

**DEVELOPMENT, INDIGENOUS PEOPLES
AND
SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVES**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

Vincent Ekka

under the supervision of
Dr Nilika Mehrotra



Center for the Study of social systems
School of social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi – 110067
India
2012



जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI 110 067

Centre for the Study of Social Systems
School of Social Sciences

Tel. : 26704408
Fax : +91-11-26742539

Date 23/07/2012

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation titled "**Development, Indigenous Peoples and Search for Alternatives**", submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** is an original piece of work and no part of this has been earlier submitted to any other University/ Institute for the award of any other degree or diploma.

VINCENT EKKA

We recommend this dissertation to be placed before the examiners for the evaluation.

Prof. Surinder S. Jodhka

(Chairperson)

Chairperson
CSSS/SSS
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067

Dr. Nilika Mehrotra

(Supervisor)

Associate Professor
Centre for the Study
of Social Systems
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi

DEDICATION....

This work is dedicated

To

The Indigenous Peoples of India

Who

Struggle for

Survival

&

Identity...

Acknowledgement

I feel very happy to give a finishing touch to my dissertation. It was a long-cherished desire to work on a topic widely debated, talked over and differently contested. It was a pleasant journey through diverse perspectives and opinions and finally to give a satisfying summation to the topic of my study.

At this point of time I would like to extend my special thanks and gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Nilika Mehrotra. She initially helped me to clarify about the topic of my research and subsequently guided me throughout my research to go deep into my subject by providing me with relevant books, articles, journals, and other useful reading materials. She suggested me to go through the works of some eminent authors on the subject without which my work would have been incomplete. I would like also to thank her for her availability, kind help, concern and motivation. She gave me good comments and continuous support to sharpen my ideas and make my research more focused. My sincere thanks to you dear, Madam!

There are other people, individuals and institutions who have helped me to complete my work to whom I would like to extend my due respect, gratitude and thanks. First of all my esteemed teachers in the School of Social Systems, very especially- Prof. Susan Vishwanathan, Prof. Maitrey Chaudhury, Dr. Vivek Kumar and Prof. Tiplut Nongbri. I am also indebted to Dr. Joseph Bara and Prof. Sonajharia Ekka for being a source of inspiration for me. I would also like to make a mention of my Superiors Dr. Hector D'Souza the former Provincial of South Asia, Edward Mudavassery the present one, Grecian Carlo, Christopher Lakra, Joseph Marianus Kujur, John Chathanatt and the whole family of Indian Social Institute and Vidyajyoti for their constant support and guidance.

I feel honoured to work in companionship with my classmates, Milind, Ashwini, Swapnil, Ujjithra, Mitushi, Tashi, Nadiya and Nupurnima to make mention of a few. The members of JTSA (Jharkhand/Johar Tribal Students' Association) my brothers and sisters, my family members back home in the village, and numerous other indigenous brothers and sisters

who always encourage me to feel the power of being an indigenous person; my heartfelt thanks to you all!

My friends, relatives and well wishers Alma, Deepika, Sandhya, Anita, Anu, my nephews and nieces specially Pratima and Seema would always bear witness to my constant efforts to give my research a finishing touch. Last but not the least I feel indebted to Alma for page setting and technical support, and Fhamida for proof reading and expert advice which has made my research rich in its quality and content.

To all those not mentioned here but are part of my life and work my thanks and gratitude to all.

Table of Content

CHAPTER - ONE

Introducing Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

I. Introduction	01
1. Statement of the Problem	02
2. Review of Literature	03
3. Objectives	05
4. Methodology	05
5. Hypothesis	06
II. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework	07
1. Early Understandings of the Concept of Tribe	07
2. Understanding of Tribe in Indian Scenario	08
3. The Concept of 'Scheduled Tribe'	15
4. Who are the Indigenous Peoples?	15
5. Are Tribals Indigenous Peoples of India?	18

CHAPTER - TWO

Concepts and Theories Development

I. Concepts and Theories	23
1. Concept of Development	23
2. Theories of Development	23
II. Indian Nation State and Tribal Development Policies	27
1. Colonial Policies on (Tribal) Development	27
2. Development in the Post Colonial India	28
2.1. State Notion of Development	28
2.2. Different Phases of Development in India	30
2.2.1. Changes in Social Structure and Transformation in Cultural Values (1947-1965)	30
2.2.1. Rethinking Goals and Strategies of Development (1965-1992)	32
2.2.2. Interface Between Traditional and National Development (1992- till date)	33
3. Approaches to Development	36
4. State Efforts for Tribal Development	37
4.1 Tribal Sub-Plans	39
4.2 Panchayat Extension in Scheduled Areas (PESA)	40

III. The United Nations on Development of Indigenous Peoples	40
1. UN Declaration on the Right to Development	41
2. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007	43
3. ILO Convention 107 and Convention 169	44
3.1. ILO Convention 1957	44
3.2. ILO Convention 1989	44
4. United Nations' Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII)	45

CHAPTER - THREE

Indigenous Peoples' philosophies on Development 47

I. Indigenous Social Conceptions	50
1. Indigenous Peoples' Concept of Land	50
1.1. Bonding with the Land	50
2. Water & Water Resources	52
3. Forest in Folk Imagination	53
II. Indicators of Indigenous Development	54
1. Indigenous Socialization on Education	55
2. Conceptions of Health	57
3. Indigenous Views on Well-Being	58
4. Ecological Sensitivity	60
5. Harmonious Co-existence	61

CHAPTER - FOUR

Critique of Development 63

1. Paradigms of Development	63
1.1. Mainstream perspective on Development (MPD)	64
1.2. Alternative Perspective on Development (APD)	65
1.3. Post Development Perspective (PDP)	66
2. Development-induced Displacement	66
3. Empowerment of Capitalists and Disempowerment of Tribals (People)	66
4. 'Bio-rich' and 'Techno-rich' Unequal Partnership	69
5. Development of Nation vis-à-vis Development of People(s)	71
6. Ideological Conflicts	73

CHAPTER -FIVE

Paradigm Shift	78
I. Paradigm Shift for Planned Development	78
1. Need for a Shift	80
2. New Paradigms	81
3. Development as Freedom	83
4. The Role of the NGOs and Civil Society	84
5. Development with Culture and Identity	85
II. Indigenous Peoples' Perspectives on Development	87
1. Indigenous Insights for Sustainable Development	89
1.1 Sustainable use of Resources	89
1.2 Tribe as a Corporate and Autonomous Body	89
1.3 Communal and Subsistence Organization of Tribal Agriculture	90
1.4 Common Ownership of Land	91
1.5 Fruit of the Labour Shared Among All	92
1.6 Keeping the Community Together	93
1.7 Privileging Culture over Economics	93
Conclusion	95
References	

CHAPTER - ONE

Introducing Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

I. Introduction

Development as a process has been understood variedly as growth, change, transformation, progress, modernization and the like. India in its different phases of history has witnessed multiple forms of development. The idea of economic development was given more attention during the 'British Raj' in India. The British were more concerned about the spread of railroads, transportation and communication systems in order to facilitate their colonial rule over India. Therefore, the purpose behind all such development activities during the British government was to suit the purpose and interest of the then colonial power. The post Independent India conceived economic growth as the chief criterion of development. Thus the concept and process of development in general is explained in terms of economic growth. The Planners and administrators soon realized that the understanding of 'development as economic growth' was not comprehensive enough to conceive within the whole idea of development. The economic growth could not solve all the problems, i.e. economic growth kept growing in independent India in spite of social evils like- discrimination on the basis of caste, gender, social groups, poverty, corruption and disparity.

After sixty years of Independence the negative impacts of development have forced people to rethink about development as the general understanding of economic growth as development has left hazardous consequences on humanity, ecology and environment. The experience of incomplete understanding about development has given space for researchers, scholars, social scientists, planners, administrators and commoners to think differently about development. At this juncture I argue that the world of Indigenous Peoples/Tribals/ Scheduled Tribe's concepts and understanding of development as '**general well being of all**' can contribute to the alternative search for development. Their symbiotic living, perceptions of human life in a general continuum, their interrelations and interdependence with nature, with other human beings and creatures are worth learning lessons for all. The integrated life, worldview and philosophy of life can contribute towards a new paradigm of development. Focusing on the Indigenous ways and practices of self-

management within the Indigenous communities across the country and very especially in Central India I would like to explore the sustainability and inter-linkage of their concept of development which can reshape and redefine the post modern concepts of development.

1. Statement of the Problem

In fact, development was initially understood as economic growth. There has been a gradual shift in the outlook and understanding of development. The new awareness across the globe seems to be looking at development with social and human orientation besides the economic and political push. Still the questions arise whether the modern concept of development integral enough to envelop all aspects of development? Is it sustainable enough to provide the fruits of its growth to all people without adversely affecting the human and natural surroundings? Depletion of resources and non-renewability of the natural resources have also forced people to think development differently. Social scientists and sociologists have also joined the search-team of alternative models of development as T.K. Oommen has outlined that “Sociology and Social Anthropology entered the arena of development studies to explain the factors which facilitated or hindered development and launched the notion of social development” (Oommen 2004:16).

‘Development’ today has become a catch word across the disciplines and ideologies. On the one hand when people are grappling with the comprehensive meaning of development, the social, human and national developments continue in double the speed. Probably it is because of the untested hypothesis about development the desired results in social and human developments are never achieved. The outcome of development so far has shown a billionaire few and pauperized many. Such glaring result forces one to question; is it the fruit of development? Can development of a few be seen as development of all? What is the real understanding about development? Is development of Nation different from the development of people?

It is a proven fact that in many parts of the world, indigenous peoples suffer from a history of discrimination and exclusion that has left them on the margins of the larger societies in which they exist. For this reason, they face enormous difficulties in maintaining and living with their own ways of development and well-being and are consequently and disproportionately affected by

poverty and exclusion. It may be known that the indigenous peoples, over centuries, have nurtured a particular and sacred relationship with their surroundings, the human and the natural world which includes the animal kingdom also. The overarching philosophy of the life of the indigenous peoples, which is “live and let others live” and “I am because you are (there)”, has been seriously hampered by the government’s plans and notions of development. It looks that the modern generation is heading towards a suicide point. In such critical situation, the Indigenous peoples’ perspective, worldview and philosophy of life can surely present the alternative ways to redefine and reshape development.

2. Review of Literature

Development and search for alternative models of development is a much sought after topic. The wide range availability of literature shows the increasing interest of the conscious academicians, development catalysts, sociologists, economists and environmentalists who are looking for alternative models and paradigms of development. The literary bent over the last three to four decades shows a clear shift from the traditional understanding of development to an integrated and sustainable approach to development. T. K. Oommen (2004) has given three major perspectives on development. They are:

1. Mainstream Perspective on Development (MPD)
2. Alternative Perspective on Development (APD)
3. Post-Development Perspective (PDP)

The Mainstream Perspective on Development could be traced to colonialism and its civilizing mission. The colonies of Asia, Africa and the Americas had to be managed and ‘developed’ by the colonizers for the benefits of the colonized. Industry took primacy over agriculture for development. In this theory there were two strands (i) New-Liberalism (economic growth best pursued through open trade) and (ii) Human Development which meant-recognizing basic needs, distributive justice and growth with equity. Human development claims to put people first catering to their basic needs, nutrition, health, literacy, education and housing etc.

The Alternative Perspective on Development claims to be participatory and people oriented approach. There is a shift in agency from state to civil society. According to alternative perspective on development people-centered development is aimed at by gearing towards satisfaction of needs, which is endogenous, self reliant and in harmony with the environment.

The Post-Development Perspective rejects the very idea of modernity. According to this perspective development is not required because poverty is not to be taken for granted it is a culturally and historically variable notion. T. K. Oommen points out towards ‘cognitive blackouts’ which hinder development. They are- “Displacement, Disparity, Distress and Discrimination” (Oommen 2004:21).

There have been academic interests towards participatory approach and also to evolve and recognize indigenous knowledge systems towards development. Literatures on the concept of sustainable approach seem to be incorporating indigenous knowledge and practices as basis for development. In an interview, Palpu Pushpangadan (Ethno-botanist and Director-General of Amity Foundation’s Institute of Biotechnology, Thiruvantapuram) has strongly recommended ‘India to make native knowledge the basis of development’ (Pradeep 2007:12) Bajrang Lal Gupta in his recent book “A New Paradigm of Development” analyses the Western development models and proposes search for a new path of development. He says, "cooperation and not competition is the rock of human development” (Gupta 2010:8).

There have been many anthropologists, sociologists, social anthropologists like Stephen Fuchs, S. C. Roy, N.K. Bose, K.S. Singh, B.K. Roy Burman, S.C. Dube, Verier Elvin, Nandini Sundar, D.K. Behera, Andre Beteille, S. Sinha and many others who have presented different views on tribes and caste and provide a wide range of information about the tribal world and their co-existence with the wider society. Their various works have been examined to substantiate my arguments.

The works of the Indigenous authors and thinkers like Virginius Xaxa, Joseph Bara, John Lakra, Agapit Tirkey, Prof. Ram Dayal Munda and others delved out the indigenous peoples perspectives on various issues at length. The United Nation’s documents on Indigenous Peoples like the UN Declaration on the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples, The ILO Convention nos. 107 and 189, The

Reports of Rio Summit on Sustainable Development, UN Declaration on the Rights to Development, Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact, Indigenous Peoples and the World Summit on Sustainable Development i.e. have been extensively consulted for a global understanding on the issues of Indigenous Peoples and development. Besides these, the State gazetteers, reports journal and magazines will be my additional sources for my research.

3. Objectives

On the basis of the above discussion and statement of the problem, the following are the objectives of the proposed study:

- To understand development from various perspectives.
- To explore the possibility of evolving an Indigenous paradigm of development in light of negative impacts of development.

4. Methodology

In order to achieve my said objectives I have primarily based my studies on the secondary sources. After having gone through various works by eminent authors I have focused more on the writings on the Indigenous Peoples/Tribals/Adivasis. This has helped me to evolve an indigenous perspective on development which could be an alternative model of integral and sustainable development. This is eventually a comparative study though not a direct one. I have also consulted some indigenous authors and thinkers in the process of my research.

I am convinced that given the freedom of basic human rights, equality, gender equality, self-determination and self-understanding of community, the Indigenous Peoples can set alternative models of development which may be even better model of development than what we have today. Their approach to life and worldviews are capable of providing alternatives to the conceptual and empirical dimensions of development.

5. Hypothesis

- The modern trend of development is not comprehensive enough to provide a development model which includes development of all.
- The indigenous peoples' worldview and philosophy of life with regard to development can provide an alternative and more sustainable model.

In order to prove my hypothesis I have divided my research in five chapters. Chapter one contains the introduction of the research problem, objective of my study, my plan of research and the theoretical and conceptual understanding of tribe, and also of scheduled tribe and it discusses tribals as indigenous peoples. In chapter two I have extensively dealt with the concepts and theories of development. The understanding of development by various UN agencies also finds sufficient mention in this chapter. The Indigenous people's philosophy of life and their understanding on development is dealt in chapter three. Chapter four presents the critique of the present trends and models of development indicating both the aspects of successes and failures. The final chapter deals with a paradigm shift in the understanding of holistic development. Here I have also pointed to the different adaptations made by the mainstream development models. Various efforts for development of the weaker sections and especially of the Indigenous peoples in Indian scenario are briefly examined. I have also looked into the roles of NGOs and other agencies who are genuinely engaged in the works of development of people. Lastly I conclude my research by showing a need for paradigm shift in development. The Indigenous Peoples can and should be allowed to evolve their own manner of development, well-being and future in accordance with their ways of life and cultures. Their basic concerns on ecological and environmental issues, their strategy of management of natural resources, concept of self-management etc. are contributions from the Indigenous communities to create a better paradigm for development. This study also calls for a need to integrate as future development-strategies the social, cultural, political and economic rights and aspirations of the people.

II. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

1. Early Understandings of Concept of Tribe

The Western scholars like L.H. Morgan, M.D. Sahlins, E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Redfield, Kroeber, M. Godelier, and M.H. Fried have elaborately dealt with the concept of tribe. The international perspective on tribe slightly differs from that of the Indian perception. Morgan's conception of tribe was rooted in the evolutionary perspective while studying the Australian tribes the scholars found that as far as the 'tribe and civilization' are concerned tribes stood opposed to civilization in race, language and culture. The tribes of Australia prefer to call themselves as 'aboriginal people.' The American tribes are called 'Red Indians' or only 'Indians' or 'native Americans' etc. Language is another characteristic of a community which keeps them together from other people. The members of one tribe speak to same language and it is by language a member of a community/tribe is easily identified. In other parts of the world as the scholars find that tribes and civilization have existed side by side. Marshall Sahlins (cf. Beteille 2008: 24) attempts to define tribe as "a segmental organization. It is composed of a number of, equivalent unspecialized, multifamily groups, each the structural duplicate of the other: a tribe is a congregate of equal kin group blocs."

Segmentary system is often taken as substitute for tribe by the Western Anthropologists. Upholding the evolutionary perspective Godelier (Ibid: 25) opines that, the tribe is at one and the same time a type of society and a stage of evolution. He further suggests that the link between the two uses of the term tribe, seen as a type of society and as stage of evolution, is very clear, since each stage of evolution is characterized by a specific mode of social organization. All the scholars do not subscribe to the evolutionary perspective on tribe. Morton Fried in his 'Notion of Tribe' has differed from other anthropologists. Fried has dismissed the definition of tribe given by earlier anthropologists and labeled it as 'inherently ambiguous' (Ibid: 26).

Fried argues that tribes represent neither a definite type of society nor a definite stage of evolution. "The Tribe" according to Fried "is much better regarded as a kind of secondary phenomena which in the typical case acquires norms and identity from some external sources." (Ibid: 28) Differing from other's views on tribe Fried says, "Although we are accustomed to think about the most

ancient forms of human society in terms of tribe, firmly defined and bounded units of this sort actually grew out of the manipulation of relatively unstructured populations by more complexly organized societies” (Fried 1975: 2-3). Lewis (1968) in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences records, ‘ideally tribal societies are small in scale, are restricted in the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal, and political relations, and possess a morality religion and worldview of corresponding dimension.’ This may be applicable for the African and American societies.

2. Understanding of tribe in Indian Scenario

In order to develop a theoretical and conceptual understand about ‘tribe’ many scholars, researchers, anthropologists and social scientists have tried their hand. In the Indian scenario the word ‘tribe’ has been understood and explained in more than one ways. There seems to be different schools of thoughts when it comes to define ‘tribe’. The scholars across India especially the anthropologists have attempted to define tribe different from that of the Western understanding. Of late there emerges another school of thought and definition from the Indigenous communities across the world as far as the tribal or indigenous¹ communities are concerned.

The word ‘tribe’ has been understood differently by different disciplines across the world. N.K. Bose in his “Tribal Life in India” (Bose: 1971) points to the reference of tribals in the epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata, who were identified as ‘*jana*’. In the Epic it is mentioned that when Rama reached the borders of the forest of Central India, the land was introduced to him as abode of the tribal peoples, ‘*jana-sthan*.’ The later nomenclature of tribals as ‘*jana jati*’ in the Indian Constitution may be the reflection of the mind of the Epic era. The references are also found about the peoples (tribals) in the Vedic literatures where they were known as different in ‘physical appearance’ and ‘who worshipped strange gods.’ Thus tribes have maintained their separate social identity, comparatively isolated from the rest of the groups and they are economically backward. Bose sets a criterion by which a tribe can be classified. They are language, religion and degree of identity.

¹ Here the words ‘tribal’ and/or ‘indigenous’ are used to mean a correspondent meaning. At the later stage in this paper these terms will be explained in detail with various nuances.

Andre Beteille in one of his essays on 'Tribe and Peasantry' (1976) has discussed four criteria which have been used to distinguish tribal societies, they are- size, isolation, religion and means of livelihood. Dealing with each point he finds little support for the claim that major tribal societies exist in modern India. The pristine tribal character mentioned in different definition of a tribe is not found today. Through the cross-cultural existence the so called tribal communities have lost their exclusive identity that defined them as tribals. Beteille continues, in present day India it is hard to find major tribal communities which practice exclusively animistic religions. In any case, the 'animism' of tribal India has long been tinged with Hinduism. (Corbridge 1988:15). G.S. Ghurye further endorses the idea who describes India's 'animists' as 'backward Hindus.' (Ibid:15).

Contrary to Ghurye and Beteille, Myron Weiner claims that everyone in Chotanagpur can recognize a tribal. A distinctive racial type, known by physical anthropologists as belonging to the proto-Australoid stock, they are somewhat darker than other Indians and have features that are sometimes mongoloid in appearance. (Ibid:16). Ghosh and Sengupta go to the extent of saying that tribe is a colonial construct in India. They endorse the idea that 'the early British anthropologists coincided with the revenue and defensive 'needs' of the British Raj. Men like Dalton (1872) and Risley (1891) were now encouraged to divide India into manageable units of 'tribes' and 'castes' and to identify a group of responsible revenue-farmers with whom the British could deal (Corbridge 1988:16). These are the loud claims later rejected by many.

According to Vinay Kumar Srivastava, "when anthropologists speak of tribe, they mean communities of people who have remained outside of the state of civilization, whether out of choice or necessity; that was the reason of calling them 'non-civilized'" (Srivastava 2003: 163). The above mentioned statement denotes that the tribe is community/communities of people who have continued to live a life of autonomy, self-sufficiency, self-determination and geographical and cultural isolation over the centuries. Vinay Kumar further elaborates the meaning of the word 'tribe'.

He says,

Today when anthropologists use the word 'tribe' they mean (1) Communities included in the list of the scheduled tribes, (2) Communities isolated at one time and later had their integration with the outside world, but have continued to call them tribe because of their vested interests; and (3) Communities that still dwell in remotely situated forests and hills and are backward in terms of the indices of development, although they may not have yet found a place in the list of the Scheduled Tribes (ibid: 164).

The anthropologists and other scholars agree on the point that no unified definition of a tribe can be given due to the level of differences among the various tribal communities in terms of their habitats, social organizations, mode of production and socio-cultural practices. Other cultural traits commonly observed by the earlier ethnographers with regard to tribal societies were- 'pre-literate, scantily dressed, relatively cut-off from other societies of the wider world, lived in similar type of habitations and worked with a technology that could be easily learnt and other values like accumulation, investment, gain, profit, surplus etc. were largely alien to them. Surprisingly, the above mentioned 'values' permeate across the tribal communities irrespective of their varying degrees of transition into modernity with newer technology and relatively alien systems. In spite of fast social change the tribal communities remain homogenous to this day.

The former Director General of Anthropological Survey of India, K.S. Singh (Singh 2003: 195) gives more popular and global understanding of 'tribe.' He subscribes to the idea that the term 'tribe' is derived from a Latin root, '*tribuz*' which means a division of three. The word '*tribuz*' refers to a three divisions into which the Romans were divided. In similar fashion every society is divided and the tribal communities are no exception to it. There is no mention of 'tribe' in the ancient Indian literary traditions, for a similar group of people like today's tribals, the ancient literatures used the term 'forest dwellers', in Sanskrit and *Bhasa* literatures. Today's 'tribe' shares a good many features of social and cultural similarities like- endogamy, commensality, hierarchy, exclusion, egalitarianism, close to nature, subsistence economy and simple and similar tools of production. Thus K. S. Singh concludes,

"The tribe is an Anglo-Saxon word, a colonial concept. A tribe officially notified as a scheduled tribe today lives in deserts, river belts, the plains, the islands, in relatively isolated habitats but

mostly in forests. The tribes of today and the forest dwellers of yesterday are almost similar” (Ibid: 195).

Singh almost seems to agree that the ‘forest dwellers’ of ancient India are same as the tribes of colonial India. D. Ibbetson observes, that “a tribe was bound by the notions of common origin, common habitat, common customs and modes of thought.” (Ibid: 196) As having a common origin a tribe, particularly a clan was strongly linked to a territory. Ibbetson further elaborates the concept of tribe to agricultural castes based on the notion of common descent like that of Muslim communities like Baloch and Pathans and the pastoral communities on the periphery.

In the ethnographic literatures, tribes are variously described as, hill tribes, forest tribes, primitive tribes, backward tribes etc. there is no particular definition of a tribe given either by the ethnographers or the Indian Constitution. There have been some attempts to define a tribe since 1901. Some common constitutive elements of a tribe delineated by the ethnographers (Ibid: 196) are- a tribe today does not have an occupation or a set of occupations. There is much less of blood feud now. The tribes speak many languages. They have a set of commensal norms. They have all types of marriages. They have cultural and social systems that have sustained them against the influences of the alien cultures. Thus some practices make a tribe essentially different from other groups of people.

In the post-Independent India (1950-56) while preparing the list of Scheduled Tribes the government of India attempted to define a tribe on the basis of primitiveness and backwardness. In revising the list of Scheduled tribes in 1965 the Lokur Committee² tried to identify and define a tribe on the basis of “more indications of primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographical isolation, shyness of contact with the community at large and backwardness.” (Ibid: 197)

The scholars have identified significant difference in the Indian tribes in comparison with their counterpart natives of Africa or aborigines of Australia. The crux of the argument is the different levels of ‘transitional perspective.’ Therefore, the attempt to define tribe in an Indian context carries great methodological significance for all the scholars and researchers pursuing tribal

² **Lokur Committee** was an Advisory Committee to the government which was constituted in 1965 to suggest revision in the list of scheduled tribes and scheduled castes in India.

studies. The Indian tribes though exhibit a great degree of commonality with the tribes of other parts of globe in terms of socio-economic characteristics but differ qualitatively in terms of their relationship with the outside world. S.K. Chaudhury and S. M. Patnaik mark the significant difference of Indian tribes from the rest of the world which are “Indian tribes exhibit greater continuity with the so called Indian civilization, (while) the natives of Africa and the aborigines of Australia stood for greater discontinuity with the respective civilization” (Chaudhury and Patnaik 2008: 3). Similarly a significant section of Indian population (8.14% census 2001) is constituted by the tribal communities. Another observable point is that the tribes in India have distinct cultures, dialects and economic pursuits in different ecological settings. There is a great variation among the distinct cultures, dialects, economic pursuits and way of life among the tribes.

In the Indian context, D.N. Majumdar defined a tribe as “a social group with a territorial affiliation, endogamous without specialization of functions, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognizing social distance with other tribes or castes but without caste stigma, following tribal beliefs and customs, illiberal of naturalization of ideas from alien sources; and above all, conscious of a homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration.” (Majumdar, as cited in Chaudhury and Patnaik 2008: 5-6) In the anthropological literature, a tribe has been understood as having the following characteristics: (i) a relatively isolated or semi-isolated community living mainly in forest, hill or hill clad settings; (ii) autonomous cultural system; (iii) maintaining economic self-sufficiency with primitive or crude mode of exploiting natural resources involving low level of technology; (iv) distributed within a well demarcated territory; (v) distinct worldview or cosmology, belief systems, folklore and deities; and (vi) having its own dialect (Chaudhury and Patnaik 2008: 6).

However, due to different stages of transition the scholars do not agree on one definition of a tribe. Some tribes are identified as still being at the primitive stage like the Kondhs, Onges, Sentinels, Jarwas etc.; others are under the process of development like the tribal communities of Central and Eastern India and still some others who have substantially achieved a condition not different from other communities, like the North-east tribal communities. Amidst the changing scenario, however one thing appears constant that is the ‘distinctiveness’ of the tribal communities. It is a common

phenomenon that however developed a tribal community may be but their attitude towards nature, to other tribesmen and women and their tribal affinity among themselves remain unchanged. Therefore, material and social development and progress with regard to tribal communities is not a sure sign of total assimilation of tribes into dominant groups in totality.

The identification of language is another important trait of identifying a tribe as Beteille observes- each community is distinguished by the language it speaks. All the tribes and their languages show allegiance either with the Dravidian or Indo-Aryan linguistic family. It is the communities associated with these languages that are recognized as tribes in India. Here it is to be noted that many Indian tribes especially in the Western and Central parts have lost their languages but the loss of language though accompanied by the loss of cultural traits, do not cease to function as tribe because it has not lost its identity as a community (Ibid: 28-27).

Thus there is no ideal construct of tribal communities in the Indian subcontinent. Some scholars like Bhandari and others refer to some conceptual construct of tribes in India. Bhandari says, “The conceptual model of a tribe is that of an isolated, self-sustaining and viable society” (2008: 46). The cultures of the tribal communities are by and large autonomous. Bhandari applies the idea of “great tradition” and “little tradition”³ and their characteristics of ‘inclusive’ and ‘exclusive’ by to the situation of peasants in India. The tribes also share the similar concept of ‘inclusive character’ and ‘exclusive character’ of their culture, which either makes them part of the greater civilization or excludes from it. Both types of characters are noticed in the tribal cultural traits in today’s India, even when the cultural integration and assimilation and also great traditions subsuming the little ones is taking place.

Similar concept is elaborated by Patnaik (2008: 53) when he deals with the tribal mechanism to maintain and assert its identity. He suggests that ethnic boundaries and ethnic identity are dynamic and subject to modulation. By boundary he denotes the boundedness of life also refers to family, clan, lineage, social institutions, to the entire group with the territorial affinity that plays a major role in binding the group within the boundary. Thus there are numerous groups cultural

³ The concept of “little tradition” and “great tradition” has been initially dealt by Redfield (1956), which Bhandari takes to apply in tribal and peasant contexts in India.

mechanisms through which any social group draws its boundaries in order to keep itself distinct from other groups or communities. Boundary, here refers to exclusivity, difference and distinctiveness of a community which is expressed through its social practice.

The distinct social boundaries of any community give identity to that entity. Identity, here refers to the way in which people understand themselves and want others to understand them in the same manner. Identity is a cultural construct which distinguishes one from another. The cultural traits of each community give distinct identity to each group and exclude one from another. It has always been a difficult task for the anthropologists and the scholars to identify the boundaries and distinctive features of tribal communities which give tribal identity to a tribe. Based on the boundary and cultural traits of different communities some school of anthropologists has defined tribe as “a relatively isolated community” and “culturally autonomous system” (Ibid: 56).

Another feature of identification of distinct cultural traits and boundary of a tribe is that one tribal community has close cultural affinity with the neighbouring tribe. Same kind of cultural affinity is not found in a tribe with other neighbouring social groups who do not identify themselves as tribe. Thus which each tribal community enjoys cultural autonomy, there is a certain degree of interdependence among distinct communities of a region. The inter-dependence could be in terms of sharing the work of village administration in turn and not based on election or modern political system of majoritarianism. This is possible with constant interaction, mutual understanding and cultural exchange among different tribal communities.

In India there has been more concern with the identification of tribes than with their definition. There still existed a broad conception and criteria of defining a tribe. The criteria of defining a tribe ranged, as Xaxa (2006) observes, from the features such as geographical isolation, simple technology and condition of living, general backwardness to the practice of animism, tribal language to physical features etc. Xaxa goes on to say, “The Indian anthropologists have been acutely aware of a certain lack of fit between what the discipline defines as tribe and what they are obliged to describe as tribe” (Ibid: 4).

3. The Concept of ‘Scheduled Tribe’

The concept of ‘tribe’ is elaborately dealt at the national and level. The Indian concept of tribe which widely considers with the conceptual framework popularly understood worldwide. They are, that the tribes have distinct cultures, dialects and economic pursuits in different ecological settings. The term ‘Scheduled Tribe’ is a new concept in Indian scenario. As far the total number of tribe in India are concerned there is hardly any consensus. There are numerous distinct communities in India which are broadly accepted as tribes but the Indian constitution approves only those tribes which are ‘scheduled’ under certain constitutional provision. The process of designating or ‘scheduling’ tribes in India began during the British Rule and acquired a systematic character from the time of the 1931 census (Beteille 1992: 39).

The Government of India Act of 1935 had introduced special provision for the tribal people and a list of backward tribes was promulgated in that connection in the 1936. When the constitution was adopted in the Independent India in 1950, same year the President of India promulgated a list of scheduled tribes which were based on the list of backward tribes promulgated in 1936 by the colonial government. Initially the government of India listed 212 tribes in 1950 which rose to 458 by the year 1990(Chaudhury and Patnaik 2008: 5). According to the Article 342 of the Indian constitution the President of India has to specify any tribe as ‘scheduled tribe’ according to certain provisions. The Anthropological Survey of India, the official research organization on tribe had put 311 tribes as scheduled in 1967, which rose to 461 in 1994 and 4,635 communities were found to be distinct in India, under the project of ‘People of India’ (Ibid: 5).

4. Who are the Indigenous Peoples?

The word, “indigenous” as defined by the New Oxford Intermediate Learner’s Dictionary, is ‘living or growing in the place where they are from originally.’ Thus indigeneity is a relation to a region or geographical setting. The term ‘indigenous’ is conceived differently by anthropologists, social scientists and the people themselves. In anthropological sense ‘indigenous’ or its equivalent has been used to describe groups called tribes for quite some time (Xaxa 2006: 5), but now the usage of the term indigenous is gone beyond the discipline of anthropology. The international

agencies, the governments, researchers and the people themselves are making extensive use of the concept in their deliberations and discourses.

The use of the concept 'indigenous' for 'tribal people' was first used and popularized by the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention, on "Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957."⁴ The Convention concerned the members of tribal population whose social and economic conditions are at less advanced stage than other sections of the nation-state and who have their own customs and traditions. The Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957, in the General Policy, Article 1 states, "The members of tribal or semi-tribal⁵ populations in independent countries which are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization and which irrespective of their legal status, live more in conformity with the social, economic and cultural institutions of that time than with institutions of the nation to which they belong."⁶

The concept of indigeneity is inseparably linked with the communities of people (1) who descent from the first inhabitants of a geographical region/country, (2) who live more in conformity with their social, economic and cultural institutions of that time than with the institutions of the nation to which they belong. Thus the term 'indigenous' describes something or someone who is native to an area or who naturally belongs there. After thirty two years of the ILO, C.107, 1957, the "Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (Convention No. 169) affirms the 1957 Convention's General Policy with a minor modification. The Article 1 b. of the General Policy of the Convention 1989 says, "Peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions (ILO, 2009:187)." The Convention also states

⁴Indigenous Tribal Populations Convention 1957, was an ILO Convention concerning the protection and integration of indigenous and other tribal and semi-tribal populations in Independent Countries. The Convention was held in Geneva in 1957.

⁵The '**semi-tribal populations**' are those communities who are in the process of losing their distinct identity as tribals, but not yet integrated in the national community.

⁶ <http://www.ilo.org/indigenous> browsed on Feb. 15, 2012

that self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as fundamental criteria for determining the groups to which the provisions of this convention apply. The ILO Convention sets forth a roadmap for all other countries in the world and calls for ratification for greater recognition and whole round development of the indigenous communities. After the ILO Convention 1957, 27 countries ratified the recommendation of the convention (C. 107). India was one among the 27 countries to ratify the recommendation. Later to the ILO Convention 1989 India has repeatedly denied ratifying the recommendation on the basis that the indigenous peoples do not exist in India.

The Working Group on Indigenous Populations working paper on the concept of “indigenous people” list the following factors that have been considered relevant to the understanding of the concept of “indigenous” by international organizations and legal experts: ⁷

- ❖ Priority in time, with respect to the occupation and use of a specific territory.
- ❖ The voluntary perpetuation of cultural distinctiveness, which may include the aspects of language, social organization, religion and spiritual values, modes of production, laws and institutions;
- ❖ Self-identification, as well as recognition by other groups, or by State authorities, as a distinct collectivity, and
- ❖ An experience of subjugation, marginalization, dispossession, exclusion or discrimination, whether or not these conditions persist.

Xaxa (2006:7) underlines three aspects which are central to the conceptualization of the indigenous people. First, the indigenous are those people who lived in the country to which they belong before colonization or conquest by people from outside the country or the geographical region. Secondly, they have become marginalized as an aftermath of conquest and colonization by the people from outside the region. Thirdly, such people govern their life more in terms of their own social, economic and the cultural institution than the laws applicable to the society or the country at large. The above mentioned arguments for the concept of ‘indigenous peoples’ make it clear that ‘indigenous’ cannot be seen in isolation. The people in question and their relation to other communities of beings either human or animal or nature, their consciousness, beliefs and

⁷ United Nations Development Group, Guidelines on Indigenous Peoples’ Issues, 2009, p.8-9

practices, cultural and social institutions have to be taken into consideration. Such practices are quite similar among the so-called indigenous peoples all over the world with slight local variations but which do not them very different from their counterparts in other parts of the globe.

5. Are Tribals Indigenous Peoples of India?

While there is by and large a consensus about the notion of 'tribe' in India but ambiguity remains about the concept of 'indigenous peoples.' Until 1980s the terms indigenous was used for tribes at various fronts interchangeably, but the question became more complex when the UN attached identity, rights, development and empowerment to the tag of indigenous in its Universal Declaration on Human Rights and also in the ILO Convention 1989. In India more than social 'indigenous' became political question. The Indian Political class does not want to give the tribe an indigenous status because; the tribes would demand rights and privileges of the indigenous communities as per the Declaration of the United Nation's Organization.

The application of the term indigenous to Indian tribes has aroused fears because there are other communities which claim to be as indigenous as the tribes. The geographical occupation of land as the first settlers gives people chance to claim as indigenous as the tribes but who have merged into the dominant social structure of the region and practically done away with their own distinctiveness.

The question whether the tribes of India are indigenous peoples is widely debated. On the one hand the scheduled tribes of India were recognized as indigenous people by the World Bank in 1991 and also the Indian Council of Indigenous and Tribal People (ICITP) treats adivasis/tribals as indigenous people (Singh 2003: 198); however, on the other hand, the Indian government has disagreed. Secondly, the Indian State has ratified the ILO Convention 1957, thereby consenting to the General Policy of the Convention 107. The ratification has been justified on the following ground- that the ILO 1957 has only articulated the need of integrating the indigenous and tribal people into the larger social and political system. The 1989 Convention of ILO shifted the focus from integration to 'rights and empowerment' of indigenous and tribal people and therefore the Indian government took a back foot thereby arguing that 'a category such as this does not hold in Indian context' (Xaxa 2006 :9).

The debate about the indigenous peoples in India in recent times seems to be politically motivated phenomenon. Those who do not subscribe the term and concept 'indigenous' to tribal people give the following arguments. The identification of indigenous as the original settlers of a geographical area before the colonial settlement is not easy. The historical processes with regard to the indigenous peoples in other countries like New Zealand, Australia, Americas, Norway is not same as in India. The so called tribal people are living in close proximity with the non-tribal population and which has led them to assimilation and acculturation and sanskritization to a great extent, leaving nothing distinct as to be called indigenous/original.

Another powerful objection against tribes being called indigenous by some scholars is whether the groups designated as tribes in India have been the natives of India and non-tribes immigrants, and if they have not been natives whether their settlement is prior to that of the arrival of the major social group, the Aryans. Besides such claims, the tribal traditions and myths themselves narrate their stories of repeated migration as Dube says,

“It is difficult to speak of 'original' inhabitants, for tribal traditions themselves make repeated mention of migration of their ancestors. There is considerable evidence to suggest that several groups were pushed out of the areas where they were first settle and had to seek shelter elsewhere. And there are several groups, now absorbed in Hindu society, which can make an equally tenable claim to being original or, at any rate very old inhabitants” (Ibid: 10-11).

The search on the basis of chronology is next to impossible in India for the fact many social groups, tribals and non-tribal communities have come to India at different point of time. While considering tribes as indigenous people of India, B.K. Roy-Burman (Burman 2009: 172) has to make the following considerations. At the beginning the tendency was to define 'indigenous' mainly in a chronological sense. Later there was a shift to define 'indigenous; in normative sense. In chronological sense, 'indigenous', tended to be equated with 'autochthon' which is not correct in most parts of Asia and Africa. In normative sense, the word indigenous is used to connote rootedness of being in specific physical and social milieus. In the preparatory Constituent Assembly discussions (Ibid: 172) normatively the term indigenous has been used to mean (a) embedded in a specific culture, elaborating, amplifying and interpreting the indigenous social

organization and cultural traits and practices. (b) Sharing and caring as conditioned fact of life, predatoriness only as a contingent fact of life, (c) Equity principle though not always observed at the basic value at the level of ethos, and, (d) While historically existing in the periphery of non-indigenous societies were regarded as 'proximal other' but not 'subsidiary other' were marginal societies.

The tribes are said to be the people who inhabited the region before the coming of the more dominant sections of the Indian societies. They are the social groups other than Aryans who speak varieties of dialects presumably to two main linguistic families e.g. the Dravidian and the Austriacs (Xaxa 2006: 10). Another claim is made for the Tibeto-Burman linguistic group as tribes on the basis of their settlement into different parts of the country before the arrival of the more dominant groups (Aryans) in the region (s). In this regard Ray, (1973:124-25) writes,

The communities of people of today whom the anthropologists call tribals, happen to be the indigenous, autochthonous (*adivasis, adimjati*) people of the land, in the sense that they had long been settled in different parts of the country before the Aryan-speaking peoples penetrated India to settle down first, in the Kabul and Indus valleys and then within a millennium and half, to spread out in slow states, over large areas of the country and push their way of life and civilization over practically the entire area of the country along the plains and the river valleys.

Brushing aside the contestable debates of 'chronological claims' and 'original settlement' Pathy (1992) and Xaxa (2006) write that the tribals in a way have been victims of conquest and colonization, and hence share all the attributes of the colonized people, such as ethnic identity, loss of control over customary territorial resources, cultural annihilation and powerlessness. The issue of colonization, conquest and subjugation has to be dealt in Indian scenario in a different way. The experiences of being conquered and subjugated by other more powerful and dominant groups is deeply ingrained in the consciousness of people who claim to be natives/*adivasis*/first settlers/tribes/indigenous in different parts of India. The long drawn history of conquest and subjugation in India have to be traced from the times of Aryan invasions to Muslim subjugation and finally to the time of British colonization. The irreparable loss of the tribes can be known

through their oral history, traditions and customs, folklores, stories and traditional songs of the tribes to this day.

The tribal communities were able to maintain their distinctiveness as a people because they escaped colonization and subjugation and were pushed to the hills, valleys and to deep forests. It is true that the subjugated people failed to maintain their distinctiveness. In today's world of information and technology, cultural integration, urbanization, media culture and deforestation the tribes find it extremely difficult to maintain their distinctiveness. The monstrous problems of mining, displacement and industrialization has penetrated deep into the consciousness of people who claim to be tribals, distinct and hence indigenous.

The scholars, researchers, anthropologists and also the government till 1980s loosely used the terms indigenous/tribal/adivasis almost interchangeably. When the claim of equality, rights, human rights, dignity and justice was made by the indigenous communities in the world scenario the issue got problematized in India. The first Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru recognized the distinctiveness in the tribal communities and therefore he promulgated the development-mantra of the *Panchsheel* (Chaudhury and Patnaik 2008: 7-8) which says,

1. People should be allowed to develop on the lines of their own genius and nothing should be imposed upon them.
2. Tribal rights on land and forest should be respected
3. Induction of too many outsiders into the tribal areas should be avoided
4. There should be no over-administration of tribal areas and work should be done through their own institution as far as possible.
5. The results should be judged not by the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is involved.

Thus the principle of *panchsheel* implies, (a) culture-specific and need-based development programmes for tribals, (b) participation of people (tribals) in both planning and implementation, and (c) their empowerment leading to self-identity and self-esteem.

Another landmark evidence of recognizing tribes as distinct is the special provision made for the progress, development and empowerment of tribal people through the Panchayat Extension in Scheduled Area (PESA) Act of 1996. The Fifth and the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution gives special provisions for the people who are known as (scheduled) tribes. Thus at various fronts the government has recognized the tribal communities in India as distinct and different from the rest of the communities in the country. The Forest Rights Act, 2006, the Tribal Sub-Plans are all indicative of special need for equal rights and empowerment for a particular section of Indian communities known as tribals.

At the international level with global network among the indigenous and tribal peoples there is a great demand for self-identity, dignity, rights and participation. Since 1980s till 1994 under the Minority Sub Commission of Human Rights Commission of the UN annual meetings of the indigenous and tribal peoples from different part of the world used to take place. Currently under the aegis of an Open Ended Working Group and the UN and also the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) affiliated to the Economic and Social Council of UN meet annually to discuss issues related to indigenous and tribal peoples and to ensure global networking. The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Sept. 13 2007 is another landmark decision in the history of indigenous and tribal peoples.

The tribals and indigenous peoples share the normative one-ness (Roy Burman 2003: 178) at the international level. The Indigenous and the tribal peoples as co-victims of the common experiences of dispossession from age old rights of access to and control and management of resources, marginalization in significant spheres of decision making in the state processes, intended or unintended assault on deeper structures of their cultures and history, they are now emerging as a unified social category known as ‘the indigenous peoples.’

CHAPTER - TWO

Concepts and Theories of Development

I. Concepts and Theories

1. Concept of Development

Development is a complex issue with many different and sometimes contentious definitions. Development in today's India and world at large is a much debated issue. The understanding and meaning of development changed in different periods of history. Development as a process has been understood variedly, as growth, change, transformation, modernization etc. Traditionally the concept and process of development was usually explained and seen in economic terms. Development understood as economic growth and progress has failed to bring about total transformation of human communities and it has given a call to change in its approach to development.

Presently, the new approach is to view development across the globe with a social and human orientation besides the economic and political ones. Up to the Independent India, development meant infrastructural development to facilitate the colonial rule in a smoother and more functional way. In a broad understanding the development in colonial India meant the spread of rail, road and communication systems to facilitate greater mobility and connectivity for the colonial government to function. The Independent India envisaged different models of development after the Independence.

In the present study I would deal chiefly with the post colonial understanding and periodic paradigm shift as far as the bone of contention, development, is concerned. Development in the post colonial India can be understood in three periods. First period can be described as changes in social structure and transformation in cultural values (1947- 1965), second, rethinking goals and strategies of development (1965-1992) and, third, Interface between tradition and National development (1992 till date).

2. Theories of Development

The development theories based on the Western model of economic growth were found profoundly inadequate in the context of developing countries including India. The five decades

of implementation of massive development plans, in India have not produced adequate results. Therefore today's debate on development has taken several sharp turns indicating a radical departure from the Western models and paradigms of development.

The Western model of development theories mostly talked of economic development as the central focus of all development endeavours. No doubt that the scientific and technological advancements have accelerated economic growth but has not paid attention to rampant social inequalities, political powers, and cultural disparities resulting into wide spread social unrest and disillusionment due to so called plans and programmes of development.

The classical sociologists Morgan, Comte, Spencer, Hobhouse, Durkheim, Weber and Parsons etc. deal with development and progress from the anthropological (evolutionary) and sociological point of view. The concepts of development and progress are often used in a positive sense to indicate the processes of advancement of individual or of collective phenomena, or actions or objects. The concept of development has made a long journey.

(i) Early Anthropological Perspectives on Development

The theories of classical sociologists like Comte, Morgan, Karl Marx, and Herbert Spencer on development are grouped under the anthropological perspective. According to this view the human society progressed and developed through several stages. August Comte focused his attention on the study of change, development and progress in human society. One, social statics, that deal with the study of major institutions and two, social dynamics, which is the study of development and change in society. For Comte history of human race and general history is the same. While dealing with progress and development Comte expounds the law of three states of human evolution; the theological, metaphysical and positive. By theological Comte means a stage where human beings explain phenomena by ascribing them to beings comparable to human themselves. In the metaphysical stage human beings explain phenomena in terms of nature, and in positive scientific stage human being explains and examines a phenomenon in the light of reasoning. Comte tried to understand social change that occurred during industrial revolution as an evolutionary process.

Morgan (1818-1881) identifies three main epochs through which human society progressed. They are savagery, barbarism and civilization. He divided different stages according to the

progress made in the production of the means of subsistence. Karl Marx provided the idea of radical transformation of society by elucidating a comprehensive theory of human progress in terms of contradiction inherent in the material structure of society. According to Marx the actual basis of society is its economic structure. He said, “The relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society...” (Marx 1992 cited in IGNOU(i): 14). He goes on to say, “At a certain stage of their development the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production ...then comes a period of social revolution”(Ibid: 14).

Thus Marx outlines the Asiatic, the ancient the feudal and the capitalist as the major modes of production in the progress of human society. The capitalist mode of production will be replaced by socialism through violent revolution. Marx always believes that new developments of productive forces of society come in conflict with existing relations of production and this process continues. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) too advocates the law of progressive development of society. Spencer propagated that all through the ages there had been social evolution from a simple, uniform or homogenous structure to a complex multifold or heterogeneous one. He drew an analogy between the living organism and human society in explaining their progress through evolutionary processes. He was of the view that progress was largely due to pressure of population and he presented a variety of factors in his theory of social evolution and progress. Spencer treated human society as a biological organism and hence studied development as change from within.

(ii) Sociological Perspective on Development

Another set of classical sociologists have conceived the idea of development more from sociological point of view. They are Tonnies, Durkheim, Weber, Hobhouse, and Talcott Parsons. Tonnies builds upon his idea of development based on his concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*. *Gemeinschaft* is a natural condition of human beings bound by blood relations, marriage or strong relations between the close relatives. These are guided by the authority of the common will, based on shared beliefs values and ways of behaving. On the contrary *Geseillschaft* is a condition of human beings where they are guided not by common will as individuals but by self interest. Here every relationship is measured in terms of its value/worth

which is measured in terms of amount of labour used for their production. The Industrial Revolution by emphasizing facts and efficiency was tearing apart the family ties causing a loss in *gemeinschaft* and increasing *gesellschaft*.

Durkheim also viewed society in terms of an evolutionary scheme. He talked about social solidarity, mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. By social solidarity he meant the moral beliefs and ideas that defined the “common sense” underlying social life, while mechanical solidarity was the characteristics of pre-industrial societies which were based on agreement and identity between people. Organic solidarity in industrial societies meant an agreement to tolerate a range of differences. It is at this stage the conflicts are moderated through a variety of institutional arrangements like- courts, trade unions and political parties. He talks about the pre-industrial and industrial societies where division of labour differs substantially. In the pre-industrial according to Durkheim there are very little or no division of labour, all work and consume in similar ways. There is little division of opinion, little individuality. On the contrary, in organic solidarity there are high levels of specialized activities with sophisticated division of labour whose production, distribution and consumptions are carried out in a special ways. Society is transferred from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity by the growth of industrialization, heterogeneity, differentiation, specialization of activity and individualism.

Max Weber examines the question of development of human society in the context of his study on capitalism. He is of the opinion that capitalism as a symbol of progress, emerged out of rationalization of work ethics, savings, frugal life style, beliefs, values and attitudes. Weber believed that the predominance of traditional values is the major hindrance to the development of rational capitalism in some countries like India. He observed the development of human society from traditional, pre-industrial to rational capitalist which was mediated by the process of rationalization of religious beliefs. In a similar fashion parsons also analyzed the following types of evolutionary societies like the primitive/archaic, intermediate and modern.

Thus development by the classical sociologists is seen as growth, change and modernization. For centuries development was understood as progress, thereafter as growth, as change, as transformation, as modernization etc. very recently it is understood as economic, social and human development as well. The economic notions of development as predominantly

understood by growth in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), per capita income and Gross National Product failed to bring about integral development.

Developmental perspectives have experienced a paradigm shift since the late 1970s. The notions of human and social development have found a central place in the emerging perspective on development. The new perspectives have emerged to integrate the marginalized people and women in the development process and also to redefine the role of state in development. A serious rethinking was started as far as development is concerned. In the process of rethinking various new concepts emerged, like- World Summit on Social Development 1994, Rio Summit on Sustainable Development 1992, Human Development Reports, Growth with Social Justice and Sustainable Human Development etc.

II. Indian Nation State and Tribal Development Policies

1. Colonial Policies on (tribal) Development

The colonial government in India laid down some policies for development. It was during the British Rule the unoccupied land and forest in tribal regions were considered as state property. It was major shift in the landholding system as far as the tribal communities are concerned. The unoccupied land and forest when in the state ownership the government can deal with those properties as it wishes. It was during the British rule that major chunk of the tribal land was transferred to non tribals in the region. India was a colony of Britain and the rulers had come to rule the country for their own economic gains. The colonial rule had nothing to do with the development of the people in India. Britain's relationship with her Indian colony was one of political subordination, but economic exploitation formed the core of this relationship. This process of colonization was geared clearly to benefit the mother country (Britain), even at the cost of the colony (ies). Therefore the policies of the colonial government are seen in the context of economic exploitation within the process of colonization.

Colonial exploitation was carried on broadly through three phases. The first phase (1757-1813) of 'mercantilism' was one of direct plunder in which surplus Indian revenues were used to buy Indian finished goods to be exported to England. In the second phase (1813-1858) of free trade India was converted into a source of raw material and a market for British manufactured goods.

The third phase (1858 onwards) was one of finance imperialism in which British capital controlled banks, foreign trading firms and managing agencies in India. This phased exploitation was carried out through a range of economic policies, primarily in the industrial and agricultural sectors of the colonial economy.

The industries were set to promote the British goods. They were assisting in exploitation of the resources for economic gain. The credit of Indian railways goes to the British Government for it is during the British government the railways and roads were spread all over India. But the purpose of these infrastructural developments was to facilitate the colonial rule to have access to all the corners in the India so as to be able to exploit the resources. Thus behind every developmental activity during the colonial rule was a hidden agenda of economic gain.

2. Development in the Post Colonial India

2.1. State-Notion of Development

The post Independent India by and large borrowed the Western model of development. Initially the Indian state understood development in terms of increase in productivity, increase in the intensity of modernization, urbanization and industrialization. Here development has been viewed as the processes of the quantum increase in the good and services as transformation of society from pre-modern to modern in terms of institutional arrangements, transformation of economy from agrarian to industrial, as migration of population from rural to urban areas, as shifting of economic activities from agricultural to non-agricultural and so on and so forth. The state notion of development can be grouped into three areas.

(i) Development as Growth: - according to this view development is purely seen in economic terms. Development as growth refers to an increased capacity to produce consumption goods and a sharp increase in consumption patterns. It refers to an increased ability to fulfill basic human needs of food, clothing, shelter, healthcare and education. Development as growth views in every aspect of human life an increase in the subsistence level. There is a growth seen in individual choices, capabilities and functioning (Sociology of Development MSO- 003, Book 1, p.19).

(ii) Development as Change/Transformation: - Here Development as change refers to the economic, social, political and cultural process of change in human societies. With the

economic growth and increase in production of consumer goods social and cultural change takes place. Due to economic development new social and communitarian formation takes place as urbanization and industrialization increase. Such changes in post independent India was seen as process of development. The traditional value system changed due to increase in development processes.

(iii) Development as Modernization: - Development is also seen as modernization. With the adoption of the Western models of development the post independent India underwent a new process of modernization. Modernization was always viewed as a sign of development. In the economic realm modernization refers to the process of massive industrialization, urbanization and technological transformation of agriculture. In the West the Industrial Revolution set a new trend of Industrialization. The post independent India followed the same pattern of industrialization as sign of modernization and development. Modernization refers to a shift in new mode of operating in all aspects of life. In political realm, it was rationalization of authority especially of bureaucracy. In the social realm it is marked by weakening of social and family ties, and in cultural realm it is the growth of science and secularization.

The State notion of development as mentioned above is popularly known as Western. Thus the Indian understanding of development is the imitation of the Western model of development without giving an adequate thought to local differences and peculiarities. Development in this sense becomes a comparative and imitative phenomenon. It is this understanding by the state in spite of many evolutions in understanding development that has caused conflict in understanding development. The people's and especially the indigenous people's understanding of development is essentially different from the state notion of development which has placed the state and its people (esp. Indigenous Peoples) at the opposite ends. In spite of India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru's declaration of Panchsheel for tribal development and the socialist pattern of the country's development model India as a nation has failed to achieve adequate development of nation and its people. Virginius Xaxa is critical about the state notion of development especially when it comes to the Central Indian States of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa. Pointing towards the state notion of tribal development Xaxa says,

“Development of tribals has been pursued by expropriating tribals of their land, forest, and other resources in the name of national and regional development. The benefits of development projects, which Jawaharlal Nehru, the country's first

Prime Minister, described as the temples of modern India, did not accrue to the tribal people. Rather, tribal people were deprived of their livelihoods and left without any alternative avenues of employment and food security. This has been so even though India pursued a socialist pattern of development and also enacted special constitutional and legal provisions which protected tribes from exploitation by economically and socially advanced sections of society”(2012:32).

Development was predominantly conceived in terms of increase in productivity, economic prosperity and expansion of the market economy thereby constructing under-development as a phenomenon of poverty, low productivity and backwardness. Hence, the ghost of poverty must be alleviated, natural resources be exploited to increase productivity and consumption and the backward communities and areas be linked with the so called mainstream. The false belief that economic growth was the fastest road to development, led to excessive plunder of natural resources, at times the obsession of ‘national development’ that led to sacrifice the livelihoods of the people in the margins. The blind race of development has led to several adverse consequences, like-

- As development has meant industrial growth, the feeding of industry at times had led to ignore the basic subsistence need of society.
- The expansion of market at the cost of livelihoods for many
- The growth oriented development was accompanied by an increase in inequalities and social disintegration.
- Economic growth has led to internalization of the economies of developing nations.
- Increase in income levels, multiplied exports and raised economic growth of a few regions cannot alleviate poverty of the entire nation.

2.2. Different Phases of Development in India

2.2.1. Changes in Social Structure and Transformation in Cultural Values (1947-1965)

Soon after the Independence, India, like many other independent countries jumped into the race of development. As India gained political Independence the government formulated very ambitious blueprints for national developments. In a very short time through planning, supported by international aid and technological guidance, they hoped to accelerate the national growth in a cut throat speed. In the initial stage change in social structures and transformation in cultural values were considered as necessary preconditions for development. A number of

countries including India after getting independence adopted the Western paradigm of modernization which was the capitalist model of growth with some local concessions. Dube, (1990: 1) talks about ‘three scenarios of development’ which could be applied also to post-independent India. They are- (i) Western paradigm of modernization which was the capitalist model of growth, (ii) Revolutionary path to nation building (like the model of Soviet Socialist reconstruction or models of the People’s Republic of China and other Socialist countries), (iii) Independent models like guided democracy, basic democracy etc.

The common experiences across the models are the efforts to legitimize prevailing power structures and their efforts to pursue independent models and strategies; which often lacked authenticity. This period is also marked by Nehruvian model of development i.e. the Western paradigm of development and also the model of Soviet Socialist Reconstruction of People’s Republic. It was a period of political democracy and economic development in India. The main objectives of development were-

- Industrialization and improvement of the living condition of people
- To create more employment opportunities
- To encourage public investment
- To promote higher consumption.

During this period the public sectors were given precedence over the private ones and collective over individual was given priority. It was during this time that the democratic values of justice, equality, fraternity and liberty got prominence. The state government played mediator’s role between political democracy and economic democracy and development. It was during this period that colonial past and nationalist present shaped the strategy of economic development in India.

For the development of tribals and others in the margins Pt. Nehru laid down five-point development programmes popularly known as “the *Panchsheel*” in 1957 (Chaudhury and Patnaik 2008: 7-8). They were-

1. People should be allowed to develop on the lines of their own genius and nothing should be imposed upon them.
2. Tribal rights on land and forest should be respected.

3. Introduction of too many outsiders into the tribal areas should be avoided.
4. There should be no over-administration of tribal areas and work should be done through their own institution as far as possible.
5. The results should be judged not by the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is involved.

Through planning and investment India hoped to achieve the level of industrial development in two decades that had taken Europe and USA about 200 years. After 20 years of blind-race for development the Indian States, realized their over-estimated and over-ambitious capabilities and prospects. The blind imitation of the Western model of development had eluded the independent India and chasm between the rich and poor ever grew widening and the economic planning did not yield desired result. Moreover the notion of development was left so vaguely defined. The indicators of development were- growth rate, Gross National Product and Per Capita Income, which were purely based on economic criteria. The social and cultural developments were ignored with a hope that economic growth will percolate the social and culture aspects of national life. The fact of the matter is the Western paradigm for development failed the overall development of the Independent India. Though the first phase of development also emphasized on economic and educational development and the priority areas were identified as health, housing and communication but it failed to achieve the desired goals. The evaluation committees too criticized the state governments for not ensuring that the benefits reach the tribals. Hence the leaders got involved in serious rethinking about the concept of development and its strategies.

2.2.2. Rethinking Goals and Strategies of Development (1965-1992)

The minimum achievements of the desired plans modeled after the Western model of development, the Indian planners and policy makers started serious rethinking about goals and strategies of development. After twenty years of experience the Indian government felt that the developmental gains concerned the upper crust of society which consisted of the people who controlled the means of production and thus leaving the vast majority to subsist on bare minimum subsistence level.

The socio-economic development of the weaker sections of the first phase of development in Independent India did not accrue adequate result and failed to achieve desired objectives.

However, it cannot be brushed aside as failure in development. The first phase in spite of many drawbacks, was successful in making a change in the outlook in the fields of education and agriculture. In the second phase the government started six pilot projects with an aim to develop the tribal areas by integrating various programmes and harnessing all resources together. The approach is known as 'Area Development Approach.' The 'Area Development Approach' was administered by Tribal Development Agency. These programmes focused on agriculture, horticulture and forest, through control of shifting cultivation, development of minor irrigation, promotion of animal husbandry and promotion of forest based industries and debt relief etc.

In order to accelerate tribal development and make all tribals the beneficiaries of the planning and fruits of development the ambitious plan of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) was initiated alongside the Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan (SCSP). Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) was one of the components of TSP for tribal concentrated districts. The main concern of ITDP was to develop infrastructure, economic development and ensure implementation of protective measures. In the less concentrated areas Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) was introduced.

Yet another scheme called as the Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) was introduced. Alongside the above mentioned programmes with a special focus on culture specific and need orientated programmes. TSP also set another type of programme known as 'Cluster Oriented Programmes.' The overall objective of tribal development programme in this period was economic and educational development. The marginalized communities did not benefit from the developmental programmes; hence, escalation of dissatisfaction among the masses. Various signs of dissatisfaction were- peasant uprisings, Naxalbari uprising, farmers' suicides, garnering of anti-national and anti-administration attitudes rose up as challenge to the governments.

2.2.3. Interface Between Traditional and National Development (1992- till date)

Despite various tribal development plans, sub-plans and total outlays in the successive five year plans the life the people who were in the margins including the tribals did not improve as it was expected. The developmental plans and programmes were imposed upon people and the real beneficiaries of the planning and projects and their needs and aspirations, were not taken into consideration. Secondly, the implementation of the developmental plans were not properly monitored and evaluated. Thirdly, the role of middle men and bureaucracy became very

powerful, consequently the practice of corruption and mismanagement of resources crept into practice.

India, going for economic liberalization, privatization and globalization in 1990s the question of national development vs. development of its people came into the open. Forty years of planning and implementation did not bear much fruit as far as human development, tribal development and development of people in the margins are concerned. The prime focus on economic and educational development was not integral enough to usher in total change and holistic development among all people even after fifty years of country's independence.

The new economic policy of 1992 was hoped to accelerate the dormant economic growth and usher in a holistic development of people and nation. With a view to empowering the rural masses and decentralization of power and governance at local levels the much awaited PESA Act 1996 came into effect with novel promises. The Ninth Plan (1995-2001) placed its focus on the development infrastructure in tribal areas, education of tribal girls and technical education. The plan also focused on tribal empowerment through effective implementation of PESA and decentralization of power and governance.

The planned development programmes have been numerous but the outcome has been quite disappointing. Several evaluation studies have revealed that the wide gap between planning, implementation, empowerment and centralization of power and governance are self-revealing stories about the failure of government's policies on development of its people. The possible reasons for failure to achieve the set goals regarding planned development are lack of inclusive policies. Government failed to take people's participation in the planning, implementation and in the sharing of profits. The diversity of communities with their distinguishing cultural traits, aspirations, hopes, beliefs and practices were not taken into consideration while planning for them.

As a consequence of deep chasm between the state's understanding versus people's understanding of development that led to ideological conflicts in various regions of the country. The imposed idea of development on people in the name of national development has given birth to several protest movements in tribal areas. The armed conflicts and movements in various tribal belts are the signs of huge gap between the state and the people. In the name of development the problem of displacement and rehabilitation is rampant in the tribal belts. There

have been massive displacements with minimum or no rehabilitation. The displaced people (in most of the cases the tribals) are left to fend for themselves. If the people of the country and region do not become the beneficiaries of the development projects and plans then should the project be called development? Development in India is an elusive term. It leaves people in a confused situation of what is development! Whose development? Development for whom? Why development, etc. These are some of the pertinent questions one has to ask and look for some solution.

Modern trend of development has undermined the organic, spiritual and emotional dimensions of relation between nature, individual and society. The following table shows the sorrowful saga of so called development projects.

Table - 1

Persons Displaced by Major Steel Plants since 1956 -1970 (closest 100).

Sl.No. plant	Name of Locations	Area (ha)	Total displaced	Tribal	% of ST to total	Employment Provided (%)	
1.	Bokaro	Giridih Dt. (Bihar)	12, 442.18	68,700	14,900	21.69	14,000 (20.38)
2.	Bhilai	Durg Dt., (MP)	13,500.46	31,300	2,400	7.67	3,508 (11.21)
3.	Durgapur	Burdwan (W.Bengal)	6,633.44	11,800	400	3.39	NA
.	Rourkela	Sundergarh Dt (Orissa)	13,185.31	23,400	11,300	48.29	4,607 (19.69)
Total			45,761.39	1,35,200	29,000	21.45	22,115 (17.92)

Source: Government of India 1985: 18, 83-84; Dhebar 1961: 115 as cited in Fernandes, 1989: 75

The above mentioned Steel Plants were set up in Independent India within a period of 15 years (1947-1960). Industrialization was the buzzword for rapid economic development of a nation. Therefore, Massive industries were set up with a view to achieving a very high rate of growth of GNP and per capita income. As a consequence massive displacement of the people took place of all the displaced the tribals constitute about 40 per cent. The above mentioned table shows that thousands of acres of lands were acquired in the name of setting up industries all in the name of ‘national development.’ It is a sad fact to know that many acres of land are more than

needed for a Plant and which lies still unoccupied, now encroached and falls under land mafias. Of the total displaced very few people 17.92 per cent only got the employment. The rest of the displaced masses either migrated to some other areas in search of livelihood or got settled close to towns and cities in slums in search of temporary jobs. How does the national development justify the development of people while more than 80 per cent displaced people have not been given adequate resettlement and rehabilitation?

3. Approaches to Development

The post Independent India tried different arts and approaches to development. “Growth with stability” was the first approach which was began with setting up heavy industries for fast growth and stability. After a certain point of time the aspect of “Social Justice” was added to the approach. After 1980s India joined hands with developing countries that developed a sense of economic development with real empowerment of the masses. Thus the idea of “Empowerment with Development” was included in the concept and practice. It was during the 1990s to cope with the influence of globalization and liberalization India adopted “Neo-liberal policy of market economy.’

The Human Development approach to development is different from conventional approach to development. There are various types of approaches to growth and development in post independent India.

- i. The economic growth approach
- ii. The human capital formation approach
- iii. The human resources development approach
- iv. The human welfare of the basic needs approach

The economic growth approach that is the increase in production (GDP) is necessary but not a sufficient approach for human development. The modern growth approach in post independent India has benefitted a few and left the vast masses impoverished and deprived of basic needs and facilities. The theories of human capital formation and human resource development consider human beings as only means and not an end of development. Therefore there are scopes for exploitation, discrimination and amassing wealth at the cost of others. Such approaches do not take into consideration the human welfare aspect in the process of

development the human welfare of the basic needs approach leaves the vast majority of people as mere recipients of the fruits of development. People are not taken as partners in planning and implementation of developmental programmes but they are considered as only the recipients. Such approaches leave the majority of people to live at the mercy and generosity of those who sit as planners, owners and investors. Besides, the basic needs approach aims to satisfy the basic minimum needs of the people like- food, shelter, clothing, etc. The questions of basic human choice do not arise in such deprived human conditions. Thus social and human approach to development seems to be an integral approach to development. According to the UNDP Human Development is a process of analyzing people's choices. The basic choices at all levels of developments are- (1) to lead a long and healthy life, (2) To acquire knowledge, and (3) to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living.

In human development the choices are extended to political, economic, and social freedom to opportunities for being creative and productive and enjoying self respect and guaranteed human rights. UNDP depicts two sides of human development, one; the formation of human capabilities like improved health, knowledge and access to resources and, two; the people making use of these capabilities for productive purposes being active in cultural, social and political affairs. Thus the Human Development approach puts equal emphasis on the production and distribution of resources, expansion and use of human capabilities, scope for choices, livelihood security, participatory process and social, economic and political freedom. All these aspects surely lead to a paradigm shift in the development strategy of the state.

4. State Efforts for Tribal Development

As per the Constitutional Provision, the Government of India in 1961 appointed a committee for Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes headed by Sri Dhebar. Based on the recommendations of the Dhebar Commission's Report a separate Tribal Welfare Directorate from Social Welfare Department was created in the year 1966. The purpose of the directorate was exclusively for tribals to uplift the economic, educational and social conditions of life. Few years later for the all round development of tribals Tribal Development Directorate was established for effective implementation of Tribal Welfare Schemes in 1972. In 1976 Tribal Development Commissionerate was established. In 1984 separate Tribal Development Ministry was

established to strengthen the Tribal Development Department, Directorate was merged into Commissionerate in 1992 (Social Work for Mankind, SUNDAY, JANUARY 10, 2010).

Later on the need was felt to allocate a separate Ministry for all the affairs related to tribals. Thus The Ministry of Tribal Affairs was constituted in October 1999 with the objective of providing more focused attention on the integrated socio-economic development of the most under-privileged sections of the Indian society namely, the Scheduled Tribes (STs), in a coordinated and planned manner. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs is the nodal Ministry for the overall policy, planning and coordination of programmes for development of STs. (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, tribal.nic.in)

The post Independent India initiated various plans for tribal development. In the first Five Year Plan (1951-56) it aimed at education and economic development. The community Development Programmes were started to initiate all round development of rural areas. The same was with successive Five Year Plans that paid especial attention for tribal development. National Extension Service (NES) was another programme to enhance development by concentrating upon different block in the country. Especial attention was given for tribal development as mentioned above in the programme of *Panchsheel*.

The *Panchsheel* as principle implied chiefly three goals- (1) Culture specific and need-based development programmes for tribals, (2) participation of people in both implementation and planning, and (3) their empowerment leading to self-identity and self-esteem. For the first time Special Multi Purpose Tribal Blocks (SMPT Blocks) were created. Later on the SMPT Blocks were renamed as Tribal Development Blocks (TDBs).

Two committees were formed to evaluate the development programmes in the tribal belts. First the Elwin Committee (1959) to evaluate the SMPT Block programmes. The committee gave the following recommendation-

1. The benefit of the programme did not reach all sections of the tribal society uniformly.
2. Tribals were succumbed to extreme exploitation in terms of land, money and produce, resulting in land alienation, indebtedness, bonded labour, poverty etc.
3. Committee also recommended proper land and forest management in the tribal areas.

The second Committee was named as Shilu Ao Committee to evaluate the implementation of tribal development programmes. The committee submitted its report in 1969 wherein it said, that-

1. The programmes hardly benefitted the tribals
2. Their land disputes were not settled,
3. Funds allocated to them was diverted elsewhere
4. And the actual benefits went to the advanced tribals only.

Development is a mirage for the tribals. The leaders in the decision making position apparently do not want real implementation of the laws and provisions. The close nexus of political class with the multi- nationals and big business houses and industries have proved that it will take years to achieve social and human development in India.

4.1. Tribal Sub-Plans

In Post independent India when the government realized that instead of improving the situation of tribal areas continued to deteriorate, the government of India formulated in New Strategy for tribal development in 1974 during the Fifth Five Year Plan known as **“Tribal sub-plan Strategy.”** This strategy for tribal development defined its objectives to encompass all aspects of people’s lives. The basic objective of the strategy was to initiate a process of development for tribals taking priorities into account covered under three aspects.

- (a) Elimination of exploitation in all forms, including those relating to state’s own policies such as policies concerning excise and forest;
- (b) Building up the inner strength of the community to enable it to face on its own all adverse forces and also move forward according to its own genius; and
- (c) Developmental programmes – universalistic in character addressed to the community as a whole and particularistic addressed to individual members in that order.

Impact of the plan and strategy remains a long cherished dream. Crores of rupees have been spent in the name of tribal development over the years under TSP. There was no political will power either from the Centre or State or at local level to initiate the implementation of Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) with effect. Though the elimination of exploitation remained the top priority but it remained a non-started activity till date. The concerned states have not even cared to make

regulations for “peace and good governance.” All decisions about improving the state of administration, including adoption of “single line administration” in keeping with the single tribal situation, have remained unimplemented. The Union Government has failed to operationalize even the constitutional provision to review the level of administration and provide assistance for the same in terms of article 275 (1).

4.2 Panchayat Extension in Scheduled Areas (PESA)

Under Panchayat Extension in Schedule Areas 1996 (PESA) the concept of self governance is accepted with its natural flavor and in all comprehension of the governance. The self governance covers all aspects of people’s lives including dispute resolution, command of resources, ownership of minor forest produce, power to enforce prohibition or to regulate or restrict the sale and consumption of any intoxicants, power to prevent alienation of land and restore any unlawfully alienated land, control over money lending, control over institutions and functionaries in all social sectors. Most importantly, all developmental programmes (the real bone of contention) are unequivocally under the control of Gram Sabha. There are specific provisions for prior approval of all schemes and plans, identifications and selection of beneficiaries, and certification of utilization of funds. The state government is bound to do prior consultation with Gram Sabha before acquisition of land and rehabilitation of displaced persons, grant of leases of minor minerals etc. is statutory condition under PESA.

The provisions given to the tribal communities are excellent ways of decentralized government in theory. But in the practical level in the grassroots the PESA Act has failed miserably. There is no political will and genuine desire to hand over power of administration and self management in the hands of the people. By and large the Gram Sabhas are not conferred with any concrete power and governance. India with its best laws for the poorest sections of society but with the worst implementation has precisely failed to bring about social change and integral development. Besides these, there are many other laws and amendments of the Constitution in favour of the poor, marginalized, victims and the Indigenous Peoples but the lack of political will to decentralize power and governance has made all laws ineffective.

III. The United Nations on Development of Indigenous Peoples

After having learnt by the existing development paradigms and its various drawbacks and marginalization of Indigenous Peoples, the United Nations have strongly emerged in support of

the Indigenous peoples and other marginalized communities. Some of the landmark decisions made by UN in support of the indigenous communities are-The Indigenous peoples all over the world have often been at the receiving ends of development. In spite of many provisions and planning many governments could not bring the indigenous communities and other marginal communities at par with the rest of the populations. Indian efforts, in spite of many special plans and provisions could not uplift the conditions of Indigenous Peoples. In many parts the situation of indigenous peoples is worsening due to massive industrialization and the side effect caused by such mega industries and projects. In other cases the sacrifice of tribals/indigenous peoples' lives and livelihoods apparently seem necessary conditions for so called national development. Such development based only on growth of GNP, per capita income and high profit margin shared by a few has actually done great disservice to human development.

Keeping in mind the integral development the UN came up 'Right to Development', 'Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples' and many other proactive measures. These declarations give power and decision-making capacity for the Indigenous peoples to develop according to the socio- cultural and human understanding of development. It gives indigenous peoples power and opportunity to participate as co-partners in the planning and implementation of developmental programmes which is less exploitative of nature and fellow humans.

1. UN Declaration on the Right to Development

In 1986 the UN General Assembly adopted a Declaration on the right to Development which states, "The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized"(UNDRD 1986, Article 1). The UN General Assembly also observes that the heart of the problem that is people displaced by development projects are generally seen as a necessary sacrifice on the road to development. As remedial processes and measures to restore the lost fate of the deprived people, the UN proposes the following-

(i). Right to Participation:- The affected communities must be able to participate in different levels of decision-making, at the local, state, national and international levels. In corroboration of the same idea the ILO Convention 169 states, the right to participation is well grounded in the International Bill of Human Rights (e.g. ICCPR, art. 25). More specifically, the 1991

International Labour Organization Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO Convention 169) stipulate “that indigenous and tribal peoples shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of national and regional development plans that affect them” (ILO C.169, Article 7).

(ii). Right to Life and Livelihood:- All people have their right to life and livelihood. When security forces take action to move people forcibly or to quell civil dissent against development projects, this may constitute a direct threat to the right to life, which is protected in the Universal Declaration on HR (Article 3) and the ICCPR (Article 6). The right to livelihood is threatened by the loss of home and the means to make a living – whether farming, fishing, hunting, trading or the like – when people are displaced from habitual residences and traditional homelands. The right to own property and not to be arbitrarily deprived of this property as well as the right to work, are spelled out in the UDHR (Articles 17 and 23, respectively) as well as in Article 6 of the ICESCR. Article 11 of the ICESCR, moreover, provides for "the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions."

Included in the right to life is the right to environment. This concept has also been phrased as “intergenerational equity” or the right of future generations to inherit a planet, or a particular piece of it, that is capable of sustaining life. The many linkages between protection of human rights and protection of the environment have long been recognized. The 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment declared that "man's environment, the natural and the man-made, are essential to his well-being and to the enjoyment of basic human rights--even the right to life itself."

(iii). Rights of Vulnerable Groups:- While development projects may create vulnerability through impoverishment, they disproportionately affect groups that are vulnerable to begin with, particularly indigenous peoples and women. Human rights of vulnerable groups are protected generically in the International Bill of Human Rights. The ILO Convention 169 spells out protections for indigenous groups. The principle of non-discrimination is not only codified in the UDHR (Article 2), the ICCPR (Article 2) and the ICESCR (Article 2) but also in the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

(iv). **Right to Remedy:-** The right to remedy is asserted in the UDHR (Article 8) and in the ICCPR (Article 2). As noted in a report to the World Commission on Dams, “often, due to the nature of the development process, the project-affected peoples come to know about actions that have been taken without their knowledge or consent. Therefore, they need a quick and efficacious remedy that can halt on-going violations and prevent future ones. The right to remedy is therefore crucial...to all development projects.”

2. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007

Recognizing the urgent need to respect and promote the inherent rights of Indigenous peoples which derive from their political, economic and social structures and from their cultures, spiritual traditions, histories and philosophies, especially their rights to their lands, territories and resources, the United Nations made a declaration on the rights of the Indigenous peoples and which was adopted by the General Assembly 61/295 on 13 September, 2007 (ILSTD 2009:192).

There are 46 articles in the declaration which particularly deal with the Indigenous Peoples rights and over land and livelihoods. The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples recognizes the right to development as an indigenous peoples' right. The declaration states in its preamble that the General Assembly is "Concerned that indigenous peoples have suffered from historic injustices as a result of, inter alia, their colonization and dispossession of their lands, territories and resources, thus preventing them from exercising, in particular, their right to development in accordance with their own needs and interests" (Ibid : 192).

Article 23 elaborates "Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their **right to development**. In particular, indigenous peoples have the right to be actively involved in developing and determining health, housing and other economic and social programmes affecting them and, as far as possible, to administer such programmes through their own institutions" (Ibid: 194).

3. ILO Convention 107 and Convention 169

3.1 ILO Convention 1957

In the General Conference of the International Labour Organization by the Governing Body decided to adopt certain proposals with regard to the protection and integration of indigenous and other tribal and semi-tribal populations in independent countries. ILO too affirms that all human beings have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity. ILO also considers that there exist in various independent countries indigenous and other tribal and semi-tribal populations which are not yet integrated into the national community and whose social, economic or cultural situation hinders them from benefiting fully from the rights and advantages enjoyed by other elements of the population. This adoption is known as the Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957.

The convention in the various parts of its deliberations talked about general policy with regard to tribals and indigenous peoples, about their land, recruitment and conditions of employment, vocational training, handicrafts and rural industries, social security and health, education and means of communication, administration, general provisions, etc.

3.2 ILO Convention 1989

A concept of Indigenous Peoples rights further crystallized in 1957 in the first international legal instrument related to indigenous peoples' protection. The Convention concerned the protection and integration of Indigenous and other tribal and semi-Tribal Populations in Independent Countries (C107). The same Convention was updated in 1989 by the Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries.

In 1989 the International Labour Organization (ILO) adopted the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (ILO Convention No. 169). Since then the Convention has been ratified by 20 countries. The Main purpose of this Guide is to provide governments, indigenous and tribal peoples and workers' and employers' organizations with a practical tool for implementation of indigenous peoples' rights, based on the experiences, good practices and lessons learned that have been generated so far.

The Convention No. 169 is a holistic instrument, which attempts to address all key aspects of indigenous peoples' rights the range of rights contained in this instruments are inter-related and issues such as the right to consultation and participation are cross-cutting and have repercussions, for example for the rights stipulated in sectors such as health and education.

The whole of Convention guide is divided into various sections concerning the various areas of indigenous rights. Some of the important ones are- Identification of Indigenous and tribal peoples, concept of indigenous peoples in the context of rights, government responsibilities, participation, consultation and consent, customary law, penal systems and access to justice, land and territories, natural resources, development and education etc. The Convention also explains about the indigenous and tribal peoples general right to the natural resources in their territories as well as the rights to consultation, participation and benefit-sharing in cases where the state retains the rights over mineral resources. The Convention 169 explains indigenous and tribal peoples' rights to determine their own priorities for the process of development and how this relates to the current international development agenda.

The Convention No. 169 over the years, has inspired government and indigenous peoples far beyond the ratifying countries, in their work to promote and protect Indigenous Peoples' rights.

4. United Nations' Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII)

The Permanent Forum was established by United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) resolution 2000/22 on July 28, 2000. In this resolution, UNPFII was given a mandate to "discuss indigenous issues within the mandate of the Council relating to economic and social development, culture, the environment, education, health and human rights" (UNPFII, Handbook, 2007:6).

The Permanent Forum is an advisory body within the framework of UN systems that report to the United Nations Economic and Social Council. The purpose of the forum is to raise issues, create awareness, build networks and combat problems related to laws, policies, projects, and resources of nations that primarily concern and adversely affect the indigenous peoples. More specifically the Permanent Forum was called upon to provide expert advice and recommendations on indigenous issues to the UN system through ECOSOC, raise awareness

and promote the integration and coordination of relevant activities within the UN system and prepare and disseminate information on indigenous issues. Every year the UNPFII submits recommendation to the Council on issues related to indigenous peoples. Principally the mandate of the Forum is to discuss indigenous issues related to social development, culture, environment, education, health and human rights.

CHAPTER – THREE

Indigenous Peoples' Philosophies on Development

The core of the economic philosophy assumed within the ideology of tribal economy and society are production for consumption and not for amassing for future. There is a general belief that the future will take care of the future generation. As long as the symbiotic relation within nature, human beings and also with the supernatural world is maintained the world will continue nurturing each other always.

The modern trend of corruption and exploitation of nature and natural resources show that same kind of interrelatedness will not continue for long as the resources and natural resources are limited and which cannot be renewed or replaced. The future of human generation will not be same as today for the lack of resources. Sharma (1978:531 as quoted in Corbridge 1988:10), points out that tribal society is identifiable by a unique correspondence between the subsistence psychologies of individual peasant households and a social structure which refuses to grant any primacy to economic calculations.

In tribal society the pursuit of wealth is conducted within the confines of a harsh physical environment and social constraints (Corbridge, 1988:10). The core of the tribal society on which the tribal subsistence economy is based are lineage, role of women and tribal cultural principles as mentioned by Stuart Corbridge. Pre-eminence of the lineage in tribal societies is inspired from their bondage of the lineage they belong. Mandelbaum (as cited in Corbridge 1988:10) says, 'In tribal life the principle links for the whole society are based on kinship. Individual equality as kinsman is assumed; dependence and sub-ordination among men are minimized.' As contrary the dominant Indian society is highly hierarchical and is characterized by caste and class, high and low and domination and subordination. Naturally, the philosophy of life will be very different in the above mentioned two types of human societies. In tribal communities lineages or clans tend to be the chief corporate units, i.e. they are often the principal units of land ownership, for defense, for economic production and

consumption. Each person considers himself or herself entitled to equal rights as the other. Mandelbaum further endorses a view that agricultural and non-agricultural labour within tribal society must be supplied on the reciprocal basis within the killis/gotras/lineages; it cannot be supplied on or through the open market as done in the dominant society (Mandelbaum 1970:576 as cited in Corbridge 1988:11).

The second dimension of tribal society which characterizes the tribal social and economic system is the role of women in tribal society. The economic and ritual importance to women in tribal society is something unimaginable in patriarchal and dominant Indian society. The economic and ritual importance of tribal women manifests itself in different ways. The tribal woman in marriage is brought to the husband's house by paying 'bride price.'¹ Bride price is to show the importance of woman who is brought to husband's house by duly paying the price. In the tribal agricultural activities (except in ploughing and sowing) women take equal parts as men. The tribal woman has great freedom both in her marital life and the choice of her husband. Thus the tribal female is said to enjoy an unrivalled parity within the family and tribal units which are reflected in their approach to human life, their involvement in a social and economic settings.

The third dimension of tribal cultural life is that the societies are organized according to the cultural principles which are very different from those guiding *jati* societies. There is a general contentment of life and pleasure principle in the tribal society which guides the individuals as against the accumulating principles which presses upon maximizing production and never ending economic pursuits in life. Many scholars believe that the tribal society is different and its cultural principles are reflected in its economic organization in ways which emphasize an attitude towards life, others and natural surroundings. The Dhebar

¹ **Bride Price:** also known as bride wealth, bride token, is an amount of money paid by the groom or his family to the parents of a woman upon the marriage of their daughter to the groom. The agreed bride price is generally *not* intended to reflect the perceived value of the girl or young woman but a common agreement between the two parties and a sign of union between the relationship. Bride price should not be understood in market terms as payment made in exchange for the bride's family's loss of her labor and fertility within her kin group. It is a tokenism. In some tribal cultures in the Central India like among the Oraons the commonly agreed bride price is Rs. 5 in some part and Rs. 6 in another.

Committee² in its report sums up the tribal philosophy of life in the following words, “It is difficult in the dry pages of an official report to convey to the reader the zest for life expressed in tribal poetry and dancing, the instinct for colour and pattern above all things, the tribal people are intensely lovable and have fascinated most of those who have anything to do with them” (1962:20).

Indigenous Peoples perspective on development emerges from their worldview and understanding of land, water and the whole world of natural surroundings. In order to understand the indigenous peoples' perspective on development it is imperative to understand indigenous people's concept of land, water and the natural surroundings. From tribal myths of creation the people draw meaning system of life which is in keeping with the cyclic nature of the natural and physical world. The primordial elements like seed of earth, birds and reptiles play important roles in the process of creation of the world. The myths narrate that the earth came into existence as the interplay of supernatural power and created beings like birds and animals. Animals and creatures serve as important instruments in the process of creation.

Tribal feasts and seasonal celebrations are closely linked to agricultural operations and as such they reflect the harmony that exists between the tribe, nature and their belief in God. Celebrations of these feasts help them to make a smooth transition at every stage in the annual cycle of its simple economic pursuits, such as food gathering, hunting, cattle tending and agriculture. These feasts are celebrated to share in life and prosperity in the perspective of the harmonious ordered cosmological whole, with cosmic elements, ancestors and God.

² **Dhebar Commission:** Dhebar Commission was constituted in 1960 under the chairmanship of Uchharangrai Navalshankar Dhebar. He was the also the Congress President who became the Chief Minister of the state of Saurashtra and later on an MP in 1962. It was the first national Commission constituted to study the problems of tribals. He observed – “the problem of problems is not to disturb the harmony of the tribal life & simultaneously work for its advancement, not to impose anything upon the tribals & simultaneously work for their integration as member & part of the Indian family.

I. Indigenous Social Conceptions

1. Indigenous Peoples' Concept of Land

The Indigenous peoples' human evolution shows that they have evolved from the stages of hunting and food gathering, pastoral to settled agriculture. Thus the tribals are owners of the land as hunters, food gatherers and settled agriculturists. The tribals claim to be the original settlers of the land.

Tribal concept of land emerges from their concept of creation and origin of human beings. Tribals claim unoccupied ownership over the land for centuries. They affirm that the first settlers of the land and region altered the nature from a dense forest to cultivable land. Their ancestors are buried in the land and therefore they believe that the land has an emotional and community bonding with the tribal community. Land in the tribal region is taken as community holding and not as individual/private ownership. The 'khuntkatti'³ system in the Central Indian region with regard to the ownership of land explains the system of land holding. Right to hold land and forest as common property is only to cultivate.

As far as the social and political systems are concerned the tribals were /are governed according to the wisdom of the elders, which later on recognized by the constitutional architects and which finally culminate as Constitutionally accepted system under the Panchayat Extension in Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act, 1996. Thus the whole tribal worldview about life and nature reveals a harmonious co-existence of human, nature and supernatural beings.

1.1 Bonding with the Land

The tribals generally bury their dead on the ground. The ancestors who are buried on the land are believed to be the invisible members of the family and living community. On particular

³ *Khuntkatti*: The term *Khuntkatti* is used regarding the original ownership of land. In the Munda populated areas of Jharkhand was originally first occupied and owned by the ancestors of Mundas tribals. They were the first settlers of the villages and the land which they prepared by clearing the forest is known as the *khuntkatti* land. The *Khuntkattidars* are descendants in the male line of the original founders of the village. As such they are all akin, of equal status and differing in wealth mainly owing to differences in size of the families of their ancestors. As a group they are the owners of the whole of the area included in the village boundaries.

occasions during the year special sacrifices are offered and the ancestors are venerated. Thus the relationship between the dead and the living are renewed from time to time. There is an intimate spiritual dimension of land attached with the tribal way of life. They believe that the indigenous law and life originate in and is governed by the land. A close connection to the land gives them identity, sustenance and a sense of belonging. The tribals also believe that the land owns the tribal communities and gives them their identity.

The Indigenous Peoples often address the earth as “*paca mama*” (mother earth). This expression shows a deep spiritual relationship an indigenous person has with the earth. George Manuel⁴ has described the spiritual dimension of the land which an indigenous person puts in the following words, The land from which our culture springs is like the water and the air, one and indivisible. The land is our Mother Earth. The animals who grow on that land are our spiritual brothers. We are a part of that Creation that the Mother Earth brought forth.... Although there are as wide variations between different Indian cultures as between different European cultures, it seems to me that all of our structures and values have developed out of a spiritual relationship with the land on which we have lived (Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World* (cited in note 5), pp. 6-7.). Therefore, it becomes impossible for a tribal to part with his/her land.

The Government’s plan for industrialization and displacement of the communities from their ancestral land challenges the whole belief system and existence of the tribals who have so far enjoyed the autonomy and sole authority over the land. The tribals respond to the threat of displacement and dispossession of land in the following sentiments, as one of the indigenous peoples (James Galarrwuy Yunupingu) expresses,

The land is my backbone ...I only stand straight, happy, proud and not ashamed about my colour because I still have land. I can paint, dance, create and sing as my ancestors did before me. I think of land as the history of my nation. It tells of

⁴ . George Manuel, Chief of the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada. He published a very important work known as “*The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (1974).

how we came into being and what system we must live. My great ancestors, who live in the times of history, planned everything that we practise now. The law of history says that we must not take land, fight over land, steal land, give land and so on. My land is mine only because I came in spirit from that land, and so did my ancestors of the same land ... My land, is my foundation (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1995).

2. Water and Water Resources

According to the Tribal Creation myth, water is pre-existent element of creation. The general use of water is for drinking, washing and bathing, serving the needs of hygiene, refreshing, ritual purification, etc. Offering water to somebody is a sign of welcome and acceptance. Water contains life and wherever it passes, it gives life to people, animals, plants, lands and reptiles. According to ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian myths water was primary cosmic element from which all life emerged. The water above the firmament is the source of rain and the waters below forms seas, lakes and underground streams. The subterranean sweet waters were identified with **wisdom, fertility and life**. The restless raging sea represents chaotic and destructive power.

Water that flows through the fields, rivers and fountains is believed to impart life and prosperity. Water is a free gift of the creator and that should be made available to all people freely. Water is used popularly in tribal ritual practices. For tribals water is sign of purity, fertility, abundance of life and seedbed of life. Water is used for ritual practices during the name giving ceremony in infancy stage; water is used extensively during marriage to symbolize the fertility of the newly-wed couples and at death water is used for ritual purification. Besides the above mentioned occasions there are many other times the tribals use water as ritual practice.

Water is an abundant gift of the creator to all creation. According to the tribal worldview water must be freely available to all. In today's highly commercialized and monopolized world even the water sources are monopolized by a few and the 'free gift' is commodified and sold in bottles, cans and jars for commercial purposes and money making. The commercial understanding of water has led to pollution and scarcity of many water sources,

rivers, lakes and seas not only over the ground but even water in the underground. Patnaik and Mehrotra (2006) cite an example of the Lake Chilika in Orissa how the water and water bodies were led to commercial use and money making and which caused extensive hazards for the eco-system of the lake itself. Showing difference between the sustainable private uses to commercial uses they write, "How the water from Chilika Lake was used for sustainable fishing without harming anyone. A delicate balance between the political and economic requirement of the state and the socio-economic needs of the people was maintained which contributed to the ecological balance of the area" (2006:190).

It was during the colonial period the commercialization of Chilika water was done for economic gains; but the ownership remained under the King of Parikuda. After the Independence in 1947 the Lake was taken over by the Government of India and the commercialization of Chilika waters began in a massive scale. During the King's ownership of the Lake, though the fishing was done but chiefly to meet the local and private needs. But the commercialization of the Lake of Chilika has caused numerous ecological hazards. "The traditional fishermen had developed a knowledge system, which was sensitive to the local ecology, over the period of their long association with the lake, Further, it was reported by the Fact Finding Committee on Chilika Fisheries to the Orissa High Court in 1993 that numerous traditional fishery sources of Chilika had been converted into sites of prawn culture.....which exploit water mainly for the lucrative prawn cultivation. At this juncture, big money is flowing in and out of the Chilika water at the cost of ecological balance" (Ibid : 191-94).

3. Forest in Folk Imagination

Forest is a dwelling place for the nature-loving tribals. By living in close proximity with the forest and natural surroundings the tribals develop a certain type of inter-dependence and co-existence with the nature. Much of the means of sustenance of the people depend on the forest. The people living in the lap of nature have developed a living relationship with the forest. They collect roots, tubers, flowers, fruits, leaves, timbers and wood for various purposes. Much of the tribal medicine system is dependent on the forest for herbal roots,

barks, leaves and juice. The animals that live in the forest serve as food for the people for the people are good hunters and love to eat wild animals that they hunt.

This may lead some people to think that the tribals use forests for fire woods and for construction of houses and huts. They also hunt the animals and thus instead of keeping the forest they seem to be the destroyers of the same from which they procure most of the means of sustenance. But it may not be true. There is a marked difference in the attitude of the tribals towards the forests. They do cut trees but not for commercial purposes and money making. While they cut the trees they make sure that no harm is done to the forest in terms of felling the trees and making the areas barren. The attitude towards nature and purpose and scale of use of nature and natural resources makes a difference. The people who for long time associate themselves with any of the natural resources they develop an emotional relationship with the nature and become ecologically sensitive towards the surroundings and their sustainability and survival.

Thus the three elements of nature become very important for the tribals for their co-existence. The famous expression '*jal-jungal-jameen*' (water, forest and land) is so dear to tribals that they never like to part with, instead they become ready to die than to be deprived. The tribals' slogans against the land alienation is heart-rendering when they raise their voice in unison, "*jaan denge, jameen nahi denge*" (we will give life and not land), "*jal, jangal, jameen hamara hae*" (water, forest and land is ours). In the context of land alienation one of the leaders of the Netarhat Movement expresses the sentiment of the people in the following words, "Water, forests and land for us are our identity, our faith, our religion and our God" (Ekka 2004:93). The crux of the protests and movements in tribal belts are against the commercialization, commodification and exploitation of the nature.

II. Indicators of Indigenous Development

Any sign of development index in any society is the indicator of growth and development. The mainstream, dominant and state perspective on development means good health, education, high consumption capacity, high per capita income and increase in Gross National

Product which brings about change in human society. A so called developed society and State makes use of sophisticated technology and most recent ways of means of communication facilities. Development brings material and economic richness along with it. On the contrary, development index in the indigenous communities are not only based on good health, education and economic and material progress alone but on the ability to live an authentic indigenous life according to the customary laws, social and cultural practices.

1. Indigenous Socialization on Education

Education in tribal perspective would mean individual's ability to reflect the guiding principles and traditional values of indigenous communities. An indigenous Foundation, "Our Words Our Ways, Alberta Education, Canada" has developed a new education system for the students from indigenous communities. The Foundation believes, "Traditional Aboriginal education is based upon these worldviews- it is a holistic process, where learning takes place across different spheres of human experience including spiritual, physical, emotional and mental dimensions. The worldviews of tribals may also consider relationship and experiences of the past, present and future as interconnected" (2005:13). Dr. Paul Cappon, President And CEO, Canadian Council on Learning says, "Aboriginal people in Canada recognise two ways of knowing (i) Learning that affirms their cultural traditions and values while equipping them with the knowledge and, (ii) Skills they need to participate in Canadian society" (2009:1).

Similar experiments have been done in the states of Jharkhand Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat. In some schools in Jharkhand, the indigenous languages are taught from the elementary upto graduation and post graduation courses. From economic point of view this effort may seem futile as it cannot secure jobs, but given the importance of land, culture, language and environment, the initiative is surely a landmark beginning. Similar attempts are made in the states of Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat in the form of *Eklavya Vidyalaya*. Though the *Elavya Vidyalayas* are not according to the indigenous peoples'

conception of education but it surely paves a way for alternative education system different from the main line system.

Education in the tribal communities is a participatory learning where the young members of a tribe learn from their elders by taking part in various social, cultural and economic pursuits of life. The entire landscape, the rivers, brooks, mountains, hills, forests, animals, plants, gentle breeze and different agricultural cycles become their teachers. As the children grow the parents and the tribal community initiate the younger members into their occupation by making them physically participate in their daily activities. It is believed that the “indigenous knowledge is embedded in community practices, institutions, relationships and rituals and is inextricably linked to indigenous peoples’ identity, their experiences with the natural environment and hence their territorial and cultural rights. Indigenous peoples therefore place a great deal of importance on passing this knowledge on to future generations- not only for the sake of preserving the knowledge, but also for preserving their own cultures and identities” (State of the World’s Indigenous Peoples, 2009:65).

Learning by participation is relevant for indigenous students even when he/she engage in the popular state education systems. The formal education system is an additional learning for an indigenous person different from his/her indigenous/traditional knowledge system. The indigenous traditional knowledge refers to a complex bodies and systems of knowledge, know-how, practices and representations maintained and developed by indigenous peoples around the world, drawing on a wealth of experiences and interactions with the natural environment and transmitted orally from one generation to the next (Ibid: 64).

In the modern sophisticated systems of education knowledge is owned individually. The more one learns the ‘superior’ he/she is considered. The earned knowledge is not shared for free but it is monopolized through ‘patent’ and ‘trademark.’ On the contrary the traditional knowledge tends to be collectively owned, whether taking the form of stories, songs, beliefs, customary laws and artwork or scientific, agricultural, technological and ecological knowledge and the skills to implement these technologies and knowledge. Not only does

traditional knowledge provide indigenous peoples with tremendous possibilities for their daily life and sustainable and collective development as peoples, it also reflects indigenous peoples' holistic worldviews, which are considered as a most important source of the world's cultural and biological diversity (Ibid.:64).

2. Conceptions of Health

The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), Article 24.1 says, "The indigenous peoples have the right to their traditional medicines and to maintain their health practices, including the conservation of their vital medicinal plants, animals and minerals. Indigenous individuals also have the right to access, without any discrimination, to all social and health services." The indigenous concept of health and health system is much more than the physical health. It extends beyond the physical and mental well-being of an individual to the spiritual balance and well-being of an individual to the spiritual balance and well being of the community as a whole (State of World's Indigenous Peoples 2009:156). In order to improve the health situation of the Indigenous peoples there must be a fundamental shift in the concept of health so that it incorporates the culture and worldviews of indigenous peoples as central to the design and management of state health systems.

National, regional and international health institutions have typically defined health as a biological, physical and mental well-being of an individual. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines health as, "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of infirmity" (Constitution of WHO (1946), 1). But the indigenous understanding of health is much more than what the national and international agencies define. The Indigenous People's Organization Health Workshop held in Guaranda, Bolivar, Ecuador, 1995, said, "For indigenous peoples, health is equivalent to the harmonious coexistence of human beings with nature, with themselves, and with others, aimed at integral well-being, in spiritual, individual, and social wholeness and tranquility"(2009:157). Thus the indigenous concept of health articulates physical, mental, spiritual and emotional

elements, from both individual and communal points of view and involves political, economic, social and cultural aspects.

3. Indigenous views on Well-Being

From the above discussion it is obvious that indigenous perspectives differ from the state or dominant perspective in many areas and so also with the understanding of well-being. The idea of well being also differs from person to person. Thus it can be said that the idea of well being is subjective notion. All strive towards overall well being through the process of development and modernization.

But the question arises as to where exactly the indigenous peoples differ from the state notion of well being. The difference is ingredient in their socio-cultural and economic thinking. It depends upon the sensitivity to the cultural and place-specific contexts affecting the health and well being of contrasting populations in different environments. According to Panelli and Tipa (2007:1) well being is a place-based notion that is affected by the cultural and environmental specificity in a given settings.

According to clinical and social psychologists well being means individual notions of psychological development and 'being.' The Western understanding posits well-being in terms of subjective, individual states such as life quality, satisfaction or contentment and/or personal efficacy or agency and /or social interaction and support (Daaleman et al. 2001 Larson 1993, cited in Panelli and Tipa 2007:2). Within the popular tradition of measuring well being involves individual's physical, social and mental well being (Wan et al. 1982, cited Ibid :2). Ryff (1989) presents six factors that determine well being, they are, autonomy, environmental mastery, personal growth, positive relationship with others, purpose in life and self-acceptance. In a similar fashion, conceptions of collective or community well being can also be seen to draw on parallel values of community functionality, self-sufficiency, social capital and collective efficacy (cited in Panelli and Tipa, 2007:2).

The above-mentioned psychology-based approaches to well being had been criticized as predominantly reflective of Anglo-American and Judeo-Christian values by Markus and Kitayama (1991, cited in Panelli and Tipa 2007:2). Similarly, the interdependence and the collective well being of a social unit has been a concern for anthropology and psychology.

The indigenous understanding of well being shows a shift from a place-sensitive approach to culture-sensitive approach. Ingersoll-Dayton et al. (2004) have presented a culturally sensitive approach to well being according to the understanding derived from Thai people. For Thai people well being means “harmony (experiencing peaceful and happy interactions with others), interdependence (providing assistance to and receiving assistance from family members and others), acceptance (relinquishing upsetting thoughts and accepting life’s circumstances), respect (feeling one’s advice is heeded and one’s wisdom is appreciated), and enjoyment” (Ingersoll- Dayton et al. 2004, cited in Panelli and Tipa 2007:3). In the same manner Isquierdo (2005) has employed ethnographic approach to explain well being in Matsigenka Culture of Peru. Well being meant “Productivity, goodness and maintaining harmony with their social, physical and spiritual environment were found important”(Isquierdo, 2005, in Tipa 2007:3).

Thus the indigenous understanding of well being opens up a new terrain of culturally specific notion beyond the Anglo-American understanding. According to indigenous perspective the understanding of well being will be specific to different cultures and ecosystems. It essentially links well being with environmental issues. Many studies have shown the significance of reciprocal relationships between indigenous peoples and their environments, for spiritual, cultural and social well being. For example the Tongan conceptualization of well being incorporates spiritual, land, extended family and mutual obligations (Dyall et al. 1999, cited in Tipa 2007:3). Another study on Nywaigi (Australia) explores the meaning of well being from their relationship to their ancestral lands and their participation in resource management activities (Greiner et al. 2005 in Tipa 2007:4).

Panelli and Tipa also refer to another ethnographic account of McLennan (2003b) who presents the views of Yaegl tribe of Northern New South Wales, Australia who includes within the ambit of well being family and community, identity and loss of identity, loss of culture and experiences of acculturation and racism (2007:3). MacGregor et al. (2003) have developed a multilayer model to describe well being according to the culture-specificity of the indigenous peoples of Hawaii. The levels are individual, family, community, nation and Aina, which is defined as a holistic concept of the natural system and resources that govern the life of the nation.

In the indigenous understanding of well being in the above mentioned communities of, Peru, Thai and Tonga the common thread that binds indigenous conceptualizations of well being which are influenced by their lived-experience within their natural, social, spiritual and cultural worlds. In the culture-environment settings environments affect people's way of life and their sense of well being.

4. Ecological Sensitivity

Ecological sensitivity is inborn in tribal psyche. Tribal communities have always cherished their autonomous life in the lap of nature. The nature and various happenings in the nature by way of natural cycle throughout the year, the agricultural cycle and socio-cultural practices adopted according to the rhythm of cycle in nature train an individual into a true indigenous way of life. It is here an individual grows in the close human and ecological sensitivity. It is in this setting that, humans, nature and other created beings become complementary to each other.

Environmental contamination and degradation affects the human health and well-being of all. Such contaminations and degradations caused by profit-making tendencies in humans are often the direct result of violation of the collective rights of indigenous peoples and nature. The environmental contaminants from sources such as mining, oil and gas industries, as well as climate change and resource depletion have serious health consequences for local indigenous communities. The siphoning out of uranium in Jadugoda in Jharkhand has caused

serious environmental contamination and degradation of the nature. There is a direct impact of contamination and degradation of nature on people; as a consequence the dust particles of uranium unearthed by human means have grave ecological hazards in the surrounding regions of Jharkhand. The environmental contamination has a lasting effect even on the forthcoming generation. Besides the people, animal and environment almost every new born baby is born with some physical and mental deficiency. The consciousness that human well-being flows from the well-being of nature and ecology, animal world and other human beings comes from the indigenous worldviews very emphatically. The ill-effects of contamination and environmental degradation migrate to other regions by air, canals, rivers, radiation, atmosphere and ocean transport cause massive deaths and health hazards. Neither the governments nor the transnational corporations seeking profit in these industries share the values of conservation and sustainability practiced by indigenous peoples for thousands of years.

5. Harmonious Co-existence

As keepers of life sustaining resources, indigenous peoples have proven to be successful in developing mechanisms and techniques in harmony with their environment. The economic use of land, forest and water and other resources points towards a harmonious co-existence of indigenous peoples with their surroundings. The indigenous people use land for cultivation but not to the extent of exploiting land's fertility for maximum production by the use of fertilizers which finally prove to be harmful for the life of soil, its productivity and health of crops and finally health of the consumer. Similarly they use forest and its resources for their sustenance and to fulfill their needs and not for their amassing of wealth to the extent of harming the forest and its resources that cause deforestation or depletion. Indigenous peoples heavily depend upon the land, forest, water and natural resources and in turn these resources also depend upon people for their economic and sustained use. Referring to the tribal's mutual relationship and interdependence with the forest and ecology before the interruption of the state or multinational corporations Xaxa says,

“They (tribals) were dependent on the forest for their food, shelter, instruments, medicine, and even clothing in some cases. But as long as tribes were in control of forest, in the sense of unrestricted use of forest and its produce, they had no difficulty meeting these needs. In turn, they preserved it, as it was their life support system” (2012:33).

This is the indigenous knowledge that is inbuilt in indigenous and tribal people which they imbibe by being born in the tribal community in an atmosphere of natural surroundings. In this regard the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs have to say the following,

“Although indigenous knowledge is different from the Western paradigm of development, the knowledge of indigenous peoples is of particular interest for environmental assessment because it is systemic and comprehensive and offers an all-encompassing understanding of a territory that is utilized and known in its entirety” (ST/ESA/328, 2009:113).

Indigenous peoples' idea of safeguarding resources and their subsistence-base is an idea to secure a sustainable future. They may not be profit-oriented and may not amass wealth for future but to secure a healthy and sustainable future is a prime concern for them. A close inter-dependence is felt by tribals with the nature, animals and other human beings. Any collateral damage to any of the party is owned by them. Obviously, humans must own up responsibility for any damage or gain for the environment which is caused by human choices. Similarly responsibility must be owned up by the capitalists, corporate and governments for any consequences that occur in terms of environmental degradation and contamination due to their choices for development. Harmonious co-existence is best articulated in the letter of Chief Seattle, Chief of the Suquamish Indians which he supposedly wrote to the American Government in the 1800's. In response to the Government's offer to buy the land from the Indigenous Peoples the Chief Seattle wrote,

“We are part of the earth and it is part of us. The perfumed flowers are our sisters. The bear, the deer, the great eagle, these are our brothers. The rocky crests, the dew in the meadow, the body heat of the pony, and man all belong to the same family” (Chief Seattle's Letter, p.1).

CHAPTER - FOUR

Critique of Development

The tribal worldview of ecological sensitivity, community centeredness, harmonious co-existence, economy of land use is in contradiction with modern trend of development. The economic development which often is seen as the overall development has failed to solve economic problems, poverty, employment and sustainability of available natural resources. Such a trend and ideology with apparently ‘failed’ results forces us to rethink development and human progress. Hence in the present chapter I would make a critique of development as it has been understood till date.

In order to make a brief assessment of development paradigm, ideology and practice so far in Independent India let me explore the achievements and failures of the current trends and models of development.

1. Paradigms of Development

The notion of development in early economics was simple. Development meant the capacity of static national economics to generate and sustain an annual increase in their Gross National Product. The degree of economic development often represented the development of the people and nation as a whole. Another indicator of (economic) development for the economists was the relationship between the growth of per capita GNP and the ability of a nation to expand its output at a rate faster than the growth rate of its population. The economic development aimed at planned alteration of the structure of production, eradication of poverty and provide employment guarantee.

The economic impasse of 1980s in Indian economy and its failure to eradicate poverty and unemployment forced the planners and the government to rethink development. It was also seen that the social and economic benefits of growth remained confined to a small sections of the population without reaching down to the persons in the street or in the remote forests. It was also increasingly felt that getting the growth job done was not enough. Hence, economic development

was redefined and related to the objective of the elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment within the framework of a growing economy. The core values like life sustenance, self-esteem and freedom of choice were gradually incorporated in the notion of development.

S.C. Dube (1988:42) illustrates four phases of development that the developing countries have undergone. They are first, imitative; second, reactive; third, experimental and fourth, that of search. In the first phase Western ideas and models were uncritically adopted. The Indian government soon after independence closely followed the Western model of development in terms of big industries, modernization, mega dams, giant projects and the like. As a consequence we have Bokaro Steel Plant in Jharkhand in 1964, Durgapur Steel Plant in West Bengal in 1958, Bhilai Steel Plant in Madhya Pradesh (Now Chhattisgarh) in 1955; and big dams like Herakud dam in Orissa in 1948 (started), Bhakra Nangal dam in Himachal Pradesh in 1948 (started), Nagarjuna Sagar dam in Andhra Pradesh in 1955 were set up.

In the reactive phase new ideologies were projected like the African Socialism, basic democracy, the Indian path of development through mixed economy etc. in the third phase experiments were made with different strategies- control, decontrol, import substitution, export promotion, industrialization, population control, community development, intensive agricultural development, poverty eradication, employment generation etc. Finally, the search for a new alternative for development is towards social, human development and sustainable development which ensures better life than other models and concepts.

T.K. Oommen has thrown a deep sociological insight into the discourse of development. Oommen advocated a synthesis of the three perspectives on development namely the mainstream perspective, the alternative perspective, the post-development perspective to bring about a balanced development.

1.1. Mainstream Perspective on Development (MPD)

The MPD traces its origin in the colonial regime, where the colonizers had to follow some of the path of development for the benefit of the colonized. This perspective concentrated on industrialization and industries were given primacy over agriculture. Two opposite wings were created among the people, namely, the Right and the Left. The ideology of the Right wing

advocated an open economy to maximize the technological capacity of the backward economies. The Left wing viewed that development has to be achieved through endogenous efforts primary through the efforts of the state sector through the development of the public sector. Both the views differed on the role of state and market. MPD holds the opinion that free market and authentic democracy go together.

MPD with its emphasis on neo-liberal and market-centered approach also incorporates human development. Human development refers to a set of normative values of equity, sustainability, productivity and empowerment. Thus mainstream perspective on development is no more defined merely in terms of growth and measured by means of per capita income or GNP. It also includes basic needs distributive justice and growth with equity. Human development claims to put people first catering to their basic needs nutrition, health, literacy, education and housing. It is seen as people-centered development. MPD basically focuses on the individual as the unit of development. It neglects social engineering which is based on groups and communities. Initially development was understood as economic development. Sociology and social anthropology like other branches of social sciences entered the arena of development studies to explain the factors which hindered or facilitated development. Thus the notion of social development emerged.

1.2 Alternative Perspective on Development (APD)

It was moving away of development studies from economics that heralded alternative perspective on development. APD emerged as a critique of the MPD. The goal of the APD is same as MPD i.e. the growth of per capita income, GNP and human development but the means used to achieve the goals were different. The means were participatory and people-oriented. In alternative perspective of development focus is shifted from state and market to civil society. Civil society, NGOs, and other public players were taken as partners for development. APD is considered people-centered development, geared to satisfaction of needs, which is endogenous, self-reliant and in harmony with the environment. It is taken as development from below, for, it is considered anti-capitalism, green thinking, feminism, eco-feminism and harbinger of new social movements. APD advocates multiple modernities emerging not necessarily from the West.

1.3. Post Development Perspective (PDP)

This perspective rejects development as conceived by MPD and APD. In a direct sense it advocates the death of development or in other words it is beyond development. It is anti-development. PDP rejects the very idea of modernity. According to PDP poverty is not a problem and should not be taken for granted. It is culturally and historically a variable notion. Subsistence economies which serve the basic needs are not owned by the deprived people. They are defined poor by the Western theorists because the people do not participate in market economy. These people are first labelled as poor by the Western theorists and then advised to develop. Development/modernization is not the felt-need of the people. PDP is the rejection of Western science. In India we witness the following types of dominant trends-

2. Development-induced Displacement

In the name of development the mega dams in India alone have displaced three million people of whom 40 per cent are the country's tribals. Similarly the big factories and plants have displaced people in large numbers. The following table shows the grim reality of displacement in the name of development. According to the government, planners and policy makers displacement is a necessary evil on the road to development. There is an unquestioned acceptance and sinister silence on the part of the political class. There is a general belief that people have to be displaced and make 'sacrifice' in favour of 'development projects.' Displacement calls for a deeper replacement i.e. the rural is to be displaced by the urban; low, simple or traditional technology by high, complex or more sophisticated technology; the state by the market or the state and market by the civil society in the context of development (Oommen, 2004:21). In the development thinking the fate of the displaced people is not discussed and debated.

3. Empowerment of Capitalists and Disempowerment of Tribals (people)

Tribal economy by and large is agricultural and forest based. In post independent India with heavy investment in mega projects in private and public sectors the role of capital has taken over labour and wages. On the one hand the government empowers the tribals by passing various acts and implementing policies, but through the mining policy and licensing help the private and

public sector to take possession of the land on the other. The government gives the tribal lands on lease at a throwaway price.

The concept of Special Economic Zones (here after SEZs) is very deceptive in Indian scenario. The policies of the government on SEZs makes a 'prosperous few and pauperized many' (Sheetal and Kishap, Mainstream, Feb. 23-March 1, 2007:17). Pointing to the American economic structure Noam Chomsky in his "The Prosperous few and the Restless Many" (Ibid, 2007:17) had said that most of the money lies in the hands of a few individuals and the vast majority of the population consists of the working poor. The government invariably supports the interest of the upper classes. Noam Chomsky also pointed out how the US and state governments routinely granted subsidies to businesses effectively instituting welfare corporations.

A similar undercurrent is reflected in the current SEZ policy which is adopted in India. The SEZs are proposed to be set up by the private sector or by the state government in association with the private sector. The Industrial Policy Reforms and Investment of 1991 gives a number of relaxations for the private sector entrepreneurs. At state level serious efforts have been made for simplifying the rules and procedures for setting up and operating industrial units. In most of the states a 'single window' system adopted for granting approval for setting up industrial units.

There are a number of 'investment incentives' given by the Central and State governments for private players some of which are given below (IGNOU, Decentralization and Local Governance, MPA-016, 2009:140).

Investment incentives by the Central government-

- 100 per cent profit deduction for developing maintenance and operating infrastructure facility.
- Tax exemption of 100 per cent on export profits for ten years.
- Various capital subsidy schemes and fiscal incentives for expansion.
- Tax deduction of 100 per cent of profits for 5 years and 50 per cent for next two years for undertakings in SEZs.

State governments too are entitled to give investment incentives, like-

- Single window approval system for setting up industrial units.
- Electricity duty, registration fee and stamp duty exemption.
- Rebate on land cost, tax concessions.
- Interest rate and fixed capital subsidy, etc.

Besides the above mentioned relaxations and subsidies the government offers fiscal incentives for industries. The 100 per cent tax exemption is available in SEZs and for export oriented units. In order to attract investors from overseas, many states are offering incentive packages in the form of various tax concessions, capital and interest subsidies, reduced power tariff etc, (Ibid.2009).

The above mentioned policies of the governments show a super power of capital over people. However the questions like- development for whom; who profits from such high incentives of capital investments; what is the role of the ordinary Indian masses in such development processes; has the problem of poverty and unemployment been eliminated; etc. remain unanswered.

The tribals have become the worst victims of development envisaged through setting up of SEZ, for most of the natural and mineral resources are found in the tribal populated regions of our country. Kuldeep Bishnoi a Member of the Indian Parliament from Bhiwani raised the issue of forcible acquisition of farm land for SEZ by saying, “SEZs have become another reason for sophisticated land grab by big industrial houses aided and abetted by the state governments. If we industrialize large chunks of fertile cultivable land how will we maintain a balanced ratio as we will become food grain deficient state from being food grain surplus due to growing population” (Mainstream, 2007:19).

To take away the source of livelihood and income of the hapless farmers and tribals to create huge profitable enterprises for the capitalists by the state is surely anti-people and anti-development. With regard to the empowerment of capital and disempowerment of people, S.C. Dube has very interesting observation to make.

He says,

Capitalist development creates a dualism both at the international and national levels. Superior and inferior relations are chronic; the distance between them actually goes on increasing. Interplay of a number of factors perpetuates this dependency relationship. The superior manipulate, to their advantage, world resource and commodity markets; have privileged access to scarce raw materials; and have the capacity to subvert the political structure and economic places of the less developed countries. They are connected and have mutually reinforcing relations with the privileged elites of the Third World (1988:43).

4. 'Bio-rich' and 'Techno-rich' Unequal Partnership

Like the developed countries which are technologically advanced and well-equipped have upper hand over the bio-rich and mineral-rich countries. The capitalists, investors, and corporate have upper hand over the bio-rich and resource-rich tribal regions of our country. The capitalists and big business houses with their money and investment power influence even the government and policy makers of the country. The tribals who claim to be owners of the forests, water, land and natural resources in their areas are duped by money and market with the close nexus between the government with its machineries and the private sector players in business and industries.

Bio-rich tribal regions of our country aspire to be equal partners in the business endeavours that are set up in their regions so that they can also have the power and freedom to decide for the good and development of the people. The techno-rich partners comprising corporate, big business houses and government undertakings never desire to take people of the land as their partners. The business and industries so far have forced people to migrate to other areas. The land grab and forced eviction and illegal occupations of tribal areas are rampant by the so called agents of developments who siphon out the resources elsewhere. According to the land Acquisition Act 1894 land can be acquired for private companies by the government not only for work which would be in the nature of public purpose but also for engaging in productive activities that is likely to prove useful (Bhaskar, 2003:189).

The provisions of resettlement and rehabilitation are never taken seriously. The following table shows that in the case of forced eviction by dams and mega steel plants in 1950s and 1960s the displaced people have not been given any adequate compensation or rehabilitation.

Table 2.**A Conservative Estimate of Persons Displaced by Various Categories of Projects**

Sl. No.	Type of Project	Number Displaced	Number Rehabilitated	Backlog
1.	Coal and other Mines	17,00,000	4,50,000	12,50,000
2.	Dams and Canals	1,10,00,000	27,50,000	82,50,000
3.	Industries	10,00,000	3,00,000	7,00,000
4.	Sanctuaries and Parks	6,00,000	1,50,000	4,50,000
5.	Others	12,00,000	3,00,000	9,00,000
	Total	1,45,00,000	39,50,000	1,15,50,000

Source: Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation; Social Action, 1989. The estimated data covers from 1950 – 1960s.

The above mentioned table narrates the sorry saga of development, displacement, resettlement and rehabilitation of our country. The data reveals that backlog population for rehabilitation is almost $\frac{3}{4}$ times more than the rehabilitated population. According to the above mentioned data only 34 per cent displaced people by mega projects have been so far rehabilitated. What happened to the rest of the population is pushed into oblivion. This shows mass destruction of lives, identities, cultures, communities and social organizations. The bio-rich (potential) partners, they are the people, the tribals and those living in the regions where industries or dams are built are no partners at all in the process of development.

Such grim realities bring us to reflect again on the same type of questions like- How do we measure progress and development? How are lives improved by such mega projects in the name of development? Who benefits and who suffers from the processes of progress and development? Such analysis leads us to a reality check of ‘development of nation’ versus ‘development of people.’

5. Development of Nation vis-à-vis Development of People(s)

The pattern of development in our country has been a GNP-based and per capita income-based pattern of development. Such pattern of development hides social and economic inequalities and above all does not reveal the type of injustices that is done to a section of the population in the name of national development which may benefit a few powerful groups. Further, in the name 'national interest' the tribal regions are witnessing a massive industrialization process for the exploitation of its natural wealth. The ideology of 'national interest;' is nothing but interest of a few ruling capitalist class who often join hand with the big business houses to the extent of further depriving and pauperizing the poor. The ideology of 'national development' and 'national interest' 'is the guiding principle behind the process of development that is taking place in Indian scenario.

The heavy industries, steel plants, big dams, have helped the GNPP and per capita income to grow but they have further polarized the communities. The gap between the rich and the poor has accelerated more. In such a pattern of development the 'haves thrive on the misery of the have-nots'(Aareparampil 1989:34).

The president of India had foreseen the dangers of the contemporary development models. Therefore on the eve of 33rd anniversary of Independence in 1980 in his address to the nation he said, "the rising prices and increasing disparities, making the rich much richer and the poor still poorer, are widening the gulf between the few haves thriving on the miseries of the have-nots, and the deprived masses left with little hope of any better life in the foreseeable future" (Ibid:34).

Such warning as above has been deliberately ignored by the successive governments and a 'mad rush' for progress and development in the name of national interest and national development continues benefitting a prosperous few of our country.

The Independent India was left with two models of development/modernization to opt for; one, the market-centered capitalist model and another, social welfare-centered socialist model. In the capitalist-model the capitalists gave primary to the market. Markets determined the production distribution and consumption in capitalist model; whereas in the welfare-centered socialist model the state is accorded with the commanding position. Independent India initially started with the

socialist-capitalist mixed model where the market forces of capitalist model crept in and gradually took over the pattern of development towards a market-centered economy.

Adding a sociological dimension to the whole debate of development T.K. Oommen (2004:12-13) makes the following comments, "Development produced the 'risky society' as the whole world is exposed to ecological devastations." India gave way to neo-liberal economy through the new economic policy of 1991. Initially the ideology of neo-liberalism is articulated through the 'Washington Consensus'¹ which maintains that economic growth is best pursued through open trade, export-led growth, greater deregulation and more liberalized financial markets. This market-centered neo-classical approach represents Anglo-American capitalism (Ibid).

The end product of such process of development is in front of the world. The neo-liberal economy of the United States has left people with 350 times income disparity between the richest and the poorest as early as in the year 1980s. The assumption that free market and authentic democracy go hand in hand is ideally incompatible (Ibid. 2004:12). India has adopted the American model of neo-liberal capitalist economy with a view to accelerate development and modernization. But it must be remembered that free market and authentic democracy do not go together.

The above mentioned table shows the number of backlog population deprived of rehabilitation and compensation. A study of the same phenomenon shows that the backlog of the displaced people due to coal and other mines, dams and canals, industries, sanctuaries and parks, all in the name of development in four decades of India's Independence have not been rehabilitated. The study reveals in Orissa large number of displaced people of the Herakud dam, Upper Kolab and Salandi dams surviving on the sale of firewood. Many other have become bonded labourers or daily wage earners under timber contractors, smugglers. The survey reveals over thirty thousand

¹ **Washington Consensus** - The term was coined in 1989 by the economist John Williamson to describe a set of ten relatively specific economic policy prescriptions that he considered constituted the "standard" reform package promoted for crisis-wracked developing countries by Washington, D.C. based institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and the US Treasury Department. The prescriptions encompassed policies in such areas as macroeconomic stabilization, economic opening with respect to both trade and investment, and the expansion of market forces within the domestic economy. the original Consensus's emphasis on the opening of developing countries to global markets, and/or with what they see as an excessive focus on strengthening the influence of domestic market forces, arguably at the expense of key functions of the state.

displaced people from Orissa and Chhattisgarh among the Asiad construction workers were found in Delhi in 1982. In fact many construction industries all over the country seem to be getting a large proportion of its labourers from the forest and tribal areas. (Fernandes, 1989:80) Thus displacement without proper rehabilitation has resulted in the impoverishment of the displaced persons who are paying the price for the development of a small minority.

Development of people largely means the development of a few and underdevelopment of many people and tribals who are victims and not the beneficiaries of development. The people in the industrial hubs have been systematically and methodically being dispossessed of the ownership of their means of production, of the products, of their labour and of the very means of human existence. They are dispossessed of their political autonomy and their communities are being broken up in the name of 'development' and 'national interest.' They are dispossessed of their cultures, values and their very identity through well planned policies such as those of integration and assimilation of bringing them to the so called 'national mainstream.' (Areeparampil, 1989)

The modern trend of development which has caused massive displacement of the people in the name of development can such a trend be called development at all? If a big chunk of the poor people of our country are displaced, living a life of bondage of various sorts and not been rehabilitated, whose development we are talking about? These are some of the telling questions which need to be answered if we seriously rethink of development.

6. Ideological Conflicts

The decades of deprivation, marginalization and neglect of the people by the government has led to a crucial ideological conflict between the government and the people. Years of discontent and deprivation among the people and especially in the tribal regions have led to the emergence of militant left radicalism. On the one hand when the government has facilitated and empowered the big business houses and corporate through various subsidies and tax exemptions and various relaxation in the policies, it has not given adequate heed to the needs and sufferings of the people which are generally caused by the processes of displacement, land alienation, mining initiated by the government in the name of development. The people especially the indigenous peoples displaced and deprived from their land due to erection of mega projects as early as 1950s and

1960s have not been given adequate compensation and rehabilitation. The displaced masses are left to fend for themselves and eke out their living.

When the deprived people unite among themselves and are imbued with a sense of justice, equality and rights; claim for due share, equal participation and ownership is born. The governments believe that the exploitation of natural resources, erection of large industries big dams and mining are necessary for national development. Some people have to 'sacrifice' in favour of a larger interest and good of the greater number of people.

But the questions arise, is it necessary to sacrifice by some for national development? Is development possible without making some people (in most cases the tribals) to sacrifice for the good of greater number of people? Why only the poor people and in most cases the forest dwellers and the tribals have to sacrifice themselves for the benefit of others? What about the people, their development and well being who have made 'sacrifice' for the good of others so far? These are the questions which keep haunting every citizen who is genuinely concerned about the development and general well being of all.

The government of India and the state governments perceive the activities of the different militant left radical groups (popularly called naxalite groups) as a law and order problem and as the "greatest threat to India's internal security" as stated by Dr. Manmohan Singh, the Prime Minister of India (Roy Burman, 2010:29). But the grassroots reality of Bastar, Dantewada and Kanker in Chhattisgarh and Niyamgiri, Malkangiri, Koraput and other so called 'naxal affected' areas in Orissa show the governments' intention of fighting against the people and so called naxals to curb law and order problem. One can easily infer the governments' intentions of land grab in close nexus with the multi-national companies and big business houses.

The tribals living in the forests of Naxal affected area feel that the government's version of naxal problem is nothing but a strategy to kill the people, grab their land and hand it over to the multinational corporations. Vishwaranjan, A retired Director General of Police in Chattisgarh believes, "The only solution to the Naxal problem was focused development." (The Indian Express, New Delhi, Saturday, July 14, 2012:6). He is of the opinion that "The Naxal problem was solely due to indifference of various governments." Referring to Bastar Vishwaranjan says, "Successive governments in Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh had no interest in its

development.” (Ibid: 6). Mr. V. Kishore Chandra Deo, the Minister of Tribal Affairs and Panchayati Raj in his address to the Conference of Governors,² said,

The tribal populations are placed at the lowest rungs of the society in terms of various developmental indicators. The lowest literacy rates, high drop-out rates, widespread poverty, high infant and maternal mortality rates, an alarmingly high incidents of malnutrition, the absence of basic facilities and scarce livelihood means have deprived them the opportunity to a dignified livelihood among the fellow citizens of our country. It is not merely a matter of coincidence that Left-Wing Extremism is prevalent in the Schedule V areas while the insurgent movements have confined themselves to Schedule VI areas. It is necessary for us to introspect and get to the bottom of the reasons and causes which has led us to this place and situation (Conference of Governors, 2011:1-2).

Referring to the growing gap between the rich and the poor Kishore Chandra Deo said,

The alienation of the tribal population has been growing rapidly mainly because they are being dispossessed of all their livelihood resources. The diversion of forests and common property resources for the use of non-forest purposes has resulted in the displacement of tribals from their homeland. The general apathy of official machinery, the escalating assaults related to their existing rights, the growing clout of market forces, the threat of mining and of course, the meager advancement through planned development efforts have been responsible for the growing unrest amongst this most oppressed and depressed class of people (Ibid: 2).

Therefore, there is a great need to rethink on the part of the government and the people and radical outfits to address the roots of social, political and cultural upheavals forcing the state and the people to stand face to face in violent bloodsheds.

In this regard Felix Padel (Social Action, July-Sept. 2010:224) makes the following remarks, “the war against Maoists and /or tribal people has the character of war between rich and poor and specifically a war of state-facilitated mining companies against tribal people in order to get hold of their land and resources.” He further continues, “Behind these attacks (attacks by Maoists) is the military-industrial complex and its thirst for minerals, and a mentality in which displacement of tribal people to make way for industry seems a matter of course.” (Ibid. 2010:224).

² **Conference of Governors** was held on the 30th October, 2011, at Ashoka Halls, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi. This Conference was attended by the Honorable President, Pratibha Patil, Prime Minister Mr. Manmohan Singh and many Governors of the States and Union Territories.

It is a known fact that the mining projects have destructive effects on the environment. This is popularly termed as 'ecocide.' The impacts of 'developmental projects' on displaced and invaded human populations by the industries and governments are catastrophic and should properly be termed as 'culturicide' or 'cultural genocide' (Padel, 2010:228).

Ecocide being perpetrated by mining projects under a rationale of economic growth means a destruction of a fabric of life, and is the prime cause of unrest throughout Central India. Tribal communities in particular lose everything they traditionally value when displaced: their social structure exists in relation to their land, environment and identity as skilled cultivators. (Ibid: 228). The debate and struggle seem to continue as long as the government and the people in question hold on to their own ways.

In 1997 a Committee of Concerned Citizens (CCCs) characterized upsurge as basically struggles of the rural poor, especially the tribals and recognized that these struggles as political in nature. The Committee took the initiative to bring people's aspirations and rights to live with dignity on to the agenda of Naxalite movements and the government. Later reporting on the outcome of the initiative the CCCs observed, "Rule of law should have a right perspective and social transformation should work towards an egalitarian society. The Committee feels that in this regard, the state has failed in its obligations." (Roy Burman, 2010:29).

Another important ideological difference between the tribals and the government is the concept of land holding. Tribals claim to be the first settlers of the land they occupy. They are owners of the land as hunters, food gatherers and as settled agriculturists. Land is community holding and not private holding. They consider themselves as tenants of the land and not the private owners. The colonial rule claimed that forest and unoccupied lands are nobody's land. Whoever wins the people he also owns the land. In independent India some states passed a law that "Adivasi land can be acquired with permission from the people." The Law is based on the provisions of Land acquisition Act 1894 which "does not bar the government from acquiring adivasi land for development projects" (Business standard, 2012). During the colonial rule the government brought many outsiders into the region and gave tracts of land as reward for their services. The government also gave the unoccupied land to the landless people who came to tribal regions. Later they became the landlords of the regions.

In Independent India the colonial concept of land holding continued. The state claimed the ownership of the forests and unoccupied land in tribal regions which led to a continuous conflict between the government and the tribals. The conflict has aggravated when the government invited and gave the land to the companies for industries and mining. An Expert Group on Prevention and Alienation of Tribal Land and Restoration, Constituted by the Ministry of Rural Development (EG-MORD) submitted its report in 2004. The Group observes that “while community ownership of land continues to be the dominant mode in tribal societies and takes precedence over that of individual ownership it is a matter of concern that land reforms following the abolition of intermediaries treated the community and waste lands as government land and were assigned to other purposes. This constitutes a violation of the land rights of the tribals and hence an alienation” (Roy Burman, 2010:31).

Thus the tribal struggles and movements in multiple forms in these regions are efforts to reclaim their ownership over the land as against the government and MNCs who exploit the nature and resources without leaving a trace to renew and restore. The struggles are also symbolic of tribal aspirations to reclaim their identity and livelihood because it is in symbiotic relation with nature, land, forests and water a tribal makes his/her life meaningful.

CHAPTER - FIVE

Paradigm Shift

The post-independent India adopted a developmental strategy of “growth with stability” with the basic thrust on industrialization agriculture modernization, expansion of infrastructure, education and mass communication. After a certain point of time in the backdrop of the declining access of a vast number of people to the means of security and other basic necessities of life, the philosophy of “Social justice” was integrated into the development discourse in 1970s. Later in the wake of globalization in 1990s the strategy of “Empowerment with development,” has been adopted to integrate the marginalized sections into the mainstream (Roy 2001 cited in IGNOU MSO-003 (I) (2008: 25). After the collapse of socialist model of economy India adopted the neo-liberal market policy for the country. Neo- liberal developmentalism gave way to open market competitions, excessive use of natural resources and entry of more and more private entrepreneurs into the Indian market.

I. Paradigm Shift for Planned Development

Massive industrialization, rapacious mining and exploitation of nature have indicated towards a catastrophic ecological and human condition of living. Global escalation of temperature every year, sinking ground water level, green house effect etc have given a red signal to the road ahead in our co-existence with the natural surroundings. The developments planners, government and policy makers are seriously rethinking the processes of human progress and development. By and large it is evident that the development models adopted by different governments are not compatible enough for a sustainable development.

Therefore various attempts have been made by different governments and development experts to create a condition of more viable and sustainable model of development. As a result we find a lot of researches and experiments have been done to give development a human face. T.K.Oommen in his development discourse (2004) shows how the mainstream perspectives on development is trying to adopt the values and vision of human development

by subscribing to the normative orientations of equity, sustainability, productivity, and empowerment. Now the mainstream perspective on development is no more defined merely in terms of growth, per capita income and GNP. It has incorporated the aspects of human development by recognizing the basic needs, distributive justice and growth with equity (Oommen 2004: 13). Thus, instead of per capita income and GNP, the criteria of development have become Human Development Index.

Similarly there is a genuine effort being made to incorporate different models like mainstream, alternative, post development etc to create a system where people's participation is ensured; equity, sustainability and adaptability is given importance. The development models also recognise multiple processes towards modernization and development. The diversity of cultures, nationalities and peoples also have potentials for diversity with regard to the concept and practice of development. Therefore, T.K.Oommen, S.C.Dube, J. Pathy and other social scientists advocate a 'process of hybridization' which mutates the indigenous and alien for more appropriate condition of development. The social scientists visualize a people-centered development which is geared towards the satisfaction of needs, endogenous, self-reliant and in harmony with the environment. Today a development economist needs to become sensitive to the complex social reality and cannot afford to ignore politics, society, culture, gender and ecology (Oommen 2004).

The mainstream discourse on development today is decentralizing itself more and more and making it people-centered. T.K.Oommen (2004) however concludes his development discourse by emphasizing that development should be viewed as a conjoint project of state, market and civil society. But the views to include into the project of development diverse cultures, societies, equity, sustainability, empowerment, social development and ecological concerns have emerged from a 'felt-need' situation. But I would like to highlight and underline a type of community whose pattern of living defines the pattern of development which is sustainable and which can show the whole world a new path to development. That is the indigenous peoples' communities.

Bikram Narayan Nanda in his book 'Contours of Continuity and Change: The Story of Bonda Highlanders' (1994) deals elaborately with the life and customary practices of Bonda primitive tribal community of Orissa. He points out the difference between the structure of

power and domination prevalent in modern productive system and the traditional relationships based on reciprocity. Bonda tribal community traditionally practices the reciprocal and cooperative systems for production. Nanda also observes that the Bonda economy was not exactly self-sufficient but was certainly self-sustaining. The ancient method of seed-broadcasting which the Bonda community practices from of old is now rediscovered by Fukuoka in modern Japan which also has gained wide popularity in America as being more ecologically harmonious (Nanda 1994:11). In a similar fashion the Indigenous people's communities can contribute towards a paradigm shift in the whole discourse of development which is further elaborated in the following points.

1. Need for a Shift

Ecological hazards due to unplanned development have invited impending dangers for the whole humanity. Therefore at various fora people are discussing, debating and rethinking a paradigm shift in development. Roy Burman (2003) emphasizes the role of indigenous and tribal people in showing a path for human development. The power-centric worldview must be replaced by conviviality or companionate value oriented world view, rooted in empathy and expansion of meaning of the 'self.' The implementation of sustainable development should take fully into account the indigenous people's values, knowledge and technologies in order to ensure resources for the future generations.

Development needs to be people-centered as already indicated by T.K.Oommen where he says the different layers and dimensions involved in development should be fused in totality. A holistic approach to development is required which takes individuals as well as communities and groups as the units of development. There is a need to adopt multiple models of development and modernity in order to evolve a plurality of development (Oommen 2004). What is needed today is a radical shift in paradigms for development where not only the people in the fringes have to make 'sacrifices' but the multiple millionaire capitalists, companies and corporate sectors need to seriously reconsider the profit margins, sharing of profits and taking the people who own the land and resources into partnership.

S.C. Dube in his book *Modernization and Development* (1988) illustrates a roadmap for alternative development model, advocated by a Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq as the following-

- 1) Growth in NGP often does not filter down: what is needed is a direct attack on mass poverty.
- 2) The market mechanism is often distorted by the existing distribution of income and wealth.
- 3) Institutional reforms are generally more decisive than appropriate price signals for fashioning relevant strategies for development.
- 4) New development strategy must be based on the satisfaction of basic human needs rather than on market demand.
- 5) Development style is such as to build development around people rather than people around development.
- 6) Distribution and employment policies must be an integral part of any production plan.
- 7) A radical restructure of political and economic power relationship is often required if development is to spread to the vast majority of the populations (1988: 40-41).

The above mentioned new development strategies pose a serious challenge to the ruling developmental paradigm and represent an effort at indigenization of development thinking. If development and modernization have to continue the paradigm shift is necessary which will be need-oriented, endogenous, self-reliant, ecologically sound and based on structural transformation (1988: 46). Are the governments, capitalists and stake holders ready for a shift? Are they ready to make all employees beneficiaries of the profit they incur? ‘That is the question!’

2. New Paradigms

Development as growth and modernization did not lead to equitable sharing of benefits, resources and opportunities in society. After about 25 years of development pursuits in Post Independent India it did not result into an adequate achievement. It is obvious that the post independent development patterns have shown the following trends-

- High Gross National Product but India failed to reduce the socio-economic deprivation of substantial section of society.

- High income for industrialized country including India but has failed to provide protection against the rapid spread of social concerns like drug addiction, alcoholism, AIDS, homelessness, violence and sexual assault.
- Some low-income countries have proved a high level of human development.

The above mentioned realities have led to a paradigm shift in conceptualizing development. While the economic growth is important for humanity it should be seen in the light of human development. The Human Development Report 1990 gives a clear cut roadmap for human development. It states,

“We are rediscovering the essential truth that people must be at the center of all development. The purpose of development is to offer people more options. One of their options is access to income – not as an end in itself but as a means of acquiring human well being. But there are other options as well, including long life, knowledge, political freedom, personal security, community participation and guaranteed human rights”(MSO-003, (i) 2008:23)

Thus the Human Development Report 1990 promotes human beings at the center of development. Development is essentially human development. The human development includes (a) a long and healthy life, (b) to acquire knowledge and, (c) to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living.

The economic growth is necessary but not sufficient for human development. Human development together with economic growth requires human capital formation, human resources development, human welfare or basic needs approaches.

The post 1970s was the time of rethinking development in many countries of the world. India also experienced a phenomenal shift in the development strategy. India adopted a strategy of “growth with stability”, with a basic thrust on industrialization, agricultural modernization, and expansion of infrastructure, education and mass communication. Secondly, the philosophy of “growth with social justice” came into Indian pursuit of development. Since the early 1990s especially in the wake of globalization and economic liberalization the strategy of “empowerment with development” has been adopted to integrate the marginalized sections in the mainstream. The neo-liberal economy of post 1990s provided a new

dimension to the notion of development with the philosophy of one world, one market and one ideology. In the wake of new paradigms of development there is a need for an effective role of the state for social and economic development as partner, catalyst and facilitator.

Development initially meant the capacity of static national economies to generate and sustain an annual increase in their Gross National Product at the rate of 5% to 7% or more. Another indicator of development used by economists was the relationship between the growth of per capita GNP and the ability of a nation to expand its output at a rate faster than the growth rate of its population. But in the developing countries the things did not work out as the planners and economists predicted. The social benefits of growth remained confined to small sections of population, without reaching down to the persons in the streets. Hence it was felt to redefine economic development in relation to the objectives of the elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment within the framework of growing economy. Hence the redistribution, social justice, sharing was inevitably linked to growth. Thus according to S. C. Dube, “three core values were gradually incorporated in the notion of development: life sustenance, self-esteem and freedom of choice” (1988: 3)

3. Development as Freedom

The idea, ‘development as freedom’ was first advocated by the Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen in 1999. According to this understanding development must be perceived as a vital process of expanding real freedom that people enjoy. To Sen the expansion of real income and economic growth are not necessarily characteristic of successful development. As he argues that many countries with high GDP and per capita income at times have low achievements in the quality of life. Similarly, on the other hand countries with low per capita income and low GDP have higher human development indication in terms of better quality of life. Amartya Sen advocates the objectives of development is to remove obstacles such as illiteracy, ill health poverty, lack of access to resources or lack of civil or political freedom. The ultimate goal of development according to Sen is the development of human lives. Where development means expansion of freedom (IGNOU, MSO-003: 25).

The state of unfreedom, according to Sen is unable to be able to realize their capabilities. Poverty is connected with unfreedom. Poverty, Sen asserts, should be seen “as deprivation of

basic capabilities rather than merely as low income" (Sen, 1999 as quoted in IGNOU:25). Sen attempts to expand the basic interpretations of freedom by examining five elemental forms of instrumental freedoms: political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security. These forms of freedom are complementary, remaining interrelated and inextricable. For Sen, these freedoms constitute not only the means, but also the ends in development. Sen argues that political liberties are necessary for sustainable development (Wikipedia browsed on June 22, 2012).

4. The Role of the NGOs and Civil Society

NGOs and civil society actors are the best partners to decentralize the values of development in the grassroots levels. The governments fund for the NGOs to ensure the collaboration in empowering people and implementing the practice of development in more effective, accountable and sustainable ways. To ensure full participation of the people the state should provide "stable framework" in accordance with the Constitution, laws and procedures consistent with the international laws and obligations which promotes the encouragement of "partnership with free and representative organization of civil society." This is done by "strengthening of the abilities and opportunities of the civil society and local communities to develop their own organizations resources and activities (IGNOU: 26).

The stable partnership between the state, civil society and state sponsored initiatives of the civil society has resulted participatory, sustainable and affirmative actions. The partnership of the state with civil society has ensured all the initiatives for empowerment of the marginalized groups in accordance with the rules of the land. State is also expected to co-opt some initiatives of the civil society for empowerment of the marginalized. Beside the state the civil society organizations are going to play an important role in the emerging development discourse with empowerment.

Within development studies civil society has been predominantly understood in two main ways: one, at the level of ideology and theory, the notion of civil society has flourished most fruitfully within either the neo-liberal school of thought that advocates a reduced role for the state or a post-Marxist/Post-structural approach that emphasizes the transformative potential of social movements within civil society. Two, at the conceptual level, civil society is usually

treated in terms of associations (so called civil society organizations) as an arena within which ideas about the ordering of social life are debated and contested (Milten, Hickey & Bebbington 2006: 10).

The diversification and multiplication of NGO activities and their move to the mainstream come under close critical scrutiny both from supporters and skeptics of the NGO phenomenon (Ibid: 4). However the engagements of NGOs remain more diverse than before. NGOs as agents of democratization came under severe critique when they diverted from their original goals and engaged in political activities rather than working as agents for social transformation.

The relationship between government and the NGOs has been rather complex in recent years. The fact of the matter in many NGOs and civil society organizations are harassed and their activities censored by the government because the empowerment activity of the NGOs can lead the public to raise voices against injustices and corrupt practices of the government itself. In a country where the government is in close nexus with the corporate, MNCs and Capitalists the NGOs and their activities are more likely to face challenges from the government. The governments demand from the NGOs accountability and transparency in financial matters. The NGOs which are working on local and national issues have started getting serious attention and recognition from international agencies. Many NGOs are taking part in the international campaign against various social evils like drug addiction, poverty, illiteracy, HIV/AIDS, child abuse, women's rights, environment protection, disarmament, violation of human rights etc. Thus the NGOs have been part of global networking.

5. Development with Culture and Identity

This concept of development that includes 'culture and identity' is endorsed by the Indigenous people's communities in keeping with the articles 3 and 32 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples, 2007. The article 3 of UNDRIP states, "Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (A Guide to ILO Convention No. 169, 2009:193). Article 32 also articulates the same sentiment which say, "Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and

strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources” (Ibid: 195). Para 3 of the same article says, “States shall provide effective mechanisms for just and fair redress for any such activities, and appropriate measures shall be taken to mitigate adverse environmental, economic, social, cultural or spiritual impact.” Here the state is mandated to consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples and obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands, territories and other resources.

The concept of ‘development with culture and identity’ refers to development strategies that take into account and respect the rights and aspirations of indigenous peoples as they are reflected in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Declaration indeed recognizes indigenous people’s right to define development in accordance with their own aspirations, needs and interests. Several of UN agencies including IFAD, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and UNESCO have been promoting the concept “Development with identity.” IDB in its Operational Policy on Indigenous Peoples and Strategy for Indigenous Development defines, “Development with identity” as referring to a process that includes strengthening of indigenous peoples, harmony and sustained interaction with their environment, sound management of natural resources and territories, the creation and exercise of authority, and respect for the rights and values of indigenous peoples, including cultural, economic, social and institutional rights, in accordance with their own worldview and governance” (State of the World Indigenous Peoples 2009:64).

The former Chairperson of UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) Ms. Victoria Tauli Corpuz explained that the dominant development paradigm undermines and negates indigenous peoples’ worldviews, which are seen as obstacles to development. Development today has to necessarily refer to the cultures of the indigenous peoples, and unless development strategies and interventions are sensitive to these cultures, they will not address the concerns of indigenous peoples (IASG Meeting in Paris, 15-17 Sept. 2008:33). Bupinder Singh has done a deep study of the Birhors of Bihar and he also agrees that modern development paradigm has to include people’s cultures, aspirations and traditional values into new paradigm. In the context of Birhors, he says, “The concept of development has to be defined and operated in terms of the cultural background of the community concerned.

While striving for the development of a group or an area, due emphasis has to be given to their traditional values and historical experiences” (1986:17).

Over 2,000 indigenous peoples from around the world met at the United Nations headquarters in New York to discuss how they can “freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development”, as described by the 2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Participants including the government officials, indigenous representatives and several UN agencies discussed how to partner in a special type of development, one that promotes their communities’ cultural, social, ecological and economic integrity. UNDP Associate Administrator Rebeca Grynspan at the Forum’s session on Development with Culture and Identity said, “The States need to recognize cultural differences in their laws and institutions as well as formulating policies to ensure that the interests of particular groups are not ignored or overridden. And they need to do so in ways that do not contradict other goals and strategies of human development, such as human rights, building a capable state, and ensuring equal opportunities to all citizens” (UNDP Report, May 19, 2010).

The above mentioned are the sentiments of the Indigenous Peoples by and large spread all over the world. In the context of a paradigm shift in development the alternative model of paradigm has to take into account such sentiments of the people who constitute about 6 per cent of the world’s population but 15 per cent of the world’s poor, and who profess a different philosophy of life than the mainstream/dominant culture of development that rules the world. It is a challenge for the dominant model of development paradigm to consult and take the cultural practices of the (indigenous) people into the making of a paradigm shift in theory and practice (Ibid:1).

II. Indigenous Peoples’ Perspectives on Development

There is no readymade model or perspective of Indigenous peoples on development to show to the world. They do not even claim to have one. However, there is a sustained system of self-management of the community which has evolved from their centuries of experience of living in close proximity with nature. Therefore, indigenous perspective on development is an art of self management which the indigenous peoples irrespective of nationality and social settings practice by nature. The art of self-management and sustainable use of resources

spontaneously come to indigenous peoples, the art which they have evolved from their experience of living in close relationship with nature.

According to the UNDP report on 'Indigenous Peoples: development with culture and identity' 2010, there are more than 370 million indigenous peoples in some 90 countries – in all regions of the world. They comprise nearly six percent of the world's population, but make up 15 percent of the world's poor and one third of the 900 million extremely poor living in rural areas. In addition, because they rely heavily on natural resources for their subsistence, they are also among the first to feel the impacts of climate change, even though their lifestyles are practically carbon neutral(Ibid:1).

In order to understand the indigenous perspective on development one needs to understand the socio-cultural perspectives of an indigenous community. The Indigenous communities are organized according to cultural principles which are quite different from those guiding the *jati* societies or dominant class-oriented societies. The dominant cultural principles are reflected in their economic organization in ways which emphasize an attitude towards life (Mandelbaum 1970: 576 as referred in Corbridge 1988:13). It is an accepted fact that the indigenous peoples are different in their outlook, in their philosophy of life and in their management of their own community. It indicates a different ideology of tribal economy and society which is interdependent on nature and other human beings, a society not based on competition but on cooperation. Therefore, there is a need for accepting the ideology of tribal economic system and management of tribal society as the basis of policy and politics in India and world at large which can show an alternative path to development. In order to substantiate my thesis I illustrate some characteristic features of indigenous communities which they spontaneously practice in their daily course of living.

The tribal economic and political management goes back to the origin of community as each tribe as a corporate body managed itself for its co-existence with other communities and natural surroundings. The tribe is a carefree community. It is in an atmosphere of freedom and in the lap of nature an individual grows and makes himself as part of the community. By nature they never liked the interference of other people and resist it tooth and nail. Consequently neither the Moughals nor the Colonial rulers really won over them. The

community has been self-complacent and therefore they resisted the Moughal and British encroachment into their regions. Hence, we find a number of protests, movements and revolts spurred whenever others tried to enter their territory. The tribal resistance continues as the MNCs, and governments try to encroach their region and try to disturb their peaceful co-existence and inter-dependence with nature. The ideology of tribal economy and society is based on the following philosophy of life.

1. Indigenous Insights for Sustainable Development

1.1. Sustainable Use of Resources

The economies of all indigenous peoples are closely adapted to their natural resources of which they reveal a high degree of knowledge based on observation and long practice. A particular feature of the technologies developed by indigenous peoples for subsistence is their emphasis on the sustainable use of their resources. Indigenous peoples practising traditional subsistence are somewhere near an ecological balance with their surroundings; a group which was not so would be short lived. This balance does not mean that indigenous peoples do not exploit and manage the environment, but there is a stability underlying this management in most cases (Pratt,1988:4).

1.2. Tribe as a Corporate and Autonomous Body

Initially the tribes have lived in rather isolated regions where others have less or no access to the tribal occupied regions. Thus each tribe developed a strong sense of distinctiveness in closed communities. Together with their distinctiveness they also developed autonomous co-operative system based on the value of justice, equality and co-operation. The principle of need and not greed ruled their social organization. The economic use of land, resources and forest marked their style of living.

However, it does not mean that the tribals never used land or forests or made minimum use. The land was basically used for cultivation and after one crop the land was left barren to regain it productivity. Similarly the tribals used the forest, cut the trees but only for their use for firewood and house construction and not for sale or money making. As against the tribal attitude towards land and forest the modern society believes in maximum use of land to the

point of spoiling the soil through fertilizers and other chemicals. Similarly forest and trees are used for business and sale without giving a chance to the forest to regenerate and return to the original shape. What will happen to a generation tomorrow if the land is overused and trees are felled and made into desert today; that is the question!

Tribal attitude towards life is seen in a continuum where individuals matter less than life and community. A native American saying summarizes the whole philosophy of tribal life in the following words, “We have not inherited the land from the ancestors but we have borrowed it from our future generations.” This philosophy of looking at reality is very different from ordinary understanding of life. As the tribe lives today it has a vision for next many generations not in terms of economic security but security for co-existence. The concept of borrowing indicates that it has to be repaid and repayment is always more in terms of quantity and settlement. It also refers to the stewardship towards the nature which has to be safeguarded to handover to next generation in ‘good’ condition. This attitude surely gives insights to modern ways of use of resources and land. Land and forests are the ‘twin needs’ of tribals which are also the basis of tribal economy (Dhebar 1962:24).

1.3. Communal and Subsistence Organization of Tribal Agriculture

Tribal community is a community of equals. Hierarchies are found for the purpose of proper functioning of the community which is not based on high or low, or more or less attitude. The agricultural activities are based on co-operative system where the needs of each and all are taken into consideration. Agricultural cooperation is based not only on economic ground but also is an occasion of ‘community commensality.’ After a day-long work all the people involved in the cooperative work sit, eat and drink together. Such ‘community commensality’ and system of cooperation in productive system is unique to tribal communities which has potentials to teach a lesson to the whole human community. Imagine a situation where the corporate, owners of industries and all the employees sitting together and having a ‘community commensality,’ a mundane practice which could be very well learnt from the indigenous peoples’ communities and their practices. Such a practice as above seems to be a utopian community but it is not impossibility. If the alternative development model which

has to keep people in the center can also put these practice of indigenous communities into action.

Weiner (Corbridge 1988:9) believes that the economics of tribal India are a by-product of quite different principles (based on lineage and 'happiness') which guide tribal societies. Mandelbaum and Sharma (Ibid: 9) believe that the tribal cultivator is endowed with an economic rationality, but not with the profit maximizing mentality of the commercial farmer. Sharma further goes on to say that tribal society is identifiable by a unique correspondence between the subsistence psychologies of individual peasant households and a social structure which refuses to grant any primacy to economic calculations (Ibid: 10).

1.4. Common Ownership of Land

Indigenous peoples are entitled to rights of occupation of their lands which should be recognized by national society. They generally regard ownership of land as communal, vested in all the members of a particular group, or perhaps of a clan or subgroup. Traditionally, purchase plays no part in rights to land. The resource-holding group may own a territory, or a group of religious sites, or a water hole; in rare cases there may be no group asserting ownership of resources. Access to the group may be by inheritance, or by place of birth, or by admission by the group. The relationship of the people to their territories is rarely just economic; normally it is closely identified with their spiritual beliefs. By their very nature, many rangelands and forest reserves have no physical marks identifying them, and often is labelled "unoccupied" by the state.

Ecologically sound subsistence systems are not regarded as a benefit to the country, but rather as a waste of resources. Peoples such as the Aborigines of Australia, who have been dispossessed of much of their lands, will still do all in their power to protect ceremonial sites and natural features of ritual significance. The indigenous peoples in hillside of Niyamgiri in Orissa revere the mountain as their God who protects, sustains and provides for their needs and in no case they would like to part with the land rather they would be happy to lay down their lives in protecting the mountain against the multinational companies like Vedanta or Posco. Though the land has no demarcation for the tribals but they claim to own the entire

land and whatever resides in it. Common and corporate land holding makes them automatic stewards of the land and the mountains with all its resources. Any good or bad that happens to the forests, land, water bodies or to the mountains the Indigenous peoples take corporate responsibility for the same. As Fiona McCormack makes an observation that the vast majority of TeWhanau a Apanui and Ngati Porou members live in cities in New Zealand and Australia, but their sense of community living signifies continuity of cultural connections as they say, ‘most of us have an affinity with the land, with the sea, with the mountains ... History is always here, all around us, walking these hills and finding the old *Pa* (fortified village) sites, it’s amazing how it feeds you. My heart beats down here with memories of all those old people that have gone on that have taught us these ways and like they said your umbilical cord is tied to the *whenua* (land)’ (2011:4).

1.5. Fruit of the Labour Shared Among All

The economies of indigenous peoples are also comparatively undifferentiated, with the principal divisions of labour established on lines of gender and age. The minimum production unit is an essentially self sufficient group of families. Within the indigenous economy there is often little opportunity for individual accumulation of wealth; people tend to maintain social cohesion by encouraging generosity. Indeed there are frequently social mechanisms that govern the redistribution of wealth within the group. Generosity may be an adaptation to sporadic supply during need, but equitable sharing is a common outcome. These are not societies without problems, but the problems derive their particular character from their relations of production. Such attitudes of equal sharing of wealth and profits tremendously challenge the so call ‘culture’ or ‘civilized’ societies. Will the big business houses and industries be ready to share their huge profits with the people or at least with the employees of the concerned industries? The corporate ownership of the business endeavours in partnership with the people and especially with the indigenous peoples will surely help to bring down the growing chasm between the rich and poor in human society. The tribal social practice is a big challenge to profit monger businesses and industries. It is also a challenge for the governments to ensure a free and fair partnership between the people and the capitalists.

1.6. Keeping the Community Together

Kinship is a feeling of belonging to a community. Every indigenous group has a distinct way of organizing its own society and there are always collective structures governing the behaviour of individuals in every aspect of life. Ritual plays an important role in social relations and the cohesion of peoples within indigenous societies is often maintained by a web of kinship that can spread out from, say, a nuclear family to include all members of the group. The strength of indigenous peoples ultimately rests on the kinship groups and the way these groups individually or collectively conduct their political, economic and religious affairs. Among most indigenous peoples, groups enjoy considerable local autonomy in the exercise of authority and only a shared threat will bring a large number of groups together for a common enterprise such as defense of land.

Kinship structures provide individuals with security and give them an established role within the group as a whole. Community feeling of a tribe bound by kinship can be enlarged to states and nations where the people belonging to a particular nationality can cultivate same kind of feeling of belongingness to a nation or society or to a business endeavours which will eventually help to build a community of members and employees who are collectively or individually connected to the whole. In the Australian and New Zealand context where most of the Maori people live in the cities but they find themselves bound by kinship as Fiona McCormack (2011:285) says, “Kinship sustains connections across rural/urban divides. However, home is also a site of material struggle as people attempt to adapt cultural practices and relations of ownership in ways that continually reinforce the linkages between people, land, sea, and ancestors.” But Kinship and reciprocity can easily break down when monetary relations are established. Similarly in business world with prime importance attached to money, profit and power no fellow feeling with reciprocity can flourish.

1.7. Privileging Culture over Economics

Within the ideology of tribal economy and society more importance is attached to cultural matters than to economics. Generally the tribal communities are known by their culture, beliefs, practices and customs than their economic practices. Culture includes an attitude to life that is shaped by their attitude towards nature and other human beings. Tribal attitude

towards nature and others is that of co-existence, inter dependence and symbiotic. The symbiotic relationship is best expressed in one of the African Indigenous community's philosophy of life, popularly known as "ubuntu" and which says, "I am because you are." There can be no better philosophy of life for a co-existence than this. The members in the community take the other as the extension of oneself (or one same community) where one feels that he/she cannot survive without the other surviving. This attitude also endorses the culture of 'life and let others live.'

The next important fact that tribes all over the world share is that they have similar types of belief system and philosophy of life. They have similar types of occupations and proximity with nature. Much importance is given to kinship and lineage. In this regard Schermerhorn has the following things to say, "Tribes are distinguished from one another not so much by occupation as by kinship and lineage." (Schermerhorn 1978:70 as cited in Corbridge 1988:10). Lineages and clans tend to be the chief corporate units. They are often the principal units for land ownership, for defense, for economic production and consumption. Thus the tribal societies are organized according to cultural principles which are very different from those other societies. With continual practice over a sustained period of times the indigenous ways of doing self management has a potency and capacity to contribute substantially towards evolving of a viable and sustainable development model.

Conclusion

Development is a form of governmentality¹ rather than a project of emancipation. The present study on ‘Development, Indigenous Peoples and Search for Alternatives’ has led me to a deeper understanding of the concepts and practices of the subject. Based on my findings and understanding I make the following concluding remarks. The development understood today as growth and progress of peoples and nations began with political independence from the colonial rules. All developing nations by and large adopted the development models of the economically and technologically advanced nations and cultures. In the blind race for development in order to catch up with the more advanced nations the developing countries went for modernization and industrialization in a massive scale. Consequently, the local and regional specificities, the uniqueness of cultures and communities which could have constructively contributed towards strategizing of culturally sustainable and locally acceptable models for development, were eventually overlooked.

The history has proved that the material progress and technological advancements are not the real indicators of development. The actual development includes development of all peoples and cultures taking into account their uniqueness, cultures, worldviews, identities and ways of life. Of all the neglected communities and cultures in the process of development the indigenous peoples’ communities with all their uniqueness and worldviews become the worst victims. The indigenous communities today stand at the crossroads of development. The indigenous ways of sustaining communities and management of natural and cultural resources have been sacrificed on the altar of state notion of development. The Economic and Social Affairs Division for Social Policy and Development Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in its report on the ‘States of the World’s Indigenous Peoples’ states, “The biggest challenge faced by indigenous peoples and communities in relation to sustainable development is to ensure territorial security, legal recognition of the ownership and control over customary land and resources.” (2009:43).

¹ Governmentality is a concept founded by Michel Foucault. It is an ‘art of government or governing.’ It is a concept which is applied to explain the power relations and contemporary power relations in society. In governmentality all policies, discourses, representations, knowledges and practices are directed to think and behave in particular manners towards specific ends. Development can be seen as a form of governmentality because under the scope of development, subjects are directed to behave in a particular manner and towards specific ends.

If the indigenous peoples have survived despite all odds in their life and community, it is because of their close association and co-existence with nature. It is a historical fact that these indigenous communities have faced various kinds of death-threats and near-extinctions because of industrialization, massive displacement, land alienation and extensive plundering of natural resources for years. Indigenous peoples often find themselves involved in conflict with the dominant society, mostly relating to the loss of their lands, territories and resources or to the deprivation of their civil, political, cultural, social and economic rights. The tribal communities have struggled for survival against all odds and have been able to sing out their suffering and woes into beautiful and hopeful melodies. When the Netarhat Field Firing Range and Artillery Routine Practice threatened the life of about two lakhs and fifty thousand people (about 95% indigenous peoples) of about 245 villages in and around Netarhat Plateau, Jharkhand, the people sang their struggles and woes in the following words-

*Hare ladai chocha, hare ladai chocha,
Tutua nu hare ladai chocha re
Netarhat nu hare ladai chocha.*

*Bara he bhaiya, barai he bahin'
Naman jangal namhai mexa lagi re
Naman parta namhai mexa lagi.*

[The war has begun, the war has begun, In Tutua² the war has begun, In Netarhat the war has begun. Come my brothers and sisters, come, our forests are calling us, our mountains are calling us (for help)]

The whole mountain range resounds with roaring slogans when thousands of protesters meet at the Tutua plateau on March 23-24 every year to commemorate their virtual victory against the Indian Army when they pushed back the Army by not allowing them to occupy a notified area of 1,00,000 sq.km and an impact area of 19,856 sq.km. (all indigenous peoples' region) (Ekka, 2004:92). Struggle is an inseparable reality in the life of the Indigenous peoples. Their history narrates their painful story of constantly facing the life-threatening situations. The ample numbers of folk songs, oral histories, paintings and traditions narrate the sorrowful

² **Tutua** is the name of a place on the Netarhat plateau where the people blocked the road and stopped the Indian Army from going further to occupy the land for Field Firing and Artillery practices. Every year in the month of March (23-24) indigenous peoples from around the affected areas gather at this place and renew their pledge to protect their own land from all kinds of alienations.

saga of their memories. In the pre-Independent India, in the feudal state of Jashpur (now in Chhattisgarh) the tyrannical rules of local feudal landlords and their oppressive treatments towards the adivasis were sung out in the following folk song-

Jashpuria Belas yo, naoran pesa mala chi:das re (2)

Pesa ga chi:das bhale nandas, barabari bakhera nandas re (2)

(Meaning- The Raja of Jashpur does not allow to collect the *sakhua*³ (sorea robusta) fruits from the forest. Even when he allows, he takes a half share for himself.) Thus their history of struggle for survival is transmitted from generation to generation in the form of such folk songs and tales.

The Indigenous peoples have found meaning in their suffering and struggle against all threats to their life. As Viktor E. Frankl says, in the context of concentration camps in Germany, “To live is to suffer, to survive is to find meaning in the suffering. If there is a purpose in the life at all there must be a purpose in suffering and dying” (2000:10). Same is the fate and conviction of the indigenous peoples with regard to their suffering and struggles for survival. One of the characteristics of indigenous peoples is to struggle against the death threats till the end of life that loom large over the communities. The resistance movements and movements against the land grab and plundering of resources is very often seen by the governments as anti-national and anti-development movements. The extreme forms of the resistance movements in tribal regions have resulted into the emergence of the Left Radicalism.

There is an unflinching hopeful view of indigenous capacities to transcend their predicament and discover adequate meaning and truth for life. All struggles and movements against death-threats lead to hope against all odds. The global network of indigenous peoples affirms,

³ **Sakhua** is a kind of big tree popularly found in the dense forests of Chotanagpur belts. The botanical name for Sakhua is *sorea robusta*. The stem, leaves, trunk flowers and fruits are very useful for the Adivasis living in these regions. Earlier the adivasis used to collect and store in the houses for the purpose of consumption which could be kept for the whole year. Now the fruits are collected and sold for lucrative purpose which is processed into making soaps and other cosmetic and food items. There is a mythological value attached with this tree. The **sacred groves** where the deities are believed to reside; in the adivasi regions of Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand and West Bengal are originally made of *Sakhua* trees. This tree is also known as the dwelling place of ‘*Chala Paccho*’/Sarna Budhia (one of the chief deities venerated by tribals). The fruits of this tree are very useful in the modern sophisticated world and therefore in the local markets the seeds are sold for about rupees 10-15 per kg. during the season.

“The future of indigenous peoples is closely linked with solutions to the crises in biodiversity and climate change which incorporate respect, protection and promotion of indigenous peoples’ rights as an essential component of a global strategy” (ST/ESA/328 2009:43). Bina Agarwal⁴ after her Rio+20 Summit visited Rural Brazil to take a stock of rural Brazil and she was much impressed by the indigenous peoples’ efforts for more green and sustainable development. One of the members of Araponga Municipality narrates about share-cropping on his own land to Bina Agarwal by saying, “We harvest coffee together. We have also built a school for agro-ecology with help from the federal government. Ours is a ‘solidarity economy’.” (Indian Express, New Delhi, Saturday, July 14, 2012:15).

The indigenous peoples are at the cutting edge of the crisis in sustainable development. Their communities are concrete examples of sustainable societies, historically evolved in diverse ecosystems.” (Ibid: 43). The indigenous ways of self-management and resource management as in the case of land, water, forest and non-renewable resources is unique and sustainable in all respects. They imbibe ecologically sensitive attitudes towards the use of nature and its resources by living in close proximity with nature and its surroundings. In today’s age of ecological imbalances caused by irrational attitudes and models of development, the indigenous peoples and their ways of life can teach great lessons to develop a sense of ecological sensitivity that will eventually lead to their inter linkages with human sensitivities. United Nations Report says,

“Indigenous peoples’ economies now represent the greatest continuity with pre-industrial modes of production and traditional livelihoods in the contemporary world. These economies, representing sustained interaction and adaptation with particular locations and ecosystems, are among the longest-standing and most proven examples of “sustainable development” in the twenty-first century” (ST/ESA/328, 2009:42).

Development is another name for peace. A truly peaceful state is symbolic of its peoples’ well-being. The state must embody people’s aspirations into the models of development. Moreover, people have their right and duty to develop themselves. Over the years, it is seen that avarice and greed are the most blatant form of human underdevelopment. They can lead

⁴ . Bina Agarwal is Director and Professor of Economics at the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi University. She attended the Rio+20 and spent some time to know peoples’ alternative models of development.

anyone to dehumanize, exploit and deprive others from making progress in life. Indigenous peoples' communities with their philosophy of 'anti-greed' and 'anti-pride' can enlighten the human progress with justice, equality and ecological sensitivity. This philosophy can lead to a new humanism based on justice, equality, freedom and lead to authentic human development. The means and insights inherited from past, indigenous cultures and communities are not insufficient to choreograph new model of development; the challenge is how to harness the insights from different communities and cultures and very especially from the indigenous cultures which have proved and stood the test of times in the worst of conditions for more sustainable, lasting and appropriate arts of resource management.

In the light of the above-mentioned arguments the following questions need to be considered. Are the planners, governments, developers and the whole galaxy of social scientists ready and willing to learn the indigenous knowledge and wisdom of self-management and resource-management from the small cultures and communities who have survived in a sustained manner in all conditions? Are the governments ready to take people's participation in true sense for planning and implementation of the development programmes? Is there a space to take cognizance of the peoples' voice and aspirations for integral development in the neo-liberal and globalized world? Are the governments and planners truly independent to set their own agenda for development of its own people and nations despite the international pressures? "Sustainable Development" has become the mainstream challenge of the twenty first century; the governments and development agencies are faced with the challenges of combining economic development, environmental sustainability and social equity between and within societies. The indigenous communities with their different worldviews and philosophy of life can surely give a new direction at this juncture of time provided the rest of the societies have eyes to see and ears to hear.

References

Books:

- Ahuja, A.K; Ojha, A.K. (eds.) (2009). *Welfare and Tribal Development Administration*. Jaipur: Aalekh Publishers.
- Anikuzhikattil, Joseph (ed.) (2003). *Understanding Tribal Cultures*. Shillong: DBCIC Publications.
- Apffel-Margin, Fredrique, Kumar, Sanjay and Mishra, Arvind (2010). *Interrogating Development: Insights from the Margins*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bara, Joseph (ed) (2006). *Ordeals and Voices of the Indigenous Tribal People of India*. Guwahati: ICITP.
- Beteille, Andre (1976). *Six Essays in Comparative Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Beteille, Andre (1992). *Society and politics in India: Essays in a competitive perspective*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bhaduri, Amit (2007). *Development with Dignity*. New Delhi: India National Book Trust.
- Bose, Nirmal Kurmar. (1971). *Tribal Life in India*. National Book Trust.
- Chaudhury, S.K. (ed.) 2006). *Culture, Ecology and Sustainable Development*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Chaudhury, S.K. and Patnaik, S.M. (2008). *Indian Tribes and the Mainstream*, Jaipur/New Delhi: Rawat Publication.
- Dube, S.C. (1988). *Modernization and Development: The Search for Alternative Paradigms*, New Delhi: Vistaar Publications.
- Dube, S.C. (1990). *Tradition and Development*, New Delhi: Vikash Publishing House.
- Elwin, Verrier (1991). *Myths of Middle India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Elvin, Verrier (1957, 2009). *A Philosophy for NEFA*. Delhi: Isha Books.
- Fried, M.H. (1975). *The Nation of Tribes*. Menlo Park: Cumming publishing Co.
- Fernandes, Walter and Thukral, E.G.(eds.) (1989). *Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation*, New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.

- Frankl, V. E. (2000). *Man's Search for Meaning*. Mumbai: Better Yourself Books.
- Fuchs, S. (1973). *The Aboriginal Tribes of India*, New Delhi: Macmillan India.
- Ghurye, G. S. (1959). *The Scheduled Tribes*, Bombay: Popular Book Depot.
- Grey, Sam (ed.) (2006). *Indigenous Peoples' Contributions to COP-8 of the Convention on Biological Diversity*, Chiang Mai: International Technical Secretariat.
- Gupta, Bajrang Lal (2010). *A New Paradigm of Development*, New Delhi: Main Ansari Road, Daryaganj.
- Howitt, Richard (2002). *Rethinking Resource Management: Justice, Sustainability and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Routledge
- Bhandari, J.S. (2008). 'The Peasant Dimensions of Tribal Societies in India', in the book *Indian Tribes and the Mainstream*, edited by Chaudhury, S.K. and Patnaik, S.M. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Joshi, Vidyut (ed.) (1998). *Tribal Situation in India: Issues in Development*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Kimberly and Johannesburg (2002). *Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development 2*, South Africa. Baguio City, Philippines: Tebtebba Foundation.
- Kujur, Joseph Marianus (ed.) (2011). *Tribes in Today's India: Challenges and Prospects*, New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.
- Lakra, John (2007). *Tribal Myths*, Ranchi: Catholic Press.
- Lakshamma, T. (2002). 'Knowledge and Practices of Nutritious Food during Pregnancy and Lactation- A Case Study of Andhra Pradesh', in R.N. Pati and J. Dash (eds.), *Tribal and Indigenous People of India: Problems and Prospects*. New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation.
- Lasimbang, Jannie (eds.) (2008). *Asia Indigenous Peoples' Perspectives on Development*, Thailand: Amphur Sansai, Chiang Mai.
- Mahajan, Gurpreet; Jodhka, Surinder S. (eds.) (2010). *Religion, Community and Development*. New Delhi: Routledge.
- Murali Manohar, K., Ramaiah P, Rao C. S. (eds) (1985). *Political Economy of Tribal Development*, Warrangal: Indian Institute of Public Administration.
- Nanda, Bikram Narayan. (1994). *Contours of Continuity and Change: The story of the Bonda highlanders*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

- Nathan, Dev and Xaxa Virginius (eds.) (2012). *Social Exclusion and Adverse Inclusion: Development and Deprivation of Adivasis in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Nayak, Ramesh C., Kukjur, Joseph Marianus (2007). *State Aggression and Tribal resistance: A Case of the Police Firing at Kalinga Nagar*, New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.
- Oommen, T.K. (2004). *Development Discourse: Issues and Concerns*. New Delhi: Regency Publications.
- Oommen, T. K. (ed.) (1997). *Citizenship and National Identity from Colonialism to Globalism*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Pati, Biswamoy (ed), (2011). *Adivasis in Colonial India: Survival, Resistance and Negotiation*, New Delhi: Orient Black Swan.
- Pati, R.N. and Dash, J. (2002). *Tribal and Indigenous People of India: Problems and Prospects*. New Delhi: A P H Publishing Corporation.
- Paul, R.N. and Dash, J. (2002). *Tribal and Indigenous people of India: Problem and Prospects*, New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation.
- Pereira, Francis (2007). *The Faith Tradition of the Kunrukhar (Uraons)*, Delhi: ISPCK.
- Pratt, Brian (ed.) (1988). *INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: A Field guide for Development Development Guidelines, No.2*. Oxford: Oxfam.
- Rai, Mangla (2006). *Handbook of Agriculture*, New Delhi: Indian Council of Agricultural Research.
- Rao Vijayendra and Walton, Michael (eds.) (2004). *Culture and Public Action*. Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Roy, Burmon, K.B. (1994). *Tribes in Perspective*, New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Russell, R.V. and Hiralal (1916). *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, London: McMillan and Co. Ltd., St. Martin Street.
- Scott J. and Marshal Gordon (2009). *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Sharma, Aradhana, (2010). *Paradoxes of Empowerment: Development, Gender and Governance in Neoliberal India*. New Delhi: Zubaan.
- Spencer, Jonathan (2007). *Anthropology, Politics and the State: Democracy and Violence in South Asia*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

- Subramanyam, V. (ed.) (2008). *Indigenous Science and Technology for Sustainable Development*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Sundar, Nandini (1999). *Subaltern and Sovereigns An Anthropological History of Bastar 1854 -1996*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Tirkey, Boniface (1989). *The Smiling Uraon*. Patna: Navjyoti Niketan.
- Vidyarthi, L.P. (ed.) (1986). *Tribal Development and its Administration*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Xaxa, Virginius (2008). *State, Society and Tribes: Issues in Post Colonial India*, New Delhi: Pearson Longman.
- Eqk.Mk] jken;ky vkSj ekudh] jruflag ¼2009½A vkfn /kje% Hkkjrh; vkfnokfl;ksa dh /kkfeZd vkLFkk,aA ubZ fnYyh% jktdey izdk'kUIA
- mjk;o] thrw] ¼2007½A tutkrh; Hkwfedk vkSj flU/kw&?kkVh dqqaM+q[k+IH;rKA jk;ph% lqn'kZu izsl] ppZ jksMA

Journals and Articles

- Agarwal, Bina. 'Transforming Quietly'. (Indian Express, New Delhi, Saturday, July 14, 2012:15).
- Bebbington, Anthony; Lewis, David; Batterbury, Simon; Olson, Elizabeth & Siddiqi, M. Shameem (2007). Of Texts and Practices: Empowerment and Organizational Cultures in World Bank-funded Rural Development Programmes. *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 4, 597–621, May 2007.
- Behera, D.K. (ed.) (2000). 'Resource Management through Indigenous Knowledge System,' *Special Issue of Journal of Social Sciences*. New Delhi: Kamla-Raj Enterprises.
- Bose, N K (1941). 'The Hindu Method of Tribal Absorption', *Science of Culture*, VII, pp.188-94
- Corbridge, Stuart (1988). 'The Ideology of Tribal Economy and Society: Politics in the Jharkhand, 1950-1980.' *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 22. No. 1 (1988), pp. 1-42.

- Ekka, Vincent, (2004). 'Chotanagpur Adivasis Quest for Meaning in Life Through the Netarhat Ulgulan.' *Tatvaviveka*. Delhi: Vidyajyoti.
- Fernandes, Walter (ed.) (1991). 'Displacement and Marginalization of Tribals.' *Social Action* Vol. 41, No. 3, Jul-Sept.
- Fiona McCormack (2011). 'Levels of indigeneity: the Maori and Neoliberalism.' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (N.S.) **17**, 281-300, Hilo: University of Hawai'i.
- Froerer, Peggy (2006). 'Emphasizing 'Others': The Emergence of Hindu Nationalism in a Central Indian Tribal Community.' *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2006. (N.S.) 12, 39-59.
- Lakra, Christopher (ed.) (2010). *Social Action*, Vol. 60, No.3,
- Madan, T.N (2008) 'Towards a radical sociology of religion', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, Vol.42, no. 2
- Meeta and Rajivlochan. 'Reorienting Tribal Development: Administrative Dilemmas'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 32, No. 33/34 (Aug. 16-29, 1997), pp. 2092-2095.
- Mishna, Nita; Roy, Arundhati, Chaudhary (1993).Voice of the indigenous people. *Seminar*, 412:48-50
- Nongbri, Tiplut (2006). 'Culture and Biodiversity: Myths, Legends and the Conservation of Nature in the Hills of North-East India' *Indian Anthropologist*, vol. 36:1&2, 1-21.
- Padel, Felix and Das, Samarendra (2006). 'Anthropology of the Genocide: Tribal Movements in Central India against over-Industrialization'. SAAG.
- Panelli, Ruth; Tipa, Gail. (2007). 'Placing Well-Being: A Maori Case Study of Cultural and Environmental Specificity. *EcoHealth Journal Consortium*. EcoHealth 4, 445-460, 2007, DOI: 10.1007/s10393-007-0133-1.
- Pathy, Jaganath (1999). 'Tribes, Region, & Nation in the Context of Indian Nation'. *Sociological Bulletin*:Vol.48,1-2,Sept.
- Pradeep, P RJ. 2007. 'Give Native Knowledge its Due Place in Policies', *Science and Environment Fortnightly: Down to Earth*, 16 (12).
- Roy Burman, B.K. (2003). 'Tribal Identity, globalization & Planned Development', *The Eastern Anthropologist*, 56:2-4 pp. 178.

Roy Burman, B.K. (2009). Criteria for Recognition of Scheduled Tribes, *The Eastern Anthropologist*, 62:2 , pp.172

Simon, David (1997). 'Development Reconsidered; New Directions in Development Thinking'. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B Human Geography* ,Volume 79, Issue 4, pages 183–201.

Singh, K.S. (2003). 'Concept of Tribe: A Note.' *The Eastern Anthropologist*, 56:2-4 pp. 195-200.

Srivastava, Vinay Kumar (2003). A Note on Tribal Situation in India, *The Eastern Anthropologist*, 56:2-4 (2003), pp.163

Reports and Unpublished Thesis

Indigenous peoples and the World Summit on Sustainable Development 2. August 20-September 4, 2002. , Report Published by Tebtebba Foundation.

Urban Aboriginal Task Force, Final Report, Dec. 2007

Samal, Avinash (2001). 'Tribal Development Administration: Case Study of A District In Orissa' an unpublished Ph. D. Thesis Submitted to the University of Mysore.

O'Malley, Vincent. 'Looking Forward, Looking Back: Canada's Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.' A Seminar Presentation held at the Stout Research Centre, Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit, Victoria University of Wellington July 2000.

Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (1996), Volume1: Looking Forward, Looking Back.

Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development, UN/UNESCO, 1996

Chandra Deo, V. Kishore (Oct. 30, 2011). *Conference of Governors*, Speech of Hon'ble Minister Of Tribal Affairs And Panchayati Raj.

Dhebar Commission Report, 1961.

UN Documents

United Nations Declarations on the Rights of Indigenous peoples, 2007.

Custodians of Bio-diversity: Indigenous Peoples and Biodiversity Protection, Series 1. 2008

Save Mother EARTH: Expressions of Indigenous Youth. 2009.

Guidelines on Indigenous Peoples' Issues: United Nations Development Group, 2009.

Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Division for Social Policy and Development Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. *State of the World's Indigenous Peoples. 2009. ST/ESA/328.*

Indigenous and Tribal Peoples' Rights in Practice: A Guide to ILO Convention, No. 169. 2009.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Dec. 10, 1948.

UN Declaration on the Right to Development, 1986

Websites

<http://www.ilo.org/indigenous> browsed on Feb. 15, 2012.

<http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev/origins>, browsed on March 15, 2012

http://download.nos.org/srsec315new/final%20History%20Book_2_L_17.pdf, viewed on June, 30, 2012.

http://www.powerofculture.nl/uk/archive/report/intro_sam.html, viewed on May, 25, 2012

<http://www.downtoearth.org.in/node/6802>, Browsed on June 25, 2012.

Chief's Letter, <http://www.barefootsworld.net/seattle.html>, browsed on July 16, 2012.

<http://www.business-standard.com/india/news/adivasi-land-can-be-acquired>, browsed on June 20, 2012

<http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/IndigLRes/1995/3/NATIVE.RTF>Australian Catholic Social Justice Council, 'Recognition: The Way Forward' quoted in M Dodson, Aboriginal and Social Justice Commissioner, *Native Title Report January-June 1994*, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (1995), viewed on 3 July 2012.

<http://www.alaska.net/~aknafws/modelplan.html>, Model plans for tribal resource management, browsed on June 30, 2012.