



## Geographical Perspectives on Urbanization, Development and Displacement — a case study of the upcoming Hi-tech City in Varanasi, India

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### Abstract

*Urbanisation is seen as a key indicator of development leading to transformation in the economic, social and cultural lives of the people. Population flows from rural to urban and from less developed to more developed regions which lead to intense population pressure. Increasing population pressure paves a way for expansion of cities, which becomes inevitable due to the chocking amenities and availability of living space in the cities. Expansion of cities in its peripheral villages results in the forced displacement of lakhs of people which, in turn, creates social tensions within families and communities. These could potentially escalate and assume political dimensions that further may undermine socio-economic sustainability of particularly the poor as well as constitute a threat to livelihood and social status. The affected people live under the conditions of deprivation, marginalisation and hardships. The impact is crucial on their behaviour and social structure. The aftermaths of displacement casts impinging impacts on the social ecology of the affected areas. This study debates on the ongoing process of urbanisation, land acquisition, development and the consequent displacement of the people due to the upcoming Hi-tech city in Varanasi which has various vital implications on the existing social organisation, kinship ties and socio-cultural milieu of the affected villages.*

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### Introduction

The emerging dynamics of developmental economies have influenced the nature and extent of urbanisation of a region. In this context, the level of development plays a vital role towards the process of urban growth. During the course of development, urbanisation is considered as an inevitable process. It is a finite process experienced by all nations in the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society (Prasad, 2003). Urbanisation is a product of various

kinds of changes taking place in a society, especially in its economic sphere. However, it is essentially a process of population redistribution from the rural to the urban communities, and from one region to another; and of a continual differentiation of the society, both in its rural and urban component (D'Souza, 2003). Urbanisation symbolises with social and economic development and, therefore, reflects the transformation of a place socially, economically and culturally. In the years following

independence, urban areas are considered as potent avenues of expansion and regeneration of modern India. The increasing rate of urbanisation is undoubtedly considered a dominant indicator of development (Advani, 2009).

The nature of urbanisation in India is somewhat different from the west. The already urbanised places are urbanising at a faster pace than the newer ones. The country's urban structure is becoming more and more skewed due to higher demographic growth in larger cities in general and in metro cities in particular (Kundu, 2003). Indian cities, more specifically million plus cities are urbanising so rapidly that they are bursting out of their capacities. Million cities have relatively higher population growth and some of them are fast growing in recent years. Due to congestion and over crowding, the already saturated cities are sprawling into their adjoining areas (Advani, 2009).

The prime cause of population boom in the city is migration. Due to population pressure, the water supply, sewerage/drainage system and other civic amenities fail to cope up with the cities' requirements. Rapid development leads to population redistribution and changes the shape and morphology of the cities. The saturating city requires expansion, thus, agricultural land of the peripheral villages has to be transformed into residential and industrial land (Urban land-uses) (Advani, 2009). The metropolisation, brings consequent changes upon land by urban colonialism of the cities' own hinterland which has been motivated primarily by the quest for additional urban space. The rural space in the areas near the newly created urban settlements become the target of feverish manipulations on the part of real estate speculators and land developers who lure the pithy farmers into 'profitable' sales of land (Soni, 2009). This urban growth entails acquisition of land in the bordering villages, where the agricultural land is acquired for housing projects, new hi-tech cities, offices and recreation grounds, which results into displacement of thousands of people every year in and around cities. The land is acquired by urban development bodies or purchased by property housing, cooperative societies or dealers at a minimal cost from the agriculturists. The farmers are paid financial compensation, (which stands nowhere justifiable) but the socio-cultural costs are

not calculated. Urban industrial enclaves in countries of the South are now ruthlessly colonising their own hinterlands mostly settled by subsistence cultures. As in the old style colonialism, displacement and dispossession continue to be justified and legitimised in the name of development and progress (Alwares, 1992). People are pushed away from the city to a new locale where they purchase lands from other agriculturists or engage themselves in alternative occupations. In this pursuit they either mis-utilize the finances or fail to manage their socio-economic and cultural nexus. The change in their social and structural network affects their life style, family norms, caste ties and community support. The displaced people are affected more than the settled population. While the disruption due to displacement is commonly wide, it is the agriculturists who bear the burnt most of all.

### Development and Displacement

Development has created a situation where more and more land is being acquired for urban development and lakhs of people are being displaced from their communities and traditional ways of life. Displacement claims the social and human costs of development that some citizens have to bear as best as they tend to promote the greater good of all. This 'evil' in the form of pain and suffering of the *displaced* persons, is outweighed by the larger 'good' arising from development projects. Displaced persons are those persons or group of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their native land, homes or places as a result of development projects and urbanisation. Displacement was earlier centered to 'dam projects' and included only the physical transfer of the affected people. (But )Today, the horizon has widened and it includes detachment from all sort of projects, urbanisation & development activities. Apart from quantitative dimensions, it has also given a wide space to the qualitative aspects of the affected masses.

The process of urbanisation affects different groups differently. Some stand to gain, while others loose. Urbanisation without some displacement is inconceivable but those who are subjected to sacrifices for the larger good of the society are many a times left to fend for themselves

(Cernea, 1991). Costs are simply inevitable; as there is no development without displacement. But most Indian development projects have so far ignored the agony of the poor & have affected the impoverished masses (Baxi, 2003).

As a process of growth, the cities in India reveal multidimensional problems of urbanization and development. There is no authentic data to ascertain the extent of displacement and quantum of agricultural lands acquired for urbanization in the country. The intensity of urbanization induced displacement is much larger and is seen as an offshoot of the model of development.

The issue of these twin interconnected processes is now being debated and people have started questioning its legitimacy. The trauma of displacement begins well before the process itself takes place. As soon as a project is announced, all development work in the area virtually comes to a halt. Even the withdrawal of existing facilities is not unknown (Thukral, 1996). Displacement is linked to socio-occupational aspects of the affected people and the area. The problem of displacement affects the entire gamut of traditional activities, established social order and disrupts the ethos and ways of life. The displacement is an entirely involuntary happening and creates the conditions of landlessness, homelessness, joblessness and hopelessness. Expropriation of land removes the main foundations upon which peoples' production system, commercial activities and livelihood are constructed. The loss of housing and shelter may be only temporary for many of the displaced, but for some "homelessness leads to hopelessness". Resulting unemployment among displaced, lingers long after physical relocation (Verma, 2004). Involuntary displacement creates some specific problems like marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity on one hand, and psychological stress before and after displacement, grief and sickness due to disposition and disempowerment on the other. The problem is further aggravated because of the unsympathetic policies, non-cooperative attitude of the officials, inappropriate compensation, agitations, family conflicts and court cases. Congenial environment, long established social standings, ties and kinship, linkages are broken, which makes the affected people vulnerable: economically, socially and

culturally. Displacement affects mostly the people of lower socio-economic strata, children and women. Women start working outside their homes which affect their health and the long established family status. Children are forced to work in the labour markets. The economic incompetency of the people promotes nuclear family system and the long established joint family form is broken. As a consequence of this, the old and economically dependents are dejected. This brings hardships to them and their life becomes miserable leading to total collapse of the social system, devoid of harmony. Thus, there are multifaceted dimensions of the displaced outcasts which cannot be compensated in any form; hence, a sociological perspicuity is required.

### **The Study Area**

The study area lies in the Vidyapeeth block of Varanasi district in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. Varanasi is famous as a religious, cultural and educational centre from time immemorial. The city, being among the only growth centres in Eastern U.P. attracts huge flux of population from its adjoining districts of U.P., M.P. and Bihar. In the recent years the population of the city has propelled past one million. To accommodate the surplus population, villages in around the city have and are being encroached upon by the Municipal Corporation and various development agencies. For the fulfilment of the various developmental and residential objectives, the proposal of a high-tech city came into existence in 2006.

For the development of the high-tech city, 2500 acres of land of nine villages in the western part of the city were acquired by Varanasi Development Authority. These villages lie to the left of the Varanasi-Bhadohi road and to the right side of Allahabad-Varanasi GT road. This township is to be developed in the nine villages, namely Korouta, Pilkhina, Ghatampur, Daudpur, Balirampur, Maniaripur, Unchgaon, Tulachak and Udairajpur in assistance with Uni-Tech Infrastructure Ltd. with an investment of Rs. 500 crores. Due to this project, about 9000 households will be displaced from their native place and some 70,000 people will lose their livelihood. High-Tech township initially acquired 1500 acres of land and will expand up to 2500 acres and finally to 5000 acres. The acquired plots are

compensated at the 'circle rates' (rates fixed by Varanasi Development Authority) which is much below the market rates. By acquiring land of these villages, the developers will develop 24,288 plots for economically well-off people. The acquired land is fertile and belongs to small and marginal farmers. The proximity of these villages to the city encouraged the farmers to grow 32 crops in different seasons, especially wheat, paddy, sugarcane and numerous varieties of horticultural crops (vegetables, fruits, flowers, etc.) to cater to the needs of the city dwellers and for self consumption. The upcoming High-Tech city is named as "Navgaon". The proposed plan will not only oust the 9000 households from their ancestral land but will also bring livelihood challenges to the 80 % of the people who directly or indirectly earn their bread and butter from these lands. The biased development and displacement (economic & social) arising thereof, will not only make the people's life vulnerable to numerous unforeseen problems but will also create social tensions and wreck the long established spatial organization.

## Objectives

The present study focuses on the urbanisation and development induced displacement with the following objectives—

1. Socio-economic profile of the displaced population.
2. Dynamics of land acquisition and its impact and utilisation of compensations.
3. To analyse the post displacement scenario and recommend remedial measures.

## Methodology

The present study is exploratory in nature and intends to bring out the socio-economic fallouts and employment structure; dynamics of land acquisition and the consequent impacts on the displaced people. For the fulfilment of the aforementioned objectives, primary and secondary data were used. Primary data was collected through a well structured questionnaire and a total of 110 households were randomly selected and interviewed. Secondary data was collected from various governmental and non-governmental organizations. Data gathered was analysed and interpreted with the help of various computer based

software programmes. Personal observations were helpful in giving a qualitative tinge to the findings.

## Discussion and Major Findings

The findings obtained by primary as well as secondary data reflect the pathetic condition of the project affected people. The social and economic dimensions were further assessed under the following heads:

**a) Socio-economic Profile :** Social and economic conditions are among the most potent ways of dealing with the present living conditions of the people. The pros and cons of the society are most vividly reflected by these twin interrelated variables.

From the perusal of the data it is clear that among the interviewed people OBCs constitute 67.6%, Scs 26.4% and General 3.2%. Thus, it is clear from the data that the trend of displacement is biased from the view point of social groups. About 90% of the project affected people are from the socially marginalised strata of the society. This particular group of displaced population has some special features in the form of economic and social traits. They are even more vulnerable, unorganized and exploited after the land acquisition.

The biasness in displaced population is further noticed in the form of age-sex structure. Out of the total household population, females constitute 44.6%, whereas males account for 55.4%. Children and elderly people constitute 39.9%. This group is more prone to the post-displacement vagaries and adds further disadvantages, as this group is dependent on 60% of the working population. Before displacement, this group of dependent population shared and shouldered the economic expenses by engaging themselves in agriculture and allied activities, but due to landlessness and joblessness (arising out of lack of skill and expertise in the urban work culture), this group which was hitherto an economic asset became an economic burden on the working population. The aggravating load on the familial expenses compels the vulnerable group (children, elderly & women) to engage themselves in activities which are unethical & unhygienic, which further adds to their health, education and affects their social ecology. This trend dismantles the social structures and induces the process of disempowerment along with



dispossession of assets (Singh & Mishra, 2008). The monthly income of the people has been divided into four categories. From Table 4, it can be inferred that 22.2% of the population has very low income i.e. below Rs. 1500/month; 22.1% fall into low income group (Rs. 1500-3000); 21.0% are medium group earners and some more than one-third i.e. 33.7% fall in upper medium group, who earn more than Rs. 4500.

Out of the total people surveyed, 53.4% were cultivators, who were engaged in agricultural activities on their own land; 8.8% were agricultural labourers who were landless; 9.5 % were share-croppers; 6.9% were weavers, engaged in Banarasi Saree weaving and were attached to the city; and 15.6% were those people who were engaged in other activities.

As far as the land holding structure of the surveyed population is concerned, 33.7% possessed less than 0.25 bigha of land. The land possessed is very less which pushes them into the category of marginal land holders. Small farmers (possessing land holding of 0.25-4.00 bighas) account for 48.5% of the total farmers. The remaining i.e., 17.4% of the farmers had land holding of more than 4 bighas of land. The land holding capacity scenario of the people brings out the fact that land possessed by them, as a whole, is very less which compels them to adopt intensive farming practices, which mainly consists of horticultural crops. Social group wise there is noticed a very interesting pattern in the land holding structure. The land holding capacity of the social groups varies with the size of land (fig.1). In less than 0.25 bigha land category, about 71% SCs have less than 0.25 bigha of land, whereas only 7.6% people from general category fall into it; contrary to this, in the greater than 4 bigha land category only 4% SCs come. OBCs and General category account for 20% and 28.4% respectively in the same category. Thus, the land distribution according to social groups speaks a lot about the social and economic gaps rampant in the society.

**b) Post-Displacement Scenario:** The acquisition of land by VDA and the consequent displacement of the people push them into vagaries of poverty, sudden unemployment and in the state of hopelessness. The only thing which consoles them at this point of time of despair is the amount of

compensation they get. The amount received (though not free from criticism) by the people is to be spent wisely in order to bring their derailed life on track. The major concern in displacement has been the utilization of compensation by the people (Srivastava, 1995). It is a known fact that the compensation amount has been somewhere wisely utilised whereas somewhere it has been misutilised by the people. Since, the amount of compensation received by the people is well above their earnings (in terms of hard cash), the people are overwhelmed with the cash in their hands and are apt to mishandling, and indulge into nuisance activities (Mahapatra, 1996). Similar has been the case with the compensation amount in the study area.

Here utilization of compensation received by the people has been analysed caste wise. The division of the compensation amount among the family members is higher in General category which is followed by OBCs and SCs (fig. 2).

Out of the total amount, about one-fifth has been spent by the people on land purchase and nearly the same amount for house purchase. Priority wise, it is noticed that people prefer to utilize the received amount on fixed capital assets, i.e. land and house. Housing, on the one side, will provide shelter to the homeless people while on the other hand, land will generate livelihood for the unemployed lots. Saving becomes the third priority area for investment of the compensation amount as 16% of the people go for fixed savings. Among other major heads, 10.8% is spent on social needs; 8.7% of the total amount is divided among family members and 8.5% is spent for buying new vehicles. It is clear from the obtained figures that a handsome amount of the compensation (about 20%) is being spent on activities which have nothing to do with people's livelihood and other essential needs, rather this amount is spent for maintaining the so called social status and useless pomp and show, which is nowhere fruitful in the present time and in the coming future too!

Caste wise, generals are more prone to unscrupulous and extravagant spending. About 25% of the compensation amount is spent by them on social needs and vehicles purchasing. Contrary to this, almost 50% of the amount is spent by SCs on land and house purchasing which speaks of their wise utilization of compensation amount. A

negligible amount, i.e., 1.05 % is being spent on health which is an essential element. SCs are more prone to addiction (drug intake, alcoholism, and other social vices) as they spent 4% of the compensation amount on the same head (fig. 2).

Land is an important element of one's possessed property which has a direct bearing on the livelihood and well being of the people in an agrarian society like India. Land purchase is a function of land availability, land prices and activities such as role of middlemen, land mafia, speculators etc. The expenditure of compensation amount is closely related to the livelihood adopted after the completion of the process. Fig. 3 depicts the facts of livelihood adopted after land acquisition in accordance with social groups. Livelihood vulnerability and sustainability is best expressed according to social group therefore, here it becomes pertinent enough to analyse it socially, groupwise. We can see that 32.3 % of the people have adopted the occupation of cultivators who practice agriculture on their own land, as they find agriculture a viable livelihood option; 21.36 % have become agricultural labours; 17.9 % have chosen business while 28.4 % have taken up other activities as their occupation; 27.4 % OBCs have become agricultural labourers; 25.0% of people from general class have taken up business as the major occupation. It is important to state here that only 7.3% SCs have taken up business, they are, rather more employed in agricultural activities and in other activities of unorganised sectors to make their both ends meet.

The people's perception regarding social and economic attributes have been analysed in Table - 6. Both, pre-acquisition and post-acquisition scenario is analysed which helps in reflecting the issues clearly. As far as monthly income is concerned, it has increased in the very low and lower categories after acquisition. But, in case of medium and upper medium categories, it has decreased. Contrary to this, the monthly expenditure has increased remarkably in all categories after acquisition. The people falling in very low income group are facing livelihood sustainability problems and hence, are economically more vulnerable. This compels them to spend two-third of income on their living, and as a result they are left with negligible savings.

There has been noticed a sea change in the occupational structure of the area after acquisition. The percentage of cultivators was 48.2 prior to acquisition which almost became half afterwards. The taking away of land from the poor farmers, land leasing for urban purposes etc. can be attributed for this change. The percentage of labourers engaged in activities other than agriculture registered a meteoric rise, from 39.6% to 51.9%.

The percentage of people engaged in business activities increased to almost three times after land acquisition. There was noticed a negligible change in the percentage of people engaged in 'others' category (people engaged in unorganised sector). The economic status of the people as a whole has decreased in low, medium and upper medium categories, while it increased almost three folds in the very low category from 13.3 to 37.0%.

Most important of all peoples' perception regarding satisfaction with land and occupation it was analysed to give a concluding remark on the process and the impacts arising thereof. The overall satisfaction level shows a decreasing trend which speaks of the people's apathy. The compensation achieved notwithstanding after bureaucratic hurdles, newer land purchased, and newer occupation adopted, brings out the sorry state of figure of the people's perception and satisfaction.

### Recommendations

Development and urbanisation are seen as necessary evils in the post-modern, globalised world. The aftermaths of these twin processes is reflected in the name of displacement and the multifaceted problems arising out of it. Displacement is a multi-dimensional phenomenon which affects peoples' lives in its entirety and encompasses the economic, socio-cultural and psychological spheres which are interwoven with each other. The policy implications and recommendations takes into account the transformation in economic activities, land use, ownership of assets, accessibility to natural resources, loss of means of livelihood, disruption of social order and psychological problems of the people affected and displaced. It is argued that policy and legislative reforms are necessary to review the current top-down approaches to compulsory land

acquisition practices, institutionalise dialogue as a key approach to acquire land as well as set trustworthy mechanisms for funding required to pay fair and prompt compensation.

On the basis of the study conducted in 9 villages for the proposed Hi-tech township, the following points have been recommended which find its base in social justice and equity, it follows ethical values and pleads for the just and humane outlook to be adopted for the affected people —

1. The compensation amount has been fixed at Rs. 5312 per *Bishwa* (Local unit of land measurement) which is not justifiable seeing the varying nature of land quality. The same amount should not be paid uniformly for barren land on the one hand and the most fertile on the other.
2. The present compensation amount and strategy in one way or the other, violates the land acquisition act of 1894 and 1994.
3. The amount paid for the acquired land rises meteorically as soon as the project starts. The farmers are cheated by the corporate behaviour of the project operator, i.e. Uni-tech infrastructure ltd.
4. The displaced people are from two classes, i.e. the owner of the land and the labourers. The present compensation package, both compensation according to land acquisition Act, 1894 and the Rehabilitation & Resettlement Act, 2008 indemnify the owner of the land and not the labourers. The labourers who earned from these lands are left with no economic means or livelihood. There is no provision in the R & R scheme for these economically deprived and discarded lots. Shouldn't they be compensated for their lost livelihoods!! The scenario point towards the flaws rampant in the R & R scheme, which compensates the land and not the men.
5. Agricultural lands are being lost at a faster pace due to the encroaching urban land uses. The land acquired in these villages is highly fertile which yields three crops in a year. Development of township does not find fertile land as the prerequisite criteria, therefore, this township could have been planned on lands which were agriculturally

less productive (barren) and fertile lands could have been left out.

6. Schemes compensate the land owners only and not their dependents. Viable strategies should be adopted to tackle this biased nature of compensation.
7. The feeling of placenessness, pleaded by 'Yi-Fu-Tuan' in the name of '*Topophilia*' should be taken into account and respected, as people are not alienated from their land but are deprived from their nativeness and cultural roots.
8. Apart from the compensation amount, a homestead land, employment opportunities and vocational training should be provided to make the compensation just, humane and equitable.
9. The development of project of this magnitude should always ensure the participation of local people. Their voices and ideas should be paid head to, in order to avoid social conflicts and agitations.

## Conclusion

Varanasi city like other million plus cities of India is emerging as a major growth centre in the underdeveloped Eastern Uttar Pradesh. Due to its location it is not only influencing growth and development in its native state, but rather its influence and presence can also be felt prominently among the contiguous districts of neighbouring states. The enormous population growth somewhere leaves behind the physical growth and expansion of the city. Compelled by the constraints of physical expansion due to the presence of natural barriers in the form of river Varuna and the Ganga, the planners are left with no alternatives but to think of accommodating the excess population by creating townships, residential colonies and other housing settlements and enclaves. The shaping of these townships takes place by acquiring land and displacing population from these lands. Urbanization, though, is an important element of growth and development but urbanisation at the cost of loosing fertile agricultural lands and creating joblessness and livelihood crisis becomes a debatable point. Biased development, bringing in unsustainable livelihoods, deprivation and marginalisation, creating a vulnerable situation

finally disrupts the agrarian economy and social order which is nowhere bearable in a society like ours. The dynamics of urbanisation, development and displacement in developing countries and in cities like Varanasi cannot be on the lines of developed nations because two-third of the population depends on agriculture to make their both ends meet. A project of this nature is likely to benefit the already gifted elites, but it is sure to bring in misfortunes and hopelessness in the lives of the downtrodden classes of our society. The geographical harmony and symbiotic relationship between the city and its periphery is likely to perish and degenerate which will never be fruitful, as far as the dynamics of city-periphery is concerned.

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**Table – 1: Social and Cultural Impacts of Land Acquisition and Displacement**

Dimensions	Impacts
Social & Occupational Change (Women at Work and Child Labour increasing)	Difficulties in getting finance, lack of skill & occupational training, lack of education, motivation & social support
Social Relations & Status	Loss of established social status, social structure
Social Conflicts	Dismantles community & kinship, social ties are disturbed, hopelessness and powerlessness
Behavioural & Situational Change	Addiction, morbidity, migration, marriage and living conditions are affected
Cultural Change	Rural cultures are thrown off; urbanism is on rise, consumption, behaviour changes, traditions are under transformation
Land Loss & Resettlement Problem	Impoverishment & marginalisation, impediments in newer land purchase, legal bottlenecks, difficulties in house construction, filthy living, slumification, loss of comfort, segregated housing, isolation and alienation, adjustment problems
Household Management	Women work outside house, complete or partial unemployment, over expenditure, mis-utilization of compensation, health problems

Source: Adapted and modified after M. Advani, 2011

**Table – 2: Traditional Functions and Social Status of Castewise Population in Indian Villages**

Caste	Function and Social Status in the Village	Land Ownership Status	Group
Bhumihar/Landlord /Farmer	With vast land, some are big farmers	Large amount	General
Patel/Kurmi /Marginal Farmer	Agriculture caste, ranging big to small farmer	Sufficient	OBC
Kumhar/Potter	Making earthen pots	Not at all	OBC
Giri/Lower Priest	Marginal farmer and work in Social Ceremonies	Marginal	OBC
Maurya/Vegetable Grower	Vegetable grower and Share cropper	Very Small	OBC
Yadav/Milkman	Livestock rearing, milk production, small farmer	Sufficient	OBC
Vishwakarma/Blacksmith /Carpenter	Making household, agricultural equipment of woods and iron	Not at all	OBC
Verma/Sub caste of Vegetable Grower	Vegetable grower and Share cropper	Very Small	OBC
Hajijan/Agricultural Labourer	Working as a labourer in agricultural and other works	Not at all	SC
Nut/ Mainly Entertainer	Dancing and entertain the people	Not at all	SC

Source: Field Survey, conducted in 2011

Table – 3: People's Perception regarding Changes in Social and Economic Status before and after Land Acquisition

Monthly Income (Rs.)	Before (%)	After (%)
<1500	22.22	34.61
1500-3000	22.07	26.78
3000-4500	21.01	13.92
>4500	33.70	24.69
Main Occupation		
Cultivators	48.21	24.71
Agriculture Labourer	39.62	51.98
Business	04.09	13.47
Others	8.08	09.84
Economic Status		
Very low(<1500)	13.29	37.04
Low(1500-3000)	40.25	28.24
Medium(3000-4500)	28.61	21.39
Upper Medium(>4500)	17.84	13.33
Satisfaction with land and occupation		
Fully	09.72	03.51
Partially	49.04	45.01
Not Satisfied	41.27	51.48

Source: Field Survey, conducted in 2011

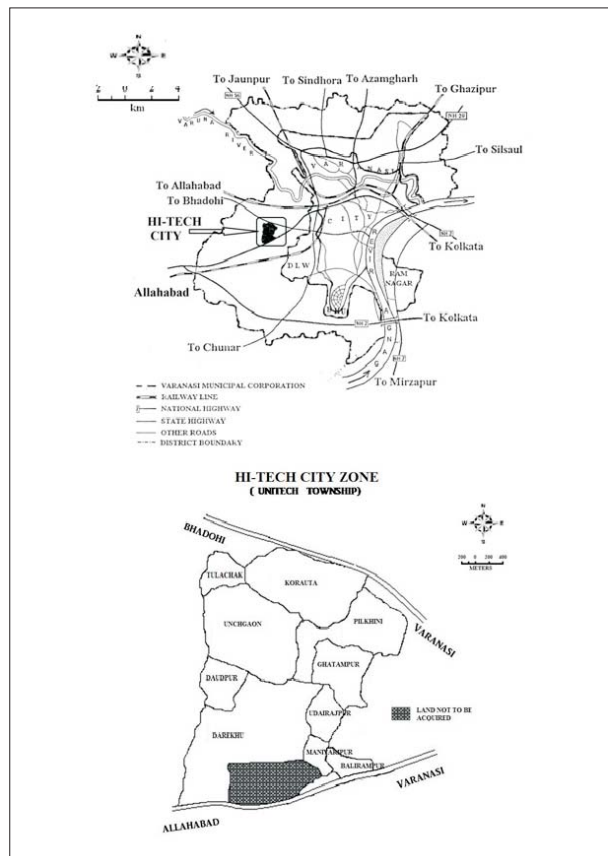


Fig. 1: Location Map of the Study Area

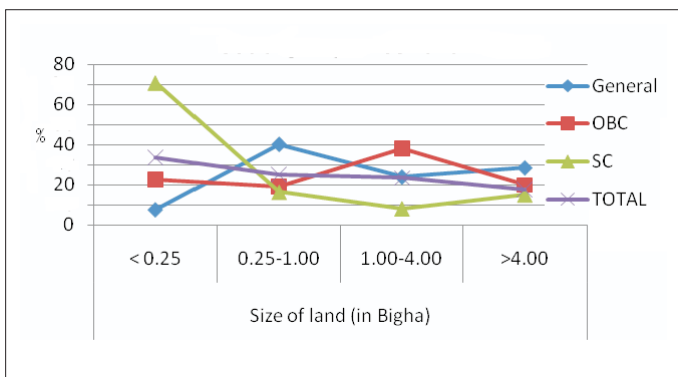


Fig. 2: Social Groupwise Land Ownership

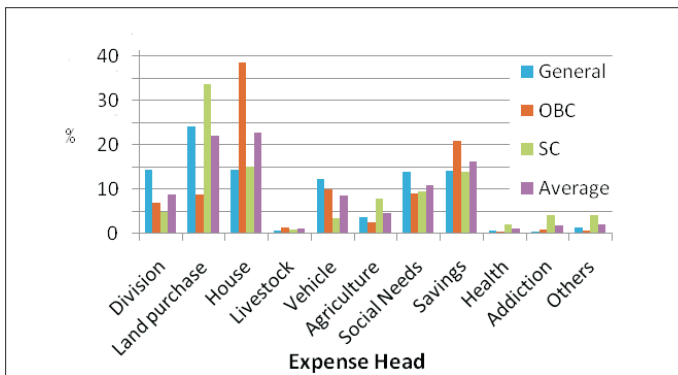


Fig. 3: Utilization of Compensation

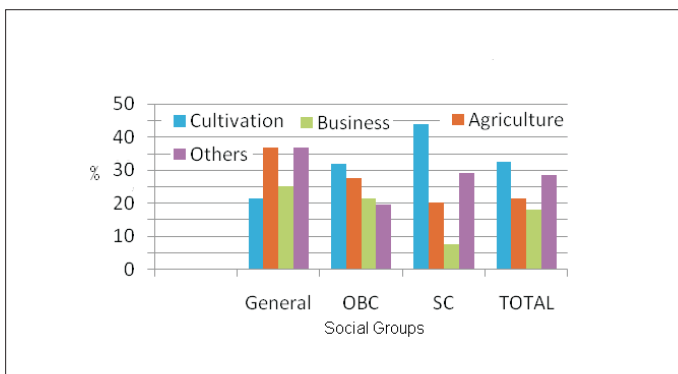


Fig. 4: Livelihood Pattern (after Land Acquisition)



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