Land Acquisition and Compensation in Singur: What Really Happened?

Maitreesh Ghatak¹, Sandip Mitra², Dilip Mookherjee³ and Anusha Nath⁴

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WB Background: From Land Reform to Land Acquisition: Why?

- Agricultural productivity plateaued since the mid-90s
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- Most rural households cannot rely on agriculture any more for their livelihoods
- Decline in proportion of household heads declaring agricultural cultivation as their primary occupation (less than 50% by 2003)
- Corresponding rise in landlessness (almost 50% in 2003)

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- Corresponding rise in landlessness (almost 50% in 2003)
- And in education and aspirations of the young, who seek non-agricultural occupations

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Background, contd.

From the early 2000s, the ruling Left Front realized the need to expand non-agricultural employment

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- From the early 2000s, the ruling Left Front realized the need to expand non-agricultural employment
- So it bent over backwards to invite private industry
- Tried to lure Tata away from tax concessions offered in HP and Uttaranchal

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Background, contd.

- From the early 2000s, the ruling Left Front realized the need to expand non-agricultural employment
- So it bent over backwards to invite private industry
- Tried to lure Tata away from tax concessions offered in HP and Uttaranchal
- Tata picked a site in Singur, 90 km from Kolkata, located on the Durgapur Expressway
- WB state government used its powers of eminent domain using the 1894 Land Acquisition Act, acquired 997 acres of (mostly) prime agricultural land

The Fiasco

- Local community in Singur was not consulted at the outset (learnt of the acquisition from newspaper reports)
- Owners of one-third of the land protested, backed by the Trinamul party which controlled Singur
- Protests escalated, confrontation between protesters and police...

 Tata stopped building its factory in 2008, withdrew to Gujarat

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- Protests escalated, confrontation between protesters and police...
- Tata stopped building its factory in 2008, withdrew to Gujarat
- In May 2011, Left Front lost its majority in the state legislature to Trinamul for the first time in 35 years

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Use a household survey to ascertain facts concerning land compensation offered to farmers whose land was acquired

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- We compare actual compensations offered with market values of acquired plots, and evaluate the extent to which the offered amounts were inadequate

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- Implications for future land acquisition policy

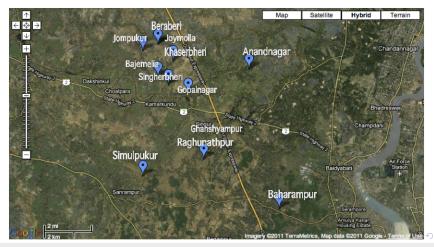
In 2010-11 we conducted a survey of a random sample of households in the 6 affected villages stratified according to landholding, occupation of head, and whether directly affected or not

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- In 2010-11 we conducted a survey of a random sample of households in the 6 affected villages stratified according to landholding, occupation of head, and whether directly affected or not
- Compared them with households in 6 neighboring non-affected villages located on both sides of the Durgapur Expressway

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GPS Village Map



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- Total sample size: 1100 households, approximately one-sixth of the relevant population
- Divided equally (one third) between affected households in acquired villages, unaffected households in acquired villages, and households in unacquired villages

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- Demographics, ownership of land and other assets, education etc very similar across three groups
- Compare households reports of market value of land, past market transactions and compensations offered, with government documents concerning compensations offered and basis thereof

Proportion of Households Directly Affected in Acquired Villages

Distribution of Households in Acquired Villages (Listing Data)

	Perc	centage of Househ	olds
	All Households	Affected	Unaffected
Owner Cultivaltors	16.5	8.8	7.7
Tenant Houeholds	4.0	2.5	1.5
Agricultural Labor	42.7	19.9	22.8
Non-agricultural Labor	36.8	23.3	13.5
Total:	100	55	45

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Legal standard (based on the 1894 Land Acquisition Act): according to market value

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 - Theoretical arguments imply compensations should be at least as large as personal valuations, on efficiency grounds alone (Ghatak and Mookherjee 2011)

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 - Theoretical arguments imply compensations should be at least as large as personal valuations, on efficiency grounds alone (Ghatak and Mookherjee 2011)
 - Supplementary arguments on grounds of fairness and political sustainability

1. Compensation Rates Announced: Did They Meet the Legal Standard?

- Government compensation: the stated policy
- Land rates for different kinds of land
- Additional solatium of 30%, plus allowance for irrigation, location of plots to be entertained

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1. Compensation Rates Announced: Did They Meet the Legal Standard?

- Government compensation: the stated policy
- Land rates for different kinds of land
- Additional solatium of 30%, plus allowance for irrigation, location of plots to be entertained
- We find these were close to market values as reported by households, and above market values predicted on basis of past transactions

Table 1: Land Market Valuation Rates announced by the Government

Type of Land	Land Rate (per acre)		
Sali	Rs. 6,01,718		
Sona Rs. 8,80,029			
Homestead Land	Rs. 18,04,431		

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Type of Land		Average compesation offered reported in survey	Average Reported Mkt. Price at the time of acquisition	Predicted market values for 2006 based on actual transactions since 1995
Sali				
	Low	Rs. 8,98,942	Rs. 8,03,957	Rs. 3,40,884
	High	Rs. 8,76,124	Rs. 8,43,729	Rs. 4,57,785
Sona				
	Low	Rs. 8,34,041	Rs. 8,77,883	Rs. 6,24,955
	High	Rs. 8,80,676	Rs. 8,52,385	Rs. 5,44,421

Table 2: Comparing offered rates with predicted market values and reported market values

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1. Compensations Announced versus Actually Offered

 However, we find a large discrepancy between government records of offered compensation and household reports for particular kinds of land

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1. Compensations Announced versus Actually Offered

- However, we find a large discrepancy between government records of offered compensation and household reports for particular kinds of land
- According to household reports of compensations offered, average amounts actually offered for *sona* land did not include solatium, while for *sali* land they did

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Reported	Compensation	Reported	Compensation
VARIABLES	market Value	Offered	market Value	Offered
Sona Low	-62,782	-58,301**	95,619*	-73,146***
	(62,691)	(24,490)	(49,910)	(24,579)
Sali high	-371,210***	-12,042	-134,894***	-26,556**
	(86,318)	(9,884)	(41,823)	(11,990)
Sali Low	-267,898***	57,619	-154,787**	56,108**
	(66,548)	(35,868)	(65,595)	(28,017)
Constant	2.233e+06***	887,976***	777,087***	794,761***
	(322,646)	(15,493)	(204,530)	(112,090)
Observations	611	475	589	465
R-squared	0.236	0.036	0.236	0.125
VilLage FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Other Plot characteristics	NO	NO	YES	YES
HH Characteristics	NO	NO	YES	YES
Robust standard errors in	parentheses			
*** n<0.01 ** n<0.05 *				

Table 4: Comparison of compensaion and reported market values by land type

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05,

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1. Compensations Offered

Table 2: Household reports of compensations offered were lower than announced rates plus solatium for *sona* plots by about 30%, and higher than these by about 10% for *sali* plots

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- How did this happen?
- Did actual compensations offered deviate from the announced policy?

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1. Compensations Offered, contd.

- Examining the government documents, we find (Table 4 in the paper):
 - On one quarter of the plots, no compensation was offered, possibly owing to inability to assess market value

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On the remaining three quarters, offered compensations matched the announced rates for about 97% of the plots

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 - On the remaining three quarters, offered compensations matched the announced rates for about 97% of the plots
 - Since reported compensations by households were non-zero this implies that the discrepancy is not explained by deviation of actual offers from announced rates

We believe the real reason is mis-classification of sona plots

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- Many plots that used to be sali have been converted by owners to sona over time, but this change had not been noted in government land records

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- For plots assessed a positive market value with actual compensation offers=announced rates, government records show only 5% of plots are classified as *sona*
- Whereas households in our sample report 32% of all acquired plots were sona

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- For plots assessed a positive market value with actual compensation offers=announced rates, government records show only 5% of plots are classified as *sona*
- Whereas households in our sample report 32% of all acquired plots were sona
- Calculations (Section 3.4 of the paper) show this can account for the discrepancy

2. Under-Compensation and Decision of Landowners Whether to Accept

 Under-compensation relative to market value a significant predictor of rejection of the offer by owners

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 Owners of sona plots and irrigated plots more likely to reject

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2. Under-Compensation and Decision of Landowners Whether to Accept

- Under-compensation relative to market value a significant predictor of rejection of the offer by owners
- Owners of sona plots and irrigated plots more likely to reject
- One standard deviation increase in under-compensation led to 12% lower probability of acceptance

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Dependant variabl	e: Whether comper	nsation offer accepted
ARIABLES	Probit	Probit	Probit
Deviation of Compen offered			
from HH's reported Mkt Value	-0.121***		-0.0945***
	(0.0210)		(0.0314)
Sona Low	()	-0.0478	0.158**
		(0.0605)	(0.0742)
Sali high		0.0804*	0.148**
ean ngn		(0.0440)	(0.0742)
Sali Low		0.319***	0.297***
		(0.0447)	(0.0687)
Whether Land was irrigated		(0.0.1.)	-0.220***
Land had highled			(0.0594)
Distance			-0.209**
			(0.0973)
			. ,
Observations	687	937	672
Village FE	YES	YES	YES
Other controls	NO	NO	YES

Table 6: Predicting acceptance of compensation offers

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- Two additional reasons for rejection of offered compensations:
- Inability of government rates to incorporate heterogeneity of plot characteristics

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- Inability of government rates to incorporate heterogeneity of plot characteristics
 - Table 9 in paper: Dispersion of land values for similar plots across villages
 - Land values also depend on cropping patterns, whether the owner has complete selling rights etc.

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	(66,548)	(65,595)
rigation		-70,482
-		(59,200)
istance from highway		107,366*
		(57,140)
ddy (Aman) Yield per Acre		238.4***
		(81.90)
Rice grown for more than one season		622,770***
		(141,606)
elling Rights Lost Land		74,461**
		(34,670)
otal Land Owned by HH		-52,993***
duration laurel of UOU		(10,444)
ducation Level of HOH		-1,048
		(3,097)

Table 5: Determinants of reported market values

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 Heterogeneity of owner's skill-specificity, valuation of financial security, location

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- Even if the government gets the land value right, there will be a fraction of owners whose reservation values will exceed the market value

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Evidence (Table 11a, b of the paper) of irrigation status and location as determinants of likelihood of rejection

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- Those with stronger financial motives (landlords, those who bought rather than inherited) were more likely to reject the offers

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- Evidence (Table 11a, b of the paper) of irrigation status and location as determinants of likelihood of rejection
- Those with stronger financial motives (landlords, those who bought rather than inherited) were more likely to reject the offers
- Those more dependent on agriculture for income were more likely to reject

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We find significant impact on incomes of owners of plots that were acquired: 33% reduction compared with those whose plots were not acquired

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- Impact on affected tenants: about half as much (17% reduction)
- No discernible impact on earnings of workers (averaging across agricultural and non-agricultural workers)
- However, gap between earnings of agricultural and non-agricultural workers grew 24%
- Durable household assets grew less for acquired households between 2005-2010 (Rs 1 lakh under-compensation associated with 25% lower growth)

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Many concerns voiced by villagers concerning payment of compensation in the form of cash

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- Considerable evidence of temptation preferences (70% of the households)
- One third of households had access to opportunities to purchase financial annuities, of which 96% said they would prefer these to cash compensation
- Yet, most households did not purchase such annuities
- Diverse preferences for alternative forms of non-cash compensation: pension versus plot of land versus shop on factory premises

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 Strong economic arguments for over-compensation of farmers and tenants on grounds of efficiency, equity and political sustainability of industrialization programme

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Local community should welcome the acquisition

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- Strong economic arguments for over-compensation of farmers and tenants on grounds of efficiency, equity and political sustainability of industrialization programme
- Local community should welcome the acquisition
- What makes compensation tricky is the heterogeneity of plots and of personal valuations placed by different owners on land as an asset

 Clear that appropriate compensations should exceed the market value of the land

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- Clear that appropriate compensations should exceed the market value of the land
- Two problems with this:
 - Problems of ascertaining market values of acquired plots (mis-classification, incorporation of other relevant characteristics)
 - How much higher should the compensation be?

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- Two problems with this:
 - Problems of ascertaining market values of acquired plots (mis-classification, incorporation of other relevant characteristics)
 - How much higher should the compensation be?
- LARR Bill in Parliament sets compensation at an arbitrary multiple (quadruple) of market value in rural areas

 This may be too high, and retard industrialization (as argued by Sanjoy Chakravorty)

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- Key tradeoff: set compensation high enough to satisfy farmers, but not too high that it retards industrialization excessively

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- Key tradeoff: set compensation high enough to satisfy farmers, but not too high that it retards industrialization excessively
- Economists' solution (extension of Ghatak and Ghosh): elicit households willingness to give up land by conducting auctions

We would extend their proposal to include multi-stage auctions: at the community level and then within communities at the household level

Multi-Stage Auction

Stage 1: industrialist seeks land of x acres with specified characteristics, states maximum price it is willing to pay

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- Stage 2: different panchayats are asked to conduct a (conditional) procurement auction within their jurisdictions where they seek to procure x acres and find out what landowners are willing to accept for their land, upto an aggregate of x acres of contiguous land

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- Stage 3: based on outcome of stage 2, each panchayat submits a bid for the project: the lowest bid wins subject to meeting the factory reserve price

Need to consider such policy options

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- Need to consider such policy options
- Many advantages: it is a bottom-up procedure, it incorporates heterogeneity of land, is based on voluntary participation of landowners and communities

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- And offer a choice to owners of different modes of compensation: land elsewhere, pensions, shares in the industry, shop on factory premises, training and factory employment opportunities