

# **Land Acquisition Policy under Neo Liberal Regime: A Case Study of Lucknow, U.P.**

## **SUMMARY OF THESIS**

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**RESEARCH SUPERVISOR**  
**PROF. SARTIK BAGH**

**RESEARCH SCHOLAR**  
**DINESH KUMAR**  
**ENROLLMENT NO. 1273/15**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**  
**SCHOOL FOR AMBEDKAR STUDIES**  
**BABASAHEB BHIMRAO AMBEDKAR UNIVERSITY**  
**(A CENTRAL UNIVERSITY)**

**Vidhya Vihar, Raebareli Road, Lucknow-226025 (U.P.), India**

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## **RESEARCH SUMMARY**

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Land acquisition in India refers to the process by which the union or a state government in India acquires private land from the landowners like peasants for the purpose of industrialization, development of infrastructural facilities or urbanization of the private land and provides compensation to the affected land owners and their rehabilitation and resettlement . Land acquisition in India is governed by the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 (LARR) and which came into force from 1 January 2014. Till 2013, land acquisition in India was governed by Land Acquisition Act of 1894. On 31 December 2014, the President of India promulgated an ordinance with an official mandate to “meet the twin objectives of farmer welfare; along with expeditiously meeting the strategic and developmental needs of the country”. An amendment bill was then introduced in Parliament to endorse the Ordinance. Lok Sabha passed the bill but the same is still lying for passage by the Rajya Sabha. On 30 May 2015, President of India promulgated the amendment ordinance for third time. Union Government of India has also made and notified the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement (Social Impact Assessment and Consent) Rules, 2014 under the Act to regulate the procedure. Some of the important issues surrounding the Land Acquisition are discussed below. The major land acquisition and conflicts happen in the densely populated areas of the countryside.

Land Acquisition is the most discussed and most affecting issue of the country. After Independence, many developmental works started with faster speed incorporating and affecting large people’s life into it. However, developmental works has started from the British colonial period but nature of dealing with land acquisition was very different. Britishers acquired land for their purpose to which their intention was to gain and exploit huge natural resources from Indian peoples. They had focused on building only that sort of infrastructure that was essential and useful for them only. To deal with land acquisition issues Britishers had made rule to regulate the Land Acquisition in colonial time that was known as ‘Land Acquisition Act 1894’ and it had been regulating the land acquisition till 2013 before the enactment of new rule by

UPA led government in 2013. However, there had been some nominal modification in old and colonial law by the independent Indian government but it was effective until 2013.

Neoliberalism is the most influential theory of 20<sup>th</sup> century, it has many dimension to study the various phenomena of society. It has changed the discourse of many influential concept of society; development is also one among them. Neoliberalism emphasise on using the resources in such way that by investing little it can generate more profit. It do not support to involve the investment in those areas where profit cannot be made it encourages such activity where one can produce more profit with modest investment. Neoliberalism concentrate on individual right that will not be controlled by the state. Neoliberal modes of development consider the individual property right as a source of innovation which contributes in development of new innovation. Supporter of this model of development argued that if individual right will be restricted it will impede the progress of individual. They demands more incentive from the government for free market and claims that government should provide more freedom to the market. It favours to reduce the welfares measures provided to weaker section of society and claims that such benefit measures goes to non-deserving people and pose burdens on the government money therefore such benefit measures should be banned.

Before the acceptance of neoliberal idea development was seen as the holistic phenomena and responsibility of state which was guiding the development process in their respective states, earlier development was considered in very broad spectrum including the increasing in infrastructure facilities with special care to the marginal and vulnerable sections of society. Government were focussed not only establishing new projects but governments were also concerns with those people who were involved in contributing to establishment of new projects like workers who were contributing through their physical labour to managers who were contributing through their mental force. All these were included in the development and there interest were protected by the state, but after adaptation of neoliberal policies, development discourse has took new form, it concern of focus has been changed from holistic to specific basis.

India after independence adopted the model of development that was regulated by the government and it keeps in operation till adoption of new economic policy. In this duration all the economic and trade activities were guided by the government. Government were entitled to decide policy, programmes for the entire nation. Such activities were being performed by the planning commission of India that was established on the idea of Russian model, and it formulated the policy with socialist point of view in many times.

Swiss Economist Hans Hongger has mentioned the term 'neoliberalism' in his scholarly book titled as "Trends of economic ideas". In his work Honegger has recognised the theoretical neoliberalism as an idea that is grounded on scholarly job of Alfred Marshall, Engen Von Bohm Bawerk, Friedrich von Wieser, and some others.<sup>1</sup> After 1930s the word neoliberalism begins to look in various perspectives and rooted itself as the important term for many emerging scholarly movement.<sup>2</sup>

Neoliberalism emphasized on flexible labour market where labour force will be available on easy cost and in more number, there will be no strict labour laws who prohibit the capitalist class to hire worker on very stringent condition of working hours, working condition, issue of minimum wages, and it tries to protect them from indulgence in social- behavioural conditions etc. Government used to reduce the welfare programme and scheme for the disadvantage (labourer) people. Government will use more resources to promote and safeguard the interest of market-oriented people. This notion has become predominant across the globe after 1980's.

Neoliberalism is sort of philosophy which endorses to shifting of control of economy from public to private actors and it encourages economic liberalisation, unrestricted trade and commerce. Basically neoliberalism believes that deregulation of economy will help in improving the efficiency of government and economic condition of nations. Therefore it advocates to curb the huge taxation system on import-export and to reduce the restrictions on companies for producing, exporting and investing in public sectors. It focuses more on the economic growth irrespective of welfare and affirmative plan for weaker sections.

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<sup>1</sup> Mirowski P. and Plehwe D. (2009) *The Road From Mont Pelerin: The making of the Neoliberal Thought Collective* : England, Harvard University Press, pp.9-10

<sup>2</sup> Ibid pp.12

Neoliberal model of development encourages the Washington consensus model that was devised by the John Williamson who was the senior fellow at Institute of International Economics. This model suggested many policies reform which was expected to be implemented by the third world countries and later these policy reforms were adopted by the international financial institutions like World Bank and International Monetary Fund to lend the Latin American and other third world newly independent countries. According to Williamson these policy reforms include following policy instruments<sup>3</sup>-

- A) Fiscal discipline:- According to Williamson government used to huge invest in public expenditure without assessing the available resources and it leads to the various type of problems for economics like inflation, balance of payment deficits money breakout and sometimes policy failure. Therefore government should must be conscious about fiscal discipline
- B) Reducing public expenditure:- Williamson has argued that government should shrink the huge investing of money on defense, public administration and other non-economic generating domains despite this it should invest in those areas which can increase the income and other fundamental necessities like basic education, crucial wellbeing system and other public purposes infrastructures. He further argued that government should shrink or abolish subsidies to those public enterprises which are not able to produce benefits.
- C) Tax reform:- Williamson has recommended to extend the tax base and advancing in tax administration. He further said that for advancing the inducement peripheral taxes should be reduced.
- D) Interest rates:-Williamson has argued that there should be financial deregulation and these deregulation should developed the interest rates which should be decided by the market, there should be no role of state in deciding such interest and these interest rates should be enough capable to suppress the capital flight and can increase in capital saving.

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<sup>3</sup> Peet R. and Hartwick E. (2009) *Theories of development: Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives* : New York, The Guilford Press, pp.85

- E) Competitive exchange rates:- Williamson has encouraged outward oriented economy that promotes competition for fast growth. It advanced competitive exchange rate to maintain balance of payment by more non-traditional export and less import.
- F) Trade liberalisation:- It has been argued that all the constraints should be removed from import including curb in tariff however to provide opportunity to flourish new born industries tariff can be allowed to 10-20%.<sup>4</sup>
- G) Encouraging foreign direct investment:- Williamson has favoured to attract more foreign investment because they argued that foreign investment provide required money, talents and technological expertise that helps the country for rapid development. Further he argued that all the restriction should be removed that create obstacle for foreign companies to come and invest. They argued that equal atmosphere should be developed for local and foreign companies where they can contend.
- H) Privatisation:- Williamson has suggested that if public enterprises does not work professionally and are not in condition to generate benefit they must be privatised. Government should not provide help in such condition to public firm. It will be best to transfer them in private hands.
- I) Securing property rights:- Williamson has recommended that who are involve in producing goods and contributing in development their property rights must be protected and distinguishable.

Indian government adopted new economic policy in 1991 under the leadership of Narshimha Rao, the then prime minister of India. After implementing New Economic Policy India soften its export, import policy and opened door for private players and multi-national companies to invest, further allowed them to do business in country. At that time, many multi-national companies entered into country and acquired the land in the name of infrastructure development. Many times, it appeared that these companies had acquired much more land than they were required and had used them in some other profit making projects and not properly compensated to the poor

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<sup>4</sup> Peet R. and Hartwick E. (2009) *Theories of development: Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives* : New York, The Guilford Press, pp.85

peasants and landowner by whom they got land. In many cases huge number of tribal population has been displaced from their original habitats and they were neither properly compensated and nor properly rehabilitated and resettled in humane condition. Consequently many violent incidents have been reported from across India and many people have ended their lives for the cause of safeguarding their lands. Some of the highly reported conflicts can be recognised by their place of conflict and project's name. Few of them are like Nandigram and Singur from West Bengal, Vedanta and POSCO from Orissa that is bordering state with West Bengal, Yamuna Expressway project from Uttar Pradesh etc. These projects have been in the news for many days and they were reported widely in national and international media.

It is true that development is necessary and everyone gets benefit with development process but the cost of development should not be a curse for poor people who get their sustenance and livelihood from agricultural land. Rural peasants passed their generations only through the produce of their land, that's why land for poor peoples are important as well industrial development are also necessary because we have passed seven decades after independence but we are still lagging behind in improving standard of life, per capita income, good education level for these basic infrastructures are required. Many incidents show that due to lack of land, many developmental projects are still in pipeline and they have not completed on time, which may have contributed in development process.

India adopted New Economy Policy in 1991 and begins the process of opening of its economy for various activities to private players. Earlier many sectors were restricted for private companies to enter and expansion of their business and only few companies under control of government were allowed in those restricted areas, but now when government allowed liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation many private players get chance to involve them in various capacities to foster the growth and development. Many new initiatives were launched by the government also. These initiatives were realised across country in several forms. Many new companies and multi-national corporate houses involved themselves in extracting the natural resources in the name of development. Many big companies started mining and quarrying in resource rich regions basically in the tribal belts. The aim of these companies was to harness more wealth from the extraction of these resources.

Government gave them free hand in extracting the resources in the name of development of those regions. Many times role of government has appeared as facilitator of these big corporate houses. Government also helps these MNCs and big corporate in the name of bringing development to the nation. But these developmental programmes of government with the help of MNCs and big companies have proved very trouble for the poor and tribal people of those regions. Many states like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa have witnessed huge protest against the private companies.

Likewise government allowed private companies, multi-national companies, big corporate houses to invest in country for set up of industries, factories and other developmental projects. For setting up these industries or factories the land was essential part. Therefore they tried to acquire huge amount of land from the peasants and tribal. These developmental projects have caused huge land loss, displacement of the people many people have been uprooted from the places where their generations in the past have lived for many years. These developmental projects have cause the feeling of insecurity and discontentment among the land loser and have face huge resistance from the peasants, tribal and marginal section of society. Merriam Webster's online dictionary defines marginal as "to relegate to an unimportant or powerless position within a society or group" in a broader sense marginal section constitutes of Dalits, tribal, women, child and socio-economical weaker sections.

The resistance and agitation of farmers of West Bengal of Singur, Nandigram and Salboni are well known for everyone. Because here the West Bengal government under the Chief Ministership of Budhaddeb Bhattacharjee initiated to establish factory in state after acquiring the peasant's multi crop land and displacing thousands of people from their ancestral home. Peasants have violently protested against these projects because they consider their land as their holy mother and they were not ready to give up their fertile land in lieu of some meagre cash compensation. Similar incidents were reported across the country because government were allowing the private and big corporate houses to install their factories in the fertile and agricultural land of farmers. Due to implementation of SEZ, many new industrial set up were establishing across the country. In the name of establishment of factory and development of country many peasants lost their land.

Similar case was reported from Uttar Pradesh also, when a developmental project of Yamuna expressway got into trouble after the protest of farmers whose land has been identified for this project. Farmers were agitating because their agricultural land was being taken after giving them very insufficient amount as compensation. Farmers protested, agitated and stopped the acquiring agency from taking possession of land. Such protest and agitation turned violent and some villagers lost their life also.

These developmental projects and protest against such infrastructural plans have begun a new discourse among the academicians, social activists, policy makers and professional to rethink about such development plans in which people are losing their land and livelihood, customs and tradition after displacing from earlier one. To pacify and satisfy the land loser government was forced to amend the old draconian and colonial law land acquisition 1894 Act and UPA led government came with a new Act Right to Fair Compensation Land Acquisition Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act 2013.

Land acquisition has great association with politics and economics, because land is an immovable property and it keeps its importance in society it holds value and it is used to sell and buy in the market, It's become matter of pride for Indian household to have more quantity of land and in most of the cases it is the only source of income, sustenance and livelihood for peasants. Most of Indian household even after seven decades depends upon the only source of income from their land. In rural areas land has been a source of local economic system, poor peasant used to sell and mortgage their land in their bad times. They treat their land as mother, in worst situation only they think of to sell their land and gain some money. Hence importance of land becomes of huge importance for rural people of Indian society.

#### **Land and revenue administration before independence:-**

There is not unanimous view regarding the ownership of land in ancient India. Some scholars claim that in ancient time ownership of land was rested with the state while some scholars keep its contradictory view and assert that ownership of land was rested with those who clear the forest and claim on the land. However some scholars assert that in the Vedic era land was not considered as a property of any particular individual, but it belongs to the whole community. Some other scripture claim

that in later Vedic era kings were obtaining some parts of produce from the peasants and property owner.

Land has been source of income and revenue generation in India from ancient time to medieval and colonial time. Peasants and landowner used to deposit some parts of produce obtained from the land to their king or ruler as a tax to protect them from any misdeed and to establish peace in society. There has been much literature that deals about land and its linkage with revenue administration in India like 'Arthashastra' written by Kautilya and some other Hindu scripture also explains about the land and its association with the ruler in India.

Land has been the source of not only revenue as well as profits of the ruler and king from ancient time and its owner have been paying various kinds of tax to their ruler for enhancement of welfare of their state. There has been a huge source from ancient history that explains the nature and attachment of land with the state. Many Hindu literatures explain about the ownerships of land and its association with king in ancient period, there has been notion of profits associated with land therefore king at that time used to pay heed on land revenues in comparison to other sources and peasant or landowner used to contribute some parts of their produce in treasury of state or king. And those king or ruler used to assure them to protect them from thieves, frauds and other unfortunate happening which were controllable by the ruler.

However these literatures reveal that revenues were not similar like today's revenue. There was huge variation in revenues in various states, sometimes states used to levy from eight to thirteen percent of produce. This was so because numbers of states were huge and there was not uniformity in rule and regulation. Variation in charges were on different basis like quality of land and sometimes when ruler used to went for war or ruler wanted to increase their territory at that time they used to impose higher level of taxation. In 'Arthashastra' written by Kautilya and some other Greek scholar claimed that during Mauryan regime one fourth of agricultural incomes was collected as tax. Literatures also explained that ruler not only increase the rate of taxes but in some difficult or unfavourable situation the tax rate imposes on land owner were also decreased, like if there was natural disaster and crops could not produce at expected level the kings ordered for collecting taxes at low level.

India inherited an old land acquisition Act 1894 which was in practice till 2013. However at different point of time in the past government has proposed some amendment with minor modification. But they were not very different from the colonial law in nature in other words old law was reflecting the exploitative character of law in which farmer were with no more secure towards their land and the provision of compensation mentioned in the Act. Government had powers to acquire any private property only in the name of eminent domain and public purpose. There was no any provision of consent taking from farmers. Once land has identified by government landowner had to give up their land. Government was offering very meagre amount in lieu of acquired land. Hence, it was very exploitative and unfair kind of law that had deprived large number of landowners from their property. Although it had been in use till 2013 it had caused huge unrest in country and landowner has protested, agitated and sometimes violently reacted against the government and thus it had been hurdle for the developmental projects also.

#### **Development:-**

Although 'Development' is old term but if traces the words in modern age it get much attention after the Second World War, when many new countries emerged after the end of colonialism in the world map. These countries were mostly from the Asia, Africa and Latin American continents. These countries were much cause of attention because these were newly independent from the various colonial powers and living conditions of citizens of these countries were very vulnerable. Therefore to study the condition of these people many new concept and programmes were developed. Scholars from across the globe devise many concepts to identify the development and they described also but the scholars were not agreed on any certain principles.

Development is very intricate and vague concept and it has been defined by many scholars in different ways sometimes people sees development and growth as synonyms of each other but it is much more than this. There is more confusion among scholars that growth and development considers same issues but this is not true. Growth and development can be differentiated and there are many points on which this can be explained. **First** growth is concerned with the increase in GNP of country assuming as the average income of people associated with the country however these growth do not consider about the variation in income of people are relatively similar

contributing to GNP<sup>5</sup> while development denotes wide facet in income of rich and poor people contributing GNP. **Second** growth concentrates only on those things which contribute in enhancement in economic system or wealth and it avoids the other issues like environmental concern while development focuses on other associated aspect which contribute in economic growth including structural development<sup>6</sup>. **Third** since GNP denotes the growth but prices of different commodities produced in country may vary in various countries therefore it does not reflect the real picture of development however development is static it can observed by anyone. **Fourth** development emphasise more on developing capabilities of individuals but growth denotes only changes in income of people.

Some definitions of development given by scholars are mentioned below-

Gunnar Myrdal treats development as an upward movement of the whole social system by providing better living conditions, namely adequate food, better housing, improved facilities for health, education, training and the general improvement of cultural facilities, which are all desirable.<sup>7</sup>

According to Amit Bhaduri “The development process that we must strive for is not simply a higher growth rate; nor should it mean simply an elaborate bureaucratic mechanism for income transfer to improve the distribution of income in favour of the poor. It has to be viewed from a different perspective altogether in which growth and distribution are integrated into the very same process, while breaking systematically the social barriers of discrimination and prejudices based on gender, caste, language, religion, or ethnicity. This is what development with dignity must mean for us in India”<sup>8</sup>

According to Bernstein (1973) “Development embodies a value judgement as it encompasses the desirability for overcoming malnutrition, poverty, and disease which are the most immediate and widespread aspect of human suffering. In positive terms it

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<sup>5</sup> Sen, A. (1988), “concept of development” In Hoollis Chenery & T.N. Srinivasan (Eds.), *Handbook of Development Economics* (9<sup>th</sup> edition pp.12). Amsterdam, Netherland: ELSEVIER NORTH HOLLAND

<sup>6</sup> Ibid p.14

<sup>7</sup> Singh, A.P. and Murari , K.(2018). *Governance Issues and Challenges* : Noida, Pearson India Education Services Pvt. Ltd, p. 72

<sup>8</sup> Bhaduri, A. (2005). *Development with dignity: A case for full employment*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, p. 11

advocates a commitment to development that transcends the limiting term of economic growth to embrace such feature as social justice, equality of opportunity, full employment, equitable distribution of income, and basic political freedom”.<sup>9</sup>

The International Labour Organisation (ILO, 1976) insists on incorporating the basic needs strategy in the development plans for developing countries. First a plan should include the minimum requirements of a family for private consumption: adequate food, shelter and clothing, and the necessary household equipment and furniture. Second, it would include essential services provided by and for, the community, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, and public transport health and education facilities.<sup>10</sup>

According to Seers, (1979) the three additional requirements for the use of the term development are a decrease in poverty and malnutrition, a decline in inequality and improvement in the employment situation.<sup>11</sup>

According to Mahbub ul Haq (founder of Human Development Report) “The basic purpose of development is to enlarge people’s choice can be infinite and can change over time. People often value achievement that don’t show up at all, or not immediately, in income or growth figures: greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, satisfying leisure hours, political and cultural freedoms and sense of participation in community activities. The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives.”<sup>12</sup>

According to Meir (1995), “Development means growth plus change there are essential quality dimension in the development process that extend beyond the growth or expansion of an economy through a simple widening process.”<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Bernstein, H. (1973), *Underdevelopment and development*. London: Penguin Book

<sup>10</sup> ILO (1976), *Employment Growth and Basic Needs, One World Problem*, International Labour Organization, Geneva

<sup>11</sup> Seers, D. (1997) *Forty years in development: The search for social justice* , Volume 40, No. 1

<sup>12</sup> Haq, Mahbub ul. (2008). *The human development paradigm*. In Giorgio Secondi (ed.), *The development economics reader*, London: and New York: Routledge. P. 29

<sup>13</sup> Meir, G.M. (1995) *Leading issue in Economic Development*, Oxford University Press Sixth addition

According to Todaro and Smith, "Development is both a physical reality and a state of mind in which society has, through some combination of social, economic and institutional processes, secured the means for obtaining a better life."<sup>14</sup>

According to Amartya Sen (1999) "a country can grow rapidly but still do badly in terms of literacy, health and life expectancy. Sen interprets development as a process that expands what he terms the entitlements and capabilities of the people. He opined that instead of concentrating on national product or aggregate income, development economists should concentrate on the entitlements of people and the capabilities these entitlements generate."<sup>15</sup>

In developing countries like India when we discuss about development basically we refers to address some very special issues which are rooted in the third world countries and all these issues are likely to be very similar and interconnected. These issues are mainly Poverty, inequality illiteracy and unemployment.

Uttar Pradesh is northern state of India. It got its identity on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1937 as the North Western province of Agra and Awadh during the colonial time. Early archeological sources indicate here the habitation of human from many thousand years ago when human was living in early natural condition. Modern period in this province also start after the invasion of foreign Muslim ruler Babur in 1526 with establishment of Mughal empire and ending the rule of Delhi Sultanate. Babur established their Mughal Empire in very brutal and harsh manner after killing many people from this region. Maximum parts of the current Uttar Pradesh was in control of Mughals at that time. During the regime of Mughals, they built many monuments, fort, and buildings as to mark their identity in the northern regions these structures were like Fatehpur Sikri, Allahabad Fort, Agra Fort and Taj Mahal etc. Some rulers were very cruel while some rulers are still remembered for their style of governance and harmony among the various community and religion existed at that time.

This state has also importance in first independence revolt of 1857 because three important places of then revolt falls under the present geography of state that places are Lucknow, Kanpur and Meerut. Many conferences of Indian National Congress

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<sup>14</sup> Todaro, M.P. and Smith, S.C. (2008). Economic Development, New Delhi: Pearson Education, p. 56

<sup>15</sup> Sen, A.(2000), Development as freedom, New York: Anchor Books, pp. 1-11

have been held in present Uttar Pradesh, which have remarkable impact on the direction of national movement.

Lucknow is the capital city of the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh and is also the administrative headquarters of the Lucknow district and division. It is the fourteenth most populous city and the twelfth most populous urban agglomeration of India. Lucknow has always been a multicultural city that flourished as a North Indian cultural and artistic hub and the seat of power of Nawabs in the 18th and 19th centuries. It continues to be an important centre of governance, administration, education, commerce, aerospace, finance, pharmaceuticals, technology, design, culture, tourism, music and poetry.

Lucknow is situated above 123 meters above the sea level. Territory of Lucknow district has spreads in wide area of 2,528 square kilometres. It is surrounded by the other district of state In the east it close to the Barabanki district, on the west it touches Unnao district, on the south it borders by Raebareli and in the north it touches Sitapur and Hardoi. Lucknow is situated on the northwestern bank of Gomti River.

If we trace the History of Lucknow we found that it was the capital of the Awadh region for many years and it was under control of many regimes in different point of time it was also under control of Delhi Sultanate and further Mughal Empire. During late Mughal period its control was transferred to the Nawabs of Awadh. Some Nawabs have made monumental work during their rule.

Before Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 British East India Company ended local rule of Nawab and capture the control of Lucknow including other part of Awadh. After sepoy mutiny when the administration of entire India was transferred under control of British government the city was also among them. Lucknow got freedom from British colony at the same time with rest of India on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947. Lucknow has become a good attraction of foreign direct investment and it has potential to cope with the fastest development of globe.

Lucknow has become a centre of attraction due to its many parks, historical monument and modern facility. Government of Uttar Pradesh is making every single effort to develop it most.

**Objective:**

1. To investigate how the neo liberal regime is affecting the acquisition of land in Uttar Pradesh.
2. To know, whether under the neo liberal era after acquisition of land, land losers are being properly compensated.
3. To what extent the government welfare act for land losers, like right to fair compensation rehabilitation and resettlement act have been effective so far.
4. Which section of society is being more affected by such land acquisition?
5. To find out the ground reality of social impact assessment programme sponsored by the government.
6. To examine the land acquisition act, passed by government of India at different point of time.

**Hypothesis**

1. under the neo liberal regime vulnerability of marginalized sections increases manifold.
2. Due to land acquisition under the neo liberal era, environmental concerns like wild life conservation and protections are being neglected.
3. Uttar Pradesh government has remained successful to manage all the compensation issue in a proper way.

**Research methodology:-**The present study is analytical, empirical and descriptive in nature. It attempts qualitative and analytical approach of main characteristics of the subject under study. Primary and secondary, both types of data has been analysed in the study. Among the primary sources field survey, group discussion and interview related to various aspect of land acquisition and its policy have been included.

For theoretical aspect understanding pre-existing literature like books, articles, journals, materials available on the websites and in the library have been studied. The discussions with some learned people have been also included. Total 200 samples

have been chosen for the study from the different projects of Lucknow in which land has been taken by the government or private company. These respondents were selected by the random disproportionate stratified sampling method. These respondents were categorised as those who gave their land to Awas Vikas Parishad of Lucknow or Uttar Pradesh Expressway and Industrial Development Authority and who gave their land to any private company active in Lucknow who has acquired some large amount of land. Further these respondents were categorised on the basis of year. Those land loser who gave their land pre and post implementation of Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation and Resettlement (RFCTLARR) Act (2013). If we discuss about the social category of respondent we found that Out of 200 samples 45 respondents were from general category, 25 respondents were from minority groups, 90 respondents were from scheduled caste category and 40 respondents were from other backward class category.

In secondary sources census report of U.P., Statistics Division of U.P. government, Forest report of India, Lucknow Metro Rail Corporation final report, Ministry of Agriculture report and report available on Uttar Pradesh Expressway and Industry Development Authority and Uttar Pradesh Awas Vikas Parishad have been used. In addition to this Media information from the authentic agencies has been also included.

The field surveys have been conducted during the research that has strengthened the study.

### **Brief overview of chapters**

**In first chapter**, we have discussed how Neoliberalism originated in world. How it evolves over time. What were the factors that contributed to grow a new concept as neoliberalism that affected the policies of major part of the world? Which were the countries in beginning that adopted neoliberalism, what are the principles of neoliberalism that makes it important for ruling states. Further, we have discussed how it came in India, who was the main person to introduce in India. In addition to this, we discussed about the land acquisition policy in India constitution. When it came first, existence in India what were the necessity of this law and how it has affected the life of huge people in India.

**In second chapter,** we have discussed about the development and different paradigm prevalent in various sector. We have explained the development in detail and different definition given by noted scholar like Amartya Sen, Gunnar Myrdal, Amit Bhaduri, Bernstein, and Seers etc. In addition to this, we have discussed about the development according international institutions like International Labour Organization. We have also explained about the component of development like equality, employment, education and other things. Further, we discussed about the theoretical framework of land acquisition and neoliberalism. We have discussed classical economics, neoclassical economics, right to property etc.

**In third chapter,** we have discussed in detail about the political economy and land acquisition how they are associated. We have discussed about the component of political economy like liberal political economy, Marxist political economy. Further, we have discussed about the land and revenue administration in ancient and medieval time. We have discussed in detail about land revenue system during Mughal period, as some of them are Batai, Kankut, and Zabti. Further, we discussed about the land revenue system during the period British colony like Mahalwari and Raiyatwari. We have also discussed about SEZ policy of India, how the idea of SEZ evolve and how it get implemented what were the phases that SEZ has travelled to arrive at today's level. We have discussed in detail about the law that UPA government has passed in 2013 and it was active law for land acquisition in India.

**In chapter fourth,** we have discussed about the historical importance of Uttar Pradesh from very early period even during the time of people when they were living as hunter and gatherer without any civilisation. Next we have discussed about role of Uttar Pradesh in Indus Valley civilisation, Vedic and Buddhist period, we have discussed about the significance of Uttar Pradesh during the Mahajanapada. Further, we traced the position of Uttar Pradesh during Delhi Sultanate, Mughal, post Mughal era, and further during Maratha and British colonial regime.

While discussing historical importance of Uttar Pradesh we have highlighted the importance of agriculture in U.P. how it is the backbone of economy and livelihood of people living in Uttar Pradesh. While discussing land use pattern in Uttar Pradesh we have discussed about the some very ambitious development projects that have acquired much amount of land and that has left many families without land.

**In chapter fifth,** we have discussed about the some important information related to Lucknow district like socio economic profile and have discussed the data that we have collected from the ground during field study. We have presented it in tabulation form and have analyzed it.

### **Hypothesis testing**

#### **First hypothesis**

**Under the neo liberal policy vulnerability of marginalized section increases manifold.**

To test this hypothesis we include question in questionnaire and after analysing data it comes out that land loser belonging to schedule caste and other backward caste has more impact than upper caste people. It clears from the data discussed in chapter 5 in which 87 people belonging to schedule caste and backward caste said their economic status has decreased. It is considerable that these were respondent who gave their land to some private companies while who gave their land to government in that category 22 people said there is no impact on their economic status. Hence it's clear that those people who have given their land to government they are better than those who have given their land to private projects. One more noticeable thing is that those people who gave land to government after implementation of new Land Acquisition Act 2013, they are only in better condition but other marginalised section has bear huge loss after giving their land despite good compensation because the compensation they received as cash has spent on various other works so they don't have enough land to cultivate. People who have gave their land to private projects are mostly belong to schedule caste and other backward cast now after giving land they have become land less and they don't have any option to cultivate crop even for their own use and for their livelihood maximum people are dependent on daily wage.

Hence after analysing the data and figures we can say that due to neoliberal economic policy because many private players are now active in real estate sector and they are approaching to farmers and acquiring huge land and people from marginalised section after losing small landholding they became landless and are slipped into severe poverty.

## **Second hypothesis**

**Due to land acquisition under the neo liberal era, environmental concerns like wild life conservation and protections are being neglected.**

To verify this hypothesis we included questions in our questionnaire and after analysing the data it appears that in the name of development many green trees and gardens have been cut by government and private authorities. Many other sources published in print and electronic form also corroborate this fact to whom we have discussed in chapter 5 and chapter 4 that huge number of green trees and plants are getting cleared. Hence we can say that for the desire of lavish and comfortable life people are creating many infrastructures and for those infrastructures environmental concerns are being neglected.

## **Third hypothesis**

**Uttar Pradesh government has remained successful to manage all the compensation issue in a proper way.**

After analyzing the entire data, it shows that Uttar Pradesh government has been acquiring the land since long back but we included the respondents who have given land since the year of 2000. After interviewing them, it appears that only that compensation issue has been managed properly who are provided after the implementation of Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013. However, before its implementation, people have not got sufficient compensation, we observed during the survey many land loser are still wondering the government offices for their compensation and are doing protest.

## **Observations from field**

When doing household survey and interviewing with land loser people it was new experience to know about the feeling of affected people. I had not expected the much difference of opinion from the affected people. Our household survey start with those people who have given their land for Uttar Pradesh Awas Vikash Parishad and in this project some farmers from the village of Usarbarauli, Piparikheda, Mawaiya, Utrethia

, Babukheda, Birura , Lahurakhera were included. It is important to mention here that in all these villages schedule caste people are in large number and they have given their land during 2004-09. During the survey and group discussion they said their life has become very problematic because whatever land they had it has gone to the Awas Vikas project for affordable housing and now they have become landless. Earlier they were able to produce the grain from their own field but now they have to depend on the market. Grains are available at very high rate in market so they have to face double burden after losing land. Another problem to these land losers was that they have not got enough compensation for their land. Officials had said about some other rate of compensation but they got different compensation. Many farmers said they have challenged in court for fair compensation and case is under trial in court. Some of the farmers said what little amount they got from the government they all have spent on paying the fee of court and advocate to get rest amount.

While we conducted survey and group discussion with farmer who have given their land to Purvanchal Expressway, Lucknow Agra Expressway, Lucknow Ring Road here people were also not happy with the compensation because although they have got four times and two times according to the location of their land. But they expressed their dissatisfaction over the amount they received. Many respondents during our group discussion expressed the resentment for circle rate. Complain about the circle rate was common for every public project. They were sad because some of the farmers who have lost their same quantity of land in same project but have received high amount while some have received lesser amount. This was the bigger concerned of farmers. Farmers replied, their conscience was not allowing to give their fertile agricultural land but due to government purpose and good compensation amount they get ready. During survey it is clear that who gave their land after implementing new compensation policy they have got good compensation but still they feel sad after losing agricultural land. One important thing that we found is, there is very little case of rehabilitation and resettlement. Unlike other development projects in other places there is little case of relocation of habitant. There is little doubt among the land loser related to compensation of residential land. Farmers claim that they are living on their land after constructing home but officers do not consider that land as residential. Because, farmers have no legal document that they can so and prove that land as residential.

While we were conducting survey and interviewing people in Mohanlalganj area we found here the many problems with people. Here large numbers of people are illiterate and living below poverty line. Private developers find more opportunity here to lure the poor people with many false promises. Many private developers are still active there and they use all their tactics to trap the poor farmers to convince them to sell their land. Many farmers there told they have sold their land even below the market value because they were getting cash in hand. Private developers after buying small patch of land they install they hoarding and banners in agricultural land signalling that they will buy the land of nearby field. We also saw many hoarding and banners installed in the cropped field. These private developers do not do 'Bainama' but they do agreement on paper with farmer after taking permission from the Collector. Many farmers told they get very less amount of compensation after completing all documentation work. Because more money spent on paper works and private developers reduce these amounts from their compensation.

While we were discussing with younger man some of them said they feel very sad because now they don't have agricultural land on which they can grow their own crop. Their father has sold the entire land to these private people and we got nothing. We have become landless and now are dependent on our daily wage. What we got as daily wage it all spends on buying daily use things. Our children have no future because we are facing very hard to meet even our daily needs.

During our research and studying other reports related to agricultural land we found that huge amount of arable lands are being utilised for non- agricultural purpose. In Uttar Pradesh alone huge amount of agricultural land has been acquired for making Expressways and Highways. This can be corroborated with this fact that only for Agra to Lucknow Expressway 3000 hectares of agricultural land has been acquired to build this expressway in which almost 30,074 farmers have given their fertile and multi crop land. Like was Yamuna Expressway, proposed Poorvanchal expressway, Bundelkhand expressway, Ballia Link expressway, and for Defence corridor huge amount of agricultural land will be converted into non-agricultural land.

Although government do not disclose the data how much it has acquired the land but from the media information it reveals that UPEIDA has planned to acquire 2.68,862

hectares of land in the coming future and so far it has acquired 12,481 hectares of land.

Consequently net sown area of Uttar Pradesh will decline at very vulnerable level. It should be the matter of concern for government and every individual because population of the state and entire globe is increasing at high pace and to feed them in the coming future will be great challenge to society and government. Many international agencies like Food and Agriculture Agency of United Nation has already alerted world through its study that it will be very difficult to feed everyone if the conversion of agriculture land to non-agricultural use continued for many years without making alternative.

**Suggestions:**

1. Equal amount should be paid to every land losers who is giving their land for any public purpose project irrespective of circle rate. Because there is many fault in deciding the circle rate of any land. Many times it has appeared that circle rate of particular region has not been updated since long time. Therefore, in such instance poor and illiterate peasant get cheated.
2. Government should avoid acquiring land permanently from peasants, it will be best option to take land on lease from the farmers, and those farmers have given their agricultural land for public purpose they should be given every month rent to landowner according to dependent on the land.
3. Real estate sector should be strictly prohibited to acquire private agricultural land. If it is necessary, Government should fix limit for private player to acquired agricultural land. If any private player exceed the limit must be punished.
4. Because due to use of agricultural land to non-agricultural purposes, net sown areas are decreasing and it is matter of concern for our future generation. If we will use such agricultural land to another use, it may create problem and may pose threat to food security.

5. If private players are making any building for commercial purpose, some benefits must be share to original landowner. It will help to poor landowners to cope with the loss after losing the land.
6. Government should make special provision to provide special training for employment to those land losers who have given their land for public purpose project, are poor, and belong to the marginalized section and whose livelihood is dependent on agricultural land.
7. If government is giving enough compensation to land loser, then government must provide advice and suggestion to such land loser to invest that money in other productive work by which they can secure the life of their children and they can handle the problem arising after losing their land.
8. In many cases, it appeared that government cut the large no. of trees and garden after acquiring it for any development projects. However, government claims that they have planted manifold plants than were cut. Nevertheless, many reports and environmentalist claim that such plant could not survive for longer time after plantation because of negligence and laxity in care of such plants. Therefore, government should appoint people who can care such plants and trees until these plants grow up.