

**Shadows of Development:  
Study of Peri-Urban Interactions accompanying the extension of a Planned city.**

**A Thesis**

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**Indian Institute of science Education and Research Pune  
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BS-MS Dual Degree Programme**

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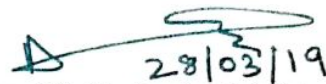
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## Certificate

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled "*Shadow of development" Study of Peri-Urban interactions accompanying the extension of a Planned City*" presented towards the partial fulfillment of the BS-MS Dual Degree Programme at the Indian Institute of Science Education and Research, Pune represents study carried out by Satendra Birana at Indian Institute of Science Education and Research, Mohali under the supervision of Dr. Anu Sabhlok, Associate Professor, Department of Humanities and Social Science, during the Academic year 2018-19.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, followed by the date 28/03/19.

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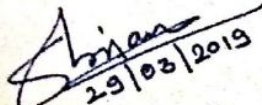


This thesis is dedicated to My Parents.



**Declaration:**

I hereby declare that the matter embodied in the report entitled *Shadows of development: Study of Peri-Urban Interaction accompanying the extension of planned city* are the results of work carried out by me at the Department of Humanities and Social Science, Indian Institute of Science Education and Research, Mohali, under the Supervision of Dr. Anu Sabhlok and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for any other degree.

  
29/03/2019  
Satendra Birana





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Satendra Birana



## **1. Abstract**

In the thesis, I document how the lives of people in the villages of Chilla and Manauli have transformed in the context of emerging urban infrastructure that surrounds the village. Much of this infrastructure has been built on what used to be rural agricultural land owned by Chilla and Manauli farmers. The objective, is to study the ongoing changes in the land use pattern, socio-economic changes and demography in the region due to urban expansion. With the creation of new spaces in the rural hinterlands, villages have been put under stress in regards to sharing resources like land to accommodate the influx of new inhabitants. Often these new inhabitants are skilled migrants, who come to the city in search of better economic opportunities. The local inhabitants primarily engaged in agricultural activities are now forced to seek alternate opportunities elsewhere due to acquisition of their agricultural lands. In this context, it becomes imperative to study this rural to urban transformation to check on inclusive development inflicted by Urban Development. In this regard, I am studying the Chilla and Manauli, villages in the S.A.S Nagar (Mohali) which share boundary with Union Territory of Chandigarh. The methodology adopted for this study is primarily ethnographic which includes interacting with the locals, observing and experiencing the field from the perspective of both insider and outsider. This study was conducted from August 2018 to February 2019.



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## 2. Introduction:

According to GOI report 2009, the urban population of India is growing at a much faster rate than its total population. By 2030, 41% of country's total population will be living in cities and towns<sup>1</sup> (GOI, 2009) as compared to 31.16% (Census 2011). In the first half of 20th century, the growth of Indian cities largely remained confined to the Municipal boundaries (Brush 1968, Shaw 2005). As a result, cities like Kolkata, Mumbai, Chennai, and Delhi grew by accommodating large population migrating to cities, rather than expanding their boundaries to suburban and fringe areas. This was the pattern of urban growth up until the 1970s<sup>2</sup>, as not much attention was given to the planned expansion of the urban Indian cities. As a result of unplanned growth, the Indian government had set up a separate Urban Development department to cater the growing needs of the urban cities. The aim was to create a conducive environment for industries to flourish along with a healthy lifestyle for the residents. More specifically it aimed at decentralization of development and industries in the country. To implement this the third national five year plan (1961-1966) was envisaged to provide 'certain minimum direction', to guide the pattern of urban growth. For this, land use values were laid through acquisition, preparation of master plans, defining minimum tolerance for housing construction and other services and strengthening of the municipal corporations. Subsequent five-year plans also emphasized to improve the infrastructure of cities by creating clusters of industrial areas to push the urban growth driven economy<sup>3</sup>(Shaw, 1996)

However, from last 2-3 decades, the pattern of expansion has changed. Metropolitan cities are expanding more and more into the hinterland, which is evident from the fact that big cities in India are growing at a faster pace than the small one<sup>4</sup>. This, in turn, has resulted in the expansion of urban areas to the fringes,

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<sup>1</sup> "India: Urban Poverty Report 2009 - UNDP in India."

[http://www.in.undp.org/content/dam/india/docs/india\\_urban\\_poverty\\_report\\_2009\\_related.pdf](http://www.in.undp.org/content/dam/india/docs/india_urban_poverty_report_2009_related.pdf).

<sup>2</sup> Annapurna shaw (1999) "Emerging Patterns of Urban Growth in India": Economic and Political Weekly, volume 34, number 16/17, pages 969-978.

<https://www.epw.in/journal/1999/16-17/special-articles/emerging-patterns-urban-growth-india.html>.

<sup>3</sup> Annapurna Shaw (1996)"Urban Policy in Post-Independent India-An Appraisal : | Economic and political weekly, .."

<https://www.epw.in/journal/1996/4/special-articles/urban-policy-post-independent-india-appraisal.html> .

<sup>4</sup> Annapurna shaw (1999) "Emerging Patterns of Urban Growth in India : | Economic and Political Weekly, volume 34, number 16/17, pages 969-978...."

<https://www.epw.in/journal/1999/16-17/special-articles/emerging-patterns-urban-growth-india.html> .

creating peri-urban areas in the Indian cities driven by ‘informal settlements’<sup>5</sup> (Roy, 2009). Nonetheless, over the years similar pattern of expansion has also been witnessed even in small to mid-sized cities along with the metros. This is quite evident from the fact that the area of urban uses has increased from 38,504 sq. km (1961) to 64,026 sq. km (1991)<sup>6</sup>. The current policies tries solving conflicts between the migrants and the existing residents by expanding cities on outskirts by providing space to new residents, by creating what has been referred to as ‘Subaltern Urbanization’<sup>7</sup>. However, these newly created areas often lie outside municipal boundaries and have unclear administrative structures. Thus, it lacks proper identity and attention of the government services. Hence, creating a new set of problems in the transition zones that powers India’s rapid urbanization. **In the thesis, I attempt to understand the peri-urban interaction in independent India’s first planned city - Chandigarh along with its planned extension into Punjab, namely Mohali.** The specific issues of socio-economic and demographic changes emerge out by stretching the boundaries of a region, thereby transforming the identity of space to accommodate the future urban inhabitants. The data from 2001 and 2011 census of India speaks for itself on proportionate addition of populations to both rural and urban spaces as claimed by GOI report on Urban Poverty, 2009

Table 1: Change in Percentage of Rural and Urban Population of India between 2001-2011

Source: Census of India, 2011<sup>8</sup>

	2001	2011
<b>India</b>	102.9 Cr	121.0 Cr
<b>Rural (%)</b>	72.2	68.8
<b>Urban (%)</b>	27.8	31.2

<sup>5</sup> Ananya Roy (2009) "Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informalities, insurgence and the idiom of urbanization in planning theory, Volume 8(1), pages 76-87 ... - SAGE Journals." <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1473095208099299>.

<sup>6</sup> Annapurna Shaw (2005) "Peri-Urban Interface of Indian Cities" : | Economic and Political Weekly, volume 14, page no. 129-136 <https://www.epw.in/journal/2005/02/special-articles/peri-urban-interface-indian-cities.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Ananya Roy (2011) "Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism, in international journal of urban and regional research", volume 35.2 march, pages 223-238 , <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2011.01051.x>.

<sup>8</sup> "rural urban distribution of population - Census of India." 15 July. 2011, [http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/paper2/data\\_files/india/Rural\\_Urban\\_2011.pdf](http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/paper2/data_files/india/Rural_Urban_2011.pdf).



**2.1. Chandigarh- India's first Planned city:** After the partition of India, there was an emergent need for a capital city of Punjab, as Lahore went to the newly formed Pakistan. The need for a new city that acts not only as a capital city for the new Punjab region but in Nehru's words will also be "an expression of the Nation faith in the future" as India began its journey into the new era of independence. "The American architects, Albert Mayer and Matthew Novicki were first commissioned in 1950. They came up with a fan-shaped Masterplan with 'superblocks' concept of self-sufficient neighborhood". But death of Novicki led to the abandonment of the project. Later, Nehru assigned the project to Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier in 1951. Referred to as 'the father of Modern Architecture', Corbusier has written extensively on city planning. He had a distinct sense of style and ideas about urbanization, efficiency, nature, and housing. With constant support and patronage from Nehru, Corbusier planned the city, designed the High Court of Punjab and Haryana and Palace of Assembly. MN Sharma, the first Indian Architect member of Corbusier team recalled, when the design of the high court was shown to officials, Nehru just looked at it and approved<sup>9</sup>. This signifies the amount of faith Nehru inflicted upon the ideas and vision of the Corbusier for planning the city.

Jawaharlal Nehru had a personal interest in Chandigarh and hence, played an instrumental role in choosing the site for the city. Chandigarh was chosen as capital destination in 1948 for various favourable factors like - availability of abundant water supply, fertile soil, optimum climatic conditions, close vicinity to the national capital and its location at the foothills of Shivaliks. It was envisaged to be a model planned city ensuring peace, democracy and free from the bitter division lines. Chandigarh derives its name from the famous Chandimandir of the region<sup>10</sup>, advertises itself as the 'city beautiful' and regarded as one of the cleanest Indian city.

**2.2. Corbusier writes** 'Only architecture and city planning can provide the "exact prescription for its ills", then the time will come for the great machine to be put in motion and begin its function"<sup>11</sup>. While planning Chandigarh, he insisted on the serene environment with simple, repetitive and organized structure in his plans. He compared the city with the human anatomy where open spaces are like lungs and a contemporary city a well-organized center. He also believed the existing social evils in the society can also be countered by planning the cities and considered urban planning as a central tool to counter the

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<sup>9</sup> Hindustan times (2014)"Unfettered by the past' Nehru's ideal city salutes his imprint ...." 28 May. 2014, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/chandigarh/unfettered-by-the-past-nehru-s-ideal-city-salutes-his-imprint/story-6yooxSmQfWR0k2IluSHD7K.html>. .

<sup>10</sup> "Edict of Chandigarh - Official Website of Chandigarh Administration." [http://chandigarh.gov.in/knowchd\\_edict.htm](http://chandigarh.gov.in/knowchd_edict.htm).

<sup>11</sup> "AD Classics: Ville Radieuse / Le Corbusier | ArchDaily." 11 Aug. 2013, <https://www.archdaily.com/411878/ad-classics-ville-radieuse-le-corbusier>.

crowded industrial cities. Corbusier argued that there are scientific and rational solutions to all ills and infrastructure could solve them all. He also argued, that a planner should isolate the city from its history, context and traditional values<sup>12</sup>.

**2.3. Le Corbusier and Chandigarh:** According to Corbusier, he planned the city to human scale, providing its inhabitants places and buildings to led a peaceful and joyful life. The city is comprised of a basic unit called "sector". Each sector is 800 x 1200 meters and can hold from 3000 to 20,000 people. The sectors are designed in such a way that each one functions independently encompassing schools, markets, sports facilities, recreational centers, parks, etc. Each sector is well connected to facilitate fast transport between any two places of the city. Large building constructions are prohibited in the region so that everybody would get the mountain view from the city<sup>13</sup>.

**2.4. Chandigarh and its Periphery:** Corbusier proposed a periphery zone of 16 km around Chandigarh to maintain the 'ecological and environmental balance' of the city. Due to its planned nature, robust boundaries and almost no flexibilities to accommodate the influx of population within the city led to its expansion, creating peri-urban area on occupational agricultural land. The city shares border with Panchkula in the Indian State of Haryana and Sahibzada Ajit Singh Nagar (Mohali) of Punjab. Chandigarh consists of sectors 1-56 and the sectors beyond this continues into Mohali. However, the city doesn't include sector 13 as it is considered as inauspicious in Punjab. Separate planning bodies were constituted by the government of the respective states like HUDA (Haryana Urban Development Authority) and PUDA (Punjab Urban Development Authority) to prepare the sketches of upcoming projects in the city. The master plan of 2013 includes the proposals for inter-state regional plan for Chandigarh Capital Region. It will cover the periphery, which is 16 km of the area and might end up extending upto 50 km. This expansion envisages to boost the economy and creating opportunities for the residents of the commonly known Tri-City (Chandigarh-Panchkula-Mohali)<sup>14</sup>.

Pic 1: Chandigarh Tricity region

Source: Traveller blog<sup>15</sup>

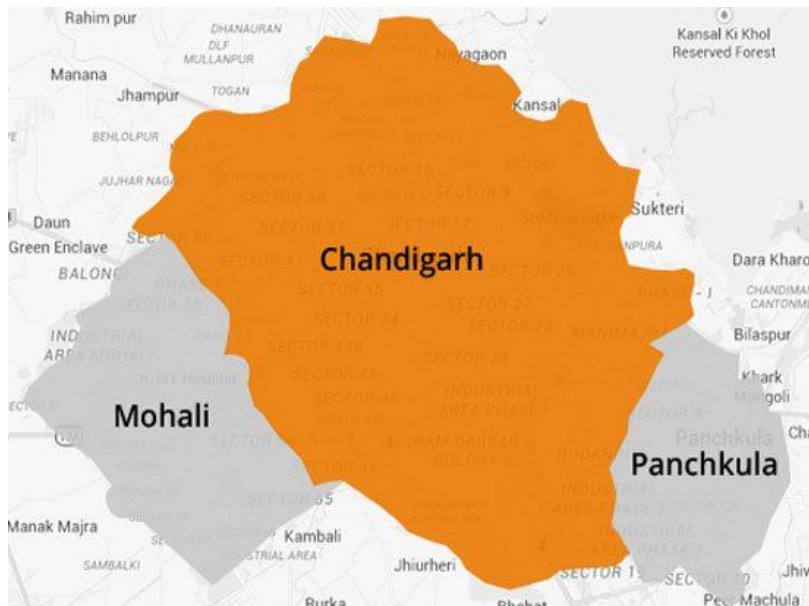
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<sup>12</sup> "LE CORBUSIER'S PRINCIPLES OF CITY PLANNING AND THEIR ...<https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk3/ftp04/MQ61319.pdf>.

<sup>13</sup> "Edict of Chandigarh - Official Website of Chandigarh Administration."  
[http://chandigarh.gov.in/knowchd\\_edict.htm](http://chandigarh.gov.in/knowchd_edict.htm).

<sup>14</sup> Times of India (2013) "Chandigarh Capital Region included in Master Plan '31 - Times of India."  
<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/chandigarh/Chandigarh-Capital-Region-included-in-Master-Plan-31/articleshow/17880801.cms>.

<sup>15</sup> "Chandigarh -What makes it unique and special"  
<http://curiousthetraveller.com/chandigarh/city-beautiful-unique-special/>.



For the purpose of this study, I focused on the peri-urban areas which are created as a result of the Greater Mohali Area Development Authority plans. I attempted to study the ongoing changes in the land use pattern, socio-economic changes and demographic changes in the region due to urban expansion.

**2.5. GMADA (Greater Mohali Area Development Authority)** is the body constituted by PUDA to prepare the infrastructural development plans of the region. It envisages constructing the city according to the needs of the population of 2056, by providing them employment opportunities along with prosperous life which encompasses affordable healthcare facilities, good working environment and enough space for recreational activities. Construction for the proposed Aerocity, industrial area and residential building by public and private firms on the agricultural land is undergoing. Though development would facilitate the needs of the upcoming residents of the city, the concerns of the current inhabitants remain unaddressed by the legal authorities. The infrastructural work would bring opportunities to people but often the voice of locals remain unheard in the process of development at large scale and their stakeholdership ceases to exist once the land is acquired<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> "S.A.S Nagar (2031) plan | Official Website of Punjab Urban ... - PUDA."  
<http://puda.gov.in/?q=sas-nagar-2031-plan>. .

## 2.6. The objective of the study:

I am studying the rural-urban interaction at the periphery of the planned grid of Chandigarh and Mohali by documenting the everyday lives of the residents who are witnessing this fast-growing infrastructural development on their ancestral lands. In my study I have focussed on the changes ushered in the socio-economic life of the rural people due to creation of new residential sectors and skilled driven industries in the rural to urban interface areas. I also attempted to study the kind of employment farmers are seeking after their land has been acquired for new infrastructural constructions. This study is based two villages viz: Chilla, which fall in sector 81 and in sector 83 of SAS Nagar (Mohali). I, along with my friend Ashwin, surveyed both the villages over a period of six months (August 2018- February 2019), developing connections with people to become acquainted with their aspirations and struggles

## 3. Literature Review:

Creation of new towns and converting rural areas into towns as the population grows has been the approach of the government of India to mitigate the problems generated with urban sprawl, often haphazardly engulfing villages and nearby towns. The process of engulfing villages, creating clusters of peri-urban patches is being practiced majorly in the vicinity of metro-cities driven by a public-private partnership. Planning of Indian cities cannot be understood as forecasting and management of growth but rather the management of land resources through a dynamic process of informality<sup>17</sup>. Faridabad and Gurgaon in the Indian state of Haryana have seen this transformation most vividly due to their close vicinity with the National capital Region<sup>18</sup>.

Numerous studies have been done on how economic growth particularly increase in GDP figures driven by urbanization lead to infrastructural support and foreign investment in Delhi, Bangalore, Calcutta Mumbai, and Gurgaon. These studies highlighting the economic process of liberalization, entry of private players in the mixed form of urban governance in new extended spaces accompanying the rural hinterlands. Studies done on peri-urban spaces primarily emphasizes on displacement and dispossession of stakeholders as central to the new mode of capital urbanization in the context of a neo-liberal urban development regime. However, these studies do not explore what has happened to the existing social

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<sup>17</sup> Ananya Roy (2009) "Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informalities, Insurgence and idiom of Urbanization, in planning theory, volume 8 (1), pages 76-87.. - <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1473095208099299>. .

<sup>18</sup> Tathagata Chatterjee(2013), "The Micro-Politics of Urban Transformation in the Context of globalization: A case study of gurgaon India" South Asia, Journal of South asian Studies, 36:2, 273-287... <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00856401.2012.739272>.

practice, structure of the society, demography, and hierarchies in the surrounding spaces inflicted by Urbanization<sup>19</sup> (Kundu, 2016).

Space has certain assigned values and people form an attachment to the spaces, they belong to. Hence providing a sense of belonging to its inhabitants (Cresswell, 2004). Any encroachment by a foreign individual, agencies leads continuous foreground process of making and unmaking of a city (Lombard, 2014). This process end up creating a whole new space with modified identities. Ratoola Kundu in her study of Calcutta explains the interaction of the urban spaces with their surrounding and politics emerging out of such spaces has new meaning and consideration. Srivastava(2014), Goldstein(2016), and Cowan(2015) work on Gurgaon explaining about new apartment welfare association influencing state-level planning agencies to provide infrastructure services and better public transport network<sup>20</sup>. However, Among the research work of tracing the life of people in the hinterlands, Vishal Narain on his work on Gurgaon (2009) documented the splintering and informal urbanization in the nearby villages of Shahpura and Raipur Khurd<sup>21</sup>.

It is in this context, that I am looking into Chandigarh and Mohali. Chandigarh which is first planned city of independent India and is considered as the dream city of India's first Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. Chandigarh, like most other cities in the country, has also been witnessing urban expansion. Unlike many other cities having the flexibility of accommodating the growing population, Chandigarh, due to its highly structured and planned nature lacks that possibility. Hence, expansion on its outskirts; Haryana and Punjab become inevitable. Moreover, Chandigarh has a rather unique administrative identity. It is an union territory that serves as the capital of both Haryana and Punjab. It built the satellite cities of Panchkula and Mohali respectively that basically serve as extensions of the Chandigarh grid commonly known as tri-city. In this scenario, the issue of peri-urban development becomes even more crucial, creating a complex set of problems generated from the planned encroachments into the fringes of tricity carried both the states, thereby, creating 'subaltern urbanization'<sup>22</sup> which has always accompanied the Indian urban growth.

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<sup>19</sup> Kundu ratoola (2015): "Making Sense of Place in Rajarhat New Town: The village in the urban and the urban in the village", Economic and Political weekly. Vol. 17, page no. 93-101....

<https://www.epw.in/journal/2016/17/review-urban-affairs/making-sense-place-rajarhat-new-town.html>.

<sup>20</sup> "Planning as Argumentation - H A Goldstein ...." <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1068/b110297>.

<sup>21</sup> Vishal Narain (2009), "Growing city, shrinking hinterland: land acquisition transition and conflict in peri-urban Gurgaon, India, Environment and Urbanization, Volume 21(2), pages 501-512  
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0956247809339660>.

<sup>22</sup> Ananya roy (2011), "Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism, in International journal of urban and regional research" volume 35.2, march, pages 223-238  
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2011.01051.x>.

Due to the planned nature of Chandigarh with repetitive pattern of sectors and rigorous boundaries, it was impossible to expand the economy of union territory with new infrastructure development. Hence, pushing the city boundary to the hinterlands become inevitable. That's where satellite cities look promising for the new residents in search of better economic opportunities and joyful life. Governmental authorities were aware of this, hence they prepared plans to develop the surrounding satellite area. The location of Chandigarh international airport amidst farmlands in SAS Nagar (Mohali) is the testimony of robust city boundaries to adjust any new construction. However, with rapid expansion of tricity in the hinterlands driven by vanishing agricultural land and upcoming peri-urban areas, arises various issues. These diverse issues of jurisdiction, ensuring fair compensation to the owner of agricultural land, rehabilitation and resettlement of displaced people and changing social composition has been crying for attention.

#### **4. Methodology:**

For this study of rural to urban transition at the periphery of the planned city, I adopted the ethnographic methodology which involves experiencing and observing the day to day life of the residents of Chilla and Manauli by interacting with the local's and conducting oral interviews over the period of 6 months. I interviewed people from all age groups to acquaint myself with their views about undergoing rural to urban shift. The ongoing urban development in the region generates huge employment opportunities for the migrants. There are around 500 migrants who drives local informal economy of the village. Thus it was apparent to look at the village from the lens of migrants as well. I interviewed security guards, driver and people working in IISER canteen who belongs to these villages and got a broad sense of existing social issues like education, common view regarding construction of IISER, a general economic profile of the village, nexus between corporates and local authorities, controversy pertaining to common land and feud amongst different political factions in the village.

During the ethnographic study, I tried to acquaint with the experiences and views of both male and female residents of the village. However, being a patriarchal society young women remain homebound, and older one were reluctant to talk. I also surveyed officials in local public institutions like primary and higher secondary school, primary healthcare center, veterinary center in the village to get a sense of their physical infrastructure and how, with urbanization their utilities and relationship have changed. Most people were aware of the political activities and administration of the village but only few were very vocal about the situation to the authorities. They didn't want to prompt any altercation among people as it might lead to internal feud among locals. However, residents of Chilla were very aggrieved by the construction of IISER on their land without assured employment.

We interacted with members of Zila Parishad, Panch and Sarpanch of both the Chilla and Manauli who happens to be the women, as the seat was reserved for women in the recently concluded elections (September 2018). Manauli depicts to be a fine example of 'Sarpanch Pati', where whole work is looked after by her husband Jaura Singh only. She was just a dummy candidate. I tried interviewing the Sarpanch but she refused. She asked to interview her husband instead.

Due to rapid construction activities in the vicinity of the village, hundreds of migrants labors occupy some social sphere of the region. For the last 5 years, construction laborers have also become a part of local informal economy. They have been provided accommodation by contractor. They are dependent on the local market of Manauli for daily utilities. I followed the unskilled laborers employed at the construction site of the INST campus. They were staying in temporary houses at the entrance of Chilla. I conducted group interviews to know about their experiences and the reason for migration from their hometowns. I was also interested to understand how they see the village as a part of tricity. I also met the urban development authorities who prepared the plan of IT city, Aerocity and residential sectors in the sector 81 and 82. The interaction with the officials helped me to accustom with the vision of government and compare how far the government envisioned project has performed on ground in terms of inclusive growth.

While on fieldwork, I was interested in the kind of activities people in the village are involved. Most of them were in dairy business, construction material business etc. I, thus, took field notes, noting down under themes of employment, land acquisition, local administration, public infrastructure, and migrants. I kept most of my interaction with the people oral by starting with their brief introduction and employment and asked their views on the Chandigarh, Mohali and the changes they have been witnessing over the years. Rather than writing descriptions in the field itself as people were skeptical at times to express their concerns I noted only keywords and personal details of the interviewer during field visit and made comprehensively detailed narration out of the field later.

**4.1. PUDA office:** To collect the information about official idea and state government's vision behind upcoming new sectors and towards the rural-urban transformation, I visited the Punjab Urban Development Authority (PUDA). PUDA which is the nodal agency endowed with authority to design the framework for infrastructural development and urbanization in the state of Punjab. More specifically they have created small offices to deal with different regions of Punjab like GMADA - to carry out infrastructural development and planning of Mohali region, GLADA - for Ludhiana and so on. PUDA

officials consists a team of designer, planner, architect, and engineers. These officials are attached to separate offices like GMADA, GLADA and so on to work in a small unit<sup>23</sup>.

Urban Planning and Development falls under the state subject, However, assistance from central government can be provided if asked by state authorities. Firstly, in case of setting up of a central institute the state government receives notifications from the Central government to acquire land accordingly. This was done under the project of Knowledge city for the central institutes like IISER and INST and ISB. However, the Punjab government proposed the plan of urban expansion of Mohali, where the new sector is proposed in continuation to Chandigarh along with IT city and Aerocity. A brief computerized plan was prepared first, followed by a legal document prepared to provide fair compensation according to the prevalent market prices. Then details of land acquired need to be featured in at least two newspaper out of which one must be in regional language following which PUDA invites applications for the objections and concerns of the people regarding laws violated in the acquisition, discrimination in compensation. After addressing peoples issue, PUDA modify the plan accordingly. Nonetheless, few aggrieved can always approach the court which did happen in case of both Chilla and Manauli. PUDA also has a team of lawyers who deal with the proceedings of the case. R.K jaidka; director of housing and urban development and planning sharing his views on expansion in the below narratives.

*“Nowadays, no one is interested in agriculture, everyone in Punjab is aspired to go and settle in Canada, Australia, and America. We need to fund more on our research and technology, which can be used to get more yield. Though we are agriculture-based economy, but, we are continuously moving towards the service-driven economy. Farmers owning 10 acres of land provide employment to hardly 5 people, but an IT company, residential housing in the same land provide livelihood to thousands directly and indirectly. We are moving toward the service sector economy now, so it’s better to create the conducive environment for them to thrive here which ultimately generate employment for the people and revenue for the state”.*

*R.K Jaidka - Director of Housing and Urban Development Planning*

**5. Findings:** On the basis of empirical study, interviews, and conversations with the residents, I am documenting their experiences as they become unsolicited stakeholders in the upcoming public and private projects brought up on their agricultural land. In the next section, I include findings from the ethnographic field study and analyze the same in sections later.

**5.1. Chilla:** It is located in sector 81 of SAS Nagar and is connected to the NH-5. It is a small village which falls under the village panchayat consisting of around 150 house and 750 residents. Jatts are in

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<sup>23</sup> "PUDA." 13 Mar. 2019, <http://puda.gov.in/>.



majority here with a small population of Dalits and Muslims. Farming used to be the main source of employment for them decades ago but now they either find employment in private companies or are self-employed. Houses are well constructed (pukka) and furnished with 2-3 storeys at least. The village has a Gurdwara constructed from the contribution of land and money from villagers. Basic amenities of electricity and water is present. People own tractors to facilitate their agricultural activities and business activities for construction materials. Water is drawn from the government provided pipelines by charging a nominal amount from Municipal corporation. However, many houses have a private bore well to cater to daily water needs. Amenities such as toilets, piped water and electricity are fulfilled, but due to the absence of streetlight people find difficulty while commuting in the night. Also due to absence of local market people prefer nearby market in the Mauli village and Phase 11 of Mohali. For education, the majority kids are enrolled at private schools in Mohali and Chandigarh and lower castes are enrolled at local government school.

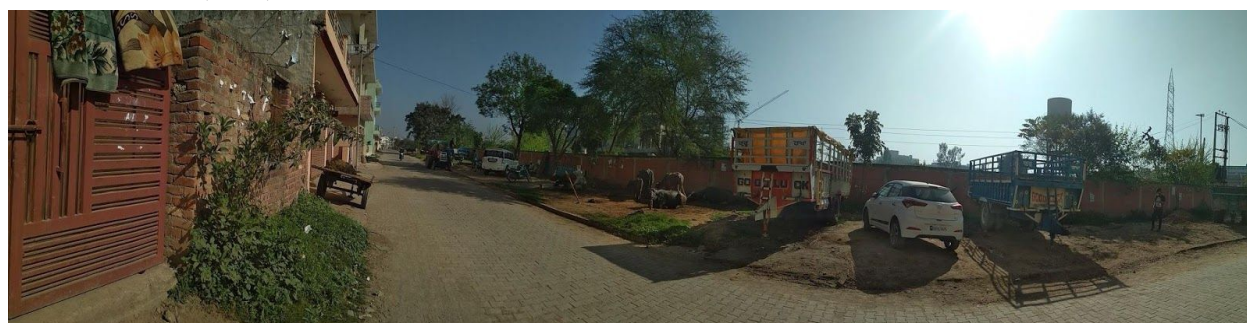
Table 2: Male and Female Population of Chilla

Source: GOI Census 2011

<b>Particulars</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
<b>Literacy rate (%)</b>	88.25	91.46	84.39
<b>Population</b>	756	419	337

Pic 2: Agriculture equipment

Source: Author (2019)



Pic 3: Images of cattle reared for dairy business in Chilla.  
Source: Author (2019)



Pic 4: Chilla village with streets marked  
Source: Adapted from Google map



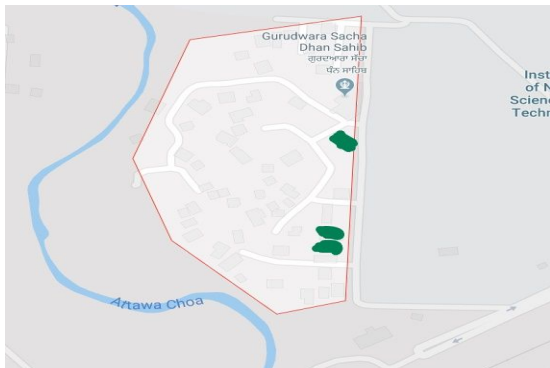
Pic 5 and 6: Streets in Chilla

Source: Author (2019)



Pic 7: Google image of Chilla, with houses marked

Source: Adapted from Google maps



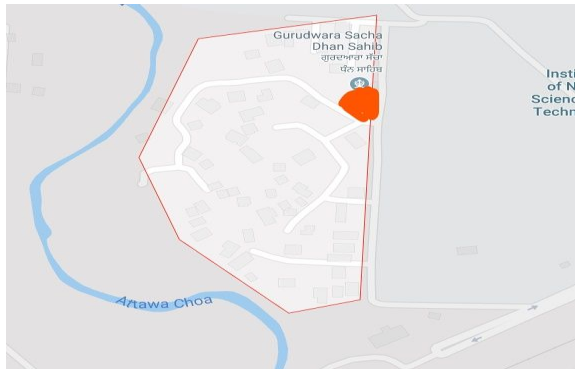
Pic 8 and 9: Newly acquired wealth, 3 story buildings of the residents of chilla ‘  
Source: Author (2019)





Pic 10: Google image with Gurudwara marked

Source: Adapted from Google maps



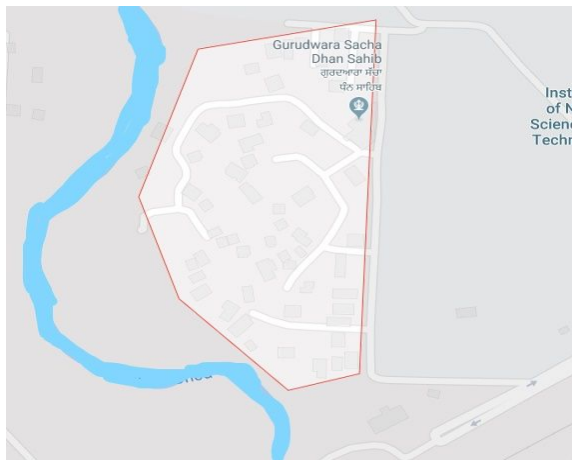
Pic 11: Gurudwara

Source: Author (2019)



Pic 12 : Google image with marked Seasonal nallah

Source: Adapted from google maps



Pic 13: Seasonal nallah surrounds Chilla on three sides

Source: Author (2019)



**5.1.1. Land Acquisition in Chilla:** Acquisition process in the village began in 2004 with the inception of the proposed Knowledge City project, encompassing 250 acres of land. IISER, ISB, NIST, and IIIT were

proposed to be set up in sector 81 in the close proximity to the present day Chilla. Most of the land acquired for Knowledge city was owned by the villagers in Chilla. Their land were acquired in a single stroke, snatching their employment. Land owners were officially informed about the acquisition process by visit of the PUDA officials. Government announced compensation of INR 63 lakhs/killa to the owners which later increased to 99 lakhs/Killa when few dissatisfied owners approached the local court. Residents of Chilla explained even though they received the compensation for acquisition of their agricultural land, it ended up creating widespread unemployment among young generation and idleness among the older generation who always used to engage themselves in the farming. Villagers also revealed that due to lack of education and awareness in the village most of the people didn't even have idea where to invest the money so all of them purchased agricultural land in different parts of Punjab at their relative's place.

Land acquisition in Chilla happened in single phase leaving them vulnerable with lot of apprehensions about their employment as people were only engaged in agriculture. However, villagers were hopeful of opportunities in the upcoming educational institutes for few years till they realized that neither their kids are allowed to study in those institutions without going through a predefined process nor they can claim for any employment opportunities. However panchayat owned common land locally called as 'Shamlaad' had also been acquired along with, which panchayat used to auction every year and procurement would contribute to the welfare of the village. The problem of employment is something which explicitly reflects in the village due to acquisition. But the division of society on economic lines also implicit result of acquisition. Narrative of Ranjit from Chilla explaining his anguish over how people who ones used to be close are now divided socially

*"I was a teenager and working as a truck driver's assistant back in 2006. When I visited my village after a regular trip of delivering commodities to various parts of the country. I got to know that our 2-acre land has been acquired. With large money in hand and no idea about where to invest that. In 2006 there were not even sector carved like today so people purchased flats there. So my father picked up the drinking and gambling and ended up losing all the money. We two brothers are now forced to opt odd jobs to run our family. People with whom we used to hang out during childhood days are now well settled, possessing agricultural land and 4-wheelers and we are driving someone else car. In village our social esteem was associated with the agriculture land and we have lost that with our land. My younger brother and I, both are married and have families to feed. My brother is also seeking for a driver job."*

Ranjit- Works as a driver in IISER



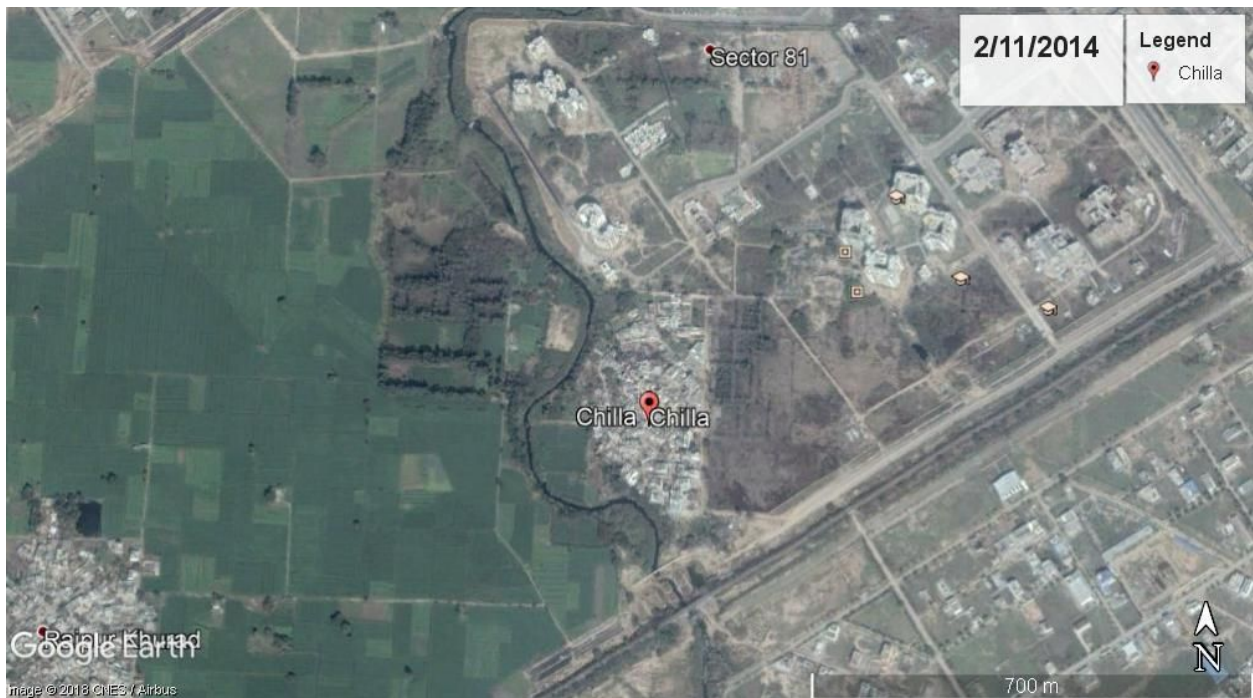
Pic 14: Cilla and it's surrounding in 2007

Source: Google Earth



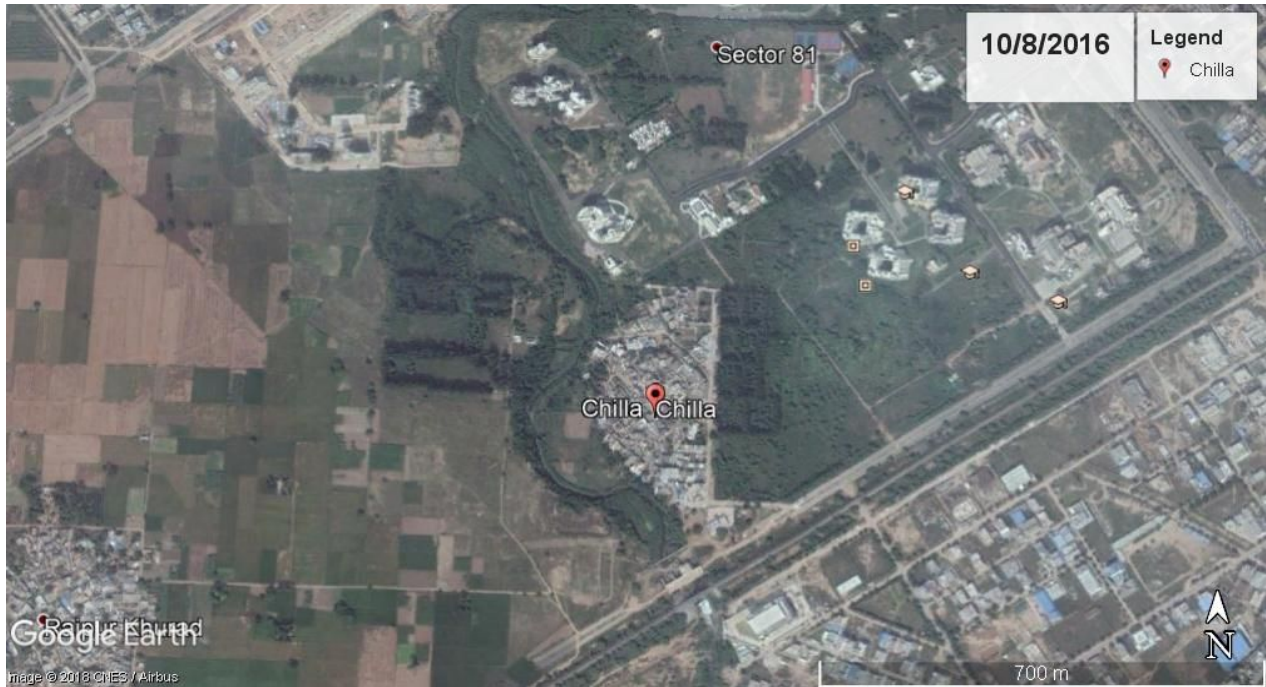
Pic 15: Chilla and it's surrounding in 2014

Source: Google Earth



Pic 16 : Chilla and its surrounding in 2016

Source: Google Earth



Pic 17: Chilla and its surrounding in 2018

Source: Google Earth



NH-5 connecting village road which further joins with the Chilla can be seen in the above maps. These images over the last decade evident to the change in land use pattern where back in 2007 most of the land were used for agriculture, which has been converted to residential housing, public and private institutions. However, the remaining agricultural land around Chilla has been owned by other villages, which has also been in the process of acquisition for the proposed Industrial city, Aero city and IT city.

**5.1.2. Perils of Acquisition:** Acquisition has affected people of various age groups distinctly and changed the social demographics of the village over the years. Most of the villagers purchased land at places far away from Chilla which they have put on rent at the fixed rate. This left the actual owner of the land unemployed and idleness in the village. There are few families who completely, shifted to the their relatives place keeping houses on rent (IISER canteen people stays on rent in Chilla) hence changing the social composition of the village. Construction of buildings all around the village with no agricultural land has swiftly changed the status of the village from rural to urban, keeping them confined to their home without Urban facilities and services they are entitled to. Villagers now feel cut off from the rest of the city, making them confined between the big buildings which they argue are no use of them.

Gurdeep Singh of Chilla said rent from agricultural land and houses in village are the main source of the income in the village. He revealed that people are now aspiring to join political parties and make contacts with many MLA and MPs which was not there earlier. Gurdev Singh, Panch of chilla explaining the pain of becoming idle after acquisition.

*“We had 6 Killa's of very fertile agricultural land with all the farm equipment and life was very easy and normal for us. After acquisition we lost our identity as a village with the coming up of these institutes, I purchased land in one of our relative's place. Now both my sons have to make frequent visit to agriculture land to look after farming. During irrigation time they even have to stay there for weeks. I also get bored sitting at home idle, had our land not gone, I would have contributed too, along with my sons and looked after the farm efficiently”.*

Gurdev Singh: - Residents Chilla

Pic 18: Gurdev Singh along other residents of chilla

Source: Author(2019)



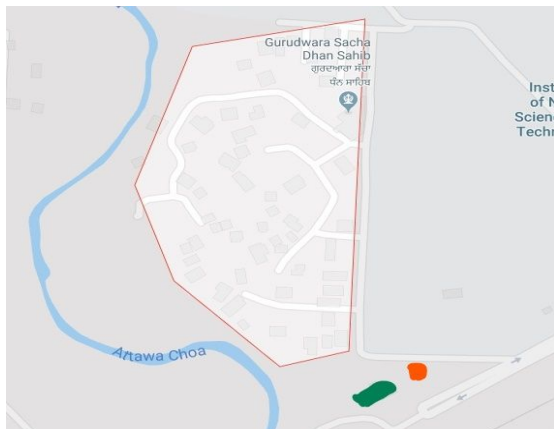
Saranjeet Singh from chilla, working as a driver for a business man in Mohali said young people are mostly unemployed in the village and few are working as driver in Ola, Uber, industries and other institutes in Chandigarh. He also emphasized that there is lot of employment opportunities in Tri-city region, but local people is not getting enough of these due to larger population of labor and migrants from other states who are are willing to work at low wages also. Due to this even local contractors are not able to do well and contractors from Bihar, charging cheap can fetch enough work in tricity who brought cheap labor along with them to work.

**5.1.3. Public Service Institutions:** Chilla has a primary school at its entrance with total 36 students registered and 2 teachers in the school. All the students belongs to financially weak family, mainly Harijans, Muslims and kids whose parents works as driver, unskilled contracted labor in factories and construction sites. Subjects of Maths, English, Punjabi, Hindi and Environmental science is being taught to students. However, majority of the parents prefers private schools in Chandigarh for their kids. Every

morning around 10-12 school buses visit the Chilla to pick up the students. Beside that, most the students have joined tuition centers in the Mohali. Manjeet kaur; government teacher in the school reveal that kids of labors often drop out of the the school any time in an year due to their movement from one place to another, once the construction complete which leads to break in their education. Labors already being deprived of social security, their kids are most vulnerable their continuous movement by denying them basic right to education, hence, creating an another generations of labour. Anganwadi center in the village also runs in school premises which engage kids in the age gap of 1.5 to 3 years in learning activities.

Pic 19: Google map of chilla with Green and orange color mark depicts the location of government primary school and public water supply tank respectively.

Source: Adapted from Google maps



Pic 20: Water Tank

Source: Author (2019)



Pic 21 and 22: Government Primary school Chilla

Source: Author (2019)



**5.1.4. Change in Social Composition:** Pre-acquisition of agricultural land, chilla was home to many schedule tribes, who used to work as farm laborers in the village by living on rent in the village itself hence providing cheap labor along with generating the local economy. With the loss of land, many lower caste families who were dependent on agriculture labor were permanently migrated to the other places. With rapid construction going on in the proximity of the village, large number of migrant laborers from U.P and Bihar are settled in the temporary settlement provided by contractor in a agricultural land in the neighborhood of Chilla. These laborers are not part of Village community but they contribute significantly to the local economy. However, most of these laborers are asked to leave as soon as the construction is over, but a few who got hired as gardeners or guards stayed back and now rent rooms in Chilla. With the migration of the labor from the village a section of people suffered, as many used to generate income by putting houses on rent. Kartar Singh of Chilla said that labors presence had benefited them by not only providing fix income to the owner of the houses but also easy availability of labor during harvesting season.

Predominantly an upper caste Privileged and landowning Jat community village, Chilla is home to lower caste communities as well; most of them never own the land and work as unskilled labor in factories. Though close proximity to Chandigarh has brought enough opportunities to them, but lack of social securities continues to be a challenge for them as factories used to hire labor on contract only in order to avoid providing any social security. Narrative of Raman Singh who used to work in a factory in Chandigarh and lost his job in the wake of the strike held by permanent labors. Though permanent labors were compensated but a large number of temporary workers who were promised to get permanent soon were end up being unemployed again.

*“I worked as a contracted labor for Philips in Mohali for 10 years before a strike held by Permanent workers to hike their pay. This led to a deadlock between the company and permanent working; after 70 days of strike company was shut down and permanent workers were paid 12-15 lacs as compensation while we contract workers lost our jobs without any compensation. After doing odd jobs of driving, labor worker for more than a year I joined TYNOR company in Mohali which makes prosthetic kit for differently abled where i works in packaging section. I got permanent recently after working for 3 years on and off. Lower castes in the villages are not affected by the acquisition as we never had any agricultural land and sustaining family by doing unskilled jobs. Moreover, we are now getting enough opportunities now which was not possible earlier.*

*Raman Singh - Residents of chilla (shanty house)*



**5.1.5. Administration and local politics:** Basic amenities like water, electricity and road is fully available to the people but, commuters face problems while movement in the night due to the absence of street lights as people work in day and night shifts in Chandigarh and Mohali. Chilla lacks sanitation services provided by local governing bodies like Municipal corporation and Gram Panchayat. In lack of public sanitation service, people individually take care of the roads and sewer line in front of their houses. Water is drawn from two connections provided to all the houses: one for drinking, and the other one for washrooms at the nominal price of INR 30 per household.

Chilla, being under the jurisdiction of Gram Panchayat, Sarpanch is the head of the village. Presence of village on the boundary of rural and urban areas keeps it under the anonymity when it comes to jurisdiction. Recently, Chilla has elected a new women Sarpanch as the seat was a reserve for women this time, which was reserved for scheduled caste in the last term. However, people voted in the election on the name of her son who looks after all the official work. People approach the son of sarpanch personally if needed as there is not any Panchayat Bhawan. Keshav said that people become politically more aware and involved as they are no longer confined to agriculture work.

*“During last term this seat was reserved for Harijan and people unanimously selected a person from the village and got him elected without any electoral process, but later few upper castes tried to persuade him for their personal favor which leads to creation of many political factions in the village which affected the development in Chilla . So this time many people aspired to contest the election but seat turned out to be a reserve for women. Even I was preparing to contest the election this time and garnered the support of most of the people. I tried to get it to change by meeting with a minister but couldn’t happen. So I decided to file the nomination of my Mother instead as my wife is new in the village and it’s against the family value to get her out of the house for elections in front of the elders”.*

*Nirmal Singh- son of a sarpanch*

**5.1.6. Surroundings of Chilla:** Due to construction of the INST campus, about 500 labors are being given temporary shelter at outskirts of the village by the contractor of the construction company. People from Bihar, Jharkhand, U.P, Chhattisgarh and MP are employed here at different pay scales. They possess varied skills - carpentering, painting, welding etc. The skilled laborers is paid Rs. 600/day while unskilled labor is paid Rs. 300/day. Few labors stay with their wife and kids. This settlement is home to around 100

kids with around less than 10 are registered in the government primary school in Chilla. Every day a tanker carrying water sent to them by the contractor in the morning for drinking, bathing and washing purpose. Due to lack of sewage facility, wastewater is accumulated in the nearby dig hole which later on put in the tanker through pressure. However, temporary house, being home to around 500 people which includes men, women, and kids have only 22 bathrooms. Labourers work in both day and night shift. They purchase the ration and other daily utilities from the shops owns by migrants only. Occasionally they visit nearby markets in Manauli also. Both private and government primary healthcare center in the Manauli facilitate the medical needs of labors. Labors call their temporary home as 'jhuggis' which has 22 toilets shared amongst 500 peoples. I encountered Govardhan from Chhattisgarh and Mukesh from Bihar when they were heading back to labor settlement and traces their story.

At dusk, a group of laborers returning to their home after a long tiring day at construction sites of INST with a bundle of wood on their shoulders. Govardhan from Bilaspur, Chattisgarh, along with his cousin on the way to their temporary shelters provided by SEM India company which has contract of constructing INST campus, walks us towards their Temporary houses which was made of tins sheets. This is home to about 500 peoples, includes mostly male labourers, females and their kids.

Govardhan was a small farmer in Bilaspur, where irrigation was the acute problem and farmers used to cultivate only once in a year. During summer, they usually seek for irregular and poorly paid labor work. Hence, pushing him in heavy debt after inadequate yield from farming. So 2 years ago Govardhan moved to Mohali, after working in Raipur on a cyclic basis in agriculture and unskilled labor with cousin and wife. Since then Govardhan has been working in INST at the payment of Rs 300 per day which is a fix for manual labor. Like Govardhan, these 'jhuggis' are home to many migrants from Bihar, Jharkhand, M.P, U.P, and Chattisgarh.

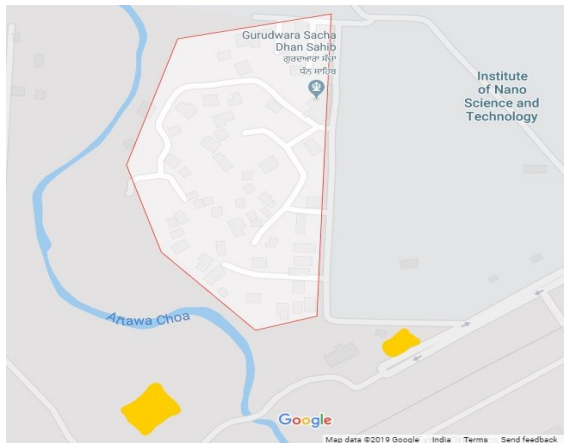
Mahesh from Madhubani, Bihar worked as labor in MNREGA, for few months and moved to Chandigarh after six months later due to inadequate and irregular payment of wages by panchayat. Mahesh said, sometimes, after registering for work he had to wait for weeks. He revealed that though unemployment allowances had been provided to the applicant, but it was very meagre and not enough to sustain the family for more than 15 days in a month.

Recounting experiences from Madhubani, Mahesh said, that very few of his friends are remain in the village now, as most of them moved to Mumbai and Delhi for work. He said some of his friend are making good money there by driving for Ola and Uber. On asking about his plan to continue working as labor, he aspire to join his friends in future and opt for driver job in Ola and Uber along with friends. For

that, he is planning to visit his friend soon and learn driving from him to get himself register for a 4-wheeler license. Till then he wants to work here and save some money to support his parents at home.

Pic 23: Google maps with migrant settlement marked

Source: Adapted from google maps



Pic 24 to 28: Temporary houses of the construction laborers engaged in INST

Source: Author (2019)







There are few temporary houses at the entrance of the Chilla as well. Rajesh from Chhatarpur district of M.P staying there along with his relatives for more than a decade, working as a contractor to built kothis and houses in the nearby villages. They share good relation with residents of chilla as many kothis in the village are built by them. Rajesh said that better wages and security of work is what attracts them to migrate from their home to Chandigarh, where they were forced to work as cheap labour. These labour take electricity connection only during Summer, that too by theft. Rajesh said power connection cost them annually Rs. 10000- 12000 which is roughly one month salary of them and they don't wants to spend on luxuries like power connection. They get water from the tank made behind their settlement, beside government primary school. None of the houses has LPG connection, instead, they have a 5kg cylinder which they use occasionally otherwise wood fuel collected by women during off days is used for cooking.

Pic 29 and 30: Temporary settlement at the entrance of Chilla

Source: Author (2019)





*“My father moved here 12 years ago and started working as a contractor, later on, me along with mother and wife also moved to Mohali. Subsequently, our relatives also moved here. We have constructed many kothis in the Pind (Village), government primary school in the village whose payment is still due as the middleman through which we got the contract is not willing to pay the full payment, more than 2 years have passed, every time I tried to meet him on several occasions, but nothing happened. I have 3 kids whom I want to send to school. Since we can't afford the schooling here. So my wife will move to Chhatarpur, along with kids in July and we will send money to them for household expenses. There we have an extended family to look after them and help in case of emergency.*

*Rajesh:- Native of Chhatarpur, lives in temporary houses at the entrance of Chilla*

**5.2. Manauli:** Located in 83 sectors; the population of around 4,000 people. Manauli is a large village with diverse communities having Sainis in majority along with small population of Dalit's, dhobis and Muslims. It falls under the Village panchayat. Manauli has basic amenities of electricity, water, and road fulfilled. Gurudwara in the middle of the village is constructed on the donated land by villagers. Village also has 3 mosques and 4 temples. Primarily an agriculturist population, but, due to acquisition of agricultural land many families shifted to non-agriculture employment like driver, security guards and some employed in their business. However, large number of locals are still engaged in agriculture activities. Village also has a crematorium outside, on the bank of Seasonal nallah carrying waste water from Chandigarh. There is no public transport passing through the village, to connect it with the

Chandigarh. Hence, commuters depend on the villagers own auto rickshaw and tractors for public transportation.

Manauli has a fort in midst of the houses which is currently in dilapidated condition. It was built by Sikh commander Banda Singh Bahadur after triumphing over Mughal oppression. But due lack of maintenance by state government, locals believed that it will be destroyed soon<sup>24</sup>. To cater the banking needs of the people village has a branch several banks, which includes Indian bank, HDFC, Indus Sindh bank and Andhra bank. Various coaching institute of competitive government exams have gained a foothold in Manauli. This could be because Manauli offers cheap rental housing for students from nearby small towns who come into the city for education. Roads are wide at the outer section of the villages and narrow in the interior. For administrative work, Panchayat Bhavan is built at the other end which has a partially dilapidated building. Hence People usually approach sarpanch at home only. Along with holding the administrative post Sarpanch owns an Air Conditioner showroom in Mohali where he spends most of the time. Public services like cleaning, sewerage are not being provided by the panchayat and people are reluctant to raise their the concerns over hygiene and solid waste management due to lack of unity among them, and nobody wants to ruin their relationship with Sarpanch by raising their voices. Manauli has large presence of around 500 migrants working as trader/artisans like carpenter, automobile repair, weldings etc. Two wine shops are also operating in the village at the entrance along with various street food, butcher shop and scrap shop. Below are the data showing population and literacy rate in the village.

Table 3: Population and literacy rate of Manauli

Source: Census of 2011, GOI

<b>Particulars</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
<b>Population</b>	3919	2087	1832
<b>Literacy rate(%)</b>	80.35	86.34	73.57

<sup>24</sup> "Crumbling away amid state apathy, Manauli fort in Punjab is turning ...." 21 July. 2018, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/punjab/crumbling-away-amid-state-apathy-manauli-fort-in-punjab-is-turning-into-a-dump/story-QSYMh3Tva6DYNIR3uCbahK.html>.



Pic 31: Marked Branches of banks in Manauli

Source: Adapted from google maps



Pic 32 to 34: Various bank branches in Manauli

Source: Author (2019)







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(A GOVT. OF INDIA UNDERTAKING)  
MANAULI BRANCH  
WELCOMES YOU



Fig 35 to 40: Shops, restaurants at the entrance of the village.

Source: Author (2019)

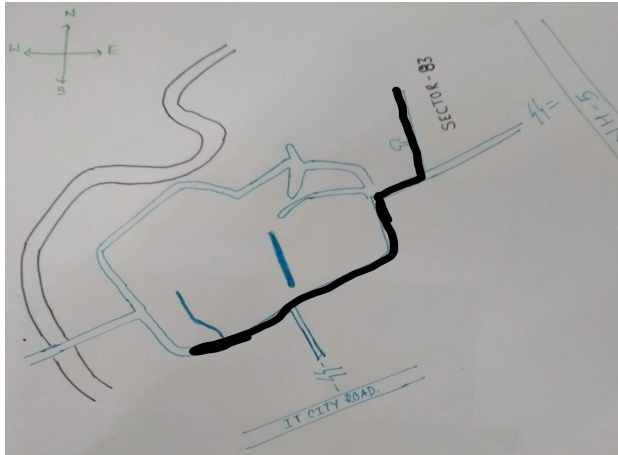






Pic 41: Map of Manuali with marked edge street

Source: Adapted from Google map



Pic 42 and 43: Edge street in the manuali

Source: Author (2019)

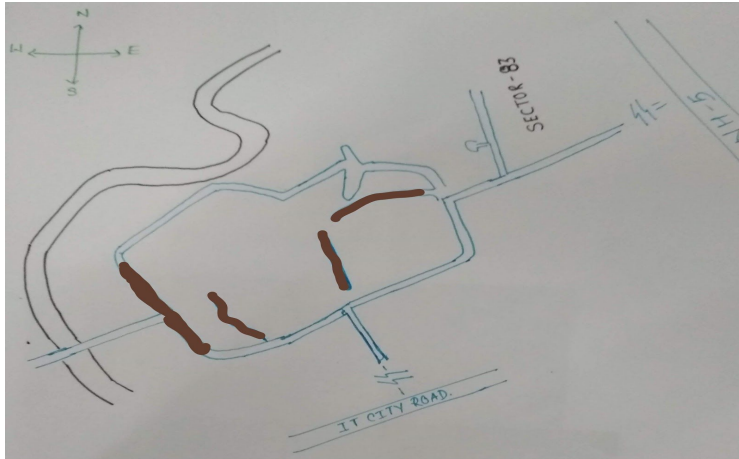






Pic 44: map of Manauli with marked interior streets in the village

Source: Adapted from Google maps



Pic 45 and 46: interior street

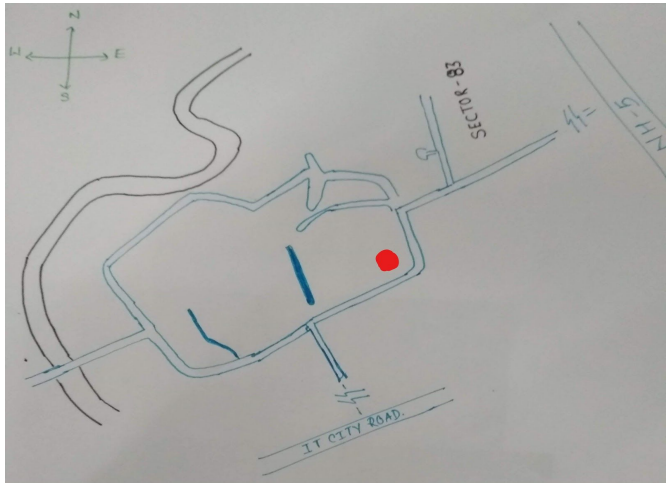
Source: Author (2019)





Pic 47: Map of manauli with fort marked

Source: Adapted from google maps



Pic 48: Manauli Fort

Source: Wikimedia(harvinder singh)



Pic 49: Manauli fort

Source: Author(2019)



**5.2.1. Land Acquisition:** In Manauli, unlike Chilla, the acquisition was carried out by both private and public bodies in patches. It started with the acquisition of land for the railway track back in 2002 where 'fair' compensation was given to the owners. Manauli is in the outskirts of Mohali where proposed sectors are coming up and the flourishing real estate business is running on the agricultural land along with Public-Private funded proposed Aero city, IT city and Industrial regions. For land, which have already been acquired and is in the construction phase, JLPL is the biggest buyer here who is purchasing agricultural land and constructing residential housing for more than a decade. Due to higher land prices, it is common here that villagers often volunteer to sell their land to JLPL(Janta Land Promoter Ltd.) in order to get good money of their land. Many small farmers with 1-2 acres of land have completely moved to non-farm labor. And farmer with 5-10 acre of land rapidly is becoming owner of segregated properties as people invested money in land at different places by selling agricultural land.

*"I have purchased agricultural land in Haryana in 2012 and a flat in IT city by selling 2 acres in the village. My father stays there since then and cooks food for himself as I work as a driver in Chandigarh and have a family to support. I visit him whenever possible during holidays and arrange the agriculture labor, fertilizer, manure and other important supplies. I am not much educate like people who work in big companies so we are helpless to work as driver and security guards. Though we got heavy money as compensation which we have invested agriculture land only. But it is of no use as we can't cultivate it properly unless completely move to respective places. So those who sold their land are now working as driver and security guards.*

*Avtar Singh- Resident of manauli work as a driver*

Despite having a great demand of land here, land market is monopolized here with few players only, who fix the price of land according to their projects by giving interesting choices to owners to opt for showrooms/flats/money in lieu of their land by fixing price for showrooms and flats own by JLPL only. People often choose Showrooms and flats as they considered it as better way to invest the surplus which generate monthly income, when put on rent. Land exchanges ownership via local agents who are in contact with JLPL owners by keeping 2% of the land price as commission which is attracting young people with appropriate contact to make easy quick money.

Fig 50: Residential flats build by JLPL on the agricultural land of the Manauli village.

Source: Author (2018)



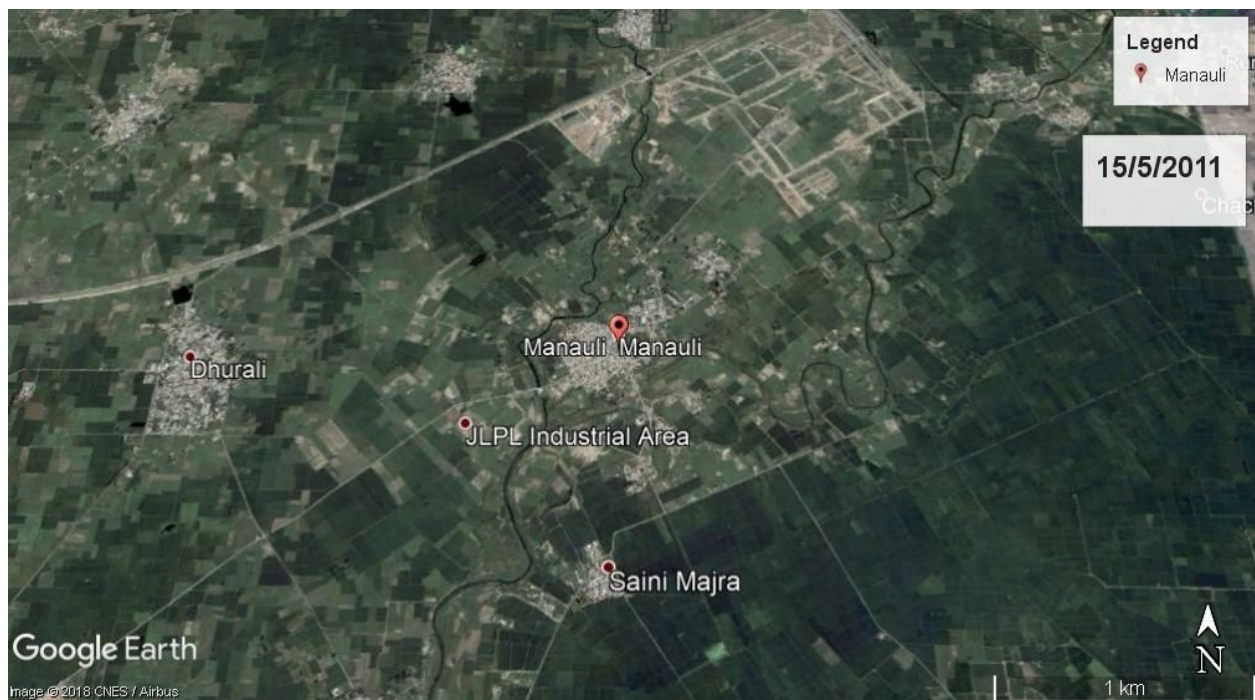
Fig 51: Manauli and it's surrounding, 2004

Source: Google Earth



Pic 52: Manauli and its surroundings, 2011

Source: Google Earth



Pic 53: Manauli and it's Surrounding, 2016

Source: Google Earth



Pic 54: Manauli and its surroundings in 2018

Source: Google Earth



Above Images depicting changing land use pattern surrounding Manauli over the years where, IT city, Aerocity, and new sectors of Mohali are proposed. Construction work is also going on for the same for a long time. Neighbouring village of Mauli, Raipur Khurd, and many others has also witnessed this change driven by rapid urbanization.

**5.2.2. Acquisition in patches:** Due to the acquisition of land in patches and a gradual rural to urban transformation, people invested their money carefully in agriculture land in Jalandhar, Sangrur and other areas of Punjab. Like Chilla, in Manauli also very few people have permanently migrated to their newly bought agricultural land. So most of them kept their land on the tenancy. It is of 2 kinds viz- Sikri and Batai where a fixed sum in cash or kind is annually paid as rent in former while owner and tenant divide the crop in later. People in Manauli practices both of the older system of land use. In the case of batai system people, few families have left a member of a family to look after<sup>25</sup>. Also, most of the families in Manauli owns flats in the residential flats built in sector 83, which they have got in lieu of their land along with compensated money which has been invested in purchasing agriculture land.

**5.2.3. The issue of common Land:** One of the prominent issues in the village is the common land which was owned by the panchayat. It contained agricultural land and ponds which was auctioned every year for agricultural purpose to the villagers and proceeds were utilized for the welfare and development of the village only. Common land was also utilized for public gathering during wedding functions, panchayat activities and acted as a source of employment for potters, and fisherman. However, the common land has also been acquired for the Aero city project by bribing the Sarpanch of the village, hence, destroying the local revenue generating source. This led to leaving the village on the mercy of the panchayat money received through government, via Sarpanch, without any guarantee of opportunities to the people in the upcoming industries. When villagers knew about the acquisition of common land and the mischievous role of Sarpanch in the whole episode, they approached the local police stations many times but the police officials were reluctant to file complaints against the Sarpanch due to his political affiliations. After consistent efforts from few aggrieved people, the complaint was filed and the case reached the court, but due to lack of unity amongst people, the case was left in jeopardy and the judgment came in favor of Sarpanch. Hence, the nexus of local politicians and legal authorities led to a denial of rights for the village people. It is important to document the local narratives of the villagers expressing their concerns which have been collected during field visits.

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<sup>25</sup> Sbriccoli (2016) "Land, Labour and Power : A Malwa Village", Economic and political weekly, Volume 26 and 27 1954–2012 | Economic ...."  
<https://www.epw.in/journal/2016/26-27/review-rural-affairs/land-labour-and-power.html>.



*‘‘We approached Police many times before, firstly police officials were not even willing to write our complaints and asked to bring few more concerned people with the same issue. We were not paid anything from the money received from the land of our ancestors, neither they promised any employment for our children’s. We don’t have a place now to gather and hold weddings of our Son and Daughter. We lost our old village, where people would collect in one place and celebrate their happiness with all the people in the village. Sarpanch never consulted us about the Common land before selling to the builders on cheap rate. Though it belonged to all of the villagers but only a few ended up benefited out of that’’.*

*Sukhpal- Aggrieved resident of Manauli*

**5.2.4. Social Sphere of Village:** Being at the hinterlands of sector 82, the close proximity of industrial area and upcoming Aerocity, employment opportunities are found in abundance for both locals and migrants. Women belong to lower castes are seeking employment as a maid, housekeeper, cook in the nearby offices and residential housings and higher caste aspire to either get government job otherwise constrained to household chorus only. However, this social divide among lower and upper in terms of employment is not visible due to similar status of education among all castes. Due to presence of large migrants social sphere of manauli is very diverse with people from many states running the informal economy. Migrants engage in both skilled and unskilled work. Barber shops, vegetable vendors, Meat shop in the village are owns by migrants only. Nonetheless, locals are also gaining from the influx of migrant by availing their services at low rates along with renting out their room to them to get a fixed monthly income as many refer to stay at a place in close proximity to Chandigarh where rent is quite high to bear. This has changed the demography of the village considerably in recent times along with generating local economy and employment.

The story of the Jagdeep; owner of the hardware shop explaining the changing economic priorities of the locals. A two storey, only hardware shop in the Manauli owned by Jagdeep Singh at the main road in front of Government Higher Secondary School hired 3 migrant skilled laborers from U.P and Bihar on monthly salary of 12k/month started in 2012 by investing money received from selling 2 acres, after purchasing some agricultural land in Patiala.

Father to 2 sons, both are graduate and assisting him in business, aspire to expand their father’s business in the future and not seeking for any private and government jobs. Jagdeep said why would my sons go out to work for someone else, when their father has worked hard to set the hardware business for them. On asking about inclination towards secure government job Jagdeep said, ‘‘It’s hards to get a good government job these days and Private jobs are a type of slavery and underpaid. So when we have enough resources then it’s better to start own business and employ people from outside to work, ‘jaisa modiji

bolte h startup India' and generate employment for others also". It will attract more migrants for better-earning opportunities along with a safe living environment. Narrative of Prem Singh from Jhansi throwing light on the utilities of Manauli for the people who find hard to bear the cost of accomodation in Chandigarh.

*‘‘It’s been more than 10 years since I am putting stall here. Chandigarh is a planned city with very few affordable places to start panipuri stall. Though some shopping complexes are there but rent is very high. Also, accommodation is expensive in the Chandigarh and traveling every day to the city is very difficult. And I find this village with a large number of customers with affordable rent to start our stall. But over the years this place is also getting expensive in term of accomodation. Back in 2007, I used to pay Rs. 1000/months as rents which now has increased more than thrice in less than a decade. Over the last decade, we have seen people here getting richer every year by selling their land’’.*

*Prem Singh- Works on Panipuri stall from Jhansi.*

Village also has the presence of few people with who left their low paid private jobs and started their own tailor shop, hardware shop and ration shop. Narrative of Tasleem working as tailor in the village explaining the emerging market in the village.

*‘‘I used to work as a security guard in Residential colonies in Chandigarh at the payment of Rs. 8000/month. After altercation with the contract company who hired me, I quit the job which and started working as tailor. With n a months I realized the need of the Village as people used go outside village for stitching and ironing the clothes. Sometimes I think, I should have never opted for security job but notion of secure job kept me holding there despite lot of humiliation and sometimes working for 12-14 hours in stretch.*

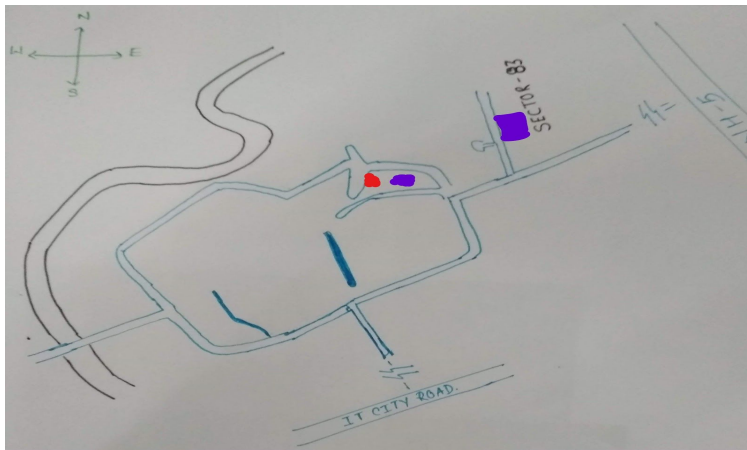
*Tasleem- tailor in Manauli*

**5.2.5. Public services Institutes:** Manauli has a primary and Smart Higher secondary school which has more than 800 students from all the nearby villages of Mauli, Raipur Khurd, and Chilla registered. Higher Secondary school was started back in 1995 from which most of the villagers of manuali had their formal education and 2 years ago converted into a smart school with modern infrastructure and scientific learning tool funded by the state government. Apart from a primary school, 4 Anganwadi centers, also operate in the village which extends the government schemes to the rural end, and facilitate vaccination programmes operated by the government over the years. Manauli has a primary healthcare center along with 5 private clinic running by retired Army nursing doctor and locals from the village who had studied nursing from

chandigarh. However, due to irregularities in the presence of doctor at the government dispensary, most of the time people approaches the private primary clinic, hence end up creating the better opportunities for private practitioners.

Pic 55: Map of Manauli with Primary, Higher secondary school and Veterinary clinic marked. Blue marked location depicts the Educational institute and red-orange depicts veterinary clinic

Source: Adapted from Google Map



Pic 56: Higher secondary school at Manauli

Source: Author (2019)



Pic 57: Government Primary school at Manauli

Source: Author(2019)



Earlier, people used to rear large number of cattle in order to supplement their income from agriculture by dairy business, hence need for a veterinary clinic become primary. However, very few also still engage in dairy business, as loss of agricultural land leads to unavailability of enough fodder.

Pic 58: Veterinary Clinic at the Manauli

Source: Author (2019)



In the changing socio-economic scenario, industrial vicinity and aspirations for a better standard of living, employment activities in the formal sector is witnessing change, thereby, creating a market for newly skilled jobs, providing daily utilities to the people at their doorstep thus saving time and resources of the people. Gagandeep, working as a Mechanic is witnessing this inevitable change narrates his story.

*“I have studied till 8th standard in the Village school only, after that I opened my bicycle repairing shop. Having a culture of joint family, in the village, we have to bear the burden of our younger brothers and parents also, but lack of any proper source of income creates financial difficulties. Nowadays, few bicycles has remained in the village as people have been shifting to 4 wheelers and 2-wheelers, hence leaving us jobless. Now, I am seeking for any private job in the companies as a security guard”.*

*Gagandeep- Mechanic in Manauli*

**5.2.6. Administration:** Like Chilla, this time Manauli also had reserved seat for Women to the Post of Sarpanch. Recent election held in November, where 2 women candidate had filed nomination, out of whom one was rejected, as a result, incumbent Sarpanch declared as elected without any electoral process. Locals believes that rejection of nomination was carried out by husband of elected sarpanch who shares a good relationship with Congress MLA of the constituency who also held a ministerial portfolio in incumbent Punjab Government. Thus, Manauli is representing the fine example ‘Sarpanch Pati’. To facilitate the work of Gram Panchayat, a Panchayat Bhawan is also present in the village, but the building is not being utilized for years as people approach the Sarpanch directly and discuss the concerns.

**5.2.7. Committee System:** Villages of Punjab has an indigenous local system to support village community financially. It is a system where 10-12 people usually come together to form a group which is called a committee and contributes a certain amount of money annually followed by a bidding process by keeping a minimum bidding amount fixed. The member who bid maximum money (has a greater amount of money in need) gets the bidding amount home and remaining will be distributed equally, amongst the other members. The person who got the last bidding will be exempted to bid next year and till all the member got bidding price at least once. Many of the people have joined multiple committees as it considered a good way to get large money which can be invested in the construction of houses, purchase a land, vehicles like tractors and agricultural equipment and cows and buffaloes. However, with the sudden influx of money in lieu of land, this system is now ceased to exist. Avtar Singh; one of the beneficiary of committee system explaining what committee means to him and it’s significance in village community.

*“I have not sold even an inch of my land and have 3 sons who worked in private companies. I got them educated and married by earning from agriculture and dairy products. I still have 4 buffaloes and doing dairy business to supplement income from farming. We had had not enough money for marrying my daughters and and sons but committee and village community always came to my rescue by providing enough financial support whenever needed. Now, I see people running to banks to get loans at higher rates and sell their land to repay. I am happy that, I had never been to banks for loan otherwise who knows i also had to sell my land to clear the debt. Committee is not only about helping financially, it's about having empathy towards each other, understanding each other problems and giving helping hand to the village community in times of emergency. And most importantly it binds a village in a unit.*

*Avtar Singh (64) - Farmer of Manauli*

Pic 59 and 60: Avtar Singh and his farm

Source: Author (2019)





**5.2.8. Outskirts of Manauli:** Being a larger village, outskirts of Manauli is a space carved out for lower castes who own old and dilapidated houses. Only few people own small agricultural land now which is far away from village and most of their land was acquired as part of GMADA's IT-City. Narratives in the hinterlands are distinct from the interior and entrances, which is surrounded by fancy houses, getting service of public institutions at their door along with lot of opportunities at the entrance to avail the benefit by renting shops, starting their own business. For lower caste communities, farmers with small land holdings, acquisition has brought even more inequality to them as now money received in lieu of a small piece of land got divided between brothers. This left a small sum in individual hands which was spent on either renovation of houses, immediate family needs such as healthcare or weddings. However, basic amenities like roads, electricity and water needs are now available in a more organized manner. Narrative of Guranil Singh, marginalized, small farmer explains why he considered himself as worst affected by urbanization.



*“I used to rear cattle by cultivating fodder in a small piece of land. After acquisition money got divided amongst four brothers, leaving very meager amount for each of us. My brothers bought tractors and started working as drivers for the construction sites. And I spent my part on kidney stone treatment of my wife and clearing my debt. But now I can’t even rear cattle because ever since land is gone, fodder rates has gone up. I feel helpless to do anything, my son is minor so can’t support me hence, i am seeking for job of a security guard as I am not physically strong enough to work as construction labor.*

*Gurnail Singh- resident of outskirts of Manauli*

**Pic 61 and 62: Houses of the marginalized communities in the exterior of the village**

**Source: Author (2019)**





Above images depicting the houses of lower caste communities on the road connecting village with IT city. Recently pucca road is constructed to facilitate the logistic support for the construction in IT city. However, the housing infrastructure is partially dilapidated with widespread unemployment.

## **6. Analysis:**

In the whole process of carving out new spaces to build the infrastructure for employment and residents for the future inhabitants of the tricity on agricultural land the area underwent changes. Along with land use pattern existing economic structure and demography of the villages has been changing rapidly by accommodating migrants and diversifying the economic activities. In the next two-section, I have analyzed both Chilla and Manauli separately.

### **6.1. Chilla:**

A small agricultural village where land was acquired for Knowledge City in 2004, Chilla has changed a lot in terms of socio-economic patterns and demographics. Creation of new spaces with economic utility has significantly changed the land use pattern. Village share neighbourhood with national institutes with residential housing. This has created two alienating spaces, the ‘gated communities’, one with all basic

infrastructure and facilities and other coping up with changes brought by urbanization. Purchase of land at many other places in Punjab and Haryana has blurred the sense of belonging in the village with reduction in social capital brought by urban way of living. However, many gave up farming by putting land on tenancy to their relatives which assure them a fixed annual income. Some are involved in practising Batai system and few completely invested their money in business only and moved to Chandigarh by putting house on rent. Remaining are seeking to opt for job in industries and education institutes.

Many like Rajesh's father with huge amount of money and absence of awareness end up falling in clutches of alcoholism which in turns leads to domestic violence and economic inequality in the village. This eventually lead to fragmentation and division in area on economic lines. In the process, spaces meant for the certain fragments of society and the idea about of urban society are being replicated by the villagers in the form of building big and fancy houses with the large influx of money over short time.

Leaving land to tenancy for the cultivation at other places and reluctant to move to a different place to seek employment is making people to venture into businesses. Though some making their way in real estate, construction material business along with big corporates in Chandigarh. But their numbers are very few and majority migrant population in the village is seeking employment opportunities like watchmen, delivery boy, and driver in the automobile companies, educational institutes, and restaurants. This, as a result has increased disposable income of the migrants. They are now able to spend on education in private schools and flourishing fast food center in the region, thus giving rise to consumerism.

Residents of Chilla feels that they are being overshadowed by development happening around on their land, as their connectivity with neighboring villages has changed by infrastructural projects which affected the social capital in the region. Surrounded educational institutions with residential housings and facilities of healthcare and security is confined to the boundaries of these institutes can be seen as 'gated communities' where none from outside is allowed to access the services available in those institutes.

Educational institutes in the village is reduced to serve lower communities only with low student turnout. Kids of labors are deprived of basic education due to their regular movement in search work. Political awareness and aspirations to get political affiliations has also become sound over the years. This is reflected in the recently concluded elections. In the last election the Sarpanch was elected unanimously while during recent elections there was a close contest. However, old customs of patriarchy is still intact in the upper caste where women are bound to household chores unless employed in government sector. Urbanization has greatly benefitted the lower caste labor communities as earlier they had to commute

Chandigarh for labor work but now it is available at their doorstep. Moreover, it has empowered the lower caste women as they get employment in the educational institutes and industries to supplement the income from male counterpart.

At present rent market is down in the village due to the migration of agriculture labors who used to get work locally but, it is expected to rise once the educational institute and industrial infrastructure start functioning. Another important factor of the inefficiency of governmental employment generation schemes to prevent labor migration from U.P, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, and M.P who are living in the poor conditions provided by the contractor. The security of work and timely payment is making them live in such poor conditions with no healthcare, sanitation and education facilities ensured. Narrative of Mahesh from Madhubani, revealed his aspirations for a better standard of living by learning driving and move to Delhi/Mumbai to work as Ola or Uber driver. The story of Govardhan and Rajesh also exposes the inadequacy and inefficiency of the public schemes requiring larger policy interventions to curb the menace of migration.

**6.2. Manauli:** Large village in sector 83, diverse in economic activities provides a good market for both local and migrants. Due to acquisition in patches, many in the villages still owns agricultural land and practice farming and dairy business. However, the economic profile has changed significantly with people engaged in varied professions from agriculture, micro and small scale business to driving and security guards. Due to the vast number of opportunities, migrants are successfully tapping the market by providing the basic services and goods in the village itself. This has strengthened informal economy of the region along with providing employment and increasing disposable income of the village. Narratives of Pawan from Jhansi shows that the region has attracted a large number of migrants over the years and is contributing to the informal economic activities. Moreover, large number of construction laborers are directly taking part in the economy of the region by referring to local markets for their needs which ended up creating ‘Splintering Urbanism<sup>26</sup>’ in the region.

The emergence of urban infrastructure has paved a path for the emergence of new middle and lower middle class families. This will give rise to Consumerism behaviour in the village and strengthening the local informal economy. As Prem Singh stated, new market emerged at different places in the village as result of increasing migrant population, most of them are working as vegetable/fruit vendors, scrap shop, fast food corners, skilled labors.

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<sup>26</sup> Kundu Ratoola (2015), “Making sense of Place in Rajarhat New Town”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 17. Page no. 93 - 101.  
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The demography of village changed rapidly as migrants are playing a larger role in the informal economy by working as fruit, vegetable vendors, working on hardware and furniture shop, an agricultural laborer, scrap dealers, butcher shop for years. There is an endangered market of some traditional shops like bicycle repairing because with better road connectivity people now prefer to commute through petrol/diesel vehicles in order to save time. However, the available local social capital infrastructure of primary education is not being utilized by laborers and migrant families due to involvement of minor childrens along with parents in work. Hence the kids of labors are kept deprived of their fundamental right of primary education. This will create an another generation of migrants and labor in future.

Like Chilla social capital is reduced in Manauli as well due to diversities in employments as people making their way in real estate businesses, some continuing with dairy and agricultural business. New livelihood practices, entrepreneurial spirit, an emerging sense of private wealth and competition and constant efforts to improve one's property permeate the village atmosphere, which is evident from the fact that residential sectors, aspired to be the home of working professionals but many from the village has also invested their money on flats. Thus, seeing it as a way to accumulate the surplus. However, the existing older generation still sees agricultural land as best to invest surplus and not getting allured by the urban lifestyle. But young generations are least inclined towards continuing farming and rather aspiring to learn skills which assure them a secure job or starting their own ventures.

The migrants driving the informal economy in the rural areas has facilitated the wider spectrum of society, by catering growing goods and service demands of corporates and locals businesses. With coming up of banking financial institutions and reduction of social capital, the indigenous committee system is on the edge of losing its hold from the villages. Strengthened education infrastructure of higher secondary school facilitating the access to education for nearby villages as well. The inception of IT giant Infosys in the sector 83 results in forcing the housing market to provide accommodation to the incoming workforce of middle-class employees which in turn increasing land rates for the development of the housing sector. Hence over the years, people volunteered to sell their agricultural land and invest the price received in showrooms and real estate business which provide monthly income by putting on rent once the total infrastructure is developed. This chain of the process is leaving farmers in minority in the villages itself while others have completely shifted to other formal and informal businesses.

## **7. Conclusion:**

In neo-liberal India, where cities are seen as engines of the economy, the creation of new spaces by expanding the existing cities in the hinterlands to accommodate the influx of workforces is inevitable. This has built tensions on the available resources and often leads to unequal distribution amongst inhabitants. Urbanization at one end empowers a certain section of society while broadening the social divide among the communities at the other end. Lack of employment in one state of the country can no longer remain a problem confined to state territory, as people fled from one state to other end up creating shortage of employment elsewhere. This often leads to cheap wages and poor working conditions for unskilled labor, thus exploitation of the labor by the corporates. To get hold on migration, irregularities in payment of wages of MGNREGA (Mahatma Gandhi National rural employment guarantee act) must be addressed by disbursing enough and timely funds to the panchayat.

Government Social infrastructure in the peri-urban region are losing out to the private education and healthcare institutes in terms of utilities. However, government provided services act as saviours for lower castes and migrants who can't afford to avail these services in the city. But movement of labor from one place to another is costing the education of their kids also. It reduces the utility of public institution in the rural areas.

In the present context of urbanization, where it is imperative to create more spaces to increase the GDP figures, the affected population in the hinterlands on whose land the expansion is carried on, results in the creation of new urban spaces. The rural people need to be in consonance with changing phenomenon of the region to adapt with the demand and supply of the emerging entities in the cities. The concerns of the land stakeholders ought to be addressed by providing enough opportunities to ensure their healthy participation of space construction rather than alienating them from opportunities and services available in the vicinity.

On the basis of my study I argue that monetary benefits however large for land acquisition are not an adequate response considering the scale of rural to urban transformation that we see today and the struggles of those whose land were acquired. Policy needs to address infrastructure provision for rural areas that is in line with the newly planned territories, livelihood and job creation for the assimilation of inclusive growth. Though many infrastructure projects in the tri-city are yet to take off and IT city, Industrial area will start functioning in the coming future, it would be interesting to see what role these villages will play in the skilled driven; "Rurban" economy.

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