

LAND ACQUISITION FOR INDUSTRIALISATION: A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS OF SUSTAINABILITY OF LAND LOSER FAMILIES

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Abstract: *Background:* The development debate around the world is showing trends of changing scenarios. With introspection of the ongoing model of development, the world community has started advocating for an alternative development paradigm. Enlisting 'sustainability' as the core of this new paradigm, the idea is to shift towards sustainable development' models. As we adopt the 'sustainable development' model with the imperatives of optimism, it becomes essential to reflect upon the unsustainable characteristics of the past and ongoing development processes. A reflection of this nature will be instrumental in the avoidance of previous mistakes in the impending era of sustainable development.

Materials and Methods: Land, being one of the most important finite resources is not only a piece of natural resource, which requires management and conservation; it is also an economic good and an important component of social formation. Practices and policies around land use vary considerably across the world and depend on physical as well as socio-economic and cultural factors. However, the use of agricultural land for industrialisation leads to a number of adverse socio-economic and cultural impacts in rural societies. The district of Paschim Medinipur in West Bengal is chiefly an agriculture-based district where more than seventy per cent of the population lives in the rural area and among them, the majority depends on agriculture and agriculture-related activities.

Findings: In this micro-level study, we would present some empirical data on the socio-economic and cultural consequences of land acquisition for the establishment of heavy industry (Tata Metaliks) on the fertile agricultural land in the Kharagpur subdivision of Paschim Medinipur district in the early 1990s by the West Bengal government.

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Conclusions: The key findings of this empirical study on the employment loss of a male member of land loser family and participation of female member of land loser families towards income generation after land acquisition in a particular area has some interesting observations that are both positive and negative in nature. However, development projects have made the life of the ousters in general land loser families, in particular, more miserable and they have been further impoverished and languishing in poverty without sustainability.

Introduction

The development of the debate around the world is showing trends of changing scenarios. With introspection of the ongoing model of development, the world community has started advocating for an alternative development paradigm. Enlisting 'sustainability' as the core of this new paradigm, the idea is to shift towards sustainable development' models. The new paradigm underlines two essential realities. First, acknowledgement of unsustainable characteristics of the past and ongoing development models. Second, the need for incorporating the principle of justice, when it comes to using natural resources of the planet earth. As we adopt the 'sustainable development' model with the imperatives of optimism, it becomes essential to reflect upon the unsustainable characteristics of the past and ongoing development processes. A reflection of this nature will be instrumental in the avoidance of previous mistakes in the impending era of sustainable development.

The paper has been basically discussed the Indian Land Acquisition Act, 1894 and its demerits with a micro-level example. And this paper also tries to understand how the Indian Government tried to develop a new land acquisition Act in the year after 2013 in the concept of sustainable development. Indian Land Acquisition Act, 1984 is the primary legislation in India that deals with the acquisition of land by the Government for a public purpose. It forms the Parent Act and is the basis of all Central and State laws relating to compulsory acquisition and the compensation payable to the interested person upon such acquisition. Therefore, it is important to note that the power of the Government in this regard is not absolute and is subject to payment of adequate and just compensation to the landowner. Thus the law of compensation is intertwined with the law of acquisition. But on the other hand, The Government of India claims there is heightened public concern on land acquisition issues in India. Of particular concern is that despite many amendments, over the years, to India's Land Acquisition Act of 1894, there is an absence of a cohesive national law that addresses. Government acquires for a public purpose and private company acquire the land they required fair compensation and fair rehabilitation of landowners and those land losers or owners directly affected from loss of livelihoods. The Government of India believes that a combined law is necessary, one that legally requires rehabilitation and resettlement necessarily and simultaneously follow government acquisition of land for

public purposes. Government acquires land for its own use, hold and control (Guha 2007 & Majumder 2007). The government by using their eminent domain power acquires land with the ultimate purpose to transfer it for the use of private companies for a stated public purpose and acquires land for immediate and declared use by private companies for a public purpose (Guha 2007 & Majumder, 2007).

120 years after the old Land Acquisition Act, 1894 has been replaced by the “Right to Fair Compensation, Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013” (LARR). The UPA Government had seven years after two separate legislations, Land Acquisition Act (Amendment) 2007 and Resettlement and Rehabilitation Bill, 2007 introduced in wake of Nandigram Singur, Kalinganagar and much other militant opposition to land acquisition by farmers in the country. This Act claims to better reflect the Government’s commitment to securing a legal guarantee for the rights of project-affected and ensuring greater transparency in the land acquisition process. India Government believed that there was a heightened public concern on land acquisition. For despite many amendments in India’s Land Acquisition Act 1894 there was an absence of cohesive national law that addressed fair compensation when private land is acquired for public use, and fair rehabilitation of landowners and those directly affected from loss of livelihoods.

The main aims and objectives of this Act are to ensure, in consultation with institutions of local self-government and Gram Sabhas established under the Constitution of India, a humane, participative, informed and transparent process for land acquisition for industrialization, development of essential infrastructural facilities and urbanization with the least disturbance to the owners of the land and other affected families. It provides just and fair compensation to the affected families whose land has been acquired or proposed to be acquired or are affected by such acquisition. It makes adequate provisions for such affected persons for their rehabilitation and resettlement. Moreover, it ensures that the cumulative outcome of compulsory acquisition should be that affected persons become partners in development leading to an improvement in their post-acquisition social and economic status and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto (Cernea 1996a, Das & Guha 2016). The purpose of the Act is to establish the law relating to land acquisition, as well as the rehabilitation and resettlement scheme of those directly affected by the land acquisition in India. It gives benefit to all land acquisition whether it is acquired by the Central Government or State Government except for the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

However, the acquisition of agricultural land for industrialisation leads to a number of socio-economic consequences. The Paschim Medinipur district in the state of West Bengal, India is chiefly an agricultural district where more than seventy per cent of the population lives in the rural area and among them, the majority depends on agriculture

and agriculture-related occupations. Any developmental programme, which requires the acquisition of agricultural land, therefore, is bound to affect the livelihood of the people dependent on agriculture. In the wake of the liberalization policy in 1991, the government of West Bengal has also chosen the path of development of the state through industrialisation which needed the acquisition of a huge amount of land for the establishment of the industries. There is however a lack of arrangement on the part of the government to assess the impact of land acquisition on the landowning peasant families in the rural areas, the majority of whom are small and marginal farmers who depend on the crops yielded in their lands for subsistence.

Objectives and Research Questions

Under this background, this study attempted to generate baseline data on the various socio-economic consequences of land acquisition for a private company by the West Bengal Government in a particular village. In hindsight, this field-based research can be viewed as a kind of post-project socio-economic impact assessment with special reference to sustainability in a village affected by land expropriation and therefore bear important contemporary applied relevance. Some important researches questions are

- 1) How do the land loser families are coping up with the problems of landlessness and household food insecurity?
- 2) Is there any significant shift in terms of occupation among the land losers away from agricultural occupation to other kinds of non-agricultural occupations?
- 3) What are the causes of the breakdown of the joint families after land acquisition?
etc.

Methodology

This study is mainly based on direct, in-depth observation and interviews with the villagers affected by land acquisition. The demographic and economic surveys were conducted among all the households of the Gokulpur village with the help of structured and open-ended questionnaire schedules. The qualitative information regarding the feeling and attitude of the acquisition affected persons were collected through repeated conversations with those persons over a long period of time. The stories of hardship and economic crises have been collected from individual family members by the case study method.

Area and People

The villages of the study area come under the administrative jurisdiction of the Kharagpur-I block of the present Paschim Medinipur district. The Kharagpur-I block is situated in the western part of the district and is bounded in the north by the Kasai River. On the

west and the south of the block lies the Jhargram sub-division while the Kharagpur Township is located in the east. Although the two major townships of the district are situated almost in the vicinity of this block, it is chiefly an agricultural area with few patches of *Sal* forest. The area is characterised by vast open cultivable lands interspersed with village settlements connected by unmetalled roads. The name of the village which has been studied specifically is Gokulpur and it is a multiethnic farming village. The village is situated about 7 kilometres from Medinipur town which was the district Headquarters of the erstwhile Medinipur. This village is located very near to the river Kasai on the east and in the west, lies the south-eastern railway track which runs between Medinipur and Kharagpur railway station.

On the east of Gokulpur, lies the village Borkola. On the south side of this village, there are Chunpara and Nimpura villages. In the west and north lie the villages Amba and Ajobpur respectively. Except for Chunpara, all the other villages that surround Gokulpur are agricultural villages in which most of the inhabitants depend on agriculture and agricultural-related economic pursuits. In Gokulpur too, the majority of the villagers are depended on the cultivation of paddy and various kinds of vegetables.

Land types

There are mainly two types of land in Gokulpur. They are termed “*Jal Jami*” and “*Kala Jami*” in local parlance. The “*Jal Jami*” lands are low lying and hold water during the rainy season while the “*Kala Jami*” is located near the house sites and at higher elevations than the “*Jal Jami*”. In the rainy season, people cultivate mainly paddy on the “*Jal Jami*”. On the other hand, “*Kala Jami*” is used for vegetable cultivation, in the winter season. In Gokulpur, 48.26 per cent of land belongs to the category “*Jal*” out of the total amount of land under cultivation. This has been calculated from the data collected by our household census survey. Table 1 deals with the land types in Gokulpur.

Table 1: Land Types in Gokulpur

<i>Land Type</i>		<i>Total</i>
Kala Jami (in acres)	Jal Jami (in acres)	
61.89 (51.74)	57.73 (48.26)	119.62(100)

Figures in parentheses represent percentage out of column total⁶

Land acquisition for Tata Metaliks

Tata Metaliks is a heavy industry, which was established within the jurisdiction of the Kalaikunda Gram Panchayat in 1992. This is a pig-iron manufacturing plant that was found

to produce about 290 tonnes of pig-iron per day in 1995-96. After the establishment of Tata Metaliks, the company has built up a metal road on the western side connecting the plant with the national highway 6 in a place named Sahachawk. The south-eastern railway station line runs on the eastern side of the industry. The Kharagpur railway station is only about 5 kilometres and the Medinipur district headquarters is 7 kilometres from this place. In this connection, the researcher recalls that in his answer to a question on 1.6.1992 in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly the Land and Land Reforms Minister mentioned that 217.23 acres of land were acquired for the Tata Metaliks (Guha 2007, 96).

The land acquired for the pig-iron industry belonged to “*jal some*” class according to the age-old system of classification made by the Land and Land Reforms Department. The possessions on these lands were given to the company on different dates in the month of August 1991 and declaration notifications were published from November 1991 to January 1992. The Land Acquisition Department approved a rate of 20,686 rupees per acre. The cases of Land acquisition for Tata Metaliks have shown that the Government of West Bengal desired a quick acquisition of land for the company and that is why Act-II was employed for the said purpose (Majumder 2011, 239).

The area lies on the bank of the river Kasai which is the largest river of the erstwhile Medinipur district. Cultivation of paddy (staple food of the district) in the villages under study depends primarily upon rainfall and no systematic irrigation facilities have yet been developed by the government. The villagers residing on the south-eastern bank of the

Table 2: Pre-acquisition and Post-Acquisition Agricultural Landholding Scenario of the Land Loser Families in the Village

<i>Size category of landholdings in acres</i>	<i>Before land acquisition</i>	<i>Mean household size</i>	<i>After land acquisition</i>	<i>Mean household size</i>
Landless	-	-	5 (5.05)	3.60
≤ 0.5	10 (10.10)	1.90	28 (28.28)	4.21
0.5 – 1.5	38 (38.38)	3.97	39 (39.39)	6.21
1.5 – 2.5	23 (23.23)	6.80	19 (19.19)	5.16
2.5 – 3.5	17 (17.17)	7.80	03 (03.03)	9.66
3.5 – 4.5	04 (4.04)	8.20	03 (03.03)	9.33
4.5 – 5.0	-	-	1 (01.01)	14.00
5.0 +	07 (7.07)	9.40	1 (01.01)	11.00
Total	99	5.63	99	5.63

Figures in parentheses represent percentage out of column total. (n= 99), n = Total number of land loser families in Gokulpur

river cultivate a variety of vegetables on the land adjoining their homesteads (“*Kala Jami*”) owing to a very good supply of groundwater tapped through traditional dug wells. But just west of the south-eastern Railway track the groundwater level is not very congenial for the cultivation of vegetables. The main agricultural activity on this side of the railway track is rain-fed paddy cultivation for about four to six months of the year. Land for the two big private industries had been acquired by the government on this side during 1991-96 (Majumder & Guha 2008, Majumder 2011, Majumder 2013a, Majumder 2013b, Majumder 2014a, Majumder 2014b, Majumder 2016).

Table 2 shows the pre-acquisition and post-acquisition agricultural landholding scenarios of the land loser families in Gokulpur. After the land acquisition, 5 families among the total number of 99 families became landless which constitutes 5.05 per cent of the total land loser families. The families having less than 0.5 acres of land dramatically increased from 10 (10.10 per cent) to 28 (28.28 per cent) after land acquisition. It was noticed that even after the land acquisition the number of families having 0.5- 1.5 acres of land increased from 38 (38.38 per cent) to 39 (39.39 per cent). But, the families having 1.5- 2.5 acres of land decreased from 23 (23.23 per cent) to 19 (19.19 per cent). Similarly, a good decline was noticed in the number of families having 2.5 acres to more than 5.0 acres of land the number of families decreased from 28 (28.28 per cent) to 8 (8.08 per cent) after the acquisition. On the other hand, the numbers of households within the size category 2.5- 5.0+ acres have declined from 6.53 to 4 only.

From the above analysis, it can be inferred that there was a steep decline in the amount of paddy cultivation land which consequently brought a decrease in the production of paddy too. On the other hand, the decrease in the amount of paddy land and paddy production led to an increase in non-agricultural activities and loss of household-level food (Majumder & Guha 2008, Majumder 2013a, Majumder 2016).

Case I: *Fonivusan Patra is a middle-aged man who inherited 7.20 acres’ fertile land from his father. Into which 3.80 acres was paddy land and 3.40 acres of land for vegetable cultivation. 2.80 acres of his paddy fields have been acquired for Tata Metaliks. He belonged to the Sadgop caste and was an active participant in the movement against land acquisition. He saved the money in the State bank. He thinks that his once acre of paddy land and 3.40 acres of vegetable land are blessing for him because this land has not been acquired. He cultivates paddy (Paddy land), potato, onion, tomato, cauliflower etc. and sells in the market. His one son, who read in class V and other daughter read in class VIII*

Socio-Economic Impact of Land acquisition

The first and foremost consequence conforms to the observation of Michael Cernea which he mentioned in his publications on the “eight major risks” (i.e. *landlessness, Joblessness, homelessness, loss of common property, marginalization, food insecurity, mortality, social dis-articulation*)

involved in involuntary displacement caused by development projects all over the world (Cernea 1996a and Cernea 1996b). Industrialisation in the liberalization decade in Kharagpur Block has undoubtedly led to the dispossession of the small and marginal farmers from their principal means of production.

Table 3: Profile of Utilization of Compensation Money by Land Loser Households in the Study Area

<i>Compensation category in rupees</i>	<i>Purchase of agricultural land</i>	<i>Purchase of shallow tube well</i>	<i>House Building or Repair</i>	<i>Domestic consumption</i>	<i>Marriage of family members</i>	<i>Repayment of loan</i>	<i>Bank Deposit</i>	<i>Business Investment</i>
< 5000	-	10	-	21	14	07	09	02
5000-10000	-	12	-	08	08	03	06	08
10000-15000	-	14	04	12	-	01	07	-
15000-20000	-	09	06	05	-	-	06	-
20000-25000	01	04	-	02	03	-	02	-
25000-30000	-	09	04	05	02	-	05	-
30000-35000	-	01	-	01	-	-	01	-
35000-40000	02	04	01	03	-	-	03	02
40000-45000	-	01	-	01	-	-	01	-
45000-50000	-	01	01	01	-	-	01	-
50000-55000	-	02	02	02	-	-	02	-
55000-60000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
60000 <	-	08	07	08	02	-	07	-
Total	03 (3.03)	75(75.75)	25(25.25)	69(69.69)	29(29.29)	11(11.11)	50(50.50)	12(12.12)

Figures in parentheses represent percentage out of column total.

In Table 3 we have made an attempt to quantify the pattern of utilization of the compensation money received by the land loser in the study area. First, it should be mentioned that all 99 households have received compensation. Second, all the families have utilised the compensation money in more ways than one. So, like the category, any row total is a result of the addition of the same household more than once under different categories. As a result, some of the row totals are not equal to the total number of households in our sample. This gives a fair idea as to how the villagers have tried to compensate for their loss of land. The maximum number of affected households has spent some portion of the compensation money spent for agricultural purposes (for example, agricultural land, shallow tube wells etc.), while the second-highest number of

households have spent some portion of compensation on domestic consumption. Besides these, in this table, it is also clear that 50.50 per cent of families deposited compensation money in the bank.

After this table, a selected case study in the form of a personal narrative would be described in order to highlight the fact and results encountered by the villagers affected by land acquisition for private industries.

Case II: *Murali Santra is a land loser Sadgop farmer. He inherited 8.60 acres of fertile land from his father. He used to till the land with his family members and got 20,000 – 25,000 kg paddy per year. He cultivated different traditional varieties of paddy, such as Rupsal, Patnai, Sitalal, Jota which were usually planted in the rainy season. During the other times of the year, the land remained unfilled because of a shortage of water. The paddy yielded in this land was used to feed his family and if there was any surplus then he sold it in the market. He came to know about the acquisition of the land from a notice, which came from the land acquisition office of Midnapore. After receiving the notice, he attends the meeting but never submitted any objection in writing. After a short period of time like other farmers of Gokulpur, he agreed to give away his land with the hope that a member of his family will get a permanent job in the industry. He got compensation of Rs. 22,000/- for his 1 acre of land (located in the Amba mouza) which was acquired for the Tata metals company. He saves this compensation money in the bank. His family is now undergoing economic as well as psychological stress. The land, which he possesses, now cannot supply food for his family throughout the year. He now has to purchase paddy from the market for two months of the year. After the acquisition of the land, he bought two ploughs and a pair of bullocks and a shallow tube well. After the acquisition, he did not take any loan from the bank, but he received a different type of psychological and some economic help from his relatives. He also sells vegetables grown in his homestead land. He stated that the most adverse and immediate effect of land acquisition in his family was the scarcity of food and fodder for the cattle.*

We would now summarise in the following Table 4 the scenario of occupational change that has taken place among the agricultural households of Gokulpur after the acquisition.

Table 4: Changes in Occupational Pattern Among the Land Loser Family members

<i>Occupational Pattern</i>	<i>Number of family members in pre-acquisition period</i>	<i>Number of family members in the post-acquisition period</i>
Cultivation	379 (75.19)	39 (6.99)
Vegetable business	18 (03.57)	52 (9.31)
Cultivation & vegetable business	30 (5.95)	286 (51.25)
Regular job	9 (1.78)	32 (5.73)
Contract labourers	68 (13.49)	133 (23.83)
Shopkeeper	-	16 (2.87)
Total	504	558

Figures in parentheses represent percentage out of column total.

It is evident from the above breakdown of occupation categories that the member of persons engaged in cultivation has drastically declined after the land takeover- from 75.19 per cent to a meagre 6.99 per cent. But interestingly enough this shift from agriculture in terms of occupation was not found to be filled in by a consequent proportional increase in regular jobs and/ or occupations unrelated to agriculture. In fact, a substantial number of Gokulpur villagers grown in 'Kala Jami' along with cultivation of food crops in the unacquired land- the numbers of persons in this category have also dramatically increased from 30 to 286 which reveals the tendency of the Sadgop farmers to adapt under this situation of landlessness. The number of permanent service holders (e.g. school teachers, govt. office employees, railway employees etc.) has increased in Gokulpur but none of them gets a job in the Tata factory as a land loser. Among the contract labourers, there were a number of persons who got a casual appointment in the construction works of the Tata factory, but here a number of persons were found to work as agricultural day labourers. Only one new occupation was found to emerge in the post-acquisition period and that is the category of 'shopkeeper' which include village grocers, cycle repairing shop-owners and fertiliser selling shop-owners.

Case III: *Gokul Choudhury is a middle-aged man who owned 0.54 acres' land from his father. He has read up to class-VI and his main occupation was agriculture. But after the acquisition, his main occupation is vegetable selling. He used to till the land with his family members and got 2800 kg paddy per year. He cultivated different traditional varieties of paddy (Rupsal, Patnai etc.) which are usually planted in the rainy season. He came to know about the acquisition of the land from a notice, which came from the land acquisition office of Midnapore. After receiving the notice, he, however, attend the meeting but never submitted any objection in writing. After a short period of time like other farmers of Gokulpur, he agreed to give away his land with the hope that a member of his family will get a permanent job in the industry. He got compensation of Rs. 4000/- for giving 0.22 acres of land (located in the Pritimpur mouza) which was acquired for the Tata Metaliks Company. His other piece of purchased land located in the Amba mouza amounted to 0.32 acres, was acquired by the Government for the Bansal Cement Company in the year 1995. He got compensation of Rs. 48000/- for giving this land. He saved the money in the local State Bank. The land which he possesses, now cannot supply food for his family throughout the year. He now has to purchase paddy from the market for two-three months of the year. He and his son also sell vegetables grown in his homestead land.*

On the other hand, the most adverse and direct effect of land acquisition became to us when we collected data on the household food security of the land loser families of Gokulpur. We have made an attempt to demonstrate the household food insecurity caused by land acquisition in terms of the dependence of villagers on the purchase of the staple food crop from the market. From our field observations and interviews, we have learned that almost all the farmers of Gokulpur used to consume the paddy they grow in their fields. We have not come across any farmer who sold their paddy in the market. Purchasing

rice for consumption is viewed by the peasant families of this region and particularly among the Sadgopes is regarded as a dishonourable act. A good farmer in this area is one who can feed his family with the paddy grown in his field throughout the year. In almost all our conversations with the members of the land loser families always expressed their hopelessness whenever they had to talk about the number of months in which they purchased rice from the market for domestic consumption. Let us now look at the table. But before analysing the table we have to mention an important point, it shows a higher number of families in the post-acquisition period. This is due to the that is quite a good number of families in the pre-acquisition period have broken into smaller families owing to the process of size diminution which happens over time hand acquisition might have quickened the process of family brake down but we have not enquired into this phenomenon since that requires a larger sample size and control and treatment group comparison.

Coming to our original point, from Table 5, we find that in the pre-acquisition period 56 per cent of the total number of cultivator families were self-sufficient in terms of domestic paddy consumption while this percentage declined to 45.45 per cent in the post-acquisition period. Furthermore, in the pre-acquisition period, no family purchased rice for more than 5 months in a year. But in the post-acquisition period, we find 43.43 per cent of families who have to purchase rice for 5- 12 months of the year. We can conclude that the acquisition of rain-fed, mono-crop land has eroded the domestic food security of the majority of land loser families in Gokulpur 15 years after the land takes over for the Tata Metallic.

Table 5: Changing Pattern of Dependence on Staple Food (paddy) in the Market Among Land loser Families

<i>Months</i>	<i>Number of the families</i>	
	<i>Pre-acquisition period</i>	<i>Post-acquisition period</i>
0	28 (56)	45 (45.45)
1-4	22 (44)	11 (11.11)
5-8	-	31 (31.31)
9-12	-	12 (12.12)
Total	50 (100)	99 (100)

Figures in parentheses represent percentage out of column total.

Loss of Employment among the Land loser

I have found through interviews and direct observation during the agricultural season that all the peasant families of Gokulpur carried out their agricultural operations with

the help of family labour as well as hired labourers from the village and its surrounding area within a radius of 4-5 kilometres. These hired labourers largely belonged to landless tribal families who worked on a daily wage basis. The agricultural labourers in this village were paid Rs. 35/- per day and 3 kilograms of rice while the female labourers were given Rs. 30/- per day and 3 kilograms of rice during 2007 when I conducted the fieldwork. By adding the price of 3 kilograms of rice at the prevalent local market rate, the wage for male and female agricultural labourers turned out to be Rs. 70/- and Rs. 65/- respectively which was quite below the wage rate of agricultural workers (Rs.101.23/day) fixed by the Government of India in 2009. Here an attempt has been made to assess the impact of land acquisition on the labour employment pattern in the village. For this purpose, we have collected data from each land loser family on the number of hired labourers for performing the various agricultural tasks (e.g. ploughing, harvesting etc.) in their land before and after acquisition in a particular agricultural season.

The number of hired labourers employed by a cultivator family mainly depended on the number of adult males and the amount of agricultural land owned by the family. I expected that in a situation of land acquisition, the number of hired labourers employed by a particular family would decline irrespective of the number of adult males in the family. In order to test this hypothesis, we have constructed a table in which the amount of land lost by the families is cross-tabulated with the average number of hired labourers by those families. We have also constructed two more tables to see the relationship between labour employment patterns and the number of adult working males in the pre and post-acquisition periods.

From Table 6 and figure 1, we find that the average of the number of hired labourers in a family has a positive relation ($r= 0.40$) with the amount of land lost by acquisition, which means that contrary to our expectation, land acquisition has increased the number of hired labourers in a land loser family. One possible reason may be the fragmentation of the extended family which created a shortage in the family labour pool. This is supported by the findings represented in Table 7, 8 and figure 2, 3 which revealed that while in the pre-acquisition period the number of hired labourers had a negative relation with the number of adult male workers of the family; the former was found to be related positively with the latter in the post-acquisition period. This means that a farmer who lost land through acquisition also faced the shortage of family labour owing to the breakup of the joint/extended family which was found to be an almost inevitable consequence of acquisition. I may recall here that there were 37 joint/extended families (74%) out of 50 families in the pre-acquisition period, which fragmented into 74 nuclear families within a period of 15-17 years (Majumder 2007).

Table 6: Amount of land lost vis-à-vis hired labour employment

<i>Size Category of land lost</i>	<i>Number of families</i>	<i>Mean of labour employed</i>	<i>Coefficient of correlation (r)</i>
0- 0.25	28	23.71	0.40
0.26- 0.50	14	24.28	
0.51- 0.75	15	28.60	
0.76- 1.00	18	33.50	
1.01- 1.25	8	31.98	
1.26- 1.50	1	40.00	
1.51- 1.75	4	24.69	
1.76- 2.00	3	33.78	
2.01- 2.25	0	0.00	
2.26- 2.50	1	22.00	
2.51- 2.75	0	0.00	
2.76- 3.00	3	31.00	
3.01- 3.25	0	0.00	
3.25+	4	31.05	
Total	94	31.91	

Five families have become landless due to acquisition, so they have been excluded from this table.

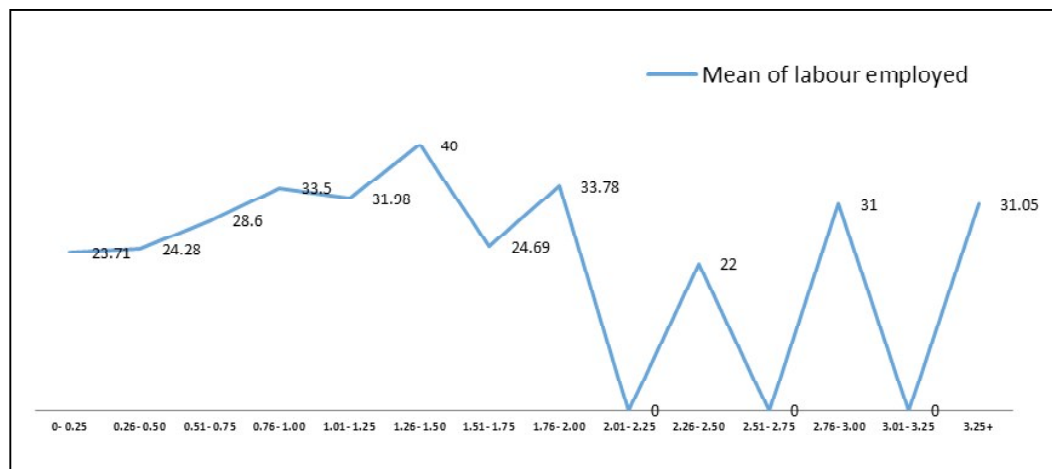


Figure 1: The amount of land lost vis-a-vis mean of hired labour employment

Table 7: No. of adult male vis-à-vis hired labour employment in the Pre-acquisition period

<i>No. of adult male</i>	<i>No. of family</i>	<i>Mean of labour employed</i>	<i>Coefficient of correlation (r)</i>
1	6	90.00	
2	7	74.42	
3	5	46.80	
4	5	47.00	
5	11	38.45	
6	8	27.37	-0.00034
7	3	26.00	
8	2	12.50	
9	2	12.50	
10	1	5.00	
Total	50	46.10	

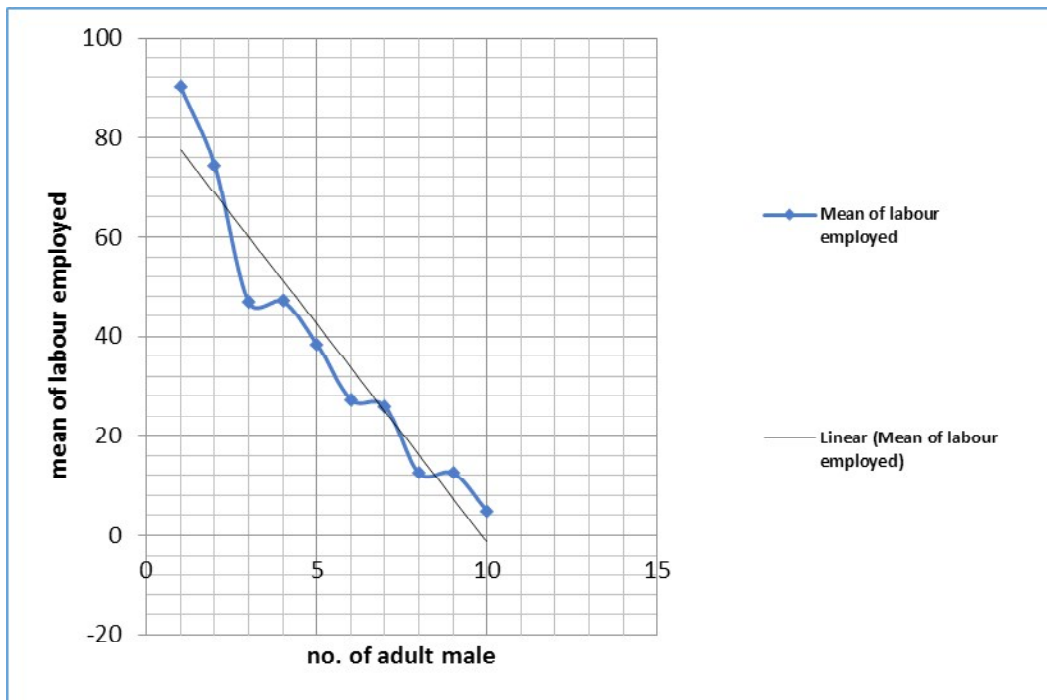


Figure 2: Adult male vis-à-vis hired labour employment in the Pre-acquisition period

Table 8: No. of adult male vis-à-vis hired labour employment in the Post-acquisition period

No. of adult male	No. of family	Mean of labour employed	Coefficient of correlation (r)
1	82	28.78	0.65
2	5	39.00	
3	4	56.25	
4	3	60.00	
Total	94	30.30	

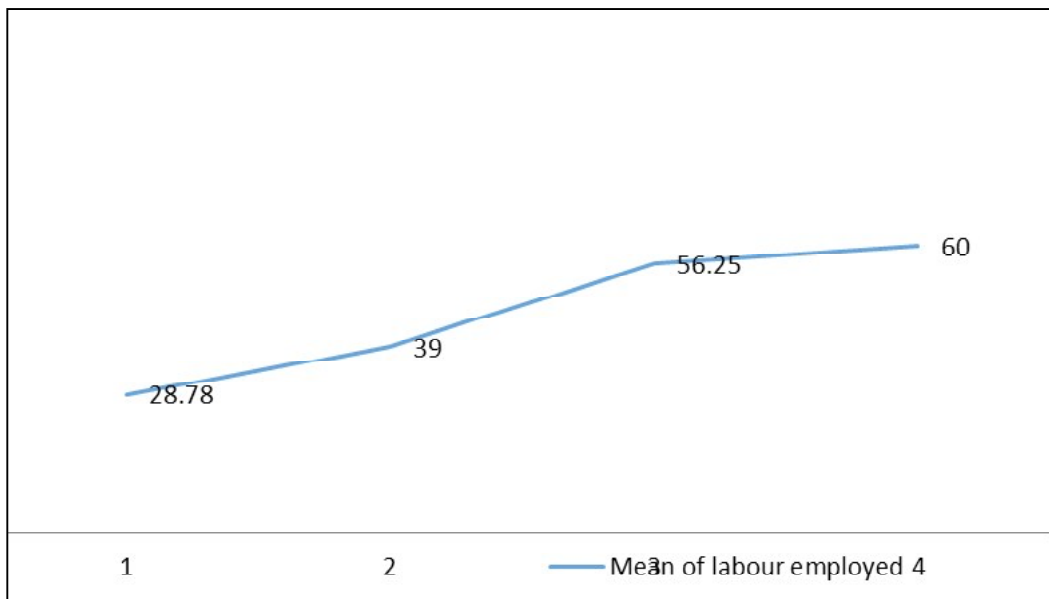


Figure 3: Adult male vis-à-vis hired labour employment in the Post-acquisition period

Case IV: Upendra Jhap is a Sodgope peasant. At present, he is 67 years old. At the time of land acquisition by Tata Metaliks his 1.3 acres of land was acquired. Presently, his family has been fragmented into four separate households and he and his three sons are cultivating 4 acres of land separately keeping one acre under the possession of each household. Upendra narrated that within three years of the land acquisition their land, compensation money and households were divided. Four nuclear families grew out of the single joint/extended family. He told that before the acquisition, they used to cultivate a total of 5.3 acres of land and at times engaged as many as 30 agricultural labourers during the time of harvesting, plantation and ploughing. But now under the separated condition, he has to engage 40 to 50 agricultural labourers for the one acre of land in season.

In the pre-acquisition period, the number of labourers engaged was lower than that is engaged now. He explained that the cause behind the engagement of more labour was a decline in the family labour pool. Earlier, his three adult sons worked in the land owned by his joint family. 'Worst of all' Upendra exclaimed 'the employment of more agricultural labourers also cost more for carrying out cultivation on a smaller plot of land.'

Participation of Women towards Income Generation

Traditionally, the Sodgop women in a peasant family perform all kinds of domestic work, like cooking, cleaning the house, washing utensils and clothes, feeding the domestic animals, caring for the children and the old age persons. These women also help their men in the storage and processing of the paddy after harvest but they usually do not move out of their houses to do extra-domestic work, like sowing paddy seeds, harvesting paddy selling vegetables etc. For a woman working outside the house is considered to be dishonourable and it is a shameful act on the part of a woman of this caste to work outside the domestic domain for earning money. We have not found any e woman belonging to a family having sufficient land to feed the members of her family to work outside the household. The acquisition of land of the Sadgop peasant families however brought a change as regards the participation of women in extra-domestic work. In the village Gokulpur, I have found that many wives, widows and unmarried daughters have moved out of their traditional domestic activities to work outside the household for earning money to provide economic support to the family. The economic crisis created by land acquisition forced the women of these families to do a variety of jobs that were earlier done by the men only. These extra-domestic jobs included selling vegetables in the nearby market, working as daily labourers in brick kiln factories and also as agricultural workers in the fields of other landowning families of the village. I have not however found any Sodgop woman who migrated as agricultural labourers to distant villages like the tribal and lower caste women of the region. Engagement in extra-domestic work by the women of the land loser families however did not mean that the women were released from their heavy domestic tasks. Land acquisition in Gokulpur village has imposed a double burden of workload on the women of the affected families.

In the following table 8 and the bar diagram (Fig. 4), we have attempted to quantify the work participation of women within and outside the domestic domain under the impact of land acquisition. The table shows that even before the acquisition some of the Sodgop women (11.03%) were already doing extra-domestic work to provide economic support to their families but the percentage of women doing extra-domestic work nearly up to 50% of the total number of women after the acquisition. The table also shows that vegetable selling in the market became an important extra-domestic job for the women of the land loser families. Some of the women were also found to engage themselves in both vegetable

selling and daily agricultural work to earn money. The typical case study of one housewife of a land loser family who is now engaged in extra-domestic work is given below to depict the condition of women under the impact of land acquisition.

Table 9: Working women engaged in domestic and extra domestic work among the land loser family

Periods	Domestic and extra-domestic work						Grand Total
	Domestic	Extra-domestic				Total (extra-domestic)	
		Vegetable selling	Agricultural labourer with Vegetable selling	Day labourer	Others		
Pre-acquisition	113 (88.97)	8 (6.29)	2 (1.57)	1 (0.78)	3 (2.36)	14 (11.03)	127
Post-Acquisition	83 (49.70)	39 (23.35)	33 (19.76)	7 (4.19)	5 (2.99)	94 (50.30)	161

Figures in parentheses represent percentages of row total

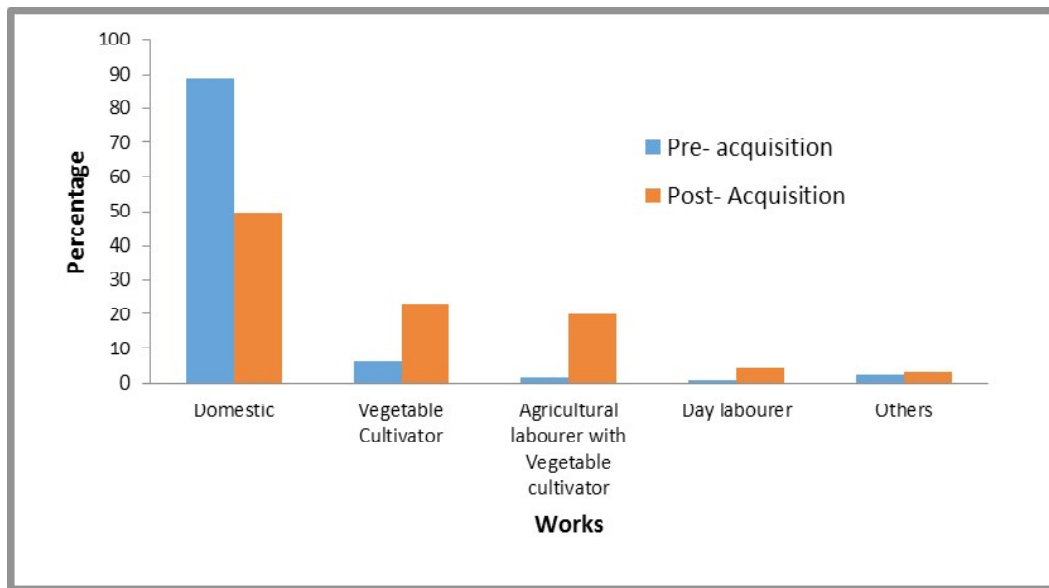


Figure 4: Bar diagram showing the working women engaged in domestic and extra domestic work

Case V: *Archana Ghosh (Age 53 years) is a Sadgope housewife who used to help her husband in the cultivation of vegetables in the homestead land of their family. After two months of her marriage, her father-in-law lost 3 acres of land. At that time there were seven members in the household. After the acquisition, they had only 0.5 acres of agricultural land, which was not at all sufficient to feed the whole family. She was advised by her husband to work outside the home for earning money. But being a newly married bride she could not do it. During that time her mother-in-law started to sell vegetables that they grew in their homestead land. But in course of time she, along with her three sisters-in-law also started vegetable selling in the Kharida Bajar in the nearby Kharagpur town. At present, she lives in a separate household with her husband and two children. Her elder son had to leave school two years ago and she lament for this tragic event. She also felt bad since she did not get any chance to look after her son and daughter properly because she has to spend considerable time outside her house to earn money for the family.*

The Utilisation of Money Earned by Women

In traditional peasant families, the women do not have much access to cash money. In the village of Gokulpur also the women did not spend or save much cash money since they were not engaged in the service or petty business. The only source of income for the village women was the selling of eggs of the domestic poultry birds and surplus straw and cow dung cakes over which the men of the peasant household did not exercise any control or ownership. Usually, the older women of the family used to spend and save the money earned from the sale of the aforementioned items. The older women used to give some money to the children of the family for their entertainment and also during family feasts on the occasion of religious festivals. The scenario changed after land acquisition since many women also earned money by doing extra-domestic work. In the following table, we have made an attempt to compare the pattern of utilisation of money earned by women among the land loser and non-land loser families through quantification. The data show that more women have saved cash money through bank deposits which they have earned by doing extra-domestic work in order to meet future economic crises. Spending on cash money earned by acquisition affected women constituted the second-highest category of

Table 10: Utilisation Pattern of Money Earned by Women

<i>Months</i>	<i>Number of Women</i>	
	<i>Land loser</i>	<i>Non-land loser</i>
Bank deposits	63 (52.06)	42 (35.00)
Loan repayment	45 (37.19)	27 (22.50)
Household purposes	13 (11.74)	51 (40.83)
Total	121	120

Figures in parentheses represent percentages of column total

utilisation. Interestingly, the spending of money earned by women for domestic purposes has declined considerably among the women belonging to the land loser families indicating a poorer allocation of funds for domestic merrymaking (e.g. giving some pocket money to the children of the family).

Case VI: *Lalita Choudbury (age 70 years) is a Sadgope widow. At present, she lives with her elder son (Age 48 years), daughter-in-law and grandson in a joint family at Gokulpur village. Her son passed class X and her grandson also studied up to class X. Her son and his grandson both are engaged in agricultural activity. Lalita also helped her daughter-in-law with their household works. Her husband lost 1.0 acres of land out of 2.5 acres. According to Lalita land acquisition has not only caused a food shortage in the family but it also forced his son to sell out their domestic cattle. In the earlier time, she used to collect a lot of cow dung of their bullocks and cows which were 6 in number. Quite a good number of cow dung cakes could be made and sold to the neighbours as fuel. Lalita could then give her grandsons some pocket money for entertainment. She even purchased goats and poultry birds out of the money earned from the sale of cow dung cakes. She also narrated how she used to sell the surplus of the non-edible portion derived from the outer layer of the paddy beneath the husk of the cereal as cattle feed and earned some cash money. In rural households, women have exclusive control over these petty earnings which have immense value. 'But gone are those good old days' lamented Lalita 'when I could buy some valuables for my family and bring joy to my grandsons and granddaughters.'*

Critical Remarks and Conclusion

The findings revealed that the land acquisition which took place about two decades ago has worsened the socio-economic condition of the affected families and the people are also making attempts to cope with the situation by adopting various strategies, some of which have further adverse effects on their socio-economic condition. By and large, land acquisition in the absence of proper rehabilitation and pre-project impact assessment has shown a downward spiralling effect in the study area. Finally, I have made some recommendations for the better implementation of the industrialization policy of the Government. Besides these, this study also incorporated Michel Cernea's Impoverished Risk Reduction (IRR) model as a theoretical framework, the paper summaries that, failure of the rehabilitation process in the resettled colonies has produced condition vulnerability for displaced families.

The key findings of this empirical study on the employment loss and participation of women towards income generation after land acquisition in the particular area have some interesting observations which are both positive and negative in nature. However, development projects have made the life of the ousters in general of land loser families, in particular, more miserable and they have been further impoverished and languishing in poverty.

The following are some of the critical remarks of concern which the researcher has flagged to be considered by the policymakers and the project, resettlement agencies to

look into for improving the socio-economic condition of the land loser families in the particular area and all take precautionary measures so that such issues do not figure in case of the ongoing and pipeline projects.

- a) ***Utilization of compensation money for agricultural purposes:*** from this study, we can understand the tendency of affected households has spent some portion of the compensation money for agricultural purposes (for example, purchase of agricultural land, shallow, tube-wells etc.), while the rest of households have spent some portion of the compensation in domestic consumption as well as deposited in the bank.
- b) ***Changes occupational pattern:*** at the occupational level, agriculture, the principal form of occupation in the pre-acquisition stage, was drastically reduced in the post-acquisition period. However, what is worth noting is that this change from agriculture in terms of occupation was not found to be filled in by a consequent proportional increase in occupations unrelated to agriculture. However, a significant shift from paddy cultivation to vegetable cultivation in homesteads land and vegetable business is evident in the post-acquisition period. This implies that agricultural communities like Sadgopes, do not want to dissociate themselves from agriculture-related activities to avoid risk in non-agricultural related activities (Majumder 2011). But, lack of agricultural land some of the land losers have been joined in non-agricultural works in this area.
- c) ***Food insecurity:*** Shortage of agricultural land have been declined in paddy production that affects food security among land loser families, which is reflected by the fact that the number of persons who purchased rice from the market for half of the year increased significantly in the post-acquisition period.

In an agrarian society, the land is a major means of livelihood. Owning cultivable land is seen to be quite prestigious for the peasant families in this region. A good farmer in this area is one who can feed his family with the paddy grown in his field throughout the year.
- d) ***Increase of agriculture labourers:*** After the land acquisition the proportion of the remaining land have been decreased with the labourer. As a result, the number of labourers has been increased in the study area. The wages have been reduced for the excess of labourers in the study area.
- e) ***Increase the workload among the women and working within and outside the domestic domain:*** women of landowner families do not prefer working as agricultural or daily labourers, though a section of women from land-loser families

is compelled to do so in the post-acquisition period. That means forced engagement of women from land loser families in intensive vegetable cultivation in homestead lands provides some amount of money that might play a contributing factor for involvement in vegetable cultivation by women of non-land loser families, which is evident from these case studies.

Acknowledgement

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