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Research Article

Placing Indian Village System in the Centre of Development-Induced Displacement Discourse

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Keywords

Indian village system,
rural society,
development-induced
displacement,
spatial dynamics

Abstract

The contemporary development process under the impact of neo-liberal policies has rapidly changed and restructured the socio-economic sphere of village life in India. The evolving pattern of rural society has turned its socio-economic structure into a complex space full of contradictions. As a result, the geographical space has been altered in terms of the representation of maps, information, and ideological interests. These spatial patterns have added to the complexities of space that have attracted scholars who relate it to new theories in developmental economics. The present paper attempts to analyse some of these aspects of the Indian rural society undergoing the process of development and displacement and its impact on different socio-economic groups, i.e., peasants, small and marginal farmers, sharecroppers, artisans, agricultural labourers, and landless labourers. One-sided development, especially in the agrarian economy, disturbs the traditional skill, livelihood, and social order ultimately spreading the issues of unsustainable livelihood, hardship, and marginalization in peri-urban areas. Reskilling and participation in the decision-making process of the displaced people of developing society have become a challenging issue for policy orientation related to Development Induced Displacement (DID).

Highlights:

- Development Induced Displacement.
- Land Acquisition.
- Placing Indian Village.
- Land Labour Dynamics in Indian Village.
- Social and Cultural Deprivation in Indian Village.



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1. INTRODUCTION

The Indian village system i.e., rural society in its genesis, evolution (of social and economic organization) and overall territorial demarcation is remarkably an appropriate location where the idea of sustainability can replace the idea of progress through social interaction with geographical base. Geography has been playing a major role in shaping the village community, its production system and related infrastructure. Considering its long historical background, unique production system, social organization and cultural ethos there is a need to investigate rural India along its geographical and historical routes. The village as a system represents the continuing process of productive forces and its associated phenomenon of social and political activities. The *gaon* (Sanskrit *gram*) or village literally refers to a tribal grouping of limited number of families, which settles in a territory allotted to it (Baden- Powell, 1957). Most of the Indian villages have developed in a specific geographical setting ranging from fertile river basins like the Ganga basin to mountainous tracts of the Himalayas and coastal regions of the subcontinent that has accorded them a distinct and unique identity. The morphology of Indian villages is a true representation of on-going pattern and dynamics of changing mode of production and its changing sequences over time. The geographical background and its resource base have given the rural society a unique production system, necessary skills and independent economic structure. Any change in this structure creates a new background for displacement and threat to rural livelihood. Marx (1853) in one of his famous despatches on India, has described the evolution of Indian village system by stating "... the prime condition of his [Indian] agriculture and commerce, dispersed, on the other hand, over the surface of the country, and agglomerated in small centres by the domestic union of agricultural and manufacturing pursuits – these two circumstances had brought about, since the remotest times, a social system of particular feature – the so-called villages system, which gave to each of these small unions their independent organization and distinct life." To strengthen his argument, Marx (1853) further quotes "A village, geographically considered, is a tract of country comprising some hundred or thousand acres of arable and waste lands; politically viewed it resembles a corporation or township..... The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered; and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated by war, famine or disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families have continued for ages. The inhabitants gave themselves no trouble about the breaking up and divisions of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged."

Over the last thirty years, the economic liberalisation has brought about significant changes in rural/peri-urban setup posing several challenges to the land and livelihood issues that directly affected the village community. The rural space in the areas close to the newly created urban settlements become the target of feverish manipulations on the part of real estate speculators and land developers who trap the poor farmers into 'profitable' sales of land (Soni, 2009). Due to the acquisition of agricultural land for housing projects, new high-tech towns, workplaces, and recreation areas due to this urban boom, thousands of people are displaced from their homes each year in and near cities (Singh and Singh, 2013). Urban industrial enclaves in South American nations are aggressively colonising their own hinterlands, which are primarily inhabited by subsistence cultures (Alvares, 1992). Financial institutions providing monetary and technical assistance to large development projects have come under increasing pressure from civil society groups to address these problems [i.e., displacement and uprootedness] (Robinson, 2003). In India it has attracted policy makers, researchers and civil society to address sustainability questions.

The dynamics of development process have turned the rural areas into a more complex space, which have received considerable attention in development studies. Mormont (1990) describes this process as "the symbolic battle over rurality". Woods (2003) identified the various elements of new rural politics and discussed the need to develop a concept through which the meaning and regulation of rural space could be more scientifically defined. The evolving conflicts between rural politics and development have initiated new dimensions for

growth in underdeveloped regions. Studies suggest that various development projects in India have exacerbated the problems of displacement, landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of common property resources and social disintegration. According to World Bank, 192 projects completed between 1986 and 1993, an average of 300 big dams were built each year, displacing 4 million people yearly, aggregating 28 million people in those seven years (Krishnan, 2006). Krishnan has also estimated that for dams and reservoirs 42 million while for various development projects about 55 million people were displaced in India during 1950-1991. The National Rehabilitation and Resettlement committee (2007) found that about 75 percent of these displaced people since 1951 are still awaiting rehabilitation. Among the displaced, about 40 percent belong to the tribal community, which has a share of 8 percent to the total population of country and another 20 percent belong to the 'Dalit' community. From these facts, it is clear that modern development strategies based on capital and technology, have displaced the people from their native environment and livelihood. As a result, the impacted geographical space witnesses socio-cultural tensions and political upheavals. The peri-urban area of Varanasi has also seen increase in anxiety and social and cultural tensions in some of the village settlements. World-wide the problem of displacement and restructuring of the spatial dynamics in underdeveloped regions is now an important research agenda in development studies.

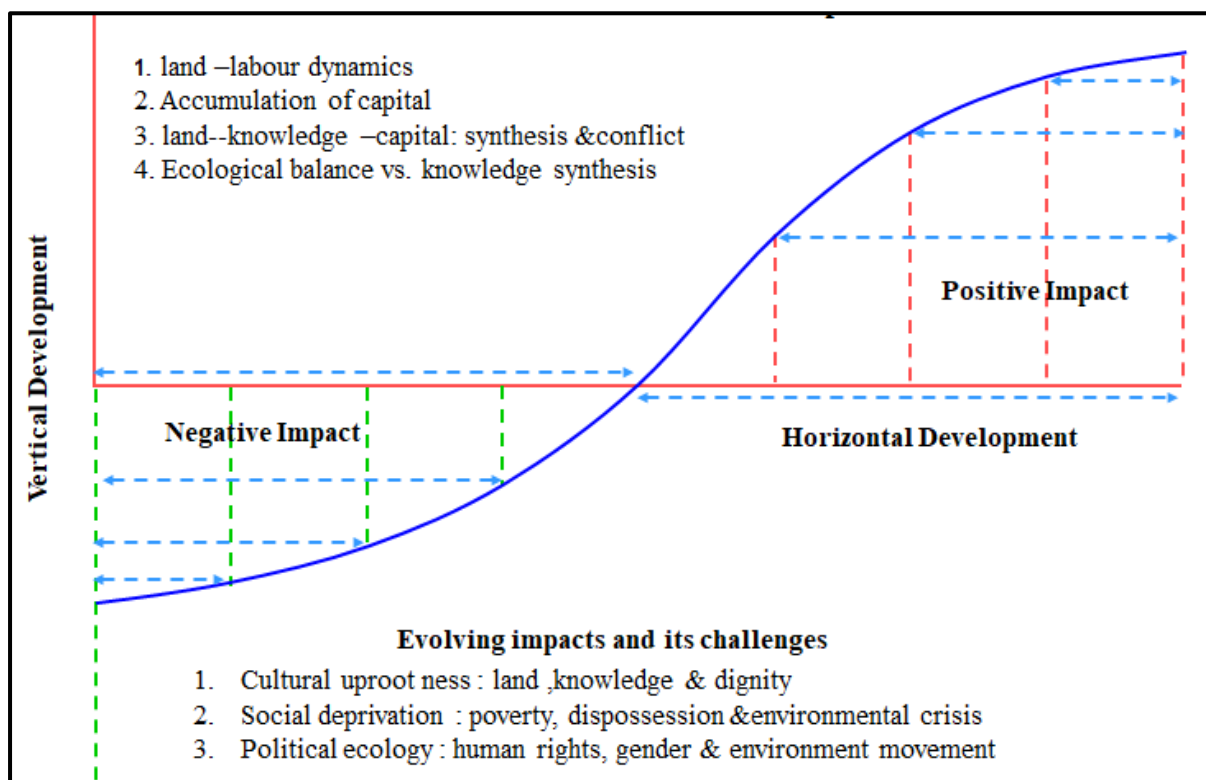
The present paper discusses some of these emerging issues of development-led displacement at the national scale, and also presents a case study at micro-level by analysing the impact of a development project on different social groups, i.e. peasantry, small and marginal farmers, share-croppers, artisans, agricultural labourers and landless people in peri-urban/rural society. Arguing the role of state power towards different social segments of displaced community as a matter of concern, this paper suggests including the displaced section of population, their traditional skill, local resource base and cultural ethos in the process of development induced with appropriate strategies i.e., proper representations and stake holders' perception in every penny of development.

2. DEVELOPMENT DEBATE

Development is a multidimensional process of reorganization and reorientation of the economy and society to improve the quality of life of the overall population (Kujur, 2022). It can be defined through finance capital and its linkages to productive system. The process of globalization creates suitable environment for free movement of finance capital from one place to another even in the remotest places across the regions. Barnett and Cavanagh (1994) have defined the term globalization as an acceleration of the interconnections in the global economy in the last few decades and the related phenomenon of the rise of both relatively open international financial markets and global corporations. Dalby (2008) has described the emerging dynamics of globalisation as the demise of the nation-state is either imminent or that states will be subsumed within some transnational regional arrangements driven by economic integration. Giddens (1990) has interpreted globalization through the systematic interlocking of 'local' and 'global'. According to Harvey (1989), the contemporary global village has resulted from a historical process penetrated by discrete phases or bursts of intense time space compression which are seen as rooted in the periodic crises and restructuring of capitalism. Analysing the impact of globalization processes on democracy, Held (1991) observed that the pressure of economic, political, legal and military interconnectedness have changed the nature of sovereign state. Latouche (1993) has described it as "Globalization from above". Cerny (1997) has observed that the character and interests of the State have changed and it has been transformed into a quasi-enterprise association. Under these changing dynamics competition leads to a situation where the State's interests may appear less concerned with the protection of its national citizens and more with protecting the interests of foreign capital (Scholte, 2000). In the debate on development the question social justice, especially in underdeveloped geographical regions, have become more complex. The expanding nature of liberalised economy has changed the discourse of geographical studies, i.e., space-time

compression, de-territorialisation and mapping. The map itself can be seen as comprising multiple spatial interests of both people and land enterprise that continuously keep transforming in a new order with dominant political ideology. As Gramsci observed “the contradictions of the relations of production and forces of production, coupled with the economic contradictions of antagonistic classes in the realm of production was said to determine every qualitative transformation of the institutional fabric and the ideological formation of the social system in crisis”. The geographical analysis of territorial boundaries in a region conceptualizes strategy for control of resources and people by controlling the region. The contemporary neo-liberal development process leading to our space and economy turns into a more vibrant industrial region. The relation between nature and society in the context of industrial development is of particular interest in political ecology. Understanding human interventions in nature and the political dimension associated with the creation of large industrial projects begins with understanding the complexity of society-nature relations and the reshaping of space in certain development contexts. (Swyngedouw, 2007). This process has accentuated social conflict and intensified displacement of marginalized populations, adding a new component in the study of spatial dynamics.

Figure1. Population, Settlement, Knowledge, and Integrating World (LPG) Dynamics (Prepared by authors)



The changes brought in land relations under the influence of finance capital impact the natural production process and social formation of space. The increasing space as provided to capital flow without linkages to local geographical space of the underdeveloped regions results in large-scale displacement. However, the investment of capital in some cases influences the spatial characteristics from primitive to modern entrepreneur ecosystem. This process certainly extends benefits to some social groups those who have necessary skill-sets, entrepreneurship and capital for further development. The emerging new enterprise often claims that the benefits may be rendered to the project-affected people inhabiting the area. Figure 1 depicts the challenges of development dynamics. This is also supported by various studies (Caspary, 2007; Robinson, 2003). The development-induced displacement process involves multiple challenges towards spatial dynamics, which can be classified as:

1. The cultural uprootedness: land knowledge and dignity,
2. The social deprivation: poverty, dispossession, and environmental crisis, and
3. Political ecology: human rights, gender and environmental movements.

3. DEVELOPMENT-INDUCED DISPLACEMENT

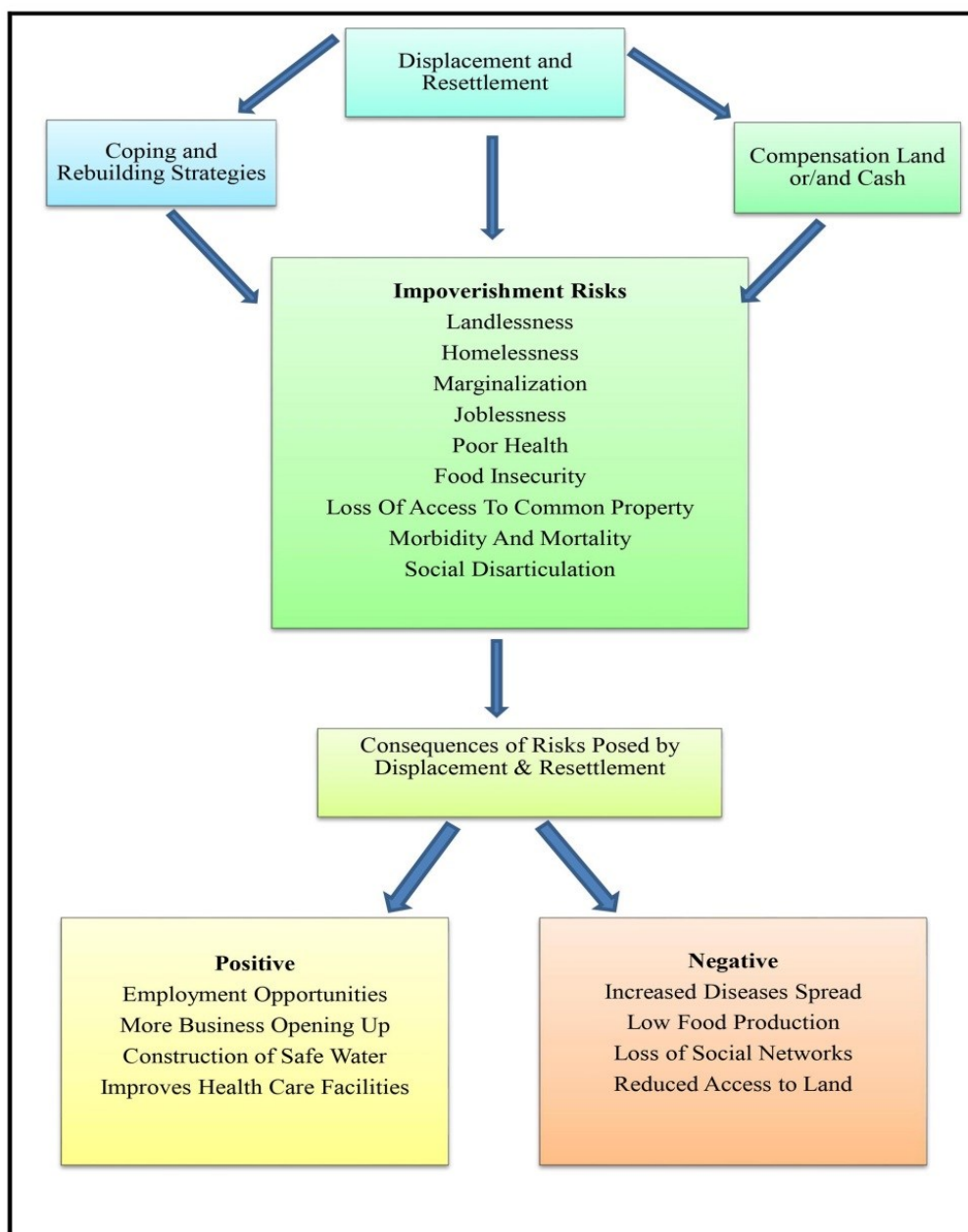
Displacement is defined as “dislocation of people from their habitats and loss of their livelihoods”. Again, dislocation by “way of a development project is termed as development-induced displacement” (World Bank, 1994). Development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) is still considered as one of the most controversial development issues today (De Wet 2009; Bennett and McDowell 2012). Over the last three years forced displacement has reached the highest recorded level since World War II (Medzini & Lev Ari, 2018). In 2019, it is estimated that globally around 15 million people have been forced to displace due to the construction of megaprojects in their home countries (Zhang et al. 2022). The economic development leading to industrial growth and expansion ultimately creates the problem of displacement that causes disruption of production systems, fractures in kinship groups and loss of assets and jobs. The history of development is replete with examples of displacement and spatial reorganization. Critics of displacement posit that those displaced are inevitably exposed to multiple impoverishments, and several scholars have revealed social, economic, and cultural effects for the displaced, raising concerns of social justice and equality (Patel et al. 2015). Vesalon and Cretan (2012) have critically examined the population displacement processes involved in the Roşia Montană gold-mining project which not only raised numerous sensitive problems, connected to the local and national socio-economic and political context, but also touches upon the more general practices of forced resettlement. In developing countries displacement mainly affects the people living below the poverty line, rendering the poor even more impoverished (Cernea, 2000a). Cernea (2000b) proposed eight interlinked forms of impoverishment (landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of access to common property, morbidity and mortality, and social dis-articulation) in his Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model. Aboda et al. (2019) modified the IRR model of Cernea (2000b) to include the consequences of development-induced displacement and resettlement risks and measures to cope with the risks and negative consequences (Fig 2). In the last two decades, these have been experimentally validated, primarily in the context of rural displacements. Though the largest scale of development-induced displacement and resettlement is mostly seen in the world’s densely populated countries like China and India, even in Western and South Eastern Europe, we can find some evidences. For instance, it is estimated that during the twentieth century lignite mining in Germany led to the displacement of between 30,000 and 100,000 people (Terminski, 2013). Similarly, the construction of the Iron Gates hydropower system (the biggest hydropower project ever constructed in Romania and Yugoslavia) led to the forced displacement of more than 13,000 people from the Danube Gorges on the Romanian side and 10,000 from the Yugoslavian side to forfeit their way of life to support the forced industrialization in Romania (Varan and Cretan, 2017; Cretan and Vesalon, 2017). The magnitude of displacement following development projects is also highly visible in other Asian countries as well as in Latin America. In Bangladesh the creation of Kaptai dam, completed in 1962, has resulted in the involuntary resettlement of over 60,000 Chakma and Hajong tribals. In Latin America, the noticeable cause of displacement turns out to be construction of dams like Yacyretá Dam on the border of Argentina and Paraguay which displaced 68,000 people and the Itaipu Dam on the border of Brazil and Paraguay displaced 59,000 people. Likewise the construction of the Three Gorges Dam (largest civil engineering project of the modern era) on the Yangtze River in Hubei province, China had displaced approximately 1.25 million people over a 16-year period; besides 1711 villages, 356 communes, 116 towns and 20 cities were submerged under the rising waters of the reservoir (Carney, 2021). Economic uncertainty, separation, and social conflicts are some of the issues experienced by those who were resettled from the region around Three Gorges Dam (Jackson and Sleigh 2000). Recent

research has pointed out that 70 million people were displaced in China by development projects between 1950 and 2008 (Maldonado, 2012). According to W. Courtland Robinson, development projects in China during the nineties displaced approximately 10.3 million people (cited by Terminski, 2013). Robinson (2003) has cited a study by Mahapatra (1999) to highlight development-induced displacement in India. According to the reference note of the Lok Sabha (2013), "in India alone, during the last 50 years, an estimated 25 million have been displaced by development projects". Mathur (2008) has estimated that from 1948 to 2008 almost 60 million people were displaced (cited by Neef and Singer, 2015). Similarly, Negi and Ganguly (2011) reported that approximately 50 million people in India had been displaced over the previous 50 years. Robinson (2003) has pointed out "while victims of disaster, especially natural disaster generally are the focus of sympathetic attention and international aid (as are many of those displaced by conflict), the same cannot be said for victims of development-induced displacement, although the consequences may be comparably dire". In continuation to this Robinson also quotes a study by Leopoldo et al. (2000) for the World Commission on Dams to underline problems associated with displacement – "impoverishment and disempowerment have been the rule rather than the exception with respect to resettled people around the world". Studies suggest that the construction of big dams have displaced large chunk of indigenous/ tribal population that manifest in the process of enhancement of multidimensional poverty at grassroots level. Patel et al. (2015) cite Menon-Sen and Bhan's (2008) work in their study, which shows how eviction and relocation related to the Commonwealth Games in New Delhi degraded the rights and weakened the livelihoods of 3,000 displaced families, marooning them in a remote location and placing them in "permanent poverty."

In this context, the land acquisition becomes a central issue as well as constraining factor in the process of development of infrastructure. Since the inception of the neo-liberal reforms in 1991, the government has been a promoter of speedy economic growth through industrialisation that created demand for land. At micro-level the requirements of land for industries, services and infrastructure is not as much high as compared to other category of land use but there is a tendency to acquire more land than actually required by the Government by invoking the doctrine of 'Eminent Domain' for greater good which resulted in a huge scale displacement of masses (Nanda, 2021). According to Fernanades et al. (2012), "acquisition of land and other assets for development projects, deprives people of their livelihoods; some are displaced while others are cut off from their source of income due to physical relocation". Abhirup Sarkar (2007) investigated the problem caused in Singur by land acquisition for industrial development and the consequences of population displacement. He observes fertile agricultural lands could have been saved as well as livelihoods by providing infrastructural facilities and an integrated rehabilitation programme but these were completely ignored in policy framework. To recapitulate, a summary is provided below:

- Due to increasing space and pressure of globalization, the landed property is now in hands of global market, and this has accentuated the problems of agricultural land and food security in concerned regions.
- According to Amit Bhaduri (2006), the federal and state governments' land acquisition policies are causing large corporations to seize property in a variety of ways. In the guise of development, livelihoods are being destroyed and the impoverished are being displaced. On September 2006, the Board of Approval Committee of Ministry of Commerce has approved 267 special economic zone (SEZ) projects all over India. Land area for each of these projects ranges from 1000 to 14000 hectares. So far 134,000 hectares of land has been acquired by state industrial development corporation for only 67 multi-products SEZ. On 31 May 2006, the West Bengal State government gave the nod for acquisition of 36,325 acres of land for various national and multinational corporate led projects (Bhaduri, 2007).
- Mahindra Geseo, which originally got the government approval for a 49 hectare of land in Jaipur, has now received approval to expand it into 1000 hectare multi-product developmental projects (Sarkar, 2007).

Figure 2. A framework for analysing the impoverished risks of involuntary displacement and resettlement and consequences (Prepared by authors based on Aboda et al. 2019)



- In Singur, West Bengal Government handed over about 1,000 acres of prime land to the Tata. Besides Singur the government of West Bengal also proposed to setup a SEZ at Nandigram under the planning of Salim group of Indonesia with 10,000 acres land that will be expanded up to 22,500 acre within Nandigram surrounding and another 13,000 acres of Mahishadal and Sutahata regions.

- In Bihar, the government acquired 170 acres land at Rasulpur (Saran), 305 acres at Anghra Tharhi (Madhubani), 250 acres at Dhampur (Madhepura), 98.41 acres at Kamalpur Rajaun (Banks), 224.17 acres at Siwan, 150 acres in Suparal and 275 acres at Kotwa Kanijhia Tota in East Champaran (Saha, 2006).

- The Jaiprakash associate firm bought roughly 6,000 acres of property in Bhatta Parsaul, Noida, Uttar Pradesh, to create luxury township facilities and the 165 kilometre Yamuna Expressway. The government purchased the property from farmers under the LA Act

of 1984 for \$6 per square metre, and then sold it to developers for \$134.50 per square metre (Sampat, 2008; Sharma & Singh, 2009).

- Under the influence of liberal economy, the movement of the capital and its investment for developmental projects in under developed regions have created the condition of displacement and social contradiction mostly due to lack of proper participation of people. On this account, Kalinganagar and Jagatsinghpur (Orissa), Dadri, Varanasi, Ganga Basin (Uttar Pradesh) Barnala (Punjab), Raigad (Maharashtra), Singur and Nandigram (West Bengal) have been reported as new sites of development induced displacement and social contradiction (based on Saha, T.R. 2006 observation).
- Likewise, the Upper Krishna irrigation project displaced roughly 300,000 people, resulting loss of livelihood (Sharma & Singh, 2009).
- Since 1960s, the inhabitants of Singrauli area of Madhya Pradesh have been displaced on a regular basis. Similarly, 163,000 people of approximately 300 villages were relocated as a result of the Sardar Sarovar project (Parasuraman, 1999).

The above-mentioned case studies reveal the emergence of macro level pattern in spatial dynamics that has initiated a fresh discourse in the development studies. Lewis (1954) defined development as the accumulation of capital and the movement of labour from low-productivity agricultural and other traditional activities to high-productivity modern industries. The debate erupted around Lewis' dualism paradigm later underlined the significance of increasing agricultural productivity in conjunction with industrial expansion in order to achieve a balance between agriculture and industry (Jorgenson, 1961). From the above discussion it is clear that developmental planning of underdeveloped regions should consider agrarian economy at par with industrial sector. Agriculture's lopsided development and the displacement of its dependent population will constrain the growth of both social and physical capital accumulation. This spatial phenomenon can be understood through micro-level analysis.

4. MICRO-ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT-INDUCED DISPLACEMENT

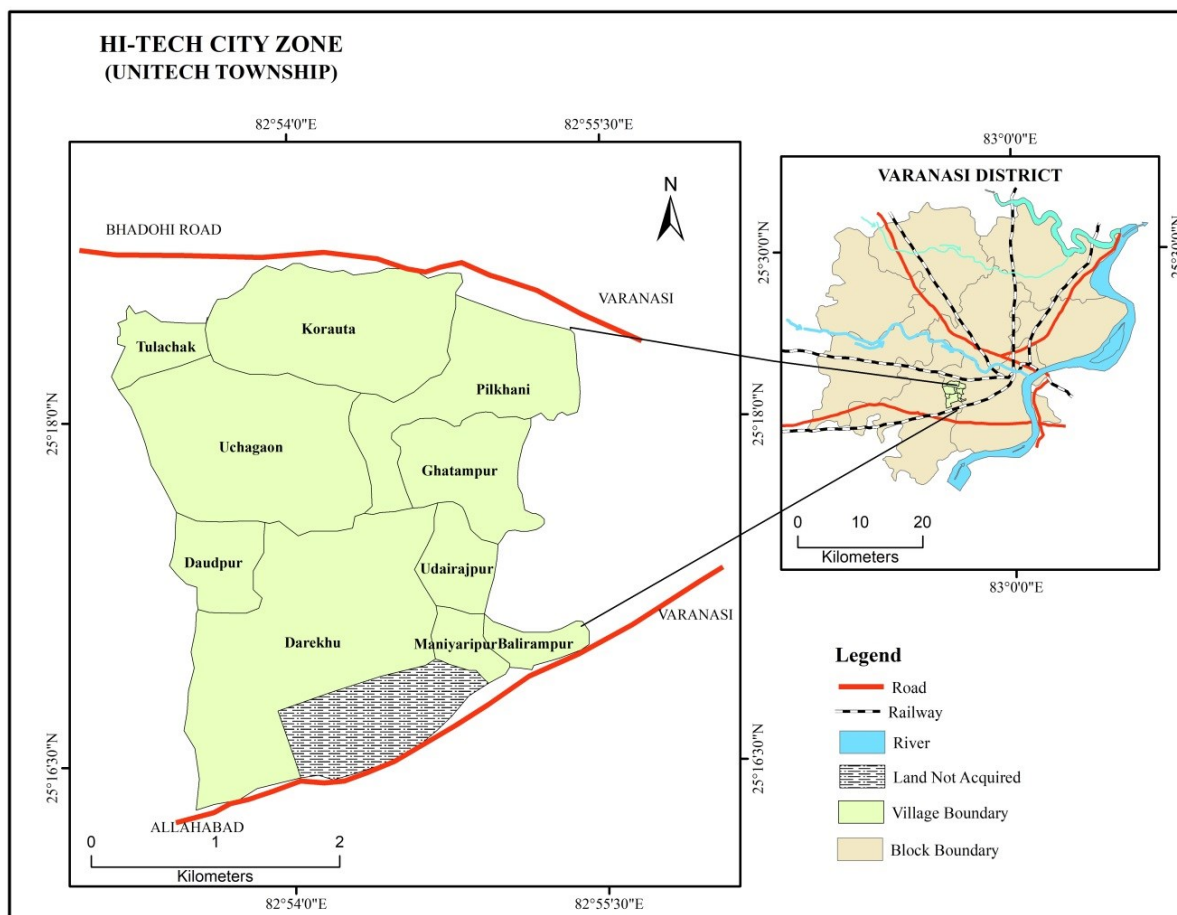
In view of the criticality of village-level displacement issue and land use change there is more debate on rehabilitation among policy makers and development scholars. There is a need to understand the linkage between development-induced shocks, such as those caused by relocation and household vulnerability (Downing and Garcia-Downing, 2009, cited by Aboda et al. 2019). Under market pressure, displacement proceeds in agrarian space putting question mark on the current development process. Displacement has had especially negative social consequences in countries characterized by a land-based economy and low employment flexibility, together with strongly rooted social stratification (Terminski, 2013). It is an utterly uncontrollable event that impacts all customary activities, the established social order, and undermines the ethos and ways of life. The problem is further intensified by impervious rules, the authorities' unhelpful behaviours, improper remuneration, protests, family disruption, and legal disputes (Singh and Singh, 2013). Obviously, the contemporary capitalist development process emphasizes secured property rights as one of the most important requirements of long-term sustainable growth (Besley 1995, Jacoby et al. 2002). But recent experiences of development projects, especially in the context of agrarian economy, have shown complete disregard to the rights of landowners and the farmers contributing to the loss of livelihoods. These dynamics can be understood in a micro-level study carried out in a rural location outside the city of Varanasi in the state of Uttar Pradesh, India.

4.1. Study Location and Objective

Uni-tech sponsored Hi-tech city project ("Navgaon") was planned in nine (9) villages of Kashi Vidyapeeth Block of Varanasi. Varanasi is an ancient city and is famous for its religious, cultural and educational establishment. Its traditional production and long rooted cultural heritage are faced with crisis generated due to liberalization. The adjoining rural area with the

expansion of urban fringe is characterized by high population pressure and dependence on agrarian economy while the urban development creates the problem of displacement from their native lands. The corporate developers initially proposed to invest more than Rs. 500 crores in a housing project by acquiring 1,500 acres of land in nine villages Korauta, Uchagaon, Daudapur, Maniyari Pur, Tulachak, Balirampur, Udairajpur, Ghatampur and Pilkhani.

Figure 3. Location Plan of Hi-Tech City Varanasi (Prepared by authors)



The city will be designed to develop about 24, 288 plots for residential purpose of the economically well-off people. In this project about 9000 families of respective villages will be displaced from their livelihood and native land. More than 70,000 people will lose their traditional occupation and livelihoods. High-Tech Township initially acquired 1500 acres of land and would eventually increase it to 2500 acres and then 5000 acres. The acquired plots are compensated at the 'circle rates' (rates fixed by Varanasi Development Authority) which are significantly less than the market rates. The acquired land is productive and belongs to small and marginal farmers. The proximity of these villages to the city encouraged the farmers to grow 32 crops in different seasons, especially wheat, paddy, sugarcane and numerous varieties of horticultural crops (vegetables, fruits, flowers, etc.) in order to meet their own needs as well as those of the city's residents. The study area has a population density of 1,796 persons / Km² and 14.27 percent population consists of scheduled castes. The share of working population to total population is 32.70 percent. The working population in different occupation groups are cultivators (13.06 percent), agricultural labourers (3.31 percent), household industrial workers (17.12 percent), marginalized workers (23.59 percent) and working population in other unorganized sector (42.94 percent). The decadal growth in the population from 1991 to 2001 was 39.30 percent. The area under food grain crop covered

84.90 percent in 2000-04 respectively. The population structure and its composition on economic criterion reveal the nature of population dynamics that prevailed in the study region. The planned proposal will not only uproot 9000 households from their ancestral territories, but it will also offer a challenge to the 80 percent of individuals who rely on these lands for their primary source of income, whether directly or indirectly. In addition to making people's lives exposed to several unanticipated issues, the lopsided development and displacement (economic and social) that result from it will also cause social unrest and disrupt the long-established spatial organization.

4.2 Socio-economic profile

Socio-economic structure of a region has relevance in any scientific enquiry and policy framework in the context of development-led displacement. Before initiating a developmental project, the impact analysis needs to be considered by policy makers. From the Table 1, it is clear that sixty percent population has less than 2 acres of land holdings, 27 percent between 2 and 5 acres and only 9.78 percent between 5 and 10 acres. About 90 percent fall in the category of marginal farmers and landless labourers. Most of the agricultural labourers and small and marginal farmers are engaged in share cropping. Their percentage to the total population is 15 percent. The percentage of landless labourers varies from 20 to 30 in different villages. The people's land holding capability circumstance highlights the fact that the amount of land they collectively own is quite small, forcing them to engage in intensive farming practices that primarily involve horticultural crops. The landholding pattern of the area reveals the nature and dynamics of socio-economic characteristics of the area which is shown in Tables 1 and 2.

About 60.44 percent of the population derives its income from agricultural and related activities while only 27 percent population gets their income from non-agricultural sources. Due to high population pressure and low diversification, about 12.67 percent income share of the assets is derived from share cropping. In most of the area vegetables are sown as cash crop. In fact, majority of the population get their employment in unorganized sector and the skill required for this work is associated with the traditional knowledge of people. This skill and knowledge lose their utility and importance after displacement from native place and traditional economy.

4.3 Spatial Dynamics

The global expansion of market economy has created opportunities for free flow of capital and technology which influence the rural economy in multiple ways. Employment in urban and industrial sectors, creates more value than in agricultural sector. As a result of this development dynamics, the local population gets displaced from their native places. In this process of displacement, two distinct population classes: (a) landowners and (b) landless labourers are severely impacted. These two groups have distinctly different perspectives on the issue compensation, and they have their common interests too. This is one of the main reasons for their opposition to land acquisition. The agricultural labourers do not have necessary skill-sets suitable for non-agricultural purposes. The value of expertise is considerably diminished after land acquisition, which is equivalent to a decrease in the value of this human capital compensated (Sarkar, 2007).

The above-mentioned spatial dynamics requires fresh attention from geographers, social scientists, and Policy makers before initiating any development project in underdeveloped agrarian region, its impact assessment on different social strata to be taken into account through scientific analysis for a compensation policy which can be implemented. Figure 3 explains the spatial dynamics of the study area and reveals the nature of contradictions emerging through developmental projects. The reimbursement sum has been fixed at Rs. 5312 per (Local unit of land measurement) is not admissible seeing the variable nature of land quality. The same amount should not be paid equivalently for both the barren land and the

most fertile land. In compensation scheme only 10.88 percent family received their land price as compensation, while on other hand 30.44 percent landless labourers and 32.67 percent having below 2 acres land and holdings will be displaced from their native environment and livelihood without any rehabilitation package, while 27.11 percent family may somehow be benefited through land price. As a result, the people who made a living off of these properties now have no means of support. The Rehabilitation & Resettlement scheme makes no allowances for these abandoned and economically underprivileged lots. Besides in this process, more than 62.00 percent families will be displaced from rural society, leading to cultural up rootedness, social and political deprivation and alienation from all spheres of life. These alienated people can be socially classified as marginalized farmers (59.78 percent), agricultural labourers (30.44 percent) shared croppers (12.67 percent) and village artisans (26.56 percent). The developmental scheme has a negative impact on these large sections of population. On the other hand, under the impact of capital, a nexus has been created between the interests of decision makers and developers, ignoring the interest of large chunk of displaced population. The new spatial reality carrying socio-economic contradictions has potentiality to become a major destabilizing factor by explaining the process of displacement of common and marginalized people. From the spatial dynamics it is clear those who have gained have their own interest and nexus advocated for modernization and global facilities. To meet their interest, they try to influence the decision making and overall politics. Their social position requires new laws for citizenship. Through this emerging phenomenon the natural social equilibrium and harmony goes under many contradictory phases. Whenever a project of this magnitude is being developed, local involvement should always be ensured. Their opinions and thoughts should be taken into consideration in order to avoid societal agitations and tensions. Under this social condition any developmental initiative will ultimately create various challenges and put a question mark on over the further process of modernization. On this account the issue of displacement through development becomes vital issue for development studies.

Table 1. Landholding structure

Name of Village	Distribution pattern of land holding across family in per cent			
	land holding 5 to 10 acre	2 to 5 acres land holding	1 to 2 acres land holding	0 to 1 acres / village labour
Karota	10.0	30.0	30.0	30.0
Uchgaon	9.0	25.0	35.0	31.0
Daudpur	8.0	30.0	37.0	25.0
Maniyaripur	10.0	25.0	30.0	35.0
Tulachak	10.0	30.0	30.0	30.0
Balrampur	10.0	20.0	35.0	35.0
Udairajpur	10.0	25.0	35.0	30.0
Ghampur	11.0	30.0	30.0	29.0
Pilkhini	10.0	29.0	32.0	29.0
Average	10.88	27.11	32.67	30.44

Source: Primary Survey, 2007

Table 2. Assets or Income share from different sources

Name of Villages	Assets / Income share to total in per cent		
	Agricultural land	Share cropping	Other than agriculture
Karota	60.0	15.0	25.0
Uchgaon	59.0	12.0	28.0
Daudpur	60.0	15.0	25.0
Maniyaripur	61.0	10.0	29.0
Tulachak	59.0	12.0	29.0
Balrampur	59.0	10.0	29.0
Udairajpur	60.0	12.0	28.0
Ghampur	62.0	13.0	25.0
Pilkhini	64.0	15.0	21.0
Average	60.44	12.67	26.56

Source: Primary Survey, 2007

5. REGULATORY TOOLS

Over the last thirty years, the Indian experience of using 'post-modern' tools like Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and relatively recent Social Impact Assessment (SIA) has been full of challenges. EIA was introduced as a regulatory tool in 1994, to support economic liberalization, but SIA could be made functional only after the enactment of Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (LARR) in 2013. SIA was modelled on EIA, and like any other impact assessment tools suffered from structural as well functional limitations. SIA emulates EIA as much as possible, but over the time there is a growing realization that social issues play out in very different ways to biophysical environmental issues and that how social issues should be managed is also very different (Vanclay, 2020). Consequently, SIA diverged from EIA to become a field of research and practice (discourse, paradigm) that focussed on the management of social issues at all phases of the project (Vanclay, 2006 and 2015). This distinct shift from being regulatory to management tool under the pressure of international finance capital as noticed elsewhere is not visible in India. SIA is now universally demanded by all international financial institutions and Equator Principles banks (Vanclay & Hanna, 2019).

Notwithstanding the above limitations and due partly to international pressure, there is an upward trend of further relaxation of the regulatory norms under the guise of 'ease of doing businesses.' This situation is likely to exacerbate in near future because global delocalization of production attracts weak regulation, cheaper labour, and raw materials in all developing societies. A reversal of this trend may perhaps help reconstruction of local economy using restoration as a means and goal for the regeneration of village ecologies which calls into question the concept of 'work' hitherto pursued under the dominant mode of production. Further it calls for attention that technical solutions will not lead to profound transformations without a broad appropriation of the ontological values given to work into locally embedded social and ecological contexts (Bottazzi, 2019). By saying this it is implied that erstwhile village economies had more sustainable relationships with ecosystems. This was made possible through co-evolutionary process of development; social systems increasingly reflected characteristics of human influenced ecosystem which they inhabited, while ecosystems

reflected characteristics of the social systems which affected how individuals interacted with the ecosystem (Norgaard, 1988).

6. CONCLUSIONS

The driving force behind urban expansion and development is finance capital in violation of the 'sacredness' of village system. This capital being not a part of socio-cultural dynamics as well as production system has a contradictory role impacts society, space and overall development processes. Various strata of society and space experience differential impacts (Table 2), antagonizing the social dynamics generally visible in the urban fringe locations. The issue of development and displacement can be understood in terms of power relations capable of influencing the political affairs and developmental policies to meet their interests. They are beneficiaries by all standards. On the other hand, large populations stand on the side of cultural devastation and deprivation face negative consequence in the development process as they have lost their social and political role in decision-making process. The displaced people from agrarian economy and village space having specific kind of expertise have no use in other sectors of urban society are being gradually diminished and finally lost through development induced displacement. Although urbanization is a significant factor of growth and development, it is controversial whether it is worth losing valuable agricultural fields and generating a crisis in employment and means of subsistence. Biased development disturbs the agrarian economy and social order in a way that is incomprehensible in a civilization like ours by introducing unsustainable livelihoods, hardship, and marginalization. Because two-thirds of the population depends on agriculture to make ends meet, the dynamics of urbanization, development, and displacement in developing countries and in towns like Varanasi cannot be the same as in industrialized countries. A project of this kind is likely to at least benefit the already gifted elites, but it is certain to bring misery and despair into the lives of our society's oppressed classes. Re-skilling the affected people as part of mitigation measures may help to improve the situation. Displacement has another dimension in land use change and other environmental perturbations that be brought into non-economic policy framework. In a nutshell, without addressing the needs of marginalized community including the landless by taking into account village-level expertise, nature of production and ecological restoration in an integrated manner through a participatory and nature-centric policy framework, it may be difficult to reduce the social tension and maintain spatial equilibrium. The outcome of the present study highlights the prevailing dynamics in agrarian society of the east that have had long heritage, livelihood pattern and continuity of development since long back. These dynamics may be explained and some solutions may be offered in the context of current neo-liberal development policies for developing societies. The present effort may be one step towards the understanding of evolving constraints in agrarian societies through neo-liberal impact. However, most of the findings are based on primary data during the periods of people's resistance against the ongoing project that restricts the detailed outcome of data from different sources. Also, many aspects of this project are still in constraints and concerns for the people's movement. In spite of having many lacunas the present work has opened some new insights for development studies especially in peri-urban areas. Besides this work may prove useful for future studies when the complete consequences of development turns into reality. After the completion and consequences of the project the second phase of research with fresh orientation that may emerge through the process of synthesis between people, developers and policy makers will provide some rational thoughts for then policy framework.

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