

**ACCUMULATION THROUGH DISPOSSESSION:
CONTESTATIONS OF SUBALTERN SPACES IN
THE COAL-STEEL INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX OF
EASTERN INDIA**

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fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION


I declare that the thesis titled “ACCUMULATION THROUGH DISPOSSESSION: CONTESTATIONS OF SUBALTERN SPACES IN THE COAL-STEEL INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX OF EASTERN INDIA” submitted by me is based on my original research work under the supervision of Professor B.S. Butola for the award of the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy at Jawaharlal Nehru University. My indebtedness to other works or publications has been duly acknowledged herein. The thesis has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree or diploma of any other university.

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To my parents

*The reason of what I become today.
Thanks for your great support, love and
encouragement.*

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APPENDIX II: Household Survey Questionnaire for Phd Thesis

ABBREVIATION

ABD	Accumulation by Dispossession
ADIC	Asansol-Durgapur Industrial Complex
ASP	Alloy Steel Plant
BAPL	Bengal Aerotropolis Private Limited
BIFR	Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction
DL&LRO	District Land and Land Reforms Officer
CBAA	Coal Bearing Area Act
CESC	Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation
CIL	Coal India Limited
CMNA	Coal Mines Nationalisation Act
CSIC	Coal Steel Industrial Complex
DSP	Durgapur Steel Plant
DVC	Damodar Valley Corporation
ECL	Eastern Coalfields Limited
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GSI	Geological Survey of India
HEMM	Heavy Earth Moving Machine
ICMPL	Integrated Coal Mining Private Limited
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INC	Indian National Congress
IRR	Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction
LAA	Land Acquisition Act
LAST	Livelihood Asset Status Tracking
LRO	Livelihood Risks and Opportunities
MAW	Minimum Agricultural Wage
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MMDR	Mines and Minerals Development and Regulation
MoC	Ministry of Coal
MOEF	Ministry of Environment and Forest
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non Government Organization
R & R	Resettlement and Rehabilitation
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
VRS	Volunteer Retirement Scheme
WB	World Bank

Glossary

<i>Adivasi</i>	An indigenous group. An official term of Sanskrit origin used to designate aborigines, considered globally as 'tribals', if they were registered as Hindus at the time of the decennial census (2011).
<i>Bandh</i>	A stoppage of work by employees.
<i>Bauri</i>	A caste with lower status mostly concentrated in Bihar and West Bengal; rural agricultural labourers, miner, etc. Probable aboriginal origin.
<i>Bekar</i>	Idle, without work.
<i>Chuthar</i>	Carpenters and Cartwright.
<i>Gherao</i>	Means encirclement. Surrounding and detaining administrative staff and bureaucrats in authority to extract concession and practiced since late 1960s.
<i>Gope</i>	An intermediate class, whose members are often involved in pastoral activities.
<i>Kaccha</i>	Temporary structure made of mud, wood, plastics, etc.
<i>Kumar</i>	An artisan caste of intermediate status: blacksmith.
<i>Mazdoor</i>	Unskilled manual labourer.
<i>Mouza</i>	Hamlet. In terms of land records possesses a specific administrative significance in west Bengal.
<i>Munda</i>	Aboriginal ethnic group localized in Santhal Pargana.
<i>Pacca</i>	Concrete structure.
<i>Panchayet</i>	Rural local bodies.
<i>Sadgope</i>	An intermediate class, whose members are often involved in agricultural activities.
<i>Santhal</i>	The largest of the aboriginal ethnic groups of Austral-Asiatic stock and dialect.
<i>Thekedar</i>	A section of labour recruiter, also considered as intermediate class.
<i>Thekedar mazdoor</i>	Day labourer with casual status recruited through labour recruiters.
<i>Thekedari</i>	Day labourer on casual and seasonal basis.
<i>Zamindar</i>	One who possesses large amount of land. Zamindars were those having land rights and also acting as tax collectors, present throughout all of north and east India from Mughal period onwards.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The inception of primitive accumulation in India dates back to colonial period. In India the production of goods for markets and participating in the world economy during this period has been recorded through primitive accumulation in the academic discourse. However, later the market society got intensified in the globalised era through accumulation by dispossession. Primitive Accumulation in Marx's conceptualisation was inherently attached with the formation of modern states and also different forms of disciplinary power.

James Scott's point of departure from traditional Marxist theorist stems from the line of thinking that one should not just look at the entire context from above, not always like a state, but also 'from below' and like a subaltern¹. Scott places considerable importance on 'counter movements' (counter hegemony) and contestations on the issues

¹ Here the concept Subaltern has been used the way Antonio Gramsci defined. According to him, the subalterns or subaltern classes "by definition are not unified and cannot unite until they are able to become a "State": their history, therefore, is intertwined with that of civil society and thereby with the history of States and groups of States". According to him there are six necessary elements for the conceptualisation of the subaltern:-

1. Critical analysis of the objective formation of the subaltern social groups, by the development and transformations occurring in the sphere of economic production, their quantitative diffusion and their origins in pre-existing social groups, whose mentality, ideology and aims they conserve for a time;
2. Their active or passive affiliation to the dominant political formations, their attempt to influence the programmes of these formations in order to press claims of their own, and the consequences of these attempts in determining processes of decomposition, renovation or neo-formation;
3. The birth of new parties of the dominant groups, intended to conserve the assent of the subaltern groups and to maintain control over them;
4. The formations which the subaltern groups themselves produce, in order to press claims of a limited and partial character;
5. Those new formations which assert the autonomy of the subaltern groups, but within the old framework;
6. Those formations which assert the integral autonomy.

(For Details, see B.S.Butola (2017): "Subaltern urbanism" submitted to The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Urban and Regional Studies).

of capital accumulation. He further argues that over emphasise on capitalist market and hegemony of capitalist class will be biased for this kind of study.²

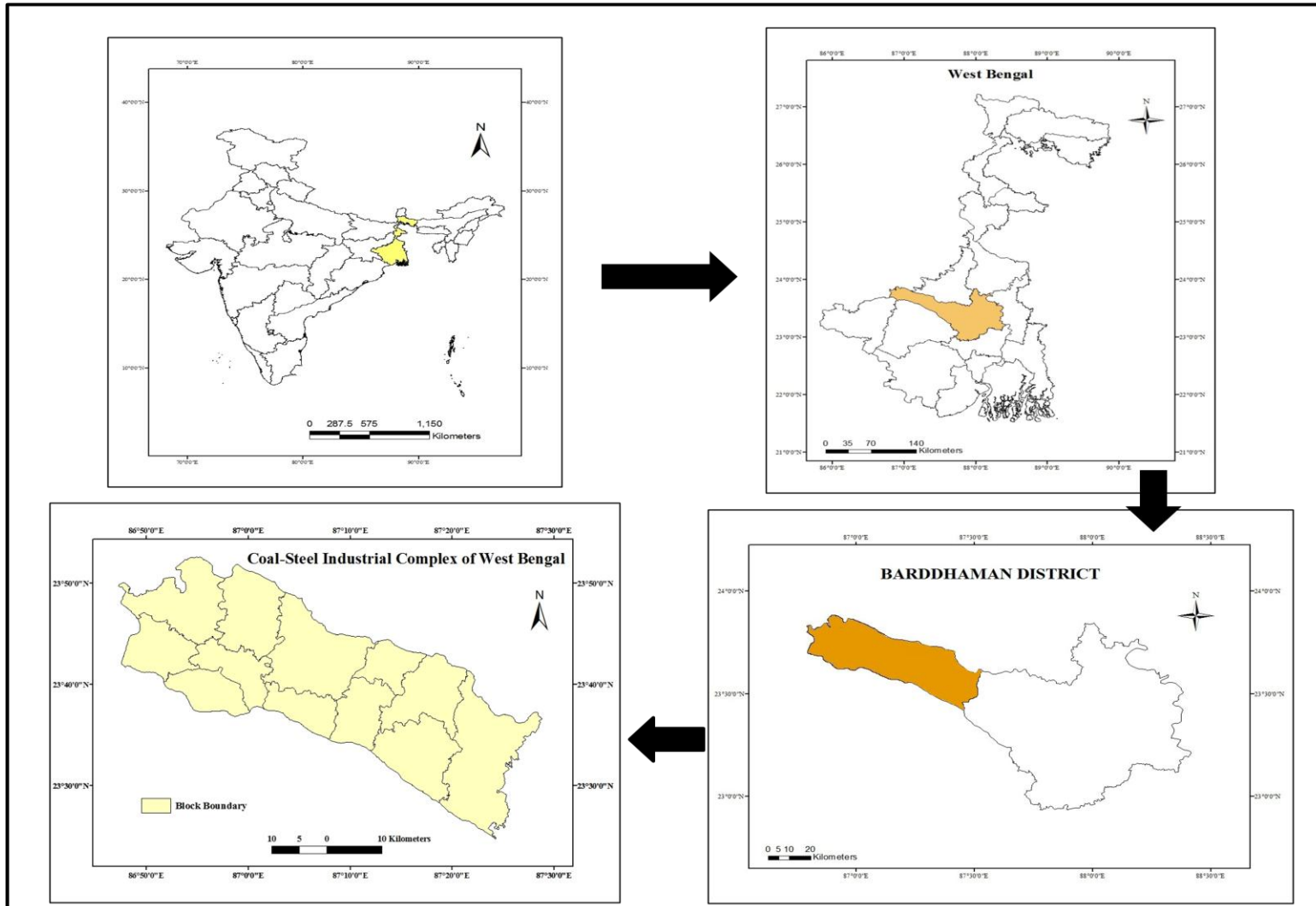
Scholars have focused most of the time on the role of state and class formation in their studies on primitive accumulation. So, most of the studies on capital accumulation till now were almost top down in their approach, which were primarily focusing on the distinctiveness and interests of the elite classes and the institutional framework within which domination, exploitation and accumulation, etc. get articulated.

This thesis is an attempt to unfold the varying experiences of accumulation by dispossession from subalterns' perspective of the region. Accumulation and dispossession in the coal-steel complex unfolded under differential context through time with varying impacts on who found themselves dispossessed from the direct access to the means of production on the one hand and faced various forms of exploitation and domination under private property regime and market economy on the other hand. Focusing on various cases of dispossession in the region, this thesis is looking for different dimensions to get a new geography of subaltern class formation across the region in the neoliberal period. These different experiences of accumulation through dispossession among the subaltern classes have in many ways shaped the political trajectories of the region for a long time. Hence, in recent studies an approach to study 'from below' getting more importance which was remaining buried until now. The subaltern approach is more interested on consciousness of the dispossessed, rebellions, and various forms of contestations and resistances.

For this study an urban-industrial region in Eastern India, Raniganj-Asansol-Durgapur Coal-Steel Industrial Complex has been chosen to understand how exclusion and exploitation is grounded through accumulation by dispossession (see Map 1.1). Moreover, the thesis also tries to investigate whether the exploitation is contested through resistance and the overall political economy behind it?

² James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, (New York: Yale University Press, 1990). Also See, James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, (New York: Yale University Press, 1985).

Map 1.1: Location Map of Coal-Steel Industrial Complex of Eastern India



Source: Researcher's Construction.

Using the urban-industrial complex as a lens, here the attempt has been made to critically evaluate the existing theories on neoliberal strategies of accumulation, dispossession and contestations in order to formulate an alternative theory of exploitation. The key purpose is to develop a spatial theory of dispossession, social fragmentation, exploitation and contestations in the contemporary context. It is primarily a micro level study. The Asansol-Raniganj-Durgapur industrial complex of West Bengal has a history of dispossession. In the backdrop of these postulations the rest of the introductory chapter is structured into two major parts.

I. The first part provides a broad overview of existing literature and is further subdivided into two sub-parts:

(i) The *first sub-section* deals with the **backdrop of dispossession** research. The second Sub-section discusses about the **exclusion and exploitation caused by accumulation by dispossession** and the third sub-section raises the issue of **contestation and resistance** as an outcome of the dispossession.

(ii) This is followed by a discussion on **macro and micro level scenario of accumulation by dispossession in India** in the *second sub-part*.

II. The second section contains **an assessment of emerging issues, research gaps, rationale of the study, area of study, objectives, research questions, database and methodology**. Thereafter, the structure of this dissertation has been outlined and justified, with brief descriptions of the **nature and content of the individual chapters**.

1.1 Review of literature

An attempt has been made here to provide a glimpse of the nature and focus of research and other studies in different countries in this field and to point out the emerging issues, important research gaps that exist and finally the scope of the study. This section also serves another purpose, that is, to indicate briefly the various indicators (both direct and proxy) that a researcher of this field may use in the quest for more detailed

information. In this review attempts have been made to include important studies conducted in this and associated fields, in India till date. The review of literature has been divided into following sub themes:

First, documents empirical works on accumulation by dispossession in India;

Second, concerned with various methodologies used by the scholars of this field and

Third, dispossession as the site of contestations.

1.1.1 The backdrop of dispossession research

The literature on accumulation through dispossession is enormous as it is extensively considered an interesting area of research across various disciplines including geography, economics, political science and sociology. Two decades ago, the most pertinent question was: ‘Do dispossession has any role in making spaces for accumulation of capital?’ was not even conferred in development study discourse. Today, the question is not only admissible in academic discourse but has a greater significance especially for the developing countries. However, the discussion on it is limited and a concrete definition of dispossession is yet to be decided. However, the study of dispossession getting its recognition for the fact that as a dynamic political economic process, dispossession has become the predominant mode of capital accumulation in the neoliberal period³, an essential strategy in response to the recurrent crises of over-accumulation⁴. A considerable amount of research has already been done in India on these issues of accumulation through dispossession. A majority of them are highly theoretical and few among them are empirical studies relied on both secondary and primary data sources. Few of these are nationwide studies (based on aggregate level data), where as some focus on specific regions (based on primary survey). The reviews of the existing literature will help in further understanding on dispossession. Few common issues on which the scholars mainly focused include the structural transformation and its

³ Michael Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India” (PhD Dissertation, UC Berkeley, 2013), 16.

⁴ Tom Perreault, “Dispossession by Accumulation? Mining, Water and the Nature of Enclosure on the Bolivian Altiplano,” *Antipode* 45, No. 5 (2013), 1051.

impact on socio-economic-politico and cultural set up, the stakeholders and the conflicts and protests emerged as consequences of structural transformation.

David Harvey's conceptualisation of "Accumulation of Dispossession" provides a starting point to the present study. Harvey uses Marx's thesis of "Primitive Accumulation" to understand the process of expansion of capitalism even in the neoliberal period and how it produces inequalities over space. Harvey himself and some other scholars have interpreted appropriation of land for Special Economic Zone (SEZs) and other development and infrastructural projects in the post-reform period as examples of "accumulation by dispossession". In "A brief history of Neoliberalism", David Harvey⁵ argues that as time progresses, capital gets over-accumulated and searches new spaces for investment. He further claims that land dispossession can be seen as an attempt to overcome the crisis of over accumulation. The result, therefore, is a new form of imperialism that colonises a section of the society by impoverishment, joblessness, homelessness, informalisation and illegalisation, etc. In a similar note, Patnaik⁶ argues that the process of capital accumulation is occurring in two distinctive and alternative ways, i.e. "accumulation by expansion" and "accumulation by encroachment." He argues that at a given point of time, capital exists in a number of large and small blocs. Accumulation of capital occurs through the expansion of these blocs but at different rates without displacing production outside the capitalist sector, known as "accumulation by expansion." There also found alternative ways of capital accumulation, where certain blocs of capital grow 'by annexing other blocs of capital, or by taking over common property, or the property of non-capitalist petty producers, or that of the state.'⁷ Patnaik refers to such process of capital accumulation as "accumulation by encroachment."

Michael Levien, on the other hand, introduces the concepts of "regimes of dispossession"⁸ to comprehend the temporality attached to the process of dispossession

⁵ David Harvey, *A brief history of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁶ Prabhat Patnaik, "The Accumulation Process in the Period of Globalisation," *Economic and Political Weekly* (2008), 108-113.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁸ Michael Levien, "Regimes of Dispossession: From Steel towns to Special Economic Zones", *Development and Change* 44, No. 2 (2012), 383.

and “rate of accumulation”⁹ to quantify the accumulation that such dispossession makes possible. He argues that “in different political economic periods in different places, resources will be expropriated for and from different classes for different purposes that will have uneven ideological acceptance, and which may therefore generate conditions more or less conducive to resistance.”

In “Special Economic Zones and Accumulation by Dispossession in India”, Levien tried to reconstruct David Harvey’s theory of accumulation by dispossession using an ethnographic survey of a SEZ (Mahindra World City near Jaipur) in Rajasthan. He argues that ABD is an extra-economic process of coercive (with or without violence) expropriation practiced by the states to meet the aspirations of the capitalists to overcome the barrier of capital accumulation. Levien, further explains that state uses the power of eminent domain and act as a broker for capital. He additionally mentioned about diverse processes lead to accumulation of land. Following a similar theme, in “Beyond Dispossession: The politics of commodification of land under speculative condition”¹⁰, a study based on the agrarian caste of district Sonapat, Haryana, Swagato Sarkar discusses that land as the new avenue for the investment of over accumulated capital does not only depend on the extra-economic role of the state, rather the way various social agents or stakeholders are organised and place themselves in the new political economic framework.

Swapna Banerjee-Guha in her study on “Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India” has addressed some of the following questions:

Is the nation (India) trying to develop through the processes like- segregation of the society, enclaving economic space and privatising urban space; while, excluding the masses from the process of development?

⁹ Michael Levien, “Special Economic Zones and Accumulation by Dispossession in India”, *Journal of Agrarian Change* 11, No. 4 (2011), 458.

¹⁰ Swagato Sarkar, “Beyond Dispossession: The politics of commodification of land under speculative condition”, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 35, no. 3 (2015), 438-450.

Is there any conflict between the modernity and backwardness in decoding the path of development? and

Finally, what exactly are the mechanisms through which dispossession and displacement are becoming systemic and made justifiable in the neoliberal period?

Using examples from various states in India and also from few neighbouring countries, like- Bangladesh, Pakistan and China contends that displacement, dispossession and associated ecological degradation are structural component of development, which favours the elite, while deprives the rests. She cogently summerises that:

“An incessant process of development-induced dispossession is initiated in the country affecting a huge mass of people from different walks of life, belonging to divergent socio-economic orders, and embedded in diversified regionalities. The magnitude and forms of their dispossession vary according to the nature of the ‘development projects’ that reach their areas, in whose selection they have no say whatsoever.”¹¹

She further considers that, state with its monopoly of violence and legality emerged as the mediator in this process of neoliberal reconstruction. These reconstructed landscapes are the sites of contestations and resistance struggles of the dispossessed.¹²

1.1.2. Accumulation and exclusion

The pool of literature available on accumulation by dispossession is colossal and those pertaining to India mostly emphasise on the impacts of neoliberal policies on social, economic and ecological spaces. Evidences from India clearly reveal that a certain sections of the society have been always marginalised on the path of development since time immemorial and even continuing in the present phase of globalisation, such marginalisations have been manifested in various forms. Though economic

¹¹ Swapna Banerjee-Guha, “Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, no 2 (2013), 178.

¹² *Ibid.*, 165-179.

marginalisation in the form of proletarianisation, pauperisation and immiserisation owing to neoliberal policies have been worked out fairly, however, there is definitely a dearth of literature on social, cultural and ecological dispossession. Study on accumulation by dispossession by Harvey reveals that owing to accumulation of capital, multiple forms of dispossession may be seen. First, privatisation and commodification of natural resources that held in common by specific groups; and second, lost of employment, social welfare and social security.¹³

Geographers, anthropologists and sociologists have vividly put forward the excluded. Many are arguing that the neoliberal policies in the globalised era have intensified marginalisation. However, mere discussion on the neoliberal policies does not provide the clear picture of the dispossessed. Thus, there is a need to demystifying the concept of dispossessed as used in various academic literatures. Most of the empirical works define the dispossessed and the pattern of dispossession more concretely though varying over time and space, depending on the ‘socially and historically specific political factors.’¹⁴ This literature review has considered few recent cases. These case studies are important in bringing out the patterns of space specific exploitation and also the global-local nexus in the era of neoliberalism.

Within the context of neoliberalism, Pedal and Das¹⁵ describe Odisha as a contradictory trope of the world’s best deposits of Bauxite, the ore for aluminium mineral wealth to bring prosperity to one of India’s poorest states and at the same time habitat of thousands of adivasis, who have lived around the place since time immemorial and consider these mountains are sacred and a source of life itself, not a resource to be exploited. Contemporary Odisha, therefore, depicts an image of a new colonial invasion for profit extraction by the foreign investors while adivasis in a process of displacement

¹³ David Harvey, *A brief history of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

¹⁴ Michael Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: From Steel towns to Special Economic Zones”, *Development and Change* 44, no. 2 (2012), 383.

¹⁵ Felix Pedal and Samarendra Das, *Out of this Earth: East India Adivasis and the Aluminium Cartel* (New Delhi: Orient Black Swan, 2010).

and cultural genocide. Following a similar theme, Lahiri-Dutt, Krishnan and Ahmad¹⁶ discuss how the new mineral policy (1994) at the wake of globalisation has opened up the path for privately owned companies to gain access to land for mineral resource extraction in Jharkhand, where much of the land is inhabited by the tribals. Like- Pedal and Lahiri-Dutt; Patrik Oskarsson too discussed about adivasi dispossession in Central India; they contended that “Crucially, dispossession by confusion also included the other connotation of ‘to confuse’, which is to make mistakes.” These mistakes indicated the limited capacity of the state government to carry out its agenda to acquire land for its private investor partner, thereby providing openings for those intent on challenging the project.’¹⁷ Strumpell in his study on Rourkela Steel Plant has focused on labour devaluation and unemployment as the socio-economic consequences of accumulation by dispossession.¹⁸ Nilsen’s¹⁹ study is based on two controversial projects, i.e. the Sardar Sarovar Project and the Maheshwar Hydroelectric Project (MHP) of Narmada Valley and seeks to explore the processes of dispossession, class formation and the associated resistance within the context of post-colonial India, and more specifically that located in and around the Narmada Valley.

These are a few instances that show denial of indigenous people’s right to natural resources and community based economic life in the mineral rich forested regions of Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Rourkela, Kalinganagar, Baster, etc.

There are a number of books, articles, working papers, monographs and blogs that emphasis on urban centres and cities as spaces of dispossession and marginalisation. A pool of literature have acknowledged the urban centres as the major centres of attraction for the private and foreign investors in the neoliberal period and also that the outcomes

¹⁶ Lahiri-Dutt, Krishnan and Ahmad, “Land Acquisition and Dispossession: Private Coal Companies in Jharkhand”, *Economic & Political Weekly* 47, No. 6 (2012), 39-45.

¹⁷ Patrik Oskarsson, “Dispossession by Confusion from Mineral-Rich Lands in Central India”, *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, No.2 (2013), 199-212.

¹⁸ Christian Strümpell, “The politics of dispossession in an Odishan steel town,” *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 48, 1 (2014), 45–72.

¹⁹ Alf Gunvald Nilsen, *Dispossession and Resistance in India: The River and the Rage*, (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010).

are multiple forms of dispossession depending upon the underlying structural factors²⁰. It also recognises that in urban spaces, communities also find themselves resisting state disinvestment and the politics of dispossession. Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata, Bangalore and Chennai are the examples of such urban spaces from where thousands of poor slum dwellers have been dispossessed for various development projects since late 1990s. Harvey points out that ‘A process of displacement and what I call “Accumulation by Dispossession” lie at the core of urbanisation under capitalism.’²¹ The study on Nonadanga slum eviction and state repression by Banerjee-Guha²², suggests the general strategies for urban redevelopment and private investment since globalisation. She also points out that the urban poor and those live in the peri-urban areas, are the major hindrance to the materialisation of the large scale development projects by the private investors. Ipsita Chatterjee’s research on Sabarmati River Front Development Project in Ahmedabad city, likewise suggests that gentrification²³ and plebeianisation²⁴ are the general strategies for capital accumulation in the neoliberal period.²⁵ Based on ethnographic survey and interviews this study concludes that those form urban resistance in the banks of the Sabarmati River, include a heterogeneous underclass comprised of economically excluded informal working class and culturally alienated poor Muslims. She points out that: ‘the underclass is differently positioned in strategizing the urban revolution and in conceptualizing its right to the city.’²⁶ Following a similar theme,

²⁰ Klaus Segbers, *The Making of Global city Regions*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

²¹ David Harvey, “The Right to the City,” *New Left Review* 53 (2008).
<https://newleftreview.org/II/53/david-harvey-the-right-to-the-city>. (Accessed on 19/06/2015 at 10.34 am).

²² Swapna Banerjee-Guha, “The Nonadanga Eviction in Kolkata: Contemporary Urban development and People’s Resistance,” in *Urban Revolt: State Power and the Rise of People’s Movements in the Global South*, eds, Trevor Ngwane, Immanuel Ness, Luke Sinwell (Chicago: Haymarket Book, 2017).

²³ Gentrification is the process of reorganisation of the city space.

²⁴ Plebeianisation is French word, meaning common or vulgar. Chatterjee used this concept an opposite to the process of gentrification. By Plebeianisation she refers ‘the moving-in and settling of the class, racial and ethnic poor in certain urban pockets either voluntarily or through systematic policies devised by the city government.’ (For details see, Ipsita, Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution and New Urban Condition* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2014), 88).

²⁵ Ipsita, Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution and New Urban Condition* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2014).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 147.

Modi²⁷ discusses the Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP) in the wake of globalisation and claims that ‘the very development projects that aim to reduce poverty by improving infrastructure’; actually dispossess, marginalised and evicted the slum dwellers.

Similarly, the making of hundreds of SEZs across various states of India has been recognised as the critical sites for dispossession in the post-liberalisation period. Contemporary study on Singur and Nandigram of West Bengal, therefore, depicts an outcome of the contemporary processes of accumulation by dispossession that tried to meet the aspirations of the corporate elite industrialists at the cost of great socio-economic impacts on the mass. In these locations, lands are used for speculative purposes for the accumulation of capital, while their economic use for employment generation is completely overlooked.

Above mentioned case studies are the examples of denial of rights to land and livelihoods in both rural and urban areas. Within the context of globalisation Banerjee-Guha argues that ‘the terrains of dispossession are complex, but they are seamless.’²⁸

A world of concepts has been posited in academic literature to grasp the dispossessed - subaltern²⁹, social structure of accumulation³⁰, the labouring class³¹, peasant differentiation³², heterogeneous underclass³³ and caste-class exploitation and oppression³⁴ are some examples.

²⁷ Renu Modi, “Displaced from Private Property Resettlement and Rehabilitation Experiences from Mumbai,” *Economic & Political Weekly* 47, No. 23 (2013), 71-74.

²⁸ Banerjee-Guha, “The Nonadanga Eviction in Kolkata: Contemporary Urban development and People’s Resistance,” in *Urban Revolt: State Power and the Rise of People’s Movements in the Global South*, eds. Trevor Ngwane, Immanuel Ness, Luke Sinwell (Chicago: Haymarket Book, 2017).

²⁹ Subaltern Studies, 10 Vols. (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982- 1999).

³⁰ David M. Gordon, Richard Edwards and Michael Reich. “Long Swings and Stages of Capitalism,” in *Social Structure of Accumulation: The political economy of growth and crisis*, eds. David M. Kotz, Terrance Mc. Donough and Michael Reich (Cambridge University Press: Glasgow, 1994).

³¹ Bernstein B (Ed.) *Class, Codes and Conduct. (Vol. 3)*. (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975).

³² T.J. Byres, “Rural Labour Relations in India: Persistent Themes, common Processes and Differential Outcomes,” in *Rural Labour Relations in India* eds. T.J. Byres, Karin Kapadia and Jens Lerche (New York: Routledge, 1999), 10- 24.

- ***Dispossession scenario in India***

As pointed out by Levien, rural land has become major locus of accumulation by dispossession in many developing countries – India being no exception. While it is documented that a large number of people have been dispossessed of agrarian land since independence, however, the rate of dispossession has accelerated in the neoliberal period since 1990s. A number of scholars have included mineral rich regions, forests, water bodies, slums as sites of dispossession.

There is a major lack of reliable statistics to encounter the contemporary situation of the dispossessed in India. However, it was for the first time Fernandes and Thakural (1989) have provided an immense volume of data on physical dispossession also termed as displacement. Mohammad Asif's (2000) findings supported the estimation of Fernandes. As per his estimation, since independence, about 1.7 million people displaced by 119 Central and State government projects, where more than half (around 0.9 million) were tribals. Even in last 40 years, mining activities have alone displaced 2.1 million people including 1.4 million tribals. These varied statistics substantiated the claims that economically marginalised rural population in general and among them; tribals in particular are clearly on the peripheries of development discourse of India.

1.1.3. Dispossession, contestation and resistance

Focusing particularly on the nature of resistance surrounding this process of dispossession, another body of literature interprets the many faces of conformity, contestations and resistance to these processes of exclusion. This literature dissects the political-economy behind these resistances to dispossession by shifting attention from the politics of exploitation to politics of commodification. For example, Kapoor³⁵ uses the

³³ Ipsita, Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution and New Urban Condition* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2014), 147.

³⁴ Jens Lerche, "Politics of the Poor: Agrarian Labourers and Political Transformation in UP", in *Rural Labour Relations in India* eds. T.J. Byres, Karin Kapadia and Jens Lerche (New York: Routledge, 1999), 182-241.

³⁵ Dip Kapoor, "Adult learning in political (un-civil) society: Anti-colonial subaltern social movement (SSM) pedagogies of place," *Studies in the Education of Adults* 43 (2011),

concept of ‘Subaltern Social Movement’ (SSM) to indicate that how adivasi subaltern social movements against dispossession are distinct from other modernist conceptions of movement. Uday Chandra³⁶ looks at cases of both Koel-Karo anti-dam movement and Maoist movement to understand:

*‘how land and community are intertwined inextricably in recent adivasi resistance such that the notion of ‘community’ underpins both territorial claims on the post-colonial state by Munda men and women and efforts to remake political selves in dialogue with statist discourses of primitivism.’*³⁷

The best known of recent anti-dispossession struggles in South Asia emerged in Singur and Nandigram of West Bengal. Both in Nandigram and in Singur land acquisition has been a controversial and contested issue. The politics of land acquisition remains as front page news for a long period of time. Sarkar’s findings are especially noteworthy in this regard: based on various development literatures he found that the requirement of land as physical capital is a macro economic problem.³⁸

These articles look at peasant resistance to land acquisition as a case of anti-dispossession struggle deployed through the strategies of refusal to give up and use of various violent and non-violent means as expression of antagonism. Similarly, dispossessed by various urban development projects also take part in the anti-dispossession struggle. Banerjee-Guha perceives these as the struggles against neoliberal onslaught across the world.³⁹ Her articulation of urban dispossession, polarisation, marginalisation and segregation of urban space has direct relation to basic question of

³⁶ Uday Chandra, “Beyond subalternity: land, community, and the state in contemporary Jharkhand”, *Contemporary South Asia* 21, No. 1(2013), 52-61.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 52.

³⁸ Abhirup Sarkar, “Development and Displacement: Land Acquisition in West Bengal,” *Economic and Political Weekly* (2007), 1435-1442.

³⁹ Swapna Banerjee-Guha, “The Nonadanga Eviction in Kolkata: Contemporary Urban development and People’s Resistance,” in *Urban Revolt: State Power and the Rise of People's Movements in the Global South*, eds. Trevor Ngwane, Immanuel Ness, Luke Sinwell (Johannesburg: WITS University Press, 2017).

“right to the city”⁴⁰. Ipsita Chatterjee has also used Lefebvre’s concept of “right to the city” in explaining the process of anti-dispossession struggle over urban space, however in a different manner. She believes that “right to the city” is ‘much about altering the city as we know it, as it is about altering imaginations, ideologies, and concepts we use in thinking the city.’⁴¹ On the contrary to this, Suhit Sen has described ‘the structural causes for the relative failure of resistance’ in Rajarhat new town near Kolkata. In his observation, the reason behind low intensity resistance at the initial stage was the heterogeneous agricultural class (including landlords, rich peasants, middle peasants, small and marginal peasants, sharecroppers, and agricultural labourers) and their differential stake in the local economy.⁴² In a similar way, Samaddar also discussed about the political economy of dispossession and peasant resistance in Rajarhat.⁴³

Existing literature on the developing countries, more specifically, Indian cases of displacement, dispossession, exploitation and resistance have become innumerable and provide a rich empirical basis for understanding the contemporary processes of capital accumulation in the era of globalisation. Banerjee-Guha arrives at a conclusion that dispossession that facilitating private investment, affecting both rural and urban areas same intensity. However, magnitude and forms of dispossession varies from place to place based on the ‘activity’.⁴⁴

1.2 Emerging Issues

Lack of proper definition of dispossession and appropriate data is a major problem in the study of accumulation through dispossession. Though a large number of works have been done at national as well as regional levels, there is still scope for further

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ipsita, Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution and New Urban Condition* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2014), 146.

⁴² Suhit Kr. Sen. “Rajarhat: Accumulation by Dispossession?”, *Radical Socialist* (2011). <http://www.radicalsocielist.in/articles/national-situation/397-rajarhat-accumulation-by-dispossession>.

⁴³ Ranabir Samaddar, *Passive Revolution in West Bengal: 1977-2011* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2013), 172.

⁴⁴ Swapna Banerjee-Guha, “The Nonadanga Eviction in Kolkata: Contemporary Urban development and People’s Resistance,” in *Urban Revolt: State Power and the Rise of People’s Movements in the Global South*, eds, Trevor Ngwane, Immanuel Ness, Luke Sinwell (Johannesburg: WITS University Press, 2017).

research ahead. Some issues that have emerged from the over view of the literature is as follows:

- i. India is a vast country and regional variation exists within it. Each and every region is not confronted with similar kind of problem due to dispossession.
- ii. Along with this, to take out the actual scenario of dispossession could be problematic given the existence of significant socio-economic and institutional differences across regions.

In the backdrop of these issues, it might be pertinent to note that these issues might create serious limitations to research, resulting in research gaps which in turn will influence the research outcomes.

1.3 Research Gaps

An attempt is made here to provide a glimpse of the nature and focus of research and other studies in India in this field and to point out important gaps that exist. The following research gaps become prominent:

- There are very few concrete case studies which deal with the production and contestations of subaltern spaces in the urban industrial context.
- Similarly there are very few studies which deal with the process of capital accumulation and its impacts from subalterns' perspective.

The present study is a modest attempt in filling the above mentioned research gaps. The study basically focuses on the pattern of occupational mobility and the driving force responsible for such kind of shift.

1.4 Rationale of the study

This research work is a pioneering attempt and is based on empirical study. This study aims at understanding the process of accumulation through dispossession, associated subalternity in the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India. The study seeks to fill up the research gaps which have emerged out of the previous research works and helps to understand the impact of neoliberalisation over this region.

The present study is wide in subject coverage encompassing almost all important facets of marginalisation, exploitation and associated phenomena of the local population of urban-industrial complex of eastern India.

- i. It intends to enquire into the pattern and magnitude of dispossession and to critically examine the structural changes in the coal-steel industrial complex in general and the pattern of subalternity in particular. More precisely to say the social structure of accumulation in the neoliberal period.
- ii. It aims to examine the factors which have contributed in the marginalisation of the certain section of the society.
- iii. In order to appreciate these in its proper perspective, it has necessitated the study of certain allied aspects, such as: the former socio-economic background, cultural background and some other aspects, etc. An attempt has been made to study the problem from the perspective of regional development.

While enunciating the rationale of the study it is very important to state those aspects which have been excluded in prior research works. Though an attempt is made to assess the probable expectations of ascription and achievement, the probabilities to get job in the dominant sector has been excluded. In fact it requires deeper research.

1.5 Study area

This study particularly focuses on a particular physio-economic region. More precisely to say, it has considered a micro resources region for the study, appeared also as an industrial complex. The industrial complexes are made up of a set of specific industries following the principle of ‘economies of scale’⁴⁵, which has close relation in terms of production and marketing. These complexes are geographically localised.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Economies of scale refer to “the benefits of producing on a large scale. As the volume of production increases, the cost per unit article decreases.” (Susan Mayhew. *A Dictionary of Geography*, 3rd ed. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), s.v. “Economies of Scale.”)

⁴⁶ Majid Hussain, *Geography of India* (New Delhi: Tata McGraw Hill Education Private Limited, 2011), 11.69.

Industrial complexes⁴⁷ are part of post-colonial planning strategy for the growth of the region through ‘spillover effect’⁴⁸ and ‘multiplier effect’⁴⁹, ultimately benefitting through ‘trickle down effect’⁵⁰. Entire eastern India has such three major coal-steel industrial complexes⁵¹. Asansol-Raniganj-Durgapur of West Bengal is one of them.

The study uses extended case method, which attempts to explain theory through the empirical observations of large processes. Understanding the dynamics of ABD is only possible through the prolonged observation of those people as they are grappled with, adjust to and fight back against dispossession in their daily lives. Dispossession often takes time to get a mature form. In that sense, the case studies discussed here are moments of the larger process of dispossession. Here the aim is find out the macroeconomic forces that are operating in the coal-steel industrial complex. The comparison between three case studies has the potentials either to advance or complicate the understanding, which can only be streamlined with the help of a proper balance between the theoretical and the empirical. Expropriation of land has been ushered at various locations in the Coal-Steel industrial complex of Eastern India over a long time and being the site of continuous displacement and dispossession, the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India has received a very less attention in both academic discourse and in media. But if any one notices carefully it has been found that the process at work in the region is a part of the process of capitalist development and experienced a historical evolution. This study discusses a cross section of development projects and varying degrees of displacement and dispossession experienced by the region during the

⁴⁷ These are different from Territorial-Production Combination (Complex) in soviet Economic Geography, N.N. Kolosovskiy, “The Territorial Production Combination (Complex) in soviet Economic Geography,” *Journal of Regional Sciences* 3, No. 1(1961), 1-25.

⁴⁸ *Spillover effect* refers to the impact a distinct event in one region or sector can have on another region or sector.

⁴⁹ *The multiplier effect* refers to the increase in the total income arising from any new injection of spending.

⁵⁰ Trickle-down economics is a term used to describe the belief that if high income earners gain an increase in salary, then everyone in the economy will benefit as their increased income and wealth filter through to all sections in society.

⁵¹ The three major coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India are: (a) Asansol-Raniganj-Durgapur industrial complex of West Bengal, (b) Dhanbad-Bokaro-Jamshedpur industrial complex of Jharkhand, and (c) Kalinganagar industrial complex of Orissa.

colonial period, post independence planned period and neoliberal period. As mentioned the three types of the projects in operation are:

- ***Mining Projects***

The process of dispossession started in the industrial complex with the discovery of the coal in the region underneath the surface. Around 200 years ago, the Raniganj coal mining region was completely under the forest cover and it was full of wild animals. Very few settlements were scattered in and around the forested area. The livelihoods of the local people were depended on both agriculture and forest. Then people came to know about the huge reserve of coal in the subsurface. But the use of coal was very limited at that time. As mentioned by Banerjee, ‘the coal industry began its career in a very sluggish manner.’⁵² It is also stated that though coal was first discovered in the Raniganj region in the year 1774, yet the first coal mine came into existence after 35 years of its discovery. He noticed that ‘by 1843, M/S. Bengal Coal Company came to possess a firm control by establishing a chain of collieries on the left bank of the river Damodar in the Ranigange field, for production of coal on commercial basis.’⁵³ Areeparampil in his study mentioned Damodar valley as the repository of coal resource.⁵⁴ Thus, coal is the biggest mining industry of this region. Prior to nationalisation in 1973 coal was mined in a very unscientific and haphazard manner by various private mine owners. Nationalisation of the coal mining was the single important event in the history of the coal mining industry. Thereafter, the ownership of the collieries went in the hand of the government. There are total 105 mines under 15 areas of Eastern Coalfields Limited. Among these 81 are underground mines, whereas 24 are opencast mines. The fact shows that about 60 per cent of the production is expected to come from open cast mining. Open cast mining projects require lots of land for production of coal. At present massive programmes in alliance with the private multinational companies are going on for the exploitation of the coal wealth of this region.

⁵² Sukumar Banerjee, *Impact of industrialisation on the tribal population of Jharia-Raniganj coal field areas*. (Calcutta: Anthropological survey of India, 1981), 15.

⁵³ Ibid, 16.

⁵⁴ M. Areeparampil, “Industries, Mines and Dispossessions of Indigenous people: The case of Chtanagpur,” Eds. Fernandes and Ganguly Thukral (1989), 13-38.

The Sonapur Bazari Open Cast mining project under ECL has affected around 15 villages for coal production. Apart from this open cast project, two other open cast projects (Bengal EMTA Private Limited and Integrated Coal Mine Private Limited) under complete private ownership too have been established in this region. These open cast mining projects have dispossessed directly and indirectly lots of people from their land, livelihoods and rights. Around 26 villages have been affected by these two projects. Apart from this, land degradation due to mining is one of the core problems of this region.

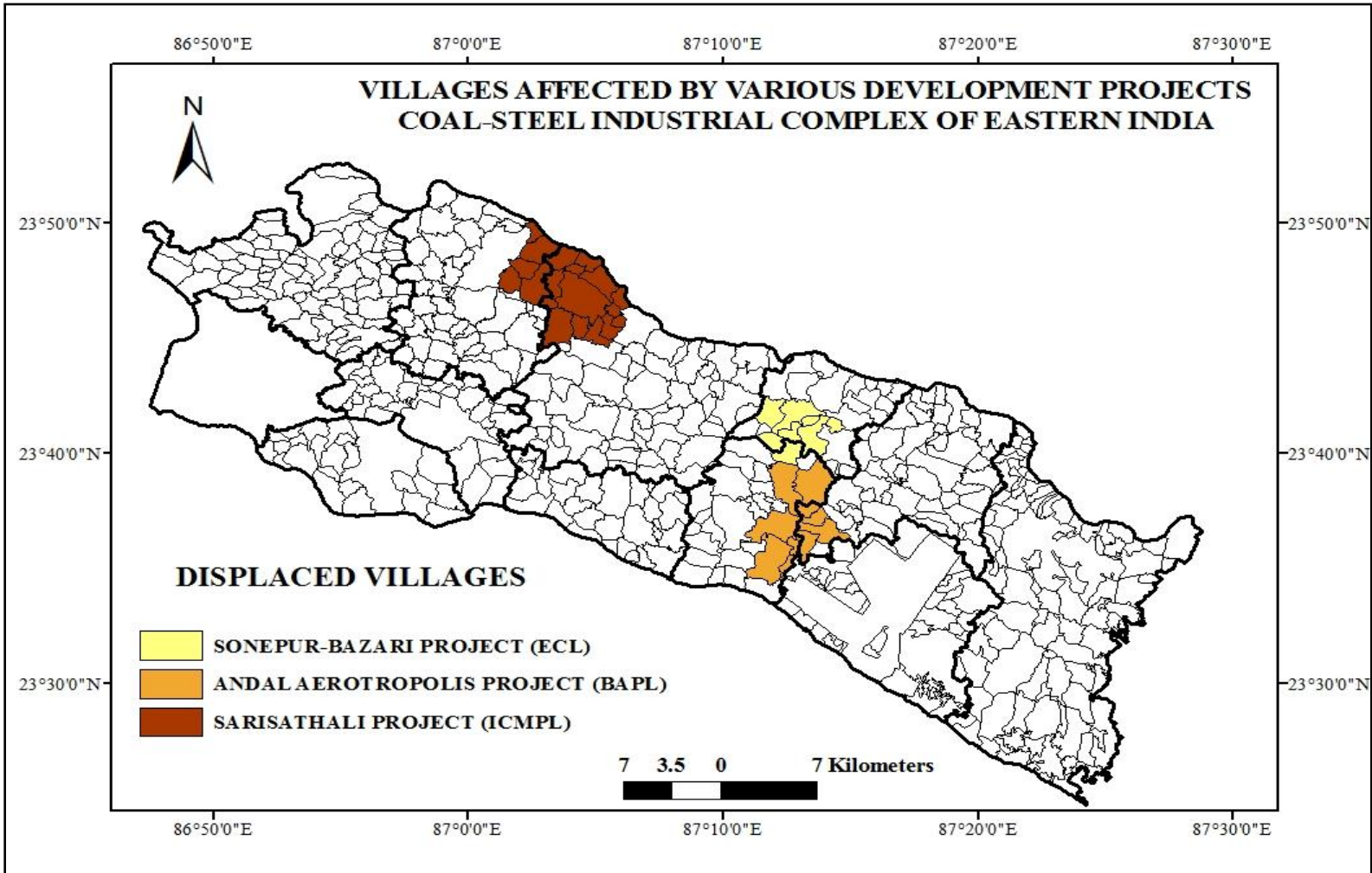
Moreover, the environmental impacts of mining operations are severe. Land degradation due to mining activities also causes dispossession and displacement of large number of people in this region. The report vision 2025 shows that where the coal mines are concentrated over space, that region has been marked as restricted planning zone. It is outlined that huge amount of coal production for the last 200 years leading to eventual dispossession of the local communities through land degradation as an indirect impact of underground mining in unscientific manner. Around 138 sites have been proposed as rehabilitation sites for resettlement of about 110147 people.

Another argument is that the expansion of coal production through open cast mining is expressive of dual transformation, where (a) property rights in energy resources are concentrated in the hands of a certain section, and

(b) the dispossession of producers from their property and rights by the introduction of the modern technology, without adequate compensation generates tendency towards proletarianisation.

This is a single industry region and dominated by coal mining industries. This region holds a key position in the process of industrial development and also controls a vast hinterland. This region produces a large amount of coking coal every year, which is one of the necessary raw materials for the running of steel plants. Similarly, chemical factories also get the scope of using the by-products of coke oven plant as raw material. It is for these reasons; the concentration of large number of factories turning this region as one of the most highly industrial regions of the country.

Map 1.2: Map of various villages affected by development projects in the study area



Source: Census of India, 2011 (Village Boundary Map)

- ***Industrial Project***

The work of establishment of steel plants was started in late 1950s. A massive industrialisation programme was carried out during the first two five year plan period. A huge sum capital was invested for the large projects, like- irrigation and power generation, steel plants, mining projects, etc. Coal functions as a major element for thermal power generation and steel production. The Raniganj coalfield therefore attracted both Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC) and Durgapur Steel Plant (DSP) projects in the 1950s and 60s. In order to launch the project the government of West Bengal acquired a huge area of land and dispossessed a considerable number of populations from diverse communities.

- ***Urban infrastructure project***

A combination of these three (mining-hydro-electric and steel industrial complexes) attracted other industries to benefit from this host of facilities, including infrastructural projects. In the recent past, the significance of open cast mining has also increased for the benefit of production. Land acquisition programme has got its momentum by the increasing demand of open cast mining in this region. Apart from this, the establishment of ancillary industries in the coalfield area led to repeated land acquisition and displacement. Recently a new infrastructural project has started over this region.

The Sujalam Sky City at Andal near Durgapur-Asansol Industrial complex in West Bengal considered to be the first aerotropolis in India. The Asansol-Durgapur region is a large industrial belt in Bengal. Just outside this belt, the area is host to India's major mining operations, as the lands are rich in iron ore, coal, and manganese. There are also several thermal and hydroelectric projects in the area. The proposed aerotropolis is scheduled to occupy 3500 acres of land in the area. The project is to be developed in two phases, with 2300 acres to be occupied in the first phase, and the remaining 1200 in the second phase. The project has been awarded to a group call the Aerotropolis Projects Limited. Aerotropolis Projects Limited is a joint venture of two corporations, namely HUDCO, and a private company called Progressive Social Infrastructure Developments

Limited. The main investors in the project are the City Start Infrastructure Land Lease Company and some private companies like-Pragoti Development, etc. These firms have signed a partnership agreement with the Changi International Airport of Singapore. In the first phase, the airport, some residential plots and a theme park would be constructed. The second phase would see the construction of hotels, shopping malls, business centers and bungalows for the wealthy people and multi-story residential buildings for the middle class. In the third phase, it has been proposed that a logistic hub, IT park, a golf course, park and children's playground will be created. In 2008 December, the West Bengal government obtained 2306.31 acres of land in 12 mouza's of the Andal and Faridpur blocks under the Land Acquisition Act of 1884. The first phase would include this ryot land and another 56.53 acres of land. Right next to the town of Andal, right by the border of GT road, the large demarcated area of the project begins. The area is mostly monocropped agricultural land, though there is an abandoned airstrip from the Second World War which has apparently become the center of the approaching airport city. Much of the land surrounding the airport is under military control. On the other side of GT road, the villages of Andal, Dhupchuria and Gopal are mostly agricultural land areas which will fall under the scope of the project. The affected villages are Andal, Dakhsin Khand, Tamla, Khadra, Khaira, Ukhra, Dhupchuriya, Amlauka, Banguri, Aarti and Patshaora.⁵⁵

Therefore, it can be observed that the unclaimed spaces, vacant plots, forested land and even large tracks of agricultural land along the national highway (NH2) are now on the ripe for redevelopment and have now been incorporated into the capitalist economy.

It is evident from the above that the process of Accumulation by Dispossession is new phase in the development of Capitalism. It is a complex process and to conduct a meaningful study the research is left nothing other than an objective study, which is possible by adopting a dispassionate theoretico-imperial study. The following sections on the objectives, research questions, data base and methodology etc. are all part of the same research design.

⁵⁵ Siddhartha Mitra, Trans. "Andal Aerotropolis: A Fact Finding Report", Sanhati (2010). <http://sanhati.com/excerpted/2311/>.

1.6 Objectives

- To identify locations, extent, magnitude and processes of accumulation through dispossession in the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India.
- To understand the underlying imperatives of political economy of accumulation through dispossession over time and space in the region.
- To understand the subaltern social, economic, cultural structure and the role of accumulation through dispossession in constituting, maintaining and changing those embedded structure.
- To map the modes of manifestation of contestations by the subaltern stakeholders.

It is evident from the objectives that the objective raised in the present research are multidimensional and complex. There are possibilities that the present research may tend to become merely a description of some discrete facts and information at the cost of analytical research. Therefore, special emphasis has been laid, to back the research objectives with sound database and unbiased research methodology.

1.7 Research Questions

- What kind of dispossession the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India has experienced historically, and how and why did these changes take place over time? More specifically, how dispossession is producing space for accumulation?
- How does the process of accumulation through dispossession can be situated within the political-economic context of the study region at times and spaces, keep in the view that there are multiple histories of power?
- How far the deprivation of a certain category of people (subalterns) belonging to the project affected villages is integral to dispossession, alternatively, are they overall part of the deprived scenario or bypassed in the process of regional development? Where and how do the different stakeholders in the society perceive themselves vis-à-vis this dispossession scenario?
- What are the significance, probable reasons and modes of manifestation of anti-dispossession struggle against capital accumulation in the neoliberal period with

respect to the study region, given the context of displacement and dispossession for the subalterns as directly affected subjects? And, to what extent have subaltern consciousness received recognition in organised struggle?

1.8 Data Base

The data for this study have to be unavoidably taken from secondary data sources. The details of the secondary data pertinent for this study are given below in tabular form:

Table 1.1: Details of the Secondary Data Sources

Variables	Source	Level	Year
Population, SC and ST population, Industrial Classification, Village level amenities, Land Use.	District Census Handbook (DCH). [Primary Census Abstract, Village and Town Directory]. Series 22. Census of India. Directorate of Census Operations, West Bengal.	Village level.	1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991. 2001 and 2011
House Ownership and land ownership records	Land Related data http://banglarbhumi.gov.in/ District Level Land Revenue Official Barddhaman District, West Bengal.	Plot wise (individual level)	2011
Unstable locations due to mining activities	Asansol Durgapur Development Authority (ADDA)	Location wise	2013-2014
1. Persons Engaged in Agriculture in the Blocks of Barddhaman 2. Area, Production and Yield rates of Major Crops in the Blocks of Burdwan for the year	District Statistical Abstract, Barddhaman District, West Bengal.	Block Wise	2014
1. Manpower Status 2. Reasons for variation in manpower.	<i>Annual Reports and Accounts</i> Eastern Coalfields Limited (A Subsidiary of Coal India Limited) Office of the Chairman-cum-Managing Director.	Ownership wise (ECL).	2007- 2008 2008- 2009 2009- 2010 2010-2011 2011-2012.
2. Average daily employment in Coal mines. 3. Employment on rolls in coal mines 4. Production of coal from below ground workings by mechanisation 5. Production of coal from Open Cast workings by mechanisation. 6. Productivity of coal	<i>Statistics of Mines in India.</i> Volume – I Directorate General of Mines Safety (DGMS). Ministry of labour and employment. Government of India.	1. District (Barddhaman), 2. Ownership wise (ECL)	1975 – 2006

mines. 7. Number of below ground and open cast mines.			
Land Acquisition and land information status	Eastern Coalfields Limited (ECL) Annual Reports	Area wise.	2005-2006 to 2013-2014
Details of ancillary industries	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Brief Industrial Profile of West Bengal	District Level.	2012-13
List of allocated coal blocks in West Bengal till 31.3.2014	Coal Directory of India, Ministry of Coal	Coal Block Wise.	2013-2014
Land Use distribution in Andal Aerropolis	BAPL Website	Project Related	NA
Basic data on environmental conflicts. 1. Source of conflict. 2. Project Details and Actors. 3. The conflict and the Mobilisation. 4. Environmental impacts. 5. Health impacts. 6. Socio-economic impact. 7. Project outcome.	http://ejatlas.org/country/india Environmental Justice Atlas.	Development Project wise.	2013- 2014

- Records prepared by the land acquisition office.
- Records maintained by the rehabilitation officer.
- Records maintained by project officials.
- Various acts and policy reports (both published and unpublished), district gazetteers, project reports and government statistics.

Though the data available through secondary sources valuable yet these are inadequate for developing critical insight into the objectives and research questions mentioned in the previous sections. Hence, special effort was under taken to obtain relevant data from primary sources. Primary sample survey was essential to get the real pictures of that region. The primary survey was carried out in the villages of Asansol-Durgapur coal steel complex, located in the western part of Barddhaman district, which represents the most significant concentration of mining and heavy industries, like- Iron and Steel, etc. within over the country.

1.9 Methodology

Basically four types of methodologies have been used in this study:

1. *Sampling methodologies*
2. *Statistical Methodologies*
3. *Cartographic methods and*
4. *Content Analysis*

1.9.1. Sampling Methodologies:

As the present study is concerned with the dispossession scenario due to various neoliberal projects in the coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India, sample of 372 households has been drawn from three different locations (Sonepur-Bazari, Sarshatali and Andal). Multi Stage Mixed Method Sampling has been used for this study.

After finalising the samples for the study, the selected interviewees have been interviewed with the help of structured questionnaires. Separate questionnaires were designed for three different project affected regions. Majority of the interviewees have been interviewed in Bengali or Hindi language. Interviews have been mostly carried out at the respondent's residences.

The questionnaire constructed for the study includes five sub-sections altogether. The questionnaire has been prepared in a manner such that, the importance of social position in the process of dispossession can be traced accurately. Certain problems were faced while interviewing respondents such as, some of them had limited knowledge of the company policies, land acquisition law and compensation package. Some technical assistance had been taken during the field work. Another help received was, some cooperative respondents had taken initiatives and facilitated in tracing some of the new sights in the present research. The data has been processed with the help of SPSS software. The further details of the survey are discussed in the chapter 7.

1.9.2. Statistical Methodologies:

For the accurate analysis of both primary and secondary data several statistical methods have been used. The details of these methodologies are given below:

*1.9.2a Dominant and Distinctive Function*⁵⁶

To identify the dominant economic function prevalent in an area Dominant and Distinctive functional analysis is often used. It has been applied in this study to help recognize the mining villages and towns the dominant distinctive function have been used. The functional specialisation of a region as a mining village /town should be analysed in two distinct ways: (i) the relative importance of mining and quarrying compared to the other economic activities in that village or town's occupational structure, and (ii) the importance of mining and quarrying activities in a particular village or town's occupational functional profile relative to the importance of mining and quarrying in the occupational functional profiles of all other villages and towns of that region.

- Proportion of mining labour force to the total labour force is the basic criterion for determining the intensity of its specialisation as a mining town. Where the largest proportion of labour force is engaged in the mining and quarrying activities, that region is designated as mining region and mining as its dominant function.
- On the other hand, if mining as a function involves an atypically high proportion of a region's labour force in relation to the proportion usually found engaged in the mining in most other regions is called a distinctive function. The distinctive function is calculated in three steps. First, the percentage share of workforce in each occupational category of the villages and towns are computed. Second, those villages and towns are identified where the largest proportion of labour force are engaged in mining and quarrying activities. Then the average value of this percentage workforce engaged in mining within the entire region is calculated.

Villages or towns whose share of working population engaged in mining and

⁵⁶ Aslam Mahmood, *Statistical Methods in Geographical Studies* (New Delhi: Rajesh Publications, 2008), 112 – 114. Also see, Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, *Mining and Urbanization in the Raniganj Coalbelt* (Calcutta: The World Press Private Limited, 2001), 88 – 91.

quarrying is above average are said to have mining and quarrying as a distinctive function of that region. The standard deviations of these values for mining workforce is to be computed separately to identify those villages and towns whose share in the mining activity far exceeded the average value. Thus, it is indicative of a greater degree of specialisation.

Distinctive groups of functions were obtained and classed as moderately (mean + 1sd) and highly (mean + 2sd) distinctive function.

1.9.2b Index of Similarity and Dissimilarity⁵⁷

It is devised to measure the net deviation in the percentage distribution of one attribute in relation to the other. It is computed from a set of percentage point differences (both positive and negative) of the two distributions. The sum of these positive deviations is known as index of dissimilarity. The values of this index vary from zero to hundred. Higher the value great is the degree of dissimilarity and vice versa. The index of dissimilarity can easily be converted into index of similarity by subtracting the value of index of dissimilarity from hundred. In this dissertation the index of dissimilarity has been for the following cases:

- (i) Percentage point differences between the agricultural class distribution of the households in both pre and post dispossession period.
- (ii) Percentage point differences between the occupational grade of both pre and post dispossession period.

1.9.2d Conditional Probability Matrix

Household mobility in terms of agrarian relation and household status based on major source of income can be addressed through simple five⁵⁸ (5×5) dimensional matrices.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 105 – 106.

⁵⁸ Five dimensional matrices are calculated to show status mobility in terms of land relation and household source of income.

Table 1.2: Conditional Probability Matrix

Household Category in the Pre- Dispossession Period	Household Category in the Post-Dispossession Period		
	1	2	3
1	P_{11}	P_{12}	P_{13}
2	P_{21}	P_{22}	P_{23}
3	P_{31}	P_{32}	P_{33}

Source: Conceptualised by the researcher.

It is a transition mobility matrix that provides the percentages of households which belong to various status categories (in terms of agrarian relation and household status based on major source of income) corresponding to the status in the pre-dispossession period. It is also known as conditional probability matrix. Conditional probability refers to the probability that a household belongs to certain category in the post dispossession period given the condition that the households in the pre-dispossession period belongs to a particular category. In the conditional mobility matrix tables the entries in each row add up to hundred per cent.

1.9.2e Rogoff's Index of association (social distance mobility co-efficient)⁵⁹

Rogoff's index is worked out as a ratio of actual mobility to the expected value. A ratio of one would signify that the number of households in the post dispossession period actually making a move is equal to the number of households in the post dispossession period expected to move. The null hypothesis is that, household status in the pre-dispossession period has no relation to that of the post-dispossession period.

The cases are first classified according to the pre and post dispossession period household status. Then, in a standard contingency table manner, the expected value of each cell is calculated as a product of the corresponding marginal divided by the total number of cases. The underlying assumption is that it was simply random chance that distributed the households in the post-dispossession period into several cells. That is, the expected values represent the extent of mobility that one would expect on the basis of the demand factor alone, ignoring the effect of social distance factors.

⁵⁹ David N. Laband and Bernard F. Lentz, "Like Father, like Son: Toward an Economic Theory of Occupational Following," *Southern Economic Journal* 50, No. 2 (1983), 475. Also see, N K Nijahawan, "Intergenerational Occupational Mobility," *Economic and Political weekly* 4, No. 39(1969), 1554.

$$\frac{(X_{ij} / R_i) (X_{ij} * N)}{(C_i / N) (R_i * C_i)} = \frac{X_{ij} / (R_i * C_i)}{N}$$

Where,

X_{ij} = Number of households moving from pre-dispossession status class i to the post-dispossession status class j.

R_i = Number of households in the pre-dispossession period in the status class j.

C_j = Number of households in the post-dispossession period status class j.

N = Total number of households.

Total Mobility = (X_{ij} / R_i) = the proportion of households with i pre-dispossession status who move to j.

Demand Factor = (C_i / N) = the proportion of total positions available in class j.

A ratio greater than one in a particular cell would indicate that households inheriting the corresponding status (pre-dispossession status) experienced lesser difficulty in moving over to that particular status class (post-dispossession status class) than chance would have led one to expect. Any ratio less than one would signify the reverse situation.

1.9.2f Composite Index

A composite index have been used for the study, viz. *standard of living index*.

(i) **Standard of living index**⁶⁰

In order to compare the households in terms of their standard of living a composite index has been calculated using the weighting method. The standard of living

⁶⁰ George Davey Smith, Dave Gordon, Michelle Kelly, Shailen Nandy, SV Subramanian, "Inequalities in Health in India: The Methodological Construction of Indices and Measures," Report to Department for International Development, India, www.bris.ac.uk/poverty/downloads/.../Methodology%20report.doc (accessed January 21, 2015).

index used here has been based on the standard of living (SLI) created by NFHS.⁶¹ The SLI is a system where the house, facilities associated with the house, and physical items belonging to the household are given scores. These scores are then summed and the result measured against the quintals. The details of the modified standard of living index used in this study have been provided in chapter 8.

1.9.3. Cartographic Methodologies

Apart from these statistical methods a number of cartographic methods i.e. Bar Graph, line graph etc. has been used for the graphical representational of the analysed dataset. For cartographic representation the Microsoft Excel and SPSS software have been used. On the other hand, for mapping purpose, Arc GIS 9.3 software has been used.

1.9.4. Content Analysis

To support the empirical evidences and find out social, economic and geographic significance of the study content analysis is very essential.

1.10 The Structure and the Content of the Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to form a spatial theory of exclusion in the era of globalisation using David Harvey's theory of "accumulation by dispossession" and the concept of "subalternity" as formulated by the traditional subaltern school of thought (founded by a group of historians' like- Ranajit Guha, Shahid Amin, David Arnold, Partha Chatterjee, Gyanendra Pandey, Gayatri Spivak, etc.) that was keen on reinterpreting freedom struggle of India from subaltern's point of view leaving the interpretation of the elite colonialist and bourgeoisie nationalists. The coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India is a suitable region for material example of exclusion and exploitation. This region has a rich history of colonial exploitation surrounding the extractive industry. Its landscape materialises caste, class and gender exclusion and the neoliberal development projects are those fault lines that reveals the striations of these

⁶¹ *NFHS-3* Supplemental Documentation: Data Set Version 52 Table (2010), 11 – 12, <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/issr/da/datapickup/India/.../SPSS/NFHS3SUP.PDF> (accessed February 02, 2015).

exploitations. The analysis of this thesis is based on a huge literature of historical research along with intensive field survey in three different research locations of the coal-steel industrial complex. The thesis is organised in such a way that first two chapter focuses on the theoretical formulations; next three chapters on the spaces of accumulation that prevailed in this region since pre-colonial period to neoliberal period; and rest of the chapters are devoted to the case studies showing impact of dispossession, related subalternity and subaltern contestations in the neoliberal period.

- **Chapter 2** concentrates on various theories and argument which has been circulating within the study of accumulation and dispossession starting from Marx's thesis on primitive accumulation to David Harvey's thesis on accumulation by dispossession and criticises the limitations of the above mentioned theories. It also tries to explain the differential characters of dispossession. This chapter also explains the theoretical foundations on accumulation without dispossession and dispossession without accumulation.
- **Chapter 3** looks at the Subaltern Studies literature that has emerged in South Asia in the post-colonial period and has become immensely popular in understanding the subordination with capitalist development. This chapter also focuses on how the concept of subaltern has altered in the neoliberal period and the way neo-subaltern protests.
- **Chapter 4** is primarily historical and focuses on the process of resource mobilisation and the distributional bias associated with mining, manufacturing and infrastructure development constitute cases of accumulation through dispossession in the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India. More specifically, it traces the varying degrees of capital accumulation and dispossession that prevailed during the pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial periods. The principal purpose is to establish the debate from empirical evidences. The first section of this chapter shows dispossession of the indigenous people and peasants from agriculture for extractive industries through coercion and material incentives. The result of this dispossession was accumulation that was entirely monopolised by the British and the Zamindars (landlords) and had a negative impact on the peasants in the form of semi-proletarianisation. The next

section of this chapter describes major forms of dispossession for public sectors steel plants, dams and mining through coercion, material incentives as well as normative persuasion in the name of nation building. The dispossession that resulted in accumulation ultimately benefitted the agrarian and industrial capitalists. While on the one hand the internal capitalism had some spillover effect on the public, contrary to this, another section turned in proletariats.

- **Chapter 5** discusses about the accumulation as a neoliberal growth strategy and how it is driving dispossession in the coal-steel industrial complex. The next section of this chapter shows the injustices done by these projects. This chapter further shows how both the process of productive and speculative accumulation is going on around the extractive industry in this region. The auction of coal block for captive mining for power generation not only dispossessed land in huge amount but as done in unscientific manner signaled the speculative accumulation.
- **Chapter 6** examines the dispossession in peri-urban areas that the accumulation made possible. Using data from various sources this chapter takes insights from Andal Aerotropolis SEZ to illustrate the speculative accumulation as a neoliberal growth strategy is driving dispossession. It also shows that the airport developers are actually real estate investors who purchase the land from the locals at a very nominal rate possible by the state intervention, described by Levien as “rate of accumulation.”⁶² The SEZ developers use a certain amount of that acquired land to build the airport, while sell a major share among this to other real estate private developers for their business, IT sectors at a high cost and turn this place into a space for accumulation.
- **Chapter 7** focuses on the research methodology used in this thesis and also provides specifications regarding sampling techniques, exclusionary and inclusionary criteria for the selection of the households, focus groups, sites for interviews and persons interviewed and various ethical considerations. This is followed by the detailed information regarding framing of the questionnaire and execution of the survey using personal interview methods. Information about data processing and limitations of survey has also been provided.

⁶² Michael Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India” (PhD Dissertation, UC Berkeley, 2013), 63.

- *Chapter 8* engages with three case studies of dispossession in the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India. These case studies provide the basis for (re)evaluating neoliberal exploitation through the concept of dispossession. Drawing on field survey, interviews and multi stage sampling of 372 households in three project locations, this chapter shows how existing inequalities in social, economic and cultural capital further intensify the process of marginalisation and exploitation in the post-dispossession period. Essentially it tries to show how both the processes of productive and speculative accumulation intersects with the lives and livelihoods of the people in all these project affected villages. The next section of this chapter trying to show how through the institutions of law and diverse neoliberal compensation model, state has individualised dispossessed's relation with the neoliberal projects and thereby diffusing solidarity.
- *Chapter 9* brings the class composition into the dispossession debate as a vital component in determining social structure of accumulation. It primarily focuses on the process by which subaltern identity is constituted and how they are maintained and changed over time with changes in the economic policy. A behavioural perspective is very important in understanding why and how individuals from a particular class move into and out of some particular class category. Class structure for both pre and post dispossession period separately are provided for attaining a deeper understanding of the class mobility occurring in the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India. This chapter basically illustrates how pre-existing inequality in terms of economic, social and cultural capital have produced unequal ability among the villagers to benefit from the neoliberal projects. Some agrarian households have entered into the formal economy, few into self-employment; few became speculators, on the other hand another section descended to proletarianisation, pauperisation and immiserisation. On the other hand dispossession proved to be disastrous for women irrespective of project locations. This Chapter ultimately shows that the neoliberal growth strategy is dependent on redistribution of wealth at upward directions.

- *Chapter 10* documents the significance of social movement during the period of intensified neoliberal planning. It examines how the anti-dispossession struggle is a subject of social movement from above as well as from below. It also examines the odds against which subaltern stakeholders show their consciousness against accumulation through dispossession in the study area. This chapter looks into contestations to dispossession through the concept of “Subalternity.” The effort has been put here to understand how does the dispossessed subaltern protest? The contestations to dispossession are extremely interesting in its complexity – different factors of conformity and disagreement shaping the resistance.
- A short concluding chapter (*Chapter 11*) finally summarises the main findings and their implications pertaining to the future direction of dispossession and socio-economic, cultural and political change in the region.

Chapter 2

Conceptualising Accumulation and Dispossession

The relevance of the theory of primitive accumulation and accumulation by dispossession have gained fairly wide acceptance in development discourses. There are a number of social theoreticians who use the core ideas of these theories to analyse the contemporary realities of development. Mostly the subject matter of these studies is anchored on the so called development experiences of the developing countries. Having exposed to the empirical literature on accumulation and dispossession (Chapter 1), it is now important to discern the theoretical underpinnings on the same issue. The theoretical conceptualisation helps in explaining how the processes of both accumulation and dispossession have changed with the passage of time in general and with the advancement of capitalism in particular. This chapter emphasises on the term conceptualisation because it is a wholesome process of observing, understanding, and recording the realities and then an attempt to form a coherent theory with which one may not be immediately connected.⁶³ Both accumulation and dispossession need conceptualisation; because global capitalism is continuously advancing and both the processes of accumulation and dispossession are inherent to it especially in the third world countries. This chapter is an attempt in that direction.

The key word ‘accumulation’ as used here is a key feature of capitalism. Here accumulation refers to the reinvestment of surplus value in the form of capital in order to increase that capital.⁶⁴ As pointed out in some recent literature, there is a noteworthy contradiction between two groups of scholars regarding the significance of accumulation. According to a group of scholars, accumulation is necessary for economic growth and technical change. On the other hand David Harvey and few other Marxist scholars’ point out that, accumulation of capitalist system has been responsible for uneven development,

⁶³ Ipsita Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution, and the New Urban Condition: Theories and Case Studies* (Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2014), xiii.

⁶⁴ Susan Mayhew. *A Dictionary of Geography*, 3rd ed. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), s.v. “Accumulation.”

at different times, at different locations and on different spatial scales.⁶⁵ The term dispossession is the process of taking away of resources directly or indirectly from a certain section of the society by force or by mortgage. Further, David Harvey argues that this process of dispossession is driven by financial capitals. Land grabbing for industrial and urban infrastructural projects by financial capital are examples of accumulation by dispossession.

The debates over how accumulation and dispossession are structurally linked to each other overlap with the concepts like- capitalism, crisis of capitalism, colonialism, imperialism, neoliberalism, privatisation, commoditisation, enclosure and so on. It is noteworthy to mention that dispossessions are characterised by both accumulation and without accumulation and similarly accumulation are characterised by both dispossession and without dispossession⁶⁶. Accumulation of capital can have differential characteristics. Similarly, the magnitude and nature of dispossession can vary:

- Dispossession in scope, ranging from internal to external and productive to speculative.
- In the form, relating to spatial, social, economic, cultural and political.
- In terms of the mechanisms (extra-economic force) within whose control it takes place: for instance, state mediated dispossession and dispossession enacted by less centralised owners of force⁶⁷.

Though the association between accumulation and dispossession is already explored in a range of academic literature, here the concern is to explore; to what extent accumulation and dispossession are mutually exclusive to each other? In particular, whether dispossession is possible without accumulation or accumulation is also possible without dispossession? Another area of concern is to know how the process of capital

⁶⁵ David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 137-182. Also See, David Harvey, *Spaces of Neoliberalization: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development-Hettner Lectures* (Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005), 55-92.

⁶⁶ Farshad Araghi, "Accumulation by Displacement: Global Enclosures, Food Crisis, and the Ecological Contradictions of Capitalism," *Review* 32, No. 1 (2009), 124.

⁶⁷ Michael Levien, "Regimes of Dispossession: From Steel towns to Special Economic Zones", *Development and Change* 44, No. 2 (2012), 381-407.

accumulation originated historically, intensified gradually and finally how it is structured in the neoliberal period?

A group of contemporary Marxist theorists (like- Harvey and Patnaik, etc.) acknowledged that dispossession is a necessary pre-condition for accumulation, but a few among them believe that it is not necessary that dispossession will always be a necessary pre-condition for capital accumulation. Similarly, there could be other possibilities, where accumulation is possible without dispossession. There is larger need for empirical research in capturing the specificities of how accumulation through dispossession unfolds at various spatial scales.

In the backdrop of these explorations this chapter has been organised into five sub-sections.

- Analysis of the **key concept accumulation in the context of capitalist development** (2.1).
- Descriptions of the **differential characters of dispossession** (2.2).
- Reviews of the key developments in **theories of accumulation through dispossession** over the time period. This section essentially focuses on the theories since Marx's foundational concept of 'primitive accumulation' to David Harvey's revised theory of 'accumulation by dispossession'. This section (2.3) also criticises the limitations of the above mentioned theories.
- Explorations into theoretical foundations on **accumulation without dispossession** and **dispossession without accumulation** (2.4).
- In the concluding section (2.5) various **Marxist theories of capital accumulation and associated dispossession have been linked with the critical theories of regional development**.

2.1. Capital and Accumulation

The relations between capital and accumulation have been established by a number of scholars in their writings. According to Tony C. Brown,

*'accumulation include the acts by which the worker is separated from the soil and means of production as well as those by which Western Europe amassed its wealth, explicitly through slavery and colonial expansion, practices that enabled an accumulation of wealth so enormous as to be capable of being turned into capital.'*⁶⁸

Similarly, Kappeler and Bigger have suggested that accumulation constitutes part of capital relation.⁶⁹ On the similar direction Harvey argues, 'Accumulation is the engine which powers growth under the capitalist mode of production.'⁷⁰ The growth factor signifies the dynamic nature of the capital which is expanding continuously. Marxian analysis of capitalist development implies four dynamic tendencies of capitalist accumulation⁷¹:

- The capitalist accumulation has a tendency to spread out the boundaries of the capitalist system.
- The capitalist accumulation plays a significant role in increasing the size of the large corporations and also the control and possession of the productive resources in fewer hands. More specifically, transformation of land and other natural resources into financial capital.
- It turns a large number of people into wage labour.
- Capitalist accumulations also lead to accumulation of technology and continuous changes in the labour process.

In the context of present discussion, it is useful to conceptualise the differential characters of capital. Due to productive thrust of capitalism a majority of scholars have emphasised on financial capital and industrial capital, while the social content of capital

⁶⁸ Tony C. Brown, "The Time of Globalization: Rethinking Primitive Accumulation," *Rethinking Marxism: A Journal of Economics, Culture & Society* 21, No. 4 (2009), 571-584.

⁶⁹ Aaron Kappeler and Patrick Bigger, "Nature, Capital and Neighborhoods: "Dispossession without Accumulation?""", *Antipode* 43, 4 (2011), 1000.

⁷⁰ David Harvey, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 237.

⁷¹ David M. Gordon, Richard Edwards and Michael Reich. "Long Swings and Stages of Capitalism," in *Social Structure of Accumulation: The political economy of growth and crisis*, eds. David M. Kotz, Terrancen Mc. Donough and Michael Reich (Cambridge University Press: Glasgow, 1994), 11-12.

has been ignored. ‘Finance capital provides liquidity to the capitalist system, speeding up the circulation of capital and coordinating among different capital uses’⁷². On the other hand in Melendez’s discussion, ‘in an industrialised economy, the accumulation of capital takes the form of new investment, representing the use of the economic surplus for the expansion of both productive capacity and employment’⁷³. Rosa Luxemburg discussed about the dual characteristics of capital accumulation. The first one constitutes accumulation of capital as purely an economic process. It discusses about commodity exchange in the market and appropriation of others’ property takes the forms of exploitation and become a class concept. The other aspect of capital accumulation deals with relationship between capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production and appears across boundary. She argued that these dual characters are organically linked and the historical character can be maintained by taking them together⁷⁴.

Identifying different components of accumulation is a complex issue. Capitalism is an amalgamation of a number of political-economic processes. At its first place, primitive accumulation as described by Marx is the process accumulation of capital and labour. In a similar manner, Smith describes accumulation of capital as the process where wealth is amassed by the social elites. The outcome is that it becomes a process of accumulation of social differences. These social differences lead to accumulation of violence. On the other hand Marx claimed, capitalism ‘establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole.’⁷⁵ However, Smith in his writing did not mention about either accumulation of violence, or accumulation of social differences. In the age of advanced capitalism it is not only an economic process but brings social and

⁷² Llerena Searle, “Making Space for capital: The production of global landscapes in contemporary India”. (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2010), 22. <http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations>.

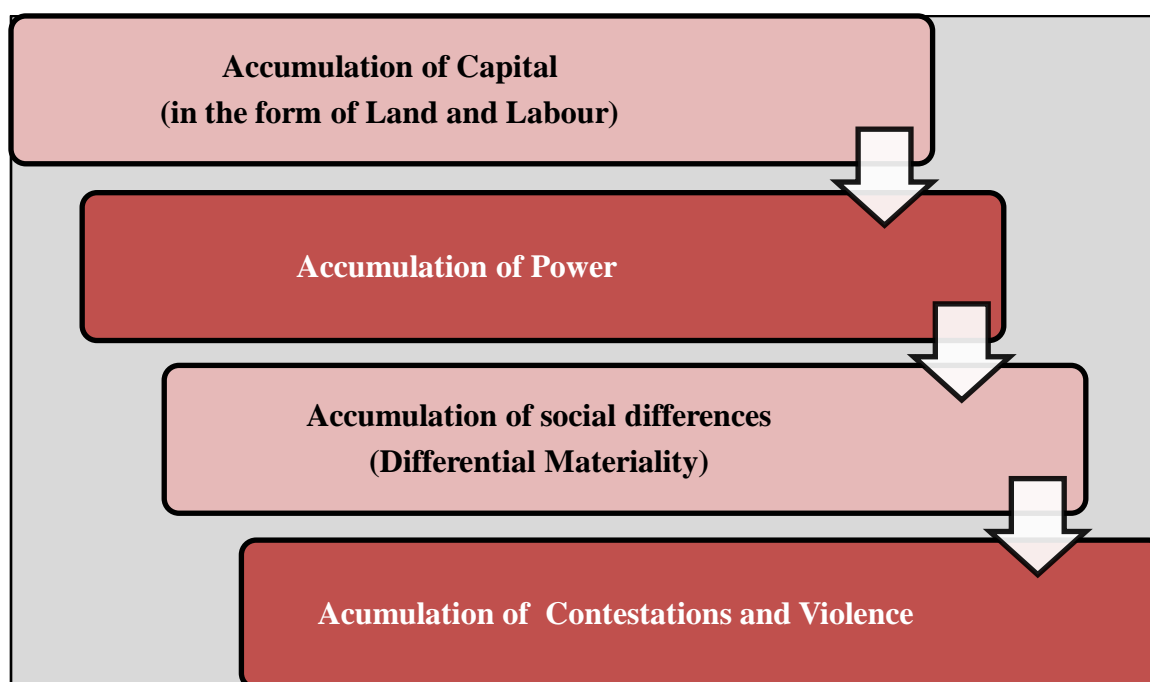
⁷³ Edwin Melendez. “Accumulation and crisis in a small and open economy: the post-war social structure of accumulation in Puerto Rico,” in *Social Structure of Accumulation: The political economy of growth and crisis*, eds. David M. Kotz, Terrancen Mc. Donough and Michael Reich (Cambridge University Press: Glasgow, 1994), 235.

⁷⁴ David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 137-182.

⁷⁵ Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1. (New York: New York International Publishers, (1887) 1967), 64.

political changes along with it. Mitra, Samaddar, and Sen came to the same conclusion in their study on post colonial critiques of capitalism. They discussed accumulation as the process of transition i.e. transiting the borders of production and circulation. However, the transition should not be taken for granted as usually happened historical events. The ‘extra-economic’ factor along with the economic factors is always present there and made possible the adequate understanding of accumulation process.⁷⁶ Several types of interconnections are found in various literatures. These are outlined below:

Diagram 2.1: Differential character of accumulation



Source: Conceptualised by the researcher.

As mentioned in the literature, the production based theories of accumulation (both the Marxist and neo-classicist theories) are unable to explain the clear definition of what is being accumulated? A group of scholars believe that accumulation could be possible in materialistic terms. On the contrary there are another group of scholars who believe that material measurements of capital accumulation are irrelevant. The neo-classicists consider welfare as the means of accumulation. On the other hand, the

⁷⁶ Iman Kumar Mitra, Ranabir Samaddar and Samita Sen, *Accumulation in Post-colonial Capitalism* (Singapore: Springer, 2017), 3.

Marxists consider power as the means and also the final end of accumulation. They consider accumulation as a cyclic process, where capitalists are driven by the goal of accumulation for the sake of accumulation. More specifically it can be said that, the essence of accumulation lies in an interaction between production and power.⁷⁷ Mitra, Samaddar and Sen on the other hand, have talked about new forms of accumulation in the post-colonial period. As observed by them, though, accumulation of capital as the process of separation of labour from the means of production was started at the nascent stage of capitalist development, however, the same continues to a grand scale in the post-colonial period.⁷⁸

2.2. Various trajectories of dispossession

Who are being dispossessed, by whom, of what, who receives dispossessed resources? These were always significant questions since Marx introduced the concept primitive accumulation. Marx's formulation of primitive accumulation remains as a classic theory of dispossession and class formation within the modern social science discourse. However, the discussions on these were very limited. These questions got recognition after Harvey introduces the term accumulation by dispossession. Presently it is gaining acceptance for the fact that capitalist development entered in the global economy and the surplus capital searches for new avenues. Dispossession provides an avenue for this surplus capital at the cost of commoditisation and privatisation of natural resources, especially of land.

In exploring the concept of accumulation through dispossession the issues which arise are: how can one define dispossession? What are the various forms of dispossession? Harvey and few other scholars see dispossession as necessary part in the development of capitalism. On the other hand, according to Michael Levien,

⁷⁷Jonathan Nitzen, "Differential accumulation: towards a new political economy of capital." *Review of International Political Economy* 5, No. 2(1998),196.

⁷⁸ Iman Kumar Mitra, Ranabir Samaddar and Samita Sen, *Accumulation in Post-colonial Capitalism* (Singapore: Springer, 2017), 3.

‘dispossession is fundamentally a social relation of coercive redistribution’⁷⁹. A number of theoreticians have dealt only with the development theories, but ignored the issues of dispossession as an integral part of the capitalist development. They have not noticed that another parallel process is going on within the process of capital accumulation. More specifically the process of ‘dispossession lead to the loss of rights, dignity, sustainable ecological practices, environmental rights and the life as the basis for a unified oppositional politics’⁸⁰.

Dispossession is the process of polarisation of certain groups and production of differences. Dia Da Costa in her book *Development Dramas: Reclaiming Rural Political Action in Eastern India* based on the ethnographic analysis of political drama and action by agricultural labourers and peasants as emerged in the neoliberal period against accumulation by dispossession in rural India, seeks to demonstrate the deeper political meaning of dispossession:

“By ‘dispossession of meaning’, I refer to representational inequality situated in political-economic inequalities and enforced through processes of rule. Dispossession the value of rural social life, livelihood, and future further naturalises the very meaning of development while rendering other existing meanings and practices of life and livelihood politically unthinkable and economically unviable”⁸¹.

The importance of extra-economic factor (like- processes of rule) is also indicated in Dia Da Costa’s analysis.

⁷⁹Michael Levien. “From Primitive Accumulation to Regimes of Dispossession: Theses on India’s Land Question,” in *The Land Question in India: State, Dispossession, and Capitalist Transition*, Eds. Anthony P. D’Costa, Achin Chakraborty (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2017), 50.

⁸⁰ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 178.

⁸¹Dia Da Costa, *Development Dramas: Reclaiming Rural Political Action in Eastern India* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010), 9.

In the discussion on dispossession, Harvey has not restricted the definition of dispossession to few aspects. He keeps it quiet open and states that at present in the process of capital accumulation,

“Dispossession takes various forms around the globe: in advanced industrial regions, workers lost pensions, welfare, national health care and jobs. Elsewhere, communal lands in indigenous and peasant communities were lost, environmental and genetic materials were patented, and water, communications and other public utilities were privatised. According to Harvey, these varied processes of dispossession can be traced to the shift in dominance to finance capital that accompanied the rise of neoliberalism. Although these multiple forms of dispossession may all have their origins in the overriding interests of finance capital”⁸².

Similarly, Banerjee-Guha pointed out that the process is entangled with accumulation and expansion of capital in any form.⁸³

Ishita Chatterjee has also mentioned that ‘when displaced, they are dispossessed, and, therefore, their displacement fundamentally alters their genetic code from forest people, peasants and factory workers to refugees, migrants and squatters akin to Marx’s beggars and vagabonds.’⁸⁴ Kalyan Sanyal describes, dispossession as the state of impoverishment that transform ‘people into a vast indistinguishable mass of ‘have-nots’⁸⁵. On the other hand, radical social thinker Athena Athanasiou in a conversation

⁸²Sharryn Kasmir and August Carbonella, “Dispossession and the Anthropology of Labor,” *Critique of Anthropology* 28, No. 1(2008), 9.

⁸³Swapna Banerjee-Guha. “Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India.” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, No. 2 (2013), 172.

⁸⁴ Ipsita Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution, and the New Urban Condition: Theories and Case Studies* (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2014), 58.

⁸⁵ Kalyan Sanyal, *Rethinking Capitalist Development: Primitive Accumulation, Governmentality and Post-colonial Capitalism* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2007), 44-45. Also see, Susmita Pati, “Accumulation by Possession: The Social Process of Rent Seeking in Urban Delhi,” in *Accumulation in Post-colonial Capitalism* eds. Iman Kumar Mitra, Ranabir Samaddar and Samita Sen, (Singapore: Springer, 2017), 94.

with Judith Butler describes dispossession as a troubling concept⁸⁶ and tried to define dispossession in a larger framework. According to Butler,

*“dispossession, as a way of separating people from means of survival, is not only a problem of land deprivation but also a problem of subjective and epistemic violence; or put another way, a problem of discursive and affective appropriation, with crucially gendered and sexualised implications”*⁸⁷.

As the concept becomes narrower, an attempt to arrive at a fixed and universal definition becomes more difficult and winding.

- ***Multiple and intersecting forms of dispossession***

2.2.1. External and internal dispossession

Dispossession can be experienced in variety of ways. External forces by some superior powers entail the ‘penetration of some pre-existing social order and geographical terrain to the advantage of that power’⁸⁸. The process of dispossession outlined above does not only mean transfer of precious resources and wealth from the developing countries to the colonial powers but dispossession has also been an internal process as well throughout the time period. The forced eviction of peasants and indigenous peoples from their land and livelihoods, slaughter of communal rights; transfer of common property rights into private property rights; containment of alternative forms of production and consumption, etc. these are a few of the many instances of internal dispossession.

Like accumulation; dispossession is also a dynamic and ongoing political-economic process. As mentioned before, the theory of primitive accumulation formulated

⁸⁶ Judith Butler and Athena Athanasiou, *Dispossession: The Performative in the Political* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), 1.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁸⁸ David Harvey, *Spaces of Neoliberalization: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development* Hettner Lectures (Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005), 71.

by Marx still remains as the classical theory of dispossession. However, it is also noteworthy to mention that as the process of dispossession is identified as an ongoing process; it would be unjustified to mention it as time bounded phenomena. For this reason Harvey prefers to mention the process as ‘accumulation by dispossession’ in the neoliberal era. As a matter of fact he has mentioned that dispossession is an essential mechanism required for reproduction of capital.

Another important characteristic of dispossession is, it is not a linear process. The different ways in which dispossession occurs is quite complex and overlapping. Dispossession is time-space specific phenomena and highly dependent on the temporary needs of the capitalists. The process is also accelerating with time and invaded into unexpected spaces.

2.2.2. Productive and Speculative Dispossession

This is the process of being dispossessed of one section of the society by the speculative action of another wealthier section of the society. Levien and many other scholars (like- Md Saidul Islam, Goldman, and Sarkar, etc.) in their writings have mentioned about speculative forms of dispossession.⁸⁹ Sometimes dispossession occurs through the financial logic and exploits the resource peripheries. ‘Speculative accumulation based on the subjective identification of opportunities to invest in specific types of assets, especially when there is intensified competition among the market institutions’.⁹⁰ The only objective is to maximize profit of the corporate. In practice this speculative action leads to physical, cultural and socio-economic dispossession of the masses.

⁸⁹ Michael Levien. “From Primitive Accumulation to Regimes of Dispossession”, *Economic and Political Weekly* 50, No. 22 (2015), 146-157. Also see, Md. Saidul Islam, *Development, Power, and the Environment: Neoliberal Paradox in the Age of Vulnerability* (New York and United Kingdom: Routledge, 2013). Michael Goldman, “Speculative Urbanism and the Making of the Next World City,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, No. 3 (2010), 555-581. Swagato Sarkar, “Beyond Dispossession: The politics of commodification of land under speculative condition”, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 35, No. 3 (2015), 438-450.

⁹⁰ Kavous Ardalan, *Paradigms in Political Economy* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 177.

When dispossession occurs purely for productive purposes, it is understood grossly as industrial manufacturing and its supporting infrastructure. Productive capitals are invested for the production of finite products required for societal development. A number of scholars believe that the land dispossession that occurred in India for the purpose of infrastructural development in the form of dams, heavy industries and steel towns in the post-colonial period are instances of productive dispossession.

2.2.3. Socio-Cultural, Politico-Economic and Physical Dispossession

The various forms of accumulation cause myriad forms of dispossession and there are clear connections between all the processes of dispossession. However, all the processes are distinguished in the following context:

(a) Physical Dispossession:

Physical dispossession is the process of physical dislocation of people against their will from their already established spaces of living, livelihood and social interaction.

(b) Economic Dispossession:

It is the process of the restructuring of the modes of work. More specifically, the process of transformation from formal and secure employment to casual employment, which lacks security of employment as well as income.

(c) Social and Cultural Dispossession:

It is the process of marginalisation that prevents a section of individuals or a community from participating fully in social and cultural life. It is a form of socio-cultural alienation. More specifically, a process of cultural alienation of a section of people on racial, gender and ethnic ground, who are not necessarily economically excluded or oppressed.⁹¹

(d) Political Dispossession:

⁹¹ Ipsita Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution and New Urban Condition* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2014), 119-120.

It involves processes that lead to reduction in the agency, autonomy and power of individuals, community or a group of people to control on their life, livelihood and space.

(e) Knowledge Dispossession:

It involves the process of dispossession of people from their indigenous and traditional knowledge about livelihood, ways of life, biodiversity, social contract and above all ethics and aesthetics.

2.2.4. State mediated dispossession and Dispossession enacted by less centralised owners of force

Dispossession is done by the act of appropriation by the state. Indian state expropriated agrarian and forested land to produce industrial space under state led developmentalism and neoliberalism. The state has the power to use both legal means and formulate policies in favour of a particular class to allocate resources for a set of economic purposes to them. On the other hand, the same state can also use material inducements and coercive force to reinforce compliance to the process of dispossession.

While, state is the owner of centralised coercive force for dispossession, there are few in the society who are also owners of less centralised force of coercion referred by Kalecki and Barbara Harriss-White as “intermediate class”⁹², includes – mafias⁹³, armed gangs or landlords. Dispossession enacted by this intermediate class is not uniform over space, differs in character from place to place.

2.3. Accumulation by dispossession: Theoretical exposition

The links between the process of accumulation and dispossession need to be discussed under a strong theoretical formulation. David Harvey and Sassen described dispossession and financialisation as the mechanisms of accumulation. The central argument of accumulation by dispossession includes the dual process of enclosing land and resources and dispossession of individuals for the purpose of capital

⁹² The category of “intermediate class” does not correspond to the Marxian conceptualization of “elite class”. The intermediate classes are numerous in number and also politically and economically very influential at regional level. They also constitute a powerful role in the process of accumulation. (For details, see, Barbara Harriss-White, *India Working: Essays on Society and Economy* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 43-71).

⁹³ The term ‘mafia’ is described in the glossary section.

accumulation.⁹⁴ Accumulation by dispossession is an ongoing process. Mapping of this ongoing process is a challenging task.⁹⁵ This section is an attempt to explore how the process of accumulation by dispossession varies during pre-capitalist, capitalist, post-capitalist and neoliberal periods.

There are a number of studies which deal with the theoretical understanding of dispossession. According to Judith Whitehead, development and resulted dispossession are part of the process what Marx termed as ‘primitive accumulation’ and David Harvey referred as ‘accumulation by dispossession’. Essentially, these are processes whereby natural and common property resources (land, water, forest, etc.), human resources (knowledge, skill and services) that had been an integral part of the community and social property are appropriated and privatised. Glassman in his study has discussed about the contemporary relevance of the long standing Marxist debate on primitive accumulation.

Primitive accumulation is an important phenomenon of early capitalism and occurring during the transitional phase from feudalism to capitalism. But that process did not stop there. Once the capital produced historically, it reappears in many phases for the expansion of it and creates its own space. According to Harvey, even capital is accumulating in the contemporary phases of globalisation.

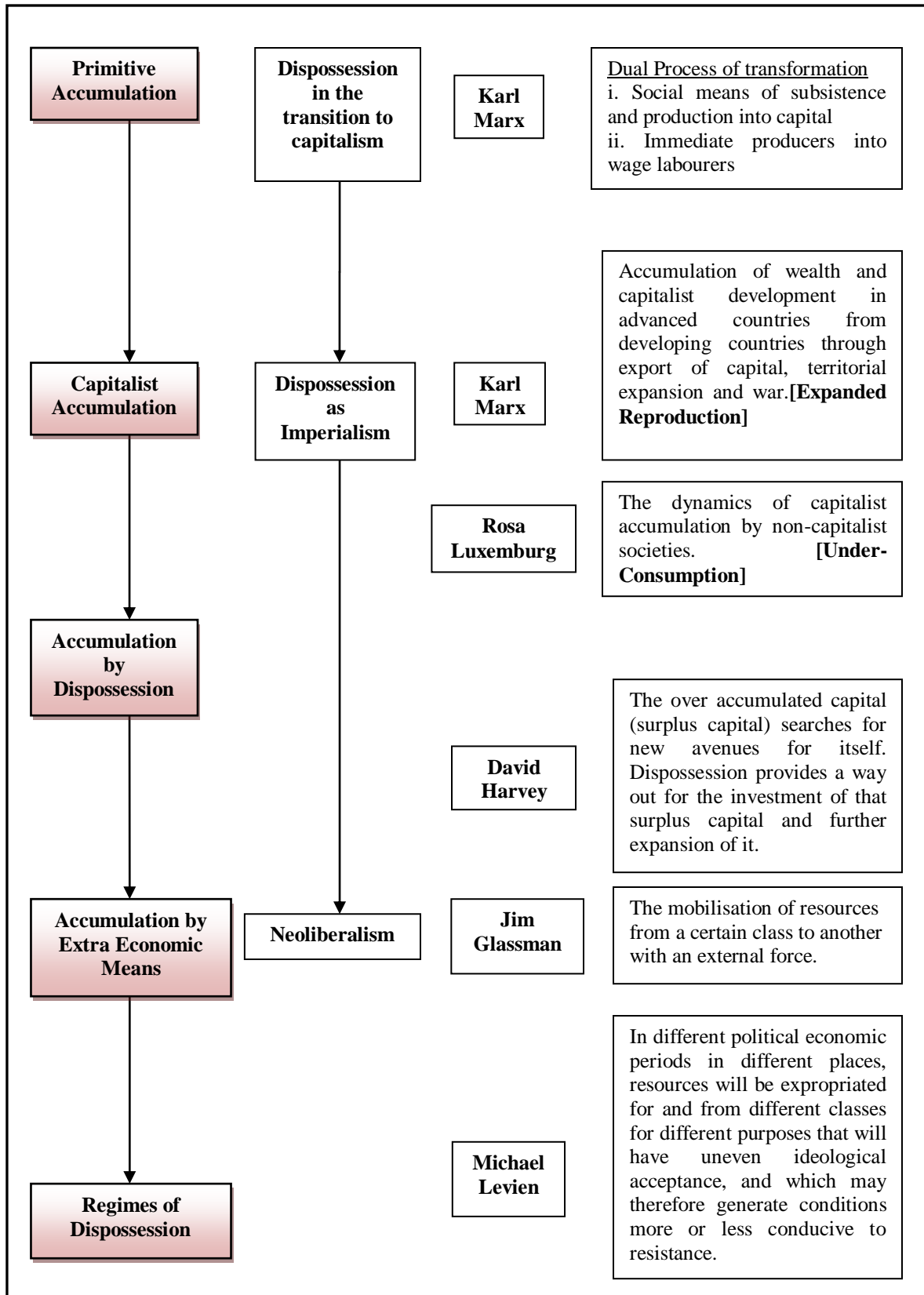
Neoliberalism is the latest phase of capitalism. The term “accumulation by dispossession” has a special relevance in the globalised era. Marx’s theory shows that there is strong relationship between capitalist development and dispossession. But this traditional relationship has evolved over time with the advancement of capitalism. Therefore, first it is necessary to analyse the theoretical base and it’s substantial reconstruction to understand the contemporary forms of dispossession.

The theoretical background used for this present study discussed in the following diagram (Diagram2.2):

⁹⁴ Derek Hall, “Primitive Accumulation, Accumulation by Dispossession and the Global Land Grab”, *Third World Quarterly* 34, No. 9 (2013), 1583.

⁹⁵ Farshad Araghi, “Accumulation by Displacement: Global Enclosures, Food Crisis, and the Ecological Contradictions of Capitalism,” *Review* 32, No. 1 (2009), 124.

Diagram 2.2: Theorising Dispossession in relation to Accumulation



Source: Conceptualised by the researcher.

A number of scholars like – Luxemburg, David Harvey, Prabhat Patnaik, Jim Glassman, and Michael Levien, etc. have reconstructed Marx’s theory again and again to explain the contemporary forms of dispossession. Therefore, the theoretical formulation is very important in understanding the concept. The theories of dispossession can be grouped into three broad categories: dispossession in the pre-stage of capitalism, dispossession as imperialism and dispossession in the era of globalisation.

2.3.1. Marx’s Primitive Accumulation: Dispossession in the pre-stage of capitalism

Within the academic literature essentially found that regarding the study of accumulation and dispossession theories Marxist scholars are divided into two groups, i.e. one group is emphasising on the processes of internal accumulation of capital in Europe by primitive accumulation and another on the external processes of accumulation and expropriation by colonialism. However, Marx himself discussed several ways through which accumulation is possible.

The internal accumulation of capital is associated to the English enclosure. In unfolding the historical transitional phase of feudalism to capitalism in England during fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, Marx used the term ‘primitive accumulation’. It was Adam Smith who for the first time used the term ‘the accumulation of stock’ as a pre-condition for the division of labour. Angelis notes that, ‘for any given time-period, the process of accumulation presupposes of course that some pre-accumulated capital was thrown into the process of production. It seems therefore that capitalist production as a whole presuppose some “original” or “primitive” accumulation.’⁹⁶The term ‘primitive’ by its meaning clear cut corresponds to the temporal dimension. Primitive means past, therefore primitive accumulation is the pre-condition for the futuristic capitalism. As Marx mentioned, ‘it appears as primitive, because it forms the pre-historic stage of

⁹⁶Massimo Da Angelis. “Marx and Primitive accumulation: The continuous character of capital’s “enclosures””, *The commoner*, No. 2(2001), 3.

capital and of the mode of production corresponding with it.’⁹⁷ Primitive accumulation curves out the path for capitalist system.

This is the process of transformation which happens in dual ways, i.e. on the one hand it is the process of transformation from the social means of subsistence and production into capital and accumulation of that capital in the hands of few; on the other hand, transformation of immediate producers into wage labourers. Marx considered them as two side of the same coin. The core argument of primitive accumulation rests upon the concept of the expropriation of the agricultural producers from their land (soil). The process of primitive accumulation produces clear distinctions between have and have-nots.

On the contrary to the process of internal accumulation; the external process of accumulation emphasises on the surpluses and profits extracted and send back to Europe from its colonies in the Americas and also in Asia and Africa. This process is also known as colonialism. It is the process of political domination and also involves exploitation and profit extraction through direct political and military domination.⁹⁸ Marx in the chapters XXVI to XXXI of *Capital* discussed about different external sources (non-European countries) that contributed to the process of capital accumulation. He cited examples of discovery of gold and silver in America and profit extraction from it, the enslavement of aboriginal population of East Indies in mines, enslavement of African hunters as industrial labour and monopolisation of tea and indigo trade in India along with political domination.⁹⁹

However Marx mentioned about all these sources of capital accumulation in the transition from feudalism to capitalism, but did not discussed about the relation importance of these sources. Europe’s transition towards a new economy for the first

⁹⁷ Karl Marx, *Capital Volume 1: The process of production of capital*. 1887(English edition). Trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling – Eds. Fredrick Engles. (Moscow, USSR: Progress Publishers, 1887) pp. Chapter 26 – secret of primitive accumulation.

⁹⁸ Colonialism (2012). <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/colonialism/#PosColThe>. (Accessed on 11/05/2016 at 8:28 pm).

⁹⁹ Sutapa Bose, “The Problem of Primitive Accumulation,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23, No. 23 (1988), 1169.

time in the world history has been termed as 'European Exceptionalism' by a group of scholars. Scholars have tried to explore the relative importance of both external and internal sources in respect to this European Exceptionalism. A group of Marxist scholars believe that primitive accumulation is the process that pushed Europe towards this exceptionalism. While, Marxist scholar like- Baunt claim that the process of external accumulation and exploitation through colonialism has dominant role behind this transition.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, beyond these binaries (internal and external) few scholars have rather chosen a middle path. Biodun Jeyifo believed that both the processes of internal accumulation within Europe and external accumulation outside Europe were structurally and factually linked.¹⁰¹ On the other hand Bose believe that the two school of Marxist scholars actually 'relying more on speculation than on hard facts'¹⁰². Jeyifo pointed out that the link between external and internal accumulation lies with the fact that who paid the price for this transition in the mode of production. The primitive accumulation is the process through which the agricultural labourers are expropriated from their land and became proletarianised. Correspondingly, the peons and the slaves also paid human and social cost of transition as capital was extracted from their labour and send back to Europe. These are bloody and violent processes. It includes: capturing and destroying of church's property, fraudulent alienation of state property, burglary of common lands, and usurpation of feudal and clan property and its transformation into private property under the practice of terrorism, robbery, conquest, enslavement, murders and other violent activities¹⁰³. According to Marx, the capitalist social relations were constructed under a violent circumstance.

¹⁰⁰ Biodun Jeyifo, "In the Wake of Colonialism and Modernity," *French Journal of Anglophonia* 7 (2000), 71-84.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 71-84.

¹⁰² Sutapa Bose, "The Problem of Primitive Accumulation," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23, No. 23 (1988), 1170.

¹⁰³ Karl Marx, *Capital Volume 1: The process of production of capital*. 1887(English edition). Trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling – Eds. Fredrick Engles. (Moscow, USSR: Progress Publishers, 1887) pp. Chapter 26 – secret of primitive accumulation.

It was a gradual process and took almost two-three centuries in arriving at the ultimate stage of capitalism. Harvey summarises Marx's notion of primitive accumulation in following manner:

*'The commodification and privatisation of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations; the conversion of various forms of property rights (common, collective, state, etc.) into exclusive private property rights; the suppression of rights to the commons; the commodification of labour power and suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption; colonial, neo-colonial, and imperial process of appropriation of assets (including natural resources); the modernisation of exchange and taxation, particularly of land; the slave trade; and usury, the national debt, the ultimately the credit system as radical means of primitive accumulation'*¹⁰⁴.

Marx noticed that the process of expropriation varies over time and space. 'The history of this expropriation, in different countries, assumes different aspects, and runs through its various phases in different order of succession, end at different periods.'¹⁰⁵

Present forms of dispossession and its relation with capitalism is not possible to discuss through the lens of primitive accumulation. Levien points out several reasons. Like: (a) the present forms of dispossession neither inaugurate capitalist social relation nor mark transition between modes of production, basically does not fulfill the two basic criteria of capitalism. (b) It involves dispossession of land for non-agricultural development, therefore hardly any relation with agriculture. (c) It reflects not the early stage of capitalism but capitalist's demand for land and natural resources.¹⁰⁶ The present forms of enclosure do not resemble the traditional or classical forms. The theory of

¹⁰⁴ David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 137 – 182.

¹⁰⁵ Karl Marx, *Capital Volume 1: The process of production of capital*. 1887(English edition). Trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling – Eds. Fredrick Engles. (Moscow, USSR: Progress Publishers, 1887) pp. Chapter 26 – secret of primitive accumulation.

¹⁰⁶ Michale James Levien, *Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and Political Economy of Land in India*, Unpublished research work (Barkley: University of California, 2013).

primitive accumulation explains land dispossession in the transition from feudalism to capitalism, whereas it does not explain land dispossession within capitalism. However, later on Marxist followers have reinterpreted his theory of primitive accumulation in a slight different manner as an ongoing feature of capitalism.

2.3.2. Rosa Luxemburg on Imperialism: Conceptualising dispossession after Marx

Marx's formulation of primitive accumulation not only includes domestic enclosures, but also includes other processes which had links to the rest of the world. A section among the scholars has taken up the externalist approach of Marxist theory of primitive accumulation for detailed discussion on capital accumulation and dispossession. Therefore, the question rises that when the internal approach of primitive accumulation fails to explain the current process of dispossession, does the external approach give an alternative? In the external conception, primitive accumulation refers to the accumulation of wealth and capitalist development in advanced countries from developing countries through export of capital, territorial expansion and war. The developing countries were the main sources for raw material and also the access to the new markets for the products produced in the developed countries. As Levien notes, 'it is the political control over territories that enable national capitalists to expand their protected markets.'¹⁰⁷ This is the focal theme of Marx's classic theory of imperialism. Lenin around hundred years ago, talked about imperialism. During that period imperialism was the last stage of capitalism¹⁰⁸ characterised by highest stage of capitalism, moribund stage of capitalism and decaying and parasitic capitalism.

Rosa Luxemburg's book *The Accumulation of Capital* is a seminal writing on global capitalism, imperialism, power, violence and so on. Luxemburg's theory of imperialism is something different from Marx's traditional theory. She explicitly explained the dynamics of capitalist accumulation by non-capitalist societies. Luxemburg used the concept 'under-consumption' for further explanation. Marx's scheme of

¹⁰⁷ Michale James Levien, *Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and Political Economy of Land in India*, Unpublished research work (Barkley: University of California, 2013), 6.

¹⁰⁸ V.I. Lenin. *Imperialism: the highest stage of capitalism*. (Australia: Resistance Books, 1999), 15-17.

expanded reproduction includes only two classes, while Luxemburg's theory includes third parties in the process of capitalist development. As mentioned by her in the book there is an organic relation between the process of surplus value production and the extra economic means like- imperialism. Imperialism helps in continuous exploitation of non-capitalist modes of production, produces new markets through the establishment of exchange relation with non-capitalist producers and absorption these producers into proletariat. According to her, to continue the process of primitive accumulation on a global scale, capitalism needs a space outside capitalism. She also believes that 'once the whole world becomes capitalist, capitalist accumulation will have reached its historical end.'¹⁰⁹In the explanation on violence, she mentioned that the resistance and struggle are not constitutive element of primitive accumulation, but a byproduct of it.

2.3.3. Neoliberalism and Dispossession: Marx revisited by David Harvey

Marx talked about both internal and external approaches to primitive accumulation. But Marx's theory of primitive accumulation has partially failed in explaining the processes of dispossession under the neoliberal capitalist development. As discussed earlier, neoliberalism is the latest phase of capitalism. The important feature of neoliberalism is redistribution rather than generation of wealth and income. The internalist approach of primitive accumulation remains confined to the initial establishment of capitalism within the countries. On the other hand, the externalist approach identifies the process of dispossession going on among the countries. It ignores the internal factor in the play, more specifically the political relation that makes the dispossession possible either by domestic or global sources. As mentioned by Whitehead, displacement due to development projects in the 21st century and displacement of peasants in England in the late 18th century are more or less similar and parallel processes, but dispossession in the globalised era has deeper processes at work.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹Massimo Da Angelis. "Marx and Primitive accumulation: The continuous character of capital's "enclosures"", *The commoner*, No. 2(2001), 3.

¹¹⁰Judith Whitehead. *Development and dispossession in the Narmada Valley*. (New Delhi: Pearson Education India, 2010), 3.

Dispossession in the neoliberal period has been approached by a number of scholars in different ways:

- *Accumulation by dispossession*

Scholars like- David Harvey, Prabhat Patnaik and many others have redefined the concept of primitive accumulation in a temporal sense by using the concept ‘accumulation by dispossession’ and ‘accumulation through encroachment’. Harvey also tries to establish the relationship between dispossession and imperialism. According to Harvey, capital accumulation in the neoliberal period depends on the corresponding process of dispossession. He argues that the process of expanded reproduction and accumulation through dispossession are organically and historically linked to each other. Where Rosa Luxemburg ends up her argument; David Harvey starts his argument from there. He was highly motivated by the argument of Rosa Luxemburg that ‘capital requires ‘others’ or something ‘outside of itself’.’¹¹¹ The points of departure between Luxemburg and Harvey are, where Luxemburg considers the problem of under-consumption, Harvey addresses the problem of over-accumulation and the other distinguishing fact is accumulation by dispossession is accomplished by a combination of both ‘internal motivation and external pressure’.¹¹² In the progress of capitalism, it suffers from the periodic crisis of capitalism. According to Harvey, the over accumulated capital (surplus capital) searches new avenues for itself. A way out for the investment of that surplus capital and further expansion of it causes dispossession. ‘Accumulation by dispossession refers to a broad range of predatory processes that lead to loss for some and the accumulation of capital (and more) by others.’ Harvey demonstrates various avenues in which capital’s ‘other’ were made by dispossession. Like - privatisation of common

¹¹¹Sharryn Kasmir and August Carbonella. “Dispossession and the Anthropology of Labor,” *Critique of Anthropology* 28, No. 1(2008), 9.

¹¹²Dia Da Costa. “Tensions of neoliberal development: State discourse and dramatic oppositions in West Bengal,” *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 41, No. 3(2007), 292.

resources and opening up of public sectors (services, housing, etc.) for private investment.¹¹³

Harvey notes, ‘what accumulation by dispossession does is release a set of assets (including labour power) at very low (and in some instances zero) cost. Over accumulated can seize hold of such assets immediately turn them to profitable use.’¹¹⁴ In support of Harvey’s concept of accumulation by dispossession Chatterjee mentions that like primitive accumulation, accumulation by dispossession does not require control over physical space and human being, instead requires following the ‘the neoliberal of deregulation, border porosity, capital market liberalisation and structural adjustment imposed on ex-colonial economies’.¹¹⁵

Harvey has modified Marx’s concept of primitive accumulation in the sense that while primitive accumulation creates the pre-condition for capitalism, accumulation by dispossession creates the conditions for the further expansion of capital. As Da Costa suggests, ‘the mobility of capital between sectors, spaces and people, being the fountainhead of ongoing accumulation, produces a constant search for ‘new’ frontiers of dispossession’¹¹⁶.

Both Marx and Luxemburg talked about extra economic forces behind capital accumulation. But Harvey completely ignored the extra economic forces mentioned by Marx and Luxemburg. According to Harvey, accumulation by dispossession is primarily economic process rather than extra economic. Thus Levien noted ‘Without the mean-specific distinction, it is no longer clear what separates ABD from other spatial fixes and the ‘normal’ expanded reproduction of capital’¹¹⁷. Accumulation by dispossession is the

¹¹³Sharryn Kasmir and August Carbonella. “Dispossession and the Anthropology of Labor,” *Critique of Anthropology* 28, No. 1(2008), 9.

¹¹⁴ David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 137 – 182.

¹¹⁵ Ipsita Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution, and the New Urban Condition: Theories and Case Studies* (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2014), 58.

¹¹⁶Dia Da Costa. “Tensions of neoliberal development: State discourse and dramatic oppositions in West Bengal,” *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 41, No. 3(2007), 291.

¹¹⁷ Michael James Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: From steel towns to Special Economic Zones,” *Development and Change* 44, No. 2(2012), 382. Here the author has used the short form of Accumulation By Dispossession as ABD.

integral part of the deepening commoditisation of environments (physical, cultural and social).¹¹⁸ These include not only land but water, forest and forest products, seeds, organic fertilizer and pesticides, herbal medicines, folk songs and some resources those were the part of common heritage, possession and knowledge of indigenous societies throughout the world.¹¹⁹ Prabhat Patnaik also supports Harvey's conceptualisation of accumulation of dispossession, though he uses a separate term in his writings, i.e. accumulation through encroachment'.

2.3.4. The limits to Marx and Harvey's theories of dispossession

2.3.4.1. Accumulation by extra-economic means

Glassman in his study states dispossession as fundamental to capitalist accumulation in the 21st century, occurring in diverse forms by accommodating itself to various geographical and sociopolitical contexts. He also discusses that how 'capital employs hegemonic discourses and the 'extra-economic' means afforded to it by the state to incorporate into its fold the world's extensive (geographical) and intensive (social) frontiers'¹²⁰. Emphasizing on the dispossession through extra economic means he provides examples of dams, SEZs, slum demolition, gentrification and various other forms of enclosures, privatisation and transfer of common property resources and public wealth. All these examples are also included in the study of Harvey. Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession underestimates the political role of the states in the process of dispossession. For Harvey, neoliberalism is a class project. The mobilisation of resources from a certain class to another cannot be possible without an external force. It is the intervention of state force which makes it possible. According to Glassman in 21st century dispossession occurs without outright physical dispossession.¹²¹

2.3.4.2. Regimes and pattern of dispossession

¹¹⁸ Judith Whitehead. *Development and dispossession in the Narmada Valley*. (New Delhi: Pearson Education India, 2010), 12.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 12.

¹²⁰ Jim Glassman, "Primitive accumulation, accumulation by dispossession, accumulation by 'extra-economic' means," *Progress in Human Geography* 30, No. 5 (2006), 608-625.

¹²¹ Ibid., 608-625.

Like Glassman, Levien also highlights the shortcomings of Harvey's theorisation. Levien's point of departure from Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession stems from his recognition that 'the character and outcome of the dispossessed depends on these socially and historically specific political and ideological factors, it displays significant variation over space and time that cannot be explained simply by economic factors, such as cycles of over-accumulation in the global economy'¹²². Levien extends his argument using the concept of 'regimes of dispossession'. By which he specifies that the process of dispossession includes social and historical specificities of state structures, economic interest and logic involved to particular class and also ideological justifications. All these factors mutually generate a consistent pattern of dispossession. Levien has effectively emphasizes on spatial and temporal dimension of dispossession. As illustrated by him, 'in different political economic periods in different places, resources will be expropriated for and from different classes for different purposes that will have uneven ideological acceptance, and which may therefore generate conditions more or less conducive to resistance.'¹²³ Levien's emphasis on the reasons why capital in general requires, more specifically forceful expropriation at any given place and time to sustain accumulation of capital.¹²⁴

2.3.4.3. *Intimate dispossession*

Another debate of accumulation by dispossession rests upon the context of few South Asian countries that small producers are equally enthusiastic to participate in the process like the corporate do. This has led the scholars to discuss on intimate dispossession. Various scholars have used the same concept in their writings using

¹²² Michael James Levien, "Regimes of Dispossession: From steel towns to Special Economic Zones," *Development and Change* 44, No. 2(2012), 383.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 383.

¹²⁴ Michael Levien, "The land question: special economic zones and political economy of dispossession in India," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 39, No. 3-4 (2012), 936.

different terms, like- ‘enclosure from below’ by Li and ‘dispossession from below’ by Adam.¹²⁵

2.3.4.4. Accumulation by differentiated dispossession

This kind of experience of dispossession is illustrated by Doshi’s study. He found that there are various groups in the society that support development projects more precisely to say accumulation process at different moments. Heterogeneous identities are carefully used for political participation and also create subjectivities for better material experiences.

What is noteworthy is that, of the notable process of dispossession has been a process of negotiation between the capitalists and the state, where common people are the victims by the act of expropriation of resources from them. Thus resentment, outrage and hostility are the natural responses of them with the help of multiple actors, like- academics, researchers, activist group, etc. The intensity and magnitude of these struggle movements varies over space and time. In other words, dispossession is process of exploitation; it deprives a certain section of their rights, livelihood, skill, culture, knowledge and memory and let another section to accumulate space, place, capital and memory.

2.4. Conceptualising other angles of accumulation and dispossession

In this chapter the contemporary relevance of the relationship between accumulation and dispossession are explored from several angles. In the present discussion, other two interrelated issues need special attention, i.e. ‘accumulation without dispossession’ and ‘dispossession without accumulation’.

2.4.1. Accumulation without dispossession

The alternative concept of accumulation through dispossession is accumulation without dispossession. There are very few theoreticians (like- Arrighi, Rigg and Li etc.)

¹²⁵ Jonathan Rigg, *Challenging Southeast Asian Development: The shadows of success*, (London: Routledge, 2016), 61.

who believe that dispossession is always not necessary pre-condition for accumulation. Circulation and expansion of capital is possible without dispossessing. Arrighi is one of those, who believe that accumulation of capital is possible without dispossession. He believes that the mechanism through which accumulation is possible without dispossession are, expansion of domestic market, decrease in the reproduction cost, raising the quality of the labour force by rural development (MGNREGA) and industrialisation. The countries like- China and some other East Asian countries bearing this process.¹²⁶ According to Marx, primitive accumulation is characterised by accumulation of capital by creating a formally free labour market, in which labourers rely completely on the sale of labour power for their livelihood. On the contrary, Arrighi argues that labour markets can sustain its growth without dispossession, by retaining a nonmarket periphery where labourers continue to pull subsistence from landholdings.¹²⁷ Jonathan Rigg also mentions that there is a debate that East and South East Asian countries are actually experiencing accumulation without dispossession rather than accumulation by dispossession. Basically these countries are experiencing industrialisation on the one hand and also retaining access to the land on the other hand. Kroger cited an example of this concept. The Nordic countries are practicing a decentralised agro-forestry system where they are practicing multi species plantation of trees instead of monoculture owned by a wide array of families not by the multinationals.¹²⁸ Similarly, Brazil has also attempted to promote accumulation without dispossession. However, Kroger himself put question marks on the success of this process. He opines that it is difficult to get the success without adequate changes in the agrarian structure, government policies and the political economic dynamics of the region. Therefore, he describes it as an ‘isolated attempt’.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Markus Kröger, “The Expansion of Industrial Tree Plantations and Dispossession in Brazil,” *Development and Change* 43, No. 4 (2012), 947–973. Also see, Markus Kröger, *Contentious Agency and Natural Resource Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 54.

¹²⁷ Julia Chuang, “Urbanization through dispossession: survival and stratification in China's new townships,” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 42, No. 2(2015), 276.

¹²⁸ Markus Kroger. *Contentious Agency and Natural Resource Politics*. (New York: Routhledge, 2014), 38.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 54.

This is one side of the story. Another side is, in South Asian context small producers are interested to participate in the process of dispossession. Li termed it as dispossession from below or enclosure from below. While Adam Smith termed it as intimate dispossession.¹³⁰

2.4.2. Dispossession without accumulation

Kappeler and Bigger have mentioned that the ongoing economic recession produces dispossession which is a steady feature of capitalism. However, the contradiction found because here dispossession occurs not as an integral part of accumulation process. This type of dispossession has a separate identity from capital accumulation. Moreover, these types of dispossession have the potential to create new spaces as well as new opportunities where struggle and resistance can crop up.¹³¹

To conclude the foregoing discussion, this chapter demonstrated that the theories on accumulation and dispossession postulated by Marx and his followers have been widely accepted as the useful tools for understanding the different phases of capitalist development. These theories are adopted by a number of scholars to identify the dynamics of accumulation and dispossession special reference to the developing countries. However, it is also noteworthy to mention that the discussions of these research papers are largely theoretical and analysed largely at macro scale. What is mainly missing in these researches are dynamics of accumulation by dispossession at micro regional scale. As a matter of fact it is essentially require focusing on the empirical and conceptual specificities of dispossession. The way by which it is possible is to bring into discourse of accumulation through dispossession theories with critical regional development literatures.

¹³⁰ Jonathan Rigg. *Challenging Southeast Asian Development: The shadows of success*. (London: Routledge, 2016), 61.

¹³¹ Aaron Kappeler and Patrick Bigger. "Nature, Capital and Neighborhoods: "Dispossession without Accumulation"?" *Antipode* 43, No.4 (2011), 1002.

Chapter 3

Rethinking production of Subaltern Spaces and Anti-dispossession Contestations in the Neoliberal Period

This chapter reflects on the significance of theoretical background of Subaltern Studies for updating and understanding the new domains of subaltern contestations (as already mentioned in chapter 2) and their political formations in the contexts of accumulation through dispossession in the coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India in the contemporary time period. This study has taken up one such subaltern group – the subject of dispossessed as a realm of marginalisation, exclusion and exploitation. The assumption here is that paying attention to dispossessed subalterns does not mean one should rely on them as mass and dependable sections of the society but as sections suffering from multiple crises at various levels yet retaining their survival in the society against all odds. By virtue of the fact, the subalterns had different kinds of experience with colonial oppression and still continuing in the post-colonial and neoliberal era. It is revealed by the act of the accumulators (e.g. the global/national agents and processes of advanced capitalism) and subaltern ways of expression in the neoliberal contexts.

The term subaltern is used to refer to various marginalised and dominated section of the society (including the adivasis, dalits, and women, etc.) and the rural peripheries as the sites of subalternity. As noted by Kapoor, ‘subaltern studies have always emphasised the politics of the lower orders and their political consciousness and the central focus of this scholarship has been on subaltern groups and classes, their struggles, movements and activities.’¹³² It should be noted that since independence a large number of people from rural peripheries has been displaced and dispossessed by the process of development and more precisely by the process of capital accumulation.

As noted by Antonio Gramsci, the subaltern constitutes those peasants and labouring poor of the society having similar political consciousness as the unifying force

¹³² Dip Kapoor, “Adult learning in political (un-civil) society: Anti-colonial subaltern social movement (SSM) pedagogies of place,” *Studies in the Education of Adults* 43 (2011), 131.

in the context of class hierarchical industrial capitalism.¹³³ The traditional subaltern school of thought (founded by a group of historians' like- Ranajit Guha, Shahid Amin, David Arnold, Partha Chatterjee, Gyanendra Pandey, Gayatri Spivak, etc.) wanted to establish a link between subalternity and coloniality in the context of power structure. As found from the various volumes of 'Subaltern Studies',¹³⁴ their major objective was to reinterpret freedom struggle of India from subaltern point of view leaving the interpretation of the elite colonialist and bourgeoisie nationalists. The contemporary studies of social struggles in the age of globalisation try to revisit the subaltern contestations and the associated subaltern politics and political space by addressing colonial-capital-imperial overlapping from historical to contemporary time period. Recognizing the significance of anti-colonial subaltern struggle during the colonial period, the major aim here is to similarly establish the significance of anti-dispossession subaltern resistances with the contemporary processes of neoliberal capitalist development and the contemporary internal and external agents.

Accumulation of capital and subsequent subalternisation of a certain section of the society is not a new phenomenon. Both Marx and Harvey's theories convey that suppression and therefore struggles are embedded within the process of primitive accumulation and accumulation by dispossession (Chapter 2). Especially, the ongoing processes of accumulation by dispossession lead to the production of subaltern spaces through uneven development. The new elites are creating new cycles of capital accumulation and dispossession resulting in the subaltern population through reinvestment and exclusion of the have nots. But it is a complex process overall and the internal character (in term of its scale and intensity) of their contestations and resulted resistance varies over time and space.

Throughout the history, subalterns struggle to regain their right, would require struggles outside the subaltern space and also within the subaltern spaces. It requires contestations at various grounds, contestation with the state, within the subaltern space

¹³³ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, Trans. Quintin Hoare, Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971).

¹³⁴ *Subaltern Studies*, 10 Vols. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982- 1999).

and outside the subaltern space subject to the constraints set by various socio-economic-politico factors. One must also mention that in the process of capital accumulation by dispossession, the extra-economic factor creates an instantaneous unrest between the dispossessed and dispossessors. These kinds of antagonism highlight the issue of material needs (materiality) and class interests underlying dispossession during the phase of advanced capitalism.

Land grab has always been a way for the expansion of capital. India is not an exception. However, land grab for the new commons like- forest, water and mineral, etc. and new enclosures in the form of SEZs is one of the most prominent accumulation processes especially in the neoliberal period. Dispossession from property, rights and knowledge by land grab led to anti-dispossession movements. Before 1970s, anti-dispossession movements against land acquisition were very less, in fact were almost absent. Therefore, the scholars hardly thought that it could be such big issue in the era of neoliberal capitalist development. It is the social-environmental struggle that attracted the attention of masses. As mentioned by Levien, the infrastructural projects, heavy industries and public infrastructure that consumed a huge amount of public property and common property resources during the second five year plan period, was justified as ‘necessary scarifies for the nation.’ the logic behind this announcement was that the country is suffering from grave ‘underdevelopment’ due to almost 250 years of colonial rule by the British.¹³⁵ Such justification by the state surprisingly got huge public support, thus after the large scale land dispossession, the state did not face any anti-dispossession movement by the subaltern masses. With the passage of time, the scale and intensity of subalternisation have also altered. So, its political economic significance requires a specific focus.

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, the process by which dispossession has taken place in the post-liberalisation period is varied and as well as complex and requires rethinking. In order to place the subaltern contestations in the contemporary time

¹³⁵ Michale James Levien, *Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and Political Economy of Land in India*, Unpublished research work (Barkley: University of California, Spring 2013), 6.

period a separate term, i.e. neo-subaltern by neoliberal capitalism is used throughout this thesis.

In this chapter, the concern is to theorise how the process of capital accumulation by expansion and dispossession create spaces for subaltern struggles and how these are structured against multiple agents (like- state, market) and also within the subaltern spaces in the neoliberal period? In order to explore the relationship between accumulation through dispossession and contestation of subaltern spaces it is important to conceptualize, who these neo-subalterns are? What are their stakes in the accumulation process? Finally, how do they respond?

These questions are discussed in this chapter under the following sub-sections:

- The first sub- section (3.1) of this chapter discusses **the historical origin of the concept of subaltern and its progress through time.**
- Section (3.2) illustrates **how the dispossessed population by the process of capital accumulation in the neoliberal period fit in the subaltern categories.**
- The next sub-section (3.3) looks into **neo-subaltern contestations through the lens of rights, welfare, justice, empowerment, equality and bargaining.** The major thrust is to understand what rights are claimed, by whom, whether they are entitled to those rights?
- Sub-section 3.4 discusses **the ways neo-subalterns protests** and
- The last sub-section (3.5) concludes the chapter.

3.1. Subaltern studies: Origin and Continuity

3.1.1. Defining Subalternity

Subalternity is a mobile term and has been articulated from the Marxian concept of ‘consciousness’¹³⁶ and Gramscian concept of ‘hegemony’ theorised in 1930s.¹³⁷ The

¹³⁶ Class consciousness refers to individual's social class can be a determining factor for their awareness of it.

¹³⁷ A. Gramsci, *Selections from the prison notebooks*. Eds and trans. Q. Hoare and G.N. Smith, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1929–35 [1971]), 55.

term ‘hegemons’ used by him refers the protagonists in the making of history; while ‘subaltern’ define those who are striving for self-definition and participation in the making of history.¹³⁸ The term used by him in the context of denoting some of the lower ranked people in the army.¹³⁹ Nevertheless an important feature of subalternity in most definition is the subordination in the society in terms of class, caste, gender, age and in any other way.¹⁴⁰ Gramscian analysis, for instance, implicitly considers that the subaltern classes are not homogeneous and unified in nature and cannot inter-mingle until they are able to form a state. However, it is also recognised in his writings that there exist a tendency of unification by the interruption of the ruling group.¹⁴¹ Gramscian writing on subaltern is basically driven by the interest in subaltern life and also the mechanism that keep them in the state of subalternity. His understanding of subalterns is much broader than Marx’s formulation and even that of Lenin¹⁴². Marx essentially emphasised on class concept, while Gramsci defined subalternity in terms of inter-sectionality (an intersection of class, ‘race’, culture, and religion) that functioned in different modalities in different context. Subaltern School of thought’s discussion on subalternity is basically the rework and rearticulating the Gramscian notion of subalternity.

Guha claims that, subalterns are not an independent group; rather their activities are restricted and governed from the top by the elites.¹⁴³ In the description of the basic characteristics of the subalterns, Guha further notes: ‘subalterns were more relied on the

¹³⁸ Sonita Sarker, “A position embedded in identity: subalternity in neoliberal globalization,” *Cultural Studies* 30, No.5 (2016), 817.

¹³⁹ Antonio Gramsci, *Selection from the Prison Note Books of Antonio Gramsci*. EDs., and Trans. Quintin, Hoare and Nowell Smith., (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), 55.

¹⁴⁰ Ranajit Guha, “On some aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India.” in *Subaltern Studies I: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. Ranajit Guha (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 3.

¹⁴¹ Antonio Gramsci, *Selection from the Prison Note Books of Antonio Gramsci*. EDs., and Trans. Quintin, Hoare and Nowell Smith., (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), 55.

¹⁴² Hegemony for Lenin was related to the fight of the proletariats (workers) to dominate the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the bourgeois democratic revolution, which it succeeds by increasing its principled position through pushing the struggle for radical democratic demands. Lenin, V.I. *Working Class and Bourgeois Democracy, Collected works vol. 8*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1962.

¹⁴³ Ranajit Guha, “On some aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India.” in *Subaltern Studies I: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. Ranajit Guha (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 3.

traditional organisation of kinship and territoriality or on class associations depending on the level of consciousness of the people involved'¹⁴⁴. According to him, structural dichotomy exists between the subaltern and elitist groups. But, that does not mean there was no contact between these groups.¹⁴⁵ Sometimes the subalterns mobilise by the elites to fight for their own objectives managed to break away from their control and put the characteristics imprint of popular politics or campaigns initiated by the upper classes. Guha essentially emphasised on the elite-subaltern dichotomy as an important analytical point of discussion. On the other hand Sarkar disagreed to consider subalternity as a theoretical formulation to describe the state of subordination; rather she considers it as a condition that could be possible to experience on the body.¹⁴⁶

Clearly, the subaltern studies are the critiques of the post-colonial history. The post-colonial studies could not make places for the subalterns (more specifically the peasants) in the elitist history. The South Asian Subaltern Studies group was very much concerned about undocumented section of the society in the historical records. There is no formal archive of peasant activities and the history was highly influenced by the European classical ways of writing history. There was no second thought of writing history in a different way until the south Asian subaltern historian make their interventions. The group was concerned with the oppression of the lower class masses or the disadvantageous. Somewhere in the writings of the subaltern study group it reflects the work of British historian E.P.Thompson's 'writing history from below'.¹⁴⁷ It was the rework of the writing history from below. The major quest was for a history where the subalterns make their own destiny. It was an effort of production of knowledge about the oppressed. Essentially, the subaltern school of thought was engaged with the question of social justice.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 4.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 5.

¹⁴⁶ Sonita Sarker, "A position embedded in identity: subalternity in neoliberal globalization," *Cultural Studies* 30, No.5 (2016), 819.

¹⁴⁷ E.P.Thompson 'History from Below' *The Times Literary supplement* (1966) 279-280.

The concept 'subalternity' has even more charged up with the passage of time. Here, the aim is to conceptualise the subaltern political space and politics in historical and contemporary colonial-capital-imperial overlapping. In the age of neoliberalism the concept of subalternity gets even more relevance, but in different manner.

3.1.2. On changing course of Subaltern consciousness: post-colonial period to neoliberal period

To describe neoliberalism, is the latest phase of capitalism. More precisely neoliberalism is a political economic move characterised by private or individual property rights, the process of capital accumulation, dispossession, displacement, de-peasantisation, de-territorialisation, de-tribalisation, de-regulation, informalisation, globalism and so on. As pointed out by Dey, Samaddar and Sen, 'neoliberalism is a technique of power that links macro political aims with micro-management of life'¹⁴⁸. Essentially, the neoliberal framework tries to sustain colonial modes of development in the third world nations, by its institutional and organisational forms of power.¹⁴⁹ This leads to uneven distribution of resources, inequalities and segregation over space. Here, segregation not simply mean the physical segregation, but socio-economic-cultural and politico segregation revitalise the spaces of subordination. Therefore, in the neoliberal period especially in the third world countries, like- India, contestations over these uneven spaces is an unsegregated experience. There are plenty of studies out there showing exactly these things, already – some at global level, and some theoretically and many in relation to Indian contexts. They may not use the terminology 'subaltern' but talk about 'social structures of accumulation (BHW); the labouring class (Bernstein); Peasant differentiation (Byres), caste-class exploitation and oppression (Jens Lerche); or show how material changes linked to integration of Adivasi communities into capitalism and into the sphere of Indian state may, potentially, undermine older community inequalities (Alpa Shah).

¹⁴⁸ Ishita Dey, Ranabir Samaddar and Suhit K. Sen, *Beyond Kolkata: Rajarhat and the Dystopia of Urban Imagination* (New Delhi: Routledge , 2013),

¹⁴⁹Dip Kapoor, "Subaltern Social Movement (SSM) Post-Mortems of Development in India: Locating Trans-Local Activism and Radicalism," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 46, No. 2(2011), 136.

Some of the main grounds for the inclusiveness are:

- (a) To distinguish subalterns' need for its' own space in terms of right (equality and justice) with two basic components, the right to participate and the right to appropriate;
- (b) To delineate the constraint and extent of gaining right; and
- (c) To transform needs for own space (identity and dignity) into real practices.

However, 'need' is not a dynamic phenomenon. As Agarwal mentions, 'perception about needs are not given but contested, and are constantly in the process of reformulation.'¹⁵⁰ Vahabzadeh considers subalternity as a temporal position that one might move out and in.¹⁵¹ Once discarded from the historical account and knowledge production; in the contemporary period subalterns establishing the discourses of global development based on their local specificities. The neo-subalternity establishes a global-local nexus.¹⁵² It deals with similar kind of global problems, though might response in different manner based on their position on socio-economic-politico space.¹⁵³

There is a clear cut distinction between the earlier subaltern school of thought and neoliberal subaltern school of thought. The post-colonial school of subaltern studies was mostly concerned with the subaltern heterogeneity, their varied political organisation, cut off from upward social mobility towards the centre and modes of contestations; while the new school mostly focuses on the role of the state and the law, more precisely on governmentality¹⁵⁴. According to them, the rural and indigenous subalterns now have the access to the centre. Within the current wave of capitalism the centre has interests in creating subalternity integrated into the circuits of production. The neoliberal subalternity

¹⁵⁰Bina Agarwal, *A field of one's own: Gender and land rights in South Asia* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 421.

¹⁵¹ P. Vahabzadeh, *Articulated Experiences: Toward a Radical Phenomenology of Contemporary Social Movements*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003).

¹⁵² Mahuya Pal, "Organization at the margins: Subaltern resistance of Singur," *Human relations* 69, No. 2, (2016), 419–438.

¹⁵³Ibid., 419–438.

¹⁵⁴ Michel Foucault, "Governmentality" in *The Foucault Effect: With Two Lectures and Interview With Michel Foucault*, Trans. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Millar, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991)..

not only alters the criteria for being subaltern but also the sites of subalternity. The rise of new subalterns also witnesses in the writings of Spivak.

3.2. Conceptualising Dispossessed Subaltern

Subaltern dispossessed are not a well defined category as a concrete definition of dispossession is not yet decided. They are neither uniform across regions nor static through time. According to Roy, subalternity is a general characteristic that found among the people those could not included in the elite class.¹⁵⁵ She also claims that these are the general conditions of subordination.¹⁵⁶ Similarly, in locating the concept of subalternity Sarah Bracke states, subalternity is the state of oppression, yet not all the oppressed can come under the arena of subalternity.¹⁵⁷ Subaltern closely related to the mass, essentially established on the idea of the popular. Subaltern politics has gained the status of popular politics and culture.

In the neoliberal period, the subaltern politics are not working for the historical recognition of it but they want to perform as an agent of change. Subaltern acquires a distinct political identity and associated with distinct physical territory. One such physical territory is the site of land dispossession. In this way subaltern has penetrated the realm of development studies, leading to formation of a particular section called dispossessed subaltern. Polanyi's formulation point out that these form of political agency not arising from shared relationship to the means of production, but from the experiences of market dislocation also known as commodification.¹⁵⁸

In the discourse of development study there found an attempt to generalise the dispossessed population as a homogenous category. Such attempts to bring the entire mass of dispossessed population within a single frame tend to overlook regional, socio-

¹⁵⁵ Ananya Roy, "Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, No. 2 (2011), 226.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 226.

¹⁵⁷ Sarah Bracke, "Is the subaltern resilient? Notes on agency and neoliberal subjects," *Cultural Studies* 30 (2016), 839.

¹⁵⁸ Michael Levien,, "The Politics of Dispossession: Theorizing India's "Land Wars"", *Politics and Society* 41, No. 3(2013), 355.

cultural and class differences among the deprived population.¹⁵⁹ As a matter of fact the subaltern classes are not a homogeneous community, but are confronted with wide range of regional disparities and cultural complexities on the one hand and internal contradictions on the other. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, for instance, in her writing mentions:

*'Taken as a whole and in the abstract this...category...was heterogeneous in its composition and, thanks to the uneven character of regional economic and social developments, differed from area to area. The same class and element which was dominated in one area...could be among the dominated in another. This could and did create many ambiguities and contradictions in attitudes and alliances, especially among the lower strata of the rural gentry, improvised landlords, rich peasants and upper-middle peasants all of whom belonged, ideally speaking, to the category of "people" or "subaltern classes"'*¹⁶⁰.

Several scholars have come out with their own perspective regarding this issue. In practice, the dispossessed are trapped in the modern state imaginaries. The politics of dispossessed and their contestation against subjecthood are difficult to explain using the idea of subalternity as presented by Ranajit Guha. According to Sarkar, 'Subalterns are not born but made and made again, differently, through these processes'¹⁶¹. The new domains of the subalternity are created by the process of capital accumulation. The thesis has taken up the question of dispossessed as a domain of marginalisation, exclusion and exploitation in its circuit of capital accumulation. It also tries to theories how neo-subaltern response varies over time and space.

In finding out the relation between dispossession and capitalism in the 21st century Christopher John "C" Chanco states that dispossessed are neither excluded from the capital nor kept at the peripheries rather they are kept in an oppressed state for the

¹⁵⁹Bina Agarwal, *A field of one's own: Gender and land rights in South Asia* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 421.

¹⁶⁰Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of An Idea*. Eds. Morris., C. Rosalind. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

¹⁶¹ Sonita Sarkar, "A position embedded in identity: subalternity in neoliberal globalization", *Cultural Studies* 30, 5 (2016), 819.

benefit of capital and therefore occupying the subaltern spaces.¹⁶² Similarly, Whitehead in her study has shown how subalternity is produced by the dual processes of accumulation of dispossession of pauperised rural population and accumulation by economic growth concentrated in the cities. In establishing the spatial relation between dispossession and subaltern resistance Chanco mentions, ‘geographies of dispossession at times boil over into sites of resistance’¹⁶³.

It is also important to place the dispossessed in other context as well along with economic framework. In the neoliberal era subalterns constitutes not only those who are economically excluded but also those who are culturally alienated on the ground of gender, race and ethnicity, may not necessarily economically excluded.¹⁶⁴ As mentioned in the previous chapter (Chapter 2) there found a clear distinction between those who are excluded and those who are alienated. While excluded contests for their material necessities or basic needs of life, the alienated seeks for a broader right beyond the material needs of the life, i.e. cultural needs. As in the earlier sub-section mentioned by Agarwal, ‘perception about needs are not given but contested, and are constantly in the process of reformulation.’¹⁶⁵ According to Harvey, subaltern struggles are both demand and cry coming from an underclass that are economically excluded as well as physically alienated against accumulation through dispossession. Harvey’s subaltern class (i.e. the underclass) does not necessarily include the culturally alienated. On the other hand Marcuse’s subaltern class (i.e. the social class) is much broader category in comparison to Harvey’s underclass and included both economically and culturally deprived. The subaltern struggle in the neoliberal era is space for contestations both by the excluded and by the alienated. However, the common ground for all these struggles is these new social movements are subject to resistance against capitalist states. In the neoliberal period

¹⁶² Christopher John “CJ” Chanco. Squatters of Capital: Regimes of Dispossession and the production of subaltern sites in urban land conflicts in the Philippines. An international academic conference 5-6 June 2015, Chiang Mai University, Conference Paper No. 23, pp- 4

¹⁶³ Ibid., 6-7.

¹⁶⁴ Ipsita Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution and New Urban Condition* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2014), 119-120.

¹⁶⁵ Bina Agarwal, *A field of one’s own: Gender and land rights in South Asia* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 421.

subaltern as a class is much more broader and permeable category than ever it was. According to Vasudevan, McFarlane and Jeffrey, ‘in the neoliberal period, a set of complex logics of exclusion and inclusion operating through a variety of spatial territories and networks’¹⁶⁶. The different forms of enclosures through class, gender, race and ethnicity reveals the changing nature and geographies of subalternity as particular modes of subjectification. Solidarities within the subaltern spaces produced through the process of enclosure. Nevertheless, it can be state that the heterogeneous under-section is marginalised by capital. Therefore, different forms of contestations in the neoliberal period are associated with capital. Very nicely described by Chatterjee, when religious minorities fight for their right, they fight the communal capitalist state; when queer group fight for their right, they fight the homophobic capitalist state; when women fight for their right, they fight the sexist and patriarchal capitalist state, similarly, when poor fight for their right, they fight the classist capitalist state.¹⁶⁷ New Subalterns absorb the impact of exploitation and dispossession as a resistant community and continuously tries to produce by new meanings and in new locations.

3.3. Neo-subaltern resistance in the context of accumulation through dispossession

The subaltern studies in the neoliberal period recognise that, a new social group and institutions have formed during post-colonial and neoliberal period over the rural and urban space. However, the old subaltern groups have continued to exist in new forms with different content. The new social movements of dispossessed subalterns rest on several interconnected arguments which can be broadly discussed under three broad categories: welfare, equality-empowerment and bargaining.

3.3.1. *Welfare Argument/ Justice Argument*

In the context of present discussion, it would be useful to conceptualise the subaltern spaces as heterogeneous unit (as mentioned in the previous sub-section) in

¹⁶⁶ Vasudevan, McFarlane and Jeffrey, “Spaces of Enclosure,” *Geoforum* 39 (2008), 1641–1646.

¹⁶⁷ Ipsita Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution and New Urban Condition* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2014), 119-120.

which there is ongoing interaction and negotiation, subject to the constraints by various socio-economic and cultural factors like- class, caste, race, age, ethnicity and gender.

According to Harvey, resistance is a political move by those visited by accumulation by dispossession in the form of unemployment, underemployment, casualisation, wage deflation, foreclosures, displacement, and eviction by the act of eminent domain— essentially an economically deprived class who has no right and control over the use of surplus value or the condition on which it has been produced. The contestations against dispossession in the neoliberal era essentially come from material needs, those who are economically deprived, underclass, underpaid and lead life below subsistence level. Nonetheless, could not exclude rights asked on the ground of cultural needs, like- caste, religion, race, ethnicity and gender, etc. Chatterjee refers the subaltern spaces as the local spaces constituting political society outside the lawfully constituted formal civil society. They are the populations in severe need of welfare.¹⁶⁸ Therefore, collectively assert and claim for welfare and only can survive by bypassing the laws.

3.3.2. The equality and empowerment Argument

While the welfare and justice arguments are concerned with subalterns having some rights in absolute terms, especially in a situation of deprivation, the equality and empowerment argument dealt with the subaltern's relative position to the dominant section of the society, particularly the ability of the subalterns to challenge the dominants outside subaltern space. In locating the subalterns Sarah Bracke have also used the term outsider. According to Roy, subaltern always look for greater social equality and a better life. In this context, the equality and empowerment argument is based on two basic components, i.e. the right of participation and the appropriation.¹⁶⁹

3.3.3. The bargaining argument: Class composition

¹⁶⁸ Partha Chatterjee, "Democracy and economic transformation in India." *Economic & Political Weekly* (2008), 53-62.

¹⁶⁹ Ananya Roy, "Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, No. 2 (2011), 223-238.

From Foucauldian perspective power and resistance are widely connected to each other instead of opposing each other.¹⁷⁰ In that context, James E.Sander mentions, ‘bargaining is always an aspects of politics, except in the moments of savage, conquest or repression.’¹⁷¹ Subaltern forms of bargaining have also changed with the passage of time. In the colonial period it moved from economic bargaining to more public and programmatic forms of bargaining in the post colonial period. The contemporary form of bargaining in the neoliberal period, focuses on the state and law, in other word governmentality. By means of governmentality, subaltern tries to negotiate over their basic needs. From this point of view, a number of scholars (like- Alavi, Guha, Chatterjee, etc.) focus on sub-strata within the subaltern class and their modes of political organisation and protest. P. Routledge also mentions the internal heterogeneities within the movements based on bargaining.¹⁷² According to Sarah Bracke, ‘resilience is part of neoliberal governmentality, one could argue, that is to say, part of the organised practices through which populations are governed’¹⁷³. The neoliberal governmentality with its technique (bargaining) can normalize the process at work and turn the original moment (violence) into oblivion.

3.4. Neo-subaltern ways of resistance

Subaltern contestation has continued to spread all over the world, especially in the third world countries under the new phase of capitalism. With the change in the basic criteria and location of the subalterns, within the current conjuncture of global capitalism their response to oppression has also altered. Subaltern ways of contestations needs to be reanalysed in the context of governmentality in the contemporary time period. How the dispossessed subalterns respond to oppression? As Roy states, in the contemporary time

¹⁷⁰ Uday Chandra, “Rethinking Subaltern Resistance,” *The Journal of Contemporary Asia* 45, 4 (2015), 564.

¹⁷¹ James E Sander, *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth Century Colombia* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 3.

¹⁷² Paul Routledge, “Geography and Social Movements,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, Eds. Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, (UK: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹⁷³ Sarah Bracke, Is the subaltern resilient? Notes on agency and neoliberal subjects, *Cultural Studies* 30, 5(2016), 851.

period subaltern choose the path of resistance as negotiation to achieve social equality.¹⁷⁴ On the other hand, according to Sarah Bracke, the neo-subalternity is the shift from resistance to resilience. The contemporary notion of resilience emphasizes on transformability and adaptability.

Nilsen has adopted a complex and diverse path in explanation of subaltern social movements¹⁷⁵. The formulation of neo-subaltern contestations significantly depart from the traditional instrumentalist and cultural approaches to social movements, where it is seen as ‘organisations engaging in the extra-parliamentary collective action ‘within a more stable or institutionalised political order’¹⁷⁶ centred on ‘particular status claims made against the taken for granted background of the economic order’¹⁷⁷. He argued that social movement is a fundamental and spontaneous animating force in making and unmaking of the social structure according to the needs, desires and capacities of human being.¹⁷⁸ According to Levien, society is divided into a simple binary group of dominant and subaltern groups¹⁷⁹. In his analysis, the animating force that emanates for social formation are regulated by both dominant and subaltern groups. So the emphasis on the perspective of social movements from above and as well as from below is clearly important.¹⁸⁰ He has further effectively pointed out that, ‘land dispossession was a theme in the historiography of the subaltern studies school’¹⁸¹. However, the embedded reality is subalternists were not concerned in identifying the political logics of protests against dispossession, rather was interested in political idioms specific to subaltern politics in

¹⁷⁴ Indrajit Roy, “Utopia in Crisis? Subaltern Imaginations in Contemporary Bihar.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 45, No. 4 (2015), 640-659.

¹⁷⁵ Alf Gunvald Nilsen, *Dispossession and Resistance in India: The River and the Rage*, (New York: Routledge, 2010), 13.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁷⁹ Levien, Michael. “*The Politics of Dispossession: Theorizing India’s “Land Wars”*”, *Politics and Society* 41, No. 3(2013), 372.

¹⁸⁰ Alf Gunvald Nilsen, *Dispossession and Resistance in India: The River and the Rage*, (New York: Routledge, 2010), 13.

¹⁸¹ Levien, Michael. “*The Politics of Dispossession: Theorizing India’s “Land Wars”*”, *Politics and Society* 41, No. 3(2013), 372.

general.¹⁸² Subaltern struggle against dispossession are not new phenomena in the neoliberal era. Therefore cannot be seen in isolation. These are date back to the colonial era¹⁸³. In the study of dispossessed population in the Narmada Valley, Whitehead notes: “Those dispossessed through accumulation by dispossession belong to the most marginalised elements within a society and their history is often fragmentary, if not lost altogether”¹⁸⁴. The theoretical interest of subaltern contestations first started in the form of anti-colonial consciousness against the British during the colonial era and in the neoliberal era it has directed towards the contemporary corporate agents. The neoliberal wave of capitalism is reproducing subjectivities, distinctive social space and therefore a ground for political struggle and resistance. Like- anti-colonial subaltern movements, the anti-dispossession subaltern movements are also facing the challenges of ‘double articulation’ of two things:

- *first*, the politics of the local (national) to the global (international, colonial, imperial), and
- *second*, the old and new agents of the globalisation of capitalism.’¹⁸⁵

However, to understand subaltern consciousness and perception is of utmost important, since it impinges critically in identifying the politics behind the most effective forms of action (active or passive revolution) associated with dispossession. There is a symbiotic relation between contestations and consciousness of subordination. Spivak brought the issue of ideologies (consciousness) and representation (forms) in the subaltern studies project. She believes oppressed might conscious about their oppressed situation but may not work in their self interest.¹⁸⁶ The bigger question is, are the oppressed always able to know their full extent of oppression? What Spivak has

¹⁸²Ibid., 372.

¹⁸³Dip Kapoor, “Subaltern Social Movement (SSM) Post-Mortems of Development in India: Locating Trans-Local Activism and Radicalism,” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 46, No. 2(2011), 136.

¹⁸⁴Judith Whitehead. *Development and dispossession in the Narmada Valley*. (New Delhi: Pearson Education India, 2010), 35.

¹⁸⁵ Dip Kapoor. “Subaltern Social Movement (SSM) Post-Mortems of Development in India: Locating Trans-Local Activism and Radicalism,” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 46, No. 2(2011), 136.

¹⁸⁶Gayatri Chakraborty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of An Idea*. ds. Morris., C. Rosalind. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

described as the ‘development of the consciousness’ necessary condition for change¹⁸⁷. This consciousness for change is both for the struggle over resources and rights.¹⁸⁸ And it has to be conducted against several different arenas – the dominants, the corporate, the state and so on. Agarwal proposes an alternative to this consciousness. As mentioned in her book, oppressed (subalterns) are not the passive agent of the society who unquestioningly accepts the justifications disseminated by the privileged, but they try to overcome the oppressed situation either in active ways of resistance or passive path of non-violent action.¹⁸⁹ While Guha mentions that, subaltern mobilisation is a spontaneous process and also a violent process in comparison to the elitist mobilisation process.¹⁹⁰ On the other hand, Sharp in his book mentions about 198 types of non-violent methods of protest and persuasion.¹⁹¹ Similarly, Scott suggests that under the most oppressive conditions, the disadvantageous section resist. These resistances by the subjugated section of the society can take a variety of forms, like- passive disobedience, ignorance, sabotage, avoidance and deception.¹⁹² Sumit Sarkar’s argument has a resemblance with Scott. According to him, subalterns breed a tendency either towards passive revolution or an extremely opposite reaction of heroic revolt.¹⁹³ However, if these two actions are white and black in their shades, there found a numerous shades of grey or intermediate actions in between.

¹⁸⁷Ibid.

¹⁸⁸Bina Agarwal, *A field of one’s own: Gender and land rights in South Asia* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 421.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., 422-423.

¹⁹⁰Ranajit Guha, “On some aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India.” in *Subaltern Studies I: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. Ranajit Guha (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 3.

¹⁹¹Gene Sharp. *The Politics of Non-violent Action*. (USA: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1973).

¹⁹²Jame Scott. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), 29.

¹⁹³Sumit Sarkar, “The conditions and Nature of Subaltern Militancy: Bengal from Swadeshi to Non-Cooperation, c. 1905-22.” In *Subaltern Studies III: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. Ranajit Guha, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 273.

For instance, Scott in his study has focused on the class nature of resistance¹⁹⁴. Class difference is the inherent feature of anti-dispossession struggles. Subaltern struggles are neither uniform spatially, nor static historically.¹⁹⁵ It is the local social structure which controls the magnitude of the internal contradiction. The internal contradictions on the other hand challenge the local movements and the solidarity of it. It also generates different kinds of politics within a large structure.¹⁹⁶ Subaltern social resistance is seen to be directed on the one hand against inequalities in resource distribution. Anti-dispossession struggle movements are highly diversified and complex in its manifestation. It is argued by Levien that ‘there is incredible variation within and across localities, classes, and social groups in the way people value their land both tangibly as part of a livelihood strategy, and intangibly as a part of life’¹⁹⁷. Chakravorty makes a similar point in his work on ‘The Price of Land: Acquisition Conflict Consequence’, ‘within the subaltern groups there are fissures based on caste, gender, age, migration status, education and others, often lead to divergent interests and internal conflicts.’¹⁹⁸ Literature on land acquisition implicitly divides resisters into two broad categories: (a) those for whom the price of land is unquantifiable, thus not agreed to give land at any price, and (b) those who are only interested in the market value of it.¹⁹⁹ Similarly, Problems of the poor and the problem of the poor from the excluded communities are something different. Scholars assume that both the groups might follow the same modes of protest with diverse objectives. On the other hand, Mehta, Agarwal include the gender dimension of protest.

However, a number of studies fail to ask how all the components of subaltern social space (caste, class, age, gender and so on) interact with each other in specific ways

¹⁹⁴Jame Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), 29.

¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁹⁶Michale James Levien, *Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and Political Economy of Land in India*, Unpublished research work (Barkley: University of California, Spring 2013).

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸Chakravorty, Sanjoy. *The Price of Land: Acquisition Conflict Consequences*. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 36.

¹⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 36.

and help to determine the forms of resistance it might take in a region. The reaction of the subaltern group in the form of subordination or rebellion and that entire lie in between would naturally response in relation to specific issues, grievances and social relationships. Sumit Sarkar emphasizes another issue: ‘here the essential point requiring emphasis and explanation is the coexistence and complex interpenetration of extremely varied types consciousness and activity: caste, communal, class, regional or national’.²⁰⁰ Basically the modes of protest are likely to depend substantially on the social, economic and political position.²⁰¹ In this context, Dhagamwar, De and Verma observe some of the oppressed may be less interested to protest against the dominant. This makes the political relations more complex.²⁰²

To summarise the forgoing discussion this chapter offers various perspectives on understanding subaltern consciousness and contestations in contemporary India. It tries to gather major theories of subalternity since its origin and also a range of criticisms posed by various critics. Finally it attempts to revisit the theory of subalternity and fit into micro regional perspective. A number of scholars have put forth the critiques on traditional subaltern theories of contestations drawing on their understanding of subaltern politics from particular regions. These critiques of subaltern studies make it significant to revisit and rethink contestations as an embedded part of dispossession in contemporary period.

There is a clear cut distinction between the earlier subaltern school of thought and neoliberal subaltern school of thought. The post-colonial school of subaltern studies was mostly concerned with the subaltern heterogeneity, their varied political organisation, cut off from upward social mobility towards the centre and modes of contestations; while the new school is mostly focusing on the role of the state and the law, more precisely on governmentality while do not ignore the heterogenous existence of the subalterns. From

²⁰⁰Sumit, Sarkar, “The conditions and Nature of Subaltern Militancy: Bengal from Swadeshi to Non-Cooperation, c. 1905-22.” In *Subaltern Studies III: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, edited by Ranajit Guha, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 273.

²⁰¹Bina Agarwal, *A field of one’s own: Gender and land rights in South Asia* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 421.

²⁰²Vasudha Dhagamwar, Subrata De and Nikhil Verma. *Industrial development and displacement: the people of Korba*. (New Delhi: Sage Publications India, 2009), 36.

this point of view, governmentality is the amalgamation of economy into political practices and the role of the government lies in ‘exercise power in the form of economy.’²⁰³ Within the current wave of capitalism the centre has interests in creating subalternity integrated into the circuits of production. The neoliberal subalternity not only alters the criteria for being subaltern but also the sites of subalternity.

Prior studies on subaltern contestations explore new avenues of rethinking “subaltern contestations” as a significant element of dispossession studies. Comparative cases drawn from across contemporary India will help in critical research of the contestations accumulating in the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India.

²⁰³ Michel Foucault, “Governmentality” in *The Foucault Effect: With Two Lectures and Interview With Michel Foucault*, Trans. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Millar, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 92.

Chapter 4

Producing an Unequal Geographical Space: Historical Geography of Coal-Steel Industrial Complex of Eastern India

In the discussion on time-space compression a group of social theorists (like- Wallerstein, Harvey, Giddens, Castells, Sassen, etc.) claim that globalisation is a process of economic and technological change²⁰⁴ through which people, societies, communities and cultures around the world becoming increasingly interconnected and breaking the social barriers and distance²⁰⁵. While, another group of social theorists still believe that this process of spatial (real and abstract) unification could not remove the unevenness among the regions. Kumar emphasises that, the socio-geographical reality of the regions still unevenly structured in the globalised era. In this context, different regions contribute differently to the global processes of market development, capital accumulation and global cycle of struggle.²⁰⁶ Therefore, in the era of globalisation, region is still significant as an epistemological category²⁰⁷ in figuring out the socio-geographical and historical specificities. A region with its unique character also contributes significantly in the process of social struggle and political economy of transformation of the region.

Asansol-Durgapur Industrial Complex (ADIC), is one among of the many coal-steel industrial complexes of Eastern India. In recent years it has emerged as a site of series of ongoing contestations over control of natural resources (including land and mineral) among its inhabitants, state and the capitalists. Fragmented stories of contestations are often featured in the headlines of the daily newspapers. These kinds of debates are generally pile up around the issues of coming up of large mechanised open

²⁰⁴ David Harvey. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990). Also see, Anthony Giddens, "Time-Space Distanciation and the Generation of Power" in *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism: Power, Property and the State*. (London: Macmillan, 1981).

²⁰⁵ David Harvey, *The new imperialism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

²⁰⁶ Dharmendra Kumar, "Constitution of a Region: A study of Chattishgarh," in *Rethinking State politics in India: Regions within Region*, ed. Asutosh Kumar (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010), 76.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 76.

cast mines with foreign assistance, control of natural resources by depriving the local communities from their rights and recently, over the issues of rights of the contract labourers. The examples of contemporary scenario of dispossession across a wide range of scale and sites will be discussed in the next few chapters. It is proposed that the discussion in these chapters will help in understanding the contemporary situation within a historic-geographical framework.

Inter American Development Bank (IADB) in a report stated that development of any region is geography dependent. Countries closer to the equator are more enriched in natural resources, prone to backwardness and poverty. The pace of development is slower in these countries and internal inequalities are also prominent.²⁰⁸ The purpose of the chapter is to establish the context by analysing the historical processes that have produced an unequal economic space characterised by unequal distribution of and access to resources. The historico-geographic specificities have produced specific political economic processes and constantly constituted and reconstituted the region.²⁰⁹ It is argued that the contemporary geography of the coal-steel complex in Eastern India is the outcome of dispossession by different actors through time across a varied range of sites. More specifically, it tries to show the interrelations among capital, labour and livelihoods of the region. Eventually, this chapter will focus on the varying degrees of accumulation through dispossession during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period. As mentioned by Judith Whitehead:

*“A study of history of accumulation by dispossession is a study of the landscape and the changing ways that various groups, with their diverse technologies, cultures and social relations, engage with and shape the environment and the resources contained within it.”*²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Development beyond Economics: Economic and Social Progress in Latin America 2000 Report, Washington D.C., 124. (<http://services.iadb.org/wmsfiles/products/Publications/458876.pdf>)

²⁰⁹ Dharmendra Kumar, “Constitution of a Region: A study of Chattishgarh,” in *Rethinking State politics in India: Regions within Region*, ed. Asutosh Kumar (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010), 76.

²¹⁰ Judith Whitehead, *Development and Dispossession in the Narmada Valley* (New Delhi: Dorling Kindersley (India) Pvt. Ltd., 2010), 35.

Therefore, capital-labour relation in coal mines, private ownership of coal mines, land accumulation for open cast coal mines and its expansion, establishment of steel plant and new urban space and class structure, these are the few things which will get special importance in the theorisation.

This chapter is a theoretical journey based on historical and ethnographical literature in the field. The dispossessed populations the thrust of researcher's study are part of the marginalised section of the society and their histories are fragmentary as well. Another problematic arena in this regard is both colonial and elite nationalist biases of colonial archives (As mentioned in Chapter 3). Along with these limitations with the proper historical materials, an attempt has been made to reconstruct the histories of dynamics of capital accumulation in the coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India that creates the bases of accumulation through dispossession and uneven geographical spaces in the neoliberal period. Here, capital referred not only in terms of financial capital but also viewed as a set of socio-economic and political relations.

This chapter is subdivided into three sub sections. Different sub-sections deal with different phases of capital accumulation and production of uneven geography in the region. The first few sub-sections attempt to outline the political economic history of the industrial complex of Raniganj-Asansol-Durgapur from the pre-colonial period to post-colonial period. More specifically, the way in which the development strategy of the country over time systematically resulted in the transfer and concentration of the productive resources (where reinvestment is possible) among the dominant sections (agricultural and industrial elites; either domestic or international) of the society, while simultaneously depriving the subalterns to access such productive resources. More specifically,

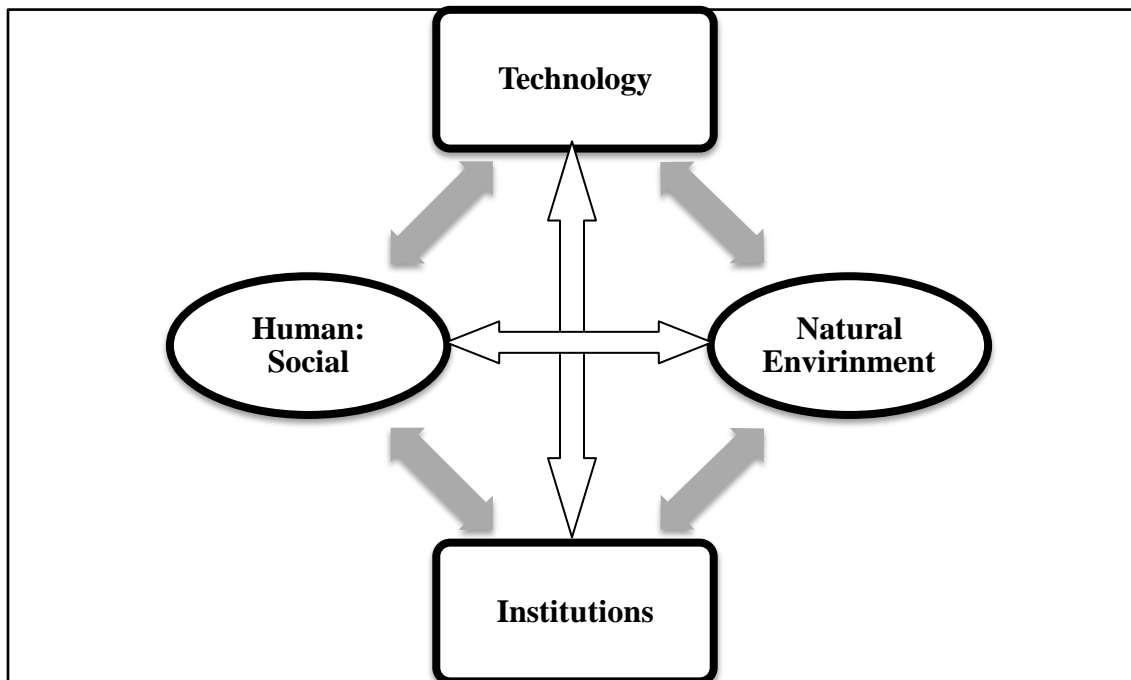
- First sub section (4.1) provides **an overview of the region and its inhabitants.**
- Second (4.2) sub section deals with the question: what did the British acquired and – the local people lose – by virtue of the British discovery of coal resource during the colonial period? Basically this subsection attempts to conceptualise **exploitation through colonialism from Marxist perspective of “primitive accumulation”.**

- Next sub Section (4.3) discusses **the implications of the post-colonial dynamics of production of unequal geographical space in the region**. More precisely to say, it examines the major forms of dispossession in the developmentalist regime²¹¹ in the coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India.
- The last sub-section (4.4) **summaries and concludes** the chapter.

4.1. Place and People

Every region has its own socio-anthropological characteristics. The historical geography of any region concerned with the matter that regions are not static and homogeneous but dynamic and heterogeneous entity and largely passes through the process of continuous evolution. Region is a specific whole which takes a specific form through human-environment interactions²¹², which can be explained with the help of the following diagram:

Diagram 4.1: Dialectics of Human Nature Interaction



Source: Conceptualised by the researcher.

²¹¹ According to Michael Levien, the developmentalist regime of dispossession prevailed in India between independence in 1947 and liberalisation in the early 1990s.

²¹² B.S.Butola, “Clocks, Watches and Time Pieces: The Ace Bio-political Tools”, *Sociology Mind* 4 (2014), 107-35.

Following the humanistic tradition, the process of humanisation personalises any region and construct it something more than just a physical location. Therefore, the spatial character of the region changes with the progress of time through a socio-placial dialectics. As mentioned by Chatterjee: ‘with globalisation, economic liberalisation, massive interspatial circulation of people, products, ideas and identity, the sense of place itself has been globalised and appropriated within global circuits of accumulation.’²¹³ Similarly, Dharmendar Kumar puts up with an instance of the mining region. According to him, mining region was different before the discovery of natural resources beneath the surface in the study region. After the discovery of coal other resources, development of mining activities a region did not remain the same as earlier. The spatial character of the region transformed due to the forward and backward linkages of the coal resource.²¹⁴ Any region gets its specific material forms (materialisation or manifestation) with human interventions²¹⁵. As pointed out by Kumar and Butola, ‘A region is a material form developed out of a dialectic relationship between nature and human beings.’²¹⁶

A region has its own locational (both absolute and relative)²¹⁷ specificities and it is also part of unevenly developed world market in a capitalist system. A region integrates itself with the world market through various circuits of capital. State with its politico-economic framework plays an important role in the process of integration of the regions into the world market. Integration not always necessarily means inclusion in terms of financial capital but sometimes considers the process of exclusion from being a

²¹³ Ipsita Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution, and the New Urban Condition: Theories and Case Studies* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2014), 79.

²¹⁴ Dharmendra Kumar, “Constitution of a Region: A study of Chattishgarh,” in *Rethinking State politics in India: Regions within Region*, ed. Asutosh Kumar (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010), 77.

²¹⁵ The ‘Possibilism’ theory refers that human beings are not passive agents. The physical environment provides a range of opportunities to the human being and they choose the opportunities based on their needs and norms. (Susan Mayhew. *A Dictionary of Geography*, 3rd ed. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), s.v. “Possibilism.”).

²¹⁶ Dharmendra Kumar, “Constitution of a Region: A study of Chattishgarh,” in *Rethinking State politics in India: Regions within Region*, ed. Asutosh Kumar (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010), 77.

²¹⁷ Absolute location describes the location of a place based on a fixed point on the earth, identifies using both latitudinal and longitudinal coordinates. Relative location is the location of some place in respect to another place.

place of investment. Sometimes regions integrate itself to the world market at the level of consumption and labour market.²¹⁸

4.1.1. Geographical and geological Profile of the Coal-Steel Industrial Complex of Eastern India

The Raniganj region is a mineral resource (coal) rich region. As per the report of Geological Survey of India (GSI) the total geological reserve down to a depth of 1200 metre from surface in West Bengal as on April 1, 2010 is 29.723 billion ton.²¹⁹ The coal resource that found in Raniganj Coalfield of West Bengal has a unique character. This region considered as the reserve of the best type of non-coking coal in the country.

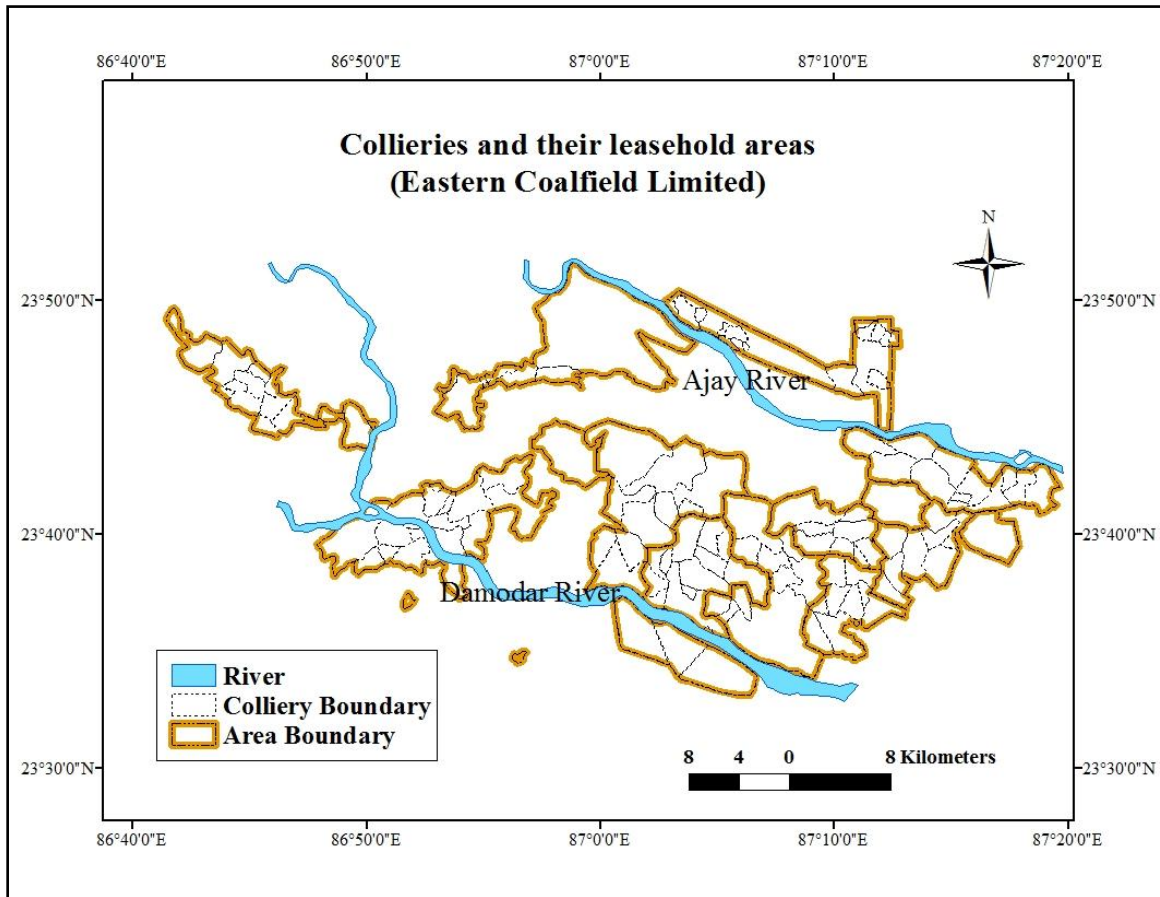
The coal that found in Raniganj coal belt has low ash content of less than 20 per cent and considered as premium grade coal. The coal extracted from the mines of Raniganj region has high market specially in the heat intensive industries like Glass, Pottery, and refractory, Ceramic, Chemical etc. because of its special features like low ash content, high volatile matter, long flame, quick ignition and high heat. The higher quality and low ash content Raniganj coal is most suited to Power Utilities for replacing the import quantity. As per the rule of Ministry of Environment and Forest (MOEF), with effect from June 2002, all powerhouses which are situated within metropolitan cities and those which are more than 1000 kilometers away from the source of coal, are allowed to use coal containing ash less than 34%. Raniganj coal with low ash content (less than 20%), will be used for blending with high ash coal from other subsidiaries. Due to its unique characteristics Raniganj coal has high demand in the market throughout the Country, which usually surpasses the supply position. Thus, this situation will put ECL coal in highly advantageous position and Company can reap rich dividends.²²⁰

²¹⁸ Dharmendra Kumar, "Constitution of a Region: A study of Chattishgarh," in *Rethinking State politics in India: Regions within Region*, ed. Asutosh Kumar (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010), 77.

²¹⁹ Centenary Directory. A Ready Reckoner for Asansol-Durgapur Region, Compiled and Published by Samir Ghosh, 1st ed. January, 2007, p.69 and [http:// www.easterncoal.gov.in](http://www.easterncoal.gov.in).

²²⁰ Centenary Directory (2007), A Ready Reckoner for Asansol-Durgapur Region, Compiled and Published by Samir Ghosh, 1st ed. January, 2007, p.69 and [http:// www.easterncoal.gov.in](http://www.easterncoal.gov.in).

Map 4.1: Collieries and their leasehold areas



Source: Constructed by the researcher.

These geological and geographical specificities of the region have grabbed the attention of people in different time period for different reasons. The process of capital accumulation started in the colonial period. The ground work of uneven development was prepared by the process of internal capitalism. According to Padel, Dandekar and Unni, ‘abundant resources attract abundant exploitation.’²²¹ No industry came up in this region till independence. The integration of region into larger capitalist framework is discussed in the section below.

²²¹ Felix Padel, Ajay Dandekar and Jeemol Unni, *Ecology, Economy: Quest for a Socially Informed Connection*, (New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan, 2013), 93.

4.2. Accumulation through dispossession and the political economy colonial capitalism

This section tries to compare different regimes of production and dispossession²²² and also analyses the historical geographic processes which has produced the unequal space of the industrial complex that cuts right through the mining-industrial belt. The history of coal industry is more than two centuries old and has shaped the social-economic-political space of the region. Archival sources provide evidence of significance of primitive accumulation to this region, which began to spread out and pick up the pace later on during the early years of 19th century. In Raniganj mining industrial region, this situation evolved through the emergence of coal production. Every regime has its own distinctive characters that works in sequential order: first, state as an institution decides the way it will dispossesses (labour or non-labour) for accumulation; then tries to bring into being conformity to dispossession by means of coercion, material inducement, and normative persuasion or through combination of these three; then accumulation can advance on dispossession; and finally the consequences of accumulation through dispossession can be evaluated²²³. The different processes of capital accumulation at different ways have modified the socio-economic structure of the region.

4.2.1. The Early-Colonial Period

The settling (peopling) history of the Raniganj mining region is still unknown. From various archival sources it is found that around two centuries ago Raniganj coal mining region was under the dense forest cover.²²⁴ Only few hamlets were there at the forest fringe. These villages were inhabited by tribal and semi-tribal²²⁵ populations and

²²² As explained by Levien, ‘a regime of production (or factory regime) is an institutionalised way of extracting labour from workers, a regime of dispossession is an institutionalised way of expropriating assets from their current owners or users.’ (Michael Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India” (PhD Dissertaton, UC Berkley, 2013), 18).

²²³ Michael Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India” (PhD Dissertaton, UC Berkley, 2013), 24.

²²⁴ Amar Chattapathyay, *Asansol-Durgapur Anchaler Itibritta-O-Tar Loksanskriti* (Burdwan: Yodhan Publishers, 2013), 14.

²²⁵ In an essay, T.B. Nayek mentioned that under the chairmanship of shri L.M.Shrikant, the commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe a committee was formed to discuss the differential characters of

peoples from low caste Hindus.²²⁶ Their village lives were mainly based on crude form of agriculture. The close proximity of the forest also had an impact on their economic activities. A large section among them was also partially depended on gathering of various forest products.²²⁷ It was basically a communal subsistence economy, where agricultural production was done primarily for local consumption. There was hardly any division of labour in the society. Under the communal land system, everyone had equal right and the society had no caste hierarchical structure.²²⁸

In the pre-capitalist egalitarian society there were no such divisions of land owning capitalist class, who can accumulate wealth in the form of land, power and landless proletariats, who are forcefully dispossessed of their land and rights. The local communities of this region eventually get to know about the presence of tones of coal underneath the ground. However, the demand for coal was limited and only used for domestic purposed as a source of fuel. During this period, coal resource had no commercial use. People were very much close to the soil.²²⁹ In this context it is noteworthy to mention that it is not only the coal resources which changed the social and economic relation in the society. As stated by Lahiri Dutt:

the Indian tribes. After long discussion over this issue the committee decided to categories the tribals in four sub-groups: (a) tribals, (b) Semi-tribals, (c) Acculturated tribals and (d) Assimilated tribals. However, they have also mentioned that it is difficult to demarcate the specific line between tribals and semi-tribals. (for details, see, T.B.Nayek. "Tribe? What is tribe?," in *Social Science and Social Concern: Falicitation volume in honour of Prof. B.K. Roy Burman* eds. S.B. Chakrabarti (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1988), 43.

²²⁶ Ranajit Das Gupta, "Migrants in Coal Mines: Peasants and Proletarians, 1850s-1947," *Social Scientist*. Vol.13, No. 12 (1985). 18. This section draws evidences from Chattapadhya (2013), who provides the detailed account of the people of Rudh Bangla. From his writing it is found that apart from the adivasis, another group of aboriginal people of this region mostly belonged to the Bauri, Bagdi, Dom, Handi, Muchi and Kaibartacategories. In terms of racial classification they come under the Austroloid groups. (For detail, See, Amar Chattapadhyay, *Asansol-Durgapur Anchaler Itibritta-O-Tar Loksanskriti* (Burdwan: Yodhan Publishers, 2013), 14.)

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

²²⁸ "The Mining Industry and Miner's Struggle in India," (Gurgaon Workers' News report on the history and current condition of India's significant mining industry, and workers struggles which have taken place within it.) <https://libcom.org/book/export/html/36727> (Accessed on 19/05/2016 at 5.27 pm).

²²⁹ Ranajit Das Gupta, "Migrants in Coal Mines: Peasants and Proletarians, 1850s-1947," *Social Scientist* 13, No. 12 (1985), 18.

“The ownership of the land in the Raniganj region has passed from local adivasis (indigenous people) to agricultural castes long before coal mining caught on as a popular business enterprise with the Zamindars.”²³⁰

In another essay Lahiri Dutt again mentions:

“The forests rapidly gave way to settled agriculture, and land based castes (tribals) were driven out or turned into itinerant labourers.”²³¹

This is what Marx described as, the process of transformation from the social means of subsistence and production into capital and accumulation of that capital in the hands of few; in addition to, transformation of immediate producers into wage labourers.

4.2.2. The Late Colonial Period: Political Economy of Colonial State

Under colonial rule, the extraction of surplus labour and dispossession of non-labour assets, like- land serves the example of expropriation, circulation and repatriation what Marxist scholars have considered as processes of capital accumulation. In the year 1774 for the first time few British officials in private endeavour started searching of coal in the Raniganj region where the resource was in-situ to the region.²³² However, that attempt got its first success in 1815-1816 while production of coal got started for commercial uses by the British Capitalists.²³³ Gradually, physical presence of coal transforms the entire region into a mining economy. According to Ey and sherval,

²³⁰ Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, “Informal Coal Mining in Eastern India: Evidence from the Raniganj Coalbelt,” *Natural Resource Forum* 27 (2003), 70.

²³¹ Kuntala Lahiri Dutt, “Informality in mineral resource management in Asia: Raising questions relating to community economics and sustainable development,” *Natural Resource Forum* 28 (2004), 129.

²³² Mr. S.G. Heatley and Mr. John Sumner first got the permission of coal production for commercial use from Waren Hestings. According to the deal, they will have the sole authority of producing and selling coal from the coal mines of Bengal and other adjacent places for next 18 years. As royalty they will give price of one fifth share of the produced coal to the company. Apart from that they will also have to supply yearly 440 tonnes of coal to the company. (See, Bhaktipada Mondal. *Raniganj Mahakumar Itihas*. (Saraswati Press: Jamuria, 2005), 48.)

²³³ Priyabrata Das Gupta. Barddhaman Jelar Koila Shilper Bikasher Dhara. Eds. Somnath Das Chanchalya and Tarapada Hazra. *Koila Shilpanchaler Katha: Raniganj Khani-Anchal er ItiBritta*. (Aikya Publishers: Durgapur. 2008), 43.)

*“Mining must be understood as more than the physical mine site, as the process of resource extraction has the capacity to reform not just the physical terrain but also the socio-cultural and political context upon which it makes its mark”*²³⁴.

The forest land becomes destructed. For the first time the region experience change in land use. On the other hand agricultural lands also become infertile. During the colonial period (under company rule) the British had their monopolistic control over the mining region.

*“The companies decided without any interference which seam they would work on and which means to employ in raising the coal. They acquired extensive leases and build up large reserves of mining land for future exploitation.”*²³⁵

The British involvement in the coal mines was initially motivated by the desire to get the direct control over the coal production over the region that the need of continuous supply of coal for the use in steam engine, for river boats and railways transport and also for the use in other industries, like-the jute mills of Calcutta can be fulfilled.²³⁶ Acosta uses the concept “extractivism”²³⁷ to explain the mode of accumulation. According to him:

“This extractivist mode of accumulation has been determined ever since by the demands of the metropolitan centres of nascent capitalism. Some regions specialised in the extraction and production of raw materials –

²³⁴ Melina Ey and Meg Sherval, “Exploring the minescape: engaging with the complexity of the extractive sector,” *Area* 48, No. 2 (2016), 176–182.

²³⁵ Henner Papendieck, “British Managing Agencies in the Indian Coalfield,” in *Zamindars, Mines and Peasants: Studies in the history of an Indian Coalfield* eds. D. Rothermond and D.C. wardha (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1978), 166-167.

²³⁶ Dietmar Rothermond, “The Coalfield – An Enclave in a Backward Region,” in *Zamindar, Mines and Peasants: Studies in the history of an Indian Coalfield* eds. D. Rothermond and D. Wadhwa (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1978), 2. (Also see, Henner Papendieck, “British Managing Agencies in the Indian Coalfield,” in *Zamindar, Mines and Peasants* Eds. D. Rothermond and D. Wadhwa (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1978), 165). This chapter by Papendieck contains much more information on how production of coal from various mines of West Bengal were depend on the needs of the various departments of the East India Company since 1920s to 1980s.

²³⁷ Alberto Acosta, “Extractivism and neoextractivism: two sides of the same curse,” in *Beyond Development: Alternative visions from Latin America* eds. M. Lang, and D. Mokrani (Amsterdam/Quito: Transnational Institute / Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, 2013), 62. (“The term extractivism to refer to those activities which remove large quantities of natural resources that are not processed (or processed only to a limited degree), especially for export. Extractivism is not limited to minerals or oil. Extractivism is also present in farming, forestry and even fishing.”)

primary commodities – while others took on the role of producing manufactured goods. The former export Nature, the latter import it.”²³⁸

Apart from these British capitalists, there were few local large scale land owners (Zamindars) who also had their privately owned coal mines (Table 4.1 and Table 4.2).

Table 4.1: List of leading coal companies under private (British) ownership before nationalisation of coal industry

Year	Private Coal Mining Companies	Places where production started
1775	John Summer and S.G.Heatley	Damaliya
1823	Bates Heatley	Narayankuri
1824	Jessop & Company	Damulia and Narayankuri
1839	Gilmore, Homfray & Co.	Narayankuri and Lucchibad
1940	Erskine & Co.	Mongalpur and Raghunath Chak
	Old East India Coal Co.	Tapsi, Jorjonaki, Bansra, Purandip
	Raneegunge Coal Association	Raniganj
	Dhoba Coal Co.	Choukidanga and Tapsi
	Messer Alexander & Co.	NA
1834		Chinakuri and Chauki Danga
	Dr. Rogers	Mahammadpur
	Mr. Black	Dhasal
1836	Carr & Tagore Co.	NA
1843	Bengal Coal Company	Raniganj, Dishergadh, Shitalpur, Chinakudi, Parbeliya, Bankshimiliya, Girmint, Kunustoria, New Kenda, Lachipur
1847	Apcar & Co.	Sitarampur
1864	Equitable Coal Company	Kumardihi, Niamatpur, West Jamuria, Akalpur, Charanpur, Bhanoda, and Dishergarh
	Boria Coal Company	Salanpur and Shibdaspur
	Birds & Co.	Alipur and Panuri
1875	South Barakar Coal Co.	Patalbadi, Sodepur, Sanktoria, Damodarkunda, Chas, Luchibad
	Killburns Co.	Dhasal, Chakdola, Tapasi
	Turner and Morrison	Sripur and Ningha
	Sha Walls	Patmohana
	Kayora Company	Nimcha

Source: Compiled by the researcher. Priyabrata Das Gupta. Barddhaman Jelar Koila Shilper Bikasher Dhara. Eds. Somnath Das Chanchalya and Tarapada Hazra. Koila Shilpanchaler Katha: Raniganj Khani-Anchal er ItiBritta. Oikya Publishers, Durgapur. 2008, pp. 43- 53.

Note: NA- Not Available

²³⁸ Ibid., 62.

Table 4.2: Private ownership of coal mines by the local landlords (zamindars) during colonial period

Name of the collieries	Name of the owners	Place
Raniganj and Egara	Dwarakanath Tagore	Narankudi and Egara
Searsole	Babu Gobinda Prashad Pandit	Searsole
Dalamiya Colliery	Kailashnath Roy	Dalamiya
Jemari Colliery	Chatar Nath	Jemari
Nimcha Colliery	Sukhamay Nandi	Nimcha
Tapasi Colliery	Khasi	Tapasi
Mangalpur Colliery	Tarapada Pal	Mangalpur
Jote Jonaki Colliery	Babu Gobinda Prashad Pandit	Jote Jonaki
Bansra Colliery	Rani Swarnamoyee Devi	Bansra
Bamun Diha	Madhu Roy	Bamundiha
Panihati Colliery	Umesh Chandra Bandopadhyay	Panihati
Dishergadh Colliery	Ambika Charan Layek	Dishergadh
Jamuriya East Colliery	Bijay Gobinda Chattapadhyay, Hemanta Kumar Nag, Shiv Krishna Dutta, Bholanatha Dhar	Ikhra
Kenda Colliery	Jadav Lal Bandyopadhyay, Manindra Lal Mukherjee	Kenda
Padasia Coal Company. Krishnanagar Colliery	Poddar Brothers	Padasia Chakdola
Sripur Colliery	Haridas Mundra	Sripur
Real Jambad Colliery and Choda No. 10 Pit	Karamchand Thapar	Jambad
Choda No. 7 and 9 Pit	Karnani	Jambad
Chanchani and Co.		Padaskol, Ukhra-Shitalpur, Siduli, Bamunbandh and Haripur
Amritlal colliery	Amritlal Ojha	Amrit Nagar
Gobindapur, Sarpi-Kajoda and Gajdhar-Kajoda Colliery	Lalit and Binu Jagani	Gobindapur, Sarpi, Kajoda and Gajdhar
Ukhra Colliery	Nil Ratan Sarkar	Ukhra

Source: Compiled by the researcher.

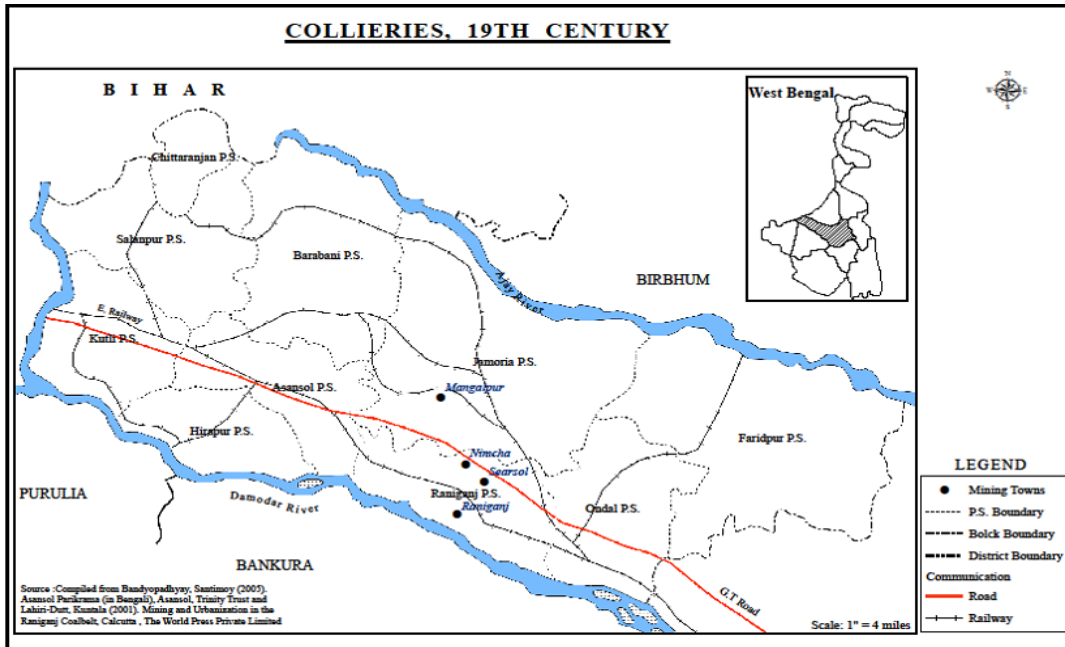
(Priyabrata Das Gupta, Barddhaman Jelar Koila Shilper Bikasher Dhara. Eds. Somnath Das Chanchalya and Tarapada Hazra. Koila Shilpanchaler Katha: Raniganj Khani-Anchal er ItiBritta. Oikya Publishers, Durgapur. 2008, pp. 43- 53.)

Shaktipada Mondal, Raniganj Mahakumar Itihas (Bardhaman: Saraswati Press, 2005), 52.

Note: NA- Not Available

During the colonial period benefits from coal mining operation was exclusively monopolised by the British and the Zamindars or the large land lords.

Map 4.2: Location of collieries during 19th Century in Raniganj Coal Mining Region



Source: Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, Mining and Urbanization in the Raniganj Coalbelt, Calcutta: The World Press Private Limited, 2001.

However, founding the mining industry in this region was not an easy task during the early years of colonisation. Das Gupta in his article noted, during the initial years the labour force of entire coal mining industry of Eastern India was comprised of tribals, semi-tribals, low castes peasants and artisan groups mostly drawn from villages close proximity to the mines or from the neighbouring districts.²³⁹ The local peasantry was depended on wet paddy cultivation and was not keen on working as miner in the coal mines.

Opening up of large number of coal mines and becoming a single industry based region, was key to the imposition of capitalist mode of production in the mineral rich region of West Bengal. It not only transformed the land use of the region but commodification of land and labour away from subsistence agriculture. Despite this, colonialism could not abolish the close nexus of mine work force with the rural agriculture economy until 1895. Eminent historian Ranajit Das Gupta wrote:

²³⁹ Ranajit Das Gupta, "Migrants in Coal Mines: Peasants and Proletarians, 1850s-1947," *Social Scientist* 13, No. 12 (1985). 18.

Majority of the coal miners were from Bauri community. Apart from that Dom, Muchi, Bagdi, Santhal, Kora, Munda and many other tribal communities were also involved in coal cutting on contract basis.

*“Throughout the period it was a most common practice on the part of the mine workers to leave the miners for work on the land for several weeks at a stretch particularly in the two major agricultural seasons of sowing and transplanting in June and July and harvesting in November and December, and it was found that the supply of labour closely depended on the agricultural cycle.”*²⁴⁰

The major coalfield becomes an isolated enclave for the locals of region, who were marginally involved to the industry. Rothermond identified the colonial coal industry as typical example of a derivative enclave.²⁴¹ As already mentioned earlier, Indian coal had high demand for other industries like- tea, Jutes, etc. Therefore, the coal industry had hardly any scope for export to the foreign countries. This fact proves that, the growth of the industry was highly depended on the demands created by the primary enclaves (like – Tea and Jute industries). On the other hand, profit made in the coal industries were neither leaked abroad, nor used for local development. British used to collect tax for the agricultural land from the cultivators.²⁴² Profits generated from these peripheral regions by the colonial state dispossession were however invested in the advanced economic centers of India. This situation of reinvestment of accumulated capital more specifically circulation of capital within Indian Territory is termed by several social scientists as ‘internal colonialism’.²⁴³ Therefore, unequal geographical development emerges out of this process of ‘internal colonialism’ due to transfer of capital from one sector to another. During the nascent stage, the owners of private mines

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 19.

²⁴¹ D. Rothermond and D.C. wardha, eds., *Zamindars, Mines and Peasants: Studies in the history of an Indian Coalfield* (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1978),

²⁴² Amar Chattapadhyay, *Asansol-Durgapur Anchaler Itibritta-O-Tar Loksanskriti* (Burdwan: Yodhan Publishers, 2013), 30.

²⁴³ Dietmar Rothermond, “The Coalfield – An Enclave in a Backward Region,” in *Zamindars, Mines and Peasants: Studies in the history of an Indian Coalfield* Eds. D. Rothermond and D. Wadhwa. (Manohar Publications: New Delhi, 1978), 3-4.

were highly depended on labour power²⁴⁴ over any other factors for their emergence, expansion and continued existence.

With the onset of capital accumulation in this region of intensive coal production for supply to the primary enclaves, the commodification of labour began to accelerate. A number of social scientists compare the process with the original enclosure process and struggle as described by Marx in ‘The Capital’ for Britain. Urbanisation in the coal belt started to take place as result of huge migration from the neighbouring states in the form of labour force and demographic pressure started to build up.

Finally, if anyone deals with the outline of primitive accumulation which crystallised on coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India during the colonial period, there found an especially complex set of unique and noteworthy legacies still lingering in the mining region today but in different forms.

Against the background of the common trend of commodification of labour, important departure points in this context are also worthy of discussion. Most important in this regard is that distinctiveness of the Raniganj region as a region with relatively larger amount of agricultural land in comparison to other coal producing regions of Eastern India. Till around 1895, the coal industry was at its stage of infancy, but from mid 1890s coal industry recorded rapid expansion due to huge demand of the primary enclaves. This led to increase the demand of more labour for the labour intensive industry. However, the absentees among the labourers were one of the major reasons for low levels of production. Das Gupta Note:

“It is not clear whether the miners had land of their own. It appears that most of them were landless agricultural labourers or marginal peasants working on tenanted land, both categories depending partly on wage

²⁴⁴ At the initial stage, coal was taken out from a pond like depression. After removing the top soil layer, coal used to take out from the sub-soil layer. Few most important tools used for coal cutting were hammer, spade, metal sickles, hatchets, etc. (See, Bhaktipada Mondal, *Raniganj Mahakumar Itiha*, (Saraswati Press: Jamuria, 2005), 53).

labour in the mines. Some of them were perhaps settled in the mining area but had close links with agriculture."²⁴⁵

The private miners took a different measure to accelerate the growth of the labourers and increase of coal production. They did not enforce the labourers directly to participate in mining and followed a unique method. The large coal mining companies were trying to lease out land for the labour class that they can settle near the coal mines permanently and can devote more time on coal production. However, the service land system even made it more complicated regarding land. A new kind of land-labour relation was in the picture because of this service land system. The uprooted peasants got the essence of land here that created a big problem regarding land in the region. As mentioned by Das Gupta, the service land system was a complete failure. It did not help either in raising production of coal or increase in work efficiency.²⁴⁶ A number of managers of the then coal mines identified the common identity of peasants and miners were one of the major problems. Mine labour force was caught between dual occupations. Under the colonial regime, the migrant labourers in the coal mines of Bengal were ruthlessly exploited.

- ***The formation of Semi-Proletarians in the coal mines and production of surplus labour:***

It is the capitalist industrialisation by the British, which contributed to the production of unequal geography in the mining region. As already discussed, the industrial capitalism in India produced a group of migrant labour force for the purpose of coal mining. They were mostly belonged to the tribal, semi-tribal, low caste Hindus and marginal peasant categories. It is also highlighted that the gathering of migrant mining labour force in the eastern coal mining region of India was difficult and chaotic task in the labour history. Labour supply in the mines was highly dependent on agriculture and the labourers had strong rural link. However, the mining activities had produced a section of proletariats in the region. As Das Gupta wrote:

²⁴⁵ Ranajit Das Gupta, "Migrants in Coal Mines: Peasants and Proletarians, 1850s-1947," *Social Scientist* 13, No. 12 (1985), 21.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

“That the mine workers had a proletarian socio-economic status in the sense that they sold their labour power for cash wages is obvious, and they can certainly be considered as a mining proletariat.”²⁴⁷

However, he also mentioned before consider the migrant mining labour force as proletariats, it requires further clarification. He has highlighted few points, on the basis of what, the miners’ status as proletariat depart from Marx’s notion of proletariat:

- A majority among the coal miners were involved in circular movements between rural and mining areas, however were not permanently detached from the rural agricultural land and livelihoods.
- Miners had continued access to natural resources, like- land, forest products and other subsistence products in the rural region.
- The proletarianisation of mine works was not associated with detachment from the social and cultural capital.

Das Gupta places considerable importance on the “semi-proletariat” status purely based on their socio-economic position.²⁴⁸

It is noteworthy to mention that, the capitalists seen the local tribal, semi-tribal, low caste peasants from the rural areas as the reserve for capitalist accumulation and they had to find out some extra economic means to attract the labour force for their own interests. They were encouraging the reserve labour force to the mine centres. Therefore, migration as mining labour force from rural to mining region was not voluntary. The migrant labour force had no organisation and also exerted downward pressure on their wages. These two were the basic requirements for the accumulation of capital. Similarly according to David Harvey, exchange of labour power requires changes of location. The process of exchange of labour power over space creates spatial division of labour. The capitalist policy works in such a way that the mine centers function as the core of the colonial economy, while surrounding rural areas as peripheries to the centre. In this way

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 27.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 27-28.

industrial capitalism produces uneven geography. This process of exploitation of labour and unequal production relation can be termed as ‘accumulation by exploitation’.²⁴⁹

4.3. The Post-Colonial Period: Political Economy of the Developmental State

This section discusses about the development of capital in the post-colonial period that emerged during the colonial period in eastern coal mining region. The new forms of accumulation in the post-colonial period reorder the spaces of capitalism. These new spaces are basically created in such a way that circulation of capital can take place. Dharmendra Kumar describes this process as grafted capitalism,²⁵⁰ few other scholars has described it as continuation of ‘internal colonialism’; while Michael Levien described the post-colonial period as ‘the developmentalist regime of dispossession’²⁵¹. The point to be noted here that the agrarian relation started to fade away during the post-colonial period and the capitalist development started to intensify. The post-colonial development strategy was depended on Kenessian-Fordist form. In this form of development, the major objective was to produce and consume at large scale on the one hand and large number of employment generation on the other. For Sanyal,

*‘The post-colonial regime of power that ensures the conditions of existence and reproduction of the complex of need and accumulation economies rests on an implosion of sovereignty and governmentality. The coercive power of the state is used in favor of primitive accumulation when necessary, and the apparatus and technology of governmentality are deployed to constitute the need-economy for the excluded.’*²⁵²

²⁴⁹ Geoff Bailey, “Accumulation by Dispossession: A critical Assessment”, *International Socialist Review* 95, <http://isreview.org/issue/95/accumulation-dispossession>.

²⁵⁰ Dharmendra Kumar, “Constitution of a Region: A study of Chattishgarh,” in *Rethinking State politics in India: Regions within Region*, ed. Asutosh Kumar (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010).

²⁵¹ Michael Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India” (PhD Dissertataion, UC Berkley, 2013), 23.

²⁵² Kalyan Sanyal, “Accumulation, Exclusion and Hegemony: Capital and Governmentality in the Era of Globalisation” <http://www.uninomade.org/accumulation-exclusion-and-hegemony/> (Accessed on 17July, 2016 at 11.30 am).

The post colonial state was actually carrying the colonial legacy of development. In this post-colonial state, the colonial masters actually handed over the constitutional democracy to the national elites, who were actually designing the investment plan according to their own interest. It is the political capital that helped the bourgeoisie in their participation in the national plan. On the contrary to this, there was another section of the society totally excluded from participatory involvement. The irony was in the fact that the subalterns, who participated in the anti-colonial struggle during colonial period, were excluded from the process of post-colonial nation building. Chatterjee also argues that the post-colonial state does not have significant difference with the colonial state in terms of hegemony. However, the expression of hegemony among the post-colonial elite class had to be different than the colonisers in a constitutionally electoral democracy. The post-colonial state tried to develop an uncontested space with its hegemonic pretense. With the catch phrase “sacrifice for the nation” an ‘imagined community’ attempted to be constructed to protect the interest of the elites.²⁵³

It is important to mention that in the post-colonial period as the capitalist development started to intensify the development state promoted few sectors like-hydropower projects, dam construction, irrigation projects and heavy industries (steel and aluminium manufacturing), mining etc. as the engine of growth. In the process of accelerating growth, the post-colonial developmental state in India has invaded in the subaltern space and also got involved in the resource conflict with various marginalised section of the society.

However, this kind of grafted capitalism in this region was only possible because of the huge reserve of bituminous coal and availability of the cheap labourers. With the advancement of capitalism the region has also experienced new forms of capital-labour relationships; along with it exploitation of natural resources was prioritised. These regions have become the extraction zones and resource frontiers for capitalist

²⁵³ Arnab Roy Chowdhury, Subalternity, *State-Formation and Movements against Hydropower Projects in India, 1920-2004* (PhD Thesis: National University of Singapore), 107.

development in the post-colonial period and gradually turned into an unevenly developed space of mixed economy.

In the year 1973, the Indira Gandhi government nationalised coal mining in the country in order to prevent unscientific mining practices and inhuman exploitation of the coal miners by the private coal mine owners. Mismanagement of mines by private companies, lack of proper investment and a slower-than-expected two per cent annual growth the few reasons that forced the government to produce the Coal Mines (Nationalisation) Act, 1973 and also led to the formation of Coal India in 1975. Since nationalisation of coal sector (1973) CIL (Coal India Limited) was the sole operator of coal production. By the implementation of Coal Mine Act 1975, government only accumulated the resources (coal) but not the liabilities attached to it. Nationalisation did not, however, prevent the open flouting of laws. The draconian colonial law, Land Acquisition Act (LAA) of 1894 becomes handier with state intervention as utilised for 'public purpose'. While another law came into being in the year 1957 as Coal Bearing Area Act (CBAA) especially for the purpose of coal resource extraction. In order to mine more coal, richly forested areas and fertile agricultural tracts were taken over without the consent of local inhabitants who were wholly dependent on such lands and forests for their livelihoods."²⁵⁴ As a result of this the state came in direct friction with the subalterns.

On the other hand, the coal mining region of West Bengal had many attributes including the natural resource base that were considered as comparatively advantageous for modern forms of economic development. This region always has been provided with positive assessments regarding its potential in respect to economic development. Therefore, during the Nehruvian plan period few locations that got the scope of transforming the coal producing natural economy into modern industrial development through state led development, the coal mining region of West Bengal was one among them. On August 15th, 1947 Indian achieved its political independence from the British after more than two centuries of subordination, with Jawaharlal Nehru of the Indian

²⁵⁴ Paranjoy Guha Thakurta, "Coalgate and India's crony capitalism" Rediff.com (2014).
<http://www.paranjoy.in/article/coalgate-and-indias-crony-capitalism.html>. Retrieved on 20.06.2016.

National Congress (INC) Party as the first prime minister of independent India. It was Nehru, who introduced the state led capitalism in India just after independence. More specifically to say, Nehruvian state played a significant role in the emergence of state capitalism in the post-colonial period. The industrial policy announced during 1956 was mainly based on the ethos of capitalist development. This is evident in the construction of the large public sector steel plants of Durgapur and the industrial townships and Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC), the multi-purpose project of dams, power plants, and irrigation systems. The Damodar River Valley project was inspired by the global model of multi-purpose river projects initiated by Tennessee Valley Authority in the US that constructed a series of dams on the Tennessee River in the 1930s. As claimed by Scott, these engineering projects that were practiced in the US were directly imported and applied to the post-colonial Indian context as ‘modules of high modernism’²⁵⁵.

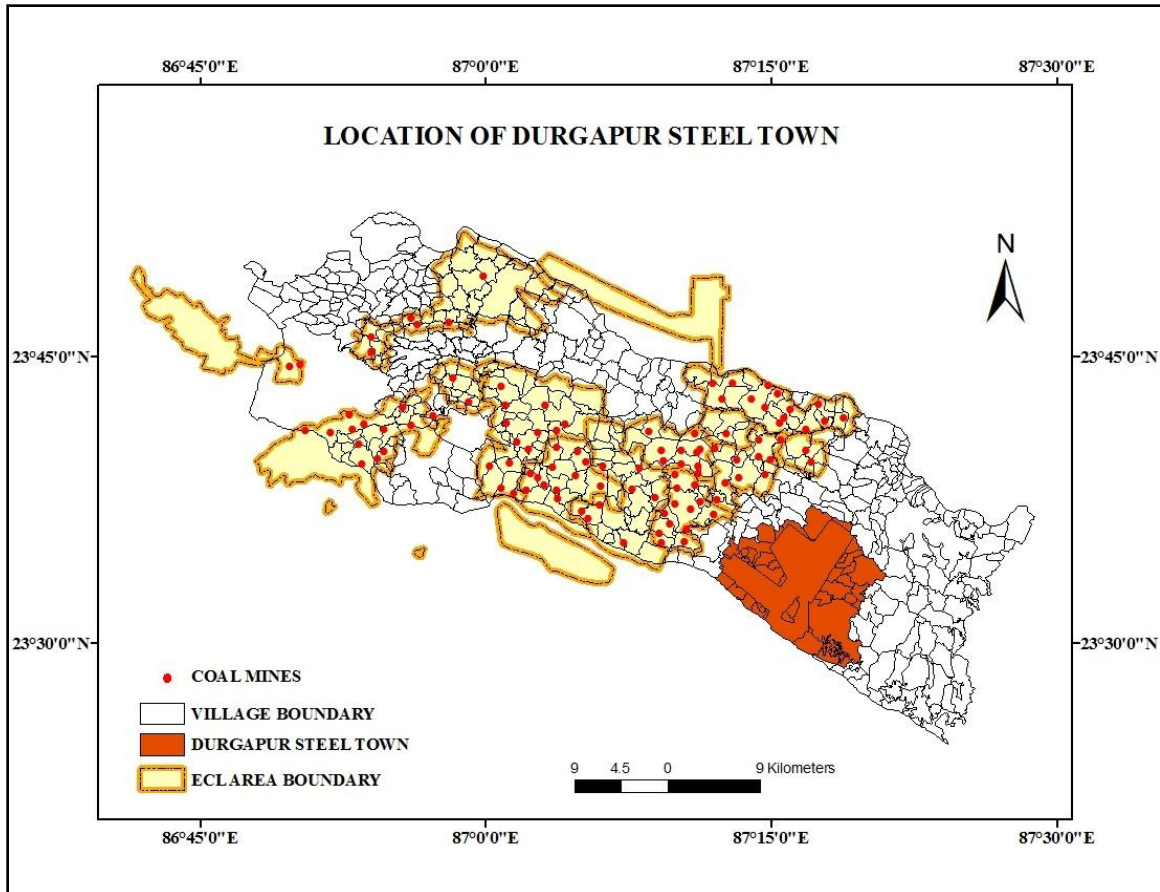
The iron and steel plant of Durgapur was established in the year 1960. It is Soviet Union which supported the project with capital and technology. A thermal power plant was already established in the year 1948. The mining region has received the status of coal-steel industrial complex only after the establishment of the steel plant.

As mentioned by a number of social scientists, like- Parasuraman, Levien, Strumpell, etc. that during 1950s-1960s when the large public sector steel plant (Durgapur Steel Plant) and multipurpose river project (DVC) were built a significant amount of land were consumed and a large number of people (including tribals) were uprooted. The uprooted persons immediately became migrant labourers and joined in the informal sectors. However, the dispossession resulted was explained as ‘necessary sacrifice for the development of the nation’. The concept of ‘nation building’ and ‘national integration’ the two commonly used words in the academic literature for the

²⁵⁵ James Scott, “State Simplifications: Nature, Space and People,” *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 3, No. 3 (1995), 191–233.

post-colonial time period can be understood as ‘primitive political accumulation’.²⁵⁶ Uday Chandra explains it also another form of internal colonialism.²⁵⁷

Map 4.3: Location of Durgapur Steel Town and adjacent coal mines and ECL leasehold areas



Source: Constructed by the researcher.

This section tries to show that the continuous expansion of extractive industry opening up new fields for capital accumulation, rather it will be better to say for the expansion of capital. Resource endowments and physical possibilities add weight to the logic of regional and spatial differentiations and specialisation. Locational advantage plays an important role in this respect. This argument goes parallel to the classical

²⁵⁶ John T. Sidel, “Primitive accumulation and ‘progress’ in Southeast Asia: the diverse legacies of a common(s) tragedy,” *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 3, No. 1 (2015), 5-23. ISSN 2051-364X DOI: 10.1017/trn.2014.12

²⁵⁷ Uday Chandra, “Beyond subalternity: land, community, and the state in contemporary Jharkhand,” *Contemporary South Asia* 21, No.1 (2013), 54.

industrial location theories of Alfred Weber and Losch²⁵⁸. The presence of coal resource serves as magnet for thermal power and iron steel industries. However, the state role in this respect cannot be denied. The importance of state in the process of continuous expansion of capital was discussed by Lenin in a couple of literature.²⁵⁹ Samaddar cogently summarises that, it is the state which facilitates the restructuring of capitalist order; therefore it is also the site of passive revolution.²⁶⁰ The new form of capital accumulation is marginalising the labourers rather than exploiting them.

- ***Mechanisation and Casualisation***

Since nationalisation of coal industry in 1973, a huge reorganisation of production process has taken place in the mining region. This has led to decrease in the total number of labour by mechanisation, therefore the aim was increasing profit by decreasing the cost of production.

- ***Illegal mining and mafia mode of production***

Agriculture gradually became an unviable option for the locals as the problem of the land degradation, decline in productivity and scarcity of ground water got intensified. Apart from that privatising the common property resources by the public and private sector mining companies have transformed the mining communities into environmental refugees. With no other skills a large section mostly moved to work for the coal mafias or steal coals from the local mines. In an article by Chetan Chauhan in Hindustan Times mentions that, the mining mafias are silently controlling the local economy.²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ Alfred Weber formulated a theory of industrial location in which the location of an industry is depended on the transportation costs, sources of raw material and the market.

²⁵⁹ Ranabir Samaddar, "A Post-colonial Critique of Capital Accumulation Today," in *Accumulation under Post-colonial Capitalism-I: An Overview*, eds. Ranabir Samaddar Iliia Antenucci, (Kolkata: Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, 2014), 4.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

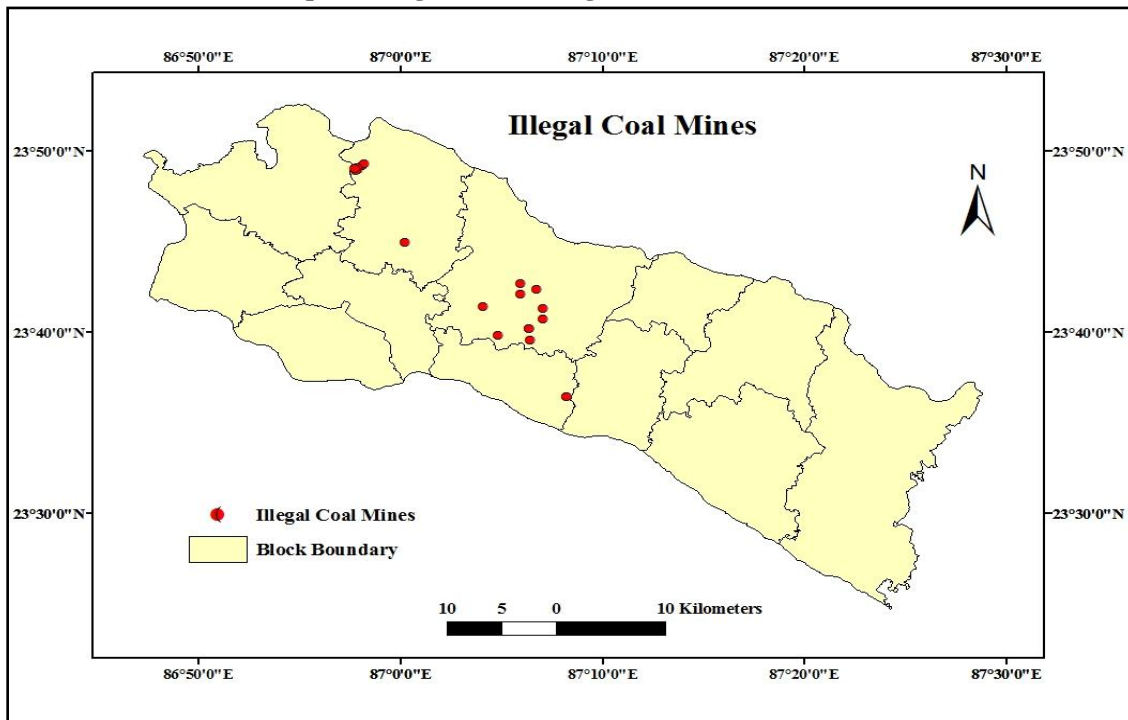
²⁶¹ <http://www.sacw.net/article2624.html>. (Accessed at 1:09 pm on 6th November, 2016). <https://libcom.org/book/export/html/36727> (Accessed at 1:30 pm on 6th November, 2016).

Table 4.3: Illegal Coal Mining Sites under ECL leasehold area operating under the supervision of Coal Mafias

Within leasehold Area	Places
Sodepur Area	Aldih, Chainakuri near Main Magazine Chhai Dhowrah, Sodepur 11 No.Old Incline, Patkojona Village & Dhawtah, Binodbandh, Bharaychak, Aluthia village, Saloni village, Tulsahir, Chhotdhemu, Rakta village, Perbelia village, Amdanga, Kuthibari, Ranibari, Pathardiha, Kulbona, Dubeswari village, Dangajore, Hiraakund, Asanbani, Nawdiha, Ranipur 2 B 2 C, Narayanpur, Moutha, Santhal Moutha
Sripur Area	Muslia Colliery, Kalipahari Colliery, Sripur Seam Incline Colliery, Kushadanga/Girmint Colliery
Salanpur Area	Bonjemehari Colliery, Dabor Colliery, Sangramgarh Colliery, Mohanpur Colliery, Gorangdih (A) Colliery, Gourangdih-Begunia Colliery, Barmondia (A) Colliery

*Source: Government of India, Ministry of Coal, Rajya Sabha, starred question no.*158, to be answered on 14.12.2015. (www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/file/Illegal%20coal%20mining.docx)*

Map 4.4: Illegal Coal Mining Sites of the industrial belt



Source: Constructed by the researcher with the help of data collected from Wikimapia.

It can be summarised that this thesis contributing new insights into how different political-economic phases and different mechanism of enclosure combine to produce dispossession at the urban-industrial space of eastern India.

Geographical spaces are structured and restructured over time depends on how places are created and used by people. In the British Colonial period, search of coal for commercial uses and foundation of forced labour produced socio-territorial spaces of accumulation by exploitation connected to regional and colonial centre of power.²⁶² The extraction of coal resource that was monopolised by the British and large landlords (zamindars) in the colonial period exemplifies the process of “internal colonialism”. According to C.P.Chandrasekhar, “The mining sector is increasingly seen as one in which the worst features of capitalism as a profit machine combine with illegality and corruption to provide a site for primitive accumulation based on plunder and unequal exchange”²⁶³. It further describes the local particularities of semi-proletarianisation, exploitation and powerlessness in the context of strategies of colonialism and conceptually linked to the process of “primitive accumulation” something that Marx has discussed in ‘The Capital’.

The regionality of this industrial complex was embedded in mining, mining related activities and livelihoods. The new economic region formation based on industrial activities requires reworking on the existing regionalities produced earlier through territorialisation of resources (particularly coal), labour and also modes of production over a long period of time.²⁶⁴ As Banerjee-Guha points out, the reworking on the earlier economic space provide the characteristics of placelessness to the regionalities.²⁶⁵ The new industrial space is gradually disconnecting the region from the surrounding socio-economic realities of region formation based on mining.

Marx in his writing of early history of capitalism put emphasis on the violent process of ‘primitive accumulation’. He believed that this violent process of accumulation would establish the rule of law with the advancement of capitalism through

²⁶² Dermot O’Connor and Juan Pablo Bohórquez Montoya, “Neoliberal Transformation in Colombia’s Goldfields: Development Strategy or Capitalist Imperialism?” *Labour, Capital and Society* 43, No. 2 (2010), 109.

²⁶³ <http://www.macrosan.net/index.php?&view=article&aid=74>

²⁶⁴ Swapna Banerjee-Guha, “Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, no 2 (2013), 177.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 177.

time. Nevertheless, accumulation of capital has taken a differential character in the neoliberal period. Eminent Geographer David Harvey termed this new process as ‘accumulation by dispossession’. Moreover, Sen claims that:

*“The violent process of land grabs, and corruptions associated with coal capitalism developing in India do not match with the abstract picture of mature capitalism predicted by Marx in Capital. However, an ethnographic reading of capital in the perspective of coal mining in eastern India shows that Marx’s concept of “primitive accumulation” is still relevant in understanding the dynamics of the concrete history of capitalism in India”*²⁶⁶.

However, Marx hardly discussed about the developing countries.

This chapter also provides an impression of dispossession that took place in the post-colonial period followed the logic of state led developmentalism. It argues that the major reason behind this kind of dispossession was expansion of agricultural and industrial productivity for development of the nation. Scholars claim that the coal-steel industrial complex has carried the colonial legacy of “internal colonialism” in the post-colonial period and the dispossession resulted into accumulation disproportionately benefitted agrarian capitalists, industrial bourgeoisie and public sector elites. However, the post-colonial accumulation had some spillover effects on the mass.

The way capital made its path for expansion in this region has not been a smooth one. The relationship can be only established by looking into the historical process of structural capital formation in the region. Capital produces space in an uneven manner. Spatial unevenness is the outcome of uneven penetration of capital into non-capital spaces. As a result of these, the coal-steel industrial complex has become an unevenly developed terrain of mixed economy. Accumulation of capital is taking place in two ways in this region, i.e. (a) Industrial accumulation of capital, and (b) Speculative accumulation of capital.

²⁶⁶ Arup Kumar Sen. “Re-Imagining Capital, Labor, and the State in the Coalfields of Eastern India,” *The Working USA: Journal of Labour and Society* 17 (2014), 28.

However, the two processes are quite different from each other. Both kind of capital accumulation will be discussed in the preceding chapters. The next chapters (chapter 5 and 6) illustrate how neoliberal capitalism is molding the industrial space by reproduction and intensification of uneven spatial development within and across the region.

Chapter 5

The Neoextractivism: Constructing Routes of Accumulation through Dispossession

By regional capital accumulation one understands the process of expansion of value through surplus value production and has a distinct spatial dimension. Every phase in the circuit of capital has corresponding spatial forms, i.e. (a) spaces of production or spaces of extraction,²⁶⁷ (b) spaces of realisation²⁶⁸ and (c) spaces of accumulation²⁶⁹. The spatial dimension to the current phase of Global capitalism is not easy to categorise. There are few writings which explicitly explain about various processes and spaces that capital and state utilise as spaces for extraction. As mentioned in various literatures, throughout the history, capitalism was constituted both spatially as well as temporally. Capital accumulation is not only an economic affair; rather it also includes social relations, subsistence economy and regional culture the way it influences the production of capital, which in turn makes use of time and space. In this context dispossession has its own functional role in the accumulation of capital in the neoliberal period.

It has been conferred so far in chapter 4 that in the colonial period, the British established regimes of dispossession that was characterised by expropriation of land (as a reserve of coal resource) for colonial expansion by coercion and also produced a section of semi-proletariat labourers for their own interest. It is also found that in the post-independent period the Nehruvian state also established a developmentalist regime of dispossession characterised by expropriation of land and other natural resources (like-water) for various 'productivist' (both industrial and infrastructural) state-led projects.

²⁶⁷ Spaces of extraction signify spaces that are exploited, e.g. the developing countries.

²⁶⁸ Spaces of realisation signify spaces where produced goods are sold to obtain money, more specifically the market for produced goods.

²⁶⁹ Spaces of accumulation signify spaces that exploit, e.g. the developed countries.

The main objective was to expand economic accumulation through investment on heavy industries for ‘public interest.’²⁷⁰

In the post-liberalisation period, a new kind of predatory capitalism is emerging in India. A section of capitalists and foreign investors from the economic core have established a new regimes of dispossession that is characterised by expropriation of space for investment (spaces of extraction) of over accumulated capital and overcome the crisis of over accumulation possible through territorialisation, privatisation of public resources, dis-accumulation of productive assets (like-land), broaden opportunities for the private and foreign investment, devaluation of the labourers due to use of advanced technologies. The new predatory and speculative action is termed by David Harvey as ‘accumulation by dispossession’. While, economic and labour historian Arup Kumar Sen states, “The post-colonial Indian state followed the process of “accumulation by dispossession” even in the early years of nation building.”²⁷¹ More specifically to say, both the process of ‘grafted capitalism’ in the post-colonial period and the colonial state in the form of ‘internal capitalism’ (as already discussed in chapter 4) had prepared the base for a new kind of capitalist development in the neoliberal period.

The focus here is on the processes of dispossession which help to accumulate capital and also on those to whom did the capital accumulate by these processes of dispossession in the regional economy. It also tries to show the overall economic transition in the extractive sector, also known as ‘neoextractivism’ in the neoliberal era. In Acosta’s schema, ‘extractivism has been a mechanism of colonial and neocolonial plunder and appropriation’²⁷². He further points out that ‘neoextractivism maintains and reproduces key elements of the extractivism that dates back to colonial times’²⁷³. This chapter seeks to find out the constructive role of space-time duo in the dynamics of

²⁷⁰ Drawing inference from Gramsci’s perception, ‘public’ does not refer to the mass but essentially represents a certain section of the society receives all the benefits out of these projects and portrays as universal.

²⁷¹ Arup Kumar Sen. “Re-Imagining Capital, Labor, and the State in the Coalfields of Eastern India,” *The Working USA: Journal of Labour and Society* 17 (2014), 24.

²⁷² Alberto Acosta, “Extractivism and neoextractivism: two sides of the same curse,” in *Beyond Development: Alternative visions from Latin America* eds. M. Lang, and D. Mokrani (Amsterdam/ Quito: Transnational Institute / Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, 2013), 63.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 73.

capital accumulation and also find out the socio-economic and political factors that govern opportunities for capital accumulation through dispossession in the coal mining region of eastern India. An investigation in this issue helps to get broader socio-economic relations in the region.

In this chapter the issues are investigated both theoretically and empirically. However, given the limitation of secondary data, the investigations are necessarily preliminary. The national and state level data have limitations to show regional level accumulation. Therefore, an attempt has been made to show capital accumulation in mining (extractive sector) using proxy indicators.

The four sub-sections below address these issues as follows:

- Section 5.1 of this chapter examines **what kind of accumulation (productive or speculative) neoextractivism made possible in the neoliberal period** in the coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India.
- The second subsection (5.2) attempts to elucidate **the injustice related to the process of dispossession and nature of agrarian change produced by ‘continuous primitive accumulation’** in the extractive sectors.
- Section 5.3 focuses on details **on the accumulators** drawing inferences from the kind of accumulation the region is experiencing. More specifically to say, it tries to explain to whom did the capital accumulating?
- Section 5.4 discusses in details on **differential sociality, spatiality and temporality**.

Capital accumulation at regional level signifies a specific economic growth model with a number of extra-economic preconditions. The process comprises of a number of inter-connected components that are structurally linked to each other at different time and ultimately form a complete circuit of capital. Capital accumulation by dispossession is a process of redistribution from lower strata to upper strata of the society. Harvey noted that in terms of accumulation ‘the main achievements of neoliberalism have been

redistributive rather than generative.²⁷⁴ Major concern of this chapter is to find out this region is an example of non-agricultural sources of capital accumulation.

5.1. New Extractivism in Eastern Coal Mining region of India

There are two closely related crystallisations of new extractivism in India:

(1) The neoliberal policies implemented to promote private investment and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in mining which is increasingly financial and speculative in nature; and

(2) The unprecedented demand of land for open cast mining cannot be met without state intervention.

- ***Geologically mineral reserved areas as capital***

Mineral reserves can be considered as landscape offering opportunities to potential industry. It can be also considered one of the key elements in the process of accumulation by transforming formerly non-capital physical spaces into commodities. Even in the neoliberal period these mineral rich areas have transformed into forms of capital in themselves. Earlier forested areas are not sites of mineral resource extraction for household consumption and raw materials for other industries. In addition it can be say these areas have been transformed into sources of capitalist production. Meline Ey and Meg Sherval introduced the concept “minescape” in this regard and according to them, “the minescape stands as a representational tool that underscores the intricate ways in which extractive processes are imbued with complex socio-cultural dynamics, and powerful material and discursive elements”²⁷⁵. In the coal-steel industrial complex coal extraction can be considered as one form of capital accumulation.

Open cast mining in the forested and cultivated areas transforms non-capitalist spaces into commodities to be consumed not only internally but in the global

²⁷⁴ David Harvey, “Neo-liberalism as creative destruction,” *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 88, Issue 2 (2006), 143.

²⁷⁵ Melina Ey and Meg Sherval, “Exploring the minescape: engaging with the complexity of the extractive sector,” *Area* 48, No. 2 (2016), 176.

marketplace. Mineral rich areas are exploited in material ways to get revenues from it. The high market values of coal resources and its importance in the contribution the state's Gross Domestic Product cannot be ignored. Apart from this, it is also found that various private agencies are benefitting enormously from the allocated coal blocks. At regional level, coal mining set to provide as a driving force of a successful capitalist development process. On the one hand the national development plans trying to attract the private investment in mining and on the other hand trying to get prosperity for all. However, the coal mining industry of Eastern India provides a clear example to show that everyone is not getting the share of the pie. There found both gainers and losers. According to Kyla Sankey, 'particular development models emerge at particular places and times not as technical issues of management or governance, but rather as a result of socio-political power configurations and struggles between different classes and sectors'²⁷⁶.

5.1.1. The Transition

After the steps initiated by the Government towards nationalisation of coal industry in 1973, a crisis of low productivity and high production cost in the last two decades of twentieth century pushed the Indian government to adopt new policies in mining. Over the ten years time period, from 1985 until 1995, largely, as a result of the influence of the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF), over 90 countries either adopted new mining codes or revised existing ones in an effort to promote private investment (both domestic and foreign) in their minerals sectors.²⁷⁷ According to Jasper Abembia Ayelazuno, the mining sectors are one of the principal targets of the structural adjustment programme (SAP) introduced by WB and IMF.²⁷⁸ India is not an exception. In the regional context of eastern India, coal is clearly a natural resource with its own structural and material significance and the changing mineral

²⁷⁶ Kyla Samkey, "Colombia: The Mining Boom: A Catalyst of Development or Resistance?" in *The New Extractivism: A Post-Neoliberal Development Model or Imperialism of the Twenty-First Century?* Eds. James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer (London: Zed Books, 2014).

²⁷⁷ W. Holden, K. Nadeau, and R. D. Jacobson, "Exemplifying accumulation by dispossession: mining and indigenous peoples in the Philippines", *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 93 No. 2(2011), 141–161.

²⁷⁸ Jasper Abembia Ayelazuno, "The 'new extractivism' in Ghana: A critical review of its development prospects." *The Extractive Industries and Society* (2014), 4. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2014.04.008>.

policy of 1994 in India enable the private mining corporations to locate and extract resources in those regions where there is huge reserve of mineral is a clear illustration of accumulation by dispossession. As noted by Levien, ‘economic liberalisation has unleashed a mineral rush across central and eastern India’²⁷⁹. This coal mining belt is continuously expanding as the outsiders (capitalist) have taken away the land and capitalised the mineral resource in the global market economy. India’s privatisation programme requires to be seen as part of the government’s strategy for capital accumulation and growth. One of the core neoliberal policies for this region has been encourage private investors in the extractive industries (coal mining).

As it is found in the last chapter (chapter 3), public sector mining company Coal India Limited was the one that predominantly acquired land for mineral extraction since 1973 to 1994 till the new mineral policy got introduced. After 1994, the nationalised mining industry of India become liberalised and started to lease out land to the private companies for the extraction of coal resources. It not only allowed private investment for extraction of coal resources from mines but also processing of it. After subsequent changes between 1997 and 2000, foreign private equity investments of up to 100 per cent were granted automatic approval. Other few changes were also noticed in terms of substantial reduction in royalties and dead rent,²⁸⁰ relaxation in export restrictions and decontrol of pricing regime. On the other hand, from the very beginning of the 21st century, the mineral prices also increased due to the increasing demand of coal in construction sector both in India and other neighbouring countries like- China, etc. As a result of the increasing demand of the minerals, the state government was keen on signing Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) with the private companies. The mineral bearing states were quite ahead in this respect²⁸¹.

- ***From productive accumulation to speculative accumulation***

²⁷⁹ Michael Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India” (PhD Dissertaton, UC Berkley, 2013), 58.

²⁸⁰ Dead rent is the rent fixed for mines without considering the fact whether the mine is profitable or not. It is mostly fixed in a mineral lease.

²⁸¹ Souparna Lahiri, “Extractive Industries on a Rampage: Consequences of a Liberalised Mining Sector,” *Revolutionary Democracy* 9, No. 1 (2003) <http://www.revolutionarydemocracy.org/rdv9n1/extractive.htm>. (Accessed on 5th July, 2017 at 6.52 pm).

The preceding chapter (chapter 4) revealed that the accumulation that resulted during the post-colonial period in the public sector mining benefitted a section of industrial capitalists; however the same had a beneficial spillover effect for the public. On the other hand, the neoliberal period is characterised by accumulation of land for both productive and speculative purposes, without giving even fringe benefits to the public. The mining sector is accessible to the private investors in two ways:

(a) the private miners lease in mines for the purpose of excavation, extraction and processing, and

(b) the private sectors are allowed to mine coal (captive coal mines) for its own use, like- power generation, steel, cement and sponge iron production, etc.²⁸²

This section examines how the process of speculative accumulation works in the extractive industries in the post-liberalisation period in India? The reports of India's national audit agency (the Comptroller and Auditor General) have played a major role in explaining the speculative accumulation in work.

The process of private investment in coal mining is a gradual process. Before the economic reforms, Coal India Limited (CIL) a public sector firm had the monopoly over coal production, as per the Coal Mines (Nationalisation) Amendment Act, 1973. In order to enable and ease the entry of the private investors in mining sector, the Act was amended in 1993. The justification for permitting the private investors to enter the coal sector was that efficiency in coal production would come from vertical integration between public and private sector. In July 1992, the Ministry of Coal issued few instructions for the screening committee²⁸³ that will screen the applications received for captive coal mining by various private companies. The applications of the contending firms evaluated through a bureaucratic mechanism. The applications placed before the screening committee were expected to evaluate based on the following quantitative and qualitative criteria²⁸⁴:

²⁸² As the parliament recognised the fact that public sector coal mines are unable to fulfill the huge demand of coal, few private companies are allowed to hold coal leases. [1976: Captive mines owned by iron and steel companies, 1993: captive coal mines owned by power generation companies and 2007: captive mining for gasification and liquid fraction.] <https://www.slideshare.net/poojachakraborty17/coal-gate>. (Accessed on 19/06/2016 at 7.03am).

²⁸³ Chiranjib Sen, "Curbing Crony Capitalism in India", Working Paper No. 5, (Bengaluru: Azim Premji University, 2017), 30.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 30.

Table 5.1: List of allocated coal blocks in West Bengal (till 31.3.2014)

Sl. No.	Block name	No. of block	State	Geological Reserve (In million tonnes) Prov.	Date of Allotment	Allotment year		PSU/Pvt	Sector of Allotment
1	Sarshathali	1	WB	171.8	10.08.93	1993	RPG Industries/ CESE Ltd.	Pvt	Power
2	Tara (East)	1	WB	100	14.07.95	1995	WBSEB	PSU (S)	Power
3	Tara (West)	1	WB	100	14.04.96	1996	WBPDC	PSU (S)	Power
4	Gangaram Chak and Gangaramchak Bhadulia	2	WB	13.68	23.06.03	2003	WBPDC	PSU (S)	Power
5	Barjora	1	WB	3	23.06.04	2003	WBPDC	PSU (S)	Power
6	Trans Damodar	1	WB	51.73	14.01.05	2005	WBMDTC	PSU (S)	Commercial
7	Barjora (North)	1	WB	85.49	03.03.05	2005	DVC	PSU (C)	Power
8	Khagra Joydev	1	WB	196	03.03.06	2005	DVC	PSU (C)	Power
9	Ichhapur	1	WB	735.77	02.08.06	2006	WBMDTC	PSU (S)	Commercial
10	Kulti	1	WB	210	02.08.07	2006	WBMDTC	PSU (S)	Commercial
11	Jaganathpur A	1	WB	267.33	25.07.07	2007	WBMDTC	PSU (S)	Commercial
12	Jaganathpur B	1	WB	169.57	25.07.08	2007	WBMDTC	PSU (S)	Commercial
13	Sitampur	1	WB	209.4	27.12.07	2007	WBMDTC	PSU (S)	Commercial
14	Ardhagram	1	WB	109.6	06.12.07	2007	Sova Ispat Limited, Jai Balaji Sponge Limited	Pvt	Sponge Iron
15	Andal East	1	WB	506	03.07.09	2009	Bhusan Steel Limited, Jai Balaji Industries Limited, Rashna Cement Limited	Pvt	Sponge Iron

Source: Coal Directory of India, Ministry of Coal, 2013-2014

- Techno-economic viability of the project
- Past records of the company in executing the projects
- Financial and technical capabilities of the private investor and
- Recommendations from relevant state governments and ministries.

However, the allotment criteria were opaque as well as subjective in few cases. The evaluation criteria have been faded away as the time progress. As a result of it a number of private investors obtained valuable coal blocks at a very nominal price. In this way, a private sector interest group was created as a constituency for future privatisation. This subjective process had a considerable component of discretionary decision making.

It is this group that forms the basis for cronyism, when the size of potential rents increases sharply. However, the Ministry initially allocated coal mining block through a set of rational and objective selection criteria. This system was further decomposed by the crony capitalists. The interested private companies in various ways were putting pressure to the screening committee. The beneficiaries of this process include around 100 private companies and a few public sector units. Table 5.1 shows the List of allocated coal blocks in West Bengal till 31.3.2014 to various private and public sector companies for the purpose of power generation and for commercial purposes.

As a result of this unscientific process the government of India had to face huge losses to revenues, i.e. 1.86 lakh crores, on the other hand the private companies started making profit of it. Table 5.1 shows the allotted coal block of West Bengal since 1993 to 2014 to the public and private sectors. Further the incidence of auction of the coal blocks after the coal scam reveals the actual profitability from these coal blocks. A news article published in ‘Economic Times’ reported that power, coal renewable energy and mines minister Piyush Goyal in an interview stated that till may 31st, 2015 74 coal mines are allocated under the provisions of Coal Mines (Special Provision) Act, 2015 and it has derived around Rs 2237 crore (excluding royalty, cess and taxes)²⁸⁵. It is the proof that

²⁸⁵ Sarita Singh, “Coal auctions generated Rs 2,237 crore revenue: Piyush Goyal”, ET BUREAU July 25, 2016. (Accessed on September 20, 2016 at 7.58 pm).
http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/53380719.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst

how the assessed value of the coal blocks was less than its actual value. The accumulation of public land for coal mines was possible even more cheaply through administrative fiat and also created huge opportunities for arbitrage.

Table 5.2: Details of second round auction of Sarishatali coal block of West Bengal

Who own	CESC
Bid price	Rs. 470 per tonne
Other Bidders	Adani power, GMR Chattishgarh Energy, Haldia Energy and Sheesham Commercial

Source: Sambit Saha, “CESC retains Sarisatolli,” *The Telegraph* (February 16, 2015).

https://www.telegraphindia.com/1150216/jsp/business/story_3556.jsp.

In a news article published in ‘The Telegraph’ it is reported that ‘the reverse auction started at Rs 100 a ton, which means bidders were ready to forego the entire cost of lifting the coal and instead, willing to pay for it’²⁸⁶ (Table 5.2). That means the private investors are getting enormous amount of profit from these coal blocks and therefore they are willing to pay such huge amount. The ratio between arbitrarily low cost of the allotted coal blocks and its ultimate market appreciation is termed by Levien as the “rate of accumulation by dispossession”²⁸⁷.

To sum up, it can be said that the neoliberal period that started in 1991, has a huge demand for space to invest the surplus capital, and under such circumstances accumulation of land for the purpose of resource extraction is good enough to explain what David Harvey described as “accumulation by dispossession.” The CIL has further lost its monopoly position when some firms got the approval of importing coal. The changes in the level of policies started showing the resemblance with the global policies. Basically, the policy shift was from developmental oriented to market oriented.

5.1.2. New extractivism and the role of the state

²⁸⁶ Sambit Saha, “CESC retains Sarisatolli,” *The Telegraph* (February 16, 2015). https://www.telegraphindia.com/1150216/jsp/business/story_3556.jsp. (Accessed on July 5, 2016 at 7.07 am).

²⁸⁷ Michael Levien. 63.

With the implementation of SAP state has changed their role and playing the roles of mediator²⁸⁸. State monopoly over public sector mining has largely reduced. The contemporary process of privatised mineral extraction is the instance of “enclave capitalism”.

However India is promoting private investment in mining sector, but the major barrier for the private investors lied with the rural land market. A number of literature are of the view that in the under developed regions of Asia the accumulation of land is seen as the customary form of wealth accumulation.²⁸⁹ Land is the physical place where both production and accumulation of capital takes place. The rural land market of India is largely controlled by the small scale land holdings. From the view point of mining sectors, the problem is that open cast mining requires large tract of land for the purpose of production and small landholding means large number of owners. But in case of mining, mines simply cannot locate in such location wherever it found willing sellers of land. The problem is that land is such a resource, which does not have fixed value and can be valued in number of ways. Therefore, it is really difficult to consolidate land for extractive purposes and hence, the state involvement becomes necessary for the purpose of land accumulation. State takes the form of land broker in the neoliberal period. Levien claims that:

“The incentive to transform state governments into land brokers does not arise merely from the sincere motivations of politicians and bureaucrats to “bring development” to their states nor from the need for government revenue. It also arises from the lucrative opportunities for illicit rents that a deepening state role in land dispossession makes possible”²⁹⁰.

²⁸⁸ Prabhat Patnaik, “The state under Neo-Liberalism,” *MacroScan* (30th October, 2006). V. P. Chintan Memorial Lecture, Vice-Chairman, State Planning Board, Govt. of Kerala, University of Calicut. Also see MR Online 2010. <https://mronline.org/2010/08/10/the-state-under-neo-liberalism/>.

²⁸⁹ Robert Solo, “The Accumulation of Wealth in the Form of Land-Ownership in Underdeveloped Areas,” *Land Economics* 31, No. 2 (1955), 156-160.

²⁹⁰ Michael Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India” (PhD Dissertation, UC Berkeley, 2013), 65.

It is important to mention here that accumulation of land holdings are equivalent to accumulation of industrial capital²⁹¹. ‘Capitalisation on land is therefore the most important means of original capital accumulation’²⁹².

5.1.2.1. Dispossession by power

The state not only allots the coal blocks to the private companies but also help these companies to accumulate land required for open cast mining with its sovereign power (like-law). Therefore, dispossession in the mining region may take legal forms either directly by the implication of multiple laws that removes the rights of the local communities to their land and also to the common property resources or indirectly by asymmetries of knowledge, legal protection, political influences and access to information allow the state and private corporations to appropriate land and resources.

(i) Multiple laws of land acquisition (accumulation) for mining: the sovereign power

Guha mentions that, the policies are very dynamic in nature and change very quickly within a short time interval.²⁹³ Today the land acquisition and therefore displacement (physical dispossession) in the coal mining areas is governed mostly by the Coal Bearing Area (CBA) Act of 1957 (applicable to all the states other than Jammu and Kashmir). Under the provision of the CBA Act²⁹⁴ land is taken away by government from the tribal and non-tribal population and handed over to the private companies for the activities, like- excavation, haulage, drilling, blasting and ancillary activities. This Act does not need any consent of the land owners and users before acquiring the land. Private property rights in this case are unable to provide any protection. The issues of tribal rights

²⁹¹ Ibid., 156.

²⁹² George C.S. Lin, “Scaling up Regional Development in Globalising China: Local Capital Accumulation, Land Centred Politics and Reproduction of Space”, *Regional Studies (Local and Regional Development in Asia)* 43, Issue 3 (2009), 429-447.

²⁹³ Abhijeet Guha, “Dispossession of Peasants from Agricultural Land in Medinipur: A Need for Radical Changes in the Policy of the Govt. of West Bengal,” Conference on *Livelihoods and Poverty Reduction: Lessons from Eastern India*. 25-27th September, 2011. http://www.anthrobase.com/Txt/G/Guha_A_01.htm. (Accessed on 10th July, 2016).

²⁹⁴ CBA Act, Government of India, 1957.

have received very little attention in the policy formulation. Tribal rights to property are merely a legal right under article 300 of Indian Constitution, and not a fundamental right, where state can acquire their property with just compensation for displacing them by the authority of law. There are very few laws that can protect tribal land rights. Legislations like- West Bengal Land Reform Act, SC and ST protection acts, Forest Conservation Acts are there to prevent tribal rights on their land and livelihoods but unable to do so finally because of poor implementation.²⁹⁵ Tribals are losing the constitutional rights after physically dispossessed. Regardless of legislative protection provided by Indian constitution large scale land acquisition and tribal dispossession is quite evident.

Under eminent domain, the government is the owner of all the natural resources found in air, water and land. In that sense, the land underneath which valuable mineral resources are found by virtue of the Indian law that belongs to the government. The rule framed under the Mining and Minerals (Regulation and Development) Act, 1957, key law on mining. This law however contradicts the West Bengal Land Reform Act, 1955 which protects the land rights of the tribals by restricting the transfer of land rights to the non-tribals. Basically, CBA Act has its supremacy when implementation process is concerned. Before physical dispossession, the tribals enjoy a unique set of constitutional rights and privileges, which would no longer be available, once they are uprooted. The existing laws are the legal mechanism may lead to various forms of dispossession. Multiple laws together also deliberate confusion in government discourse. Coal mining and its ancillary developments have profoundly transformed the socio-political and economic landscape of the industrial complex of eastern India. Harvey considers land expropriation as a mechanism of capital accumulation.²⁹⁶

(ii) Governmentality and its failure

From Foucauldian perspective, neoliberal governmentality is a particular form of post-welfare state politics in which the state is not viewed as the sole actor but an

²⁹⁵ Felix Pedal and Samarendra Das, *Out of this Earth: East India Avivasis and the Aluminium Cartel* (New Delhi: Orient Black Swan, 2010).

²⁹⁶ Julia Chuang, "Urbanization through dispossession: survival and stratification in China's new townships," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 42, No. 2 (2015), 276.

assemblage of diverse elements, practices, and ways of thinking coming together to both frame and resolve problems for ensuring the wellbeing of the population. The dispossession by legal institution often results from government's failure to protect the rights of the local communities. The formulation of contemporary policies on Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) is the outcome of a complex process of interaction between the integrated state and corporate interest and different stakeholders of the society. These are the interplay of varying ideologies and interests. In recent years CIL has become more conscious about the unrest and protest over land acquisition and displacement, one of the main issues of Indian politics and therefore has brought several changes in their R & R policies. Pedal and Das observed, for instance, that most of the R & R policies do not assess the economic value of the traditional tribal houses.²⁹⁷ CIL has its own R & R policy, where special attention has provided to the tribals. At the same time, it is not very easy to practice in reality. According to the testimonies of the villagers, sometimes the government officials give less information or misinformation during their meeting and over publicising about the facilities provided to the project affected population through Resettlement and rehabilitation scheme. Most of the time villager's opinions do not take into consideration and even they get threats that if they don't accept the compensation, will be the ultimate losers. The government officials promised the villages to provide with good R&R package, as a part of which they will get all the facilities that were available in the previous villages and can get even more and also tried to convince the villagers that they will not have problems of blasting as is the case now since they are residing close proximity to the quarry area. It can be state that, apart from the multiple laws; dispossessed communities are often caught by the faulty R & R policies and its intricate implementation procedure.

On the one hand, the private investors are acquiring the coal blocks from the government at a very low price; and on the other hand compensate the owner and the user of the land at a very cheap rate. These leave a huge gap between the cost of acquired land and its actual as well as potential market value due to the huge reserve of coal underneath

²⁹⁷ Felix Pedal and Samarendra Das, *Out of this Earth: East India Avivasis and the Aluminium Cartel* (New Delhi: Orient Black Swan, 2010).

the land, creating enormous scope for arbitrage. As a result of it the “rate of accumulation” by dispossession increases for the private investors.

To sum up, the new government is eager on further reforms of the coal sector. Their policies are opening new avenues for the private investors. Though, the Modi government claimed that the purpose of the new Ordinance and the subsequent Bill is to ensure that there is no deficiency of coal and power in the country owing to the cancellation of allocation of coal blocks, however their real aim is to throw open coal mining to big Indian and foreign capitalists which was reserved only for the public sector companies after the nationalisation of coal mines in 1973.

In this context, the government trying to amend the Coal Mines Nationalisation (CMN) Act of 1973 and the Mines and Minerals Development and Regulation (MMDR) Act of 1957 so that Indian and foreign capitalists and their companies could use coal for their own use as well as sell it to others and generate revenue. This is an attempt towards “disinvestment in Coal India and denationalisation of coal mining”. More precisely to say a process called “accumulation by disinvestment”.

However, in an article of DNA India it has been reported by MoC that “there is no intention for denationalisation of CIL. The present and future interest of CIL employees will not be affected in any manner. CIL will be protected and there need be no apprehension about its ownership or management going into private hands,” Coal and Power Minister Piyush Goyal, after an over six-hour-long marathon meeting with the trade union leaders stated that “Eastern region will specially benefit where these coal mines are located. We have considered welfare provisions regarding workers, their security, housing and other aspects.”²⁹⁸

The privatisation of coal sector in near future will be practiced in two ways:

(a) in the name of Private Public Partnership, the shares of Coal India will be sold gradually to the big capitalists, and

²⁹⁸ DNA, “Coal Strike Ends; Government assures Coal India Ltd won’t be Privatised”, Daily News and Analysis 8 January, 2015. <http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-coal-strike-ends-government-assures-coal-india-ltd-won-t-be-privatised-2050705>. (Accessed on 17th October, 2016 at 8.10 pm).

(b) On the other hand, earlier the private companies were allowed to mine coal for its own use and now with the new 2014 Bill it will be allowed to mine for its own use and as well as to sell to others.²⁹⁹

5.1.3. Scale of Land Accumulation for extractivism

Previous section has already discussed that the expanded scale of dispossession for mining activities in the neoliberal period by state intervention. However, there is hardly any source that provides concrete time series data on land dispossession for open cast mining activities. The only option is left to collect data on company basis where it is available. From the annual reports of ECL, CIL and MoC it was only possible to collect data on the total amount of land acquired for the purpose of open cast mining by ECL till 2015-2016. The collected data requires further interpretation. Land accumulation for open cast mining requires time.

Company-wise Status of Land Acquisition by Coal India Limited (CIL) and its Subsidiaries in India up to June 2007 (Area in Hectares) is given below (Table 5.3):

Table 5.3: Status of Land Acquisition by Eastern Coalfields Limited

Company	Total land acquired	Total tenancy land acquired	Tenancy land in possession
ECL	13093	12022	9145

Source: Ministry of Coal.

The rapid and large movement of foreign capitals taking control over huge tracts of land by either outright purchase or by long-term leases and removal of peasant farmers from the land.

Table 5.4 : The Status of land acquisition (in Hectares) (Mode wise) [2008-09 to 2015-16]

Mode of Acquisition	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
Transfer of Govt. land	3.54	0.00	53.39	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.10	34.78
Direct Purchase of Tenancy land	11.06	13.37	9.96	1.53	0.62	125.52	118.03	273.47
L.A. Act	17.49	0.00	0.00	95.12	38.49	0.00	0.00	0.00

²⁹⁹ Vivek, "Privatisation of Coal Mining", CGPI.org. <http://www.cgpi.org/mel/struggle-rights/3831-privatisation-coal-mining>. (Accessed on 15th October, 2016 at 11.34 am).

CBA Act	599.46	0.00	1199.49	0.00	0.00	233.56	92.67	249.70
Total	631.55	13.37	1262.85	96.65	39.11	359.08	222.80	557.95

Source: Annual Report, Eastern Coalfields Limited (2008-09 to 2015-16)

There is no controversy that the scale of forcible land accumulation has increased in the neoliberal period due to extractive activities. However, the data shows that amount of land accumulation are not same in every year. Lower amount of land accumulation does not mean lower demand for coal resources. The amount of land accumulation could be low for some years because of the supply side barrier.

5.2. Injustice of Neoextractivism

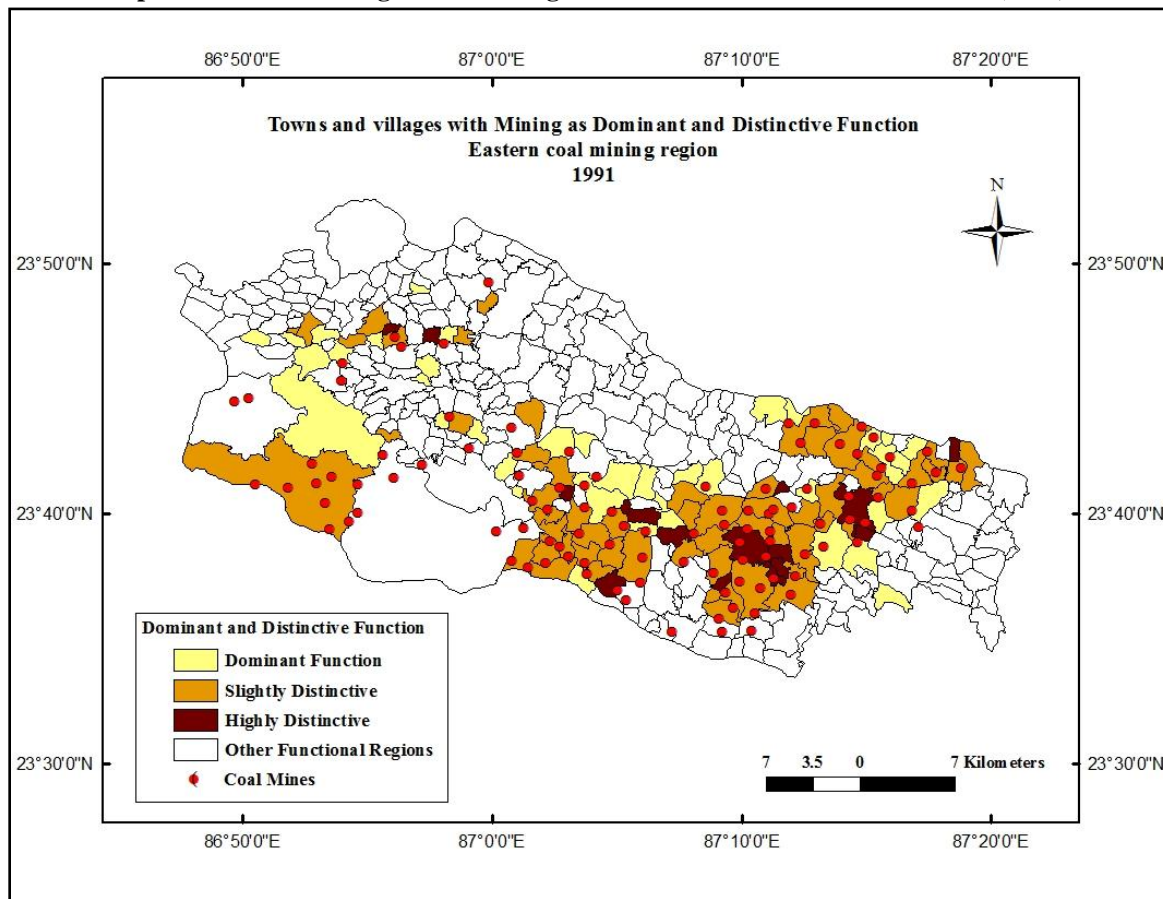
Intertwined with the emergence of neoextractivism are various injustices wrought on peasants, and artisanal and small scale miners.

5.2.1. Economic and social dislocation of artisanal and small scale miners (Labour devaluation)

The Eastern coal mining is overwhelmingly a natural resource based region. Hence, the economic orientation of this region is also solely based on the natural resource, i.e. coal resource. This gives the region the identity of a single industry region. The identity of Eastern coal mining region as a single industry region can be possible to explain by using the industrial workforce data provided by the Census of India.

Map 5.1 is showing the spatial location of coal mines and the villages and towns with mining as dominant and distinctive function. It is evident from the above map that, mining is the dominant function of those regions generally where the physical existence of coal are prominent. It has already been mentioned that coal is a natural resource and is not transferable from one place to another. Therefore, in the coal bearing region mining has emerged out as the prime economic function of the region.

Map 5.1: Town and villages with Mining as Dominant and Distinctive function (1991)



Source: Constructed by the researcher

The coal mining industry has undergone a radical change in last three decades. In order to keep pace with the global economic development public sectors have restructured their production process followed by disaggregation and fragmentation of labour force. Now the industry has become more capital intensive, and its dependence on mechanisation and technology means that there are relatively few employment opportunities for workers (miners) from rural areas who do not have the necessary technical skills. Higher wages in the extractive sector of the economy makes other forms of labour-at lower wages-less attractive to potential workers, and it may even produce negative incentives for participation in subsistence production, which becomes viewed as hard work in return for comparatively low returns. Essentially, the process of mechanisation followed by reduction of workforce, casualisation, contractualisation and specialisation, more precisely to say the simultaneous use of both organised and unorganised labourers for production. Mining projects also increase awareness of the

opportunities and freedoms associated with modernity, even though access to its promises remains limited (Ross 1999; Ferguson 1999). Because of the reliance on a predominantly male workforce, mining communities are often beset by drinking, gambling, and few other activities, which lead to increased exposure to illegal activities. In other words, the process of separation of workers from their means of production is still continuing. While the workers with their socio-political power try to restrict their working hours, capitalists introduce machineries as a counter element against the working class. It tries to bring the labourers in a new form, namely informal workers, contractual workers, etc. As Samaddar, Sen and Mitra mentions the human factor of production and their separation from the means of production is always present there.³⁰⁰

- ***Formation of informal proletariats***

This section finally gives a broad overview of political economic history of Raniganj mining region that produces the unequal geography of contemporary region. It has been found out that multiple processes of dispossession have combined to produce a different kind of proletariat. They are marginalised, surplused and also excluded from the formal jobs in the mining and other manufacturing sectors of the region. As a matter of the fact they are largely part of the informal economy. These kinds of dispossession are function of the restructuring of economy, neoliberal adjustment policies and technological accumulation in the industries. These dynamic processes can be characterised as processes of accumulation by neoliberal dispossession. The local labourers cannot be with the larger formal labour markets.

- ***Expropriation of the indigenous people***

The state has expropriated a huge amount of Adivasi land for extraction of coal resources and now mostly available for the private companies involve in this activities. As a result of it the tribals have been separated from their traditional means of production and absorbed into the market economy. It is also true that tribals found themselves in a disadvantageous position in the market economy.

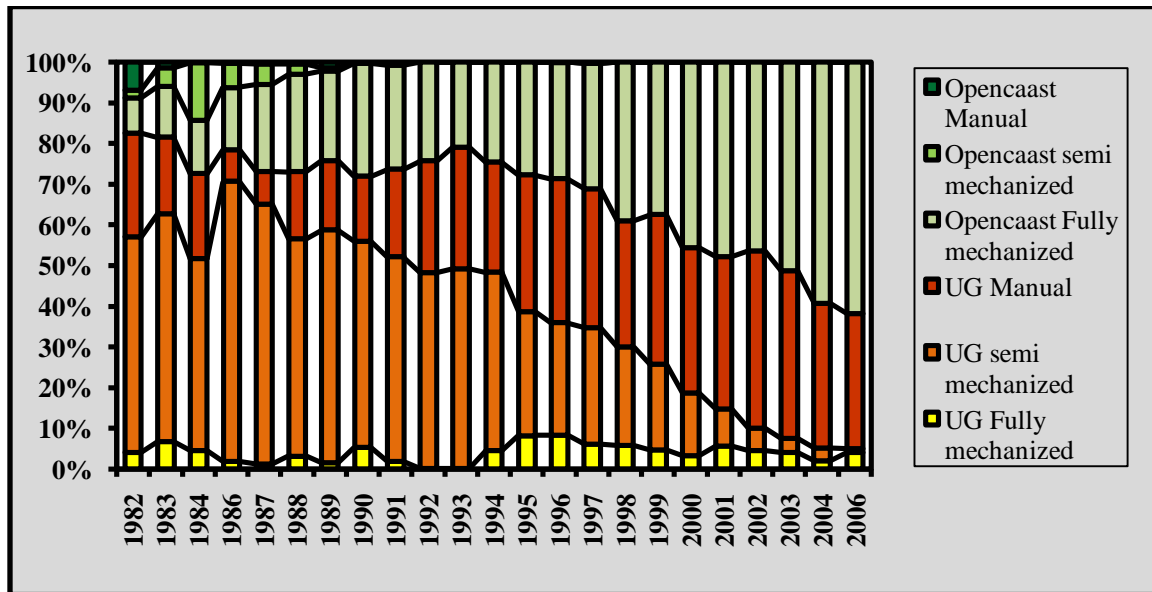
³⁰⁰ Iman Kumar Mitra, Ranabir Samaddar and Samita Sen, *Accumulation in Post-colonial Capitalism* (Singapore: Springer, 2017),

- **Contractualisation and casualisation**

There has been a general trend towards contractualisation and casualisation among different organisation in the post globalisation period. The contractors essentially employ the daily wage labourers on daily wage basis based on the logic that in the present scenario of market based economy and to keep pace with the global competition employers require operational flexibility in order to deal efficiently with the changing conditions of the market and technology. In that particular sense, casual workers consist of a group of people to be drawn on by the employers whenever they required and dispensed when they are not.

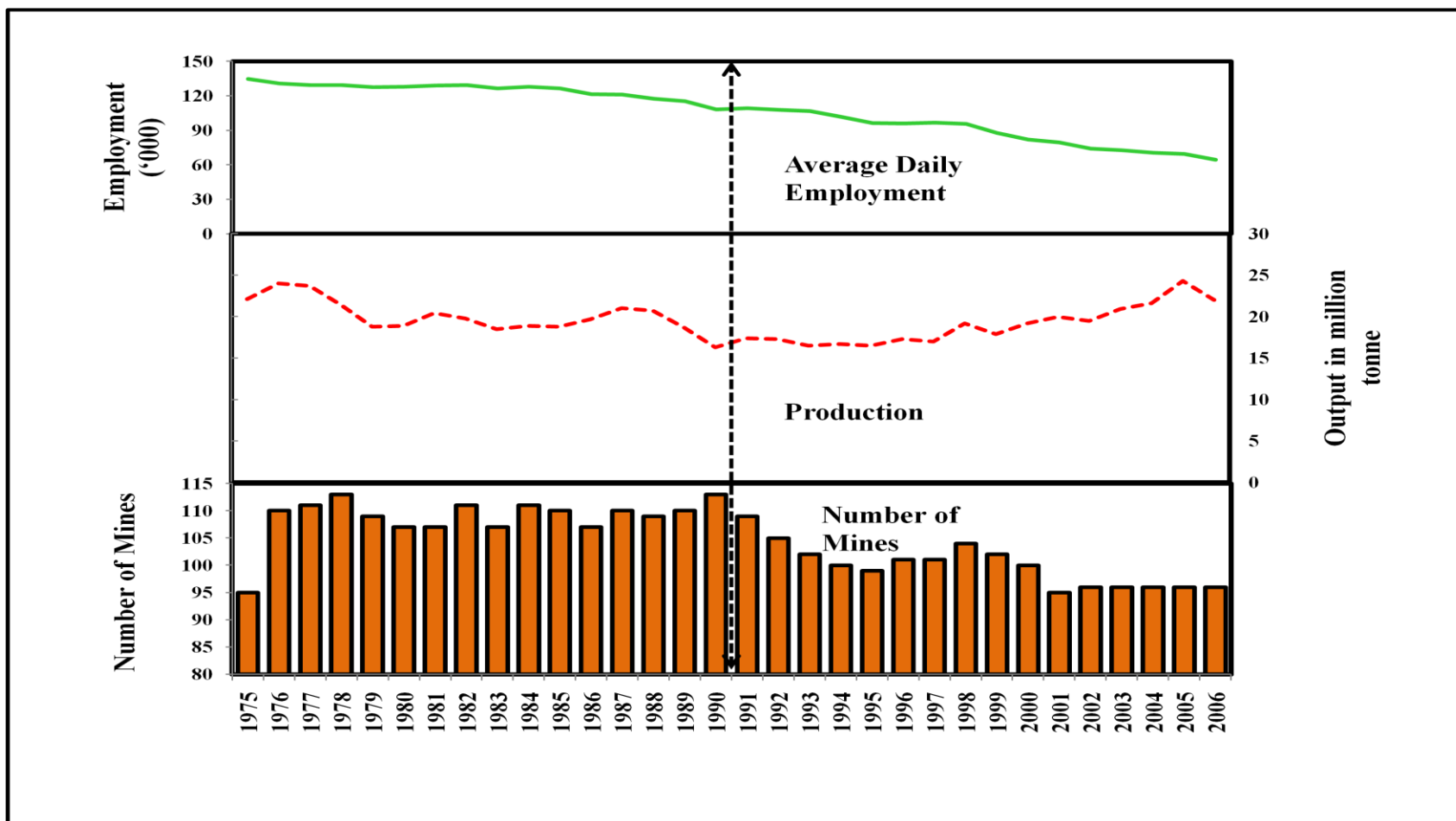
Structural adjustment has contributed to growing inequalities in the coal-steel industrial complex as a result of the reduction of expenditure of public sector and formal private sector workers leading to mass unemployment and informalisation.

Chart 5.1: Changes in the methods of coal Production (1982 – 2006)



Source: Statistics of Mines in India, Vol. – I, Directorate General of Mines Safety (DGMS), Ministry of labour and employment.

Chart 5.2: Major changes in employment, production and number of mines in Easter coal mining region (comes under Barddhaman District) after Nationalisation of Coal mines.



Source: Statistics of Mines in India, Vol. – I, Directorate General of Mines Safety (DGMS), Ministry of labour and employment.

The restructuring of India's public sector Coal industry during the last two decades is a noteworthy incident. In Raniganj Coal Mining region, the installation of open cast mines has dispossessed thousands of people (especially tribals) from their lands. Essentially the public sector undertaking has curtailed its development ambitions to mitigate the increasing domestic needs and public sector industrialisation by reducing production cost, replacing employment provisions with profit-making, which deprived thousands of people access to public sector employment and cause to be surplus of labor-power in this region. The open cast mines are generally recognised as high levels of productivity in comparison to the Under Ground mines (for details, see Chart 5.2). This would be an instance of Harvey's Accumulation by Dispossession.

For instance, in the financial year 2013-2014 the target of coal production using advanced technology was set by ECL for Sonepur Bazari project was 25 Lakh tons. However, the actual production exceeds the target limit and it had produced around 36 lakh tons of coal. More important fact is that the profit the company gained was around 13000 crore rupees.³⁰¹

On the other hand, Bin's point of departure from Harvey's ABD stems from his recognition that this type of dispossession by no means brings about all the conditions needed for capital expansion:

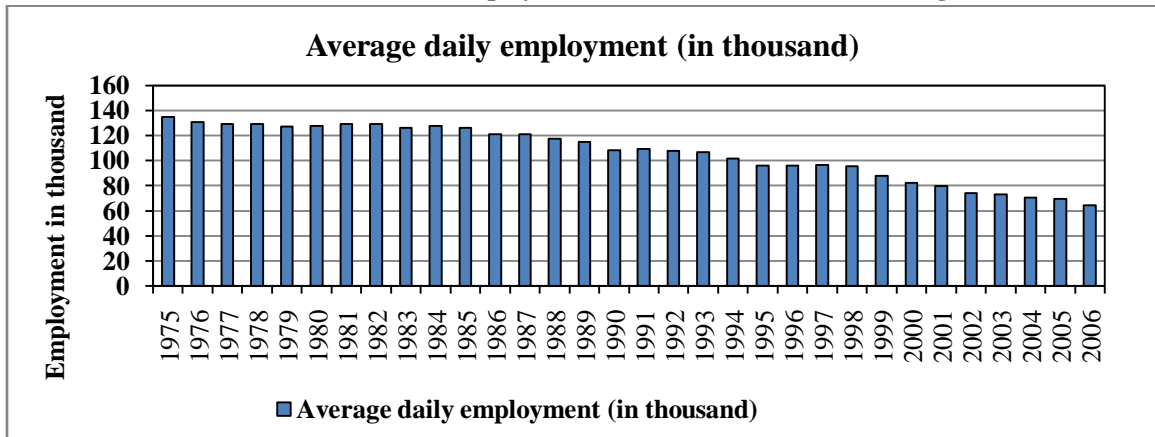
- *First*, there was no proletarianisation, since the workers who were pushed out of their jobs into the reserve army were already proletarians, it being irrelevant that they were employed by a state-owned company.
- Also, they were not thrown into capitalist relations by any dispossession of their own means of subsistence that would have otherwise been converted into capital.

Bin argues that both these movements – proletarianisation and capitalisation – did happen with dispossessions of tribal people from their land. The curtailment of state-led development and employment provision efforts and their substitution by profit-making efforts is more of a normal movement of capitalist accumulation proper.

³⁰¹ Annual Report, ECL, 2013-2014.

The gradual reduction of labour force from various mining sectors of this region is given below:

Chart 5.3: Reduction in employment in the coal mines of West Bengal



Source: Statistics of Mines in India, Vol. – I, Directorate General of Mines Safety (DGMS), Ministry of labour and employment

The Annual Reports published by Eastern Coalfields Limited shows increase in coal production from OCPs. It is not difficult to differentiate the role of mechanisation contributing to the increasing productivity of coal. While, Swapna Banerjee-Guha states that:

‘negative correlation between an increase in production and a decrease in organised workers has distorted the very concept of labour productivity and created a new labour divide in which the concept of a labour aristocracy has been diluted by the expendability of labour.’³⁰²

5.2.2. Gender oppression

It has already mentioned that Eastern coal mining region is a single industry region. Therefore a large proportion of the work force is involved in this industry. Thus to understand the gendered component of the labour market (an important factor to determine regional development) it is very necessary to look into the gendered nature of the coal mining industry. The main function of the industry is to excavate the coal

³⁰² Swapna Banerjee Guha. “Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36:2 (2013), 167.

resource embedded in the ground, which is largely a manual work. The work in mines always considered as dangerous, dirty, risky and hazardous.

It is also evident that, a large pool of the labour force on which the production of the industry are dependent, is exclusively male. Though, presently mining operation is not solely based on manual labourers, it became highly mechanised in the process of development, yet it is found that, at every stages of the hierarchy the production process is highly dominated by the masculine labour force.

Thus, it is very clear that the industry does not only control the gendered nature of the industry itself, but the entire region too. For instance, when the sole area of work generation is coal industry and which is highly masculine in nature then it is expected that the scope of participation in economic activity will also decrease. From the above discussion some inferences can be drawn:

With few exceptions, women are not offered employment by mining companies under land loser scheme and it is widely believed that there is an “unwritten rule” to reserve jobs for men. This is further compounded by the fact that there are very households in which women own land of their own, therefore they are also not eligible to get cash compensation and later research showed that women often have little information about the sums and even less control over its expenditure. On the other hand, mining activities also reduce the scope of involving in agricultural activities due to the problem of land degradation. Therefore, it can be conferred that women find them in a disadvantageous position in the mining region in general and in the neoliberal period in particular.

5.2.3. Agrarian transformation and capitalist development (Economic and social dislocation of peasants)

Because of the rising demand for coal, the market price of coal has risen substantially. The price at which CIL sold coal was now much higher than the cost of production, i.e. the quantum of rent being captured by the private producer who had been allotted the mine blocks was high. In view of these facts, the Ministry officials recommended a transition to auctioning via competitive bidding as the method for

allocating coal blocks in the future. This would also yield more revenues to the government.

One of the problems is that investment in extractive industry contributes relatively little in the way of multiplier effects to other sectors of the economy or the diversified growth stimulated by other types of investment, such as the development of industry.³⁰³ Ross believes that, “the promise of lucrative returns from resource rents can encumber rational planning and result in the neglect of economic sectors that yield lower revenues but create more jobs, such as agriculture”³⁰⁴. It is important to take into account that the extractive industry not only curtails the employment opportunities in the mining sector, but also affect other sectors of economy. The agricultural sector in the mining region is under threat due to mining activities in two ways:

- (a) Firstly, the geographical expansion of open cast mining captures agricultural land and therefore dispossesses the cultivators and agricultural labourers from their means of production and livelihoods.
- (b) If not taken land directly, open cast mines also dispossesses a section of cultivators from their land by land degradation caused due to the overburden and land pollution. The process of land degradation while decreasing profitability from farming, so that the farmers (especially, small and marginal) are indirectly force to diversify their spaces and forms of employment. From this point of view, the process of land degradation is producing surplus labour.

Table 5.5 presents the data regarding changes in the industrial distribution of occupation in the Eastern coal mining region for the period 1971 to 2011. Changes in occupational structure over various census years would be used as a proxy indicator to explain the growth of various occupational groups in the labour force for various generations. One difficulty of working with census data is that it is not possible to use data on occupational structural change for village level studies after 1991. This is because

³⁰³ Michael L. Ross, “The Political Economy of the Resource Curse”, *World Politics* 51 (1999), 297-322.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 297-322.

the Census of India has stopped publishing data on nine or fourteen fold industrial classification of occupation beyond the district level after 1991.

This region is experiencing a dominance of three groups of economically active population over the economic landscape, i.e. agricultural labourers³⁰⁵, cultivators³⁰⁶ and miners³⁰⁷.

Table 5.5: Changes in the occupational structure in Coal-Steel Industrial Complex of Eastern India (1971 – 2011)

Industrial Categories	1971	1991	2011
1. Cultivator	26.29	19.34	09.41
2. Agricultural Labourer	26.49	22.71	23.91
3. Mining and Quarrying	24.62	28.46	NA
6. Others	22.60	29.49	66.68*

Source: Calculated by the researcher on the basis of data given in Census of India, Primary Census Abstract, 1971, 1991 and 2011.

Note: Figures in the table are shown in percentage.

**Others including Mining and Quarrying.*

Several observations can be made from the above table:

- The notable reduction had taken place in the percentage share of cultivators to the total working population.
- Though the percentage share of the agricultural labourers has not reduced much, however it is found that around 13.26 per cent people are marginal agricultural labourer among the total working population.

A number of scholar (like-Mishra, Lahiri-Dutt) noted agrarian transition due to mining activities. Essentially, mining has an adverse effect on agricultural sector. In the context of the coal mining region of Eastern India, the majority of government revenue comes from the mining sector, because most of the region's population resides in rural areas and practices subsistence agriculture, paying little or no taxes. Consequently, the region is relying on extractive industries for revenue generation. The interests and

³⁰⁵ Agricultural labourers are those, who do not possess their own land but still involve in the agricultural activities.

³⁰⁶ Cultivators are those who possess their own land and cultivate their own.

³⁰⁷ Miners are those who involve in the mining and associated activities.

appetites may be placed ahead of the needs of citizens. This scenario of economic dispossession by mining is described as ‘Dutch Disease Effect’ by many scholars.

Dependence on resource rents from mining projects may also encourage other forms of rent-seeking behavior, including extortion and violence³⁰⁸. Sometimes this takes the form of exaggerated compensation claims regarding use or damage to land and resources³⁰⁹. Criticism of unrealistic compensation claims has been exploited by the mining industry to discredit landowner concerns about pollution. They argue that landowners affected by mining exaggerate their concerns about the environment to maximize the resource rents paid by mining companies.

5.2.4. Ecological impacts

The resource curse not only causes macroeconomic problems at the level of the state, but it also creates microeconomic problems for the peoples living close proximity to the mines. Even though new mining projects are routinely promoted on the grounds that they will raise local standards of living, in practice, the people living in the catchment areas of these projects end up bearing a disproportionate share of their costs in the form of environmental impacts. Instead of benefiting economically from mining, many of these communities are impoverished by environmental degradation and crisis, an example of “accumulation by dispossession”.

According to Olivia Bennett and Christopher McDowell, mining infrastructure, subsidence, and waste dumps not only captures land (agricultural, forested, and grazing land, etc.) , but there is also often a reduction in the productivity of remaining agricultural land as a result of degradation in the availability of underground water. Coal fires and emissions of poisonous gases like- Methane from the mines and coking ovens cause air pollution, and various effluents pollute local water sources with various poisonous chemicals spilled by the open cast mines, dust from surface mining pollute the air, affecting the health of people and livestock and moreover, mining-explosions and its

³⁰⁸ Michael L. Ross, “The Political Economy of the Resource Curse”, *World Politics* 51 (1999), 297-322.

³⁰⁹ Kirsch Stuart, *Mining Capitalism: The Relationship between Corporations and Their Critic.*, (California: University of California Press, 2014), 18.

vibration crack the walls of their houses; and also develop skin related problems from environmental pollution.³¹⁰ The environmental impacts of large-scale resource extraction projects may also pose a threat to indigenous subsistence practices, a dynamic refer to as “colliding ecologies.” by Kirsch Stuart³¹¹. The annihilation of the landscape has also evoked profound expressions of sorrow and loss from the people living close proximity to the mines.

Drawing upon insights from various literature of political economy, this study identifies a strategy in which capital accumulation is revolved around natural resources (i.e.- land, water, forest, etc.) as a means of revenue generation. David Harvey has explained the concept quiet broadly. On the other hand Michael Levien explained land appropriation for profit generation as a political state driven process. The (re)territorialisation of capital in the coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India involves both the expansion of space of resource extraction in the geologically mineral reserved areas and the transformation of rural landscape.

5.3. Who accumulates?

Since 1994 with the introduction of new mining policy, Indian government has attracted the attention of the capitalists in coal mining.

- On the one hand, a number of capitalists in the aim of gaining more profit overstated their value, on the other hand failed to disclose the information. Their major aim was to price speculation. The reports of India’s national audit agency (the Comptroller and Auditor General) have played a major role in exposing the speculative accumulators related to extractive industries.
- At a regional scale, few local elites may accumulate large sums of financial capital through the sale of illegal collection of coal mines directly or from those who steal and collecting coal. Harriss-White refers them as ‘the intermediate class.’ She further argues that the interest of the intermediate class might not be

³¹⁰ Olivia Bennett and Christopher McDowell, *Displaced: The Human Cost of Development and Resettlement* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 125.

³¹¹ Kirsch Stuart, *Mining Capitalism: The Relationship between Corporations and Their Critic.*, (California: University of California Press, 2014), 18.

the same as dominant proprietary class and therefore it could constitute a distinct political space³¹². This intermediate class is not uniform over space, differs in character from place to place.

With expertise on the rural Indian economy, Harriss-White has also argued that growth in the capitalist system is a poverty-creating process despite attempts to mitigate such impacts through social transfers³¹³. Distancing herself from a purely Marxist reading, Harriss-White accepts that growth can create wealth for the poor, not just the capitalists, and that non-capitalist modes of production can also be poverty-creating.

5.4. Differential sociality, temporality and spatiality

Even in the neoliberal period India continues to follow the development paradigm that encourages less-developed countries to improve their economic standing through natural-resource extraction. The environmental degradation and devastation from the Open Cast projects of Raniganj coal mining areas illustrates the microeconomic version of what Harvey termed as ‘Accumulation by Dispossession’, while Kirsch Stuart as “resource curse”, in which coal mining immiserates the local communities instead of benefitting them economically.

A combination of coal, thermal power and iron-steel industries attract other industries to benefit from the host of facilities. The neoliberal state using the extractive space and urban space as the tool to attract private (both domestic and international) investment and becoming centre for financial production and accumulation. A number of ancillary industries (see Table 5.6) have mushroomed in the Raniganj-Asansol-Durgapur region.

Table 5.6: Ancillarisation of the Industry

Name of the public sector Units	Number of units given Ancillary status
Durgapur Steel Plant	33
Alloy Steel Plant	6
Hindustan Cables Limited	6
Burn Standard Co.	9
Eastern Coalfields Limited	83

Source: Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Brief Industrial Profile of West Bengal, p.-13.

³¹² Barbara Harriss-White, *India Working: Essays on Society and Economy* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 43-71

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 43-71.

Following the liberalisation of Indian economy in 1991, there found a shift towards the tertiary sectors in order to keep pace with the global economy. Production of coal using open cast method and displacement of people is one of the instances of accumulation by dispossession in the coal mining region of eastern India in the neoliberal period. The term ‘crony capitalism’ grew out of flaws in capitalist economy where a few well-connected individuals benefitted immensely due to their connections and affiliation with those in power. The ‘crony capitalists’ flourished through their unfair advantage given to them in core industries like- mining, infrastructure, construction, energy, telecom, defense, etc.³¹⁴

To sum up the discussion it can be said that Capital accumulation is not the reason behind dispossession. Rather dispossession is one of the means of accumulation of capital and wealth generation chosen by various agents or extra-economic forces over the time period to keep pace with the global impulses of capital. Dispossessed assets (land and labour) used as means of accumulation take different forms across time and space for profit generation.

The neoliberal period is essentially characterised by two booms: (a) boom of extractive capital and (b) state led contestations, which are closely linked to each other in a number of ways.

- Firstly, the neoliberal reform of the mining industries and participation of the private investors has paved the ways for the process of accumulation by dispossession: i.e. privatisation of public and common property resources, exploitation of the locals and finally separation of the peasants and indigenous communities from their land and means of production.
- Secondly, a section of rural mafia have raised their power largely and taking the advantage of extractive resource.

Throughout the history of the project, the state has consistently made regulatory decisions that sought to minimise its expenditures and maximise its economic returns as

³¹⁴ Debu C. “Crony Capitalism Index in India.” <http://www.mapsofindia.com/my-india/government/crony-capitalism-index-in-india> (Accessed on 20.06.2016).

both a shareholder in the mine and tax collector. Most of these decisions were made at the expense of people living in the coal mining region.

The incidence of dispossession has even more intensified by the alliance between mafia and the private corporation both from above through structural reforms. Empirical manifestations of differential socialities are evident in case of Coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India.

The core theoretical argument of Marx's labour theory of value is the particular situation of exploitation of workers in capitalism. According to Marx the wage that workers receive is inadequate as per their potential to perform and on the other way is the measure of surplus value and exploitation. It is mentioned by Kaushik Sundar Rajan that absolute surplus value is a theoretical construct and which happens between a single capitalist and a single worker. Rather relative surplus value is accumulated by the interaction of a group of capitalists and a group of workers. Surplus value is that element which is the cause of structural cohesion between a number of capitalists for their collective and larger interest on capital.³¹⁵ According to Marx, the working and the capitalist class are of differential socialities. There found a seamless convergence between the interests of different capitalists, an essential feature of crony capitalism. However, this seamless convergence is missing among the workers. Rather structurally form subject position is make them alienated and also characterised by desperate individuation. According to Kausik Sundar Rajan, money is that factors on the basis of which differential socialities take place among the capitalists and workers. Money is used as wage for the workers, while wage exchanged for labour power has potential for labour over wage considered as surplus. Therefore, money can be clearly considered as capital for the capitalists.³¹⁶

Natural resource is one of the important political forces. Together with the new technologies and other processes of change, natural resource (coal) is transforming the

³¹⁵ Kaushik Sundar Rajan, "Biocapital as an emergent form of life," in *Biosocialities, Genetics and the Social Sciences: Making Biologies and Identities*, eds. Sahra Gibbon, Carlos Novas (New York: Routledge, 2008), 172-174.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 172-174.

economic space and creating various opportunities as well as constraints for the future (upcoming) generations. There is no doubt that modernisation programme has taken the mining region under a new challenges.

As a response to the dispossession, there found the sites of contestations. In this way, extractive capital has both generated and been generated by state-sponsored contestations in Eastern coal mining region of India.

The empirical studies on accumulation by dispossession most of the time only explains the mechanism, scope and effects of dispossession while most of the time could not explain the accumulation part of it. In the present context the most important thing is to ask what contemporary processes of capital accumulation are? More specifically, what kind of accumulation did dispossession make possible during various economic phases and to whom did the capital accumulate?

Chapter 6

Aerotropolis: The New Space for Accumulation and Circulation of Capital in the Coal-Steel Industrial Complex

In the neoliberal period the new towns are the new routes for accumulation of profit. Contemporary studies on urbanisation reveal that rapid suburban growth is one of the important features of India's urbanisation. In a report named 'Urbanisation beyond Municipal boundaries' published by World Bank states that, rural areas at the peripheries of the cities witnessing a major role both in terms of economic growth and employment generation in comparison to the large cities.³¹⁷ Urban Development minister Kamal Nath³¹⁸ in an interview state that India has experienced an unplanned suburban growth.³¹⁹ But recently, the government has considered the issue of planned suburban growth in its new urban plans for development. Especially in the last decade in contrast to the unplanned growth of cities, a new wave of peri-urban development began to unfold by the government characterised by planned multifunctional new towns development. The most important steps in this direction are to reform the land valuation process as an integral part of revenue generation and improvement of transport connectivity between core and peripheries. Banerjee-Guha termed it as 'the making of global economic region.'³²⁰

The unplanned growth of new cities in the peripheries in India attracted the attention of a number of social scientists. This chapter offers important insights into the dynamics of unplanned suburban expansion in India. The scenario of peri-urban growth

³¹⁷"Urbanisation beyond Municipal boundaries", World Development Report, 2013. [ents.worldbank.org/curated/en/373731468268485378/Urbanization-beyond-municipal-boundaries-nurturing-metropolitan-economies-and-connecting-peri-urban-areas-in-India](https://www.worldbank.org/curated/en/373731468268485378/Urbanization-beyond-municipal-boundaries-nurturing-metropolitan-economies-and-connecting-peri-urban-areas-in-India). (Accessed on 25/05/2016 at 5.00 pm).

³¹⁸ Kamal Nath serving as Union Cabinet Minister of Urban Development from 19th January, 2011 onwards.

³¹⁹ Kirthi V.Rao. "Kamal Nath: We intend to future-proof our cities from unplanned chaos", <http://www.livemint.com/Opinion/rs8ELY9taBpiZ9jch6c3fO/Kamal-Nath--We-intend-to-futureproof-our-cities-from-unpla.html> (Accessed on 31/05/2016 at 7.29 pm).

³²⁰ Swapna Banerjee-Guha, "Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, no 2 (2013), 174.

is not only governed by the state, but the restructuring and decentralisation has resulted by the influence of other agents and institutions. Some scholar marked it as market oriented development. Especially after the economic reform in India, capital accumulation by the corporate elite becomes a major driving force for urban expansion. But, under the planned scheme it would be too simple to divide into government led and market oriented urban growth. Moreover, it would be more appropriate to explain under the interaction of both the forces. However, the major objective is to explore whether the contemporary processes of new town development is an outcome of capital accumulation in the neoliberal period or there are some other factors working behind it.

This chapter draws special attention to the forms and processes of peri-urban development as the new space of capital accumulation. Here, the quest is to ‘how the new urban projects express the way forces operating out variety of geographical scales (local, national and global) intersect in the construction of new social, economic and cultural space? Moreover, it is also important to focus on the role of the state. The case study of Andal Aerotropolis of coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India, aims to find out the complex mechanism and the new realities of urban expansion as one of the forms of capital accumulation. It is revealed from the theoretical and empirical studies, that the new urban development projects in the neoliberal period play a critical role as a ‘spatial fix’ in the circuit of capital and its’ circulation. While the state act as an extra economic force through its governmentality and also manipulate the market operation.

The development of new towns is not a uniform phenomenon over space. The process is quite complicated and varies from place to place. The form of peri-urban development in India in general and in West Bengal in particular is not at all similar with the western countries. The new city spaces in Indian context represent a different form of urban development.

- The first sub-section (6.1) explores **the development of new urban space, emphasising the role of capital accumulation and its relation with governmentality.**

- The second sub-section (6.2), examines **the dynamics and strategies of new city space development in India.**
- The third sub-section (6.3) explains **a general trend of new city space development in West Bengal.**
- The fourth sub-section (6.4) elaborates **the significance of aerotropolis as a form of new city space development.**
- This is followed by the fifth sub-section (6.5), which illustrates **the underlying growth mechanisms by taking a close look at Andal Aerotropolis** of coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India.
- The final sub-section (6.6) concludes with the main findings and also provides **broader implication in the study of accumulation through dispossession** in the neoliberal period.

6.1. New cities and new urban projects as the spaces of capital accumulation

Urban has its specific meaning under capitalism and space economy. Under neoliberal framework, urbanisation can be considered as the process of restructuring of urban space, actually a part of wider economic restructuring driven by the economic crisis. One feature of capitalist restructuring is continuous production and transformation of territorial space. In order to understand the post liberalisation urban restructuring scenario in developing countries like India, it is necessary to understand the broader concept of uneven geographical development mutually exclusive with the structure of the capitalist mode of production. More specifically, it tries to explain how the capitalist crisis affects spatial organisation of cities.

There is a vast body of literature and research studies that tried to show how capitalism (accumulation of capital) plays an active role in the spatial reorganisation of city spaces and provides the backdrop for the development of emerging new city spaces. According to Dey, Samaddar and Sen, the emergence of new towns are ‘the basic way of spatial reorganisation for the accumulation of capital’³²¹. Scholars like- Harvey, Cox and

³²¹ Ishita Dey, Ranabir Samaddar and Suhit Kumar Sen, *Beyond Kolkata: Rajarhat and the Dystopia of Urban Imagination* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2013), 198.

few others have described it as spatio-temporal fix in the advancement of capitalist economy. Essentially, new town development is governed by the process of fluidity of financial capital. Likewise, Shen and Wu notes, ‘suburban development represents a process of territorial expansion through which local growth can be sustained.’³²² Similarly Lefevre³²³ shows, city regions have become the core area for capital accumulation in the neoliberal period. More importantly, emergence of suburban nodes with specialisation as well as mixed land use character gives even more important and also promotes local competitiveness. However, Banerjee-Guha has added a new perspective to it and considered these urban spaces as ‘the expansion of the spaces of consumption.’³²⁴

The urban experiences of third world countries are quite different and complex in nature as compared to the first world advanced developed countries. Savage, Warde and Ward in their book have mentioned that urban development is not the same evolutionary process through which all the cities will pass³²⁵. Structuring of urban space is neither uniform across countries, nor historically static. This is the reason why the cities as the built form subject to gradual decay again rise and vice versa. They further suggests, ‘causes include the dynamics of the world capitalist economy which allow the relocation of the industry across the globe; the cycles of investment and disinvestment in the built environment; forms of corporate restructuring; and the dynamics of product innovation.’³²⁶ In short, the city is a product of both capitalist economic forces and socio-political processes. The expanded urban space has become the site for political contestation over variety of issues. After liberalisation, neoliberal capitalism played a

³²² Jie Shen and Fulong Wu. “The Suburb as a Space of Capital Accumulation: The Development of New Towns in Shanghai, China,” *Antipode* 49, No. 3 (2017), 761-780.

³²³ Henry Lefevre, *The Production of Space* Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1991).

³²⁴ As noted by Banerjee Guha, ‘In India, along with ‘industrialising’ the countryside, such infrastructure development serves to urbanise and modernise it as well, in the process helping the expansion of the spaces of consumption.’ (Swarna Banerjee-Guha, “Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, no 2 (2013), 175.)

³²⁵ Mike Savage, Alan Warde and Kevin Ward, *Urban Sociology, Capitalism and Modernity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 67.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 67 – 68.

significant role in restructuring of economic and political environment and the spatial terrain of the city.

City spaces are very dynamic in nature. Under the neoliberal framework cities are the places of imagination, creativity, innovation and therefore ever new and different³²⁷. As Neera Chandhok defined, ‘it is the foci of the activities of production, reproduction, consumption and of the social and political activity organised around them and which are shaped by and in turn shape these activities³²⁸.’ In the middle of the affluence, abundance and pleasure, cities also hide social exclusion, marginalisation, conflict and struggle or so. This dynamism has shaped the economic, social, cultural and political character of the city. Many communities have adjusted themselves with this decline and permanent upheaval of the cities, whereas others have plunged themselves into a vast arena of new possibilities and transformation. A large number of academic research and governmental documents have been situated the urban transformation in the context of transforming spatial, political, social, cultural and economic system.

Under the rapid globalisation process, the economic landscape of the cities trying to curve out their own space within the emerging new division of labour, new form of production, consumption as well as political transformation. It is an attempt to align local dynamics with the deregulated international economic system under the principle of neoliberalism. The new urban policies are on the rise in parallel with the neoliberal economic policies are in search of new economic space. As a number of scholars have opined that the old forms, functions and the traditional configuration had to give way to new urbanity. Searching for the space for new urbanity on the map of competitive landscape meant recreating urban space for the planners, the investors, developers and the entrepreneurs. Production of new urban complexes in the form of development projects have become more prominent strategies by the capitalists in search of economic growth and competitiveness. As mentioned ‘these projects are the material expression of a developmental logic that views megaprojects and place-marketing as means for

³²⁷Erik Swyngedouw, Frank Moulaert and Arantxa Rodriguez, “Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe: Large-Scale Urban Development Projects and the New Urban Policy,” *Antipode* 34, No. 3(2002), 550.

³²⁸ Neera Chandhok, “Cities and the Restructuring of Capitalism,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 23 (1988), 1755.

generating future growth and for waging a competitive struggle to attract investment capital³²⁹.’ Many studies unravel the fact that urban projects are mere consequences of political and economic change. On the contrary, the urban projects are the very catalyst of economic and political change at local, regional, national and international levels. Therefore, Erik Swyngedouw, Frank Moulaert and Arantxa Rodriguez expressed ‘urban environments as constructed places are the condensed expression and incarnation of the transformation of socio-spatial processes that operate on a variety of articulated geographical scales.’³³⁰ Space has a separate entity in neoliberal social restructuring. As it is effectively mentioned by Savage, Warde and Ward that, ‘space is no longer defined in terms of its geographical or physical attributes, but increasingly the product of capitalist forces: it becomes ‘abstract space’.’³³¹ The spatial element of the city can be roughly theorizing from three angles as mentioned by Henry Lefebvre³³² i.e. cities can be the moderator of spatial practices (experienced space), cities can be perceived on the basis of mental images (perceived space) and finally, cities can be the spaces of representation for life and for production (the imagined space). Lefebvre further argues that these three spatial elements are dialectically related to each other. According to him, ‘the social construction of space involves not just a purely discursive process whereby places are valued differently but also the alterations in people’s actual experiences of places’³³³. There found a number of dichotomies that seems to characterise the city. These binaries include – city and periphery, agriculture and industry, capital and citizenship, public and private, manufacturing and service, etc. These binaries are the result of socio-spatial phenomena at play.

³²⁹ Erik Swyngedouw, Frank Moulaert and Arantxa Rodriguez, “Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe: Large-Scale Urban Development Projects and the New Urban Policy,” *Antipode* 34, No. 3(2002), 551.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 551.

³³¹ Mike Savage, Alan Warde and Kevin Ward, *Urban Sociology, Capitalism and Modernity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 67.

³³² Henry Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1991).

³³³ *Ibid.*

6.2. Development of new towns in India in the post liberalisation period: An analytical framework

In the history of urban evolution in India few cities like Mumbai, Delhi, and Kolkata have created long lasting identities of urban spaces. The economic, political and cultural hegemonies of these metropolises are very prominent in the process of urbanisation. Hence, they have become the models of city space in India. These Indian cities are layered experience with their physical appearance, its people and culture. Mumbai nurtures its images as place of large mills and factories, with a large number of daily commuters, local trains, the sultry impact of the sea, film studios, large movie hoardings and posters, Parsi impact, skyscrapers, big money and wealth. Kolkata bears the colonial legacy and portrays its image as city of culture, intellectuals, theater, poets, old Victorian red buildings, the river and their *ghats*, missionaries, migrant labour class from neighbouring states like Bihar, Orissa, Jharkhand, Assam and faraway corners of Bengal itself and a place where discussion and argument never stops. Delhi is the city of mix cosmopolitan culture, with mark of Mughal architecture and its' remnants, high rise energy efficient buildings, commercial complexes, heritage buildings, large number of slums and labour mobility. All the cities are much more complicated unlike they appear. These cities have their own character³³⁴. They are not just the locale of human settlement. Modern India has grown up with these ideas of urbanity. The commonalities among these three cities are all of them have grown up as centre of colonial modernity and presently expanding spatially in rapid pace. In keeping pace with the process of globalisation and inclusion of neoliberal policies these traditional cities of India have changed their organic character. All the cities are suffering from the unplanned sprawl of metropolitan areas. This is not only the problem of Delhi, Mumbai and Kolkata but with all other metro cities of India. The unplanned growth of metro cities leads to demographic, economic, social and political problems. Huge demographic pressure goes beyond the carrying capacity of the cities. Then the question remains on the decentralisation of metro cities to release the excessive pressure on existing resources of it. What could be the decentralisation measure

³³⁴ Ishita Dey, Ranabir Samaddar and Suhit Kumar Sen, *Beyond Kolkata: Rajarhat and the Dystopia of Urban Imagination* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2013).

to decongest the cities? The urban planning literature on third world countries provides possible alternatives i.e. decentralisation within the city, decentralisation to the already existing towns or new satellite towns and decentralisation beyond the regional location³³⁵. For instance, as a product of this decentralisation and developmental imagination Gurgaon, Noida is coming up beyond Delhi, Sriperumbudur in Chennai, Pavnal in Navi Mumbai, Yelekanka on the outskirts of Bangalore and Rajarhat in Kolkata.

There found a scholarly debate on this decentralisation of existing metro cities in new form of urban settlement. The debate is not on the decentralisation process. It is integral to the process of urban expansion no matter whether it belongs to first world countries or third world countries. The debate revolves around whether the decentralisation of parent city results in the formation of satellite town, or new town, edge city, suburb or counter magnet. As Vandana Vasudevan has come across the problem in classifying the India's new emerging cities according to the formal definition of types of town as done by the town planners of the developed western countries. The new settlements emerging in the contemporary period can have a mix character³³⁶.

Despite urban space being the taken for granted unit of analysis for circulation of capital, the most instances of capital investment is taking place not within urban territories, but outside the urban space: in the fringe and peri-urban³³⁷ areas at the transition of the large metro cities, along the highways connecting urban areas, and sometimes in the rural areas reasonably isolated from the metropolitan areas. Build environment can be created in the less congested place easily, in comparison to the congested cores. To keep the fluidity of the financial there found a drive to invest in the build environment with the purpose of speculation. It would be incomplete to understand the role of state as an extra-economic force in the process of capital accumulation in this context. The investment on build environment in the peripheries is also driven by the

³³⁵ Vandana Vasudevan, *Urban Villager: Life in an Indian Satellite Town* (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2013), 10.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

³³⁷ Peri-urban is often referred to as being the rural fringe areas that surround cities and that bear the effect of urban expansion.

competitive advantage and also associated with various policies governed by the state. In the neoliberal period, the Indian government is promoting suburban development by attracting the private investors; ease the tax rules (e.g. SEZs). The recent rise of financial capital in the suburban development is largely facilitated by the state policies. The new urban space development for capital accumulation in the Indian context is a recent development in the academic discourse, therefore comparatively understudied phenomenon.

Table 6.1: Analytical framework for the process of accumulation of capital in the new city space in India

Geographical scale of organisation	Forms and processes of capital accumulation	Mechanism	Extra-economic role of state
Local (Cities and Hinterland)	Shift from primary circuit to secondary circuit	Growth of cities	To promote mixed land use To establish a double-track land system To rebuild the image of suburbs as a livable place
National (Leading and Lagging areas)	Territorialisation of capital by linking lagging and leading areas	Migration to economic centres, improved transport links	To facilitate metropolitan spatial restructuring
Global (Developed and Developing countries)	Connecting countries to the world market	Reducing restrictions on trade between countries.	To deregulate foreign investment To provide low-cost land and infrastructure

Source: Adapted by the researcher based on World Development Report, 2009 and the article 'The Suburb as a Space of Capital Accumulation: The Development of New Towns in Shanghai, China'.

The above mentioned table basically shows capital accumulation in relation to the multiple geographical scales (i.e. local, national and global). It also shows at each and every scale state has a particular role on capital accumulation.

- (a) At local scale, capital accumulation rests on growth mechanism. More specifically to say, density is the most important dimension when consider at local scale. New towns are basically developing in the form of mixed land use including both commercial and residential projects. The mixed land use attracts people as well as production and creates a potential market. The state was the mechanism of

competitive advantage. There found a tendency of accumulation of financial capital by the process of land pool. Local government invests that liquid capital in infrastructure development and also tries to capture manufacturing industries. Accumulation of land resource generates local land revenue and creates a network of speculative finance. It shows circulation of capital from primary circuit to secondary circuit and forms a complicated pattern of capital flow.

- (b) The development of new city space can be seen as the process of territorialisation of capital on national scale. Capital always searches for new avenues for its circulation and in terms of competitive advantage the lagging areas become the potential centre for growth. Here, the strategy is to reorganisation of spatial structure. Under such circumstances, the leading areas faced difficulties in circulation of capital and search for alternative avenues in the form of lagging regions. The new strategy of capital accumulation and circulation is based on polycentric spatial structure in the form of new city formation. The new city spaces are considered as new growth poles.
- (c) Another explanation of new urban space development for accumulation of capital can be explained from the view point of global integration to overcome the crisis of capitalism. Crisis of capitalism could be alleviated by investment of foreign capital at massive scale from developed to developing countries through financing on real estate, industry and industrial development. More precisely to say on build environment in new city spaces. These processes further attract more investment, therefore continuing the trends of capital expansion.

6.3. The development of new city space in West Bengal

As stated by Mahalaya Chatterjee, 'in 2001, the overall rate of urbanisation slowed down and as many as 68 towns were declassified, a feature hitherto unknown to West Bengal. But, just when it was thought that urbanisation is losing its vigour in the state, the preliminary results of the 2011 Census came out with another surprise. Not only had the rate of urbanisation increased enormously, it also surpassed the national rate for

the first time since Independence. The second striking feature was the number of new towns and their spatial distribution. More than 500 new towns emerged in the state.³³⁸

In the last two decade especially after the wave of globalisation has touch the Indian economy these traditional cities have changed their urban morphology and functional characteristics. The primate city of West Bengal, Kolkata is no more exception. The changing city character of Kolkata proves that it is also trying to catch up the global features. Like two other cities (Mumbai and Delhi) it has also formed its own hi-tech township (Salt lake Sector V), a new mode of circulation of capital, information, human resources and power structure. In order to keep pace with the global economic order the city has changed its original organic character³³⁹. As mentioned by Dey, Samaddar and Sen, as long as the city (Kolkata) has decreased its productive relevance, the idea of building a multipurpose city with green production, new consumption and new living has emerged. In short the city has reorganised its space and produced a new one³⁴⁰. As a product of this reorganisation of urban space, few new towns have come up in and around the city itself and sometimes beyond the city margin. These new towns are the measures to ensure balanced urban development. A parent city can have more than one new town. It depends upon the factors like over accumulation of capital, new opportunities for capital accumulation. In Kolkata population is increasing at an alarming rate. Population growth in Kolkata is exogenously determined because of its colonial history and strategic location near the sea. From existing literature it is found that a number of new towns have come up near the existing city core and beyond it. For instance, the Rajarhat New Town and the Kolkata West International have come up as satellite town on the fringes of Kolkata metropolitan. Now the question arises whether these new towns have resemblance with the satellite town character. By definition satellite towns are those circumscribed urban unit which are self-contained enough to serve the population with both employment and residents. However, around Kolkata

³³⁸ Mahalaya Chatterjee, "New Towns in West Bengal", CPR-CSH Workshop, New Delhi 2014. <http://www.cprindia.org/events/4123>.

³³⁹ Ishita Dey, Ranabir Samaddar and Suhit Kumar Sen, *Beyond Kolkata: Rajarhat and the Dystopia of Urban Imagination* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2013), 2.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 97.

Rajarhat and West Kolkata International are satellite towns and they dependent on the planet city Kolkata. The key reason behind this dependency is connectivity. Both the new towns highly rely on Kolkata for railway, roadway and airway connectivity. On the other hand, a large number of corporate sectors are located in this new urban space. Therefore, a significant number of people every day commute from the city core to new towns for job. Hence, there found a symbiosis relationship between the city core and fringe new towns. Vasudevan in her writing has mentioned a similar kind of relationship between Delhi, Gurgaon, Noida and Faridabad. She believes that ‘rather than satellites, these towns are more like asteroids or minor planets that hang around the solar nebula but do not have enough left to become planets themselves’³⁴¹. Like New towns the state government has also take an effort to create counter magnet to the core city away from the main city. The counter magnets are considered as those industrial cum residential towns away from the main metropolitan city of any region. They are designed to be more self sufficient with better infrastructure, transport connectivity (highways, flyover and airports) and civic amenities to reduce the dependence on the parent city. For instance, an emerging new town as far away as Andal Aerotropolis – around 180 kms. north-west of Kolkata, can be considered as a counter magnet. It would be expected that the combination of a full fledged domestic commercial airport with industrial sky park, IT Sky Park, educational and health sky city will help in reducing both migration and population explosion in Kolkata metropolitan area. In other words, the aerotropolis as a counter magnet will prevent the mono-centric urban development and associated urban crisis. ‘The cultural divide between parochial rural India and cosmopolitan urban India makes metropolitan fringes ideal locations for new towns.’³⁴²

- **Adoption of New Towns in Urban Planning of West Bengal**

As mentioned earlier, the government of West Bengal has already set up quite a few new towns at Rajarhat, Baisnabghata – Patuli and West Howrah.; some are in the process of setting up at Baruipur in South Twenty Four Parganas, New Konarpur near

³⁴¹ Vandana Vasudevan, *Urban Villager: Life in an Indian Satellite Town* (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2013), 12.

³⁴² Rajesh Bhattacharya and Kalyan Sanyal, “Bypassing the Squalor: New Towns, Immaterial Labour and Exclusion in Post-colonial Urbanisation,” *Economic & Political Weekly* 46, No. 31 (2011), 42.

Asansol and the Aerotropolis at Andal; and the next potential location for new towns are Dankuni and Siliguri. All these represent the function of bringing the local and global developmental and rational needs under a single umbrella. But apart from being a counter magnet new town, the aerotropolis (Sujalam Sky City) has its own significance. As Roy has also effectively pointed out that the development of airport is a symbol of new planning regime in India³⁴³. According to her, this is the chronicle of neoliberal capitalism as well as outcome of unchecked liberalisation³⁴⁴.

- **Reasons for taking new strategies**

The strategy of building new towns includes at least four considerations:

- to reduce the pressure from the primate city and adopt poly centric growth,
- to form a global city as a response to regional competition following the westernised model of city development,
- to adopt the mechanism of land accumulation as a driver for economic growth, and
- to promote compact development in the form of mixed land use and also to strengthened land control.

6.4. Building Aerotropolis as a new cityscape in the globalised era

Development of these counter magnets is a process of documenting the urban transition from centralised planning to more participatory and often more privatised modes of decentralised planning. As Dey, Samaddar and Sen effectively pointed out that the making of multipurpose self-sufficient cities of twenty-first century is the primary outcome of the capitalist law of commensurate social organisation of production; where the role of the bourgeois architects and town planners are secondary. This is also an account of the way space and spatial design plays important role in capital accumulation. In short, the new Sujalam Sky city is a narrative of reorganisation of space, neoliberal capitalism and people in the era of globalisation. These new tools of capitalism in a

³⁴³ Ananya Roy, “Why India cannot plan its cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization,” *Planning Theory* 8 (2009), 77.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

different way transform land from a resource for agricultural and industrial production and mineral resource extraction into financial resource and make this vast pool of land available to the developers, corporate and private investors.

The concept of aerotropolis has been introduced in the academic literature by Dr. John Kasarda. Kasarda linked transportation development as the driving force behind urban and economic development. The term ‘Aerotropolis’ is a combination of two words – airport and metropolis. Where airports are no longer the part of only transportation infrastructure to serve the city needs but it has its own identity as separate and self-sufficient settlement unit³⁴⁵. By definition an aerotropolis is an airport-integrated region, expanding as far as sixty miles from the inner city nodes towards the fringe³⁴⁶. In Kasarda’s own words,

“All kinds of activities are served by and enhanced by airport. Whether it’s supply chains, whether it’s enterprise networks, whether it’s biosciences and pharmaceuticals and time-sensitive organic materials, the airport itself is really the nucleus of a range of ‘New Economy’ function,” with the aim of bolstering the city’s “competitiveness, job creation, and quality of life.”³⁴⁷”

There is no operational aerotropolis in India right now but the recent investment on aerotropolis project is a step towards new planning measures. As it is totally a new effort in the arena of urban planning, the validity of the concept is required to be justified. Here an attempt has been made to understand the concept of aerotropolis in terms of its evolution, form and function. It could expect that the understanding of the concept will prove its future validity in Indian context in general and in Andal, West Bengal in particular.

³⁴⁵ John Kasarda and Greg Lindsay, *Aerotropolis: The way we’ll live next* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2012), 176.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 174.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 174.

There are very few literatures on aerotropolis especially in the context of India. Despite these prognostications, some questions revolve around the sustainability of the aerotropolis. A number of scholars have identified some of the factors that could affect the aerotropolis in future.

Kasarda at the first place tries to establish the economic validity of the new planning measure. Followed by the concept of Hawley i.e. ‘urban development was always contingent upon access’³⁴⁸, he argued that the success of the companies dependent upon high speed transportation and sophisticated technology. It is the logistic backbone of the new economy. More precisely, he talks about competitive advantage and success i.e. survival of the fastest. According to Kasarda³⁴⁹, ‘space, time and economic organisations are intractably interwoven.’ Where the other economists focus on ‘economies of scale’ and ‘economies of scope’; he believes in ‘economies of speed.’ In respect to the urban development he believes that ‘cities grow fastest at that points where access maximizes the flows of people, products, capital and knowledge.’

Charles, Barnes, Ryan and Clayton have identified several factors from planning perspective which form several doubts on the sustainability of aerotropolis from planning and policy perspective. The question arisen that ‘are airports the ghost towns of tomorrow?’³⁵⁰ The skeptics are basically concerned about oil price hike and global warming. They have criticised Kasarda’s concept of aerotropolis from three perspectives, i.e. source of energy, security and export pathways (cost of transportation).

(a) Their first point of departure is that the current aerotropolis is based on a non-renewable resource. It is well known to all that the availability of hydrocarbon based fuel sources are limited and the price of the oil is ever fluctuating in the international market. Under this circumstance, rising oil price will not only affect the air transport and airport but the industries and urban environment attached to it.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 174.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 174.

³⁵⁰ M. B. Charles, Barnes, Ryan, & Clayton, “J. Airport Futures: Towards a Critique of the Aerotropolis Model”, *Futures*, 39 (9), (2007), 1009-1028.

(b) They put special emphasis on security especially after the terror attack on World Trade Centre in USA. It is an observable fact that commercial aircraft and critical infrastructure are always subjected to terror attack. Kasarda's imagination of aerotropolis deals with presence of critical infrastructure in a single location. From that angle the validity of aerotropolis is a matter of concern, and

(c) Finally, the cost of transport and the goods that transported also matter. From that point of view, some product will be profitable to transport by railways, roadways and waterways. According to Kasarda, the aerotropolis will not remain as the ghost towns. 'We will keep flying – and the world's poorest will suffer if we don't.'³⁵¹

Now the question remains, how this planning concept of developed western countries relevant in Indian context. In a fact finding report on Andal by a Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) called 'Sanhati' it has been noted that, only 40 per cent of the world's cargo is transported by aircraft, and for India this number is even less.³⁵² It is only 25 per cent. Only 0.8 per cent people of India have ever been on an airplane and for the 65% of the population who live in villages, airplanes are in an entirely different world. The Skeptics say that how can they relate this new planning remedy with the country like India? On the contrary, Chatterjee and Saha mentioned that

*"In terms of passenger traffic, India is currently the ninth largest aviation market in the world. With regards to air cargo tonnage, India leads the South Asian region - consisting of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka"*³⁵³.

Bala Subhramaniam also stated that 'the concept of aerotropolis, though at a nascent stage, is gaining momentum in India.'³⁵⁴ He further claims that from economic

³⁵¹ Ibid., 1009-1028.

³⁵² Siddhartha Mitra, Trans. "Andal Aerotropolis: A Fact Finding Report", *Sanhati* (2010). <http://sanhati.com/excerpted/2311/>.

³⁵³ Report on aviation and defense sector

³⁵⁴ C.S.Balasubramaniam, "Aerotropolis and Changing Paradigms of Global Competitiveness and the Agglomeration Economies -A Case Study of Durgapur and Emerging Issues," *National Monthly Refereed Journal of Reasearch in Commerce & Management* 01, Issue 12 (2015), 57-66.

point of view aerotropolis is a viable investment option. In an aerotropolis the revenue comes from both aeronautical and non-aeronautical components, like – real estate, tourism, hospitals, etc.³⁵⁵ He is also hopeful about the change the aviation industry has experienced after liberalisation. The participation of private sector in the aviation industry leaves vast scope of rapid growth in near future. Balasubhramaniam also put emphasise on the connectivity of the tier one and tier two towns through air transport. According to him, the improved connectivity will increase the scope for further capital investment in real estate in those cities.³⁵⁶

It is already noted that the Coal-Steel Industrial Complex of Eastern India is not only accumulating capital by the process of resource extraction and technological development in the production process but also by creating new urban space that can attract more investment. The making of Andal aerotropolis in this region is an example of it. The planning of the aerocity was started as early as 2008 using Kasarda's concept of aerotropolis. Though it is an incomplete project till date and could not flourish that well as it was expected. But set an example of development of network of accumulation by transforming land into tradable asset. However, it is important to mention that the pace of new city space development varies from place to place based on their relative location and other factors. The state government of West Bengal is continuously negotiating with the foreign investors to facilitate economic growth and also have taken significant initiatives in this regard.

The case study is based on the information extracted from the secondary sources, like- various published and unpublished reports, data on land transactions, district census handbook and other planning and policy documents. It is also based on field visits and interviews with government and project officials, property dealers, real estate agents and local residents.

6.5. Factors responsible for selection of Andal as the site of the aerotropolis project

As stated by Banerjee-Guha,

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 57-66.

³⁵⁶ Ibid. 57-66.

“Carved out as exclusive spaces mainly for the purpose of industrialisation, Special Economic Zones in India are mostly located in functionally active spaces. Essentially global, these new economic spaces (locational choice is usually made by the corporations that plan to invest there) are being carved out from agricultural areas, forest land or coastal fishing zones, semi-rural areas near big cities or communication networks, in the peripheries of metropolitan regions, villages, and also in urban slums”³⁵⁷.

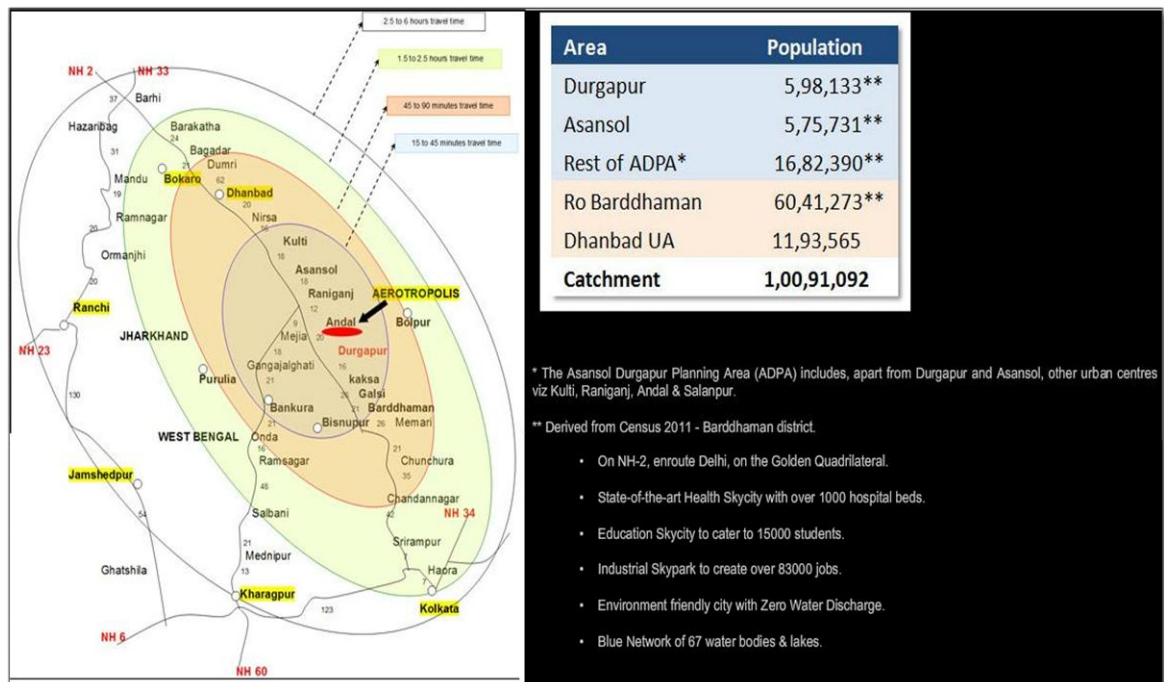
As already mentioned in the Chapter 1 that the Sujalam Sky City at Andal near Durgapur-Asansol Industrial complex in West Bengal considered to be the first aerotropolis in India. The Asansol-Durgapur region is a large industrial belt in Bengal. Just outside this belt, the area is host to India’s major mining operations, as the lands are rich in iron ore, coal, and manganese. There are also several thermal and hydroelectric projects in the area. The proposed aerotropolis is scheduled to occupy 3500 acres of land in the area. The project is to be developed in two phases, with 2300 acres to be occupied in the first phase, and the remaining 1200 in the second phase. The project has been awarded to a group call the Aerotropolis Projects Limited. Aerotropolis Projects Limited is a joint venture of two corporations, namely HUDCO, and a private company called Progressive Social Infrastructure Developments Limited. The main investors in the project are the City Start Infrastructure Land Lease Company and some private companies like Pragoti Development. These firms have signed a partnership agreement with the Changi International Airport of Singapore. In the first phase, the airport, some residential plots and a theme park would be constructed. The second phase would see the construction of hotels, shopping malls, business centers and bungalows for the wealthy people and muti-story residential buildings for the middle class. In the third phase, it has been proposed that a logistic hub, IT park, a golf course, park and children’s playground will be created. In 2008 December, the West Bengal government obtained 2306.31 acres of land in 12 mouza’s of the Andal and Faridpur blocks under the Land Acquisition Act of 1884. The first phase would include this ryot land and another 56.53 acres of land. Right next to the town of Andal, right by the border of GT road, the large demarcated area of the project begins.

³⁵⁷ Swapna Banerjee-Guha, “Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, no 2 (2013), 173.

The area is mostly mono-cropped agricultural land, though there is an abandoned airstrip from the Second World War which has apparently become the center of the approaching airport city. Much of the land surrounding the airport is under military control. On the other side of GT road, the villages of Andal, Dhupchuria and Gopal are mostly agricultural land areas which will fall under the scope of the project. The affected villages are Andal, Dakhsin Khand, Tamla, Khadra, Khaira, Ukhra, Dhupchuriya, Amlauka, Banguri, Aarti and Patshaora.³⁵⁸

Therefore, it can be observed that the unclaimed spaces, vacant plots, forested land and even large tracks of agricultural land along the national highway (NH2) are now on the ripe for redevelopment and have now been incorporated into the capitalist economy. It is also found from the Map 6.1 that the new city space has a huge catchment area spreaded over entire East and West Barddhaman, Bankura, Purulia and Birbhum district of West Bengal and the neighbouring state of Jharkhand and includes around 1,00,91,092 population according to the Census of India report 2011.

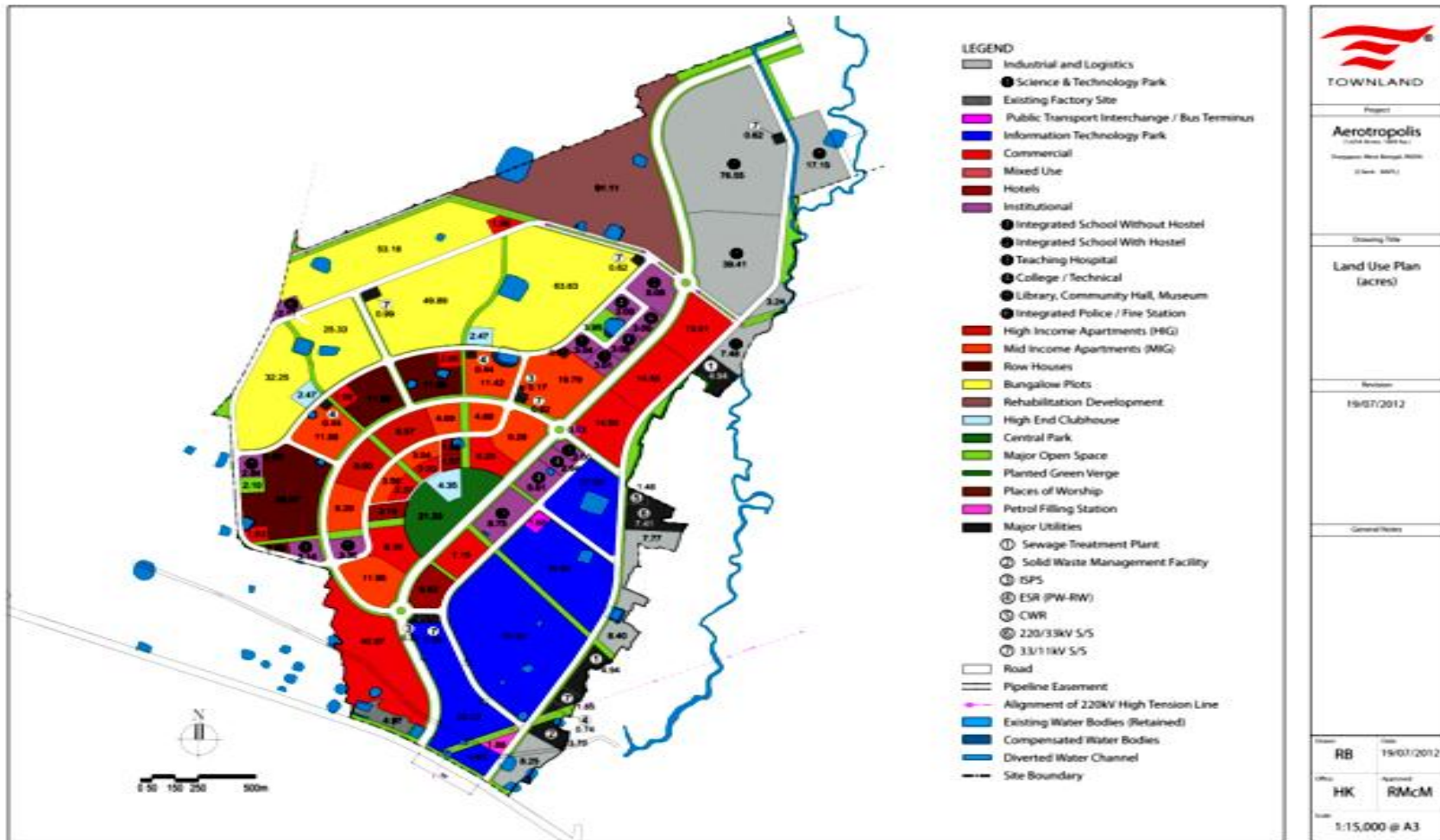
Map 6.1: Catchment Area of Kazi Nazrul Airport of Andal as analysed by BAPL



Source: BAPL Website

³⁵⁸ Siddhartha Mitra, Trans. “Andal Aerotropolis: A Fact Finding Report”, *Sanhati* (2010). <http://sanhati.com/excerpted/2311/>.

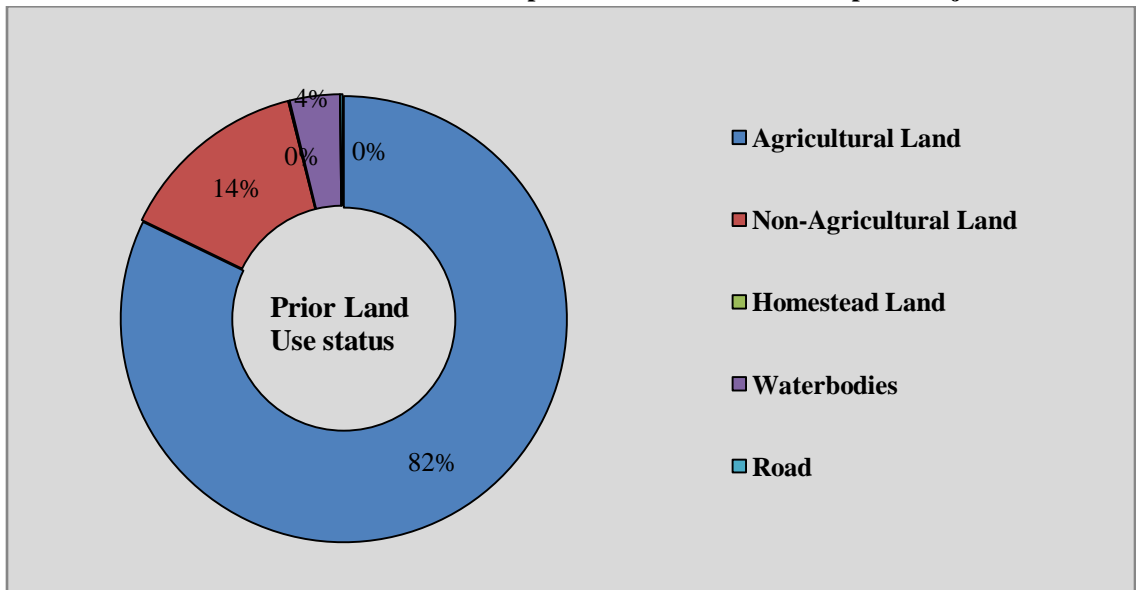
Map 6.2: Mixed land use plan of the Aerotropolis



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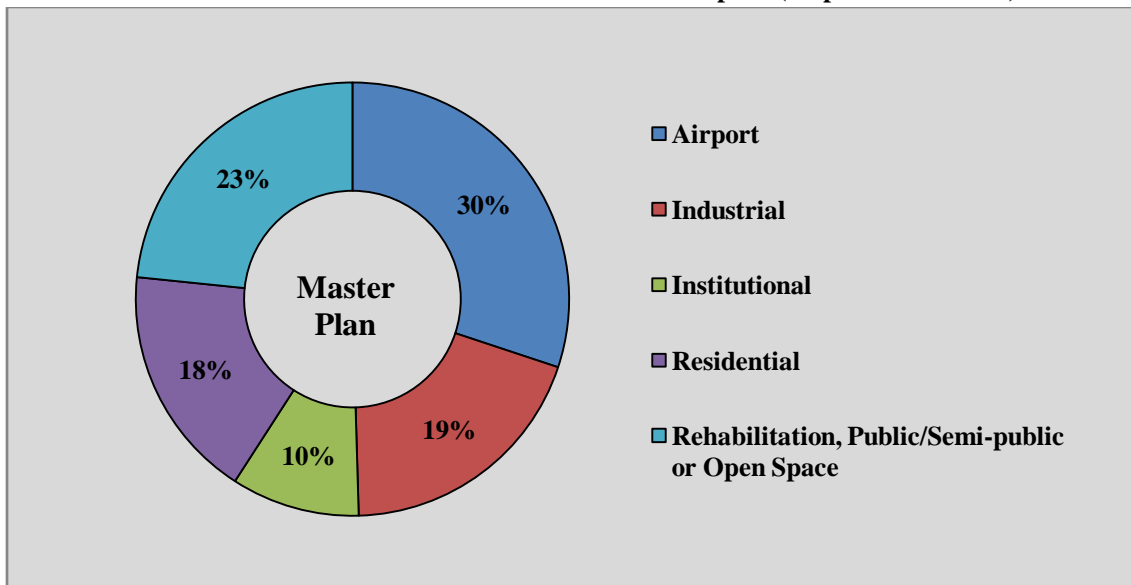
Source: BAPL Website

Chart 6.1: Land Use distribution prior to initiation of Aerotropolis Project



Source: Constructed by the researcher based on the data collected from West Bengal Land and Land Reforms department Website

Chart 6.2: Land Use distribution in Andal Aerotropolis (As per Master Plan)



Source: Constructed by the researcher based on the data collected from BAPL Website.

Several sources, as well as fieldwork data indicate that agricultural land is being changed at a high rate into use for industrial, institutional, residential and other purposes. More precisely to say, the new master plan (Map 6.2 and Chart 6.1 and Chart 6.2) shows agricultural land is transforming gradually for non-agricultural use.

Table 6.2: Details of acquired land from different Mouzas by BAPL project

Sl. No.	Mouza	No. of Plots	Area (Acers)	Average size of the plots (in Acers)
1	Amlouka	473	196.71	0.42
2	Banguri	281	105.44	0.38
3	Patsaora	349	143.36	0.41
4	Arati	22	2.06	0.09
5	Khandra	359	153.89	0.43
6	Dakshinkhanda	1534	610.47	0.40
7	Ukhra	179	57.92	0.32
8	Andal	1827	698.49	0.38
9	Bhadur	48	39.88	0.83
10	Tamla	269	92.74	0.34
11	Dhupchuria	339	80.61	0.24
Total		5680	2181.57	0.38

Source: Calculated by the researcher based on data collected from BAPL Website.

A study by BAPL using satellite data, secondary data from Census of India, 2011 and many other sources revealed that the area surrounding Andal could be one of the best sites for setting up an aerotropolis. The project site has been selected on the basis of the aircraft based activities in the past are found in this region. The most essential resource for this project are as follows:

(a) large contiguous land parcel without major geographical limitations are available here.

(b) This region is geo-physically stable, selectively cultivated – predominantly by mono crops, most of the area come under fallow land category.

(c) Most importantly this site does not cover any forested area.

(d) Apart from that this project does not require any resettlement arrangements as hardly any habitation earmarked on the site and also have a scope for future expansion, and,

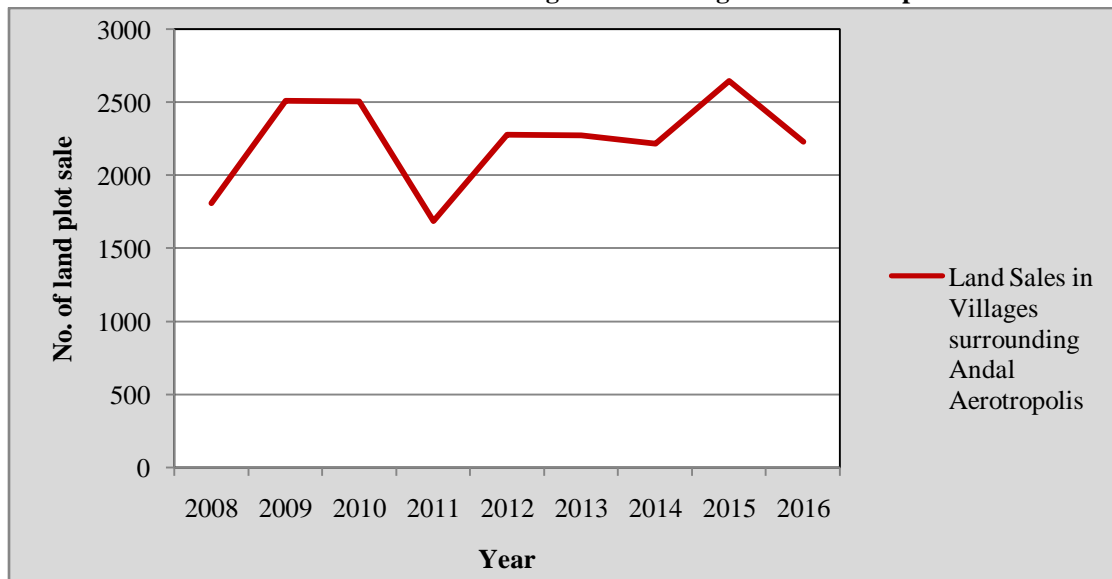
(e) Strategic location of the project can be largely met by connectivity to major roadways.

All these considerations led to the selection of Andal as the site of the project.

6.6. Capital Accumulation in Andal Aerotropolis

The planning and establishment of Andal Aerotropolis marked a considerable phase in which the peri-urban began to act as a zone for capital accumulation. By attracting investment from domestic and international corporate for this prestigious projects, the state government (West Bengal) managed to raise the image of the place as a whole and land value of the peri-urban area. The average land price was around few thousand per hectare in 2000. However, after the announcement of the India's first aerotropolis project in 2008, the infamous place (Andal) became well known all of sudden. One of the developers (Lakshmi Ghoshal) who had leased land from Bengal Aerotropolis in an interview of The Financial Express said, 'The airport building has exponentially increased land price at the project site.'³⁵⁹ Chart 6.3 shows that the large number of land plot sale in every year since 2008 means there is continuous demand of land in this region and the increasing land price also creating a condition for land speculation.

Chart 6.3: Land Sales in Villages surrounding Andal Aerotropolis



Source: Compiled by the researcher based on data collected from [http://wbregistration.gov.in/\(S\(tojiqdi5zblcbddak0ueuld\)\)/index.aspx](http://wbregistration.gov.in/(S(tojiqdi5zblcbddak0ueuld))/index.aspx)

In addition, the development of the new city with specialisation and mixed land use (Map 6.2), promoted infrastructure development and property investment. From 2008

³⁵⁹ <http://www.financialexpress.com/industry/an-airport-in-bad-weather/129082/>.

till date growth rates of the construction and real estate has increased prominently. There are number of new companies in the real estate have shown their interest for investment.

Real estate developers and other large companies such as Pragati Social Infrastructure Development, Pragati 47 Development, Citystar Infrastructures and Lend Lease Company, Infrastructure Leasing & Financial Services Ltd. have accumulated vast tracts of land in this region (Table 6.3 and Chart 6.4).

Table 6.3: BAPL Shareholding by different Companies

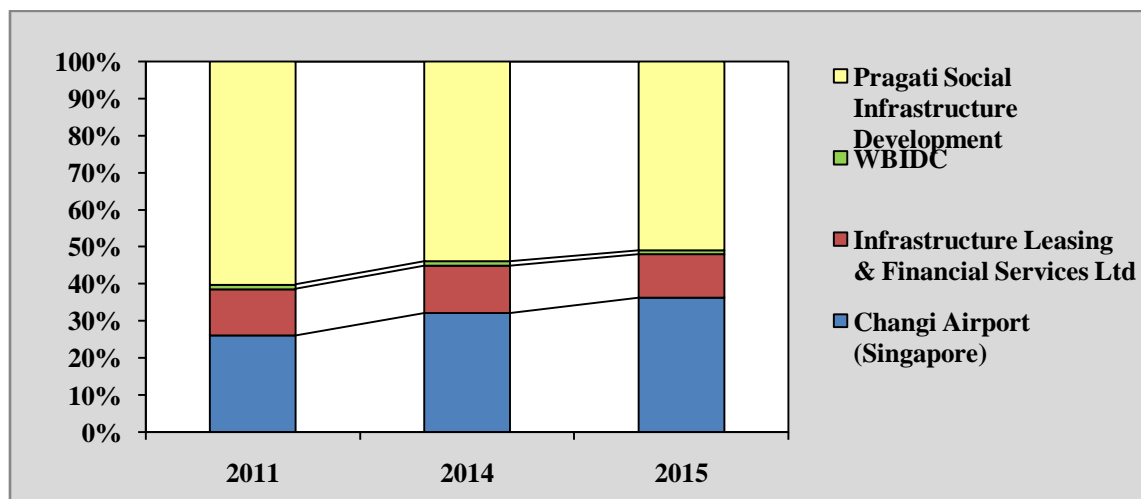
Companies	Share holding (%), 2011	Share holding (%), August 2014	Share holding (%), 2015
Changi Airport (Singapore)	26.00	32.20	36.32
Infrastructure Leasing & Financial Services Ltd	12.60	12.66	11.71
WBIDC	1.20	1.22	1.02
Utsab Parekh, RR Modi and Partha ghosh** (Pragati Social Infrastructure Development, Pragati 47 Development, Citystar Infrastructures and Lend Lease Company (India))	60.20	53.92	50.95

** According to BAPL, three private investors have equal shares through various companies

Source: Bengal Aerotropolis Projects Limited,

http://www.businessstandard.com/article/companies/changi-raises-its-stake-in-bapl-to-36-32-115033100818_1.html

Chart 6.4: BAPL Shareholding by different Companies



** According to BAPL, three private investors have equal shares through various companies

Source: Bengal Aerotropolis Projects Limited,

http://www.businessstandard.com/article/companies/changi-raises-its-stake-in-bapl-to-36-32-115033100818_1.html

Changi is the single largest stakeholder in the project and has been at the forefront of the airport part, handling everything from project management to route development. The Singaporean company has also entered into an agreement with BAPL to operate the airport for 15 years.³⁶⁰ Table 6.3 and Chart 6.4 show that share holding of the Singapore based company (Changi Airport) has increased its share holding over the time period.

However, it appears that in the most beneficial position are these private investors, who are getting the access of acres of public land at nominal cost in the name of this 'Bengal Aerotropolis project'. The company will use about 30 per cent of the total area for building the airport and the rest 70 per cent will be used to build high cost residential flats, institutes, office buildings and commercial malls. This is a prime land with central location and easily accessible by both roadways and railways.

The quote above shows that real estate boom in the region has a significant role in the rise of the land value, therefore have also contributed in the local revenue generation. However, it is not possible to produce any concrete data in support of it at local level. Apart from this the government has also concentrated on the infrastructure development. The objective is to with good transport network and additional facilities it can attract industrial capital to this region. With the approval of the state this region has set up few Special Economic Zones. The aerotropolis project itself has received the SEZs status. The most striking feature regarding this is the state government has become successful in managing both industrial and new town development. It can be expect that under the strategy of new city development, the Coal-steel industrial complex will be able to intensify more as regional nodes. It is also found that the SEZ has started to develop a special link with real estate development.³⁶¹

Clearly, it is important to place the accumulation regime in the contemporary context and also to establish its link with the history. Still the new city space is under construction. As stated by Shen and Wu, 'the recent building boom has indicated that

³⁶⁰http://www.business-standard.com/article/companies/changi-raises-its-stake-in-bapl-to-36-32115033100818_1.html

³⁶¹ Swapna Banerjee-Guha, "Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, no 2 (2013), 174.

speculative profits in real estate have begun to draw capital away from industrial production³⁶². The rise of aerotropolis and the transformation of the agricultural land into commercial use should be considered as tools for financial capital accumulation. As stated by Banerjee-Guha, in this way it is ‘paving the way to open up spaces of smaller urban settlements to corporate capital’³⁶³. However, it will be too early to state that whether the development of new towns are the result of capital switching or not.

In conclusion it can be said that since the first decade of twenty first century state has taken new initiatives to adopt a new spatial form of cityscape development for capital accumulation, i.e. the new town development promoting mixed land use in India. The complex process involving formation of new urban space with the help of multiple forces and governance in the Coal-Steel Industrial Complex of Eastern India is not an exception in this regard. This chapter aimed to examine the underlying dynamics of circulation of capital in the study area. The planning of India’s first aerotropolis in Andal supports the impression of new cityscape development as the spatial fix for capital and its’ sustenance. This also point out the mutual relation between global dynamics of capital and state intervention as an extra economic force. As mentioned by Shen and Wu, ‘the power of capital is closely bound to that of the state.’³⁶⁴

The planning of Andal Aerotropolis reveals a tendency towards shifting of capital from primary to secondary circuit for its sustenance. Through the new cityscape development forms the network of speculative finance and the individual collaboration with the help of local government. More specifically to say, the new town development is transforming land into tradable assets. As a result of this project the price of land increases in unprecedented rate. The obtained financial capital from land accumulation work as big support for further real estate, infrastructure and industrial (especially IT sectors) development. This can be considered as shifting of capital to the secondary

³⁶² Jie Shen and Fulong Wu. “The Suburb as a Space of Capital Accumulation: The Development of New Towns in Shanghai, China,” *Antipode* 49, No. 3 (2017), 774.

³⁶³ Swapna Banerjee-Guha, “Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, no 2 (2013), 175.

³⁶⁴ Jie Shen and Fulong Wu. “The Suburb as a Space of Capital Accumulation: The Development of New Towns in Shanghai, China,” *Antipode* 49, No. 3 (2017), 777.

circuits of service sector and build environment development. Essentially, the process of capital accumulation is trying to catch the pace.

The Bengal Aerotropolis development project in the Coal-Steel Industrial Complex is also replicates the theory of territorialisation of capital by linking lagging and leading areas. Essentially, it is a strategy and mechanism used by the state to conquer the hurdle to capital accumulation for territorial competition (between leading and lagging areas), i.e., the re-organisation of both space and powers. By this process of reorganisation of space and expansion of infrastructure and the amenities towards the peri-urban areas the government of West Bengal taking a step forward to increase its control over resources and capital investment, but also to the growth of the cities. Notably, restructuring of space for capital accumulation is achieved through agglomeration of urban areas and territorial politics as found in few western countries as well.

The contemporary forms and dynamics of new city space development in India in general and in the study area in particular, cannot be seen in isolation from recent process of international integration for capital accumulation. The development of new cityscape is an integral part of accumulation strategy of India in the neoliberal period. Ever since the economic reform has kept its impression on the country, it has experienced the arrival of massive foreign capital and especially in the last decade experienced enormous increase in its rate of urbanisation. This study shows that these two processes are mutually exclusive to each other: the development of new urban space helps to circulate capital by investment for industrial development; on the other hand, industrial development in the peri-urban areas enhances the affluence of new towns and moreover, the flow of liquid capital. From this point of view, it is the shift of capital from industrial sectors to service sectors.

The counter magnets were aimed to attract the new middle class from the primate city to the peripheries. The state government is making every effort to invest in infrastructure development and in other basic amenities to attract this particular class. On the contrary, the promotion of new form of city space has weaved a network of speculative finance. Another point of discussion is the service sector industries in the new

urban space require a highly skilled labour force, while the rural residents neither can make their positions in the service sector industries nor can engage them in the agricultural sector. They cannot even afford the rising property prices in the new cityscape. Essentially, the new real estate projects have targeted the relatively wealthier class. On the other hand it has transformed the agricultural owners into speculators. This creates differences among various section of the society on the ground of material access to resources in the peri-urban areas. Thus, the development of new urban space has also created hurdles in the way of capital accumulation in uninterrupted manner. Therefore, struggle is an integral part in the process of expansion of capital in the neoliberal period.

Chapter 7

Researching dispossession in the coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India: Methodological considerations

The principal aim of every research is objectifying facts as well as scientific methods of analysis of those facts. In the present research, similar approach has been adopted. Use of scientific methods in this chapter on facts as well as analysis has been used. This chapter focuses on the research methodology used in this thesis and also provides detailed overviews on sampling techniques, exclusionary and inclusionary criteria for the selection of target and control villages, persons interviewed and various ethical considerations. This is followed by the framing of questionnaire and execution of survey using personal interview methods, focus group survey. Information on data processing and limitations of survey has also been provided.

This chapter is divided into three sub sections.

- Section 7.1 provides the **general background** of the study area followed by the objectives of the survey.
- Section 7.2 of this chapter provides an **outline on the survey design** to identify the sites of dispossession and also the dispossessed population.
- Section 8.3 follows with a detailed account of the **technical issues**, which were necessary to conduct this survey.

7.1.General Background

Raniganj coalfield is the birthplace of coal mining of the nation. Today, Raniganj-Asansol-Durgapur is an important industrial complex of India. Few townships also emerged after The Second Five Year Plan in the wake of growing industrialisation. Earlier this region was part of district Bardhaman, West Bengal and very recently (7th April, 2017) a separate district Paschim (West) Bardhaman was carved out from the old one. The total area of this region is 1,603.17 km².³⁶⁵

³⁶⁵ The information about this newly formed district is gathered from <https://www.paschimbardwan.com//>.

Raniganj Coalfield is spreading over the water divide of two rivers, Ajay and Damodar. This region is known to have a very rich mineral (Coal) resource base³⁶⁶. Because of its copious resource base and other historical factors this region has a long history of dispossession.

In 1995 a large number of opencast mines started in Raniganj region. The available coal was of bituminous types and the average production from the OCPs was higher than the underground mines. This coal prompted the initiation of few other industries in this region.

In the year 1960, SAIL started setting up an Iron and Steel production plant in Durgapur. It brought in its wake an entire new set up of a separate urban township, various other facilities, infrastructure, and business opportunities and so on.

In 1973, the coal mining industry became nationalised. Around 1990s, opencast mining started in Sonapur-Bazari and Rajmahal under ECL. Since the opening up of coal mines and setting up of steel plant a number of ancillary industries were came up in this industrial region. The development of the industrial landscape has enhanced the influx of outsiders for immense opportunities available in this region. Gradually, this industrial complex of Eastern India became increasingly urbanised.

The Asansol-Raniganj-Durgapur region is an ideal example of diverse neoliberal projects existing in a single geographical region. The process of development that started in the post-colonial period has changed its socio-economic profile. There is hardly any region in India which has seen a geographical concentration of a number of projects. All these projects accumulate land and the process of dispossession of lives and livelihoods become mutually exclusive with development activities. The Asansol-Raniganj-Durgapur region overall portrays an industrial landscape.

³⁶⁶ Raniganj Coalfield records the highest reserve of bituminous coal in India. (For details see, Energy Atlas of India).

7.1.1. The need for the Survey

Dispossession by the development projects in the aim of capitalist accumulation is the subject of an immense debate in the post-liberalisation period. To assess displacement and dispossession are methodologically very difficult. Both displacement and dispossession are very complex and lengthy processes involving various settings (physical, economic, social, cultural and political), several phases and numerous stakeholders. Apart from this dispersal of the displaced population complicates the process of data collection. The entire process of displacement by various projects is a long one in terms of the time it takes. Sometimes it takes more than a decade to accomplish the entire process starting from government notification to the relocation of site. As dispossession is a more complex process in itself, assessment of dispossession is even more difficult. In the study of displacement and dispossession the transition period has different levels of significance. But as mentioned earlier there has been no such secondary data with which it could be possible to examine the assertions. Therefore, the primary survey is the only and best way to address the objectives and research questions.

7.1.2. Objectives of the Survey

The major objective of this survey from the point of objective and scientific study is to develop a robust methodology.

7.1.3. Methodology

The impact of neoliberal policies would have been best assessed by comparing conditions in the post-colonial period with conditions in the contemporary (post-liberalisation) period. Such an approach was not possible to employ in the present research.

For all three cases, a post-hoc test control design is employed. All those dispossessed by the neoliberal development projects is traced to their present place of residences and their socio-economic and cultural condition are assessed. The assessment has been compared with the data for similar population groups, obtained from census of

India data, government statistical departments, environmental impact assessment studies and research institutions. In all three cases a longitudinal survey method also implied to assess the prior situation. It is also important to mention that all the villages are not at the same phase of transition. Among the land dispossessed villages, few are at the initial phase, while few are at the advanced stage. However, there are certain qualitative aspects that may take several years to assess. In all three case studies, extractive as well as participatory approaches are used to assess the nature and magnitude of dispossession and also the way people (individually or collectively) surviving dispossession.

Different methods were employed during fieldwork for the generation of primary evidences on the case study: interviews, focus groups, survey and choice experiments.

Interviews, focus groups and documents are classified as qualitative data, and were analysed as such. The survey and the choice experiments, generating information in numerical form, qualify as quantitative data.

7.2.Survey Design

7.2.1. Universe of the survey and geographical coverage

To carry out a survey it is very important to define the extent of the geographical areas to be covered under the survey and the target population. The Asansol-Raniganj-Durgapur coal steel industrial complex of eastern India has been chosen as the survey location for this study where a large scale land dispossession is going on for mining, industrial and infrastructural development. The secondary report shows (Table 7.1) that 12 villages have been affected by the recent aerotropolis project and around 37 villages were affected by the steel town formation. Apart from this aerotropolis project a large number of villages have also been affected by open cast mining projects. The number of villages affected by mining activities is also documented in various secondary sources. All these villages affected (directly and indirectly) by the development projects are the universe of the research. It is also very important to mention that the study did not include villages dispossessed by Durgapur Steel Plant project. The reasons for exclusion are as follows:

- a) The displacement due to DSP project in the study region took place around 60 years ago. Therefore, it is not possible to identify the project affected households and the real experiences of the project displaced households.
- b) The other reason is this study essentially focuses on those development projects that took place in this region the post-liberalisation period.

Table 7.1: Glimpse of dispossessed villages by different development projects in the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India

Reasons for dispossession	No. of villages	Land Acquired (In Acers)	Population	Year
Villages affected by urban infrastructure development project	12	2306.31 Acres	18000 (Approximately)	2008
Villages affected by open cast mining project (ECL)	15	Data Not Available	13498	1996 - 2006
Villages affected by open cast mining project (EMTA and ICMPL)	26	2446.34 Acres	4600 (Approximately)	1996 and 2002
Villages affected by mining project (land degradation)	142 Unstable Locations	Data Not Available	110147 (Approximately)	2010 Onwards
Villages affected by steel plant	37	16384 Acers	11800	1950s

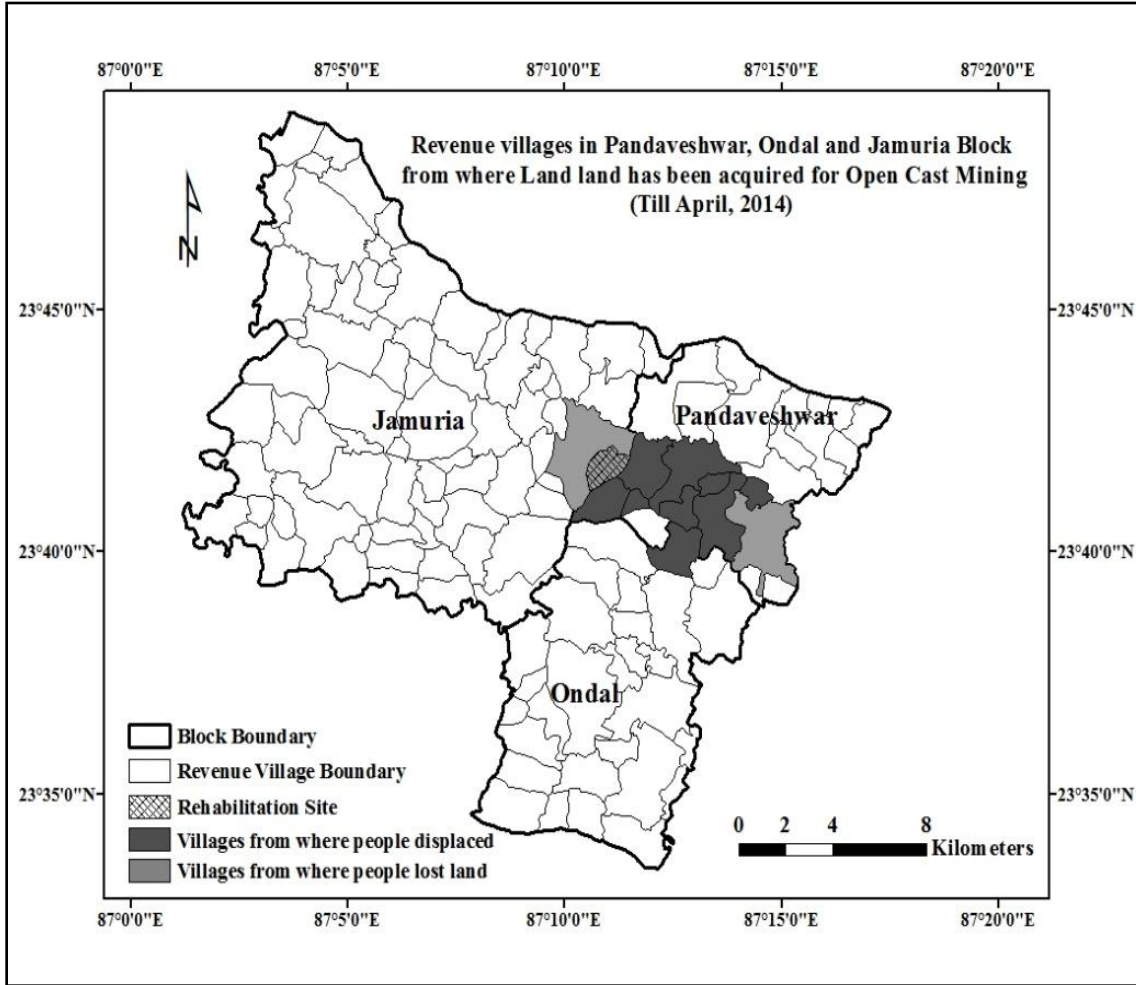
Source: Compiled by the researcher from various reports.

Table 7.2: Revenue villages from where land has been acquired for Open Cast Mining in Sonapur-Bazari

Area Acquired in Hectare (April, 2014)	Block	Mouza from where land acquired	Mouz a JL No.	Villages from which people displaced/ Transitional Phase	Villages from which people lose land
CBA Act Ph-I (68.01 ha) CBA Act, Ph-2 (547 ha) CBA Act Ph-III, (1200 ha) LA Act (398.54) Inherited (38.58) Govt. land (42.65) Direct Purchase Ph-I (110.07 ha) Total (2404.85 Ha.)	Pandave shwar	Bazari	23	Bazari	
		Bhaluka	21	Bhaluka	
		Bhatmura	13	Bhatmura	
		Hansdiha	27	Hansdiha	
		Haripur	24		Haripur
		Konardihi	14	Konardihi	
		Kumarkhala	25	Kumarkhala	
		Nabagram	20	Nabagram	
		Sonepur	22	Sonepur	
	Ondal	Shankarpur	28	Shankarpur	
Jamuria	Chinchuria	69		Chinchuria	
	Dahuka	70		Dahuka	

Source: <http://easterncoal.gov.in/area/sonepurbazari.html> and <http://banglarbhumi.gov.in/>.

Map 7.1: Revenue Villages in Pandaveshwar, Ondal and Jamuria Block from where land has been acquired for Open Cast Mining (Till April, 2014)



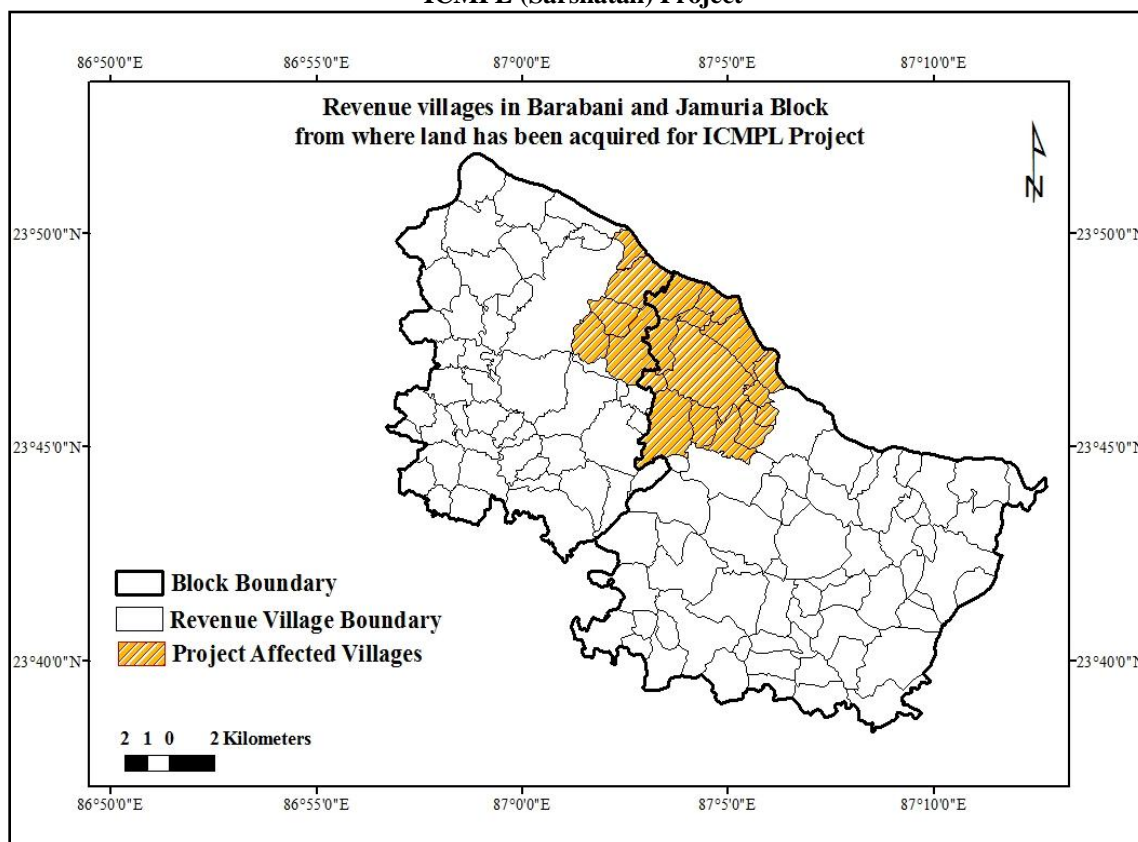
Source: Census of India, 2011 (Village Boundary Map)

Table 7.3: Revenue villages from where land has been acquired for Open Cast Mining in Sarshatali

Area Acquired in Hectare	Block	Mouza from where land acquired	Mouza JL No.	Villages from which people displaced/ Transitional Phase	Villages from which people lose land
LA Act	Barabani	Rashunpur	16	---	Rashunpur
		Madanpur	17	---	Madanpur
		Baguli	02	---	Baguli
		Rakhakuda	04	Rakhakuda	---
	Jamuria	Churulia	06	Diguli (Neighbourhood under Churulia)	---

Source: <http://banglarbhumi.gov.in/>.

Map 7.2: Revenue Villages in Barabani and Jamuria Block from where land has been acquired for IC MPL (Sarshatali) Project



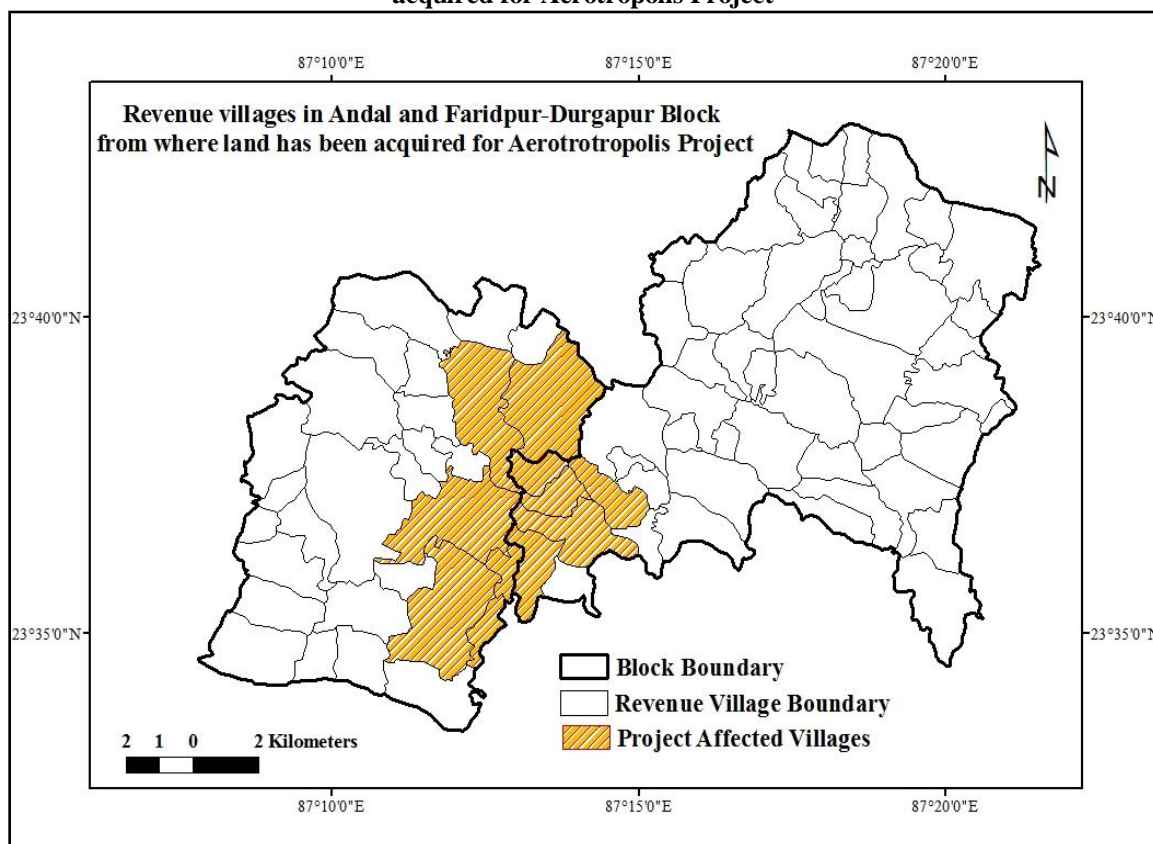
Source: Census of India, 2011 (Village Boundary Map)

Table 7.4: Revenue villages from where land has been acquired for Airport Project in Andal

Area Acquired in Hectare (April, 2014)	Block	Mouza from where land acquired	Mouza JL No.	Villages from which people already displaced/ Transitional Phase	Villages from which people lose land
LA Act	Andal	Dakshinkhanda	36	NIL	Dakshinkhanda
		Bhadur	42		Bhadur
		Andal Gram	52		Andal Gram
		Tamla	53		Tamla
		Dhubchuriya	55		Dhubchuriya
		Khandra	32		Khandra
		Ukhra	18		Ukhra
		Mahira	35		Mahira
	Faridpur-Durgapur	Amlauka	51		Amlauka
		Banguri	52		Banguri
		Patsaora	53		Patsaora
		Arati	54		Arati

Source: <http://banglarbhumi.gov.in/> and Sanhati.

Map 7.3: Revenue Villages in Andal and Faridpur-Durgapur Block from where land has been acquired for Aerotropolis Project



Source: Census of India, 2011 (Village Boundary Map)

7.2.2. Selection of interviewees for household case studies and Focus Group Discussion

- i) Case studies were conducted for few households in the affected villages under each project. This was the one of the most effective ways to assess the process of change. It tried to gather household information, especially the ‘sources of livelihood’ from the head of the household, if not available then from other members who are aware about the details of the household. However, this research did not collect information from the person below age of 18.
- ii) The focus group surveys were conducted once the official records and household surveys have been analysed. Focus group survey was particularly necessary in order to assess experiences of dispossession of various vulnerable groups, like- Village youth, Group of landless population, tribals, dalits and Women Group.

Table 7.5: Stakeholders of land dispossession

<p>Individuals [Household Level]</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Large scale land holders b. Medium scale land holders c. Small scale land holders d. Agricultural labourers e. Share Croppers f. Migrant households g. Scheduled Caste h. Scheduled Tribe
<p>Focus Group</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Village youth b. Group of landless population c. Tribals d. Dalits e. Women Group
<p>Key informants</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Village Patwari (land record keeper) b. Village panchayet (head) c. Middleman d. Local NGOs e. Project authorities. f. Government Officials. (BL&LRO, LAO). g. Local Political Parties.

Source: Conceptualised by the Researcher.

It is important to mention here that while household survey helps to gather quantitative information on dispossession, focus group survey is an essential tool to gather qualitative information.

7.2.3. Concepts and definitions

In the course of discussion several terms have been used repetitively. Therefore, it is very necessary to discuss how different social science researches have conceptualised all these terms and what the problems in conceptualisation are.

(i) Household:

A ‘household’ is usually a group of people that normally live together and take their meals from a common kitchen unless the exigencies of work prevent any of them from doing so. Individuals in a household may be related or unrelated or a mix of both. However, if a group of unrelated persons live in a census house but do not take their

meals from the common kitchen, then they are not constituent of a common household. Each such person should be treated as a separate household. The important link in finding out whether it is a household or not, is a common kitchen. There may be one member households, two member households or multi-member households³⁶⁷.

(ii) Land owner³⁶⁸:

It includes any person-

- a) Whose name is recorded as the owner of the land or part thereof, in the records of the concerned authority; or
- b) Who is entitled to be granted Patta rights on the land under any law of the state including assigned lands; or
- c) Who has been declared as such by an order of the Court or District Collector.

(iii) Project Affected Person³⁶⁹:

PAP refers the entire affected population.

(iv) Project Displaced Person³⁷⁰:

It includes those who have lost land and homestead. PDPs are divided into two groups.

- a) those physically dispossessed and moved to official resettlement sites.
- b) those physically dispossessed and resettled on their own in the same village or in some other village.

7.2.4. Selection of Interview Centers

During the field visit, 12 sites (Few census Villages and other neighbourhoods) were surveyed to understand the impact of dispossession on the people. The number of sampling were visited is mainly based on the diversity of the region and universe of the target group. Considering the heterogeneous characteristics of spatial allocation several interview centers were selected simultaneously for dispossessed people in order to

³⁶⁷ Census of India, 2011.

http://censusindia.gov.in/Data_Products/Data_Highlights/Data_Highlights_link/concepts_def_hh.pdf.

³⁶⁸ R and R policy, CIL, 2012.

(https://www.coalindia.in/DesktopModules/DocumentList/documents/CIL_RR_2012_100412.pdf.)

³⁶⁹ Dhagamwar, De and Verma, *Industrial Development and Displacement: The People of Korba*, (New Delhi: Sage Publication Pvt. Ltd., 2003), 38-39.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

include the specificities of different situation that have gone into the institutional memories of the stakeholders and the encounters they had under different circumstances.

Table 7.6: Matrix of sample villages for primary survey based on stratified purposive random Sampling

Reasons for dispossession			Survey Villages		
			Rehabilitation site	Partially Affected villages	Fully Affected
Mining Activities	Directly Affected by Mining activities	Under Government ownership	✓	✓	✓
		Under Private ownership	✓	✓	✓
Airport Project			×	✓	✓

7.2.5. Time Schedule

The detailed time scheduled for the survey is given below:

Table 7.7: Time schedule of primary survey

Sl. No	Survey Programme	Date
1.	Preparation of First draft Questionnaire	August, 2014
2.	Phase of questionnaire pilot testing	6 th to 25 th September, 2014
3.	Preparation of Final questionnaire	November, 2014
4.	Starting of final survey	2 nd February, 2015 to 21 st January, 2016
5.	Starting of data processing	3 rd March, 2016

7.3. Technical Issues

7.3.1. Sampling Strategies

A *Multi-Stage sampling method* was adopted in order to justify the research questions outlined in the first chapter of the present study (See Table 7.8). The stages involved in the process are as follows:

- (a) At the first stage, all the villages affected by land dispossession were identified and then divided on the basis of type of projects (like- mining and airport) took

land from them. Again villages affected by the mining projects divided into land acquired by the private owners and by Eastern Coalfields Limited (government). Villages indirectly affected by the mining activities (land degradation) are also included. All the project sites are cluster of few villages mentioned in Table 7.8 and shown in Map 7.1, Map 7.2 and Map 7.3.

- (b) Within these above categories villages again divided on the basis of their nature and magnitude of dispossession. i.e. (i) Fully affected villages (ii) Partially affected villages and (iii) surrounding villages not affected by the land dispossession. Here intensity purposive sampling method will be used for the selection of the villages. Among the potential divisions one village was randomly selected. Here Stratified Purposive Random Sampling was used.
- (c) In case of selection of household, social-economic morphology of the villages plays an important role. In each of the villages, households were divided on the basis of different caste, tribes, occupational group, land ownership and migration categories. The sample households in each group were selected proportionately using systematic purposive random sampling method.
- (d) Focus groups were selected based on *maximum variation random sampling method* so that the perspective of the subaltern stakeholders and their control or dominant groups could be captured. Here the major emphasise was on the political economic structure of the village. In other words, dominant and subaltern groups were selected in terms of the quantity (number or majoritarian approach) but on the basis of power (political and economic) structure. About 8 to 10 people were included for each focus group (like-Village youth, Group of landless population, Tribals, Dalits and Women, for details see Table 7.5) interview on the basis of convenience.

Table 7.8: Illustration of Multi Level Mixed Method Sampling

CLUSTERING OF THE STUDY REGION	SAMPLING OF VILLAGES	SAMPLING OF HOUSEHOLDS	SAMPLING OF FOCUS GROUPS
Cluster probability sampling	Stratified purposive random sampling	Random purposive sampling	Maximum variation purposive sampling

Sampling scheme depends on practical issues. (development projects that dispossess people)	A development project affects a cluster of villages. Intensity sampling is used to see the magnitude of dispossession. (Table 7.4)	Households are selected on basis of social-economic morphology, [allowed comparison between various sub-groups].	To show the perspective of subaltern stakeholders and their control groups (dominant in terms of political-economic relation).
1. Open cast mining under state ownership 2. Open cast mining under private ownership 3. Aerotropolis Project	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fully affected 2. Partially Affected 3. Resettled Villages. <p>[Theses three categories of villages are selected from mentioned development projects on random basis.]</p>	Various socio-economic groups. (On the basis of land ownership, caste and religious composition, Migration status, etc.)	A group of 8 – 10 people.

Source: Conceptualised by the researcher.

7.3.2. Execution of the Survey

There are a number of methods used in data collection. These are direct observation and measurement; mail questionnaire; telephone and personal interview. Among all these personal interview method has been used in the collection of data.

7.3.3. Design of Questionnaire

The survey has been conducted on the basis of a structured questionnaire modeled using the information obtained from the questionnaire schedule of Nation Sample Survey (NSS) and National Family Health Survey, various literature and several practical observations. Three different questionnaires were designed for three different development projects. The first draft of both the questionnaires was prepared for pilot testing and examining the validity of the questions. The final draft of questionnaires was framed after getting responses from the interviewees from the pilot testing. The final draft of both the survey questionnaires was divided into five sections (for details see Annexure).

- Section one sought the socio-economic and demographic particulars from the surveyed person, for example: caste, religion, age, sex, marital status, education, work, household assets and possessions, household income and expenditure, etc.

- In section two questions are designed to obtain the details of Land Acquisition, Resettlement Provisions and Monetary Compensation
- Section three includes questions on the details land information of the households. This section is only applicable for those households which have some access to land.
- In Section four questions were framed to obtained details on the compensation obtained from various development projects.
- The questions in the section five seek to gather information on agricultural activities of those households either own land of their own or involved in agricultural activities as sharecroppers and agricultural labourers.
- Section Six includes questions were framed to obtain people’s perception on these development projects, and
- In the last section questions were outlined to get the information on the way people react or show their consciousness (contestations) individually or collectively.

Table 7.9: Structure of Questionnaire

Data Will be collected from individual households	Data will be generated from focus groups
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The socio-economic and demographic particulars from the surveyed person, for example: caste, religion, age, sex, marital status, education, work, household assets and possessions, household income and expenditure, etc. • Land Acquisition, Resettlement Provisions and Monetary Compensation • Land Information • Agriculture • Perception • Agitation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment Opportunities • Availability of water, fuel, fodder • Access to basic amenities • Perception of compensation, method of payment • Access to natural resources • Perception on shifting • Resettlement experiences • Perception of agitation and protest.

Source: Conceptualised by the researcher.

7.3.4. Total Population surveyed

In between February, 2015 and January 2016, the researcher succeeded in surveying 372 households, consisting of 1914 individuals. Surveys were conducted with the male and/or female head of household or with any other adult member of the household and the questionnaire focused on topics including property and asset ownership; housing quality; household income; household composition; and demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, experience of development projects, etc.

7.3.5. Data Processing

Data has been processed in three distinctive stages:

- The **first stage** is that of coding. The questionnaire has been designed in such manner that majority of the questions (about 80 per cent) were open ended. Thus it requires coding in scientific manner. Data has been coded according to the specifications of Census of India (2011) and also followed other empirical work on dispossession.
- In the **second stage** the coded data have been entered into the computer using SPSS (Statistical Packages for Social Science) software, while in the last stage the data has been converted into tables according to a predetermined tabulation format. Another computer software like- Microsoft Excel has been used for this purpose.

7.3.6. Limitations of the Sample Survey

There are several analytical problems can be distinguished in the survey of the dispossessed:

- All those are dispossessed by these development projects are not getting equal opportunities to participate in the survey interviews. There is a potential for interview bias.
- Samples may not be the regional representative of the population due to its subjectivity and non-probability nature. Therefore, the sample could be criticised for being unrepresentative.

- Focus group discussion also has its own limitations. Like- they do not give the quantitative estimates of the total population, there are many incidences that the individual will not disclose when in a group situation³⁷¹.

³⁷¹ Hari Mohan Mathur, *Displacement and Resettlement in India: The Human Cost of Development*, (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013), 87-88.

Chapter 8

Tracing intra-regional Diversities by Dispossession

It was discussed in the introductory chapter (Chapter 1) that dispossession takes place in a sequential order in every regime and spaces and the coal-steel industrial complex too is not an exception. However, dispossession arrived in this region in different ways. It was predominantly exogenous with over determining structural control which continues to exist even under the neoliberal period. Dispossession is a relative process and does not have any fixed definition. Dispossession is neither a static process, nor a unidirectional one. It is combination of a number of processes. All the components of dispossession are not even measureable. The study of dispossession involves a number of qualitative aspects which are difficult to quantify.

Though, there are a large number of literatures on dispossession, yet a concrete definition is missing (as discussed in chapter 2). Cernea believes dispossession brings change in socio-demographic processes.³⁷² But the issue which arises in exploring a concrete definition of dispossession (as discussed in chapter 2) is: dispossession can be discussed within socio-economic as well as political-moral framework. Dispossession by land acquisition for different neoliberal projects transform social structure (will be discussed in the next chapter-9) and also disadvantaged certain section of the society in many respects. Sometimes brings rumors, fears and misfortunes along with it.³⁷³ On the other hand, interventions by the post-colonial and neoliberal states, particularly in socio-economic and legal spheres erode traditional practices. As mentioned by Banerjee-Guha, in the neoliberal period the expansion of capital is entwined not only with the dispossession from the land but losing rights over natural resources, livelihoods, knowledge, skill, network, cultural genocide – all that neoliberal capital requires for its

³⁷² Michael Cernea, “The Risks and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Populations,” *World Development* 25, No. 10 (1997), 1569-1587.

³⁷³ Michael Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India” (PhD Dissertaton, UC Berkley, 2013), 82.

expansion, profit and reinvestment.³⁷⁴ The large joint family system came to an end; the tribal societies formerly depended on the natural resources exposed to the market economy, notable shift is also found in the existing social relations, new social class arises and apart from that class ideologies spread in influence. Tribals, lower class, landless, youth and women are profoundly affected by land dispossession. They are the one, who are unable to protect and accomplish their interests from the neoliberal projects. Dip Kapoor describes these as “material marginalisations.”³⁷⁵

Here the aim is to understand the consequences of accumulation by dispossessions that are produced in three different locations (Sonepur-Bazari, Sarshatali and Andal) that were subjected to land acquisition for the development various neoliberal projects. The real story in practice is even more complicated than the theories and needs to be analysed critically. The inhabitants of Coal-Steel Industrial Complex of Eastern India dispossessed of their means of production by the social game of capital accumulation. This study followed with households shortly after land dispossession has taken place. The follow-up scenario revealed at the time of the survey would therefore underestimate the true post-dispossession scenario among these households at long run.

This chapter systematically examines these socio-economic, more precisely class effects by looking at the changes in three project (ECL, ICMPL, and BAPL) locations in Coal-Steel Industrial Complex of Eastern India, drawing upon a number of tables, charts and plates that has been constructed. An examination of the three case studies mentioned here helps to understand the levels of dispossession and differential social structure prevailing within coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India.

To gather adequate information, both secondary data from various sources and primary data from the field have been used. In addition, the inter project comparison is meant to serve three purposes:

³⁷⁴ Swapna Banerjee-Guha, “Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, No. 2 (2013), 172.

³⁷⁵ Dip Kapoor, “Adivasis (Original Dwellers) “In the way of” state-corporate development: development dispossession and learning in social action for land and forests in India,” *McGill Journal of Education* 44, No. 1(2009), 74.

(a) to distinguish between the impact of productive and speculative dispossession (chapter 2),

(b) these case studies also try to demonstrate that marginalisation of certain section of the society is not a unidirectional process. Rather it is a multidimensional process responsible for marginalisation. The marginalisation in the sites of land dispossession portrays the complex milieu of socio-economic structures, differential state policies (in the form of CSR) based on socio-economic structure, co-existence of multiple laws, misinformation or lack of information and so on, and

(c) also to show that the experiences of change in the socio-economic structure and their magnitudes are not identical in all the locations, however, the direction of shifts and few factors causing changes, seems to have been similar.

- *Some hypotheses*

The factors which appear important in determining the magnitude and patterns of dispossession fall into two broad categories:

- *Access to different forms of capital:* These processes of socio-economic and cultural changes are quite complex in nature and always set in motion. From various literatures it is found that the access to socio-economic and cultural capital has a role in surviving dispossession. Therefore, it is important to find out the pre-existing inequalities among the villagers in terms of access to economic, social, cultural and human capital. The secondary data shows that the pre-project socio-economic structure is consisted of an unequal distribution of economic, social and cultural capital that has a deep connection with the caste structure and the roots lie with post-independent land reform. To determine the access to various forms of capital several proxy indicators have been used:

- (1) *Economic Capital:* Inequalities in the ownership of agricultural land, Household status based on source of income, income of the household, standard of living, cost of living.

- (2) *Social Capital:* Social networking.

- (3) *Cultural Capital:* Access to education.

- ***Material inducement to dispossessed:*** such as for loss of access to land, loss of housing, loss of access to Common Pool Resources (CPR). It is important to mention that material inducement itself dependent on access to social and economic capital.

This chapter is mostly drawn from the primary field survey which was conducted among 372 households from separate research locations in the coal-steel industrial complex of India already mentioned in the last chapter (chapter 7).

The four sub-sections below will address the issues as follows:

- Section one (8.1.) of this chapter focuses on a detailed scenario of **the socio-economic characteristics and access to economic, social and cultural capital of the households in the affected villages.**
- The second section (8.2.) focuses on the details of **demographics of the region** so that to identify the age-sex composition, dependency status of the villages.
- The third section (8.3.) illustrates upon three case studies explores the **pattern and magnitude of dispossession** in terms of **land relation, household status, changes in employment pattern, food security, social disarticulation and cultural genocide and material circumstances.**
- The successive section (8.4) offers an overview on **why certain factors are significant in determining the pattern and magnitude of dispossession** from one location to another.
- The concluding section **highlights the issues that demand continued attention.**

First, it is necessary to elucidate why each of these factors is likely to be important.

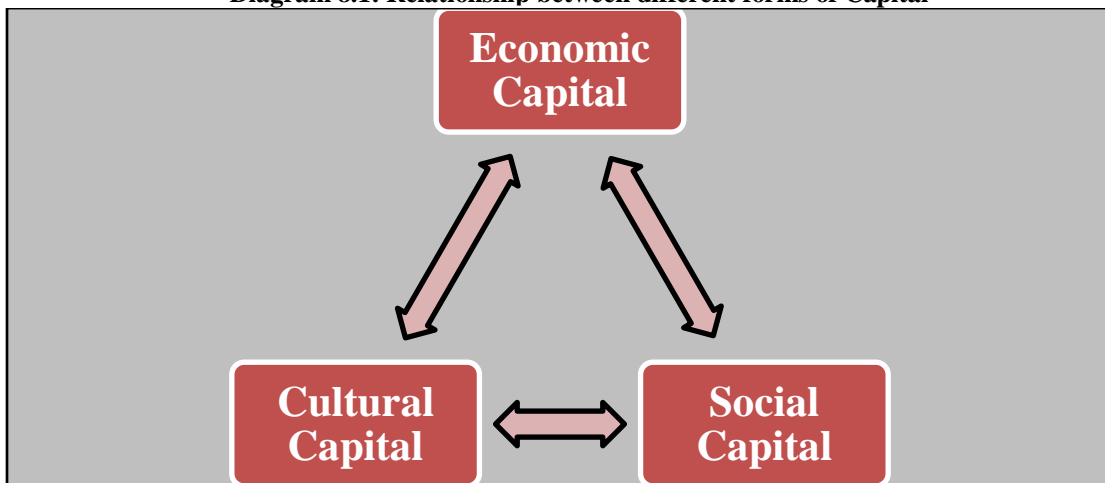
(a) ***Different forms of capital and their inter-relation***

In establishing the relation between the magnitudes of dispossession and different forms of capital Levien writes: ‘economic, cultural and social capitals are all features of

an underlying class inequality.³⁷⁶ Bourdieu's conceptualisation on notion of capital (like-economic, social and cultural) is important in determining the magnitude and pattern of dispossession in the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India.

Bourdieu³⁷⁷ in *'The Forms of Capital'* introduces the two concepts, i.e. cultural capital and social capital and also tried to establish link between different forms of capital. In Bourdieu's point of view, cultural capital is something that one acquires for organising oneself and possible to reproduced by economic capital. Bourdieu referred social capital as "a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition"³⁷⁸. He further believes that social capital is not given naturally it has to be obtain and can be use in future. There are essentially diverse relations between the forms of capital. People with more economic capital convert it to cultural (by investing in education) and social capital (social networks), which often reconverted to economic capital. It is worthy of mentioning that the income of the households, standard of living and cost of living are the major indicators to determine access to economic capital. However, it is not possible to capture properly for the pre-dispossession period.

Diagram 8.1: Relationship between different forms of Capital



Source: Adapted from Bourdieu (1986).

³⁷⁶ Michael Levien, "Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India" (PhD Dissertataion, UC Berkley, 2013), 125.

³⁷⁷ P. Bourdieu, "The forms of capital," In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 241-258.

³⁷⁸ <https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/bourdieu-forms-capital.htm>

Levien suggests that there is another form of capital which has a great role to play in surviving dispossession, known as political capital.³⁷⁹ This study proposes to provide an understanding of the magnitude and pattern of dispossession, using aforesaid four forms of capital.

(b) *Material incentives*

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) that includes various material inducements (R and R) is increasingly seen as a political strategy to manage those sections of the society, became the prey of the neoliberal predators and therefore indirectly work as a lever for economic growth and competitiveness. S. Vallentin and David Murillo believe that “government works not to put social or ecological restraints on private corporations but to help them identifying/creating and acting upon strategic opportunities in their environment”³⁸⁰. Curiously, government promotes CSR by pushing the profit motive, not by restraining it, and this is, we argue, indicative of emerging neoliberal tendencies in governmental approaches to exercise power in economic form. A large body of literature suggests that these CSR can have differential effects on the dispossessed.

As discussed by Heather Randell,³⁸¹ material incentives in the form of compensation can influence the socio-economic structure in three ways:

- (1) reproduce the structure of inequality that existed in the study area earlier;
- (2) serve as an opportunity for marginalised to improve their socio-economic conditions thereby could reduce inequality; or
- (3) increase inequality as the dominant sections gaining wealth and the marginalised facing socio-economic stagnation or decline.

– ***Information Sources***

³⁷⁹ Michael Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India” (PhD Dissertation, UC Berkeley, 2013), 123-125.

³⁸⁰ S. Vallentin and David Murillo, “CSR as Governmentality,” CBS Working Paper Series, Working Paper No. 04 (2009), 4. <http://www.fabricaethica.it/documenti/936.CSR%20and%20governmentality.pdf>.

³⁸¹ Heather Randell, “The short-term impacts of development-induced displacement on wealth and subjective well-being in the Brazilian Amazon,” *World Development* 87 (2016), 385–400.

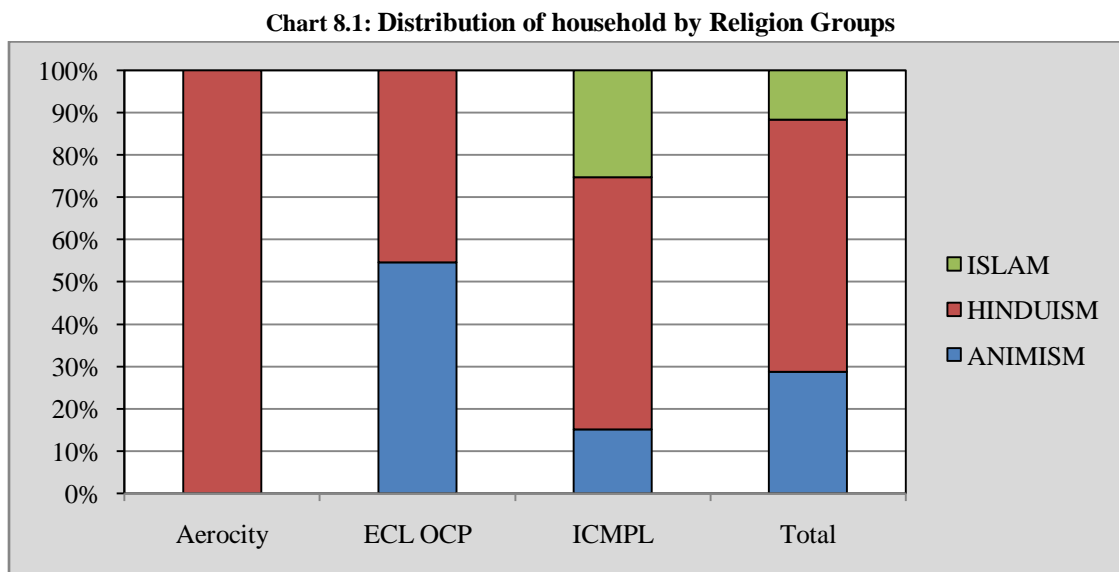
This chapter is drawn primarily on two kinds of information sources: *secondary sources* and *micro level surveys*. Large scale secondary data sources – including census and others have the advantage of providing quantitative data on some variables for the affected villages under study, such as work participation rates, proportion of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population, literacy rate, agricultural labourers, and cultivators. But the secondary sources do not provide any information on many of the social, economic and cultural variables require for these kinds of studies; thus one has to depend on the evidences collected from the primary survey.

8.1. Socio-economic profile of the dispossessed villages

A detailed social-cultural-economic-demographic profile of the respondent gives the researcher a better picture of the dispossessed in a region and also shows why it is important to conceptualise the reality of dispossession. Social compositions in terms of religion, caste, family status, and standard of living, etc. are few such factors which have been analysed for the purpose.

8.1.1a Religion

An analysis of respondents according to their religion is shown in Table 8.1.



Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

It is found from the chart that the religious composition is quite different in all three project location. The data collected from the Andal region shows that the entire population belongs to Hinduism. However, the scenario is not true as this study has not included the villages with large share of Muslim population. On the other hand in Rakhakura village almost 95 per cent people are Muslims. On the other hand, tribal people follow their own religion different from Hinduism, known as Animism.

8.1.1b Social Composition

Appendix Table 8.1, 8.2 and 8.3 provides an overview of some socio-economic parameters of the villages from where land dispossession has taken place or to be taken place due to expansion of open cast mines by ECL and ICMPL and urban-infrastructure project by BAPL. Normally there found a positive correlation between social status and ownership of land.

Once upon a time the Asansol-Durgapur mining industrial region of West Bengal was also known as ‘Gopebhumi’. A majority of the population of this region belongs to the Gope community and also quite influential in a number of villages. Traditionally they were involved in agricultural activities. At the initial phase the Gope community did not have any internal divisions. Later they bifurcated into two sub communities based on their occupation. Those households involved in agricultural activities were known as ‘Sadgope’, on the other hand, those involved in livestock breeding were known as ‘Gope’. The members of Sadgope community had learnt agricultural activities from the Mundas. Following this tradition, they used to keep involve themselves in harvesting, crop production, etc. On the other hand, people from Bauri communities used to help them in these activities as agricultural labourer³⁸². Apart from that there were few communities, like-“Kumar” (potter) and “Chutar” (carpenter) that involved in agricultural allied activities and their work was to supply agricultural implements. Almost in every village, the people belong to different communities used to reveal spatial segregation.

³⁸² The information on traditional social structure is gathered from various texts in regional language (Bengali) and translated by the author. (Amar Chattapadhyay, *Asansol-Durgapur Anchaler Itibritto-o-tar loksanskriti*, (Bardhaman: Jodhan Prakashani, 2013), 15-16).

The respondents interviewed may be again classified into two sub categories as shown in the Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Distribution of sample population by Social Groups

Social Group	Projects			Total
	BAPL	ECL	ICMPL	
Non-Scheduled	149 56.4%	130 17.0%	518 58.4%	797 41.6%
SC	115 43.6%	209 27.4%	235 26.5%	559 29.2%
ST	0 .0%	424 55.6%	134 15.1%	558 29.2%
Total	264 100.0%	763 100.0%	887 100.0%	1914 100.0%

Source : Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

The composition of the local population is extremely heterogeneous in character consisting of aboriginals, semi-aboriginals and non-aboriginals. The non-scheduled group³⁸³ includes Brahmins and Kayasthas, etc. who have always occupied a higher social status in the society. The representation of other non-scheduled population is about 41.60 per cent of the total sample collected during the survey. Under the Sarshatali project Rakhakuda is a Muslim dominated village and under article 340 of the constitution they come under the OBC A (Other Backward Class) category and included in the non-scheduled categories. Scheduled Caste population consists of Bauris, Bagdis and other lower caste populations and comprises 29.20 per cent of the total sample. Scheduled Tribes have also been considered under the Hindu community. A substantial 29.2 per cent of the sample belongs to the Scheduled tribes. In some villages (neighbourhoods), like- Arsula, Kuchibera, Basakdanga, Bandhghat and Banglapara near Sonepur-Bazari project and in Diguli near Sarshatali project virtually all the households belong to tribal communities like- Hansda, Kora, Murmu, Besra, etc.

8.1.2. Cultural Characteristics

8.1.2a Family Size and composition

³⁸³ The non-scheduled category includes both OBCs and other castes except SCs and STs.

The dispossessed households especially who stay in the resettlement sites provided by the company are not living as a traditional joint families (see Table 8.2). Therefore, most of the time it is a nuclear family³⁸⁴, of cohabiting married couple either with or without children. The percentage share of extended families with more than two cohabiting generations is very less.

Table 8.2: Distribution of households by its size

Household Size	Project			Total
	BAPL	ECL	ICMPL	
1-4 Members	29	56	86	171
	52.7%	39.7%	48.9%	46.0%
5-7 Members	19	59	67	145
	34.5%	41.8%	38.1%	39.0%
More than 7 Members	7	26	23	56
	12.7%	18.4%	13.1%	15.1%
Total	55	141	176	372
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source : Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

8.1.2b. Mixed Culture

The mining-industrial base of the region has a deep rooted impact on the social and cultural life of the people. The coal-steel industrial complex of West Bengal exhibits a typical rurban³⁸⁵ characteristic more specifically a different kind of socio-cultural environment. In the villages surrounding the open cast coal mines (both in Sonapur-Bazari and Sarshatali), the mining and non-mining community exists side by side. The residential segregation is very pronounced on the basis of caste and in the form of different 'paras'³⁸⁶ in all the survey villages (Chapter 7). But the villages are in the state

³⁸⁴ According to OECD - Social Policy Division - Directorate of Employment, Labour and Social Affairs, the family nucleus is defined as a partnered couple (married or cohabiting) with or without (adopted) children, or a sole parent with one or more (adopted) children. Parents do not necessarily concern the biological father and mother, but can also concern step-parents (for example, the partner of a biological parent).

³⁸⁵ The word rurban (rural+urban) refers to a geographic territory /landscape which possess the economic characteristics and lifestyles of an urban area while retaining its essential rural area features.

³⁸⁶ 'Para' is a Bengali term. It usually refers to a neighbourhood or locality. A 'para' often consists of people with similar caste, similar kind of livelihood and it has a strong sense of community or belongingness.

of transition. Here neither the social order is maintained very strongly, nor has the social organisation completely weakened or been modified like the urban regions³⁸⁷.

Apart from these there were some inhabitants occupying the illegal squatter adjacent to the coal mines, whose socio-economic life evolves around the extractive industry either by direct employment (by contract/ unofficially) or by allied services. The manual labourers were not the only ones who have migrated to this region. There has been also an influx of business classes from Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat and north-western states. It has led to the development of a peripheral diverse³⁸⁸ culture in these colliery regions.

The above mentioned socio-economic characteristics of this region have deep rooted impact on access to economic, social, cultural and political capital help the project dispossessed to survive dispossession.

- **Access to Economic Capital**

Economic capital is important for surviving dispossession in various ways. Economic condition of present generation has a direct bearing on the social mobility of the future generations. Those households with more access to economic capital in terms of land and income, it is relatively easier for them to survive dispossession. In the era of advance capitalism, economic capital not only provides greater opportunities of diversification, but also increases their ability to bargain. In order to assess the access to economic capital two proxy indicators have been used in this thesis, i.e. access to land and household sources of income.

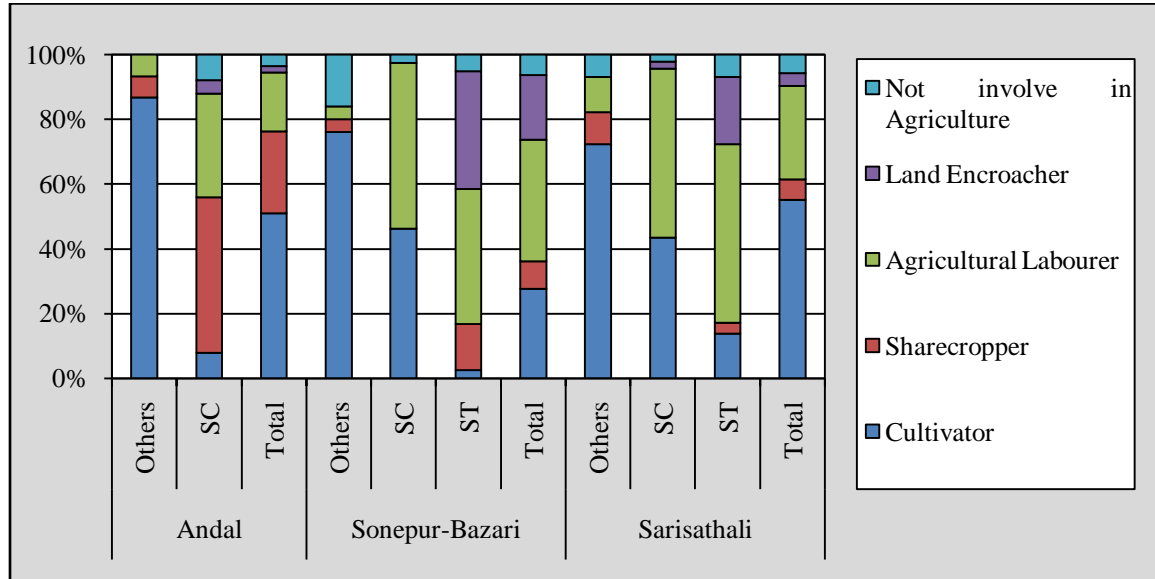
A) Access to land and various class relations based on accessibility of land (man-land ratio)

³⁸⁷ See Murty and Pandey (1988) who describes how in the coal mining region the process of socio-cultural intermingling has taken place among the residents. (B. S. Murty and S.P. Pandey, *Indian coal industry and the coal miners*, (Delhi: Discovery publishing house, 1988), 79-80.)

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 79-80.

According to Agarwal, among economic resources, land has its dual importance as productive asset and as potential income stream.³⁸⁹ It provides the source of economic security in a number of ways: through direct production possibilities, as saleable asset, provide employment to others and so on. In order to determine the access to economic capital in terms of ownership of land, one should find out the agrarian class structure of the region in the pre-dispossession period.

Chart 8.2: Pre-existing land relation



Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

Prior to 2000, West Bengal's class structure was consisted largely of a land owning middle class significantly differentiated from a lower class. The experience of land reform in West Bengal was quite different from other states in India. Post independence land reform in West Bengal was characterised by origin of new middle landed class in the political sphere of power.³⁹⁰ The post independence agrarian reform had given primary attention to the sharecroppers. Ross points out that the sharecropper can be a middle or rich peasant with the agrarian capital. A large number of sharecroppers had their own land and sometimes many 'large landowners sharecroppers

³⁸⁹ Bina Agarwal, *A Field of One's Own: Gender and Land rights in South Asia*, (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 17.

³⁹⁰ Ross Mallick, *Development Policy of a Communist Government: West Bengal since 1977* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 29-30.

on land leased from small peasants.³⁹¹ Even landless agricultural labourers also prefer to cultivate land on sharecropping basis that they can improve their social status.³⁹²

a) *Sonepur Bazari Project affected region*

In villages like- Hansdiha and Sonepur the caste structure is dominated by the agriculturalist caste. However, lack of rainfall and irrigation, inadequate supply of water are the perennial problem behind low and seasonal agricultural production of this region. Therefore, the agricultural caste of this region can not consider as capitalist cultivators rather petty agricultural commodity producers. It is noteworthy to mention that the agricultural class is an internally differentiated category. In Bhaluka village among the Scheduled Castes, the sub-caste, like- Mondals (Sunri) received a significant amount of land. The other SCs- including Bauries and Bagdies almost did not receive anything. Similarly, STs of this region hardly received any landholdings; only very few had land ownerships but all of them were patta holders (only homestead land) and largely comprised the agricultural wage labourer.

b) *Sarshatali Region*

Under Sarshatali project, Rakhakura is Muslim dominated villages and most of the households have significant amount of landholdings. Few among the Muslim households leased in agricultural land as sharecroppers from the neighbouring villages, while few caste Hindu households received the least landholdings. In Rashunpur, a large number of households belong to the general caste received significant amount of land. On the other hand, among the SC households, a large proportion did not receive any land while few had leased in some land from the general caste households. Amuliya villages just 500 meters away from the Ajay River and the boundary of Birbhum District is a scheduled caste dominated village with only about 30 households. There are only three Brahmin families in the village yet equally deprived like others (SC households) in terms

³⁹¹ Ibid., 51.

³⁹² Ibid., 51.

of access to land. Like the tribals villages of Sonepur-Bazari, STs of Diguli village also did not receive any landholdings and largely comprised the agricultural wage labourer.

c) Andal Aerotropolis Region

In Andal, few Brahmin households received most of the land, followed by few other general caste households. Scheduled Caste, including the Bauri, Bagdi, Muchi, Dom sub-castes, received the least land, more precisely to say they are landless. Among the scheduled caste, some mondals (Sunri) have significant amount of land. Similarly in Tamla, general caste households received maximum amount of land. On the other hand, the families belong to scheduled caste, were mostly landless or few leased in land from the general caste households.

In Ross's formulation, the poorest sharecroppers or bargadars also belong to the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe communities who could not form an effective organisation of their own, thus have been left out of the barga recording due to the fear of eviction and dependence on the propertied section of the society.³⁹³ It can be said that scheduled caste and scheduled tribe largely comprised the wage labour in both agricultural and non-agricultural sector, considered as semi-proleteriat. As stated by Ross:

*“Agricultural labor is extensively a dependent class, tied to the landlord for employment, debts, and social obligation. At best he owns too little land to make living and therefore supplements it with wage labor. Thus he represents the most exploited class, but also the most difficult to organize.”*³⁹⁴

Overall, it can be said that land reform could not eliminate the internal differences on the basis of land distribution; rather land reform has created another form of inequality corresponds to the caste hierarchies (while keep few exceptions). These unequal land holdings provide the basis for uneven ability of different sections of the society to survive dispossession.

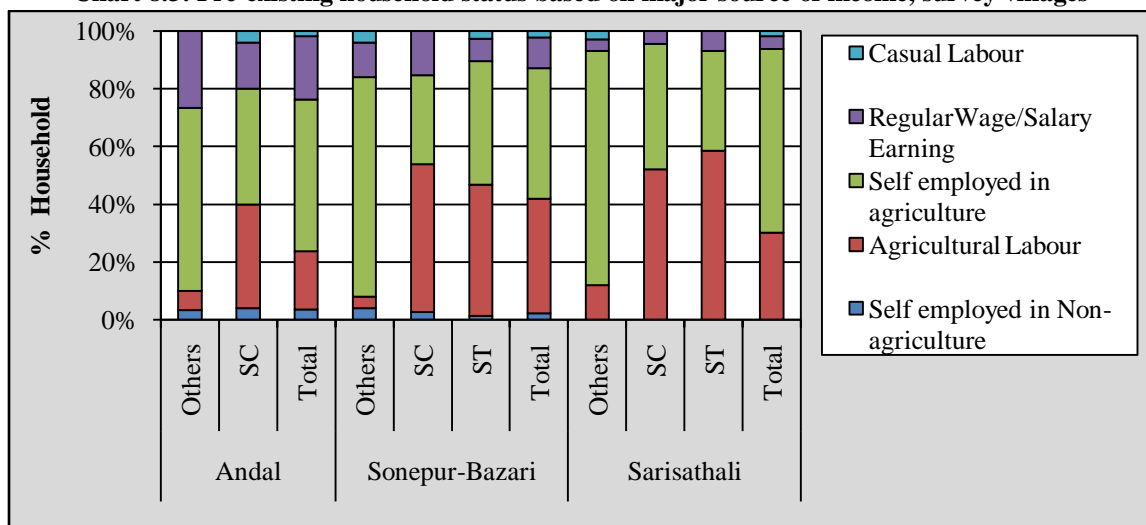
³⁹³ Ibid., 53.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 50.

B) Household Status based on source of income

Another important indicator to determine access to economic capital is to find out the major source of income prior to dispossession. Household access to land had a strong correlation with the source of income. The following table and chart show a broad picture of household sources of income in the pre-dispossession period.

Chart 8.3: Pre-existing household status based on major source of income, survey villages



Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

From the chart 8.3 it can be seen that:

- In all three regions majority of the households used to earn from agricultural activities before the project initiated in this region. It is important to mention here that the category self employment in agriculture includes not only those households with own land and cultivate of their own but also those households that leased in land from others on sharecropping basis.
- The economy of the adivasis of mining region of West Bengal is characterised by both subsistence production and direct dependence on natural resource base. Earlier they were dependent on agriculture, livestock and gathering of various forms of forest products for their livelihood. Coal resource always had an important place in their life. The degree of self-sufficiency by cultivation, using

livestock and collecting forest products and coal as well; were restricting them from interacting with the market economy.

Hence, from the above scenario it is found that agriculture was the mainstay of the economy and most of the earning used to come from agriculture and allied activities.

- **Access to Cultural Capital**

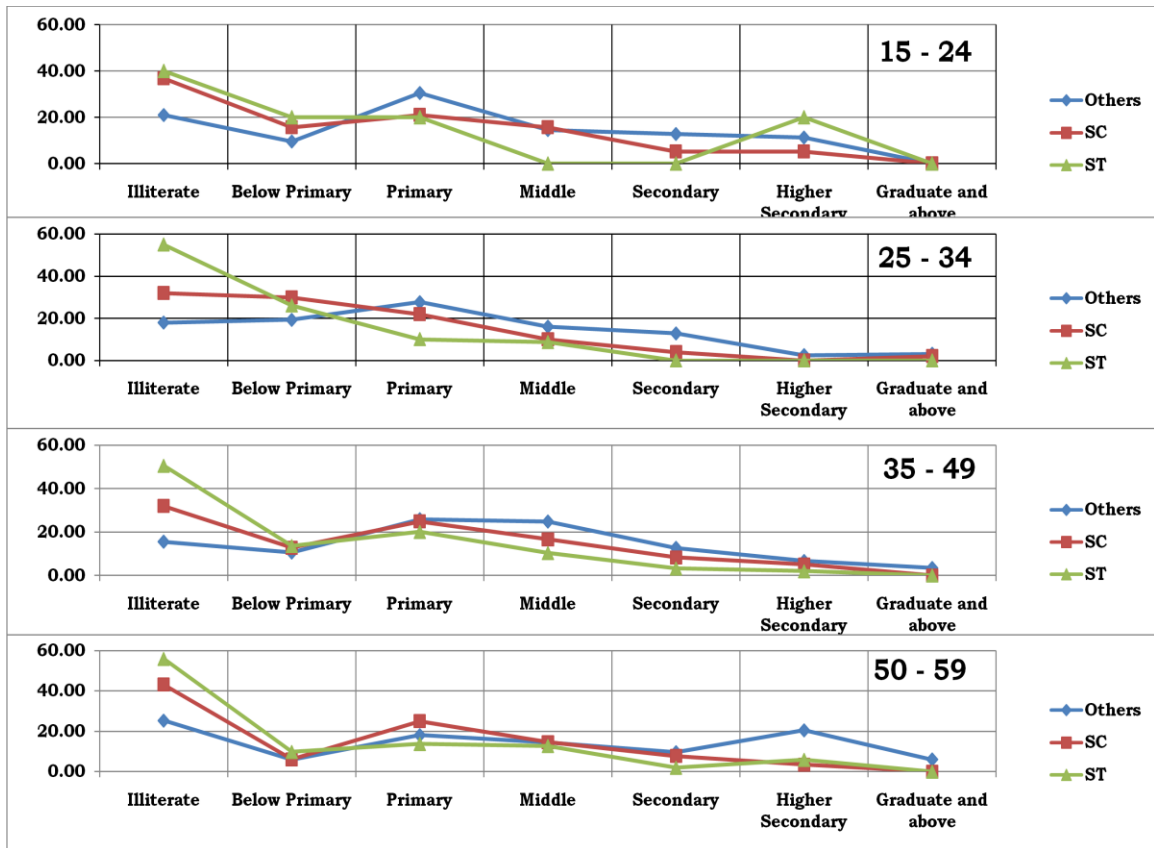
Levien believes that: ‘economic capital is not the whole story. Participating in any market also requires some amount of cultural aptitude.’³⁹⁵ Bourdieu conceptualised that cultural capital can exist in three forms, i.e. embodied state, objectified state and institutionalised state.

Among various properties of cultural capital education qualification has significant role. In this context, the role of education in bringing out a positive change in society cannot be undermined. It is believed that with wider access to education, individual will definitely become more visible in workforce. Education makes it possible for individuals to surmount their family background and achieve their own status.

Those parents, who have greater access to financial capital able to influence the household children’s employment by providing the startup capital to them. The previous researches suggest that parent’s human capital and financial capital has a modest impact on son’s occupational choice. Investment on human capital formation for the children generation considered as one of the most valuable investment that parents can do for them. Investment on human capital helps children to survive and to develop their full potential in the labour market.

³⁹⁵ Michael Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India” (PhD Dissertation, UC Berkley, 2013), 125.

Chart 8.4: Educational Attainment across social groups



Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

Essentially as Blau and Duncan notes, in the modern industrial society, when it is difficult to pass the socio-economic status directly to the future generation, current generation can still pass on their socio-economic status to their next generation by investment on more years of education in more prestigious institute.³⁹⁶ In the social and economic policy programme of UNICEF has discussed the importance of investment in future generation, as evidenced by the following words:

'Investing financial resources to help children survive and develop to their full potential is first and foremost, a moral imperative. But investing in

³⁹⁶ P.M. Blau and Duncan, *The American Occupational Structure*, (New York: Wiley, 1967).

*children is also important on practical ground. It yields positive benefits to economies and societies.*³⁹⁷

Among all the social groups SC and ST households have less access to cultural capital in terms of educational attainment across different age cohort (Chart 8.4 and Annexure 8.4). The tribal communities have little access to economic capital therefore have little ability to gain cultural capital, therefore they are less educated. Hence, it can be said that the incidence of transforming cultural capital to economic capital is also very less. It is also found from the survey that there is hardly any household that invested the compensation money for human capital formation.

- **Access to Social Capital**

One of the crucial points in this regard is phenomenology of space. This mode of place experience is termed by ‘existential outsidersness’ by Relph.³⁹⁸ State or organisation with its material incentives trying how the victims can regain ‘existential insidersness’.³⁹⁹

Social capital is associated with the network of relationships between and within communities. Beyond the financial and material resources, the access to social capital also affects the opportunities for personal and social development experienced by children and the youth population. Additionally, it structures their expectations. A wider range of social network could be beneficial for upward occupational mobility for the future generation. Contrary to this, the lack of social capital can negatively affect the occupational mobility of the upcoming generation. Several researches have also emphasised on ethnic and cultural capital as important factors for status transmission.

³⁹⁷ Social and Economic Policy, (UNICEF), http://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/index_53294.html (accessed June 21, 2013).

³⁹⁸ ‘Existential outsidersness’ is – ‘a sense of strangeness and alienation, such as that often felt by newcomers to a place or by people who, having been away from their birth place, return to feel strangers because the place is no longer what it was when they knew it earlier.’

³⁹⁹ ‘Existential Insidersness’ is – a situation of deep, unself-conscious immersion in place and the experience most people know when they are at home in their own community and region.’

It is found during the survey that the private companies hire local people in the collieries on recommendation. Employment in the colliery sometimes does not depend on the quality rather based on linking/ networking social capital. The network of relations shows the social reality of the region. But, different societies may behave differently regarding the set of events considered for social status attainment.

'We used to work as agricultural labour on other's land. Now the OCP has come up on that land. We are new to this place. We have not come across the land owners of this region yet. If we try, we could grow crops here. However, as long as we are not done with our new houses, we won't be able to do any other work.' (Ganesh Murmu, field note on 10.03.2015)

To summaries: all the villages irrespective of different neoliberal projects record unequal distribution of economic, social and cultural capital even before the project had arrived. The unequal distributions of various forms of capital are highly influenced by caste hierarchy of the region⁴⁰⁰. The field survey notes that the non-scheduled were significantly better off than the scheduled households. With very little economic capital the SC and ST households could not use that to form social and political capital. Therefore, in terms of social and cultural capital also they are found to be in quite disadvantageous position. The new socio-economic and the power geometry of the region to some extent also shaped by pre-existing social structure. In fact the CSR policies are also governed by the class and caste structure.

8.2. Demographic profile of the dispossessed villages

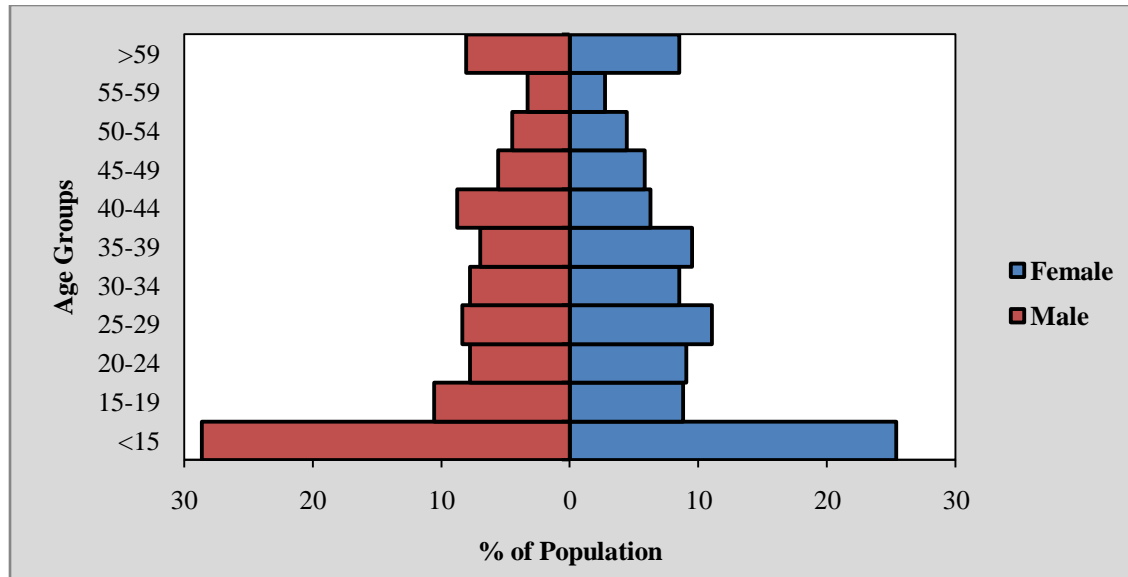
8.2.1. Distribution of population by age and sex

The base of a pyramid indicates the segment of population in the young ages while the top indicates the oldest ages. The proportions of people in the various age and sex categories are subject to change because of the continuous action of population

⁴⁰⁰ Michael Levien, "Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India" (PhD Dissertaton, UC Berkley, 2013), 125.

growth components. The age and sex breakup of the population in terms of percentage to the total population are indicated in the following chart (Chart 8.5):

Chart 8.5: Age-Sex composition of the surveyed households



Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

It is important to mention here that how a region will survive dispossession is depending on the age-sex composition of the region. The material incentives provided to the dispossessed is determined by age and sex of the household members. Households having more male members above the age of 18 get more chances of survival than others. It is found from the above chart that the percentage share of population below the age of 15 is quite high for both male and female and this scenario is true for all three project locations (Annexure 8.5).

8.3. Capturing diversity in pattern and magnitude of dispossession

The risks and opportunities of dispossession as part of neoliberal development projects differentially distributed across social space, however quite understudied aspect in academic discourse. Every village has its own character in terms of its social composition. Different villages, within that households and even individuals respond to the process of dispossession by various neoliberal projects in complex ways through its

distinct social structure. The varied response to dispossession is dependent on the diversity and complex rural class structure.⁴⁰¹ Some projects provide better packages to the villagers, few cheated on the dispossessed and few fell somewhere in between. Interviewed during the field survey in 2015-2016, the villagers have described the gigantic changes that the neoliberal developmental projects have brought to the villagers of this region, where they grew up, and formed the bases of their livelihoods. Many of these changes adversely affected the community in general and the tribals in particular. Many of the dispossessed could ultimately survive dispossession, many could even improved in the process, but at the same time many were highly disrupted; many individuals found themselves at the bottom of the abyss.

Understanding the impact of dispossession requires a more in-depth examination of the pre-existing social structure of the villages before the arrival of the neoliberal projects and also the compensation provided to them as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), more precisely the logics of governmentality.

The case studies mentioned here can help in a better understanding of the varied trajectories of dispossession for people belong to different social strata. Examples of these differential outcomes are highlighted in this section. This study has not used any particular methods to assess the post land dispossession scenario. It is crucial to take a multidimensional approach that incorporates both quantitative and qualitative measures. However, it has used indicators (sometimes proxy indicators) from different frameworks as used in various studies, like- the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model, Livelihood Risks and Opportunities (LRO) model and Livelihood Asset Status Tracking⁴⁰² (LAST) framework (Table 8.3).

Table 8.3: Various methods used to capture the impact of dispossession

IRR Model	LRO Model	LAST
<i>Dimensions of risks of</i>	Access to physical assets and	<i>Livelihood assets, risks and</i>

⁴⁰¹ Sharat G. Lin, “Theory of a Dual Mode of Production in Post-colonial India,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 15, No. 10 (1980), 517.

⁴⁰² Asmita Kabra, “Assessing economic impacts of forced land acquisition and displacement: a qualitative rapid research framework”, *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal* (2015). DOI: 10.1080/14615517.2015.1096037

<p><i>impoverishment:</i> Landlessness, Joblessness, Homelessness, Food insecurity, Increased morbidity and mortality, Marginalisation, Social disarticulation, Loss of access to common property.</p>	<p>resources, Access to financial assets and resources, Access to natural resources, Access to skills and human resources, Access to reciprocal networks and safety nets.</p>	<p><i>opportunities across different wealth categories:</i> Land (quantity and quality, Livestock, Fuel wood, Traded natural resources, Resources for household use.</p>
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Source: Conceptualised by the researcher.

This thesis analyse the qualitative data in order to explore the mechanisms underlying the quantitative findings on well-being change. This study focuses on few indicators to assess the post-dispossession scenario, like-

1. Landlessness
2. Physical dispossession and loss of locational advantages
3. Employment and livelihood generation
4. Food Security and changes in food habit
5. Social disarticulation and cultural genocide
6. Loss of access to common pool resources
7. Profit from land market and Reinvestment of compensation
8. Material circumstances
9. Exacerbation of socio-economic differentiation

These indicators mostly qualitative in nature and help to identify reasons for well-being change that could not be inferred only using the quantitative data.

8.3.1. Landlessness

The loss of land at three locations is massive. At three locations however, the loss of land has highly differentiated impacts. For the non-agricultural class, the loss of agricultural land seems to be of only marginal importance. Landlessness is also a risk for those households who primarily depend on agriculture for livelihoods. Such households

seem to refuse to sell their land property for the development projects but their fate could worsen significantly if the company chooses to expropriate them forcefully.

Table 8.4: Details of land acquisition by various development projects (Areas in Acers)

Land Use	Sonepur Bazari	Saristhali	Andal
Forest Land	80.68	380.90	--
Govt. Land	191.88		--
Non-Agricultural High Land	1330.29		253.59
Agricultural Land	4339.66	158.22	1499.13
Homestead Land	--		2.07
Waterbodies			66.16
Road			3.33
Total Area	5942.51	669.72	1824.28

Source: Compiled by the researcher using data collectd from Sonepur Bazari Area office, EIA Report of IC MPL and Banglarbhumi.gov.in website.

The above table (Table 8.4) shows that a large amount of agricultural land has been captured by these three development projects and therefore, produced a large number of landless populations.

According to Agarwal⁴⁰³, among economic resources, land has its dual importance as productive asset and as potential income stream. It provides the source of economic security in a number of ways: through direct production possibilities, as saleable asset, provide employment to others and so on. Land owning class tends to have greater bargaining power than the landless ones. While, tribals and the dalits because of their financial insecurity can easily be convinced to trade in that asset for a cash payment at relatively low price. Because of low level of literacy and awareness, the tribals are unable to understand the politics of land accumulation in practice. Material incentives and land for land (only homestead) is not adequate to make up the utility of the land. That is why land based risk of dispossession need to be differentiated across social space.

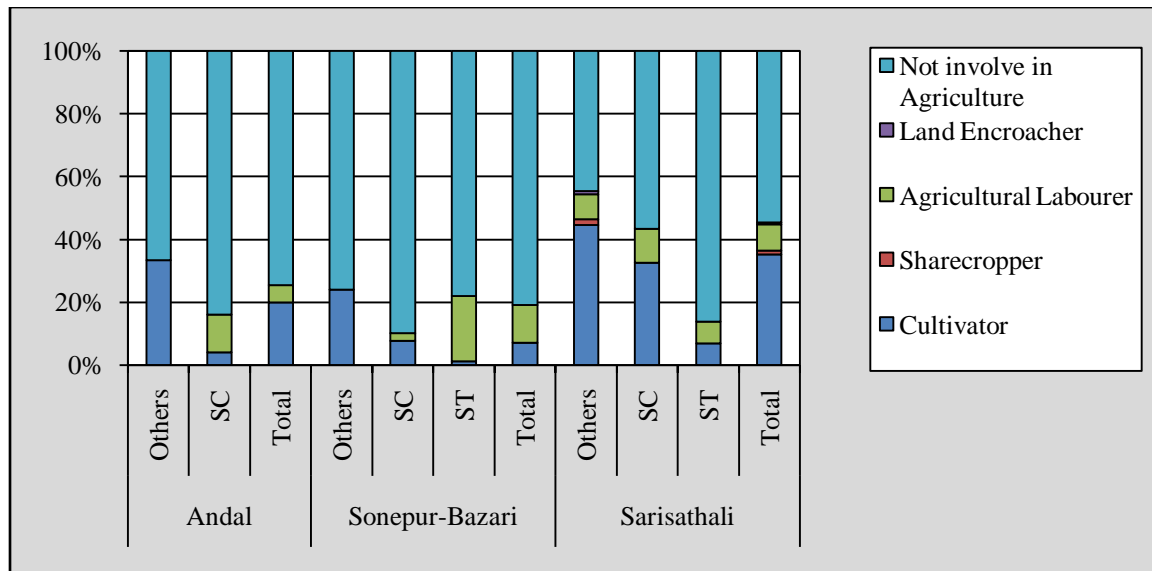
In case of Sonepur-Bazari project, landlessness for the small landholders, artisans, shopkeepers and especially for the tribals means greater insecurity than for the large land

⁴⁰³ Bina Agarwal, *A field of one's own: Gender and land rights in South Asia* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

holders. The R&R policy of CIL officially makes the landowners the beneficiaries by offering them regular salaried jobs in the formal sectors (mining) whereas turn the self-sufficient economy of the tribals into market based economy. Even though each project affected person (mainly male) irrespective of their social identity gets homestead land as compensation, but the quality of land provided to the tribals (see Plate 8.4) was problematic and need to be assessed tactfully by the practitioners.

Landlessness brings greater risks for the landless population irrespective of social identity based on caste and class, in comparison to the land owning class. The tribals in Arsula, Bandhghat, Bandhghat, Chatimdanga, Banglapara and Diguli have for long cultivated the land near their villages with no records of rights. However, the legal rights were kept with the non-tribal villages. Thus, now, when the tribals are displacing, they are not getting any compensation for the land, as they have been cultivating land only as encroachers, not as land owners. Survey figure (Chart 8.6) shows that almost 39 per cent tribals were land encroachers.

Chart 8.6: Post-dispossession land relation



Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

Comparing social groups regarding land rights, it is found that about highest proportion of households with legal land rights are found among the others, followed by

the SCs in all three locations. Thus, the non-tribals get better opportunities while compensation measures are concerned.

The above chart (8.6) shows that in the post-dispossession period a large proportion of the surveyed households have loss access to agricultural land and become part of non-agricultural class. Similarly, percentage share of the sharecroppers and cultivators have significantly declined.

Table 8.5: Household status based on agrarian relation in Pre and Post-Dispossession Period

Household status based on agrarian relation	Pre-Dispossession	Post-Dispossession
Cultivator	44.09	22.31
Sharecropper	9.95	0.54
Agricultural Labourer	30.65	9.41
Land Encroacher	9.68	0.27
Not involve in Agriculture	5.65	67.47
Dissimilarity	61.83	
Similarity	38.17	

Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

The high value of the dissimilarity index (see table 8.5) shows that there found an overall structural change in terms of land relation. It is also found that a large number of households from every land class have shifted to non-agricultural class in the post-dispossession period.

8.3.2. Physical dispossession and loss of locational advantages

It is extremely useful to understand the relation between place and human attachment to the place in the context of physical dispossession also termed as displacement as the lever of exploitation in the neoliberal period.

The accumulation of private and communal land for the expansion of open case mines results in massive displacement of people in the Sonapur Bazar and Sarshatali area. Homelessness due to physical dispossession by mining is a temporary phenomenon as both ECL authority and ICMPL providing both homestead land and cash compensation for house building or constructed houses to the entire project affected families irrespective of class and caste identity. But, there are lots of loopholes in the R

and R policies of CIL and ICMPL. On the other hand, BAPL project in Andal has not physically dispossessed people from their place of residence.

8.3.2a. Housing Condition

In case of Sonepur Bazari project, the major discrimination is centered on the monetary assessment of the houses. In most of villages the better constructed concrete houses are belong to the Hindu upper caste neighbourhoods, while kaccha houses are more predominant in lower caste Hindu and tribal neighbourhoods. As per CIL compensation policies families having pacca houses are getting monetary compensation on per square meter basis (which is quite high in comparison to the kaccha houses). Whereas the CIL R&R scheme appraises the kaccha houses of the rural poors and tribals as having very less economic value and a fixed as well as limited amount.

Table 8.6: House Structure across social groups prior to dispossession in Sonepur-Bazari and Sarshatali

Social Groups	House Structure	
	Pacca House	Kaccha House
Scheduled Tribe	4.88	95.12
Scheduled Caste	64.81	35.19
Others	96.97	3.03
Total	50.99	49.01

Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

It is hardly necessary to show the figures (Table 8.6) in order to understand the compensation amount the tribals are getting is quite less to build up a pacca structure. Similarly, it is also true that the authority is also trying to reduce the inequality among the tribals and non-tribals by providing same amount of plot (100 Sq Mts.) to every PAPs. A major discrimination is noticed during the time of survey.

The tribal villagers of Arsula village record a sudden move to their new rehabilitation site without any prior notice. They were providing with few temporary structures (Plate 8.1). Contrary to this, it is also found that all the PAFs from other villages (like- Hansdiha, Bhaluka, etc.) have only shifted to the site once they are completely done with their new house and other necessary infrastructures.

Plate 8.1: Temporary House Structure in the Arsula Rehabilitation site



Photo Courtesy: Captured by author during field survey (February, 2015 to January, 2016)

The most important change has taken place in the structure of the houses according to the dispossessed persons living in both resettlement sites and also those villages which has not experienced physical dislocation. According to the villagers living in resettlement sites, before dispossession a number of household which had kaccha houses, made of mud walls and tile roofs; now have permanent concrete structure. However, the sizes of the houses are reasonably small in comparison to the previous structures. As Levien states: ‘development made possible by dispossession is always prospective at the time of dispossession: nobody actually knows how it will actually turn out.’⁴⁰⁴ The resettlement homes got the status of ‘Pucca House’ constructed with bricks and concrete, hence a substantial upgrade over the Kaccha houses made of mud, tins and plastic sheets, but even with this upgraded status, the resettlement homes represent socio-cultural dispossession. This kind of dispossession occurs because there exists a socio-economic dimension to the resettlement process. As it is experienced that the poor tribal villages have given worse, low lying lands in comparison to the non tribal villages.

- ***Resource extraction and territorialisation of exploitation: Resettlement***

As Chatterjee considers, material incentive in the form of resettlement can be equally exploitative, ‘because the new spaces may be oppressive in their new tropes of

⁴⁰⁴ Michael Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India” (PhD Dissertation, UC Berkley, 2013), 38.

cultural and economic alienation.⁴⁰⁵ Resettlement does not always mean reclamation of space; similarly rehabilitation does not always allow reclamation of life and livelihood. Both resettlement and rehabilitation might cause different levels of dispossession through forcible emplacement of the physically dispossessed in the sites not of their own choice.

Because most of the people do not have any idea regarding livelihood opportunities in the spatially faraway places, they cannot take the risk of shifting to an unknown location away from their earlier place of inhabitation. Consequently, they suffer.

Plate 8.2: The displaced people of Arsula village shifting their household goods to the new resettlement site



Photo Courtesy: Captured by author during field survey (February, 2015 to January, 2016)

⁴⁰⁵ Ipsita Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution, and the New Urban Condition: Theories and Case Studies* (Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2014), 4.

Plate 8.3: (a) Rehabilitation Site of Sonapur Bazari Area (Top). (b) New Bhaluka Village (Bottom Left). (c) Houses under construction at Bhaluka Village (Bottom Right)



Source: Captured by author during field survey (February, 2015 to January, 2016)

Plate 8.4: The abandoned Resettlement Site at Madhudanga, for Adivasis will be displaced soon from Diguli Village



Photo Courtesy: Captured by author during field survey (February, 2015 to January, 2016).

Plate 8.5: Low lying water logged resettlement site

“First we were shown a different resettlement site. But finally we got a different one. This is a very low lying area and we are certain that during the rainy season it will be completely water logged.”



Photo Courtesy: Captured by author during field survey (February, 2015 to January, 2016).

It can summarise that people are captured by material culture, as traditionally made kaccha houses and objects surrender to mass produced style.⁴⁰⁶

8.3.3. Employment and livelihood generation

The thesis of land dispossession left with the question that what is the nature of employment opportunities for the working age population in the new mining-industrial labour market?

It is very important to mention here that occupation dispossession was started even before physical dispossession took its turn. The process of land accumulation for development projects has been taking place since the last decade of the 20th century. The continuous processes of land accumulation by the state and other private corporations have declined the availability and quality of agricultural land. It has turned the region an economically depressed area for the survival of those households depended on agriculture and mining as already discussed in chapter 5. The restructuring of the regional economy in the neoliberal period pushed the growing population to survive on informal sector.

⁴⁰⁶ Felix Padel, Ajay Dandekar and Jeemol Unni, *Ecology, Economy: Quest for a Socially Informed Connection*, (New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan, 2013), 43.

The tribals of Sonepur-Bazari and Sarshatali region have been thrown out of their land and indirectly forced to shift to a new place. It is evident that, the entire tribal community of Sonepur Bazari region is still staying together on a new physical space but disrupted by the class structure. Land acquisition for the purpose of mining leads to occupational dispossession among the landless. They are not absorbed in the formal mining sectors. The status of daily wage labour remains same, whereas a shift is found from agriculture based sector to non-agriculture based sector. For the tribals of Sonepur-Bazari and Sarshatali region, who has been dispossessed from their land recently, shows that it is difficult for them to create an alternative source of livelihood. This problem arises specially during the transitional phase and continues even after few years. ‘The informalisation of workers is a structural basis as well as an outcome of capitalist strategy in the contemporary process of accumulation that rests heavily on dispossession.’⁴⁰⁷

It is also found that the non-tribal landless population (Hansdiha village) who has been dispossessed around 10 years ago could manage alternate source of livelihoods. They are either working as daily wage labourer in the construction site or in the local brick kilns. Hence, on the other hand the secure employment opportunities in the mining sector are monopolised by the large scale land owning class. In addition it is important to mention that, it is documented in the R&R policy of CIL that tribal affected family will get onetime financial assistance of 500 days of Minimum Agricultural Wage (MAW) for loss of customary rights. But the condition is, they have to produce tribal identity certificate issued under the signature of Sub-Divisional Officer. From the field survey it is recorded that around 80 per cent of the tribal households do not have any identity proof. This may be viewed as CIL policy seems to have no in-built mechanism to resolve the problem of discrimination.

The story of Andal region is slightly different. Earlier a large number of people were engaged as formal work in the public sectors, like- DSP, ASP, DVC and ECL. Apart from that most of them had agricultural land that they had leased out to other for cultivation. But in the post-liberalisation period due to structural change of the economy

⁴⁰⁷ Swapna Banerjee-Guha, (2013) “Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, no 2 (2013), 172.

these public sectors have reduced their manpower and started to hire skilled labour force from outside. Therefore, the young generation has lost the chance of being recruited in these sectors. However, a section had their own land on which they could have survived. But, the new aerotropolis project has accumulated a large tract of agricultural land for urban-infrastructural development and dispossessed the villagers. Hence, a large proportion among the young generation has involved in self-employment or migrated to other region for livelihood generation. While, another section among the youth involved in informal activities.

Occupation in this study has been categorised as main and subsidiary occupations solely on the basis of the statements of the head of the households concerned. It is quite likely that a person who has opted illegal means of coal collection and selling as subsidiary occupation derives more income from this source, than as agricultural labour or casual labour in non-agricultural activities. He just considers the former as secondary occupation because it is illegal and against social ethos.

8.3.3a. A shift towards Informality, spaces of illegality and Impoverishment

The prior socio-economic status before dispossession emerged as a significant determinant governing the post dispossession employability. Land dispossession due various neoliberal projects create such a situation where a large number of labourers sell their labour power at a very low price, while push another section into almost at the state of absolute idleness. Under such circumstances a section among the casual labour force and the unemployed population reside close proximity to the coal rich region opt the option of coal picking and scavenging. They regard this work as their source of earning. It is found that they often form a group based on their social origin (caste and tribes) and source of their origin (geographical origin) and make an effort to constitute ‘spaces of illegality’, what Heuze termed as ‘collection territories’⁴⁰⁸.

⁴⁰⁸ Gerard Heuze, *Workers of another World: Miner, the Countryside and Coalfields in Dhanbad* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 271.

Plate 8.6: Avivasis of Sonapur-Bazari transporting coal to sell it independently to the middlemen



Photo Courtesy: Captured by author during field survey (February, 2015 to January, 2016).

During the survey in villages, like- Rakhakuda, Amuliya, Rashunpur and Diguli it is found that a large section of the rural youth is involved in illegal coal collection. Almost all the households irrespective of their economic status have cycles and motorcycles (may not in good condition, sometimes even without headlight) of their own that they use to carry the coal from the sites of collection to the market. It is worthy of mentioning that the coal pickers and thieves sell their products to the middlemen at a quiet low price than the actual price. The middlemen on the other hand sell it to various entrepreneurs. Earning from these illegal sources as subsidiary activities along with wage earning on casual basis as primary activities is a quite common scenario. While in these villages, members from few upper caste households do not engage in any manual wage work because of caste taboos. These illegal activities are mostly confined in Barabani and Jamurial blocks, where at present the ICMPL project is under progress by the R.P. Goenka group. While the practice of coal picking and scavenging is relatively less in the villages found close proximity to the Sonapur-Bazari project by ECL. Only individuals from tribal and dalit households are engaged in coal collection.

In conclusion, joblessness in all three project locations emerges from a combination of two macro-social processes:

(a) the withdrawal of the former socialist state from the exploitation of a 'strategic resource' (coal), and

(b) the penetration of foreign direct investment aiming at short-term exploitation and profit generation.

Employment opportunities at these locations are either highly uncertain, as in the mining industry, or unfeasible, due to social mobility.

8.3.4. Food Security and changes in food habit

The risk of food insecurity is considered as the part of land dispossession. The field survey shows that there is hardly any relation between food security and income of the households for the poor in general and for the tribals in particular. Decrease in the natural resource base increases food insecurity among those sections of the society who are dependent on forest products and other natural resources (like- fish from water bodies) for food. Although it was difficult to assess the issue of food security accurately, persons interviewed were questioned about how they arrange their food for everyday consumption and whether they are facing any problem regarding daily intake.

In general most of the households interviewed in the tribal villages, are highly dependent on the natural and communal resources for daily consumption. On the basis of the information gathered from field survey, it is quite evident that tribal families hardly have adequate diets in terms of daily consumption. More than 90 per cent of the tribal and poor households kept cows and chickens and had an adequate supply of milk and egg. But in the resettlement site as the families are not getting adequate space, it is not possible for them to keep these cows and chicken. According to the testimonies of villagers, about 80 per cent tribal households have sold out their cows before shifting to the new site due to scarcity of space. Now it is not possible for them to buy everything from the market. Though it is also evident that in the tribal areas of Sonepur-Bazari project where the displaced population is given cash compensation, the tendencies to

spend cash compensation for goods from the market (including foods) and become destitute is quite familiar picture. Before land dispossession access to land and common property resources hid the costs of food that would otherwise be incurred by the villagers. Even those villagers worked as full time employee in public sectors still relied on rural landholdings for food (especially rice).

- ***Changes in the food habit***

Villages (especially the tribal villages) which are at the transitional period of dispossession reported some significant change in their food habit. Before introduction to the open cast mining villagers had few contact with the market economy, animal protein purchased from the market was hardly ever consumed in the village. But at present consumption of fish and meat has become everyday practice for a number of households. It is found from the survey that most of scheduled households spend a certain proportion of their compensation for daily consumption on food.

On the other hand, villages which are at the advanced stage of dispossession have also reported changes in the food habit. Households which does not have any perennial source of income for them calorie intake has gone down. As they are no more part of the agrarian economy, they are entirely exposed to the market economy. For them, it is even more difficult to buy enough rice for all the members of the households, while consumption of animal protein in the form of fish and meat on daily basis is beyond imagination.

Villagers who have perennial source of income but no longer have access to land for agricultural production; food became cash expenses for them. After giving up the land for open cast mining, their status of food security were seriously jeopardised.

8.3.5. Social disarticulation and cultural genocide

As Dhagamwar notes, ‘outside their traditional and historical habitat, they are like fish out of water.’ For the tribals ancestral land is their life support system. Their very identity (socio-cultural) is tied to the land. Mining is threat to their ethno-diversity. According to the R&R policy of CIL male members having age of 18 or more within the

Project Affected Families are eligible to get resettlement benefits. They get separate homestead land and money as well. Therefore, fragmentation in the family is very common feature of the resettled villages. This kind of fragmentation may be viewed as one form of social disarticulation.

- a) Segmentation based on village of origin
- b) Segmentation based on community of origin

As already discussed in the previous section, the Caste Hindus are not homogeneous mass and subdivided into various neighbourhoods, where they are homogeneous based on the caste of origin. It is found during the survey that the SCs and STs are the one who is experiencing spatial marginality. As all the residents are aware about this local micro geography of caste exclusion, even after resettlement the households try to maintain the former socio-spatiality (Plate 8.7).

Plate 8.7: Spatial segregation of Scheduled and Non-Scheduled Families in the Resettlement Site of Hansdiha Village



Source: Google Earth Image (Accessed on 26.01.2017)

For the resettled villages having mixed social composition under Sonepur-Bazari Project, though the caste aspect was not written within the charter of demands by the villagers, but once the public meetings started to take place with the company officials, the issue of caste segregation in the new resettlement sites emerged. The plan outlay of

the resettlement site has proved that the ECL authority has given importance to the caste issue discussed informally and prepared the site plan in such a way that the former caste segregation as demand to protect the interest of the majorities can be maintained.

In the Coal mining region of Eastern India resettlement spatially grounds a process of both caste and class exclusion.

8.3.6. Loss of access to common pool resources

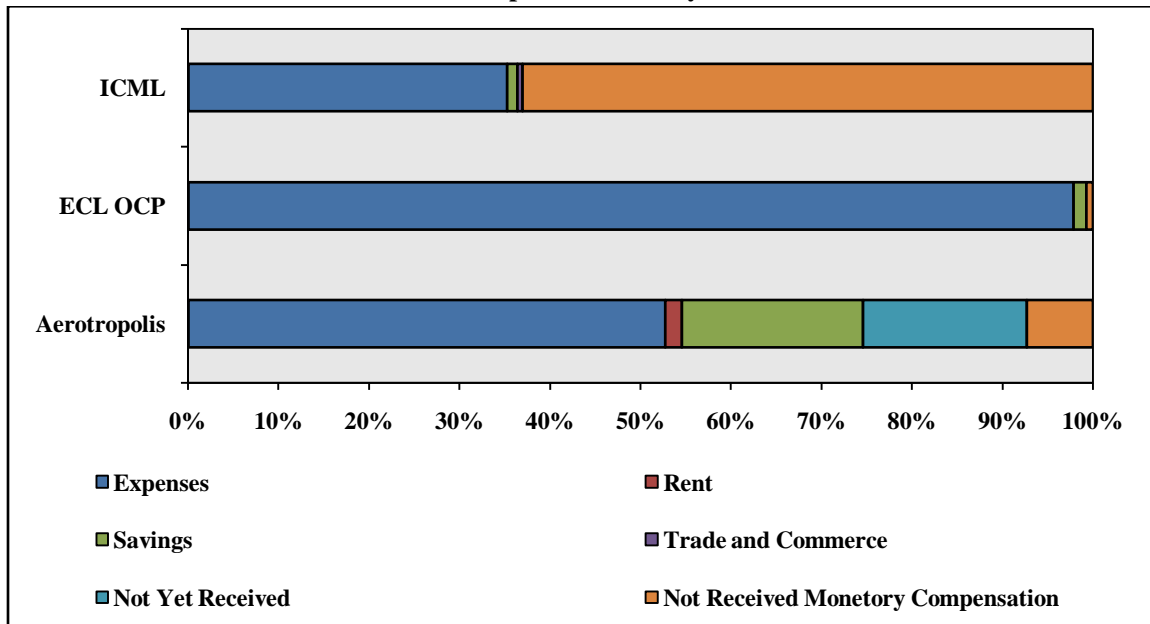
Overall, tribal location seems to have a profound effect on access to common property resources (CPR). It can be observed that loss of CPRs have devastating impacts on both the rural poor, including tribals. Due to dependency on natural resource base tribals felt the impact more severely.

The Sonapur-Bazari and Sarshatali story shows that the tribals have lost hold of forest, water bodies, grazing land because of open cast mining. They have sold out their livestock due to the scarcity of grazing land. Moreover, they are also facing the problem of access to water. The R&R policy hardly could restore access to common property resources after physical dispossession. On the other hand, disneyfication by the aerotropolis project has made the common space restricted for a certain section of people.

8.3.7. Profit from land market and Reinvestment of compensation

The project affected villages of coal-steel industrial complex are experiencing an unprecedented flow of consumer goods: in the tribal villages of Sonapur-Bazari region colour television set has arrived at a number of households. Apart from that many of the households have installed dish TV just after their shifting to the new place. Motorcycles became common asset in the resettlement sites of Sonapur-Bazari project across caste, class and communities. The construction of Pucca houses are also making progress and the project affected families have become the owners of concrete Pucca tenement.

Chart 8.7: Compensation money and its use



Source: Researcher’s analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

Plate 8.8: Compensation money used for the purchase of consumer goods (Post land dispossession scenario)



Photo Courtesy: Captured by author during field survey (February, 2015 to January, 2016)

8.3.8. Post land dispossession changes in material circumstances

During group discussion attempts were made to find out the changes that had taken place in their material circumstances after dispossession.

In villages of Sarshatali region most important acquisition is bicycle and motorcycle. Quite a good number of people are having it. Sometime people even buy second hand motorcycles from others. Essentially, they use both cycles and motorcycles to carry huge amount of coal (illegally collected) for selling. On the other hand, a

number of people especially in the tribal villages (like- Arsula, Kuchibera) of Sonapur Bazari have bought various consumer goods, like-colour television sets, dish tv, cell phones and motorcycles from the compensation money they have received as part of the rehabilitation package by ECL. It is also found that most of dispossessed households that received compensation money from the projects mostly invest their money on construction of houses. In all three locations most of the houses are well constructed with modern facilities.

The newly constructed tribal resettlement sites near Sonapur-Bazari project and Madhudanga village in Sarshatali have entirely changed the morphology of this region with its intense material base.

8.3.9. Knowledge Dispossession

It involves the process of dispossession of people from their indigenous and traditional knowledge about livelihood, ways of life, biodiversity, social contract and above all ethics and aesthetics. The land dispossession in the neoliberal period has imposed a serious problem that has remained unnoticed. It is already discussed that earlier the society was dominated

As already discussed in this chapter, Gope community was the dominant agricultural caste of this region. While the Bauries were also involved in cultivation. On the other hand tribals used to cultivate on the encroached land. These three communities were directly involved in agriculture and had immense knowledge of agricultural. On the other hand, there was another section in the society indirectly involved in agricultural allied activities. Therefore, the dispossession from agricultural land has not only dispossesses people from agricultural activities but from their traditional knowledge too.

The tribals of this region in the colonial period also gathered the knowledge of mining for coal extraction and gradually became the sole labour force of the industry. However, the structural changes of the economy as well as the industry do not allow them to participate in mechanised mining industry. Therefore, the tribals dispossessed of their traditional knowledge of mining was forced to survive on an unknown space.

8.3.10. Exacerbation of socio-economic differentiation

Land dispossession has led to two forms of economic differentiations in the aerotropolis project affected region: inter-village and inter-household within the village.

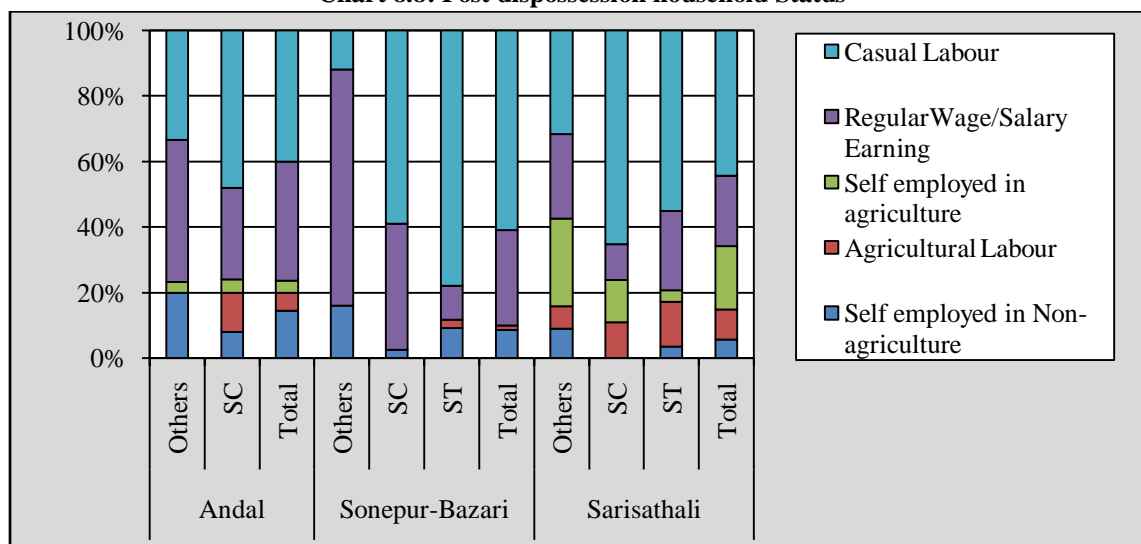
On the one hand, land dispossession and associated compensation widened the gap between the rich and poor households and also causes economic differentiation among people within households. Inter-village variations stemmed essentially from differential access to agricultural land for livelihoods. In villages, where the households had legal ownership of land remained in a better off position as the land owners have received better compensation package with better bargaining power. Land accumulation by various development projects spawn inequalities in three areas that need to be discussed:

- a) Major source of income (both agricultural and non-agricultural).
- b) Standard of living, and
- c) Cost of living and

8.3.1a. Economic inequality based on major sources of income

The income disparity has been created by employment in the coal industry generated new inequalities within the population as well. In a 1994 report, the UN notes that ‘income is certainly one of the main means of expanding choices and well-being. But it is not the sum total of people’s lives’⁴⁰⁹.

Chart 8.8: Post dispossession household Status



Source: Researcher’s analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

The following Table illustrates the structural change in household status distribution in terms of major sources of income. Here an attempt has been made to

⁴⁰⁹ United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report* (Geneva: UNDP, 1994).

assess whether in terms of sources of income, the household status become more similar or more segregated in the post-dispossession period. In order to see the extent of difference between the households in terms of major sources of income, dissimilarity index⁴¹⁰ has been calculated.

Table 8.7: Household Status based on source of income in Pre and Post-Dispossession Period

HH Status based on source of income	Pre-Dispossession	Post-Dispossession
Self employed in Non-agriculture	1.34	8.06
Agricultural Labour	32.26	5.65
Self employed in agriculture	55.11	9.68
RegularWage/Salary Earning	9.41	26.61
Casual Labour	1.88	50.00
Dissimilarity	72.04	
Similarity	27.96	

Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

By analyzing the above data (Table 8.7)two broad inferences may be drawn:

- Prior to land dispossession around 55.11 per cent of the households were earning mostly from the self-employed agricultural activities. Whereas, in the post dispossession period that proportion has reduced to only 9.68 per cent. This huge reduction in the earning from agricultural sectors means that there is limited scope to participate in the local mainstay of economy. It might be that, it is the process of land dispossession for various development projects that limits the earning from agricultural activities. More specifically, it could be largely because, it is not possible to completely depend on agricultural activities for earning now-a-days.
- It is also found that households earning in the post-dispossession period mostly come from casual work in informal sector. Engaged in informal activities with low productivity and without social security benefits means low earnings, also a source of poverty generation.

⁴¹⁰ For details see the methodology section in the Chapter 1.

- As far as earning from the regular salaried job is concerned, it is also evident that, the percentage share of households solely earning from the regular salaried job has reached to 26.61 per cent from 9.41 per cent in the post-dispossession period. The projects like-Sonepur Bazari open cast mining and ICMPL have offered formal employment to the dispossessed households as part fulfillment of their CSR. Therefore, the main reason behind increasing income from regular salaried job is in formal employment wages are quite high and also revised at time intervals to match up to inflation. Arup Mitra, however, argued that the average incomes earned by the regular salaried workers are not necessarily higher than those who are in the casual employment or self employment. Yet jobs with steady and regular pay are obviously more desirable for the households having low and fluctuating income⁴¹¹.

8.3.10b. Inequality based on Standard of living

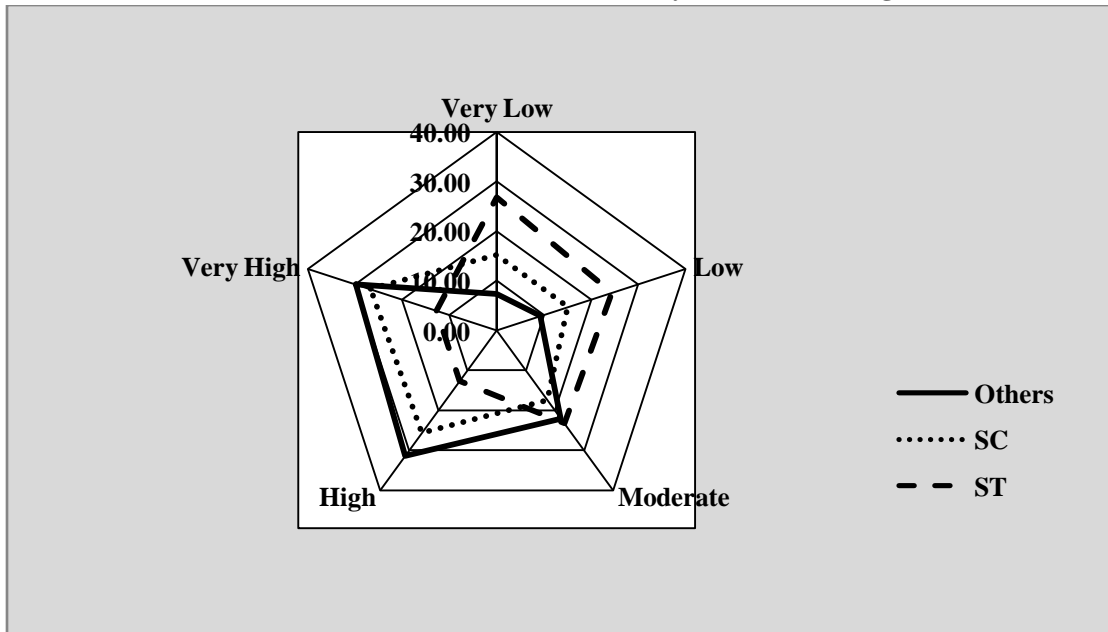
From the literature it is found that there is strong association between socio-economic position and the impact of dispossession. Comparing standards of living between countries is not an easy task. Needs and wants differ enormously from person to person and context to context. It is the economic environment of the family which motivates the children to reach up to a certain level on the occupational grade ladder. The seminal work of Raymond Sin-Kwok Wong recognised the importance of the financial capital of the family for the study of occupational mobility of the children generation. According to him, ‘though material possession is a contemporary measure, it is a better proxy than income measures to index the economic environment under which the child grew up.’⁴¹² It is a proxy indicator to measure economic condition of the households. Here a standard of living index has been calculated following the *Standard of Living Index* (SLI) created by NFHS. SLI is a system of giving scores where the house and the facilities associated with the house, and physical items belonging to the household are given scores. These scores are then summed and the result measured against the quintals.

⁴¹¹ Arup Mitra, “Labour Market Mobility of Low Income Households,” *Economic and Political Weekly* (2006), 2125.

⁴¹² Raymond Sin-Kwok Wong, “Multidimensional Influences of Family Environment in Education: The Case of Socialist Czechoslovakia,” *Sociology of Education* 71, No. 1 (1998), 9.

However, it is not completely similar with the SLI proposed by NFHS, because some items have been included and some has been discarded from the list on the basis of the regional character, yet is more appropriate than the other. The variables used and the scores assigned are given in the *Appendix 8.6*.

Chart 8.9: Distribution of households by standard of living



Source: *Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.*

Households with a score 0 -24 are classified as having a very Low SLI, a score of 25-33 is a low SLI, scores 34-40 is moderate SLI, a score of 41-46 is high SLI and above (> 46) is a very high SLI.

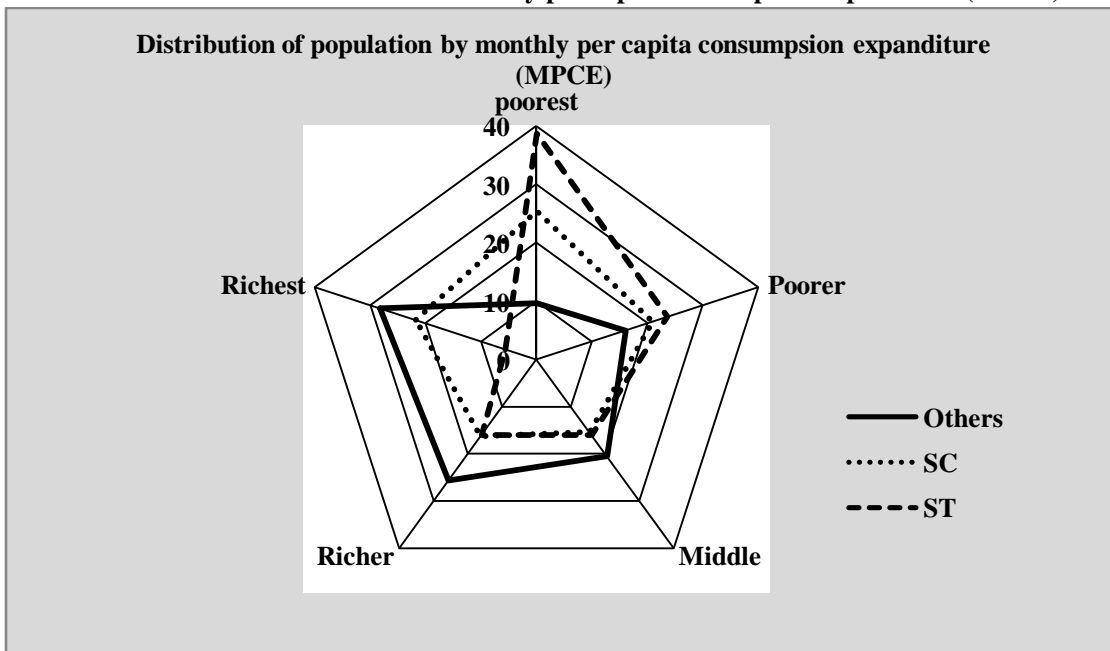
The standard of living of any household is in a large way dependent on income of the household. It has already been stated that a considerable perportion of the non-scheduled households earn from regular salaried job, while scheduled households mostly earn from informal sectors. It is found from the above chart that there are also major differences in standard of living among the three groups (SC, ST and Others). The radar Chart 8.9 shows that among the non-scheduled households the fifth quintile (with very high SLI) has by far the largest share with 30 per cent, whereas very low SLI (first quintile) is more prevalent among the ST households with around 13 per cent.

8.3.10c. Inequality in terms of Cost of living

A reasonably effective way of comparing economic status is by using some measure of monthly per capita consumption expenditure. Coming to the pattern of expenditure it has been felt that as target group respondents are paid well, their level of expenditure is also relatively high. But in some cases the researcher found that, there was lack of planning in the expenditure pattern. The exposure to market economy results in an increased proportion of expenditure on health. From the point of view of per capita consumption expenditure, the population is further classified into five different economic classes, namely, poorest, poorer, middle, richer and richest class.

The scenario of distribution of population by monthly per capita consumption expenditure is quiet similar with standard of living. The Chart 8.10 shows that the non-scheduled households has largest share in the fifth quintile, whereas, the ST households has its smallest share in the same category.

Chart 8.10: Distribution of households by per capita consumption expenditure (MPCE)



Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

After land dispossession, the residents no longer had land to produce any crop, so these became cash expenses. On the other hand earning from non-farm sectors remained

the same. The failure of both the state and corporate to meet the local expectations can fuel this separatist approach.

Therefore, from the above discussion and Chart 8.9 and Chart 8.10 pertaining to income, standard of living and monthly per capita consumption expenditure of three hundred seventy two households, it may be concluded that the levels of income and the corresponding class positions of the non-scheduled households are on an average better than the scheduled households.

These patterns of inequality have largely created few new social classes in coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India. Of central concern of this chapter is the way these socio-economic inequalities transformed the traditional class structure is further discussed in the next chapter (chapter 9). It is also found from the above discussion that in the post dispossession period various social groups and individuals choose different ways to survive dispossession. The changes in both tribal and non-tribal practices are discussed in the summary table (Table 8.8):

Table 8.8: Changes in the tribal and non-tribal practices after land Dispossession due to neoliberal development projects: A summary

Aspect	Tribal Practices		Non-tribal Practices	
	Customary	Contemporary	Customary	Contemporary
Land Right	Community Rights. Only few had private lands.	Right on deed of license with selling right.	Private land ownership. But size of land holding varies.	Right on deed of license with selling right.
Habitat structure	Mainly Kaccha structure.	Pucca structure	Varies from pacca to kaccha on the basis of economic status	Pucca structure.
Occupation	Agricultural labour, collecting forest product, food gathering.	Non-agriculture based informal sectors.	Cultivators to agricultural labour depend on land holdings.	People with large scale land holdings become regular salaried workers in formal mining sector. Small scale landholders and land less population become daily wage labour in non-agriculture based informal sector.
Economy	Self sufficient, subsistence	Market based economy.	Both market base and subsistence	Entirely market based economy.

	economy.	Disadvantageous situation.	economy.	
Food Security	Food security is not dependent on income but availability of natural and communal resources. Hence, secured.	Food insecurity increases due to decline in access to natural and common property resources.	Food security was depended on cultivation.	Food security becomes dependent on earning and market.
Social structure	i. Mainly egalitarian society. ii. Joint family structure.	i. Class hierarchy among the tribals. ii. Fragmentation of family.	i. Class differentiated society. ii. Joint family structure.	i. Class differences still exist. ii. Fragmentation of family.
Access to CPRs	Considerable, as highly dependent on natural resources.	Restriction on tribal access to CPRs.	Was not dependent on natural resources completely.	Access to natural resources even more restricted.

Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

The above discussion shows that how some groups are more vulnerable than the others and therefore marginalised also admits that land accumulation for neoliberal development projects fetches different sets of problems for different stakeholders of dispossession.

8.4 The influences of Laws, Material inducements and process of accumulation on Dispossession

Dispossession – whether driven by the power of material incentives (with or without lies and deceit), normative appeal or coercive force (with or without violence) alters existing socio-economic structure.

8.4.1. Material incentives: The diabolic way of dispossession

Material concession in the rate of accumulation by dispossession as neoliberal governmentality. Extensive literature on development induced displacement shows that for many decades people have been displaced of their land with very little compensation. Compensation (material incentive) is a common mode of conflict management and

embedded in the structure of social relations⁴¹³. ‘In compensation debates, too, owner rights are prioritised while user rights are bypassed’⁴¹⁴. Certain section of the society which traditionally had greater access to socio-economic and cultural capital, have benefited more from material incentives provided during the implementation of the project than another section of the society having limited access to the capital (social, economic and cultural).

8.4.1. How the dispossession is taking place? How is compensation and resettlement organised?

By examining the intra-regional (regions within region) variations in these factors it is possible to identify, at least in broad terms, the regions in which dispossessed are likely to face more vulnerability from these neoliberal projects.

Table 8.9: Differences in R&R policies and Land Acquisition Processes in three projects of Coal-Steel industrial Complex

Variables	ECL	ICMPL	BAPL
Land Acquisition Process	CBA, LAA and Direct Purchase	LA Act	LA Act
Displacement	Partial	Partial	No
R and R policy	CIL Policy 2008	LATM (Livelihood Assessment and Trust Building Measures)	CSR
Livelihood Regeneration	Limited	Limited	No
Resettlement	Yes	Under progress	No
Monetary Compensation	Yes	Yes	Yes
Land Boom	Yes	No	Drastic
Reason for land boom	ECL employment policy (land looser scheme)		Land speculation

Source: Compiled by the researcher.

(a) Multiple laws for land acquisition and displacement with overlapping content

⁴¹³ Donald Black, “Compensation and the Social Structure of Misfortune,” *Law & Society Review* 21, No. 4 (1987), 563-584.

⁴¹⁴ Swapna Banerjee-Guha, “Accumulation and Dispossession: Contradictions of Growth and Development in Contemporary India,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, No. 2 (2013), 177.

This kind of inequalities in the post-dispossession period are existing not just because tribal population always have been at the peripheries of development but also by some specific policies of the state. Guha mentions that, the policies are very dynamic in nature and change very quickly within a short time interval⁴¹⁵.

In the neoliberal period, accumulation of land and therefore dispossession in the coal mining areas is governed mostly by the Coal Bearing Area (CBA) Act of 1957 (applicable to all the states other than Jammu and Kashmir). Under the provision of the CBA Act land is taken away by government from the tribal and non-tribal population and handed over to the private companies for the activities, like- excavation, haulage, drilling, blasting and ancillary activities. This Act does not need any consent of the land owners and users before acquiring the land. Private property rights in this case are unable to provide any protection. The issues of tribal rights have received very little attention in the policy formulation. Tribal rights to property are merely a legal right under article 300 of Indian Constitution, and not a fundamental right, where state can acquire their property with just compensation for displacing them by the authority of law. There are very few laws that can protect tribal land rights. Legislations like- West Bengal Land Reform Act, SC and ST protection acts, Forest Conservation Acts are there to prevent tribal rights on their land and livelihoods but unable to do so finally because of poor implementation Tribals are losing the constitutional rights after displacement⁴¹⁶. Regardless of legislative protection provided by Indian constitution large scale land acquisition and tribal displacement is quite evident. Under eminent domain, the government is the owner of all the natural resources found in air, water and land. In that sense, the land underneath which valuable mineral resources are found by virtue of the Indian law that belongs to the government. The rule framed under the Mining and Minerals (Regulation and Development) Act, 1957, key law on mining. This law however contradicts the West Bengal Land Reform Act which protects the land rights of the tribals by restricting the

⁴¹⁵ Abhijeet Guha, "Dispossession of Peasants from Agricultural Land in Medinipur: A Need for Radical Changes in the Policy of the Govt. of West Bengal," Conference on *Livelihoods and Poverty Reduction: Lessons from Eastern India*. 25-27th September, 2011. http://www.anthrobase.com/Txt/G/Guha_A_01.htm. (Accessed on 10th July, 2016).

⁴¹⁶ Felix Pedal and Samarendra Das, *Out of this Earth: East India Avivasis and the Aluminium Cartel* (New Delhi: Orient Black Swan, 2010).

transfer of land rights to the non-tribals. Basically, CBA Act has its supremacy when implementation process is concerned. Before displacement the tribals enjoy a unique set of constitutional rights and privileges, which would no longer be available, once they are uprooted. The existing laws are the keys of inequalities in the post-displacement period.

(b) Diverse R&R policies and individualisation of the dispossessed

The formulation of contemporary policies on Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) is the outcome of a complex process of interaction between the integrated state and corporate interest and different stakeholders of the society.

These are the interplay of varying ideologies and interests. In recent years CIL has become more conscious about the unrest and protest over land acquisition and displacement, one of the main issues of Indian politics and therefore has brought several changes in their R & R policies. Pedal and Das observed, for instance, that most of the R&R policies do not assess the economic value of the traditional tribal houses. CIL has its own R&R policy, where special attention has provided to the tribals. At the same time, it is not very easy to practice in reality. According to the testimonies of the villagers, sometimes the government officials give less information or misinformation during their meeting and over publicizing about the facilities provided to the project affected population through Resettlement and rehabilitation scheme. Most of the time villager's opinions do not take into consideration and even they get threats that if they don't accept the compensation, will be the ultimate losers. The government officials promised the villages to provide with good R and R package, as a part of which they will get all the facilities that were available in the previous villages and can get even more and also tried to convince the villagers that they will not have problems of blasting as is the case now since they are residing close proximity to the quarry area. It can be state that, apart from the multiple laws; land dispossessed is often caught by the faulty R and R policies and its intricate implementation procedure.

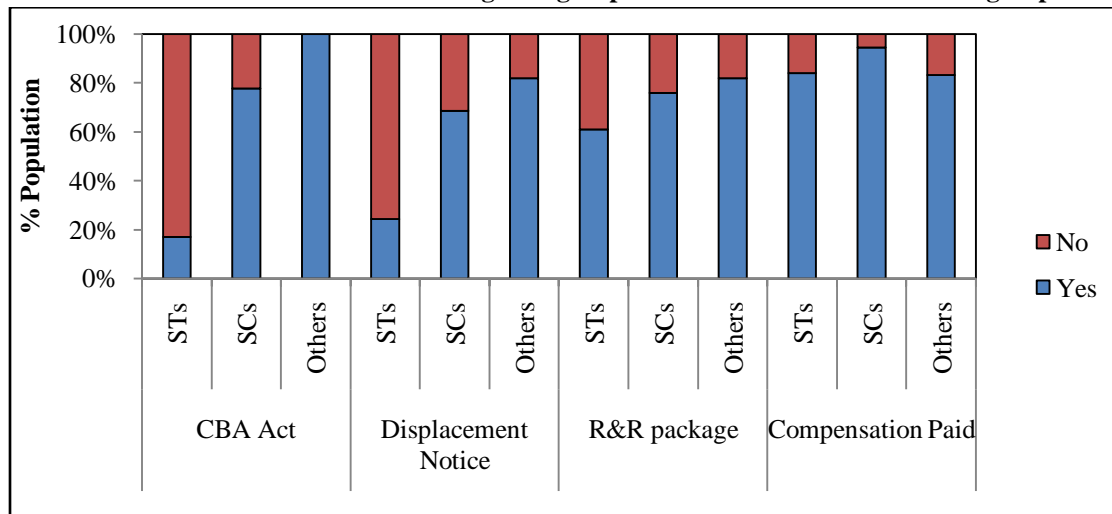
On the other hand, the private investors in the target of achieving higher "rate of accumulation" try to keep the R and R package as limited as possible. Both ICMPL and BAPL projects with their financial and managerial autonomy have provided very less

opportunities for livelihood generation to the dispossessed. The basic difference between CIL and other R&R policies are that CIL tries to work for the welfare of the people and try to provide maximum benefits to them. On the other hand, the other two projects try to reach to the people with the help of NGOs and various other organizations and most of the time policies are not very people centric.

(c) Poor knowledge of R and R policy

The empirical evidences gathered from the field survey indicate that (Chart 8.11) the tribals are hardly aware of their rights that contemporary laws have promised them. As mentioned by Kothari, planners, administrators and the dominant class invariably manipulate the tribals as they are unaware of the real situation⁴¹⁷.

Chart 8.11: General awareness regarding displacement across different social groups



Source: Researcher’s analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

Chart 8.11 shows that the type of awareness that have been secured by the displaced population from various social groups. Each above mentioned phenomenon in this sense represents a hierarchy in the level of awareness. The awareness in every respect is very less among the tribals, while far better among the others.

⁴¹⁷ Sumita Kothari, “Whose Nation? The Displaced as Victims of Development,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 31, No.24(1996), 1476-1485.

The tribals of Sonapur Bazari region were not even aware about the fact that, when do they have to shift on a new location. But as the open cast mines arrived at their courtyard, the ECL authorities suddenly made them move to a new place with few temporary structure for shelter, insufficient water supply, no toilet facilities and above all no other avenues for livelihood. Dispossessed tribals often face these additional problems due to lack in the flow of information to them.

In conclusion it can be said that, from all these discussions it has been possible to gather a partial knowledge about the pattern and magnitude of dispossession of coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India, as there is a lack of secondary data in general and because of the bias problem in primary survey data in particular. Three different kinds of development projects executed in the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India in the neoliberal period have been selected for in-depth analysis. Using primary survey data collected from the project affected villages; this thesis provides the changes that taking place in the coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India. This chapter summarises the results concerning dispossession and their theoretical implications.

The advance of open cast mining and the formation of the new urban space are examples of the current phase of global capitalism, which can be explained by the financial logic and exploits resource peripheries,⁴¹⁸ a process Harvey (2003) calls accumulation by dispossession. The rise of mining and new investments provide empirical evidence to support the claim that land is increasingly considered a financial asset, especially in the government and business sectors but also in many rural communities, through the sale of land. Corporate land access and expropriation take place through a mixture of violence, legal and financial mechanisms, most of which lead to capital accumulation through eroding the capacity of traditional rural communities.

The official figures have estimated around thirty thousand rural population fallen victim of this developmental shift. After leaving their land, rural residents of Sonapur-Bazari region relocate to resettlement sites where they face rising cost of food and housing (as the compensation money is inadequate for pucca house construction) as

⁴¹⁸ Saskia Sassen, "The city: Its return as a lens for social theory," *City, Culture and Society* 1 (2010), 3–11.

access to natural resources has completely stopped. However, little formal employment awaits them there. Therefore, many continue to seek work in construction and brick yard, where rural labour brokers recruit laborers, and underwrite costs of transportation and living for these laborers during periods of employment.

This chapter documents the preliminary transformation in the rural areas which have only accelerated in recent years, bolstered by neoliberal policies promoting large scale development projects and also private investment. Meanwhile, scholars continue to uncover new mechanisms through which state expropriate rural land for profitable outcome mining. There, in Andal residents have transitioned from rural to urban livelihoods without experiencing the physical dislocation documented here. In three cases, expropriation of land can be understood as moments in more long-term processes of dispossession. The analysis of structural change in the economy is one of the important exercises in the study of dispossession.

Chapter 9

Dispossession and Differential Materiality: Study of Coal-Steel Industrial Complex of Eastern India

Chapter 5 and chapter 6 focused on various methods of spatiality and temporality of accumulation of profits by the elite actors in the society. The regional economic growth is increasingly characterised by land expropriation, a form of 'accumulation by dispossession'. However, the objective was not to ignore the poor by studying the elites in the society. On the contrary, the main objective was to understand in details how another section of the society gets dispossessed and excluded concomitantly. It was also mentioned that dispossessed are not homogeneous category but there are some common factors which get them under the same umbrella. The contemporary processes of heterogeneous social formations and dispossession in the neoliberal era were also in these chapters. Understanding the social heterogeneity requires a more in-depth examination of the already existing social structure before the onset of the different neoliberal projects.

Chapter 5 and chapter 6 were an attempt to examine how accumulation by dispossession in the coal-steel industrial complex is based on dis-accumulation of material and productive assets, broaden investment opportunities, increase in financial institutions, exploitation of the labour and also with neo-governmentality. This chapter will focus on such aspects which will help in clarifying the distinctive features. The booming urban-industrial region fails to create employment for the local residents. Most of the time, rural labour survive dispossession by shifting into informal sector. As a result, a new class structure with different survival strategies without land emerges. This chapter focuses on the processes of dispossession and exclusion within a class based framework slightly different from the class concept explained by Marx. These class trajectories reflect new character of accumulation, driven primarily by land expropriation and secondarily by contractualisation and informalisation of the labour force. The new

class structure differentiating the rural population by their strategies for survival and as a result of it subsistence without land has emerges.⁴¹⁹

The coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India is an interesting and important case study for understanding the nature of economic mobility during transition from labour intensive economy to a more capital oriented one. While the major industries of this region (coal mining industry, Iron and steel) have experienced extraordinary changes in the production process and manpower over the last few decades (the main sector of local employment), the growing economic uncertainty of the region has become a focal point of concern presently. Regional inequality and dispossession are two inter-related concepts; one would in general expect inequality in opportunities at regional level to be manifested as cross-sectional inequality.

As already mentioned in the previous chapter (Chapter 8) the changing landscape of the region forced the villagers to seek employment into informal sectors, beginning in the 2000s. It is found from the field survey that a large section among the villagers either engaged as casual labour in construction work and brickyard or engaged in loading and unloading. Many households especially in Sarshatali region also retained members, mainly the unemployed youth who involved in illegal coal scavenging.

This chapter is based on extensive fieldwork (chapter 7). The extensive fieldwork helped to closely observe household economies and changing socio-economic geometry of the region. It is noteworthy of mentioning that all three projects which have expropriated rural land for the purpose of capital accumulation are not at the same stage of dispossession (already discussed in chapter 8). The villages affected by ICMPL project are surviving the processes of land dispossession for more than a decade. On the other hand, in case of Sonapur-Bazari (ECL open cast project) region it is a gradual process, while few villages are surviving for a long period of time, on the other hand few villagers are at the transitional phase either exploring new strategies to survive or following the

⁴¹⁹ Julia Chuang, "Urbanization through dispossession: survival and stratification in China's new townships," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 42, No.2 (2015), 277. DOI:10.1080/03066150.2014.990446.

formers. In case the BAPL project the dispossessed villages are also at the transitional stage.

Therefore, this chapter is concerned with few related issues. Like:

- The new relations of production and how the affected population is responding to this new relation.
- The nature of original and potential alliances of these classes and fragmentation of class within classes as a whole.
- The regional and state policies on the construction, continuance and reproduction of various classes within coal-steel industrial belt.

What follows is organised in three sub-sections.

- The first subsection (9.1) describes the **traditional structure of class stratification**.
- The second subsection (9.2) describes **the uneven ability of different class to diversify from their preceding status between post-independence period and the post-liberalisation period** by using *absolute measures of mobility and Ragoff's 'social distance mobility co-efficient'*.
- The next subsection (9.3) analyses **outcomes of dispossession on the line of social composition**. Essentially, it tries to show post dispossession trajectories of various social class. These trajectories adhere to five dominant outcomes of dispossession:
 - a) In one, the former land owners earning from permanent employment in public or private sector enterprises.
 - b) In second, the landowners became land brokers and speculators. Sometimes they maintain their livelihoods by choosing self-employment and invest in small businesses.
 - c) In the third, a semi-proletarianised class tries to keep the ties with land but for livelihood security opted casual work on daily basis in construction sites, brickyards or in loading and unloading.

- d) In fourth, a fully proletarianised class continues to seek work in informal sector, but falls into debt while try to manage the new cost of living.
 - e) In fifth, a pauperised class unable to survive the dispossession process and remain jobless. These new class trajectories, specific to development projects, reflect the social structure of accumulation, driven by dual mechanisms of land expropriation and labour devaluation.
- The forth subsection (9.4) tries to highlight the **impact of dispossession on the women as distinct class.**
 - The last subsection concludes the chapter.

9.1. Traditional structure of class stratification: A scenario of pre-dispossession period

The case studies below outline the traditional class structure of the villages before these projects started in Coal-Steel Industrial Complex. It is already discussed in previous chapter (chapter 8) that the social status holds a positive correlation with ownership of land. However, it is important to find out the pre-existing social structure for few reasons. As argued in the chapter 5 and chapter 6, the establishments of any kind of large-scale project which expropriate land for capital accumulation also transform the land utilisation pattern of that region.

The description of these project affected villages provide essential empirical base for addressing the research question in the introductory chapter (chapter 1).

9.1.1. Class stratification based on land relation

As stated by Swaminathan: “the basis of class power in the countryside is the control of land and the other means of production and forms of wealth”⁴²⁰. It is found from the survey that the class power was concentrated among those who had relatively large share of the agrarian land. Land and other immovable properties were disproportionately distributed among the various section of the society. As already

⁴²⁰ V.K. Ramachandra, *Vikas Rawal and Madhura Swaminathan, Socio-Economic Surveys of Three Villages in Andhra Pradesh: A Study of Agrarian Relations*, (New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2010), 34.

mentioned in the previous chapter (chapter 8) that due to the land reform policy of West Bengal government in the post-independent period, the big capitalist farmers were almost absent since then in the villages. However, the middle landholding class and sharecroppers controlled the lion's share of the land in all the villages. On the other hand, poor peasants, dalit and tribals had access to very small share of the productive assets. Detailed data on the distribution of land between classes and social groups are given in the appendix.

Table 9.1: Share of different classes in ownership of land, study villages (in percentage)

Socio-Economic Classes	Social Groups			
	Others	SC	ST	Total
Upper Middle Peasant	64.74	19.09	0.00	32.80
Lower Middle Peasant	10.90	17.27	5.66	11.29
Sharecropper	8.33	10.91	11.32	9.95
Agricultural Labourer	9.62	48.18	45.28	31.18
Land Encroacher	0.00	1.82	32.08	9.68
Non-Agricultural Classes	6.41	2.73	5.66	5.11
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Researcher's analysis based on field work carried out during February, 2015 – January, 2016.

The survey data (Table 9.1) shows that a very high proportion of land operated by upper and lower middle peasants.

Table 9.2: Proportion of households that did not own any land in the pre-liberalisation period, study villages (in percentage)

Projects	Social Groups			
	OTHERS	SC	ST	Total
BAPL Project Affected	6.67	44.00	----	23.64
ECL Project Affected	20.00	53.85	83.12	63.83
ICMPL Project Affected	17.82	56.52	82.76	38.64

Source: Researcher's analysis based on field work carried out during February, 2015 – January, 2016.

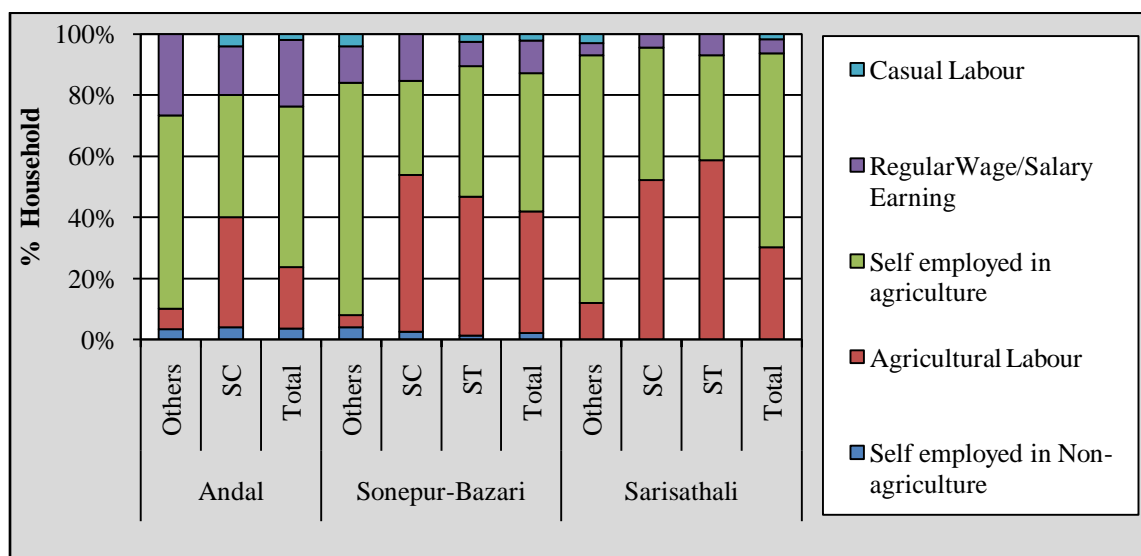
About 23.64 per cent of households in BAPL project affected villages, 63.83 per cent of households in ECL project affected villages and 38.64 per cent of households in ICMPL project affected villages did not own any land in the pre-liberalisation period.

In all the project affected villages, the pattern of land ownership was associated with prominent social disparities. About 53.85 per cent of the SC households and 83.12 per cent of the ST households in villages affected by ECL open cast project did not own any agricultural land (Table 9.2). Similarly, in the villages affected by ICMPL project about 56.52 per cent of the SC households and 82.76 per cent of the ST households did not own any agricultural land. On the other hand BAPL project affected villages have very less proportion of ST households, which is not captured during sample survey. In this region also, 44 per cent SC households did not own any agricultural land.

9.1.2. Major source of income by social groups

There were also sharp disparities in the major source of income across social groups in all three project affected regions. Households belong to the social class other than the SC and ST, mostly earn from agricultural assets (like-land) or from regular salaried jobs.

Chart 9.1: Pre-existing household status based on major source of income, by social group, study villages



Source: Researcher's analysis based on field work carried out during February, 2015 – January, 2016.

On the other hand, the figure (Chart 9.1) shows that a large number of households mostly earn from agricultural activities. A pool of literarues mentioned that Bauries who belong to the SC categories had immense knowledge of agriculture and as they were very

hard working used to engage as agricultural labourers in other's land. On the other hand, tribals, like- Mundas also had traditional knowledge of agriculture.

Surprisingly, the chart 9.1 further shows that a number of households belong to SC categories in Andal used to earn from regular salaried jobs. During the field survey, it was found that till late post-colonial period a large number of people from SC households were involved in public sector jobs, like- in DVC, DSP and ASP. During the initial phase these public sector companies used to recruit labourers on recommendation or based on the social contacts. However, the earning of the households in most of the cases was depended on agricultural sources.

9.2. Surviving Dispossession: Differential ability to diversify

There are several statistical approaches to the measurement of the status mobility in terms of land relation and household sources of income:

- Mobility researchers often calculate mobility index by using mobility transitional matrix and interpret the outcomes in the light of different motivations. It is also known as absolute measures of status mobility. An absolute measure of status mobility has three components. The overall measure is very important to find out the pattern of mobility and immobility at the aggregate level. More specifically it enquires the question as to what proportion of households remain in the same class as their pre-existing status and what proportion experience status mobility? Another component of the absolute mobility measure is 'out-mobility'. This measure tries to find out, whether for households belonging to any status class origin, the pre-existing status category is the easiest one to achieve in the socio-economic structure or not? But the advantage of using the aggregate (overall) measure of status mobility is that it also helps to find out the changing nature of the economy over time.
- The index of association measures the actual move of households in respect to the expected. Rogoff was the pioneer of this approach. Later several other social

scientists (like- Nijahawan, David N. Laband, Bernard F. Lentz, etc) have also used a similar approach.

- The mobility measures in terms of land relation and sources of income are used to find out both land specific and employment specific mobility from post-colonial period to neoliberal period.

It turns out that, each and every measure has its own advantages and disadvantages.

9.2.1. Magnitude of Absolute Mobility (Overall)

Empirical studies on social mobility in terms of household status based on their major sources of income and land relation typically compare the household access to economic capital during post-independence period with the household access to economic capital in the neoliberal period using mobility tables. The detailed pattern of mobility is given in the *Appendix 9.1 and 9.2*. Reading along the diagonal (trace) of the status matrices, the concentration at the interaction of rows and columns, reveals the *status immobility* (in terms of household status based on major sources of income and access to land), whereas, the values of the off diagonals shows the *status mobility*. For the purpose of the analysis the general pattern of the household status mobility in terms of access to land and major source of income (figures) are shown in the Summary Table 9.3.

Table 9.3: Summary table of household status mobility and immobility scenario

Variable	Mobility and Immobility	Pre-dispossession to Post-Dispossession
Access to land	<i>Total Immobility</i>	32.80
	<i>Total Mobility</i>	67.20
Household Status based on major source of income	<i>Total Immobility</i>	23.12
	<i>Total Mobility</i>	76.88

Source: Researcher's analysis based on field work carried out during February, 2015 – January, 2016.

9.2.1a. Absolute mobility by land class

The Table 9.3 reveals that there is 32.80 per cent immobility of the households between pre and post-dispossession period. The percentage mobility of the households proves that households have lost access to agrarian asset in the post-dispossession period.

- It can be hypothesised that, the households which had large amount of land prior to dispossession, are left with land parcels even in the post dispossession period. Similarly, the landless households remained as the non-agricultural class.
- The high mobility that has been recorded from the analysis of field data is because a number of households which had marginal amount of land even prior to land dispossession has shifted to non-agricultural classes in the post dispossession period.

9.1.2b. Absolute mobility by household status based on sources of income

The immobility shows that the same land status and similar source of income still exists even in the neoliberal period. However, the immobility is very low, only 23.12 per cent.

- High mobility in terms of major sources of income shows that households not only have lost access to agrarian assets but also have lost income from agrarian sources. As development projects dispossess people from their land, forced the dispossessed to survive on non-agricultural sectors. A number of scholars claim that the national scenario shows a gradual shift towards the non-agricultural sectors. The high mobility towards non-agricultural sectors at regional level is proving that national level scenario also percolates into regional level.

There is a paradox that, economic development has not facilitated mobility towards secured sources of income but led to stagnation or downward mobility towards more insecurity. The paradox is due to the regional (localised) factors.

9.2.2. Absolute out Mobility

Table 9.4 and 9.5 represent transition mobility matrix that provides the percentages of households who belong to various status categories (in terms of access to land and their major sources of income) in the post dispossession period corresponding to their prior status category.

Motiram and Singh have interpreted these percentage figures as *conditional probabilities*.⁴²¹ Conditional probability refers to the probability that a household belongs to certain category in the post dispossession period, given the condition that prior to land dispossession that household belongs to a particular category. As seen in the following tables the entries in each row add up to hundred per cent.

9.2.2a. Household status transition based on land relation

Using the percentage figures, from the Table 9.4 and 9.5 the absolute changes in the land relation and household sources of income between two time periods can be verified.

The transitional matrix gives the percentages of households that belong to the various classes in relation to land in the post dispossession period corresponding to their prior status in the post-independent period.

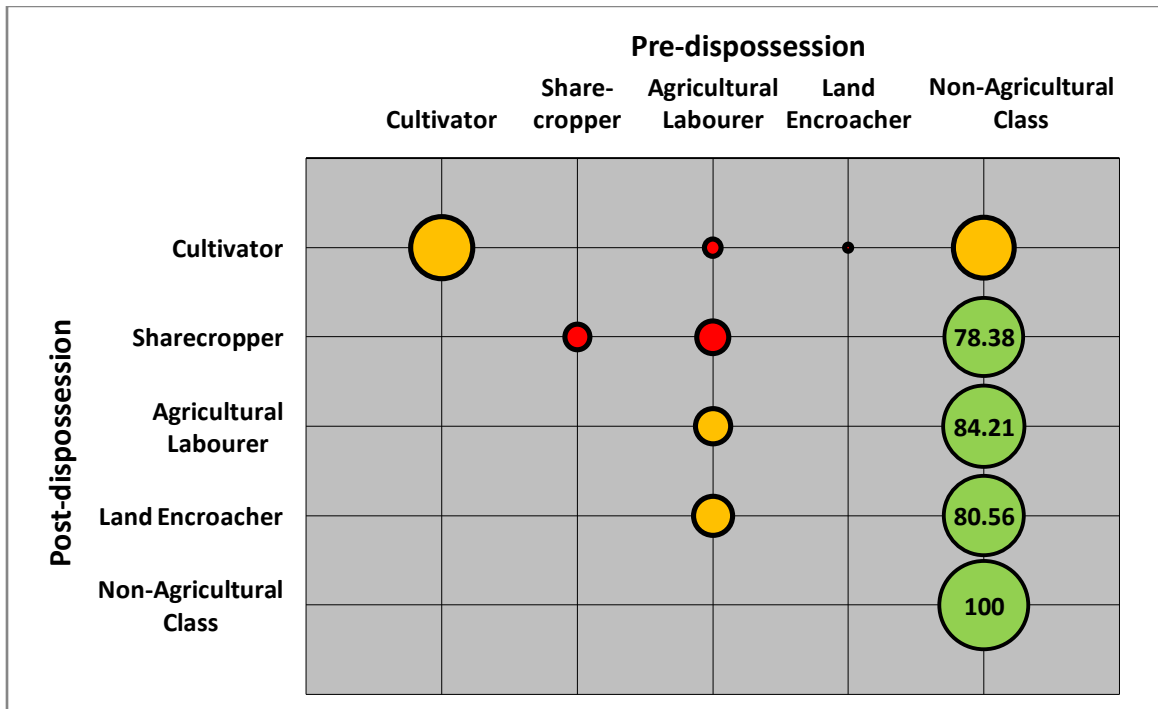
Table 9.4: Absolute Mobility in terms of Household status transition based on land relation

Pre-Land Accumulation Land Relation	Post Land Accumulation Land Relation					
	Cultivator	Sharecropper	Agricultural Labourer	Land Encroacher	Non-Agricultural Class	Total
Cultivator	81 (49.39%)	0 (0%)	6 (3.66%)	1 (0.61%)	76 (46.34%)	164 (100%)
Sharecropper	0 (0%)	3 (8.11%)	5 (13.51%)	0 (0%)	29 (78.38%)	37 (100%)
Agricultural Labourer	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	18 (15.79%)	0 (0%)	96 (84.21%)	114 (100%)
Land Encroacher	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (19.45%)	0 (0%)	29 (80.56%)	36 (100%)
Non-Agricultural Class	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	21 (100%)	21 (100%)
Total	81 (21.77%)	3 (0.81%)	36 (9.68%)	1 (0.27%)	251 (67.47%)	372 (100%)

Source: Researcher's analysis based on field work carried out during February, 2015 – January, 2016.

⁴²¹ Sripad Motiram and Ashish Singh, "How close does the apple fall to the tree? Some evidence from India on intergenerational occupational mobility," *Economic and Political weekly* 40, No. 40 (2012), 60.

Chart 9.2: Land Relation Matrix (Pre to Post Land dispossession)



Source: Researcher's analysis based on field work carried out during February, 2015 – January, 2016.

It is clear from the table 9.4 that there is a considerable change in agrarian relation among the households over the time period.

- In case of the households that cultivate land those belong to non-agricultural class, the diagonal entries are the largest. However, the largest values in the diagonal cells reflect that among the cultivator class, even after land dispossession they own agricultural land. On the other hand it is not possible for the households belong to non-agricultural class to move to any other classes.
- Similarly, among the households earlier dependent on sharecropping, encroached land for crop production and those involved as agricultural labourer, for them the diagonal entries are very low. It is very important to mention the largest values in the non-agricultural class reflect that among all the categories in terms of land relation, the non-agricultural class category is the easier one to achieve for the households. Contrary to this, entry into the cultivator class is almost impossible for all the classes due to land dispossession in the neoliberal period.

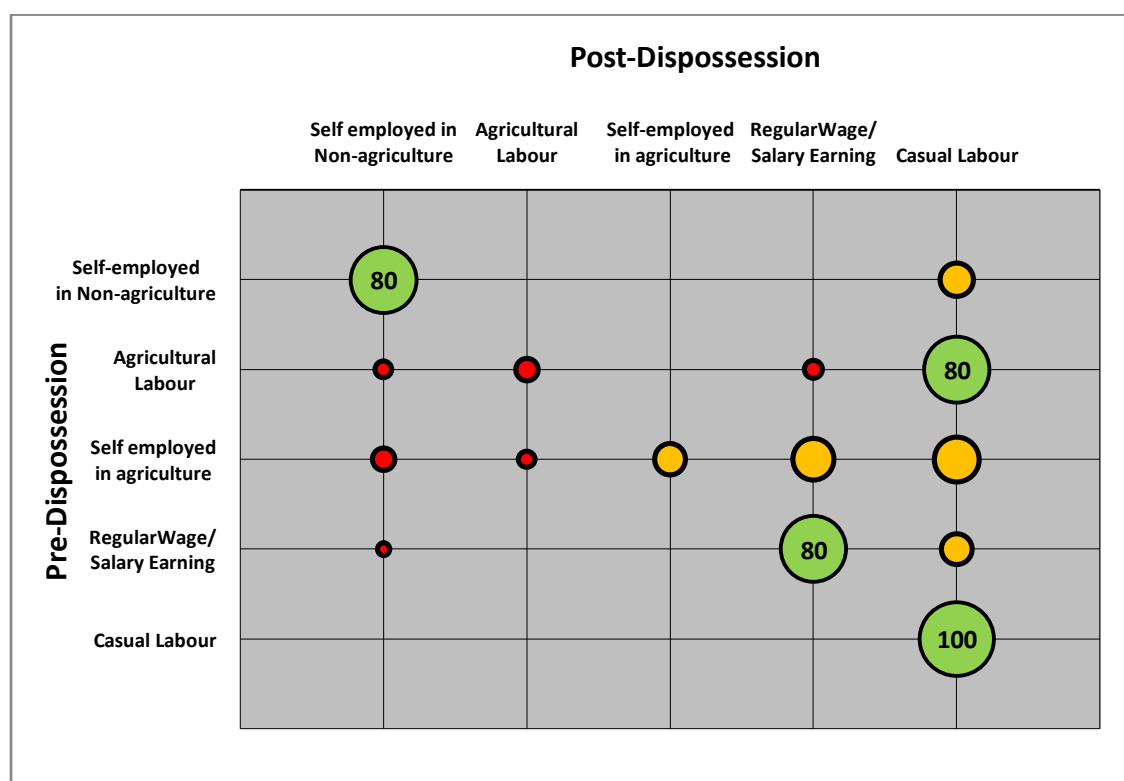
9.2.2b. Household status transition based on major source of income

Table 9.5: Absolute Mobility in terms of Household status transition based on major source of income

		Post Land Accumulation Household Status					
Pre Land Accumulation Household Status	HH Status	Self employed in Non-agriculture	Agricultural Labour	Self employed in agriculture	Regular Wage/Salary Earning	Casual Labour	Total
	Self employed in Non-agriculture	4 (80%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	5 (100%)
	Agricultural Labour	6 (5%)	11 (9.17%)	0 (0%)	7 (5.83%)	96 (80%)	120 (100%)
	Self employed in agriculture	19 (9.27%)	10 (4.88%)	36 (17.56%)	64 (31.22%)	76 (37.07%)	205 (100%)
	Regular Wage/Salary Earning	1 (2.86%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	28 (80%)	6 (17.14%)	35 (100%)
	Casual Labour	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (100%)	7 (100%)
	Total	30 (8.06%)	21 (5.65%)	36 (9.68%)	99 (26.61%)	186 (50%)	372 (100%)

Source: Researcher's analysis based on field work carried out during February, 2015 – January, 2016.

Chart 9.3: Household status matrix based on major source of income



Source: Researcher's analysis based on field work carried out during February, 2015 – January, 2016.

The fact that the household distribution in terms of source of income during pre and post dispossession period differs meaning thereby must be some differences in terms of scope and choice to earn from various sectors over time. More specifically, it means as a region goes under the process of structural change it must experience a shift in household status distribution. However, this kind of generalised scenario might differ across region.

- The mobility status in terms of major earning sources is quite similar with household land status. From the table 9.5 and Chart 9.3 it is found that earlier those households were mainly earning from agricultural sources either worked as agricultural labourer or as cultivators have shifted to non-agricultural sectors for earning. The difference is that cultivators while moved from their previous status almost evenly distributed in other status categories. But for the agricultural labourers the mobility is almost unidirectional towards informal sectors.
- On the other hand, regular salaried households most of the time able maintain their previous status.
- Households that involved in informal activities in the pre-dispossession period are highly immobile interms of their source of earing. The diagonal entry is 100 per cent for this category. Therefore, it can be infer that, for these households there is hardly any scope to move into any other status classes.

Therefore, it can be said that this is what Harvey describes as neoliberal tendency to shift towards informalisation.

9.2.3. In and out-mobility co-efficient

The next important things for discussion are the *in-flow* and *out-flow status mobility* rate. Tominaga has defined these two concepts in following manner:

- '*Inflow rate* refers to the rate of the respondents in a certain occupational category whose fathers belong to the categories other than theirs.'⁴²²

⁴²² Tominaga, Ken'ichi. "Trend analysis of social stratification and social mobility in Contemporary Japan," *The Developing Economies* 7, No. 4 (1969), 471-498.

- ‘*Outflow rate* refers to the rate of the respondents whose fathers belong to a certain occupational category and who belong to the categories other than their fathers.’⁴²³

Table 9.6 and 9.7 show the mobility co-efficient values in terms of household status in terms of land and major source of household income for various cells worked out by using Rogoff’s formula as explained in chapter 1. According to the hypothesis it is expected that households of certain origin classes enjoy distinct advantages in moving over to certain class categories if there were no relation between the prior status and that of the present status. In this research each category has been viewed from two angles i.e. first as the point of origin and second as the point of destination. When to perceive the household status mobility between pre and post dispossession period then status prior to dispossession is the point of origin and then post dispossession status is the the point of destination.

Table 9.6: Mean in and out-mobility coefficient based on land relation

HH Status based on land relation	Outflow Mobility Co-efficient	Inflow Mobility Co-efficient
Cultivator	0.83	1.07
Sharecropper	0.64	0.00
Agricultural Labourer	0.31	0.95
Land Encroacher	0.80	0.57
Not involve in Agriculture	0.00	0.00

Source: Researcher's analysis based on field work carried out during February, 2015 – January, 2016.

Table 9.7: Mean in and out-mobility coefficient based on major source of income

HH Status based on major source of income	Outflow Mobility Co-efficient	Inflow Mobility Co-efficient
Self employed in Non-agriculture	0.10	0.53
Agricultural Labour	0.61	0.22
Self employed in agriculture	0.98	0.77
Regular Wage/Salary Earning	0.17	0.35
Casual Labour	0.00	0.00

Source: Researcher's analysis based on field work carried out during February, 2015 – January, 2016.

⁴²³ Ibid., 471-498.

9.2.3a. Outflow mobility

The mean out mobility coefficients have been worked out for land relation and major sources of income. In working out these averages (mean out mobility coefficients), the values of diagonal cells, which denote immobility, has been excluded. The larger the value of co-efficient for a particular class, the more accessible that class is to households from other status in the post-dispossession period. The smaller is the average, the more difficult it is for households in the post-dispossession period to move out of their class of origin.

- Considering the out mobility in terms of land relation, the out mobility is lowest among the destination class of the non-agricultural class.
- Considering the out mobility in terms of major source of household income, the out mobility is lowest among the destination class of Casual wage labourer. The low out mobility signifies that though the region has experienced an incidence of economic restructuring yet it is not a fair sign of the openness of the society. However, it is also true that, it is difficult for the non-agricultural class to sudden jump in the agricultural class. In contrast, for the cultivators it is relatively easy to choose their future status than others. Theoretically also it is the cultivating households for whom the utmost leap could be possible as they have maximum access to economic capital in the form of land ownership.

9.2.3b. In-mobility

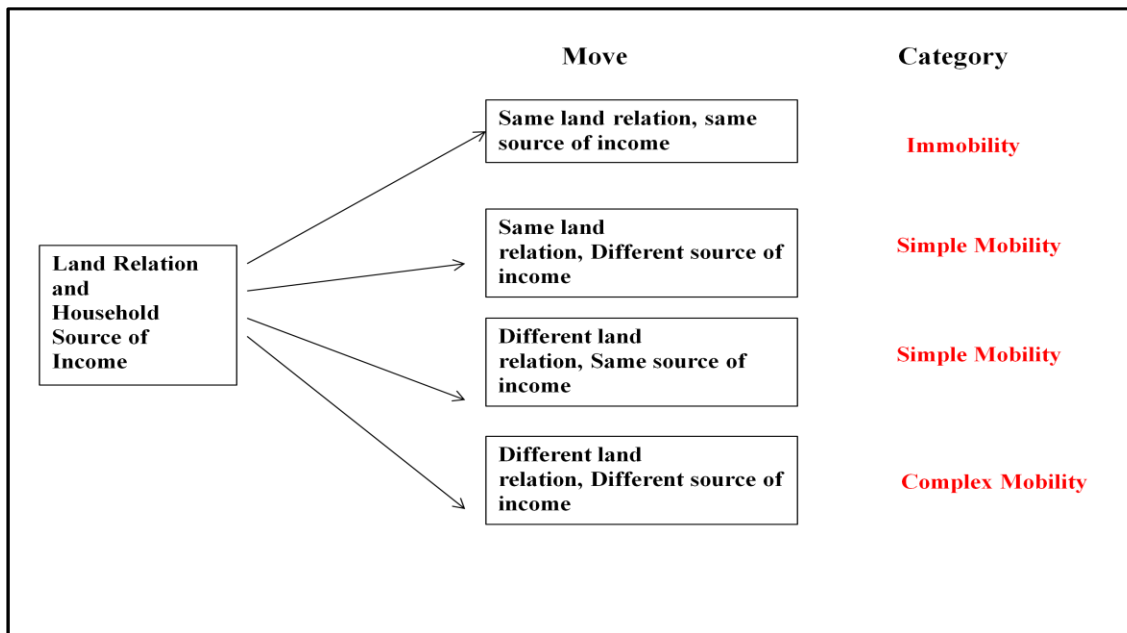
- In case of land relation, become non-agricultural class is the easiest one in the post-dispossession period, on the other hand as expected it is almost impossible to enter into the agricultural class as cultivators.
- Further considering the household status based on major sources of income, earn as casual wage labourer is the easiest one in the post-dispossession period. As expected earn from agricultural sources is most difficult one after land dispossession.

9.2.4. Mobility in terms of land relation and sources of income

Mobility in terms of land relation and sources of income measures status mobility in more detail than two other measures of status mobility. This measure also divides the pattern of household status mobility into several sub-categories.

If individuals moved to somewhat different status categories in terms of land relation and major source of income or in both of them as compared to their prior situation, then it is known as mobility. On the other hand if households do not move either into some other status, then it is known as immobility. In more detail, when households remained in the same status in terms of land relation as their prior situation but move into some other sector for earning, then it is considered as simple mobility. In a similar way, when households earn from same income sources like their status in the pre-dispossession period but move in terms of land relation, then also it is classified as simple mobility. Finally, it is classified as complex mobility when individuals moved both in terms of land relation and major sources of income as compared to their prior situation. This categorisation of household status mobility is shown as a simple transition system in Diagram 9.1.

Diagram 9.1: Mobility in terms of land relation and sources of income



Source: Conceptualised by the researcher.

Table 9.8: Status Mobility across various development projects

	Absolute Immobility	Mobility in land relation	Mobility in HH income sources	Absolyte Mobility
BAPL	7 12.73%	9 16.36%	9 16.36%	30 54.55%
ECL OCP	8 5.67%	10 7.09%	17 12.06%	106 75.18%
ICMPL	47 26.70%	5 2.84%	34 19.32%	90 51.14%
Total	62 16.67%	24 6.45%	60 16.13%	226 60.75%

Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

- The present section tries to show the differences in household status mobility across various development projects. It is found from the table 9.8 that in ECL affected villages people are mobile comparison to the other. It is about 75.18 per cent. The difference in the mobility pattern shows that every region does not provide equal opportunities to the households.
- On the other hand in comparison to the other region in ICMPL affected villages households are relatively less mobile. That means even in the post-dispossession period a number of household is maintain the same status.

9.2.4a. The influences of caste identity on mobility

In the Indian context, the issue of caste based difference also offers an explanation of differential occupational mobility across generations. Therefore, it is very important to look at the occupational mobility of different social groups separately. On the basis of social origin the households are divided into four broad groups as mentioned earlier, i.e. *Scheduled Tribe, Scheduled Caste, Other Backward Class and Others*. To simplify the analysis these four groups are further grouped into three categories: (a) *Scheduled Caste Group* (b) *Scheduled Tribe group* and (b) *Non-Scheduled Group*. It is noteworthy that, this scheme tries to group households based on the similarity of exclusion they experience in the society. Effectively, the scheduled group includes scheduled tribes and scheduled tribes, whereas, the Non-scheduled group includes other Backward Classes and

Others. The SCs are the victims of the social ostracism due to practices such as untouchability, where as the tribal population remains isolated from mainstream development. The only resemblance between these two section of the society is that both scheduled caste & scheduled tribe population represents the most backward & disadvantaged group in the highly stratified caste ridden society. While the social, economic & educational deprivation of this group is a common & unifying characteristic, each group also has its own set of problems that distinguishes it from the others.

Before proceeding to the discussion on caste and occupational mobility it is very important to define caste system and its relation to occupation in Indian context. At the initial stage the division of castes in the society was based on the functional division of labour. But soon the caste system became so rigid that it put restrictions on the individual in regard to the choice of occupation. However, there are two contradictory observations concerning the relationship between caste system, occupational preferences and social mobility. A group of social scientists is of the view that the caste system is not only based on particular division of labour, but it also imposes certain restrictions on status mobility. In contrast to this, a certain group of scholars have opined that the caste system is very dynamic in nature.

The present section tries to show the differences in household status mobility across various caste groups in the context of structural change in the economy.

Table 9.9: Status Mobility across various social groups

Mobility	Absolute Immobility	Mobility in land relation	Mobility in HH income sources	Absolyte Mobility
Others	38 24.36%	10 6.41%	36 23.08%	72 46.15%
SC	17 15.45%	9 8.18%	15 13.64%	69 62.73%
ST	7 6.60%	5 4.72%	9 8.49%	85 80.19%
Total	62 16.67%	24 6.45%	60 16.13%	226 60.75%

Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

The Table 9.9 highlighted certain changes in household status mobility in terms of land relation and sources of income performed that has taken place in different social groups. On the basis of data it can be summarised that:

- There are about 60.75 per cent of households which have deviated from their pre-dispossession status in terms of both land relation and major sources of income by them. In comparison to scheduled group this percentage share is relatively low among the non-scheduled group. It is about 46.15 per cent. There found gap between scheduled and non-scheduled groups in terms of mobility.
- On the other hand, absolute immobility is high among the non-scheduled households and very low among the scheduled tribe households. Earlier tribal households were involved in agricultural activities and use to earn from the same sector. However, after land dispossession they have shift in non-agricultural sectors and earn mostly by involving in casual work.

9.3. Emerging new socio-economic geometry: Post Dispossession scenario

The advancement of capitalist development in the neoliberal period is largely dependent on ‘geographical reorganisation of economic activities but also historically evolved cultural landscape’⁴²⁴. It may note that the socio-economic geometry in the new mining-industrial space call for a serious review of conventional understanding of transition. The following section based on sample survey documents how various groups of villagers from various projects dealt with this transition:

9.3.1. Landowners turned miners: Case study of Sonapur Bazari and Sarshatali project

The land dispossession by various open cast mining projects (state owned ECL and privately owned ICMPL project) provide the chances of being turned into miner in the local coal mines to a certain section of the affected villagers.

9.3.1.1. Miner (organised labour force) under Public Sectors

⁴²⁴ Swapna Banerjee-Guha, “Space Relations of Capital and Significance of New Economic Enclaves: SEZs in India,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 43, No. 47 (2008), 52.

The mining industry of India is very productive in economic terms, but not at all labour intensive anymore. The coal mining industry has no chance of consuming the labour of the dispossessed locals. India's coal mining industry in the neoliberal period is the example of accumulation of capital using capital (mechanisation).

The possibility of people making place in the public sector coal mining industry through means other than against land looser scheme are usually rare. Theoretically, it is of course possible for the local people to get involved in coal mining permanent employee. But barriers to this can be two-fold: very limited number of vacancies for the unskilled labourer in the industry due to mechanisation and lack of human capital. Hence, the cases of people achieving job in coal mining industry are usually very rare. In order to be considered for employment against land looser scheme, an individual should have had at least six acres of land prior to being dispossessed of the land. Moreover, majority of the adivasi did not hold title deeds to land which included the common land, like – agricultural land, pastures, and ponds, etc. Tribals had used these lands for decades; however with unrecognised ownership (encroachers). Further complications were that some households who even own land of their own but did not have sufficient amount (i.e. 2 acres for each) to qualify for permanent jobs in public sectors coal mines for all the potential adult male earners in the family, exclude many unemployed but no longer able to pursue agriculture based livelihoods. The R and R policy of the development projects are designed such a way that it is giving enormous scope to the class having enough agricultural capital to convert into economic capital by providing formal jobs on long term contracts in public sector coal mines. This section of workers enjoys better social security coverage (like- Provident Fund, Pension after retirement, etc.) emoluments. Apart from that they have the scope of upward mobility. There are many examples of medium and large land holding households who are in quite good condition after giving up their land, and have become miners. It is important to note that they are not the traditional miners of the coal mines, who used to work in hostile, unhealthy and risky condition before coal mines get nationalised. Now, they are the formal employees of public sector and getting good salary on regular monthly basis.

As the survey data made clear that in villages, like- Hansdiha, Bhaluka, Sonepur a large number of people are involved in coal mining and majority of them have received their jobs against CIL's land loser scheme. While statistically small in number, there are also few cases of tribals and Bauries (come under SC communities) who have also received job in coal mines as compensation.

Moreover recently, as mechanisation in the mines has increased, even fewer jobs have been available and ECL's emphasis has shifted from "employment for land" to monetary compensation alone. Additionally, the "employment for land" policy has a number of small-print conditions that forbidden many of the land dispossessed from qualifying, irrespective of gender. On the other hand it is also important to mention that a high proportion of the new employment opportunities were taken by outsiders with more institutional cultural capital (i.e. educational qualification).

9.3.1.2. Regular Casual Miners employed by the private companies under land loser's scheme

Like ECL, ICMPL also offered employment to the members of the land dispossessed households. However, there are few basis differences in terms of the categories of employment provided. The individuals who got job under the land loser scheme can be categorised as regular casual miners in the private sector coal mines. Unlike the public sector coal miners their jobs are not protected and also not for a specific time period. They are known as regular casual miners because they will be employed as long as there is work. This category of workers is directly recruited by the ICMPL authority without the involvement of middlemen or contractors on the ground of compensation. The regular casuals do not have any social security benefits and also do not have any chances of upward mobility.

9.3.1.3. In the name of mechanisation: Contract Labour (unorganised labour force in organised sector) under private contractors

There are many large open cast coal mines under different subsidiary companies of CIL which are employing contract labours for coal cutting and removal of the

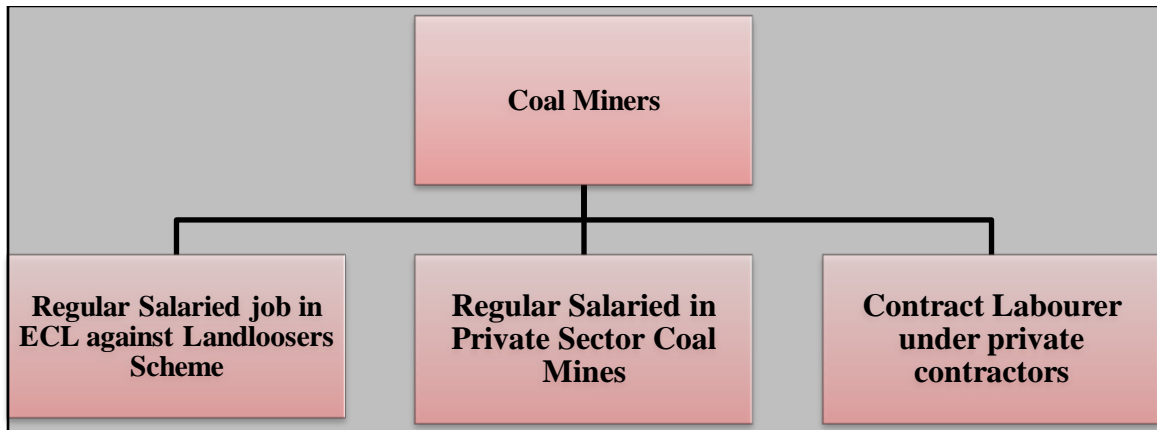
Overburden⁴²⁵ in the name of hiring excavation machinery or Heavy earth Moving Machine (HEMM). At the same time it was stated that as the state owned public sector can outsource the production to any private company having experience of coal production or it can do the production in partnership with such private companies. As a result of this, the outsourcing began to take place in the mines of Coal India too and the contract labours are being employed for the production of coal in all these private companies. They are known as informal contract miners.

At the initial phase, the small mines of the Eastern Coalfields Limited (ECL) were outsourced in order to save ECL from BIFR. The logic behind this outsourcing is that it would bring profit for the ECL as it would reduce the cost of production of coal due to the employment of contract labours by the contractor. Thus, the production of coal by employing the contract labours has been increasing day by day. While employing the contract labours, the production of coal has been taking place in all the private coal mines and in all the outsourced patches of ECL and other subsidiaries of Coal India. As a result of it, the share of outsourced production in Coal India has increased from 40 per cent in 2004-05 to 60 per cent in 2012-13.

It is already found from the field survey that the Sonepur Bazari Project of ECL has also given the contract of coal production to few private companies, like- M/s. Mahalaxmi Infra contract Pvt. Ltd, M/s.ANE Industries Pvt. Ltd. etc. A group of local people are employed in these patches by middlemen called contractors, who hire them out to these mines. These are the worst form of employment in the mines. They do not have any social security coverage. They are low paid workers involved in low skill manual jobs. Similarly, ICMPL also sub leased its coal patches to few private companies, like- G.S.Atwal for the purpose of cost effective production. ICMPL also encouraged these companies to employ labours from the affected villages. It is worthy of mentioning that these kinds of employment are highly dependent on access to social and political capital.

⁴²⁵ Overburden means the upper soil and stone layer of Coal.

Diagram 9.2: Flexible identities of miners



Source: Conceptualised by the researcher.

Table 9.10: Different kind of miners and their status of employment

Type of Miners	Level of employment	Salary	Frequency of income	Job Security	Social Security
Organised Public Sector Miners	Long term Permanent	High	Monthly	High	Available
Private Sector Coal Miners	Temporary	Low	Monthly	Absent	Not Available
Contract Labourer under private contractors	Temporary	Very low	Monthly	Absent	Not Available

Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

The above cases illustrate the ability of the landed class (though not exclusively from the higher caste) to arrange a regular salaried job in neighbouring coal mines. It is also found that those who could manage financial security leading a better life than others. They can even spending money on human capital for their next generation.

Apart from public sector coal mines, permanent jobs are also available at steel plants, thermal power plants, and local government offices located in the Coal-Steel industrial complex. The process of establishing such unique economic spaces needs to be unfolding as the process of accumulation through dispossession.

9.3.2. Cultivators to speculators: Andal

There are few cases especially in villages of Aerotropolis, where people are on the way towards become land speculator. The speculators belong to land owning class of the village community and post dispossession they control the land market of the region. It is also found that it is the members of the traditional agricultural caste and few land owning class control the land market. The agrarian class with a socio-economic hegemony dominates the speculative land market.

9.3.3. Brokers and Moneylenders

In all project affected villages there found a village committee to negotiate with the companies for the compensation package. Few people from every village were elected by the villagers as committee members when the projects were arrived in the region. They were also project affected people and few among them were moderately large land holders too. It is alleged that as part of the village committee few among them took advantages from the companies for not opposing the compensation package as well as transfer of village land for the projects. Their contacts with rest of the villagers on the one side and with the company officials on the other and political affiliations to various political parties; gave them a set of ties with which they absorbing profits from both sides. One side the company officials offer commission to them that they can acquire land peacefully without any predicament from the villagers of the project affected villages. On the other side, they stand by the other villagers to gain political support of the commons. As previously mentioned, Arsula is tribal dominated project affected village near Sonapur Bazari OCP. Most of the villagers are illiterate and hardly have any knowledge about the compensation package provide to them. While the committee members are the one who has all the information regarding compensation. A number of villagers of Arsula village have claimed that the committee members take advantages of their limited knowledge about the project. The PAPs used to receive compensation from the company with bank cheques and later they deposit it to their own bank accounts. However, there are very few among them who know how to operate a bank account. Therefore, naturally they take help from the committee members to do the necessities. This is the time when they the advantages of the poor villagers and take commissions from them for helping them out.

These newly gained wealth is used, rather better to say recycled in varied ways. Sometimes it is used for purchasing new farmland or commercial land or residential plots, sometimes for opening up a business or expansion of it, for construction or expansion of already existing house, sometime as bribe for job of the family members in formal sectors or simply keeps the amount as fixed deposit in any financial institution (like-bank). Apart from that they launder cash as moneylender and circulate it to get more. Since there found a positive correlation between social status and landholdings, it is consequently the section with socio-economic hegemony active in money lending and also control the fragmented credit markets. Their family members also help them to operate and expand their investment in various ways.

This section at the first place gathers economic and political capital to get social capital through networking and use social capital for further expansion of economic, political and social capital.⁴²⁶ During the village survey it is noted that a number of villagers feel that the village committee members have cheated on them and having all the fruits alone.

Families, which have more land but fewer members, began to sell that land to others. One way they lost the attachment with the physical space and on the other way, attaching itself with it. It is the market which breaks the direct nexus between land and people.

Table 9.11: Scenario of Changing Class Structure in the Coal-Steel Industrial Complex of Eastern India

Projects	Former Status	Contemporary Status
Sonepur Bazari Project ECL	Land Owners (All social groups)	i. Miners in Public Sector ii. Owners of business or rentiers
	Land owners	i. Reproducer ii. Brokers iii. Speculator
	Sharecroppers	i. Self-employed or Casual labour

⁴²⁶ Michael Levien, "Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India" (PhD Dissertaton, UC Berkley, 2013). Also see, P. Bourdieu, "The forms of capital," In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 241-258.

		ii. Agricultural labour
	Tribals (Agricultural Labourers)	i. Casual Labour in non-agricultural sector ii. Contract labourer under private contractors iii. Coal scavenger
	Landless (Agricultural Labourers)	i. Casual Labour in non-agricultural sector
	Non-agricultural class	i. Casual Labour in non-agricultural sector
Andal BAPL Project	Land owners	i. Speculators ii. Businessman or Rentiers
	Sharecropper	i. Casual wage labour / Unemployed
	Landless	i. Casual wage labour / Unemployed
Sarshatali IC MPL Project	Land Owners	i. Pit face Miners under private subcontractors ii. Owners of business or rentiers
	Sharecropper	i. Pit face Miners under private subcontractors ii. Casual wage labour / Unemployed
	Tribals (Agricultural Labourers)	i. Casual Labour in non-agricultural sector ii. Contract labourer under private contractors iii. Coal scavenger
	Landless (Agricultural Labourers)	i. Casual Labour in non-agricultural sector ii. Coal scavenger

Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

9.3.4. From landowner to small trader, tiny shop owner (Shopkeepers): dispossession without proletarianisation

The process of land dispossession has turned a section into businessman. It is also found that few household have invested their agrarian economic capital into small businesses. This form of self employment during the transition to capitalism is termed as “dispossession without proletarianisation”⁴²⁷ by Barbara Harriss-White. Social hierarchy in terms of both caste and class most prominent reality of this region and highly contested. In Hansdiha village where the half of the population belongs to Bauri communities are almost landless.

⁴²⁷ Shapan Adnan, “Primitive Accumulation and the ‘transition to capitalism’ in neoliberal India: Mechanism, Resiatance, and the persistence of self-employed Labour,” in *Indian Capitalism in Development eds. Barbara Harriss-White and Judith Heyer (New York: Routledge Publications, 2015), 28.*

The Bhaluka village affected by the sonapur Bazari project is a scheduled caste dominated village. Among the scheduled caste communities, the villagers belong to the Mondal community holds themselves to be superior to the Bauries as they have private land ownership. This fact is not only recognised by the Mondals, but also recognised by the all others.

The inhabitants of this region are very much concerned about the economic realities. In order to land character is concerned, this region is consists of unproductive fallow lands, dry pastures and also agricultural land. Rice is the main cultivated crop of this region. However, most of the agricultural lands are not much fertile and the productivity is also very low because of the lack of irrigation and high levels of land pollution.

Earlier land was symbol of status for the families and also the source of security for the lineage. Many households enjoy income from formal employment and began to abandon the status of cultivators. They were enjoying the status of employers by providing agricultural work to the labourers from low castes.

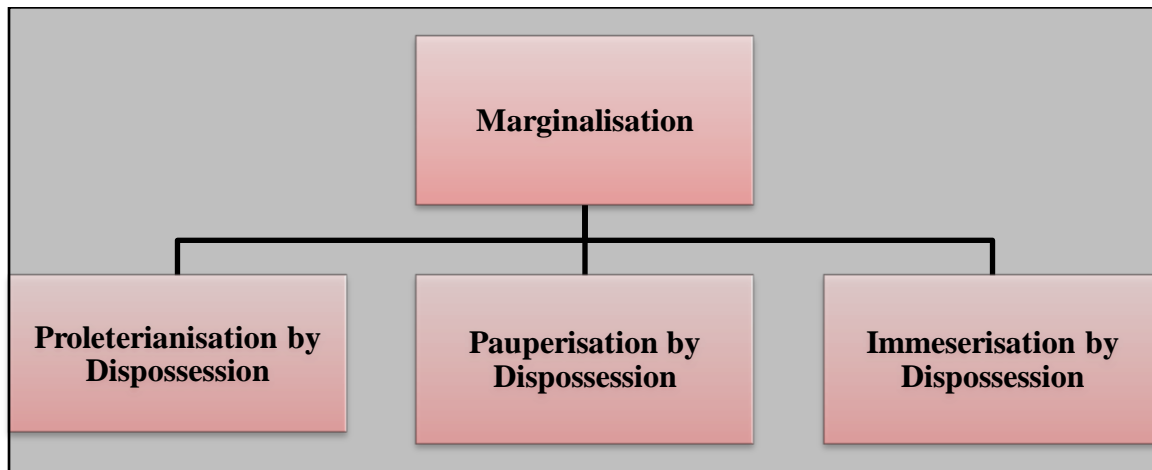
9.3.5. Dispossession and subaltern heterogeneity

The contemporary form of capital accumulation discuss about expansion of surplus population. The objective of this chapter of the thesis is to see the relation among the subalterns as the subject, space and modes of subjectification produced through the processes of accumulation by dispossession over time. How do the narratives (Primary and secondary) of subalterns help in determining the heterogeneous nature of the subaltern spaces? Dispossession involved a deep-rooted process of domination and suppression; through which people are debarred from their known life they knew to uncertainty and materialised into proletarianisation, pauperisation and immiserisation. The power geometry shows that different sections of the society have noticeably different relationships to the structurally different framework in the neoliberal period: while some are taking up the responsibilities, some are initiating circulation of capital and some are at the receiving end.

- *Modes of subjectification*

As conceptualised by Marx, class differentiation is necessary for capitalism to function as a mode of production. This thesis tries to capture this class perception one step ahead by examining differential materiality within them. More precisely to say it tries to capture formation of class within class by livelihood transformation. The subaltern structure in India has undergone major changes in the neoliberal period. The question of class fragmentation in this case is highly theoretical and has great political importance. It is important to turn the attention on a certain section of rural residence that participated but could not play well the social game of accumulation as they do not have privately owned asset (land) to start with. The excluded are not of homogeneous composition and analytically separated. Those who have little access to land have more chances of marginalisation. It is characterised by lack of access to basic resources of production while dependent on residual resources and activities. The development projects are altering the man-land relationship. The diagram 9.3 represents a schematic classification of various marginalised section of the society:

Diagram 9.3: Subalternisation by Dispossession



Source: Conceptualised by the researcher.

9.3.5.1. Proletarianisation by Dispossession

At the other end of the social spectrum is the regional proletariat, broadly made up of two groups: landless villagers and the adivasis. In Marxism, the proletariat is the working class, including farmers and low-skilled factory workers. They do not own any

means of production. Proletarianisation is a state of uncertainty. Proletarianisation is a strategy to survive dispossession. As argued by Alpa Shah: 'Landlessness is often taken as a sign of proletarianisation.'⁴²⁸

As noted by levien, people who are already poor their restricted use of land made even more large difference. In the villages before land expropriation, the land owning classes were served by the Bauri households and the Adivasis as agricultural labourer during the time of sowing and harvesting of agricultural products. Those households; earlier dependent on agriculture reported that in the present situation they do not get any scope of wage labour in agriculture as the agricultural lands are grasped by the open cast mines.

A large section of people in this region are part of unskilled casual job. In the age of high levels of mechanisation many are involved in various manual jobs, like - digging, carrying, loading and unloading. All villages around OCPs have large number of casual workers involved in non-agricultural sectors. A section of people often sell their labour at very low cost. In Sonepur-Bazari region labourers are paid only weekly basis in cash; wages. The data in table indicate that self employment in agriculture has highly decreased.

9.3.5.2.Immiserisation by dispossession

Immiserisation is the state of resource (both physical and human) degradation upon which livelihoods depend. Under such circumstances, there are two ways to survive dispossession:

- (a) to stay and struggle or,
- (b) to migrate somewhere else and search for new avenues.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁸ Alpa Shah, "The Agrarian Question in a Maoist Guerrilla Zone: Land, Labour and Capital in the Forests and Hills of Jharkhand, India," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 13, No. 3 (2013), 437.

⁴²⁹ Alakh N. Sharma, "Agrarian Relations and Socio-Economic Change in Bihar," (New Delhi: Institute for Human Development, 2005), 14. <http://ihdindia.org/Working%20Papers/2010-2005/pdf%20files/30-%20Alakh%20Sharma.pdf>. (Accessed on 06/01/2017 at 12.19 am).

In Sonapur-Bazari tribals from few villages like- Arsula, Bandhghat, Kuchibera, Madhudanga, etc. immiserated are the overlapping category. Often, the dispossessed, from the lower strata is dependent on the middlemen for getting compensation money and this compels them to get even less. In most of the cases the people are not well informed about the material incentives they are getting and neither they have that quality that explore alternative strategies.

In Amuliya village outside the leasehold area of ICMPL, where people are not forcibly dispossessed of their land, but there are many families who nevertheless are suffering by the continuous land degradation due to fire in the mines.

9.3.5.3. Pauperisation by dispossession

Pauperised are those who are excluded from the labour force. It also includes falling annual days of employment and earning, increase disparity in the male-female wage. The inflation in the service sector (especially in mining, iron and steel, etc.) in terms of regular salaried employment and lack of modern skill among the labourers restrict their entry to the labour market. Surplus labour creation is the key features of capitalist development. The two main forces behind the production of surplus labour are the growth strategy unable to create enough paid employment and the process of agrarian transition. The mechanisms reinforcing surplus labour includes: loss of agricultural land, fragmentation of land holdings and informalisation. On the other hand in agrarian transformation, the social structure of accumulation (Caste hierarchy, Gender) plays an important role. According to Majumder:

*'Specific ethnic groups (in developing and developed countries) are excluded from the process of capability formation and income-earning opportunities due to various forms of discrimination. This exclusion and backwardness transcends the boundary of the current generation and spills over to successive generations as well.'*⁴³⁰

⁴³⁰ Rajarshi Majumder, "Intergenerational Mobility in Educational and Occupational Attainment: A Comparative Study of Social Classes in India," *Margin—The Journal of Applied Economic Research* 4, No. 4 (2010), 464.

Pauperisation is a euro-centric concept. Pauperised are properly observed, acknowledged, and the causes behind their pauperisation are question. While in developing countries, like- India, the pauperised are the ignorant class. They are not registered, asked or acknowledged. Being an invisible category in India, those who pauperised do not create much problem for those in power. It is often state that poor people are in that particular state because of their status of poverty. In European countries people are able to sell their poverty, but in India it is not like that.⁴³¹ According to Marx, ‘pauperism forms a condition of capitalist production and of the capitalist development of wealth’,⁴³².

Table 9.12: Post-Dispossession Class Stratification in the Sites of Dispossession

Project Locations	Subaltern Heterogeneity		
	Proletariat	Pauperised	Immeserised
Sonepur Bazari Open Cast Project	Landless population without formal or self employment (tribals and few dalit households). e.g. the bauri communities in Hansdiha village. However, the sunri communities of Bhaluka village are not included under this category.	Excluded for the labour force. (Tribals, dalits, youth generation and women).	Tribals
Sarishathali Open Cast Project	Landless population without formal or self employment. (tribals and few dalit households). Muslim households of Rakhakuda village are not included in this category.	Excluded for the labour force. (Tribals, dalits, youth generation and women).	Tribals
Andal Aerotropolis Project	Landless population without formal or self employment. (The agricultural labourers and sharecroppers).	Excluded for the labour force. (Agricultural labourers and sharecroppers, youth generation).	Agricultural labourers and sharecroppers belong to the dalit households.

Source: Researcher’s analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

⁴³¹ <https://acjperspectives.wordpress.com/2016/02/05/not-poor-but-pauperised/>

⁴³² Karl Marx, Capital: A Critique of Political Economy. Volume I: The Economist.

The above table (Table 9.12) shows which section of the society suffering from what levels of marginalisation in various projects affected villages. It is also important to mention here that it is very difficult to divide the dispossessed in separate categories. Most of the time there found the problem of overlapping and such classification is only possible from field observation.

9.4. Gender dimension of dispossession and their double exclusion

Cutting across all the categories of dispossessed, is the marginalisation of the women. Earlier women had a major role in gender division of labour in agriculture. Now women are totally excluded from the modernised mining sector and also from the real estate economy. Even the R and R policy of ECL is also designed in such a way that there is hardly any provision for compensation for the female members, except the widows. Earlier women, especially belong to the lower strata of the society had a major role in collecting fuel wood, fodder, different forest products and animal husbandry, while now the women's unpaid domestic work has increased enormously. Dispossessed from both mining and agricultural work, a section among the women consider them as the unemployed. On the other hand, in case of poor tribal and dalit families, dependency on women has often increased. In poor households, where most of the male members are generally engaged as casual wage labourers in unorganised sectors, these households also depend on the women working either in MGNREGA or any other work in private unorganised sectors, like-construction sites or in the brickyards, etc. In the villages of Sarshatali region poor women are even involve in coal picking and scavenging from illegal mine sites.

In the period of neoliberalism, economic modernisation has reconstructed the gender space. Without land titles or with very few amount of land, women are excluded from the real estate economy. While women in wealthy households cannot control the economic capital of the households, on the other hand, poor households push women towards informal sectors as casual labourers.

9.5. Producing different types of dispossession in Asansol-Durgapur Industrial Complex

Prior to the various development projects, the village land was inherited by the agricultural class. The composition of the agricultural class varied from villages to villages and formed a complex mosaic. To be clear, it is important to note that there are structural differences that facilitated compliance to dispossession in the coal-steel industrial region.

1) Productive dispossession:

This kind of dispossession was the outcome of the state led development projects to expand economic accumulation. Accumulation of land for the purpose of mineral resource extraction was not the matter of selling in the global market but to fulfill the domestic requirements and for public sector industrialisation. In case of coal blocks allocation priority was given to the public sector enterprises, while the amount of mineral export was quite controlled. Overall, it can be said that the motive behind land dispossession was production of commodities.

2) Speculative dispossession:

Owners of the land controls the market price of the land No urgency in selling it off. Control of land price became uncertain.

In this chapter it has been argued that the distributional bias of the impacts of various projects in the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India recognize the case of accumulation by dispossession structurally linked regional process of class formation, the essential attribute of capitalist development.

In conclusion it can be said that, from all these discussions it is possible to gather a partial knowledge about the pattern and magnitude of class mobility of Coal-Steel Industrial complex of Eastern India, as there is a lack of secondary data in general and because of the bias problem in primary survey data in particular. Using primary survey data collected from various villages where land dispossession has taken place, this thesis provides the socio-economic geometry of the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern

India. This chapter summarises the results concerning impact of land dispossession and their theoretical implications.

There is a substantial difference in the household land relation and household status based on their sources between two time periods. Analysis of particular time period indirectly mirrors the changes in the external structure of the opportunities in a society over time. The industrial complex has stepped forward in becoming a market oriented society. The results of this chapter basically confirm the impact of neoliberalism on this region.

Some of the following inferences have been drawn from the data collect from the field survey:

- This chapter highlights the scenario of agrarian and mining transition generated by various projects.
- The above discussion clears that class structure and the relations among various classes in the coal-steel industrial complex cannot be discussed independently from the dynamics of capitalism in this region. These case studies discussed in the above section illustrate different kind of gradations due the penetration of these neoliberal projects in the regional economy. Essentially, the socio-economic geometry represents a hierarchy of dispossession. Breman termed this as ‘various layers of deprivation.’⁴³³ Levien has also shows significant qualitative and quantitative diversity among various sections.⁴³⁴ Though the land people relation is quiet significant since a very long period of time, however, the coal-steel industrial complex is undergoing a period of very rapid change in terms of its social structure. These neoliberal projects have magnified the existing inequalities based on caste, class and gender. The limitation of job opportunities on the one hand and influence of flow of money in the global market economy could be the determining criteria behind this bipolarity of the society. Here, the emergences of

⁴³³ Jan Breman, *Outcast Labour in Asia: Circulation and Informalization of the Workforce at the Bottom of the Economy*, (New Delhi: Oxford, 2010).

⁴³⁴ Michael Levien, “Regimes of Dispossession: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Land in India” (PhD Dissertaton, UC Berkley, 2013).

the new social classes are not the outcome of these capitalist projects alone. Various neoliberal policies and agrarian crisis has led to depeasantisation and shrinking of job opportunity in the region.

- The neo-subalterns emerging from neoliberal projects and accumulation of capital are hierarchically linked. A number of intermediaries among the two social strata have emerged in the neoliberal period. It is therefore important to view society as a chain. Various social classes have not broken their ties with each other nor have they given up their bonds to the land. The presence of subaltern groups as dispossessed marginalised and the dominant section possessing the means of production as well as political power are fairly prominent in the new social geometry and has a greater relevance. Even the dispossessed subalterns are also internally divided into various social groups. Gadgil and Guha describe this process as systematic transfer of resources from the primary consumers to the tertiary consumers.⁴³⁵
- It would be incomplete not to mention some of the limitations of the study. As this study is based on the primary field survey, the problem of limited sample turns some of the results statistically insignificant. But, that does not mean that the results are theoretically unrealistic.

In the chapter that follows, it is therefore turn to the ways through which dispossessed subaltern have been contesting and resisting the constraints they face in the process of capital accumulation.

⁴³⁵ Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *Ecology and Equity*, (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2013).

Chapter 10

Mapping Subaltern Consciousness and Contestations

It has already been discussed in the 4th chapter of this thesis that the coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India has gone through various phases of capitalist development and each of these phases has also dealt with its diverse and periodic crises as a consequence of its internal contradictions. A number of scholars argue that since 1990s the previously existed national economy oriented capitalist system has expanded up to global scale in order to overcome the periodic crisis of capitalism. The contemporary phase has renewed the opportunities for capital accumulation and also characterised by increasing inequalities between core and peripheries.

The mining region shows that extraction of coal resources has increased between 1970s and 2015, while intra-regional inequalities have also increased. The Asansol-Raniganj-Durgapur industrial complex which is the main focus in this text, exemplifies the socio-economic-cultural and ecological impact of neoliberal capitalism in more detail (as mentioned in chapter 8 and chapter 9). Coal resource exploitation is a defining component of coal-steel industrial region's political economy and thus subject to very high stakes in the struggle over ongoing accumulation by dispossession. This chapter examines the ways in which the accumulation of capital through dispossession is contested in the coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India. In doing so it also explores the meanings of 'right to the territory' and 'the commons'.

In ADIC dispossession is a continuous process, affecting and dispossessing people at different time and with different intensities. As pointed out by Levien, 'the nature of dispossession itself shapes the character of anti-dispossession movements.'⁴³⁶ Hence, the contestations of the subaltern spaces are extremely complex and create an area of academic interest for the researchers. Following scholars like- De Angelis and

⁴³⁶ Michael Levien, "The Politics of Dispossession: Theorizing India's "Land Wars"", *Politics and Society* 41, No. 3 (2013), 355.

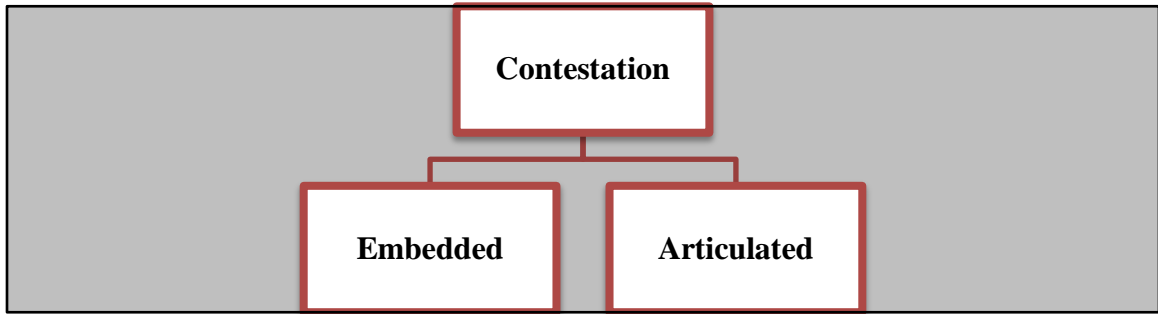
Glassman, etc. this thesis focused on extra-economic modes of capital accumulation, those are quite different from the act of physical dispossession. This chapter includes instances of contestation in this region over large scale industrial and infrastructural projects, appropriation of natural resources through mineral extraction, restriction of access to natural resources through enclosures, environmentally dangerous working conditions, and continuously deteriorated living conditions, which are directly and indirectly facilitating accumulation of capital and profit. There are different perspectives presented by scholars on rights among the people of this region which has evolved over time. Here the objective is to find out how these differential perspectives on right contribute to greater control over the mining-industrial process.

Differential material circumstances as described in chapter 9 shape the social interaction and mobility and therefore also shape the nature and possibility of contestations. Another important objective is to incorporate spatiality into the social movement theories. Furthermore, it is believed that the account of class formation, alliance and fragmentation in the contemporary phase of capitalism in India will help towards an analysis of causes of contemporary contestations in the Coal-steel industrial belt of Eastern India.

This thesis does not restrict the discussion to those contestations which have manifested in the form of violent and non-violent resistance but also the ‘disguised passive resistances’ or everyday resistance⁴³⁷ described by James Scott (Chart: 10.1). According to him, everyday resistances are quiet, dispersed and invisible. There is certain behaviour found among the subalterns, not very clear as the form of contestations, yet resistance. These forms of subaltern behaviour making them part of the political affairs. It essentially focuses on the dispossession related to different forms of capital accumulation. This chapter follows an inventory method rather than statistical analysis and tries to provide broad overview on spatial characteristics of resistance.

⁴³⁷ James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, (New York: Yale University Press, 1985).

Diagram 10.1: Different forms of contestations



Source: Conceptualised by the researcher.

This chapter is mostly a theoretical formulation based on secondary literature (books, journals, periodicals, reports, newspaper reports, etc.), field interviews, and group discussion conducted by the researcher between 2015 and 2016.

- The first subsection (10.1) will focus on **causes of contestations and how it has embodied in major movements in the in the pre-colonial and post-colonial period over this region.**
- In the next subsection (10.2) recent **attempts by the subaltern groups to claim their rights** are described. These case studies of contestations over rights in the neoliberal period demonstrate the necessity of contesting socio-economic inequalities. More precisely to say, how the subalterns are represented and expected to behave and how the neo-subalterns have moved beyond the acts of passive revolution to overt collective actions to challenge already established norms. With the help of the narratives and other relevant documents it also tries to identify how political and institutional context have constraints the ability of the subaltern actors to take overt action and the attempts have been to overcome the problems.
- The third subsection (10.3) discusses about **factors those producing conformity and contestation in the mining-industrial region.**
- Finally, this section (10.4) **theorises the significance of the new commons and their right to their territory in particular spatial context.**

10.1. Geographical hotspot of socio-environmental contestation to commoditisation in Coal-steel Industrial Complex of Eastern India: A histographic analysis

There are very few studies which focused on the historical processes of dispossession in this region. In terms of anti-dispossession struggle this region claims to

have land acquisition with relative peace – while land struggle has raged in Singur and Nandigram of West Bengal and other parts of the Country as well. In particular this chapter tries to scrutinise the complex mechanism; more specifically the dynamic and complex policies of state that are responsible for the relative dispossession of the marginalised section of the society.

It is reported in many writings that the economy of this region was predominantly agro-forest based more than hundred years ago. With the initiation of coal production the producers were separated from the means of production. If someone sees the recent scenario, this industrial complex falls in an intermediate position between the advanced capitalist societies and the developing societies. On the other hand this region has the potential to produce new urban spaces in the form of Special Economic Zones and aerotropolis, etc. It is also found that a large section of this region lives on the edge of the impoverishment, while a small portion of the total population is the major share. This portrays an intermediate stage of development with unequal distribution of wealth and power. In the recent years many investors found this region quite attractive for further investment and accumulation. Throughout the period of modern history this regions experienced capitalist mode of production. Chapter 4 of this thesis has already illustrated about the commodity frontiers and how they are produced over time. Chapter 4 of this thesis has already illustrated about the nature of capitalist development and expansion of commodity frontiers in the region and the way these are reproduced over time and space. This region has distinct geographical and ecological configuration as well as historically produced distinct socio-economic-political space (chapter 4).

Subaltern contestations in the mining areas of Eastern India use a range of theoretical frameworks to find out the spatial character of it. Being a historical site of continuous dispossession and exploitation this region has received very less attention to the already persisting low level conflicts that are historically integral part of the coal resource extraction since the colonial period. In Raniganj Coal mining region, coal extraction started in 1870s and expanded further in the subsequent decades. The historical roots of conflicts in the coal-steel industrial complex of West Bengal lie in the colonial exploitation of natural resources and cheap labour. The locals have been continuously dispossessed by British hegemony in the colonial period, by the state for national interests

after the independence and by the private investors/ corporates under the present neoliberal regime. It is a region with evident inequality, imbalance and uneven development.

In the colonial period subaltern protest was either not very prominent or more passive in this region. The land owning section was the dominant section of the society, while the sharecroppers and agricultural labours were the deprived one. They were hardly getting their shares and were often dismissed from their rights to cultivate. They had no other way but to sell their labour power to the dominants (Zamindars and the Rayats). During that period people were using traditional means of non-violent passive resistance such as songs, poetry, etc. Over the time people have written numerous songs to articulate their protests. These songs are often used as means of subaltern contestations. An essence of disagreement to work in the mining or sell the labour power is found from these folk songs of this region.

“Koila khade jabo na, korbo dhaner paat.”⁴³⁸

The meaning is, the petty workers do not want to work in the mines, and rather they want to go back to their native place and want to produce rice for their livelihoods. As noted by Ranajit Das Gupta, ‘in this sense return to their village homes and other similar actions may be considered as a subterranean form of protest and manifestation of a particular level of proletarian consciousness or rather feeling’⁴³⁹. During Colonial period there was no sense of unity among the coal miners as labour of coal mines. The colliery managers and their associates were the sole controllers of the mines. Therefore, the labourers were bound to follow the rules and guidance provided by the authority. As Agarwal believes both silence and words can be a means of resistance and protest⁴⁴⁰. The subalterns often maintain the culture of silence and unexpressed about their emotion regarding dispossession and oppression. As a matter of fact subaltern feelings of injustice remain unknown among the others and hardly found in the existing literature.

⁴³⁸Bhakti Pada Mandal, *RaniganjMahakumarItihas*. (Saraswati Press: Jamuria, 2005), 142. (Translated by the researcher from Bengali to English).

⁴³⁹Ranjit Das Gupta. Migrants in Coal Mines: Peasants and Proletarians, 1850s-1947. *Social Scientist* 13, No. 12 (1985). 38.

⁴⁴⁰Bina Agarwal, *A field of one's own: Gender and land rights in South Asia* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 427.

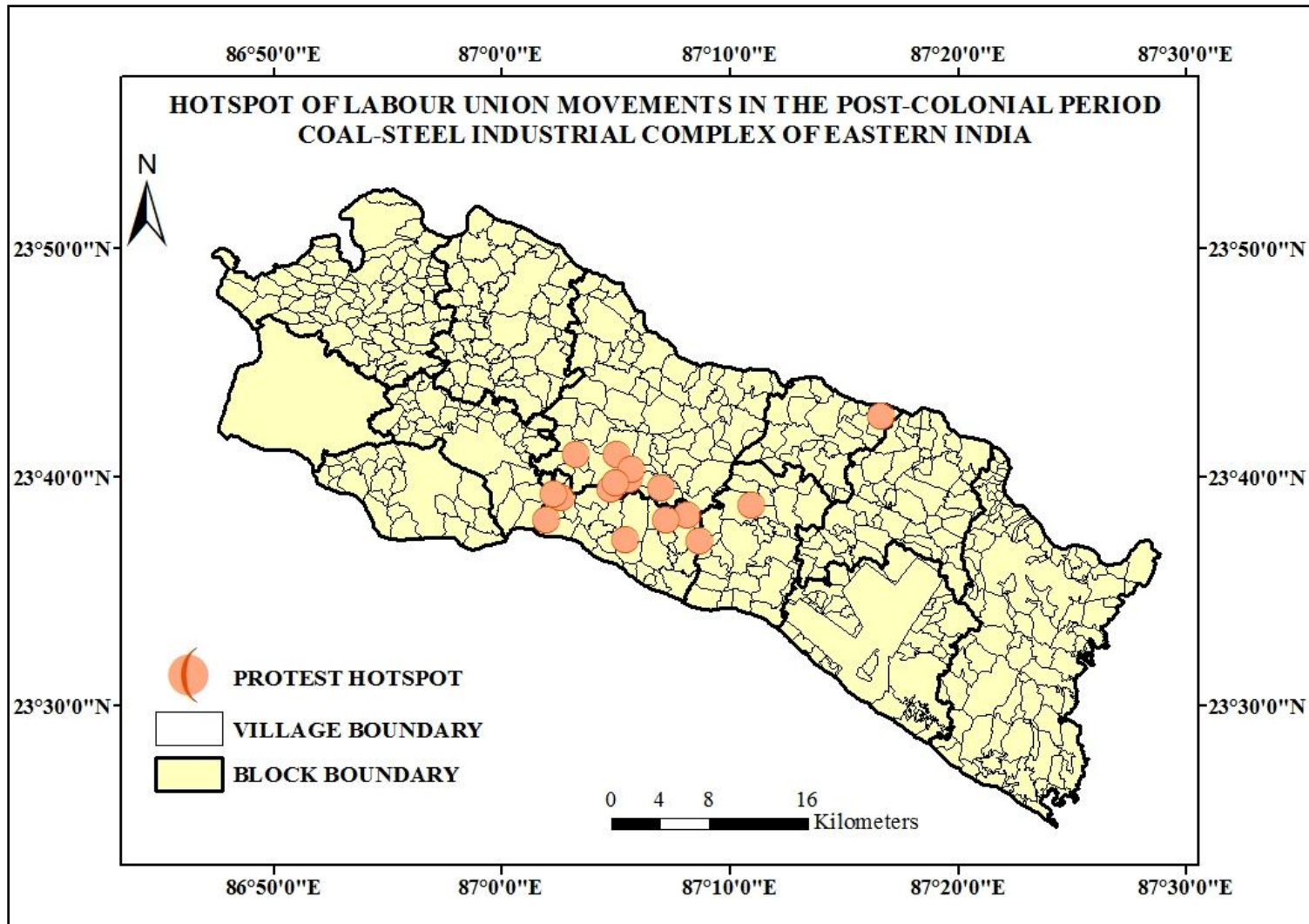
In the post-independent period the subaltern contestations took the form of labour movements. Organised labour movements were the most viable strategy for many of the working class people of this region in the post-independent period. The major reasons were low wages, discrimination among the local and migrant labourers, problems of child labour and curtail of labour rights. Another important problem around which contestations were accumulated was capitalist's persecution on the labours in the form of physical assault. The union leaders tried to grow consciousness among the common in the open forum through discussion. The labour movements required supports from masses to make it even stronger. Gerard Heuze's statement in this context is both correct as well as insightful:

*'Industrial workers are only an island in the society. Included in the patronage networks, displaying community symbols, or associated with forces representing the masses of 'small people', the manual labourer often obtains more concrete advantages by means of his struggles and particular strategies as producer.'*⁴⁴¹

The fire of labour movements spread among the labours of glass factory, tobacco factory, and oil mills apart from the coal miners. The growth of demand for labours in the labour intensive manufacturing sector was losing control over the labour class. The emerging working class was not only growing in number but also organised by the militant trade unions in order to attempt economic contestations. Mandalpur, Nageshwar, Satgram, AB Pit, Mithapur and Khas Kajora (See, Map 10.1) were among the major places of labour movements. The major ways of protest were postering, leaflet, strike, hit and run, etc. Even at present time, the ECL authority is quite skeptical about the strike of the workers of the mines. However, there were one section of the society, i.e. business class, who were controlling the market economy and the educated section of the society did not support those labour movements.

⁴⁴¹ Gerard Heuze, *Workers of another World: Miner, the Countryside and Coalfields in Dhanbad* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 385.

Map 10.1: Hotspot of Labour Union Movements in the Mining-Industrial region of Eastern India



Source: Constructed by the researcher.

Geographies of dispossession at times boil over into sites of resistance. Process of capital accumulation depend on land resources in the recent years have paved the way for accelerated regional growth, however intensified social discontents, power struggles and conflicts.⁴⁴² According to Michel Foucault, where there is power, there is resistance.⁴⁴³ Many of the contestations that get piled up in the neoliberal period portray that contestations are advancing along the resource frontiers.

The modernised mining region is a market driven economy, shaped by global markets while overlooking the locals. It responds more to the individual or corporate interests than public concern. Even the government was also promoting the capitalists even after independence. The evidences of it are found from a statement made by Dr. Bidhan Roy, the then Chief minister of West Bengal quoted by Haradhan Roy in his biography:

*'Listen young man...Sir Biren (one of the leading industrialist of this region) had a distinct position during the British period, they bowed down to him. Even in this period of Congress rule we will bow down to him (Sir Biren). Whatever he will say, you have to listen to that.'*⁴⁴⁴

This region is marked by privatisation of production over urban industrial space. Hence, in a market driven economy, profitability is more important than public needs. Here, state and the public officials work as mediators and act on behalf of the capitalists. In these regions, with the gradual implementation of structural adjustment programme (through technology accumulation in this region since 1990s), the welfare state started retreating, public sectors became rationalised, private control increased and the employment structure experienced dramatic shift. One of the striking features of neoliberalism of the mining region is labour intensive public sector is shrinking rapidly.

⁴⁴² George C.S. Lin, "Scaling up Regional Development in Globalising China: Local Capital Accumulation, Land Centred Politics and Reproduction of Space", *Regional Studies (Local and Regional Development in Asia)* 43, Issue 3 (2009), 429-447.

⁴⁴³ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*, Trans. Robert Harley 95.

⁴⁴⁴ Haradhan Roy, *Agnigarbha Dinguli*, (Kolkata: Allied books, 2002), 57-58.

The new spatial reality and the power relation in the mining region of eastern India are of major concern to conceptualise the subaltern resistance. The contemporary reality about the mineral rich region is that it is an arena of capital accumulation where capital controls every other thing and while, the rich are benefitted, the subalterns are entrapped. For instance, Lahiri-Dutt's study documents how the modern policies in the neoliberal era in the past two decades disempowered a section of the society, while benefitting the others.⁴⁴⁵ In this context, the recognition of the in-depth situation of the subaltern dispossessed has itself to be contested for. Subaltern struggle and forms of their responses in the eastern coal mining region are mentioned here varied possible ways, ranging from minor to major, individual to organised, passive to active and violent to nonviolent. This region also shows contestation using the way of quiet encroachment to appropriate urban industrial space in order to reproduce itself: illegal occupation of state land or public land for agricultural and residential use and appropriation of public space for informal economic activities.

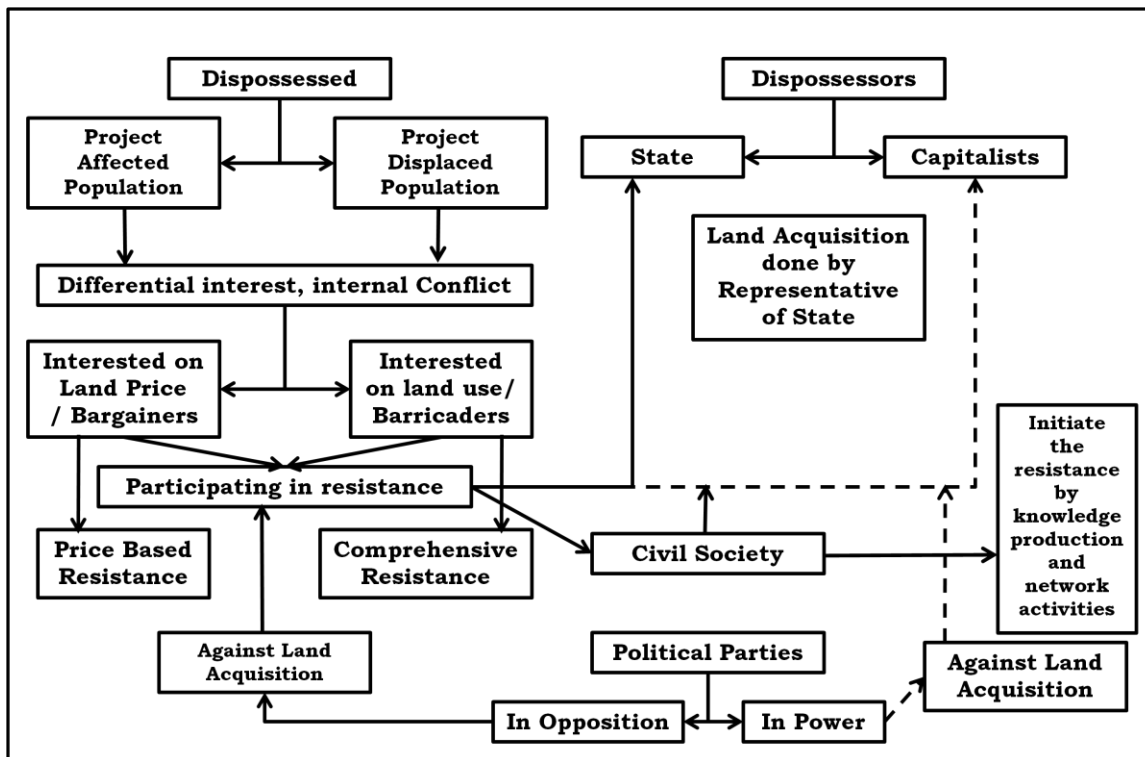
It is important to make an analytical distinction here between the forms and rationale of contestations shape up in three different locations (Sonepur-Bazari, Sarshatali and Andal) in the eastern coal mining region of India. The ideological contestations over various development projects in Sonepur-Bazari, Sarishathali and Andal are mostly dependent on the situational differences.

The existing literature on this subject rarely brings out the real face of contestations. Peoples' narratives are most important facets in this regards. Use of narrative inquiry within social science research is not new. Narratives collected during the field survey in research look for ways to understand realistic experiences through interaction with the research participants. Narratives keep voices to those subjects who would have otherwise followed the practice of being silence. Using both primary and secondary narratives researchers can access rich content of information that provides more in-depth analysis. To fully understand the issues regarding contestations, only quantitative approach is inadequate. Interaction with the individual can serve as primary

⁴⁴⁵ Lahiri-Dutt, Kuntala, Krishnan and Ahmad, "Land Acquisition and Dispossession: Private Coal Companies in Jharkhand." *Economic & Political Weekly* 47, No. 6 (2012): 39-45.

means for understanding the individual life. Individual constructs their life experiences to convey a specific perspective of the event. However, this approach also suggests that to understand people's perspective, it is equally important to examine interaction with other people apart from their own personal experiences. By focusing on the inner voices narrative inquiry provide an opportunity to better understanding of what is their position on social space and how people are affected by the process of accumulation and dispossession. Importance of peoples' perspectives and experiences come out in the writings of Padel and Das⁴⁴⁶. As noted by them, 'people's perceptions and experiences are a social fact more fundamentally than any statistics, which depend on the subjectivity of criteria chosen to be measured, and the measurer's perceptions and relationship with what is being measured'⁴⁴⁷.

Diagram 10.2: Various Agents of Dispossession and their role in anti-dispossession resistance



Source: Conceptualised by the researcher.

⁴⁴⁶ Felix Pedal and Samarendra Das, *Out of this Earth: East India Avivasis and the Aluminium Cartel* (New Delhi: Orient Black Swan, 2010).

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

A number of agents (Diagram 10.2) are involved in this process of accumulation and dispossession. This network of plunder creates a complex and contradictory alliances and relationships among them. One must also mention that in the process of capital accumulation by dispossession, the extra-economic factor creates an instantaneous unrest between the dispossessed and dispossessors. These kinds of antagonism highlight the issue of class interests underlying dispossession during the phase of advanced capitalism.

10.2. Case studies on resistance to dispossession

10.2.1. Contestations in SonapurBazari Region

As mentioned earlier, the SonapurBazari OCP is an Eastern Coalfields Limited Project approved by World Bank. Haselip and Hilson and Pegg emphasize that “the World Bank is often a contributor to this calamitous situation because of its involvement in MNC transactions in the mining sector of developing countries”⁴⁴⁸. The MNCs got tremendous power over the peripheral coal reserve region due to the mineral concessions provided to them by World Bank. It intends to improve the quality of coal available to the consumers as well as fulfill the increasing demand of power, industrial and the steel sector. The project was initiated in 1989 and is still continuing. Based on the report of the geologists, this project required a vast area of public land for the project to be completed. At the initial stage it acquired agricultural or fallow lands from the owners and provided jobs to them in the public sector. But with the increasing need of land, dispossession (both physical and socio-economic) increased and rights on land and other physical properties were constantly declined. The dispossessed realise their oppressed situation and object to the unfair treatment they are receiving. Establishing the legitimacy of their position and need are major areas of contestation for the subalterns of this region. To the natives (especially the small scale land holders, land less people and the tribals) of this region, the accumulation of land by the state agents is a matter of economic and social deprivation. The subalterns gained this consciousness from their individual experience and understanding of change. Despite consciousness regarding the subalterns’

⁴⁴⁸Fenda A. Akiwumi, “Global Incorporation and Local Conflict: Sierra Leonean Mining Regions,” *Antipode* 44 (2012), 584. Accessed 28th July, 2016, doi: 10.1111/j1467-8330.2011.00945.x.

subjugation, organised overt subaltern resistance is trivial over this region. On the other hand, contrasting views also exist in this region.

Contestations of subaltern spaces culminate into resistance and take diverse forms ranging from covert to overt, individual to group in this region. In respect to spontaneous act of contestations, it is less common but not impossible to recognize the illustrative of individual overt act of resistance against dispossession. A Villager of Hansdiha (village affected by Sonapur Bazari Project) describes a case in detail regarding individual overt resistance and its success:

There was only one person in the village that did not agree to move to the resettled village with us. His name is Dulal Karmakar. He stayed back alone in the abandoned village with his family. He took legal measures against the ECL authority. That legal matter continued for six long years. But finally he won the case against ECL and got his claims from the authority. In those six years his family faced a lot of problems and atrocities but he never gave up. He was one of the large scale landowners of the village and did not want to give up the inherited land. However, we did not have similar courage to fight against ECL and shifted to the resettled village with undervalued compensation.

This is one of the exceptional examples of individual act of overt contestations against state not merely based on economic aspects but also ideological. This instance of individual act also gives a symbolic meaning that the dispossessed are not victims of false consciousness.

At the same time, along with consciousness, the subalterns require a common ground for shaping an organised group struggle. In this context, organised action in covert form is also found, though has less effectiveness in comparison to organised overt contestations. This is to be noted, a move towards organised overt contestation is crucial to transform the individual interests into common interest and challenge the structure of inequality and injustice. Organisation based on common interests empowers the subalterns to deal with the existing sources of injustice. Few such group struggles are

prominent in this region. The strategy for any united struggle is to show the importance of numbers, hence the continued effort on the part of the organizers is to unite the displaced and dispossessed as a community transcending all other socio-economic differences. As mentioned by Chatterjee, the number of dispossessed participating in rallies, public meeting and demonstrations can be considered as biological revolution against the dominant ideologies of capitalist accumulation from the organizer's side.⁴⁴⁹ These struggles are to restore right on land, employment, raise wages of the contractual workers, and receive adequate compensation and proper rehabilitation facilities for the locals. This struggle involved villagers from approximately surrounding 11 villages. Within the prevailing social structure, subalternity is closely linked to social and economic oppression. State for the sake of corporate interest controlled not just the poor peasant and tribal households but also the entire population lives close proximity to the open cast coal mines. Local population therefore faced economic, social and cultural exploitation. Moreover, poor landless peasants and tribals are amongst the worst sufferers. Therefore, a large number of people have supported the struggle against dispossession, while the poor landless peasants and tribals are more militant than others.

In every village there is a special committee which deals with the issue of land acquisition, resettlement and rehabilitation. Poor landless peasants and tribals who hardly hold any position in the committee are the main participants in the public meetings and demonstrations.

Here is the account of the ways in which the subalterns resisted. Many villagers who were interviewed commented that they believe in non-violent mode of action but in a united form. The non-violent modes of protests are not passive. These are actions which are non-violent. Therefore, non-violent actions are more symbolic in nature. The key methods of nonviolent protests and persuasions in this region are rallies, public gathering and speech, protest march, slogans, mass petition, leaflet and pamphlets, protest strikes. The movement raised the slogan of 'we will sacrifice our life, but will not leave our land.' The struggle is spearheaded by the Communist Party of India and the Colliery

⁴⁴⁹Ipsita, Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution and New Urban Condition* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2014), 122.

Workers' Union of India. Till date the region has not experienced any form of violent struggle. However, the desire for non-violent protest is quite evident in their behaviour:

Stop playing with fire. Or else you all have to die in this fire. The fire will not only break out in the affected eleven villages of the region but it will spread out over the entire Raniganj coal mining region. Not to acquire land by force, but with the consent of the villages. Unite the mass. If the regional protest takes a violent form, the entire responsibility of it will have to borne by ECL authority and also Police who are supporting ECL authority. (Quoted in Ananda Bazar Patrika, 11June, 2011)

They are angry regarding the state supported violence inflicted on them. It made them consider confronting violence with violence. They also speak about how their peaceful non-violent protest was met by state violence. The struggle which was trying to show its prominence was strongly suppressed by the police force. Once the subaltern mass trying to participate in the active protest was beaten up brutally by the police. As one of the Newspaper reports,

'The coalfields of West Bengal witnessed the first serious attack directly by the police against a peaceful protest. Pandaveswar MLA Gouranga Chatterjee and 16 others were injured on 21st June when police, CISF and RAF personnel resorted to lathi charge to disperse villagers protesting against the forcible acquisition of land to expand a coal mine. The incident took place at Hansdiha village in Pandaveswar, near Raniganj.' (Quoted in People's Democracy, July 03, 2011)

It is already mentioned that the tendency of overt contestation is especially evident among the land less population and sharecroppers, who have not gained anything from dispossession; however, have lost their jobs, social capital and been more exposed to the market economy. The tribals are also angry because they have lost their livelihoods, access to coal and forest products and their traditional way of living. Different sections among the dispossessed are contesting for various causes, only a few are common for all.

These features of contestations, in the same form or in a different form are strikingly reflected in another struggle, waged around almost the same time in another part of the eastern coal mining region of India. e.g. ‘Some adivasi groups, like- the Mundas and the Santals, insists upon promoting self-governance as a mode of resistance to the state, rather than be included in the political agenda of a distant centre.’⁴⁵⁰ ‘The symbolic resistance of indigenous groups may be expressed through religious conversion or through political mobilisation, offering alternative powers.’⁴⁵¹ The sonapur-bazari study shows, here dispossession is often contested, sometimes resisted however quickly reduced over negotiation in terms of compensation.

10.2.2. Contestations in Sarshatali Region

In 1998, the site for the captive open cast mine was finally selected and became known to the people that the land from seven villages (i.e. Madanpur, Sarshatali, Rakhakura, Diguli, Anandapur, Rashunpur and Natundihi) would be acquired and among these two villages from Rakhakura and Diguli villagers will be displaced.

The struggle against Sarshathali Project, which was initiated around 1998, slightly intensified during 2002-2004, and gradually faded away in 2009. There is hardly any cohesive resistance brewing in this mining region. The village society with its moral virtues of being oppressed could not bring them together to protest against the encroacher. It was a localised non-violent struggle accumulated due to the realisation about the false hopes raised among the villagers as the dialectics of development. This struggle was organised by a group of locals (who had lost their land) to a committee, the ‘Jomi Hara Committee’. A large number of people from the project affected villages participated in this struggle. The villagers’ contestation was for diverse reasons: to get proper compensation value, rehabilitation and resettlement package, employment and job security to the dispossessed population. Marches, public speeches, mass petitions, sloganeering, distribution of posters and pamphlets were most common forms of expression by the subalterns of the region. However, it is also true that not all the

⁴⁵⁰Marine Carrine and Lidia Guzy, Eds. *Voices from the Periphery: Subalternity and empowerment in India.* New Delhi, 2012, 15.

⁴⁵¹Ibid., 15.

villagers were contesting seriously; a majority among them seems to have tacitly contested. The reluctant behaviour among the villagers could be one of the reasons that the struggle could not intensify and faded out gradually. As stated by Rahim Mandal (a member of local panchayet/ local body and an active participant of the struggle):

'The struggle organised by our Jami Hara Committee was a complete failure. State agents mobilised a section of people in such a way that they cannot participate in the contestation. At the initial phase there was scope for low paid manual jobs in this region and a section was engaged in that. We, the actual land losers (large scale land holders) have not got proper compensation. They used our resources to facilitate others and destroy our unity.'

The struggle was not spontaneous neither could it intensify because of focus on individual interest. On the other hand subaltern heterogeneity on the basis of class factor is quite evident from his statement. However, the fact that society may underestimate the landless peasants and tribals position in the dispossession process does not mean that they themselves accept that valuation by others. Rather, they often try to show in various ways that they object to the underestimation. Establishing the issue of their personal need is itself an issue of contestations for few within the subaltern space. However, it is clear that the struggle against dispossession was an organised one with diverse motivation.

Through dialogic conversation with the villagers it was realised that, though the organised struggle was formed for diverse reasons, but the subalterns were not aware of the actual intensions of the capitalists. The subalterns had a false perception of their true interest. They were molded by the ideology of the capitalists and were entrapped in their own subordination. Now, after so many years they have become aware of the real intensions of the capitalists.

At the nascent stage the company officials were providing jobs to the locals in the mines, supplying electricity and many more facilities. But now we understand their intensions very well. Who are working in those

coal mines? Locals are not getting job there. Even if someone gets a job, he has to work very hard while gets very little wage. (Field Note)

This consciousness has made them quite furious. Even the company officials realize this situation very well. As stated by one of the Officers of ICMPL Project, '*now-a-days the dispossessed are difficult to handle. Whenever we visit those affected villages, we have to face mockery and insult from them.*' In this context, people's consciousness regarding their true interests could be considered as necessary condition for change.

Both the struggles of the eastern coal mining region of India around the open cast coal mines show similarities on various accounts and offer some common lessons from the contestations.

First, the overview of both the contestations against dispossession assumes that dispossessed subalterns are not homogenous unit. Differentiated need for the struggle proves the aforesaid fact. However, they have few common interests' like - antagonism against the capitalist state which brings them under same roof for contestation. Subalternity is not merely a class factor in the neoliberal era in the coalfields. In the neoliberal era subaltern classes have unified in the popular and community dimensions and their political expression have become increasingly assertive. It could be said that even in the neoliberal era community feeling and lineage family egoism is more prominent than class struggle consciousness. Gerard Heuze has argued that 'the competitive strategies of groups based on jatis and the manipulation practiced on the most personal plane are so socially relevant and economically effective that class struggle does not (or no longer does) manifest itself.'⁴⁵²

Second, existing empirical evidences suggest that subaltern contestation is seen to be intended, on one side, against the unequal resource distribution from the point of social justice and, on the other side, against the authority exercised by the state agents and capitalists. Whether or not subalterns overtly resist inequalities is likely to depend on their social, economic and political risks at the local scale. Sometimes subalterns may be

⁴⁵² Gerard Heuze, *Workers of another World: Miner, the Countryside and Coalfields in Dhanbad* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 384-385.

less willing to protest against the state and corporate agencies. Again, sometimes subalterns may be less able to protest than the others. More generally, disagree with the authority, demand for more compensation, delay in the process of resettlement are all means by which the dispossessed subalterns try to demonstrate their rage against state and capitalists.

Third, all the facts collected from the field survey are evidence that subordinates do not always accept their situation of subordination without questioning it. It is also not correct to believe that subaltern way of response is the testimony of their perception on subordination. To understand their consciousness it is important to look in to their covert way of expression and also to find out the obstacles to active resistance. It does not mean that subalterns lack correct perception. Rather it can be seen as an indirect act of resistance, as a result of constraints on their act of active protest. Hence this study agrees with argument of Sen and Agarwal. As Sen stated ‘it can be serious error to take the absence of the protests and questioning of inequality as evidence of the absence of that inequality.’⁴⁵³ On the other hand, Agarwal stated ‘it can be equally an error to take the absence of overt protest as the absence of a questioning of inequality.’⁴⁵⁴ The similar argument applies in relation to subaltern responses facing the bias in resource distribution. What a person deserves might be assessed by their position in the social hierarchy. Subalterns’ positions are often underestimated. But it is required to look at both how subalterns themselves perceive the dispossession scenario, and how the state agents perceive it. With respect to subalterns’ own perception, studies based on interviews with dispossessed of the eastern coal mining region of India suggest that subalterns do recognize their very condition of subordination, through perceived differently by others.

Fourth, it is also found that it is the deprived of the deprived (double deprived) that prefer violent action as they have nothing to lose. Akiwumi summarizes his findings

⁴⁵³ Amartya Sen, “Gender and Cooperative Conflicts,” in *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*, Ed. Irene Tinker (USA: Oxford University Press, 1990), 126.

⁴⁵⁴ Bina Agarwal, *A field of one’s own: Gender and land rights in South Asia* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 431.

on the reasons behind contestations over minescape is ‘the asymmetry of power relations between global core state corporations and weak peripheral nation states.’⁴⁵⁵

The subaltern contestations in this region can be explained are in line with Harvey’s theory that a particular section is trapped in the process of capital formation from which they have very little chance to escape unless something is done to the process of capitalism. How do the subordinates react to their situation of continuous retreating of rights from the lived space? It has already been mentioned that the subalterns in the industrial space are structurally disempowered by the power of capitalism, state and the global economic structure in the globalised era. It is the arena of perceived space where contestations occur. It shows that it is the capitalists who perceive the coal rich region as potential space for economic gain, while it is perceived as the place for livelihood by a group of regular people.

Theoretical considerations of subaltern studies lay importance on the question of how we illustrate subaltern consciousness and perception in the given local context, as these factors critically analyze their personality of subalternity, prospect for change in the subaltern situation and try to identify the most effective ways in which they contest. A number of contrasting views on subalternity exist in academic discourse. Empirical studies on subaltern struggle are quite significant to answer the following questions like: what are subaltern perceptions about themselves in the social hierarchy (in terms of class, caste, etc.)? To what extent have subalterns; the directly affected subjects of dispossession absorbed the ideologies favouring the capitalists and the dominants by the state? Does this vary from region to region? If yes, why does it differ? What are the reasons of their concern? What reflects their contestations in passive and active ways? What are the material constraints in the path of organised subaltern resistance?

It was this utter deprivation that drove some organisations like – Adhikar along with ECL Contract Labour Right Union, Dalit and Minority Public Forum, ECL Colliery Labour Union, Asansol Civil Right Association, New Trade Union Initiatives, AICCTU, Disham Adivasi Junit Gaonta, All West Bengal Sales Representative Union and ICML

⁴⁵⁵Fenda A. Akiwumi, “Global Incorporation and Local Conflict: Sierra Leonean Mining Regions,” *Antipode* 44 (2012), 582. (Accessed 28th July, 2016, doi: 10.1111/j1467-8330.2011.00945.x.).

Labour Union came together to launch a movement against the illegal activities of ECL for the expansion of Open Cast Mines and rehabilitation of families affected by land degradation due to mining activities (Plate 10.1).

Plate 10.1: Mass Mobilisation against land acquisition and Illegal mining activity



Photo Courtesy: <http://sanhati.com/articles/16225/>.

10.2.3. Resistance over Andal Aerotropolis Project

The Andal land movement was initiated in 2009 in the Andal village of Bardhaman districts of West Bengal. It was a struggle by a section of the land owners, sharecroppers and the landless labourers to get adequate compensation against the acquired those land which they had owned and cultivated for decades. The project requires around 2181.57 acers of land spread over 11 villages, of which, 1818 acers of already possessed land were personal property, 191 acers under work in progress with WBIDC and 164 acers of defence land under discussion with Army Eastern Command. The land struggle was emerged under the leadership of Socialist Unity Centre of India (SUCI), a communist organisation following Marxist-Leninist ideologies. SUCI(C) holds that India is a capitalist country with monopoly capitalism and imperialist trends. In line with that analysis, the party works toward a socialist revolution, rather than a people's democratic revolution. At the village level in Andal, the SUCI activists took the initiative

to the formation of the 'save farmers and farm labourers Committee' (Krishi Raksha Committee) constituted of a section of the land owners, sharecroppers and landless labourers who participated in the contestations. Around 450 land losers mostly from Andal village were demanding more compensation under its banner. The committee had written their demand to the then Governor M.K. Narayanan, the then Trinamul leader Mamata Banerjee (present chief minister of West Bengal) and the then Land and Land Reforms Minister Abdur Rezzak Mollah about its grievances.

The story of contestations at Andal unfolds at two levels:

Firstly, the major opposition by the cultivators, sharecroppers and agricultural labourers against state and the private agencies, and

Secondly, landowner's larger interest within the contestations.

The main events, as constructed from various newspaper articles, narratives, posters and leaflets, evolved as follows:

March, 2010: From the very beginning the struggle took a violent moment in Andal. Demanding the due compensations for the land acquired for the airport city, angry agricultural labourers and sharecroppers demolished the temporary camps of the project. The state also exercised its power as the police had arrested 16 persons for being involved in the incident. The protest eventually turned even more violent with the people starting to vandalize the camps and setting them on fire. Police from three different police stations reached the spot, along with Rapid Action Force personnel. The administrative officers also arrived. Soon after, the entire area became a battleground. The police started lathicharging the demonstrators in order to disperse them. Subsequently, the police started entering villages, searching and arresting people. Reports claim that even the women were not spared. As the day progressed, all the menfolk fled the villages. As reported in an article only the noise of the heavy boots of the police could be heard.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁶ Syagnik Bandopadhyay, "Aetropolis generates unrest in Andal," *Icore Ekdin*, 25th March 2010. Translated by Pinaki Chaudhuri, Sanhati. <http://sanhati.com/excerpted/2277/>.

May, 2011: Over 450 unwilling farmers whose land has been taken for the airport city project in Burdwan's Andal have marked their plots with bamboo poles and are guarding them round the clock demanding more compensation. The land losers have alleged that the CPM did not discuss with them before fixing the compensation package. The land losers, who had given 500 acres, have refused to accept their cheques. While the sharecroppers have demanded 50 per cent of the land value, the farm labourers want 500 days' wages; double the amount that the government has decided to pay.⁴⁵⁷

September, 2011: The landowners of approximately 192 acres land organised a separate demonstration on the demand of a higher compensation sighting the reason that their lands are just adjacent to the National Highway and valuation of their lands cannot be taken at par with other lands of the project area. The agitating landowners even resisted the vehicles of the BAPL project officials when they went to inaugurate a cancer detection centre at Andal Panchayat office.

February, 2012: Land protesters today uprooted a portion of the fencing for the airport city project at Andal near Durgapur claiming the plot belonged to them and alleged that they were yet to get compensation. The crowd of over 50, which included farmers, share-croppers and farm labourers, marched to the site in Dakshinkhanda area, 200km from Calcutta, around 11.30am. They first shouted slogans and then yanked off barbed wires put up for the project and fenced off the eight-acre plot with bamboo poles. The protesters were organised under the Save Farmers and Farm Labourers Committee, which is backed by Trinamul, the Congress and the SUCI.⁴⁵⁸

January, 2013: Land protestors organised a joint demonstration against BAPL, uprooted a portion of the fencing for the Airport city project at Andal.

The subjects encountered opposition at different levels: (a) by the member of the ruling parties and (b) by the government officials.

⁴⁵⁷ Abhijeet Chatterjee, "Land compensation heat on Andal airport project," The Telegraph (2011). https://www.telegraphindia.com/1110505/jsp/bengal/story_13941581.jsp.

⁴⁵⁸ Andal land protest. (2012). https://www.telegraphindia.com/1120201/jsp/nation/story_15077593.jsp.

Plate 10.2: Protest movements in Andal



Photo Courtesy: Compiled by researcher from various newspaper articles.

October, 2013: It is found in a newspaper report that over 100 farmers whose lands have been marked down for acquisition to shift electricity towers near the runway of the Andal airport in Icchapur village allegedly manhandled the project officials carrying out a land survey and detained them for four hours.⁴⁵⁹

December, 2013: Stubborn resilience by the villagers not to part away with their land further has put serious doubts on this flagship aviation-turned-realty project. On 1st October, the SDM, Durgapur, had organised a meeting with the respective panchayats and police to help procurement of land for the purpose of shifting the HT lines, but it failed to yield any definite result as the villagers on 29 November 2013 had not allowed survey officials to assume basic work. Villagers were annoyed when the project promoter allegedly had tried to fabricate the theft of an unlicensed gun from the project area, which the locals believe, was purposely planted to mount pressure on the reluctant villagers and they believe that a section of Trinamool Congress leadership allegedly had formulated the conspiracy.⁴⁶⁰

January, 2014: A section of aggrieved farmer families at Andal possessing 109 acres in the heart of the project have refused to provide land for the Rs 10,000 crore airport city venture. The villagers under 'Krishijomi Raksha Committee' (Save Farmland Committee) have stopped civil construction work in the project since yesterday. The farmers have blocked the project site and refused entry of machines and labourers on the 109 acres of farmland, against which they haven't accepted land premium cheques.

February, 2014: The trigger behind the fresh trouble for the project is allegations by a section of villagers that the promoter, Bengal Aerotropolis Projects Limited (BAPL), had taken more land than that earmarked to shift power transmission towers near the runway and not compensated them for that.

⁴⁵⁹ Airport at Andal near Durgapur faces land acquisition protest, Durgapur, Durgapur News (2013). <http://durgapuradda.com/all-news/durgapur-news-breaking-latest-updated/airport-andal-near-durgapur-faces-land-acquisition-protest.html>

⁴⁶⁰ Fresh land acquisition – major hurdle for upcoming Andal airport near Durgapur. 2013. ADDA News.

November, 2014: The save farmers and farm labourers Committee of Andal organised a protest with the demand that Andal and Singur both share the same story. Their slogan was Singur r Andal, ak e gacher dui dal (Singur and Andal are two branches of same tree). The land owners, agricultural labourers and Sharecroppers joined the demonstration.

May, 2017: The problem of land acquisition is not solved yet. A number of villagers in Andal and other project affected villages have not received any compensation. Therefore, the Communist Party members are trying to gather the affected people by distributing leaflets, pamphlets, etc.

The risks created by capitalists to people contested by movements in some place, but not everywhere. The contestations accumulated in Andal were quite different than the two other cases as mentioned above. The agitation in case of Andal project is more widespread, of longer duration and well known because of the publicity it is receiving. Throughout the time period peoples' attention was focused on the compensation rate.

The interviews with the villagers reveal that despite the intra-community, intercommunity and intra-family differences that were already embedded in the social structure and later became more widespread as the consequence of the compensation policy and its negotiation, yet a group of people from various communities were able to come together to oppose some of the actions taken by BAPL.

Table 10.1: Nature and existence of dispossession in the Coal-Steel Industrial Complex of Eastern India: Summary Table

Projects	Nature and existence of dispossession			
	Peasants expelled	Project on indigenous territories	Violence against rural people	Project replaced agricultural resources
Sonepur-Bazari	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Sarisathali	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Andal	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

10.3. The politics of contestations

Table 10.2: Quest for resources, meanings and rights by different social groups of the project affected areas in coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India in the neoliberal period

Villages	Community	Project	Variables							
			Right to not to displaced	Right to resettle	Right to compensation	Right to compensation as per the market value	Right of Social exclusion	Right to employment	Right to access to information	Right to those services which were already available
Hansdiha	Non-Scheduled Hindus and SC	ECL Open Cast Project			Women	PAFs		Youth and Women		PDF
Arsula	Tribals				Women	PAFs		Young male		PDF
Bhaluka	SC				Women	PAFs		SC households		PDF
Sonepur	Non-Scheduled hindus, SC and ST				Women	PAFs		Landless households		PDF
Bandhghat/ Kuchibera	Tribals				Women	PAFs		Village youth		PDF
Amuliya	Mostly SC, Very Few non-scheduled Hindus	ICMPL Open Cast Project		Everyone	Households					
Rashunpur	Non-Scheduled Hindus and SC					PAFs				
Rakhakura	Muslims and SC			Few Households		PAFs		Landless people		
Diguli	tribals			Villagers		PAFs		Landless people	PAFs	
Tamla	All social group	BAPL Aerotropolis Project				PAFs		Youth generation		
Andal	<i>Non-Scheduled Hindus and SC</i>					<i>PAFs</i>		<i>Youth generation</i>	<i>Sharecroppers, Agricultural Labourers</i>	

Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

Note: PAFs: Project Affected Families. PDF: project Displaced Families.

Table 10.3: Modes of protest in the project affected villages of Coal Steel Industrial Complex of Eastern India

Nonviolent protest and persuasion	Social Noncooperation	Economic Noncooperation	Political Noncooperation	Nonviolent intervention
Letters of opposition	Withdrawal from social institutions	Refusal of government's money	Boycott of elections	Trace not Found
Public speech		Protest strike		
Signed public statement		Industry strike		
Mass petition		Generalised Strike		
slogans		Hartal		
Banners, Posters and Displayed communications		Economic Shutdown		
Leaflet, Pamphlets and books				
Newspapers and Journals				
Taunting officials				
Fraternisation				
Vigils				
Marches				
Parades				
Protest meetings				
walk-outs				
Silence				

Source: Researcher's analysis based on primary field survey carried out during February, 2015 to January, 2016.

The above case studies show that the coal-steel industrial complex has not experienced overt resistance caused due to neoliberal dispossession. Therefore, the complex question arises, what factors make different groups of people to compromise with the process of dispossession. With the help of interviews, surveys, various secondary sources and observation it was possible to construct a convincing interpretation on the reasons and processes of conformity and contestations (for details, see Table 10.2 and Table 10.3).

The table 10.2 tries to show that particular section of the society faces more difficulties in particular aspects while dispossession is concerned. It is found from the field survey that villagers of Rakhakura and Diguli village found it is disadvantageous to shift in a new place for them and therefore, they are asking for the right of not to displace. On the other hand, according to CIL R&R policy most of the cases women are not

eligible to get any kind of compensation for displacement. Therefore, they are asking for the right to compensation. Similarly, the village youth are asking for right to employment.

Contestations imply disagreement arises from consciousness that is the understandings give meaning to individual's perception and conception on space. The highlighted cells in table 10.3 shows that these are the few most common modes of protests in the coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India. However, contestations do not always culminate into resistance. From this point of view, contestation has a strong correlation with conformity. Where there is more conformity, contestations are less and vice versa.

There are various social and historical means that clearly producing conformity to the process of dispossession in the urban industrial complex. Similarly, there are few factors that producing contestations to the neoliberal policies.

10.3.1. Factors Producing contestations/ non-compliance:

- **Unexpected gap between compensation offered and market price**

In order to increase the rate of accumulation private investors try to keep the compensation for acquired land as low as possible. Sometimes the extreme gap between the compensation money and actual market price make the dispossessed furious against the capitalists.

- **Little employment opportunities and false hope**

Sometimes private capitalists come up with the misinformation that new projects will generate employment opportunities in the region. However, most of time it comes as false information and contestations arises around the 'real estate scams'.

- **Ripple effect of major land wars**

The 'ripple effect' of large scale anti-dispossession protest spread spatially over a large extent. The 'ripple effect' from the anti dispossession struggle springing up in Nandigram and Singur is being felt across the country. The coal-steel industrial complex

is also not an exception. The land dispossessed population of Andal is highly inspired by the protest that took place in Singur against capital. The protestors of Andal have come up with the slogan that ‘Singur and Andal are the two branches of the same tree.’ It can be said that the

**Plate 10.3: Ripple effect of Singur land war on Andal protestors
(Andal wants Singur beside them)**



Photo Courtesy: Screen Shot Star Andada News Channel

“Unlike Singur where landowners were not exposed to industry and only knew farming, Andal’s residents had witnessed industrialisation at Durgapur and Asansol with envy and rued the missed opportunities. Hence, when the airport city project came their way, the people grabbed it”⁴⁶¹.

- **Electoral politics**

The political parties in the opposition, provoking the dispossessed and providing support to them for their own benefits. It is found from the newspaper report that in Andal also Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) with the aim of capturing the central position in West Bengal they have already stood by Andal land dispossessed.

- **Unable to explain public purpose**

⁴⁶¹ Subhro Niyogi & Debajyoti Chakraborty, TAKE-OFF TOWN, <http://epaper.timesofindia.com/Default/Layout/Includes/TOINEW/ArtWin.asp?From=Archive&Source=Page&Skin=TOINEW&BaseHref=TOIKM%2F2011%2F03%2F25&ViewMode=HTML&EntityId=Ar00200&AppName>.

Dispossession in the neoliberal period for the purpose of private gain lacks the explicit explanation that can justify the public purpose.

In sum, all these factors make it difficult to convince the mass that dispossessing land for neoliberal development projects.

10.3.2. Factors producing conformity to dispossession

- **Socio-economic inequality**

The agrarian villages of this region are characterised by caste and class inequalities (chapter 8 and chapter 9). Some families are already semi-proletarianised and significantly diversified due to the industrial activities. The factors of socio-economic inequality signify the production of local solidarity against dispossession.

The Sonapur-Bazari case study shows that the tribal representatives have very little to say either in framing the rules made by the committee to compensate or in the process by which these rules are enforced. It is mainly the influential people among the non-tribes and tribes who are in a position to be the part of the committee; for the mass, they silently go on with the decisions taken in the meeting with the government officials and local political members. A set of elites always dominates others for their own interests. It is also found that the non-tribal households with land holding always try to shift in the new location very fast, as they can get job in mining sector soon and enjoys a better standard of life during the post-displacement period. But, this is not true for the tribals and they caught up in the trap by the act of the dominant groups.

- **Regional specificity**

The regional specificities have important role in producing conformity to dispossession. Table 10.4 shows that this region is a mono crop region and the production scenario also reveals that agricultural production is also dependent on monsoon rainfall as there is hardly any scope of irrigation (Table 10.5). Apart from that it is also found in chapter 5 that the ground water level has also declined due to intensive mining activities in last 200 years. Therefore, this region is also not very lucrative to the residents due to continuous land degradation problem (water scarcity, land pollution and problem of

irrigation). A large section is not solely dependent on agriculture for their livelihood and also involved in other economic activities for their livelihoods.

Table 10.4: Production of principal crops in different blocks of Paschim (West) Bardhaman, 2014

Name of Block	Aus Rice	Aman Rice	Boro	Wheat	Maize	Jute	Musur	Maskalai	Khesari	Gram	Mustard	Til	Potato	Sugarcane
Salanpur	-	17.2 15	-	-	-	-	0.0 03	-	0.0 01	-	-	-	-	-
Barabani	-	8.87 4	-	0.3 07	-	-	0.0 07	-	-	0.0 02	0.0 19	-	0.76 8	-
Raniganj	-	4.01 6	-	-	-	-	0.0 11	-	-	-	0.0 05	-	-	-
Jamuria	-	5.42 5	-	0.0 13	-	-	0.0 07	-	-	-	0.0 37	-	-	-
Andal	-	3.06 0	-	0.0 07	-	-	0.0 07	-	0.0 04	0.0 07	0.0 11	-	-	-
Faridpur-Durgapur	-	3.06 1	0.0 22	0.0 90	-	-	0.0 27	-	-	-	0.0 71	0.0 88	1.29 0	-
Pandabeswar	-	6.25 3	-	0.0 28	-	-	0.0 05	-	-	0.0 01	0.0 16	-	-	-
Kanksa	-	30.8 15	0.8 62	0.3 80	-	-	0.0 14	-	0.0 07	0.0 02	0.0 38	-	10.8 25	0.1 26

Note: Figures are in thousand tons.

Source: District Statistical Handbook, Bardhaman District, 2014.

Table 10.5: Area under irrigation in the block of Paschim (West) Bardhaman, 2014

Name of Block	Canal	Tank	RLI	DTW	STW	ODW	Others
Salanpur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barabani	-	-	5.00	-	-	-	-
Raniganj	-	-	16.00	-	-	-	-
Jamuria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Andal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Faridpur-Durgapur	223.81	-	54.63	-	-	-	-
Pandabeswar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kanksa	1007.58	-	438.17	27.28	-	-	-

Source: District Statistical Handbook, Bardhaman District, 2014.

Note: RLI: River Lift Irrigation, DTW: Deep Tube Well, STW: Shallow Tubewell, ODW: Open Dug Well

- **Relatively little formal civil society organisation against dispossession**

There is hardly any NGO or other civil society organisation that helped in formation of solidarity among the dispossessed as they could resist. Rather there found

existence of NGOs that mobilised people to give up their land for mining project in Sarshatali.

- **Material inducement (with or without lie and deceit): colonial practices of divide and rule**

It is found in the chapter 8 that the neoliberal state adopted the means of material incentives to produce conformity to the process of dispossession. As claimed by Black, material compensation is a common mode of conflict management and embedded in the structure of social relations.⁴⁶² While the issue of material incentives are concerned, certain section of the society which traditionally had greater access to socio-economic and cultural capital, have benefited more from material incentives provided during the implementation of the project than another section of the society having limited access to the capital (social, economic and cultural).

Essentially, it can be considered as age old political strategy to divide the mass with material benefits to few that they cannot build the solidarity and resist against the sovereign authority. The details of the material benefits given to the dispossessed already discussed in chapter 8.

- **Normative appeal**

It is discussed in chapter 4 that in the post-colonial period, conformity to dispossession was made possible with the normative appeal to the population using the catch phrase “sacrifice for the nation.” However, in the neoliberal period it is not possible for the private investors to produce compliance using normative persuasion. Therefore, they are taking help from various civil society organisations (NGO) that can encourage the population to take the material concession and on the other hand restrict their access to outside support regarding to anti-dispossession struggle.

- **Coercion (with or without violence)**

⁴⁶² Donald Black, “Compensation and the Social Structure of Misfortune,” *Law & Society Review* 21, No. 4 (1987), 563-584.

The above discussion of the material inducements that were mobilised to separate the residents from their land for the development projects should not obscure the coercive process were there as under current. On the one hand while the state tried to mobilise the residents with material incentives, it was also accompanied by coercion with or without violence. As one adivasi of Arsula village recalled their eviction for the opencast mining in Sonapur-Bazari,

We are adivasi people. We do not have land. We are very poor and helpless people. We had the fear of get affected by blasting in the OCPs that is why we had no other options but to shift....All the families were not shifted at a time, but turn by turn. The reason was that their non-compliance to displacement could not turn into a violent protest.’ (Field note, 17.04.2015).

It made them consider confronting violence with violence. Michael Levien considers whether with or without actual violence development induced displacement remains as an inherently coercive process. Those stay near the open cast mines, heavy vibrations produced by blasting into the opencast mines, are felt quite strongly in those places, shaking the floors of houses and everything within.

‘We were scared due to blasting in the coal mines. The loud buzzing sounds of blasting were really intimidating. Even we used to feel the vibration. Many of the villagers were forced to quickly abandon their houses.’ (Field note, 10.03.2015)

To sum up, with some significant exceptions, there was not a tremendous material incentive for all the villagers that could have produced compliance to displacement among all the sections of the society. The exception was offers of public sector employment where those were possible and offered to the displaced. These could tempt some land owning households, and sometimes divide them. It was also apparent to the dispossessed that all are not going to experience the economic benefit from their dispossession. On the other hand, they were being asked that the resource does not belong to them and therefore need to give up for the nation’s interest.

All these factors made them susceptible to comply with the process of dispossession.

10.4. Claiming the mining-industrial space

The impact of mining on the local people of eastern coal mining region of India exemplifies accumulation by dispossession occurring as a result of the new mineral policy undertaken by government in the age of global capitalism. This study particularly focuses on the subaltern contestations over accumulation by dispossession considering the fact of mining as a viable economic activity producing uneven development (rich-poor disparity) over space. Basically, these are the social movements seeking economic, social and environmental justice for the marginalised section of the society. This thesis also reveals the different forms of contestations against dispossession by the subalterns. Such forms are essential part of the contestation to establish the legitimacy of subaltern demand for equality and justice. This research on the other hand elucidates whether or not the contestations have any counter-hegemonic potential⁴⁶³ and also exhibit the political economies created by the different type of Third World struggles against accumulation by dispossession.

Under the condition of neoliberalism, the mining corridors of India have become the soft targets of various national and multinational mining companies.⁴⁶⁴ With the modification of the new mining policy of 1994, the situation becomes more intense. As the Government is moving ahead with next generation economic reforms and FDI, norms are being further liberalised, more and more private and foreign mining companies are landing up on the resource core. The most adversely affected are the locals, especially the adivasis and the agricultural labours, as their livelihoods depend on forest and agricultural land. In the name of development there is developing a situation of turmoil, devastation and destruction. This study also reveals that the subalterns have not been silent victims always. However, it is also evident from the above discussion that till now

⁴⁶³ Mahuya Pal, "Organization at the margins: Subaltern resistance of Singur," *Human relations* 69, No. 2, (2016), 419 –438.

⁴⁶⁴ Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, "What Quality of Life in Mining Region", *Economic and Political Weekly*40, no. 9 (2005), 907 – 908.

the subaltern struggles in eastern coal mining region never took an overt organisational form and has faded away rapidly due to external interventions. They failed to prove that the way the state and the corporate are taking away their resources and rights is undemocratic and have a hidden colonial approach within it.⁴⁶⁵ The failure to articulate subaltern ideology and subsequent democratic resolution of their conflict restrict them from enacting structural change. These case studies suggest that the extent of subaltern contestations and its success or failure determined by the interplay between the forces of expropriation and resistance.

Hence, to win back their democratic rights on their land and resources, the subaltern movements have to be vibrant. It demands democratic participation similar to other anti-dispossession struggles around the world. Increasing number of unemployed people in this region by no means is a sufficient condition for shaping contestations. With the emergence of new and complex corporate social responsibility initiatives (i.e. governmentality to reverse primitive accumulation) to ‘manage social risks and local disputes’, the task of collective action has become much more difficult for the subalterns.⁴⁶⁶ The local groups and contestations require more knowledge and information on successful subaltern struggles. Experiences need to be shared with international groups who have already faced the onslaught of the private mining corporations.⁴⁶⁷

If the collective actions of the dispossessed mining communities have to be sustained, it requires exposing the current dispossession scenario under the national political spotlight. The mainstream political parties have to be forced to take a distinct and explicit stand regarding the issue. A nexus need to be established between the organised trade unions, NGOs and the dispossessed mining communities. Though the subalterns have tried to show their solidarity on dispossession questions but the illusionary image of fast pace development and jobs in the mining sector created by state

⁴⁶⁵ Mahuya Pal, “Organization at the margins: Subaltern resistance of Singur,” *Human relations* 69, No. 2, (2016), 419 –438.

⁴⁶⁶ Lahiri-Dutt, Kuntala “Informal coal mining in Eastern India: Evidence from the Raniganj Coalbelt,” *Natural Resource Forum* 27, no. 1(2003), 68 – 77.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 68 – 77.

and corporate bring a divide within the subaltern space involved in the anti-dispossession struggle. Hence, it is essential to be cautious that, the rhetoric of anti-development and anti-mining conception does not wreck an emerging movement against neoliberal mechanisms of dispossession.

The patterns on contestations remain unchanged even in the neoliberal period. There has been a notable lack of organised overt protest in opposition to dispossession in ADIC. As already discussed in chapter 2 that dispossession does not have any particular definition. Dispossessed is not a prominent category like the displaced is. As a matter of fact the dispossessed itself sometimes could not realize the state of dispossession. This could be one of the factors due to which overt protest did not materialize. Sometimes the subalterns due to their lack of confidence could not assert themselves and protest against dispossession. Another reason is, dispossessed fear violent repression by the state. A number of interviewee during field survey explained their version of not protesting in these terms. A number of people also stated that they try to get their rights through lobbying rather than overt protest.

Chapter 11

Summary of the main conclusions

This thesis has attempted to analyse the condition of resource frontiers that are located in the developing countries in the context of neoliberalisation, particularly through the lens of neoliberal development projects, like- ECL, ICMPL and BAPL in coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India. In the regions where resources have been used for various development projects are critical sites to understand dynamics of dispossession in various parts of the global south. It is important to mention here that: this thesis does not claim that the case of coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India can be used as the basis for a broad generalisation of the nature and trajectory of change in the resources frontiers throughout the developing countries; instead, it claims that the case of urban industrial complex of eastern India is complex enough for important theoretical insights into how resource frontiers are restructuring themselves in many part of the developing world. Therefore, the concluding chapter does not have the intension to generalise the impact of neoliberal policies on the resource frontiers of the developing countries, yet, in the preceding chapters it has been attempted to examine why various forms of capitals have chosen the path of dispossession for accumulation in this urban-industrial framework, and how these processes of dispossession are contested and resisted by the dispossessed subalterns in the neoliberal period. The coal-steel industrial complex is at the verge of significant evolution in the neoliberal period. The purpose of this thesis is to provide conceptual apparatus and contribute to formulation of theory, so that the complex backdrop of the capital accumulation by dispossession and subaltern condition in the developing nations can be revealed and understood within a broad frame of reference.

The concluding chapter is divided into three subsections:

- The first sub-section (11.1) **analyses the thesis elaborately** according to the chapters as written. Essentially it reviews the outcomes in respect to the original research questions. Essentially, it tries to establish the present research in the spatial-historical context.

- Second subsection (11.2) summarises **coping strategies of neoliberal dispossession and also the implication of present study on policy formation.**
- Finally, the third subsection (11.3) summarises **the general conclusions of the thesis.**

11.1. Revisiting the thesis

This section elaborately analyses the thesis according to the chapters written in sequence:

Chapter 1

1.1. Chapter 1 introduces the cases of accumulation through dispossession across various regions in India which illustrate the focal argument of the neosubaltern consciousness, constestations and interaction with state in the post-liberalisation period. This chapter also introduces three different neoliberal development projects where dispossession emerged for the purpose of capital accumulation.

1.2. The introductory chapter also states various proxy indicators collected from varied secondary sources, published and unpublished reports and also web sources. As this study truly believes that it is very difficult to measure accumulation of capital using quantitative methods at regional scale, therefore it likely to use proxy variables to determine micro regional accumulation scenario.

1.3. This chapter states quantitative and qualitative methodologies used in this thesis to justify the research questions and objectives. It also introduces those places where fieldwork has been conducted.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 contains a set of theories, concepts and principles that try to answer the research questions raised in the introduction chapter and offers a coherent story on accumulation through dispossession including the magnitude and pattern of dispossession.

2.1. In an effort to formulate a concrete definition of dispossession, a whole body of literature has attempted to cover various components of dispossession that have most of

the cases appeared as an integral part of the process of accumulation. This chapter identifies a perpetual move from displacement as a component of dispossession to social, economic, cultural and political aspects of it. It also mentions that the various forms of accumulation cause myriad forms of dispossession and there are clear connections between all the processes of dispossession. Therefore, as the concept becomes vast, an attempt to arrive at a fixed and universal definition becomes more difficult and winding.

2.2. Moreover, it is neither a static process, nor a unidirectional one. Essentially, dispossession can be considered as an important means of accumulation and time-space specific phenomena that highly dependent on the temporary needs of the capitalists. The process is also accelerating with time and invaded into unexpected spaces.

2.3. From a review of the extensive literature on dispossession studies it has been noted that the primitive accumulation by Marx, Capitalist Accumulation by Rosa Luxemburg and Accumulation by Dispossession are the three principal theories that explained the relation between accumulation and dispossession since the nascent stage of capitalism to advanced stage of capitalism. Apart from these three classical theories, few other theories like- Jim Glassman's accumulation by extraeconomic means, Michael Levien's concept of "rate of accumulation" and "regimes of dispossession" have also used.

2.4. In this chapter the contemporary relevance of the relationship between accumulation and dispossession are explored from various angles. A body of literature reveals that dispossession not always necessary pre-condition for accumulation. Circulation and expansion of capital is possible even without dispossessing. Similarly, dispossession can have a separate identity from capital accumulation.

2.5. The new model of capital accumulation and economic growth requires land but not labour.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 forwards the classical concept of subaltern and their transformation in the post-liberalisation period. It also forwards the notion of contestations, resistance (both active

and passive) and interaction between the subalterns and the state and finally neosubaltern ways of resistance.

3.1. There is a clear cut distinction between the earlier subaltern school of thought and neoliberal subaltern school of thought. The postcolonial school of subaltern studies was mostly concerned with the subaltern heterogeneity, their varied political organisation, cut off from upward social mobility towards the centre and modes of contestations; while the new school is mostly focusing on the role of the state and the law, more precisely on governmentality. From this point of view, governmentality is the amalgamation of economy into political practices and the role of the government lies in ‘exercise power in the form of economy’⁴⁶⁸.

3.2. In this thesis the dispossessed by various neoliberal developmental projects are considered as subaltern. In order to place the subaltern contestations in the contemporary time period a separate term, i.e. neo-subaltern by neoliberal capitalism is used in this chapter. This thesis also considered the state and its discourses as the realm of elite ideas and interests. Within the current wave of capitalism the centre has interests in creating subalternity integrated into the circuits of production. The neoliberal subalternity not only alters the criteria for being subaltern but also the sites of subalternity.

3.3. Subaltern dispossessed are not a well defined category. They are neither uniform across regions nor static through time. Nevertheless, it can be stated that the heterogeneous under-section is marginalised by capital.

3.4. This chapter of the thesis also infers that neo-subalterns absorb the impact of exploitation and dispossession as a resistant community and continuously tries to produce by new meanings and in new locations.

3.5. The neo-subaltern modes of protest are likely to depend substantially on the social, economic and political position. The dispossession literature that emerged largely in developing countries contends that globalisation and neoliberalism brought changes in the subaltern ways of struggle as subaltern “endogenous” character of resistance

⁴⁶⁸ Michel Foucault, “Governmentality” in *The Foucault Effect: With Two Lectures and Interview With Michel Foucault*, Trans. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Millar, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991).

becoming more “exogenous” – can be labeled this change as transition from “subaltern localism” to “subaltern globalism”.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 of this thesis contributes by providing new insights into how different political-economic phases and different mechanism of enclosure combine to produce dispossession at the urban-industrial space of eastern India. This chapter has adopted Marx’s thesis of primitive accumulation to understand the historical base of ongoing dispossession. Along with Marx’s theory this chapter also included illustrations from various literatures that help to conceptualise the dispossession and marginalisation embedded in space.

4.1. The historical geography of dispossession helps to identify the differential logic of dispossession, its durability and finally its role in the process of accumulation. More precisely to say it also explains the type of accumulation (productive or speculative, on the other hand, agricultural or industrial), dispossession ultimately facilitates.

4.2. The extraction of coal resource that was monopolised by the British and large landlords (zamindars) in the colonial period exemplifies the process of “internal colonialism”. It further describes the local particularities of semi-proletarianisation, exploitation and powerlessness in the context of strategies of colonialism and conceptually linked to the process of “primitive accumulation” something that Marx has discussed in ‘The Capital’. Essentially, the major aim was not to apply the western theories to the coal mining region of eastern India, instead, how the processes of accumulation, exploitation, semi-proletarianisation and exclusion are making sense in the political-economic research, therefore, (re) produced.

4.3. Chapter 4 has also provided an overview of dispossession that took place in the postcolonial period followed the logic of state led developmentalism. It argues that the major reason behind this kind of dispossession was expansion of agricultural and industrial productivity for development of the nation. Scholars claim that the coal-steel industrial complex has carried the colonial legacy of “internal colonialism” in the

postcolonial period and the dispossession resulted into accumulation disproportionately benefitted agrarian capitalists, industrial bourgeoisie and public sector elites. However, the postcolonial accumulation had some spillover effects on the mass.

4.4. This chapter finally concludes that dispossessed and spaces of dispossession are interrelated to each other. Dispossession takes its ultimate form through its spatial reality. Therefore, when it discusses about the exploitation of certain sections in the form of semi-proletarianisation and casualisation in the mining industrial region that implicitly includes the spatial exploitation of the resource frontier.

Chapter 5

This chapter has traced the emergence of new spaces of expropriation in the neoliberal period. It has tried to explain the changes in the new mineral policy from postcolonial period as a product of drastic increase in the private demand of land in mineral reserve areas.

5.1. This chapter also shows how coal resource is using both for productive and speculative purposes.

5.2. Chapter 5 also attempts to conceptualise state has a major role in the process of private accumulation. i.e. (a) First, state allot coal block to the private investors and (b) second, state with its institution of law also help the private investors to acquire land from the large number of small scale land holders. As a result of it state acts as the mediator for the private capital.

5.3. The new extractivism mediated through the new urban policies in eastern coal mining region of India ground neoliberalism in specific ways. It fundamentally relies on dispossession as the foundational basis for accumulation of capital.

5.4. New mode of capital accumulation from large scale open cast mine has huge socio-economic and environmental impacts. The new mineral policy not only dispossessed the indigenous people and peasants from land, but also dispossessed labour from both mining and agriculture.

5.5. This thesis explores the existence of a diverse range of accumulators in the coal-steel industrial complex: (a) the private capitalists control and manipulate the state in order to accumulate profit, (b) the state act as an accumulator for productive purposes as well as in order to facilitate the private corporations, and (c) there found a section of intermediate class at regional level, numerous in number and accumulate capital for their own profit.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6 demonstrates that the contemporary forms and dynamics of new city space development in India in general and in the study area in particular, cannot be seen in isolation from recent process of international integration for capital accumulation.

6.1. The case study of Andal Aerotropolis one of the examples of new urban space making in India that attracts private investment vis-à-vis speculative activities ground neoliberalism in specific ways and relies on dispossession as the fundamental means of accumulation. It further claims that following the logic of “creative destruction” region exterminate the existing landuse and replace it with more profitable and market oriented one.

6.2. The dispossession of land and livelihood of thousands of rural population who inhabit the eleven villages (chapter 1, chapter 6 and chapter 7) is the central issue to the materialisation of the project. In that context, theorising dispossession is inevitable if one has to understand the reality behind the new aerotropolis in making; in fact, theorising dispossession has become even more necessary toward understanding peri-urban development in most parts of the world.

6.3. By accumulation it refers to accumulation of capital in the form of land, profit, rent, interest and the urban landscape with infrastructure, malls, and luxury apartments is the socio-spatial manifestation of it. From this point of view it can be argued that the BAPL project when materialised will be an airport, IT sectors, commercial and residential complexes, hotel, etc., or in other words the spaces of accumulation.

Chapter 7

- 7.1. On the basis of the existing literature it is very useful to classify neoliberal development projects by: (1) purpose and (2) forms of dispossession. This classification is considered most useful in studying the overall nature, magnitude and directions of dispossession from economic, social, cultural and ecological perspective.
- 7.2. The classification by purpose shows whether the dispossession is for productive or speculative purposes, whereas, forms of dispossession tries to find out social-economic-cultural and ecological impact.
- 7.3. The method of dividing the entire sample into different groups, like- social groups (Scheduled and non-scheduled groups), on the basis of migration status (migrants and natives) and occupational groups (mining and non-mining communities) were also found to be meaningful in relation to status mobility from postcolonial period to neoliberal period.
- 7.4. It is also important to note the short coming of the sampling method used for this particular study. The sample survey has considered only few affected villages from the project location for convenience of survey. Additionally, this survey has not interviewed equal number of affected households from every location. Consequently the resultant outcome might not completely match with the actual scenario of the region as a whole.

Chapter 8

Chapter 8 examines the upshot of land and livelihood dispossession by various neoliberal projects executed by public sector, state owned and private sectors in the last 25 years after liberalisation in coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India.

- 8.1. Certain section of the society which traditionally had greater access to socio-economic and cultural capital, have benefited more from material incentives provided during the implementation of the project than another section of the society having limited access to the capital (social, economic and cultural). Further, those sections having greater access to capital are able to survive the negative impacts of

- dispossession faster than the others. The R & R policies are designed in such a way that different economic classes (based on agrarian relation) are entitled to avail material benefits with significant differences. In all three cases the R and R provisions are better for the landed class than the landless class. Similarly, among the land owning classes, the large landowners are in better position than the small and marginal land owners.
- 8.2. The case studies as analysed in this chapter shows increasing of socioeconomic inequalities and also spatial exclusion of marginalised sections, as the rise of neoliberal policies producing an anti-welfare measures.
- 8.3. Following structural adjustment and the embeddedness of the postcolonial developmental state, numerous associated processes of accumulation by neoliberal dispossession have collectively produced a large informal proletariat in coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India those are surplusd workforce and also excluded from formal labour markets.
- 8.4. The impact of land dispossession due to various development projects are more pronounced among the tribal and dalit households compared to the non-scheduled households.

Chapter 9

The class character of the dominant section has changed at various phases of capitalism with the changing purpose of accumulation. The coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India is a suitable region for material examples of both productive and speculative dispossession. As a matter of fact, dispossession of land for industrial capital accumulation for productive purposes asserts quite different impact (socially, economically and politically) than dispossession of land for the purpose of speculative capital accumulation. The ninth chapter shows that as the productive and speculative capital penetrate into the peripheral spaces; the pre-existing social order got decomposed and formed a new social reality. Some of the following inferences have been drawn from the chapter:

- 9.1. Dispossession is a political-economic process of redistribution and finally exhibits an extremely heterogeneous class structure differentiated into speculators, brokers, petty commodity producers, proletariats, pauperised and immiserated. Penetrations of capital also disintegrate the indigenous subsistence economy and expose them to the market economy.
- 9.2. Gender identity acts as an influencing factor in determining the impact of dispossession.
- 9.3. The neo-subalterns emerging from neoliberal projects and accumulation of capital are hierarchically linked. A number of intermediaries among the two social strata have emerged in the neoliberal period. It is therefore important to view society as a chain. Various social classes have not broken their ties with each other nor have they given up their bonds to the land.
- 9.4. The presence of subaltern groups as dispossessed marginalised and the dominant section possessing the means of production as well as political power are fairly prominent in the new social geometry and have a greater relevance. Even the dispossessed subalterns are also internally divided into various social groups, as termed by 'heterogeneous underclass.'⁴⁶⁹

Chapter 10

The historical context and narratives of these subaltern groups (dispossessed) and their contentious interaction with the state as discussed in chapter 3 becomes evident while studying their contestations and resistance against neoliberal development projects in coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India.

- 10.1. This chapter examines the processes through which the subalterns have contested the processes of capital accumulation and made this region a geographical hotspot of contestations.
- 10.2. This thesis has considered three extended cases of resistance against dispossession by mining projects and urban infrastructural project. A resistance is on in the coal-

⁴⁶⁹ Ipsita, Chatterjee, *Displacement, Revolution and New Urban Condition* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2014), 147.

steel industrial complex of eastern India, but most of them are not revolutionary in nature – a heterogeneous subaltern class quite different from Marx's lower class is registering their claims to the region in numerous ways. However, all three cases have registered few similarities in terms of its manifestations, yet they have been compared to illustrate subaltern political subjectivities based on the nature of accumulation (productive or speculative) and state intervention in the form of governmentality.

10.3. Dispossession in this region even in the neoliberal period often contested while occasionally resisted.

10.4. It could be observed that the resistance that emerged around the open cast coal mining projects both in Sonapur Bazari and Sarshatali were largely 'endogenous' to the history and politics of the region. It can be considered as 'subaltern localism'. From a larger perspective, both the movements had aim to achieve the material demands using their political power within the state.

10.5. The protest that emerged around Andal aerotropolis project though initiated internally, later few exogeneous factors have given momentum to the struggle. In the globalised era subalterns have moved into arena of various civil society organisations to organize a struggle in the form of 'subaltern globalism' against capital.

10.6. Dispossession throughout the history uses various social and historical means. During neoliberal period in case of Coal-Steel Industrial complex the means used can be categorised as more coercive (with and without violence) and remunerative while less normative.

11.2 Coping Strategies of Dispossession and Implication of present study on policy formation

As mining-industrial regions respond to the economic and social changes associated with industrial restructuring, policies for the development of the Coal-Steel industrial complex of eastern India need to be reassessed with time. A number of futuristic policies concerned with the socio-economic development of the mining region have already been considered under Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). It is an

attempt to search for new forms of policies which are of relevance to the mining regions. In future, policies for the development of these regions need to take into consideration these three characteristic features:

11.2.1. All forms of dispossession should be recognised.

11.2.2. The policies should be *sustainable* (environmentally, socio-economically and productively)⁴⁷⁰.

- a) They should be *multi-sectoral* and
- b) Should be based on the *alternative approach*.

11.2.3. The need should be defined by the communities, not by the state or any other private agents.

Though the coal mining region initially developed as a single industry based region, yet now-a-days it is experiencing competition among other economic activities, in terms of employment and income generation. The competition has been enhanced due the coal industry's declining relative importance in the regional economy. As a consequence of this, the economy of this region can no longer be regulated by mining sector specific organisations and policies. Therefore, the policy maker should consider a multi-sectoral, integrated approach while framing the development policies.

- It is very important that other basic and non-basic sectors are included in the policy in order to generate employment, a better quality of life and prosperity to the working population.
- The focus of the integrated policies for the development of a single industry based region like the Eastern coal mining region should be on local population.
- The positive side of this region is that this region is producing such products (coal) which depends largely on the local identity (geographical origin), but the extracted products can be exported to the regions beyond the local region. Coal as a natural resource is a raw material for other manufacturing industries on the one hand and it is also a major source of energy on the other. Thus, the coal industry

⁴⁷⁰ Brian Ilbury, "Conclusion," in *The geography of rural change*, ed. Brian Ilbury (Chapter 12, Conclusion), (United Kingdom: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), 79 – 80.

has huge external forward linkages. This is a positive aspect for regional economic development in terms of inflow of monetary resources to the region.

Finally, in relation to employment attainment, policies are required to be focused on the educational sector of the region, as occupational achievement is highly dependent on education in a modern industrial society.

Therefore, it is very clear from the above discussion that the future development policies, especially those regarding employment generation must be focused on this location. As Ilbury has suggested:

'Future development policies must be localised, so that local people are empowered to define their own needs and share in the development of the services required to meet them'⁴⁷¹.

However, it is very important to remember that, it is really very difficult to build a policy framework for those regions where the economic base is quite unstable and has gone through a stage of industrial as well as economic transition.

To curtail the access to land and other natural resources that the residents of coal-steel industrial complex had and the new strategy they have adopted to survive land dispossession severely curtailed reduced their autonomy. Privatisation of land diluted the capacity of the dispossessed to make their own lives through their own efforts. The shift is sharp but not swift for those who surviving dispossession.

- The heterogeneous economic activities and the diversification of livelihoods can be understood as coping strategies pursued by surplus labour of this region.
- A group of people try to survive dispossession with the act of negotiation with the state, while another group of dispossessed people any how try to protect right to access to resources. Dispossessed, who rejects commodification or wants a higher stake choose either the path of active (violent or non-violent) resistance or everyday forms of passive resistance to survive dispossession.

⁴⁷¹Brian Ilbury, "Conclusion," in *The geography of rural change*, ed. Brian Ilbury (Chapter 12, Conclusion), (United Kingdom: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), 259 - 260.

11.3. Conclusions

It is therefore the destiny of the coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India to bear the mark of each stages of capitalist development in India. The coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India exemplifies all these fundamental characteristics of accumulation through dispossession inferred by David Harvey. This thesis offers few general conclusions about the form that accumulation by dispossession takes at the coal-steel industrial complex of Eastern India:

- (1) Essentially it shows the exploitative dimensions of neoliberal development.
- (2) The transformation of mining industrial region is not simply the process that takes place with time; rather, it is often political-economic processes that hardly reveal the exploitative processes associated with it.
- (3) Through the lens of the neoliberal projects in the coal-steel industrial complex, this thesis has hoped to incorporate various theories like- primitive accumulation, accumulation by dispossession, subalternity, etc. More specifically to say, this thesis tries to reproduce conceptual framework by juxtaposing various theories of development in the micro regional context.

This thesis is therefore as much as about the people of lower order, their dispossession from land and livelihoods, contestations and resistance and also has conceptual links beyond the geographical realm of coal-steel industrial complex of eastern India.

Appendix I

Appendix 5.1: Mouza wise land property transaction data (2008-2016)

Property Location		Year	Property Type & Transaction			
Block	Mouza		Gift	Sale	Others	Total
Andal	Andal	2008	19	167	0	186
		2009	22	64	0	86
		2010	18	115	0	133
		2011	30	47	4	81
		2012	55	108	2	165
		2013	63	72	2	137
		2014	42	48	11	101
		2015	15	82	6	103
		2016	8	76	12	96
	Khandra	2008	9	194	3	206
		2009	13	84	0	97
		2010	15	198	0	213
		2011	15	206	1	222
		2012	29	202	9	240
		2013	29	316	11	356
		2014	25	432	6	463
		2015	72	777	8	857
		2016	44	520	2	566
	Ukhra	2008	11	197	1	209
		2009	41	1042	0	1083
		2010	42	577	1	620
		2011	42	278	9	329
		2012	65	383	2	450
		2013	46	457	12	515
		2014	51	439	1	491
		2015	49	775	1	825
		2016	52	489	3	544
	Dakshinkhanda	2008	48	220	0	268
		2009	48	283	1	332
		2010	85	116	0	201
		2011	83	50	0	133
		2012	52	236	1	289
		2013	40	155	40	235
		2014	38	223	29	290

		2015	142	70	56	268	
		2016	79	116	206	401	
	Dhupchuriya	2008	3	69	0	72	
		2009	3	50	0	53	
		2010	4	63	2	69	
		2011	17	88	0	105	
		2012	23	97	2	122	
		2013	8	88	0	96	
		2014	12	81	0	93	
		2015	21	105	0	126	
		2016	23	150	5	178	
		Bhadur	2008	2	111	0	113
	2009		42	132	7	181	
	2010		60	194	6	260	
	2011		34	61	4	99	
	2012		21	85	1	107	
	2013		14	97	1	112	
	2014		22	47	4	73	
	2015		22	89	1	112	
	Tamla	2008	113	35	0	148	
		2009	0	10	0	10	
		2010	67	16	5	88	
		2011		4	0	4	
		2012	22	34	0	56	
		2013	3	60	0	63	
		2014	14	11	0	25	
		2015	11	25	0	36	
		2016	89	12	0	101	
	Faridpur	Amlauka	2008	8	52	0	60
			2009	15	40	0	55
2010			53	48	10	111	
2011			6	14	1	21	
2012			123	32	0	155	
2013			82	33	0	115	
2014			2	8	4	14	
2015			3	38	0	41	
2016			8	6	0	14	
Banguri		2008	7	12	0	19	

		2009	70	7	0	77
		2010	31	38	65	134
		2011	18	21	0	39
		2012	18	39	0	57
		2013	17	57	28	102
		2014	13	17	3	33
		2015	0	16	0	16
		2016	50	7	0	57
	Patsawra	2008	16	304	2	322
		2009	66	326	2	394
		2010	68	359	47	474
		2011	130	341	6	477
		2012	135	308	12	455
		2013	29	256	100	385
		2014	122	220	10	352
		2015	12	96	2	110
	2016	22	32	2	56	
	Arati	2008	43	95	69	207
		2009	17	104	20	141
		2010	104	88	9	201
		2011	59	77	42	178
		2012	21	159	4	184
		2013	32	124	1	157
		2014	141	138	1	280
		2015	72	77	2	151
	2016	33	41	11	85	

Source: [http://wbregistration.gov.in/\(S\(rkzxcx5c2gybhv0wyr10yfw\)\)/index.aspx](http://wbregistration.gov.in/(S(rkzxcx5c2gybhv0wyr10yfw))/index.aspx).

Appendix 11.1: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Villages affected by Sonepur-Bazari Project

Sl. No	Villages	Total Population	Total Affected Households (Estimated)	Average Size of the Households	Social (Caste) Composition	Post-dispossession Main Livelihood	Year of Displacement
1.	Ruidaspara	200	64	3.12	SC Dominated	Daily wage labour	1996
2.	Punjabi Danga	317	119	2.66	Non-scheduled (Migrants)	Self Employed	2000
3.	Hansdiha	482	210	2.30	Mixed	Miner, Daily Wage Labour	2004
4.	Bheladanga	212	94	2.56	Mixed	Daily Wage	2006

						Labour	
5.	Arsula	300	100	3	Tribal Dominated	Daily Wage Labour	2013-14 & 2014-15
6.	Bhaluka	347	55	6.31	SC Dominated	Miners	2014-15
7.	Kuchibera	250	50	5	Tribal Dominated	Daily Wage Labour	2014-15
8.	Basabdanga	300	100	3			2014-15
9.	Bandhghat	80	30	2.67			2014-15
10.	Madhudanga*	400	130	3.08			2019-20
11.	Bhatmura*	500	130	3.85			2019-20
12.	Sonepur*	2158	550	4.3	Mixed	Miner, Daily Wage Labour	2016-17
13.	Bazari*	2409	385	6.26	Mixed	Miner	2019-20
14.	Nabagram*	4643	500	9.28	Mixed	Miner	2019-20
15.	Sankarpur*	900	160	5.63	Mixed	Miner	2019-21

Source:

* Note: These villages are not physically dispossessed yet.

Appendix 8.2: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Villages affected by ICMPL Project

Sl. No.	Villages	Total Population	Total Affected Households (Estimated)	Average Size of the Households	Social (Caste) Composition	Post-dispossession Main Livelihood	Year of initiation of the Project
1	Amulia	41	178	4.34	SC Dominated	Agricultural Wage Labour	2000-2001
2	Rashunpur	326	1531	4.70	Mixed	Agricultural and Casual Wage Labour	2000-2001
3	Madanpur	654	3687	5.64	Mixed	Agricultural and Casual Wage Labour	2000-2001
4	Sarshatali	208	1039	5.00	Mixed	Agricultural and Casual Wage Labour	2000-2001
5	Kapishtha	408	1932	4.74	Mixed	Agricultural and Casual Wage Labour	2000-2001
6	Rakhakura	278	1453	5.23	Mixed	Agricultural and Casual Wage Labour	2000-2001
7	Churulia	1628	8173	5.02	Mixed	Agricultural and Casual Wage Labour	2000-2001

Appendix 8.3: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Villages affected by BAPL Project

Sl. No.	Villages	Total Population	Total Affected House holds (Estimated)	Average Size of the House holds	Social (Caste) Composition	Post-dispossession Main Livelihood	Year of initiation of the Project
1	Tamla	183	732	4.00	SC Dominated	Agricultural and Casual Wage Labour	2008-09
2	Dhubchururia	709	3402	4.80	Mixed	Agricultural and Casual Wage Labour	2008-10
3	Andal(Gram) (CT)	1308	6177	4.72	Mixed	Agricultural and Casual Wage Labour	2008-11
4	Khandra (CT)	3382	15383	4.55	Mixed	Mining	2008-12
5	Ukhra (CT)	5222	24104	4.62	Mixed	Mining	2008-13
6	Mahira (CT)	921	4188	4.55	Mixed	Mining	2008-14
7	Dakshin Khanda (CT)	1849	8449	4.57	Mixed	Mining	2008-15
8	Amlauka	232	1184	5.10	Mixed	Agricultural and Casual Wage Labour	2008-16
9	Banguri	157	637	4.06	Mixed	Agricultural and Casual Wage Labour	2008-17
10	Patsaora	392	1810	4.62	Mixed	Agricultural and Casual Wage Labour	2008-18
11	Arati	522	2789	5.34	Non-Scheduled Dominated	Agricultural and Casual Wage Labour	2008-19

Appendix 8.4: Educational attainment across various social groups in various age cohorts

Age Cohort	Social Groups	Levels of Education						
		Illiterate	Below Primary	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Graduate and above
15-24	Others	20.97	9.68	30.65	14.52	12.90	11.29	0.00
	SC	36.84	15.79	21.05	15.79	5.26	5.26	0.00
	ST	40.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	0.00
	Total	26.37	12.09	27.47	13.19	9.89	10.99	0.00
25-34	Others	18.06	19.35	27.74	16.13	12.90	2.58	3.23
	SC	32.00	30.00	22.00	10.00	4.00	0.00	2.00
	ST	55.07	26.09	10.14	8.70	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Total	29.93	22.99	22.26	13.14	8.03	1.46	2.19

35-49	Others	15.60	10.64	25.89	24.82	12.77	6.74	3.55
	SC	32.05	12.82	25.00	16.67	8.33	5.13	0.00
	ST	50.65	13.64	20.13	10.39	3.25	1.95	0.00
	Total	29.05	11.99	24.16	18.92	9.12	5.07	1.69
50-59	Others	25.30	6.02	18.07	14.46	9.64	20.48	6.02
	SC	43.10	6.03	25.00	14.66	7.76	3.45	0.00
	ST	55.88	9.80	13.73	12.75	1.96	5.88	0.00
	Total	42.52	7.31	19.27	13.95	6.31	8.97	1.66

Source: Researcher's computation based on field work carried out during February 2015-January 2016

Appendix 8.5: Project wise age-sex composition of the surveyed households

Age Cohort	BAPL		ECL		ICMPL	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
<15	22.22	19.73	24.53	30.61	26.97	29.70
15-19	5.13	6.12	9.43	11.22	9.31	11.32
20-24	5.13	10.88	8.89	4.85	10.26	9.19
25-29	9.40	6.80	12.40	7.91	10.26	9.19
30-34	8.55	4.08	8.36	8.67	8.59	8.12
35-39	16.24	6.12	7.82	7.14	9.07	7.05
40-44	7.69	13.61	6.74	8.16	5.49	7.69
45-49	5.13	7.48	5.66	5.61	6.21	4.91
50-54	7.69	7.48	4.04	4.34	3.82	3.63
55-59	1.71	6.12	2.43	3.57	3.34	2.14
>59	11.11	11.56	9.70	7.91	6.68	7.05

Source: Researcher's computation based on field work carried out during February 2015-January 2016

Appendix 8.6: The variables and assigned standard of living scores

Sl. No.	Household characteristic	Scores
1	House type	- pucca =4 - semi pucca=2 - kachha=0
2	Separate room for cooking	- yes=1 - no=0
3	Ownership of house	- yes=1 - no=0
4	Toilet facility	- own flush toilet=4 - public flush toilet or own pit toilet=2 - shared or public pit toilet=1 - no facility=0
5	Source of lighting	- electricity=2 - kerosene, gas, oil=1 - other source of lighting=0
6	Main fuel for cooking	- electricity, liquid petroleum gas or biogas=2 - coal, charcoal or kerosene=1 - other fuel=0
7	Source of drinking water	- pipe, hand pump, public tap, hand - other water

		well in residence/ yard/ plot=2	pump or well=1	source=0
8	Car or tractor	- yes=4	- no=0	
9	Moped or scooter	- yes=3	- no=0	
10	Telephone	- yes=3	- no=0	
11	Refrigerator	- yes=3	- no=0	
12	Colour TV	- yes=3	- no=0	
13	Black and white TV	- yes=2	- no=0	
14	Bicycle	- yes=2	- no=0	
15	Electric fan	- yes=2	- no=0	
16	Radio	- yes=2	- no=0	
17	Sewing machine	- yes=2	- no=0	
18	Mattress	- yes=1	- no=0	
19	Pressure cooker	- yes=1	- no=0	
20	Chair	- yes=1	- no=0	
21	Cot or bed	- yes=1	- no=0	
22	Table	- yes=1	- no=0	
23	Clock or watch	- yes=1	- no=0	
24	Ownership of livestock	- yes=2	- no=0	
25	Water pump	- yes=2	- no=0	
26	Bullock cart	- yes=2	- no=0	
27	Thresher	- yes=2	- no=0	

Source: Conceptualized by the researcher.

Appendix 8.7: Allocation of compensation earnings to various purposes across various social groups

Social Groups	Expenses	Rent	Savings	Trade and Commerce	Not Yet Received	Not Received Monetary Compensation	Total
Others	101 (64.74)	1 (0.64)	11 (7.05)	0 (0)	1 (0.64)	42 (26.92)	156 (100)
SC	52 (47.27)	0 (0)	4 (3.64)	1 (0.91)	9 (8.18)	44 (40)	110 (100)
ST	76 (71.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	30 (28.3)	106 (100)
Total	229 (61.56)	1 (0.27)	15 (4.03)	1 (0.27)	10 (2.69)	116 (31.19)	372 (100)

Source: Researcher's computation based on field work carried out during February 2015-January 2016

Appendix 9.1: Household Status transition matrix base on land relation

		Post-Dispossession				
		Cultivator	Sharecropper	Agricultural Labourer	Land Encroacher	Not involve in Agriculture
Pre Dispossession	Land Relation					
	Cultivator	21.77	0.00	1.61	0.27	20.43
	Sharecropper	0.27	0.54	1.34	0.00	7.80
	Agricultural Labourer		0.00	4.84	0.00	25.81
	Land Encroacher	0.27	0.00	1.61	0.00	7.80

	Not involve in Agriculture		0.00	0.00	0.00	5.65
	Total	22.31	0.5376	9.40	0.26	67.47

Source: Researcher's computation based on field work carried out during February 2015-January 2016

Appendix 9.2: Household Status Transition Matrix based on major sources of income

Household Status based on major sources of income		Post-Dispossession				
		Self employed in Non-agriculture	Agricultural Labour	Self employed in agriculture	Regular Wage/Salary Earning	Casual Labour
Pre Dispossession	Self employed in Non-agriculture	1.07	0	0	0	0.26
	Agricultural Labour	1.61	2.95	0	1.88	25.81
	Self employed in agriculture	5.10	2.68	9.67	17.20	20.43
	Regular Wage/Salary Earning	0.26	0	0	7.52	1.61
	Casual Labour	0	0	0	0	1.88
	Total	8.06	5.64	9.67	26.61	50

Source: Researcher's computation based on field work carried out during February 2015-January 2016

Appendix 9.3: Status Mobility co-efficient based on relation to land

Household Status based on land relation		Post-Dispossession				
		Cultivator	Sharecropper	Agricultural Labourer	Land Encroacher	Not involve in Agriculture
Pre-Dispossession	Cultivator	2.27	0.00	0.38	2.27	0.69
	Sharecropper	0.00	10.05	1.40	0.00	1.16
	Agricultural Labourer	0.00	0.00	1.63	0.00	1.25
	Land Encroacher	0.00	0.00	2.01	0.00	1.19
	Not involve in Agriculture	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.48

Source: Researcher's computation based on field work carried out during February 2015-January 2016

Appendix 9.4: Status Mobility co-efficient based on household sources of income

Household Status based on major sources of income		Post-Dispossession				
		Self employed in Non-agriculture	Agricultural Labour	Self employed in agriculture	Regular Wage/Salary Earning	Casual Labour
Pre-Dispossession	Self employed in Non-agriculture	9.92	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.40
	Agricultural Labour	0.62	1.62	0.00	0.22	1.60
	Self employed in agriculture	1.15	0.86	1.81	1.17	0.74
	Regular Wage/Salary Earning	0.35	0.00	0.00	3.01	0.34
	Casual Labour	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00

Source: Researcher's computation based on field work carried out during February 2015-January 2016

APPENDIX II

HOUSEHOLD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PHD THESIS

Household no: Date:

Name of the village:.....

Name of the interviewee.....

Name of the respondent:

Age of the respondent:.....

Gender: 1 () Male 2 () Female

Social Group: 1()ST 2()SC 3()GEN

Religion: Hinduism/ Islam/ Others (_____)

1 () Interview is administered to the household head

2 () Interview is administered to a close family member

His or her relationship to household head _____

A. HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

1. Member no	2. Name	3. Gender 1. Female 2. Male	4. Age	5. Relationship to Head 1. Household Head 2. Wife/Husband 3. Son 4. Daughter 5. Son-In-Law/daughter In-Law 6. Grandchild 7. Parent 8. Brother/Sister 9. Grandparent 10. Others (Specify) 999. I do not know	6. Marital Status 1. Single 2. Married 3. Divorced 4. Widowed 5. Separated 999. I do not know	7. Is the family member literate or illiterate? 1. Illiterate 2. Literate	8. What is the current/last school that the family member is attending/has graduated? 1. Below school age 2. Hasn't gone to any institution 3. Primary School Student 4. Primary School completed 5. Junior High school Student 6. Junior high school completed 7. High School student 8. High School completed 9. Vocational School of Higher Education Student 10. Vocational School of Higher Education completed 11. University Student 12. University Graduate 13. Masters Student 14. Masters Graduate 15. Doctorate Student 16. Doctorate Graduate 999. I do not know
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11							

Member no	9. Has the household member worked in an occupation which brings income in the last 3 months? 1. Yes 2. No 999. I do not know	10. If household member is not working, please mention the reason.	11. What is/are the household members' occupations?		12. Who is she/he working for?		Income	13. Does s/he need to travel outside the village to do this job? If yes please state the name of the place, If no please enter zero. 999. I do not know	14. Bank Account	15. Job Card	16. Ration Card	17. Caste certificate
			Principal	Subs	Principal	Subs						
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												
6												
7												
8												
9												
10												
11												

B. HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Household Amenities	
1. Household ownership	Own/ rented/ any other.
2. Floor material	Grass, Thatch, Bamboo, Wood, Mud/ Plastic, Polythene/ Tiles/ Slate/ G.I.Metal, Asbestos sheets/ Bricks/ Stone/ Concrete/ Any other material.
3. Roof material	Grass, Thatch, Bamboo, Wood, Mud/ Plastic, Polythene/ Tiles/ Slate/ G.I.Metal, Asbestos sheets/ Bricks/ Stone/ Concrete/ Any other material.
4. Wall material	Grass, Thatch, Bamboo, Wood, Mud/ Plastic, Polythene/ Tiles/ Slate/ G.I.Metal, Asbestos sheets/ Bricks/ Stone/ Concrete/ Any other material.
5. Number of rooms excluding cooking place	
6. Number of floors	One/ two/more
7. Sources of lighting in the house	Electricity/ kerosene/ solar energy/ other oil/ any other/ no lighting.
8. Sources of drinking water	Tap/ hand pump/ tube well/ well/ [tank, pond, lake]/ [river, canal]/ spring/ any other.
9. Distance of the sources of water	Within premises/ <500 Meters/ > 500 Meters.
10. Main fuel used for cooking	Fire wood/ crop residues/ cow dung cake/ coal/ kerosene/ LPG/ Electricity/ Biogas/ Any other/ No cooking.
11. Place for cooking	Separate kitchen/ no kitchen available
12. Place for taking bath	Within House/ Public Bathroom/ Pond.
13. Type of latrine	Pit latrine/ water closet latrine/ flush latrine/ no latrine.
14. Type of drainage	Close drainage/ open drainage/ no drainage.
15. Does HH own any firm animal?	Yes/ No
16. If yes, specify details.	1 () cow 2 () buffaloes 3 () Poultry 4 () goats 5 () others
17. Household use any government fund	1 () Indira Awas Yojna 2 () Nirmal Bharat 3 () Any other

C. HOUSEHOLD ASSETS

Cot/bed	Table	Chair	Radio
Television	Land phone	Cell phone	fan
refrigerator	Bicycle	motorcycle	Motor Car
Bus/ Truck/ Lorry	Computer	Water Pump	Animal drawn cart
Dish TV	Well	Inverter	

D. INCOME, EXPENDITURE AND SAVINGS

1. What are the main income sources of your family? ((Read all the options to the interviewee. 1 important, 2 less important, 3 least important, 0 none)

Importance

- 1 () Wage/salary
- 2 () Farming
- 3 () Husbandry
- 4 () Wood and wood products
- 5 () Tourism
- 6 () Trading
- 7 () Rental income
- 8 () Assistance of relatives
- 9 () Pensions
- 10 () Poverty funds (State which one.....)
- 11 () Other governmental aids/assistance (i.e. unemployment wage)
- 12 () In kind aids from the government (coal etc)
- 13 () Aids/assistance from NGOs
- 14 () Allowances for elderly
- 15 () Other (please specify)

2. What is the average monthly income of the household? (Other than subsistence production)

3. How do you consider yourself in respect to the condition of the other villagers?

- 1 () Very poor
- 2 () Poor
- 3 () Lower middle income level
- 4 () Middle income level
- 5 () Higher middle income level
- 6 () Rich
- 7 () Very rich

4. Do you do any subsistence production?

- 1 () Fruits/ vegetables etc.
- 2 () Egg, milk and milk products
- 3 () Meat
- 4 () Other (please specify)

5. Expenditure of the household

Monthly Expenditure	
Food	
Clothing	
Rent (if any)	
Fuel and lighting	
Vehicles	
Education	
Medicine	
Household requisite	
Recreation	
Miscellaneous	

6. Credit

Have you taken any loan in last 5 years?	Yes/ No
If yes, when and how much have you taken?	
Purposes of credit?	
Sources of credit?	Bank, Cooperative societies, provident fund, Office colleague, Friends and relative, Money lender, Shop keeper, Other sources

E. LAND USE AND AGRICULTURE

1. Detail about the Status of Land Holding (Owners/Bargadars) and agriculture before and after Land Acquisition:

		Before acquisition	After acquisition
1. Land Holding	Size		
	Irrigated Land		
	Type of land		
2. Yearly harvest from land	Enough for the HH consumption and for sale?		
	Not enough for the HH consumption and for sale?		
	Sufficient for consumption but not for sale?		
	No information. The respondent does not know.		
3. Cultivated Crop/ Product	Rice		
	Vegetables		
	Others		

2. OWNERSHIP STATUS

- 1 (____) I own and cultivate this land
- 2 (____) I own but don't cultivate this land (with Agri labour)
- 3 (____) I own but don't cultivate this land (with bargadar)
- 4 (____) I rent this land from someone else (bargadar)
- 5(____) Other (please specify)

F. LAND ACQUISITION DETAILS

1. Total Area of land of the HH	
2. Area of land acquired	
3. Name of the project	CIL/ICMPL/DVC/ Aerotropolis/ GT Road/ Other.

4. Type of land	
5. Compensation amount	
6. Do you have legal records of that land?	Yes/ No
7. If yes, Relationship of the HH Head with the legal owner of that land?	

8. Have the negotiations for land acquisition started/completed?

- 1 () Not started
- 2 () In progress
- 3 () Completed
- 4 () I do not know

9. Do/did you prefer in kind or cash compensation for your land?

- 1 () In kind (land to land)
- 2 () Cash
- 3 () I do not know

G. COMPENSATION RECEIVED

HH Name	Members	Compensation			Remarks
		Land	Money	Job	

3. How do you plan to use your money/ how have you used the money?

- 1() Social Function 2() Domestic Consumption 3() House construction+
 Repairing + residential plot 4() Fixed Deposit 5() Purchase of land 7()
 Purchase of HH asset Education 9() Business or self investment 10() Others,
 Mention details.....

1. When did you get to know about your acquisition?	
2. How did you get to know about your acquisition?	() Newspaper advertisement () HH Survey () Public Place discussion () Leaflet Others,specify _____
3. Did someone come and explain to you about the project?	1()Yes 2() no
4. Were you agreed to sell the land?	1()Yes 2() no
5. If yes/ No , why?	

6. Who helps you understanding the land acquisition process and compensation amount?	
7. If the compensation money was paid in installment	()Yes ()No
8. If yes, No. of installment	
9. Reaction of respondents to the first information of acquisition and resettlement	

H. Perception

Perception on Implementation Status of Land Acquisition Policy and Its Various Components:

	Yes	No
Awareness about the Land Acquisition Policy		
Awareness about the compensation received		
Timely delivery of the compensation		
Received Full Payment of Compensation Money		
Justified Payment as Per Market Value		
Provision of Job		
Social Infrastructure Development		
Skill Development		
Environmental Development		
Denied of Taking Payments		
Court Cases		
Member of Jami Banchao committee		
Loss of common infrastructure Like- pond, forest resource, etc.		
Whether the unity among the villagers has been developed?		
Whether they have had approached their problems with the local political parties?		
Are the political parties helping you out?		
Whether any member of the family involved with DVC/ Aerotropolis/ GT Road project?		

I. GRIVANCES AND AGITATION

J. Did/do you have any grievances about the land acquisition?	Yes/No
K. If yes, Reasons.	
L. Did you ever express your feelings to the anybody.?	
M. If yes, to whom it was expressed?	
N. If the village committee/ any other organisation helped?	
O. What did you do to express your feelings?	
P. Did your family file cases regarding land?	
Q. If yes, why, when and against whom?	
R. What is the outcome?	
S. Did you face any problem regarding compensation?	

T. If the authority is creating any pressure/ threatening you?	
U. Was there any unpleasant situation regarding this?	

J. Impacts of Land Acquisition on your Farming and Other Agriculture Activities:

	Increase	Decrease	Same
Quality of land			
Agricultural production			
Agricultural income			
Livestock income			

K. Impacts of Land Acquisition on Environmental Variables of Your Village

	Increase	Decrease	Same
1. Air Pollution			
2. Water Scarcity			
3. Noise pollution			
4. Health problem			

L. Impacts of Land Acquisition on Socio-Economic and Cultural and Lifestyle Changes in Your Village.

	Increase	Decrease	Same
Employment status			
Has your living standard improved compared to the condition prior to land acquisition?			
Do you think the living conditions of people in your village have			
Clash within the family regarding property			
Influence village culture due to inflow of outsider			
Urbanism			
Social Strength and Structure			
Alcoholism and Addiction			

M. Changes and Development in the Condition of Basic Auxiliary Infrastructure and Amenities in Your Village:

Basic and Auxiliary Amenities	Poor		Average		Good	
	BLA	ALA	BLA	ALA	BLA	ALA
Sewerage Conditions						
Street						
Banks						
Play Ground						
Drinking Water						
Medical facility						

N. Do you think the project will help any way for your development?

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