household industries, tradable and non-tradable goods and products as income sources, which remain a major source of income and autonomy for women (Pallavi, 2008). Even the household head did not have the same interests as other family members mainly

women. “Male are more interested in family farm as they control land ownership and its production whereas women enjoys more autonomy in livestock economy as it is she who generally look after pretty incomes generated out of it” (Razavi, 2009, p. 201). But with the acquisition of agricultural land, women not only lost the prime source of livelihood for their families but access to these resources also. However, in some cases, the livelihood of men was replaced with another in the form of employment in factories, land at faraway places, royalty, rents etc., but women's concerns were hardly considered. Conversely, men are prone to adopt alternative means of livelihood after the acquisition, but women are left with no options. Women hardly take part in any public forum or community decision-making process. In Jat society, they are further marginalised and suppressed. Hence, her voice was barely heeded up concerning matters related to selling and purchasing important assets like land.

Table 5-5 Cross-tabulation of Caste and women participation in economic activities

Economic Activities	BLA			ALA		
	General	OBC	SC	General	OBC	SC
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Farming activities	70.7%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Allied activities like animal husbandry	76.3%	33.3%	84.2%	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%
trade and business	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Agricultural Labour	0.0%	33.3%	87.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Non-Agricultural labour	1.2%	66.7%	55.0%	0.0%	33.3%	80.0%
Household Industries	3.5%	33.3%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Service	0.0%	0.0%	5.3%	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Household-Work	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	97.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Collection of water	73.7%	100.0%	100.0%	52.2%	100.0%	96.3%
collection of firewood	46.0%	100.0%	81.0%	16.1%	0.0%	46.2%

Source: Compiled from Field Data

Joblessness and loss of socio-physical autonomy are the major risks of involuntary displacement. Scarcity of employment became prominent after the loss of agricultural land, a holistic source of livelihood. Post-dispossession society found it difficult to accommodate this large pool of unemployed and only preferred young males by dispossessing women, landless and old. Women are the first ones to lose their jobs as, after the acquisition, their expertise and skill in agriculture and allied sectors are no longer required as we can see in our present study. Women from peasant families, despite patriarchal sanctions, largely participated in farming

and animal husbandry within the household, which became severely restricted after dispossession. Prem Chowdhry (1994) said rightfully that Haryanvi women are ‘veiled, but highly visible in field’ is now redundant. What the high-yielding, capital intensive and mechanised Green Revolution failed to do, has been done by the land dispossession i.e., housewifisation of women (Nayak, 2020). Haryanvi women strike-through ages with patriarchy via various generations of struggle to participate in economic activities despite being non-recognisable in family and society have been now given ways to tighten the sickle of male dominance through a hybridity of caste and class factors.

But, women continue to perform household activities like domestic work, taking care of the kitchen, household, children and old, collection of water, etc., undisrupted by land acquisition. It is the same and common among all caste and class categories. Biomass played a crucial role in meeting the daily survival needs of the vast majority of rural households led by women in the region (Asthana, 2012, p. 9). Depending upon their caste affiliations, women spent significant time collecting firewood and cow dung cakes for cooking. As per table 5-4, around 79 percent of women used to go for a collection of firewood and cow dung cakes before the acquisition, but now it has reduced to 63 percent, significantly among general caste women (from 46% to 16%), nil among backward castes and 46 percent from 81 percent among Dalit women (table 5-5). Loss of farmland, village commons (for Dalit and OBC) and declining number of the milch animal within the household and in the locality are some of the reasons, though the push of the State for LPG in cooking is an important factor. As discussed in the previous chapter, from 7 percent of families, the use of LPG has increased to 97.7 percent regardless of caste communities. However, dependency on natural gas brought additional financial burdens in a job-disappearing society. Overall, these localities are witnessing an increasing housewifisation of rural working-class women. Being housewives now, they rarely enjoy control over production and completely depend on their husbands. “The underlying social norms within the households that strongly remerged after women lost their access to land and other common resources, has affirmed housewifisation” (Nayak, 2020, p. 41).

Post-dispossession society with growing dependence on the market for everything in a livelihood-sinking society forced women, mainly among landless communities, to take up wage labour in other sectors despite being exploited and underpaid. This resulted in dichotomous impacts on women; where housewifisation is taken place among caste society on the one hand and on the other, women from landless communities were pushed to the labour

market after being dislodged from farm land and their self-sufficient live style (Chowdhry, 1994; Modi, 2004). Kabita, a young daughter-in-law of Khedi Shad, vehemently argued that IMT had brought nothing for women but destruction of livelihood. Being confined to the house's four walls makes them depressed, stressed and lonely. This leads to high blood pressure and other health problems, mainly obesity-induced diseases. Rakhi, the wife of Rakesh one among many young SC women, is going to Amol Factory as a daily waged worker. Her mother-in-law and father-in-law (now both are old) used to work in the field of Jat farmers. Her husband, Rakesh (a high-school graduate), works as a daily wage worker in various precarious jobs. Therefore, as a mother of two children, it is her responsibility to seek employment for family sustenance. So, she joined ten other women from her neighbourhood and worked in the chocolate factory. However, she suspects that the contractor might be charging higher wages from the company and paying very low to her; even not depositing her PPF contribution. Other women are working as maid-servants and other domestic jobs available in the sectors of Rohtak. Some of them are happy to move out from caste exploitation as men did a few decades back when they started working in non-farm sectors. Many women from Kheri Sadh and Baliyana (from Dalit communities) are now going to the factories in IMT as wage labourers and seeking employment opportunities Rohtak city offers.

5.3.4 Role of Women in Decision-Making in the household

Land dispossession and post-displacement reconstruction impact men and women differently, compromising women's decision-making roles within and outside the household. Generally, men represent the family in the public sphere, and women exercise decision-making powers in household economy, production and social relations (Fernandes, 2005). Household is considered a women's world. In a rural household economy, there is a gendered division of work and a separate domain where both can exercise their power relation. Women usually look after the household, livestock and children, whereas men take care of more important and productive issues. Despite not owning resources and productive assets, women always played an important role in agriculture- as farmers, co-farmers, wage labours and managers. They have conventionally been producers of food from seed to kitchen. During this process, she exercised certain decision-making powers, enjoyed some space in the field and had some financial independence. But with more land converting from the agricultural economy to the corporate economy, the women are losing their role as producers, managers and earners.

Further, in this whole process of negotiation, protest, conciliation and compensation, men; the owner and sole decision-maker, hardly pay attention to the concerns of women. Hence, naturally, it is evident that her concern and issues would be ignored and overlooked in a man-led bargaining process, as a result, post-displacement reconstruction and R&R measures hardly felt beneficial to women and her gender concerns. However, farmland acquisition has negative and positive impacts on the livelihood and status of women.

Autonomy and control over means of production determine women's role as decision-makers within the household. Autonomy here signifies one's capacity to manipulate one's personal environment based on technical, social, and psychological attributes (Banarjee & Roy, 2015, p. 1037). The National Family Health Survey (NFHS) of India found four factors, including employment, control over money earning, decision-making power over household matters like own health, making daily and major household purchases, and socialisation factors, access to money and credit, and, finally, control over her own sexuality, that affect women's behaviour regarding their autonomy (International Institute for Population Sciences, 2017). As per NFHS survey-04 (2015-16), in Haryana, around 27 percent of women jointly or independently won land. Some 22 percent of married women were employed and earning either in cash or kind (28% as per NFHS-03, 2005-06). Out of it, 77 percent (82% in 2005-06) decide how to spend their earnings independently or with their partner's advice. In decision-making related to their health, household purchase and day-to-day needs and visiting their own native or relatives' houses, only 55% of women participated in decision making, while 23% did not take part in any of these. Regarding physical violence, 34% of women in Haryana have been through some form of domestic violence. Haryana's status is relatively low as compared to the All-India average. However, more women (57 percent in 2016) in non-farm sectors contribute to women's empowerment (International Institute for Population Sciences, 2008; 2017).

As indicated in table no 5-6, we tried to understand how far land dispossession in the affected villages of IMT Rohtak impacted the decision-making roles of women in various issues. Out of the four aspects discussed above, three factors are segregated into eight issues where women and men exercise decision-making powers. Physical control over domestic violence and control over own sexuality has been discussed in another section.

Table 5-6 Women's Participation in Decision Making roles

Sl. No	Issues	BLA			ALA		
		Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	both
1	Financial matters	87.2	0.0	12.8	56.1	1.4	42.6
2	Education of child	21.8	52.6	25.6	2.8	26.2	70.9
3	Health of child	3.0	62.4	34.6	0.7	29.3	70.1
4	Purchasing of assets	90.2	3.0	6.8	78.2	4.5	17.3
5	Day-to-day household activities	15.2	9.8	75.0	50.0	18.2	31.8
6	Social function and marriages	51.1	3.0	45.9	15.6	2.0	82.3
7	Women want to earn	94.0	00	6.0	89.7	0.7	9.6
8	Land and property	98.3	00	1.7	90.4	0.9	8.7

Source: Compiled from Field Data

Matters concerning the decision-making power of women in various issues, it has been found that, unlike in other regions, despite contributing significantly to the agricultural and livestock economy of the household, women's role in decision-making in Haryana is restricted to a few areas only (Mahata, Kumar, & Rai, 2017). There is gendered segregation of roles and areas where men and women exercise decision-making powers (Paul & Rani, 2017). For example, men look into production, market and outside roles, whereas women have said regarding the choice of seeding and other lesser important issues. Males took crop selection, pesticide, output sales, and other majority decisions. Regarding livestock, females look after majorly fodder and milk sales, but males decide about the sales and purchase of animals related matters (Ahuja & Narayan, 2016). The above table indicates that in important matters like financial issues and purchasing of important assets for farms or families, men exclusively used to make decisions (87.2% and 90.2%, respectively) before land acquisition. Despite women performing extensive roles in agriculture and allied activities in Haryana, her role in decision-making in connection to agriculture was found to be negligible and low though her participation independently and jointly in livestock management has been widely accepted (Godara & Varsha, 2017; Tuteja, 2000; Mahata, Kumar, & Rai, 2017). Participation in agriculture and allied activities has been considered an extension of her domestic sphere, mostly unpaid and invisible. Hence, unlike other places, it has not resulted in financial autonomy for women.

In the case of SC women, they enjoy relatively higher autonomy and decision-making powers due to their dual productive roles, working independently and generating income through labour and contributing to social reproduction and livestock economies as an extension of the

household economy. The same was found in other case studies of Haryana, where economic participation of Dalit women in formal and informal sectors led to autonomy in socio-economic decision-making, ultimately to her empowerment (Mahata, Kumar, & Rai, 2017). Unlike other cases of land dispossession where the loss of land and livestock negatively affects women's role in financial autonomy, in the present case study, instead of 87.2%, 52 percent of males play decisive roles. In cases of 42.6 percent, both males and females are jointly or male in consultation with females deciding on financial matters. However, there is still gendered segregation of role in lending and borrowing money; the male is the ultimate decider (Ahuja & Narayan, 2016). When asked how women in general castes gain relative empowerment in financial matters (even though their role is considered to be merely consulting), they mentioned education. However, for Dalit families, both education and women's participation in the informal economy (as service maids or wage labour) played important roles. In purchasing expensive and important assets, males are taking final decisions but a bit less than early (78.2%). However, except for women-headed families or where women are employed, financial matters and matters regarding purchasing are still the domain of men (in some cases in consultation with women). Less education, low self-esteem, access and information over the latest development in the field, low awareness of the outside world, patriarchal dominance, social and cultural taboos and stereotypes, etc., are the factors restricting the women's decision-making powers in rural areas despite high participation in economic activities (Paul & Rani, 2017).

It has been found globally that women's relative financial autonomy and participation in either domestic or outside economic activities contributed significantly to the human capital development of the household (Asif, Mehta, & Mander, 2002; Razavi, 2009). Women who enjoy control over assets (mainly in low-income families) in terms of farm land, gardening and other income-generating resources have positive impacts not only contributed to their empowerment but also on the human resource development of the entire household. She invests more in basic; nutrition, health and educational aspects instead of economically viable aspects like land or machinery (Agrawal, 2002). Before the land acquisition, women took care of children's education and health, whereas men were prone to migration and other outside occupations. In matters of education and children's health, women were the sole decision-makers in 52.6% and 62.4% of families, respectively. In the remaining 25-35 percent, they were taking decisions jointly. Additional income either from animal husbandry, household industries, agriculture-related allied activities or additional employment in the form of daily

wage earners, domestic workers (in Dalit families), etc., played a significant role in financing education and health. Responsibilities for the well-being of children fall both to the father and mother when women enjoy some degree of economic independence. Loss of that and becoming completely dependent on male incomes makes women helpless and vulnerable concerning their own welfare and their children. Hence, the loss of land seriously threatens her economic independence and the prospect she envisioned outside patriarchy, causing severe vulnerabilities. Now in most families (around 70%) decisions regarding education and health are no longer an exclusive domain of women but in consultation with only the male earner of the family. In some 30 percent of families, women still play a decisive role in these matters. But the acquisition of a large tract of land not only led to the loss of access to land, common property resources and other resources but also contributed significantly to demeaning her status of women within the household. These erstwhile earners of families, custodians of food security and guardian of human capital are now solely dependent on male members of families. This results in a decline in women's poverty status and adverse effects on families' health, education and food security (Daley & Pallas, 2014). Women from Dalit families still decide the majority of matters related to children's education and health as they are earning members of families, but not like before.

Even the household, considered an exclusive domain of women, is now shared by men members. Before the acquisition of land, the day-to-day activities of the household were determined with a joint role (75.0). But after the loss of agricultural land and substantial source of socio-economic independence by women (mainly from upper castes), men emerged as the sole beneficiary of the whole market endeavour. The male received compensation in exchange for land, getting royalty every year. Investment in real estate or large land estates contributes to male income. Now even day-to-day activities are decided by male members in 50% of families as women depend entirely on them. There is still some 30 percent of families where both male and female jointly decide on matters related to regular household activities. It is more common among families belonging to SC communities.

What has not changed since all these years in Haryanvi society is male dominance over women's choice on employability and access, control and ownership of land. The male members, the patriarch, still decide on women's preferences for employment outside. In most cases (95-99 percent), males are solely deciding on issues regarding women's wishes to earn and take employment. Similarly, on matters

related to the sale, purchase, and management of land and other properties also. Since all these years, nothing significant change has taken place in this regard. Further, the exclusion of women in decision-making related to these leads to the complete negation of her concern resulting in uneven development. Women were not informed about various displacement processes and components of R&R packages, which were taken care of by men only. Subsequently, investment of compensation money is also decided mostly by men by ignoring women's views. And as happens in Haryana, agrarian societies are turning into neo-rentier ones based on excluding women in decision-making. Women are excluded from the rentier process as they were once connected with self-farming, animal husbandry and other household economic activities.

A cross-tabulation between the demographic profile of the women respondents and the participation of women in various aspects of the household, apart from the impact of the acquisition, revealed that age, caste, family type (nuclear/joint), education, and employment status of women are factors influencing the decision-making roles of women. Dalit and OBC women are found to be participating more in various decision-making roles as compared to upper castes. Similarly, women who possess higher education are consulted by the male members of their family before making any critical decision. However, the respondent's age was found to have negative and positive relations in different areas. For example, in financial matters, young women (age group of 19-45) participate more than older women. In children's education, health and socio-cultural functions and marriages, the opinion of older women is generally sought. In connection to women's choice for adopting employment, purchase of assets, machinery and matters related to land are exclusively coming under male members irrespective of age, education and caste of the women. Although some cases, it is found that young women are consulted on these matters but not as a compulsion. These findings are dominant factors of women's participation in decision-making roles in other places in Haryana, too (Baliyan, 2014; Ahuja & Narayan, 2016; Godara & Varsha, 2017).

5.3.5 Impact of Land acquisition on various aspects of women's life.

Table 5-7 Impacts of Land Acquisition on various aspects of Women's life

Sl. No.	Particulars	Increase	Decrease	Same as before
1	Employment opportunities for women	11.3	64.7	24.0
2	Girls Education	99.3	00	0.7
3	Health issues of women	65.6	14.6	19.9
4	Standard of living	53.6	39.7	6.6
5	Entertainment	47.3	39.9	12.8
6	Issues related safety and security of women	65.8	18.1	16.1
7	Domestic violence	67.3	11.3	21.3
8	Crime against women	88.1	4.0	7.9
9	Relationship with maternal sides	13.2	41.7	45.0
10	Involvement in community affairs	20.8	34.2	45.0

Source: Compiled from field Data

5.3.5.1 Employment opportunities for women

Land acquisition has serious negative effects on women's economic participation because it results in the loss of livelihoods, particularly allied ones like the loss of kitchen gardens, decreased livestock numbers, severe food insecurity, loss of common property resources, redundant household businesses, and industries dependent upon those lands. Men quickly adopt alternative means of livelihood, but what cost was the disappearance of economic opportunities for women. Table 5-7 indicates that 64.7 percent of women reported that economic opportunities are now decreased significantly for women in the locality. Women, more visible in household industries, farming and allied activities, face loss of employment opportunities and marginalisation after acquisition. Similar to this, OBC and Dalit women who once worked for wages in the fields of Jat peasants now sit idly, with the exception of those who are still young enough to be forced into the exploitative labour market or who have become domestic maids in the homes of middle-class urbanites. But, a common thread that binds all these sectors for women is that they are equally exploitative of women's labour and are constantly underpaid for their helplessness.

Santhosh, a Dalit woman of Kheri Sadh said: “*hum log kheti main kaam karke ar pasu palan se kuch aaye kar lete the. Lekin ab jamin jane ke baad khali gharmein pade hote hein. Sarkar ne wada kiya tha ke rojgar milega, lekin kuch nehi mila. Hamare sath dhoka huya he*” (we

used to earn little money out of labour and livestock, which has gone with land acquisition. Now we are confined to home only. The Government promised to give jobs in IMT, but nothing has happened. We have been deceived).

However, farming and animal husbandry as holistic sectors accommodates not only entire family labour, including those of old and children but also provides all-round security from hunger, poverty, morbidity and other crisis, which certainly can't be replaced by any other. Women situated at the margin of these pre-existing vulnerabilities suffered the most due to acquisition. While working in the field as a wage labourer or even on their farm, women earned some degree of economic autonomy within the household. They participate in various decision-making roles while looking after children, old and themselves, independent of male income. But, land acquisition caused both social and economic disempowerment. Suddenly women and their family's dependency on their self-sufficient economy shifted to market and menfolk for everything, which caused much strain during the post-acquisition period of marginalisation and joblessness. Even though there was good compensation, it went to the landowners, who were largely men and had either spent all of their money on alcohol and luxurious items or bought large parcels of land far away; women only received confinement at home. Dispossession of land has other impacts on social, health, psychological and cultural, apart from economic marginalisation and joblessness.

5.3.5.2 Girls Education

The overall impact on women's education was positive. Earlier, in most households, children used to help in farming activities on a routine basis, but after land acquisition, they did not have much work in fields. Apart from this factor, awareness against social taboo on sending women to outer occupations, free and compulsory education and impacts of modern urban living created a positive awareness among the parents towards girls' education. The competition at all levels also forced parents to change the old ideology and allowed girl children to study. There are improvements in girls' education among all caste communities, as shown in the table.

5.3.5.3 Health Issues of Women

Marginalisation and breaking routine lifestyles cause severe health and psychological complications among women in almost all cases of land dispossession (Asthan, 2012). Most women (65%) agreed that the status of health among women has degraded after land acquisition. Earlier women used to participate in farming and allied activities and household

work involving heavy physical exercises but after land acquisition, that has considerably reduced and resulted in many health issues. Growing housewifisation among upper castes makes many women depressed, stressed and lonely. This leads to high blood pressure and other mental depression. Obesity has become a common issue among women, found in almost every household due to lack of physical labour and sudden break from old habits. Apart from land acquisition, air and water pollution from nearby industries causes cancer and skin-related diseases. Reducing physical exercise and continuing old Haryanvi dietary habits have led to obesity and its related health problems. With the decline of farming in the locality, the availability of local fresh seasonal leaves, fruits and vegetables also declined. Hence, these families are now purchasing genetically modified and highly toxic grain, vegetables and other food items, which also impacts their health adversely. However, women from poor peasant families and landless communities encounter health issues for different reasons. Generally, the effects of landlessness, poverty, marginalisation and food insecurity felt disproportionately on women than men. In low-income families, the female members bear this burden greatly, causing health degradation, morbidity and declining life expectancy. Loss of financial autonomy also contributed to degrading women's health condition as her concerns are the least bothered issues in a low-income patriarchal family. Discriminatory social norms like women eating last, giving preference to other members by sacrificing their health and concern, etc., also lead to further vulnerability of women during crises.

5.3.5.4 Standard of Living

With these villages included under Rohtak Municipality, pucca roads, piped water supply, LPG connections, street lights, sewage lines and waste disposal trucks in the morning sponsored by Maruti and Asian Company under Corporate Social Responsibility (SCR) scheme undoubtedly made some of the aspects of women life easy. Excessive work on farmland and rearing livestock are now things of the past (despite their negative implications). Marvel-floored mansions built out of compensation money with modern appliances made women's regular household work simple and less laborious. All these factors combinedly contributed to the improvement of the standard of living of women. Around 53.6 percent of women reported that their standard of living improved after land acquisition. However, around 40 percent of women feel that it has been degraded compared to earlier periods. Older women who are not familiar with modern lifestyles and admire their old life believe that. Similarly, the cases of the small peasantry, the story was completely different. Their compensation was insufficient and mostly

exhausted in marriages, house construction and other consumer goods. In the case of Dalit and OBC families, the loss of livelihood and uncertainty after that made life more stressful. They too, adopt the new and modern lifestyle, but due to a lack of secure economic opportunities, these modern standards of living brought further marginalisation, financial constrain and insecurity than leisure.

5.3.5.5 Entertainment opportunities:

A dichotomous picture of entertainment and relaxing avenues available for women in the affected villages has emerged. Around 47.3 percent of young and middle-aged women reported that amusement means and avenues increased in their localities. Parks, playgrounds, Television, shopping mall, food courts, sector markets, modern gadgets and other means available in Rohtak city surely contributed significantly to providing entertainment opportunities. Modern celebrations and traditional ceremonies recast with modernity added with newfound leisure and money made it both desirable and affordable. Women belong to financially sound families able to enjoy all these things. Many of the families also purchased modern means of entertainment and invested in consumable and amusement goods. However, around 39.9 percent of women think that these opportunities were declined as they were available when they had land. The old generation, unable to cope with these modern amusement avenues, felt frustrated as they lost their way of life and rhythm accumulated by generations. For some, these are the same as before. Apart from changing the socio-cultural environment of the surroundings, these factors are primarily influenced by the family's financial status and how wisely they invested their compensation. Some reported that the acquisition of land brought them leisure and rest. Now they get some time for themselves which was not possible in the hectic life of a rural peasant woman. *“Jamin jane ke baad mahilao ke paas ek-dusre se kuch baat-cheet karne ka bakt mil jata he ab”* (women are now getting some time to chitchat among themselves after the acquisition of land) said Geeta, a housewife of Baliyana.

5.3.5.6 Safety and Security of women

Around 65.8 percent of women reported that issues related to the safety and security of women had increased significantly after the land acquisition. 18.1 percent believed that it has gone down whereas for 16.1 percent it is the same as before. Overall, the impact of land acquisition has negatively impacted women's safety and security. As discussed in the previous chapter, the availability of large amounts of money in terms of compensation and unavailability of work

among youth contributed significantly towards alcoholism and drug addiction. This has ultimately contributed to crimes against women in the form of domestic violence, physical assault, rape, molestation, etc. Earlier, the girl children and women used to freely roam in fields, neighbourhoods and markets as people were present in their farmland, but after the acquisition, these lands are laying deserted and slowly turning into jungles along with wide roads developed by the HSIIDC for attracting investors and that become a suitable zone for all kinds of social evil and crime against women.

5.3.5.7 Domestic violence

As the table indicates, domestic violence in the locality has increased after land acquisition. 67.3 percent of women reported that it has increased considerably among families as men are drinking more now due to easy money in the form of compensation and royalty and no work to divert their frustration and anger. Drug addictions, alcoholism, and the presence of money, muscle and gun often result in subjugation, exploitation and human rights violation of women in any society. The wife often bears the heat as physical and sexual abuse against women has increased significantly in these localities as found in other cases of displacement too. Priti, wife of Manoj of Kheri Sadh, a 29-year-old and graduate housewife from Dalit community, complained about growing alcoholism and domestic violence. “*Mard pebe hein ar peten hen*” (men are drinking and beating) she said. “*paise ar naukri ke kami ke karan he sare baad gaye hain*” (it has increased due to lack of finance and no regular employment) said Priti. Acute joblessness has been found in the locality as agriculture as a source of employment has gone along with livestock as major sources of additional income. IMT has not been able to generate enough economic opportunities, directly or indirectly, to accommodate the expelled population. Hence, as coping mechanisms, alcoholism, gambling and drug addiction have increased among youth, resulting in growth in domestic violence cases and family disputes. Some 11.3 percent of women reported that domestic violence declined now, apart from the remaining 21.3 percent of women who felt the same as before.

5.3.5.8 Crime against women

Most women (88.1 percent) opined that crime against women after acquisition increased significantly in the locality. Usha, a 46-year-old widow Dalit woman of Kheri Sadh with her two kids, replied, “*khetra apradh se badh geya he. Sarabiyo se pura ilaka bhara pada he. Saam hote hi mahilao ka ghar se nikal na muskil ho jata he*” (crime rates are high in the locality and

the number of drunker are gone up. Now it is very difficult for women to come out after evening). Similarly, Prem Devi, (age 62) of Kheri Sadh also had a similar view that “*nase ki addate jada baad gaye hein. Jagah jagah par badmso ka adda baan rahe hein*” (alcoholism is growing in the locality. Every place is becoming the den of ruffians). As mentioned above the growth of alcoholism and drug addiction, the presence of both licensed and illegal arms, acute unemployment among young and growing crime rates in the NCR region contributed to it. National Crime Record Bureau (NCRB) reports that crime rates in these districts like Gurgaon, Rohtak etc., are much higher than the national average. Frequent news are coming regarding Rohtak becoming the den of crime in Haryana and the majority of them are against women (The Hindu, 2017).

5.3.5.9 Relationship with maternal sides

Some 41.7 percent of women registered that their relationship with natal families declined and became sour after the acquisition of land. For 45 percent of women, it is the same as before, whereas 13.2% has improved due to the availability of modern means of communication and transportation. Fragmentation in kinship and disruption in old family ties due to the acquisition of land and division of compensation led to the breakdown of social cohesion, emotional bond and social network, impacting women more severely than men. Women who lived in harmony and cooperation with other women felt isolated after breaking down families into nuclear ones. The daughter and sisters are now in disarray and depression due to the breaking down of emotional bonding with natal families because of her demand on compensation. Many families refuse to share the compensation with their married sisters or daughter, resulting in soured relations among them. Married women require maternal support in widowhood, desertion, or divorce by the husband. It has been severely affected.

5.3.5.10 Involvement in community affairs

From a cultural aspect and their participation in community affairs, not much change has been found in the social life of women. Around 45 percent of women said their social life regarding involvement in community-related affairs is the same as before. One of the major reasons for that is that no homestead land has been acquired and has not directly led to any cultural and social disintegration. But due to compensation and other monetary issues, family relation and kinship got affected negatively, reducing the social support women used to enjoy earlier. Social and physical spaces have decreased considerably for women as compared to earlier. Due to a

lack of common property resources, no land to farm and other activities, women are confined to the four walls of the home, which has brought psychological stress, tensions and other health issues. That resulted in sinking cultural and social space available earlier to women as 34.2 percent reported that it has decreased. However, humans are adaptable, and many women adopt post-acquisition lifestyles by expanding their social and cultural spheres. Some 20.8 percent indeed reported that it has increased. An overall assessment of women's participation in community affairs and socio-cultural spheres was found to be mixed with diverse factors like changing occupation, lifestyle, surroundings, own age and culture impacting various levels apart from land acquisition.

5.3.6 Exclusion of Women's Interests in R&R Policy and mitigation measures

Haryana R&R policies and the LARR 2013 remain blind to the role and contribution of women and negate decades-long fights for gender justice in the land acquisition process. The policy has explicitly declared that the individual land owners (on whose name land is registered) as the sole beneficiary of compensation and other R&R components. Compensation, royalty and plots are allotted in the name of the land-owner and their nominee only (and in any case, if he failed to declare a nominee and died, it will go to all legal heirs). As land in India is mainly owned by the male members of the society, the policy implicitly excluded women “from receiving any benefit in the process of land acquisition due to women’s historical and ongoing exclusion from land ownership, especially in cases of succession” (Franczak, 2017). The policy also totally negates the legal claim of the women over the property guaranteed through the law by emphasizing that the legal owner or tenant of the acquired land will be the sole receiver of the compensation and has exclusive rights to nominate his legal heirs. Instances found in the field study where land owners nominated sons of their brothers or relatives as their legal successors despite having daughters to stop them from making any claim over ancestral property. This continuation of historical injustice led to “further marginalisation and disempowerment and decline in the social, physical and economic status of women” (Pervez, 2008, p. 56). Further, the compensation and rehabilitation in Haryana are negotiated mostly in monetary terms and mainly by men, excluding women’s concerns. They are more interested in terms of employment, education, alternative means of livelihood and the creation of socio-economic infrastructure that will overall development in the locality.

Moreover, access to compensations and other R&R for women among landowning castes are primarily through their husband or father, who are the recipients. Very often, decisions on spending of these remain in the hands of males. Women from landless communities are completely excluded from compensation or post-acquisition development as they own no land. “They feel that they are the worst off and most excluded with no means to quantify their loss of livelihoods” (Nayak, 2020, p. 40).

Haryana is known for its subjugation of women's rights and non-recognition of any changes in the statutes regarding succession rights. Various cultural practices were observed to check women's inheritance rights despite legal sanctions against it. Land acquisition act 1984 and Haryana R&R policies by recognising the ownership of patta-holder, in this regard gave further prospects to patrilineal order to negate the successive rights of the women, majorly through two means as mentioned. First, to purchase land in the name of male heirs out of compensation money received in exchange for ancestral land; second, by nominating male heirs as successors to be entitled to receiving royalty, plots and other R&R benefits. In these two processes, land owners excluded the rights of wife, daughter and sister from having any legal claims over the ancestral property. And in this regard, these policies, which, unlike other progressive R&R policies, considered land owners as sole beneficiaries, were a boon for the patrilineal tradition of Haryana and its dominant castes. Undermining the current asymmetrical power relation within the household by granting exclusive rights of compensation and other R&R benefits to the household head, the policy made the condition of children and women more dependable and vulnerable.

It has also harmed the life and security of certain vulnerable sections of women i.e., widows, unmarried women, divorced, and deserted women who used to enjoy some ownership rights over the land conferred to them as a form of security and compensation by society. Selling land in exchange for compensation money after acquisition severely affects their future security and well-being, as compensation money never generates a sense of security in the same way as land (Franczak, 2017). Land ownership increases women's bargaining capacity, whereas lack of ownership leads to desertion, high dependence and vulnerability. And no other means can empower women in the same way ownership and control of asset does.

The policy further overlooked the economic contribution of women in the household economy through their informal and secondary occupations. As discussed above, women in these households extensively participated in agriculture and livestock-related activities before the

acquisition of land, which the state has completely negated by deliberately invisibilising the role of women. For example, women played extensive roles in agriculture and allied activities like animal husbandry among caste society and landless Dalit families. Although women's roles as a farmer were not recognised so far, and men have benefited from it. Women's contribution to managing livestock resources is well-known, and its role in empowering women (irrespective of class, caste and age factor), particularly in a society like Haryana, is widely recognised. Additionally, the acquisition of land changed women's roles from subsistence reproducers who managed marginal means of production through agriculture and animal husbandry to a process of housewifeization of women's labour, increasing their vulnerability and lowering their socioeconomic status in a veiled society.

R&R policy and land acquisition acts in this regard remain ineffective. Similarly, the policy and land acquisition process completely neglected women's agricultural labour concerns. They significantly depend upon agricultural land to sustain their livelihood before acquisition. The land acquisition not only deprived these ladies of their means of livelihood but also made them jobless as their skills become obsolete in the industrial sector and acquiring new skills would be difficult for them. As a result, rather than sustaining and empowering women, the purchase of agricultural land led to the disempowerment of agrarian self-employed women and drove them into a precarious position.

While the case of landless women who depended upon community-owned resources and sustaining livelihood through labour on this acquired land has been excluded in the process. However, the R&R policy 2010 argues for skill training for landless labour, which cannot benefit women pursuing labour work as an extension to their household activities. Land acquisition has denied women the economic independence and social space they used to enjoy by engaging in various works as cultivators or animal husbandry. It also excluded them from the compensation process and made them completely dependent upon the male member of the family. The state policies also failed to understand the intensive role of village commons in generating employment, income and asset accumulation (Nayak, 2020).

Land acquisition creates joblessness in the locality as it cannot accommodate a large pool of dispossessed labour. Industrialization and other urban economy developed in the same land though generating employment opportunities but very limited and resulting in joblessness among many, mostly women and old age. This aspect was not taken into consideration while providing rehabilitation packages as replacement costs and contributed to the further

vulnerability of women. For instance, a contrasting picture has come out of Rakesh's family. He is from the Dalit community of Kheri Sadh. His father used to do labour work in the agriculture field of Jat farmers along with his mother when the land was there. However, they are not as attached labour but seasonal along with pig and sheep farming. Now his old father is unemployed as his skill and age have become obsolete. Though he can still do pig farming, with sinking grazing land and village commons, it became unaffordable. Similar to his mother's case, her skill as an agriculture worker is no longer required in IMT Rohtak. However, his wife Rakhi is going to the Amol factory in IMT as a daily wage worker through a contractor. Although she was complaining that they (along with ten more women from her neighbourhood) underpaid for their 10-11 hours of work per day by the contractor, but moreover she is the only regular earner of her family (Rakesh used to work various kinds of odd jobs on daily search basis). *"jinka parivar thoda thik he, inke mahilaye nehijate he kaam karne keliye company main. Mere mohalle ke bhi"* (women of those families who are a bit well-off, including mein own locality, are not going to companies) said Rakhi.

However, many neighbourhood women work as maidservants in Rohtak city. Anita, age 42, a widow now of Baliyana and belonging to the SC community, used to work in the fields of Jats occasionally when her husband was alive. But livestock was her primary source of income and she used to collect fodder from the field of village farmers. Now she became a widow and lost her occupation too due to unavailability of fodder. *"abhi do kothi main jhadu-poccha kaa kaam karti huin"* (currently working as a maidservant in two houses) she said. She believes that land acquisition lowered her status and forced her from a self-independent occupation to the informal urban economy where her position is of a *'noukar'*; a servant. Like her, many peasants and landless women, who lost livestock as a self-independent source of income and occupation, blame acquisition for lowering their status in the household and among relatives. To peasant women, it resulted in housewifisation, whereas some Dalit women are pushed into the informal economy and precarious jobs.

Loss of cattle, farming land and other subsistence sources of income for women in lieu of acquisition of land caused economic disempowerment, lack of freedom in social matters and absolutely no gain from the changing social order due to political and educational mobilisation. Royalty and rent credited in the account of their husband, land purchased at faraway places and sifting occupational patterns in the household have no impact on her freedom and role in decision-making as she has no control over these newly acquired assets. It is the older women

from Jats communities feeling abandoned and deserted. “We lost the land, source of income, relative financial autonomy, and our self-esteem too. Men received compensation and purchased large land estates, but at faraway places. They are now receiving rent and also an annual annuity. But what we got is confinement to home, dependency over young children and diseases” said Prem Devi. “Young women of now won’t be able to understand our lifestyle. For them, agriculture and livestock are ‘manual labour’. They are happy with modern lights, shopping malls, kitchen appliances and all sorts of entertainment brought by the money received as compensation. They are educated, hence consider our jobs as demeaning. But we know what we have lost. It was not land, but our way of life that HSIIDC has acquired”. Her graduate daughter-in-law, Bimla completely rejects that companies of IMT generating any jobs, mainly for women. “*ye kuch chotte jato ke mahilaye jatihein kaam karne ke liye*” (some women from lower caste used to go for work) said Bimla. Young and educated women of Jat families face more severe crises by acquiring land and changing social and educational status. Working as a wage labourer in companies is below their social and educational status, whereas their society allowed them to work in their own field and its allied activities; working outside is considered demeaning and dishonourable to the family.

5.4 Conclusion

Historically, the state under patrilineal norms negates women's roles in social reproduction and economic production as part of family labour in their multiple intersections. Haryana, under this study, has hardly been an exception. While in terms of standard of living, entertainment avenues, women's education etc., witnessed positive improvements owing to the IMT model, the absence of farming and livestock after the land acquisition single-handedly dispossessed thousands of women from additional sources of income. In the event of loss of their autonomy, sources of income and their participation in different activities had destructive spillover effects over other aspects of women's lives.

The acquisition of land for IMT in affected villages has not only disempowered women by altering the traditional livelihood patterns but also remained instrumental in disinheritance of their rights over ancestral properties duly recognised by the law but denied by society. Discriminatory provisions of the land acquisition act have recognised ‘pattaholders’ who are predominantly male members as the rightful owners of landed property and, therefore, exclusively eligible for the R&R benefits. The male beneficiaries then allegedly utilised these provisions to dispossess women members from their inheritance rights and claims over

compensation and R&R provisions by nominating and registering land on their names. However, with the rising land values in NCR and the growing consciousness among women witnessed a substantial increase in the cases of women staking claims over ancestral properties that created in consequence a milieu of assertion and contestation claim of women's rights over resources and the orthodox social diktats issued by the all-powerful patriarchs of the Khap panchayats.

The R&R policy 2007 and 2010 considered the most pragmatic and progressive R&R policy ever made in India, remains discriminatory and fruitless for women. It negates the significant economic roles in agrarian settings by the women and invisibilized the equal detrimental effects of the dispossession on the other gendered communities. Neither their proprietorship nor their economic productivity has been recognised by this policy. Additionally, the process of granting R&R packages mostly in monetary terms also devalues the concerns and aspirations of women, who are more interested in employment, education, alternative means of livelihood and the creation of socio- economic infrastructure, etc.

Undoubtedly then, the loss of agricultural land and common property resources leads to occupational displacement for women both from the landowning caste and landless communities. Yet, the landless women have certainly been more vulnerable due to persistent poverty, no direct access to land and other productive assets and caste-based discrimination. The landless women groups lost access to common property resources and other associate livelihoods that provided them with significant economic autonomy and decision-making, resultant to their extensive participation in paid wage activities alongside male members of their communities. With the growing landlessness among small and marginal farmers and their acute inability to employ women as labourers owing to these lands are purchased at faraway places and given on lease jeopardized their economic opportunities. Therefore, land acquisition as development and subsequent grants of R&R packages and post-dispossession developments as reintegration have not only failed to provide any replacement cost to women and other landless communities rather contributed further vulnerability both to caste women who were confined to the household spaces and of landless communities pushed into informal urban economy that treats them as 'naukar' within an exploitative domain of temporary wage labour jobs. While this process of deprivation of land and common village property resources closed the opportunities for additional incomes for the women from the landed communities, it

undoubtedly jeopardized the livelihoods of their counterparts in the landless sections, forcing them into a serious state of precariousness.

Women's safety and security became a major issue in post-dispossession society as well due to rising cases of crime against women and incidents of domestic violence. Unemployment, growing alcoholism and drug addiction among youth and the presence of easy money and weapons etc., are the immediate causes of women's insecurity, whereas loss of land is the root cause.

In sum, capitalist penetration into these rural societies resulting “pauperisation and marginalisation of large masses of subsistence reproducers . . . that women are more affected by these processes than men, who may still be partly absorbed into actual wage labour force” (Mies, 1980, p. 9). Patriarchy and control of dominant castes over the state resulted in a discriminatory developmental approach regarding gender. The predatory state, patriarchal society and law combinedly reinforce patriarchy over land rights by marginalising women, furthering vulnerability of vulnerable and invisibilising women contributions rather creating an egalitarian space where roles and rights of women will be duly recognised.

Lives of the ‘other’: Impact of Land Acquisition on Livelihoods of the Landless

Outline:

- State of landless communities in Haryana society and economy
- Interrogating the role of landless communities in the land acquisition process
- Impacts of land acquisition on life, livelihood and other societal aspects

6.1 Introduction

Like gender, caste-related power structures are also decisive factors contributing to uneven access and control of economic and other resources, including land, which provides outlets for the enjoyment of other resources. Even though land rights were communal, control over it mainly remained in the hands of dominating sections. Hence, constantly ignored and undermined by the development planning process, resulting in dispossessing effects on various sections of the agrarian community, with landless and other minority communities at receiving ends. The base cause of these unfair treatments remains in the societal structure that supports the dominance of males over females, landlords over landless, civilised over indigenous communities, and so on. Politics originated from these unequal and exploitative structures and failed to address social justice issues and produce laws, policies and planning that reflect the existing power structure. As a result, the fates of landless labourers, Dalit, service provider castes and tribal are constantly suppressed by this dominant form of politics. Some compared development-induced displacement as a form of ‘development cleansing’ in line with ethnic one but continuously directed towards tribal minority populations (Rajagopal, 2002).⁴⁹ Haryanvi society with severe caste and class antagonism will be an exemplary case to understand the impact of land dispossession over the landless communities as land, caste and power are traditionally tangled. In contrast, the state also witnesses subaltern assertions in a changing political economy.

⁴⁹ Statistics show that out of the total number of displaced persons from various developmental projects in India, 40 percent are tribal; although they constitute a mere 8-9 percent of the total population.

6.2 State of Landless people in Haryana society and economy

Historically land, caste and power are intertwined in the Haryanvi society, with dominant castes controlling land holdings, whereas the Scheduled Castes (commonly called Dalit) and backward castes⁵⁰ constitute the largest segments among landless communities. Around 92.1 percent of Dalit and 51.2 percent of backward classes are landless in Haryana, the only state where landlessness among Dalit is more than twice the size of the overall state landless population, i.e., 44.2 percent (Anand, 2016). Even today, hardly 5.97 percent of SCs recorded themselves as cultivators (these includes those of very meagre holdings or sharecropping and other types of insecure tenancy), whereas the majority are agriculture labourer (34.09%) and workers in other sectors (57.77%) as per 2011 census. These predominantly rural communities depended on the dominant landowning castes like Jats, Rors, Kambojs, Ahirs, Sainis, etc. They worked in their field, cutting fodders for animals on credit and surviving through the patron-client arrangement. This feature indicates that these communities hardly benefited from the land reform programs undertaken after independence, and little change has occurred since then. Due to the monopoly, the landowning castes enjoy over land, economy and polity; they dominate Dalit and matters like payment of wages, use of village commons, sexual exploitation and physical assault over their women and them as a community remains issues of confrontation throughout history. Socio-economic and political mobilisation among dominant castes (even today) through traditional caste and kinship-based associations like *Khaps* is the cause for the exploitation and exclusion of landless castes in the rural economy. There were instances when peasants worked collectively in their fields during the off-season to control local workers' demand for higher wages and stop livestock-owning labourers from collecting fodder from their fields.

Traditionally, these communities were involved in non-agricultural activities, artisan or self-employed in animal husbandry. High demands for labour and employment as permanent labourers during the Green Revolution pushed them to change their occupation into permanent agriculture labourers called *naukars/siri* (Bhalla, 1976). However, a trend started in the 1980s when the farming workforce started sifting to fast-growing non-farming sectors, where labour was secure and better paid (Bhalla, 1995). And with economic liberalisation, a significant occupational change has occurred among the landless populations, mainly among Dalit and service provider castes (Brass, 1990; Kumar N. , 1999). Many in areas adjoining Delhi and

⁵⁰ They are majorly traditional service provider castes and artisan

nearby highways migrated to the urban centres and shifted occupations into wage earners in both organised and unorganised sectors. Whereas Dalit of interior districts still depend upon their landowners for sustaining livelihood, not as attached labour but as casual ones (Brass, 1990; Singh J. , 1997). Tom Brass (1990) reported that factors like lower wages, constant abuse by employers, forced to do odd jobs and landowners' preference to recruit migrants over locals during peak season forced them to seek alternative livelihood options. Whereas Surrender Jodhka (1995) argued that in the 1990s, the availability of alternative means of employment, rising voter turnout, media exposure, urbanisation, and a decline in client-patronage ideologies all contributed to a greater consciousness among landless labourers, who frequently reject the "attached labour" part unless they are forced to mortgage their labour through annual contracts due to lack of other options. Political activism, expanding rural-urban ties, widening wage gaps between the agricultural and nonagricultural sectors, and the emergence of a noticeable middle class among Dalits who raised their standard of living by utilising affirmative action programmes persuaded others to leave their traditional occupations and take up new ones (Bhalla, 1999; Kumar N. , 1999).

A sharp decline has occurred in the number of agricultural labourers in Haryana from 19.00 percent in the 1991 census to 15.22 in 2001. At the same time number of workers in other sectors increased rapidly from 40.7 percent in 1991 to 45.97 percent in 2001 and 52.1 percent in the 2011 census. However, female workers remain higher in the agricultural sector (Government of India, 2013). In the case of Rohtak District, the number of agriculture labourers was much lower than the state average i.e., 10.57 percent, whereas 59.30 percent are workers in other sectors as per the 2011 census report (Govt of Haryana, 2011). Some found it a form of liberation from the shackles of caste repression as conflicts between Dalit and the dominant caste prevalent in Haryana. In the words of Prem Chowdhry (2009) "for many of the dalit youth, it is a survival strategy and for others it is a move to break away from the subordinate pattern of the past, which is closely tied to agricultural work and means labouring for the dominant caste groups." (p.443). And socio-economic and political mobilisation of Dalit communities became a cause of resentment and insecurity among the Upper caste in Haryana. Growing Dalit and dominant castes rivalry in recent years and riots during the Jat agitations in 2016-17 could be seen as an offshoot of that (Jaffrelot & Kalaiyarasan A, 2019).

Unlike in traditional times, the rural poor, mainly the landless, sometimes engage in diversified livelihood portfolios by combining different activities. The majority of the workforce of these

communities is engaged in non-farm unorganised sectors, both skilled and unskilled. There are still people continuing as agricultural labour in the fields of landed castes, but unlike in the past, they are not attached labourers with annual contracts. They used to work on a daily rated basis or as seasonal labourers, mainly during harvesting or sowing time. Landed communities also now prefer migrated labourers from UP, Chhattisgarh and Bihar as they are cheaper. A study conducted by Baldev Singh et al. (2018) revealed that occupational profiles of scheduled castes and traditional service provider castes had changed over time as data show that 22% of the total workforce is now involved in farm labour and around 77.98 fall in non-agricultural sectors. Their preference is to perform casual labour in unorganised sectors and self-employment activities. Therefore, Haryana is witnessing a trend where the rural landless communities in NCR move away from the agricultural sector to the fastest-growing informal economy of semi-urban and urban spaces. This shift has also started breaking down the traditional bond and; patron-client relationships among various caste communities. Rural landless no longer associate themselves with agriculture but merge with Haryana's urban economies.

However, land as the fundamental resource that provides outlet and access to other resources always occupies central character in a rural agricultural economy. Traditionally, farmland and village commons, apart from farming, also offer many other indirect services. A substantial number of households in the rural economy depend upon common land for biomass, income and other employment opportunities like rearing livestock, collecting cattle dung and fodder etc. As both official figures and field data indicate, a significant number of wage labour families (mainly women and old within) depend upon village commons and farmlands for livestock grazing and collecting fodder, which occupies a significant source of income. Hence, a change in the land relationship brought similar changes in the whole society, transforming socio-cultural, economic, political and other relationships as discussed throughout this study. Acquisition of land and its subsequent transformation into non-agricultural or commercial usages; nonetheless puts similar impacts on landless communities, both Backward and Dalit along the side of farming communities. Therefore, it would be interesting to analyse how the acquisition of farmland and village commons and subsequent changes in land use patterns impacted various socio-economic, occupational, and other aspects of landless communities.

6.2.1 Demographic Profile of the sample

Table 6-1 Demographic profile of sample landless people

Demographic Categories		Frequencies	Percentage
Village			
	Baliyana	44	36.7
	Kheri Sadh	53	44.2
	Bohar	20	16.7
	Kharawar	3	2.5
Caste			
	Backward Castes	17	14.2
	SC	103	85.8
Gender			
	Male	106	88.3
	Female	14	11.7
Educational Qualification			
	Illiterate	33	27.5
	Primary	11	9.2
	Middle	30	25.0
	Matriculation	23	19.2
	Senior Secondary	15	12.5
	Graduation and above	8	6.7
Age			
	19-30	8	6.7
	31-45	57	47.5
	46-60	40	33.3
	61 and above	15	12.5
Caste Occupation			
	Artisan	10	8.3
	Labour	101	84.2
	Business	5	4.2
	Traditional Service Provider	4	3.3
	Total	120	100.00

Source: Compiled from field Data

Landless communities constitute around 27-28 percent of the population in the affected villages as per the 2011 census. And the Backward castes (OBCs) and Scheduled Castes (SC) or Dalit constitute a major population of landless. Among OBCs; *Bairagi*, *kamhars* (Potters), *ghasi*, *lohar* (blacksmith), *baisakhi*, *tehi*, *gosai*, *dhobi*, *darji*, *nahi*, *rohila*, etc. are the major backward castes from these villages. Similarly, *dhanak*, *balmiki*, *chamar*, *Chuhra* etc. are major Dalit communities. Many of these castes, though landless, but directly connected with land and allied occupations; such as *bairagi* and *baisakhi* used to cultivate land on lease, similarly *kamhars* and *lohars* provide much needed services. Among Dalit castes *dhanak*, *balmikis*, *chuhra* etc. worked as attached labourer or seasonal labourers to land owning castes. Apart from them, all

other communities despite having connections with agriculture and land but not depends extensively as a part of the agrarian community.

Samples have been collected from 120 households amongst the landless communities from all major affected villages i.e., Baliyana, Kheri Sadh, Bohar and Kharawar (See Table 6-1). 14.2 percent are from backward caste communities and 85.8 percent are Dalit with 88.3% males and the remaining 11.7 percent are from women-headed households. Educational attainments of these are unevenly distributed as around 27.5 percent have not received any formal education. About 9.2 percent went up to primary schooling, some 25.0 percent up to high school and 19.2 percent and 12.5 percent completed matriculation and higher secondary, respectively. Some 6.7 percent of those possessed graduation and higher qualification, including some in technical fields. Samples are collected from all age groups as it is necessary to understand how the land acquisition has impacted various age groups of society. Age groups are divided into four categories as seen in Table 6.1. Some eight respondents are 19-30 years of age and were in their childhood when the HSIIDC acquired land. Majorities i.e., 97 respondents are from the age groups of 31 to 60, whose life experienced both pre- and post-acquisition scenarios. It is this generation who felt the heat of land transformation and witnessed the process of reintegration. Some 15 respondents are now in their seventies.

Land as a central capital input played a major role in the rural economy and all segments of society from farmers to artisans, labour and business class, were influenced by any changes in its relation. Though the traditional caste occupations were abandoned in many places, people still inherited that culture. According to their traditional caste occupations, majorities (i.e., 101) are from the labour class who used to work in the lands of Jats as attached labour (mostly Dalit). Around 8.3 percent are from the artisan community, mainly *lohar* (blacksmith) and *kambhar* (potter); some are *banias* (business castes) and *nahi*, *darji* and *teli* (service providers in caste societies). Dalit are primarily landless and work as agricultural and non-agricultural labourers. Artisan, service provider castes and business communities are from backward castes, but all are landless or with marginal land holdings, including homestead land.

6.2.2 Involvement in the process of land acquisition

In displacement or physical dispossession cases, the whole community and the landless sections of the society are directly affected as displaced persons (DP). While others whose livelihood and lifestyle depend upon the dispossessed locality but didn't own or lose any land are called 'project affected persons' (PAPs). As our case study is a case of economic

dispossession with no homestead land acquired, the landless communities living in the affected villages of IMT Rohtak are economically affected due to changes in land relations. In a caste-ridden society with dominant castes controlling the economy, society, culture and politics, subordinate castes; mainly Dalit are deliberately exploited, suppressed and often ignored in every mainstreaming process (developmental process); even by the state apparatus also. Unlike R&R policies of different states like Maharashtra, Odisha, Kerala, Tamil Nadu etc. and agencies like NTPC, and Coal India Ltd., where landless communities are recognised as a major section worse off by development-induced dispossession, Haryana in its R&R policy 2007 completely negates their presence as part of rural agrarian society. Despite constituting around 30 percent population in rural areas, the said policy didn't even recognise them as potential persons to be adversely affected by the acquisition of land or changing land use patterns from agriculture to any other. As a result, no provision has been made for landless labour or artisan communities, even though it has been a well-accepted fact that these communities also bear the heat of acquisition near equivalent to farming communities. While asking for such anomalies in the policy itself, a retired IAS officer of Haryana, who was at the top cadre of policy making at that time, replied that "scientific and technological transformation has already transformed the agrarian sector by replacing labourer with machinery. They are no longer connected with agriculture and land as they used to be. Apart from that, these sections are already getting preferential treatment from the state in terms of food security, free education, reservation in admissions and employment etc. while coming to land, compensation has been paid to the farmers under these policies and they seem to be happy". Moreover, the support or struggle movements against land dispossession in Haryana are through kinship/caste associations like *Khap panchayats* that naturally excluded landless communities. And scholars like Kennedy and Chatterjee believe that this caste polarisation by the dominant castes is one of the major reasons that movements against land acquisitions in Haryana were not able to transform into a mass movement as they failed to build an effective rural coalition (Jenkins, Kennedy, & Mukhopadhyay, 2014; Chatterjee T. , 2013; Kennedy, 2019).

Table 6-2 Involvement in the process of land acquisition

Sl. No.	Involvement in the process of land acquisition	Yes	%	No	%
1	Participated in Land acquisition process in any forms	8	6.7	112	93.3
2	Are you in favour of land Acquisition?	16	13.3	104	86.7
3	Participated in any protest movements	14	11.7	106	88.3
4	Any compensation received from the Government	00	00	120	100.0
5	Any other skill adopted	13	10.8	107	89.2
6	Received any skill training from Government/HSI IDC or any Company located within IMT, Rohtak	10	8.3	110	91.7

Source: Compiled from field Data

Involvement of Dalit and Backward castes households in the whole process of land acquisition in IMT Rohtak affected villages seems to be negligible and if there are some, those are mainly voluntary as we can understand in Table 6-2. Except for some eight respondents out of 120, none of them participated in the process of land acquisitions in any form. These processes mean meetings organised by the Land Acquisition officer, by HSI IDC or any state government authority in this regard, and any form of representation in support or opposition to acquisition or participation in any protest movement or *sabha* or *panchayat* organised in the neighbourhood in this regard. A specific question also asked on involvement in any form of protest movements organised by *kisan* or any of their collectives; around 88.3 percent said none, whereas some 11.7 percent joined along with farmers. However, within them, the participation of backward castes is entirely nil.

Due to historical and agrarian change, an occupational shift has already occurred among the landless households in the affected villages in the 1990s. As found in the occupational profiles of the landless family, the majority of the household were used to engage in non-farming sectors before the land acquisition, mainly in urban informal sectors. Moreover, landed castes also preferred seasonal migrant labour from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh over and above local labourers during peak times and own household labour during the off-season. As reported above, this shift has occurred in all neighbouring regions under NCR. As a result, when the land was acquired for IMT, landless labourers could not connect directly in the process as they had already shifted into non-agriculture sectors. Another crucial factor why

landless communities weren't involved in land acquisition is the predominance of Khap Panchayat as the sole platform to bargain, negotiate and struggle against land dispossession, which excluded Dalit and other backward communities from the scene.

However, as a part of the agrarian community, the landless too, got affected by the land acquisition both directly and indirectly. Ratni, a 65 old Dalit woman, raised the issue of development in the locality that the "government measured the livelihood of people in terms of money and acquired the land. Landowners got their compensation in return and the government is selling these plots in crores (millions of rupees). But with farming communities, Dalit also lost their source of income." Many of these communities were dependent upon animal husbandry as a major source of income. Apart from that, some families used to cultivate the land of Jats farmers on contract basis, whereas Dalit families, mainly women, used to work in the field as seasonal and daily wage labour. Land acquisition directly dispossessed these sources of income and either forced them into the informal market economy or made them jobless.

While discussing their opinion on land acquisition among the Dalit communities, whether they supported land acquisition that promises industrial development in the locality or not? Many of them reported that being part of the agrarian community, they were (86.7 percent) not in favour of acquisition as it resulted in the loss of village commons, farmlands over which their animal and some of their livelihood depends. But they also registered their point of view that, in reality, it does not matter what they think; traditionally, they are excluded in matters concerning land, dominated by the Jats. As they had already shifted to non-farm activities, they were more interested in employment opportunities going to be generated out of the township. The term of incorporation rather than expulsion became a primary issue for these landless communities who were not included in pre-existing social relations of landed property (Borras jr & Franco, 2013).

The R&R Policy of Haryana 2007, considered one of the progressive and kisan-friendly R&R policy at that time, made no provision for the landless communities. They are neither eligible for compensation nor one-time mitigating allowances prescribed by R&R policies of other states at that time or in the LARR 2013. As communities whose livelihood depends upon the land mass that has been acquired and land use patterns changed through legal action, these landless families are under tremendous pressure due to a sudden break in their livelihood and lifestyle. Living on farming activities by providing labour, goods and services or sustaining

livelihood based upon village commons in the forms of water bodies, forests, grazing land etc., acquisition puts their life at a high risk of impoverishment. Hence, in recognition of this fact, many policies, unlike Haryana R&R policies, made specific provisions to mitigate stress and risks. However, the 2010 amendment of Haryana R&R policy 2007 recognised this phenomenon in these letters:

“landless workers engaged in the agricultural operations for generations (under the jajmani custom) and the rural artisans e.g. the blacksmiths, the carpenters, the potters, the masons, the barbers etc., which together constitute the village society. It is a well-recognised fact that there is an association between landowners and the families of landless persons (in the above categories) for generations and such association is well known in the village set-up. The Government is fully conscious of the adverse impact caused by the acquisition of land for non-agriculture purposes on these dependant categories of people” (Govt. of Haryana, 2010)

Therefore, the government made some provisions for the development of these communities with particular focus given to the integration of them into organised sector via “creation and up-gradation of skill-sets of these people/ their dependents to improve their employability” (Govt. of Haryana, 2010). According to the policy, the government promised to provide free technical education to the dependent of these families in state-run industrial and polytechnic training institutes. Further, the government would create a separate fund of one percent of total compensation to provide a skill-set among the dependents of farming and landless communities. Further, at the request of HSIIDC, industrial firms located on acquired land would prefer these affected communities in the prospect of employment. However, according to data gathered from the HSIIDC camp office at IMT Rohtak, neither a fund for the skill-set of the local community nor a formal request to the IMT industries to employ the impacted communities have been made. No Dalit or backward caste families received any compensation or assistance from the government or other agencies, as indicated in table 6-2.

Similarly, concerning skill and technical training, neither the government/HSIIDC nor any companies situated within IMT extended any facilities. Around 91.7 percent responded agreed with that. Though few have undertaken some technical training but were self-sponsored or via some government skill development training programs, none in connection to land acquisition or HSIIDC.

6.2.3 Impact of land acquisition on livelihood options and Occupations

As found in the other parts of Haryana and discussed above, landless communities of these affected villages used to pursue both agricultural and non-agricultural activities, mainly as casual labour in skilled and non-skilled sectors before IMT arrived in Rohtak (table 6.3).

Table 6-3 Changes in Occupation pattern of Landless communities

Type of Occupation		Before Land Acquisition		After Land Acquisition		change
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
1	Animal Husbandry	19	16.1	7	5.9	-10.2
2	Agricultural Labour	25	21.2	2	1.7	-19.5
3	Non-Agriculture Labour	47	39.8	72	61.0	+21.2
4	Govt. Jobs	1	0.8	2	1.7	+0.9
5	Self-Employment	4	3.4	24	20.3	+16.9
6	Business	1	0.8	1	0.8	00
7	Sharecropper	2	1.7	00	00	-1.7
8	Service Provider	3	2.5	3	2.5	00
9	Unemployed	00	00	2	1.7	+1.7
10	Artisan	11	9.2	5	4.2	-5.0
11	others	5	4.2	00	00	-4.2
	Total	120	100.00	118	100.00	

Source: Compiled from field Data

However, as the above table shows, non-agricultural activities were more prevalent than agriculture even before land acquisition. Around 21.2 percent used to work as agricultural labourers in the fields of Jats farmers, none as *siri* (attached labour), but as casual ones, mainly during harvesting. Jat farmers often use family labour for regular work and preferred migrated labourers above local ones as they were ready to work at cheaper wages. Few, mainly OBC families, used to cultivate land on lease as sharecroppers. Majorities were in non-farming sectors (50 percent including business, self-employment and others) like working in shops, factories, auto driving, business, and as vendors; except those who were continuing traditional caste-based occupations of service providers and artisans (potters, blacksmiths, and other artisans). Animal husbandry was one of the major sources of income for all, whereas 16.1 percent of households primarily depended upon it before the land acquisition. Being landless,

these communities were heavily dependent upon agricultural lands (for grazing and fodder) and occasionally worked in the fields of their erstwhile patrons for collecting fodders which have been significantly affected by land acquisition. But, as the dependency of landless communities has shifted from agriculture to other sectors in these localities and other parts of the NCR region of Haryana, the impact of land dispossession on occupational profile and livelihood is comparatively passive and primarily indirect.

As table 6-3 indicates, occupational profiles of the landless communities shifted to more non-agricultural sectors after acquisition. Occupations directly connected with land relinquished from the locality. Agricultural labour and sharecropping were no longer possible and their skills became obsolete. Most of the new generation prefer self-employment and non-agricultural wage labour in both organised and non-organised sectors (more than 80 percent in affected villages). However, women and old who exclusively depended upon agriculture and household-based allied activities like animal husbandry, milk and meat-based incomes, selling vegetable and land-based casual labour are dispossessed. Seema, age 42 of village Kheri Sadh shared her experiences that “as landless we from Dalit communities worked as labourers in the field of Jat farmers and that farm land along with village commons were the major source of fodder for our livestock. Without village common, grazing ground and farming land, managing fodder for the livestock became difficult, resulting in us selling our animals.” Once a prosperous belt for livestock and milk production, these villages are now witnessing a sharp decline in the livestock population among all communities (as explained in chapter III), further minimizing income outlets for landless communities and more for vulnerable members within the household. On the other hand, male counterparts were pushed into the informal market economy, but land acquisition was not the immediate cause. Haryana already witnessed a shift in the occupational pattern among the landless communities from agriculture to non-agriculture sectors in the 1990s.

Whether IMT provided any forms of employment opportunities (direct or indirect) to landless communities as promised in the R&R policy 2010, respondents reported that only 5.8 percent are working in companies situated in IMT. The majority of them (92.5%) are either self-employed or working in unorganised sectors of Rohtak city as casual wage earners. Many of the respondents expressed displeasure over the preference of migrated labourers by the companies situated in IMT over local ones. As reported before, these companies outsource their manual work, like factory workers, security, transportation, etc., through contractors.

They prefer migrated labour as they are willing to work at low wages. It has been found that these contractors often exploit these workers by paying less and not depositing provident funds in violation of labour laws. And as reported by the HSIIDC authority, they have no stake on employment generated out of these industries and each industry decides independently.

Table 6-4 Sponsored Employment for landless communities

Sl. No	Work Sponsored by	Frequency	percentage
1	Private	111	92.5
2	Government	2	1.7
3	IMT project	7	5.8
Total		120	100.0

Source: Compiled from field Data

On the availability of work in the locality and the impacts of land acquisition on the average income of the landless communities (table 6-5), no change has occurred. On average, it remains around 4 days per week before and after the land acquisition. On the other hand, there is an improvement in the average income of these communities. Earlier the average monthly income was around Rs.5000/- which has almost doubled now, i.e., Rs. 10000/-

Table 6-5 Average availability of work per week and monthly income

Sl.no	Particulars	Before Acquisition	After Acquisition
		Average	
1	Days of work available in the locality per week	4.66	4.20
2	Monthly income	5820.39	10129.41

Source: Compiled from field Data

6.2.4 Problem faced due to land acquisition

A comprehensive analysis was made to understand the impacts of land acquisition on various socioeconomic aspects of landless communities and cited in table no 6-6. The majority of respondents are now in view that due to the loss of a self-sufficient agrarian economy and subsequent integration into the market economy, requirements of daily needs have gone up. Despite being landless, they were able to manage majorities of their daily necessities from the fields of landowners and their livestock. Being a part of the agrarian community, many of their nutritional needs were fulfilled from local fields, which have been completely shifted to market now. Despite improvement in income due to the availability of work, which has increased to 64.4 percent reported, management of household needs remains critical due to over-dependency on the market.

Table 6-6 Socio-economic Impacts of Land acquisition on Landless communities

Sl. No.	Aspects affected by Land Acquisition	Increased	Decreased	Same as Before
1	Daily needs requirements	97.5	2.5	00
2	Availability of Work in the Locality	64.4	32.2	3.4
3	Surety in the availability of work in next day	54.2	28.8	16.9
4	Wages	60.3	26.7	12.9
5	Indebtedness	28.7	44.3	27.0
6	Mental tension and Health issues	66.9	17.8	15.3
7	Relationship with old landowners and other villagers	19.5	64.4	16.1
8	Social Security (helps in the time of need from friends, neighbours and old landowners)	24.6	45.8	29.7
9	Migration after Land Acquisition	9.1	84.1	6.8

Source: Compiled from field Data

As Pran Singh of Baliyana reported the usefulness of co-habitation with farmers in these lines “*bhumi adhigrahan se kisano ke sath sath dalito ka bhi nuksan huya kuin ki kisano ke karan dalito ke accha gujara ho jata tha*” (land acquisition cause loss for both Farmers and Dalit). Around 54.2 percent of respondents reported that the surety of work the following day has increased due to robust urban and industrial development in and around Rohtak. The surety of work was uncertain due to the lack of industries, a stagnant urban economy, and lesser means of transportation and communication. Either they need to approach landowners or search for jobs in Rohtak city. It has declined by 28.8 percent, whereas it remains the same for 16.9 percent of respondents. More than 60 percent of respondents replied that wages are now increased in compared to earlier times. Similarly, indebtedness has declined for 44.3 percent of people due to improved wages and easy availability of jobs in the surrounding areas. But, 28.7 percent reported increasing rates of debts, whereas for the remaining 27 percent it is the same as before. As reported in the cases of farmers and women, mental tension and health issues are more now than before IMT. 66.9 percent of respondents reported that health issues and mental tension have increased significantly among them and found it difficult to adjust to new circumstances. Reasons for that have already been discussed in previous chapters.

Sarita, a young woman of Baliyana reciting her experience on the current state of relationship with erstwhile landowners and fellow villagers “*hame kaam ka jarurat hota ta ar kishano ko mazduro ki, lagbhag ek aapasee rista tha dono mein. Wo log hamare sadiyo mein ate the ar*

hum log bhi unse dhar karaj karte the jarurat ke wakt. Ab to wo rista gayab hi ho geya he” (we used to work in the field of Jats and they required our labour for farming. There was a mutual relationship between our communities. They used to come to our marriages and we also borrowed money from them in our time of need. But after the acquisition, this mutual relationship has disappeared). Despite its caste and class antagonism, Agrarian society produces a harmonious relationship between farmers and labour. Peasants require other communities both labour and service providers as an integral part of agriculture. Similarly, later also sustained from the land. Their relationship was not mere owners and servants but rather patron-client even in caste-ridden Haryanvi society. Acquisition of land and change in land use pattern destroyed that mutual reciprocity as reported by 64.4 percent in table 6-7. Similarly, social security which is defined in terms of help in time of need from neighbours and old land owners also decreased. For 45.8 percent it has declined, whereas 29.7 percent remain the same while 24.6 found improvements. In terms of migration among the landless communities, majorities (84.1%) reported that it has declined as works are not available in the surroundings due to extensive industrial and urban growth in Rohtak. Development in communication and transportation facilities made Rohtak as if the suburban of Delhi, with thousands going to work daily instead of migrating.

6.3 Conclusion

The sheer prominence of caste question in land rights and power structure of the state of Haryana gave birth to an unequal and exploitative socio-economic structure where dominant castes controlled the land holdings whereas Dalits and backward classes remained landless. Traditionally rural based and predominantly dependent upon agricultural labour, these landless communities have been exploited to the maximum by the dominant castes under caste associations like Khap Panchyat since ages and were neglected in agrarian settings and state policies as well. Hence, with growth in urban and industrial sectors in Haryana, particularly in NCR during 80s and 90s, a sharp decline had taken place among agricultural labour as landless communities started joining in diversified non-farm livelihood folios. Gradually, these local agricultural labourers were replaced by migratory labour forces that were ready to work at cheaper rates.

Despite being the major 30 per cent of village population and a substantial section under the ‘project affected person’, they were completely excluded in land acquisition processes but also in Haryana R&R policies. Their participation in any forms in land acquisition and post-

dispossession reconstruction remain negligible and this kind of deliberate exclusion of a larger agrarian section could be a major reason why movement against land acquisition were not able to transform into mass movements. Caste polarisation by the dominant castes in one hand and occupational shift among the Dalits on the other hands reduced the possibilities of an effective rural coalition against land acquisition. Moreover, Haryana R&R policy 2007 also negated the recognition of landless communities as potential dispossessed in their process of acquisition. Later on, in Haryana R&R policy 2010 few social security provisions like priority in employment, skill enhancement training programme and technical education to the wards of landless communities were extended but these measures have mostly remained unimplemented and inconsequential.

A critical analysis on impacts of land acquisition on the landless communities indeed manifest a stability in the informal jobs and a substantial increase in the wage along with the significant decline in migration and indebtedness of the local populace. Yet none of these developments can be considered as a beneficial outcome of the IMT as it has so far failed miserably to provide employment and livelihood opportunities to local population. Majority of these sections have already shifted into non-farm sectors as self-employed workers before land were acquired hence remained less affected by the land acquisition. However, the agricultural labourers, sharecropper and artisans or service providers remained deeply affected by this loss of the farmlands and the village commons. Livestock economy that had always been the backbone of Dalit household was completely decimated as a consequence to the land acquisition adding further marginalisation and joblessness mainly to the women and old. The management of daily requirements, health issues and food security have also remained critical issues of concern owing to the land acquisition in addition to the decline in the bond of social cooperation hitherto existing between the communities, especially with the landowning sections.

The overall impact of land acquisition over the live and livelihood of landless communities has not been quite grim, unlike other part of the country owing to the socio-economic mobility and political consciousness among these communities that made them to shift their occupations much before IMT landed in their locality. Yet, it rarely reduces the fact that the caste ridden society and development process led by the state excluded them completely from the process of negotiation around the land acquisition. Besides, IMT hardly considered about the provisions for any alternative sustainable economic opportunities for the communities in question except few temporary wage labour jobs through contractors. however, an assessment

of the degrees of the consequences of land acquisition over the landless communities in juxtaposition to that of the upper castes remained a central problematic to recognize the nature of the politics of land wars in India which demands an in-depth exploration and not a part of current study.

Interrogating benefit-sharing approach of Haryana and its prospect for Reintegration

"Development never will be, and never can be, defined to universal satisfaction".

The Brandt Commission Report 1980

7.1 Introduction:

Begins with the quotation from the Brandt Commission Report 1980 that 'development never will be, and never can be, defined to universal satisfaction'; we understand that there is no universal definition or tools to measure development, nor can we have a universal satisfaction of it. A farmer or a city inhabitant with a modern education would have distinct development needs than a tribal person. Numerous factors, such as ethnicity, class, occupation, personality, gender, culture, geography, and others, affect how a person perceives development. As a result, there are many different approaches to development. However, for centuries, many nations have followed the western trajectory of 'economic growth,' which includes industrialization, urbanisation, market expansion, modernization, etc., as the main form of development. Though the outcomes in the Third World differed from those in the West, they nonetheless led to the eviction of millions of people, a worsening of poverty, and the socio-cultural disintegration of the poor, as discussed in the preceding chapters. Many have criticised this model as a system of "triage" or new kinds of colonial plunder, a strategy of neo-imperialism, a re-imposition of the white man's burden, etc., and have recommended alternate approaches as well, yet one cannot deny the benefits and usefulness of these also. These development and infrastructure projects require land, thus people must relocate physically or economically, depending on the objectives and the agency (state or private entities) (Vanclay, 2017). Due to large population densities, it can sometimes affect millions of individuals over thousands of hectares, primarily in developing nations. This causes severe socioeconomic, cultural, and emotional hardship for the families impacted by the project. However, resettlement initiated by acquiring agencies was for many years restricted to the payment of monetary compensation for property losses, discounting social, cultural, and emotional facets of human existence. According to decades of research on involuntary displacement, unplanned, inadequate, and non-participatory resettlement responses to displacement resulted in economic devastation, social disintegration,

cultural devaluation, and stress. Rich academic exploration has been there on policy guidelines, suggestions and legislations on how dispossession could be avoided or minimized and, if at all needed, how we could be able to reintegrate and reconstruct the life and livelihood of oustees sustainably; that constitutes the core idea of ‘rehabilitation study’ in involuntary displacement. As noted, “the process of resettlement is complex- it is multi-dimensional, multi-factor, multi-scalar and multi-level” (Vanclay, 2017, p. 3). It is vital to remember that "development never will be, and never can be, defined to universal satisfaction" as this chapter attempts to assess the R&R Policies of Haryana as part of benefit sharing approach and its prospect of reintegration of those affected by the IMT, Rohtak.

7.2 The R&R policy of Haryana 2007 (2010) and Benefit sharing

Reintegration denotes a strategy used by the state, whether by financial assistance, policy changes, or any other means, to lessen the effects of dispossession and stop the marginalised from becoming even more impoverished. It represents the restoration of lost means of livelihood in order to adapt to a new environment and the creation of opportunities for both the current generation and the next one to live honorably. Consensus building, benefit sharing, and creating opportunities for sustainable development are the three key elements of reintegration. Reintegration in the current scenario, however, remains a "Top-Down process" without offering much space for consensus building or active participation of all stakeholders, as addressed in the prior chapters. Land acquisition and post-dispossession rehabilitation largely continue to be driven by authorities without taking into account local residents' development goals. Although the R&R policy 2007 and 2010 was deemed to be based on benefit sharing, it completely failed to forge a consensus, and its impact remain a multi-faceted one.

Before going into the other dimension of the Haryana R&R policy 2007 & 2010 and its prospects for reintegration, some of the critical aspects of the policy are outlined below:

- Who would be considered as oustees?

The policy adopted a market-oriented approach and considered the "*khatedar*"; the person(s) on whose name land is registered at the time of issue of section 4 notification under LAA 1894 or their nominees as "oustee" despite significant disagreements over who would be considered as "oustees" or "displaced persons" in the past. All R&R benefits, such as compensation, royalties, residential plots, commercial sites, etc., must only be distributed in the *khatedar*'s name or the names of their nominees that they have proclaimed. The landowners are typically men. From the perspective of gender justice, this

strategy entirely downplays the contribution and suffering of women who have been ousted. R&R benefits are not distributed in the joint name of the husband and wife, in contrast to many R&R policies of other states. However, if the landowner specifically designated any female family members (wife, mother, sister, or daughter) as nominees or failed to do so and passed away, in such situations, as is rarely the case, his spouse and children—including his daughter—would be qualified to receive the benefits.

- The policy took each co-sharer as a separate unit to be eligible for R&R benefits based on their share, rather than considering a "*khata*"; land register as a unit regardless of the number of landholders, in recognition of the fact that landholdings are declining and more families are dependent upon small pieces of land. As a result, the likelihood of litigation brought about by family disagreements has been reduced, and on the other side, landowners' unhappiness has been assuaged.
- Payments for compensation or royalties are made via cheque or direct bank transfer. As a result, it directly benefits those who are vulnerable because it upheld accountability and transparency.
- If a self-occupied built-in residential structure or dwelling has been acquired, the policy provides for the allocation of residential plots. However, the HSIIDC administration made every effort to avoid acquiring any of the cluster's residential plots. Therefore, there are no people who have been physically displaced. For IMT, Rohtak, and the afflicted villages, only farmland and common property resources (panchayat land) have been purchased. Therefore, the project has not caused any social unrest or cultural disruption. However, the policy only counts self-occupied sites as residences, not any home built on encroached public or communal land, typically by members of the landless class. Apart from that, homes built on farm grounds would not be regarded as "residential residences," such as kothras or rental structures.
- In accordance with policy, residential plots have been given out in the vicinity of existing village residential sites for oustees (*abadi deh*). As a result, the oustees will stay in their community and close to their kin. This will effectively prevent any sociocultural disintegration, as shown in numerous instances where rehabilitation sites were assigned in remote locations in different sociocultural zones, frequently resulting in conflicts with the host population.
- Compensation has been paid for the loss of any constructed structure, tree, or well situated at farm sites. To determine compensation, a thorough examination that took into account

roof kinds, building sizes, construction types, and age was performed. Similarly, different trees received different payments based on their worth and usefulness. When purchasing land with an installed tube well and an electricity connection approved under the agricultural tariff, the seller was entitled to an alternative tube well connection on the un-acquired land or over any subsequent purchases of agrarian land in the state.

- Within two years of the award, ousted parties may use compensation money to purchase alternative agricultural land in the state of Haryana without paying stamp duty or registration fees. However, most oustees could not take advantage of this benefit because the land is scarce and expensive in Haryana compared to other states. Instead, they bought land in other states.
- The HSIIDC has set up a camp office in IMT, Rohtak, which is in charge of carrying out various R&R policy provisions and facilitating township for industrial purposes.
- The R&R policy from 2007 dismisses the existence of landless communities as a part of an agricultural setting, despite the fact that they were negatively impacted by land acquisition because their livelihoods depended on the land. However, the R&R policy of 2010 acknowledged their suffering. These families—landless labourers, artisans, and traditional service castes like blacksmiths, barbers, potters, and carpenters—were deeply connected to agriculture and the landowning class for many generations, especially in rural settings. The policy also recognised the devastating impact of the land acquisition on their life and livelihood. As a result, it has suggested special provisions and skill-upgrading training. However, neither of these clauses was ever put into effect, and neither has HSIIDC made any evaluation of the volume and number of persons impacted by land acquisition. Naturally, they received no compensation and were not qualified for any of the positions that were created in these industries. This illustrates the brutality of the caste conflict in Haryana and the disregard for the suffering of Dalit and members of other underprivileged groups displayed by the government. The final section of this chapter offers a thorough analysis.

7.2.1 Compensation Money

There are no packages that can compensate for the loss of one's ancestral land, habitat, or access to local resources, but they can be restored to a condition that is similar to or better than that. Around the world, land owners are compensated in various ways, including cash, land, equity investments, and other means. Due to the lack of available wasteland in Haryana, land-based compensations are not an option, hence the R&R policy adopted cash-based compensation as

well as other benefit-sharing strategies. As Sanjoy Chakraborty (2013) rightly noted that, the price of the land plays a critical role in acquisition-related conflict and disputes, or its acceptance and opposition, rather than coercion involved in land acquisition, size of land acquired or actors involved, etc. Contrary to liberal romanticism, many land wars in India occurred mainly because the land owners believed that compensation rates were inadequate. This is in contrast to the romantic notion that Indian peasants are emotionally attached to their property and are not development-oriented. Even in Haryana, there have been numerous anti-land acquisition protests where the owners of the land were not against the acquisition but opposed the state's arbitrary determination of the rates of compensation (Kennedy, 2019). Land was purchased for IMT Rohtak in three phases between 2007 and 2011. As a result, compensations were given at various rates, including solatium at 30% and interest under Section 23(1A). These rates were approximately Rs. 22 lakhs, Rs. 24 lakhs, and Rs. 54 lakhs.

The satisfaction with the compensation amount was influenced by stimuli from other sources because compensation for lost property was not always paid in cash. Higher satisfaction is largely driven by subsequent development and growth in the community that either directly or indirectly improves one's financial well-being as well as successful investments with high capital gains. Despite being underpaid, oustees may feel more satisfied if they invest their compensation money and produce a higher return. Other intervening factors on satisfaction level include the amount of land lost, the compensation paid compared to the past price, current market rates or of compensation received by others, valuations of unacquired land at the same time or after, etc. For instance, the satisfaction level usually decreases if the landowner obtains a lower price than the market rates while the acquiring agency gains profit from their land. The oustees felt duped when the owners of unacquired land obtained more value from another agency or when the value of their land increased afterwards. Location of the land, size of the holdings, cumulative outputs generated, etc., also have impacts. If the established project creates more prospects for employment or income, a small landowner will be extremely satisfied; otherwise, he would be dissatisfied. In order to encourage oustees' happiness with compensation, research on involuntary dispossession advised that in cases of state-led transaction, cash compensation needed to be backed by other benefit-sharing R&R packages and occasionally preferential treatments.

Table 7-1 Satisfaction level on Compensation Amount

	Phase I		Phase II		Phase III	
	Cases	Percent	Cases	Percent	Cases	Percent
Satisfied	52	45.2	18	9.4	9	14.3
Marginally Satisfied	31	27.0	61	31.8	11	17.5
Unsatisfied	32	27.8	113	59.2	43	68.3
Total	115	100.0	192	100.0	63	100.0

Source: Compiled from field Data

The respondents' level of satisfaction with the compensation sum paid to landowners over the course of three phases is shown in Table 7-1. Satisfaction levels are broken down into three categories: satisfied, marginally satisfied, and not satisfied. The number of respondents fluctuates in each phase since some respondents didn't lose their land in every round. According to the replies gathered, approximately 45.2% of respondents who lost their land in phase I are happy with the compensation amount received, while 27.0% are only slightly happy and 27.8% are not happy in the same phase. The majority of landowners believed that the compensation paid during phase I was actually higher than the land value received from the previous INLD regime, or from private land developers like Sun City or Omega Company. Many people invested the compensation money they got during this phase in order to accumulate large estates later. However, those who either lost their entire landholding or whose land had a considerably larger chance of capital gain due to its advantageous location were the landowners who were dissatisfied with the compensation price.

Landowners react similarly in Phase II and Phase III situations because the majority, 59.2% and 68.3%, respectively, are not happy with the money received. In Phase II and Phase III, roughly 9.4% and 14.3% of respondents, respectively, appeared to be satisfied with the price that was paid. As a result, 17.5% of respondents in Phase III and 31.4 percent in Phase II were just moderately satisfied with their compensation. Many people lost their whole landholding during these two phases, especially in Khedi Sadh and Baliyana, which was one of the main causes of dissatisfaction. In Haryana, there is a trend among the agricultural class that some people are willing to leave agriculture for other, more lucrative industries, while others want to try their luck by selling a portion of their land rather than losing all of it. The percentage of small and marginalised farmers lost their land is about 25.5%. And 56.40 percent of landowners purchased land after the acquisition, but because they did so in remote locations, they were unable to benefit from it. But, due to land acquisition, a group of neo-rentier class emerged who are surviving from rent generated from the purchased land and real estate investments.

Furthermore, the increasing land value of unacquired adjacent areas was the cause of dissatisfaction with the Phase II and Phase III compensation prices.

Two elderly farmers from Baliyana village, Baljeet Jee and his brother explained why they are unhappy: "The rates of phase I were good as rates before then were very low in these areas." The second phase (2009) was a real loss because compensation rates remained the same even after two years, while the land market outside had undergone significant change as a result of the introduction of IMT. Farmers received about 55 lakhs in the third phase, but it wasn't much help. Farmers acquired more property in 2007 by selling one acre to HSIIDC for 22 lakhs; for some farmers, this occurred in a 1:8 ratio based on the quality and location of the lands. But as a result of IMT, the real estate market exploded in a few of years. Moreover, using Phase III's compensation, buying a half-acre was very impossible. Therefore, our land's worth has really decreased. Bohar, a village next to us, received a higher price during the same acquisition process than we did because their land is adjacent to the HUDA sectors of Rohtak and the highway. But, land price should be same for all villages as they are not acquiring for something where quality or proximity of land matters. It should be judged as a means of subsistence and a permanent source of income"⁵¹. Kuldeep of Baliyana village had a similar complaint that Khari-Bohar got more compensation than them. "We moved to the court against compensation prices, but not much has been increased. The marginal balance we got was lost in the litigation process," said Kuldeep. According to Dilawar Singh, S/o-Phul Singh, the compensation paid in phase II was really low compared to the land value in the surrounding area. "We got same as the 1st phase price. Now when an acre is in crores at outside market, even 54 lakhs paid in phase III is definitely low". After IMT came to these villages, land prices of neighboring localities went high. People are selling in crores per acre.

Satisfaction over the compensation amount paid in case of state-led acquisition, despite external aspects influenced by many factors. Primarily it is always reflected in one's own relative articulation of socio-economic conditions at present, in the past and in future, at one hand and compared with the position of those whose land was not acquired, on the other hand. For example, as discussed earlier, Sri Bhagwan, a farmer of Kheri Sadh, is satisfied with compensation prices. Despite losing around 10 acres of land to IMT, he is happy because he is now earning more now, than before. He is receiving a good amount as royalties and rents out

⁵¹ Land value of Khedi Sadh and Bohar were higher as compare to Baliyana and similarly they received higher compensation rates.

of purchased land. Children got settled, one in a government job and another in a private company, by investing some compensation in their education. He also married his children out of it and constructed a good house. Now his grandchildren are in a good private school and he is hopeful about their future (his personal opinion). Therefore, satisfaction level over compensation paid by the HSIIDC has unevenly impacted over these heterogeneous agrarian communities.

7.2.2 Royalty

Investment in the equity market and returning a portion of developed land parcels to make land owners 'partner' in the development are some of the prevalent benefit-sharing measures adopted by various acquiring agencies in India, since last two decades, including granting an annual annuity for few years. Haryana pioneered this by adopting a long-term benefit-sharing principle in all state-led land acquisition projects throughout the state, including land acquired for private firms. As per the Haryana R&R policy 2007 (amended in 2010) the state will grant (apart from compensation) a fixed sum of Rs. 21000 (Rs. 15000 as per 2007 policy) with an annual increment of Rs. 750/- (Rs. 500 for 2007) per acre for 33 years to the land owners. This provision established what we popularly call the 'Haryana Model of R&R' and was later adopted by many other states like Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. However, Sugata Marjit (2010) criticised this predetermined annual payment of annuity as a security claim over the land (that can be seen as a solution to guaranteeing fair share to the seller of land in the future valuation of land, in case it shoots up) as arbitrary (without a proper mechanism to determine annuity) and may lead to governance problem if in case future valuation exceeds the expectation of the land owners. This is a very genuine problem and landowners who lost their land to IMT, Rohtak is constantly complaining about the under-valuation of the compensation paid to them by comparing the skyrocketing price of un-acquired adjoining lands and claiming that annuity is the same as bank interest payable to them annually, if we kept the same value of the land in the bank. Marjit proposed an alternative model of 'option-pricing' based on the theory of finance and taxation on capital gains, where the land owner will have a legal claim over the future capital gain of the land and the state will guarantee its redistribution. The claim paper entitled land owner's share on capital gain could be tradable on the market or even helps to get a loan against it. This model could be useful in cases where land was acquired for industry, real estate and SEZs. He further pointed out that other benefit-sharing approaches that are prevalent now, like allotment of a developed land parcel, shares in proposed projects or employment in companies, would be manipulative by both buyer and seller and will lead to

undesired political and economic consequences. However, the ‘option-pricing model’ proved to be a ‘win-win situation’ and a unitary solution seems very effective and rational for a booming capitalist market but needs to be tested in cases where projects are not generating enough profits, which is very common in India. In the current case, land owners are entitled to a fixed annuity amount for 33 years, irrespective of the loss and profit of the project.

The prime motive behind the royalty provision was to provide a long-term supporting hand to the farmers even after they lost land ownership. This royalty could be a solution to the complaints against the state/acquiring agency for not helping oustees during the reconstruction phase and making huge profits from the speculative land market by purchasing cheap land from landowners (Mathur, 2006; Cernea M. M., 2009). Almost all landowners whose land was acquired are eligible under the royalty scheme and are receiving annuity annually under both the 2007 and 2010 policies, depending on in which phase their land was acquired, i.e., Rs. 15000/- per acre with Rs. 500/- increment per year for phase I & II and Rs. 21000/- per acre with Rs. 750/- increment for phase III.

Table 7-2 Royalty Amount received per year

Sl. No	Amount (in Rupees)	Frequency	Percent
1	1000-5000	38	13.7
2	5000-15000	46	16.5
3	15000-30000	82	29.5
4	30000-50000	49	17.6
5	50000- 1 lakh	42	15.1
6	above 1 lakh	21	7.6
Total		278	100.0

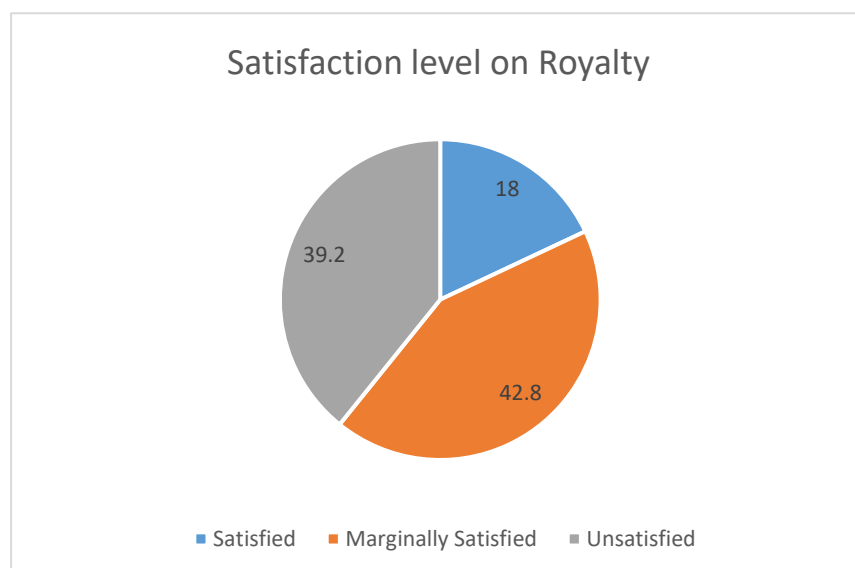
Source: Compiled from field Data

As per Table 7-2, around 13.7 percent of respondents who lost one-two *kanals* or even lesser size of land are receiving mere 1000-5000 rupees per year whereas 16.5 percent are getting between Rs. 5000-15000. Around 29.5 percent and 17.6 percent of small and marginal farmers with more than one acre of land are receiving amount ranging from Rs. 15000-30000 and Rs. 30000-50000, respectively. Some 15.1 percent are receiving around fifty thousand to one lakh and a few (7.6%); big landowners are getting more than one lakh. The provision of royalty for such a long 33 years is a welcoming step that would boost livelihood reconstruction in the post-acquisition period, at least for a few. However, such a model based on market-oriented without any adherence to equity principles would be of minimal use for majority. Some farmers of

Khedi Sadh and Baliyana were stunned after receiving cheques of Rs 2, Rs 5, Rs 10 and Rs 12 as royalty from the HSIIDC, reported by Times of India in 2015. Jagveer Singh and his brother, whose land was acquired in phase I, were paid a cheque of Rs. 2 in 2014. "How shameful it is on the part of the government to be issuing cheques for this amount? We don't know which provision the government is following. All this despite the fact that the government has announced that Rs 500 will be paid as compensation under any circumstances" reported in a newspaper (Singh M. , 2015). While landowners expressed their disappointment at the miserable amounts they have received, the HSIIDC officials simply stated that it was as per the policy. Royalty has been allotted as per one's share in the piece of land acquired and table 7.3 indicates that around 60 percent of respondents were small and marginal landholders receiving less than 30000 rupees per year.

Having the provision of royalty is a boon, without a doubt. Allotment of royalty in addition to compensation amount for such a long time was a new phenomenon in R&R study and has positive impacts over the reconstruction of oustees' livelihood after land acquisition. This provision proved to be a long-term state's helping hand even after the dispossession of land and one exhausted all his compensation amount. But, by disregarding equity principle the provision found to be not of much help to small landholders receiving few thousands per annum and they are in majority. As a result, around 39.2 percent of the respondents are unsatisfied with the rate of royalty (Figure 7.1), mostly small and marginal landholders

Figure 7-1 Satisfaction level on Annuity Amount



Around 42.64 percent of respondents are marginally satisfied with the provision, whereas only 18 percent reported their satisfaction. But why is it so? Is the annuity scheme not able to provide a sense of security same as they used to have when they had their land? They are happy and thankful that despite losing all land holdings, at least they are getting some amount, unlike other states. As a landowner said, 'it's like getting rent, even after losing land'. However, all are not satisfied with the annuity scheme.

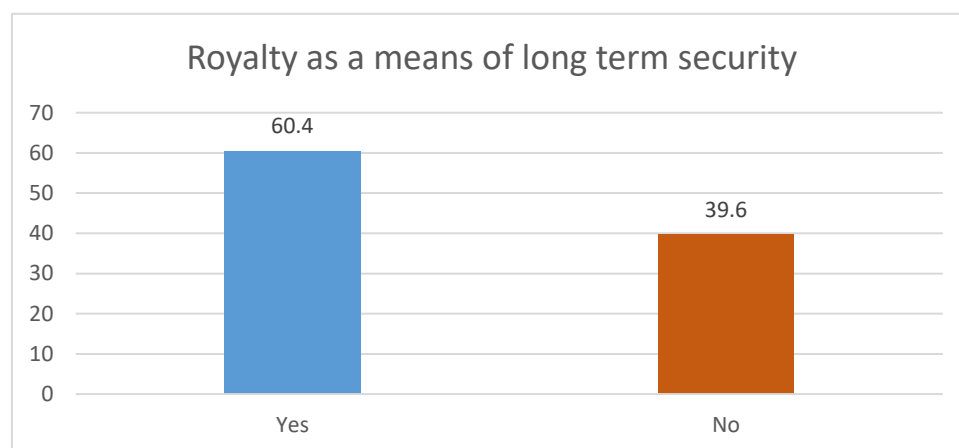
7.2.2.1 Is the Royalty scheme providing a sense of long-term security?

Land, despite its size, has never been considered a mere commodity to be tradable, particularly in rural India. It provides a sense of economic security due to its tradable nature in times of need, but apart from that, it serves many other purposes. Land provides outlets for the enjoyment of other needs, i.e., housing, water, food security, livelihood and more, over sustainable employment opportunities with a sense of identity and pride for the land owner. Land provides a sense of security which is holistic and sustainable apart from being long-term. The annuity scheme introduced the first time in Haryana was quite a provision of its kind. This policy initiative has answers to many issues and challenges cited in several involuntary displacement projects. It provides a base to build livelihoods, minimize the alienation effect during reconstruction phase, and help oustees to reintegrate into the mainstream. It is also a question of benefit sharing in rent, equity investment or development. This is of sharing future capital gain with the original landowners. Despite its fixation being arbitrary and without consulting different stakeholders, many landowners agreed that Haryana's annuity scheme provides a sense of long-term social security.

Around 60.4 percent believed that even if a farmer exhaust his compensation amount, the annuity scheme gives a sense of security. Ajit Singh said, 'the 33 years royalty is a little help. Though instead of paying in April, we are getting in September or October, but a minimum security is there'. "Yes, royalty is a good thing in this project. At least the family can sustain by using this money which is guaranteed for 33 years," said another farmer of Baliyana who lost his 3.5 acres of land. Figure 7.2 indicates that the remaining 39.6 percent, particularly those with less than one hectare of land, denied such a claim that annuity will ever be able to provide economic security as per or at least close to land. Even those who agreed it as security have certain reservations too. There are many small landholders whose land was a few kanal only, so they are eligible for some 4 or 5 thousand rupees per year, which helps them in nowhere while that small portion of land used to serve their family needs reasonably. Land use to satisfy

both their household consumption needs and income too. A source of food grain, fodder for livestock, and livelihood where the entire family used to work never will be replaced by some few thousand cash, reported by Kuldeep of Khedi Shad. He added, “forget about providing security; rupees 4000-5000 in a year not even sufficient to pay annual educational fees of a child, even in a government school. Many farmers are still sending their children to government schools, unlike others opting for private schools. Thanks to the right to education act that provides compulsory and free education to all. But, what about the future of their children as no land left for them to cultivate neither, they can afford any professional education and government jobs, and IMT; for whose we lost our land, is not giving jobs to local people.” In a similar tone, Surrender, who lost around 5 acres of land while playing cards said ‘If there will be nothing for them to do, what kind of security will it provide’. “What security will it provide if our next generation has to perish before our eyes. It will help up to our generation only” said Dilwar Singh, an old farmer who lost his 10 acres of land in Khedi Sadh. Few landowners arguing the annuity amount should be given as a lump sum instead of a few thousand every year so that they could use it in a much more profitable way, the provision later added in the 2010 policy.

Figure 7-2 Perception that Royalty Scheme is a form of security



The annuity scheme, a genuinely good initiative with a noble purpose, has lost its objective of providing economic security because the IMT has failed to provide sustainable livelihoods to the oustees. The grief of losing land and not getting any direct or indirect benefits out of IMT, farmers looking the annuity scheme as a token of money payable to them for 33 years to use in medical expenses that grasps them after acquisition due to sudden changes in daily routine and obviously for no work. It failed to be sustainable as youth are sitting ideally with anti-social

activities increasing in the locality. Many complained that HSIIDC is not providing annuity amounts on time. Instead of getting in April, they are getting in September or October. Some also complain about excessive paperwork every time they apply for it and sometimes officials ask for bribes to get it sanctioned.

7.2.3 Residential and Commercial/Industrial Plots:

As per the R&R policy, any land owner whose land or/and self-occupied residential site has been acquired by the HSIIDC is eligible for a residential plot at a concession price. Each owner and co-owners of land are entitled separately to an ‘oustees-category’ residential plot of a minimum of 90 sq. mts. to a maximum of 450 sq. mts. depending upon the size of land acquired and one’s share over it. In addition to that, a landowner and co-owners are also eligible for a commercial/industrial site in case someone lost 75 percent or more of land holdings in a revenue estate (subject to a one-acre minimum) to HSIIDC, HUDA or HSAMB (Govt. of Haryana, 2010). As part of the benefit-sharing approach, these developed land parcels would be available at 20 percent lesser than the nodal price applicable to the general public. The cost incurred in acquisition, development and providing minimum amenities would be considered in determining the rates of these plots. The objective was that it would help them (oustees) to provide economic security in the future and ultimately makes them ‘shareholder’, and ‘partner’ in the progress and development of the project.

Further, the residential plots would be reserved near the village to prevent the outbreak of any social disintegration. This provision is voluntary, and one can opt out of it. In the case of IMT Rohtak, only residential plots were allotted to around 1265 landowners affected by phase I and II at the rate of Rs. 4800.00- per sq/mts. with enhancement, if any, till 2019. Many people became eligible after phase III, as quite the majority of them lost more than 75% of their land holdings. However, allotments are yet to be completed⁵². As per HSIIDC officials, around 1500 people will be eligible in phase III, and people are still applying, which delayed the allotment process. However, a critical analysis of this provision opted by oustees of Phase I & II could be useful to reach into certain conclusion and predict its impact on the reconstruction and sustainable livelihood. As table 7.3 indicating too that around 29.1 percent of respondents are not eligible for residential plots, whereas around 35.6 percent have taken it already. But, a significant number of oustees i.e., 18.3 percent choose to opt out of this scheme.

⁵² Information collected from site of HSIIDC, IMT, Rohtak

Table 7-3 Allotment of Residential plot

Particulars on Plot	Frequency	Percent
Not eligible	81	29.1
Not taken	51	18.3
Taken	99	35.6
Not yet allotted	47	16.9
Total	278	100.0

Source: Compiled from field Data

A farmer of Baliyana who lost his one acre of land in phase II called this provision a ‘curse’ and blamed the HSIIDC for consuming many self-sustained livelihoods. They received around 24-25 lakhs as compensation in return and applied for a residential plot in the IMT, as per the policy. A 420 sq. mts. size residential plot was allotted to him @ Rs. 4800/- per sq. mts. In his words, ‘A one-tenth size of my original piece of land allotted as the residential plot at the expense of my 1 acre of land (1 acre=4046 sq. mts.) for 20,16,000 + other taxes. Later, the enhancement price was added i.e., Rs. 300/sq. mts. and in total, it comes @ Rs. 22 lakhs’. This is the reality of ‘developed land parcel’ and myths surrounding benefit sharing. Due to the high cost of these developed land parcels, for many, instead of becoming a bone, it turns into a curse, the worst nightmare. This is the reason the majority of the farmers (around 85.5 percent) are unsatisfied with the rates of residential plots (See table.7-4). However, a few big landlords were satisfied, with some 6.9 percent of marginally satisfied people. As a landlord said, ‘I have taken a 420 sq. mts. plot in IMT at Rs. 4800/- per sq. mts. Rates for me are reasonable. The value of my plot is increasing daily and I don’t want to sell it.’

Table 7-4 Satisfaction level on rates of Residential plots

Satisfaction level	Frequency	Percent
Satisfied	10	7.6
Marginally Satisfied	9	6.9
Unsatisfied	112	85.5
Total	131	100.0

Source: Compiled from field Data

Opting for residential plots is voluntary, and farmers can choose not to take them. As discussed earlier, around 18.3 percent of landowners, mainly small and marginal farmers, opted out of it. Rohtas, a seventy-year-old man from Kharawar village (cited earlier) thinks that the residential plot is not for them (small farmers), it is for big landlords. “They were allotted a 1/20 piece of land of my land size (eligible for 200 sq. mts. size plot) in a price of all of my compensation

money. Though plots for phase III is not yet released, I did not apply for it. It is very expensive”⁵³. Kuldeep Singh of Khedi Sadh called this provision a *ghotaala* (scam). They paid around Rs. 17 lakhs for a 400 sq. mts. size plot @ Rs. 4800/sq. mts. for the land they sold to HSIIDC during 2007-09 at Rs. 16 lakh/acre. “They have taken all the money they had given in the name of a developed plot in their land. If the price of land increased through litigation, the plots price also increased accordingly with interest. No profit for those who opted for these plots and those who have not taken spare out of it” said Kuldeep. Surender, who lost his 5 acres of land and regretted his decision to take a residential plot as the biggest blunder he committed. He called the government’s claims of ‘making farmers as partners in development’ is a ‘lie’, a bluff; rather for him it is a technique by the government to sell their land to them as developed plots but at a much high rate.

As per the provision, the eligible landowners must apply for the plot by depositing 10% of the plot value before the draw and 15 % during the possession of the land. The remaining amount, they have to pay in instalments through bank finance with 12-13 percent interest rates over the remaining value and 15% interest for delayed payment. HSIIDC allot these plots through a lottery system to make allotment transparent. Almost all the landowners who opted for the residential plots are paying in instalments as they can’t afford the one-time payment. However, many are complaining that HSIIDC took years to hand over the possession of the plot, but at the same time, if a farmer delays the payment of instalments, they have to pay higher interest. Dilawar Singh, a big land owner with 10 acres of land, called it ‘injustice’. “But what to do, where to go. We need some land to construct a home for our children in the future. They charge high interest if anybody fails to repay the instalment amount on time,” said Dilawar. The cost of ‘benefit sharing’ via developed land parcels was found to be highly expensive and unpleasant.

But why are landowners, including smallholders opting for such an expensive scheme? For instance, a small farmer of Baliyana, who lost a high-valued 2 kanal of Nehri land adjoining NH and purchased a 180 sq. mts. plot on the oustee category, received a total compensation of Rs. 6 lakhs, approximately and purchased the plot @ Rs. 9 lakhs. In expectation of higher value, he refused to sell his land despite getting good offers until the government froze all land transactions and acquired. They manage the remaining money to purchase the plot from

⁵³ Residential plots for phase III are yet to allot and rate would be fixed as per value of that time, but for Phase I & II rates were Rs. 4800/sq. mts. plus taxes and enhancement price, if any.

personal savings. The same is the conditions of all his siblings with the same size of landholdings. Now all of them are landless and doing private jobs on a contract and daily wage basis; one is an auto driver. Even though they filed a case in court against compensation value and then, ten years have passed, the case is going on, and they almost spent 30-40 thousand each in litigation (see the section on litigation below). Few more observations are made on focus group discussions and intense interviews on this question.

Firstly, the residential and commercial/industrial sites in the developed land have a higher value than any adjoining plots of similar purpose with comparatively higher capital gain in the future. As many outsiders are willing to invest in the booming land market of Haryana and landowners too frequently investing in the land market for higher returns would certainly benefit from this scheme as oustee categories plots were allotted on concession rates. Those who can pull money for these plots and know about the land market would be beneficial. **Secondly**, the government has acquired almost all land (private and common property resources) from these villages except land under *lal dora*. As a result, except for their present homestead land, people were left with no land to be used for future residential expansion with population growth and the breaking off of joint families. However, some landowners informed us that land beyond *firni*⁵⁴ was not acquired, and land is still left to construct houses. Nonetheless, people need commercial and residential land near the village as a form of security and social integration. Therefore, these subsidised land parcels are reserved near villages providing a greater prospect of profitability. Suraj Mall, an old farmer now, had three acres of land co-shared with two brothers; one acre each replied, “Yes, we are eligible for the residential plot, which is yet to be allotted as phase III allotment is not yet done. The price is very high, but where to go? We need land for our grandchildren.” Jai Singh of Khedi Shad reported that “they said that we would be entitled to a residential/commercial plot as oustees, but the reality is different. It is so expensive that almost impossible to purchase if you don’t have other sources of income. Some of our villagers purchased these plots by selling their un-acquired land only to have a piece of land near their kin. My lands are lying vacant as not many companies have come here. They turned our fertile land into a jungle with wide roads. If government returns

⁵⁴ There are three circles in every village of Haryana. The first one is called ‘*lal dora*’ the inner circle consists of self-occupied homestead lands. It also knows as ‘*kabja mal*’ (occupied land) as these are occupied lands and not registered in anybody’s name. The second circle after ‘*lal dora*’ is called ‘*FHIRNI*’ value plots in the names of people kept for future use, mostly construction of houses. These lands are owned by villagers with proper land records. After these two circles come ‘common property’ or ‘panchayat land’ it could be in any direction or anywhere. These are for common use including grazing lands etc. then comes farming land. In Nanand village government has not acquired land inside the ‘*fhirni*’; the second circle. So, there are still many lands left in the village to construct houses.

my land, I want to return the money”. **Thirdly**, in a few cases, small landowners whose residential plots exceed their entire compensation amount are also opting to gain some quick money on the speculative land market. People like Mahinder⁵⁵ purchased despite paying 13 % interest to the bank, only to sell it out at a higher price and get some benefits as oustees are eligible to avail at 20 percent less on nodal price for the general public. It is found that around 14.7 percent of oustees were already sold their plots to outsiders, mainly to real estate agents (see table 7.5). As per HSIIDC official data, as many as 200 have already applied for re-allotment of plots⁵⁶. A Rohtak-based real estate agent revealed that many oustees received money from real estate agents to avail this facility in the first place and later sold to them.

Table 7-5 Current Status of Plot

Current status of Plot		Frequencies	Percent
1	still in possession	93	85.3
2	Sold to Others	16	14.7
Total		109	100.0

Source: Compiled from field Data

The above facts on allotment of residential plots and commercial/industrial sites show the true face of this benefit-sharing approach. The Congress government in 2007 made its biggest gambling in the Haryana land market by introducing this ‘oustees category’ developed land parcels. **Firstly**, by this provision, the acquiring agencies (HSIIDC and HUDA) acquired a significant portion of land just for free. They paid 24 lakhs (approximate) per acre compensation to the oustees. They again took it back by selling a one-tenth portion of their own land (420 sq. mts. in proportionate to one acre) in the form of a developed residential plot. Any kind of enhancement in compensation price through litigation would be collected again from the plot owners as an enhanced price. It’s like what the Western Odia proverb says ‘*jar dhan ke tar muri*’ (sold my stuff to me). As Vikram of Bohar, who used to have 3.5 acres of land co-shared with five brothers and two sisters, said ‘**it’s like they got our land for free**’. The politics of “making farmers shareholders in the development” in an actual sense is to make the customer in the real estate business and some cases, potential investors. The political elites exploited the emotional and practical necessities of oustees to have residential sites near their home and the economic necessities of gaining capital by investing in the bullish land market of Haryana. **Secondly**, this provision, to a certain extent, pacifies the potential discontent

⁵⁵ He used to have 8 kanal (1 acre) of land with 4 brothers (2 kanal each) in Khedi Shad

⁵⁶ Personal communication with HSIIDC site officials

among landowners against forceful acquisition by allotting these plots at concession rates. By creating the illusion of ‘benefit-sharing’, the state captured the sentiments of small/marginal landowners who want to gain some profits out of it now or in the future on one hand and the big landlords who want to move out of the stagnant agrarian economy to invest in more lucrative service sectors mainly real estate and in a real sense wishes to be the partners of development, on the other hand (Jodhka S. , 2012). **Thirdly**, rural landowners are increasingly interested in urban spaces and non-agricultural activities, mainly property development. So, by curving out plots in peri-urban spaces, agencies like HSIIDC and HUDA satisfy the demands of aspiring urban dwellers. And the majority are erstwhile rural-based landowners. It also means the urban-rural dividend and gap between agriculturists and non-agriculturists that dominated Haryana’s economic and political life for decades is sinking gradually. This could be why there are no-mass movements against land acquisition in Haryana. As Gramsci writes, “subaltern classes are subject to the initiatives of the dominant class, even when they rebel; they are in a state of anxious defense. It is in this sense that subaltern groups are subordinate to a ruling group’s policies and initiatives” (cited by Green, 2010, p. 2). In the context of the residential plots, even though it is voluntary and pretty expensive, the farming classes are anxious about the future of having no land for the next generations, forced implicitly to purchase. Hence, subaltern classes are mostly subjected to dominant class initiatives.

Further, the capitalist system is constantly going through crises of overproduction (curving out of plots with constant land acquisition and development) and under-consumption. This process dispossesses small and marginalised from their land and curving plots for sale but pays very meagre compensation to farmers to invest in these plots as potential consumers. However, the system carries incredible dynamism to overcome (Padel, 2014). Though the compensation paid to small and marginal farmers does not allow them to purchase these oustees plots, they are constantly tempted into it through micro-credit and banking agencies.

However, the inclusion of this provision for allotment of residential plots or commercial sites is a positive measure. Displaced families will benefit from the booming real estate market and urbanisation in the locality. But as found in many cases of India, like Navi Mumbai, Mahindra World City in Rajpura, Rajasthan and here too, the ill-informed and alien to real estate businesses, these PAPs will be easy victims of land mafia, brokers, and intermediaries involved in the land market, many of them are from own locality. They will grab these developed plots

from the real beneficiaries through various mechanisms at cheaper rates (Sharma, 2009; Levien M. , 2018).

The approaches of Haryana's parastatal agencies like HUDA and HSIIDC to independently acquire and develop the land and then sell to private entities, including corporate bodies, proved to be an antithesis to the general narrative that the state is acting as a middleman or broker for corporate bodies by allotting land to private firms that generate profits from the real estate market. This phenomenon has to be seen in contrast to Michael Levien's (2018) conceptualisation of the 'land broker state'. It could be considered instead as a 'land developer state' or, to a great certain extent, a 'hybrid state' (Prakash, 2017). The state adopted two different strategies: first, the so-called "Gurgaon model" of land development, where private land developers buy private land by manipulating state apparatus; and second, the "Haryana model," where parastatal agencies like HUDA and HSIIDC develop the land on their own to make it available to both individual and corporate consumers by deploying lucrative R&R policies that buy their consent. However, such theorization needs further and wider studies and is certainly not a part of our current research but indeed opens avenues for future academic research.

We can state with certainty that all claims of 'making farmers partners in development' by returning a portion of the developed land parcel are merely rhetorical and, in a real sense, used to turn them into potential "consumers" to boast real estate market in the project site. Partners are supposed to share both loss and profits, but here only profit gainer is the state, while these land owners are only losers (obviously except those who has well informed on the operation of the speculative land market and have access to authority). For instance, if a land owner moved to the court by complaining about underpayment and seeking enhancement on the compensation of lost land and fortunately own the case, they must also pay the enhancement price of the allotted plots. Getting more compensation via the court means paying more money on the allotted plots. On either side, the land owner is the only loser. The R&R packages that were supposed to create opportunities for reintegration and reconstruction of livelihood turned into a means of exploitation in the name of 'making farmer partner' by returning them 'developed land parcel' in the forms of residential plot and commercial plot. They will perish to possess that piece of land, and nothing will be left further to invest in that plot to see the dawn of progress that we can surely presume to be the fate of small and marginal farmers affected by IMT, Rohtak. And at that juncture, the neoliberal market economy tempts these

small marginal peasantries to become consumers of urban speculative land markets through micro-credits and other forms of debts mechanism as it has been doing now. Capitalist mode constantly evolved through the cycle of crises of overproduction and under-consumption by inventing new techniques better suited to its own development.

7.2.4 Decoding the myth of consent acquisition: Court Cases and No-litigation Scheme

With rising public consciousness and the growth of civil society activism in India, land acquisition for developmental purposes has become highly contentious. In almost every instance, land acquisitions end up piling litigation cases in the court of law, contributing to judicial delay and costly legal services, adversely impacting both affected parties and common people (Singh R. , 2013). The price of land is the most crucial and central factor affecting land disputes and litigation-related cases in India. Underestimation of compensation amount is the main cause of almost 90 percent of litigation against land acquisition cases. It is considered the major hurdle in speedy land acquisition in particular and the development and progress of India in general, reported by Central Ministers and prominent Industrialists of India. As rightly pointed out by Ram Singh (2012) that “any compulsory acquisition-based process is inherently prone to litigation, even if accompanied by presumably benevolent schemes such as land-for-land and the rehabilitation and resettlement packages” (p. 46).

In most cases, affected parties moved to the courts against paid compensation awarded by Land Acquisition Collectors (LACs) under section 18 of the LAA 1894 because very often, it is found that the court awarded higher compensation than the amount paid by LACs (Singh R. , 2013). The internal contradiction between the method adopted by LACs and the Court to calculate the market value of the acquired piece of land is the major problem causing the wide gap between award amounts⁵⁷. A study conducted by Ram Singh (2013) on litigation cases of 2010 and 2011 on land acquisition in Punjab and Haryana High Court found that, on average, the compensation awarded by the Additional District Judge (ADJ) and High Court (HC) is 200-300 percent higher than the compensation paid by the LAC⁵⁸. There are instances that it

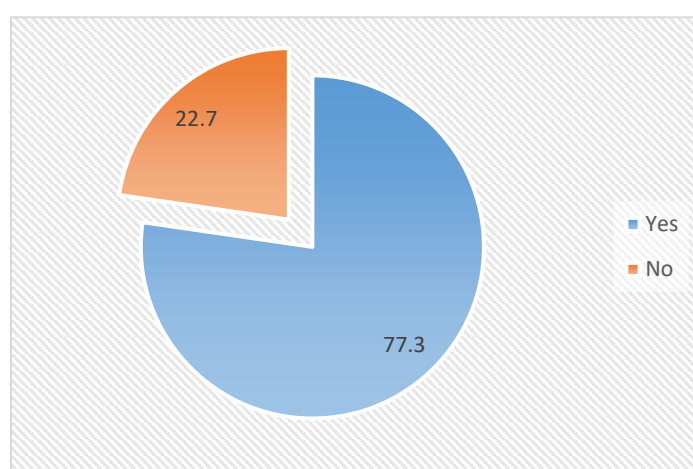
⁵⁷ As per guidelines provided section 23 and 24 of LAA 1894, the market value of acquired land has to be determined either on the basis of ‘circle rates’ or ‘sale deeds’ of the similar property (in a real sense no two properties are identical). Generally, LAC use the circle rate method by calculating market value of land on the basis of stamp duty imposed on the registration of sale-deeds of a property. Government rarely revises circle rates once in many years. Therefore, very often rates decided by this market are below the market value of the property. In many instances government selectively choose low priced sale deed to keep market value low.

⁵⁸ For more detail see the full article.

enhanced to 900-1100% after court decisions. It signifies the current practice of considering faulty determinants in calculating market values. In our present case study, around 77.3 percent of respondents moved to the Court of law against the compensation awarded by LACs (see Figure 7-3). Although the compensation rates were paid on minimum floor rates under the R&R policy 2007 (2010), which is considered as higher than the market price calculated elsewhere, many factors such as location, fertility and rising land values in the locality were not taken into consideration, as raised by affected oustees.

Most of them are litigated against the compensation amount paid, even against rates paid in Phase I despite their satisfaction with the rates. Some of them reported that people with access to power and close ties with political parties, mainly the ruling Congress party motivated the oustees to register cases in the court. They arrange lawyers and other legal services required to pacify the growing discontent among farmers over skyrocketing land prices in the locality after acquisition on the one hand and to take political mileage by strengthening their own party base among oustees as it is their party who decided minimum floor rates and also assisted in getting more compensation through litigation.

Figure 7-3 Litigation against acquisition/compensation



The R&R policy 2010 introduced an incentive for ‘no litigation’ to the oustees in the light of growing numbers of litigation, particularly in matters related to compensation amount awarded by the LAC. The incentive reduces litigation cases vis-à-vis the compensation amount offered by paying ‘an additional amount equal to 20 percent of the basic rate of land determined by the Land Acquisition Collector (excluding interest and the solatium components) to land owners. In return, they will undertake not to challenge the acquisition of their land and compensation amount awarded by the LAC in the court of law under section 18 of the LAA 1894 (Govt. of Haryana, 2010). They can still seek the intervention of the court on other issues such as

measurement of land, persons to whom compensation is to be paid and apportionment of the compensation available under section 18. The interested parties need to submit an undertaking on the prescribed form enclosed with the policy to avail of this benefit during the award. The policy considered that this incentive would lead land acquisition into a domain of ‘consent acquisition’ mainly concerning rates of compensation.

Table 7-6 No Litigation Scheme

Particulars	Cases	Percent
Not Applicable	208	74.8
Eligible and taken	22	7.9
Eligible but Not Taken	48	17.3
Total	278	100.0

Source: Compiled from field Data

The scheme was only available to persons whose land was acquired in phase III and subsequent acquisitions. Table 7-6 indicates that out of the total respondents, around 74.8 percent are not eligible to avail of the incentive as their land was acquired in Phase I & II, whereas out of the remaining eligible landowners, mere 7.9 percent opted for it. The remaining 17.3% were eligible but didn’t take. However, as reported by many farmers in their personal interviews and focus group discussions, they regret not opting for the incentive. A more detailed account of the status of the ‘no-litigation’ scheme is mentioned in table 7-7 below.

Table 7-7 Details of land acquired at IMT Rohtak and status of ‘no-litigation’

Sl. No.	Description	Land in Acres
1	They had neither filed claim under R&R 2010 and nor U’S-18 in reference to the court	175.9
2	No-litigation filed	188.89
3	Cases were filed in the court	654.45
	Grand total	1019.24

Source: Compiled from field Data

Rohtas “I made a mistake about the no-litigation policy. Initially, I didn’t know about the policy and moved to court against the compensation amount. The case is still going on, even though nine years have passed. I don’t know whether I will win or lose, but in most of the other cases Court enhanced some money from the original award price but it was close to the amount they were offering for not opting for litigation nine years back.” Dilwar Singh, who lost the case in 1st round and won in the second, got an enhancement of some 3-4 lakhs/acre. He was eligible

to opt for a no-litigation incentive @20 percent additional amount (around Rs. 6 lakhs/acre @ Rs. 32 lakhs/acre compensation) in 2013. “The choice is to take it early through opting it or move to court, spend time and money and get the same or less amount as promised earlier. Better for those who opted at first instance,” told him. Some landowners like Surender of Khedi Sadh and Ajit Singh expected to win the case but lost after years of legal tussle and lose at both ends; the incentives on no-litigation and case too after years of litigation, which was pretty expensive. They regret their decision of not opting for no-litigation in the very first instance. There are people like Baljeet Singh of Baliyana and Vikram of Bohar whose legal expenses supersede or are almost near to the amount enhanced by the court. Baljeet Singh fought a case for six long years and Vikram fought for nine years before the court gave the final decision. “Advocates were charging a percentage on the enhanced amount,” said Baljeet. Regardless of whether they qualified for the no-litigation scheme, many people reported that the lengthy court process and high cost of legal counsel led many of them to believe that the "no-litigation" policy would be a better choice because even if one wins the case, the enhanced amount is not significantly different from the amount offered under the no-litigation policy. Suraj Mall, whose lawsuit is still pending, says that even though "we are qualified for "no-litigation," we haven't chosen it because typically, the court increases price and there aren't any fixed rates like 20%."

Unlike the cases of litigation studies by various scholars (Singh R. , 2013), compensation amounts were not enhanced much in the case of IMT Rohtak as rates were decided based on minimum floor rates. However, still, it did not stop people from seeking legal resorts. No-litigation scheme tried to minimise the cases of litigation and failed at first hand, but later on, many regretted their decision not to opt, not because of the positivity of the policy or offered amount but rather because of legal expenses and stress involved in the judicial process that supersedes the value of enhanced amount, if any. Moreover, this incentive has provided no solution to the faulty procedures of undervaluation of the land inherited in the very Act and practised throughout the country, rather than take advantage of the present judicial system to get the consent of the oustees and termed it as ‘consent acquisition’.

7.2.5 Utilization of Compensation

The major objectives of the rehabilitation are to replace the lost asset and reconstruct livelihood. However, nothing can compensate for what was lost (socio-economic, physiological, etc.) in toto. Therefore, a multi-component R&R package instead of only cash

or kind usually recommends restoring or better off the oustees' economic condition. In the case of present study, cash compensation was paid as land-based rehabilitation is not feasible. And an attempt is made to analyse the utilization pattern of the compensation money to assess whether the compensation has been utilized to acquire productive assets or for useful purposes.

In many cases throughout India, particularly in rural and tribal areas, it was found that oustees were not able to handle the pressure of a one-time large sum of money received as compensation due to a lack of education and exposure to various investment choices. Consequently, they ended off by exhausting in pretty consumption and purchasing lavish items such as bicycles, expensive cars, etc., which adversely impacted their sustenance. By keeping this fact in mind, the Haryana government, in R&R policy 2010, proposed to constitute an 'investment advisory committee' of professional agencies to provide assistants and advice to the landowners on how they should utilize the compensation amount to gain better returns and have a long-term prospect of profits. The service is purely advisory and has no binding over landowners' decisions (Section 17) (Govt. of Haryana, 2010). Despite the provision with significant importance, it was never implemented, as reported by the HSIIDC site office in IMT, Rohtak and complained by oustees. Regardless, oustees of affected villages spent compensation in multiple areas such as acquiring land, building houses, investing in business or self-employment, etc., as discussed below.

Table 7-8 indicates how oustees of IMT Rohtak utilized the compensation amount received. Around 54.1 percent of respondents spent compensation on purchasing agricultural land and its development. Jats, who valued land the highest and engaged in self-cultivation, used a considerable percentage of compensation to buy agricultural land holdings. As discussed earlier, except for some small and marginal farmers, almost the majority purchased land. About 43 percent of respondents spent money on house construction and repairing the old one. The next important areas respondents invested compensation money are depositing in the bank for future use (35.7%), purchase of residential plots (26.5%), education of children (22.4%), and marriage of children (8.2%). A reasonable portion of compensation was spent on household consumption, clothing, household appliances, items of entertainment, electronic gadgets, etc. as reported by 32.7 percent of respondents. Some repay their old loans (5.1%) and use some amount in litigation against rates of compensation paid. There is also a considerable number too who used compensation money in the purchase of luxurious items, costly cars and bikes, procurement of licensed guns and on alcohol and gambling, etc. as reported that gambling and

alcoholism are growing significantly in these villages, whereas many obtain guns (illegally) too. However, compared to other cases, utilization of compensation amount in productive assets is higher here depending upon one's land holdings/size of compensation received. For instance, Sri Bhagwan of Khedi Sadh, who lost 10 acres of land, used to multiply his land holdings. In his own words, “I got money in three different phases and at different values. Out of the 1st phase compensation money that was Rs. 22 lakhs per acre, I purchased 12 acres of land at Rs. 7.5 lakhs per acre. The remaining amounts of other phases used in child education, marriages of son and daughter, construction of a house, purchase of plot in IMT and some are in the bank”. Whereas small farmers like Ajit Singh and Sitaram had 1-2 acres of land, compensation amounts were insufficient to purchase land after spending on immediate consumption. Ajit Singh opened a *Kirana* Shop (Glossary Shop) and spent all his compensation on the construction of a building, marriages of children, hospital expenses and some deposited in the bank. Sitaram, a retired government servant who lost 1.5 acres in two phases (I&II), was unable to invest in a better way. He started an electronic shop for himself and purchased a taxi car, now driven by his son, who was a student at the time of acquisition. But there are cases like Santjir of Bohar, who exhausted all compensation money on consumer goods, alcohol, gambling and lavish goods.

Table 7-8 Utilization of Compensation amount

Sl. No	Way of spending Compensation	Percent
1	Purchased Land and its development	54.1
2	House Construction and repair	42.9
3	In Purchasing Residential Plots	26.5
4	Household Consumption	32.7
5	Marriage of Children	8.2
6	Education of Children	22.4
7	Spent on Lavish & wasteful items	3.1
8	Bank deposit	35.7
9	Invested in business or self-investment	11.2
10	Repayment of Old loan	5.1
11	Legal expanse on court	6.1
12	Purchased licensed Gun	1.0
13	Alcohol, Gambling etc.	1.0
14	Purchased expensive Cars & bikes	10.2

Source: Compiled from field Data

7.2.6 Implementation of various components of R&R

The overall perceptions on the implementation of various components of R&R policies was collected from the respondents and analysed in table 7-9. Almost all (97.0%) agreed that the compensation amount was paid timely and they received it in full (95.5%). However, on the justifiable compensation price as per market rates⁵⁹, near to 64 percent disagreed that it was as per market rates prevalent at that time. They were dissatisfied as the price of adjoining un-acquired land was sold at much higher rates thereafter and many believe that price should be enhanced in phase II. At the same time, some one-third of respondents (36%) agreed that compensation rates were as per market price.

Table 7-9 Implementation status of various other components of R&R policy

R&R components	Yes (percent)	No (percent)
Timely payment of Compensation amount	97.0%	3.0%
Received full payment of compensation	95.5%	4.5%
Justified payment as per market rates	36.0%	64.0%
Payment of Royalty every year	66.7%	33.3%
Plot for every one	68.8%	31.2%
Provision of Jobs	11.3%	88.7%
Village and community Infrastructure development	40.6%	59.4%
Skill training to artisan & landless labourers	0.8%	99.2%
Investment Advisory Services by the Govt.	0.0%	100.0%

Source: Compiled from field Data

Around 66.7 percent reported that HSIIDC is paying annuity amounts every year. But some 33.3 percent disagree on timely payment of royalty. They complain that instead of paying in April-May, they take it up to September and October. The authority asks for claim papers and other documents annually, and paperwork sometimes delays the payment of royalties. Moreover, during the farmer's agitation in 2020, many landowners reported that the state government targeted them by delaying and not paying the annuity on time. Similarly, around two-thirds (68.8%) of respondents denied that plots were allotted to everyone, though third-phase allotments are yet to be completed. Major disappointments are in employment provisions for locals in industries situated in IMT. Almost 95 percent of respondents complained that no jobs are allotted to project-affected families, despite multi-time promised by the authority.

⁵⁹ Perception of cumulative compensation price paid in all three phases.

Employment generation for the locality was one of the major components of the possible development of this project, as mentioned in the EIA report. Similarly, while hearing the public on litigation, the Deputy Commissioner of Rohtak asks the oustees to send an eligible candidate list. As per section 14 (ii.c), the HSIIDC would put a condition on industries that preference should be given on allotment of jobs to landless labourers and artisans whose livelihoods depended upon the acquired land. But all these turned out to be ‘false promises’; *jumla*. Despite the HSIIDC authority's acceptance that around 33 percent of jobs were promised to be reserved for the PAPs, nothing of such has been done. They also lack any control over IMT-based industries and information on the employees who work in these factories. It is up to the industries to decide on employment; generally, they recruit through contractors. And like many SEZ cases, the norm of ‘no local allowed’ is prevalent (Levien M. , 2018, p. 139). We will have a detailed discussion on this issue in the next section. Concerning community development and infrastructure building, half of the respondents agreed that HSIIDC and industries operating on IMT have invested in the community development of affected villages. Recently Maruti Suzuki and Asian Paint Company constructed sewage channels and installed street light facilities in Khedi Sadh and Baliyana. As per section 18 of the R&R policy, HSIIDC is supposed to keep an amount equal to 2 percent of the compensation amount to be invested in the affected village's community development and social infrastructure. Accordingly, an amount equal to 1 percent of total compensation should be invested in the skill development of the dependents of PAPs (Govt. of Haryana, 2010). Asian Paint and Maruti company did some community development work in their adopted villages under their own Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programme, such as installing street lights, sewage systems, toilets facilities for the landless class, road construction, etc. They constructed some infrastructural facilities in the school of Bohar, like playgrounds and water connectivity. The Maruti Company funds waste disposal trucks that come daily to the villages. Maruti Company also provides scholarships to the oustees' children pursuing technical education. However, many villagers, particularly in Baliyana and Khedi Sadh, complain that whatever community infrastructure development has taken place in the locality is done by the Rohtak Municipality. The situation of electricity and drinking water are in the derogatory stage. These villages are facing the acute challenge of drinking water mainly after the establishment of IMT, as harvesting groundwater has been stopped. Few are complaining about the acquisition of panchayat lands. “The HSIIDC acquired our panchayat lands whose value was in crores. That money should be used for our village development or handed over to villagers for investment. They took that land without paying anything to the village in return” complained some oustees. However, as reported by

the camp office of HSIIDC, they have undertaken various works (Table 7.10) in different villages under its village development scheme either directly or through the Public Health Engineering department (PHED), HSAMB and Municipal Corporation, Rohtak. Community development works under phase III are yet to be completed.

7-10 Works being executed at IMT Rohtak under the village development scheme

(A) IMT Ph-1 & II, Rohtak			
Sl. No	Name of the Village	Name of Work	Estimated Cost (Rs. In Lacs)
1	Kheri Sadh	Construction of Street with cement concrete, Galli roads and drain etc. (Deposit work to HSAMB, Rohtak)	Rs. 391.64 Lacs
2	Baliyana	Construction of S/S tank for water supply scheme (Deposit work with PHED, Rohtak)	Rs. 23.45 Lacs
		Construction of 2 no. community centres and 1 no. Information centre (through HSIIDC)	Rs. 183.95 lacs
		Construction of Mini Sports Stadium (through HSIIDC)	Rs. 44.97 lacs
3	Kharawar	Construction of cement concrete roads along with provision of side drains (through HSIIDC)	Rs. 26.06 lacs
4	Bohar	Construction of Sports stadium (through HSIIDC)	Rs. 70.26 lacs
5	Ghari Bohar	Proposal yet be received from Municipal Corporation, Rohtak	Rs. 60.00 lacs
(B) I.E. Rohtak			
6	Kutana	Development of Cremation ground (through HSIIDC)	Rs. 34.03 lacs
(C) IMT Ph. III, Rohtak (to be executed)			
1	Kheri Sadh		Rs. 57.79 lacs
2	Baliyana		Rs. 322.00 lacs
3	Kharawar		Rs. 344.00 lacs
4	Nonand		Rs. 6.00 lacs

Source: Information collected from the HSIIDC office at IMT, Rohtak

Skill development training programmes for artisans and landless labourers were not implemented as agreed by 97.4% of respondents and the HSIIDC officials. Even HSIIDC has no information about how many landless persons, artisans, or traditional service provider castes lost their livelihoods due to land acquisition. Similarly, the government never implemented the provision of investment advisory services.

7.3 Conclusion

Therefore, the Haryana R&R policies prioritised landowning castes over landless and women. These policies could not be seen as democratic penetration into society or as part of new rights agenda as highlighted by anti-dispossession struggle in other parts of India. In the Haryana story, it is found that caste polarization based on land ownership and mobilization for/against capitalist accumulation through traditional caste-based associations like Khap reinforced differential impact and exclusion. That resulted into the R&R approaches prioritising material interests of landowning castes over consensus building/participation of different stakeholders mainly dispossessed population or reconstruction of sustainable livelihoods. Though, later in 2010 policy, few provisions are incorporated but its implementation remain a non-essential component.

8 Chapter 8

The Conclusion

The empirical findings of the thesis argue that the politics of land acquisition and dispossession in Haryana, mainly after 2005, is not exclusively an act of land broker state facilitating accumulation of land through dispossession (Levien M. , 2018) nor a necessary cost of development (Asif, 1999; Fernandes, 2008; Murickan, George, Emmanuel, Bodan, & Pillai, 2003; Mohapatra, 1999), rather they are the product of state's managing dominant caste interest, who are found to be agriculturist, in capitalist development and speculative land markets (Kennedy, 2019). The project of primitive accumulation, or what David Harvey (2003) redefined as 'accumulation by dispossession' (ABD) to suit the continuous accumulation of a mature capitalism, continues to accumulate land and other resources in India. The role of local social relations and state/national elites still play a crucial role, despite the fact that these processes are frequently to be seen as a 'top-down' phenomenon linked with forces of globalisation, global financial capital flow, etc., including Harvey's interpretation of ABD (Zoomers, 2010). The most crucial issue in this regard is how these arrangements of dispossession are discursively explained and negotiated on the ground. India in general and Haryana, in particular, has indeed experienced significant pressure from global capital through foreign direct investment to amass land and labour since economic liberalization, which eventually gave birth to the neoliberal regimes of dispossession facilitating land, labour and resources to private capital (Levien M. , 2013). However, unlike other states, these land deals have not resulted in widespread mass movements against land accumulation, nor caused dispossession enmasse in Haryana. The reason would be that these land deals are filtered by domestic class disparities and shaped by the influence of domestic communities' social powers rather than being simply understood as global capital acting upon the landscape of developing countries and directly impacting rural communities' access to resources. The necessity for domestic economic development and the shifting power dynamics in rural Haryana must be understood in the context of the state of Haryana. In order to pursue urban and industrial growth, Haryana stimulates the demand for land through its parastatal agencies, frequently buying or/and acquiring land in advance to ease any interest from capital.

What is the broader implication of these findings? The case of Haryana is special due to its socio-economic configuration, political history and long polarization based on caste and class.

Hence, the model generated out of such complexity in the form of land dispossession and reintegration is quite difficult to generalize other cases of India or outside. But particularities matter too.

After economic liberalization and dismantling of license raj, states (sub-national units) were in a race to attract private capital, including foreign direct investments, that eventually became driving forces of state economies. Each state started shaping their business environment through numerous measures like tax concessions, infrastructural base, and softening labour regimes in this regard (Levien M. , 2018). However, due to the locational advantage surrounding NCR from three directions and well-developed basic infrastructure facilities, Haryana remains ahead of other states and has received the maximum FDI in India. Still, its socio-political formations didn't allow land accumulation simply through dispossession. It needs to manage the interest of dominant castes who are found to be agrarian, landowners and with a tremendous socio-political weight, with majority of political elites are from them.

So, the contradiction in India since 2000 is pertaining to conflict between neoliberal capitalist accumulation of resources, on the one hand and political weight of farmers in the electoral democracy, on the other. Karl Polanyi calls this as 'the double movement' which seems to be the dominant feature of Haryana politics since 21st century (Kennedy, 2019; Levien M. , 2018). However, following economic liberalisation, it was discovered that the state was in a difficult position to protect the interests of the dominating castes, who were discovered to be agriculturalists. Landed Jats, a previously dominant social class, now face the dual challenges of losing their social identity in connection to Dalit and their economic and political might in respect to urbanists and the secondary and tertiary sectors (Jodhka, 2014). Agriculture has lost its grip over the state economy and society. In this juncture, the landowning castes, primarily the Jats, emerged as influential even in capitalist development due to the primacy of caste and kinship to disproportionately attach gains out of socio-economic and political spaces. The unholy alliance between "big developers, land-grabbers, and politicians" in the Gurgaon model, which facilitates land grabbing but pays 'good compensation', and the state mediating political tension by protecting *abadi* land within '*lal dora*' and assisting landowners with a smooth transition from farmers to "rentier" in urban villages surrounded by rich industrial and urban infrastructure, have paved the way for the messy politics of land and caste (Gurunani, 2013). The pressure of global capital after economic liberalisation allowed the capitalist accumulation of thousands of acres of land without much dissent. This is driving the dominant landowning

caste to leave agriculture. Khap Panchayat lobbied the whole process and political elites facilitated it, most of whom are from the same landowning castes (Kennedy, 2014). The Haryana land acquisition and reintegration model is built on the developmental ideology established by the combination of capitalist, political elites, and dominant castes to promote urban and industrial growth without undermining the interests of the peasantry, particularly big landlords. Hence, instead of being based on dispossession through accumulation as proposed by David Harvey, the politics of land acquisition in Haryana has protitise more on managing dominant castes' interest in the name of development (Kennedy, 2019; Harvey, 2003).

The novelty of the Haryana case is about material incentives to landowners through compensation at floor rates, annuity, residential and commercial plots. However, like usual development path under neoliberal era, the Haryana experience also shows a complete lack of concern for landless communities, including women. These are the reasons that despite thousands of acres of farmland acquired for non-farm purposes, these regions witnessed less anti-dispossession movements against land acquisition and more struggles to enhance compensation and other terms of incorporation (Kennedy, 2019; Levien M. , 2018). Hence, these complexities are difficult to extend to other states except cases of identical features like western UP, AP and Maharashtra. Putting conceptually, in line of words of Levien (2018) "when states decide to dispossess land for a variety of 21st-century advanced capitalist purposes, they thus encounter mind-bogglingly complex agrarian milieux that look nothing like 16th-century England. Such interactions are producing a great variety of capitalist trajectories that are not repetitions of the past and promise no redemption. They are also producing a variety of political responses that should not be dismissed as backward-looking obstructions of progress. If the contribution of dispossession to development is a variable, then examining this variation should help us to understand regional and historical differences in the politics of dispossession" (p. 214). Thus, the process of accumulation by dispossession cannot be applied to lock, stock, and barrel in the Haryana case. The Haryana story of 'dispossession' may be summed up as consent-coercion continuum. Now we shall examine this process below.

Two important aspects of land grab literature found to be true in the present case are that the state frequently facilitates land for global capital through acquisition by creating legal frameworks that allow peasant dispossession. Secondly, the real grabbers are profit-seeking local elites rather than foreigners. This is produced by the power elites' language of "development agenda," which advances through tales of agriculture stagnation, real estate

booms, aspirations to integrate into urban economies, etc. (Fairbrain, 2013). The ideology of "infrastructure-led development," transforming agrarian society into a service society and making Haryana the industrial hub of India, is crucial in this neoliberal land accumulation where the state, its supporters, and the market were rationalising land dispossession.

Land deals, according to Levine (2013), are extremely political processes that lack the ability to be hidden by the invisible hand of the market, necessitating "an extra burden of ideological legitimization to be accepted by those whose access to land is threatened" (Wolford, Borras jr., Hall, Scoones, & White, 2013, p. 196). Both state and non-state actors (civil and political society) collaborate to internalise the hegemonic process, though the degree to which coercion and consent are used in a balanced manner depends on the legitimacy of the state apparatus and the degree to which official goals and the aspirations of the general populace are the same (Sanyal, 2007; Nielsen & Nilsen, 2015). The 'Haryana Model of Land Acquisition' was founded on the ability of the state government to create policy guidelines to control and ensure land developers' and private entities' duty towards rehabilitating and reconstructing displaced people's livelihoods. According to Kennedy (2019), the failure of the farmers of Haryana to organise large-scale protests against land acquisition can be attributed to the state's use of its "eminent domain" power and forcible acquisition on the one hand and the formulation of R&R policies that prioritise the welfare and concerns of landowners, particularly those from dominant castes like the Jats. The state must, however, adopt and maintain bending its policies in a way that serves the interests of the land-owning class, if not directly. The key component of the Haryana land acquisition and R&R model, which she dubbed the most "pragmatic approach" to the land wars in India, is this duality of coercion and consent.

Therefore, the notion that land dispossession is essentially a process of 'accumulation by extra-economic means' was called into doubt by the study's findings. Primitive accumulation, which continues to be the main method of capitalist development in neoliberal states (Harvey's ABD), is based on displacing and dispossessing the peasantry through fraud, violence, and predation (Harvey, 2003). However, this process will only be carried out with the active and strong support of the state power. Many people refer to this phenomenon as 'accumulation by extra-economic means' (Harvey, 2003; Hall, 2013; Borras jr & Franco, 2013). "A coercive redistribution" is what Levien (2018) means. They do not disregard the influence of economic factors or the need for consent, but they do argue that state coercive institutions, such as land acquisition laws, are purposefully used to occupy and seize property. However, Jakobsen and

Nielsen (2019) pointed out that the tendency to understand the question of land dispossession from violent and coercive aspects “hinder us from exploring the manifold ways by which coercion and consent intertwine in the making and grounding of neoliberalisation as a hegemonic process in rural India” (p. 2).

The expulsion of thousands of acres of land from politically conscious dominant sections of Haryana, the Jats, through a state-led coercive acquisition process without widespread resistance, with the exception of a momentary ‘*dharana*’ at the IMT site, has already been covered in our discussion of how this gave rise to a hegemonic discourse of state development and accumulation. As stated in the introduction, this phenomenon needs to be understood not through the dichotomy between economic and extra-economic processes but rather by traversing over the consent-coercion continuum, the varied foundation that shapes neoliberal hegemony (Hall, 2013).

Consent-coercion continuum

Regardless of the size of their land holdings, the majority of respondents to the field survey stated that the state (in this case, HSIIDC) had forcibly taken possession of their land and that they were unwilling to part with it. Section 6 of the LAA 1894 was imposed without the affected communities' consultation or approval. The authority, however, asserted that notices for public hearings were published in the local daily newspapers, and that they were held as required by an EIA notification under the chairmanship of Additional Deputy Commissioner (ADC) Rohtak and in the presence of other government representatives and Project Affected Persons (PAPs). But there was enough evidence in the literature to support how these public hearings were conducted in India in the past, when there was one-way debate rather than participative. According to a previous study by Vikas Nandal (2017) on those impacted by the IMT Rohtak, 67.54 percent of respondents received a direct notice from the government about the acquisition, 15.59 percent learned about it from friends and family, and 9.9 percent learned about it from newspapers. Most people thought it was against their choice and without a free negotiation that the land was taken by using the state's eminent domain power under the LAA 1894. But why didn't they protest when land was taken by coercive means, and why didn't they reject all offers? Because of the advancements in information and technology, civil society activism, and the protection of human rights on a global scale, peasants became more aware of their rights and were able to refuse forced acquisition (Chakravorty S. , 2013; Sathe D. , 2016).

Other elements that impact landowners' decisions to relinquish land rights without much resistance could provide the answer.

It has been seen in the area that a variety of factors as well as an individual's own compliances continue to be the process' predominant directing forces. There is adequate research on how state- and market-driven factors affect landowners' choices to support or object to a land acquisition deal. Additionally, the absence of widespread opposition does not always imply widespread agreement, nor does a willingness to compromise suggested in free will. Instead, consent can be produced in various ways, as mentioned in the introduction. However, as described in the previous chapters, in this instance, compulsion and consent both played a part in quelling farmer unrest. Numerous factors, such as the state's ongoing disregard and lack of encouragement for the farming sector (Vijayabaskar & Menon, 2018), sinking landholdings, unsuitable land for agriculture, irrigation issues, a labour shortage, the dispossessed population being spread with false information and becoming confused, especially about employment (Oskarsson, 2013), aspirations of the affected community to raise hopes of assimilation or fear of social dislocation (Jakobsen & Nielsen, 2019) and most crucially a R&R package difficult to resist, are determinants that soften the rigid distinction between 'coercive' and 'voluntary' processes of dispossession.

But, the overall majority argued that the coercive land acquisition act, which the state used to acquire the land, was extra-economic in nature. However, conclusions drawn from earlier chapters suggest that despite any problems local farmers and landowners may have had, the amount of compensation paid, the R&R policy, and the piecemeal nature of acquisition with constantly changing R&R packages have all had a significant impact on reducing opposition. The creation of market-oriented R&R packages based on compensation payments at floor rates, annuity plans as part of benefit sharing, and the distribution of developed land parcels (farmers are frequently promised to receive a parcel of land that is 25–40% the size of their original holdings as developed plot, for example) helped to pacify opposition and 'transforming dispossession from a collective relation to the state into an individualized relation with the market' (Levien M. , 2018, p. 83). A smooth and peaceful land transition took place in Rohtak as a result of the acquisition of land in phases that included R&R benefits of both the 2007 and 2010 policies, uniform compensation rates for all types and locations of land, comparatively higher compensation from the prevalent market rates, and 33 years of royalty provision (a successful land acquisition at state perspective).

Many Jats landowners were persuaded to sell their lands as a result of the Congress Government's widely propagated economic agenda, which claimed that industrial and urban growth and real estate are indeed the key to the future. The landowners were ready to leave their properties and integrate into Haryana's shifting economy by selling at least a piece of land, but they also desired to retain a portion of their holdings or to buy more land to secure their financial future. This fact is revealed by a 2017 study by Vikash Nandal on the view of land acquisition by farmers in the village of Bohar. According to his analysis, just 25.98% of respondents indicated that forced acquisition was the reason for selling the land, whereas about 38.97% indicated that significant pay in return was the cause. In addition to these, there were additional factors, including debt (18.18%), irrigation problems (12.98%), and low productivity (3.98) (Nandal, 2017).

When the same questions were answered for the current study, however, they identified state coercion as the main offender, followed by compensation packages (for detail, see chapter 3). How do we address the shifting attitudes of landowners concerning the justification for land sales? What caused the change? To fully comprehend the rhetoric of development vs dispossession, the following questions must be addressed in any study of development-induced displacement. This also discusses the relationship between involuntary land transition (acquisition) led by the state and voluntary transition led by the market. A market-driven land transition, even with an underpaid value, nonetheless symbolises the individual agency of consent, even though a number of direct and indirect factors manufactured that agreement. People tend to focus more on the coercive aspect than the consent provided to land purchase because the impacted communities were not involved in the land acquisition and subsequent reconstruction phase.

The involuntary nature of transitions is illustrated by state-led land purchases, even when the sellers were agreeable. The coercive force of law overrides the landowner's free will and bargaining power. The dominant politics of land dispossession in the neoliberal economy and the creation of a 'compromise equilibrium' are represented by the manufactured consent backed by coercive means in the event of resistance (Gramsci, 1971; Nielsen & Nilsen, 2015; Sanyal, 2007). However, the displaced population's sense of potential development or devastation depends on when they become aware of this. As was discovered in the preceding chapters, the reintegration process in IMT, Rohtak, turned out to be an 'authority-driven' top-down undertaking with little room for public participation and consensus building. In addition,

it completely ignored the reconstruction of sustainable livelihoods, especially for small/marginal peasantry, women, and other vulnerable section; who are ostensibly in the majority. When they now blame the ‘coercive’ aspect of land acquisition, they have realised it.

Why do the affected population accept the policies of the state or HSIIDC? And why they do not revolt against state policies? The answer lies in the policy framework. The three policy issues are responsible for the ‘consent’ process. First, the payment of ‘good’ compensation led the purchase of additional landholdings by the peasantry. Second, the compensation policy also facilitated investment in the speculative land market of Haryana. Finally, more importantly, the protection of *abadi* land within ‘*lal dora*’ from accumulation prevented physical and socio-cultural dislocation and thus, help them to participate in the transformation to the urban economy. These empirical findings are gathered from the case study of IMT Rohtak hold tremendous significance. Thus, the study shows how the hegemonic neoliberal states play out on the ground through compliance (consent-coercion complexity) to accumulate resources rather than a mere accumulation by dispossession as proposed by David Harvey.

8.1 Situating rural community in speculative urban development: win-win or dispossession of the dispossessed

“His clothes are no longer soiled. The moneylender has stopped driving him around. His children study in prestigious schools. Banks that were chasing him earlier to realise loan instalments now woo him for deposits. His social and economic stock having gone up, he has come to command respect. The life of this Haryana farmer has taken a 360-degree turn.”

This was reported in a news article in the Financial Express on May 1, 2009 on Haryana R&R policy 2007. It indicates that the once prosperous and proud-feeling peasantry of Haryana for their self-cultivation, no longer wishes to associate with farming anymore but rather wants to shift their occupational orientation with changing economy of Haryana. Their main asset, land, will enable them to transform their lives, a 360-degree turn and this shift would be propelled by the Haryana R&R policy of 2007. As discussed in the preceding sections, the social security and benefit-sharing measures envisioned in the aforementioned policy used a more market-oriented approach supported by the extra-economic coercive power of the state. Voluntary market exchange of land transitions believes to be reduced the need for coercion and the impact of dispossession but cannot rule out that values extracted out of land commodification will be equitably distributed among the different social class categories. On the other hand, state-led

extra-economic land transitions, as believed to lead to resistance and agitation, may not be true. The Haryana R&R policy adopted a tricky mixture of market-oriented compensation packages that are hard to refuse through extra-economic legal means to acquire land. Compensation at floor rates with periodic enhancement, a long-term royalty scheme, return of a portion of developed land as residential and industrial plots to each owner and co-owners, etc., along with deployment of eminent domain power of the state makes the policy the most pragmatic approach of land acquisition ever employed in India. Moreover, the state by deploying different technics and mechanism caters to the very nerve of changing the political economy of Haryana by building a large political coalition of different social categories in favour of industry and an infrastructure-driven speculative market economy. This new hegemonic ideology based on political consensus in favour of a speculative market economy is discursively justified on the basis of a 'win-win scenario' and 'development for all' with each section identifying its own sectional interest incorporated in the larger discursive interest.

When HSIIDC landed in Rohtak in 2006-07, like all other parts of the NCR of Haryana, Rohtak was also going through a socio-economic and cultural transformation phase. Haryana is witnessing a period of a stagnant agricultural sector due to high labour costs and declining subsidised inputs, on the one hand, and increasing dominance of industrial and service sectors with irresistible foreign direct investments since the 1990s, on the other hand. At this juncture, the two classes played a greater role in forging a coalition of class consensus in favour of a speculative market economy. First, the political elites and the rich landlords of Haryana whose orientation has changed towards agriculture and now making profits out of selling and renting land in the speculative land market by taking advantage of existing institutional arrangements. Secondly, the capitalist landowner castes of Haryana, mainly Jats going through a period of agrarian distress and looking for capitalising land directly in the market or by forging a partnership with the state. Borras jr & Franco (2013) called them 'land grabbing entrepreneurs' and 'land rich cash poor elites', respectively. There are also other classes, such as a sizable portion of landless communities, primarily Dalits and backward classes, who are transitioning from farming to a non-farming, urban, and industrial-based economy, and the majority of small and marginal peasantry, whose livelihood is solely dependent on the small plot of land while simultaneously looking for alternative means of livelihoods. Urban-aspired, western-educated youth is another one.

When notification for land acquisition appeared in newspapers for an industrial township, various sections perceived and interpreted their experience differently, which cannot be categorised into one homogenous local community. It is based on a range of variables and their relative socio-economic, political and cultural conditions (Borras jr & Franco, 2013). However, an adaptation of successive R&R policies by rendering different material incentives, the government pre-empted any form of resistance from below. The use of material incentives in soliciting compliance became the dominant feature of the Haryana Model of land acquisition. Even the policy tries to negotiate litigation against land acquisition by promising additional material inducements in the form of a ‘no-litigation scheme’.

But, instead of the development of all, capitalisation of land produced differentiated outcomes for different sections of the villages. Without sustainable livelihoods, it is disastrous for different caste/class communities and perpetuates pre-existing inequalities (Levien M. , 2018). It has been the cause of disaccumulation and disempowerment of socio-cultural, economic and political capitals accumulated through decades of struggle (Guha, 2007). The arrival of IMT in the locality surely increases the value of the land by putting the *banjar* land to its best use. But the question remains: higher value for whom? (Levien M. , 2018, p. 91). Highly rugged terrine and nearly un-cultivated landscape of Haryana became a highly productive agrarian economy through centuries of struggle and transformation. A landscape fit for the pastoral economy during the precolonial and colonial period achieved its highest economic growth during the Green Revolution and the subsequent period made the life of peasantry prosperous; few states in India could reach that height. However, the commodification of land not only expelled the peasantry from their land but also excluded (unwanted) from the urban economy. Once prosperous farmers cultivating wheat, mustard, maize, rice, millet, vegetable, etc., in these lands are today completely dependent upon the market and state welfare schemes for daily needs. No doubt, land values increased many folds in the speculative real estate market, but how far it accommodates different classes and castes of agrarian society within it?

The rich landlords with political, social and economic capital maximised their profit through multiple investment avenues: newly purchased land, urban estates, developed plots and royalty. They emerged as a ‘neo/petty rentier class’ and incorporated themselves into the urban middle class by adopting urban ways of life. They moved out to sectors of Rohtak and started identifying themselves as the urban elite rather the rural peasantry. Small and marginal farmers without such capital, on the one hand, and meagre compensation from land, on the other hand,

failed to capitalise from land commodification. Their farming skill became undesirable in the growing urban economy of Haryana. Gradually, these once self-sufficient rural communities became unemployed, underemployed, and wholly dependent upon state welfare schemes (Kan, 2019). This resulted in the disaccumulation of livelihoods and devaluation of labour, affecting various inter-sections differently.

Once a place with an abundance of milk and milk products like *ghee* (clarified butter), *dahi* (yogurt), and *lassi* (buttermilk), every household is now facing scarcity of fodder and grazing land. Animal husbandry and livestock which used to be the backbone of the household economy among smallholders are now left with one or no animal at all. Women and the old suffered the most due to the loss of livestock. Dalit and other landless castes were entirely dependent upon the village commons and lands of other castes to support their large herds of sheep and pigs and are now looking for alternative sources of income. Village commons, a space for constant conflict among landed and landless communities in caste-ridden Haryana now facing the challenge of complete disaccumulation of these lands. The Panchayat land that used to serve various needs like fuel and firewood, cremation grounds, logs for construction, medicinal plants, edible shrubs, etc., apart from fodder and grazing space, especially for landless communities whose only other source of income was manual labour. Land acquisition for industrial usage dispossessed agriculture and completely undermined the livestock economy. As discussed in previous chapters, it results in the liquidation of livestock and disaccumulation among smallholders and Dalit. Peasants who lost partial landholdings are facing the problem of blockages of irrigation canals and watercourses due to the construction of boundary walls in IMT, mainly in the village of Nonand. Gradually their remaining lands started turning barren, and one cropped. However, many smallholders are still cultivating their acquired land within the IMT, Rohtak, by negotiating with HSIIDC officials as it remains vacant. “Though it is illegal and not allowed” said one HSIIDC official, some farmers manage to cultivate their land through their personal connection with the local political parties and project officials; the techniques generally adopted by the subaltern who had no direct access to the civil society (Chatterjee P. , 2004). Those who have access to authority and civil society may escape the land acquisition as some of the sites that fall within the alignment of the IMT are not acquired. There are similar precedents in Gurgaon, where some private developers manage not to acquire their land (Ohri, 2012).

Peasants of these affected villages were predominantly dependent on the agriculture and livestock economies dispossessed to IMT, Rohtak. The Jats, who take pride in their land and self-cultivation, consider wage earnings as low status and suitable for Dalits. However, small peasantry used to engage in wage-earning activities for quite a time, but unlike landless communities, preferred agriculture over non-farm sectors. Similarly, Dalit and other backward communities drew a significant portion of their income from off-farm occupations before IMT landed in Rohtak. Regardless of castes, women and other vulnerable sections continued to depend on the farm and allied activities, mainly livestock, which has been redundant with changes in land use patterns. Hence, from a compatibility point of view, the arrival of IMT and subsequent industrial development are supposed to be advantageous to Dalit, mainly males, whereas others need to acquire the requisite skills to join the new economy. They were in a common notion that the expelled peasantry and landless would be absorbed into the IMT as a source of cheap labour. But, what happened instead was the devaluation of degrees of youth, and no locals were allowed in firms within the township and complete exclusion from the labour process. Many reported that despite their children possessing the requisite general and technical qualifications to be employed in these firms, they preferred to employ people from Delhi (non-locals). Daily, dozens of buses pick up and drop off these employees from Faridabad, Bahadurgarh, Gurgaon and other neighbouring parts of Delhi. Unfortunately, many bus drivers and conductors are erstwhile farmers from these villages, now recruited by the transport companies. Few people work in low-paid casual jobs like painters, security guards, auto drivers, construction workers, gardeners, etc., through a layer of contractors working as intermediaries between economic activities in IMT and a large pool of rural and migrated labourers. These contractors, mostly Delhi-based, usually preferred migrated labourers from Chhattisgarh, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh over the locals who lobbied for higher wages as per DC rates, regular deposits of PF amounts and other allowances and safety kits.

Women, mainly among Dalit (for upper castes, women working outside demeaning family honour) when seeking work, are mostly recruited in casual and low-paying jobs like packing, sorting, etc. Did industrial development in IMT able to compensate for the lost agricultural assets? Unemployed '*berojgari*' remains the biggest complaint among the landed communities generated out of the dispossession of farmland. Primarily the small peasantry suffered the heat of dispossession and low compensation in more severe ways than the neo-rentier big landowners. Though it has not increased among Dalit; as in the case of landed communities, due to their long association with non-farm activities, IMT has no rescue for them. They

continued to be exploited earlier by the dominant castes and now through the informal market economy with constant exclusion by the migrated labourer available to work at cheap rates each time. While in the case of women, old and other vulnerable members of families, they became completely ‘unemployed’ by the loss of land and animals.

Villages affected by the HSIIDC have failed to incorporate the expelled population by giving them regular income directly through jobs or employment opportunities or indirectly by generating livelihoods through the Industrial Township. Tathagata Chatterjee (2013) made an interesting observation on this that the Haryana model of development is largely driven by large-scale land acquisition done by parastatal agencies, organisations having some political authority and serving the state indirectly such as HUDA, HSIIDC, etc. These agencies with some technical and financial capacities are more focused on selling out their developed plot rather than overreaching development controls or coordinating the delivery of public services (p. 283). As a result, despite having a permanent Camp office of HSIIDC in Rohtak to overlook the reconstruction of life and livelihood, it has failed miserably.

From analytical point of view, contrary to the dichotomy between development vs dispossession, the ‘local community’ are socially differentiated and consequently, the impacts of land deals on and within the community will likewise be differentiated and will receive diverse responses. It is not that they will be affected differently. Still, different people perceive and interpret a whole complexity of things. Their experience differently based on a whole range of variable and relative economic, political, social and cultural factors, conditions and calculations that are often not well understood and, in any case, require much deeper understanding and inquiry. Hence, a concept like ‘local community’ is not helpful to understand land deals rather need more nuanced research with conceptual lens like class, gender, caste etc.

Further, from a political ecology standpoint, the eviction of land in IMT-affected villages has created new social relations in terms of politics of resource ownership, access, and rights. As suggested in the introduction, there is a need to examine households as a diverse agglomeration of own articulation and perception of impact and resources rather than as an undifferentiated entity uniformly affected by land deals (Nyantakyi-Frimpong & Kerr, 2017). The gendered social relations operating through institutions like patriarchy and *Khap Panchayat* acquire, control and (re)distribute land-related resources in pre-dispossession society gave birth to a discriminated, exclusionary gender relations where benefits, compensation and post-

dispossession development are shaped. Furthermore, the loss of land is resulting in the formation of new processes and new social connections of production. Three types, in particular, are emerging. **First**, the erstwhile ‘rich small holders/peasants’ are becoming neo-rentier/pretty-rentier class who are neither in the process of (re)production nor became proletariat (landless). They can gradually integrate into urban life thanks to their political, social and economic capital. **The second** class is those who lost half of their land holding and turned into ‘semi-proletariat’; a group of near landless peasants who are neither dispossessed of all means of self-production nor in possession of sufficient means of production. **Thirdly**, those households who were dispossessed of all of their primary means of (re)production became the proletariat, along with the already existing labour class. However, instead of being absorbed into capitalist development, they became ‘surplus people’, the worst social outcome of these big land deals (Li, 2011). Thus, the Haryana story indicates that an accumulation process may have prioritise landowners over labour.

8.2 Questions of equity and Sustainability in Market-led Developmental discourse

Serageldin (2006) rightly pointed out that a long history of legal battles and the growing participation of people in the land acquisition process in India has established ‘property compensation’ as an important phenomenon, but equity in compensation and looking resettlement as an investment opportunity for sustainable development and benefit of oustees is still missing. Major problems lie with the legal system itself, mainly the LAA 1894. Firstly, these Acts⁶⁰ only recognised legal rights over the land as only legitimate rights rather than land-use rights while considering persons to be affected by land acquisition. As a result, claims of landless communities, including traditional service providers and rights of women, old and others, have been completely ignored in calculating impact assessment. They depended predominantly on the land use pattern through labour, livestock, allied activities, etc., which seldom paid in the market-led land transitions. As found in the current field study, livestock was a major source of household income, predominantly among the small peasantry, women, old people and landless communities, which the state undermined completely. The role of women as an integral part of the agrarian setup as subsistence reproducers and contribution of labour and artisan classes were also completely negated, and it is the patta-holder; in most cases, males were only eligible for compensation.

⁶⁰ The Land Acquisition Act 1894 and R&R policies of Haryana

Secondly, as found in many cases of land acquisition and IMT Rohtak, the land values of the surrounding area increase manifold during the completion of the acquisition process, which usually takes three to four years. Within five years (2007-11) land value of the surrounding areas in IMT Rohtak increased five to six times higher than the prices determined by the acquiring authority in the first phase (2007). As a result, landowners were awarded compensation based on the market value of the land calculated three years back along with 30 percent solatium plus 12 percent simple interest per year, whereas un-acquired land in the neighborhood was sold at five times higher values in the open market at the same time. People sold their un-acquired land in crores per acre in the same locality where the State acquired land at Rs. 16 lakhs/acre before three years. Landowners, therefore, felt cheated as the state paid lesser compensation from the prevailing market value of the land. Moreover, landowners could not purchase alternative land in the locality due to higher land values. Small landholders became landless without being able to invest their meagre compensation on land. Remaining farmers, though, purchased land, but at faraway places without being able to cultivate, and ended off as absentee landlords, which is not sustainable. Though the policy tried to provide compensation as a replacement cost of the land but failed to generate sustainable livelihoods in the locality. Hence, the landowning community has been witnessing a differential impact within. Farmers who lack the necessary financial skills and proper vision may agree to sell their land for a good compensation. However, good remuneration has many facets, including its own kinds of coercion and compulsion, among other things, which may feel great initially but end up being expensive over time.

Thirdly, providing long-term security through an annuity scheme is beneficial but not equitable. Royalties are paid as per the landowner's share in the acquired land without setting a minimum cap. It would be fatal when farmers received cheques for Rs 2, Rs 5, Rs 10 and Rs 12 as royalties, as happened in the case of landowners of Baliyana (Singh M. , 2015). How the smallholders will enjoy social security and long-term protection of the state if they receive this small amount will remain a central question. On the other hand, residential plots became a measure of contestation among landowners. As we discussed, the price fixed for residential plots, even at concession rates for oustees, was much higher than the amount paid as compensation. However, the fear of becoming landless within the neighbourhood compelled the smallholders to opt for it in exchange for entire compensation and ended in indebtedness.

Fourth, the most important aspect of sustainable development/livelihood, the question of labour, is never realized in these ‘labour-displacing ventures’. Under this capitalist development in a competitive market of profit maximization, poverty alleviation through employment generation is not an investor’s concern. Labour question should be the prime factor in these land acquisition projects. However, these land deals are instead pushing the rural poverty in an infinite condition of landlessness, without creating space for those who dispossessed out of their land and the trajectory of proletarianisation has not taken place in reality. This is a common phenomenon in entire the Global South where, as Tania Murray Li (2011, p. 281) rightly pointed out that “the anticipated transition from the farm to factory has not taken place . . . farmers who invest in the education of their children face the rude awakening when their offspring swell the ranks of the educated unemployed”.

Agriculture as a holistic and sustainable sector employed a large mass of people who became jobless, out-skilled and redundant when land use patterns changed. Engaged in agricultural activities for many years made them vulnerable to any other mode of employment. They started feeling ‘useless and undesirable’ and found it difficult to re-integrate themselves into the changing world.

They could not engage themselves in modern jobs like security guards, industrial workers, artisans, etc. and ended up by doing nothing. A family whose entire household workforce was in the field is now dependent upon the income of one member. Sudden change in the work culture and idleness of the new world brought many health-related issues; an additional financial burden resulted from the land acquisition. The small amount of compensation was exhausted on basic needs, repairing of home, education of children, marriages, etc., and failed to reconstruct lost livelihood. Though many landowners now affiliated themselves with the growing urban and real estate market of Haryana but, this mighty landowning castes of Haryana lost their pride along with land. They had no cultural existence on newly purchased land.

Moreover, most landowners lack the expertise and necessary information required to fruitfully invest compensation in the speculative market of Haryana and end up exhausting compensation on consumable goods. The provision of the investment advisory committee outlined in the R&R policy was never materialised in real. The most progressive provision of the policy remains on paper due to the apathy of the administration.

Market-oriented compensation is usually arbitrary and never ensures social justice or efficient allocation of resources, as found in the case of smallholders and landless labour in Haryana.

Big landholders get a large pie of the development and accommodate themselves into the neoliberal speculative market as the neo-rentier class. But, it is the smallholders who are going to perish. Neither the development process can accommodate the large pool of surplus population generated out of land dispossession, nor do the rehabilitation grants reintegrate the lower strata of the society into its fold. Considering land, further, as a means of compensation in a society where disparity and prosperity are not based on one's efficiency but rather on social identity is not going to be helpful (Ghate, 2008). This could perpetuate existing inequalities in Haryana's rural economy, as happened in the case of a Mahindra World City, Jaipur, Rajasthan (Levien M. , 2018). Hence, "reducing rural life to two cut-and-dried categories of landowners and non-owners, with only the former worthy of compensation arising from land acquisition for big urban projects, is to further undermine the social and cultural complexity and livelihood strategies of the rural" (Goldman, 2011, p. 568).

8.3 Concluding Remarks

Initial 'reintegration model' which is the basis of this study, one which includes 'consensus-building', 'benefit-sharing' and 'sustainable development', has proved to be partly adequate for the purpose of the study. The R&R model of Haryana, despite being a benefit-sharing focuses on being 'market oriented' with a 'top-down' approach. Thus, it fails to achieve both consensus-building and sustainable development. The overemphasis on 'material aspects' of the Haryana model has led to disregarding of 'equity principle' and 'inclusivity'. This, in turn, leads to a total absence of sustainable development. As a result, the big and rich farmers got benefited whereas the bulk of peasantry consist of small and marginal farmers, women and landless communities are now witnessing landlessness, joblessness, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources and increasing morbidity. It should be remembered that the small and marginal farmers who supported the land acquisition process and assume that the compensation policies, annuity scheme etc. would actually benefit them are now experiencing elements of coercion. Thus, the present story may be better explained as consent-coercion continuum, even though Harvey's ABD may also be partly applicable in the case of subaltern farmers and women.

The points that this research raises provide scope for exploring these aspects through further studies. Though the procedural methodology, viz. IMT, has been done with a consensual understanding between the government and the landholders, it was more of a 'manufactured consent'. This consent and the aspirations are, however, not without problems, it is mostly

complex, confusing and conflicted, which needs to examine from a sociopsychological perspective. The subaltern class has been struggling with assimilating and resisting the twin evils of capitalist development and market society. An ethnographic study is required to understand these related questions. The establishment of IMT has led to the emergence of further issues: labour-relations to begin with and more importantly, the role of the *Khap Panchayat* in land dispossession and capitalist assimilation. The varying effects vis-à-vis caste as an analytical category affected by land dispossession is another aspect that needs to be examined by further research.

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10 Annexures

Annexure-1

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HARYANA GOVERNMENT

REVENUE AND DISASTER MANAGEMENT DEPARTMENT

Notification

The 9th November, 2010

No. 3212-R-5-2010/12140.— In super-session of this Department Memo. No. 1298-R-5-2007/4174, dated the 6th April, 2007 and the Notification bearing No. 5451-R-V-2007/13258, dated 7th December 2007, the Governor of Haryana is pleased to notify a comprehensive revised policy laying down the floor rates in different parts of the state for acquisition of land under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 or any other corresponding statute on the subject. The revised policy, inter alia, includes introduction of a new Scheme of 'No Litigation Incentive', revised rates of Annuity and a number of additional benefits for the landowners whose land is acquired by the Government under the Statute.

2. The policy, of which the details are given in **Annexure-A**, has been concurred by the Finance Department vide their U.O No. 1/17/09-4FG-II/2362, dated 09.11.2010 and approved by the Council of Ministers in its meeting held on 09.11.2010. This Policy will take effect from 07.09.2010.

NARESH GULATI,
Financial Commissioner & Principal Secretary
to Government of Haryana,
Revenue and Disaster Management Department.

Enclosure: Annexure-'A'

Price : Rs. 5.00

(7569)

Revision of minimum floor rates and the Policy for Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Land Owners - Land Acquisition Oustees

A. Preamble :

As a welfare state, the Government of Haryana recognises that acquisition of land under the statute and the alienation of landowners from their source of livelihood could be a painful process, notwithstanding the payment of compensation for the same as per law. Therefore, it intends to minimise this pain of the affected persons through a set of policy initiatives that include (a) payment of market value as compensation of land to the landowners with the revision and fine-tuning of minimum floor rates in respect of land situated in different parts of the state; (b) introduction of a special incentive for reducing litigation qua the compensation amount; (c) revision of the rates of Annuity payable for a period of 33 years as a social security benefit for the landowners; and (d) review and introduction of certain additional benefits over and above the one-time compensation paid in accordance with the law so as to provide for alternate means of sustenance for the landowners and other landless persons/artisans who are dependent on the agricultural land being acquired for non-agricultural purposes.

B. Strategy and Approach:

The objectives set out in the Preamble of this Policy are sought to be achieved through the following approach:

1. Undertake revision of the minimum floor rates of land as contained in the Notification dated 6th April 2007 for different parts of the state, and further finetune the same with introduction of a larger number of categories;
2. Introduction of a 'No Litigation Incentive' for such of the landowners who opt to accept the compensation award with a view to containing litigation on this account;
3. Revision of the basic rates of 'Annuity' and the annual increase to make it more meaningful as a means of social security for the landowners;
4. Recognising two broad categories of infrastructure projects for acquisition of land and treatment of benefits to the landowners based on the feasibility thereof;
5. Making arrangements for professional advice to the landowners for prudent investment of the compensation amount with various options;

6. Addressing the concerns of such landless persons and artisans in a village community whose source of livelihood is dependent upon the agricultural operations in respect of the acquired land.

C. The Policy:

1. Revision of Floor Rates of Land for determining the Compensation:

- i) The Government had introduced the concept of determining the minimum floor rates of land for acquisition purposes for the first time vide its Memo No. 2025-R-52005/4299, dated 28.04.2005, which were further revised vide Memo No. 1298-R-52007/4174, dated 06.04.2007. It has been observed that market rates of land have registered an upward movement with the passage of time and recovery of markets from the general economic meltdown of 2008-09. Accordingly, after considering all the related aspects for determining the compensation amount payable to the landowners, the Government has decided to revise the minimum floor rates as under:

Sr. No.	Particulars	Floor Rates per acre of land (pre-revision)	Floor Rates per acre as revised w.e.f. 07.09.2010
1	Land situated within the notified limits of Gurgaon Municipal Corporation	Rs. 20.00 Lakh	Rs. 40.00 Lakh
2	Land situated within (i) the notified limits of Faridabad Municipal Corporation, (ii) the notified limits of Panchkula Municipal Corporation as on 07.09.2010, (iii) Development Plans of (a) Gurgaon-Manesar Urban Complex (excluding the areas falling within the limits of Municipal Corporation Gurgaon) (b) Sohna, and (c) Sonapat-Kundli Urban Complex	Rs. 16.00 Lakh	Rs. 30.00 Lakh
3	Areas situated within the Development Plans of Bahadurgarh, Rohtak, Rewari, Dharuhera, Bawal and Panipat towns	Rs. 16.00 Lakh	Rs. 25.00 Lakh
4	Rest of the National Capital Region, areas situated out side the limits of Panchkula Municipal Corporation (as on 07.09.2010) in Panchkula District, and the land situated within the Development Plans of all other district headquarters outside the NCR	Rs. 16.00 Lakh Rs. 8.00 Lakh	Rs. 20.00 Lakh
5	Remaining Parts of the State	Rs. 8.00 Lakh	Rs. 12.00 Lakh
Note	1. The floor rates mentioned above represent the basic rate of land and do not include the amount payable under Section 23 (1A) and 30% Solatium [U/s 23(2)], payable in addition. 2. Please see Appendix-1 for an indicative total amount payable to a landowner based on these floor rates.		

- ii) The Committee headed by the Divisional Commissioner will continue to perform its duties while fixing the basic rates of compensation for various categories of land

under acquisition. The Committee shall take into account (i) the sale-deeds executed in the area during the one year period immediately before issue of Section 4 of the Act (while doing so, it will ignore any isolated transaction/ sale deed that may be in the nature of a distortion/ aberration and not representative of the average market value of land in the area) (ii) the Collector Rates prescribed for the area for charging the stamp duty on sale deeds, and (iii) the Minimum floor rates revised under this policy. While the highest of the above three rates would form the basis for working out the basic rate, the Committee would not be precluded from taking into account the current prevailing market rates, which could still be higher in certain cases, but based on some dependable/ reliable guiding parameters. The said committee is expected to give a well-reasoned justification behind its recommendations. It will continue to take into account all these parameters for working out the land acquisition compensation rates being followed at present while communicating the rates to the Acquiring Departments/ Agencies in the State. To the rates so determined, would be added the additional amount as per Section 23(1A) and the 30% amount under Section 23(2) payable in accordance with the Land Acquisition Act, 1894.

2. Introduction of Incentive for 'No Litigation':

- i) A landowner or an interested person, whose land is acquired, has a statutory right to seek a reference under Section 18 of the Land Acquisition Act for determination of the Court qua (a) the measurement of land, (b) the amount of compensation, (c) the persons to whom it is payable, or (d) the apportionment of the compensation among the persons interested. However, a reference under Section 18 with reference to the amount of compensation is not competent where the Award is announced by the Land Acquisition Collector under Section 11 (2).
- ii) It has been observed that notwithstanding the liberal rates of compensation being awarded by the Land Acquisition Collectors as per the State Policy, the incidence of litigation has not abated, be it by way of Civil Writ Petitions challenging the acquisition of land *per se* in some cases or by way of references seeking higher amount of compensation. Acknowledging the need for reducing litigation on this account, **at least in matters pertaining to the amount of compensation**, the Government has decided to introduce an incentive for 'No Litigation' so as to move towards the domain of 'consent acquisition' qua the 'compensation amount'.
- iii) Accordingly, it has been decided to pay an additional amount equal to 20% of the basic rate of land determined by the Land Acquisition Collector (excluding the interest and the Solatium components) as an incentive for '**No Litigation**' to such of the landowners **who opt (a) not to challenge the acquisition of their land, and (b) to accept the compensation amount as awarded and undertake not to seek a**

reference under Section 18 of the Act qua the amount of compensation. This incentive would still be available in cases where a reference is sought with respect to other issues i.e. (a) the measurement of land, (b) the persons to whom it is payable, or (c) the apportionment of the compensation among the persons interested.

- iv) The landowner opting to avail of this incentive would have to submit an undertaking as per **Application Form-1** to the effect that he accepts the compensation amount as Awarded and, that once he opts to avail of the Incentive, he would not be entitled to seek a reference under Section 18 of the Act. The Award would be deemed to have been made under Section 11(2) of the Act to that extent qua those who opt for this incentive.

3. **Effective Date:**

The revised floor rates, the policy of payment of 'No Litigation' incentive, and the revision in various parameters of the R & R Policy will be applicable to all such acquisition cases where awards have been announced on or after 07 September, 2010 irrespective of the date of notification under Section 4 of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894.

D. **Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy:**

4. **Annuity Scheme - revised rates and features:**

The payment of Annuity to the persons, who are the landowners at the time of issue of Section 4 Notification (including their nominees over the prescribed period), whose land is acquired by the Government under a statute, is in the nature of a Social Security and Benefit Scheme as a part of the overall R & R Policy of the Government. It has been introduced primarily with a view to providing additional basic sustenance to the erstwhile landowners for a period of 33 years. Broad features of the Annuity scheme are as under:

- i) The eligible landowners will be paid Annuity @ Rs. 21,000/- per acre per annum for a period of 33 years over and above the usual land compensation;
- ii) The Annuity amount of Rs. 21,000/- will be increased by a fixed sum of Rs. 750/- every year;
- iii) In respect of land acquired in terms of land acquisition policy for setting up of Special Economic Zone/ Technology Cities/ Technology Parks, in addition to the rehabilitation and resettlement package notified by Industries and Commerce Department vide No. 49/48/2006-41B1, dated 4th May, 2006, a sum of Rs. 42,000/-

per acre per annum will be paid for a period of 33 years by private developers and the Annuity amount will be increased at the rate of Rs.1,500/- every year;

- iv) The scheme of Annuity payment will be applicable to all cases of land acquisition by the Government irrespective of the same being acquired for the State Government and its agencies or the Government of India/ its agencies, including the NHAI, the Railways, and the Defence purposes;
- v) The Government Departments acquiring land under a statute shall recover the amount required for discharging the Annuity obligations along with the compensation amount from the concerned agencies (for whom land is acquired) and shall ensure that the 'Instrument of Annuity' creating a right in favour of the erstwhile landowner is issued at the earliest;
- vi) The landowner would be entitled to appoint his nominee and change the same at any time before his demise for receipt of benefits under this Scheme who would step in his shoes after his death and so on so forth till the completion of 33 years period. In cases where a landowner dies intestate without leaving a nominee behind, the Annuity amount for the remainder of the period would be payable to the legal heirs of the deceased erstwhile landowner;
- vii) In cases where the land acquired in respect of a landowner/ co-sharer works out to less than one acre, such landowner will have the option to avail the commuted value of the Annuity amount upfront in one go which is fixed @ 30% of the gross amount of Annuity payable during the 33 years. He would be required to submit his application as per **Application Form-3**.
- viii) The Annuity in respect of land acquired during the preceding calendar year would become due for payment during the month of January of the following year. The landowner would be required to submit his Annuity claim in the prescribed form, **(Application Form-2)** along with the supporting documents, within a period of six months of the announcement of the Award. The acquiring departments shall be responsible for processing and compilation of the database of all such valid claimants within a period of further six months. The Annuity amount would be paid through Bank transfers.

5. Allotment of residential plots in cases where a self-occupied residential house is acquired for unavoidable reasons:

- i) Recognising the sensitivity involved in acquisition of built-up residential houses/ structures for unavoidable reasons, the Government has decided to accord the highest priority to the resettlement of this category of persons. In the first instance, all efforts will be made by the acquiring departments to leave out the residential

structures existing in the form of clusters from acquisition except where it becomes absolutely unavoidable either due to its stand-alone character or its location being within the Right of Way of infrastructure projects such as roads, canals, railway line etc.;

- ii) Accordingly, it has been decided that wherever any self-occupied residential structure/ house has to be acquired for unavoidable reasons in the process of acquisition of land by the Government for any purpose, such owners of built-up residential structures would be offered assured allotment of residential plots as per the following scale:

Scale of residential plots in cases where an existing self-occupied house/ residential structure is acquired			
Scheme applicable up to 06.09.2010		Scheme Revised w. e.f. 07.09.2010	
Size of the residential house acquired	Size of Residential Plot to be allotted	Size of the residential house acquired	Size of Residential Plot to be allotted
Up to 100 sq. yards	50 sq. yards	Up to 150 sq. yards	90 sqm
Above 100 but up to 200 sq. yards	100 sq. yards	Above 150 but up to 200 sq. yards	150 sqm
Above 200 and up to 300 sq. yards	150 sq. yards	Above 200 and up to 250 sq. yards	200 sqm
		Above 250 and up to 300 sq. yards	250 sqm
Above 300 up to 400 sq. yards	200 sq. yards	Above 300 up to 400 sq. yards	300 sqm
Above 400 up to 500 sq. yards	250 sq. yards	Above 400 up to 500 sq. yards	350 sqm
Above 500 sq. yards	350 sq. yards	Above 500 sq. yards	450 sqm

- iii) As the affected persons would be entitled to compensation on account of acquisition of land and the structures constructed thereon, the price/ cost of the plots to be allotted in favour of the affected persons as per above scale would be payable by the allottee;
- iv) The benefit of allotment of a residential plot in this category would be admissible only if the acquired residential house/ structure was self-occupied and was in existence on the date of issue of Section 4 Notification, and further subject to the condition that such residential house had not been constructed by way of any encroachment on the public/ community/ government land. The self-occupation of such house by the landowner's family as their regular residence would be an essential condition for this purpose. Residential structures used for rental purposes or those in the form of *kothras* in the fields would not be reckoned as 'residential houses' for this purpose;
- v) While assessing the entitlement for size of the plot to be allotted, the land under the existing residential house only would be taken into account and not the appurtenant facilities for other farm operations. Further, while computing the area

under such Residential House, the plinth area of the constructed house and equal area towards admissible open space shall be taken into account. **Appendix-4** may be referred for the basis of calculation of area;

- vi) Development and allotment of the residential plots under this part would be the responsibility of the acquiring Department/ agency. Such plots, to the extent, possible, would be carved out in the area adjoining/ in close vicinity of the village *abdi deh* so that the displaced/ rehabilitated persons continue to remain a part of their social milieu. While HUDA, HSIIDC, and the HSAMB would plan their residential blocks for this part as well as for the 'oustee' category as one cluster, the other acquiring departments would have to acquire additional land specifically for this purpose also;
- vii) The rates of Plots allotted under this category by HUDA and the HSIIDC shall be 20% lesser than the nodal price of the plot determined for the general public. In all other cases, the rates of plots would be determined by the allotting agency based on the actual costs taking into account (a) the cost of acquisition of land, (b) costs incurred on provision of minimum amenities/ services, and (c) loading of the areas under roads/ streets/ services and utilities on to the plotted area.
- viii) The affected landowner would be required to submit his claim in the prescribed **Application Form-4**.

6. Categories of Land Acquisition Cases:

It has been observed that the Government acquires land for various infrastructure projects, which could be broadly clubbed under the following two categories:

- i) Projects where the urban/ industrial/ agriculture marketing infrastructure is developed in the form of large clusters by the state agencies i.e. the HUDA, the HSIIDC, and the HSAMB, for which comparatively large mass of land is acquired for development of planned infrastructure;
- ii) Projects where the land is either acquired in smaller pockets (e.g. water works and STPs of the Public Health Engineering Departments or the Power Sub-stations set-up by the power utilities) or where the land is acquired in a linear/ strip form for construction of roads and canals etc.

Whereas it has been found feasible to grant certain benefits in respect of the cluster development projects, the same has not been found feasible in the second category cases.

7. Benefits for the affected persons whose land is acquired for HUDA, HSIIDC and the HSAMB:

Recognising that the Government is expected to address the concerns of all sections of landowners to the extent possible, it has been decided to follow a two-pronged strategy in this behalf. Accordingly, it has been decided to grant the following benefits to the landowners whose land is acquired for HUDA, HSIIDC, and the HSAMB:

- i) Reservation and allotment of residential plots for the land-oustees, and ii) Provision for allotment of commercial booth-sites/ industrial plots to the landowner in whose case 75% or more of his land in a revenue estate, subject to a minimum of one acre, is acquired.

8. Allotment of 'oustees-category' residential plots in cases of land acquisition for development of infrastructure HUDA, HSIIDC, and the HSAMB.

- i) Where the land is acquired for development of planned urban infrastructure by HUDA, or development of planned industrial infrastructure by the HSIIDC, or marketing infrastructure by the HSAMB, developed residential plots will be reserved for assured allotment to the land oustees as per the following scale:

Allotment of in cases where only land is acquired (Oustee Quota Plots)			
Scheme applicable up to 06.09.2010		Scheme Revised w.e.f. 07.09.2010	
Land/Area acquired	Size of residential plot to be allotted	Land/Area acquired	Size of residential plot to be allotted
100 to 500 sq. yards	3 marla	100 to 500 sq. yards	90 sq. mtrs.
501 to 1000 sq. yards	4 marla	501 to 1000 sq. yards	150 sq. mtrs.
1001 sq yards to ½ acre	6 marla	1001 sq yards to ½ acre	200 sq. mtrs.
Above ½ acre to ¾ acre	8 marla	Above ½ acre to ¾ acre	300 sq. mtrs.
Above ¾ acre to 1 acre	10 marla	Above ¾ acre to 1 acre	350 sq. mtrs.
One acre and above	14 marla	Above one acre	450 sq. mtrs.

- ii) The rates of residential plots reserved for allotment to the land oustees, in both the above categories, as per the scale prescribed, would be 20% lesser than the nodal price applicable for the general public at the time of first floatation in the case of HUDA and HSIIDC, in all other cases the rates of plots would be determined by the acquiring departments/ organisations based on the actual costs taking into account (a) the cost of acquisition of land, (b) costs incurred on provision of minimum amenities/ services, and (c) loading of the areas under roads/ streets/ services and utilities on to the plotted area;
- iii) Each of the co-sharers, depending upon his share in the land acquired as per the entries in the revenue records at the time of issue of Section 4 Notification, would be entitled to the allotment of a plot under the 'oustees category'. The co-sharers would be limited to the persons mentioned in the revenue records on the date of

Section 4 Notification. Wherever any such landowner/ co-sharer dies during the intervening period of Section 4 Notification and the Award, the natural successors will be treated as one single unit;

- iv) As regards the co-sharers, it may be clarified that the entitlement for size of the plot would be determined based on the share of each of the co-sharers as on the date of Section 4 Notification. Further, under no circumstances, the total land under the plots allotted to the co-sharers put together would **exceed 50% of the** total acquired land of such co-sharers. An illustrative list of the entitlements is enclosed with this policy as **Appendix-2**.
- v) In cases where the land of a landowner is acquired in phases, and he becomes entitled to a bigger size of the plot due to subsequent acquisition, he would be entitled to additional area as per his revised entitlement. In such cases, either (a) the plot allotted as per the original entitlement may be upgraded as per his entitlement, or (b) in case he has already utilised/ transferred the earlier allotted plot, he may be allotted an additional plot as per his entitlement on account of the net additional area.
- vi) In case a landowner or co-sharer avails of a plot under para (5), he will not be entitled to a second plot in the 'oustees category' under para 8. Such a person, however, will have the option to either apply for allotment of a plot under para 5 or para 8 of this Policy. The landowner interested in availing this benefit would be required to submit his application in the prescribed **Application Form -5**.
- vii) No litigation should be pending in respect of the acquired land, except a reference under Section 18 of the Act, in order to be eligible for allotment of an 'oustee category' plot under the Scheme.
- viii) The acquiring department/ development agency will earmark a separate chunk of land, preferably close to the village in close vicinity of the *Toshi Abadi*, for carving out 'oustee category plots' for the landowners as stated under para 5(vi) above. **The allotment of 'Oustee Category' Plots will precede the allotment of 'General Category' plots.**

9. Allotment of Commercial/ Industrial Sites:

- i) Where 75% of the land-holding of a landowner/co-sharer in a revenue estate, measuring one acre or above, is acquired by the Government for HUDA, HSIIDC, and

the HSAMB, thereby substantially impacting his means of sustenance, developed commercial/ industrial sites would be reserved and allotted to such land oustees as per the following criterion:

1	Commercial Sites measuring 3 mtr x 4 mtr (12 sq. mtrs)	To be allotted by HUDA/ HSIIDC/ HSAMB at the Reserve Price, which will be no more than 3 times of the price of residential plot in that area/ sector.
2	Industrial Plot measuring 450 sq mtrs. in the case of HSIIDC	A landowner oustee eligible under this category will have the option in the case of HSIIDC to opt for the Commercial site or an industrial plot. The rate for the Industrial Plot will be 20% lesser than the rate determined for the general public at the time of first floatation.

- ii) The allotment of commercial sites/ industrial plots would be made to each cosharer provided his share in the acquired land is one acre or more, otherwise all the co-sharers will be allotted a site(s) as per entitlement. In case the total acquired land of all the co-sharers put together is less than one acre, they would not be entitled to this facility. Illustrations given in **Appendix-2** may be referred for any clarity;
- iii) The commercial/ industrial sites would be reserved and allotted in addition to the residential plots for the land-oustees in these categories. The affected landowner would be required to submit his application in the prescribed **Application Form-6**.

10. Special dispensation by the Town & Country Planning Department:

The Town & Country Planning Department will make appropriate provisions in their rules/ regulations so as to allow additional component of residential and commercial use in the Estate/Sector to the extent of the area earmarked for the plots/ sites carved out for the purpose of R & R Policy.

11. Benefits for the affected persons whose land is acquired for infrastructure projects other than those of HUDA, HSIIDC, and the HSAMB:

- i) While provision has been made for allotment of 'oustee category plots' in case of land acquired for development by HUDA, HSIIDC, and the HSAMB and for allotment of commercial sites/ industrial plots in case of those landowners whose 75% land gets acquired (subject to a minimum of one acre) for these organisations, extension of these additional benefits in case of the landowners whose land is acquired for public purposes other than these organisations, has not been found feasible. To that extent, it is also fortuitous.

- ii) In order to balance this situation and partially compensate the landowners in this category, it has been decided that wherever 75% or more land of a landowner in a revenue estate, subject to a minimum of two acres, is acquired for other infrastructure projects, and thereby impacting his sustenance to a considerable extent, one dependent of the land-owning family would be provided a job in the Government or its Boards/ Corporations/ State PSUs in Group 'D' and Group 'C' categories, subject to the incumbent fulfilling the qualifications prescribed for such posts;
- iii) Recognising that certain persons may indulge in large scale division of their holdings to acquire title to government jobs in this process, the entitlement of dependants would be based on the revenue records of four years prior to the date of issue of Notification under Section 4 of the Land Acquisition Act or a corresponding provision in other statutes;
- iii) The affected landowner would be required to file his claim-application in the prescribed **Application Forms- 7 and 8**.
- iv) While processing applications for this purpose, the applicant would first be considered for grant of a job in the Project for which the acquired land is used. In case of non-availability of adequate number of suitable jobs in the Project, the claim would be considered against vacancies available in the said department or its PSUs, failing which, the claim would be considered for employment in other departments/ organisations of the Government;
- v) In cases necessitating consideration of the applications for employment in the other Government Departments, the application receiving Department would forward such applications to the Financial Commissioner, Revenue & Disaster Management Department, along with a certificate that there are no vacancies in the Project/ Department/ its PSUs so as to accommodate the applicants elsewhere. The office of FCR would compile all such applications and pass these on to the office of Chief Secretary for appropriate action. Thereafter, the office of Chief Secretary would complete the process of employment;
- vi) While the landowners are expected to submit their claim-applications for jobs within a period of six months of the announcement of the Award, there may be some isolated cases where the dependent may be a minor or decide to take-up employment only after completion of his/ her studies. The erstwhile landowners would be allowed to defer their actual employment in such cases up to a period of 5 years from the date of Award. In such cases, the claim of the erstwhile landowner applicant would be processed and a letter of entitlement would be issued by the concerned Department.

12. Electricity Connection under agriculture category

Wherever the landowner has installed one or more tube-wells with an electricity connection sanctioned on agricultural tariff, and portion of the land whereupon such tubewell is installed is acquired, he would be entitled to alternate tube-well connection(s) in this category either in his un-acquired land or over the agricultural land that he may purchase elsewhere in the state within a period of two years of the Award. The alternate connection would be provided within a period of three months of his application to this effect.

13. Exemption from Stamp Duty & Registration Charges on purchase of alternate agricultural land

In case a landowner, whose land is acquired, purchases alternate agricultural land within the state of Haryana within a period of two years of the Award, such purchase of land, limited to the amount of compensation, would be exempt from payment of Stamp Duty and Registration charges. The Revenue & Disaster Management Department would separately issue necessary orders/ notification to this effect.

14. Scheme for the Landless persons and artisans dependent upon agricultural operations over the acquired land:

- i) There is another category of landless people in the rural set-up who have traditionally been associated with the land-owning families. These comprise of the landless workers engaged in the agricultural operations for generations (under the *jajmani* custom) and the rural artisans e.g. the blacksmiths, the carpenters, the potters, the masons, the barbers etc. which together constitute the village society. It is a well recognised fact that there is an association between landowners and the families of landless persons (in above categories) for generations and such association is well known in the village set-up. The Government is fully conscious of the adverse impact caused by acquisition of land for non-agriculture purposes on these dependant categories of people. It has, therefore, been decided to lay a special focus on the creation and up-gradation of skill-sets of these people/ their dependents so as to improve their employability in the organised sector.
- ii) The Government has decided to take the following measures for the rehabilitation/ resettlement of these affected persons:
 - a) The Government would impart free technical education to the dependents of these categories of people in the Government run Industrial Training Institutes and Polytechnics;

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- b) HSIIDC, HUDA and the HSAMB would set apart a fund equal to 1% of the Compensation amount for creating adequate skill-sets among the dependents of land-oustees and the affected landless persons;
 - c) HSIIDC would stipulate a condition for the allottees of industrial plots to give preference to these people in employment in their industrial projects;
 - d) Wherever land is acquired for the Private Developers, they would be required to make arrangements for creation and up-gradation of the skillsets of the affected persons and preference in employment of the affected persons/ their dependants in the projects set-up over such land.

15. Admissibility of benefits under the R & R Policy - exclusion of entrants after issue of Section 4 Notification:

It takes anywhere between 3 to 6 months before a Notification under Section 4 is issued for acquisition of land as the acquiring departments/ agencies start the process of ground survey in advance. As such, it becomes known in the area that the Government is in the process of acquiring land in a specific locality. The Government is also conscious that certain unscrupulous persons may, with the intention of availing un-earned and undeserved benefits of this Policy, which are meant for the landowning farmers, purchase the land (i) after it is known in the area that the land is proposed to be acquired by the Government, or (ii) even after issue of Section 4 Notification under the Act. In order to take care of any such misadventures, it has been decided that the benefits under this policy, including the Scheme of Annuity, would be admissible only for such of the landowners who own the title of land at least three months prior to the date of issue of Section 4 Notification or acquire the title by way of natural inheritance. **Any person becoming an interested party or acquiring interest in the land through sale/ purchase of the subject land within three months prior to the date of issue of Notification under Section 4 of the Act, save by way of natural inheritance, shall not be entitled to any of these benefits, including the payment of Annuity.**

16. Information to the Landowners and implementation of the Scheme

While a copy of this Policy would be available on the web-sites of the Departments of (i) Revenue & Disaster Management, (ii) Town & Country Planning Department, (iii) Industries & Commerce, (iv) HUDA, and (v) HSIIDC for the information of general public, the Land Acquisition Collector may, in addition, also inform the landowners about their entitlements under the R & R Policy along with the notices under Section 9 of the Act as per **Appendix-3**. However, non-communication of the same by the LAC would not in any manner vitiate any such proceedings by him. Further action in respect of each of the benefits would be taken as follows:

-
- i) The landowners, opting to accept the amount of compensation and avail of the 'No Litigation Incentive', would normally be required to make an application to the LAC within a period of 30 days of the announcement of Award and furnish an undertaking to that effect in the prescribed format (**Application Form-1**). A claim for the 'No Litigation Incentive' could also be entertained if filed after 30 days provided the landowner has not filed a reference under Section 18 qua the compensation amount, or if filed, undertakes to withdraw the same before receipt of the incentive amount. However, no such claim would be entertained after a period of six months of the announcement of the Award. It may be noted that once the landowners agree to avail of the said incentive, they would not be entitled to seek a reference under Section 18 of the Act for enhanced compensation and to that extent the Award would be deemed to have announced under Section 11 (2) of the Act. No references under Section 18 of the Act qua the amount of compensation would be competent in these cases;
- ii) As for the allotment of residential plots/ commercial sites/ industrial plots, the landowners would be required to submit their claim-applications in the prescribed formats (**Application Forms - 4/5/6**) to the acquiring departments/ agencies within a period of six months of the date of announcement of Award along with the requisite details and supporting documents. No claims on this account would be entertained after the expiry of six month period;
- iii) Wherever a landowner is entitled to employment/ government job under para 11 of this Policy, he would submit his claim-application in the prescribed format (**Application Form -7**) to the acquiring department within a period of six months of the announcement of Award, along with the supporting documents, and the concerned Government Department/ Organisation would process his claim within a further period of six months. On finding the claim valid, a letter of entitlement would be issued in favour of the applicant and the Government would provide a job to such valid claimant within the shortest possible time.
- iv) As regarding the payment of Annuity/ payment of commuted value of the Annuity, the landowner would submit his claim- application in the prescribed format (**Application Form-2/3**) to the designated officer of the Acquiring Department along with all the supporting documents/ verification, whereupon, the Acquiring Department would process the same within a period of next six months and ensure commencement of payment of the Annuity at the earliest;
- v) The acquiring departments/agencies shall process such claims and issue a certificate of entitlement (**Appendix-5**) in favour of the eligible beneficiary within

a period of further six months of the last date of receipt of claim-applications. In matters of allotment of residential/ commercial/ industrial plots, the allotments under the R & R Policy would precede the general allotments.

17. Investment Advisory Services

It has been observed that the landowners are invariably unable to make proper investment of the amount received as one-time compensation due to lack of their education and exposure, and familiarity with various investment options. As a result, they end-up exhausting these resources in meeting their consumption needs which has an adverse bearing on their long-term sustenance. In order to fill this knowledge gap, the Government would arrange for engagement of professional agencies to advise the landowners on various investment options of the compensation amount so as to enable them to utilise the resources in a prudent and productive manner. These services would be purely advisory in nature and it is ultimately for the landowners to decide their own investment options. The professional agencies engaged by the Government for this purpose would hold 2-3 day camps at sites at the time announcement of Award by the Land Acquisition Collector.

18. Social & Community infrastructure facilities:

- i) Wherever land is acquired by the Government for development by HUDA, HSIIDC, and the HSAMB, an amount equal to 2% of the Compensation Amount will be set apart by the respective organisations for creation of community development/ infrastructure works in the respective villages.

Further, area in the close vicinity of the village will be set apart not only for rehabilitation, but also for necessary village level social infrastructure. The land required for social infrastructure could either be exchanged with the land of village Panchayat or the land acquired in continuity of the village can be transferred to village Panchayat together with the infrastructure developed thereon for its day to day management.

- ii) Similarly, 1% of the Compensation amount will be set apart and expended on skill development initiatives for the dependents of oustees and other landless persons dependent on agriculture operations over the acquired land.

19. Acquisition of Land for Railways/ NHAI/ Other Central Government Ministries/ Central PSUs:

- i) This policy shall also be applicable for any land acquisition for the Central Government (including the Ministry of Defence)/ its PSUs, the NHAI/ Railways in the state of Haryana and an undertaking to this effect would be obtained in advance from such indenting agencies before initiating any land acquisition proceedings. The

amount of Annuity Policy will be charged upfront from such agencies in addition to the compensation paid to the landowners;

- ii) In addition to the above, wherever land is acquired for any of the Central Government Ministries/ their PSUs/ NHAI/Railways by the State Government machinery, administrative charges @ Rs. 1.00 lakh/ acre, as revised from time to time, would be charged from the concerned towards the administrative expenses involved in the entire exercise, inclusive of the expenses incurred on publication of the Notifications in the media/ newspapers.

20. Capital Gains Tax on Land Acquisition - a reference to the Gol

Capital Gains Tax is payable on the compensation amount paid in respect of land acquired within 8 kms of the Municipal Limits with 1981 as the base year for arriving at the Capital gains. The interest component in any case attracts the CG Tax. Since taxation is a Central Government subject, the State Government has decided to make a reference to the Ministry of Finance, Government of India, for exemption of the compensation amount for the land acquired under the Statute from the purview of Capital Gains Tax where the land is *Dadlahi* (i.e. acquired by the grandparents) or owned by a person in his own name or in his father's/ mother's name for a period of 10 years or more.

21. Nodal Department

The Revenue & Disaster Management Department would be the nodal department of the State for the implementation, interpretation, review and monitoring of this R&R Policy of the State.

22. Grievances/ Dispute Resolution Mechanism

Though every effort has been made to introduce clarity in respect of all the features and the process of implementation of this Policy, the possibility of some grievances/ disputes arising in the course of implementation of the policy cannot be ruled out. The Government has decided to establish an institutional mechanism to address all such grievances/ disputes with a view to settlement of such grievances and minimising any litigation on this account. A separate Notification would be issued shortly in this behalf.

NARESH GULATI,
Financial Commissioner & Principal Secretary
to Government of Haryana,
Revenue & Disaster Management Department

**Indicative total amount payable to a landowner including the
'No Litigation' Incentive**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sr. No.	Particulars	Min. Floor Rate	Solatium @ 30%	Amount under Section 23(1A) for 30 months on col. 3	No Litigation Incentive @ 20% of the Floor Rate	Total Amount/ Acre
1	Land situated within the notified limits of Gurgaon Municipal Corporation	40.00 Lakh	12.00 lakh	12.00 lakh	8.00 lakh	72.00 Lakh
2	Land situated within the notified limits of Faridabad and Panchkula Municipal Corporations; Areas forming part of the Development Plans of Gurgaon-Manesar Urban Complex (excluding the areas falling within the limits of Municipal Corporation Gurgaon) Sohna, and SonapatKundli Urban Complex	30.00 Lakh	9.00 Lakh	9.00 lakh	6.00 Lakh	54.00 Lakh
3	Areas situated within the Development Plans of Bahadurgarh, Rohtak, Rewari, Dharuhera, Bawal, and Panipat towns	25.00 Lakh	7.50 Lakh	7.50 Lakh	5.00 Lakh	45.00 Lakh
4	Rest of the National Capital Region, areas situated out side the limits of Panchkula Municipal Corporation in Panchkula District, and the land situated within the Development Plans of all other district headquarters outside the NCR	20.00 Lakh	6.00 lakh	6.00 Lakh	4.00 Lakh	36.00 Lakh
5	Remaining Parts of the State	12.00 Lakh	3.60 Lakh	3.60 Lakh	2.40 lakh	21.60 Lakh

Notes:

- The figures given under Column 5 are indicative only as the actual period for payment of 12% amount per annum u/s 23(1A) would vary from case to case;
- 'No Litigation incentive' would be admissible only in the cases where the landowners execute an agreement to this effect and accept it as an agreed settlement compensation.

Appendix-2**Calculation of the size of plot /entitlement for co-sharers in the oustee category****1. Scale of entitlement for residential plot (Para 8): Illustrations:**

Sr. No.	Total land Acquired	Particulars of land Acquired (Khasra No. etc.)	No. of cosharers (along with names)	Share of land acquired	Size of Plot entitled
1.	0 A-4K-0 M	To be filledup	Say 04	1/4 th each	150 sqm each
2.	0 A-4K-0 M	To be filledup	Say 10	1/10 th each	90 sqm each
3.	0 A-4K-0 M	To be filledup	Say 20	1/20 th each	A maximum of 11 plots of 90 sqm each; or 06 plots of 150 sqm each and one plot of 90 sqm; or 05 plots of 200 sqm each; or 03 plots of 300 sqm each and one plot of 90 sqm; or 02 plots of 350 sqm and 1 plot of 300 sqm; or 2 plots of 450 sqm each and 1 plot of 90 sqm (As a total of 1000 sqm, being 50% of the acquired land, is the upper admissible limit)
4.	5A-0K-00M	To be filledup	Say 01	Single	One plot of 450 sqm
5.	5A-0K-00M	To be filledup	Say 02	½ share	One plot of 450 sqm for each of the two co-sharers
6.	5A-0K-00M	To be filledup	Say 05	1/5 th share	One plot of 350 sqm for each of the 05 co-sharers
7.	5A-0K-00M	To be filledup	Say 08	1/8 th share	One plot of 300 sqm to each of the 08 co-sharers

2. Commercial Site/ Industrial Plot (para 9):

Sr. No.	Total land Acquired	Particulars of land Acquired (Khasra No.etc.)	No. of cosharers (along with names)	Share of land acquired	No. of Commercial sites
1.	0 A-7K-00 M	To be filled-up	Say 04	1/4 th each	None, land being less than one acre
2.	1A-4K-00M	To be filled-up	Say 03	1/3 rd each	One site for all the 03 co-sharers
3.	2A-0K-00M	To be filled-up	Say 04	1/4 th each	02 sites for all the 04 co-sharers
4.	2A-0K-00M	To be filled-up	Say 02	½ each	One site each
5.	2A-0K-00M	To be filled-up	Say 01	Single	One site

Appendix-3

Information regarding entitlements of a landowner/ co-sharers under this Policy

Dear Landowner,

As the Award for acquisition of your land is likely to be announced soon pursuant to the declaration issued under Section 6 of the Act, you may please note that you are entitled to the following special benefits under the R&R Policy of the State Government:

1. No Litigation Incentive:

You are entitled to claim a 'No Litigation Incentive' equal to 20% of the amount of basic rate of your land, in case you accept the compensation amount and execute an agreement to this effect. Acceptance of the compensation is entirely at your option. Once you agree to accept the Compensation amount, you may collect the prescribed format for the '**Undertaking**' from the LAC Office and furnish the same duly executed within a period of 30 days of the announcement of the award. Your incentive money will be given to you simultaneously with the submission of the Agreement. Please also note that in case you accept the compensation amount, you will not be eligible for seeking a reference to the District Court for increase in the compensation amount under Section 18 of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894.

2. Payment of Annuity:

You are entitled to payment of Annuity @ Rs. 21,000/- per acre/ per annum, which will be increased by a fixed amount of Rs. 750/- every year. The rates of Annuity and yearly increase in case of land acquired for the Private Developers are double that of above. In case your acquired land/ share is less than one acre, you have the option of getting the Annuity upfront in one instalment @ 30% of the total amount payable during 33 year period. You are required to submit your claim- application in the prescribed form within a period of 6 months of the Award.

3. Allotment of a Residential Plot on account of acquisition of your self-occupied residential house (if applicable):

In case your self-occupied built-up house/ residential structure, as existing on the date of Section 4 notification, has been acquired, you are entitled to apply for a residential plot as per the scale prescribed under para 5. You may like to apply for a residential plot under this category. If you decide to avail of this benefit, please apply for the same within a period of 90 days in the prescribed format, copy of which may be obtained from the LAC/ nodal officer of the acquiring department.

4. Allotment of a Residential Plot on account of acquisition of your land under the 'Land Oustee Scheme':

In case your land has been acquired for HUDA or HSIIDC or HSAMB, you are entitled to the allotment of a residential plot under the "Land Oustee Scheme" as per the prescribed scale. You may like to apply for allotment of a residential plot under this category. In case you decide to avail of this additional benefit, please apply for the same within a period of 06 months (180 days) in the prescribed format, copy of which may be obtained from the LAC/ the nodal officer from the acquiring department.

5. Allotment of a Commercial Site/ Industrial plot in case 100% of your land has been acquired for HUDA, HSIIDC or HSAMB:

In case 75% of your land in a revenue estate, subject to a minimum of one acre, has been acquired for HUDA, HSIIDC, and the HSAMB, you are entitled to allotment of a commercial site (or an industrial plot in the case of HSIIDC, at your option) as an additional benefit under this Policy. You may like to avail of this additional benefit. In case you decide to avail of this additional benefit, you may submit your application within a period of 06 months in the prescribed format.

6. Provision of a 'Group-C' or 'Group-D' job in the Government or its Boards and Corporations:

In case 75% of your land in a revenue estate has been acquired for Government Infrastructure Projects, other than those for HUDA, HSIIDC or HSAMB, subject to a minimum of 2 acres, your one dependent would be considered for a job in Group 'C' or Group 'D' subject to fulfilment of qualifications prescribed for the post. In case you fall in this category, you may submit your application in the prescribed format within a period of 06 months in the prescribed format.

(Land Acquisition Collector, _____).

Appendix-4

Method of calculation of the Area under a self-occupied residential house

(Reference Para 5 (v) of the Policy)

As per the practice followed by the Urban Estates Departments and the Industries, efforts are made to exclude the self-occupied residential houses, especially the clusters, from acquisition, subject to the feasibility thereof. Some of these exclusions take place pursuant to the settlement of objections filed under Section 5-A of the Act. Normally, the area under the house is released as such. Wherever the adjoining open space is much larger than the built-up area, open area equal to the plinth area is taken into consideration while releasing the land in respect of built-up houses. For instance, there could be following scenarios:

Sr. No.	Plinth Area of the house	Abutting Open Area	Total Area	Area considered for release
1	200 sq. yards	150 sq. yards	350 sq. yards	350 sq. yards
2	200 sq. yards	300 sq yards	500 sq. yards	400 sq. yards (200+ 200)
3	200 sq. yards	500 sq yards	700 sq. yards	400 sq. yards

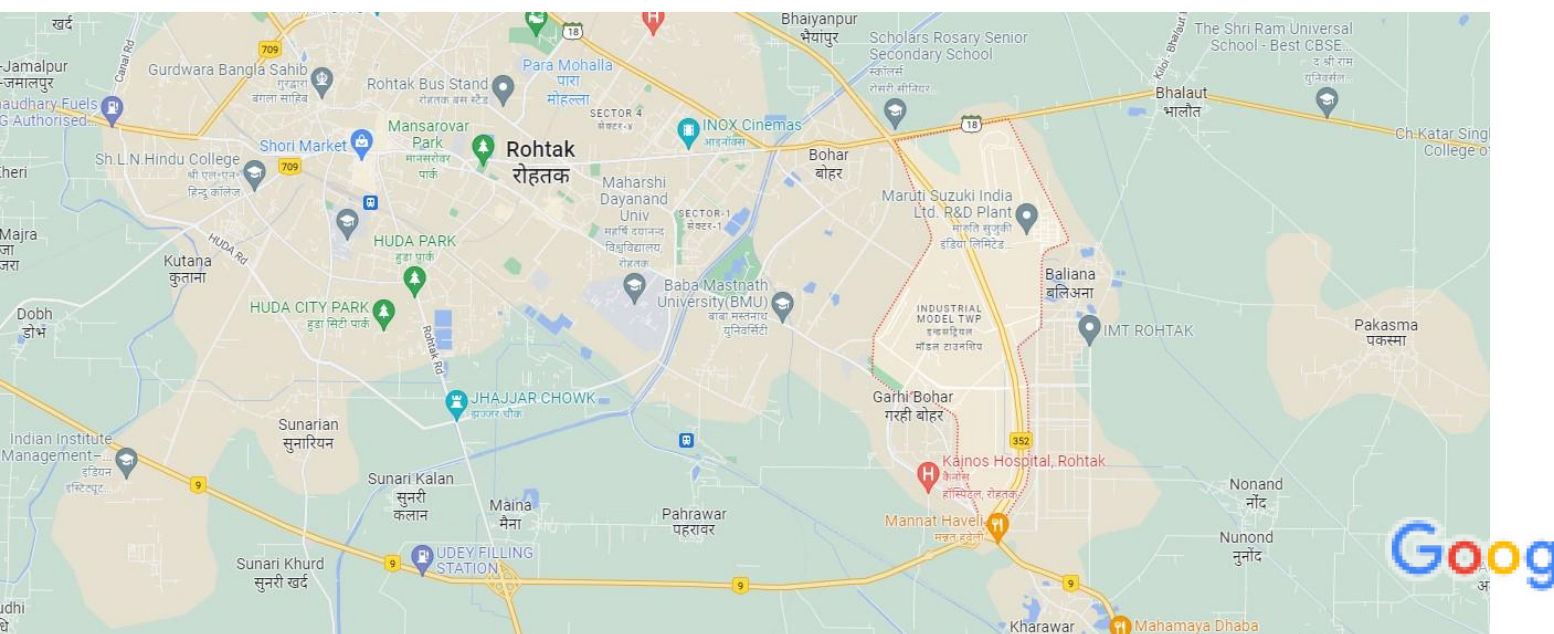
2. Following the above principle, it has been decided that while considering the area under a built-up house for the purposes of allotment of a plot under para 5 (v) of the Policy, the actual area under the built-up portion (i.e. the Plinth Area) + equal open area will be taken into account.

3. Accordingly, the entitlements would be worked out as per the following illustrations:

Sr. No.	Plinth Area of the House	Abutting open Area	Total Area	Area to be reckoned for determining the entitlement	Plot Area to be allotted
1.	50 sq. yards	30 sq. yards	80 sq. yards	First block (i.e. Up to 150 sq. yards)	90 sq. mtrs.
2.	90 sq. yards	70 sq. yards	160 sq. yards	160 sq yards (i.e. Above 150 but up to 200 sq. yards)	150 sq. mtrs.
3.	90 sq. yards	200 sq. yards	290 sq. yards	90+90 = 180 sq. yards (i.e. Above 150 but up to 200 sq yards)	150 sq. mtrs.
4.	150 sq. yards	120 sq. yards	270 sq. yards	270 sq. yards (i.e. 250 to 300 sq yards)	250 sq. mtrs.
5.	200 sq. yards	300 sq. yards	500 sq. yards	200+200= 400sq yards (i.e. Above 300 up to 400 sq. yards)	300 sq mtr.
6.	250 sq. yards	225 sq. yards	475 sq. yards	475 sq yards (i.e. above 400 up to 500 sq. yards)	350 sq mtrs.
7.	300 sq. yards	225 sq. yards	525 sq. yards	525 sq yards (i.e. above 500 sq yards)	450 sq mtrs.
8.	300 sq. yards	300 sq. yards	600 sq. yards	600 sq. yards (i.e. above 500 sq yards)	450 sq mtrs.

Google Maps Industrial Model Twpownship, Rohtak

Annexure-2



Map data ©2023

1 km





Figure 1 Entrance of Industrial Model Township, Rohtak



Figure 2 Deserted wide Roads within IMT, Rohtak



Figure 3 Farming land slowly turning into barren and jungle of babul trees



Figure 4 Some un-acquired land in the midst of IMT, Rohtak



Figure 5 Few farmers still manage to cultivate their land



Figure 6 Researcher with a respondent from Village Kharawar



Figure 7 Enumerator collected information from an affected family



Figure 8 Enumerators collecting responses of a Women Respondent

Agricultural Land Acquisition and its impacts on the life and livelihood of Women: A case study from Industrial Model Township, Rohtak, Haryana

- *Rajesh Kumar Karna*, Assistant Professor in Politics, Dr. S.R.K. Government Arts College, Yanam.

Abstract :

Articulating the effects of land acquisition and its implication on women; a population facing systematic discrimination in access to productive assets, ownership and control over the land and the income it generates would be an essential aspect of a holistic understanding of the dispossession process. Taking *Baliyana* village on the outskirts of Rohtak city of Haryana as a case study, the paper unravels two important questions: How does agricultural land acquisition impact into the life and livelihood of women and secondly, whether all women undergoing these rural transformations perceive the effects of dispossession on similar lines or not?

Keywords : land acquisition, women, gender, Haryana, IMT, Baliyana

Background :

In a patriarchal society, women hardly owned land, but have played extensive roles in agriculture-as farmers, co-farmer, wage labour and managers. They have conventionally been producers of food from seed to kitchen. Further, with males migrating to other sectors from agriculture, it is the females who were increasingly appropriated into farming and allied sectors. Despite that, they were considered agricultural labourers rather than cultivators or farmers as it requires ownership of land. As a result, they were denied credits, insurance and other subsidies and agricultural inputs. There-

fore, agriculture witnessing a simultaneous process of defeminisation (women are denied their entitled roles in agriculture) and feminisation co-existing together (De, 2015; Pachuri, 2018). However, regardless of that, women exercise a certain degree of decision-making powers, enjoy some space in the field and have some financial autonomy as part of the agrarian community. But, in recent years under the influence of neo-liberal economic forces, a large tract of agricultural land has been converted into non-agricultural usages both by state-led land acquisition and market mechanisms causing disastrous effects on the life and livelihood of rural folks including women, which needs critical academic attention.

Women, generally being landless were naturally excluded from both the negotiation process and post-dispossession reconstruction. Men, both owners and sole decision-makers hardly heed women's concerns, resulting in victimization of women in rural transformation, despite contributing significantly to household economy and food security. Hence, articulating the effects of land acquisition and its implication on women; a population facing systematic discrimination in access to productive assets, ownership and control over the land and the income it generates for ages would be an essential aspect of a holistic understanding of dispossession process (Daley, 2011).

This paper, on this context, tries to under-

Protection of human rights of oustees in India: a review

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Abstract: In this age of human rights, the rights of development-induced displaced persons deserve proper attention hitherto consciously ignored by both state and international regimes. Unlike other internally displaced sections, the rights of oustees have been violated by its own state in the name of public purpose. Unfortunately, they never attract international attention despite constituting a major portion of internally displaced persons. Paradoxically, the state that bears the responsibility as protector of human rights has become its sole violator and does not even care to rehabilitate. Using published literature on various cases of development-induced displacement, this paper examines how different human rights of oustees protected under various international covenants are being violated and constantly side-lined, particularly in India. It concludes that oustees who suffer in the name of nation-building are often called ‘beneficiaries’ of the very project that destroyed their livelihood while the state responds opportunistically by breaching national and international human rights regimes.

Keywords: human rights; development; displacement; state; oustees; internally displaced persons; IDPs; rehabilitation; India.

Reference to this paper should be made as follows: Karna, R.K. (2023) ‘Protection of human rights of oustees in India: a review’, *Int. J. Human Rights and Constitutional Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp.163–175.

Biographical notes: Rajesh Kumar Karna is currently teaching political science in the Dr. S.R.K. Government Arts College (affiliated to Pondicherry Central University), Yanam, Puducherry, India. He is also pursuing his PhD research on ‘Politics of land acquisition and dispossession’ in the Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad. His research areas cover politics of land acquisition, involuntary displacement including migration, human rights, public policy and statehood movements in India.

1 Introduction

Displacement, mainly forced, always raise serious human rights concern. Indeed, the cause and nature of displacement and extent of human rights violation vary, depending upon the context. Data indicates that persons displaced by violence, natural calamities, human-made disasters like ethnic cleansing, development projects supersede the displacements of great wars. As per United Nations (UN) High Commissioner for

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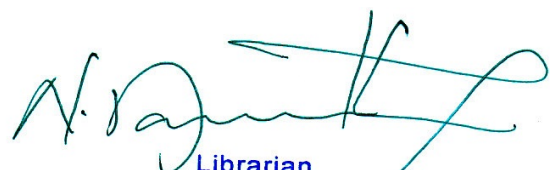
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The Politics of Land Acquisition, Dispossession and Reintegration: A Case Study of Industrial Model Township, Rohtak, Haryana

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