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Rural transformation and social exclusion in the formation of
the “globalising” city Gurugram, India

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Rural transformation and social exclusion in the formation of the “globalising” city Gurugram, India

Suruchi Kumari

Abstract

This paper elaborates the dynamics of the rural transformation in a south Asian city Gurugram, India through the politico-economic framework of the transformation of “rural” to “urban” to map out the spaces of capital accumulation and social exclusion. The rural transformation in the developing countries like India, which are agrarian based society are giving new meaning to the physical as well as the social spaces. Through fieldwork and secondary data sources, an attempt has been made to understand as to how durable inequality persists, and “residuum classes” are forming when economy and society transforms from agrarian to non-agrarian. The fieldwork aims at the marginalised sections of the society; Dalits as in the case of India and studies as to how the ruling classes and the hegemonic power structure control over the resources lead to the further marginalisation of these groups in the process of rural transformation. The class differentiation and the caste inequalities based on the agrarian social structure deepens further in the land speculation market, where there are no equal gains even in the land market, and study has found that there exist different exchange rates based on the caste dominance in the villages of India.

Keywords: capital accumulation, land acquisition, caste, marginalisation, social exclusion

1 Introduction

To understand the present-day Gurugram and the transformation of its rural regions, it is important to analyse the historical nature of the State and even in the existing socio-economic structures and how the everyday negotiation and regulations of land gave rise to frontiers of underdevelopment and social exclusion. To examine the role of the State and the dominant hegemonic groups in the land development becomes a preliminary step towards analysing the political economy of rural transformation. The commodification of Land¹ through the rural transformation² by the State governments of Haryana as in the context of Gurugram through their various agencies needs to be examined to unpack the extra-economic measures of land grabs for “world-class urbanization.”

The role of the state in the conversion of agricultural lands for urban built-in or SEZ's (Special Economic Zone) in Gurugram started with the formation of the parastatal agencies, namely Haryana Urban Development Authority (HUDA) and Haryana Industrial Development Corporation (HSIDC). The role of the state got reduced to the role of “facilitator” to the private developers, rather than regulator of the development processes. The “state-led capitalism” towards privatizing the cities and dispossessing the peasants from their lands in the rural-peripheries of the Gurugram needs to be analysed in the form of the nature of the land policies of the Haryana government.

In Gurugram, the sale and purchase of Land for urban (residential, commercial and industrial) is governed by the following Acts and regulations:

- Haryana Ceiling of Landholdings, 1972
- Haryana Development and Regulation of Urban Areas Act, 1975
- Haryana Development and Regulation of Urban Areas Rules, 1976
- Haryana Special Economic Zone Act, 2005 and Rules, 2006

In Haryana, the government had set up two parastatal agencies: HUDA and HSIDC for land development in partnership with the private developers. HUDA has been acquiring land for residential, commercial uses since 1975, before that Haryana Urban Real Estate Department used to acquire land for the construction of colonies. The District Town Planning Department (DTP) decides on the land based on the Master plans, and then the land is transferred to HUDA for development.

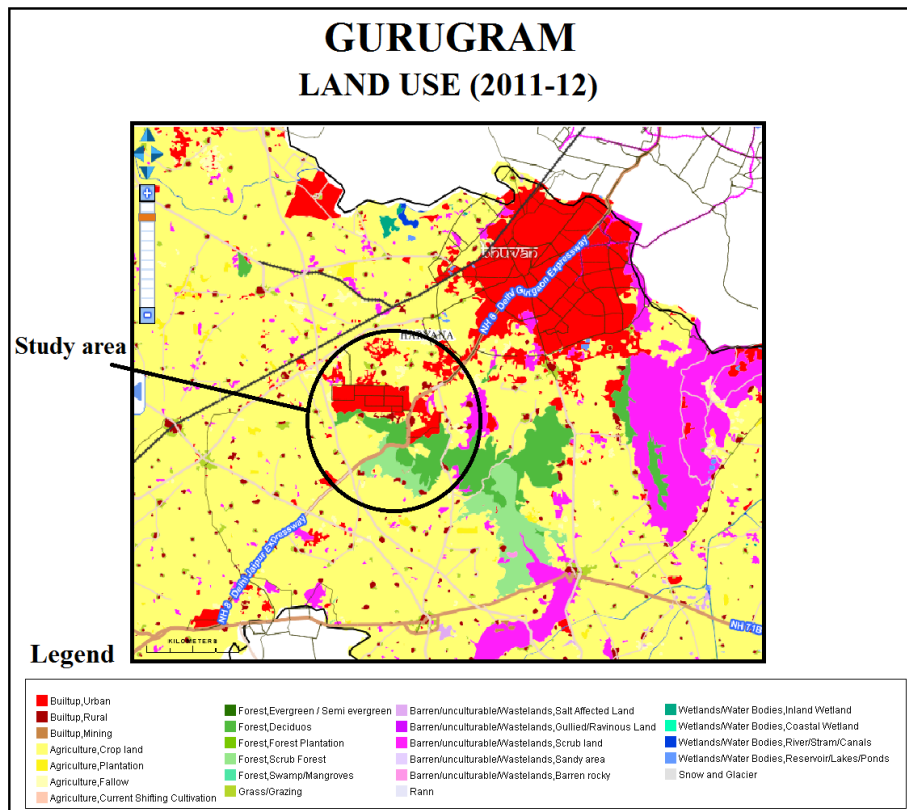
In Gurugram and other cities in Haryana, the State agencies notify the land for urbanisation and industrialisation, and the private sector negotiates directly with the owners of the land. However, the development of the infrastructure is of the state agencies, namely HUDA, PWD (Public Works Department), HSEB (Haryana State Electricity Board). So, after the layout is laid out and the development charges are paid then the private developer carries out the infrastructure development and HUDA takes up charge for the external infrastructure development.

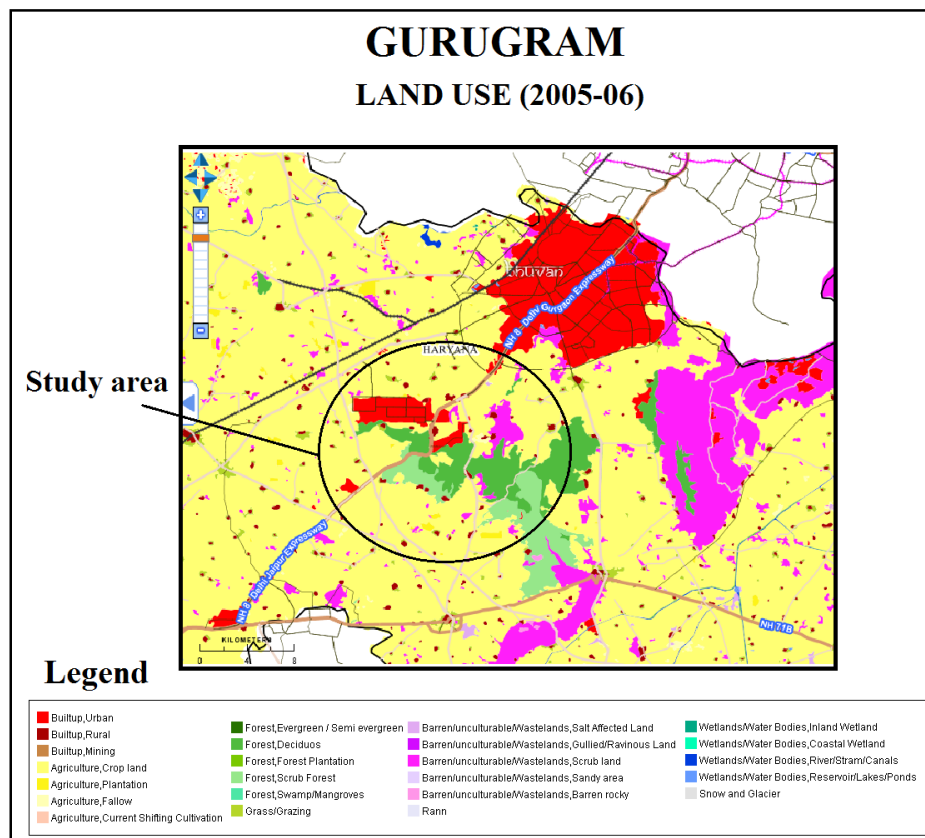
The change in the land use based on the satellite image of the Gurugram and the study area shows as to how there is sprawl in the urban area, and clearly this urban sprawl is not in terms of the urban population increase, either due to natural increase, or due to increase due to migration. The figure below, which shows two sets of images of Gurugram and its neighbouring area, and in particular, the Gurugram-Manesar area shows increase in the built-up area in a span of 5 years only. The urban expansion, towards the periphery of the Gurugram city shows as to how agricultural lands are getting converted for non-agricultural use. The red colour which means the built-up area, clearly shows

¹ The State commodifies land through the means of land grabs and large land use plans. For example Master Plans by the Town and Country planning departments of the State government in India.

² A process whereby dependency on agriculture is reduced, diversification of non-farm activities, networks to towns and cities are established through exchange of goods, services and ideas which are majorly governed by global factors, but however the societal and the cultural spaces are governed by the localized social structures and institutions.

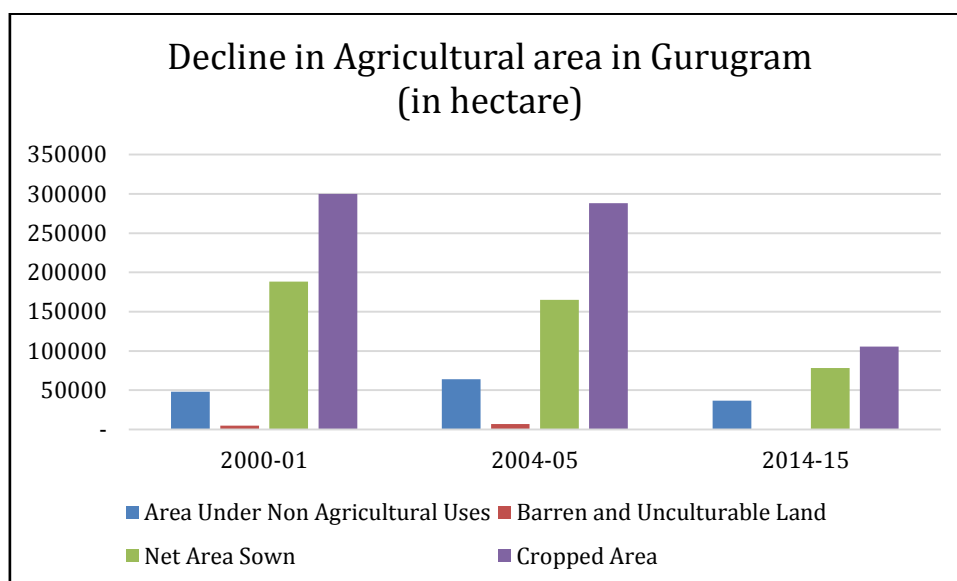
significance expansion in 5 years. This peripheral acquisition of land for urban built-up shows the vast increase in the residential sector by the private sector.





Source: BHUVAN, Retrieved from (<http://bhuvan.nrsc.gov.in/gis/thematic/index.php>)

Figure 1: Decline in Agricultural area in Gurugram (in hectares)



Source: DACNET (<http://www.dacnet.nic.in/>)

The socio-spatial dialectics which have given rise to a complex network of capital accumulation in the post-liberalization period in India and particularly in the State of Haryana has led to fragmented citizenship. To understand this process, a brief exploratory insight is made into the changing nature of the State and its agencies in the Capitalist development, spatial reconstruction, and others. The urbanisation rate of Gurugram increased thrice in 30 years, whereas the rural percentage decreased from 79.69 to 31.18 percent. The decade 2001 to 2011 saw larger decline in the rural population and this could be because of conversion of villages and their incorporation into the Municipal Corporations and as a part of urban units. However, the fabric of most of these settlements continues to be rural, as mostly are the cases of peripheral urban villages.

Table1 - Rural population in Gurugram (in %)

Year	% urban	% rural
1991	20.30	79.69
2001	22.22	77.77
2011	68.82	31.18

Source: Census of Various years

The macro-reforms in the Indian economy during the early 1990's reshaped the roles of different institutions in power sharing and distribution. The case of urbanization of capital through the "conversion"³ of rural land to urban built-in in Gurugram if historically was to be placed, the role of private lobbies to acquire land would come first in its place. In the case of Gurugram, it was at first DLF (Delhi Lease and Finance)'s K.P Singh⁴, which was first formed in 1946 and would carry out "development" in neighbourhoods in Delhi, but when the socialist planning was in place that time, the Delhi development authority controlled the use and sold off land to the private developers.

It was then that the Delhi planning through the master plans restricted real-estate, and therefore the Private developers started shifting towards the neighbourhood of Faridabad and Haryana, where the Land policies were comparatively much in favour of the private developers (Rajagopalan, Shruti, and Tabarrok, Alexander, 2014). DLF started to buy land in Gurugram from 1979-80 onwards as it was easier to get licenses from the Haryana State Government. However, at the same time, it was crucial to take note of the existing caste politics in Haryana at that period, the caste and kinship relations were exploited to acquire land as to how the "jat."⁵ caste of DLF's K.P Singh was used to acquire land. K.P Singh in his autobiography mentions as to how he forced the bureaucrats and the policy makers of Haryana to repeal the Punjab Pre-emption Act of 1913 as this was a hurdle in the acquisition of the large landholdings." Not only this, the way caste networks were exploited regarding the patronage of the village people in the name of "development" would put an interesting insight to the capital Accumulation and caste networks and patronage.

³ Conversion, here would mean spatial transformation through the "dead capital" into "liquid capital", i.e. from lesser value to higher value. In this process gentrification of the cities takes place leading to social exclusion and marginalisation.

⁴ In 2011, K.P Singh wrote an autobiography, "Whatever the odds: The incredible story of Behind DLF", he describes his journey of "self-made billionaire" coming from "odd" situations and becoming the CEO of one of the largest real-estate in India. However, his acceptance of lobbying with the then Rajiv Gandhi government as something personal relationship leaves no shock in the making of "self-man".

⁵ "Jat" refers to the peasants and the cultivators or small landholders who belonged to various religions-including Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. Nonica Dutta in her book on the formation of jat identity historically traces as to how these peasant castes living on the fringe of settled agriculture were mostly landowners in the parts of Punjab and Haryana. (Datta, 1999)

Before visiting him [a Jat villager averse to selling], I had identified one of his main concerns- he had a problem getting one of his children into school. I chose to focus on that rather than talk about the land. I assured him that it would be done and made sure it happened. It is only after helping him out that I talked to him about selling his land. He agreed. In retrospect, I can see that the genuine friendships we cultivated went a long way in helping us assemble the land we wanted in Gurgaon. Getting his child admission to a good school was not a big thing for me, but for the father, it was akin to securing the future of his child. (Singh,K.P,2011)⁶

The above example shows how these are the practices which can't be explained in terms of the rise of global capitalism. However, it could be related and explained in terms of what Breman referred to as patronage while working on the agricultural relations in Gujarat. The Patronage as Breman defined "stratified relations between the groups and individual, where there is acceptance for mutual help. The patron provides material security, while the client returns in labour and loyalty" (Breman,1974).

However, the patron-client relationship which Breman was referring to was in the context of the agricultural laborers and landlords, however in the example of K.P Singh as a real-estate developer, nature is different, but the same patron-client relation is maintained through caste identities. The farmers are giving their lands to their patrons for securing the future of their children in terms of job, education. The relation and the power dynamics are no different in terms of the landowners and the agrarian laborers and capitalists and small and medium landholders. The political immunity and support rendered to jats in this part of real-estate development is the same as the "political resources" given to the agrarian laborers as patronage.

2 Rural transformation and Social Exclusion

In the process of rural transformation in India, where the formation of new towns along the peripheral of the cities is taking place by engulfing the villages, it becomes very critical to understand as to what changes are happening in the villages nearby to the urban centres. Moreover, what expectations, perceptions, experiences the marginalised social groups of these villages are undergoing and how are they conceptualising the "change" regarding economic, social relations within the village and outside. Moreover, it is imperative to link the village level studies with the studies on urban places. In India, there had been a significant number of village level studies mostly by the sociologists and economists to analyse the changing nature of the economic, social relations within the village.

Large-set data analysis and even longitudinal surveys are conducted to understand the socio-economic transformation of the village population. However, these village studies were mostly trying to figure out the role of agriculture and its interrelatedness changes in the societal, demographic and economic pattern. So, most of the village studies sought to analyse the changes in the village in two parts; post green revolution and pre-green revolution. Moreover, the latter part of the village studies tried to analyse the socioeconomic changes in the context of the agrarian crisis. However, here I make an attempt to analyse at the village level and in particular to document the voices of the marginalised social group to understand "change" in the context of land acquisition for urbanisation and industrialisation. It is at the essential levels of the villages from where the urban areas are expanding and from where the surplus regarding land and labour are getting perspired in the process of rural transformation.

How the State is creating "urban" centres to accumulate wealth and power, and where the planning of the regions are purposefully neglecting the agriculture sector and are transforming the agricultural lands to non-agricultural purposes and mostly built-in and industries for the private sectors. So, what's happening to the villages from where the agricultural lands taken for urbanisation and industrialisation needs to be studied. Moreover, it is also important to understand as to how globalization and local

⁶ Retrieved from <http://docplayer.net/39072518-Gated-communities-in-gurgaon-caste-and-class-on-the-urban-frontier>

hegemonic powers and structures are further marginalising the marginalised social groups in the process of “development” as initiated by the State as well as by the global private developers.

Villages are held synonym with “rural,” due to the lack of clarity and conceptualisation of ‘rural’ at the policy level. Villages used as administrative units, but in the course of the planning for regional development, it is not that the administrative boundaries matter, but the spatial and regional continuity regarding the needs and the complexities of the existing social, economic and political textures matters. Defining village as an administrative unit is easier, but understanding rural and its transformation in the Indian context is a cumbersome task.

Where there is no public policy level definition of “rural” and whatever is not “urban” is considered to be rural. The Census of India defines “urban.”⁷, but does not define “rural,” instead uses administrative categories of the village to mean rural. The census defines and limits the binaries in ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ regarding human settlement, but this dualism does not hold true in the current period of globalisation, urbanisation, and ICT (Information and Communication Technology).

The fluidity of spaces has blurred the precise boundaries between the ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ regarding the social way of living, means of livelihood and spatial transformations. To understand, the nature of the modern urbanisation in India, in-depth studies need to be made at the level of villages, from where the transformations are taking place in shaping the modern towns and cities. Therefore, at the villages, the impact of globalisation, urbanisation needs to be studied and analysed to understand as to how when the economy of the village is transforming to non-farm, then what changes are taking place in the societal and economic relations within the village.

The changing villages in India core lie in the two phases, the first Green Revolution and other the Crisis of the Indian Agriculture. Here, I would discuss as to how the State “created” agrarian crisis for Accumulation in the secondary circuit of capital, i.e., built-up area and its meaning and impact on the marginalised social groups of the region. The economy shifts from the farm to the non-farm firstly didn’t see pan-India phenomenon (Himanshu, Jha, & Rodgers, 2016).

However, at the national level there has been a decline at the rate of 0.019 percent per annum in employment in the agriculture sector. These declines have been attributed to the crisis of the Indian agriculture regarding labour and to see as to how the labour has shifted from farm to non-farm employment and mostly in the construction sector. The following table based on NSSO (National Sample Survey Organisation) Employment and Unemployment Surveys: 38th Round (1983), 50th Round (1993-94), 61st Round (2004-05) and 66th Round (2009-10).

⁷ The 1971 census defines ‘urban’ as any place which satisfies the following conditions:

- Municipal corporations, municipal councils and notified areas
- Not part of the above administrative unit, but part of urban agglomerations
- Any place, which has population above 5000 and has density is more than 400 persons per square km⁷⁵ percent of the male working population engaged in non-agricultural activities.

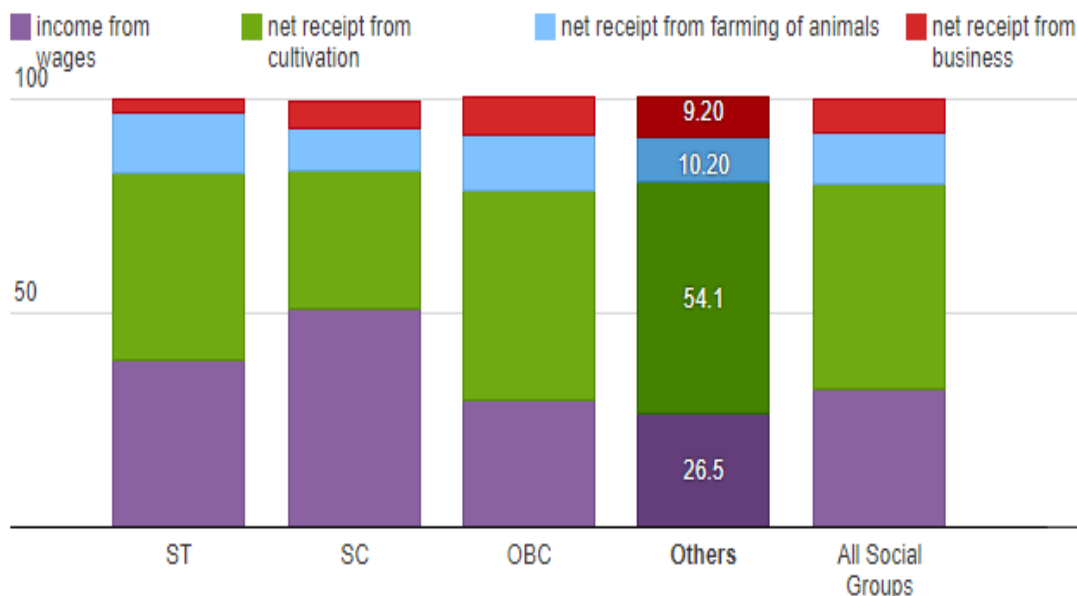
Table – 2: Sectoral Growth Rates of Rural Employment at All India level (%).

Sector	1983 to 1993-94	1993 -94 to 2004-05	1999-2000 to 2009-10
Agriculture	1.37	0.69	-0.019
Non-agriculture	3.23	3.64	4.03
Total	1.68	1.40	0.96
Manufacturing	2.02	2.74	0.62
Construction	5.35	8.27	12.04
Trade/Hotels, etc	3.76	4.88	3.41
Transport/Communication	4.35	6.54	4.44
Financial Services	-	6.13	5.20
Other services	-	0.08	0.77

Source: (Reddy, Reddy, Nagaraj, & Bantilan, 2014)

The changing villages in India regarding the economic changes have been documented by researchers regarding the shifts from one economy to the other as to how the non-farm employment has increased the economic well-being. However, these studies have also concluded that these have not been the same for all social groups (for example Harris 1992; Breman 1997; Himanshu, Jha Praveen and Rodgers 2016; Jodhka 2017).

Figure 2: Income from different sources by various social groups,2013 (in %)



Source: <http://www.livemint.com/Opinion/myrJLTnIfiNVSaJF8ovdRJ/Locating-caste-in-Indias-farm-economy.html>

The above figure shows as to how the upper castes gain mostly from cultivation and non-farm activities. Here, also it is also seen that Dalits still are dependent as agricultural wage labourers and they are not landowners to gain from cultivation. The diversification of the non-farm activities has only economically benefited the upper castes and Dalits are worst-off.

3 Villages in India: An overview

In India, from the political perspective on the village life in India and the need for urbanisation for social transformation, the view of political thinkers like Periyar, Ambedkar, Gandhi, Nehru on Villages and social transformation needs to be examined in the contemporary social changes in the village. While Gandhi emphasized on the self-sufficiency of the village, Nehru through the 'modernist' planning focused on the rural development through investment in heavy industries and Ambedkar being critical of the social structure of the village setting focused on the social reform in the villages, through the "Annihilation of caste." Gandhi's view on Indian villages was to reconstruct at in-situ, whereas Ambedkar focused on the "leaving" the village to move out of the village space to get out of the social malaise of untouchability.

Ambedkar's view on the village and its social and economic structure hold true in the contemporary times as well. The division of the laborers and the uneven distribution of resources in the village based on the caste system still is found in the villages of India. The rights to life, dignity based on the social locations of caste caused hindrance in the overall economic and social development of those belonging to the "untouchable" communities. Ambedkar critically examined the situation of the Indian Village as:

The Indian village was not a single unit. It was divided into two sets of populations: 'touchable' and 'untouchables'. The 'touchables' formed, what he called, 'the major community' and the untouchables 'a minor community'. The 'touchables' lived inside the village and the untouchables lived outside the village in separate quarters. The untouchables were economically the dominant community and commanded power; the Untouchables were a 'dependent community' and a 'subject race of hereditary bondsmen'. The Untouchables lived according to the codes laid down for them by the dominant 'touchable' major community. These codes laid guidelines regarding their habitations; the distance they ought to maintain from the 'Hindus'; the dress they should wear; the houses they should live in; the language they should speak; the names they should keep. They could not build houses having tiled roofs; they could not wear silver or gold jewellery. [Moon 1979, 1989]

Marx while writing on Indian villages in Capital, however ideologically and empirically misses that there is a division of labour in the village and also the distribution of lands in the village was not common and there existed private property of land. On Indian villages:

Those small and extremely ancient Indian communities...are based on possession in common of the land, on the blending of agriculture and handicrafts, and on an unalterable division of labour...The chief part of the products is destined for direct use by the community itself, and does not take the form of a commodity. Hence, production here is independent of that division of labour brought about, in Indian society as a whole, by means of the exchange of commodities. It is the surplus alone that becomes a commodity, and a portion of even that, not until it has reached the hands of the state, into whose hands from time immemorial a certain quantity of these products has found its way in the shape of rent in kind. (Marx 1954: 337).

Gandhi views on villages and cities were grounded on moral grounds, without having any deeper analysis of economic and social structures of the villages and cities. The clear dichotomy made into village and city life as happy and unhappy were neither true during those times, neither it goes in the contemporary times. Moreover, the dichotomy of Industrialisation and handicrafts were also defying the problems which urban poor working in the cities were going through. Gandhi wrote,

The village civilisation and the city civilisation are totally different things. One depends on machinery and industrialisation, the other rests on handicrafts. We have given preference to the latter. After all, this industrialisation and large-scale production are only of comparatively recent growth. We do not know how far it has contributed to our development and happiness, but we know this much that it has brought in its wake the recent world wars... Our country was never so unhappy and miserable as it is at present. In the cities people may be getting big profits and good wages, but all that has become possible by sucking the blood of villagers. [Gandhi 1977a:369].

While Nehru had a modernist vision, and had a functionalist approach towards the understanding of village life in India. The functionalist understanding of Nehru on Indian village could be observed from his views:

The functions of each group or caste were related to functions of the other castes, and the idea was that if each group functioned successfully within its own framework, then society as a whole worked harmoniously. Over and above this, a strong and fairly successful attempt was made to create a common national bond which would hold all these groups together – the sense of a common culture, common traditions, common heroes and saints, and common land to the four corners of which people went on pilgrimage. This national bond was of course very different from present-day nationalism; it was weak politically, but socially and culturally it was strong. [Nehru,1948].

The views of Ambedkar, Gandhi, Nehru on Indian villages, if were to be examined in the contemporary villages then the idea of Ambedkar on the graded economic and social structure of the villages still there. The modernist planning of Nehru did not succeed in diversifying the occupations of the marginalised groups, neither the self-sufficiency idea of a village of Gandhi holds true in the contemporary globalisation and urbanisation.

Then sociologist like Dipankar Gupta, who has concluded that the Indian villages exist no more as caste and agriculture no longer exist in the villages(Gupta,2005). The decline of employment in the sector of employment is just one aspect. However, the dynamic relationship between the existing population and the resources across the lines of caste, gender setting in the villages of rural India cannot lead to conclude that the villages in India have withered away.

So, here in the forthcoming section, based on empirical work in a village in Gurugram, Haryana, I try to present the case as to how agriculture and allied activities have lost its ground, but caste has grown stronger in the process of rural transformation. Based on the Ambedkar's idea of Village and social exclusion, an analysis has been made to understand the continuity of caste in urbanisation, industrialisation process in the rural transformation.

4 Caste: A system of marginalisation and social exclusion

Before understanding as to how 'caste' is a system of marginalisation and Social Exclusion in the Indian context, it is important to delve into the concepts of 'marginalisation' and 'Social Exclusion.' 'Marginalisation' is a social process of being side-lined, excluded and forms the margins of the society

regarding lower ranks in the social order. Buvinic (2005) on discussing the social exclusion in Latin America described it as “The inability of individual and groups to participate in the political, economic and social functioning of the society.” She further adds as to how it also includes “the denial of equal access to opportunities forced by particular groups in society upon others.”

Haan (2001) describes Social Exclusion as a multidimensional concept where deprivations are multi-dimensional. The idea of Social Exclusion not only explains the deprivations in the economic, social and political spheres but also brings the dynamics of “social relations and the processes and institutions that underlie and are part and parcel of deprivation.” The work of Hillary Silver (1994) brings the multilevel deprivation where people belonging to certain groups are “excluded, for example, from livelihoods, employment, earnings, property, housing, minimum consumption, education, the welfare state, citizenship, personal contacts or respect.” It is pertinent to take note from the above definitions and concept of Social Exclusion as to how Social Exclusion is group based and also as to how Social Exclusion is interrelated, for example, The Social Exclusion in Education, would impact the Employment and henceforth.

In the context of India, social exclusion is based on various identities of caste, gender, religion, citizenship, language, and others. In this chapter, however, caste-based social exclusion has been taken into consideration. Caste in India has been the basis of the economic system in India. The economic system of caste is based on the occupational hierarchy of social groups and determine their economic positions and rights, the economic system of the caste is hereditary and graded in nature (Ambedkar, 1987). The rigid barriers to changes in the economic positions defined by castes are what “forced Exclusion” (Sen, 2000), where the economic rights of one caste are taken by another caste.

Caste is embedded in the production relations, not only caste has been effective in the minds of people, but it had been a material reality affecting the social and economic relations. In the market economy, it is seen as to how economic rights are restricted for those at the lower of the caste hierarchy regarding access to Land, Labour, Capital, and others. Occupational mobility gets restricted around the caste lines. Those groups who are at the bottom end of the caste hierarchy finds it immobile to transfer occupational, whereas it's easier for those at the upper level of the hierarchies. The Untouchables located at the bottom of the caste hierarchy are deprived of their basic economic and social rights (Thorat, 2008).

Table - 3: All-India Assets, Deprivation by social groups (in%)

	ALL	SCs	STs	OTHERS
Total households	17.92 cr	3.31 cr	1.96 cr	12.64 cr
Deprived households	60.61%	72.58%	78.58%	54.68%
Dependent on manual casual labour	51.14%	67.27%	51.36%	46.88%
Landless and MCL-dependent	29.97%	45.15%	29.84%	26.02%
Cultivators	30.10%	18.35%	37.93%	31.96%
Own motor vehicles*	20.69%	12.59%	9.79%	24.51%
Own pucca house	18.52%	11.29%	6.36%	22.31%
Own refrigerator	11.04%	6.49%	3.43%	13.41%
*Motor vehicles include 2/3/4 wheelers and fishing boats				

Source:

Harish Damodaran, (2015) based on socio-economic caste census 2011.⁸

⁸ <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/landlessness-is-higher-among-dalits-but-more-adivasis-are->

The above table based on the socio-economic caste census, 2011 the above table shows the level of deprivation of Dalit households at all India level. Moreover, it is important to note that Landlessness among Dalits is highest in India. However, the deprivation level for the tribal is highest. The focus here is the landlessness among Dalits and how it leads to deprivation at multiple levels.

In the times of globalisation, how does a category of caste operates need to be examined and it needs to be understood as to how the experiences of abuse, humiliation, disrespect have transformed into social exclusion. At the village level, when the market was not open to global forces, the marginalised social groups were only vulnerable to the locally dominant social structure and politics, but globalisation created problems at various levels and especially about the shifting patterns of Employment. In India, the debates during the mid -eighties tried to analyse the mode of production particularly in the Indian Agriculture and to understand whether nature was feudal, semi-feudal, semi-colonial, capitalist or retarded capitalist were either missing or ignoring caste as a factor in Capital accumulation. It is important to analyse and theorise as to how caste works as an axis of capital accumulation in globalisation and capitalism.

How the agrarian capital and surpluses are getting reinvested in the secondary circuit of capital in the rural Areas, what impact it has caste-wise. It is important to analyse as to how the organisation of Land, labour market is getting shaped around caste and hegemonic power structures in the villages. It is rare to find in the Indian context, where the social mobility has happened, and it is immobile mostly due to “Durable Inequality” looks into as to how the social inequalities are relational and rooted in power asymmetries. He brings forth the argument that most forms of inequality are located around categories such as male/female, black/white, or, the other cases of hierarchical inequalities, like class and caste (Tilly, 1980).

The persistent Durable inequality is what leads to the phenomenon of “opportunity hoarding.”; where the members of a particular caste through the exploitation of the networks have control over the resources and its allocation and distribution. The opportunity hoarding through the means of caste-based exploitation makes social mobility more uneven. Bailey has introduced the concept of the frontier in his study on the relationship between caste and accumulation to analyse the internal changes in a village in the eastern part of India. Economic Frontier (Bailey, 1957), a concept qualified by caste, government policies can still be used to explain the role of caste in Capital accumulation in this part of Haryana. It is also observed as to how caste networks social networks are exploited to reduce the transaction costs for economic development; rather it is the caste-based economic networks that restrict social mobility and transformations. (Vijay Bhaskar, M and Kalaiyarasan, 2014)

5 Kasan Village: Background

Here in this section, I would present evidence in support of my argument by a case study of Dalits from Kasan, a village around 21 km from Gurugram to understand the relations between caste and Accumulation. Kasan village, which is located in the Manesar tehsil in the Gurugram district of Haryana. It is a village with a population above 5000 according to census 2011. This village has been chosen to understand the socio-spatial dialectics of urbanisation in the peripheral part of the Gurugram city. Post liberalisation land has been acquired by the HSIIDC (Haryana State Industrial and Infrastructure Development Corporation) for the allotment of land for the Industrial Model Township (IMT) and the development of the infrastructure like highways.

Currently, in this village land has been notified by the HSIIDC for the development of the IMT2. To understand the nature of the capital accumulation in the village as an outcome of the land acquisition

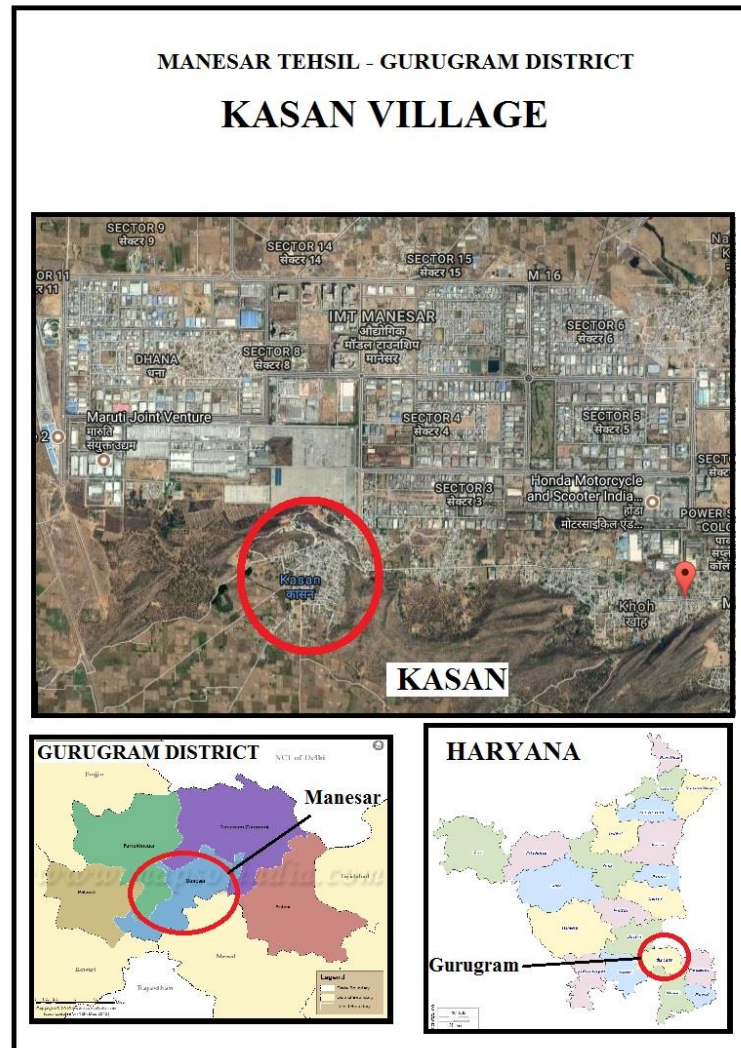
[deprived/](#), SECC-2011 is a study of socio economic status of rural and urban households and allows ranking of households based on predefined parameters.

for urbanisation and industrialisation purposes an analysis has to be made in lieu of the political economy framework. Historically this part of Gurugram, the peripheral south-east part started to gain the attention of the Private companies, when Maruti first set up its plant, then the Haryana government acquired the land from the farmers of the villages in Manesar, Kasan being one of them.

Integrated Model Township (IMT) is a 1,750-acre (7.1 km²) Manesar has been developed in four phases. HSIDC did allot 600 acres of land to Maruti Limited for industrial purposes. So, Manesar was going to be built as an industrial town on the peripheral of Gurugram city. Industrial and gated residential colonies started to come up in Manesar post the coming of Maruti in 1980's. HSIIDC has acquired 1,600 acres of land near IMT to form IMT-2. Villagers from: Kasan, Baskhusla, Mokalwaas, Khardi, Baslambi, Pukharpur, Kukudurla, Fazilwaas and Sahrawan which have been notified were opposing the acquisition due under-pricing of land (Times of India,2010).

Recently for the expansion of the Dharuhera industrial estate of the HSIIDC and the expansion of the Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor as a part of the Manesar-Bawal investment region protests were held, and villagers of this village also participated in this. The villagers and people of the villages nearby protested as this would degrade their land and would cause environmental pollution. The land acquired in this village and nearby village as part of the Gurugram-Manesar master plan 2031 to build K-M-P Expressway(Kundli-Manesar-Palwal) or also known as Delhi western peripheral Expressway also met with limited protest in 2007.However, one phase of the Expressway is open for public use since 2009(Manesar-Palwal). However, what happened to the villages nearby in terms of the social, political, economic changes with the spatial reconfiguration of the city in terms of the increase in the urban built-up and industrialisation is critical to be analysed as land and livelihood of the village population were directly linked to this spatial transformation.

Figure – 3: Map of Kasan Village, Gurugram



Source: Google Maps

6 The Political economy of caste and rural transformation

From the Ambedkarite Political economy perspective to understand the nature of caste and its changing dynamism in the process of rural transformation needs to be analysed in a form when Ambedkar campaigned for Dalits to leave the village and to move cities to break the shackles of untouchability. However, in the context of globalisation and spatial transformation of the villages in-situ for urbanisation and industrialisation, what is happening to the Dalits in the spatial and economic transformation of the villages. Moreover, the other important idea of Ambedkar on shifting to the industrial sector is leaving what kind of social changes on the lives of the Dalits in India need to be analysed in a particular spatial and temporal context. As Ambedkar mentioned:

A large agricultural population with the lowest proportion of land in actual cultivation means that a large part of the agricultural population is superfluous and idle, this labour when productively employed will cease to live by predation as it does today, and will not only earn its keep but will give us surplus, and more surplus means more capital. In

short, strange as it may seem, industrialisation of India is the soundest remedy for the agricultural problems of India. (Ambedkar,1918)

The political economy of caste in India to be explained in the context of capitalism becomes necessary to demystify the dualism of caste and class.⁹In the accumulation of capital through various modes of exploitation. The question which needs to be addressed in the context of the political economy of caste in the socio-spatial transformation is that as to how in the framework of the spatial transformation of the villages, how are the marginalised sections of the villages participating in the urbanisation and industrialisation processes given their social and economic locations? On the other hand, to understand the political economy of caste in the capital accumulation process, where do we figure “social capital” as a driving force behind those accumulating with the help of the State. Moreover, last, but not the least, how does the State instead of planning public policies for the marginalised sections prefers global accumulation of capital.

In general, the political economy of caste takes the position as to how caste is not only a tool for purity and pollution rather in the liberalisation and privatisation period as to how caste networks played a crucial role in accumulating wealth, power.

Moreover, how those historically marginalised groups, post liberalisation, and privatisation continue to struggle harder to maintain their economic and social well-being. The way caste is consistent with the corporatism needs to be analysed in the context of caste as a mode of exploitation in the Indian context. Barbara Harris in her work on Dalits and Adivasis in India’s Business Economy points out to the three functions of caste in the political-economic framework-

Caste provides “ideological backcloth” for the corporatist organisations;

The working of caste is consistent with the institutionalisation structure of the evolving corporatist organisations;

moreover, lastly, caste also creates conditions for the overlap between economy and society necessary for the working of the corporatist project.” (Barbara Harris White,2014)

The State in the Indian democracy failed to abolish private property, and caste flourished as a social institution of capital accumulation. Caste continues to dominate the Capital accumulation process by being one of the dominant force behind the institutional and political-economic relationships in India. On the other hand, the relationship between capitalism and democracy¹⁰ is also however not left untouched by the political-economic institution of caste.

The other principle inherent in the institutional working of caste is hegemony, where regarding the caste and class-a monopoly capitalist class dominates the political-economy of a region.

The political economy of caste in changing village of Gurugram city based on interviews with Dalit members of the village would be explained in the context of the socio-spatial transformation.

⁹ The dichotomy of caste and class in India reasoned out due to the false understanding of Marxist school of thought, which conceived false idea of base and superstructure. Ambedkar over and over again emphasised that the struggle against caste needs to organically tied with the class struggle (Anand Teltumbde,2016)

¹⁰ Schumpeter argues that socialism would collapse free-market economies. He was of the firm opinion that capitalism would end not by revolution by proletariat, but by class of elites who would gain central control (Schumpeter in “Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy”).

7 Land acquisition, rural transformation and Dalits

It is crucial to understand as to whether the process of Land Acquisition has caste dimensions to it to understand the nature of the State-led capitalist Development and what impact it has on the Dalits in the village to understand the complexities of socio-spatial transformation.

In this part of Gurugram, Manesar in 1994, Haryana Government then as a part of the commodification of the peripheral land of Gurugram set to set-up Industrial Model Township of 4000 acre acquired land from the villages in Manesar to attract investment from the corporates for creating Industries. However, in the present situation, HSIIDC records show at least 2,100 plots have been allotted to various industries here till date. Apart from two big automobile factories of Maruti and Honda, most of these plots have been taken by those small industries and companies dealing in auto parts, garments, and IT services.¹¹

To understand the implication of land acquisition on the Dalits in the village and how do they see the overall industrialisation process, on interviewing the ex-sarpanch of the village Lekhram a Dalit who used to work in Delhi for 20 years, on inquiring about what he used to work, he did not reply. On a group discussion with the Dalit men of the village regarding the social and economic conditions of the village and most importantly post the land acquisition processes in the village.

On asking about the land acquisition protests in the village post-2012, he mentioned that there had not been any organised protest in the village¹². Examining the role of caste as a factor in land acquisition protest becomes pertinent as Dalits in India do not own much land. Moreover, if they own then either the area is too small, or the quality would be of poorer quality.

Table - 4: Households that do not own land as proportion of all households, social group, rural India, 1992 and 2003 (%)

Year	ST	SC	All
1992	7.3	8.1	8.1
2003	9.1	5.7	6.6

Source: NSS Report No. 397, 1992 and NSS Reports No. 491, 2003¹³

¹¹ <http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/manesar-imt-a-township-dream-turns-an-infrastructure-mess/990933/>

¹² However, on interviewing another Sarpanch (whose land was also acquired for building IMT1) told that the farmers of the villages protested against Land Acquisition's, this would mean that the protest against the Land Acquisition was mostly being done by large farmers who were mostly from upper castes.

¹³ Report no.397 and report 491 are on household ownership Holding in India by NSSO

Table - 5: Households that do not possess land as proportion of all households, by social group, rural India, 1993- 94 & 2004-05 (in %)

Year	ST	SC	ALL
1993-94	13.3	18.1	12.9
2004-05	3.6	2.7	2.0

Source: NSS Report No. 425, 1993-94 and NSS Report No 516,2004-05¹⁴

Moreover, if it was looked at the State level, then Haryana where land inequality is one of the highest in India among various social groups, it is found that 84.1 % of Dalits do not own any other land other than their homesteads (NSS,59TH round on Land and Livestock holding Survey,2003).

In an interview with ex-sarpanch of the village, Gopal Singh the first land acquisition in the village took place in the year 1987, where the agricultural land for the development of the IMT1 were acquired by HSIIDC and for one acre of land 48 lakh compensation was applied, which though in the due course of time, with the interest rates farmers received around 75-80 lakhs per acre.

The ex-sarpanch who belongs to the Rajput caste, upper caste also didn't show much reluctance to answer to our questions regarding the protests regarding the land acquisition for IMT2. He, however, talked about the declining state of affairs of the agriculture in the village and said that earlier agriculture was good in the village, crops like wheat, mustard, and other crops used to grow, but now the households in the villages do not practice agriculture as there is no land. However, he mentioned that Land had been notified for the development of the IMT2. Moreover, on asking about if there had been organized protests in the village regarding the notification of the land for the development of IMT2, to which he responded that cases are pending in the Gurgaon court on behalf of the farmers of this village as well as of the adjoining villages for fairer compensation.

So, when the Dalits in India, are mostly landless then what does Land acquisition means for them is very crucial to be understood. Moreover, in the context of caste based politics in India, when caste based political organizations are formed, then what does the popular protests, and struggles take the form is an interesting insight to be made. As questions arose on then Mayawati government in Uttar Pradesh, regarding the protest against Land Acquisition in Bhatta-Parsaul¹⁵ was that Mayawati was not too concerned about the agitation as the protest was organised by the Jat community, and which was not her traditional vote bank (Sathe, Dhanmanjiri,2015).

LekhaRam¹⁶ described as to how most of the farmers agreed to the compensation rates to their lands, and on asking about do they see any discriminatory rates of compensation received, they said no as the rates are notified by the state government, and no altercation happens with that.

¹⁴ Report no-425 and Report no 517 is Employment and Unemployment among social Groups in India by NSSO (National Sample Survey Organisation)

¹⁵ In 2011, the farmers of Bhatta-Parsaul agitated against the acquisition of land for the creation of "Yamuna expressway", linking Agra to Delhi the protest was led mostly by the jat farmers and also ended in violent leading to three deaths.

¹⁶ Ex-sarpanch of Kasan Village who belongs to SC category.

So, if the Dalits are not actively participative in the land acquisition, they indirectly are affected as it affects their livelihood and employment. What happens to the Dalits when the State acquires land for industrialisation, and commercial purposes that social changes happen as a result of the spatial transformation in a village setting is important to be analysed from the perspective of the marginalised communities.

8 Compensation¹⁷ and Social Disturbance

Since Dalits are not directly affected from the Land Acquisition, as they do not have much land, how are they socially affected regarding the exploitation and humiliation? During the field work, it emerged as to how the language, symbols of dominance and power by those who appear to be the victims of the State are perpetuating dominance on the Dalits in the village. On enquiring about how those farmers who received their compensation from Land Acquisition invested in and what kind of changes were observed in the kinship and caste relations in the village. Then R.P Shankhi who has a stationary shop in the village gave detailed information about the social dynamics of the village, he mentioned as to how the upper castes of the village mostly the Rajputs after receiving compensation from the loss of their land invested in the transportation business in the Maruti company and others built houses for renting purposes.

So, not only here it becomes necessary to see as to how the upper castes in the village invest the money for rent purpose. Moreover, hence the transition is seen in the form of how the upper castes who were till now rural landlords became rentier capitalists. Not only the mode of livelihood changed for the upper castes, where they from being cultivators and owners of large land transformed into rentier capitalist, where they began to accumulate wealth and property using renting their properties in the villages and the cities nearby.

The political, economic understanding of caste, here would suggest that Dalits in the villages, when the village economy was dependent on agriculture and allied activities; the mode of production was based on agrestic relations of production, then Dalits were either working as wage laborers or bonded laborers. When spatial transformation happened, then due to the decline of agricultural land Dalits moved out of wage labour, but the condition worsened as opportunities of self-employment, jobs in the companies which were set-up got entangled with the burden of caste. Those self-employed Dalits in the villages were also facing casteist slurs and threatening from the upper castes for breaking their shops.

9 Externalities and Social change

What social transformation takes place in the villages, where land gets acquired for urbanisation and industrialization, due to the external agencies regarding the private developers, industries comes to occupy the space of the village. By, here the word space does not mean only the geographical space, but also the social space as well. In the PPP model of real estate development, the developers and the industries as part of CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility).

In Kasan, the majority of the land of the village has been acquired by the HSIIDC and given to Maruti; no other private developers reach out to this village for any kind of real estate development. The Maruti company set up water ATMs in Kasan, Dhana, and Bas Khusla and Bas Hariya villages of Manesar as part of their CSR initiative.¹⁸ In, this the company pays the installation cost and the

¹⁷ Here Compensation refers to price received by those directly affected in the Land Acquisition price is up to four times the market price in rural areas and more than two times in urban areas as notified in "The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill, 2012).

¹⁸ <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/maruti-suzuki-india-sets-up-4th-water-atm-in-manesar/articleshow/57268309.cms>

Panchayat own the Plant and pays for the water and electricity for it to run. Not, only these, R.P Shankhi¹⁹ also mentioned about as to how after Maruti adopted this village under CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) sewerage has been developed, toilets made in each house, community hall of the village developed by Maruti over the village Panchayat Land.

An RO water purifier tank has been set up by the Maruti in the village, and it is situated in front of the present sarpanch Balbir Singh, a Rajput caste; The young Dalits complained as to how the Sarpanch making use of its power and dominance has connected an external water pipe from that water tank to his own house and how the money collected after the sale of the water is being accumulated within his family.

10 State from participation in welfare programmes

The withering away of State and even the Panchayat level interference in the development of the village were found in the complaints made by people in the interviews, A local shopkeeper remarked as “whether be it any government at the state level, no government has to do anything with the development of the village.” On asking about the educational level of the village, he mentioned that there is only one M.Sc. in the village. He also mentioned as to how only Dalits kids and migrant workers’ children go to the government schools and the upper castes kids go the private schools in Manesar and Gurugram city. On enquiring about employment, he mentioned that the “locals” don’t get job in the companies, as they are considered to create brawls and are not trusted with their work. He also mentioned about the land being notified for the construction of the K-M-P (Kundli Manesar Palwal Expressway) land in the village.

11 Conclusion

What scale and principles decide whether these “changes” are necessary (qualitatively and quantitatively) to be explained as to “transformation”, where the previous structure, ideologies, hierarchies die out and newer forms of structure, ideologies and at the same time restructured hierarchies are carved out. However, to simply put any of these changes as “transformation”, would mean to explain changes evolutionarily. The approach to rural transformation as revolutionary changes in terms of the overthrow of the hierarchies, immobility by the structural changes in the public policies is what would mean social transformation. The withering away of state from intensifying the rural accumulation in terms of the reinvestment of surplus in agriculture or modernisation of agriculture to safeguarding the social and economic rights has led to the poor state of the Indian agriculture. The issue of land is a “state” subject, and in the case of Gurugram, it has been observed as to how the Haryana government through its land policies has converted the agricultural lands for non-agricultural use, and the income from the agriculture sector and particularly cultivation has declined drastically and the surplus labour has even not got absorbed in the industrialisation.

The non-agricultural use of land has led to tremendous increase in the price of the land owing to the competition and speculative market of real-estate investment. It is also found as to how land which has a major role in the capitalist accumulation process has not only led to drifts between the state and the citizens but has also led to divide along caste, ethnicity, class. The state in due course of capitalist accumulation maximises its profits along these social structures and institutions. Land plays a crucial role in the production, consumption and distribution processes. The distribution of land is highly uneven in India, and this unevenness is seen along the lines of social positions along the caste, gender

¹⁹ A interviewee, who runs a stationary shop and has photos of Dr. Ambedkar in his shop.

lines. Here, the concern around caste has been raised, and it is observed as to how the Dalits are mostly landless in India, and the social justice through land reform has failed and further the conflict, violence emerging out of the land related issues at the local level has also further deepened.

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**New Extractivism, Peasantries
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Perspectives and Debates**

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