CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

India has a population of 1.2953 Billion (World Bank, 2014) with a decadal rise of ninety million approx. in rural and urban population respectively as reflected from the Census Survey of 2011 (Chandrashekhar, Das & Sharma, 2015; Walicki & Swain, 2016) and inhabited on a total landmass area of 3.287 million square kilometre (World Bank, 2013). According to the latest updated official data, 52.80 percent of the land mass in India is arable land with 49.7 percent of the total population employed in agricultural activities (World Bank, 2013). Men employed in agricultural activities, as per the reported data in 2012, are 43 percent while women engaged in the same are 60 percent (World Bank, 2016). From this data, it may be safely stated that India is predominantly an agriculture-based economy with a substantial engagement of women workforce in the same. However, with the liberalization, privatization and globalization of the Indian economy, changes in the agricultural workforce is observed because with the inflow of more industries and absorption of labour force in the same it consequently led to the reduction of labour force in conventional farming (Aggarwal, 2007; Bartolome, Wet, Mander & Nagraj, 2000; Chandrasekhar et al., 2015). These industries required infrastructure to function and land to establish itself, the land was acquired by forcibly removing the people living and earning from it for centuries. The process where people are forced to leave or made to move away from their land and livelihood, with some compensation at times or nothing at all, is known as human displacement.
1.1 Understanding the concepts of human displacement, forced migration and involuntary resettlement

In order to understand a particular idea or concept, it is in academic prudence to first of all attempt to define the same as simplistically yet elaborately as possible for further usage. According to the available literature, both academic as well as practitioner –oriented writings, human displacement has a component of forcedness that is exerted by external element to which people are subjected unwillingly. To be displaced usually means a condition where the affected person are made to evacuate from their home or land through external physical actions that threaten endangering the affected populace that leads to innumerable risks (McDowell & Morrell, 2010). Human or population displacement occurs due to a multitude of factors, the push factors maybe an accumulated category of causes such as natural or human-made disasters, ethnic or religious persecution, development projects, and conflicts (McDowell & Morrell, 2010; Muggah, 2003).

While on the other hand as David Turton points out migration is ‘something that we do, not something that is done to us’ (As cited in McDowell & Morrell, 2010, p 12). Voluntary and economic migration which may involve movement from rural to urban and intra-urban are different from forced migration because as Penz (2002) reflects ‘if it is voluntary it is not displacement’ (As cited in Muggah, 2003, p. 6). It is also to be understood that it is the people’s own deliberate pursuit for success and prosperity that pushes them for the movement (McDowell & Morrell, 2010; Muggah, 2003). Therefore all migration is not forced migration; but is such in the situations where ‘choice to remain’ is not
available to the affected people and they have to move out of their residence and locality (Muggah, 2003).

**Involuntary resettlement** is the end of the process which offers an acceptable solution of mitigating the losses to the affected persons. This aspect is mostly in the periphery of forced migration scenario (Muggah, 2003; McDowell & Morrell, 2010). It is the aspect of transferring the population from one location to another in a planned manner that makes involuntary resettlement extremely important in displacement discussion. As Chambers (1969) had pointed out the distinction of the social change that is brought about in case of involuntary resettlement from others is that it necessitates three elements - the population movement, the population selection and the population control (As cited in Muggah, 2003, p 6). Involuntary resettlement also covers a wide ranging factors of causes, experiences and outcomes of the forced migration scenario (Muggah, 2003, p8).

However as Hyndman (2000) points out the commonality among all these situations for the affected party are the elements of coercion, physical uprooting and some measures of de-territorialisation (As cited in Muggah, 2003, p.3). Displacement takes place within the borders of a state who are called internally displaced person or when across international borders they are known as the refugees (Muggah, 2003; McDowell & Morrell, 2010).

Human displacement, however, has been going on in India and across the globe since time immemorial (Chakrabarti & Dhar, 2010; Mathur, 2016; Satyanarayanan, 1999). Entire civilizations like Khymer Empire, Mayan, Indus, etc. were wiped off the face of the earth leaving no ostensive evidence that
made the historians extrapolate conflicts, epidemics and natural calamities as the possible causes for the human displacement and disappearance during those periods (Patnaik, 2013). According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), an apex body on the subject, in the year 2015, on a global scale there were around 40.8 million Internally Displaced People (IDPs), of which at least 616,140 IDPs were from India alone. This dataset is for IDPs who are affected in conflict and violence and natural disaster (IDMC, 2015); there is a lack of authentic and declared data when we discuss about development-induced displaced persons in global as well Indian context (Chakravorty, 2016; Fernandez, 1991). According to Walter Fernandez who has been surveying the number of displaced people from any kind of development projects in India since the 1950’s stresses that close to 60 million displaced people and project-affected people are identified from 1947-2000 (Fernandez, 2008). Interestingly, displacement due to Special Economic Zones (SEZ) in India does not come under the ambit as it was introduced in the year 2000, however experts in the resettlement studies have projected that the numbers will be way higher than anything we have seen yet (Agarwal, 2003; Cernea, 2000, 2007; Dwivedi, 2002; Fernandez, 2001).

The types of displacees, which has been aptly divided into three groups by Chakravorty as the ‘land losers, livelihood losers and common property resource (CPR) users’ (Chakravorty, 2016, p.51) are crucial categories to consider in order to understand impact of displacement on any of them. The land losers are the titleholders and owners of the land acquired and are directly impacted as a result of the acquisition; the livelihood losers are the landless labourers who earned their living by working in the acquired land in question or
those who earned their livelihood by providing their services to the community adjoining the acquired site like a local tea-vendor, grocer, vegetable vendor and so on; the last category, namely common property users are the entire community around the acquired asset who might be dependent on the community resources for their smooth functioning, like the forest dwellers who collect their fuels from the forest resources, or the medicinal herbs useful for the indigenous medical emergencies, or the local pond or well, and so on. Typically, it is the women who are responsible for these activities and are thus impacted directly by the loss of it, in fact they are more dependent on CPR for their economic well-being and overall social status (Fernandez, 2008). The first group namely the land losers are alternatively known as the displaced people (DP) and the second and third group are known as the project-affected people (PAP) (Bartolome et al., 2000; Cernea, 1996; Chakravorty, 2016; Fernandez, 1991). Both the groups are vulnerable in the face of human displacement and require detailed intervention plans in order for them to be well-adjusted to their new circumstances. In the terminology of the Asian Development Bank’s Safeguard Policy Statement (2009) there are two kinds of displaced people – Physically displaced (relocation, loss of residential land, or loss of shelter) and/or Economically displaced (loss of land, assets, access to assets, income sources, or means of livelihoods).

Moreover, among the displaced persons are both men and women, who are affected differently, although most empirical studies portray a homogeneity on the effect of development-induced displacement as felt by men and women (Asthana, 2012) and there is a lack of a gendered analysis (Mehta, 2000). A women’s perception of development-induced displacement is important as men
and women have different kind of social roles, opportunities and rights and as such react and are affected in different ways by the same (Aggarwal, 2006; Ghosh, 2015; Manchanda, 2004). As Agarwal (1996) pointed out gendered analysis is crucial in case of development projects because it involves the distribution of property, division of labour, the changing roles and responsibilities of the women in the family, society and economy at large. However, impact of involuntary displacement on women has been sparsely studied and whenever it has been done, not all aspects such as marginalization, social disarticulation, etc. have been explored (Bisht, 2009; Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009; Greame, Potter & Tan, 2005; Mehta, 2009).

Additionally, as Dwivedi (2002) pointed out, involuntary resettlement discussion has engaged two predominant perspectives – one that discusses the applied concerns and the other that has evolved out of action research. The first group takes displacement as a given outcome of development and are focussed on the results and mitigating strategies while the other group questions the very reason for the displacement to occur and if it was at all needed or could be averted. The former group normalises the process while the latter group abhors it and points out the deprivation that is caused due to the displacement. The former is called reformist-managerial perspective, while the latter is called radical-movementist approach (Dwivedi, 2002; Chakrabarti & Dhar, 2010). In common parlance, the resettlement experts of the different funding agencies fall in the former category while the latter group comprises of the land advocacy and agitation groups.

There has been efforts to understand the process and impacts of involuntary displacement from economic lenses since long, however social lenses were
focussed on it for the first time by anthropologist in the late 1960s and they initiated the theoretical explanation on the same from Chambers in 1969, Colson, 1971, Rawls, 1971 to Scudder, 1985 (As cited in Muggah, 2003). It was a sociologist Michael Cernea in the nineties who detailed out the impoverishment risk model that has absorbed the previous efforts of explaining the displacement marginalisation and moved ahead and proposed the now acclaimed, most used model for discussing displacement scenarios portraying marginalisation faced by the affected people (Muggah, 2003).

By late 1969, Robert Chambers proposed the three stage model for land settlement schemes in Africa, namely recruitment, transition and development. His was the first documented and published effort to propose a theoretical framework to explain planned settlement processes. In 1973, Nelson confirmed that this model was applicable in explaining the Latin American experiences of land settlements as well. Scudder and Colson came up with the four stage process in order to explain land settlement scenario in 1982 which were: recruitment, transition, development and incorporation/handing over. Their framework was premised around the concept of ‘stages’, which focused on the settler’s anxiety and stress period that covered their behavioural reflexes to the stages. Primarily developed for understanding the voluntary or self-intended settlement process, Scudder later extended the model to explain the involuntary or forced displacement scenario as well. However, in case of involuntary displacement scenario, he cautioned that this model would explain only those that transitioned tier-wise from all the four stages systematically and did not skip or fail to complete any of the four stages (Muggah, 2003).
During the 1990s, Cernea through a series of his interactions with the displaced population across the world developed a model to explain the impoverishments faced by the affected population, namely the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model that has extensively explained the marginalisation witnessed by the affected group. The model judiciously diagnoses, predicts, explains and plans for developing a plan of action to understand the multifaceted scenario of involuntary displacement (Cernea, 2007; Muggah, 2003).

In the year 2009, the anthropologist academician couple, Professor Theodore Downing and Carmen Garcia-Downing proposed a theory of routine and dissonant culture for understanding the psycho-socio-cultural disturbances caused due to development-forced displacement. They point out that forced displacement destabilises the routine culture of a community by threatening it to extinction or sheer irrelevancy and bringing about a dissonant culture (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009; Price, 2009). The cultural dissonance causes severe psychological, sociological and cultural upheavals among the affected people and require mitigation strategies in order for a smooth transition of an affected section to integrate and absorb host community’s patterns while ensuring that their own cultures are preserved too, which is undoubtedly a uphill task but nevertheless required and recommended by resettlement experts in order to address the woes of the affected people (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009; Price, 2009).

Some researchers have claimed that between the period of 1950 – 2005, more than 60 million people have been displaced due to development projects, often more than once (Cernea & Mathur, 2008; Chakravorty, 2016; Fernandez, 2007).
At least 15 million people on an annual basis are displaced due to development projects according to conventional estimations (Cernea, 2007). There are valid concerns that India in its bid to become a strong member of the superpower “the next China” (Bidwai, 2006) is blindly following the ruthless economic model practiced by China who, however, has since veered towards sustainable industrialization probably after realising the pitfalls. The newest engine of development instrument, namely Special Economic Zones (SEZs) is one such model that is touted to expropriate land in massive proportions way more than ever before (Bennett & McDowell, 2012; Chakravorty, 2016; Ghosh, 2015). This begs for our attention to understand what exactly Special Economic Zones are.

1.2 Special Economic Zones

1.2.1 Special Economic Zone Scenario in Asia, specifically India

The liberalization, privatization and globalization of the Indian economy have paved the way for achieving the goal of economic growth and development. The inflow of foreign direct investment is instrumental in alleviating the economic climate of the country so India had to design attractive investment option for the outside market to plunge in and invest on a mass level (Meher, 2009). One, among the many, of such economic initiative was the adoption of the scheme called Special Economic Zones in 2000 with several lucrative incentives/benefits for the investors (Palit, 2009; Tantri, 2016). In 2000 Murasoli Maran (the then Union Commerce Minister) after visiting China, and experiencing their SEZ models growth index, introduced the SEZ model the very same year in India, citing it as the “magnet and glue … to attract FDI and…to identify and bind strategies that will benefit…” as mentioned in an
editorial article in EPW in 2002 (As cited in Dohrmann, 2008, p 62.), considering the need to enhance foreign investment and promote exports from the country (Ranjan, 2006). The SEZs in India functioned under the provision of the Foreign Trade Policy and other related statutes from November 2000 to February 2006 (Dohrmann, 2008). In 2005, the SEZ Act was formally enacted and the SEZ Rules were notified in February 2006. The policy was expected to give a big push to exports, employment and investment in SEZs (Aggarwal, 2006).

The SEZs are a delineated area of land mass that have financial laws that are extremely liberal from the rest of the country’s financial laws and each unit within this delineated area enjoys incentives and privileges unique to being in that area. They are duty-free enclaves that are considered foreign territory as far as trade operations, duties and tariffs are concerned. The primary objective of the zones are to raise the foreign investment by offering attractive incentives to the investors (Dohrmann, 2008; Meher, 2009; Ranjan, 2006).

In fact, one can witness the high demand for SEZs within a decade of introduction of the policy from the sheer number of units that have been approved in this short time period. As of September 2016, the government website indicates there are 408 formally approved units and another 346 notified SEZ units spread across the country.

The land requirements for these zones are addressed by the respective State governments, and the land acquisition process is carried out often in the name of eminent domain under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (henceforth LAA 1894). The Special Economic Zones which is the newest addition to the expropriation
process is causing massive land acquisition in rural and semi-rural areas across the nation (Ranjan, 2006; Sharma, 2010).

1.2.2 Government Response on Special Economic Zone and Resettlement and Rehabilitation

The government of India has since Independence used the archaic Land Acquisition Act, 1894 for expropriating land for all types of projects, although no provision for rehabilitation and resettlement of the affected people was in place (Anusha, 2016; Chakraborty, 2016). India after its independence, under the Nehruvian model of development undertook major infrastructure development and expansion, disregarding the Sarvodaya model of development of all propagated by Gandhiji. Critics point out that in comparison to Gandhi’s egalitarian, sustainable model Nehru’s development model was myopic and ineffective (Ghosh, 2007).

Although currently India is a hub of economic activities with almost every country collaborating to do business here, with the allurement being the Special Economic Zones and its major tax deductions, however this was not the case always. The post-independence period for India was an uphill task for economic stability and social development, major infrastructure development, so-called socialist planned Five-year plans and non-liberalisation were the key actors. Here mention should be made of the ‘Bombay Plan’ (Dohrmann, 2008) of 1944 that was a well-thought out Plan of Action sketched out by many of the big industrialists of the time like J.R.D. Tata, G.D. Birla and others for the overall development of industry in the independent India with due weightage for social development for a sustainable growth and development of all citizens of the
recently free nation. The Plan cautioned against large infrastructure based industrial development and advocated for small-scale planning and implementation programmes and taking everyone together in the growth path. However, under Nehru’s leadership and influence, the country plunged into massive industrialization and a number of steel plants were set up to meet the demand for other industries. In fact, Indian economy at one period of time went as low as 3.6 percent Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (1956-1975) which was also coined the “Hindu rate of growth” making it susceptible to near bankruptcy which was evaded by seeking loans from the World Bank in the 1980s. It helped in growth, however it also hiked the inflation rate. The next decade saw the foreign money transfer from Gulf region stifled due to the Iraq invasion of Kuwait and the following wars, this plummeted India’s GDP to an all-time low of 1.3 percent leading to economic collapse which was averted once again by seeking loans from the World Bank, which this time asked for liberalization of the Indian market. The new economy needed to compete with its neighbouring superpower namely China which accounts for four percent of the trade worldwide. Around this period the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. Murasoli Maran’s visit to China and his first-hand experience of the SEZ model made him push for adoption of the same in our country to improve the economic climate of the country (Dohrmann, 2008; Ranjan, 2006).

Although India already had the earlier version, namely Export Processing Zones (EPZs) model since 1965 in Kandla, which was also Asia’s first EPZ. However, in order to boost the exports and raise the fiscal regime, SEZ policy were formulated and introduced keeping in mind the earlier shortcomings and thus providing quality infrastructure facilities, tax exemptions, and other benefits for
attracting foreign direct investments in order to improve the business atmosphere in the country, both in State and Central level (Aggarwal, 2006; Dohrmann, 2008; Tantri, 2016). From November 2000 to February 2006 SEZs in India functioned under the provision of the Foreign Trade Policy. The government of India designed the SEZ Bill after detailed discussions with various stakeholders in order to give a stable business platform to the investors and building a buzzing economic atmosphere for foreign and national business enterprises to invest in the zones (Dohrmann, 2008).

1.2.3 Special Economic Zones Act, 2005

According to the information shared in Government of India website and the Bare Acts, the Special Economic Zones Act, 2005, (henceforth SEZ Act 2005) was passed in the Parliament in May 2005 and it received the Presidential assent in June, 2005. After extensive discussions, the SEZ Act 2005 supported by SEZ Rules became effective from February 2006. A massively simplified procedure was designed and a single window clearance, both in State as well as Central level was incorporated for the smooth functioning of the SEZ. There are five primary objectives of the Act, which are:

a) To generate additional economic activity,

b) To promote export of goods and services,

c) To promote investment from domestic as well as foreign sources,

d) To create employment opportunities, and

e) To develop infrastructural facilities.
The ultimate goal was to trigger huge inflow of foreign and domestic investments that would lead to high growth in industrial advancement and creation of employment scenario of both skilled and unskilled labour.

The SEZ Act 2005 visualises important roles for State government to facilitate export promotion and creation of related infrastructure. The single window approval mechanism is provided by approval from a 19 member inter-ministerial SEZ Board of Approval (BoA) formed under the Central government (Dohrmann, 2008; Ranjan, 2006; Tantri, 2016).

The SEZ Rules provides for various levels of minimum land area requirement as per different types of SEZs. All SEZs are divided into processing and non-processing units, and the SEZ unit will be built within the processing unit section while the supporting infrastructure will be formed in the non-processing unit section. The SEZ Rules enable in the following ways:

a) To simplify the process of development, operation and maintenance of the SEZs and in setting up units and conducting business in the zones,

b) Single window clearance for establishing the SEZs,

c) Single window clearance for establishing an unit in the SEZs,

d) Single window clearance on matters relating to Central and State Government, and

e) Simplify compliance procedure and documentation with an emphasis on self-certification.

Under the law, there is a formal mechanism of approval for the speedy operation of the SEZs. The developer who intends to start a unit in the SEZ or who wants to establish a SEZ has to submit a proposal to the
concerned State government, upon which the government has to make its recommendations and forward within 45 days of its receipt to the 19-member BoA. Although the applicants also have the alternative to apply directly to the BoA. The Board is formed by the central government by the powers of the SEZ Act 2005. All the decisions of the Board are carried out by consensus.

An SEZ can be individually or jointly set up by the Central Government, the State government, or any other body, which may include foreign companies too for the following purposes:

a. Manufacturing goods,
b. Rendering services,
c. For both of the above reasons, or
d. As a Free Trade and Warehousing Zone.

The Rules specify the minimum land area that would be required for setting up an SEZ which depends on the type of SEZ to be set up.

Table 1 below details out the basic minimum land requirement as enumerated by the government of India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEZ Type</th>
<th>Land Area Requirement (In Hectare)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multi-product</td>
<td>1000 or more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sector-specific or in one or more services or a port or an airport</td>
<td>100 or more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Trade &amp; Warehousing Zone</td>
<td>40 or more</td>
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<td>--------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sector-specific – Electronics hardware or software, IT, gems &amp; jewellery, bio-technology, non-conventional energy, including solar energy equipment and solar cells</td>
<td>10 or more</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Commerce, Government of India, 2015

The land acquisition under SEZ Act is carried out under the Land Acquisition Act and Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy as drafted by the Ministry of Rural Development. Therefore, the State government is responsible for acquiring the land for the SEZ developer. Additionally, the developer can keep the following aspects in consideration while finalising the zone location:

a. The zone may be located outside an urban agglomeration/ municipal area, as far as possible.

b. Land and water resources should be sufficiently available for the projected population to be catered in the zone.

c. Ideally waste and barren land should be considered firstly, followed by single crop land and then double crop land in order to meet the quantum of land requirement. Cultivable land should be considered only if sufficient land is not available in other category.

d. The zone site should have self-contained entity keeping the environmental sustainability in view.
e. With regards to all the basic facilities and requirements, the SEZ should be as self-contained as possible.

f. Additionally, the developer should try to build facilities like industrial training centres, ITI centres, vocational training centres and such community development programmes for the benefit of the people who would be affected by the formation of the Zones in collaboration with the government and non-government agencies.

The SEZ Act 2005 is essentially industry-focussed as such the provisions for the developers are concentrated predominantly on the profitability and attraction for the prospective investors and populations that would settle inside the zone. The resettlement and rehabilitation aspects with regards to the affected people whose land is acquired in order to establish the Zones are an after-thought in the Act (Chakrabarti & Dhar, 2010; Chakravorty, 2016; Iyer, 2007).

In recent past, particularly around 2006 to 2008, mass level public agitation on the issue of land acquisition and the lack of rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced and project-affected people has forced the political contingent to finally repeal the more than century old (LAA, 1894) and form the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (RFCTLARR), 2013. The conjoining of the two elements, namely the land acquisition and rehabilitation and resettlement in the new Act were regarded as two sides of the same coin and not combining them together ran the risk of neglect of rehabilitation and resettlement aspect by the National Advisory Council which was the expert body instrumental in developing the new law (Chakravorty, 2016; Raghuram & Sunny, 2015). The Act received the
presidential assent on September 2013 and was enforceable from January 2014.

The highlights of the new Act were to provide:

- a fair and increased compensation for the DPs as well as the PAPs;
- a comprehensive R&R for the affected groups;
- informed consent to the tune of 80 percent to be gathered from the affected groups for acquisition;
- the detailing of the element of ‘public purpose’ to include only strategic purposes, infrastructural projects, planned development or improvement of village and urban locations or residential purpose for weaker section and people living in natural calamities hit location or displaced;
- compensation was raised to four times the market price in rural and two times the market rate in urban;
- Compulsory Social Impact Assessment (SIA).

In 2014, with the new political regime in power and the insistent pressure from the industrial bodies, the new Act underwent few changes in the form of Ordinances. Accordingly, the current provisions includes:

- Projects in the areas of defense and defence production, rural infrastructure, affordable housing, industrial corridors, social infrastructure projects including Public-Private Partnerships where the ownership lays with the government, would be exempted from conducting SIAs and taking consent from affected families.
- The definition of public purpose is broadened to include private hospitals and private educational institutes.
The term private company now is changed to private entity which may include other forms of companies such as proprietorships, partnerships, corporations, non-profit organisations, and other such non-governmental bodies.

- The Companies Act 1956 that was used for understanding Company in the Act is replaced by Companies Act 2013.
- The time period for returning unutilised land to the original owners or the land bank that was set at five years in the Act, it is now modified to any period specified at the time of setting up of the project.

It would be opportune to add here that two private financial institutions, namely Kotak Institutional Equities and ICICI Banks Treasury Research Group conducted exhaustive studies on the RFCTLARR and observed that the concerns raised by the industries were exaggerated and unfounded as they pointed out that Act was only helping the process of land acquisition to be timely and the provisions were in fact making it more clear and enabling (Chakravorty, 2016; Raghuram & Sunny, 2015).

1.3 Land Acquisition

Land is “Terra Madre, Mother Earth, Bhoomi, Dharti Ma … it is people’s identity; it is ground of culture and economy…” (Shiva, 2011). Land acquisition is an extremely volatile subject that exudes different responses from both supporting and opposing teams who are unified only by one factor, which is voracity for their respective views (Chakravorty, 2016; Chigurupati & Srinivasan, 2011). In the recent decade or so, the rapid acquisition in India,
China, Africa impacting the agricultural farms and in effect displacing the farmers and landless labourers has risen on an insurmountable proportion (Bennett & McDowell, 2012; Mathur, 2016). The future displacement scenario looks bigger in scale and therefore scarier than ever before with the new industrial advancement approach (Bidwai, 2006; Ghosh 2015; Mathur, 2016).

1.3.1 Land Acquisition over the period in India – Historical Trajectory

As Carl Sagan pointed out in his seminal work Cosmos (1980) “…you have to know the past to understand the present ”, it is unanimously accepted by historians and other experts that individual land ownership in India as a phenomenon today finds it’s origination somewhere during the post-Vedic era which is evidenced in the lifestyles of the period. In the Rig Vedic period, the Aryans were predominantly pastoralists and cattle were their primary indicator of affluence. Their land ownership was community ownership. In the Post-Vedic period, iron was discovered and utilised for working in agriculture which made the people to settle down in one place (Deshpande, 2003; Kumar, 2010).

It was during the Gupta period, that ownership of private property seems to have begun as evidenced from the travel journals of the Chinese travellers such as Fa-Hien and Hsuan-Tsang and writings of ancient Indian scholars. From the writings of Brihaspati, where it is pointed out that lower caste sons of upper caste men will not get any share in ancestral property, even in the grazing fields which were owned through ancestry, we are made aware that the concept of private property had begun in this period. In fact, he is credited for drawings out the guidelines for land sale during that period. He noted that while one readies to sell his land, one must also point out the house taxes, the number of trees, various water sources in the property, fields, ripe fruits, vegetables and crops,
etc. It may be also possible that his tenants were for selling off an entire village, considering the quantum of resources. The king also had a share of the land that was extracted through taxes (Kumar, 2010).

Around the twelfth century when the Muslim Sultanate invaded the Northern region of India, we observe drastic changes in the land ownership pattern and land was categorised under three heads – Khalsa, this land was directly under the Centre, then came the Ekta where the land was given to the officers in lieu of their salary and they were expected to take their share of the salary from the generated revenue and deposit the remaining to the Centre and lastly the land that was donated to the scholars and priests. As land was aplenty, ownership was not a big threat to the system as such. The ‘Jabt’ system was brainchild of Sher Shah Suri and this taxation was premised on the quantum of private land holding. Every inch of cultivable land was measured and all farmers were provided with title deed which also indicated the levied tax that they would have to deposit. This direct dealing with the State helped the farmers from getting exploited by the intermediaries, the Zamindars and such others (Kumar, 2010).

During the preceding Mughal dynasty however, the exploitation of the farmers renewed and became more intense as zamindari received lots of powers and their position became quite strong and fierce (Deshpande, 2003; Kumar, 2010). This period did not show any concept of total land ownership. However, during Akbar’s rule, under the financial expertise of Todar Mal the process of revenue assessment with survey to bring a level of steadiness between the demands of the State and requirements of the people was evolved for the relief of the people (Deshpande, 2003). In fact Akbar divided the land into ‘Khalsa’ and ‘Jagir’; the mansabdars were the officers who were in-charge of sections of the lands and
the revenue derived from these lands were their salaries and they were known as the Jagirdars. The farmers were of two types – Khudkashta who were farmers tilling their own lands and Pahikashta who were the landless peasants tilling the lands of others. It maybe rightly pointed out that the phenomenon of multiple claimants to same plot of land was offshoot of this period (Kumar, 2010).

Then came the British-ruled period of India where the issue of land ownership was crucial as British administration had to ascertain a smooth and efficient revenue collection system and they favoured the Zamindari system where the ownership was ancestral, from father to son. The zamindari system worked best for the British Empire because the Zamindar was responsible for collection of the revenue and depositing it to the treasury and if it failed, the Empire had the option to auction it off. This served the British ruler two-fold purpose of simplification of revenue collection as well as building a coterie of rural elites who were loyal to the Queen’s rule (Deshpande, 2003). The next owner, mostly a trader, would acquire the land and the same process would begin all over again, meanwhile Empire did not lose anything but rather profited immensely out of something where they did not invest even a penny (Kumar, 2010).

After Independence of India, the new government had the responsibility to set the agrarian structure right and just, which was achieved through extensive deliberations resulting in the abolition of the zamindari system, reforms in the tenancy structure and redistributing land through land ceilings (Deshpande, 2003; Kumar, 2010). The Constitution of India acknowledged the reform needed in land issues and thus under Article 39 pointed out – the ownership and control of the material resources of the country should be distributed in such a manner that it serves the common good; and that the economic system should
not result in concentration of wealth to a select few or lead to common detriment. The Constitution of India also marked land as a State Subject. Therefore giving the provincial legislature the power to enact as well as implement land reforms (Deshpande, 2003).

Consequently, land being a State subject the expropriation process in free India remained primarily guided by the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 which has the draconian notion of eminent domain principle which gave the State powers to acquire any and all land within its territory on the grounds of public purpose (Chakravorty, 2016; Fernandez, 2008; Guha, 2009; Sharma, 2010). Ironically, according to recent studies only 75 percent of the cultivators own a quarter of the total land under cultivation (Shiva, 2011).

The **Land Acquisition Amendment Bill, 2007** had for the first time elaborated on the scope of the concept of ‘public purpose’ as that which can include acquisitions such as strategic purposes pertaining to requirements of air force, navy and military, infrastructure projects, any other purpose useful to the general public for which 70 percent of the land has already been purchased but the remaining 30 percent remains to be acquired (as cited in Palit, 2009, p.5). In other words, there is no scope for absolute private land entitlement because State can at any point in time acquire your land on ground of eminent domain (Chakravorty, 2016; Vijayabaskar, 2010). In fact, the Act from the British era in India (even after undergoing two amendments in 1962 and 1984) has remained a point of contention for the high-handedness with which it has always been implemented, giving no regard to a citizen’s fundamentals rights. In 2013, the ‘Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement’ Bill was passed in the Indian parliament with
all party support (Chakravorty, 2016). Interestingly, expropriation has always affected the poor and marginalised more than the affluent section, as a matter of fact there have been innumerable instances where rich has gotten richer due to development projects (Chakravorty, 2016; Fernandez, 2008; Gopalakrishnan, 2007; Sharma, 2010; Vijayabaskar, 2010).

1.4 Social Implications of Involuntary Displacement

As Fernandez (1991) points out that the impact displacement poses on the people affected by it are life-altering and mostly permanently scarring, it results in forcing the affected people to move to another location with sometimes assistance from the executing agency but mostly none. The affected people from the Hirakud Dam project, inaugurated in 1957 and started full-fledged functioning in 1966 (this project is independent India’s first development project that caused displacement on a major scale) are yet to get their compensation, rehabilitation and resettlement which was not a mandate then, so that is out of the books (Fernandez, 1991; Pati & Biswal, 2009). As Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009) assert that the damaging effects of involuntary displacement is way more than just losing land as their assets; in order to understand the displaced persons state of mind we have to begin with their culture that is a set of rules and constructs that is made to build the world, understand it and getting used to it.

1.4.1 Internal Displacement

There are broadly three reasons for involuntary displacement to take place, namely natural disaster-induced, conflict-induced and development-induced. Natural calamities are not within the reach of human beings to control and thus
are unavoidable, although climate change is a by-product of human exploitation of natural resources which is resulting in these severe natural calamities; however the other two factors are completely man-made and avoidable. When entire villages by the river banks are washed away due to heavy rains like in Assam and Bangladesh, or earthquakes, Tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, etc. are cases of natural disaster that inadvertently forces the people alive to move away from the region, in recent times we have witnessed the Nepal earthquake in our neighbouring country that took away hundreds of lives and displaced hundreds of thousands in the aftermath, or the Uttarakhand rains that swept away miles of villages and towns and the survivors were moved to other locations, or the numerous hurricanes in the West and so on. The conflict-induced displacement are caused due to violent conflicts in the region of the affected people which forces them to flee the location in order to survive (Lischer, 2007). There are umpteen examples for the same, in national as well as international level, such as the Assam exodus, the ethnic cleansing in Kashmir, the current Syrian crisis, and many more. As Lischer (2007, p.145) points out that there are two issues in hand, one, the violence that caused the displacement and the other the crisis after displacement. Finally, development-induced displacement that is caused as a result of implementation of projects such as the dams, highways, industrial units like SEZs, etc. whereby the affected people are either relocated to a different place than their natural habitat or are forced to move away to different geographical location as their shelter, livelihood and general community life is dismembered and disintegrated (Fernandes, 1991; Sharma, 2010).

Displacement occurs broadly in the form of internal relocation wherein the affected people are forced to move physically from their natural habitat to
another location which is allotted to them under the project or they just wander off on their own, like in case of conflicts or natural disaster where your chances of survival depend on your ability to skitter away from the problem area (Barutciski, 1998). The second form is when the affected people migrate to another national border due to inability to survive peacefully in their own homeland, the recent Syrian refugee situation is a vivid contemporary case for the same. Here, we have to remember that IDPs are not refugees because no national border is crossed but an IDP will be a refugee as soon as they cross a border, for instance during the Partition of India the people living in the erstwhile East Bengal, irrespective of religious affiliation, were rendered refugee status once they decided to stay in India and had to sell off or give away their houses and other assets and live in camps etc. initially before they could arrange or find a house in the then independent India.

1.4.2 Impoverishment

Derived from an old French word ‘empoverir’, which means ‘to make poor’ from povre ‘poor’, the modern English usage of the term impoverishment is made to describe the act of forcing an individual or a place into poverty (Oxford Dictionary, n.d.). In the case of involuntary displacement, the affected persons are forced out of their natural habitat and they are not allowed to exercise their ‘choice to remain’ (Muggah, 2003). The displaced people are subjected to unbearable pain and reach penury economically, socially, physically and psychologically. To illustrate, when a mining project extracts all the mineral resources of the land, the place in question faces impoverishment. This condition of overall marginalisation is known as impoverishment.
In the nineties, Professor Cernea pointed out through his Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction model (IRR) some of the marginalities that the affected population encounter such as the loss of land, livelihood, shelter, marginalisation, poor health, food insecurity, lack of access to common property, and social disintegration (Terminski, 2015). Cernea was emphatic that this list is only indicative and newer factors can and should be added as and when identified. The IRR Model was developed by Cernea from his social researches carried out world over in development-induced displacement scenario and he elaborated that it had four primary functions – Predictive, Diagnostic, Planning and Problem-solving, and Research guiding functions (as cited in Terminski, 2015, p. 46). The first two functions help the practitioner to identify, understand and anticipate the multiple layers of displacement and removal from their natural habitat; then the model helps the practitioners to plan the upcoming risk and design alleviation plans and the viability of monetary resources that could be used to minimise and uplift the conditions of the affected people in the new resettled location; and lastly, it can help the academic community as an effective tool for conducting research in order to understand the developmental aspects by enabling to organize their assessment, develop their propositions and speculate on the research findings vis-à-vis these factors (Cernea, 1998).

1.4.3 Social Disarticulation

Social disarticulation is the disintegration of the intangible networks between each individual in the community with one another as well as with the community at large and vice versa. The rural community, and sometimes urban settings with longer stay period, have unsaid bonds and networks among each
other whereby they help each other, stand with each other through thick and thin, irrespective of having any kinship or not. The involuntary displacement disintegrates these bonds by breaking their eco-system and rendering them fragile to future uncertainties and hardships. Social disarticulation is a classification that has been elaborated by other social scientists as well, most prominently Professor Theodore Downing who included risks such as loss of access to public services and facilities, disruption of formal educational activities and loss of civil and human rights (Mahapatra, 1999; Terminski, 2015). Although there are certain other equally crucial risks that are missed by the expert such as cultural security risks or discrimination against women (Terminski, 2015). The cultural practices and ties in a community are the intangible norms and value system that a community lives by, and with the breakage of the community setting these refined conscience-laden links are severed. The women are the worst affected in any kind of involuntary displacement because they are the last in the patriarchal society they live in; and they bear the brunt more acutely because they have to take care of the children, elderly as well as the spouse without fail but her opinions, perspectives, and logic does not make much of a difference (Ghosh, 2008; Mathur, 2008; Sharma, 2010).

1.4.4 Risk posed on Affected People with special reference to Women

Agarwal (1997) noted that women are more disadvantaged than men in almost every aspect, which is more strikingly observed in the Northern part of India that is evident from the data on the status of sex ratio, rural women labour participation, their education level, their health conditions, their right and access to property. And in scenarios of crisis such as forced displacement, even when
physical relocation does not occur, the women are rendered disempowered and marginalised as their access to resources are blocked leading them to become acutely dependent on the male members in the family for carrying out all their outdoor tasks (Agarwal, 1997; Bisht, 2009; Felix & Das, 2008). It is opportune to mention here that researching the gendered understanding of impact of displacement has been signalled for a long time now by various academicians and social scientists in the area (Bisht, 2009; Parasuraman, 1993; Sharma, 2010). However, very few initiatives have been undertaken on the subject of women’s perception regarding their displacement which requires crucial attention and intervention (Behrman, Meinzen-Dick, & Quisumbing, 2011; Cernea, 1996; Sharma, 2010). Social and economic marginalisation of Indian women is adverse at all times, it gets even more chronic with involuntary displacement (Behrman et al., 2011; Chakravorty, 2016; Fernandez, 2008). Inability in accessing the CPRs and lack of access to their land renders the women severely disadvantaged in their customary economic activity which brings about a sense of disillusionment on their self-identity and societal roles (Behrman et al., 2011).

In the recent past, there are some studies on the impact of displacement in the scenario of conflict and violence conducted by many international non-governmental institutions in the West that has attempted to understand the refugee situation (Brookings-LSE, 2014; OCHA, 2014). The presence of a primary rehabilitation plan with the element of gender-sensitivity is essential for the rehabilitation of the displaced women however in the absence of any such provision the women are pushed further back to incognito.
The tendency to categorise displaced persons as homogenous groups irrespective of their sexes is erroneous as the role and responsibilities of men and women in a society are characteristically different and becomes even more prominent during a crisis (Agarwal, 1997; Chakravorty, 2016; Felix & Das, 2008). Studies on the impact of displacement on the women in terms of their role expectations, income level, marginalisation and social disarticulation are sparse (Dewan, 2008; Mehta, 2009).

Any academic empirical work in social sciences or in any other area of study requires a theoretical or conceptual framework for the study to base itself upon as it provides a justification for one’s own investigation. It shows that the research is grounded in and based on sound social theory or theories as it best helps the study to reach its set goals (Black & Champion, 1976; Neuman, 2014).

1.5 Theoretical Framework

In case of impact studies on the subject of R&R, there is a need for assessing the parameters of losses incurred by the affected people. As identified earlier the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) Model deftly deals with two integral aspects of the process, namely the very incidence of the forced/involuntary displacement itself and simultaneously the effort for the restoration of the affected people (Cernea, 2004; Terminski, 2015).

The three primary concepts of risk, impoverishment and reconstruction make up the fundamental centre of the model and operate as the missing puzzle to form the indicators and specifications for rebuilding the impoverishments faced by the affected people. The variables such as landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity, food insecurity or loss of
access to common property resources are interconnected and influence and affect each other intrinsically. Some of the variables might play a dominant role than the others according to the scenario but it is absolutely essential to remember that each of them play an important role to each other and as a whole affect acutely the affected parties (Cernea, 2004).

Therefore this framework helps to understand the dynamics of the real, happening risks as well as the projected possible risks (Cernea, 2004). As Giddens (1990) explains that the term *risk* is used in its sociological sense which speaks about the chances of a particular act to lead to harmful or adverse losses and demolition (As cited in Cernea, 2004). According to Adam (1998) risks are measurable through scientific methods as they are easily visible due to its objective reality (As cited in Cernea, 2004). Risks whether identified or not remain as a reality for everyone to witness, it is therefore crucial for resettlement experts to distinguish them from other realities in the physical world (Cernea, 2004).

The IRR Model proposed by Professor Cernea in the 1990s elaborating the eight impoverishment processes best serves the present study to formulate the indicators of the same which are as follows:

*Landlessness* is the condition where the affected people are losing the whole or a part of their land and even cannot access the common property resources which adversely impacts the economic productivity of the community at large.

*Joblessness* is the condition where the affected people are rendered unemployed as a result of the involuntary displacement; it is for both landholders who are titleholders and direct affected people as well the landless labourers who are
indirectly associated for their economic sustenance to the acquired land and can be termed as the project-affected people.

*Homelessness* is the condition where the affected people lose their shelter due to the project and it is a long-time loss and can lead to persist homelessness for the entire family.

*Marginalization* is the condition where the affected people are economically, socially and psychologically impacted due to the project. For instance, small farmers who are anyway struggling to make ends meet for themselves as well as their families are all of sudden rendered completely resource-less.

*Increased morbidity and mortality* is the condition where the affected people are forced to malnutrition, lack of potable water supply and even inadequate sanitation provisions which may lead to epidemics such as diarrhoea, dysentery etc. in the new location. The psychological effects are also a matter of grave importance.

*Food insecurity* is the condition which results due to lack of land and access to common property resources for the affected people and this is more acute for the women and young children in the family as they are the last to consume meal in any given situation.

*Loss of access to Common Property Resources (CPRs)* is the condition where the affected people lose their access to the water bodies, grazing grounds, forests, etc. which are shared among all the people in the region and acts as a significant economic benefactor for the indigenous and rural populations. The economic activities like fishing, firewood collecting, collecting various herbs and fruits for eating and selling, and cattle grazing are quintessential for rural
lifestyle. Loss of access to these cause immense economic impact on the affected people.

*Social disarticulation* is the condition where the community undergoes a social transformation that leads to disintegration of formal and informal networks, associations, etc.

There is an essential logic of this model in examining and mitigating the risks of displacement by targeted risk reversal or mitigation strategy. This requires focused intervention and the model enables identifying the same by clearly flipping the heads into strategic directions as follows –

- From Landlessness to Land-based resettlement,
- From Joblessness to Re-employment,
- From Homelessness to House Reconstruction,
- From Marginalization to Social Inclusion,
- From Increased Morbidity to Improved Health Care,
- From Food Insecurity to Adequate Nutrition,
- From Loss of Access to Restoration of Community Assets and Services,
- From Social Disarticulation to Building Networks and Community Rebuilding.

The model’s emphasis on preventing and rebuilding strategies for implementation in resettlement and rehabilitation scenario gives it the pragmatic and effective element of strategy formulation for resettlement management. The exhaustive deliberation on the relationships between each of these indicators or variables allow the policymakers to evolve an effective and sound
mitigation plan. As the model is not rigid, new dimensions can always be added as and when relevant to each study or resettlement plan (Cernea, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2007).

1.6 Rationale of the Study

Thus the present study posits its argument on the element of development being more than just the expansion of income and wealth and considering human development as a process of widening the people’s choices as per the United Nations Human Development Report published in 1990. This report for the first time emphasised on the principle of choice available to people as being infinite and changing over period of time, however, at all the levels of development, the three essential factors are for the people to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to resources for a decent standard of living (UNDP, 1990, 10). In case of an SEZ implementation, displacement occurs without any mandate for resettlement and rehabilitation other than mere monetary compensation which is detrimental for the affected people.

In the present scenario, the policy makers emphasize on the number of employment generation that will be made possible with the functioning of the SEZs. However, these job opportunities benefit the educated and skilled workforce of the society; with nominal opportunities for the unskilled and under-skilled population who are evicted from their agrarian/ natural source of livelihood due to these projects. The proliferation of the number of SEZs is another reason of concern. It can rightly be said that the real estate is booming with major share of investment from them who are lapping up this golden opportunity. The conspicuous mushrooming of urbane cocoons of luxury
apartments and gated communities is going to further create a striking rift between the rich who can afford it and the poor who cannot and are awed and pushed back further into the depth of deprivation. This is in total negation of the policy makers’ opinion that all-round equitable development will be achieved. To aggravate the deprivation of lack of infrastructure and a dignified living there will be the additional pressure of inaccessibility of basic natural resources like water which will be pumped up for the consumption of the high-rise populaces. It is also going to cause an environmental hazard as the existing water tables will be plummeted to scarcity. Even the streak of independent diesel fuel reservoirs to run generators, water tanks and filtration systems will add disastrously to the pollution level of the country. The environmental impact on the fertile soils will be irreparable and catastrophic. (Kamdar, 2008).

The principle object of the study is, therefore, to understand whether the economic growth in the zone in Jaipur has been complimentary or hindering to the social and cultural development of the women displacees in the existing areas.

1.7 Present Study

The present study is an attempt to address this gap in research area wherein women’s voices, their opinions, their perspectives on the life-altering experience of displacement are not known or recorded, separately or at all. Women have physical, social, economic, cultural and psychological roles and desires which are disturbed as a result of a displacement scenario (Agarwal, 1997; Ghosh, 2015; Sharma, 2003). Therefore the present study has attempted to answer the following fundamental queries: Is the economic growth in case of
SEZs complimentary or stymieing to the social and cultural practices of the displaced people in this case? What impact is this displacement having on the condition of the women displacees? If displacement is inevitable does it need to be understood in only monetary enhancements? Is resettlement and rehabilitation plan in case of displacement, irrespective of the kind of infrastructure development project, to be made non-negotiable?

The present study attempts to understand the impact of the displacement process on the women affected by the same. The study in located in an infrastructure project, namely Mahindra World City in Sanganer, Jaipur, Rajasthan.

Hence the Objectives of the present research are as follows:

1. To study the dynamics of Special Economic Zones in terms of its nature and process.
2. To understand the cultural uniqueness of the community in terms of its Pre and Post Displacement condition.
3. To understand the economic situation of the displaced people, with special reference to the livelihood of women.
4. To ascertain the perspectives of the women with respect to the effects of displacement on their lives.
5. To explore the response of civil society organisations to displacement especially women displacees.

1.8 Research Methodology

The National Association of Social Workers in its Code of Ethics (2008) pointed out that social workers should promote and facilitate evaluation and
research to contribute to the development of knowledge (Code 5.02(b), NASW, 2008). Knowledge and facts can be collected with the help of certain methods and strategies. As Rose (1965) said, “Facts do not simply lie around waiting to be picked up. Facts must be carved out of the continuous web of ongoing reality…must be measured with precision, and must be observed where they can be related to other relevant facts.” (as cited in Black & Champion, 1976, p. 6). Therefore facts are the universal truths, they are the body of knowledge that are present at all times and an effort exerted in order to know that reality for ourselves and for larger discourse is researching.

The present study has undertaken a descriptive study in order to understand the experiences of the women displacees. As descriptive research helps in describing the characteristics of a population or phenomenon under study, it tells us the ‘what’ aspect of the phenomenon (Black & Champion, 1976; Kothari & Garg, 2014). The broader objective of descriptive research is to present a ‘picture’ of a phenomenon as it occurs in the natural setting (Bickman & Rog, 2009).

The focus of the study is to understand the perspectives of the women displacees, more specifically their lack of identity and a cultural void as a result of displacement. Keeping this in view, a concurrent mixed method research best fits the need as it combines both the qualitative and quantitative elements of research methodology to carry out this research study (Clark & Creswell, 2008). In the present study the IRR Model is used to understand the perceptions of the women displacees. Using qualitative and quantitative tools the researcher has endeavoured to understand the women displacees’ viewpoints.
about their problems in all its forms with unbiased objectivity. This has enabled the researcher to identify and understand the gaps in the resettlement discourse where the affected party is callously made disadvantaged for the benefit of the business sector at the cost of human lives.

1.8.1 Process of the Study

The process that the researcher adopted for the study has been as follows:

1. Tool Development – After carrying out an exhaustive literature review, the researcher developed the tools for carrying out the study - semi-structured interview schedule; focussed group discussion guide was developed and incorporated for the same.

2. Pre-test of the Tools – The researcher conducted the pre-testing of the tools with displaced women similar to the research sample of the present study.

3. Primary Data Collection – The data collection was carried out in the communities which are affected by Mahindra World City which is about 25 kms away from Jaipur city. The researcher collected the information from the affected women in the community. The information was gathered from the women with the help of semi-structured interviews and focussed group discussions.

4. Secondary Data Collection – the secondary data was collected by the researcher from the government departments namely JDA and RIICO, besides the researcher also collected information related to land acquisition, land ceiling issues,
1.8.2  *Universe and Sampling Design*

The selection of the universe in Rajasthan is founded on two fundamental factors. The feudal history, patriarchal stoicism leading to unending hardships for the women, and the geographically challenging location of arid, desert habitat (Mathur, 2004) was the first factor that made the researcher to select Rajasthan as the study area to understand the impact of displacement on the women there. The poor social indicators be it their literacy level, infant mortality rate, maternal mortality rate, sex ratio or work status make it one of the low performing states in India (Mathur, 2004) and these factors marginalise the women directly. The second factor was during the year 2010 when the researcher was finding SEZs to be studied, it was identified that Rajasthan had four operating SEZs, two located in Jaipur, one in Jodhpur and one in Bikaner. Among these four, Mahindra World City area in Sanganer Tehsil of Jaipur district was one of the biggest multi-sector units with India’s largest IT SEZ spread on 750 acres land and the other multi-sector units comprising of Gems and Jewellery, Engineering and Handicrafts units and DTAs over 2500 acres of land.

As the focus of the study is on the impact of development-induced displacement on women, this study assumes significance as no empirical research has been carried out in the SEZ Sector in the Indian context on this dimension. Women are one of the most marginal and subdued category in Rajasthan (Mathur, 2004; Vlassoff, 2013), so much so that younger women like the daughters and
daughter-in-law’s are advised not to speak their minds in front of their elders, be it parents or parents-in-law (Harlan, 1992) and when spoken to share their opinion by someone older than them, young girls are taught to seek pardon or excuse themselves from voicing their thoughts which might not agree with others or not share at all (Harlan, 1992; Mathur, 2004; Vlassoff, 2013). The present study requires opinion of both the groups, therefore the best option for achieving the same is to divide the respondent group according to age group. The study has categorised the women into two separate groups, such as, a) seniors which included the elderly women (60 + years) who were the mothers and mother-in-law (MILs); and b) adult, married women between the age group of 25-45 years. This categorisation also enabled the researcher to understand how the pre and post scenario of the displacement process were faced and felt by these displaced women and if there was any significant difference in their perspectives.

The following Table 2 illustrates the list and the number of respondents that were involved in the data collection process in the present study.

**Table 1.2: Sampling Plan for the Study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Rajasthan</th>
<th>Purposive Sampling</th>
<th>01</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>Jaipur</td>
<td>Purposive Sampling</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villages</td>
<td>Jhai, Kalwara, Bhambhoriya</td>
<td>Systematic Sampling</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Systematic Sampling</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO/Civil Society</td>
<td>Middle level functionary</td>
<td>Purposive Sampling</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Respondents [Women + NGO functionaries]</td>
<td>214</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A sample in social research is a set of entities culled out from the larger population either to describe a subsection of that population or to generalise information to the larger population (Faulkner & Faulkner, 2016). The social work research is often conducted in communities where selection needs to be done on a selective basis ensuring as much scientific rigour as possible (Faulkner & Faulkner, 2016).

Non-probability and probability sampling technique was used throughout the data sets, more particularly systematic and purposive sampling; purposive as the researcher’s predetermined selection factor was only those women who have lost their land in the project or those who have been directly impacted. While systematic sample was incorporated to identify which respondent exactly and as such every tenth house was approached for selecting the participants for the semi-structured interviews (Black & Champion, 1973; Kothari & Garg, 2014). The present study has been able to maintain above 10 percent representation of the total household data from the Census 2011 data, it was observed that, 19.6 percent for Jhai, 13.2 percent for Kalwara and 12.5 percent for Bhambhoriya is the representation as is reflected in the following Table 3 below.
The total women respondent was 211 as reflected in Table 1.3, of which 150 participants were in the semi-structured interviews and 61 participants were part of the six focus group discussions.

### 1.8.3 Tools of Data collection

**For Primary data**

The data collection was carried out over a period of 6 months in three villages of Jhai, Kalwara and Bhambheriya in Sanganer Tehsil, Jaipur, Rajasthan. These villages have lost all their agricultural lands in the SEZ project. The primary data was collected with the help of semi-structured interview, focused group discussions (FGD) and observations notes. The semi-structured interview was used with 150 women respondents spread across these three villages, while FGDs were conducted in all three villages with 8-10 women in groups of two according to their age group, in total 61 women were part of the FGDs spread.
across the three villages. There were 3 NGOs in the study area, one representative each from the middle level functionary was interviewed for the same.

**Semi-Structured Interview**

Semi-structured interviews are conducted with a fairly open framework which allow for focused, conversational, two-way communication. They can be used both to give and receive information. Unlike the questionnaire framework, where detailed questions are formulating ahead of time, semi structured interviewing starts with more general questions or topics. Relevant topics (such as agriculture) are initially identified and the possible relationship between these topics and the issues such as availability, expense, effectiveness become the basis for more specific questions which do not need to be prepared in advance.

Not all questions are designed and phrased ahead of time. The majority of questions are created during the interview, allowing both the interviewer and the person being interviewed the flexibility to probe for details or discuss issues. Semi-structured interviewing is guided only in the sense that some form of interview guide provides a framework for the interview (Guthrie, 2010; Kothari & Garg, 2014; Miller & Brewer, 2003). In the light of the objectives, the present study used a semi- structured interview with the women displacees covering the major domains such as their cultural practices, economic situation, lifestyle alterations, migration trends, etc.
Focused Group Discussion

A focus group is a form of qualitative tool whereby a group of individuals are selected to discuss together, in a focused and moderated manner, the topic under research (Miller & Brewer, 2003, p. 120). Focus groups can be used both as an individual method and a technique which may be used in conjunction with others, this flexibility is in fact one of the greatest advantages of focus groups (Miller & Brewer, 2003). Focus groups should not be confused with group interviews as focus groups is primarily guided by the interaction of the participants among the group itself and the researcher playing a moderating role (Miller & Brewer, 2003). It is a group of people sharing about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes vis-à-vis a phenomenon, changed or not. Questions are asked in an interactive group setting where participants are free to talk with other group members. The focus groups allow researchers to study people in a more natural setting through not only their words, but also through their body language, their intonations and other behavioural nuances. Focus groups have a high apparent validity - since the idea is easy to understand, the results are believable (Flick, 2006; Miller & Brewer, 2003). In the present study, the researcher maintained age-wise homogeneity in group formation so as to ensure optimum results of sharing each other’s views more readily. The qualitative themes, inter alia, the cultural practices, their opinions about the acquisition and displacement process, their notion of a happy village living, were pondered upon during the one to two hour discursive sessions.
**For Secondary data**

The secondary data was collected through the Gazette of India, anthropological studies on the areas. As the subject is contemporary, emphasis was laid on the internal researches conducted by the NGOs in the State and outside on relevant issues. Also the local publications and newspaper articles in Jaipur, Rajasthan were examined for the purpose. The existing literature and findings of other researchers on similar subjects was also examined.

**Ethical Considerations**

As Caroline McAuley points out that “ethics of social research is about creating a mutually respectful, win-win relationship in which participants are pleased to respond candidly, valid results are obtained, and the community considers the conclusions constructive.” (As cited in Miller & Brewer, 2003, p.95). Due to the dynamic unpredictable nature of social research which involves an intrusion into the participants’ lives, the ethical responsibility of the researcher towards the participants is crucial for the relationship to engage in a responsible and mature sharing. In fact, ethical considerations are essential to be maintained for social research as we are engaging with people’s lives where they share their deepest thoughts and aspirations and it is the researcher’s duty to ensure the anonymity of the participants to protect the identity of the participants; relationship between the researcher and participant/ respondent is built on mutual trust and cooperation, acknowledging the conventions and expectations between them (Miller & Brewer, 2003).
As the present research was also carried out in the community settings with no institutional affiliations, the researcher initially built a rapport with participants by introducing the topic and purpose of the research to each woman beforehand and wherever there was any hesitation, the researcher did not pressurize to cull out the information. In fact during the first month, there were respondents who did not wish to share certain information (mostly financial details, some social practices, etc.) in the interviews but over the period of time, they personally approached the researcher to disclose those information’s more freely and unabashedly as they developed more confidence in the researcher.

1.8.4 Analysis

Creswell (1995) admits that mixed-method research allows multi-level categorization with ‘dominant-less dominant perspectives’ for data collection to data analysis stage. Clark & Creswell (2008) further explained that data transformation is one process through which the qualitative and quantitative data can be integrated during analysis to transform one data type into the other to allow for statistical as well as thematic analysis of both types of data together. In the present study the dominant approach was qualitative as such the collected data was analysed qualitatively by categorizing it into thematic codes that enabled the researcher to understand the nuanced attitudes, thoughts and behavior pattern of the participants. The socio-demographic information was only codified quantitatively and is presented in percentile and tabular forms. Coding supports two forms of analysis, namely retrieval and using the coding frame (Gibbs, 2010). In the present study the researcher used the coding frame to examine the relationships between cases and also for grouping cases.

Process of Analysis
The data was condensed into codes and themes which were culled out from the data coding framework (Flick, 2006) that was developed in order to systematically explain the findings. The displaced women shared their cultural realities, their social systems, their economic understandings, their idea of happy village life among other things that were enormous in size and required coding and categorizing to judiciously present every relevant aspect in the study report.

**For the semi-structured interviews**

The data was brought down to codes for simplifying the information for achieving the study objectives. One of the objectives of the research was to understand the cultural uniqueness of their community before the displacement took place and the women unanimously shared that their customary practices have undergone a drastic change, however, they have become acutely aware and considerate of each other, citing that now as many of the men and women have to leave the village to earn a livelihood for their respective families, the neighbourhood staying-at-home women have extended their caretaking for the children of those families and helping out with other activities like storing the drinking water from the water tankers in the absence of the family members.

Another aspect of the research objective was to understand the economic situation of the women, which showed two striking elements – before displacement, every adult married woman was part of the agricultural activity of their respective families, however, after displacement, they are forced either to become full-time housewives and inactive productively or work as daily wage labour and housemaids in Sanganer to support the family income.
After these detailed data texts were coded, the researcher then identified the possible themes from the same by grouping them as general, common and significant themes. For instance, in the livelihood pattern discussion, one of the themes identified was the migration trends which had different layers according to the village they belonged to, and it was considered significant finding as it was unusual from mainstream study findings.

**For Focus group discussions**

For the focus group discussions, the researcher took aid of a research assistant who acted as a moderator. The research assistant was oriented on the objectives of the research, the domain to be discussed and the observations to be made. The entire transcript was later translated in English in verbatim by the researcher and in order to maintain anonymity sequence J, B, K (as per the village name where the information was gathered) were entered. Thematic coding as Strauss (1987) suggested could be about interactions, conditions, strategies and so on, while adding to the earlier mentioned themes such as causal adequacy, financial resources, etc. by Sabatier (1986). Further as Mason (2002) suggested that thematic codes can be used for literal, interpretation and reflexive purposes, such words, dialogues used, implicit norms, people sense of understanding a phenomenon, or the researcher’s role in the process – how intervention aided in culling out the data.

In the present study also, the researcher codified the narratives according to literal, interpretive as well as reflexive manner. For instance, in ensuring homogeneity of participants in each village, the researcher grouped elderly women as one group set while the younger women had a separate group set for discussion. The researcher ensured that each of the participants were sharing
their views and would make extra effort to encourage and motivate the comparatively quieter members to share their opinions, ensuring dialogues were recorded of each member in the group and were not mere representation.

1.8.5 Reliability and Validity

Qualitative research has always been challenged by the positivist scientific community on the genuineness and authenticity of the collected data in their studies (Bryman, 2008; Kirk and Miller, 1986). Kirk and Miller discussed three forms of reliability criteria, namely quixotic, diachronic and synchronic reliability. When attempt is made to find out how far the same results will be produced from a particular method, the researcher is using quixotic reliability, while diachronic reliability is when a stable measurement or observation in a temporal course is undertaken; and finally when the constancy or consistency of results are achieved even with different measurement instrument, it is known as synchronic reliability. However, these seem confusing as change is the very constant of social phenomenon and therefore these measurements seem instructive and do not meet the reliability aspect of a social research (As cited in Flick, 2006).

Another aspect of trouble in gauging the validity of qualitative research is “how to specify the link between the relations that are studied and the version of them provided by the researcher” (Flick, 2006, p.371). Mixed method designs’ triangulation is the way forward for achieving undisputed reliability and validity of social research (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003).

Triangulation in social research is the combination of different methods, methodological perspectives or theoretical viewpoints (Miller, 2003). Triangulated approach to research that culminates as a result of combining
different approaches strengthens each contrasting approach than weakens the counterpart (Miller, 2003).

Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006), experts in mixed method research, suggest that the concept of legitimation should replace validity. They explain legitimation as inferences that are credible, trustworthy, dependable, transferable and/or confirmable (As cited in Clark & Creswell, 2008, p.271).

The present study incorporated triangulation at every stage which enabled the study to maintain its legitimation. The researcher integrated different factors in each stage in order to maintain scientific alacrity and consequent reliability of the shared information.

**Chapterisation Scheme**

Chapter 1 provides the backdrop for the research study that has been undertaken. The subject of development-induced displacement in India with special attention to Special Economic Zones is attempted to be understood. The literature is reviewed in detail to understand the land expropriation process in the development-induced displacement scenario and how it is marginalising the affected persons. The study specifically focuses on the impact of Special Economic Zones on the displaced women in Rajasthan. The historical transition of land issues is also detailed out in order to understand the current scenario. The research objectives and research methodology are further discussed in the chapter, with detailed elaboration on the tool development, data collection, and data analysis process.

Chapter 2 focuses on the state of Rajasthan from where the data has been collected. It discusses the regional, cultural and social dimensions of the state and the significance of establishing the SEZ in this state.
Chapter 3 details out the demographic details of the community under study, their socio-economic factors, their lifestyle, their cultural practices and their aspirations. This chapter reflects on the information gathered via semi-structured interviews from the women in the three villages.

Chapter 4 discusses the impact of displacement as shared by the displaced women. It uses qualitative sections of the interview schedule information and the entire information gathered from the focus group discussions with the women in all the three villages.

Chapter 5 details out the SEZ establishment in the area, this information is gathered through secondary data such as archival information on the website of the SEZ, government documents, research findings of another researcher in the same area. This chapter also shares the reflections of the NGO functionaries in the area working on different subjects, some since before the project was introduced and some who have started working after the project was established.

Chapter 6 is the summary of the study and concludes the entire work. On the basis of the findings of the study, through this chapter the researcher shares the suggestions and recommendations to different stakeholders, like to the policy level, to the civil society bodies and to the social work education and profession.

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1. There is a 9.0 crore rise from 74.3 crore to 83.3 crore in rural population and a 9.1 crore rise from 28.6 crore to 37.7 crore in urban population from 2001 to 2011 (Census Survey, 2011) [1 crore=10million]

2. Gross Domestic Product is the monetary value of all goods and services produced within a nation’s geographical area over a specified time period.