

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

India is an agriculture-based society with 58 per cent of the population still depending primarily on agriculture and its allied activities for their livelihood (India Brand Equity Foundation, 2019). In West Bengal, agriculture also plays a vital role in its economy from time immemorial. Despite a gradual decline in the importance of agriculture towards contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country land remains as a major source of living for the vast majority of rural people. Because of this primacy in position enjoyed by agriculture, it is essential to understand the political economy of West Bengal as well as of India. The agriculture sector remains to be the primary source of food security, nutrition, livelihoods, employment generation, social security and other economic activities. In the colonial and post-colonial period, development policies based on transformation of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes worldwide following liberal economic philosophy created a major challenge in different countries. Effective management of agricultural land also a major challenge to the policymakers as well. Despite the transformation of India's economy from the colonial economy, it is still both directly and indirectly dependent on agriculture and agricultural land as the primary source of economic development in rural areas (Parwez & Sen, 2016). In the last three decades, profound socio-economic and political variations have taken place in West Bengal and also all over the country. Programmes of structural adjustment were followed by the government to find new ways to improve the living and economic conditions peasants. The extreme detreating situation led to a desperate search by the government to find out - economic and political solutions. The origin and rise of aggressive agrarian movements

also took place in West Bengal and other states in India. Thus highlighting the alienation from all India perspectives towards various local and rural issues confronting the state. Thus in the course of the last three decades, various studies interests and approaches have addressed themselves to the agrarian issues to the state. In investigating the issues, the primary focus was put on the mode of land acquisition by the state for development. Land acquisition for promoting industrial development and transforming agriculture-based societies into industrially stable societies, under the modernisation project, as the development strategy was followed by most of the newly developing countries particularly after the Second World War. However, this process of transition met stiff resistance in most of these countries in view of the complex nature of land relationships and ownership pattern, which made the transformation process more difficult. As an agro-based country, India is not an exception to this trend. The rise of local movements and resistance against the exploiting rural gentry and landlords against their exploitation and injustice became distinctly and visible in West Bengal and in some other parts of India. Outdated legislation coupled with political and administrative inertia has given rise to the peasant, and indigenous land struggles to protect and preserve their land considered not just as a source of livelihood but also as a 'means of production' propounded by Karl Marx. The narratives of those struggles and resentments organised by the rural people have been viewed differently by the scholars with different persuasions, though almost all of them took up the issues eagerly.

One line of analysis, among progressive thinkers, has departed from the classical view of the agrarian question and turned towards the study and role of the state to resolve the clash among the peasants and the establishments. A second line has remained closer to issues of food security, land reform, environmental management and employment opportunities which shunned political-economic questions. In general, informed by the concerns and methods of

political economy, this line has been providing significant empirical work to agrarian transformation.

In the era of liberalization, the government's policies are directed towards attracting more investments from both national and multinational enterprises. Everywhere the problem of industrial development and industrialization are related to the methods and implementation of land acquisition policies and eviction of agricultural farmers from their farmland. The creation of Special Economic Zone (SEZ), Industrial complex and implementation of development activities are mainly pursued by the state through the acquisition of agricultural land. In independent India, the government's policies are based on the 'Eminent Domain'¹ theory. But the policies like providing alternative sources of livelihood, housing accommodation elsewhere, rehabilitation of the displaced peoples, maintenance of ecological balance, the prohibition of environmental degradation and so on have not been adequately dealt with by the government after the eviction of the inhabitants and exploitation of natural resources. As a result, the dichotomy between development and displacement has come to the forefront.

1.2. Land Acquisitions for Industries in West Bengal

In implementing development policies and establishing industries, the issues of ownership control and use of land have become vital in view scarcity of agricultural land in proportion to the population In general and to the agricultural framers in particular in West Bengal. In a village, the person who owns the land, who works on it, who controls its produce, assume importance because various categories of people emerge from the system. Some people own the land while others merely work on it. Social classes and social stratification are based on land. The largest portion of the natural resources of West Bengal consists of land, and the

¹ The terminology 'eminent domain' at first used by Grotius, the 17th century jurist, who specified that the state possessed the authority to take or terminate property for the benefit of the public, but it was obligated to pay compensation the damaged property holders for their damages.

largest number of its inhabitants is engaged in agriculture and its allied activities. Agriculture is the main source of employment as well as in value-added outputs. Therefore growth and development are depended on agriculture as it is significant for the transformation of the economy of West Bengal and comprehensive development.

The state of West Bengal was governed by a leftist government for more than three decades till 2011. The seventh Left Front Government embodied an intense drive towards industrialisation since 2001. The agriculture versus industry debate received heightened attention in the public sphere as well as in the intra-party and intra-Front deliberations during the last decade of the Left Front regime. The hardliners within the CPI (M) and a section of the Front partners expressed their strong objection to the industrial policy legitimating massive private investment, especially foreign capital investment, and the essentiality of land acquisition for this purpose. The debate also hinted at certain uneasy assumptions about an uneven pattern of industrialisation resulting from certain spatial dimensions catering more to the needs of urban and semi-urban population. Analysing the favourable urban poll verdict for the Left Front in the Assembly election of 2006, scholars hinted at this assumption: “The efforts at industrialisation and securing investments for the state by Bhattacharya seem to have paid electoral dividends to the front that he leads” (Chakrabarty, 2006, p. 3521)

The political-organisational strength of the Left Front, on the other hand, was based broadly on the rural segments since 1977. The intense focus on large industries to meet soaring unemployment increased the necessity of land acquisition, mostly the agricultural land, which turned out to be a volatile political issue during the last term of the Left Front regime, especially with the acquisition of land for Tata’s the automobile factory of the in Singur and proposal of a chemical hub in Nandigram. The debate reached its climax during the seventh Left Front regime when the Front partners like the RSP, CPI, Forward Bloc and a large section of the civil society became vocal against the land acquisition policy of the state government, mainly

emphasized by the CPI(M) the leading partner of the front. The issues like nature of acquisition, role of the government in acquisition, the rehabilitation and compensation packages for the farmers parting with land, the employment prospects of the industry built on the acquired land and so forth, were the key concerns of the public deliberations that fuelled the debate on agriculture versus industry.² The Front partners like the CPI, RSP raised their voices against acquisition of cultivable land and expressed their concern about possible implications for food security in the state. Ashok Mitra, former Finance Minister of the Left Front government in the 1980s, questioned the intention of the leadership pleading for industrialisation based on massive private capital investment: “We are claiming ourselves as leftists, but in practice, we are advancing to the path of capitalistic development with the excuse of so-called pragmatism. Is it not a confusing matter or something more dangerous of a frustration-filled act?” (Mitra A. , 2007, p. 26). The State Committee of the RSP strongly objected to the ‘distorted definition’ of the ‘public interest’ propagated in acquiring land for industries, which “would encourage dismantling of the fruits of land reform and legacy of the peasant movement in West Bengal” (RSP West Bengal State Committee, 2007, p. 19).

On the controversy over acquiring multi-crop land, the CPI and the other partners raised their strong objections. The then CPI General Secretary, A.B. Bardhan, argued: “For industries, you need land. However, for that you either use fallow, non-farming land or land where declining industrial units are situated. Moreover, if you still need farming land, you acquire single cropland and pay adequate compensation to farmers” (Mitra M. N., 2006). The criticism of the land acquisition policy unveiled the inner-party dissensions even within the major partner,

²The centrality of the debate addressed the viability of the colonial legislation – Land Acquisition Act, 1894 that served as the foundational framework for land acquisition in post-independence India. The state governments in West Bengal amended the parts of the Act several times. After the declaration of new industrial policy in 1994, the Left Front government decided to invoke parts of the Act I or the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 in acquiring land for industrial purposes. The critics expressed their strong opposition against the absence of ‘compulsory compensation’ clause in acquisition of common land and „mandatory permission of the local panchayats” under this Act (Guha, 2007).

CPI(M). The state government's policy ON land acquisition for industrial purpose drew violent resistance from the Opposition like Trinamool Congress, Congress and BJP. The other group of critics mainly drew from the activists of civil society and a section of the radical Left organisation.

In the process of acquisition of agricultural land, dissatisfaction among the peasants was rising tremendously; outbursts from the peasants sometimes brought contradiction and conflicts. Conflict-related violence was very much common not only in West Bengal but also in different parts of India and throughout the world. In the past, conflicts crop used to up from land acquisition for construction of roads, bridges, dams, irrigation projects, railway tracks, power generation projects among the peasants and displaced migrants, but these did not reflect the same level of intensity as depicted in Singur's case. In the era of the liberal economy and globalisation, the role of the state has decreased. The state has instead taken initiatives of building infrastructure, and the capitalist agencies and even multinational corporations have taken the opportunity to run the show for profits. Naturally, there has been a qualitative change in the process of land acquisition for projects built having harmful social effects and hampering peaceful and dignified livelihood of the people, mainly of the poor-marginal and deprived sections. Naturally, social discontents and dissensions are on the increase.

From the time when the commencement of economic reforms in the early 1990s, the agricultural sector has been unable to keep pace with the growth of other sectors of the Indian economy. During this period, agricultural prices became highly volatile-sometimes too low and sometimes too high. This period also experienced a rapid transition in agricultural commercialization, an increase in the use of commercial inputs, increase in the production of cash crops associated with market-oriented production that exposed farmers to high market risks. Although government support for various forms of agriculture has increased over the years, all these factors have shifted the discussion of agriculture from 'development' to

‘dilemma’. In West Bengal, More than 55% of the population is depended upon agriculture and its associated activities for their livelihood (Census 2011, 2012). Although presently there is a gradual decline in the agriculture sector, its contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) makes it a vital source for the ‘means of production’. It is fundamental to grasp the political economy of West Bengal to understand the agricultural sector properly. There are increasing suicides of Farmer throughout India, which is an indication that reflects the deteriorating condition of the agricultural sector. There are multiple factors for this steady decline in the level of contribution to the GDP. These factors are interlinked to one another and have severe implications on the prospect of agriculture and food security of India. The principal factors are responsible for this declining state of affairs. Lack of proper facilities and support from the government, inadequate commercial marketization, growth in population, the fast growth of urbanisation, displacement from rural to urban, lack of satisfactory infrastructure, inadequate investment, bureaucratic bottlenecks, insecurity etc. In consideration of the prevalent situations, the state gave more importance to the acquisition of land for industrial development and to transform the agricultural economy to an industrial one.

In the last two decades of the last century, West Bengal exhibited a remarkable success in the agriculture sector with most of the people dependent on agriculture and land used for the agricultural purpose was 61 per cent and land used for the non-agricultural purpose was 20 per cent in 2006-07 (Planning Commission, Government of India, 2010, p. 26)(Table-1.1).

Table 1.1. District-wise Land Use Statistics of West Bengal: 2006-07

District Name	Total Area	Area under Non-Agl. Use (%)	Area under Agl. Land (%)
Bardhaman	698762	28.7	65.6
Birbhum	451118	21.0	70.4
Bankura	687998	21.3	50.1
Medinipur(E)	396594	24.6	73.4
Medinipur(W)	928581	16.9	59.8
Howrah	138676	35.8	59.3
Hooghly	313379	28.3	70.4

24 PGS(N)	386524	31.0	67.3
24 PGS(S)	948710	14.4	39.3
Nadia	390655	22.1	74.2
Murshidabad	532499	23.5	75.5
Dinajpur(N)	312466	9.9	88.8
Dinajpur(S)	221909	13.9	78.9
Malda	370862	22.8	57.0
Jalpaiguri	622700	13.4	53.9
Darjeeling	325479	10.6	43.7
Cooch Behar	331565	20.0	74.9
Purulia	625646	16.0	49.6
West Bengal	8684113	20.0	61.0

Source: Government of West Bengal, Economic Review, 2007-08

Land reform programme initiated in the state enabled a large number of marginal and small farmers to acquire land titles. Subsequently, most small and marginal farmers, rural beneficiaries of land reform programme tried their best to yield more products in their cultivable land. Direct benefits of land reform changed the landholding pattern of the State. In 2002-03 marginal farmers owned 88.8 per cent of land followed by 8.9 per cent of the small farmers, 2.1 per cent by the semi-medium and 0.2 per cent by the medium farmers (Planing Commission, Government of India, 2010, p. 50)(Table-1.2).

Table 1.2 Percentage Distribution of Landholdings

Size Class	1970-71	1981-82	1991-92	2002-03
Marginal	61.2	74.3	80.7	88.8
Small	22.8	15.8	13.4	8.9
Semi-medium	12.9	8.1	5	2.1
Medium	3	1.7	0.9	0.2
Large	0.1	0.1	0	0

Government of India(2006). NSS Report No. 492: Some aspects of Operational Land Holdings in India, 2002-03

Percentage of agricultural labourers employed in rural areas was also remarkable as stated in West Bengal Development Report. The report shows that 64 per cent males were engaged in agriculture as labourers while 54 per cent females were engaged as agricultural labourers in rural area in 2004-2005 (Planing Commission, Government of India, 2010, p. 35)(Table-1.3).

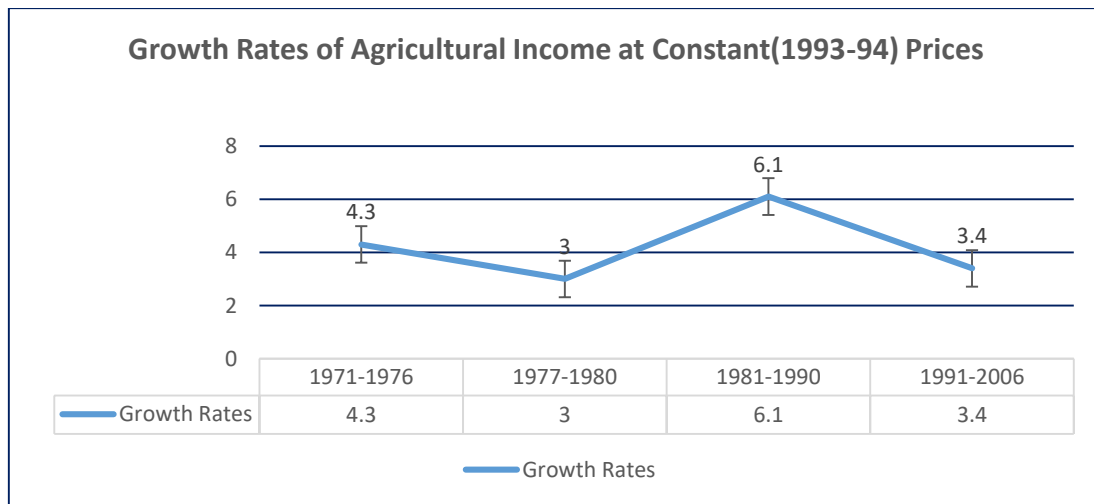
Table 1.3. Percentage of Labour Employed in Agriculture in Rural Areas(West Bengal)

Periods	Males	Females
1977-78	77.7	68.7
1983	72.5	76.1
1987-88	72.2	70.8
1993-94	64.7	58.9
1999-2000	66.4	54.1
2004-05	64	54

Source: NSS Rounds 32, 38, 43, 50, 55 and 61 on Employment and Unemployment Situation in India, NSSO, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India, New Delhi.

The post-land reform decade (1981-91) in West Bengal reveals 6.1% growth of agricultural income but the subsequent decade presents a pessimistic picture of 3.4% growth of agricultural income in the State (Planning Commission, Government of India, 2010, p. 33)(Figure 1.1.).

Figure 1.1. Growth Rates of Agricultural Income at Constant (1993-94) Prices



Source: The Economic and Political Weekly Research Foundation (EPWRF). Domestic Product of States of India: 1960-61 to 2000-01; Government of West Bengal. Economic Review (2007-08).

This result was caused by several factors like withdrawal of government subsidies in seeds, fertilizers and irrigation. Growing pressure of globalization and increasing reform measures adopted by the Government enhanced miseries of the small and marginal farmers. Most of the direct beneficiaries of land reforms began to lose their interests in cultivation. The miserable

conditions forced the government to explore alternative means of livelihood. In order to strengthen the economy of the State and to ensure better livelihood of the people, the Government focussed its policy on rapid industrialisation.

1.3. The Role of State in Land Management

In this context, it becomes necessary to know the role of the state in land administration to understand the political economy of land transactions. For a long time, the state has been a key determinant and controller of land management. The state determines how business and markets operate through laws and institutions. From pre-colonial to modern times, Indian states have created conditions for the operation of the land market through policies and laws on taxes, ownership, subsidies, land use and acquisitions (Chakravorty, 2013). Earlier the ownership of land ultimately belonged to the state, king or monarch. In precolonial times the state or the emperor was the supreme owner of the land, not actual cultivators; peasants were mainly concerned with the payment of land taxes, and *Zamindars*, *Talukdars*, *Iluqedars*, *Nawabs*, etc. were in the middle to collect taxes for the emperor. The peculiarities of the system of land rights in early medieval times indicate strong decentralized feudalism, which was eventually weakened under the impact of the market economy and central control under the Mughals (Sharma R. S., 1980).

Citizenship rights were absent, or they were only for the landlords—the rights which citizens were only limited to family or consumption rights. The nature of the state was organized as a bureaucratic-feudal political economy. The state was legally able to intervene in land matters. The system was highly in favour of the state and the state-sponsored commercial sectors. From the Vedic times till the commencement of the Gupta period, as per the ancient Indian texts, community rights in the land seem to be first curtailed by the king. The king may have acquired rights over the soil as the representative of the community (Sharma R. S., 1980). In earlier times land was considered to be a symbol of prestige and status which has now become just an

economic and a business object for people without any emotional attachment to it (Sharma R. S., 1980).

The term ‘economics’ is rooted in the classical Greek *Oikos* for a house, *Nomos* for law, and ‘*politica*’ derives from the Greek term (*polos*) for the city-state, the fundamental unit of political organization in the classical period. Political economy, therefore, originated in the management of the family and political households. Writing fifteen years before Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* made the connection by noting that “What economy is in a family, political economy is in a state” (Steuart, 1767, p. 2). More precisely, the political economy is the study of social relations, particularly power relations, and they jointly constitute distribution, production, and consumption of resources.

The expansion of the city and subsequent changes in the adjoining rural areas due to land transactions can also be explained in the backdrop of changing political economy of the nation as well as of the region under study. The political economy perspective explains the growth of a city in terms of the dynamics of natural and economic forces acting within an urban environment (Adedayo, 2007). Mainly political economy deals with the interrelationship among state, economy and individuals.

Political economy has traditionally given priority to understand social change and historical transformation. The classical theorists like Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and John Stuart Mill used it to comprehend the great capitalist revolution that transformed societies based primarily on agricultural labour into commercial, manufacturing and ultimately, industrial societies. To Karl Marx, this meant studying the dynamics responsible for the development and destruction of capitalism. Political economists of all types are concerned to identify the links between society’s political economy and the wider social and cultural field (Mosco, 2010). It is for this reason; the political economy perspective may be helpful in analysing the changing dynamics

of the rural society, particularly in reference to the changing nature of rural property or land and its subsequent social consequences.

Land market transactions play an important role in the process of economic transformation and especially in the evolution of land ownership structure (Sarap, 1996). The expansion of the city and political economy ultimately creates such a situation that peasants have no other option but to sell out their lands. The emerging land markets in rural areas and the decreasing importance of agriculture as a profitable business has contributed to land transactions. Villagers are guided by the forces which work outside the village and they are ultimately swayed into the trend derived by wider economic forces as well as state policies in relation to rural land, this has become more noteworthy in the context of the politically and economically highly controversial issue of the land acquisition act. This requires a more in-depth analysis of the relationship between land and state.

1.4. Statement of the Problem

Land is one of the most controversial topics in the formulation of Indian public policy in view of its long studies contributions and far-reaching impacts. Questions about land allocation and land use can have multiple effects on economic growth. Land use is primarily important because India has a large population dependent on agriculture. As there are no alternative employment and income opportunities in the Indian economy, land plays a vital role in economic and social security. Therefore, land is considered high in terms of social status (Bhagwati & Panagariya., 2012). It is best to transform land from the agricultural sector to the non-agricultural sector by transferring a large workforce and local populations to other sources of income for their existence. Without such precautions, changing agricultural land to non-agricultural use will have the greatest chance of causing resistance from farmers, agricultural workers, and local communities.

This situation has become worst due to the government's role as a trader, taking away land without the consent of the landowner, which is a common practice since the colonial era. As economic inequality rose, rural poor people have fewer livelihood opportunities, and land acquisition has become more complex (Pasinetti, 1981).

The government took a few steps forward with the enactment of Special Economic Zones Act in 2005. Here land acquired by the government for public purposes in accordance with the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act was transferred to private enterprises for industrial development. The government and corporate authorities used various types of pressures to obtain land that proved to be a failure. It has been observed that farmers' are completely dissatisfied with land acquisition policies and have led to angry uprisings and anti-government movements as a symbol of protests against land acquisition policies. People have further observed that if land acquisition policies are not implemented properly with alternative employment opportunities and economic security of the rural masses will obviously lead to fierce opposition from peasant community because agricultural land plays an important role in their struggle for survival.

After the Assembly election in 2006 in West Bengal the policies were undertaken by the Government in the field of land acquisition, the establishment of industry, urbanization and creation of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) etc. came under strong attack from the forces of opposition and opposing political parties. Even section of the left parties joined the movement demanded scrapping of land acquisition initiatives. The Left Front Government under the leadership of the CPI(M) initiated major land reforms programmes in the state with the active role of the peasant organisations and some left parties. Despite many limitations, the land reform programs in West Bengal were successful to a larger extent, through the process was not be finished completely. And subsequently, the Government promised to review the agricultural policy in 2002 to complete their programmes of agricultural reforms and

development. As a result of Land Reforms, the numbers of small and marginal farmers increased along with intensive cultivation of land. During this period there was significant boost in agricultural production in the state with the help of advanced agricultural inputs, seeds, fertilizers and use of modern agricultural technologies in marginal and small plots of land. As a result of development in the field of agriculture, there were increased and additional savings in the agrarian families in rural areas and as a result small industries and small business started to grow spontaneously even in remote areas to meet the increasing demands of the localities. As purchasing capacity of the people increased, the demand for new products increased, small business started developing and demand for small-scale industries increased in the rural and semi-urban areas. But in the 1990s, there has been a market-oriented change in the economy of West Bengal following the all-India pattern due to globalization and new economic policies. The process and speed of land reforms gradually became sluggish with the growth of absolute political dominance of the left parties and the subsequent mandatory steps to be followed in land reforms were ignored. The process of granting *Patta* and *Barga* rights in the context of social awareness and social activism in the 1960s-70s virtually began to move in the opposite direction. During this period, emphasis was placed on bringing investment and capital from Singapore, Indonesia, Italy and other foreign countries. Since May, 1977 the Left Front had been championing the cause of labour intensive small and medium industries on the basis of which cooperatives were established successfully and thus efforts were made to increase employment opportunities. There was also emphasis on pursuing alternative economic activity a kin to capitalist model and they initiated the slogan “Agriculture is our foundation, industry is the future” (*Krishi Aamader Bhatti, shilpa Aamader Bhabisyat*) and thus the government began to move with emphasis on but in the through acquiring land mercilessly from the farmers.

Once the 7th Left Front Government started to implement its policies of industrialisation and economic development the political support in favour of the Left Front Government started to be shaky rapidly. The Left Front Government has acquired or tried to acquire land in numerous places (for example, Salboni, Singur, Nandigram, Baruipur, Uluberia, Purulia, Durgapur, Dankuni, etc.) in West Bengal. The poor peasants and farmers in general began to consider the government policies of massive industrialisation and transformation of agricultural land for setting up industries was major threats to agriculture and to the families dependent on agriculture in rural segments. As a part of this policy of industrialisation, the Government decided to acquire land in Singur beside Durgapur Expressway in the district of Hooghly and subsequently in Nandigram in the district of Purba Midnapore and initiated the process of acquisition without consulting farmers and involving local people. In Singur, the problem became more complicated since the demarcated plots comprised most fertile segment of agricultural land and also the purpose of such acquisition was meant for providing land to Tata Motors Company for production of Nano small car. The Tata Motors selected the site which had congenial infrastructure but the Tata was not capable to procure such lands from the farmers directly. Hence they approached the government and the state Government came forward to acquire the required lands from the farmers and owners with the help of the prevailing Land Acquisition Act on payment of compensation. Consequently, the opposition to land acquisition in Singur got momentum. Singur is closed to Kolkata in comparison to Nandigram and as such easily approachable to the opposition, press, media and urban people. On the contrary, the agitation and resistance from the farmer and local people in Nandigram were short-lived. The process of acquisition of land was vehemently opposed in Nandigram by the local people leading to the death of 14 people by police firing. Sensing the complexity after police firing, the state government immediately declared cancellation of the project at Nandigram and abandoned the process of acquisition. Again, The Singur problem made a

vertical division in the political circle, civil society and social arrangements in West Bengal having far reaching political consequence. Hence, the events of Singur and Nandigram with currents and cross-currents involved in the process of land acquisition and subsequent events after the defeat of the Left Front Government in West Bengal in 2011 assembly election deserve special investigation and in-depth analysis as a case study to understand the agro-based industrial transformation in West Bengal.

1.5. Review of Literature

Review of literature acts as an essential part of the investigation. It helps the researcher to develop a framework and aspects of studies with adequate knowledge, thoughts, ideas, information and truths relating to the issues under research. The researcher acquires privilege to relook, observe, examine the issues which are previously studied or understudy with advanced ideas. In brief, it could be said that a review of the literature acts as a store of thoughts and ideas. The available experiences from literature expand the appetite of researchers to choose the subject which sincerely needs serious studies within a specified time and framework. The praiseworthy morals of literature which is related to agro-based transformation encourage researchers to accept studies which are particularly related to land, cultivators, along with agro-economy transformation and development and which has dialectical truth in the civilization of mankind. It deserves additional gratefulness when global think tankers convey their valuable ideas to fulfil the loopholes of research gap with a view to investigate the problem, the following branch of literature has been reviewed by the present researcher:

Pranab Bardhan's (2005) *Scarcity, Conflicts and Cooperation: Essays in Political and Institutional Economics of Development* highlight the present process of development in India which is increasing economic development and side by side poverty. The author notes that the development of capitalism is passing through a complex process of conflict and cooperation between the state and the market. During that time the state fulfils the demand of the market.

This process by which both the market and the state are regulated is defined by him as ‘Great Transformation’.

Michael Cernea and Harimohan Mathur's et. al. (2008) *Can Compensation Prevent Impoverishment? Reforming Resettlement through Investments* describes the methods of rehabilitation followed around the world and presents valuable information in this regard. The book highlights the facts about the eviction of thousands of agricultural people during the construction of Shanghai city in China. It has been found that compensation, in this case, was calculated by the formulation of Annual Output Value (AVO) and that compensation was calculated on the value of the land after the completion of the development. In another case drawing instance from Norway, it is revealed that land acquired for the public interest (construction of electricity project) and the affected persons were compensated with free electricity for generations and after the completion of the project, the dividend in relation to the profit was provided regularly to the families whose land was acquired. The fact highlights that people who lost their land were compensated by providing rehabilitation as well as relief and a portion of the profits from the concerned project to address the problems of the displaced. Lorenzo Cotula's (2009) “Land Grab or Development Opportunity? Agricultural Investment and International Land Deals in Africa”³, highlighted the issue of land acquisition and problems of development in Africa. It traces the negative effects of massive and ruthless politics of land acquisitions in Africa which need to be kept in minds before undertaking land acquisition measures in an era of globalization. Land acquisition laws in Africa are not advanced and there is a lack of transparency as a result of which corruption is increasing in a broad sense. Investors are able to buy land of high-value at very cheap rates. Due to the rapid acquisition of land, there

³ Cotula Lorenzo (2009). ‘*Land grab or development opportunity?*’. London: IIED.

is a shortage of food grains in Africa; as the industry is fast-growing, food security is gradually missing. The price of food grains have increased in the process of land acquisition.

Edward B. Barbier's (1987) in a number of articles on The Concept of Sustainable Economic Development observed that Sustainable development is the most urgent necessity of the period in an attempt towards development and change. Sustainable development needs condition to be fulfilled so as to take care of the intergenerational parity in resource use. It is related to the entire and overall development of the society, i.e. economic progress must run parallel with social welfare and safety in relation to the entire society. In brief, it means a development that meets the needs of the present without the compromising the ability of future generations to fulfil its own requirements.

Manoranjan Mohanty's article on *Reconceptualising Rights in Creative Society* (2012) draws out attention to the democratic risings in Asia and Africa in the 20th century which were directed against imperialism and colonialism. Right to independence of nations and self-determination of people acquired the status of basic human rights, which in turn created the situation for the evolution and growth of confrontations and movements, which helped in the growth of new ideas of social transformation. Nevertheless, in the last three decades, we have seen the steady emergence of a new type of hostility- women hostility, tribal hostility, hostility by Scheduled Castes, environmental confrontation and confrontation of displaced people.

P. Arunachalam (2009) reviews the capability of SEZs in relation to its export promotion in India with the rest of the world. He observes that the export of India has observed a growth of 20 per cent during the last five years. But the share of SEZs in export volume is still remaining less than 1 per cent during the corresponding period, whereas the proportions of SEZs in export in the nations like China, Philippines, Indonesia, and Thailand are much higher than India. Further, the author has taken the Chinese SEZ along with other SEZ model for case study and concluded that the Chinese model of SEZ has been the most successful and that the SEZ model

failed to achieve the satisfactory results in India. He points out that structural differences are responsible for the functioning of the Chinese SEZ model in India. A strong internal market has been developed within the country before SEZ started to function. This has acted as a facilitator and increased the pace of growth of the economy. On the other hand, India has focussed on the export-oriented economy. This generated the capital at a very slow rate. This could not fulfil the goal of inclusive growth and regional development. The author, therefore, argues that the model of SEZ has not been yet successful as an apparatus of economic growth in India.

Patrick McCully's (2001) has pointed out how the problem of displacement created as a result of development policy has assumed extensive significance in recent years mainly since early 1980 for the common public as well as the policymakers. The displaced peoples have remained an undistinguishable and residual category who have to suffer the trauma of losing their homes and land in the interest of numerous types of development missions.

Dr. K. Murali and M. Arul Vikram's (2016) edited volume Land acquisition policy: A global Perspective discussed the reasons for the dispute between investors and farmers in land acquisition and the possible land acquisition policy worldwide. Different countries have different policies for land acquisition. This article has highlighted the land acquisition policies implemented in different countries. Land acquisition in Australia is done according to the Land Acquisition Act, 2013. Here, there are three types of land acquisition: Participatory acquisition, Emergency Acquisition and Acquisition. If the acquisition of land is absolutely necessary for an important project, the government adopts the mandatory acquisition policy. The acquisition of land in Canada is different from other countries. In the case of acquisition of land, the compensation amount will not be 30 times more than the average output of three years. Land Acquisition Act plays an important role in acquiring land in Singapore. The Land Acquisition Act 2014 is currently operative in Singapore. The positive aspect of land acquisition in

Singapore is to assess the damages of the victims and compensate them according to the damages. The government of Indonesia has enacted land acquisition law in 2012. The government uses this law to acquire land for the development of infrastructure. According to the Land Act, 1978 in Nigeria, all land is under the state, but the use of land is renewed every year. Likewise, acquisition of land in India is implemented through the Land Acquisition Act 2013, which was amended in 2014 and 2015. According to law now the loss of landowners in respect of land taken under acquisition Act is compensated.

Wordsworth Odame Larbi et al. (2004) in a paper on land Acquisition in Ghana briefly pointed out how the problem can be solved in relation to forced acquisition and compensation in Ghana. In Ghana, it is found that the main problem of land acquisition is the process without any statistical basis. Larbi has shown that only 20.4 per cent of the total land acquisition was achieved properly and 79.6 per cent is absolutely through process illegal acquisition. The site or area of land has been occupied mercilessly. Compensation was provided only for 3.8 per cent of the site or area of land acquired, which was inadequate and became a cause for community movement against the state. Due to deprivation of land and inadequate compensation, communities faced difficulty to maintain their standard of living. It has been recommended to return the excess land, and proper guidelines are to be made mandatory for acquiring land, instead of paying one-time monetary compensation. It is suggested that annual instalments will be more effective, and unused land can be acquired on the basis of auctions.

Irma Johanna Mosquera Valderrama (2011) in a study focused on 17 countries in Africa to show that the government should give responsibility to the landowner's rights in the land acquisition area and pay proper compensation. Land is acquired for foreign investors, given advantages to foreign investors, and their respective interests play an important role. He has mentioned that the government controls the land acquisition policy in respect of land acquisition from landowners. The governments of these 17 countries have formulated a land

acquisition policy for foreign investors. All the foreign investors began to acquire land with the help of the government at cheap prices. Farmers are not getting good compensation but investors get more benefit from the land. The governments of these countries have taken land rates were determined by the government and the owners did not get compensation according to the price of the land.

Anuar Alias (2006) in an article *Payment of Adequate Compensation for Land Acquisition in Malaysia* researched on the acquisition and compensation for indigenous people known as Orang Asli and the impact of the acquisition of land on the lives of these indigenous people and their livelihood. Though the traditional land was acquired, the government did not pay any kind of compensation to the affected people. Land is not defined in Malaysia's legal system. There is no provision of compensation under land acquisition law. This article has focused on the reforms of Land Acquisition Act, where appropriate compensation arrangements have been suggested for the rehabilitation of the victims.

Mugerwa Olga Nakato and Carol Bungaldembe's (2012) research report on *The Impact Arbitrary Large Scale Land Acquisitions Has on Women's Right to Land Access, Usage and Control in Uganda* highlighted the impact of Uganda's acquisition of land for women. Through this research, efforts have been made to gather information about the impact of land acquisition and investment in agriculture. In addition to the acquisition of land, the impact of small farmers on life and livelihood has been investigated and researched. Here's how bad the effects have been made, where it is shown that due to the acquisition of agricultural land, these women dependent on agriculture have no opportunity to go for any profession. The government is indifferent about this. It has been suggested, therefore, that amendment of the Land Acquisition Act is absolutely required in relation to employment and livelihood of women.

Laura German, George Schoneveld, Esther Mwangi's (2011) in their case studies from sub-Saharan Africa provides that there are various aspects of exploration in Zambia, Mozambique,

Tanzania and Ghana. Studies show that generally no compensation was given to the victims who lost their land. The main problem of land acquisition does not set any upper boundaries of acquired land and the landowners are not compensated according to the market value. Land ownership of the landowners is severely neglected. The government policies regarding the mandatory acquisition of land in these areas of Africa severely affected the farmers dependent on land.

Syed Al Atahar's (2013) articles Development projects, land acquisition and resettlement in Bangladesh, A Quest for well-formulated national Resettlement and rehabilitations focuses on the people affected by the Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge Project in Bangladesh. The impact of land acquisition on the basis of research has been demonstrated. Bangladesh's land acquisition policy shows the difference between law and its practice. The author highlights the issue of acquisition of land, and the impact of the acquisition on the livelihood of the people dependent on land.

John F. McCarthy et al. (2012) articles Trajectories of land acquisition and enclosure: development schemes, virtual land grabs, and green acquisitions in Indonesia's Outer Islands, illustrates that if land acquisition is used for the welfare of the farmers, the policy will not be opposed by the farmers. In Indonesia, the planning of palm oil and wood plantation creates opportunities for the living and employment of the Indonesian people. These projects are working well for the poor and are working well in the alleviation of poverty. Because of the increase in the prices of organic fuel oil in the world market, more land has been acquired. The policies adopted and followed in Indonesia is praiseworthy and effective.

Chengri Ding's (2007) paper on Policy and praxis of land acquisition in China examined the impact of the future acquisition of land due to land acquisition in China. And he explained the various situations created due to the acquisition in his writings. In 2002, more than 80 per cent of the cases filed by farmers against China's government in Xinjiang province were only related

to land acquisition. In this study, it is estimated that for the sake of the social security of the farmers, land acquisition for the long term would be very difficult, without due compensation or other efforts. Maintaining a balance between agricultural conservation and urban local expansion has become very important to the Chinese government.

Michael Richards's (2013) research report on *Social and Environmental Impacts of Agricultural Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Africa—With a focus on West and Central Africa* tries to analyse the social and environmental impact of acquiring 18 large lands, acquired by acquisitions in West and Central Africa. In these areas of land acquisition, it has been found that local communities had a formal right over land, but they were subsequently transferred to state ownership. In most of the land acquisition, it has been found that the acquisition had not been approved by local communities. Due to acquisition of land in this region of western and central Africa and due to environmental pollution in almost all cases it had a negative impact on the life style of the people. The study further mentioned that prior to the acquisition of land, environmental and social impact on local stakeholders was not evaluated. In our study area we find similar situation on acquisition of land by Government when the environment issues were not properly considered.

Debabrata Bandyopadhyay (2007) in his book *Land, Labour and Governance: An Anthology* has expressed his views on Government's role in acquiring land for industrial establishment. He clearly states that industrialists are fundamentally influenced by market economy, and they build industries to fulfil their needs. He is of the view that the Government should not take part in the land acquisition for the development of industry. The industrialists should purchase land in the open market directly. According to him the government should not have any role in acquiring land for setting up of multinational companies and industries and the legal power of the state should not be applied in this respect.

K. N. Raj et al. (1986) edited book *Essays on the Commercialization of Indian Agriculture* analysed commercialisation of agriculture is a social process that cannot be captured by statistical data, or by just observing the significance of financial transactions in an agrarian economy. The procedure participates with diverse rural markets, such as in production, labour, land and credit. Furthermore it includes greater craving on specific markets by peasants and producers, where the terms and conditions may vary with respect to diverse historical circumstances.

Sanjoy Chakravorty (2013) book *The Price of Land: Acquisition, Conflict, Consequence* assessed land markets in India, and described how the compensation provisions under the LARR Act, would shake land markets under this law and make them too costly. He debated that over the last decade, India has entered a permanent regime of high land prices. This has been driven by an increasing supply of money, high-income disparities, and scarcity of land. Based on news reports and studies of rural land prices, he concluded that rural land prices have increased by 5 to 10 times during the same interval of time. In light of this, he concluded that the proposed compensation formula in the LARR Act was unjustifiable. Though limited to post 2007 data, this study was also helpful. However, the data that he presented in his book did not bear out his conclusion about the unsustainability of the compensation provisions of the LARR Act in entirety. For illustration, the data conveyed on land prices is not an indicator that such prices are actually paid by the government for land acquisition. In fact, due to exemption of registration fees, most lands are undervalued before the government, and therefore, more often than not, the government would pay less than the market value of the land on a willing buyer, willing seller basis, as stated in the newspapers.

Smitu Kothari's (1996) article *Whose Nation? Displaced as Victims of Development* stresses the story of displacement arising due to development (sometimes viewed as development induced displacement) is one of the vital areas of sensitive policies in India today. This is

largely due to the propagation and demonstration activities on the behalf of displaced people and public movements highlighting the miserable and catastrophic consequences of displacement and problem of resettlement experiences in India. Every year over around 50000 people are evacuated by infrastructure development with hydro-electric and irrigation schemes, mines, industrial developments, nuclear power plants and super thermal projects.

Professors G.Ram Reddy and G. Haragopal's (1985) book on Public Policy and the Rural Poor in India present a picture on the role of government in developmental plans within the socio-economic framework along with preparation and implantation of important developmental plans. They have explained the fact that public policy is becoming more and more important in developing nations. The observations indicate the role of bureaucracy in implementations of anti-poverty programs, the extension of policy framework program and engagement of the administrative structure for the success of projects, and institutional and individual reactions to such matters have been verified. There are numerous new features in the book that have the potentiality to help in the formation of beneficiary based policies in the upcoming days.

Arun Kumar Nayak (2008) in articles observed that new economic policy has paved the way for the rise of large scale private investments and entry of the multinational companies and inflow of foreign investment followed with large scale land acquisition. The said circumstances exerted great pressure on agricultural land. He has observed that the process has strengthened in the context of introducing SEZ which has aggravated displacement of poor and marginal people.

G.N. Rao's (1985) on Transition from Subsistence to Commercial Agriculture examine Agrarian transformation and commercialisation boosted by irrigation in the Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh. Paddy as a major staple food crop could be transformed into a commercial crop. This transformation was made possible by secure irrigation, growing markets, increasing prices and developments in transportation from the late eighties and early nineties of the 19th

century. Nonetheless, such change had a profound effect on credit, land and labour markets. In the procedure of commercialisation, surplus extracting peasants or wealthy farmers performed as traders and moneylenders in the credit market. Above said circumstances highly influenced the prices to land.

Usha Ramanathan's (1996) article Displacement and Law stated that the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 is a statutory statement of the state's power of an eminent domain, which vests the state with ultimate control over land within its territory. The paradigm of development and upliftment that has found favour with planners and makes displacement of large numbers of persons, even whole communities an unavoidable occasion. The utilitarian guiding principle of maximum happiness for the maximum number has been invoked, and people have been paying the price by the name of public interest. The law is ill-equipped to counter this attitude and in fact, abets it by lending the force of state power

Joginder Singh et al. (1998) paper Changing Scenario of Punjab Agriculture: An Ecological Perspective Towards Sustainable Development express the capital intensive nature of green revolution technology increased the financial needs of the farmers and the procurement needs of the State due to substantial increases in the agricultural production. As a result, the interlinked markets, credit market and product market emerged where the commission agents played a dominant role. The Institutional sources alone could not meet the credit requirements of the farmers and they had to go for non-institutional credit, especially from commission agents.

Anup Adhikari and M.K Seikhar's (2014) articles An economic analysis land use dynamic in Punjab have shown that if the government does not adopt the right policy, then the impact on the future generation become harmful. Due to the decrease in agricultural and forest land, cultivation will decrease gradually and there will be a crisis in food and other agricultural

commodities. They suggested an adaptation of a suitable policy for land acquisition in Punjab to overcome an adverse situation.

Nasim Ahamed Ansari's (2015) article "Dynamic cropping pattern within the last two decades" (2009) view reveals that if the policy of land acquisition in Gautam Mercury is continued, then there will be no remaining area for cultivation in the future. Although there is no infrastructure for the employment of the peasants or the employment of farmers, despite the acquisition of agricultural land, the impact of infrastructure and urbanization, he analysed the Cropping Pattern in Gautam Mercury City. Due to the government's land acquisition policy, the farmers are selling their land. It is astonishing that in three villages of Gulistan, Rampur and Tugallpur, there is no cultivable area in three villages due to the policy of land acquisition. All the areas of cultivation have been transformed into an industrial area. Besides, researchers have highlighted the livelihood of these farmers dependent on agriculture.

Parmod Bhardwaj and Sandeep Kumar's (2012) analysis of "Urban Expansion and Land Use in Karnal City in Haryana have shown how fertile land has been used for urbanization leading to a gross decrease of produce needed. The process of transformation of agricultural land into urban settlements has increased urban agglomeration of Karnal, but the entire district livelihood of most of the farmers who faced the utmost crisis. Similarly, Sharmendra Chaudhary's (2011) study on Land Acquisition in Karnataka-with a focus on compensation in the acquisition of land for the Company and Urban Layouts, explains land acquisition law and its application in Karnataka. The author has mainly focused on issues concerning compensation for acquisition and shows the absence of a clear and transparent policy of compensation in Karnataka. Moreover, the loss caused to farmers due to the acquisition of land is not met by the current policies. If the government takes land for its need for some years, it is the government's responsibility to settle alternate careers. One-time compensation is not desirable in this case.

Researchers have claimed that the policy of compensation for the acquisition of agricultural land in Karnataka for development projects need to be formulated in clear terms.

Anup Kumar Das Talukdar's (2015) articles *Development and Displacement: The Role of Land Acquisition Law*, discusses the problem of displacement due to the acquisition of land for various projects, through detailed research information. When land is acquired for a development project or industry, the government promises people for rehabilitation, but in most cases, the promises made are not met later. In this study, a detailed description of the acquisition of land in various projects in India has been shown the promises of government rehabilitation are not fulfilled after implementation of projects in relation to farmers by the government.

Sankar Datta, Vijay Mahajan, and Ashok Kumar Singha's (2009) study of land acquisition of land for Rajiv Gandhi International Airport in Hyderabad has analysed the process of development of a negative attitude of the dependent farmers against the acquisition of this agricultural land. The total land for this international airport was acquired to the extent of 5265 acres and after the acquisition, five villages were deported. Because of this project, many farmers have become homeless and their livelihood was put in danger. The area around the airport has been improved, but the people who lost their land have not been provided with any rehabilitation and alternative livelihood. The researchers have discussed in detail the acquisition of land in relation to this case, but they are of the view that the government must acquire land through discussion with the landowners and that land must not be acquired without the permission of the peasantry.

Vikas Nandal's (2014) paper on "Land acquisition law in India: A Historical perspective" explains the provisions relating to the Land Acquisition Act 1894 and Rehabilitation Bill 2011. After the acquisition of land, the landowners of the acquired land became a victim of widespread losses. The colonial Land Acquisition Act of 1894 is not suitable for the welfare of the farmers; it causes endless misery to the farmers. It is said in the study that the state should

make arrangements for proper and adequate for compensation for those who are affected by such acquisitions of land taken for development. Rehabilitation of the affected farmers, arrangements for their livelihood, for alternate land for landless farmers, arrangements of the house for the homeless are to be given top priority before acquiring land. Development is very important, but it should not be done at the cost farmers and landowners. Law and bills require amendment and changes farmers and landowners. The rehabilitation process does not work properly due to some inherent mistakes. It is the responsibility of the government to take necessary steps for rehabilitation of the landless and homeless victims after their land acquisition..

Kenneth Bo Nielsen (2009) in his paper *Farmer's use of the courts in an anti-land acquisition movement in India's West Bengal* presents an analysis how farmers of Singur who did not want to give their fertile agricultural land for Nano project fought to devote time, energy and resources to challenge the acquisitions of approximately 1000 acres of agricultural land in the said area. It describes how the farmers moved the High Court at Calcutta and the Supreme Court of India and also deals with the responses of the courts in relation to the farmer's petitions. The author has minutely observed that litigation and going to the courts in this part along with other parts of India is socially frowned upon as it threatens to tear families apart, creates mutual hostility, disturbs the harmonious life of Indian villages. Instead in times of conflict, peaceful and acceptable solutions would normally be sought through the involvement of locally respected negotiator who could listen to all parties to the conflict. The author observes that after the unwilling farmer's struggles for several years they did not attach special importance to the court case. Rather it was when others avenues of seeking justice had either narrowed or closed entirely, the court case gained significance. Research from other parts of India gives the view that legal arenas continue to "bend under the weight of the rupee or the stick" and thus it clearly puts marginal and resource-poor groups at a distinct disadvantage.

The farmers of Singur are of the opinion that it is nothing but to try their luck in the. Due to the delayed court proceeding a significant feature of Indian courts and since the farmers had no others options they took the other root by supporting and seeking help from Mamata Banerjee and her party Trinamool Congress to get speedy relief or justice.

Ben Rogaly, Barbara Harriss-White, Sugata Bose's (1999) edited book "*Sonar Bangla? Agricultural growth and agrarian change in West Bengal and Bangladesh*" is divided into three parts dealing simultaneously with poverty, agricultural growth and policies along with practices in relation to the welfare of the agricultural community based on changing agrarian structures. Amid the issues debated are: (1) the range to which the agrarian reforms by the Government of West Bengal were responsible for rapid agricultural growth; (2) the result of those growths in the eradication of poverty and promotions welfare of the State; (3) the growth of market in relation to agricultural products in West Bengal due to liberalization; (4) Land impact of recent agricultural growth in relation to existing structures of land and ownership of water resources; on caste-based ideologies; on markets for produce; and on migrant wage workers.

Kalyan Dutt's (1981) point out that the agrarian policies of the Left Front Government have enabled the poorer sections of the rural population to become more conscious about their rights but it has led them in the wrong direction. It is still not clear to him if these policies are intended to bring about a small peasant proprietary economy or whether they aimed at a type of economy where the agricultural labourers and poor artisans will have common ownership of land, with the government extending support to small producers co-operatives. Moreover, There was a lack of clarity of aims and perhaps due to the fact the Left Front government had underestimated the degree of penetration of money lending and merchant capital in the rural economy and overestimated feudal exploitation.

Ajit Narayan Basu's (2003) has analysed the economics and politics in his study and traced certain features along with contemporary conditions of peasant community, especially the agricultural workers with more emphasis on landless agricultural labourers in West Bengal. He argues that in the Left Front period the number of landless agricultural workers has been increased dynamically. In his deep analysis professor, Basu has drawn the conclusion that in the 1980s the position of agriculture and economic condition of the farmers especially of the small and marginal peasants in West Bengal, with some exception, had improved due to Land Reform Policies. But in the 1990s, with the introduction of New Economic Policy, the socio-economic conditions of said small and marginal peasants had deteriorated significantly and its effect can be seen on the overall conditions of the rural Bengal.

Abhijit V. Banerjee, Paul J. Gertler, Maitreesh Ghatak's (2002) explain in their paper *Empowerment and Efficiency: Tenancy Reform in West Bengal* that the Agricultural Tenancy Act provides tenants with security, Protect and regulate the impact of output paid in the form of rents on agricultural production. Ideally, the clear effect of tenancy reform is a blend of two effects: the effect of bargaining and the security of tenure. After the implementation of the lease reform programme in West Bengal productivity have increased. In the late 1970s, proposed land reforms had a gradual impact on agricultural productivity in West Bengal.

Kenneth Bo Nielsen (2009) in another study article Four narratives of a social movement in West Bengal narrated the process in which Singular, comparatively a less Hooghly district became a household name known village of across India when in May 2006 the Left Front Government of the state identified and declared the proposed location for the Tata Small Car Project. This Project promised to make low-cost four-wheelers as an important symbol of progress and modernity among the middle class of the country because of affordability. He has critically examined the entire social movement in four of his narratives: (i) the Peasant Narrative, (ii) the Activist Narrative, (iii) the Leftist Narrative-SUCI (iv) the TMC Narratives.

It has been found that acquisition of land in Singur small and marginal farmers, owning not more than a few *bighas* of land, found to be more than 50 per cent of the populations opposing strongly the Project. The opponents were of the view that the said project was not a substitute for cultivation which provided total security for them. Abandonment of cultivation by that small and marginal farmers led them to risk one after and then. The less educated people of the locality were not convinced of any job to be made available to them. Thus the project became an obvious target of criticism. For some, the movements were launched to resist the neo-liberalism, capitalisms and imperialist tendencies while for others it was a struggle for livelihood. To some, it was viewed as an anti-Left Front Government struggle, and for others, it was seen as a struggle for the protection of civil and political rights.

Avirup Sarkar (2007) in his article *Development and Displacement: Land Acquisition in West Bengal* illustrates that choice of project site always lies with the investors since the investor always has the option of setting up the project elsewhere. So the government agrees to almost everything the investors demand just to promote investment as in case of Singur. Tata motors chose Singur for the project firstly because it was the right place and planned on the side of a highway of the state marked by global standards, secondly, it was just 45 KM from the city of Kolkata the business capital of the state. Thirdly, the adjoining land had lots of underground water resources which was an utmost requirement for automobile factory. But the government guided by the need of rapid industrialisation did not take in account that 400(four hundred) acres of multi-cropped fertile agricultural land belonged to the project area was the cause of all grievances and ultimately led to the downfall of the previous Leftist Government.

Nirmal Mukherjee, Debabrata Bandyopadhyay (1993) in their *New Horizons for West Bengal's Panchayats: A Report for the Government of West Bengal* argue that the Left Government claimed its exclusiveness among the Indian states for staying at the office for a long interval of time about three decades through the system of parliamentary democracy. Left Government

also claimed its uniqueness for implementing a pro-people land reform programme with a reasonable amount of success. They also reveal that there was no constant effort to help small and marginal farmers by joining them in rural development schemes. Patta holders were more or less left to themselves for their survival with the allotment of their land and this constituted indeed an 'area of neglect'. This again resulted in an atmosphere of isolation from the mass of people which in a way narrowed down the extent of political legitimacy.

Ranjit Sau (2008) states that the whole motive of Left Front Government of West Bengal in allocating land to Tata Motors for establishing small car Factory in Singur in the district of Hooghly was based on market principles in the growth and transformation of a primarily agrarian society. The entire idea failed because it was not done according to the value of the land and dignity of the peasants. The government viewed industrialization as the panacea for achieving development without considering the other impacts of the acquisition of fertile farmlands.

Walter Fernandes (2007) article Singur and the Displacement Scenario depicts an analysis of the controversy over the acquisition of land in Singur in the backdrops of countrywide displacement of project-affected persons. These episodes tied together reflect the problems of rehabilitation package, development pattern, and the arguments of 'public purpose' as stated by the state while procuring land. He advocates a policy of reasonableness in land acquisition programmes.

Nirmal Kumar Chandra (2008) in his Paper Tata Motors in Singur: A Step Towards Industrialisation or Pauperisation? Describes the model of industrial development under taken in Singur, reflects a lot of loopholes. The Left Government in West Bengal was so excited in offering subsidies to Tata Motors, that it failed to assess the impact of which resulted in the land demanded which resulted in offering extremely fertile land in Singur. Moreover, the compensation method was unfair and favoured the rich non-cultivating absentee owners of land

and was highly biased against the actual cultivators, agricultural labourers and bargadars. All these ultimately paved the way for strong opposition from farmers and their supporters.

West Bengal Industrial Development Corporation in its exclusive reports (2000) and (2001) an exclusive report Destination West Bengal and Industry News Update respectively highlights the empowerment of poor peasants as an outcome of industrial investment. It emphasised that in the year 1985-90 West Bengal recorded the highest growth of food grains which had improved the purchasing power of the people in the rural areas. It further states that as a matter of policy, the State Government paid attention to agriculture, land reforms, rural development, Small Scale industries along-with the decentralization through empowerment and involvement of the panchayats in all development programme. The policy gave major development in the rural agricultural sector, uprising in agricultural production, creation of a fast-growing domestic market and steady political atmosphere.

Ratan Khasnobis (1981) in a paper has examined the policy issue of the Left Front Government. He has observed that the understanding of the Left Front Government on land reforms and the restrictions in relation to reformist procedures implemented by the said Left Front Government. The said policy had made reordering of property relations in the rural areas with limitations in bourgeois property rights which has to cope with formidable obstacles. At the initial stage, '*Operation Barga*' had succeeded outstandingly, but the overall achievements were not satisfactory. Out of the estimated, two million *bargadars* in the records about one million bargadars could register the name. The reason behind this was that they feared to record their rights.

Mansandu Kundu's in his paper "land bond- a potential key to land acquisition" tries to analyse industrial development of West Bengal, emphasising the development of agriculture, encouragement of environmental protection and expansion of social justice. Keeping in mind the need of the farmer, according to the author, the land acquisition programmes are to be

planned in which the farmers must play a significant role in determining the compensation in relation to their acquired land on the grounds of the socio-economic situation. He further suggested that land acquisitions problem can be solved by the policy of land bond. By adopting the said system, the future of the peasant will be protected; there are many benefits to government policy formulation. Ultimately, he hopes that if the Land Bonding system is properly implemented in West Bengal, then the problem of land acquisition for the industry could be met more appropriately.

Abhijit Guha's (2007) articles Peasant Resistance in West Bengal a Decade before Singur and Nandigram is a study on the socio-economic impact of land that was acquired for establishing the Tata Metaliks Limited (TML) unit in Midnapore district of West Bengal. Out of 200 affected families, 144 households were interviewed. In the aftermath of acquisition, these families faced serious crisis in their living and later on their financial conditions deteriorated to the extent that they were driven to below the poverty line. After 15 years, these households are deprived of self-sufficiency on food. As crises increased these families lost their family bonds today. Through field survey, he has shown that due to the lack of government's rehabilitation policy and plans, the affected families are now in utmost crisis in their life and livelihood.

Maitreesh Ghatak et al. (2013) state that the owners of Singur have reasons to reject compensation given by the government. The Government of West Bengal acquired 997 acres of agricultural land for the Tata Nano factory in 2006. This study found that most of the land was taken from small landowners and those who were involved directly in the cultivation of land. In view of the movement in Singur, researchers have explained the difficulties to analyse local reactions in relation to a political movement. But they observed that land policies in future must be accompanied with much better compensation packages in relation to acquisition of land.

Arup Kumar Sen (2008) article Nandigram: A Tale of Developmental Violence had given an overview of state-led violence in Nandigram as a necessary product of policy of neoliberal globalization in the twenty-first century through creation of Special Economic Zone (SEZ). To implement the neo-liberal design of development, the Haldia Development Authority issued notice identifying 27 *mouzas* in Nandigram and 2 *mouzas* in Khejuri comprising of almost 25,000 acres of land for acquisition for the Salim Group, an Indonesian multinational for setting up a chemical hub. The attempt through abandoned by the government when opposed, reflect the lack of clarity and public interest simply in the name of development.

In reviewing the above said literatures, we find that very few researchers have failed to provide a solution to agro-based transformation through land acquisitions, land alienation, displacement of peasants, compensation, and resettlement. The issues are particularly relevant to the peasantry, who are direct stakeholders and are completely dependent on land since they do not have skill for entrepreneurship other than working in agriculture for their livelihood for existence. Keeping in view the present leanings of development narratives this research is undertaken for understanding the need and scope of formulation of appropriate policies and programs and implementing them ineffective ways to solve the ongoing problems in agro-based transformation through the acquisition of land for development. It has been further observed that there are very few researchers who gave importance to land reforms in the context of agro-based transformations for industrialization. In West Bengal, the marginal farmers, *bargadars*, *khetmajur* who were previously benefited through land reforms are now adversely affected when policies related to agro-based transformation were taken for implementation.

This study will try to examine the political aspect of the change to the existing socio-political setup build in three decades before the Singur problem was judicially settled and the acquired lands were returned to protesting cultivators.

1.6. Research Gaps

From the above review of the available literature on acquisition of land by government for development, we find a brief account of diverse policies and methods adopted in different countries and each case has its own distinctiveness but a common phenomenon lies in the fact that in most cases the landowners and farmers are neglected and the promises made to them are not kept. Excepting in one or two instances, the amount of compensation is based on conservative market rate without taking a total view and without taking into consideration of other future aspects involved in the process. But in these studies, the total impacts of land acquisitions on the society and the affected persons are not traced adequately. The studies cited above also do not analyse the inherent loopholes and contradictions embodied in the legislation of different countries. These studies also do not reflect the character and composition of the previously affected people. The foregoing studies also do not throw light on the changing moods of the people from time to time as we have traced subsequently in Singur-Nandigram. The proposed study intends to cover these points and issues. One of the notable developments in Singur case is that the government decision in acquiring land for Tata Car factory was discarded long after the acquisition took place by the Supreme Court. Again, this is also an instance of the government's attempt to return back acquired land to the affected people after a large portion of the project was implemented. The attempt to reconvert the acquired land to its original character by the government is also a singular one. These issues have not been included for consideration in these studies undertaken for review. These aspects are intended to be covered in the present study. There is also an attempt to highlight the limitations of implementing development policies without taking people into confidence, which again seeks to challenge the traditional approach to development without people's participation. These additional aspects justify the proposed investigation.

The movement against land acquisition started in various parts of West Bengal including Singur and Nandigram has played an important role to replace the 34-year Left Front Government. The movement was joined by small peasants, registered and undocumented *Bargadars, Khetmajoors*. As a class, the involved group was basically close to the Left parties. Their support was withdrawn from the Left and extended to the movement led by Mamata Banerjee. This change in support base throughout the state as a result of a particular movement fixed in a particular place is unique in itself which requires a specific study from the viewpoint of policy sciences as well.

- How the legal and institutional policies of land acquisition by the Left Front Government effected/led to a critical situation while acquiring land.
- Very few literature have been found which have evaluated properly the role and impact of colonial land acquisition Act-1894?
- Acquisition of land in Singur and Nandigram is different from the acquisition of land in other places throughout the country. No economic improvement was achieved in both cases. Most of the Literature related to Singur and Nandigram do not reflect sufficient primary data. So the research works are insufficient to investigate the impact of the scenario of land acquisition and repossession of the land.
- The policy and alternative approach regarding the acquisition of agricultural land by the present Trinamool Congress government in West Bengal highlighting the implications of land acquisition which is understated in the recent research-oriented academic document.

1.7. Objectives of the Proposed Study

Land acquisition is one of the basic needs for industrialization, employment, infrastructure development and for raising the level of livelihood of the people living in adjoining areas. Setting up of industries and development cannot be accomplished without land since it is the basic resource of every activity. Thus government or other agencies acquires the land to fulfil the basic conditions to meet the of the above needs. But it often causes extreme misery to the people affected by land acquisition, especially those who are completely dependent on agricultural land for their livelihood. Thus industrialization or development may create an adverse effect on the agricultural community. The crisis is concentrated on the agricultural farmers who are uprooted from their land and thus deprived of their livelihood. Acquisition of fertile land badly affects agricultural production leading to certain structural changes in the economy and the society. The objective of the study is to find out the role of the state under such a situation when the government decides to implement its agro-economic policy and industrialization. The study is based on observing examining the impact of land acquisition on the socio-economic conditions of the affected agricultural community and to the rural society as a whole. Keeping this perspective in mind, the proposed study has been undertaken to deal with the following objectives.

- Identification of the inherent relationship between land acquisition and land reform.
- Investigation of the loop-holes of the 1894 Colonial Land Acquisition Act which was implemented in Singur and other parts of West Bengal.
- Understanding the major political and socio-economic problems aroused in West Bengal after land acquisition.
- Assessment of the effectiveness of the West Bengal Government's present land policy to meet people's resentment.

1.8. The Policy Shift in Land Acquisition

Land is absolutely required for setting up of industries and development of railways, road infrastructure and for implementation of other development activities. To fulfil the requirement of land for 'public purposes'⁴, the government very often resort to land acquisition. Hence arises the issue of striking a balance between present requirement and future needs i.e. policies of land acquisition should be based on a total consideration of diverse factors like social, economic, ecological, legal, historical, quality of land and other sensitive aspects. Payment of compensation to the farmers and their rehabilitation after land acquisition is also an important aspect. Thus the acquisition of land should run parallel starting with the consent from the farmers, payment of justified compensation, and rehabilitation of the uprooted farmers and so on. Land acquisition policy in India can be viewed through two phases 1950 to 1990 and 1990 onwards. These two phases can be described as pre-reform and post-reform policies. From 1950 to 1990, the state was the main agency to acquire land for 'Public Purposes' and the role of other agencies or private sector was insignificant. Since 1990 there was a sharp change in policy which was involved in encouraging the other agencies or the private sector. During this phase, the role of the state became comparatively insignificant. It is to be noted that in the year 2006, the Left Front Government acquired agricultural land for 'Public Purpose' for establishing industries in Singur in the district of Hooghly just beside the National Highway-2, in the private sector owned by Tata motors for production of small cars. The land was acquired by the West Bengal Government in the name of West Bengal Industrial development corporation (WBIDC) and after accusation, the land was handed over to Tata motors. During this period the Government started acquiring land in different parts of West Bengal including

⁴The right of the state or the sovereign to its or his own property is absolute while that of the subject or citizen to his property is absolute while that of the subject or citizen to his property is only paramount, and hence, the citizen holds his property subject always to the right of the sovereign to take it for 'public purposes'.

Nandigram following the policy of acquisition of land for rapid industrialization. The policy affected hundreds of agricultural farmers, sharecroppers and multiple stakeholders. Land acquisition and displacement of poor people from their roots reflected the tradition of finding solutions to political and development issue through pursuing the colonial policy of land acquisition based on ‘State Power’. The events of Singur and Nandigram in its entirety are a political issue and needs to be debated in wider circles for the greater common good.

1.9. Research Questions

Under the circumstances discussed above, the main focus of the study is concentrated on the issue of "Political Economy of Agro-based Transformation in West Bengal". In this era of globalization and new economic order, the system of political economy is sustaining on a competitive market of development and liberal monetary policy, where each and every industrial establishment is trying to invest capital for an overnight development and acquisition of agricultural land and transforming the farm and agricultural-based economy to non-farm industry-based economy. Under such unparalleled growth, the farm-based economy and socio-cultural environmental loses has intrinsic importance. The major research question arises on the very notion that public policy will compensate the unavoidable socio-cultural-environmental turmoil under the view of inclusive development and the nature of the political and economic context of the movement related to land acquisition in Singur and Nandigram.

The major problem can be sorted into some specific and pointed al research questions in relation to land acquisition in Singur along with the proposed and subsequently abandoned ‘Chemical Hub’ project of Indonesian-based Salim Group in Nandigram and the outcome of acquisitions of land in West Bengal. The research questions related to land acquisition in Singur, Nandigram and other parts of West Bengal are as follows

- (a) What is the underlying relationship between land acquisition and land reform? What are its contradictions and problems?
- (b) What were the major faults in the implementation of the Colonial Land Acquisition Act (1894) in relations to the acquisition of land in Singur, Nandigram and other parts of West Bengal?
- (c) Who were the major affected people due to acquisitions of land based on the nature and types of lands?
- (d) What was the nature of movements organised by the opposition in Singur, Nandigram and in contemporary West Bengal?
- (e) What were the major socio-economic and political problems aroused in the context of land acquisition in West Bengal?
- (f) What is the impact of the verdict of the Supreme Court and the effect of Government's new land policy to resolve the problem of the land acquisition in West Bengal?

1.10. Selected Area of Study

In last two decades, the government of West Bengal acquired (or tried to acquire) agricultural land in several places like Kharagpur, Rajarhat, Salbani, Singur, Baruipur, Nandigram, Bhangor, Uluberia, Dankuni, Purulia etc. in the State of West Bengal. Among these Singur and Nandigram are the two places which drawn much attention from the politicians, social activists, intellectuals and media. due to the nature and extent of protests raised by the farmers and *bargadars*. As a result, these two places and particularly Singur became the major centre of controversy and conflicts having greater implications on the administration and policies of the state. As a result, ultimately Government's land acquisition in Singur and Nandigram brought about a significant turning in the agrarian economy of the State and the political scenario.

Peasants of the State, hitherto encouraged by the pro-farmer policy of the Government became sceptical about Government's desire to protect their interest. In West Bengal Singur and Nandigram incidences of force acquisition of land for Tata Motors and Indonesian-based Salim Group posed a serious threat to the support base of Left Front Government. It not only posed a threat to the support base of Left Front but changed the profile of agrarian economy of the State and perception of the peasantry towards Left Front Government. Therefore land acquisition programmes at Singur and Nandigram have been taken into consideration with utmost importance to examine the agrarian transformation of the state of West Bengal and its political economy. This work is mainly concentrated on Singur in the district of Hooghly and its adjoining areas. The study has been conducted in Singur consisting of five mouzas namely, Beraberi, Gopalnagar, Singherbheri, Bajemelia and Khaserbheri Mouzas. Singur is situated in the district of Hooghly approximately 40 KM from Kolkata. It has direct access to the city via Durgapur Expressway (National Highway-2) and also has the advantage of being connected to nearby railway station such as Singur, Kamarkundu, and Madhusudhanpur etc. The entire area of the acquisition was 997 Acres of agricultural land. The promise for 'industrial development' made by the Left Front government led to its victory at Assembly elections in 2006. Immediately after coming to power again, the Left Front Government announced for attractive investments in West Bengal for rapid industrialisation. Thus the Nano project of Tata Motors Limited came to picture in Singur to fulfil the promise of industrialization. It was a project related to a small car with promised price-tag amounting to rupees 1 Lakh only. The hope of immense industrialization in the state West Bengal started from Singur.

A similar study was also conducted in Nandigram-I, Nandigram-II and its adjoining areas in the district of Purba Midnapore, where the Government of West Bengal plan to expropriate 10,000 acres (4,000 ha) of land for a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) to be developed by the Indonesian-based Salim Group for industrialisation. The process of acquisition of land was

strongly opposed in Nandigram by the local people leading to the death of 14 people by police firing. Sensing the complexity and realising the political situations after police firing, the State Government immediately declared the cancellation of the project in Nandigram and withdrew and stopped the process of land acquisition. Naturally, the significance of the movement at Nandigram lost its relevance in the absence of further activities from either side as the proposed project was cancelled at the beginning. Since the Nandigram events exerted tremendous impacts on the industrial policies of Left Front Government and on the subsequent movements started in remote parts of West Bengal, particularly at Singur the perspectives of the movement at Nandigram need an analysis. An effort has been made to highlight the developments in Nandigram with the help of data and information collected from various fields and other authentic sources. Thus the importance of the event Nandigram has been examined in the background on the contemporary political scenario of West Bengal.

Before the final study was undertaken, a pilot study was undertaken in four areas of West Bengal. It is primarily meant to focus on the thrust issues of the topic entitled “Political economy of agro-based Transformation in West Bengal” and also to understand the nature, the extent of impact and behaviour of the local resident towards land acquisitions vis-à-vis proposed factory and the feasibility for research investigation in the study area. A pilot study was carried out in Singur, Hooghly, Katwa, Purba Bardhaman, Nandigram, Purba Medinipur, Rajarhat, North 24 Parganas district in West Bengal to understand the empirical realities related to the topic with a cross-section of people representing peasants, knowledgeable persons, local political leaders, government officials, leaders of Panchayati Raj Institution(PRI) and other stakeholders at grass-root levels. The result gained through pilot study gave confidence to the researcher to undertake this investigation with specific objectives and selecting an appropriate methodology.

1.11. Research Methodology

The focus of the study is on ‘The political Economy of Agro-based Transformation in West Bengal’, and Singur has been taken up as a case in study. The proposed study is mainly empirical and covers the villages of Singur C.D. Block of Hooghly district for intensive field survey. The villages Beraberi, Gopalnagar, Singherbheri, Bajemelia, Khaserbheri and Joymoholla are mainly taken for the study and other villages of Singur Block are taken partially. The study based on the primary source of data as well as secondary. The data has been collected from relevant documents, reports and records of the various institutions and organizations. These data also have been supplemented by in-depth study, interview, and field visits through involving the actual stakeholders- the marginalised and poor people residing in the identified areas. Techniques of questionnaire and interviews have been followed to collect data and data has been analysed in an appropriate manner. Simple random sampling is followed to collect information at the primary level. The primary data is supported by secondary data. The secondary data have been collected from relevant documents, reports, and records of the various institutions and organizations like- Hooghly and Purba Midnapore District Collector Office, Block Land Revenue Office, (BLRO office, Singur, Nandigram I and II), Land Acquisition Office, Chinsurah and Tamluk. Apart from these data have been collected from Population Census of India, (2001, 2011), Hooghly, Purba Midnapore District Statistical Handbook (2001, 2003, 2006, 2008, and 2012) along with newspapers, journal, and internet. Secondary data is used only to upkeep the primary data and not wholly used in the study. The research depends on the primary data and has been conducted at the field level. Primary data has been collected from landowners, registered and unregistered *Bargadars*, *Khetmajur* of Singur in the district of Hooghly (West Bengal) with the help of questionnaires and schedules by using four sets of questionnaires i.e. (1) the owners of the land (living at Singur) (2) the

owners of the land (living outside) (3) registered sharecropper (related to small owner) (4) unregistered sharecropper (related to agricultural labourer). The respondents are affected by land acquisition for small car project by Tata Motors. Occasionally the responses are affected with emotions and may be diverted. Hence the responses are cross-checked through observation. The researcher met personally 189 respondents and tried to know the situation from them after land acquisition. The respondents include the affected persons including some living outside the locality—they are absentee landowners. Nine such persons (4.77 per cent) out of one hundred have been interviewed. Thus land owners comprise both the resident and non-resident landowners.

The research survey was initiated during the month of July, 2016 and detailed information could be collected by the month of December, 2018. Stratified random sampling technique has been implemented to conduct the research. One hundred and eighty-nine respondents have been surveyed from the said four major categories.

The following Techniques of Data Collection have been used in course of the study and these were found appropriate in having expected information: (A) Household Survey- (i) Purposive Stratified Random Sampling (ii) Focused Group Discussion, (iii) Questionnaire Survey (iv) Individual Interview.

S l	Respondent	<i>Moujas</i>					Tot al
		Gopalna gar	Berab eri	Khaserb hei	Bajeme lia	Singherb eri	
1	Resident land owner	35	31	16	9	6	97
2	Land owner living outside of village	3	4	-	2	-	9
3	Registered sharecropper (Related with <i>bargadar</i> and small owner)	11	5	4	2	3	25
4	Unregistered Sharecropper (Related with <i>Bargadars</i> and <i>Khetmajur</i>)	16	8	11	14	9	58
Total		65	48	31	27	18	189

(Source: Field Survey, 2016-2018)

1.12. Scope of the Study

The present research is related to the farmers affected by the acquisition of land in West Bengal. The farmers of West Bengal have always played an important role in the growth, development and stability of its agrarian economy. This study is an approach to find out the impact of land acquisition on the socio-economic conditions of farmers. This work will play an important role to make the government aware of the policies in relations to industrialization, land acquisition, agricultural development. This is a micro-study and as such may have limited implication from the perspectives of micro studies. But the intensity and implications of the movement in Singur gained all-India attention due to a variety of reasons. Naturally, the findings may be used to understand the linkage between farmers and their land as well as the sufferings and miseries of the uprooted peasants. The research will surely help to those scholars who are interested to know about the situations of the farmers after the land acquisition and formulate remedies for people having no knowledge and skill other than agriculture for their existence.

Similar micro studies conducted in other parts of the country thus constitute a total whole through which academics and researchers can explore the problems and difficulties involved in the process of land acquisitions on the basis of certain Acts having no relevance to the rapidly changing situations in the context of globalization and neo-liberal economic policies followed by the Government.

1.13. Chapterisation

The study has been divided into eight chapters including introduction and conclusion.

- **Chapter 1** Deals with the introduction of the subject of study with its theoretical underpinning and backup by review of available literature along with the Research Methodology undertaken for the detailed study.

- **Chapter 2** Elaborates the social and economic profiles of West Bengal. It discusses the policies related to agriculture and industry adopted during the post-independent period till the end of the Left Front Government.
- **Chapter 3** Identifies the underlying relationship between land acquisition and land reforms, and we have given particular focus on the states of West Bengal and Punjab.
- **Chapter 4** Presents the legal and institutional mechanisms of land acquisition and related policies in West Bengal as well as India. It also traces the loop-holes of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, which was applied to land acquisition in Singur, Nandigram and other parts of West Bengal.
- **Chapter 5** explains the policies adopted by the present Trinamool Congress Government in West Bengal.
- **Chapter-6 and Chapter-7** are most vital since these concentrate on the facts and developments in land acquisition in Singur for the Tata Nano project and the proposal for a project in Nandigram for the construction of a 'chemical hub'. Each of these chapters divided into different section and sub-sections specifying the project profile, profile of the area, process of land acquisition, resistance and people's struggle, environment and food security, compensation and rehabilitation, the role of multiple stakeholders and so on. An effort has been made to display the whole scenario of agro-based transformation and land acquisition using data and information collected through field survey applying necessary methodology.
- **The final chapter** draws the conclusion and summarises the finding in a logical manner. It also recapitulates briefly the work done and presents some observations on Dynamics of Agro-based Transformation along with the limitations of this study.