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Rescaling Space: Critiquing Industrialism in Globalising Gujarat

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Gujarat Institute of Development Research

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Abstract

The substantive core of this paper presents a critique of industrialism as an obsessive strategy in the pursuit of globalising the local economy in the western Indian state of Gujarat, especially in the post-reforms period. The state, with an excellent record of industrialisation and growth, has been making serious efforts at internationalising its industry by following discrete state-level strategies. The paper reviews these initiatives, especially those concerning rescaling the *meso* space. Discussions on Special Economic Zones, Vibrant Gujarat summits and the dynamic industrial cluster promotion have formed the core context of the paper. The questions of land-use and right to livelihood of the citizen remain at the core of the concern, even as industrialism might appear to be the path to progress in times of globalization. If the rescaling of space is patently biased to serve the interest of the vested capital and if the state actively facilitates the process, alternatives need to be thought through a larger democratic consultative process.

Keywords **:** Industrialism; Regional Industrialisation; Rescaling; Special Economic Zones; Special Investment Region; Vibrant Gujarat; Land Grab; Industrial Policy

JEL Codes **:** L52; O25; P48; R12; R14; and R58

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Introduction

In the post-World War II discourse on economic recovery, the dominant view seems to be an excessive emphasis on industrialism. Even in the early 1940s, it was argued that industrialisation "is *the* way of achieving an equal distribution of income between different areas of the world by raising income in depressed areas at a higher rate than in the rich areas" (Rosenstein-Rodan 1943, p. 202). This obsession had the roots in the premise that industrialised economies were the *advanced* ones and those dependent on agriculture or the natural economy were *backward*. In his influential treatise on the economic backwardness in a historical (post-Industrial Revolution Europe, mainly) perspective, Gerschenkron (1962) argued that industrialisation determined the progress of economies and those dependent on farming were destined to lag. This idea reverberated in the subsequent articulation of industrialisation of the 'late late-comers' with active state support, as, for instance, in Hirschman (1968). Hence, in the policy circles, especially of the developing economies, the widely held notion has been:

> …that a country dependent mainly on agricultural production, and with a high proportion of its population in agriculture, is 'backward' and that the path of progress is to get people, capital and a far higher share of total production into industry and towns. (Brookfield 1977, pp. 70-71).

The case of industrialisation as a moving force towards realising higher incomes and acting against 'backwardness', however, had its proof in the history of industrial societies; the resultant growth of urban-industrial bias in development literature was just a natural response.

Especially since the mid-1980s, as trade barriers were lowered and neoliberal trade policies were pursued across the globe, this dispensation provided for

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large spaces to private capital with the dwindling role of the state in business. A move from the national to the subnational articulation of industrialisation had been taking place at a rapid pace. Importantly, beyond large-scale industrialisation, driven typically by integrated plants, the industrialism paradigm had received a major impetus as successive epochs of economic restructuring or "modernisation". Both matured and newly industrialised economies (NIEs) had come to recognise the enormous possibilities of business growth through a reordering or transformation of the space, especially, the *meso*. These exclusive initiatives in industrialisation – often involving both territorial and non-territorial *rescaling* – were designed to access a sizeable share of the global market in certain commodities (Kennedy 2014, pp. 3-5). These could be mostly achieved through a concerted and joint effort by both the state and capital, as their relations were redefined in the dynamic context of capitalism. Often considered a more explicit part of the process of 'glocalisation', these new forms of rescaling spaces for targeted industrialisation have been a unique feature of a neoliberal growth strategy in which the subnational state plays a *comprador* role in facilitating private capital to be driven by its vested goals. As Paul (2005, p. 8) observes,

> By thinking of rescaling rather than simply globalisation, one makes visible the invisible, finally seeing the subnational and its contributions, both to the recapitulation of the global in conventional ways as well as to efforts to alter it, through practices that contradict established patterns. One also sees subnational institutions, including subnational states, in a new light, as sites in and through which actors defined at any scale interact with global structures to produce and reproduce the global political economy.

The growing engagement with rescaling space, especially from a theoretical perspective, was much influenced by the definitive contributions made by Lefebvre in his classic *La production de l'espace* (English translation as Lefebvre 1991) who would, *inter alia*, argue over social production of space (not mere production *in* space) by capital, for realising its ulterior motives of earning a higher return to investment. As explained in Elden (2007, p. 103), "The relationship between the town and the countryside is, for Lefebvre, a historical relationship, with the mediating role being played by industrialisation and the advance of technology. Industrial society has, Lefebvre argued, been supplanted by urban society." These new perspectives, eventually, evoked sharp responses from scholars who were concerned about the shrinking role of the state in the matters of regional industrialisation that compromised the salience of the rural, especially the land and ecological resources. The early 2000s witnessed a rise in discourse (that included a serious relook at works conducted on state and space since the late 1970s) on the role of the nation-state, which was 'reinventing' itself, evolving from a simple institution towards a mesh of social relations. In this paradigm, new bases of power emerged from the capacity to broker market relationships and mediate interactions among different levels of government (Jessop, 2002; and Brenner *et al.* 2003). Most of the western European economies witnessed that the nation-state had turned into a post-Keynesian, post-Fordist entity, whose role had shifted from that of an actor or a direct player in economic affairs into that of a facilitator, an enabler, and a vehicle for economic governance (Hirst and Thompson 1995 and 1999).

With this rather brief conceptual discussion in the backdrop, the substantive core of this paper presents a critique of industrialism as an obsessive strategy in the pursuit of globalising the local economy in the western Indian state of Gujarat, especially in the post-reforms period. In this backdrop, the paper inquires into the Indian policy interventions in effecting regional industrialisation, especially during the pre-reform period. It paves the way for a critical analysis of subnational industrialism of Gujarat. The state, with an excellent record of industrialisation and growth, has been making serious efforts at internationalising its industry, by following discrete state-level strategies. The paper reviews policies of the concerned state government in promoting external orientation of the local industrial base, especially initiatives in rescaling spaces. Discussions, with a comparative perspective, on Special Economic Zones, Vibrant Gujarat summits and the dynamic industrial cluster promotion have formed the core context of the paper. Concluding observations sum up the key findings of the study.

State and Space in Indian Industrialisation

The influence of the globally overriding idea of industrialisation-driven economic development was evident in the initial phases of planning in India – a nation finding its feet following over two centuries of colonial rule that had pulled down its economy almost to a subsistence level. As Nehru (1958, p. 368) would observe: "Now, India, we are bound to be industrialised, we are trying to be industrialised, we want to be industrialised, we must be industrialised". During the early decades of planning in India, the emphasis on modern, capital intensive and large-scale industrialisation was to be found in the Industrial Policy Resolutions of 1948 and 1956, which echoed in subsequent plan documents as well. However, with home market constraint resulting in excess capacities in industries, by the end of the Third Plan, the mid-1960s, the Indian economy was reeling under industrial stagnation and concomitant rising regional disparities. Nevertheless, industrialisation of 'backward' areas was still considered a vital policy strategy to which much of central investment subsidies (CIS) were directed. In 1981, *Reports of the National Committee on Development of the Backward Areas* (notably, the one on 'Industrial Dispersal'), partly reviewing the 1970s performance, pointed to the grossly misdirected implementation of regional industrialisation programmes as *backward districts of advanced states* had cornered most of the central funds. Despite recognising the serious anomaly in allocating central funds for state-level industrialisation, the biased approach continued for the remaining part of the pre-reform period as well. Interestingly, during the entire period 1972-90, 'backward' states received a paltry share in CIS. For example, the share of Bihar in the CIS was merely 1.7 per cent, Odisha (2.2 %) and Assam (2.9 %), where as the 'advanced' states managed to appropriate a much larger share e. g. Tamil Nadu (8.3 %), Gujarat (6.3 %), Karnataka (4.6 %), and Maharashtra (4.2 %) (Das, 1993, pp. 608-611).

With the major macroeconomic transformation of the Indian economy, formally initiated in June 1991 through economic reforms and liberalisation, the Industrial Policy Statement of 1991 (or, the New Industrial Policy, 1991) took cognisance of the "winds of change" in the global economy. In pursuance of the 1980s' policy accent on promoting competition in the domestic market and facilitating modernisation, the Statement on Industrial Policy, 1991 (p. 4) noted,

> Major policy initiatives and procedural reforms are called for in order to actively encourage and assist Indian entrepreneurs to exploit and meet the emerging domestic and global opportunities and challenges. The bedrock of any such package measures must be to let the entrepreneurs make investment positions based on their own commercial judgment.

The external orientation of business and raising competitiveness were the key to such policy drivers. The policy document *also* held that industrialising the backward areas of the country would be "actively promoted through appropriate incentives, institutions, and infrastructural investment". As a follow-up, the system of industrial licensing was abolished, and an infusion of foreign investment and technology were "welcomed". These steps were to encourage exports and to expand the production base with competitiveness. However, as Kohli (2006) and Harriss (1987) would argue, even during the 1980s, almost a decade before the formal announcement of economic reforms, the beginning of gradual steps towards 'pro-business' policies by the state could be easily discerned. Hence, it was no surprise that by 1991 the advanced states were much better prepared/endowed to take the lead in the new policy dispensation.

Manipulating the Meso as Regional Industrialisation Strategy

With economic reforms, the reconfiguration of 'capital'-'state' relations had largely given a go-by to the state-led regional industrialisation. A proliferation of provincial or subnational state-level industrial policies (or, 'vision' documents), purportedly to attract industrial investments in specific subsectors, had signalled weakening of the federal framework insofar as discrete industrialism by an individual state was concerned. This is, *albeit*, not to deny the fact that the neoliberal central state had been the primary inspiration in the independent choices of industrial strategies.

The retreat of the state from the domain of industrialisation and entrepreneurial decision making allowed private capital – both domestic and global – to decide on where and in which sector or subsector to invest. Since 1991, the regional industrialisation process was influenced mostly by what the individual states were planning to do to attract industrial and infrastructure sector investments – from domestic and foreign sources. Various spatial as well as sectoral policies offering subsidies, tax holidays, quality infrastructure like power, water, connectivity, etc., were announced by various states to make them an attractive investment destination. Many states also focussed promoting a few dynamic, sunrise sectors like pharmaceuticals, garments, information and communication technology (ICT), and mineral-based industries. While a few states paid enormous (and unprecedented) attention to building up ICT corridors and clusters, especially since the early 2000s, discrete strategies by several other states unfolded dominant approaches to regional industrialisation. Export Processing Zones (though existed since 1965 in Kandla) became popular with industrially advanced states that promoted private participation, especially in IT-ITES and pharmaceutical sectors.

Almost three decades of the Indian economy embarking on reforms and globalisation as the macro strategy of growth, have witnessed varied approaches to capital by the *provincial* states. In their efforts to reaffirm control and manipulation of the meso space (or, *locality*) states have articulated their changing relationship with capital (domestic or global) in the name of rejuvenating local economies and creating jobs, in particular. While in certain instances, the central state has buttressed such rescaling of the locality through policy changes, there has been resistance to re-engineer the locality that mainly serves the vested interests and designs of crony capitalism.

In their efforts to reaffirm control and "manipulation" of the meso space (or, *locality*) states have typically articulated their changing relationship with 'big capital' (domestic or global) in the name of rejuvenating local economies and creating jobs, in particular. An interesting development with far-reaching consequence had been the promulgation of the Special Economic Zone Act (SEZA), 2006, by the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government that came in power in 2004. The central Act could be flexibilised to a specific state's approach to build an SEZ. At the core of the strategy lies appropriation of large patches of land – both farm and 'fallow' land - with mechanisms for paying the landowner a specific price typically above the prevailing market rates. While Aggarwal (2010 and 2011) hailed the dynamism of SEZs as an unprecedented sign of progress and a potential mechanism to promote industrial clustering, Hyun and Ravi (2018), in a rather rare evaluation of the impact of SEZs in India, suggest that as SEZs enhanced export and jobs, informality in labour processes remained a drag. However, there exist several writings wherein authors have expressed serious concern about the implications of SEZs for the rural poor who would lose their land forever.

Bidwai (2006) quotes Sumit Sarkar, an eminent historian and writer, as stating that

> This is liable to create one of the greatest land grabs in modern Indian history... India has never before witnessed the transfer of hundreds of thousands of hectares of agricultural land to private industry. Nor probably has any other developing country.

Similarly, Sharma (2007) observes,

> Where earlier movements were led by the poor to acquire land, this time round it is the rich that want to 'grab' land belonging to poor farmers. It is likely that the policy may be misused for real estate development rather than for industry and generating exports. Developers and promoters of SEZs get land cheaply-almost one-fourth or less than that of the market price. With the minimum required processing area being 35 per cent, the rest will be used for residential, recreational facilities and the promoters will make their fortune out of real estate development and speculation indiscriminately.

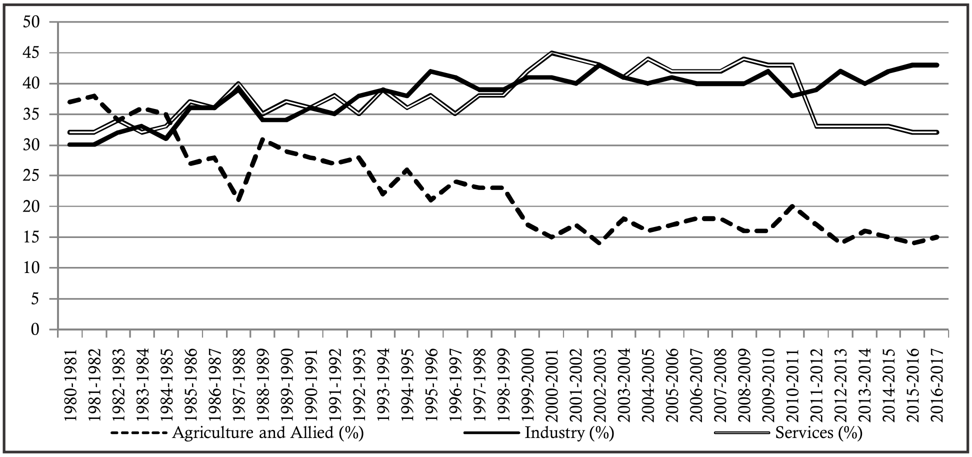
The capital-state nexus to weaken regulations has also been held responsible for the poor to lose land (Banerjee-Guha, 2008).

Albeit the average size of Indian SEZs was tiny compared to those in Chinese or US, land acquisition emerged the central issue of conflict and intrigue as well. The significant Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 emphasised citizens' rights and curbed the free run for capital. However, experiences varied across states in acquiring land for SEZs. There have been several instances of major resistance across the nation to this state-sponsored approach to rescaling space for industrialisation; Jenkins *et al*. (2014) provide a collection of detailed case studies. More on this, with particular reference to Gujarat, would be discussed soon in the following.

Industrialisation in Gujarat: Internationalisation as Policy Focus

With economic reforms, several states have taken the lead in facilitating industrialisation, by allowing rescaling space to attract entrepreneurs in specific subsectors. These steps involve offering huge fiscal incentives, concessional land and other business services, including fuel and transport-related. Gujarat is a classic example of this ilk. It has been remarkably proactive in such initiatives, focusing on both manufacturing and services activities. Gujarat, one of the fastest-growing industrialised states in the country, has had an impressive history predominated by commercial and entrepreneurial classes. As if 'business was in their blood', successive governments (irrespective of the hue of the party at the helm), for decades, have quite intently promoted industrialisation as *the* strategy of development, and facilitated a business-friendly environment, not so easily observed in the rest of the states. Historically, the state has pursued, quite explicitly, the path of urban-industrialisation focusing on building up business-facilitating infrastructure and spreading industry to most parts of the state. Efforts targeting such a form of growth have been in action much before the overemphasis of market-driven strategy, viz. the economic reforms that came into being at the national level in the mid-1991. That the state had all through encouraged private investment in both industry and infrastructure has been well documented (Awasthi 2000; and Dholakia and Dholakia 2015). Figure 1 presents the sectoral shares in gross state domestic product (GSDP). It is evident that the secondary sector has been performing well all through the years since the 1980s; in recent years, it has even outpaced the growth of the services sector.

Figure 1: Sectoral Share of Gross State Domestic Product, Gujarat 1980-2017



Source: *Socio Economic Review Gujarat*, various issues.

Even much before the formal launch of economic reforms in India in June 1991, Gujarat's industrial policy statements had emphasised an urban-industrial strategy of growth for the state and highlighted the need for participating in the global market. Moreover, the state's traders and entrepreneurs had historically gained much experience in dealing with foreign firms and customers. Economic liberalisation has been received with much favour in the state, which takes pride in claiming it to be 'investor-friendly'. The state government has been most proactive in supporting industrialisation, especially facilitating the external orientation of firms.

As expected, rescaling space has implied massive investment in various infrastructure projects, which involves procuring and redevelopment of land, often the rural. In such efforts at manipulating the meso space, the states have also matured in redefining their relationship with not only capital but also the central state. The centre has also acted as a catalyst to the process of rescaling by constituent states. The initiation of Vibrant Gujarat events, cluster development plans, vigorous promotion of Special Economic Zones, Special Investment Region, Industrial Parks, etc. are some of the examples of rescaling of space towards regional industrialisation.

The state is abundantly aware of its role to create a conducive business environment, which not only opens up avenues for regional income and employment but also enables firms to be competitive in the global arena. Towards this end, an appreciation of benefits of elevating competition with and learning from successful external business entrepreneurs has been translated into encouraging global firms to invest in the state through SEZs, and otherwise. During the last quarter of a century, the government has come up with a series of Industrial Policy announcements, each time offering more attractive concessions and services that would prepare the business of the state to compete with the so-called 'world-class'.

It may, however, be noted that even during the 1990s, with the two quinquennial Industrial Policies (for the periods 1990-95 and 1995-2000) had a clear emphasis on creating employment through industrial activities and ensuring the spread of industries to the relatively 'backward' areas of the state. Both the capital subsidies and sales tax incentives were directed towards addressing the issue of regional disparities in growth. Despite deficiencies in their implementation, these efforts did succeed in some measure, although these also promoted more capital-intensive enterprises. A few distinct steps in the policy sphere reflect the dynamic perspective of the state in not only encouraging entrepreneurs but also providing an overall thrust to the industrial and commercial sector at the state level. These steps may be classified in terms of (i) provision of generic physical and economic infrastructure; (ii) building up SEZs; (iii) provision of business development services to encourage externalisation; and, not the least, (iv) augmenting local human capital that would contribute to the business.

Appendix I presents key objectives and specific approaches to enhance industrialisation in the state during the post-reform era. While the generation of employment in the industrial sector has been a concern, the state has been focusing on raising investment in both manufacturing and infrastructure sectors through encouraging creation and development of SIR, SEZs, industrial parks and industrial clusters.

SEZs, SIRs and Vibrant Gujarat Summits: Initiatives at Rescaling Space

Gujarat is often cited as one of the most proactive Indian states to have taken significant steps in promoting SEZs as rescaling space for industrialisation. In fact, as per the information shared by the Gujarat Industrial Development Corporation, the Board of Approval had cleared as many as 59 SEZs as on May 31, 2010 (Pradhan and Das 2016, p. 139); this was by then likely the largest number of SEZ projects compared to any other state. However, as per more recent statistics, there have been changes in these figures. For a comparative perspective, Table 1 presents information on formal approvals and operational SEZs in three Indian states – Gujarat, Kerala and Odisha – at different levels of industrial development. It is striking that in Gujarat, the land earmarked for 28 SEZs (formal approvals) is enormous, over 15000 hectares; and, almost 13 to 14 times larger than those in the other two states.

Further, as shown in Table 2, in addition to large patches of land made available to SEZs in Gujarat, interestingly, one single corporate group, the Adani group, has been allotted about 56 per cent of all land meant for SEZs; the next major occupier of land under SEZ is the Reliance group accounting for about 12 per cent. In other words, just two corporate groups have availed of over two-thirds of SEZ land in the state. It is in contrast to the fact that 22 SEZs in the state have been offered about 9 per cent of the land earmarked for SEZs.

Table 1: Approvals and Operational SEZs in Gujarat, Kerala and Odisha, 2018

State	Formal Approvals		Operational	
	Sector (No.) {Area in hectare}	Total	Sector (No.)	Total
Gujarat	Pharmaceutical (3) {343.9} IT/ITES (10) {195.43} Multiproduct (5) {13831.22} Textile (1) {38.04} Food processing (1) {108.3} Multi Services (1) {105.44} Biotechnology (1) {15.81} Chemical (1) {125.72} Engineering products (2) {239.76} Automobile (1) {125.04} Solar (1) {11.63} Oil & gas (1) {108}	28 {15248.29}	Pharmaceutical (1) IT/ITES (5) Multiproduct (4) Textile (1) Multi Services (1) Chemical (1) Engineering products (2) Solar (1),	16
Kerala	IT/ITES (22) {483.9} Multiproduct (2) {396.31} Food processing (1) {12.52} Solar (1) {10} Aerospace (1) {100} FTWZ (1) {40.85} Animation & Gaming (1) {10.12}	29 {1053.70}	Port Based (2) Animation & Gaming (1) Agro Based Food Processing (1) Electronics Industries (1) Solar Photovoltaic (1) IT/ITES (12)	18
Odisha	IT/ITES (3) {202.92} Engineering products (1) {101.15} Aluminium (1) {242.81} Multiproduct (1) {500.15} Mineral based (1) {105.19}	7 {1152.22}	IT/ITES (2) Aluminium (1) Mineral based (1)	4
Total		420		205

Source: http://sezindia.nic.in/# (Accessed on October 3, 2018)

Table 2: Type/Product and Area of Approved SEZs in Gujarat

Name of the developer	Location	Type of SEZ	Area Hectare (%)
Reliance Jamnagar Infrastructure Limited	Jamnagar	Multi-product	1764.137 (11.6)
Dahej SEZ Limited	Taluka Vagra, Bharuch		1682.654 (11.0)
Adani Port and Special Economic Zone / (Adani Power Private Limited)/(Mundra Port and Special Economic Zone)/ (Adani Ports and SEZ)	Villages in Mundra Taluka, Kutch		8481.2735 (55.6)
Kandla Port Trust	Kandla		640 (4.2)
GIFT SEZ Limited	Village Phirozpur and Ratanpur, Gandhinagar		105.4386 (0.7)
Sterling SEZ and Infrastructure Limited	Jambusar, Bharuch		1263.17 (0.1)
Sub-Total			13918.67 (91.3)
Remaining 22 SEZs	Mostly rural (Pharmaceuticals; IT-ITES; Textiles; Chemical; Hightech Engineering; Biotechnology; Auto Parts; Non-conventional Energy Equipment; Oil & Gas; and Food Processing)		1331.19 (8.7)
Total			15249.86 (100.0)

Source: Same as in Table 1.

In terms of responses to SEZs across the three states, it is noteworthy that while in Gujarat a couple of big corporate players have been unduly favoured and any resistance sidestepped or suppressed, other states have been discrete in going ahead with the promotion of SEZs. For instance, in Kerala, following long-drawn wrangling within the CPM and amongst allies of the Left Democratic Front, the state government in 2008 green-signalled private SEZs. The Government of Kerala had insisted that 70 per cent of the land should be utilised for industrial purpose. It is a significant shift from the Centre's policy, which stipulates that only 50 per cent of the land needs to be used for industry. Kerala held that reclaimed paddy fields would not be given SEZ status. Further, the state had ensured that SEZs would be brought under the purview of labour laws, factories act and other welfare schemes. It had included special provisions for additional facilities like housing, entertainment, etc., to be exclusively dedicated for employees of that particular SEZ only. There was little space favouring or succumbing to the vested interests of a few influential corporate giants. In Odisha, as has been widely documented and reported in the press over the years since 2006, massive and violent protests against two steel SEZs - POSCO and

Tata (Kalinganagar) - have been an assertion against the power of nexus between 'big capital' and the state. Questions of violation of human rights, destruction of local ecology and displacing local population have dominated in such protests.

Further, in keeping with the pursuance of obsessive industrialism and encouraged by the promotion of a large number of SEZs and the progress of the Delhi Mumbai Industrial Corridor (DMIC),Gujarat will host one-third of the industrial nodes across the Corridor. Under the Gujarat Special Investment Region (SIR) Act, 2009, enacted by the Government of Gujarat, at least 11 SIRs have been approved in different parts of the state. These SIRs would be much larger in terms of the land area involved. As shown in Table 3, over 2.6 lakh hectares of land would be made available for these projects involving massive modern infrastructure and industries.

Table 3: Special Investment Regions in Gujarat, 2020

Number	Region	Area (Hectare)	Proposed Industries
1	Dahej	45300	Refinery downstream products, high-performance chemicals, pigments and coating products, nanotechnology, biorefineries, mineral resource-based products
2	Halol-Savli	12300	Engineering, automobile ancillaries, engineering plastics, electrical and electronics
3	Changodar	31900	Agro-based. Steel & metal. Plastic, Pharmaceutical and Oil & Gas
4	Pipavav	14500	Logistics based industries, Pre-Cast Structure and Textile-Only Spinning
5	Santalpur	18600	Agro-based (spices and seed processing, vegetable and fruit processing, dairy, cotton ginning), contract farming, solar power, logistics
6	Viramgam	13800	Automobile & Engineering, Healthcare, Pharmaceuticals & Fertilisers
7	Simar	8300	Engineering, Energy, Port & Port related activities. Food & Fish Processing. Cement
8	Okha	19600	General manufacturing. Pharmaceutical, CRO, Biotechnology and Biopharma, Auto and Auto Ancillaries, Mineral Based and Tourism
9	Anjar	63000	Port and port-based industries. Mineral & Agro-based and Engineering
10	Navlakhi	18200	Ceramic, Engineering & automobiles. Food Processing and Electronics, Textile and Chemical and Petrochemicals
11	Aliyabet	16900	Entertainment (ecozone, film city, amusement zone, golf course), aquaculture and marine engineering
All		262400	

Source: http://www.gujaratpcpir.org/SIR.html (Accessed May 5, 2020)

What makes for apparently easy availability of large areas of land (typically rural) for the state's pursuit of industrialism? Could it be the inferior quality of land not quite suitable for farming or grazing purposes? In at least two detailed studies, concerning the processes and parameters of land allotted for SEZs, it is evident that the quality of land (which is useful for the agrarian and pastoral communities) as a justification for territorial rescaling for industrial (SEZs/SIRs) purposes is highly problematic. The clarification on what is officially classified as 'wasteland' assumes much significance in such transfers. As observed by Asher (2014, pp. 142-143)

> …although the state government insists that it has strategically allotted only wastelands to SEZs, the livelihood crisis for this (pastoral) community has worsened. Considering that most of the large SEZs in the state are port-basedor located along the coast, the coastal lands, tidal flats, and low tidal zones – all falling into various categories of 'waste' or unsurveyed lands are being occupied first.

Similarly, as pointed out by Shah *et al*. (2012, p.12)

> "Equally important are the issues pertaining to the processes and the tactics by which agricultural land has been acquired/ purchased for SEZs. For instance, a large number of the operational SEZs in Gujarat, especially, in the earlier phase have obtained land through acquisition by the government. These include some of the larger SEZs such as Mundra Port and SEZ Ltd. (MPSEZL Phase I and II), Dahej and Kandla. These lands, therefore, have been acquired at a fairly low price from the farmers and subsequently passed onto the private companies as already noted... More recently, the land is being purchased in the market by private agencies or special vehicle government agencies like Gujarat Industrial Development Corporation.

As part of the present State Government's obsession with globalising Gujarat's industries and also to showcase Gujarat as the most-prepared and friendly destination for global investments in almost all possible areas, the Vibrant Gujarat Global Investors' Summits (VGGIS) have been organised every alternate year, since 2003. The summits have been going from strength to strength, going by the number of MoUs signed/announced as may be surmised from Table 4. The total number of MoUs signed has shot up from a mere 76 in 2003 to 28360 in 2019.

Table 4: Status of Project Proposals/MoUs at Vibrant Gujarat Global Investor's Summits

(Investment in Rs. Crore)

Category		2003	2005	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	2019
Total MoUs Signed/ Announced	Number	76	226	363	8660 (1921)	8380 (4417)	17719 (12886)	21304 (17081)	25578 (18533)	28360 (21889)
	Investment	66068.5	106160.4	465309.8	1239562.0	2083047.3	NA	NA	NA	NA
Projects Implemented	Number	42	115	160	1342	248	NA	NA	NA	NA
	Investment	37746.0	37939.9	107897.3	104590.5	29813.6	NA	NA	NA	NA
Projects under Implementation	Number	5	22	152	872	659	NA	NA	NA	NA
	Investment	10710	27931.8	184245.1	281620.4	249054.8	NA	NA	NA	NA

Sources: 2019 - https://www.businesstoday.in/top-story/vibrant-gujarat-over-28000-mous-signed-to-generate-21-lakh-jobs/story/311944.html (Accessed May 30, 2020)

2017 - https://www.financialexpress.com/india-news/25578-mous-signed-at-vibrant-gujarat-summit/506217/ (Accessed May 30, 2020)

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Notes: Figures in parentheses relate to MoUs concerning MSMEs
NA – Not available

Although data by sector (and project) are challenging to come by, the official sources indicate that (for the first four summits held) only 9 per cent of the MoUs signed have materialised. Projects under implementation shall add another 15 per cent. The same in value terms (as a share of the total amount of MoUs signed) would account for about 10 per cent for projects implemented and about 26 per cent for those being implemented. Further, if one considers the growth of projects both implemented and under implementation, the proportion rises initially but plummets in 2009.

It is quite perplexing that while the VGGIS is organised at a grand scale, and massive media attention is attracted towards these events, it is difficult to access detailed official statistics on the *actual* amount of investment, subsectors/areas of investment, list of investors/companies, area and location of land allocated for the purpose, employment created and similar other information. However, based on contemporary media reports, the Socio-Economic Survey, Gujarat State, and some handouts, it was possible to gather aggregated data on the number of MoUs signed (Table 4) and the value of investment committed during 2003 to 2011 VGGIS events. It is also evident that the micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs), in terms of MoUs signed/announced, have risen to prominence at the VGGIS events since 2009 (the period since such data could be traced). In response to an unstarred question (No. 320) in the Rajya Sabha (on February 6, 2019) regarding data on MoUs at VGGIS, the concerned minister replied that "During the Vibrant Gujarat summit; several MoUs have been signed since 2014 in various sectors including Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME). However, *the details of these MoUs are not centrally compiled*" (Emphasis ours). There is hardly any detailed information available on VGGIS after 2011; this has been pointed out as a serious lapse that could bring claims of achievement through VGGIS to scrutiny. Even as one is not sure whether these investments were made in the specific subsectors/ products, it may be noted that the two prominent corporate groups viz. Reliance and Adani have invested significantly. Quite curiously, the VGGIS 2011 list (Table 5) also includes a venture/project to be based in Queensland, Australia where 5000 jobs would be created!

Table 5: Details of Investment in Vibrant Gujarat Summit, 2011

Project	Company	Sector	Investment (Rs. Crore)	Employment
Desalination Plant at DSIR, Skill Development Centre, Solar Power Plant at DSIR (30-50 MW) , Integrated housing Park at DSIR , Mega Industrial Park at DISR, Water Management Scheme for Phase-1 Development at DSIR, Logistics and Rail Infrastructure , International Airport at Nawagarh	DMICDC	Special Investment Region	74,327	-
Finance	State Bank of India	Financial Services	50,000	-
Manufacture of Chemicals & Petrochemicals	Reliance Industries Limited	Chemicals and Petrochemicals	40,000	2,000
6000MW Imported Coal Based Power Project along with Captive Port	Reliance Power Limited	Power	35,000	500
Establishing project in Queensland, Australia	*Adani Enterprise Ltd*	*Venture Abroad*	*35,000*	*5,000*
7200MW Gas based Power Project	Bharuch Power Ltd	Power	30,000	400
Setting up of Power plant based on the Coal blocks to be allocated by Govt. of India under Govt. dispensation route	Adani Power Ltd.	Mineral Based (GMDC Projects)	27,000	2,500
5400MW (4000 MW Thermal Power & 1400 MW Gas) Based Power plant	OPG Power Gujarat	Power	25,600	4,500
Mega Scale Solar Mfg of Hub in Hi Tech SEZ	Solargise Limited	Information Technology	25,000	15,000

Source: Pamphlet, Vibrant Gujarat 2011 (mimeo).

Industrial Clusters as Inclusive and Participative Spaces: A Caveat

It would be mistaken to construe rescaling space as exemplified through modern induced SEZs or SIRs or industrial parks alone. Traditionally, several nations have their industrial clusters – whether in rural or urban locations. A rethink on transforming the clusters to render them globally competitive and creating a participative and inclusive space for action is missing in Gujarat. One of the compelling examples of such a dynamic and competitive instance of rescaling space is the group of ceramic clusters in and around Morbi in the Saurashtra region. Over 800 enterprises with an estimated investment of Rs. 8000 to Rs. 12000 crore, the industry manufactures a wide range of ceramic tiles and sanitary-ware products;

Morbi is the largest ceramic goods producer in India and the second largest ceramic tile producer in the world. It provides employment - direct and indirect - to over 600,000 people across India. With massive up-gradation of technological processes (including automation), the Morbi trapezoid has continuously been making progress in product innovations. As discussed in Das (2019), the Government of Gujarat, in regular consultations with the active industry associations, has contributed in a significant manner to the growth of the industry. It has resulted into provisioning and upgradation of infrastructure for the industry such as (i) industrial gas line in the area in 2008; (ii) uninterrupted power supply from Gujarat Electricity Board; (iii) well-developed transport network (National Highway), especially, the road linking Pipli and Jetpar since 2012; and, (iv) port facilities at Mundra and Kandla. Exports have soared, and it has been making efforts at multi-pronged interventions, often with the support of the state - including raising product and process standards and levels of skill.

It may be pertinent to point out here that despite sound evidences of the benefits of promoting clusters such as Morbi and several others, the policies of rescaling space remain in complete contrast to what the state intervention could have been made to upgrade industrial clusters both in rural and urban India. Close to a quarter of a century now, since 1997 when the UNIDO Cluster Development Programme (CDP) was launched in India, there has neither been a national cluster policy nor a concerted rethinking on rescaling space to infuse dynamism to these hubs of mostly MSMEs, spread across the country. Within the neoliberal macro framework, the state has been proactive in acquiring land for facilitating 'big capital' to have the exclusive business infrastructure and relaxations in industrial regulations (including those applicable to labour) in SEZs. On the other hand, the neglect of an inclusive industrialisation approach, such as through the cluster development, remains a definitive example of the weakness of the state in reorienting regional industrialisation through effecting institutional innovations

Rescaling Space: Quandary of the Dispossessed

These initiatives at rescaling space, especially, those involving acquiring vast parcels of land to establish SEZs and SIRs, need to be critically assessed through their impacts on the local rural economy and society, as distinctly different from industrial production and exports that these might generate. While it is possible that on a positive note, these rescaled spaces would open up some opportunities for local employment and income generation mainly in the non-farm sector (for instance, in small trading, transport, restaurants, hotels, other service enterprises, etc.) these would be limited to a few and auxiliary. That these processes of 'accumulation by dispossession' have been least helpful to the affected rural communities have formed subject of enquiry in several studies (Levien, 2011 and 2012). As Levien (2012, p. 964) observes

> "In India, SEZs are the culmination of a long transformation of the state (or states to be more precise) toward becoming the chief land broker for capital. As increased demand for land – driven both by higher growth rates in general and real estate markets in particular – has confronted an inelastic supply in rural land markets, capitalists increasingly turn to the state to use non-market means for making land available for capital accumulation. This is the crux of accumulation by dispossession in India today".

The Comptroller and Auditor General of India report on SEZs (C&AGI, 2014, pp. 35-53) has also severely criticised the land grab issue as the bane of SEZs in India pointing out the complex state-capital nexus involved in such deals. As Shah et al. (2020) find out through a resurvey of the Reliance Refinery SEZ in Jamnagar, casualisation of labour has increased over the years in the region and in-migration of workers from less developed states as Odisha has risen as well. Similarly, farmers who would have received a substantive compensation in lieu of losing their land so that they could invest elsewhere in land or business might also be better-off through the deal (Shah, 2018, p. 10). However, again these presume that a just exchange had taken place with all or most who lost their land. Studies, limited though, do point to the unfair compensation received by many farmers who were displaced off their land.

The dispossession of land has been a serious concern for various traditionally land-dependent communities as those engaged in fishing, cultivation, animal husbandry, saltpan work, etc., many of whom have turned destitute in the process (George, 2011; Makwana and Mehta, 2015; and Rashid, 2018). Resistances have come up to protect right to common property resources by the local communities in Gujarat albeit these struggles have been firmly dealt with and have not found a place in mainstream discussions on the relevance and impact of SEZs or SIRs.

Concluding Observations

With industrialism remaining the driving force of economies labelled, rightly or wrongly, as 'advanced' or 'backward' across the industrialised world, the dominance of neoliberalism has made way for capital to manipulate space through co-opting the state. With the declining role of the state in industrialisation, the reconfiguration of relations between the capital and state has often been expressed through rescaling both territorial and non-territorial spaces.

During the post reforms period, dominated by neoliberal approaches, the industrially dynamic state Gujarat has been a frontline state focusing on strengthening linkages with the external markets and building competitiveness whether through working for global firms or manufacturing for the export market. The regional industrialisation strategy of Gujarat has involved substantial rescaling of space and institutional innovations to promote specific subsectors through offering huge fiscal incentives for establishing SEZs, SIRs, industrial parks and going ahead with the Vibrant Gujarat events to attract global capital. In such efforts at *manipulating* the meso space, the states have also redefined their relationship with not only capital but also the central state. The centre also has acted as a catalyst to the process of rescaling by the states. The questions of land-use and right to livelihood remain at the core of the concern, even as industrialism might appear to be the path to progress in times of globalisation. If the rescaling of space is patently biased to serve the interest of the vested capital and if the state actively facilitates the process, alternatives need to be thought through a larger democratic consultative process. A more inclusive approach would involve rescaling space of a different kind where the small enterprises have a chance to prosper, and the local ecology is saved for the generation next.

Appendix Table 1: Post-Reforms Key Industrial Policy Initiatives by Gujarat State

Objectives
1995
▪ Accelerate development of the backward areas of the State ▪ Creation of large-scale employment opportunities to absorb the swelling ranks of unemployed. ▪ Increase the total flow of investment to the industrial sector ▪ Accelerating the development of infrastructure and human resources to sustain the long- term growth. ▪ Achieving sustainable development. ▪ Encouraging entrepreneurship and developing technology to promote Swadeshi Spirit. ▪ Creating industrial parks with all urban facilities added on, and also promoting new township to act as a focal point in urbanisation are some of the aspects which the State would like to promote as a part of the new industrial policy. ▪ The state would like to promote private sector initiatives in setting up industrial parks and the new townships.
2000
▪ Promoting IT, Hitech and knowledge-based industries; improving exports from industrial units of the State; encouraging the development of small-scale industries, service sector industries; environment protection and promoting industries in backward areas. ▪ According priority for the development of small-scale industries. Expansion, diversification and modernisation by existing units will also be offered incentives. ▪ Providing assistance to partly meet with the cost of infrastructure like land, power connection, water facilities, environment protection, construction of approach roads etc. to medium and large industrial projects coming up in the state in rural areas. ▪ Strengthening of R&D institutions for taking up technology up-gradation programme in specific industrial clusters. Encouragement will be given to get accreditation with international quality testing agencies in order to make them internationally competitive.

▪ Opening up of a Facilitation Cell will be opened to assist entrepreneurs for Patent and Intellectual Property Right (IPR) provisions. ▪ Developing specific industrial sectors like agro and food processing industries, mineral-based industries, electronics and information technology, engineering ancillary industries, textile including garments, gems and jewellery, pharmaceuticals and petrochemical downstream and plastic processing industries. ▪ Introducing specific programmes to promote FDI, including NRI investment through setting up export parks and 100% EOU.
2003
▪ Strengthening business infrastructure like road and bulk supply of water network; establishing SEZs and Industrial Parks and upgrading GIDC and private industrial estates. ▪ Establishing synergy between educational institutions and the industries; Introducing flexibility in labour laws in SEZs/Industrial Parks, Self-certification through consultants and single business Act. ▪ Doubling the processing of agro products in the next five years; Establishing Food Parks of international standards and improving exports of products from onion, mangoes and other vegetables; Promotion of biofuel. ▪ Adopting a cluster development approach; and, to assist technology up-gradation processes by the SMEs focusing on sectors as textiles, apparel and gems and jewellery. ▪ Creating a common branding and marketing fund; developing virtual exhibition portals and participating in seminars abroad for promoting products of Gujarat. ▪ Undertaking power and gas sector reforms, including rationalising tariffs. ▪ Encouraging port-led industrial and regional development.
2009
▪ Facilitating investments in the state as through Special Investment Regions (SIRs); leveraging Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor (DMIC) and SEZs, Petroleum, Chemical and Petrochemical Investment Region (PCPIR), Gujarat International Finance Tech City (GIFT), Knowledge Corridor and Integrated Townships. For the purpose, both the PPP and Vibrant Gujarat models would be encouraged. ▪ Promoting cluster development through financial support and establishing a Cluster Advisory Institution (CAI) to be constituted for proper development of the cluster.

▪ Promoting the development of IT and ITES industries in the state by providing special incentives for mega-IT/ITES projects creating employment above a minimum threshold level; creating Gujarat IT Venture Fund.
2015
▪ To create employment opportunities for both skilled and unskilled workforce. ▪ To become a global hub for manufacturing ▪ To promote Ease of Doing Business to create a business-friendly environment ▪ To provide pro-active support to micro, small and medium enterprises. ▪ To promote the spirit of innovation and incentivise entrepreneurship among youth by providing specific sector skills and seed capital. ▪ Ensure effective implementation of the policies ▪ Government of Gujarat has introduced a new Electronics policy (2014-19) to establish a self-reliant Electronics System Design and Manufacturing (ESDM) Industry which caters to domestic needs besides gaining a foothold in the international market. ▪ Measures to encourage women participation would include additional Interest subsidy scheme, Assistance for Collateral free loans under CGTMSE scheme and Additional payroll incentives provided to the generation of women employment. ▪ State Government is planning to establish exclusive Industrial Park for Women Entrepreneurs.

Source: Various policy documents and Pradhan and Das (2016, pp. 136-138)

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The broad thrust areas of research at the Institute include Natural Resource Management, Agriculture and Climate Change; Industry, Infrastructure, Trade and Finance; Employment, Migration and Urbanisation; Poverty and Human Resource Development and Regional Development, Institutions and Governance.

- In the area of **Natural Resource Management, Agriculture and Climate Change**, in-depth studies have been carried out relating to some of the major development interventions like Participatory Irrigation Management, Watershed Development Programmes, Joint Forest Management and Protected Area Management. The studies have focused mainly on aspects relating to economic viability, equity and institutional mechanisms. In the sphere of management of natural resources, these studies often explore the interrelationships between the community, government and civil society. Many of these studies, based on careful empirical enquiry at the micro level, have contributed to the on-going debates on sustainable environment and institutions. Issues in Common Property Land Resources and land use have also been researched extensively.

- The research in the area of **Industry, Infrastructure, Trade and Finance** focuses on the response of micro, small and medium enterprises to the changing government policies in the wake of liberalisation. The research has contributed to work on industrial clusters, flexible specialization and addresses issues involving intellectual property regimes, especially for pharmaceuticals and biotechnology. Studies dealing with issues in provisioning of and access to basic infrastructure both in the rural and urban areas, the linkages between infrastructure, trade and finance, regional growth and aspects of governance have also been carried out at the Institute.

- Studies under the theme **Employment, Migration and Urbanisation** relate to population, demographic changes, labour, nature of employment, diversification of economic activities and migration. An emerging aspect has been to study international migration to trace social, economic, cultural and political influences through remittances, social spending and norms setting. Urban services and aspects of urban economy and governance have also been an important emerging area of research at the Institute.

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- The enquiry in **Regional Development, Institutions and Governance**concentrates on application of regional planning models, data collection and analysis for regional planning exercises, impact of area development plans on growth and development of the regional economy. Studies have also focused on studying the role and participation of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the development process, the changes in the characteristics of the NGOs and so on.

The major strength of the Institute is a thorough understanding of the micro processes and a consolidated effort to link these to macro issues. The faculty members have made considerable endeavour towards developing policy-sensitive database of the Indian economy, especially relating to the informal activities, including child labour. The Institute has played a useful role in promoting empirical research in the country and the evolution of related conceptual framework and approaches. Overtime, the Institute's research agenda has broadened to cover a fairly wide range of issues pertaining to development policy both at the regional and the national levels. The results of the Institute's research are shared with policy makers, non-governmental organisations and other academicians. The faculty members at the Institute also participate in government panels, committees and working groups to influence certain policy decisions. The Institute promotes public discussion through the publication of its research findings and through seminars, conferences and consultation and undertakes collaborative research along with NGOs, international organisations, government and academic institutions.