
Chandigarh: A Historical Perspective

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Abstract

Chandigarh appeared on the urban map in 1950s to function as the administrative capital of the Punjab state. The city has attracted worldwide attention mainly due to two reasons, firstly, the symbolic significance of the city for a state which was rendered without a seat of administration in the wake of India's independence and Punjab's partition, and which aimed to provide a home to the displaced persons from Pakistan. Secondly, the association of the renowned architect and planner Le Corbusier with the planning of the city. The present paper attempts to study Chandigarh from the historical perspectives and cover all aspects in the urban context. It intends to focus on the emergence and growth of Chandigarh in all its dimensions with time and understand the changing social contours of the city as it has developed today. The idea of Chandigarh was welcomed by those who were to make it and resisted by those who had to make way for it. It will focus on the villages that had given their all for the sake of its origin. The development of the city into three phases and the social composition of population will be discussed briefly.

Key words: Chandigarh, Punjab, partition, capital, villages

Chandigarh was built as the new capital of 'East' Punjab after the partition of India and the loss of Lahore. It was the symbol of the newly acquired independence, the future, the hopes and aspirations of the nation and the free choice of the nascent Republic of India. The idea of Chandigarh did not originate in one day, or by any one person, but was a steady evolving of ideas and plans mulled over and implemented over several years before it took actual shape. Immediately after the partition, the major concern was to have a capital for the Punjab State. With the birth of the idea of a new capital in September 1947 certain expectations were inherent in its emergence, it was seen as the psychological balm for the people of Punjab after the loss of Lahore; some saw it as an important measure of rehabilitation for the large number of refugees coming from Pakistan; as the provision of a modern planned city to meet the aspirations of the newly independent nation, which would contribute to its economic and commercial development. It was an urban experiment of the post independence period. The realisation of this new capital however, was not as straightforward a path and passed through a number of hurdles such as the selection of site for the capital, agitation by the local people, a suitable planner and financial investment for the building of new city from the scratch. All these issues were resolved one by one through some adjustments.

The first issue was whether the new capital should actually be made or not. The idea of a new capital was at first rejected just due to the economic and political situation which existed in the country after the partition. It was suggested to develop one of the existing

towns as the capital of Punjab like Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Nangal, Shahbad, Karnal, Amritsar, Ambala and Shimla to avoid any extravagance. The choice of the politicians was merely dependant on the constituencies which they represented. After much deliberation, the Punjab Government notified the area near Chandigarh in Kharar Tehsil of Ambala district under Land Acquisition Act 1894 on 23 March 1948.¹ The Chief Minister, Gopi Chand Bhargava (August 1947 to April 1949) again confirmed its decision in March 1949. The actual work on the project could be started only after 1950. After Bhargava, Bhim Sen Sachar became the Chief Minister from April 1949 to October 1949 who was in favour of Ambala as the capital of Punjab. The Sachar Government wanted to think again about the site of the capital which took some more time to finalize the decision. The delay was also on the ground of scarcity of finances for the beginning of the Capital Project. It was seen as an extravagance immediately after the partition of India when it was facing problems related to refugees, war and manifold development works. Although Nehru encouraged the idea of new capital but he did not favour any help from the Central Government.

The decision was reaffirmed with the coming of Bhargava Ministry (October 1949 to June 1951) again on 29 November 1949.² It was possible with the full support of P.L. Varma, P.N. Thapar, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Gopi Chand Bhargava and Prithvi Singh Azad. This time, however, the selected site of Chandigarh was condemned for its location, security, access to other cities and water supply. The other fact that was highlighted was the reality of displacing a number of villages from the selected site. The land owners who were likely to lose their houses and land for the sake of new capital started an agitation against the decision of the government. They were supported by some politicians and educated individuals like Joginder Singh, Shamsheer Singh Josh, Bakhtabar Singh, Lala Duni Chand, Pritam Chand, Pritam Singh Gojran (Akali leader), Bachan Singh M.L.A, Shamsheer Singh Josh (Socialist Party) and Pritam Chand (Hind Kisan Panchayat). These leaders provided the local people a platform by organise Anti Rajdhani Committee, through which they could present their demands.³ It did not appear that all leaders who had opposed Chandigarh site or suggested other cities as capital like Hukam Singh, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur and the administrator M.S. Randhawa were the part of this agitation.

Joginder Singh presented his objections against the acquisition to the government on behalf of the villagers in November 1948.⁴ In March 1950, he issued a press statement to give an ultimatum to the government to stop this acquisition. On 1 May 1950, villagers launched satyagraha which came to an end after five months in October 1950. The chief participants in this agitation were the people of all the affected villages and surrounding villages. However, the people from far away villages did not take part when they get to know that their land and villages would not be the part of new capital. The protestors created nuisance in the work of the officers of the Capital Project that caused some delays in the beginning of the project on the site.⁵ The government arrested their leaders and thus, the agitation was brought to an end.

Location was not the only element for debate. For making this city a reality a planner was required as there was lack of town planners and architects in India at that time. On this issue there was contradiction between Nehru and the Punjab Government officials. Punjab

Government wanted a planner from the western countries but Nehru did not agree with this. However, this issue was resolved by engaging Albert Mayer as the planner of Chandigarh who was available in India at that time in December 1949 who visited Chandigarh in January 1950.⁶ Mayer presented his Master Plan in May 1950 that envisaged a fan shaped city. Nowicki also presented a Leaf Plan for Chandigarh. Matthew Nowicki died in a plane crash in August 1950 which left Mayer without an architectural assistant. Later a new team was engaged for planning this city in December 1950 with Le Corbusier as the Architectural Adviser, Maxwell Fry, Jane Drew and Pierre Jeanneret as senior architects.⁷ Le Corbusier's plan was based on the division of four major city functions of living, working, recreation and circulation; grid iron pattern and the Green city concept.

The other matters were also going on simultaneously such as the selection of site, acquisition, compensation to the land owners and planning of the city. On one side the agitation was going on at the selected site while on the other hand the government officials were busy in finalising certain issues like the size and nature of the town, final demarcation of the area for acquisition and rehabilitation of the oustees. There were debates on the acquisition of land and the nature of the new town proposed as the capital between the Chief Engineer, P. L. Varma and A.L. Fletcher. Fletcher contradicted at every point of this new capital like its size, nature and finances. Varma was in favour of a large town like Lahore, which would be an administrative and an economically developed city with a population of five lakhs; while Fletcher favoured merely an administrative town with one and half lakhs of population.⁸ In this case the assumption of Varma proved right as Chandigarh crossed five lakhs in the fourth decade of its development.

Various proposals were prepared for the acquisition of land which changed many a time creating further contradictions. This process caused delay as more than one department were involved in this, such as proposals prepared by the office of Deputy Commissioner, Public Works Department and the Chief Engineer (Development). When resentment was going on against the idea of capital, there was a proposal of acquiring 50 square miles of land of about 56 villages in the official statements of the Punjab government. However, the first proposal of Public Works Department showed twenty eight villages to be acquired with their land and *abadi* for the capital.⁹ During the first phase, the administration attempted to lessen the area for acquisition to deal with the agitation of the people. Finally, it was decided to displace fifteen villages in place of twenty eight and only land was acquired from the other eight villages in 1950 and 1951 under the Requisition Act.¹⁰ Up to the end of first phase in 1965-66, land of more six villages was acquired for its extension that made the total number of 29 villages acquired for the first phase of the city.

Once the acquisition started for the capital in October 1950, the need of more land continuously made for the expansion of Chandigarh. According to the plan of Chandigarh land was to be acquired for 46 sectors in two phases. However, a larger area of land was acquired for the reclamation of Sukhna Lake and Patiali Rao, industrial area and Information Technology Park. During the second phase, ten villages and during the third phase, five villages lost their existence, out of all these five were revenue villages. In total, land of fifty two villages was affected with the development of Chandigarh. (see table 1.1)

Thirty villages had lost their existence for the making of Chandigarh and from remaining twenty two villages only land had been acquired.

During the first phase, seven thousand people were displaced from this site in 1950 and 1951. More than ninety percent of the people were agriculturists in these affected villages.¹¹ The number of displaced persons increased to nine thousand with the acquisition of more land for Chandigarh. People were not much aware at that time to present proper demands for their land. Though there were murmurings about the demands of jobs for the villagers in the city but this demand was not meaningful as these villagers were least educated. The literacy rate was very low, being less than 18 percent in all the villages of the first phase.

In this situation the government make its own resettlement scheme and allocated land for land as compensation. Under this policy, the government itself made arrangement for the rehabilitation of the villagers by giving them land and place to build houses in the other villages. Most of the capital oustees were rehabilitated in the Kharar tehsil of Ambala district. But the people of one village scattered in different villages and thus lost their old age relations. For the resettlement of the people, land was taken from the comparatively big landlords in Kharar tehsil like Rana Bikram Singh, S. Amrao Singh of Manuali, Kanwar Ranjor Singh Rais and Maharaja Faridkot. Evacuee land of Muslims was also used for this purpose. In some villages the houses left by the Muslims were provided to these villagers but their number was very small and the condition was also dilapidated. To compensate in this way, land was requisitioned under the Punjab Requisitioning of Immovable Property (Amended and Validation) Act of 1951. Most of these villagers were given land in the Kharar tehsil of Ambala district. The people were not displaced all at once. It was a process of some months as only those villagers were instructed to leave the villages where construction work was started after the completion of the planning process. The villagers moved with their goods to the allocated villages.

The people who were rehabilitated in nearby villages of Chandigarh like Badheri, Buterla, Behlana, Mani Majra and Mauli Jagran faced a dual displacement when they had to sell their land again for the development of second and third phase of the city. During the first phase majority of the people choose to take land to continue with agriculture. Later some of them decided to take cash as compensation for the part of their land. The land owners faced official problems in getting their dues from the government like lack of accurate entries in the records and delays in getting compensations.¹² Sometimes people were not able to file their claims properly. This is true that the people who were displaced for the capital during the first phase were not happy at that time, though by now those residing in the Chandigarh region are happy with the adequate facilities available in the field of education, health, commercial and industrial sector etc.

During the second phase, land was acquired under the Land Acquisition Act 1894 and the villagers were compensated with cash for the acquisition of land. However, people demanded plots or jobs in the city during the acquisition of second phase but these could not be fulfilled. People became aware about the value of their land and also with the working of the government. They filed objections for the compensation under Section 9 of the Land Acquisition Act. The compensation to the land owners is determined on the basis

of 'principle of average', for which the market value of land is calculated by considering the recent registered sale deeds during the last one year immediately prior to notification under section 4 of the Land Acquisition Act. The fixed price of land is known as the collector's rate. Solatium of 30 percent on the value assessed and an interest of 12 percent per annum are also paid as compensation.¹³

It has been noted that the cash price for the land under acquisition varied according to the purpose of acquisition. The value of land which was acquired for sector development was higher than that of the land for roads, tube wells and sewerage. In 1966 when acquisition began for the second phase, the value for one acre was Rs. 3000 to Rs. 5000 per acre and for roads and tube wells it was only Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000.¹⁴ The land of some villages was acquired by the Forest Department that gave minimum amount for the land. The acquisition of agricultural land alone also affected the people as they had to buy land in some other areas for agriculture. Some of them took land on lease for pursuing their occupation. In the 1980s and 1990s, cash compensation of Rs. one to three lakhs per acre was given and it was 10 to 20 lakhs per acre during the acquisition for the third phase. In 1991 the collector rate was fixed at Rs. 2 lakhs per acre but under the direction of the District Court it was enhanced to 7 to 10 lakhs per acre. However, the owners demanded compensation of Rs. 50 lakhs per acre for their land.¹⁵ The land owners who made appeals in the High Court and then in the Supreme Court suffered a lot due to long processes and they obtained their compensation in a number of instalments. Thus, they did not get money for their land at one time and had to wait for a long period. Certain court cases are still pending in the courts for the enhancement of compensation of land acquired in Manimajra.

Along with the cash compensation, the administration introduced policies of giving residential sites as the compensation to the land owners for their land in 1972 and 1996. Under the Rehabilitation Schemes of 1972 and 1996, only 160 oustees were allotted residential plots by the Estate Office and 112 oustees have been allotted dwelling units by the Chandigarh Housing Board.¹⁶ These oustees had houses in the second phase of Chandigarh. There are still people who are waiting for rehabilitation till present time whose land was acquired for the growth of the city especially for the second phase.¹⁷ The Pind Bachao Committee was continuously active and alleged that the administration was giving housing units to the outsiders but the villagers who were uprooted from their villages never got any houses. The people of the villages whose villages (*abadi* area) were not acquired and it remained part of city like Burail, Badheri, Attawa, Buterla and other villages on the periphery; they adopted other occupations according to the opportunities such as dairies to supply milk, artisanal work and other service providing shops.

After the major development of all three phases of the city, the administration acquired land for some important projects like Information Technology Park and other commercial purposes. After 2005, land prices rose to Rs. 30 lakhs to 80 lakhs per acre. The land owners were not satisfied with the compensation whose land has been acquired for Information Technology Park and they filed a case in the court.¹⁸ The petitioners contended that the Chandigarh Administration ignored its own rules as the Technology Park was close to the ecologically sensitive lake. The internal audit wing of the Ministry of Home Affairs

conducted a special audit of land acquisition for these special projects against the inadequate compensations to the land owners, sale of land to the commercial companies at very higher prices worth crores rupees.¹⁹ According to the audit report, Chandigarh Administration has not followed uniform procedure to decide the market value of land and in giving compensation, as in some cases the compensation was less than the collector's rate and in some cases it was more than collector's rate. Total value of land for the making of Chandigarh cost at Rs. 14,829,360,276 from 1966 to 2010.²⁰

The actual emergence of Chandigarh despite the conflicts at different levels that marred its beginning was in process since 1951 with the acquisition of land completed in three phases. The growth of Chandigarh depended on the efforts of the administration. In 1951, the construction work was started with the government buildings first. The first government establishment was a police post in Village Nagla where Sector 19 is located at the present time.²¹ It was on 23 September 1953 when the government offices were shifted to Chandigarh for which buildings were ready and some were shifted to the temporary buildings in Sectors 19 and 26. A small opening ceremony was organised for the commencement of official work in Chandigarh on 28 September. The formal inauguration of the capital city was held on 7 October 1953 by the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

In the initial years of its development people were apprehensive about its potential. They were not interested in making investments in the city. The reason behind this was the uncertain status of Chandigarh due to the Akali agitation in Punjab and the major projects of Chandigarh which were still under construction. The people were looking at the completion of such projects like growth in commercial and industrial sectors and its communication links were yet to be developed. Those who had bought the plots were not keen to construct on them. The rate of construction was least as only six percent of the total plots sold until 1957. It was only when most of the government offices were shifted in the city after 1956, the construction on the private plots speeded up. Every possible effort was made for the speedy development of the city on the part of the Capital Administration. Construction works delayed due to lack of finances, difficulty in the sanction of building plans and taking loans and inadequate supply of building materials. The plot holders continuously demanded extensions from the Estate Office. Though the Estate Office had the power of resumption of plots but it was never used and the plots sold in 1952 and 1953 got extensions up to the period of 1965-66.²² There were some people who held plots with an eye on future land values for making profits. Government investment in the construction of their own buildings also declined due to inadequate finances especially during the emergency period of 1962-63. While the returns went down, the cost of the constructions was going up and the completion of Capital Project was delayed. The Sectors 19, 22 and 23 were the first to be inhabited with the people.

The early construction works proved inadequate with the merging of PEPSU in Punjab in 1956 and the reorganisation of Punjab in 1966.²³ The number of government employees increased on a large scale within this period. Now the number of government houses was not adequate for the number of government employees and they had to rely on private rented accommodation. It resulted into profit for the private owners who gave their houses

on rent to the government employees. Second and third phases were developed as the high density zones in comparison to the first phase. For this purpose plots of smaller size were planned and multi-storeyed flats were ushered in the third phase that made a difference in the nature of development compared to the first two phases. Most of these were developed by the Chandigarh Housing Board and Co-operative Housing Societies. Size of plots was 5 *marla* to 10 *kanal* in the first phase which was reduced to 5 *marla* to 2 *kanals* in the second phase. The buildable area of sectors also changed from 40-45 percent in the first phase to 50-55 percent during the second phase.

The needs of the nascent town necessitated modification in the land sale policies. An auction system was adopted since 1960 for the sale of plots to overcome the financial difficulties. With the auction system the earnings of the administration had increased frequently, as the price of property was hiked by each proceeding auction. The administration tried to put a limited number of plots for auction so that the land values continued to increase in the coming auctions. In 1974 a new policy of leasehold system was introduced for the sale of land by replacing the freehold system to control the market price of land, this could not help though as the property rates continuously increased in Chandigarh. Earlier there was a restriction on the transfer and resale of plots which was believed to be a cause for delay in the construction works. It was only in 1979 and in 2007 that this restriction was relaxed and the owners were allowed to transfer their property with the permission of the Estate Officer.

The first phase of the city came into existence with 29 sectors (1 to 30), during the second phase the number of sectors increased to 46 with the addition of 17 sectors (31 to 47) and with the third phase the number of sectors increased to 57 (48 to 56, 61 and 63). The land use pattern of these three phases reflected differences. The proportion of residential and commercial use of the area is much larger than in the second and third phase than in the first phase of the city. It was due to that the first phase of the city was planned as low density phase and it was developed mainly for the administrative purposes comprised government and educational institutions. The recreational area is larger in the first phase than the second and third phase.

It is a matter of interest to take note of population growth of this city built from scratch. The population of Chandigarh increased continuously since its inception though the growth rates decreased with time. Chandigarh was first inhabited by the government employees, planning staff, engineers and the construction labour. In 1950, there were 172 families recorded as residing in Chandigarh.²⁴ In 1951, 442 families were shifted to Chandigarh; in 1952, 960 families; in 1953, 1850 families; in 1954, 1304 families; in 1955, 1713 families and in 1956, 2883 families. In 1953 the government offices were shifted to Chandigarh with the consequent move of a large number of persons connected with the government. In 1961 the number of families was more than 21 thousand which has been increased to more than two lakhs in 2011.

Chandigarh was planned as a city but with the reorganisation of Punjab it was given the status of Union Territory in 1966 and it consisted of some rural areas and a small town of Manimajra. The total urban population of Chandigarh Union Territory was 99 thousand in 1961 which increased to 10.26 lakhs in 2011. Its rural population was about 20 thousand in

1961 which was increased to 92 thousand in 2001; but in 2011 it declined to 29 thousand due to the integration of rural areas with the Chandigarh city. Chandigarh recorded highest growth rate of population from 1961 to 1971, when city population increased by 145 percent and urban population of Chandigarh Union Territory increased by 135 percent. The city is densely populated as the density of Chandigarh increased from 2852 to 9258 persons per square kilometre from 1961 to 2011.

Chandigarh city has been developed in three phases and the population growth in these three phases also presents significant trends. The city was planned for a population of five lakhs in two phases and the third phase was added later, by which the total number of sectors increased to 57. First phase was projected to accommodate 1.5 lakhs population and the second phase was planned for 3.5 lakhs of people. First phase Sectors from 1 to 30 surpassed its targeted population in 1971 when its population was 1.88 lakhs.²⁵ Second phase Sectors from 31 to 47 which were planned for 3.5 lakhs of people could not achieve its target till 2001 when its population was 2.47 lakhs. Third phase Sectors from 48 to 63 had forty thousand population in 2001 when these were enumerated for the first time. As a whole, Chandigarh achieved more than the estimated five lakhs of population in 1991. It means that the population increase was larger in the first phase of development.

Various factors contributed in the rapid growth of Chandigarh though they varied with time. In the first decade of the development, population increased with the shifting of Punjab Government's offices and the families with the government employees after the reorganization of Punjab in 1966. Non government people started moving towards this city when they were ensured about its growth with the growth of its industrial area, educational institutions and its communication and transportation system. In its second decade, the administrative status of Chandigarh was changed and it became the hub of political and bureaucratic activities of the three neighbouring States of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. The high profile education, health and job facilities available in Chandigarh attracted the population from different regions of the country. Migration of population from the States of Punjab and Haryana as well as service providers from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh has contributed to the increase in the population figure in Chandigarh. Due to the modern amenities of high standard available in Chandigarh, retired defence services personnel tended to give a high preference to this city for settling down after retirement. Two sectors of the city were allocated to such personnel in the second phase. It had also emerged as a developed information technology centre in this region which also contributed to the population in recent times.

The social environment of the newly established city of Chandigarh was different in two ways. One, its social environment was more administrative oriented as the planners planned the houses according to the rank of the government officials that resulted into a class consciousness and segregation in the society. During the 1950s, the city was mainly inhabited with the government officials. Second, was that the community of Chandigarh was not bound through traditional ties of caste, religion and language but through the professions of the people. They were provided a new social environment through a new idiom in the architecture and town planning. Le Corbusier wanted to design a city that

would bring health, vitality and happiness to the individual. He gave a new concept of gardens and parks where people could get together for recreational activities and spend time irrespective of caste and religion.

However, with the development and growth of the city, its social environment has also changed. Though earlier it was primarily an administrative city with position in the government hierarchy assigning social status, but with time it became a centre for a number of professional services, commercial and business activities and industrial developments with social status now being defined by wealth and location in 'prime' sectors. Thus now it absorbs people from all these fields that brought changes in its social structure. Chandigarh is not only unique in its planning but also for its unusual patterns of assimilation. Chandigarh has a composite culture in its society as it is made up of varied people belonging to different regions, variety of religions and castes. Thus, it is not only an urban experiment but a social experiment as well. It has come to represent the culture of restaurants, malls and clubs and provided a modern way and a better quality of life. There is an increasing demand of night life in Chandigarh especially by the youth.²⁶ The people have different means of recreations. A number of cultural events have been organised throughout the year by the Tourism Department, Chandigarh Lalit Kala Akademi, Sangeet Natak Akademi and Sahitya Akademi. The most important of these are the Rose Festival, Kavi Samelan, National Craft Mela and New Year Celebration. These facilities encouraged the people to reside in Chandigarh. The socio cultural environment of Chandigarh also influenced its surrounding cities.

Thus the making of Chandigarh has a history of various issues, controversies and debates on the very idea of a new capital of Punjab, selection of site, and the agitation against it. The reality of Chandigarh was a long process involving local inhabitants, political leaders, government authorities and professional architects. All hurdles were considered and decisions were taken after long discussions at the politico-administrative levels. Thirty villages had lost their existence for the making of Chandigarh and other twenty two villages had given their land. The displaced persons got remuneration for the land but the administration could not satisfy them with their acquisition and compensation policies which have been changed many a times. The main issue was that the administration has not used uniform policies for acquisition and compensation. The Capital Project has long term effects on this region. Though, its development was slow during the initial years but it has seen rapid growth after the reorganisation of Punjab in 1966. Chandigarh is the first well planned city in India built from scratch and a successful urban experiment after the independence of India.

1. ¹ Deputy Commissioner of Ambala. A Note prepared for the meeting of the Capital Sub Committee of the Cabinet held on 14 August 1950. 10 August 1950.
2. ² Memorandum for the meeting of the Cabinet Sub Committee of Capital to be held on 30 December 1949.
3. ³ Joginder Singh. 'Change Capital Site: Do not Create another Refugee Problem'. March 1950. P.1-4.
4. ⁴ Joginder Singh. A copy of representation submitted to the Punjab Government. 22 March 1950. P. 1-7.
5. ⁵ Progress Reports of Irrigation Department in the meetings of Cabinet Sub Committee on Capital held on 5 May 1950; 16 May 1950 and 27 May 1950.

6. ⁶ Minutes of the Meetings of the Cabinet Sub-Committee on Capital held on 27 May 1950 in Allan Bank and 14 August 1950.
7. ⁷ P.N.Thapar. Telegram to the Chief Minister, Punjab. 3 December 1950. Used by Kalia, Ravi. Chandigarh: The Making of an Indian City. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; 1998. P. 43.
8. ⁸ A Note by the Chief Engineer Capital, P.L. Varma. 1-7. A. L. Fletcher. 'A Note on the New Capital' January 1949. Vol. Chandigarh Capital Project.
9. ⁹ Meeting of the Capital Sub Committee of Cabinet on 14 August 1950.
10. ¹⁰ Acquisition Notifications of Villages. Chandigarh Estate Office.
11. ¹¹ Calculations have been made from District Census Handbook Ambala. 1951.
12. ¹² Sharma, Kavita, Chitleen K. Sethi, Meeta and Rajiv Lochan. (1999). Chandigarh Life Scape: Brief Social History of a Planned City. Chandigarh: Chandigarh Administration. P. 51-55.
13. ¹³ Report on Special Audit of Chandigarh Administration conducted between 25.5.2009 to 5.6.2009 and 15.6.2009 to 22.6.2009. New Delhi: Department of Auditing Organisation. Ministry of Home Affairs. P. 10.
14. ¹⁴ Acquisition Notifications. Estate Office Chandigarh.
15. ¹⁵ Chandigarh Tribune. 9 November 2011. P. 1.
16. ¹⁶ Report on Special Audit of Chandigarh Administration conducted between 25.5.2009 to 5.6.2009 and 15.6.2009 to 22.6.2009.
17. ¹⁷ Chandigarh Tribune. 17 January 2014. P. 5.
18. ¹⁸ Chandigarh Tribune. 28 August 2012. P. 3. Chandigarh Tribune. 31 August 2012. P. 3.
19. ¹⁹ According to the information from the Land Acquisition Officer, 56 land owners had not accepted the compensation whose land was demarcated to acquire in 2008 (Award No. 586) and 2009(Award No. 593). Their compensation was deposited in the District Court under section 31 of the Land Acquisition Act 1894: Report on Special Audit of Chandigarh Administration conducted between 25.5.2009 to 5.6.2009 and 15.6.2009 to 22.6.2009. New Delhi: Department of Auditing Organisation. Ministry of Home Affairs. Annexure-B 52-54.
20. ²⁰ It is based on the calculation of land values acquired by the Chandigarh Estate Office.
21. ²¹ Interview with Prem Singh of Nagla 22 September 2013 at Village Saneta. District Mohali. Punjab.
22. ²² Meeting of the High Level Advisory Committee of the Chandigarh Capital Project Control Board held on 18 April 1964.
23. ²³ Meeting of the High Level Advisory Committee of the Chandigarh Capital Project Control Board held on 10 May 1960. For detail see Manveer Kaur. Urban development in post-independence India: a case study of Chandigarh [Ph.D. thesis]. Chandigarh: Panjab University; 2015. P. 106-10.
24. ²⁴ Chandigarh Socio-Economic Survey. 1957. P. 18.
25. ²⁵ Calculations have been made from the statistics available in: Census of India 1971, 1991, 2001. Chandigarh Series. Primary Census Abstracts of each Census.
26. ²⁶ Times of India. 2 February 2015. P. 2.

Table-I: List of Villages Acquired for the Making of Chandigarh in Three Phases and the Present Status of the Existing Villages in Chandigarh

	First Phase Villages (15)	Second Phase Villages (10)	Third phase Villages (5)	Only Land Acquired (Existing Villages 22)	Present Status
1.	Bajwari Karam Chand	Bajwara	Jhumru	Attawa	M.C.
2.	Dulheri Jattan	Bajwari Bakhta	Nizampur Burail (R.V.)	Badheri	M.C.
3.	Dalheri Rajputana	Fatehgarh	Nizampur Kumbra (R.V.)	Bair Majra	Rural
4.	Gurdaspur	Gaggar Majra	Chahr taraf Burail (R.V.)	Behlana	Rural
5.	Hamirgarh	Kanthala	Shahpur	Burail	M.C.
6.	Kalibar	Jaipur		Buterla	M.C.
7.	Kailar	Salahpur		Daddu Majra	M.C.
8.	Kanji Majra	Tatarpur (R.V.)		Daria	Rural
9.	Kheri	Chuhrpur (R.V.)		Dhanas	Rural
10.	Mahla Majra	Karsan		Hallo Majra	M.C.
11.	Nagla			Kajheri	M.C.
12.	Ram Nagar			Kaimbwala	Rural
13.	Rurki			Khuda Ali Sher	Rural
14.	Saini Majra			Khuda Lahora	Rural
15.	Shahzadpur			Khuda Jassu	Rural
16.				Mani Majra	M.C.
17.				Maloya	M.C.
18.				Mauli Jagran	Rural
19.				Palsora	M.C.
20.				Raipur Kalan	Rural
21.				Raipur Khurd	Rural
22.				Sarangpur	Rural

Source: Chandigarh Estate Office. Land Acquisition Notifications.