

# **Policy Feedback Analysis Of Land Acquisition In Chhattisgarh: Case Of Dalli Rajhara Rowghat Railway Line Acquisition**

Author

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## **Abstract**

*In the central Indian state of Chhattisgarh, the Bhilai-Dalli Rajhara-Jagdalpur railway line, like many other infrastructure projects in India, has faced several issues related to land acquisition. This study looks at this project through the lens of policy feedback analysis (PFA) and conducts a topical and sentiment analysis of media reportage about the project. This paper also draws some inferences based on interviews of the people of the affected villages and compares them with the topics covered by the media. PFA helps in identifying the underlying gaps and feedback loops between people's experiences and media coverage of the Land Acquisition Rehabilitation and Resettlement (LARR) issues in Chhattisgarh while the sentiment analysis reveals the ideal neutral sentiment which should be adopted in such reportage. Overall, the study highlights the importance of rehabilitation and resettlement incentives over compensation and how some major topics get overlooked under overly sentimental reporting.*

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## **I. Introduction**

Chhattisgarh is a state in central India that has been affected by land acquisition policies due to its significant mineral resources and infrastructure development projects (Nair, 2016). The state has had several laws and policies regarding LARR over the years, like Panchayat's Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act and Forest Rights Act (FRA) which have been the subject of debate and controversy (Vireesha, 2021).

There have been several land acquisition projects near Bhilai in Chhattisgarh, including the Bhilai Steel Plant expansion, the Nagarnar Steel Plant, and the proposed Bhilai-Dalli Rajhara-Jagdalpur railway line. The Bhilai Steel Plant, which was established in the 1950s, is one of India's largest steel plants, producing millions of tons of steel every year (Behera, 2011). The plant has undergone several expansion projects over the years, which have involved acquiring land from nearby villages and towns. These acquisitions have led to protests from local communities, who have argued that the land acquisition process has been unfair and that they have not received adequate compensation.

The proposed Bhilai-Dalli Rajhara-Jagdalpur railway line is another major infrastructure project in the region, which has faced opposition from local communities (Verma, 2018). The project is supposed to aid the transportation of iron ore from Rajhara mines to BSP (rvnl.org). However, local villagers have protested the project, arguing that it will displace them and damage the environment. The land acquisition projects near Bhilai in Chhattisgarh have faced significant opposition from local communities, who have argued that the land acquisition process has been unfair and that they have not received adequate compensation (Verma, 2018). These projects have highlighted the challenges of balancing economic development with social and environmental concerns in India.

In 2013, the central government passed the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (LARR), which replaced the earlier Land Acquisition Act of 1894. The LARR was aimed at providing more protection to farmers and other landowners, as well as ensuring fair compensation and rehabilitation for those who are displaced by land acquisition. However, this law has also faced criticism for being too complex and for not adequately addressing the concerns of farmers and other marginalized communities (Ghatak and Ghosh, 2011).

An article published in the India Today in the year 2012 covered the possibility of the BSP shutting down as the plant's iron ore source at Dalli Rajhara mines were diminishing (Sharma, 2012, India Today). The article also covered the Maoist conflicts arising due to the upcoming railway project connecting the plant to Rowghat mines (Sharma, 2012, India Today). Hence land in Chhattisgarh is a controversial subject and involves a web of policies and agendas. Overall, the land acquisition policies in Chhattisgarh have been the subject of ongoing debate and controversy, with various stakeholders arguing for different approaches to balancing economic development with social and environmental concerns. It would be interesting to see how this long legacy of amendments to the land acquisition act and the history of State's land acquisition projects has impacted one of the

new and upcoming projects. Also, the fact that there are multiple policies intermingled in the LARR scenario provide a suitable reason to apply PFA to analyze the situation.

### **LARR and Policy Feedback Analysis**

The Indian scenario of Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement (LARR) fits the definition of 'policyscape' (Mettler, 2002), referring to the landscape heavily weighted by past policies which have established as institutions themselves. LARR policyscape has a dual nature, it being both universal i.e. catering to the urban needs of mass population as well as directly and intensely affecting a smaller population. The political society of India revolves around the welfare policies of the government, including the LARR policies which try to provide relief to the people displaced by corporate capital projects which consider them unwanted (Chatterjee, 2007).

Research and critique of public policies is usually done through a very idealistic lens, through which the policy is supposed to be perfect and must cater to everyone's needs. Despite of being unrealistic, this approach enables the churning of the wheel of improvement in policymaking. Policy has a range of multifaceted definitions, like theory/ model, Programme, Output, Outcome, and Process (Parsons, 1995). Different approaches of policy analysis set varying viewpoints and this article shall discuss some of the significant directions of LARR policies' evolution and how they eventually align themselves to policy feedback approach. In simple words policy is what the government chooses to do, or chooses not to do and both remain equally important and that the things that are not done, create the base for upcoming policies (Colebatch, 1998).

The future of a policy depends on the current running version of it and the feedbacks and lessons learnt through it. If the policy manages to gain the attention of the government towards its journey and feedback, it's the first and most important step towards its evolution (Kingdon, 1984). The policy feedback theory argues that policies can shape citizens' beliefs, values, and identities, which in turn can influence their future political behavior and the policies they support or oppose (Pierson, 1994). The process of obtaining feedback and improving on the shortcomings is an essential one and a policy built on the foundations of inequality, merely widens the planning and implementation gaps on itself. These gaps are very evident in case of Indian Policies and have often emerged as major hindrances on the path of development. Policy Feedback approach considers existing policies as catalysts to reshape the political environment which eventually results into new policy outcomes (Campbell, 2018).

To understand and pursue the policy feedback approach, it's important to understand the basic terminologies it stands on. Studies by Elinor Ostrom state three different levels of specificity when it comes to ideas of researchers in policy studies namely- Frameworks, Theories and Models (Ostrom, 1999). With respect to policy feedback studies it has been reported that the policies which serve broad constituencies and are universal tend to show positive policy feedback effects while the ones which target the poor show negative feedback effects (Bruch et al., 2009).

This study has established some definitions of 'positive' and 'negative' feedback policies. In this study the main focus is in how these policies affect displaced population, understanding how some agencies benefit from these would definitely stir thoughts as Public policies encompass all citizens and affect them in some or the other way (Akdoğan, 2011).

The definitions of PFA are quite general and broad with little to no specifics, which is both a good and a bad thing. On one hand it doesn't clearly dictate the rules of analysis but on the other hand it gives us freedom of being applied to varying political contexts. Each policy choice when made, has its own political consequences, however, it's hard to make specific claims about how, when and where these consequences occur (Pierson, 1993). PFA to some extent sheds light on a few of these policy choices and their consequences. Daniel Beland presents the whole concept PFA in a relatively organized manner by discussing six research streams which are inter linked yet distinct. As per Beland, 2010, the whole concept can be perceived with 6 different faces of policy feedback as- State Building, Interest Groups, Lock-In Effects, Private Institutions, Political Participation, and Ideational and Symbolic Legacies.

Policy feedback theory and analysis is a growing field of study that highlights the importance of understanding the long-term effects of policies on political behavior and attitudes. By examining the ways in which policies shape citizens' beliefs, values, and identities, researchers can gain a better understanding of the complex relationships between policy and politics.

### ***PFA and Land Acquisition around the world***

Policy feedback theory provides a useful framework for analyzing land acquisition policies around the world, particularly in terms of how they shape and are shaped by broader political and social structures. Land acquisition policies in Brazil have a long history of reinforcing existing power structures and exacerbating social inequality (Ybarra, 2016). According to policy feedback theory, this is because those in power use land acquisition policies to maintain their status and keep marginalized groups disempowered. For example, in recent years, the Brazilian government has been accused of using land acquisition policies to forcibly remove indigenous peoples from their ancestral lands to make way for mining and agricultural projects (Ybarra, 2016).

As per Hall, 2004, in post-apartheid South Africa, land acquisition policies have been a major area of policy debate and have been used to try and redress past injustices. Policy feedback theory suggests that these policies are shaped by the historical context of apartheid and the ongoing struggle for social justice in the country (Hall, 2004). The South African government has implemented land acquisition policies aimed at redistributing land from white landowners to black South Africans in an effort to address past injustices.

### ***PFA and Land Acquisition in India***

While in India, land acquisition policies have been used to support economic development but have also led to social and environmental conflicts (Behera, 2011). Policy feedback theory suggests that these policies are shaped by a range of factors, including historical legacies, political ideologies, and economic interests (Skocpol, 1995). For example, land acquisition policies have been used to acquire land for infrastructure projects such as highways, railways, and industrial corridors. However, these policies have also led to conflicts with local communities who have been displaced and have not received adequate compensation.

In the context of land acquisition in India, policy feedback theory can help explain how past land acquisition policies have influenced current policy decisions and outcomes. One example of policy feedback theory in land acquisition in India is the impact of the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 on subsequent policies. Chatterjee, 2018 and Chopra, 1995, mention that the 1894 Act was a product of colonialism and was designed to facilitate the acquisition of land for the benefit of British colonial interests. The Act allowed for the forced acquisition of land from individuals and communities without their consent or adequate compensation, leading to widespread dispossession and displacement of marginalized communities (Chopra, 1995, Chatterjee, 2018).

The negative outcomes of the 1894 Act eventually led to its replacement with the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation, and Resettlement Act of 2013 (LARR). The LARR Act was designed to provide greater protection to landowners and affected communities, including provisions for mandatory consent and higher compensation for land acquisition. However, the implementation of the LARR has faced significant challenges, with many land acquisitions still being carried out without adequate compensation or consultation with affected communities (Guha, (2013). The legacy of forced land acquisition without adequate compensation has created a culture of mistrust and resistance among affected communities. This, in turn, has made it more difficult for policymakers to implement policies that are perceived as benefiting the interests of the state or corporate interests over the rights of affected communities (Kakani et al., 2009).

### **Study Area: Kanker and Conflict**

The project studied in this paper is a critical 235 km rail connectivity project passing through the districts of Kanker, Narayanpur and Kondagaon of Bastar region (“140 km long Rowghat”, 2016). The line is for helping transport iron ore from the Rowghat mines to the Bhilai Steel Plant (SAIL), which currently depends on the almost-saturated Dalli-Rajhara mines, reducing the rail distance between Raipur and Jagdalpur by approximately 260 kms (Das, Swarajya,2023) The Bhilai-Dalli Rajhara-Jagdalpur railway line, like many other infrastructure projects in India, has faced several issues related to land acquisition. The opposition of Kanker locals stems from the concerns about the impact of the mines and their infrastructure on the local tribal communities, their livelihood and forests (Mohapatra, Down To Earth, 2022).

Reportedly, the project violates the Forest Rights Act as the tribespeople were ousted from the affected villages without proper recognition of their rights and fair compensation (Kumar, Scroll, 2016). Moreover, the project would result in the felling of over three lakh trees (Mohapatra, Down To Earth, 2022). There have been similar reports of conflict and harassment of protesting villagers by the police and Border Security Force (“Chhattisgarh: Rail Connectivity”, 2020).

The project authorities have promised to provide adequate compensation and resettlement benefits to the affected communities as per the government's Resettlement and Rehabilitation policy. However, there have been reports of delays and inadequate compensation in some cases and there are no railway jobs provided to the farmers either while over 400 families were still awaiting their compensation package in 2018 (Anand, The Wire).

Some of the affected villagers had approached the district administration and filed a petition at the Chhattisgarh high court to demand employment (Koshy, 2019). In April that year, the prime minister inaugurated a part of the railway track. In July, the administration announced the distribution of compensation to 108 of the affected farmers, amounting to INR 152 crore. In 2019, farmers raised concerns over the low rate of compensation (Koshy, 2019). They were relieved when in February 2021 the Kanker district collector announced plans to expedite the process of granting employment to the 502 affected families. As per a news report, he stated that the district administration had sent a proposal to the Ministry of Railways and the BSP management to employ the members of the affected households even though the assurances remain unfulfilled. Land acquisition for Phase II is yet to be complete (Verma, Land and Conflict Watch, 2018).

### **Media and its Role**

Media reportage is the most basic source of information for the public and media framing of land reform policies has a huge impact on the discourse (Anyende and Akinyi, 2019). Apart from interactions with affected people, government documents, and policy feedback literature it was felt that this study must include media reportage of this project and this policy's implications. The media has helped to raise public awareness about the land acquisition issues and the concerns of local communities. But media on the other hand has also been known to instigate biases and discriminations against marginalized groups (Macnamara, 2005).

The media has also played a role in holding authorities accountable for their actions related to the project. By reporting on allegations of corruption and irregularities in the land acquisition process, the media has helped to ensure transparency and accountability in the project. The media has also provided a platform for different perspectives on the project, including those of the government, local communities, and environmental activists. By providing space for a range of voices, the media has helped to ensure that different viewpoints are heard and considered.

### **Topical and Sentiment Analysis**

It should be noted that even the social research conducted via most scientific techniques do not produce very objective results and that media content is open to varied interpretations and subjective analyses (Macnamara, 2005). The approach chosen for analysis completely depends on the context and need of the study. For this study the base of textual analysis is topical analysis and sentiment analysis. Topical analysis focusses on the main topics discussed in a corpus of texts. This method has gained popularity recently and is found to be useful in identifying the connections between certain topics and their media portrayals (Agarwal and Sarkar, 2022). Topic analysis is a Natural Language Processing (NLP) technique that allows us to automatically extract meaning from text by identifying recurrent themes or topics. It is a text-based approach to the study of topic in discourse, has been useful in identifying text-based features of coherence (Schneider et al., 2008).

When it comes to sentiment analysis it usually reveals information on both- the emotions of the author when they wrote a certain piece and the emotions which are generated in the public after reading them (Boiy et al., 2007). Sometimes these emotions might match or sometimes they might differ depending on the reception by the audience. While traditional fact-based textual analysis has its own set of goals, nowadays sentiment analysis helps in turning that into analysis of opinion-oriented information systems (Mejova, 2009). This type of analysis is important to understand what sentiment is being pushed towards the readers and if a balanced ground of arguments is being provided or not. It also addresses the concern whether articles on LARR must be written with strong sentiments or subtle ones.

### **Streams of PFA**

As per Beland, 2010, the whole concept can be perceived with 6 different faces of policy feedback as- State Building, Interest Groups, Lock-In Effects, Private Institutions, Political Participation, and Ideational and Symbolic Legacies. But considerations depend on the study and its requirements. Streams of feedback refer to the various ways in which policy decisions can affect the political context and the policy process over time. Skocpol identifies three streams of policy feedback: State building, Ideational and symbolic legacies and Political participation (Skocpol, 1985). State building feedback refers to the ways in which policy decisions can shape the capacity and structure of state institutions. Ideational and symbolic legacies refer to the ways in which policies can shape public attitudes and beliefs about social issues. Political participation feedback refers to the ways in which policy decisions can mobilize social and political movements and affect their ability to influence future policy decisions. Taking inspiration from Blyth (2012)'s addition to Skocpol's three streams this study considers two other streams namely- interest group feedback and global feedback. Interest group feedback refers to the ways in which policy decisions can shape the structure and behavior of interest groups while global feedback refers to the ways in which policy decisions can be influenced by and have an impact on global economic and political trends (Blyth, 2012). From Beland's studies, lock-in effects of PFA has also been considered making it a total of six streams of PFA.

## **II. Methodology**

In this study the main data for analysis is collected through in person interviews of affected people and media reports about the project. 20 houses were surveyed along with 20 interviews of the heads of households. The interview questions (Appendix 1) were open ended, encouraging the respondents to speak about their experiences since the announcement of the project in a general way. They were asked about their major complaints and expectations regarding the project.

The media data includes newspaper articles from reliable websites, available on the topic of LARR for Dalli Rajhara Railway line. The keyword search for News resulted in a total of 30 articles. These articles came from various sources online including personal blog posts and citizen journalists. Hence the number of articles as

per reliable sources and relevance of topic reduced to 25. There were some articles which lacked any details and were too short (less than 100 words) ; these were removed and 17 articles remained. These articles included both Hindi and English articles. In this study it was decided that only the 10 English articles were relevant for the study.

Both the interview responses and the corpus of media reports were compared firstly through a topical analysis which revealed the main topics discussed in media and by the affected people. Then these results were compared, and gaps were identified through the 5 Streams of PFA. After the identification of these gaps a sample media report was created by covering all the essential topics. This was followed by a sentiment analysis of all the three text corpuses- the media reports, the interview responses, and the sample article. The inferences led to some recommendations for better policies and better media reportage of the issue.

### III. Analysis

#### Topical Analysis

There are several tools available online to conduct a basic topical analysis which would ideally reveal the main topics in a text. However, many of these online tools generate very generic results with topics such as – people, land acquisition, infrastructure etc. as results which do not provide any useful inferences. Speak AI is a website available for textual analysis of the media reports as it provided a sophisticated and varied range of results. However, one cannot expect to simply upload the text and expect these tools to automatically generate the desired result. Hence for this study some locator keywords were identified (Table 1 and 2) which would help in identifying the major topics of the corpus, which are also listed in Table 1 and Table 2. Many times, the locator keywords did not lead to any specific topic and since the number of articles were less and so were the number of interviews, it was easy to manually read and check these exceptions.

The main topics found in both the corpuses are – project details and announcements, important names, compensation issues, environmental issues, local resistance and conflicts, urban development, Public Sector Units (PSU), central government, Chhattisgarh (state) government, unfairness of policies, infrastructure, politics, natural resources, delays and timeline, international organizations, unemployment and livelihood, loss of identity, community facilities, uneven benefits, and rehabilitation issues.

**Table 1 Topical Analysis of Media Articles**

S No.	Topic	Description	Coverage (text frequency)	Locator Keywords
1	Project details and Announcements	Dates, Land Areas, Numbers, Project Title	28%	Numbers, Days, Months, Time
2	Important Names	Names of MPs MLAs and Political Parties involved in the project	11%	Nouns
3	Compensation	Any complaint, discussion or announcement regarding the monetary compensation to be provided to affected people	7%	compensation, reward, financial aid, cash, allowance
4	Environmental Issues	Any environmental problem created due to the project	15%	Deforestation, Tree cutting, environment, pollution, clearing, waste, dumping
5	Local Resistance	Protests and objections raised by local people against the project and reasons behind them	18%	Naxals, protest, rally, strike, complain, opposition, hostile,
6	Development and Urbanization	Ambitions and goals of the project, details of how it will help the state to develop	27%	development, opportunity, smart city, connectivity, jobs, employment, technical training, inauguration
7	PSUs	public sector undertakings and government organizations involved	4%	SAIL, NMDC, Rail Vikas Nigam,
8	Central Government	Involvement and role of central government bodies in the project	5%	MoEF, Central government, PMGSY, government agenda, scheme
9	Security Concerns		9%	CRPF, BSF, security forces, safety, Maoist, terror, risk
10	Chhattisgarh government	State government's involvement and contribution	20%	state government, Chhattisgarh government, Bhupesh Baghel, Chief Minister,
11	Unfairness	unfair nature of land acquisition and any criticism towards the policies	5%	lack, unfair, loss, unsatisfactory, uncertain, struggle

12	Infrastructure	presence of or lack of physical and social infrastructure	4%	educational institutions, hospitals, primary health centers, college
13	Political Commentary	Different political parties have opinions and stances about every urban project	6%	Opposition, BJP, leader, AAP
14	Resources of Chhattisgarh	minerals and other natural resources of the state	5%	iron, mineral, coal, ore, extraction, steel, manufacture, mines,
15	project delays	delays in the land acquisition processes and other stages of the project	3%	delay, late, long wait, pending, prolonged
16	International Organizations	Outer perspective of the issue	2%	Bank, UN, International, Organization, World

**Table 2 Topical Analysis of People’s Responses**

S No.	Topic	Description	Coverage	Locator Keywords
1	compensation	Any complaint, discussion or announcement regarding the monetary compensation to be provided to affected people	35%	compensation, reward, financial aid, cash, allowance
2	unemployment and loss of livelihood source	Loss of land, farms or access to any other form of land based livelihood due to the acquisition.	22%	unemployment, livelihood, unemployed, bankrupt, poverty, landless, jobless,
3	environmental issues	Any environmental problem created due to the project	8%	Deforestation, Tree cutting, environment, pollution, clearing, waste, dumping
4	loss of identity	loss of community based social networks and ties due to displacement	5%	identity, tribe, community, unity, bond, society
5	loss of community infrastructure	loss of access to temples, community grounds and other places of social gatherings	3%	temple, common ground, worship, festival, gathering,
6	uneven benefits	the project benefits being attained by non native people interms of better connectivity, jobs, economy etc. while local people making the sacrifices	10%	unfair, sacrifice, loss,
7	R&R issues	issues and complaints regarding the rehabilitation and resettlement provisions	21%	rehabilitation, resettlement, relocation
8	Delays and Administrative problems	delays in the land acquisition processes and other stages of the project	19%	delay, late, long wait, pending, prolonged

**Sentiment Analysis**

VADER (Valence Aware Dictionary and sentiment Reasoner) is a rule-based sentiment analysis technique that is used to analyze the sentiment of a given piece of text. It uses a lexicon (i.e., a dictionary) of words and phrases that have been labeled with their sentiment scores (positive, negative, or neutral) to calculate a sentiment score for a given piece of text.

In addition to the lexicon, VADER also considers the intensity of the sentiment expressed by the words in the text. For example, the word "happy" might be considered a strongly positive word, while the word "somewhat happy" might be considered a less positive word.

**Table 32 Sentiment Analysis of Articles and People’s Responses**

S No.	Sentiment	Media Articles	Responses
1	Positive	26%	-
2	Slightly Positive	5%	5%
3	Neutral	45%	25%
4	Slightly Negative	4%	32%
5	Negative	20%	38%

#### **IV. Results**

The differences in topics of media publications and people's experiences are simple and evident. While people have mostly spoken about how these projects have affected them directly, the media tends to cover a wider list of topics mentioning names and small details of the project. The purpose behind doing this is media reports being the most common and updated sources of information about these projects.

Speaking of the 5 streams of PFA, they help us to understand the gaps and identify the feedback loops better. State building policy feedback refers to how the implementation of land acquisition policies can impact the capacity, authority, and legitimacy of the state or government" (Pierson, 2000; Skocpol, 1992; Mettler, 2002). Land acquisition policies may require the creation of new administrative structures or the expansion of existing ones to manage the acquisition process. This can lead to the development of new expertise, professional networks, and bureaucratic routines that shape the capacity of the state to carry out future policies.

In terms of state building it can be seen how news articles have a decent coverage about the roles of different authorities in this project. The reports consist of 29% coverage about CG government, central government, PSUs, and other organizations but in the interviews, the people hardly mention these organizations. For them, they are just 'authorities' versus people.

State building policy feedback can also be analyzed in terms of the legitimacy of the state or government in implementing land acquisition policies. Legitimacy refers to the perception of the public and stakeholders that the government has the rightful authority to carry out land acquisition processes. If land acquisition policies are perceived as unfair, unjust, or lacking in transparency, it can erode the legitimacy of the state or government in the eyes of the public and stakeholders, which can in turn affect the state's ability to effectively implement land acquisition policies (Campbell, 1993).

The distinction between interest groups can be evident in the articles and interviews itself. On one hand the news articles have different interest groups within authorities, social activists, environmental activists, affected people and the other sort of interviews provide detailed perspective of affected people as an interest group. However, it is important to note that the perspectives and agendas of other interest groups mentioned in the articles are not very well known at this point in the study. The discussion revolves mainly around the interest group of affected people. Also, the media itself acts as an interest group with its own set of goals and agendas. The intent with which an article has been written has a huge impact on the outcome after reading it.

When it comes to the policy feedback of ideational and symbolic legacies, it refers to the ideas, beliefs, and cultural values that influence policy decisions and outcomes. One example of ideational and symbolic legacies in land acquisition in Chhattisgarh is the legacy of tribal rights and identity. Chhattisgarh is home to many indigenous tribes who have historically been marginalized and excluded from mainstream society. Land is central to the cultural and economic identity of these tribes, and many have been displaced and dispossessed by land acquisition policies. This legacy of tribal identity and rights has influenced the policy feedback process in Chhattisgarh in several ways.

In conversations, affected people of Chhattisgarh have pointed out how there is a huge communication and action gap between the government authorities and the people. While the state government has in the past boasted the practice of Forest Rights Act (FRA) it now refuses to acknowledge the same for them. Before the people can settle their conflicts with the authorities, their forests and lands are being cleared rapidly. This barrier has shaken the belief of people towards the government and their policies.

In terms of political feedbacks and political participation the focus should be on Adivasi (indigenous) communities who are disproportionately affected by such projects. According to a report by the National Crime Records Bureau, Chhattisgarh had the highest number of cases related to protests against land acquisition in India in 2016. The previously ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has been accused of promoting a pro-business agenda that favors corporate interests over the rights of local communities, while opposition parties such as the Congress and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) had then taken a more critical stance on land acquisition. But when people observe their rights being violated during the Congress's reign as well, they feel politically disempowered.

#### **Inferences**

From the state building feedback, it can be deduced that there is a need to educate the people about different organizations who work for making the policies work but also be specific about mentioning their specific roles and direct impacts on the affected people.

An interest group which seems completely left out from this discussion is the category of urban researchers and policy scientists. They have no say or expressed opinions in the news articles while they usually do have a deep understanding of the scenario. It might be due to the fact that Chhattisgarh is a relatively smaller and newer state, and its problems are looked at by the common people through the lens of utmost national importance.

For their legacies, the way tribal laws and FRA are used by government bodies and ministers as symbols of social development and sensitivity towards locals, there should also be a balanced argument in the news about their ground reality and practice.

The central government has played an important role in funding and promoting the Dalli Rajhara-Jagdalpur railway line project, which is seen as an important infrastructure project for the economic development of the region and the country. The central government is providing funding for the project, while the state government is responsible for land acquisition and other logistical support. People need to be made aware about the roles, responsibilities and duties of various bigger (national or global) organizations on their local policies and projects.

The major lock-in effects can be seen in the form of policies clashing against each other to lock out each other's effects. FRA, PESA, LARR and Coal Bearing Act are being used as per convenience by different stakeholders to validate their arguments. Meanwhile, provisions of none of the acts are being followed to the full extent.

Maybe the global feedback or the bigger picture of the whole conflict might result in some conversations about the heavy environmental impact this project is causing. But it might also be presented as a great example of transportation infrastructure in a developing industrial state.

The policy feedback streams lead to the following major observations- the loopholes of policies and unfulfilled claims by authorities need to be covered more evidently and directly. To get out of feedback loops and lock-ins it is important to have solution-oriented discussions and not portray PAP as powerless interest groups. Governments often use these large-scale projects to expand and establish development authorities which are allotted the task of conducting the project. These different bodies must be involved in the discussion and take part in accountability. Lastly, in case of Dalli Rajhara Rowghat Railway project, the biggest symbolic legacy lies in the project being a symbol of improved connectivity, more surveillance over Maoist and Naxalite areas and improving industrial prospects. But due to media highlights, it has also become the symbol of environmental degradation and tribal atrocities. Whether these extreme symbolic legacies serve the purpose of improving the conditions of PAP or not is a different question.

### Sample Article

Keeping the above points in mind, a sample article has been created to analyze the situation further and draw some conclusions. Kindly note that this is not an actual article but just an example sample created for understanding.

#### ***Dalli-Rajhara Railway Project: National Connectivity at the price of Local Isolation***

*The Dalli Rajhara-Jagdalpur railway line is a joint project between the central and state governments aimed at improving transportation infrastructure in Chhattisgarh, particularly for the transportation of iron ore from Dalli Rajhara mines to the Bhilai Steel Plant. The central government is funding the project, while the state government is responsible for land acquisition and logistical support.*

*The railway line passes through dense forests and wildlife habitats, raising concerns about its impact on the environment and biodiversity. The construction of the railway line has also involved the cutting of trees and clearing of forests, which has led to concerns about increased conflict between local communities and the security forces. The Maoists have been known to carry out attacks on infrastructure projects, particularly those related to mining and transportation. Apart from deploying many security personnel to the region to ensure the safety of construction workers, the government has also been engaging with local communities to address their concerns and ensure their participation in the project.*

*The loss of forest-based livelihoods and delays and irregularities in compensations have led to local affected people losing faith in the government. The affected people feel that it is unfair to expect them to pay the price for urban development which does not directly benefit them. While the project is an ambitious milestone in the government's attempt towards urbanization and industrialization of Chhattisgarh it also is causing friction between central and state governments regarding funding issues. Yet again, the price for these delays are being paid by the local people who are stuck in a state of uncertainty.*

*As per urban policy expert S Sharma these issues can be better handled by the authorities having a rehabilitation and resettlement (R&R) based approach rather than an acquire and compensate approach. Sharma suggests incorporation of local people's needs while designing the R&R provisions and making them a part of the development process rather than isolating them. The knowledge and workforce of the local people can be utilized to find alternative solutions to complete the project on time and in creating alternate employment.*

*Opposition parties, such as the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Communist Party of India (CPI), have also been involved in monitoring and critiquing the project. The BJP has raised concerns about the state government's handling of land acquisition, while the CPI has raised environmental concerns related to the project. It is interesting to note that the leading Congress party had been vocal about the rights of tribal and local communities initially but now refuse to acknowledge the provisions of the forest rights act (FRA). The question of infrastructure*



arises in such projects. While such projects aim at improving infrastructure and connectivity nationwide, they tend to take away the access to community infrastructure for the locally affected people. The possible solution for this could be a more aware and inclusive infrastructure design for the affected area. Alternative community spaces and minimal disturbance of existing infrastructure must be kept in mind while acquiring and planning.

**Sentiment Analysis (Sample Article)**

Based on this analysis, the sentiment of the given text is mixed. The text raises concerns about the impact of the Dalli Rajhara-Jagdalpur railway line on the environment and local communities. It highlights the loss of forest-based livelihoods and the delay and irregularities in compensations, which have led to local affected people losing faith in the government.

These concerns and issues have created a sense of uncertainty and isolation among the affected people.

However, the text also suggests potential solutions to these issues. It proposes a rehabilitation and resettlement (R&R) based approach to handle the situation and recommends the incorporation of local people's needs into the development process. It also acknowledges the role of opposition parties in monitoring and critiquing the project. The text emphasizes the importance of inclusive infrastructure design for the affected area and the utilization of the knowledge and workforce of the local people to find alternative solutions. Overall, the text presents a complex and nuanced view of the Dalli-Rajhara Railway Project, highlighting both the potential benefits of improved transportation infrastructure and the negative impacts on the environment and local communities.

**Table 4 Sentiment Analysis of Sample Article**

S No.	Sentiment	Sample Article
1	Positive	9%
2	Slightly Positive	10%
3	Neutral	58%
4	Slightly Negative	20%
5	Negative	3%

The sentiment analysis of the sample article indicates that it consists of mostly neutral with slightly negative content being the next. During this study it was felt that slightly neutral sentiment in texts usually represents constructive criticism and it is good for reportage to criticize and question the public policies. While on the other hand, it is also important to provide possible suggestions and solutions for the prevailing issues. It should be the nation versus the problems instead of one interest group versus the other.

**Topical Analysis (Sample Article)**

The article was composed after keeping in mind that maximum if not all issues must be provided coverage along with maintaining a fair ground of discussion for solutions and while maintaining the word count comfortable for readers. Table 5 provides the result of topical analysis of the sample article. Apart from the coverage of PSUs and international organizations, other topics were covered in the sample article. Some were given slightly more coverage of two or three sentences while some were given only one sentence.

**Table 5 Topical Analysis of Sample Article**

S No.	Topic	Coverage (%)
1	Project details and Announcements	3.5
2	Important Names	3.5
3	Compensation	3.5
4	Environmental Issues	14
5	Local Resistance	3.5
6	Development and Urbanization	3.5
7	PSUs	-
8	Central Government	7
9	Security Concerns	3.5
10	Chhattisgarh government	7
11	Unfairness of Policies	7
12	National Infrastructure	7
13	Political Commentary	3.5
14	Rehabilitation and Resettlement	3.5
15	project delays	7
16	International Organizations	-
17	Unemployment	10.5
18	Loss of Identity	3.5

19	Loss of community infrastructure	7
20	Uneven Benefits	3.5
		Some texts cover multiple topics and hence the total is not 100%

## V. Conclusion

The role of the media in shaping policy is significant. The media has played an important role in reporting on the land acquisition issues related to the project, raising awareness, and holding authorities accountable. Media coverage has also helped to shape public opinion and influence policy decisions. This underscores the importance of media in shaping policy feedback and ensuring transparency and accountability in policy decisions.

Resistance to land acquisition can influence future policies: The resistance by local communities and civil society organizations to land acquisition for the project has resulted in increased scrutiny of land acquisition policies and practices. This has led to changes in policy frameworks for land acquisition, such as the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013, which incorporates provisions for consultation with local communities and compensation for their loss of livelihoods.

The policy feedback analysis of land acquisition related to the Dalli Rajhara-Jagdarpur railway line project in Chhattisgarh shows the importance of public opinion, civil society activism, and media coverage in influencing policy decisions and outcomes. It also highlights the need for policymakers to consider the concerns and feedback from affected communities and civil society organizations while designing and implementing policies.

The policy feedback, topical analysis and sentiment analysis together help in pointing out the major gaps in this scenario. Topical analysis reveals the major topics of the discussions among people, and the ones being reported the most by media and the gaps in them (What). PFA through the help of feedback loops helps in identifying the major ways in which those topics are being overlooked or highlighted and the reasons behind them (how and why). Sentiment analysis on the other hand provides us with the knowledge that a balanced, solution-oriented discussion is preferred over highly negative or highly positive language. Because sentiments in text are important considerations in a time when readers have unlimited options and limited attention span.

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