

**DEVELOPMENT, MARGINALIZATION AND EMERGENCE OF
LABOUR MARKET AMONG TRIBES:
A STUDY OF JHARKHAND**

**DEVELOPMENT, MARGINALIZATION AND EMERGENCE OF
LABOUR MARKET AMONG TRIBES:**

A STUDY OF JHARKHAND TRIBES

*Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Philosophy in Applied Economics of the Jawaharlal
Nehru University, New Delhi*

Tanushree Haldar

M. Phil Programme in Applied Economics

2009-11

**Centre for Development Studies
Trivandrum-695011
June, 2011**


I hereby affirm that the work for the dissertation "*Development, Marginalisation and Emergence of Labour Market among Tribes: A study of Jharkhand*" being submitted as a part of the requirements of the M.Phil Programme in Applied Economics of the Jawaharlal Nehru University was carried out entirely by myself. I also affirm that it was not part of any other programme of study and has not been submitted to any other university for the award of any degree.

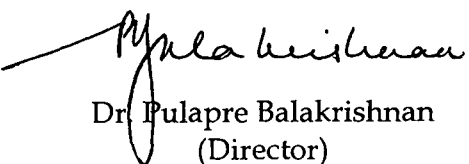
June, 2011

Tanushree Haldar
Tanushree Haldar

Certified that this study is the bona fide work of Tanushree Haldar, carried out under our supervision at the Centre for Development Studies.


Dr. Vinoj Abraham
Assistant Professor


Dr. K.P. Kannan
Professor


Dr. Pulapre Balakrishnan
(Director)
Centre for Development Studies

TO MY

PARENTS

Acknowledgements

Emerson remarked, "Language is like a city to which every human being brought a stone". The same may be said of this study. During the course of this study, many people contribute directly or indirectly towards the success of this work. My work will be incomplete if I do not thank them for the inspiration, encouragement and support they provided me.

Although words alone can hardly suffice to acknowledge one's gratitude for the guidance, help and cooperation, even so I must express my deep sense of gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. Vinoj Abraham and Prof. K.P. Kannan, under whose guidance I was able to complete this thesis. They provided me with necessary maneuverability and freedom to work. Working with them has been a rich experience and shall always be a pleasant memory. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Vinoj who always made time to sit with me through long discussions during the most difficult stages of the work. His consistent inspiration, penetrating criticisms and timely clarifications not only sustained my interest in the study but also benefitted in improving the quality of the thesis immensely. I must thank Prof Kannan, who spared a considerable part of his precious time for my cause despite being heavily burdened with his own academic pursuits and engagements. I have benefitted a great deal from his deep insights into the subject and many valuable suggestions that he provided me.

It would be highly unjust if I do not mention the name of the person who motivated me to join CDS. I am greatly obliged to Dr. Saumya Chakrabarty from Visva Bharati University who not only inspired me to join CDS but also showed keen interest in my study.

It is a matter of great pleasure for me to express my sincere gratitude to Professor D. Narayana and Professor A.V. Jose for their keen interest, encouragement, and valuable suggestions throughout the course of this work.

I am deeply indebted to Dr. V.M. Pillai, Dr. Pushpangadan, Dr. Parmeshwaran, Dr. Devika, Dr. Navneetham, Dr. Balakrishnan, Dr. Joseph, Dr Mani, Dr, P.M. Pillai, Dr.K.N. Nair, Dr. Santakumar, Dr.U.S. Mishra, Dr. Praveena for their fruitful teaching during the course work and valuable advices from time to time.

It is unvarnished truth that this work would have never materialized in the absence of the constant support and encouragement that I received from my family. My parents, who hardly understand the nitty-gritty of this work, always showed a keen interest in the progress of my work and always encouraged me. I also express my gratitude to my brother, who constantly supported and encouraged me to do something better and also for his timely help in editing and correcting the work. I am obliged to him for his valuable comments, suggestions and

constructive criticisms. It would be a great omission on my part if I do not acknowledge my sister, brother-in-law and my sister-in-law for sharing my moments of both agony and ecstasy and encouraged me at times when I felt dejected and dismayed by the very immensity of the task at hand.

My sincere thanks are due to my friend, Kiran, for providing untiring help at various stages of the study. His careful reading of draft and numerous constructive suggestions helped me a lot in improving the quality of the thesis. I would also like to thank Anirban da for introducing me to NSS data as well as for encouraging me throughout the M.Phil course.

Special thanks to Sanchita, Neha, Jyotimoy and Gareth for making my stay in CDS a memorable one. I can never forget the time I spent with them. I would also like to express my gratitude to Anoop da, who not only helped me to learn a number of things but also provided his guidance whenever I needed it.

Nevertheless, I also want to thank my pals with whom I shared my joys and sorrows. In naming them I am likely to miss many of those who contributed in different ways. Nevertheless, the cooperation and help of Şubu, Sravanthi di, Gargi di, Hari, Sanjaya, Atish, Bibhu, Suparna, Namrata, Summayya and all other classmates are much acknowledged. They always inspired me to work hard. I can never forget Anu's concern about my health and progress of my work.

Also, I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude towards my juniors and seniors for their cooperation and understanding.

I am also beholden to our Anil Kumar Sir, Anita Mam, Biju, and all other Library staff for their generosity in providing me all possible help in the library during the entire period of my research work. I also feel pleasure in expressing my indebtedness to the several authors whose works I have cited in my study and from whom I have drawn both information and insight.

I would like to record my gratitude to all those who have helped and supported me in this academic endeavor. I duly acknowledge my sincere thanks to all of them. All may not be mentioned but none is forgotten.

Needless to say, all errors and omissions are mine.

Tanushree

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

DEVELOPMENT, MARGINALIZATION AND EMERGENCE OF LABOUR MARKET AMONG TRIBES:

A STUDY OF JHARKHAND TRIBES

Tanushree Haldar

M.Phil in Applied Economics (2009-11), Jawaharlal Nehru University

Centre for Development Studies

In the light of the current development agenda carried out by the government and huge costs incurred by some sections of the society in terms of exclusion and marginalisation, the concern of this thesis was to analyse the marginalization of one of the most deprived section of the society, the Scheduled Tribe. The study tried to trace the history of the systematic displacement of the tribal groups in Jharkhand from their traditional sources of livelihood, their process of integration with colonial labour markets and their marginalised and excluded status in the post-independent industrial economy. The objectives of the study was first, to provide a historical account of the process following which the tribals of Jharkhand moved out of communitarian production system and became a part of capitalist labour market. Secondly, to understand the process of marginalization in the current labour market for the indigenous people and to study the consequent impact on their livelihood strategy, changing occupational structure, composition in the growth of employment, wages etc. compared to non-indigenous communities.

The study was broadly divided into three sections: in the first section, we tried to explore the emergence of labour market among indigenous communities through a long historic process of transition of a communal egalitarian society into an individualistic society. In this section, we looked at the supply side phenomenon for tribals' participation in the labour market. We discussed how the various interventions in the agrarian structure through land revenue policies by the colonial government destroyed the traditional occupation of the tribals and compelled them to move out of communal egalitarian society.

In the second part, the evolved labour market was analysed and the structure of labour market along with the conditions of work during colonial period were examined. We also examined how the tribal labour force was exploited in the initial years of capitalist development to develop various industries like mining and tea plantations. For the analysis we selected two major industries, tea plantation and coal mining, where, as data and other literature reveals, the proportion of Jharkhand tribes employed during the colonial period was comparatively higher. The analysis shows that during the early period of industrial development in colonial India the demand for labour was very high which eventually decreased with the development of industries. This chapter discussed the demand side factor of tribals' participation in the labour market which emphasis that the major factor behind employment of tribals in the industries developed during colonial period was the enormous demand for cheap unskilled labourers in these industries.

The third section of the thesis looks at the position of the tribals in the labour market in the post independence period. Using various rounds of census as well as unit level NSS data, the analysis shows the current position of the tribals in the employment and occupational hierarchy. The analysis reveals the marginalisation of tribal workers in the labour market with respect to employment, occupation, conditions of work, wages, and availability of social and economic security.

Key Words: *Development, Marginalization, Labour Market, Tribes, Colonial Period, Post-Independence period.*

CONTENTS

| | Title | Page No. |
|------------------|--|----------------|
| | List of Tables | ix |
| | List of Figures | ix |
| Chapter 1 | Introduction | 1-22 |
| | 1.1 Motivation and Statement of the Problem | 1 |
| | 1.2 An overview | 5 |
| | 1.2(a) Industrialisation and Socio-Economic Change among Tribals | 5 |
| | 1.2(b) Development, Displacement and Marginalisation | 6 |
| | 1.2(c) History of Tribal Labour Market | 11 |
| | 1.3 Analytical Framework | 15 |
| | 1.4 Objectives of the Study | 17 |
| | 1.5 Data Sources | 17 |
| | <i>Appendix A</i> | 19 |
| Chapter 2 | Emergence of Tribal Labour Market | 23-53 |
| | 2.1 Introduction | 23 |
| | 2.2 A History of Land Relations in Chotanagpur | 28 |
| | 2.3 A History of Land Relations in Santal Parganas | 34 |
| | 2.4 Changes in Land Tenure System | 37 |
| | 2.5 Labour Market Formation: An outline of Contributing Factors | 43 |
| | 2.6 Conclusion | 52 |
| Chapter 3 | Tribal Labour Market during Colonial Period | 54-82 |
| | 3.1 Introduction | 54 |
| | 3.2 Development of a Labour Market for Tribals in Colonial India | 55 |
| | 3.3 Structure of Labour Market in the Colonial Era | 59 |
| | 3.4 Theory of "Natural Selection" in Labour Force Composition | 65 |
| | 3.4(a) Tea Plantation | 66 |
| | 3.4(b) Coal Mining | 73 |
| | 3.5 Discussion | 80 |
| | 3.6 Conclusion | 82 |
| Chapter 4 | Tribal Labour Market in the Contemporary Era | 83-122 |
| | 4.1 Introduction | 83 |
| | 4.2 Employment Structure | 85 |
| | 4.2(a) Demand and Supply for ST and Non-ST Labour in the Economy | 87 |
| | 4.2(b) Status of Employment | 92 |
| | 4.2(c) Land Ownership and Level of Education among ST and Non-ST workers | 95 |
| | 4.3 Industrial Distribution of Workers | 98 |
| | 4.4 Employment and Wages in various Occupations | 108 |
| | 4.5 Economic and Social Security for Tribals in the Labour Market | 113 |
| | 4.6 Conclusion | 120 |
| Chapter 5 | Conclusion | 123-130 |
| | <i>Bibliography</i> | 131-140 |

LIST OF TABLES

| Table No. | Title | Page No. |
|-----------|---|----------|
| A1 | Categories under which Tribes were Enumerated | 19 |
| 2.1 | Trend of in-migration in Chotanagpur (1881-1951) | 33 |
| 2.2 | Emigration from Jharkhand | 48 |
| 2.3 | Forest and Woodland Changes in Chotanagpur, 1870-90 | 51 |
| 3.1 | Emigration to Jharkhand (1891-1961) | 60 |
| 3.2 | Proportion of Jharkhand Emigrants to Total Emigrants | 63 |
| 3.3 | Average monthly wage of agricultural and Plantation Labour | 67 |
| 3.4 | Jharkhand Emigrants to Assam | 69 |
| 3.5 | Tribes of Jharkhand Enumerated in Assam | 70 |
| 3.6 | Production of Coal from 1886 to 1929 | 78 |
| 4.1 | Change in Occupational Structure of Tribals of Jharkhand (In Percentage) | 86 |
| 4.2 | Labour-force Participation Rate | 88 |
| 4.3 | Work-force Participation Rate (UPS+USS) | 88 |
| 4.4 | Unemployment Rate (UPS+USS) | 90 |
| 4.5 | Distribution of WPR across Main workers and Marginal Workers (In percentage) | 91 |
| 4.6 | Percentage distribution of workers among Main and Marginal Work | 92 |
| 4.7 | Percentage distribution of employment by Status (UPS) | 93 |
| 4.8 | Percentage distribution of workers across principle and Subsidiary status (2004-05) | 94 |
| 4.9 | Percentage distribution of rural workers by land size class (2004-05) | 95 |
| 4.10 | Percentage distribution of workers by Education, 2004-05 (Rural) | 97 |
| 4.11 | Percentage distribution of workers by Education, 2004-05 (Urban) | 98 |
| 4.12 | Nine fold Industrial classification of workers | 99 |
| 4.13 | Industrial distribution of workforce | 101 |
| 4.14 | Distribution of workers across various Industrial categories- Urban | 104 |
| 4.15 | Decadal growth rates of Agricultural and Non-agricultural workers between 1981 and 2001 | 106 |
| 4.16 | Subsidiary Activity of Non-Agricultural Workers (2004-05) | 107 |
| 4.17 | Subsidiary activity for workers engaged in Agriculture (2004-05) | 108 |
| 4.18 | Distribution of workforce according to NIC-98 classification in 2004-05 | 109 |
| 4.19 | Occupation under Mining and Quarrying and Manufacturing (NCO-68 classification) in 2004-05 | 110 |
| 4.20 | Occupation under Construction in 2004-05 (NCO-68 classification) | 111 |
| 4.21 | Occupation under Community, Social and Personal services in 2004-05 (NCO-68 classification) | 112 |
| 4.22 | Employment in Formal and Informal Sector, 2004-05 (UPS) | 115 |
| 4.23 | Job Security for ST and Non-St workers (2004-05) | 116 |
| 4.24 | Income Security and Non-St workers (2004-04) | 118 |
| 4.25 | Other securities for St and Non-ST workers (2004-05) | 119 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure No. | Title | Page No. |
|------------|---|----------|
| 3.1 | Adult Emigration from Jharkhand to Assam | 62 |
| 3.2 | Proportion of Jharkhand Emigrants to Total Emigrants in Assam | 64 |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"We cannot keep pace with the modern world unless we adopt the latest techniques, whether it is for the big factory or small unless we utilize the sources of power (raw materials) that are available to the modern world. Enormous new resources of power have been placed at the disposal of man.....we cannot ignore it."

*-Jawaharlal Nehru**

"I go about end to end in India, seeing new factories come up, great schemes take shape and great river valley projects develop, giving power and nourishing water to our fields.... I see all this and as I see it, I feel excitement creeping over me."

*-Jawaharlal Nehru**

1.1 Motivation and Statement of Problem

Development has been an overwhelming discourse in the modernizing world, especially in the post world-war period. In the theories of economic development, Kaldor (1957) argue that industrialisation is a path to economic development. Following Kaldorian strategy, in the post-war period, the newly formed colonial nations have emphasised on rapid industrial development. It is in this context, independent India geared its policies towards promoting industrial development so as to achieve higher economic growth and development. These policies indeed have enabled to achieve higher industrial growth through establishment of mega industrial and mining projects, large dams, sophisticated infrastructure and a number of other 'development' projects. Following the industry led growth policies; India has successfully achieved a rapid economic growth during the last few decades. The growth rate of Gross Domestic product (GDP) for the fifty year period between 1960 and 2010 averaged about 5.04 per cent per annum¹, which was mostly driven by continued growth in the service sector and improved performance of the industry (Virmani 2005). The industrial growth in India shows that, during the same period it has

* Speech at the inauguration of production at the Integral Coach Factory, Perambur, Madras, October 2nd, 1955. "Jawaharlal Nehru speeches, Volume 3, March 1953-August 1957, Published by Ministry of information and broadcasting, Government of India".

¹ Handbook of Statistics on Indian Economy, 2009-10, Reserve Bank of India

increased by 6.3 percent.² Estimates have shown that with globalisation and rapid industrial growth, the poverty level has come down from 45.6 per cent in 1983 to 27.5 per cent in 2004-05 (World Bank 2009).

However, the major concern is about the extent to which the fruits of growth and development have been distributed among the different sections of the society. The available empirical evidence in the recent past shows that, poor and marginalised sections of the society have been alienated from the trickle down effects higher economic growth raising the question of *inclusive growth*³(Amin 2003; Gunter and Hoeven 2004; Kurian 2007). It has also been observed that gap between the rural and urban areas reportedly widened in the nineties as did the wedge between rich and poor people (Bhalla 1990; Datt 1999; Deaton and Dreze 2002). The disparity in the consumption expenditure of the poor and vulnerable with that of the middle and high income group and also among different social groups has also been worsening over the years indicating increasing economic disparity (Sengupta et al. 2008). In particular, it has been argued that Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe population forms the bottom layer of vulnerability in terms of poverty, informal work status, and education (Sengupta et al. 2008).

For the chosen path of modernisation and development in India, large public and private sector companies have been encouraged to setup plants and state has initiated number of infrastructure development projects. Though these policies seem to have had positive impact on growth of the economy, it has resulted in exploitation in number of ways. Although the policy makers very often argue that, the development projects indeed have potential to bring enormous benefits to human society but the cost imposed by these is often borne by the poorest and the most marginalised sections of the society. For millions of people, development has cost them their homes, their livelihood, their health and even their lives (Hussain 2008). The development process that is undergone is not neutral in terms of its costs and benefits incurred to different sections of people. There are two strands of literature on the effects of industrialisation. One group

² Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Govt. of India and Centre for Industrial & Economic Research (CIER)

³ "Used as synonymous with "equitable development" Dev, S. Mahendra. *Inclusive Growth in India: Agriculture, Poverty, and Human Development*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008..

of scholars argue that, industrialization and urbanization projects cause displacement from land, traditional forms of livelihood (Areeparampil 1996; Ghosh 2006; Bijoy 2008). The other group of scholars argue that mechanization process means that the creation of new jobs in the new industries is not in the same rate as livelihoods lost (Davis and Haltiwanger 1992; Faggio and Konings 2001). In addition to this, development induced displacement has other adverse effects. Among others, this results in a drastic fall in output from traditional occupations including agriculture that is not accompanied by increased employment in the modern sector. The process leads to displacement of a number of farmers; out of which the small and marginal ones suffered the most (Meher 2009).

The gainers of this process are those who improve their economic status and are able to enjoy better quality of life resulting from these investments while those who are dislocated from their life supporting economic activities and stability of the existing pattern of living turn out to be losers. Historically, most often the losers are people from marginalised sections of the main stream society (Kannan 2007). Among these marginalised sections one of the worst affected is the tribal population who normally live away from mainstream land.⁴ Because of the presence of rich natural base in most of the predominantly tribal areas, these projects generally happen to be located in these regions. Nearly 60 per cent of the large dams for irrigation and hydro-power have been constructed in tribal areas (Saxena 2005). There is a heavy concentration of mining and industrial projects in the central India tribal belt which has displaced vast number of tribal people. For resource seeking multinational companies looking for investment opportunities, these areas have become most favoured destinations (Mathur 2006). However, these have proved to be a resource-curse for the tribals. The tribals have not benefited enough from such projects, rather ended up paying the cost all along. On one hand they are losing their land, which is the primary source of livelihood

⁴ The industrialization and urbanization process led to the genesis of land alienation. With the dispossession of land, problems like loss of employment, livelihood became very common. In order to get an alternative livelihood, they ended up as agricultural labourer or migrated to urban areas for wage earner in factories, markets, construction works and household works. Displacement also gave rise to other problems like social transformation, adjustment in a new place, in new environment, with new kind of social relations.

of them, and on the other hand they are not getting absorbed in the new industries as well. This leads to the total disruption of their livelihood and the disintegration of their society and economy. These tribals constitute 8.6 per cent of India's population, and about 40 to 50 per cent of them have been displaced by development projects (Fernandes 2008). It is also argued that at least 55 per cent of those displaced by development projects in India are tribal people (Fernandes 2008). For example, for karjan and sukhi reservoirs in Gujarat state all displaced were only tribal people. The Balimela hydro project in Orissa displaced a large number of people, out of which 98 per cent were tribal people. Same was the case of Upper Kolar Dam, where 96 per cent of the total affected people were tribals. These actions of the state raises serious question over the approach adopted for inclusive development. Studies have argued that there are many flaws in providing them proper rehabilitation or compensation, which eventually pushed them to vulnerable conditions that they end up as migrant labourers and slum dwellers in destitute labour markets in towns and cities (Saxena 2005). Figures for displacement in Jharkhand are also quite revealing; a population of about 17 lakhs (1.7 million) have been displaced so far, out of which almost 85% are tribals and locals and only about 25% have been halfway and half-heartedly resettled (Swamy 2010).

On the other hand, the people who are displaced due to the mega development projects and industrial development (of whom majority are tribals) are marginalised from the employment opportunities due to illiteracy and lack of skills. Employability of tribals as well as scheduled caste groups in the industries is very restricted given the caste based structural inequalities in the occupational hierarchy (Das and Dutta 2007). Even though there have been several constitutional and domestic legal protections, their benefits rarely reach these marginalized groups (Damodaran 2007; Sharma 2010). The level of poverty among STs is far higher compared to any other group. Almost 47 per cent of ST population in India in the rural areas and 33.3 per cent in the urban areas are below poverty line. The corresponding figure for SC is 36.8 and 39.9, for OBC is 26.7 and 31.4 and for general group it is 16.1 and 16 for rural and urban regions respectively. Jharkhand, comprised of 26 per cent of ST population, almost 54.2

per cent of ST in rural area and 45.1 per cent of ST in urban area are below poverty line. The forced displacement accompanied with loss of livelihood is giving rise to the present tribal led Naxal movement which has captured more than 220 districts of country (Guha 2007). In the words of Prof. Joshi (1998) “development processes to some extent have de-established the tribals and moved them to a disadvantaged position”. Similarly, several reports of the commissioners of tribal affairs pointed out that exploitation and oppression have either continued or increased (Beteille 1986; Padel 1991; Cutter 1995). In this context, the present study is an attempt to understand the dynamic process of marginalisation of tribal people from their land and its impact on the formation of labour market which in turn was influenced by numerous factors.

1.2 An overview

The literature on issues related to tribal economy has important place in the development discourse in India since Independence. A wide range of issues have been studied with regard to tribal people across India; ranging from development induced displacement, due to industrialisation, identity and the tribal movements in the realm of economic history, cultural anthropology and sociology. The objective of this section is to provide a brief account on the studies which have examined the issues in depth and place the significance of the present study. Since covering all the studies on various issues is out of purview of this study, we have confined ourselves to understanding the process of development induced marginalisation and formation of labour market.

1.2(a) Industrialisation and Socio-Economic changes among tribals

The work by Orans (1958) is considered as one of the early works on tribal people in India, which traced effects of urban and industrial milieu on traditional tribal culture by examining the Jamshedpur’s industrial setting. The study examines Santal tribal community and explores the relation between economic activity on the one hand, and noneconomic social and cultural patterns on the other. The study emphasises on the migration of Santal community from the villages and living in ‘bastis’ near the Jamshedpur and makes an attempt to explain the social and cultural continuity and variation between these differing communities

(situated in *basti*) and the parent traditional agricultural village. The author finds that, village life in itself has been considerably changed during fifty years of existence of Jamshedpur by the periodic visits of migrant workers. However, there have not been significant differences between the Santal tribe in *basti* and village in their social and cultural institutions. On the similar grounds, two studies undertaken by Das and Banerjee (1962 and 1964) to assess the impact of industrialization on socio-economic life of tribals and on the tribal workers in tea industry were among the pioneering work on changing tribal economy. The 1962 study was carried out only among the factory workers belonging to different tribal communities who were working at Chittaranjan locomotive, Hindustan cable factory and Jhemeri colliery of Burdwan district etc. In the study, it has been stated that owing to rapid industrialisation in West Bengal, located in predominantly tribal areas, a number of native tribals were drawn away from their traditional homeland. The new industries opened new avenues and attracted more and more people from both outside and from tribal hinterland. The study also mentions that the factories, mines and heavy engineering works absorbed local tribals into generally in third or fourth grade jobs. The study has emphasised that the higher and regular income in these industries attracted the tribals from hinterlands too. However, the major lacuna in the study was that author looked only into the wages and concluded that it is the higher wages of these industries that is attracting more and more labour into these industries including the tribals. The study completely ignored the push factor that compelled these tribals to take these jobs.

1.2(b) Development, Displacement and Marginalisation

While all the previous studies have focused on the issue of socio and cultural aspects of industrialisation, Sengupta (1980) discussed the issue of exploitation of tribals in Jharkhand by the non-jharkhandi and non-tribals who are named as *dikus* which mean exploiter and outsider in the light of increasing industrialisation. He observed that non-tribal immigrants from all the neighbouring states invaded into the regions of tribal concentrated regions like Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas and appropriated land and jobs in the then

fast growing mining industry. Further, he observes that all the higher-class jobs were held by non-tribal dikus leaving lower stratum of the jobs to the local tribes. In Similar lines, DN (1988) also argues that exploitation of resources by the neighbouring states has led to resurgence of Jharkhand movements. In the light of imperialist state powers, the oppression of tribals has continued in coal industry and deforestation, numerous dams and other development projects have deprived them of their own world and pushed them to the margin in the new world. Therefore, all these factors gave rise to intense movement for the identification of Jharkhandis to serve the class and community interests.

Manohar et al. (1992) while studying tribal depeasantisation in Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh, argues that the long historical process of survey and settlement operations in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh led to gradual dispossession of tribes from their lands. He argues that the introduction of these operations has converted the community ownership of land into individual ownership. This gradual transformation in land tenure system and the emergence of sharply differentiated social system in this region has reduced the tribals from cultivators to mere wage earners (agricultural labourers). A newer section of people evolved as a result of this social differentiation, called the money-lending landlords, rich peasants and has transformed the communal system into semi-feudal agrarian relation.

Areparampil (1996) studies the displacement of indigenous people of mineral rich Jharkhand area due to introduction of gigantic mineral exploitation programs. The poor indigenous tribal communities comprise of 85 percent of total population whose primary occupation, peasantry, got severely affected due to mining and industrialization. The opening of coal mining in Dhanbad area during the second half of the 19th century and the establishment of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in Jamshedpur in Singhbhum district in 1907 marked the beginning of the large-scale exploitation of mineral and other industrial resources in this area. These coal and mining operations on the one hand resulted in land alienation due to displacement and created environmental hazards again causing pollution and hampering agriculture and livelihood of indigenous people in the

region. Similarly Herbert and Dutt (2004) studied the displacement of local people due to World Bank loans granted in order to expand coal industry under Coal India's project and tries to assess resettlement and rehabilitation of project affected people in Jharkhand. They further assessed the issues of equity done to the displaced people, jobs in the company, land resettlement compensation of loss and reclamation of mined land. They found that there are many flaws in the implementation of laws. The displaced people have neither got rehabilitation facilities nor jobs in the company or proper monetary compensation. Sharan (2005) argued that alienation of indigenous people began during the medieval period, but intensified at an unprecedented pace in the colonial period and after independence. He argues that the area being rich in natural resources has attracted considerable investments in mines, industries, hydel projects, irrigation and reservoirs of different sizes. A number of educational and research institutions have also been established here. All these have led to both direct and indirect eviction of adivasi communities. Migration due to urbanisation and industrialisation on the one hand and rural stagnation on the other hand, has put further pressure on the assets of the tribes in the periphery which eventually led to alienation from the homestead land marginalisation also marginalised from mainstream society.

In the recent past there have been number of studies which have highlighted the issue of tribal land acquisition and displacement in the light of globalisation. In the similar context Ghosh (2006) has analysed the displacement of indigenous populations under neo-liberal state policies in India. He has clearly discussed the case of Koel-Karo movement in the state of Jharkhand in eastern India which is 30 year old movement of Munda, Oraon, and other tribal adivasis against construction of two large dams of a hydroelectric project planned on the South Koel and Karo rivers and argues that these projects not only displaces people but affects the indignity of *adivasis*. While focusing on the development induced displacement Ahmad and Dutt (2006) highlights gender aspects of replacement and rehabilitation in Jharkhand and argues that the effects of displacement are not gender neutral rather women get affected the most given the well-demarcated gender roles in indigenous adivasi communities. They argue that

poor tribal women are primarily responsible for collecting the essentials for subsistence such as food, fodder, fuel and water. Therefore, displacement from their homestead land affects the livelihood of these poor families. Similarly, Basu (2008) brought out the likely impacts of setting-up of Arcelor-Mittal steel plant in Jharkhand which requires 12,000 acres of land from five blocks from two districts. Further he argues that lakhs of people from 40 villages will be displaced by the project and the local forests in the villages, the water resources and ecosystems will also be affected leading to worsening tribals.

In a recent article, Rajkishor (2009) examined the displacement and the livelihood of tribal and agriculture dependent poor people in states mineral based industries in the realm of globalisation. He argues that mineral rich states, which are relatively backward regions, have encouraged Multinational Corporations (MNCs) in order to increase export earnings and economic growth. While discussing its impact, the author argues that in the name of modernisation and higher economic development, land has been acquired for large industries and special economic zones in all the mineral rich states. This has resulted in massive displacement of human population, who has been depending upon agriculture as their means of subsistence and led to livelihood insecurities. Further, he provides experience of tribals in different states. In Orissa, the establishment of aluminium and bauxite plants in Koraput and Rayagada district has displaced nearly around four villages due to land acquisition for the projects. This indeed gave rise to anti mining movement to prevent tribals from land acquisition. Further, the payment of compensation, environmental degradation which leads to polluted water and land fertility have affected livelihood negatively. Similarly in Jharkhand, tribal people displaced by the coal mines of Jharkhand have been subjected to livelihood insecurities notwithstanding adequate cash compensation and provision of one job to each of the family. It is evident that the establishment of NTPC has demanded 40000 acres of land which required displacing thousands of families. Another mineral rich state Chattisgarh also had similar experience of Orissa and Jharkhand. The loss of fertility of land and transformation of fertile land into barren land is observed due to mining activities.

While all the studies which have been mentioned so far are confined to the tribal displacement and land alienation in eastern India in general and Jharkhand in particular, there are a few studies which have studied the process of land alienation of tribals in the southern part of India. The former bunch of studies has focused on land alienation and marginalisation due to displacement, the studies in southern part focussed on the process of evolution of land ownership and alienation.

Kunhaman (1985) studied the evolution of hill-tribes in Kerala, their land rights and ownership across all the districts where tribals have been living and tried to compare intrastate variations by using data from State Bureau of Economics and Statistics. Thus, the study found that prevalence of landless peasantry is higher in northern districts of Kerala as compared to the southern districts. However, the author finds that even in the tribal concentrated areas, the major proportion of land is concentrated among non-tribal communities and there exists a divergence between the general wage rate and the wage rate obtained by the tribal farm-labourer, which is attributed to low bargaining power of tribals as compared to others. Finally, author concludes that extent of landlessness and literacy rates play a major role in the wage differentials. In another study by Rao et al (2006), the process of tribal land alienation has been studied in Andhra Pradesh, which is home for 33 tribal communities and accounts for largest tribal population in South India. They found that tribals in Andhra Pradesh state have been deprived of land which is their primary source of livelihood in number of ways starting from money lending by non-tribal trading communities led to land extraction from tribals in case they fail to repay the debts. The policies introduced during colonial period have allowed non-tribal communities to have estates and concentrate by the land-lord and zamindari class. The introduction of state ownership of forests policy has led to loss of access to their agricultural land. Similarly, initiation of developments projects such as irrigation systems, hydroelectric projects and mining operations have led to displacement from their traditional habitat and are deprived of their livelihood.

The studies thus far examined have primarily focussed on the issue of *marginalisation of tribals* due to development projects, which is an outcome of depriving them of land due to number of reasons such as development-induced displacement, exploitation of non-tribal immigrants from other states and changing forest policies. Nonetheless, the studies have not discussed how the development induced land alienation and marginalisation has led to changes in the labour market participation among tribals in general and Jharkhand in particular. There is very meagre literature in this respect dealing with formation of labour market among tribals. Moreover, these studies have focused on history of labour market particularly during colonial and post colonial period which are discussed at length in the following section.

1.2(c) History of Tribal Labour Market

In a study by Das and Banerjee (1964), the case of tribal workers in the tea industry was examined. They found that the tribal labourers in the tea industry had migrated from their native places to Chotanagpur region sometime in early 18th century. They were mainly peasants, but owing to gradual pressure on land, agriculture was found quite inadequate for their livelihood and they started migrating to adjacent areas for supplementary income and settled down there some generation ago. The study has noticed a considerable change in the tribal economy with the inflow of cash, mainly on the material life of these tribals.

Sachchidanand (1973) has observed that in the wake of industrialisation in Chotanagpur tribals have suddenly come into contact with the people coming from all over the country that influenced their socio-economic life in a considerable way. He concluded that the establishment of Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC), Heavy Engineering Corporations (HEC) and other projects were based on the concept of development, even though for tribals in certain cases, the social cost were very high and suffering was great. Industries came because of the availability of raw materials, power etc. thus the concept of development was applicable to the area and not to the local tribal people. In another study, Sachchidanand et.al (1985) has argued that industrialization has disturbed the tribal social organisation. He has discussed in length the impact of

industrialization on loosening tribal solidarity, weakening of family and kinship ties, the debility of the traditional mechanism of social control etc. He found that there has been a breakdown of social structure and the accepted norms of social control became ineffective in regulating the members of a group or community. He argued that not being able to find job in the newly established industries, a sense of dissatisfaction emerged in their mind that affected their social as well as their economic life. They ended up in doing some jobs like beggary, flesh trade, crime etc that were alien to their culture. The whole thing ended up in massive social disorganisation.

Mohapatra (1985) in his study investigates the push and pull factors operational on migrant labourers from Chotanagpur to Assam tea Industry and Jharia coalfields of Manbhum. He showed that in Assam plantation, planter's ability to expand acreage remained more dependent on the amount of labour which came annually to Assam, while the actual amount of labour supply was relatively independent of his need for labour. Similarly case is observed in coalmines where, he found that variation in wage level can hardly explain the variation of average annual employment. While the nominal wages at the coalfields changed very slowly, the average daily employment rose very sharply. Thus, in both the industries push factor worked. However, the impact of pull factor also cannot be ignored because the demand for labour was always there as was evident from the increasing number of mines and massive import of labour into Assam during the colonial period. Hence, both the factors worked together in labour migration (mainly tribals) to these industries. The study also found that seasonal migration to coalfields was associated with the existence of a larger number of agricultural labourers or landless and small peasants. On the other hand, migration to Assam was more from purely peasant households. Although the author has used wage and labour demand-supply to explain the pull factors, but he considered the absence of any significant correlation between wage and labour supply as an indicator of presence of push factors. However, in case of tribals given their attachment with land and traditional practice of agriculture, mere lucrative wages cannot be a sufficient reason for abandoning traditional agriculture and adopting industrial work unless there are other factors that pushes them to do so.

Hence, even with a presence of positive correlation between wage and labour supply, push factors will play a dominant role as far as tribals' migration to industrial sector is concerned. Moreover, the author did not make any attempt to identify the push factors that forced these Chotanagpur tribals to migrate to such far places, leaving their own land and join the labour force. Nevertheless, the recruiting agencies played a very significant role mobilising the tribals to work in the newly developed industries. This aspect was completely ignored in the study.

The study by Dasgupta (1981; 1986) was focused on the historical process of evolution of plantation labour system in the Assam and north Bengal during 1850-1947. He argues that development of plantation system required substantial amount of labour with rudimentary skills are required to clear dense forest, planting, weeding and tea plucking. But the areas in which plantations came to be located were mostly scarce populated needed labour mobility from peasantry. Since there is no significant difference in the incomes from plantation and agriculture and conditions of work in plantation were worse, labour could not mobilise. On the other hand, increasing commercialisation of economic domination has led to massive appropriation of land from tribal groups, leading to insecurities in their livelihood. It was in this context, the destitute tribals were mobilised to plantation areas and employed them for low wages. The study also discusses in detail the indentured system of recruitment followed by the planters to recruit tribals and bind them to the workplace. It argues that the indentured system was adopted to solve the problem of labour shortage by forcing the workers to enter into contract with the company and also to get labourers at a wage rate lower than the wage rate prevailing in other industries. There are many other studies, like Simmons (1976), Carter (1992) Behal and Mohapatra (1992), Sen (2008) that discussed the recruitment system and the role of recruiting agencies in mobilising the tribal labourers to work in plantations.

Sircar (1986) similarly studied the labour-management relations during the period when there are no formal trade unions, political parties and special labour legislations (1839-59). The author argues that Assam company initially recruited labour from Kachari tribe due to proximity of the plantation to their home

districts and free mobility. But continuous bargaining for pushing wages up have resulted in hiring bonded labour from outside. He points that during this time colonial government facilitated planters by introducing restrictive labour legislation. Hence, in the new labour recruitment process various groups of tribals from outside Assam as hilli cooli and boonah. Similarly, in another study Simeon (1999) has examined the condition of workers in India's most productive coalfield, Jharia. The study analyses workers struggles in the coalfields in the colonial India with a brief overview of history of development of mining industry in India in general and in Jharia in particular, and relates to tribal movements in Chotanagpur. He argues that the development of mining industry was primarily a result of expansion of railways in India. Expansion of railways was essential in order to control military operations as well as to facilitate trade. The study admits the importance of tribals from the nearby places (both men and women) in the expansion of mining industry as well as the exploitations in terms of conditions of work, hours of work and wages that these tribals had to suffer for its development. Not only in the mining industry, but tribals had to suffer exploitations from the landlords and moneylenders prior to joining the mining work. The study had identified these exploitations as the root cause of tribal's revolt against the landlords as well as the administration.

However, recently Shah (2006) has studied the factors affecting tribal labour migration to other states by examining a case of Jharkhandi tribal migration to brick kiln in West Bengal. He identifies that landlessness and destituteness of peasantry due to mining and other related activities have posed livelihood insecurities which forced them to migrate from their homeland.

Having examined the literature related on the issues related to tribals' people in general, it becomes evident that there are two major strands of literature. The first school has dealt primarily with the issue of process of tribal land alienation due to factors such as; appropriation of tribal lands by the non-tribal and landlord and *Zamindari* class and displacement of tribals from their native land due to various development projects. Furthermore, they have raised apprehensions on the livelihood insecurities due to alienation. The second strand of literature has

focused on changing policies by the British Empire during the colonial period and its impact on indigenous communities particularly in the Eastern part of India. They have also emphasised on the labour conditions and type of labour market participation during colonial and early post independent India. However, how the process of alienation of tribals from land has resulted in their integration into the labour markets, where again they are marginalised in terms of job opportunities and wages as compared to other communities has not been brought out in the existing literature. Although, studies have given anecdotal statements on these issues, a systematic empirical evaluation is lacking in the existing literature. Therefore, the present study attempts to understand the process of development induced marginalisation from land and labour market of tribals subsequently.

1.3 Analytical Framework

The notion of '*development*' is multifaceted and complex, hence capturing in its entirety is extremely difficult. Hence, often '*development*' is tracked using the lens of a single tractable dimension. For instance, it has been examined through the lens of health conditions, income inequality, educational attainability, political participation of marginalised section, women's participation in economic activities, to name a few. However, it can be argued that participation in the labour market provide them with the basic capabilities to make freer choices in life. In Sen's notion of *development as freedom*, labour market is an apt lens to view the process of development. Hence, in this study, labour market participation of the marginalised tribals is used to analyse the state of development they are in. In the literature, study of the pattern of employment and occupational distribution of population is regarded as one of the most effective ways of measuring economic development/marginalisation among the people (Maitra 1969). Firstly, economic development, by means of industrialization, involves the transformation of society's occupational structure. Secondly, position of a person in occupational hierarchy gives an account of the extent of his/her participation in reaping the benefit (or suffering) of development process. Thus, the pattern of

employment and occupational distribution is perhaps the best way to understand the extent of economic development among those marginalised people.

Since the objective of the present study is to analyse the impact of development on marginalised tribals and their share in the development vis-à-vis other communities, we have chosen Jharkhand region as a case for study which is resource rich in minerals, attracting considerable industrial activities, and also inhabited by a large proportion of tribals. To give a brief account on the state, according to Census of India, 2001, Jharkhand constitutes 26 per cent of tribal population. It also accounts for 2.5 per cent of the total geographical area of the country (Census 2001) and 27.77 per cent of total mineral production of the country (Indian minerals yearbook, 2008-09). The region has attracted a number of projects including dams, power stations, mining and quarrying industries and other industries as well. This region also has a long history of exploitation and revolts against oppressions by the tribals. Till date, the region is known for its Naxalite activities. It is believed that the main reason for the rise of Naxalism is exploitation and subjugation, forced displacement and lack of availability of livelihood opportunities in terms of employment in land or in industries (Das 1975; Singh 1982; Duyker 1987; Kumar 2003).

However, the process of displacement and land alienation among tribals is not a new phenomenon. It has been argued that this community was subjected to various kinds of exploitation and subjugation during the colonial and pre-colonial period as well. Only the extent of exploitation has varied. The changes introduced during the colonial period in the tribal economy have some fundamental impact on life and livelihood of tribal population (Badgaiyan 1983; Bandyopadhyay 1999; Danda 1991). Hence, it is worthwhile looking at the historical process of exploitation that tribals underwent. This will provide a clear understanding of the implications of various processes. The objectives of the present study are twofold.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

- To provide a historical account of the process following which tribals of Jharkhand moved out of communitarian production system and became a part of capitalist labour market.
- To compare the above process and consequent impact on their livelihood strategy, changing occupational structure, composition in the growth of employment, wages etc. compared to non-indigenous community in the post independence era.

The underlying rationale behind analysing changes in labour market from historical perspective can be crystallised into four main issues. First is that, during the early phase of industrial development in the colonial period, the range of economic opportunity available for the tribals were reduced, in effect turning them into a proletariat with no alternative of livelihood other than working for wages. This is discussed in the second chapter. The second issue revolves around the kind of labour market that evolved during the colonial period. The third is whether the evolution of labour market for the tribals can be explained by the theory of '*natural selection*⁵' of efficient or incentive-compatible responses of the industry. The second and third issues are discussed in the third chapter. The fourth issue is to examine whether the evolved labour market has any impact in lessening or exacerbating economic discrimination among different social group and to consequently look at the impact of the above process in employment and occupational distribution of tribal workforce vis-a-vis the non-tribal population, which is discussed in the fourth chapter. The inferences and conclusions came out the discussion in the four issues are summarised in the last chapter.

1.5 Data Sources

There is a major data constraint in the issues related tribal people, their land ownership and occupations, especially during the pre-independence period⁶. The study has drawn data from various sources. There are two major national data

⁵ For details see Grantham, G. (1994).

⁶ Discussed in detail in the data limitation section.

collection agencies which collect information on population and labour force in India. The Registrar General of India conducts the decennial population censuses in the country. The **Census of India** is the oldest data source in India that gives information on population. The first census report was released on 1872 and since then it publishes report in every decade. It is the only reliable data source that provides information on region specific population during colonial India. The census of India provides information on the population and workforce by different social group, sector and gender disaggregated to the level of states, districts and talukas. Workforce participation is provided only in 1981, 1991 and 2001 censuses however, the 2001 Census provides only limited information in this regard.

Apart from Census, we have also used data released by **National Sample Survey**. The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) was set up in 1951; and it furnishes data on employment/unemployment levels right from the very beginning. However absolutely accurate comparison of these figures throughout the length of this period from 1951 to 2003 is not entirely possible. The data collected on employment in its quinquennial employment and unemployment surveys, which are available for the years 1972-73, 1977-78, 1983, 1987-88, 1993-94, 1999-00 and 2004-05, are highly comparable. Apart from this NSSO also collects information on some items on employment and unemployment, as an integral part of the annual series from a smaller sample of households. In its 64th round of the survey, although it was not a part of quinquennial round, sample size was comparable with that of NSS 61st round. This data set provides information on employment in much greater detail. In this study we have used three rounds of NSSO data, 55th round, 61st round and 64th round.

Apart from census of India and NSSO data, data from Economic census (Fifth round, 2005) has also been used to get information on the ownership of enterprises across various social groups. The conduct of economic census is a joint venture by central statistical organisation, Department of Statistics, Government of India and Directorate of Statistics and Evaluation, Government of Jharkhand.

Appendix A

Limitations with Census Data

There were enormous conceptual ambiguities in the enumeration of tribes because of imprecise or ill-defined terms used for been enumerating these people in different censuses. The inter-censal variation in the definition and the terminology adopted further reinforced such ambiguities giving rise to wide fluctuations in the extent of census coverage of these people.

Till 1901 census, the tribals were enumerated along with Hindus. Hence, for the use of data on tribals before 1901 we had to rely on the limited information provided by various government reports, such as statistical handbook, imperial gazetteer of India, District gazetteers etc. Along with government reports, data are also used from various other studies related to this field. Tribals began to be separately enumerated only from the 1901 census. However, the concept of "tribal" kept on changing. They have been recorded under different heads in different censuses. These are shown in Table A1

Table A1: Categories under which tribes were enumerated

| Census | Category |
|--------------|------------------|
| 1901 | Animism |
| 1911 | Animism |
| 1921 | Tribals religion |
| 1931 | Primitive tribes |
| 1941 | Tribes |
| 1951 onwards | Scheduled tribes |

Source: Census reports

Ambivalence regarding the distinction between an animist and a Hindu creates a lot of confusion for the enumerators. In the absence of the clear cut definition as to what animism as and who the animists were, much was left to the judgement of the enumerators. The animists were themselves unconcerned with how they were classified in the census, and so their religion was therefore determined by the census officers.

The confusion created by the use of the term animism was well appreciated and it was sought to be removed by replacing it by the term tribal religion in 1921.

However, this term was not precisely defined either. The use of the term primitive tribes in 1931 gave more clarity to the enumerators. Though the term as such was not unambiguously defined, certain well known characteristics of the primitive tribe such as small group, pre-literate people, pre-agricultural technology, geographical isolation enabled the enumerators in judging the claims of the particular group to be included among primitive tribes. The instructions issued were that, "when a person had no recognised religion such as Hinduism, Christianity etc, the name of his tribe should entered in the column provided for "tribal religion"." The term "animism" used in the previous report has been substitute with the term tribal religion in this report. Hence, tribals who reported to be Hindu or Christian were not reported in tribal religion.

However, the limitations of population figures collected under such broad categories was realised and therefore, tribe wise enumeration have been adopted in the third census of the 20th century. The 1941 census marked a break in the practice of enumerating individual tribes. The emphasis in this census was on the total numbers belonging to tribes, i.e. on collecting the aggregate figures for all the communities. Only in few cases were tribal-wise figures tabulated and presented.

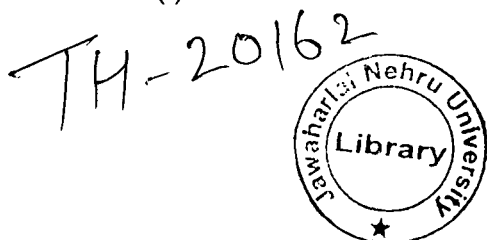
In 1951 the hill tribes were enumerated on the basis of a list of scheduled tribes issued by the president of India in 1950. Whether a particular respondent was a member of a scheduled tribe or not could therefore be determined by the enumerated with reference to this list. However, in the process of tabulation of the data, these details were not taken into account and the only the total number of persons belonging to the group scheduled tribes was worked out and published. The 1961 census went along way in making up for the above mentioned deficiency in the previous two censuses. In addition to the tribe-wise presentation of figures in the case of all persons belonging to any of the scheduled tribes as defined in the notification issued by the president of India, it also contains tables giving the social, cultural and economic characteristics of each scheduled tribes.

An unchanging definition, an officially approved list, and detailed ethnographic studies of 1961 facilitated better coverage and high degree of accuracy in the enumeration of tribes in 1971. However after 1971 the definition remained same and is continuing till date. Hence, while using data for Tribals from Census of India, one has to be cautious about the comparability in different rounds. Another important limitation with Census data is the use of different concepts and definitions for employment and un-employment in different rounds, which makes it difficult to compare data in various rounds.

Till 1951 census, data collected on economic activity of the people was based on income and dependency concept. From the 1961 census onward, the concept of work measured in terms of time or the labour force concept has been followed. In 1961 census, in case of seasonal work, a person was considered as a worker if he/she had some work of more than one hour a day throughout the greater part of the working season. In the case of regular work, the person should have been employed during any of the fifteen days preceding the day on which the enumerator had visited the household.

In 1971 census, every person was asked what his main activity was, i.e. how he/she engaged himself mostly. On the basis of this question the population was divided into two main activities as "workers" and 'non-workers'. The reference period adopted was one week prior to the date of enumeration in the case of regular work. If a person had participated in any such regular work on any one of the days during this reference period and this has been returned as his main activity, the person was categorized accordingly. In the case of seasonal workers, a person's main activity was ascertained with reference to such work in the last one year even if the person was not economically active in the week prior to the enumeration.

In 1981 census, the population was first divided into working and non-working depending on whether the person had worked any time at all during the year preceding the census or not. The latter were termed as non-workers. Then workers were further classified into two broad groups: main and marginal workers. (I) main workers- those who had worked in some economic activity for



the major part of the year, i.e. for a period of six months (183 days) or more; and (ii) marginal workers- those who had worked for some time during the last year, but not for the major part. An attempt was also made to find out whether “those who were non-workers” or “those who were marginal workers” seeking or available for work. Unlike 1971 census, a uniform reference period of one-year preceding the enumeration was adopted for recording activity status in the 1981 census irrespective of whether the activity was seasonal or regular. This is why data from 1981 census is not comparable with any previous round data.

In the 1991 census, a uniform reference period of one year for both seasonal and regular activities was adopted as in 1981 census. But the question of seeking/available for work was asked “only for non-workers”. In case of non-workers seeking/available for work, information whether they are seeking/available for work for the first time or not was also ascertained so as to know the number of entrants to the labour force for the first time. Hence, apart from the data on persons seeking/available for work all other data are comparable. The economic questions asked in 2001 census were same as in 1991. Hence, for analysing employment and workforce, data from 1981 census onwards is commonly used. Despite of this comparability problem, another limitation of census data is that it does not provide information on occupational distribution (NCO Classification) of the workforce in different industries across social groups. Data on wages and other remunerations as well as working days in any reference period is also not provided by census of India. Hence, in order to fill the data gap, data from NSS has been used.

CHAPTER 2

EMERGENCE OF TRIBAL LABOUR MARKET

"History matters. It matters not just because we can learn from the past, but because the present and the future are connected to the past by the continuity of a society's institutions. Today's and tomorrow's choices are shaped by the past."

D.C. North (1990 p. vii)

2.1 Introduction

Institutional economists argue that history plays a significant role in present economic outcomes (North 1990; Acemoglu et al. 2001¹; Nunn and Wantchekon 2009²). Moreover, a number of writers on imperialism and development believed that, there is an enduring link between colonialism and underdevelopment (Habib 1985; Roy 2002; Iyer 2010). Hence, to comprehend the developmental discourse of the tribes of India, it is important to understand its roots from the colonial past. The historical process of transformation of tribal occupational structure can give a comprehensive understanding of the process of marginalization as fallout of induction of the indigenous communities into the labour market. It has been long argued in the literature that, the roots of marginalization of tribals have its long history in the exploitative production relation that they suffered with their colonial masters through the transfer of resources (Tripathy et al. 2008; pp. 180). In a study, Gottheil (1977) defined the colonial system as "extra economic" "hegemonial" relation that was designed exclusively for exploitation. The colonial policies led to a partial integration of tribals to modern economy that led to a transformation in the economic life as well as in the occupational shift of tribals (Nanda 1987; Nair 1987). Further,

¹ Acemoglu et al (2001) looked at the impact of institutions on economic development. The idea being that Colonial power established two typed of colonies, one extractive and one for permanent settlement. They argued that in high settlers' mortality region, colonist established extractive rent seeking institutions while in other areas they established growth promoting institutions. Thus areas with historically favourable institutions developed better present day institutions which resulted in current economic prosperity and the reverse was for extractive colonies.

² Nunn and Wantchekon (2009) showed that slavery in Africa had a negative effect on trust of individual on their relatives; own ethnic group, other ethnic groups, village council and that lower level of trust caused by slavery deteriorated the institutional framework thus leading to underdevelopment.

Nanda (1987) argues that, tribals who never experienced selling their labour power till eighteenth century are present in almost all corners of labour market in the current era.

The whole phenomenon of tribals' participation in labour market involves two major set of factors. First, from the supply side; due to dearth of livelihood opportunities owing to colonial agrarian policies and regulation on the forest resources tribals were compelled to move out of communitarian system and search for employment elsewhere. Secondly, the development initiatives introduced by colonial regime such as setting up of industries, railroad construction and mining generated demand specifically for tribal labour largely owing to their compromised positions within the labour market following land alienation.

This chapter attempts to explain the historical process³ that has compelled tribals to move out of their traditional communitarian system and search for employment elsewhere. The objective is to identify the factors that have contributed to marginalization of the tribals from their land, which in turn compelled them to move out of their self-sufficient communal system and to seek employment in individualistic world.

During the Mughal period, markets were still under barter system and highly segregated to a large extent. There were many regional markets that remained isolated from each other, owing to high cost of transportation. Bullock Carts were the only and very rare means of transportation. Means of transportation and communication was not developed enough for long distance trade. Under such circumstances, long distance trade of food grains was difficult. The regional demand for commodity was limited and hence the production was only to a level of subsistence. Only expensive goods with little weight such as textiles were

³ Due to paucity of reliable information it is difficult to explain the complete evolution of the tribal labour market transformation in Jharkhand. It is difficult to empirically explain transitions of their primitive egalitarian agrarian society to modern industrial society with the available data and the reports as they are available only after the second half of 19th century. Although, the census reports from 1871 to 2001 and other government reports give some information on the transition of this tribal economy, but formulating a coherent path of transition is difficult. Hence, to give a formulation of the historical account of the process, apart from these reports this chapter will also review some of the other relevant studies.

traded over long distances, but the demand was very limited due to high cost of production that resulted in high prices (Rothermund 1993). The production was carried out on a small scale basis using traditional methods in small traditional industries. In these industries machinery, size, regulation and hierarchical management played no significant role; hence, there was not much room for exploitation (Rothermund 1993; pp. 4). Major traditional industries that existed during that period include handloom textiles, leather manufactures, metal utensils, pottery, food processing, woodwork and carpets and shawls (Roy 2002). Although, these industries were essentially labour intensive, the demand for labour was not very high primarily because these industries were mainly family based, with few hired labourers and production was limited.

On the other hand, British rule was colonial, the colony serving as a source of income for the motherland. The major interest of the East-India Company controlled by the British government was the extraction of maximum surplus from the colonies. In order to extract this surplus, they have exploited both the natural resources as well as the human resources of the country. The primary method of surplus extraction that the British government adopted during the 18th century was the levy of high tax on land revenue. The British government emphasised on expansion of agriculture and cultivation of commercialized crops as well as introduced the Permanent Settlement Act to define private property rights over land. In tribal villages as well, through various land settlement acts, private property over land was established leading to a development of market for land. In order to extract more land rents, tribals were forced to abandon their traditional shifting form of cultivation and adopt settled agriculture techniques.

The second method of surplus extraction that the colonial government adopted during the nineteenth century was the policy of raw material extraction. By the end of the eighteenth century the company discovered the enormous deposits of mineral in the eastern tribal belts. Effective utilization of mineral resources required greater degree of direct rule. Therefore the colonial government, for supporting the industrial development, intervened in the process and established its own control over these regions. Government intervened in the administration

of the mineral rich regions in the eastern India, altered the land tenure system and extracted maximum possible rent. The colonial intervention in this region was justified by the colonial discourse under the benefits that it offered to the local population in terms of protecting them from two dangers; namely, the loss of agricultural land owned by the tribal people to "more civilized sections of the population" and the "wiles of the money-lender" (Prakash 1999). Consequently, a policy of protection and isolation was adopted.

The critics argue that the main aim towards the policy of protection and isolation was to establish a greater control over the resources as well as the mineral reserves of the region (Prakash 1999). The introduction of these policies brought the tribals into the mainstream of the new administrative set-up, policy and programmes; put an end to the political dominance of the tribes in the region; and restricted them from the use of resources as well as forest of the region (Singh, 1978). Thereafter, colonial government vigorously promoted the expansion of the mining and plantation sector while industrial development received a low priority (Kaur 2004). Moreover, tariff structure ruled out protection against manufacturing imports and limited the possibilities for the development of a viable manufacturing sector. A pattern of trade was thus established whereby the Southern and Southeast Asian countries including India produced primary commodities in exchange for manufacturing goods from the industrialized centres (Kaur, 2004; pp. 33).

Mining industries, by nature are highly labour intensive and mostly require unskilled labourers. Hence, one of the major constraints in front of the East-India Company was the availability of abundant and cheap labour. The situation was similar in the tea plantation. The tea plantation sector that developed much earlier than the mining industries was also looking for steady supply of cheap labourers for its expansion. Hence, the planters and the miners, fully supported by the power of the government turned their eyes on the major "labour catchment areas"⁴ for recruitment of cheap labour.

⁴ This term is borrowed from Latita Chakraborty (1978), "Emergence of an Industrial Labour Force in a Dual Economy." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 15(3): 249-327."

Since, the control over the land was already established and the region was already characterized by the presence of oversupply of labour in agriculture; the only job that the government had to do was to push these labourers from agriculture to the emerging industries. Hence, the traditional occupational distribution of work force was destroyed to the extent necessary. Given that communal system of production relations and the association with land was the mainstay of most of these tribal groups, intervention in the land relation assumed high priority. The owners of land were expropriated from their lands; in a way that they rendered 'surplus', free from obligations to work on the land (Badgaiyan 1986). This labour force was then transported on to the plantation and other industrial establishment and forced to work under repressive conditions.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas evolved as a major labour catchment area for unskilled workers during that period (Chakravarty 1978; Haan 1995). The tribals were already in vulnerable conditions that they had to between survival or starvation and death. Hence, these opportunities appeared as a boom to them. However, the situation seriously weakened the bargaining power of labour (Gupta 1981 and Gupta 1986). In such a state of affairs the colonial employers enjoyed monopsonistic position backed by the imperial government and they found it feasible to take advantage of the powerlessness of labour to get cheap labour for the newly developing industries (Gupta 1981).

Further, the process led to massive migration of tribals from Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas to different parts of the country. In the late 1800s, Bengal, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Assam, Bhutan and even Burma attracted migrants from Jharkhand. These 'aboriginal', 'tribal' or 'jungli' hill people of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas were preferred in railway and road-building projects, and especially tea plantations, where they were considered 'more industrious and tractable than other classes' (Badgaiyan 1986).

The rapid loss of land by the tribals and the general collapse of economies based on shifting modes of cultivation is thus an important element in the origin of

migration and emergence of labour market among tribals (Bates et.al., 1992; pp.243). Hence, it is worthwhile to look at the changing land relations during the pre-colonial and colonial period. This chapter is broadly divided into four sections: Section 2.1 will give a brief historical account of the changes in land relations in Chotanagpur region and Santal Parganas, separately, during the pre-colonial and colonial period. Since the land relations are directly linked with the changing land tenure system, it will be worthwhile to briefly look into the changing land tenure system during the colonial period. Hence, the section 2.2 will focus on the changing land tenure system during the colonial period. Primarily, the forces that emerged from the changing political and land revenue system gave rise to the pre-conditions for the tribals to participate in the labour force; the section 2.3 will try to give an account of those forces that compelled tribals to search for employment outside their communitarian economy. Finally, in the last section chapter will end with concluding remarks.

Jharkhand, as it now constitutes, comprised of two districts of the colonial period: Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas. Although, both the regions are predominantly tribal, the process of historical of transformation is, to a certain extent, different from each other.

2.2 A History of Land Relations in Chotanagpur

There is a clear divide in the land ownership and rights on the land in the pre-colonial and colonial period which are clearly elaborated in this section

The Pre-Colonial and Mughal Period

There are no historical accounts available on the antiquity of the early tribal settlements in Chotanagpur region. Mundas are arguably the first tribal group that marched into the region and settled there (Weiner 1978). Following them other tribal groups also marched and settled into the region. However, tribals were the first to clear soil, became the first owners of land and they meant to keep its ownership for themselves and for their descendants (Srivastava 1981). They organised themselves into independent village communities, and each

village community was a proprietary body owing all the land inside the village boundary. They had a highly democratic form of government.

For centuries these tribals remained isolated from the outside world, and built their own social, administrative and political system. Since, these tribes were primarily agriculturist; ownership of land had a very important place in this system. They used to clear a part of the forest, cultivate it and settle there for four to five years (Singh 1969). One, who cleared the land and settled, was regarded as the owner of the land. Normally, a group of families or a village used to clear the land and establish their ownership rights over the land. The chief or the 'Manki' was the representative of the corporate village group and the villagers held equal rights in cultivated produce and jungle land. A statistical account of Bengal, vol. 16 describes the village organisation in following manner:

"They had no raja when they first occupied the Chutia Nagpur (Chotanagpur). They formed a congeries of small confederate states. Each village had its chief. The villages had its own staff of officers, and the organisation that they had descended from primitive times was very complete. The country was divided into groups of twelve or more villages, called parhas, each under a headman. The headmen had no superior rights in the land cultivated by other villagers. They were not landlords but chiefs, and they and the people acknowledging them held the soil they cultivate in virtue of their being the heirs of those who first utilised it (page 270)."

Consequently, with lapse of time the chief of the corporate villages "Manki" began to be called as "Raja⁵". However, the rights to the "Raja" remained the same as of "Manki". He was not allowed to interfere in the village administration which was considered a family matter. The Raja had no claim over the property of village. He only received some periodical contributions (grains, forest produce, and services) during ceremonial occasions and war periods. However, in the course of time these occasional presents were converted into a fixed tribute (Srivastava 1992).

Sometime in the latter part of 16th century, the region came under the influence of the Mughal Empire and the Raja was reduced to a position of tributary chief (Weiner, 1978; Badgaiyan 1986; Gosh 1991). One descendent of this Manki,

⁵ A title used by Non-Tribal kings in the nearby regions.

Durjan Sal, was imprisoned by the *Mughals* for his failure to pay tributes in time and was kept in prison for twelve years with the Hindu rulers; on his return from the Gwalior jail in 1760 he surrounded himself with Hindu courtiers and mercenaries whom he made *Jagirdars* of tribal villages with the right to collect and enjoy taxes from those villages (Badgaiyan, 1986; Gosh, 1991). This was also a period of recurrent warfare among the *Rajas* and independent chiefs of bordering districts and the invasions were so frequent that it became necessary for the rulers to contrive some defensive methods. Hence, to keep a number of partisans ready at a moment's notice, gave rise to the tradition of granting *Jagirs* to powerful non-tribal chiefs (Cuthbert 1846). Although, from the nature of these feudal tenures, *Jagirs* were originally granted solely in consideration of military services, yet services of a civil and religious nature were afterwards similarly rewarded at the pleasure of the superior (Cuthbert, 1846). Gradually foreigners were introduced, to whom lands were assigned for military services, in return who assisted or supported the *Raja* during wars and Brahmans were encouraged by grants of villages to settle in the country, and to aid in civilising it after their fashion (Statistical account of Bengal, Vol.16). In order to reward them with land, tribal owners were dispossessed of the land that they had owned for generations (Badgaiyan, 1986). To generate surplus from these villages, the *Jagirdars* started collecting gifts and fixed tributes. Thereafter a landlord-peasant system or *Zamindari* system was established, with the Hindu raja and non-tribal landlords collecting rent and paying revenue to their Mughal rulers (Weiner, 1978).

The immigrant *Jagirdars* and *Thikadars* in the course of time introduced land rent (in kind called *rukumats*) in Chotanagpur region and gradually the original inhabitants of the land were reduced to a position of rent-paying tenants. Sometimes, for their inability to pay rent or reluctance, they were alienated from their land or were forced to work as beggar (forced labour) to new masters. The situation aggravated further when the *Raja* began granting villages on temporary lease (*thika*). These leaseholders (*thikadars*) soon followed the example of the *Jagirdars* and ousted the aboriginals from their villages (Srivastava 1981). Thus, the whole system reduced the tribal peasants to mere cultivators of land, paying rent to the masters, landlords who in turn paid a share to Mughal emperor. However,

these payments were relatively small and once made the tribals were left free to pursue their own mode of life.

By the middle of the 18th century the communitarian adivasi society began to lose its own distinctive qualities under the influence of a larger Hindu society (Gosh, 1991). Tribals in these regions, who were isolated from the mainstream society, were living in a condition of natural economy-producing coarse grain through shifting cultivation just enough for family consumption, and supplementing their diet with fruits gathered from the forests. However, the immigration of high caste Hindus demolished their egalitarian economy. Its disintegration was facilitated by the introduction of social division of labour in the form of caste system by the pressure from immigrant Rajputs, Brahmins and other high caste Hindus and the exploitation of these newly emerging Mahajans Thikadars and *zamindars* completely scattered "adivasi economy" (Weiner, 1978). The vicious grip of moneylenders over the tribals aggravated the problem. The Muslim regime exploited them to the fullest extent, burdened them through excessive taxation, and treated them cruelly during collection or default of payment (Lal 1995). Chotanagpur, which was predominantly an egalitarian society up to the seventeenth century, got sharply divided among class lines into producers of surplus and the appropriators of surplus in the late 18th century (Badgaiyan, 1986). The tribals remained the producers of surplus; but now had to accept the superimposition of the non-tribal appropriation of surplus on them. Thus, during the pre-colonial period two important changes were seen; first, there was colonisation and establishment of settlements (bhums) by peasant castes, who were encouraged by the Mughal rulers and *Zamindars* to reclaim lands. Second, and most importantly, witnessed the rise of the State as a result of the imposition on the Rajput and Mughal rules into the tribal system.

The Colonial Period

East India Company took over the jurisdiction of Chotanagpur in 1765 and by the end of the 18th century and it was incorporated into the British system of administration, with its court, police and revenue administration (Weiner, 1978, pp. 147, Srivastava 1992, pp.66). For some years after the acquisition, the Raja was

allowed to administer the territory as the chief of tributary Mahal; however later in 1816 or 1817, the Rajas were deprived of magisterial powers. The estate was placed under the magistrate of Ramgarh (A statistical account of Bengal, vol. 16). The East India Company began to regard the revenue collectors or *Zamindars* and *Jagirdars* as landlords. This system introduced a new feature of direct payment of land revenue by the cultivators, that too in cash. British administration introduced a permanent legal and administrative structure to ensure regular and smooth collection of revenue. The traditional right of tribals over land and forest as well as traditional administration disappeared. In 1793 permanent settlement act of Lord Cornwallis was introduced and legalised the individual proprietorship in land.

The new administration introduced a new wave of non-tribals into the tribal areas in the form of police, revenue and forest officials. With the permanent settlement act, replacement of incompetent *Zamindars* started due to non-payment of revenue and taxes. To be able to pay in a lump sum, most of the tribal *Jagirdars* had to borrow each from the contractors at interest rates; in the process, they often found their lands forfeited to the contractors as debt payment and they also lost their *Zamindari* (Singh 1996). These tribal *Zamindars* were then replaced by non-tribal *Zamindars*. New *Zamindars* introduced a new method of rent payment which, tribals are ought to pay a fixed amount to the landlords (*Zamindars*); who in turn had to pay a fixed sum to the company. The tribals were reduced to the position of tenants to the respective Zamindar and were burdened with a series of taxes imposed by the landlords and the East India Company (Choudhury et.al. 1986). With the establishment of regular administration, the pace of the colonisation of the tribal regions which had begun in the medieval period, as mentioned earlier, was accelerated. For instance, between 1871 and 1931, the incidence of immigration rose from 96,000 to 307,000 to Chotanagpur alone. In this process the tribals rose against the landlords and disturbances occurred in various parts of the state (Weiner, 1978). A Statistical account of Bengal, vol. XVI (page 59) describes "A continuous stream of Hindustani settlers from Bihar has for many years been pouring into the district, through the passes in the hills that define the frontier to the north. Most of them were

probably men of low caste, with spurious pretensions to Brahmin or Rajput blood. They were in fact the surplus population of the rich plains of Gaya and Monhyr forced up into the more sterile platform of 'Chutia Nagpur'."

Table 2.1: Trend of In-migration in Chotanagpur (1881-1951)

| Year | Total No. of immigrants | Percentage of Total Population | Percentage share of total immigrants coming from | | | |
|------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|--|-------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| | | | North Bihar | Adjacent province | Other province | Outside India and Europe |
| 1881 | 143759 | 4.56 | 65.02 | 28.7 | 6.15 | .10 |
| 1891 | 132358 | 3.33 | 60 | 32.1 | 7.6 | .26 |
| 1901 | 133441 | 2.72 | 53.2 | 42.9 | 3.6 | .36 |
| 1911 | 191279 | 3.41 | 45.6 | 51.4 | 2.6 | .41 |
| 1921 | 235286 | 4.16 | 44.4 | 48.4 | 7.07 | 0.97 |
| 1931 | 254435 | 4.96 | 35.6 | 54.9 | 7.9 | 1.5 |
| 1941 | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |
| 1951 | 506757 | 5.93 | 37.7 | 39.05 | 10.56 | 12.7 |

Source: Ekka (2000)

With the massive influx of non-tribals into the region, the plight of tribals increased. Particularly the oppression by the *Zamindars* and the money-lenders and also the British military compelled the tribals to revolt against them. Although the revolt was suppressed by the British government but it had a far reaching impact. After the suppression of the Kol rebellion of 1831-32 this tract was exempted by regulation 13 of 1833 from the operation of the general laws and regulations. In 1854 the administration of the province moved to lieutenant-governor of Bengal and was administered as non-regulation province (a province exempted from the operation of the Government regulations and governed instead by a commission under the direct authority of the Governor General in Council). The commissioner exercised general control over the region.

However, the plight of tribals in Chotanagpur did not end here. These tribals were mainly agriculturist. Because of the low quality of soil, the production from agriculture was not sufficient to sustain their livelihood. Earlier they used to complement their food basket with the forest products, and also used to earn by selling the forest produce in the market. But different forest acts introduced by the British government excluded tribals from using these forests (Damodaran 2007). Also the recurrent famines of 1868-69, 1873-74, 1893-94 and 1918 added to the misery of these tribals. The severest was in 1897 when the death rate rose to

36.40 per mile (Choudhury, et. al. 1986). Money-lenders took the benefit of the situation and continued grabbing tribal's holdings.

2.3 A History of Land Relations in Santal Parganas

Like Chotanagpur, the history of *Santal Parganas* is also well documented in the literature. All the historical writings on *Santal Parganas* (Badgaiyan 1986, Weiner 1978, Singh 1978) and government reports such as; Bengal District Gazetteers, A statistical account of Bengal vol. 14, and The Imperial Gazetteer of India etc. has well authenticated it. In order to bring out the history of land relations in Santal Parganas, anecdotes from the literature and various governments reports are used.

The colonial period

The district of *Santal Parganas* was covered with forest in the beginning of 19th century. Of late, during 1820s, the *Santals* began to venture and settle down after clearing the jungle. However, *Santals* were not the first to settle in the soil of *Santal Parganas*; *Paharias* were staying in the forest tracts of the region much before the *Santals* and other people. The forest tracts were occupied by the tribals as the plains were occupied with other high caste Hindus and Muslims. The *Muhammadan* rulers had not attempted to interfere in the affairs of *Paharias*; in fact, they granted *zamindari* and *jagirdari* to tribal chiefs to repel incursions into the plains. In this regard, repressive measures were at first attempted by the British administration during 1771 to 1778 but did not succeed. Between 1779 and 1789 Augustus Cleveland succeeded by gentler means in winning the confidence of the *Paharias* and reducing them to order. He allotted stipends to the tribal headmen, established a corps of hill-rangers recruited among the *Paharias*, and founded special tribunals presided over by tribal chiefs. The government took practical possession of the *Paharia* hills from the *Zamindars* who had previously been their nominal owners. The tract was therefore not dealt with at the permanent settlement; and finally in 1823 government asserted its right over the hills and the fringes of uncultivated country.

A superintendent was appointed in 1835; and he encouraged the *Santals*, who had begun to enter the country around 1820s, to clear the jungle and bring the valleys under cultivation. The main motive of the government was to clear the jungles for laying railway tracts and *Santals* were known for their diligent nature towards work. As the forest clearing activity started, the *Paharias* had to move hills to take shelter. With increasing *Santal* migration, some of them started moving to hills also. Sinha (1993) wrote that there were 3000 *Santals* in the hills in 1838, the figure rose to 83,265 *Santals* in 1851. In the hills there were no *Zamindars* and the tribals did not have to pay any rents. On the other hand the *Santals* and other tribals, staying in the plains or 'skirts of the hills' / '*Damin-i-koh*', had to pay rents to the *Zamindars*.

Describing the village organisation of *Santal* village, The Imperial Gazetteer of India states:

"The whole number of villages comprising a local settlement of the tribe is divided into certain large groups, each under the superintendence of a parganait or circle headman. This official is the head of the social system of the inhabitants of his circle; his permission has to be obtained for every marriage and in consultation with a panchayat of village headmen, he expels or fines persons who infringe the tribal standard of propriety. Each village has, or is supposed to have, an establishment of officials holding rent-free land. The chief of these is the manjhi or headman, who is also ijaradar where the village is held on lease under a zamindar, he collects rents, and allots land among the ryots, being paid for this by the proceeds of the land which he holds free of rent. The promanik, or assistant headman, also holds some land. The jog-manjhi and jog-pramanik are executive officers of the manjhi and the pramanik 'sit and give orders' which the jog-manjhi and jog-pramanik carry-out" (page 68).

Following *Santals*, *Bihari* and *Bengali* mahajans (money-lenders) also came to settle in the skirts of the hill. These money-lenders introduced the usury among the tribals and tribals starting taking loans (which was given at an exorbitant rates) from the money-lenders in order to pay for the rent and other social expenses like for marriage, child birth etc. For the failure of repaying, these money-lenders started engulfing the tribal lands. In the annual report for 1882, the DC Oldham observed that "the *bazar* traders of Dumka had gradually absorbed all the *Santal* settlements in the vicinity and that a considerable portion of the lands of cultivators had passed into the hands of creditors" (McPherson

1909; pp.45). By 1845, the reports of *Pontet*, the superintendent of the Santal Parganas, to the commissioner, started reflecting signs of growing oppression and discontent with existing policies, culminating in June 1855 in an open rebellion, or '*hul*'. (Guha 1983; pp..27).

Describing the situation *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Vol. XXII, page 65) explains:

"The Santal was simple and improvident, the mahajan extortionate. The Santals found the lands which they had reclaimed passing into the hands of others owing to the action of law courts; and in 1855, starting with the desire to revenge themselves on the Hindu money-lenders; they found themselves arrayed in arms against the British government. The insurrection was repressed. Regulation XXXVII of 1855 removed the area of the present district from the operation of the general regulations and placed in the hands of special officers under the control of the Lieutenant-governor. The jurisdiction of the ordinary courts was suspended."

The growing oppression and suppression led to the "*Hul*" (Santal Rebellion). The government was unable to control and police these tracts, hence, allowed some autonomy in systems of resource control and decision-making, conditional on regular revenue payments (MacDougall 1985). However, that did not help the tribals much because soon, rents were enhanced and money-lenders manipulated courts to gain legal title over their debtors' possessions. After the *hul* Jharkhand, when the adivasis borrowed money, the mahajans, afraid now to mortgage in land, encouraged them to cut trees to repay debts. Most forests in the Santal Parganas were destroyed in the 1970s and, therefore, this period also saw struggles over forest and water rights (Rao 2003).

The discussion on the changing land relations in both Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas provides the ways in which tribals have lost their rights and ownership, created livelihood insecurities, which further forced to seek alternative livelihood strategies. From the discussion it is evident that the tribals from the adjacent regions begin swarming in for settled cultivation in the area. They clean the dense forests by mere axes and start settling in cultivation. Of late, tribals of this region are deprived of land due to various factors. Firstly, the introduction of direct payment of land revenue to Zamindars and Jagirdars had led to pauperisation of tribals. Because, of the low quality of soil, production was not

sufficient to meet their needs and pay revenue. In addition, small tribal peasants could not meet the lump sum amount of rent to be paid with the production. The introduction of these land policies by British forced tribals into destitution. Second major factor is that, vast immigration of non-tribals from the neighbouring states to both the regions has put pressures on land occupancy. They tried to occupy tribal lands and get ownership rights. The third important part of land alienation of tribals in both places was through money lending, the instrument through which Bengalis, Biharis and other people used to grab these lands that have been rendered cultivable by the sweat of the tribals. It was during the time when British introduced the concept of revenue payment in the form of money (the concept which was completely alien to tribals), the poor tribals often borrowed money from money-lenders in order to pay lump-sum revenue. As the production by the poor tribal peasants was not sufficient to repay the money, in most cases their land was appropriated by the money-lenders. The loss of land was not only to money-lenders, but also to the British government who grabbed a huge portion of this land in the name of developing mining and railways under eminent domain act (special right over the land and the forest). This process gave rise to several revolts from tribals however; these were ruthlessly suppressed by the British government. Although government implemented various regulations with a view to protect the tribals from alienation of land and to deter any further tribal rebellions, no regulations proved any good result. Tribal land alienation continued in some form or the other. The major factor contributing to land alienation process was change in land relations during the period through bringing changes in the land tenure system. The change in the land tenure system and mode and amount of rent payment introduced during the period inevitably added to the pauperization of the tribals of this region.

2.4 Changes in the Land tenure System

The tenure system of Chotanagpur that evolved during the nineteenth century, as given in the statistical account of Bengal, vol.14 and 16, can be divided into four classes:

- 1) *Manjihis* or *manjhas*

- 2) *Rajhas*,
- 3) *Bethkheta*, and
- 4) *Bhuinhari*

Manjihias: The *manjihias* land was always held by the landlord or lessee; if let out on rent, a higher rate than that paid for ordinary *rajhas* land was taken. No length of occupation of *manjihias* gives any right to the occupier. The landlord or his assignee has an indefeasible right to hold it *khas*; and he is entitled to get help from his rayats in its cultivation. Each must work for him three days' ploughing, three days' digging, three days' planting, three days' cutting; occasionally four days work is the complement, and three days' weeding is added. Some maintain that the landlord is bound to give an allowance of food. Nonetheless, but this was not customary, except at the time of planting, when the women and children of the *rayats* assist, and they get an allowance equal to the amount of seed planted; and again at the harvest, a small sum used to be distributed as drink-money. When the landlord does not keep the *manjihias* in his own hands, an arrangement called *saika* is made, under which the *rayats* cultivate the land themselves and give a certain pre-arranged quantity of grain to the landlords.

Rajhas: These are the rent-paying tenure. This is more or less similar to the case of *Manjihias* where the holder has no occupancy right over the land, irrespective of the length of possession. The rate of rent levied was entirely at the discretion of the landlord; and beyond the actual money rent no cesses or *begari* labour is due from the holder.

Bethkheta: In villages where the amount of *majhihas* is large, each *rayat* who is not a *bhuinhar* has a small piece of inferior low rice land allotted to him. For this, he has to give more than the regulation number of days' ploughing etc. In fact until the *manjihias* cultivation is completed, he was not allowed to touch the *bethkheta*. Further, there was no rent paid on this land and they are not given right of occupancy as well.

Bhuinhari: The holders of these tenures are the *bhuinhars*, who are supposed to be the descendants of those pioneers who turned the first soil in the village, the tribals. In the beginning, the clearers of land were considered as the owners and they did not pay any rent. When the Hindu landlords came, they started taking *salami* from the villagers for marriage, wars etc. However, as the condition of the country changed, the services were also changed. They started extracting rents from these villages and by the end of 19th century, half-rents were imposed. Since the land were of low quality, it was difficult for the *Bhuinhars* to pay the rents and then survive on the remaining produce. Landlords took the benefit of this and converted the *bhuinhari* land to *rajhas*. This led to huge cry among the tribals and they rose against their landlords/ *Jagirdars*. To pacify the situation, government passed the Chutia Nagpur Tenure Act, 1869, for the determination and measurement of the actual amount of land held under this tenure and the *manjihahas*, *bethkheta* and *rajhas*.

Chutia (Chota) Nagpur Tenure Act, 1869 introduced two new features. First, they allowed these tenures to be transferred, whereas they were only hereditary within limited degree of relationship; and secondly, they permitted the services to be commuted to a money payment. This act aggravated the plight of the tribals. Because tribals were drink-loving and careless people by nature who never had any exposure to individualised society; they were easily trapped by the moneylenders into huge debts, and they were repaid by their lands. Moneylenders were no longer deterred from buying lands from these tribals. The second law was a serious loss for landlords because now they had pay wages to the *bhuinhars* on the account of commutation for working in *Manjihahas* land. After this act, the only liabilities to the tenures were the rent.

Even after all these legislation transfer of land continued. *Manjihahas* lands were converted into *Rajhas* and *Manjihahas* tenures. The British government also started considering the Zamindars as landlords. Hence, in the process owners became tenants. Many were ejected even from their tenancies. They were deprived of their ownership as well as tenorial rights over the land which their forefathers had cleared and which they had cultivated for generations. Those still

enjoying tenurial rights were subjected to frequent rack-renting and a number of praedial exactions (Badgaiyan, 1986). In spite of the abolition of all customary payments to the *Zamindars* and *Jagirdars*, the extraction continued in Chotanagpur throughout the nineteenth century (Badgaiyan 1986).

The settlement system in Santal Parganas was different from any other regulation districts in Bengal, including Chotanagpur. Bengal Gazetteers for Santal Parganas gives the following account:

Under the provision of Santal agrarian law, rents are settled by officers of government; when once settled they remain unchanged for a period of 15 years unless enhancement is allowed by the Deputy Commissioner on account of improvements effected by or at the expense of the proprietor. The first special rent law of the Santal Parganas was Regulation III of 1872, which was the result of an agrarian agitation directed chiefly against excessive and arbitrary enhancement of rents by the zamindars. Under this settlement operation, no detailed measurement of the holdings was attempted in 'community' villages (Santal villages), but the total area of the village was estimated by local inspection. The distribution of the total rental among individual ryots was left to the panchayat of the villagers. The rates fixed for the different classes of land were less than those in the adjoining zamindari estates, but the benefit was not extended to the non-santal cultivators (page 185-187).

Between 1770 and 1784, the British developed a system under the collectorship of Cleveland whereby the Paharias were exempted from the payment of land revenue; but in return were responsible for restraining their people from raiding the plains. The Paharias were given certain internal autonomy of following their own way of life and hill rangers were raised from among the Paharias and non-paharias were not allowed to settle in the forest area. In 1820, the Santals began to settle in on the forest hills and on the skirts of the hill. The British encouraged the settlement of Santals in this region to clear the forest. But they were not exempted like the paharias from paying revenue to the government. Damin-i-koh or the forest tracts were considered the government state and the chiefs of the Santal villages were held responsible for collection of rent and paying it to government. In this way they were given some sort of autonomy to run their own life and economy. However, the imposition of monetary system changed their economy forever. Earlier they used to pay tributes to their raja in terms of kind, which was of course not a compulsion.

But now they had to pay rent in monetary terms and these rents were compulsory. Among tribals the concept of saving was alien to their economy (Nanda, 1987). Hence, paying the rent in monetary terms became difficult for them. They started taking money from the non-tribals to repay the loan and for other businesses like wedding etc.

Money-lenders trapped Santals into debts and used to get their property attached. The rate of interest charged was sometimes to the extent five hundred per cent per annum and many Santals ran deep into debt so much that they became bonded labour for life which was made hereditary. Under regulation III of 1872, a settlement officer made a settlement of the whole district between the years 1873 and 1879, defining and recording the rights and duties of landlords and tenants, and also fixing fair rents wherever required. One of the results of this settlement was to preserve the Santal village community system, under which the village community as a whole holds the village lands and has collective rights over the village waste; these rights which have failed to secure recognition elsewhere in Bengal, were recorded and saved from encroachment. As regards villages not held by a community, the custom prevailed of leasing them to *mustajirs*, a system which led to great abuses, and there was also a tendency for the *zamindars* to treat the *Santal manjhi* as though he were but a lessee or *mustajir*. By the police rules of 1856 a mandal or headman was elected for each village where the zamindar's mustajir was not approved by the Magistrate and villagers (page 75, Imperial gazetteer of India, Vol.XXII).

O'Malley also pronounced that the government provided protection to these tribals in terms of rent as well as land alienation from the *zamindars* and the money-lenders. However, instances can be seen from Hunters writing on tribals moving out of their villages and searching for employment in construction of railways, collieries and tea plantation. Sinha (1993) pointed out that from 1854 when construction started on the railways from Calcutta to Patna, a large number of tribals turned out for employment. The demand for worker was also more because of their hard working nature. To quote Hunter:

“The contractors sent their recruiters to every fair, and in a few months the Santals who had taken service came back with their girdles full of coin, and their women covered with silver jewellery, “*just like Hindus*” as their astonished clans-people remarked. Every man, woman and child could get work and boys of ten earned higher wages on the line than men had earned in the village. It was then that the distinction between slave (i.e. bonded servants) and the free man began to make it felt. The entire free population who had no land of their own, went forth with their women and children, their bows and arrows in their hands, and the national drum tattooing in their front, to work for few months on the railway, and then to return and buy land. (Page: 235)”

The tribal land laws, framed in the background of the rebellions, incorporated new agrarian concepts. For instance, the idea of the prevention of alienation of tenure/land could be traced to the Wilkinson Rules (1833). The provision against usury appeared in the Santal Parganas Regulation of 1873, and this was further strengthened through a series of Acts to regulate money-lending. The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act (1908) innovated many provisions to give protection to the aboriginal tenants and become a piece of model legislation. While these laws did give a measure of protection, they could not prevent, as a Chotanagpur survey in the 1920s showed, either alienation or usury on a large scale (Singh, 1978).

Hence, the entire process of changing land relations and land tenure system led to massive land alienation among tribals. Land being the backbone of communal production relation, loss of land also led to disruption of tribal mode of communal production. The power relations held by the colonial government as well as non-tribals landlords and moneylenders led to the disassociation of the tribals from their means of production, land dismantling of tribals’ traditional mode of communal production. The land alienation of tribals through these forces led to disruption of peasantry and their means of livelihood was curtailed, which eventually pushed them into vulnerable conditions of hunger and poverty and a state of extensive pauperization (Gupta, 1986). Under such situation a vast sections of the direct producers (tribal peasants) not only faced significant risk of

starvation and death but actually were left with no alternative means of livelihood other than joining the labour market.

2.5 Labour Market Formation: An Outline of Contributing Factors

The British administration brought many changes to the tribal economy. This section will highlight aspects of the colonial economy that generated the forces that compelled the tribals to search employment within and outside the region.

1. **Introduction of Money:** Penetration of money into the tribal economy proved to be the major instrument in disintegrating the economy. The colonial system created a demand for money in non-money economies to pay land revenue and other levies, to settle expenditure of various kinds, and to buy necessities. Due to the introduction of money the traditional form of barter system faded away. There was some evidence that, some sections of the tribals took to commodity production on a limited scale. The tribals also got gradually integrated with the operation of the market system. They started selling the forest produce to the market for earning money. With the market came the middle men, merchants and moneylenders. A diku (alien) was the creation of the colonial system who performed a variety of functions as a middle man in administrative matters, as a money-lender, as a trader who controlled production of foodgrains through the system of advance credit, and as a land-grabber (Singh, 1978). Impact of money was not felt in buying and selling the commodity but it was felt in buying and selling labour. Unlike traditional subsistence agriculture, the emerging production relations in tribal society prepare the social conditions for the buying and selling of labour power, something which is completely unknown to the tribals (Nanda, 1987). Earlier, there was exchange of labour power among the tribals. But there was no concept of wage labour; however labour exchange among friends and kin was an integral part of the system. In these exchanges repayment was done always by means of labour, cash never entered the equation. The practice of levelling hill slopes and broadcasting seeds with the help of cattle herds were a part of customary communal cooperation. However, with the introduction of money, labour power was being exchanged in terms of a fixed amount of cash -wage which was a

result of social transformation – a spinoff of the shift from production of use value to production of exchange value (Nanda, 1987). What was never considered 'work' under subsistence production may now be considered 'labour' seriously undermining subsistence production.

2. **Introduction of land rent to *Khuntkhatti* land:** During the pre-British period, tribals were considered to be the owners of *khuntkhatti* lands (communal ownership of land), since they were the first clearer of soil there. They had to give some voluntary payments to the *zamindars* and *jagirdars*, however, these were occasional. The British administrators made no attempts to understand the traditional rights on land (which were unwritten) and treated documents as sole proof of ownership (Choudhury, et. Al. 1986). With the introduction of permanent settlement act, the *zamindars* and *jagirdars* were regarded as the owner of these lands as well. The *jagirdars* had sought to change voluntary subscription or quit rent of *khuntkhatti* villages into rent (Singh 1969). The introduction of land rent to the *khuntkhatti* lands was the main reason for land alienation among the tribals. The inability of the tribals to pay the rent compelled them to take loan from the money-lenders and their inability to repay the loan, because of the poor quality of soil, gave opportunity to the money-lenders to grab tribal holdings. Sometimes to repay the loan to the money-lenders, tribals took loans from the *Zamindars* as well and in turn mortgaged their lands. Hence, the role of money-lenders was also very significant in converting the *khuntkhatti* land into *Manjhihas*, *Rajas* and *Bhuinhari* land.

3. **Pace of Land alienation increased:** The tribals in Jharkhand are majorly agriculturist. Hence, land was, and even now is, one of the major sources of livelihood for them. But in the process of getting assimilated into the mainstream economy, they continuously lost their land. Although the phenomenon of land alienation started much before the colonial period, the pace of land alienation increased considerably during the colonial period. There were four key factors that led to alienation among tribals during this period: (a) Loss of land through private transaction; Sale or mortgage of land, illegal sale

of land to non-tribals, encroachment of land by government and non-tribals were some of the keys process through which the private transaction took place. There are evidences of large-scale illegal transfers of land despite the protective clauses of the act from bhuinhars to non-tribals. Although the act provided greater security to the raiyats, there were many points of leakages which consisted of evasions of the provisions about illegal transfers (Singh 1969). (b) Land alienation through displacement; loss of land through land acquisition for various purposes like mining, industries, railways etc. Resulted in increased land alienation. This accompanied with indiscriminate destruction of forests and unplanned mining in the region resulted in more tribal land alienation and loss of all possible means of production and a vast army of "coolie" labour formed (Gosh 1991). (c) Loss of land through survey and settlements; tribals lost a considerable portion of their land during survey and settlement process. The government recognised lands under shifting cultivation as state owned land, even the uncultivated areas, grazing grounds, residential places inside the forest were considered as government lands. Also, there were instances where tribals did not claim their own land for the fear of giving more rents. The non-tribals landlords and money-lenders spread rumours among the tribals saying that the government in measuring the land to extract more rents from them (Singh 1972). The Laws related to registration of 'tribal ownership' of land further alienated the indigenous communities. The process of recording ownership was often haphazard and left innumerable families with no official title to their land, so that they came to be classified as encroachers on government land' (Ahmed 2007)., (d) Notification of forests; forest land where proper settlement has not taken place, shifting cultivation areas, common grazing fields etc, were categorized as forests.

4. Development of a new category of work among the tribals; Agricultural workers: As discussed earlier, the concept of wage labour was not present in the tribal economy. However, with the introduction of money into the tribal economy, exchange of labour in terms of money started. With the increased landlessness, tribals increasingly started selling their labour power for wage. Hence, a new class of labour, called agricultural labourers emerged

into the economy. This was the first phase in the emergence of labour market among the tribals. Agricultural labour in tribal areas constituted dhangars and beggars. Dhangars were those who had very small holding, uneconomic for supporting himself and his family; whereas beggars were the free labourers who didn't have any land. Dhangars in the tribal areas enjoyed some respectability and got relatively good wages. The reason for them to work as agricultural labour was their uneconomic holdings, too small to support himself and his family. After the enactment of forest acts, tribals were able to get very little support or income from forest produce. High incidence of rent along with insecurity of tenure made it difficult to extend proper cultivation. People with no means of livelihood, ended up joining the labour force as agricultural labourers. The wages paid to these agricultural workers were considerably low. Nevertheless, there was variation in the amount of wages paid to workers in different places; e.g Palamua kamia would not get beyond 450 seers and Rs 3/- for the year, which was below subsistence level (Singh 1969) whereas agricultural labourer in Santal Parganas received only a day's food in kind (Statistical account of Bengal, vol. XIV). There were about sixty thousand kamias in palamau in 1918, and they constituted 12% of the total population and 25% of the total number of agricultural labourers and their families (Singh 1969).

5. **Forced Emigration:** Labour migration in huge volume marks to be the second phase in tribals' participation in labour market. Confronted with all the exploitations, mentioned earlier, a large-scale of tribals migrated to other areas, particularly to Bengal and Assam, throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century. The evidence of emigration of Chotanagpur tribals can be found from the writings of Cuthbert in early 19th century. He mentioned that the *kols* emigrated in great numbers annually in search of employment, and were entertained by indigo planters and others. They were generally preferred to the labourers of other parts of the country, on account of their performing more work and at lower rate. (Cuthbert 1846).

Adding to all the exploitation and miserable conditions of the tribals come the famine of 1897. This famine had a serious effect on Chotanagpur tribals. Food prices increased rapidly and by August 1897, the official famine reports noted that there had been a heavy increase in the death rate in all the districts of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas Damodaran (2007) while explaining the nature and extent of famine writes "what was remarkable about the nature and the scale of the famine was the fact that it was the first major famine recorded in the region especially in the districts of Ranchi and Hazaribagh. In earlier periods of scarcity, as in 1866-67 and 1873-74, the distress was soon alleviated as the local people could depend on the abundant forest produce to avert any major crisis. In 1896, however, the crisis did not have such a simple solution. By November 1896 the prices of food grains was on the increase in several districts. The poorer classes felt the pinch and one indication of this distress was an increase in beggars, especially in the small towns. The movement of people in search of work and the increase in the numbers of wanderers along country roads was another indicator of the extent of deprivation"(Damodaran 2007; pp.152).

The Imperial Gazetteer gives a brief account on large scale migration of people from this region to eastward. It says "the smallness of the net increase for the whole district during that decade (1901) is due to the large scale on which emigration took place. It is, in fact, estimated that about 1,82,000 people must have left the district during that period and that the natural increase of the population was at least 10 per cent (page 66)". The gazetteer further explains the most striking features of the migration as: firstly, its great volume; and secondly, the strong tendency of the people to move eastwards. Of emigration to more distant places the most noticeable feature is the exodus to the Assam tea Gardens, where more than 31,000 natives of this district were enumerated in 1901, and to jalpaiguri, where they numbered more than 10,000. Hindus constitute 56.1 per cent of the total population, Animist 34.9 per cent and Muhammadans 8.4 per cent.

Sengupta (1973) also talked about large scale migration of tribals to the coal belt of Asansol-Raniganj, tea plantation of Assam, indigo plantations in southern Bengal and also to the bordering regions of Birbhum, Burdwan and Bankura as agricultural labourers and share-croppers of the land. About the places of absorption of these tribals, he depicts that one group remains as workers in the early industries as in the colliery belt of Asansol-Raniganj, and other extractive industries in Hazaribagh and Singhbhum region or Tea plantations in Assam. The second group, the major one, remains spread over different parts of Bengal, plains of Bihar and coastal Orissa, primarily as agricultural labourers or share-croppers. And the third group nearly a million in number is in the same region almost entirely in cultivation, cultivation that remained exposed to the exploitation of the moneylenders and traders throughout the last century. The table below gives the number of people born in the different districts of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas but enumerated elsewhere in 1891.

Table 2.2: Emigration from Jharkhand

| Year | Districts | Actual Population | Enumerated outside the district of Birth | Percentage of out migrants to total Population |
|------|-----------------|-------------------|--|--|
| 1891 | Santal Parganas | 17,53,775 | 1,17,142 | 6.7 |
| | Palamua | 5,96,770 | 29,043 | 4.9 |
| | Hazaribagh | 11,64,321 | 1,13,622 | 9.8 |
| | Manbhum* | 11,93,328 | 1,18,893 | 10.0 |
| | Ranchi | 11,28,885 | 2,46,022 | 21.8 |
| | Singhbhum | 5,45,488 | 43,531 | 8.0 |
| | Total | 63,82,567 | 6,67,253 | 10.5 |
| 1901 | Santal Parganas | 18,09,737 | 2,26,008 | 12.5 |
| | Palamua | 6,19,600 | 32,210 | 5.2 |
| | Hazaribagh | 11,77,961 | 1,50,356 | 12.8 |
| | Manbhum* | 13,01,364 | 1,35,972 | 10.4 |
| | Ranchi | 11,87,925 | 2,75,251 | 23.2 |
| | Singhbhum | 6,13,579 | 63,820 | 10.4 |
| | Total | 67,10,166 | 8,83,617 | 13.2 |
| 1911 | Santal Parganas | 18,82,973 | 3,21,283 | 17.1 |
| | Palamua | 6,87,267 | 37,481 | 5.5 |
| | Hazaribagh | 12,88,609 | 1,44,541 | 11.2 |
| | Manbhum* | 15,47,576 | 1,15,492 | 7.5 |
| | Ranchi | 13,87,516 | 3,05,309 | 22.0 |
| | Singhbhum | 6,94,394 | 1,05,634 | 15.2 |
| | Total | 74,88,335 | 74,88,335 | 13.8 |

Note: Figures are for all population

1. Present Dhanbad district including Purulia district of West Bengal.

Source: Badgaiyan, 1986

The table 2.2 shows that nearly one-tenth of the actual population was enumerated in 1891 outside their places of birth. It should be noted here that all those who were enumerated outside the districts of their birth were not all enumerated outside Jharkhand as well. Within the tribal tracts of Jharkhand, Ranchi had the highest percentage of out-migrants, which was equivalent to more than one-fifth of the actual population and has increased from 1891 to 1911. From the areas of Santal Pargana and Hazaribagh, the number of out-migrants has increased drastically during 1901 and 1911.

6. **Right over forest:** Six forest legislations on forest were passed between 1857 and 1877 curbing tribal from free use of forest resources. The seventh legislation, the Indian Forest Act of 1878 (Act VII), deemed in addition, that all waste lands in villages be constituted as 'protected forest'. These lands were used till then as common grazing ground for cattle (Choudhury et.al. 1986). In the middle of the 19th century, the British government discovered the huge deposits of minerals in this region. These mineral resources were very much important for the emerging industries. Effective utilisation of mineral resources required greater degree of direct rule. Consequently, a system of exclusion premised on direct paternalistic rule by the Governor of the province through the district officers developed in this region (Weiner 1978). To facilitate commercial exploitation of the forest shifting cultivation was forbidden in many areas (Singh, 1978). Dependence on forest as a source of food, shelter and occupation was still crucial for the tribals in many ways but they were forbidden from the use of forest. The reservation of India's forest from the 1860s and 1870s allowed for a monopoly in forest resource extraction to colonial government (Barton 2001). The forest service, which was actually set up to protect the forest, ended up generating revenue by selling timber to supply the railways. On the other hand, government blamed deforestation on tribal practice of shifting cultivation and set up a system of forest guards to prevent the same. This was in complete disregard of the fact that shifting cultivation was an integral part of the way of life of many indigenous communities (Ahmed 2007). In 1894, all government land which had not been settled with cultivators was constituted and 'protected' forests under the Indian forest act (VII of 1878). Similarly, in 1895 the forests were placed in

charge of the forest department (Cuthbert 1846; pp. 70). Lands that have been under the plough for decades, and plots that have housed tribal families for equally long periods, were suddenly converted into forests. And then not only cultivation and residence but also the grazing of cattle, the collection of firewood or timber for house construction and the gathering of minor forest produce for sale becomes illegal and therefore prohibitively costly in terms of bribes, fines and court expenses (Damodaran 2007).

7. **Massive Industrialisation:** The colonial and post-colonial periods are two different phases of historical development which have had significant implications on the industrialisation in the tribal regions. The mining activities which started in the coal field areas falling in the Chotanagpur region during the colonial time had severe implications for the tribal economy (Sachchidananda, et.al. 1985). Besides mining activities, the creation of industrial enclaves in these areas also led to a large scale physical displacement of the tribals resulting into their alienation from land (Sachchidananda, et.al. 1985). In 1856 coal mining was developed in dhanbad district, with coal fields at Jharia, Bokaro, and Karanpura. Soon thereafter the region became a major producer of minerals - copper, bauxite, limestone, chromite, asbestos, graphite, and especially mica and coal. In 1906 a Parsi businessman, Jamshedji tata, created the tata iron and steel company (TISCO) at Jamshedpur, which soon became the major producer in iron and steel in the sub-continent (Weiner 1978). At hatia, just outside of Ranchi, an industrial complex was developed after independence with the creation of public-sector Heavy Engineering Corporation (H.E.C.), assisted by Czech government (Weiner 1978). This resulted in the alienation of the tribal people from their land. The colonial state further aided this rapid dispossession of land with the establishment of railways. East India railway colliery villages were established by throwing out original occupancy tenants and replacing them with service tenants who were forced to render a certain number of working days in the coal mines (Weiner 1978). The peasantry was thus forced to grow rice to meet the excessive rent demands on the uplands (Halder 1990).

This rapid pace of industrialisation also led to massive destruction of forest. The colonial government gave a considerable part of the forest from most of the

districts for sale or lease to contractors for supply of railway sleepers. Large areas of forest were destroyed to supply the timber necessary for the railways. The forests of Singhbhum were subject to heavy fellings and it was reported in 1898 that the 'selection fellings for the supply of broad gauge sleepers from trees over 6½ feet girth amounted to over 20,921 trees at the average of 10.4 sleepers per tree'. These fellings were reported to have greatly impoverished the forests. Singhbhum was a district with the largest proportion of forest in the 1880s and with over 80 per cent of its tribal population (Damodaran 2007). An attempt was launched in the 1880s to acquire all private forests with a view to exploiting timber in even remote areas. The private forests in Dumka subdivision were thus acquired as were those of Parasnath and Gobindpur which were seen as particularly valuable for they lay between the railway and the Grand Trunk road (Damodaran 2007).

Table 2.3: Forest and Woodland Changes in Chotanagpur, 1870-90 (hectares)

| Districts | 1870 | 1890 |
|------------------|---------|---------|
| Dhanbad | 10382 | 9794 |
| Hazaribagh | 316408 | 306495 |
| Palamau | 555413 | 530025 |
| Ranchi | 344317 | 338749 |
| Santhal Parganas | 308138 | 177577 |
| Singhbhum | 274258 | 244826 |
| Total | 1808916 | 1607466 |

Source: Damodaran, 2007.

It can be seen from the table 2.3, woodlands in Chotanagpur declined by 201,450 hectares in the period 1870-90 or approximately by over 11 per cent. This was a large decrease with dramatic changes of lifestyle for the people affected. The landscape that evolved in Chotanagpur under colonial rule clearly expressed British attempts to dominate the forest, mineral and water sources in the interest of production and profit (Damodaran 2007).

One of the major consequences of all such transformation was pauperization of large sections of poor tribal peasants leading eventually to a sharp increase in pool of agricultural labourers and unemployed people. By the end of the 19th century, agricultural labourers formed a sizeable force in Bihar, mostly in Jharkhand region (Dasgupta 1994). However, the category of the agricultural

labourers thus formed were of two distinct kind- one group, called the *kamias*, were bound for generation after generation to the landlord/employers and had to perform all kinds of work including work in field as well as household of the employer. This pool of labourers remained tied to land and particular masters and did not have freedom of mobility. They were also not free to join the migration stream even if they wanted to do so. In contrast to this group, another category of agricultural labourers, termed as footloose category, had considerable mobility. Due to the presence of relative abundance of cheap labour, the landowners were not interested in binding all the workers. It was this category that formed the proletariat class, with no ownership of the means of production and they were completely depended on wage income. They keep on wandering for work from one farm to another and, in the absence of any alternative, were mainly sustaining their livelihood by working as agricultural labourers. Since, the economy was already characterised by surplus labourers, getting work was a matter of chance. The newly developed industrial enclaves provided an alternative to these unemployed/underemployed workers. Hence, the second category of workers formed the major component of the migration stream to the industrial enclaves. However, the transfer of surplus labour from the pre-capitalistic agriculture to capitalistic industry was not a smooth transfer, rather it was characterised by non-economic coercion.

2.6 Conclusion

Colonial rule brought various changes in Indian economy. Most obtrusive is its impact on the tribal's society. During the colonial period, the communal egalitarian society of the tribals was completely destroyed. Introduction of rent and money into the economy played a crucial role in disintegrating the tribal society. First, with the introduction of money the exchange of labour among the kin and friends disappeared. In its place, tribals started selling their labour for money. Secondly, with the introduction of high rent, the tribals had to mortgage their lands to take loan in order to pay the rent and further another loan to repay the previous loan. In the process they got trapped in the vicious circle of indebtedness, most of them lost their land, and some became bonded labours to

their masters. Thirdly, colonial period converted land into scarce commodity, particularly in the tribal areas. It hastened the dissolution of tribal societies and modes of production, and it was an important factor in mobilization of labour for the purpose of capitalist production (Bates and Carter 1992).

Thus in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the tribals in Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas stood alienated and ejected from the ownership of their land. Placed in a situation of massive alienation of tribal lands to outsiders, the tribal peasants could hardly meet even their most modest subsistence requirements. Hence, the impoverished peasants and tribesmen were pushed out of their traditional habitat and an extensive area was reduced into a reservoir of cheap labour or labour catchment area (Dasgupta 1986).

At the time when the tribals were being steady uprooted from their ancestral lands, new ventures requiring labour were beginning to spring up in Bengal and Assam. 1840 marked the beginning of indigo plantations in Bengal, the loop railways line project was started in 1854, Tea plantations opened up areas in Assam from 1839 and in north Bengal (Dooars) from 1874 and finally large tracts of forest and marshy lands belonging to zamindars of the southern part of Bengal required clearing up. The common factor in these ventures was that they all required cheap labour. Naturally, the most tempting target was the hapless tribals who, due to alienation from land and natural calamities, had become a sturdy, hardworking (and submissive) person and who was able to live at a sub-human level of existence (Choudhury and Bhowmik 1986).

This led to migration of huge number of tribals not only to the neighbouring districts as agricultural workers but also to far place like Tea plantation in Assam as coolies. The discussion on the type of labour market that formed during the colonial period and recruitment pattern as well as a discussion on how these tribals were exploited for the development these industries is carried forward in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

TRIBAL LABOUR MARKET DURING COLONIAL PERIOD

3.1 Introduction

The period of colonial rule brought phenomenal changes in the Indian economy in terms of structure, growth and development. During this time, new plantations, mines and factories were opened in various parts of India, in order to reap the advantages of abundance of rich natural resources. Along with this, it brought new instruments of exploitation of the natural and human resources. In order to extract maximum surplus from cheap labour, the traditional occupational distribution of work force had been destroyed to the extent necessary. Since agriculture was the mainstay of most of the colonies, intervention in the agrarian system assumed high priority (discussed in the last chapter). The owners of land were expropriated from their ties with the land; in a way that they rendered 'surplus' labour, free from obligations to work on the land (Badgaiyan 1986). These policies by British Empire literally created livelihood insecurities among the tribals and made them destitute workers. This labour force was then transported on to the plantation and other industrial establishment and forced to work under repressive conditions. Hence, one of the major changes that colonial rule brought was the development of a "national labour market" (Chakravarty 1978).

In the realm of the changes brought out during colonial period, the present chapter analyses the existence of labour market and the changes among the tribals during the colonial period. In the literature, it is argued that majority of tribal labour, pushed from Chotanagpur due to loss of agricultural land, was concentrated in two major industries; plantation and coal mining, established in the eastern region comprising Bengal, Bihar and Assam (Weiner 1978; Chatterjee and Gupta 1981; Dasgupta 1981; Badgaiyan 1986; Choudhury and Bhowmik 1986; Haan 1995). Therefore, in this chapter mobilization of tribal labour to these two industries and the structure of labour market are analyzed. This chapter is organized into six sections. The next section of this chapter will focus on the kind

of tribal labour market that was developed in India during colonial rule. The third section will focus on structure of labour market and the fourth section will discuss the changing labour composition in industries according to the requirement and replacement of one kind of labour force with the other kind- "natural selection", with particular reference to the two major industries - tea plantation and coal mining - that came to be established in the eastern region. The fifth and sixth section will be subsequently on discussion and conclusion.

3.2 Development of a Labour Market for Tribals in Colonial India

Colonial capitalism was a system of exploitation and rule over the people and resources of a geographically defined area with definite ethnic and cultural characteristics by an alien group which was ethnically and culturally distinct and which do not consider the colony as its home (Dasgupta 1994). Like any other colonial capitalistic system, British rule in India was also a system of exploitation. It was the rule that was committed towards diverting the Indian resources into the pockets of British industrialists, businessmen, mobilization of investible surplus to the Britain, in order to facilitate marketing of British manufactured goods in India and cheap primary produce of India abroad (Tomlinson 1982). The distinctive characteristic of colonial capitalism was its method of accumulation. The colonial state was concerned with 'primitive accumulation' as distinguished from expansion of capital (Dasgupta 1994). The extraction and transfer of surplus from pre-capitalist peasant economy in the form of tax on land and the separation of the direct producers from the means of production¹ for the creation of labour supplies for the capitalist enterprises were the forms of primitive accumulation followed during the colonial era.

To the British manufacturer, India's potentialities as a source of raw materials and market appeared limitless. With a view to extract and accumulate surplus, the colonial enterprises established various industries in India. The establishment of tea and mining industries could provide the best evidence for colonial interest. The development of tea gardens in Assam was mainly to capture the market

¹ Discussed in the second chapter

demand for tea from England (Sharma 2011). In England, consumption of tea was considered as luxury for the flourishing bourgeois. The major supplier of tea to England was China. In order to capture the increasing demand for tea, a tea committee was constituted in 1834, with a view of exploring the possibilities of tea cultivation in India. The committee appointed some scientists and botanists to look for the possibility of growing tea seeds from China in India. The scientists found that the temperature of Assam that ranges from 26 to 30 is best suited for tea cultivation and hence, tea gardens were established in various regions of Assam.

Similarly, the development and expansion of coal mining was also directly related to the colonial interest of expanding trade as well as controlling the military actions. With the expansion of trade in indigo, tea and opium in the early nineteenth century and the invention of steam engines in 1830s, the need for coal was realized (Simeon 1999). Besides, the railway construction facilitated by textile traders and shipping companies, investment in coal mining became a requisite and hence, resulted in the development of mining industries in Raniganj, Jharia, Giridih etc. Hence, the motive behind these investments was mainly capital accumulation.

However, throughout the greater part of its colonial history, almost all the industries experienced shortage of labour (RCLI 1931²). Especially, the problem of inadequate labour supply in two major industries, coal mining and tea plantations, which were developed during the colonial period was very severe. Although, the political, economic and social conditions prevalent under colonialism ensured presence of surplus labour in the pre-capitalistic agrarian sector, the mobilization of labour from agrarian sector to industry was a challenge to the colonial capitalist. Particularly, when the question rose on mobilizing potential labourers (mostly tribals) from the major labour catchment area of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas³ to work in the industrial enclaves, the colonial government had to intervene. The owners and managers of mines

² Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, 1931. Hereafter referred as RCLI.

³ Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas were the two major labour catchment areas during the colonial period for mining, tea plantation and railways (RCLI 1931).

and gardens, with the backing of the colonial state, resorted to extra-economic, coercive and non-market mechanism for recruiting labourers (Dasgupta 1994). An indentured system of labour recruitment was adopted in which the recruiters played a very significant role in mobilizing the labourers⁴. An indentured labour system (labour contracted under penal sanctions) was essentially a compulsory system of labour, where workers were forced to work for fixed time period due to contract signed in the past. In practice, there is minor difference between indentured labour system and slavery. Unlike slaves, indentured workers were supposed to receive a monthly wage, and their terms of service, at least in principle, were for a fixed period of from five to eight years. Nevertheless, there was no adherent rule that these provisions were to be followed; hence indentured workers were no better-off than the slaves they replaced. The workers under indentured system were not free to decide on the use of their labour power rather, they were unable to withdraw their labour-power to bargain over the terms of the contract or for higher wages (Grantham 1994). Similarly, Chatterjee et al. (1981) argued that under the indentured system in India, labourers did not possess bargaining power in the labour market and was forced to sell - or coerced into selling - his labour power for any indefinite period of time, thus transforming, himself into a commodity and a virtual slave. In fact the wages were also determined completely outside the labour market (Behal and Mohapatra 1992).

Hence, the two important aspects of free labour market as defined by Marx⁵, i.e. freedom of the direct producer or workers to access the means of production that secure their reproduction and that they are free to exchange their labour

⁴ The system of recruitment followed in both the industry is discussed in section 3.4 (a) and 3.4 (b).

⁵ In this context Marx observes, as translated by Ben fowkes (1976): "*Labour-power can appear on the market as a commodity only if, and in so far as, its possessor, the individual whose labour-power it is, offers it for sale or sells it as a commodity. In order that its possessor may sell it as commodity, he must have it at his disposal, he must be the free proprietor of his own labour-capacity, hence of his person. He and the owner of money meet in the market, and enter into relations with each other on a footing of equality as owners of commodities, with the sole difference that one is a buyer, the other a seller; both are therefore equal in the eye of law..... The second essential condition which allows the owner of money to find labour power in the market as a commodity is this, that the possessor of labour power, instead of being able to sell commodities in which his labour has been objectified, must rather be compelled to offer for sale as a commodity that very labour-power which exists only in his living body.*"

power with capital for wages with which to purchase subsistence were not present in the developed labour market. An element of 'unfreedomness' was present in the labour markets and labour processes through the indenture system in the form of penal contracts. A free labour market failed to emerge (Simmons 1976; Chakravarty 1978; Chatterjee and Gupta 1981; Dasgupta 1981; Badgaiyan 1986).

Further, this system ensured power to the employers to arrest without warrant and criminally punish the worker if he/she failed to show reasonable case for his/her absence from the job. The *penal* sanctions placed in employers' hands a blunt instrument for disciplining the labourers as well as for forcing them to abide by the rules and orders set by the employers. Given the nature of the indentured system, there was hardly any element of freedomness left on the part of the workers. Moreover, for the people facing acute poverty, hunger and unemployment, there were barely any free choices left. Therefore, the existence of indentured system had its basis on two forces operating in the labour market. On one hand, there was market as well as administrative power with the colonial capitalist entailing the threat of hunger and denial of employment to the people in conditions of endemic unemployment, in which vast section of direct producers faced significant risks of starvation and death (Bagchi 1973) and on the other hand there was scarcity of labourers to work in the newly established plantation industry by the colonial government (Chatterjee and Gupta 1981). Hence, the colonial capitalist aimed at getting hold of some easily available workers who were willing to work in these industries even at unfriendly working conditions, and introduced an indentured system to have autocratic power over these labourers.

For most part of the nineteenth century and early decades of twentieth century such mechanisms had a crucial role to play in the mobilization and control of labour. Moreover, the control over the labour force was exercised through a kind of hierarchical relation maintained in the labour market where the British officials formed the top layer of the power spectrum with a number of divisions on the basis of caste and religion in the rest of the portion.

The conditions were stringent not only for labour recruitment but also in managing and controlling labour after recruitment as well. The labour-capital relationship was marked by exploitation and control. The workers had to suffer from deprivation of freedom, conditions of work were deplorable, and mobility of the workers was highly restricted. In fact, the entry and exit in the industries were also highly constrained. The workers had no bargaining power over even essential issues like the working hours, wages, conditions of work, other securities etc. In almost all capitalist enterprises, the wages were kept at a reasonably low level. The argument given in favour of keeping the wages low was that, any rise in wages would not increase the supply of workers; instead it will create 'coolie indolence'.⁶ The wage rates were usually fixed at a level that provided for the subsistence of a single worker employed. This necessitated the whole family of the worker to work in these capitalist enterprises.

The essential benefits that are considered as the right of workers in an ordinary capitalistic enterprise were also denied to these workers working in most of the colonial capitalist enterprises. The provision of adequate social security in terms of proper housing, maternity benefits, medical facilities, sickness allowance or leave etc. were also not there. The security of workers in the work place was not taken care of by the owners and the managers. Incidences of violence against workers were also reported by Royal Commission on labour in India⁷. Hence, the most distinctive feature of the evolved labour market was the lack of freedom on the part of the workers.

3.3 Structure of Labour Market in the Colonial Era

During the nineteenth century, which was the period of acute shortage of labourers on the one hand, rise in the industrial sector on the other hand, the British were looking for labour force to work on their plantations in Assam and Bengal as tea pickers, and in coalmines of Raniganj and Jharia. In this context, the tribals of Jharkhand who were forced into destitute conditions due to the policies became a lucrative recruit. In order to get cheap surplus labour, colonial capitalist

⁶ A higher wages will result in less work and more leisure.

⁷ Royal Commission on Labour in India, Evidence. Vol 4, Part 2, Bihar and Orissa with Coalfields.

followed destruction of traditional occupational distribution of work force (Gupta, 1986). These 'reserve army' of workers were in need of work; they were accustomed to hard labour; they were acclimated to the hill areas; and the distances, though substantial, could be traversed by railroad. Hence, the indentured system of recruitment was followed. This also led to the emergence of tribal belts of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas as major labour catchment areas for most of the newly emerging industries, like plantations and mines and also for other works like construction of railways, roadways etc.

Colonial immigration in the initial phase had mainly tribal areas of Chotanagpur as recruiting region, and tea plantations found their recruiting ground in the same areas (Haan 1995). Consequently, British recruitment in Chotanagpur began in the middle of the nineteenth century. By 1891 there were 190,000 tribals in the tea areas of Assam, and nearly 70,000 in Bengal. The emigration continued to rise steeply in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Table 3.1: Emigration to Jharkhand (1891-1961)

| Year | Emigration | Emigration as a percentage of total population |
|------|------------|--|
| 1891 | 333,000 | 5.2 |
| 1901 | 282,000 | 4.2 |
| 1911 | 707,000 | 9.4 |
| 1921 | 947,000 | 9.5 |

Source: Compiled from Weiner (1978) and Badgaiyan (1986)

Many went to the tea plantation areas of Assam and North Bengal, others settled as agricultural labourers in the Sunderban region, and some found job as unskilled labourers in the industrial towns of Bengal like Calcutta, Burdwan etc. Hence, a national market for labourers emerged in a sense that now the workers were recruited for work throughout the country from various regions of the country.

Nevertheless, Dasgupta (1978) argues that although there was the emergence of a national labour market, but a single undifferentiated national market failed to emerge. The labour market structure which emerged during colonial period was variously segmented in terms of occupation, geographical location, social group/caste/sub-caste, wage structure etc (Dasgupta, 1978). In fact, the most

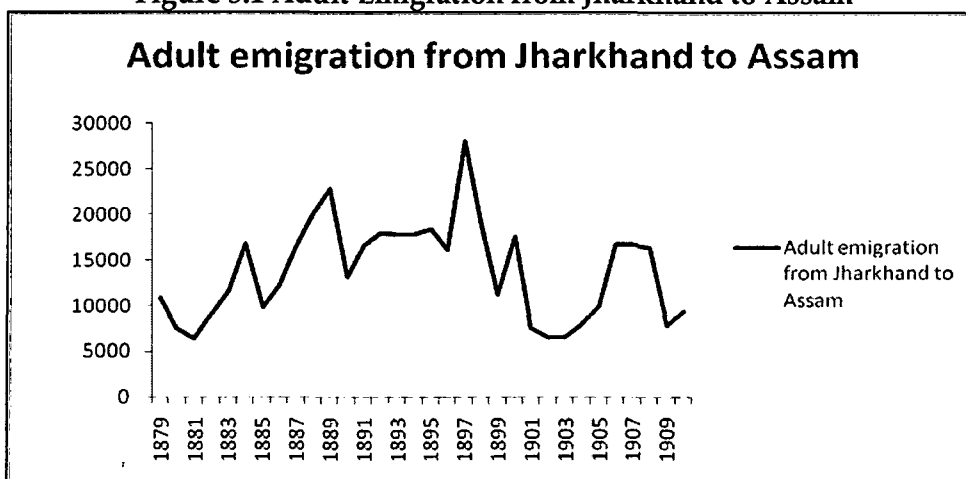
distinctive feature of the labour market that evolved during that period was the creation and development of not multiple markets but a complex multiplicity of market structures that led to existence of several markets or sub-markets rigidly separated from each-other, having its own distinctive institutional features and dynamics (Dasgupta 1981).

In addition to segmented labour market across region and social groups, wage structure prevalent at that time was widely different between different regions and industries (Gupta, 1981). Although both the tea and coal industries drew the bulk of their labour force from the same geo-economic region, there was considerable difference in the wages provided in both the industries (Mohapatra 1985). Interestingly, the existence of wage differential was not merely confined to different regions and sub-regions or between industries, it existed even for essentially identical jobs and occupations in different units of a particular industry located in the same region. The segmentation was also seen in mobility of workers across and within industries. Mobility of the workers was also highly restrictive: not only vertical but also horizontal. In case of tea industry the scope of movement from one garden to another garden was completely absent. In coal mining too the scope of leaving employment in one place and moving to another one was restricted (Chakravarty 1978; Dasgupta 1981).

The other particularistic feature of the labour market was clustering of particular social groups such as caste, sub-caste, linguistic-cultural groups, community etc. in particular industries (Dasgupta 1981). There were significant differences (in terms of regional and caste composition of migrants) in the labour clustering pattern for the coalfields and Assam plantations. For instance, the tribal labour in certain areas of Chotanagpur were heavily represented in the tea plantations and hardly sent any labourers to the coalfields. Similarly, Mohapatra (1985) showed that in Jharia coalmines, except Santals, all were semi-aboriginal, traditional labouring or service castes of Hazaribagh and Manbhum. The bigger tribal groups like Oraons, Munda, Kharias, Bhumijis, Hos and other tribes were recruited for Assam. The main reason for the development of such a segmented market was the shortage of labour in different industries. The supply of labour

was highly competitive between the industries as well as within the industries. The tea plantations in Assam and North Bengal drew labour overwhelmingly from the Chotanagpur plateau and nearby areas in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The planters had long regarded Chotanagpur as a natural source of supply of tribal labour due to their perennially depressed economic condition and the credulous nature of the tribal and semi-tribal inhabitants (Simmons 1976). In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the average annual out-migration from Chotanagpur amounted to 20,000. Out of which a bulk migrated to the tea gardens.

Figure 3.1 Adult Emigration from Jharkhand to Assam



Source: Data taken from Mohapatra (1985)

Similarly, for the coalmines of Raniganj, Jharia and Giridih also the demand for Jharkhand tribals were moderately high during the initial phase of development of mining industries. The early 20th century was the beginning phase of the most rapid expansion in the coal mining industry; therefore the demand for mining labour reached its peak during this period. One consequence of this, though of a temporary nature, was a decline in the tide of migration from some districts of Chotanagpur to the tea gardens at the beginning of the twentieth century (see Figure 3. 1).

From the table 3.2 and figure 3.2, it can be observed that, along with the absolute number, the proportion of Jharkhand emigrants to total emigrants in Assam also declined considerably after 1900. Both the table 3.2 and figure 3.2

shows that, though the demand for plantation labourer in Assam has not decline, the labour supply from Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas to tea gardens has declined considerably during the period of high demand in mining industry. Hence, even with segmentation in the labour market, supply of labour in different industries was highly competitive. Further, the competition for labour reached its peak during the war (1st World-war) periods. Labour Enquiry commission⁸ report dated 1896 reports that there was insufficiency in supply of labour to work in coal fields. While examining the reasons for the insufficient supply of labour, the commission highlighted that there was stiff competition faced from the tea plantations in Assam and North Bengal (Punekar and Varickayil 1989). The report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, 1931, also discussed the competition between and within industries for the services of the workers till 1920s; however, thereafter the workers started competing for jobs (Royal Commission on Labour 1931; pp. 21).

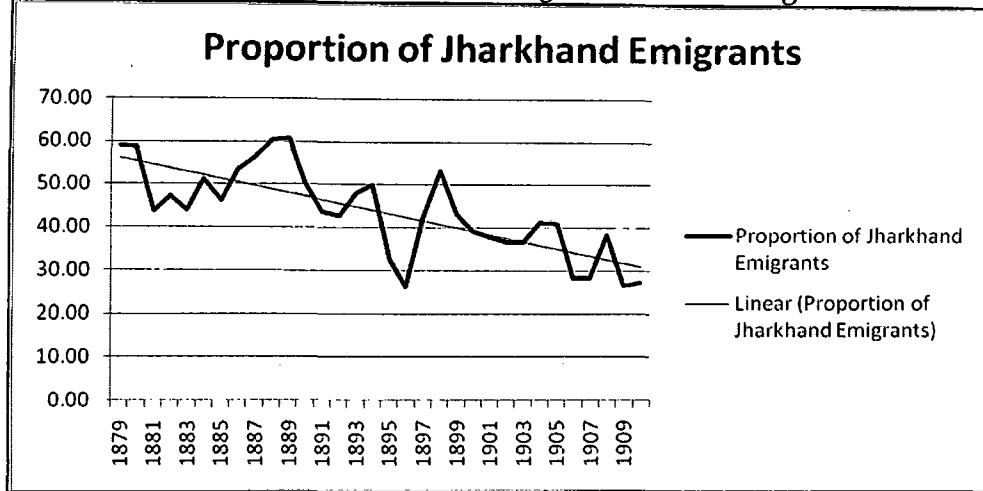
Table 3.2: Proportion of Jharkhand Emigrant to Total Emigrant

| Year | Total Adult Emigration to Assam | Adult emigrants from Jharkhand | Proportion of Jharkhand emigrants to total emigrants |
|------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 1901 | 19897 | 7558 | 37.99 |
| 1902 | 17769 | 6513 | 36.65 |
| 1903 | 17769 | 6513 | 36.65 |
| 1904 | 19050 | 7848 | 41.20 |
| 1905 | 24209 | 9928 | 41.01 |
| 1906 | 58934 | 16667 | 28.28 |
| 1907 | 58934 | 16667 | 28.28 |
| 1908 | 42524 | 16367 | 38.49 |
| 1909 | 29398 | 7800 | 26.53 |
| 1910 | 34292 | 9352 | 27.27 |

Source: Mahapatra (1985)

⁸ The commission was set up by the Government of Bengal to investigate into the causes of labour shortage in various industries like tea, coal, jute etc. during 1893-94.

Figure 3.2: Proportion of Jharkhand Emigrants to total Emigrants in Assam



Source: Data taken from Mohapatra (1985)

It was found that between 1881 and 1891, a total of 190,000 or an average of 19,000 persons per annum immigrated to Assam from the Chotanagpur division alone, while at least 27,000 people went to Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling from the same division and the Santal Parganas district (Punekar and Varickayil 1989). Hence, a part of the population of Chotanagpur and in particular Santhals and Bauris among the tribals took the job of mining whereas others, having accustomed to agricultural work, preferred the job of tea gardens.

It is amply clear that, in the early phase of development of mining and tea industry, the demand for workers from Jharkhand, particularly tribals, was very high and also competitive. However, with the progress of these industries situation changed drastically. Over time recruitment systems in both the industry changed along with a change in the type of labour demanded. Hence, the subsequent section will deal with how the demand for tribal workers from Jharkhand changed over time using "Natural Selection theory".

3.4 Theory of “Natural selection” in Labour force Composition

The term “Natural Selection” was first coined by Darwin in 1859, in the context of evolution of species. He defined the process of natural selection as “*preservation of favourable variations and rejection of unfavourable variation*”. He argued that

“natural selection is daily and hourly scrutinizing, throughout the world, every variation, even the slightest; rejecting that which is bad, preserving and adding up all that is good; silently and insensibly working, whenever and wherever opportunity offers, at the improvement of each organic being in relation to its organic and inorganic conditions of life” (Darwin 1959).

This led him to the notion that all life forms were not fixed but continuously changing or evolving according to the environment. It is this better adaptability of some individuals that give them a better chance of survival and reproduction. This is what Darwin called *Survival of the Fittest* or *Natural Selection*. Those individuals with slightly better adaptations, according to the theory, would get more food, be healthier, live longer and, most importantly, will reproduce. Hence, natural selection provides individuals a better chance to reproduce.

The theory of natural selection became a powerful metaphor among social scientists, like Marx⁹, Gregory Clark¹⁰, Niall Ferguson¹¹ etc., for understanding evolution of various institutions and explaining various economic processes. For example, in the context labour market the term was used by Grantham¹², in his book “*Economic History and the History of Labour Market*” where he had explained the evolution of various forms of labour market starting from slavery to capitalistic labour market.

⁹ Hodgson, G. M. (2006). Economics in the Shadows of Darwin and Marx: Essays on Institutional and Evolutionary Themes. Massachusetts, USA, Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

¹⁰ Clark, G. (2007). A Farewell to Arms. Princeton, USA, Princeton University Press. He has explained England’s industrialization in the early nineteenth century by the high fertility of the medieval nobility, who, through a process of natural or cultural selection, infused the country’s population with traits conducive to economic growth.

¹¹ Ferguson, N. (2007). The evolution of Financial Services. New York, Oliver Wyman. He justified the modern financial system on the line of Darwinian principle of natural selection.

¹² Grantham, G. (1994). Economic History and the History of Labour Markets. Labour Market Evolution: The economic history of market integration, wage flexibility and employment relation. G. Grantham and M. Mackinnon. London, Routledge: 1-2.

In this work the term was used to explain the adaptability in the labour market in response to changing requirement of the industries. It elucidates the selection bias of various industries to particular group of labour force according to the changing requirement of industry. The idea that exists here is that, the economic environment prevalent in different industry leads to a generation of demand for a particular kind of labour force, which eventually leads to dominance of a particular kind of labour force and thereby replaces the existing labour force. One who meets these changing requirements survives in the industry and others are replaced by a more competent group. Hence, it follows that those who are fit for survival, survives and a process of natural selection is followed by the industry to give rise to a different composition of labour force.

In the Indian context, the labour force composition had changed considerably over time beginning from the colonial period to the present day according to ethnicity, geographical location, social group, caste, and sub-caste. A careful observation of the trends in changing labour composition can give us an idea on the pattern followed by the industries to meet its labour demand based on the specific requirement and situation. As mentioned earlier, the analysis will be done on two industries where Jharkhand's tribals were employed mostly; tea plantations and coal mining.

3.4 (a) Tea Plantation

The plantation system, which started during the first decade of 19th century with full and active backing from the colonial state authority, was primarily primitive and highly labour intensive. Though the level of skills required were very rudimentary, the plantations required a large and growing labour force. Moreover, unlike the factory industries, in plantation the demand was not only for men but also for women and even children (Dasgupta 1986).

However, attracting labour force to work in the plantation sector was a major challenge since plantations were located on hilly areas where population density was sparse (Dasgupta 1986; Mishra 2009). Secondly, plantation sector could not attract labour as the income differential between the plantation sector and pea-

sant economy and the condition of work and life prevailing in the plantations was not sufficiently attractive to the local agricultural labourers and peasants (Dasgupta 1986). Thirdly, the wage policy pursued by the planters backed by the colonial authority was such that the wage rates in the tea gardens were much lower than what could be earned when employed by the railways and public works department or in agriculture.

Table 3.3: Average monthly wage of agricultural and plantation labour

| Year | Wage of able-bodied agricultural labourer in Lakhimpur district (in Rs.) | Year | Wage of Labourer at salonah tea plantation, Nowgong district (in Rs.) |
|-----------|--|----------|---|
| 1873 | 9.37 | 1870 | 5.83 |
| 1874-77 | 6 to 9 | 1880 | 6.50 |
| 1878-81 | 7 to 10 | 1890-92 | 6.50 |
| 1882-85 | 7 to 15 | 1893 | 5.90 |
| 1886-89 | 7 to 10 | 1894 | 5.90 |
| 1890-93 | 8 to 10 | 1900 | 4.80 |
| 1894-97 | 8 to 11 | 19001-02 | 4.80 |
| 1898-1901 | 8 to 12 | | |

Source: Guha (1991)

Another reason was that in Assam, the fertility of the soil was high¹³, population was scanty¹⁴, and there was extremely low rate of land revenue that favored the peasantry. Rice, the common crop, was grown with little effort and its cultivation yielded a large return without any huge capital investment. Nevertheless, Assamese society was characterised by relative absence of wage-labourers as the land-man ratio was favourable to the peasant (Chatterjee et al., 1981). Hence, there was no necessity for other kind of work and going for plantation work with such a low wage rate was not economic also. In view of all this it was quite rational on the part of the local people to be reluctant to work in the plantations because the opportunity cost of working in plantation was higher compared to agriculture. Also, in contrast to the migrant workers from Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas (both together known as Jharkhand), for the

¹³ Approximate physical product per acre for rice (cleaned) was 12 Mds., Cotton 6 Mds., Sugarcane 24 Mds., per unit price being Re 1, Rs 3.5 and Rs. 8 respectively.

¹⁴ Cultivable land in 1853 was 1.02 acres per head. The density per square mile in Assam Proper in 1901 was 106 (Guha 1991).

local workers there was no non-economic coercion for working in the plantations, hence the reservation price for them to work in the plantations was higher.

It is in this context, the colonial government progressively increased the land revenue during the first half of the 19th century in order to make peasantry relatively less attractive. The small peasants (majorly from the tribal communities) failing to meet the increased revenue demands had to quit the land (Chatterjee et al. 1981). These small peasants who had quit from agriculture found employment in two places. One set of people were migrated to tea plantation sector and joined the labour force. The other set of peasants joined as agricultural wage labourer with the large peasants who were able to retain land. Till early 1860s, the local labourers mostly Boro-Kachari tribe were found working in the tea gardens whereas, others preferred agricultural work (Sircar 1986). These arrangements of mobilizing labourers to work in plantations did not prove to be very successful because this did not solve the problem of labour scarcity. In the course of time, the tea plantation sector expanded and the mid 1860s onwards an acute scarcity of labour was experienced (Dasgupta 1986). The rapid growth of the sector on the one side and shortage of labour supply at the low level of wages led planters to obtain labour from other sources. They first attempted to recruit Chinese labour but failed in this effort also.¹⁵ Therefore, the planters then turned back on tribal labour from Chotanagpur (Badgaiyan 1986). They preferred the aboriginal races from Bengal and Chotanagpur division for unskilled works, since labour from these regions got ability to adjust with the 'work conditions' and 'labour process' in tea gardens. Along with the unskilled workers, they also recruited skilled agricultural labour from Bihar, North West Provinces and Oudh (Chatterjee et al. 1981) for doing relatively better skilled jobs. The requirement of skilled agricultural labourer in tea plantation was very less as compared to unskilled labourers. Hence, the recruitment policy of the planters was majorly directed towards recruiting workers from Chotanagpur. Therefore, from about mid 1860s onwards the planters resorted to a policy of systematic and organized recruitment of tribal/semi-tribal as well as non-tribal

¹⁵ For details see Weiner (1978), page 89.

peasant communities majorly from the Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas region. In fact till 1890s, emigrants from these two regions (jointly called Jharkhand) formed almost 50 per cent of the emigrants (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.4: Jharkhand Emigrants to Assam

| Year | Total Adult Emigration to Assam | Adult emigrants from Jharkhand | Proportion of Jharkhand emigrants to total emigrants |
|------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 1880 | 12841 | 7549 | 58.79 |
| 1885 | 21144 | 9790 | 46.30 |
| 1890 | 26205 | 13162 | 50.23 |
| 1895 | 56501 | 18369 | 32.51 |
| 1900 | 45044 | 17605 | 39.08 |
| 1905 | 24209 | 9928 | 41.01 |
| 1910 | 34292 | 9352 | 27.27 |

Source: Mohapatra (1985)

From the labour point of view, though the wages and work conditions were no better than peasantry, they participated as labourer in tea plantation for two main reasons. One is that tea plantation work was essentially similar to that of agriculture. Since, these labourers also came from various forms of peasant and tribal background; there was no radical change in the pattern of occupation. Most of them were earlier subsistence agricultural labourer or activities akin to agriculture (Singh 1978). Secondly, there was also the possibility of getting land for cultivation, not only after their contract had expired but, in many cases, even before that. For the tribal agricultural community deprived of its ancestral land, the attraction of this opportunity induced them to join tea plantation sector (Badgaiyan 1986). Of late, a bulk of tribal groups from Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas migrated to the tea gardens in Assam and North Bengal. According to 1911 census report, as many as 1,43,000 Chotanagpur born labourers were recruited in the Assam tea garden. However, in 1920-21 the number of recruits came down sharply to 42000. Mainly the bulk consisted of the Mundas, Oraons, Bhumij, Kharias, Kols or Hos and Santals (see Table 3.4). The second class of migrants to Assam from these regions was from the semi-aboriginals and the lower caste Hindus (Mohapatra 1985).

Table 3.5: Tribes of Jharkhand Enumerated in Assam

| Name of Tribes | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 |
|----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Mundas | 46244 (40.4) | 80693 (40.4) | 91268 (38.0) | 127994 (50.8) |
| Oraons | 17736 (15.5) | 23861 (11.9) | 28583 (11.9) | 42156 (16.7) |
| Bhumij | 20632 (18.0) | 34250 (16.1) | 38664 (16.1) | 46000 (18.3) |
| Others | 29942 (26.1) | 60962 (34.0) | 81540 (34.0) | 35757 (14.2) |
| Total | 114554 (100) | 199766 (100) | 240055 (100) | 251907 (100) |

Note: Others include Kharia, Santals, Kols, Goriat, Rautia, Ghasi, Turi, Ghatwal, Korwa,

Source: Mohapatra (1985)

Once they joined the labour force though indentured coolies in Assam tea garden, these tribal groups suffered from exploitative situation and they faced humiliation and ruthless exploitation by planters and *sardars* (Bates and Carter 1992; Bhadra 1990). The exploitative actions by the planters supported by the government gave rise to labour protest in the form of desertion and assaults, as well as informal collective bargaining etc. At this juncture, it was important for planters to go for some arrangement that would ensure permanent solution to this problem. Hence, an indentured system of labour relation was introduced (Dasgupta 1992). Along with it Workmen's Breach of Contract Act, 1859 and several subsequent legislations enabled the planters to overcome these problems and to bind labourers. With marginal modifications the indentured system remained in force till 1926 (Haan 1995). The main objective of this system was twofold; one was binding the workers to plantations and second was to avoid formation of any formal or informal unions among the workers.

In the initial phase of indentured system, major recruitments were carried out through informal networks of recruiters in localities. Instead of the market mechanism, force and politico-legal mechanisms became of crucial importance in mobilizing labour. Not only men, but also women and children were recruited through a system based on coercion (Dasgupta 1992). However, very soon recruitment through non-market mechanism attracted the attention of the colonial authorities primarily for two reasons: first, an effective recruitment system was essential for securing the required supply of labourers and second, the malpractices associated with recruitment such as kidnapping, deception, etc. earned an ill repute for the indentured system which was articulated by the anti indentures lobby in their campaign for its abolition (Mishra 2009). Soon a well

structured and formal system of recruitment was evolved under which recruitment operations were conducted by the formally appointed recruiting agents, and sub-agents across the region and localities.

Following the formal recruitment system, soon, *arkatti*¹⁶ system was introduced in 1863 and the *sardari*¹⁷ system in 1870 and it became major recruitment systems, which eventually came to be known as 'free' recruitment system. However, even in these methods hardly any element of free choice was given to the labourers (Dasgupta 1992). Under this system, the planters sent out licensed contractors or their agents from their gardens to recruit in their home districts. A labourer, once recruited through contract, was bound to serve for a specific period varying from 3 to 5 years on the garden to which he was recruited. In case, he failed to do so without reasonable cause or 'absconded', he was liable to be arrested by the planters without any warrant and criminally punished (Dasgupta 1981). For the period of contract the indentured labourers did not have any right over the disposal of their own labour power. In many cases, even after the expiry of contract, the workers failed to get released from their employers (Dasgupta 1981). The manner in which the system of recruiting and employing the labourers was implemented placed tribal labourers completely under the control of the planters. The labourers' movement off the plantation sites was severely curtailed (Mishra 2009).

In due course of time, the tea planters realized that exclusive reliance on these systems, particularly recruitment through licensed contractors were too expensive, uneconomic and inconvenient. Hence, under the Act I of 1882, 'free' emigrations of the workers were encouraged along with a deregulated system of recruitment by unlicensed as well as licensed contractors (garden sardars). Garden sardars were paid on a commission basis for each recruit. The total cost of recruitment before the Second World War was about 100 rupees per recruit

¹⁶ The Arkatti system was characterized by unlicensed recruiting from Chota Nagpur and other parts of (tribal) central and South Eastern parts of the subcontinent.

¹⁷ The Sardari system was characterized by recruitment of new labourers by those already employed in the tea estates.

which was equivalent to one year's earning of a worker.¹⁸ This system further exacerbated the previous abuses and involved forms of extra-legal, non-market power as well market power. Often, poverty-stricken potential migrant workers were given loans by garden *sardars* to clear their debt to *zamindars* and *Sahukars*, and to meet their travel expenses. In this way they entered the grip of the *sardars*. The wages in the garden were significantly low ranging. According to a Report on an enquiry into the conditions of Labour in Plantations in India, during 1944 the average earnings of men employed in tea gardens in Assam ranged between 8.5 and 12 rupees a month in different districts. Women's earnings ranged from 6.5 to 11 rupees, and those of children from about 5 to 7 rupees. Given this lower level of wages, it was difficult on the part of workers to clear the debts.

The recruitment process adopted to mobilize labourers from these regions to work in Assam plantations and the exploitative situations they had to face has resemblance with the recruitment process adopted by planters in other parts of world like Java, Sumatra, Malaya, Mauritius, Fiji etc. For example Breman (1989), in his study of the plantation system in Sumatra's east coast during the Dutch colonial rule, noted the presence of fraudulent and coercive means to recruit labour for the plantations. He found, the extra economic coercion rather wage incentive as the characteristic feature of labour control in these plantations. Indebtedness and bondage, restriction in mobility, inhuman and unhealthy living and working conditions, widespread contagious diseases and consequent high mortality were some of the features revealed by Breman.

However, in one or the form the indentured system of recruitment of tribal workers continued throughout the colonial reign. It was in 1953 that serious questions of recruitment of the labourers in Assam was raised, although, from completely different perspective (Bhadra 1990). The government of India seriously perturbed at the growth of unemployment and at the shortage of food stuff, suggested that recruitment of labour from outside the state should be curtailed or discontinued, and attempts should be made to induce labour from states with excess labour shift to estates where additional labour was required.

¹⁸ Report on an enquiry into the conditions of labour in plantations in India

The Indian Tea Association, while not sanguine as to the results of such a scheme, shared the government's wishes and offered to co-operate with it. Nonetheless, it was soon realized that there was a big gap between the demand and supply from within the state. The government, therefore, permitted the recruitment of some 11,000 labourers in 1955. Since 1959 recruitment from outside was stopped and the Tea District Labour Association was abolished and labourers were then employed only from the existing unemployed ones available within the state (Bhadra 1990).

3.4 (b) Coal Mining

The other sector where destitute tribal workers sought employment opportunities was coal mining industry in India. In India, coal mining was started during colonial period in late 19th century. They first discovered in the Raniganj coal mines (Dasgupta 1981). By the end of the 19th century, other mining fields were started in Jharia and Giridih areas also. Development of coal sector in India was given high priority by the colonial government, which led to immense demand for unskilled labourer for mining.

The areas surrounding the coalmines were largely inhabited by the tribals and semi-aboriginal tribes and hence they became an attractive recruit for the mine owners. However, the tribal labour of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas exhibited a distinct preference for tea garden employment, owing to more familiar living and working conditions there than those prevalent in the coal mines. Moreover, the wages and conditions of work in the coal mines were also not very attractive, although the wages was higher than the wages prevalent in tea gardens (Mohapatra 1985). An official enquiry made in 1896 revealed that, during the period 1880-94 real wages offered to a miner in Raniganj coalfields averaged Rs 5 to 6 per month, while the monthly wage of an 'able-bodied' agricultural labourer in Burdwan, the district in which the Raniganj coal-fields were located, was never less than Rs 7 during the above period (Dasgupta 1981). All this factors such as unfriendly work conditions and low wages created a situation of labour shortage in the mining sector. Therefore, in order to overcome

the problem of labour shortage and ensure a sufficient and steady supply of cheap labour to mining sector, the coal companies resorted to a system of recruitment and strict control of labour. Group of scholars argued that, in the milieu of labour shortage coal mines sector followed various measures in order to ensure regular supply of labour (Simmons, 1976; Gupta, 1981; Haan, 1995). The commonly used methods are described below:

(1) *Zamindari and Nokarani*: This system was used in larger collieries. In order to attract a sufficient and permanent supply of mining labour many of the larger collieries acquired the *zamindari* rights of extensive areas of surface land in and around the coalfields. This was to take advantage of their position as an influential landlord to exert pressure on their inherited tenants to perform some mining work. In this way whole villages would be purchased and incorporated into this industrial variant of the *zamindari* estate. Moreover, these possessions enabled firms to offer plots of cultivable land to labour who had migrated to the mines from places further afield as an inducement for them to settle down in the vicinity of the pits. To establish a firm holds over their tenants, the *Nokarani* or service tenancy arrangement was developed whereby miners and particularly *malkatas* (the face workers) were granted free or only nominally rented paddy land in return for working for a certain number of days in the year in the respective mining company. In certain cases the coal companies did not directly acquire *zamindari* estates rather they found that arrangement with the local *zamindar* was more convenient. Under this arrangement the coal companies were to receive a certain number of miners from within the area of the influence of the *zamindar*.

The railway colliery of Giridih followed the *zamindari* and *Nokarani* systems (Dasgupta 1981). The *malkatas* were allowed two bighas (2722 Sq.ft.) of good paddy field at a very nominal rent on the agreement of at least one member of the household had to put in 230 days work, in the year at the mines. In case they failed to follow the agreement without "good reason" meant eviction. In this agreement, no family member was permitted to work in the colliery of another concern, and every three years the land allocated to each worker was

changed in order to preclude the claiming of occupancy right. However, this was in complete violation of Chotanagpur tenancy act which had laid down that no tenancies could carry the condition of both rent and service beyond 1908. The *Nokarani* system at Giridih remained very much intact until the late 1930s.

(2) *Direct or Sarkari Recruitment*: Under this system the workers were directly recruited and employed by the company. Many of the collieries, particularly the medium-sized ones in Jharia and in Raniganj and to a lesser degree in Giridih, recruited mining labour through their own selected employees, the latter earning a special remuneration. Sometimes village headmen were also given monthly salaries or small commissions for persuading their fellow-villagers to work at a particular colliery and attend it regularly (Gupta 1981). Unlike the Assam tea plantations, under this system there was no penal contract. But even without the penal sanction, ways and means were found to bind labourer to mine work through contracts. However, there are evidences that in some cases some coal companies (e g the Bengal Coal Company) made the miners enter into a written yearly contract which laid down certain conditions and obligations for them.

(3) *Indirect Method of Recruitment*: This method was also called *ticcardari* system. Under this system, company would appoint a few contractors and these contractors will further appoint other recruiters for the job. *Ticcardars* were widely used by all collieries, Europeans or indigenously owned a minority of *ticcas* were offered on a per capita and/or commission basis. The mine manager would tell the *ticcardar* the approximate quantity and type of labour they required. The *ticcardar* would then dispatch his network of agents to selected area with instruction to establish links with the village headmen of the locality. This system of recruitment was very similar to sardari system of recruitment used in tea gardens, and was very expensive as well (Simmons 1976). This method of Recruitment through contractors was a widely used practice of all collieries. However, there were two different classes of contractors: the labour of recruiting contractors and the raising contractors. Some of the large coal companies employed labour contractors who were only responsible for the recruitment. The

mine manager indicated to the contractor the approximate number and type of labourers needed by the colliery. Thereafter the contractor sent his agents, usually village headmen employed as *sardars* to selected areas to establish contact with the potential recruits. Once the mine labourer recruited in this way, they were sent to the colliery and the contractor had no further responsibility. The *sardars* were paid, in turn, good amount per recruit (RCLI 1931). Hence, for mobilizing potential labourers *sardars* used to give various inducements such as wages in advance to pay off their debts, travel expenses, food and money for drinking, which was of course indirectly provided by the company. These advances were used to bind the worker to the particular mine and unless and until this advances is recovered the miners had to work in that particular mine. With the meager wages, it was impossible for the workers to repay these loans, and hence, they were never able to become debt-free. In all such cases, the labourer was directly employed, organized, administered and paid by the mine management.

The other type of contractors, the raising contractors, played a greater role than merely recruiting workers. The job of the raising contractors was to recruit workers to dig the coal and load it into wagons and in return they receive a fixed payment per ton from the coal company. The payment received by them varied in the neighbourhood of 3 or 4 *annas* per ton of coal raised (RCLI 1931). These raising contractors were usually responsible for the selection of the workers, the distribution of their work, the payment of their wages or even the number of workers employed. The contractors neither had any mining engineering experience nor qualification, yet they were often of substantial means and sometimes had zamindari on which tenants were settled on the condition that they would work in the mines. They sometimes combined the functions of the employers, money lenders and landlords which slipped into one another to the great disadvantage of the workers. In the Jharia field these contractors were responsible for about 70 per cent and in Raniganj field for about 40 per cent of the output (RCLI 1931).

All these recruitment systems were in action in the early stage of development of the mining industry to mobilize and employ the local tribal people to work in the mines. Since most of the collieries were located in tribal areas, tribals provided the bulk of the mining labour force from the earliest days (Simmons 1976). Throughout the nineteenth century, the mining labour force was predominantly composed of two major social groups: Santals and Bauris (a caste on the lowest rung of the Hindu hierarchy) (Simmons 1976; Haan 1995). In fact till 1920s the method of recruitment was focused on recruiting miners from proximity. Until early 1920s, in both the Jharia and Raniganj coalfields the overwhelming majority of miners were recruited from the population living more or less in proximity to the coalfields the coal districts themselves and the contiguous districts of Bengal and Bihar. However, with the expansion of the coal production during the First World-war, the demand for labour also increased and the industry began to draw workers from a wider population from the semi-tribals and low caste Hindus (Simmons 1976). In 1911, the census records that the Santals and Bauris accounted for over 50 percent of the labour force, the remainder consisting mainly of low caste Hindus and sprinkling Brahmins, Banias, and Muslims.

This was also the period when technological change was introduced in coal mining; however, the process was very slow¹⁹ (Simmons 1976). Although, its impact on job obsolescence was very marginal, it greatly affected the composition of labour force. The post war period showed considerable increase in the production of coal. The increased demand for coal encouraged the opening of a large number of small mines, working for the most part of inferior coal, and production reached a peak at 21.75 million tons in 1919. A new record was made in 1929, when the production reached to a level of 22 million tons. However, this expansion was taken place during the period of the great depression, which resulted in closing down of many weaker mines, while the stronger mines with improved methods of working increased their output. The total output thus increased, while the total number of mines and workers had decreased and the latter being confined to surface workers.

¹⁹ The major innovation of coal mining during the colonial period was the steady growth in the use of blasting work.

Table 3.6: Production of coal from 1886 to 1929²⁰:

| Years | Production (in million tons) | Number of mines | Average daily number employed (in '000) |
|------------|------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| 1886-1900* | 3.9 | 191 | 61 |
| 1901-1905* | 7.0 | 297 | 83 |
| 1906-1910* | 10.9 | 437 | 105 |
| 1911-1915* | 14.7 | 554 | 129 |
| 1916-1920* | 18.5 | 700 | 168 |
| 1921 | 18.4 | 884 | 191 |
| 1922 | 18.2 | 953 | 184 |
| 1923 | 18.8 | 942 | 183 |
| 1924 | 20.3 | 846 | 187 |
| 1925 | 20.0 | 810 | 173 |
| 1926 | 20.1 | 722 | 170 |
| 1927 | 21.1 | 644 | 165 |
| 1928 | 21.5 | 556 | 164 |
| 1929 | 22.3 | 548 | 166 |

Note: * indicates average for 4 years

Source: Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India

The retrenchment workers greatly affected the tribal workers because tribal workers were mainly employed to do underground unskilled jobs and were not capable of coping up with the technological advancements. On the other hand, the migrant communities from up-country tended to monopolize any operation which required the use of technology and explosives (Simmons, 1976). The non-tribal workers started becoming the increasing minority of the labour force. They were drawn mainly from Bihar, the North-East of the Central provinces and the east of the united provinces and are known as C.P.²¹ miners. Possessed of greater adaptability than the aboriginals, they got accustomed to the use of explosives, hence able to work on coal-cutting machines, and were more assiduous and regular workers. The introduction of more modern methods of mining and the tendency to more systematization of working hours give this type of workers an increasing advantage over aboriginal labour. Gradually this group began to replace the indigenous tribal miners. This trend continued throughout the inter-war period, the original miners becoming relatively less important compared to the newcomers from the West. The social milieu of the mining community, however, remained static and the depressed classes at the

²⁰ Raniganj, Jharia and Bokaro together constituted 90 per cent of the total coal produced in India till 1930s (RCLI 1931)

²¹ The letters are an abbreviation of "Compressed Pellets" a commonly used form of gunpowder.

bottom of the social pyramid continued to provide the mines with the bulk of their raw labour needs (Bose 1931-32).

A distinct pattern of occupational specialization emerged from this growing heterogeneous composition. The Santals and the Bauris readily took to underground hewing from the beginning and this gave them the opportunity to work in conjunction with their womenfolk who acted as their loaders and carriers. As late as 1944 the labour investigation committee found that these two groups constituted nearly 90 percent of all coal cutters working at the face of Raniganj field (Simmons 1976). Moreover, from 1929 onwards women were prohibited from underground employment. This discouraged the tribals in taking jobs in mines because now they were not able to work in conjunction with their women folk. Until women's prohibition from underground mining, a family system of production remained in vogue. The adult males cut the coal at the pit face which was then loaded into baskets or tubs and carried by the women and children (Simmons 1976).

In 1921, Santals formed the largest group constituting 13.3 per cent of the workforce, followed by other castes from semi-aboriginals; Bhuiyans (11.8 per cent), Bauris (11.7 per cent), and Chamars (9.4 per cent) (Simeon 1995). The unskilled jobs were dominated by aboriginal and semi-aboriginal workers. Whereas, the supervisory grade jobs were dominated by upper caste like Brahmins, Rajputs and Kayasthas. However, he also showed that the proportion of tribals in total workforce in coalmining declined over the year and up-country workers from Chhatisgarh, U.P., and Bihar replaced the local tribal workers.

Most important reason for this replacement was that the mine owners preference for other category of workers. According to miners' perception, tribal workers were lacking commitment towards work. On the contrary, tribals of Chotanagpur were preferred over the workers from the plains of central province in Assam plantations because the propensity among central province workers to flee from the oppressive plantation environment was more than double that of

Chotanagpur tribals and tribals from Chotanagpur were equipped for doing hard work even in adverse conditions (Mohapatra 1985). However, the actual reason for this shift in demand labourers was due to the fact that the workers from up-country were more equipped to handle the slow technological change that was going in the mining industry as compared to the local tribals. Hence, with slow change in the system of production, the demand for comparatively more skilled workers increased. In addition to that, the other non-tribal group seemed to take more readily to machine work than did the indigenous miners (Simmons 1976).

During the Second World War, the coal mining industry really faced shortage of labour because of large demand for labour arising out of military construction activities. During this period the government directly intervened in recruitment process and a special system of recruiting directly sponsored by the governmental authority was also introduced (Gupta 1981). This was a serious attempt to recruit labour from distant districts in Bihar, the United Provinces and Central Provinces. In November 1944 the government passed the labour recruitment order, whose declared objective was "to achieve full man-power control in respect of unskilled labour". As a sequel to the abovementioned order a Directorate of Unskilled Labour Supply was set up in 1944 (Simmons 1976) and recruitment centers were established in Gorakhpur and Bilashpur and by 1947, near about 30,000 workers were brought from these areas (Haan 1995). In late 1946, it was replaced by Coalfields Recruiting Organisation, which continued even after the independence. This recruitment system facilitated recruitment of labourers from all over the country and in the process so called "incompetent labourers" got replaced by more skilled labourers from all over the country.

3.5 Discussion

The penetration of colonial capitalism in India led to the development and growth of many industries. Two important industries that developed in the eastern part of the country during the colonial period were tea plantation and coal mining. These two industries which were started in the line of colonial mode of production, were highly labour intensive. Hence, for its development, both the

industries demanded large quantity of manpower. In order to meet the increased demand for workers, a new labour regime was inaugurated in which labour began to flow from regions where people were unemployed, or displaced from agriculture or cottage industries, towards the regions of heightened industrial or agricultural activity (Mishra 2009). One of the most important among such flows of labourers was the migration of workers from the districts of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas to work on labour intensive plantation settlements in Assam and coal producing districts in Bengal and Chotanagpur.

However, the migration of the labourers to industrial regions was not a very smooth transfer from less industrial regions to more industrial regions. There were two opposite strands of literature existing, regarding labour migration during the colonial period (Haan 1995). On the one extreme, migrants are portrayed as the top layer of the population, the young men with money and contacts taking opportunities when offered. On the other is the picture of the migrants forced by poverty to migrate under the system of indenture or as landless labourers moving in groups from one job to the other. In the case of Jharkhand, the latter picture predominates, of the migrant as victim of colonialism and capitalism, migration under an indentured system of recruitment.

It is clear from the analysis that, in both industries during their initial phase of development, they were not able to attract labour from other places, recruitment policies were made to recruit tribal workers from Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas. These tribal labourers from the earliest stage formed a crucial component for the growth and development of these industries. However, slowly they got replaced by other group of workers. In the case of tea plantation in Assam, the replacement occurred due to scarcity of food available to sustain the population of Assam. Whereas in the case of coal mining replacement was due to the fact that skill requirements of labourer changed. Earlier when mining was done using manual labour, tribals were considered to be the best recruit. However, with slow introduction of technology in mining, non-tribal workers tended to monopolize the job. It should be noted here that coal companies did

not provide any training to their workers to cope up with the new production technology. Hence, in the whole process of evolution of labour market among tribals can be theorized in the line of 'natural selection' of efficient or incentive-compatible responses of the industry. According to the requirement of industry as well as the corresponding environment, the requirement for type of labourers changed, resulting in a replacement of one group of workers with other.

3.6 Conclusion

The colonial and post-colonial period marks a watershed in the history of labour force development among tribal population in India. The colonial period witnessed the emergence of labour market among tribals; however, the kind of labour market that evolved was highly segmented in terms of composition as well as mobility. In a few industries representation of some castes was very high while recording the complete absence of the other castes. For example, proportion of Mundas (a tribals group from Jharkhand) working in tea plantation of Assam and North Bengal was very high, whereas its participation in Jute industry in Calcutta was negligible, although the distance of jute industry was much lesser as compared to Assam tea estates. Similarly, the labour market that evolved was not free in a sense that there was no free choice on the part of labourers. In these sectors an indentured system was followed due to the shortage of workers to work in these newly developed industries. Hence, the recruitment carried out using the indentured system by the miners and planters. Initially, when the industries were in infant stage of development, tribal workers from Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas were recruited to meet the demand for labour. However, with time, demand for tribal workers declined in coal mining and was replaced by a more competent group of workers, whereas in Assam tea estates recruitment of local people increased after 1953 Act, owing to scarcity of food to support the population. Hence, again tribals were left in the labour market with no "means of production" to search for job.

Chapter 4

TRIBAL LABOUR MARKET IN THE CONTEMPORARY ERA

4.1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters, it has been discussed that the policies of British government were guided by the principle of surplus accumulation through capitalistic mode of production. In order to extract surplus, industries were established which exploited both human and natural resources. In this realm, the previous two chapters have primarily dealt with two issues. First, the destruction of agriculture and subsistence means of livelihood due to the colonial policies, which forced the tribal people to participate in the labour market, was discussed. Secondly, how the development of industries and plantation led to generation of employment among tribals was discussed. The analysis shows that the formation of tribal labour market is an outcome of interplay between the distress driven peasants and colonial industrial development. Moreover, the employment of tribal workers in the emerging industries during this period was a result of the demand for unskilled labour generated by the labour intensive capitalist industries. Hence, with the high demand for unskilled labour in the industries, tribals found it easier to get absorbed in the industries.

In the post-independent era, the government directed its policies towards inducing development in the country. Hence, heavy industrialisation and raw material extraction were considered as the tools for inducing development in the country. Jharkhand, being rich in mineral resource¹, became an attractive destination for the government to establish a number of industries and mining projects. At present the state is a home to many industrial and mining centres like Ranchi, Bokaro, Jamshedpur, and Dhanbad. Many companies have been established particularly after Independence, the prominent ones being Tata Iron and Steel Company, Sriram Bearing, Tata Engineering and Locomotive Company, Sindri fertilizer factory, Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi, Jindal Steel Plant, Patratu, Electrosteel Plant, Bokaro, Usha Martin Limited,

¹ The state contains almost 40 per cent of the mineral reserves found in India.

Ranchi chemicals. The other explosive factories in Gomia were established in the private sector. In the cooperative sector low temperature coal carbonization, Tar distillation plant, Hatia Heavy Machinery Plant, Foundry forge, Barauni Oil refinery, superphosphate Factory were established. Many new coal mines and coal washeries were set up under the National Coal Development Corporation project; such as Bokaro Steel Plant and Methane gas plant in Bokaro.

However, these industries generated demand for more skilled workers, a criterion that tribal workers could hardly meet. The demand for labour in these industries was majorly filled by the non-tribal workers, mostly coming from the other states of the country. Hence, the region witnessed massive influx people from all over the country, particularly from the adjoining areas of Bihar and West Bengal, pushing the tribals further into their marginalised state. With the influx of non-tribal population in the region and the establishment of mining and other industries as well as developmental projects displacement of tribals from land also continued.

Therefore, the development process followed in the post-independence era, on the one hand continued displacement of tribals from their land and on the other hand, could not create sufficient jobs for them, chiefly on account of their lack of skill, poor literacy and education and absence of technical knowledge required in these industries. Corbridge (1987) argued that industrialization of Jharkhand has been at the expense of tribal land rights and has led to a significant drain of resources and revenues from the region. Hence, regardless of all newly emerging industries and new job avenues coming up in the region, tribals find themselves increasingly subjected to exploitation and oppression. It has also been found that over the years the participation of the tribal in the labour market has been increasing followed by an increasing poverty level. Particularly in the rural sector, poverty level among STs is far more compared to the Non-ST population, figures being 54.2 per cent and 45 per cent respectively (Ministry of Tribal Affairs²). In the context of the increasing participation of ST population in the

² <http://tribal.nic.in/writereaddata/mainlinkFile/File890.pdf>

labour market with an abject poverty level, it is worthwhile to examine the position of tribals in the labour market in the contemporary era.

In this milieu, the present chapter tries to analyse the present condition of tribals in the labour market. The focus of the chapter is to analyse the structure of labour market as well as the nature of jobs across all sectors, wages and working conditions among the tribal labour in Jharkhand in the contemporary period. This chapter is organised into six sections. Section 4.2 gives a profile of the changing employment structure of tribal labour in the labour market in the post-independent era. Given the dynamics of employment structure, section 4.3 discusses the industrial distribution of tribal workers and non-tribal workers in the labour market. Since, employment in various industries does not give proper insight into the nature of the activities they are involved in and the amount of remuneration they receive; we will look at the employment and wages of ST workers vis-à-vis Non-ST workers in various occupations under each industry under section 4.4. Section 4.5 will discuss the economic and social security of tribal workers in the labour market. The last section, i.e. section 4.6, will end the chapter with concluding remarks.

4. 2 Employment Structure

Despite the heavy industrialization, the proportion of both tribal and non-tribal workers engaged in industries is far less compared to agriculture and tertiary sector. Particularly, for tribals³ the proportion is considerably less in industries (see Table 4.1). Moreover, industry-wise distribution of ST and Non-ST workers (Table 4.1) shows that concentration of ST workers is in more or less stagnating industries. We can see from table 4.1 that tribal workers concentration is more in agriculture, and other services whose contribution in output is either constant or declining. Whereas in growing industries (in terms of share in output), like Non-Household industries, construction, trade and commerce, and transportation tribal workers share in total employment is minimal. On the contrary, in all these industries concentration of Non-tribals are relatively significant.

³ ST population constitutes about 26 percent of the total population (census, 2001)

Table 4.1: Change in Occupational Structure of Tribals of Jharkhand (in Percentage)

| Occupation | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | Percentage increase in 1961-91 |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| Cultivator | 79.43(57.7) | 63.86(43.3) | 65.40(32.0) | 66.26(42.8) | 54.36(30.6) | -19.30 (-6.63) |
| Agricultural labourer | 8.55 (10.9) | 26.00(23.2) | 20.60(14.4) | 21.93(19.8) | 29.81(27.5) | 148.00(128.43) |
| Forestry, hunting, Plantation & allied activities | 4.12 (10.8) | 1.09 (1.1) | 1.06 (0.8) | 0.29 (0.6) | N. A. | -62.15 (-87.55) |
| Mining and quarrying | * | 1.60 (7.5) | 2.46 (6.0) | 1.79 (5.9) | N. A | 60.91(1043.52) |
| Household industry | 2.31 (5.0) | 1.46 (3.0) | 1.86 (2.4) | 1.45 (2.7) | 2.84 (4.8) | -39.14 (-32.42) |
| Other than household industry | 1.08 (4.5) | 1.79 (6.2) | 2.99 (7.3) | 1.50 (5.9) | N. A | 34.38 (65.77) |
| Construction | 0.33 (0.8) | 0.46 (1.2) | 0.65 (1.0) | 0.47 (1.4) | N. A | 36.75 (111.01) |
| Trade and commerce | 0.26 (2.9) | 0.21 (4.8) | 0.63 (4.9) | 0.51 (6.7) | N. A | 87.40 (191.85) |
| Transport etc. | 0.33 (1.8) | 0.85 (3.0) | 1.01(2.8) | 0.60 (2.8) | N. A | 75.97 (95.49) |
| Other services** | 3.58 (8.2) | 2.68 (6.8) | 3.30 (6.2) | 5.22 (11.4) | 12.99(37.1) | 40.89 (74.68) |

Notes: * indicates that for 1961 forestry and hunting includes mining and quarrying
 **Figure for 2001 include all other works, other than cultivators, agricultural labourer, and household industry

1) Figures in parentheses correspond to the respective figure for the non-ST population.

2) Figures for 1961 and 1971 are not strictly comparable with 1981, 1991, 2001⁴.

Source: Census of India, Various rounds

However, from the table 4.1, it is evident that there has been change in the occupational structure of tribals (and also non-tribals in somewhat lesser proportion) from cultivation to other occupation and industry. Although, the proportion of ST in other occupations outside agriculture is not very high, but rate of increase in workers engaged in other occupations is considerably high. Even in agriculture, there is a significant increase in the proportion of agricultural labourers, along with a decline in the share of cultivators among STs. This is a clear indication of transition that is taking place in a self sustained pre-

⁴ For details refer to Chapter 1, Appendix.

dominantly agricultural economy of tribals. An increasing proportion of tribals are participating in the labour market to eke out their livelihood. Given the trend, it is worthwhile to look at the labour market indicators to analyse the position of the tribal workers in the labour market.

4.2 (a) Labour force Participation and Work Participation for ST and Non-ST Labour in the Economy

A broad structure of the labour market for tribals and non-tribals can be analysed by looking at the total demand and supply of tribal and non-tribal labour in the labour market. Labour force participation rate (LFPR)⁵ and Workforce Participation Rate (WPR)⁶ can be used as broad indicators for total labour supply and labour demand in the economy respectively. Table 4.2 and table 4.3 give the changes in the LFPR and WPR over the time. It can be seen that there is only marginal difference between supply of labour and labour demanded in the economy. Moreover, for females in both categories the LFPR is exactly matching the WPR, except for the period of 1999-00 where the difference is again marginal. Among the male workers also, the difference is very minimal. From both the tables, it can be inferred that the difference between labour demand and labour supply (excess supply of labour) is very insignificant for both ST and Non-ST groups. Nonetheless, the difference is relatively high for the Non-ST group compared to the STs. The general explanation for this difference can be analysed through the differences in poverty levels in both the groups. Since, the poverty level among Non-ST population is lower as compared to ST population (head count ratio being 45 per cent and 54.2 per cent respectively), the entry in the labour market is characterised by distress led entry. The distress driven entry

⁵**Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR):** Labour Force Participation Rate is a measure of the proportion of the country's population that is engaged actively in the labour market, either by working or seeking work. It provides an indication of the size of the supply of labour available to engage in the production of goods and services.

$$\text{LFPR} = \frac{[\text{total workers} + \text{unemployed}]}{\text{Total population}} \times 100$$

⁶**Work Participation Rate (WPR):** Work Participation Rate is a measure of the proportion of the country's labour force who is engaged in work. It provides information on the ability of the economy to generate employment.

$$\text{WPR} = \frac{\text{Total worker}}{\text{Total population}} \times 100$$

compels them to get absorbed in any available work, therefore mostly they get absorbed as marginal workers or subsidiary workers. Hence, although the excess supply of labour is less, rate of participation of workers in marginal work could be very high for this group.

Table 4.2: Labour Force Participation Rate

| LFPR | 1999-00 | 2004-05 | 2007-08 |
|---------------|---------|---------|---------|
| ST | | | |
| Male | 67 | 48 | 56 |
| Female | 36 | 36 | 36 |
| Total | 52 | 43 | 46 |
| Non-ST | | | |
| Male | 58 | 53 | 50 |
| Female | 17 | 26 | 22 |
| Total | 39 | 41 | 36 |

Source: NSS Unit level Data, various rounds⁷

Table 4.3: Work-force Participation Rate (UPS+USS)

| WPR | 1999-00 | 2004-05 | 2007-08 |
|---------------|---------|---------|---------|
| ST | | | |
| Male | 65 | 48 | 54 |
| Female | 35 | 36 | 36 |
| Total | 51 | 42 | 45 |
| Non-ST | | | |
| Male | 55 | 51 | 48 |
| Female | 16 | 26 | 22 |
| Total | 37 | 39 | 35 |

Source: NSS Unit level Data, various round

It can also be observed that the WPR for ST population is generally on higher side compared to their Non-ST counterpart. In fact, the studies found that, this situation of higher WPR for ST than that of Non-ST population prevails for all over India (Singh 1986). Yet this higher participation of ST in labour force may not imply that they are better placed in terms of employment. In fact, it may indicate the presence of greater degree of disguised or under-employment among them compared to the non-tribals (Singh 1986). Rayappa and Grover (1979) argue that since the scheduled groups form the core among the weaker sections in the rural setting, WPR among them is always on the higher side. This trend is primarily due to participation of children, women and elderly in work, who are

⁷ Although the information collected in 64th round of NSS was a part of annual series of National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), the overall sample size is comparable with that of NSS 61st round.

forced to join the work force in order to eke out a living. The table 4.2 shows a similar trend. For females we can observe that among ST women WPR is around 36 per cent compared to 22 per cent among Non-ST females in 2007-08. This discrepancy can be explained through two factors; (1) the level of poverty among ST population is higher compared to Non-ST population, and (2) the cultural history of tribal society. Tribal society does not inhibit the participation of female in the struggle for the livelihood or it is forced to use it to eke out a livelihood.

For both the groups, among males there is an overall decline in the WPR. This declining WPR among ST males is associated with increasing unemployment rate among them, whereas for Non-ST males unemployment rate is also declining. Hence, table 4.3 and 4.4 together depicts a scenario, wherein on the one hand there is an increase in WPR rate among STs with increased unemployment rate, and on the other hand for Non-ST both WPR and unemployment rate has been declining. For STs it seems that there are more people entering the labour force, out of which some of them managed to get employment in either principle or subsidiary status and some remained in the labour as unemployed seeking employment. Whereas for Non-STs the declining WPR along with declining rate of unemployment may mean that some of them are voluntarily withdrawing from the labour force. The unemployment rates are, generally on a higher side among the Non-ST population than among the STs, which is evident from the table 4.4. One possible explanation for this phenomenon of lower unemployment among weaker sections is that at higher levels of living, people can afford to be discriminatory in their selection of employment while lower income families cannot (Rayappa and Grover 1979). Also, among the lower strata nature of job is not a consideration whereas in upper social groups certain occupations are a taboo. Hence, the high unemployment rates are associated with relative prosperity and an outcome of job expectation rather than joblessness (Basu and Kashyap 1992).

Table 4.4: Unemployment Rate⁸ (UPS+USS)

| | 1999-00 | 2004-05 | 2007-08 |
|---------------|---------|---------|---------|
| ST | | | |
| Male | 1.2 | 0.7 | 2.0 |
| Female | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| Total | 0.9 | 0.4 | 1.1 |
| Non-ST | | | |
| Male | 2.6 | 2.0 | 1.8 |
| Female | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| Total | 1.5 | 1.2 | 1.0 |

Source: NSS unit level data, different rounds

In contradiction to declining WPR within males of both groups, WPR for females has increased among both the groups. This increase is substantially high for Non-ST population, but the overall WPR among ST females are considerably higher than their Non-ST counterpart, as was shown in census data as well. Increase in WPR among the females in developing country like India is, generally, related to distress led entry of women in the labour force (Neetha 2009). It is generally argued that in poor households increase in WPR is a symbol of distress related entry of workers in the labour force. It is believed that under conditions of distress, when income levels falls below subsistence then a part of the normally non-working population are forced to enter the labour market to supplement the household income (Abraham 2008). In other words, if the main bread winners' (or primary workers) earnings are not sufficient to meet the subsistence needs of the household then non-workers (secondary workers) enter the labour market in search of employment.

The secondary workers or the normally non-working population in developing economies mainly consist of women, the elderly and children. Evidences suggest that the labour participation of these population segments in households surviving at subsistence level tend to be high when the earnings of their households are at subsistence levels (Abraham 2008). Thus, the normal non-participants enter the labour market to act as a buffer or a support for the household when the wages earned by the income earners is not able to meet the minimum needs of the household any more (D'Souza 1975; Dessing 2002).

⁸ Unemployment rate= $\frac{\text{Number of people unemployed (under both UPS and USS)}}{\text{Total Population}} * 100$

Second major change that can be seen is differential Worker population ratio⁹ (WPR) among main and marginal workers across rural and urban sector. In general, WPR is higher in rural sector compared to urban sector for both groups across both kinds of workers. This increased WPR in rural sector is primarily because of the presence of surplus labour in agriculture in the rural sector. Agriculture being the mainstay of the rural economy provides maximum employment to the rural workforce.

**Table 4.5: Distribution of WPR across Main workers and Marginal workers
(In percentage)**

| Year | Main | | | Marginal | | |
|--------------|------|--------|-------|----------|--------|-------|
| | ST | Non-ST | Total | ST | Non-ST | Total |
| Rural | | | | | | |
| 1981 | 37.5 | 30.0 | 32.7 | 9.8 | 5.6 | 7.1 |
| 1991 | 38.1 | 30.3 | 32.8 | 9.1 | 5.9 | 6.9 |
| 2001 | 28.0 | 22.7 | 28.8 | 19.9 | 15.0 | 16.5 |
| Urban | | | | | | |
| 1981 | 29.2 | 26.5 | 26.8 | 1.6 | 0.6 | 0.7 |
| 1991 | 28.8 | 25.0 | 25.4 | 1.1 | 0.5 | 0.6 |
| 2001 | 21.8 | 22.4 | 22.4 | 6.2 | 3.0 | 3.3 |
| Total | | | | | | |
| 1981 | 37.0 | 29.1 | 31.5 | 9.3 | 4.3 | 5.8 |
| 1991 | 37.4 | 28.9 | 31.2 | 8.5 | 4.4 | 5.6 |
| 2001 | 27.5 | 22.6 | 23.9 | 18.8 | 11.7 | 13.6 |

Source: Census of India, Bihar 1981, 1991, and Jharkhand 2001

It is also interesting to note that although WPR is declining for main workers (see Table 4.5), it is increasing for marginal workers and the increase is proportional to decline in work participation of main workers. In terms of composition as well, we can notice that the proportion of main workers in the workforce is declining whereas for marginal workers it is increasing (see Table 4.6). Since a large part of the growth in employment and increase in participation is in the form of marginal workers who are actually non-workers or the unemployed engaged in an economic activity for part of the year and do part-time work, the quality of work and the remuneration received from it are obviously poor (Unni and Raveendran 2007).

⁹ It is defined as the proportion of persons/person-days employed to total is referred to as work-force participation rates (WFPR) or worker-population ratio (WPR). (Employment and unemployment Situation in India, 2007-08).

Table 4.6: Percentage distribution of workers among Main and marginal work

| Categories | Main Workers | | | Marginal Workers | | |
|--------------|--------------|----------|----------|------------------|----------|----------|
| | 1981 (a) | 1991 (a) | 2001 (a) | 1981 (b) | 1991 (b) | 2001 (b) |
| Rural | | | | | | |
| ST | 79 | 81 | 58 | 21 | 19 | 42 |
| Non-St | 84 | 84 | 60 | 16 | 16 | 40 |
| Total | 82 | 83 | 60 | 18 | 17 | 40 |
| Urban | | | | | | |
| ST | 95 | 96 | 78 | 5 | 4 | 22 |
| Non-ST | 98 | 98 | 88 | 2 | 2 | 12 |
| Total | 97 | 98 | 87 | 3 | 2 | 13 |
| Total | | | | | | |
| ST | 80 | 81 | 59 | 20 | 19 | 41 |
| Non-ST | 87 | 87 | 66 | 13 | 13 | 34 |
| Total | 84 | 85 | 64 | 16 | 15 | 36 |

Note: Column (a) + Column (b) for respective years equals to 100

Source: Census of India, Bihar 1981, 1991 and Jharkhand 2001

It raises two important issues of concern with regard to STs employment trends in labour market. Firstly, the declining main workforce indicates that either there is retrenchment of workers from the main work force or there is no significant addition of workers in this category. Secondly, there is an increase in marginal workforce that could be due to addition of new entrants to this category or addition of retrenched workers from main category to marginal workforce. Given the fact that female participation in the workforce has increased (see Table 4.3), it can be inferred that a major portion of the increase in marginal workforce is due to the addition of female workers in the workforce (Neetha 2009). This addition of female workers in marginal workforce clearly indicates a distress driven participation of the women (Neetha 2009).

4.2(b) Status of Employment

To understand the dynamics of employment of STs in detail, the distribution of workers across various categories of employment as well as sectors is examined. The distribution of workers across different employment status shows some major shifts during the last decade. The first and foremost of these changes is the unprecedented increase in self employment in rural sector. The table 4.7 reveals that same has been true for both ST and Non-ST. Thus, the real expansion in employment is in the form of self employment in the rural sector, which accounts for about three-fourth of the total employment in the rural sector. For STs the

share of employment has increased from 68 per cent to 77 per cent during the period 1999-00 to 2007-08. In case of rural workforce, self employment always predominates over wage employment because of the presence of peasant class.

The second largest category of workers that dominates in the rural areas is the casual workers. These two categories together constitute somewhat 97 per cent of total workers among STs and 95 per cent among Non-STs in 2007-08. Although it is good to observe that the share of casual employment has decreased from 30 per cent to 20 per cent among STs and 38 per cent to 28 per cent among Non-STs in rural sector during the period 1999-00 to 2007-08. Nonetheless, in contrast to Non-STs Self-employment among STs is more and casual employment is less.

Table 4.7: Percentage Distribution of Employment by Status (UPS)

| Employment Status | 1999-00 | | 2004-05 | | 2007-08 | |
|------------------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------|
| | Rural | Urban | Rural | Urban | Rural | Urban |
| ST | | | | | | |
| Self-Employed | 68 | 31 | 74 | 33 | 77 | 19 |
| Regular/Wage Employees | 2 | 37 | 3 | 19 | 3 | 43 |
| Casual Labour | 30 | 32 | 23 | 48 | 20 | 38 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Non-ST | | | | | | |
| Self-Employed | 55 | 44 | 66 | 43 | 67 | 42 |
| Regular/Wage Employees | 6 | 39 | 6 | 42 | 5 | 38 |
| Casual Labour | 38 | 17 | 28 | 15 | 28 | 20 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: NSS unit level Data, Various rounds

In the urban sector for ST population it is the regular/wage employees dominate, while for Non-ST population it is again the self-employed. This increase in regular jobs among STs gives a promising picture as the absorption is during the period when jobless growth has been the observed phenomenon in the recent decade. However, it is highly likely that some of these jobs would be in a subsidiary capacity indicating part-time work (Unni and Raveendran 2007). Although in 1999-00, the share of all three categories of workers among STs was almost equal, figures are slightly greater for regular wage employees. The share of self-employed has declined drastically in 2007-08 from 31 per cent to 19 per cent. In the share of casual workers also, there is an overall increase with a decline during the period 2004-05 to 2007-08. Among the Non-STs, there is an overall decline in the share of self-employed and regular wage employees but an

increase in casual employment. Walker and Ryan (1990) observed that in the semi-arid tropics in India non-agricultural self-employment not only became an increasingly important source of income but also was a means of dampening household income variability.

The figures for the period 2004-05 also shows that a prominently high proportion of ST population employed under principal status also have subsidiary occupation (Table 4.8). Somewhat 34 per cent of ST population reported having both principle and subsidiary occupation. Corresponding figures for Non-ST is 25 per cent. Among the working population also, it is mostly those people with self employment that reported having subsidiary occupation.

Table 4.8: Percentage Distribution of Workers across Principle and Subsidiary Status (2004-05)

| Category | ST | Non-ST |
|--|-----|--------|
| Self Employed with subsidiary occupation | 22 | 14 |
| Regular/Wage Employee with subsidiary occupation | 1 | 1 |
| Casual Worker with subsidiary occupation | 11 | 10 |
| Employed under UPS but not under USS | 62 | 64 |
| Employed under USS but not under UPS | 4 | 11 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Source: NSS unit level data, 61st round

On the other hand proportion of regular workers as well as for casual workers engaged with subsidiary occupation is very less. The scenario is not unusual, as it is difficult for casual workers with low capabilities to engage themselves with any other jobs. Whereas a large section of the self employed with some minimum level of capabilities, in terms of land holding and education, go for livelihood diversification to eke out their living. Hence, both human capital (education) and physical capital (primarily land) acts as a major constraint on access to jobs or growth of regular wage employment. These two characteristics, to a large extent, determine the entry of various groups in the labour market in terms of employment status, industry in which they get absorbed, occupation they undertake etc. Therefore, a study of land ownership in the rural areas and level of education in both rural and urban area needs to be analysed with greater emphasis.

4.2(c) Land ownership and Level of Education among ST and Non-ST workers

Table 4.9 reveals that a large section of people, in the rural sector, with sub-marginal land are engaged as self-employed in non-agriculture, whereas people with marginal, small and medium land holdings are self employed in agriculture. The figures are true for both ST and Non-ST population. Since agriculture is not profitable with sub-marginal landholding, people move to some other occupation with very low level of capital investment using the same land, mostly as petty shop owners. Although, a small share of land provides some level of livelihood security, but they have to seek wage work for subsistence.

Table 4.9 Percentage Distribution of Rural Workers by Land size class (2004-05)

| Employment Status | Landless | Sub-Marginal | Marginal | Small | Medium and Large | Total |
|----------------------------------|----------|--------------|----------|----------|------------------|-----------|
| ST | | | | | | |
| Self employed in Non-Agriculture | 7 (7) | 67 (11) | 19 (3) | 0 (0) | 7 (7) | 100 (6) |
| Agricultural Labourer | 22 (40) | 63(21) | 15 (4) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 100 (11) |
| Other workers | 12 (29) | 69 (29) | 14 (5) | 4 (3) | 1 (2) | 100 (14) |
| Self employed in Agriculture | 0 (0) | 15 (29) | 47 (84) | 29 (91) | 9 (90) | 100 (62) |
| Others | 20 (24) | 42 (10) | 20 (4) | 17 (6) | 1 (1) | 100 (7) |
| Total | 6 (100) | 32 (100) | 36 (100) | 20 (100) | 6 (100) | 100 (100) |
| Non-ST | | | | | | |
| Self employed in Non-Agriculture | 17 (33) | 58 (32) | 17 (15) | 6 (10) | 2 (11) | 100 (23) |
| Agricultural Labourer | 32(24) | 61 (13) | 7 (2) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 100 (9) |
| wage worker in agriculture | 22(32) | 62 (26) | 13(8) | 3 (3) | 0 (0) | 100 (18) |
| Self employed in Agriculture | 0 (1) | 14 (13) | 49(67) | 29 (82) | 8 (85) | 100 (39) |
| Others | 11 (10) | 61 (16) | 21(8) | 6 (5) | 1 (4) | 100 (11) |
| Total | 12 (100) | 42 (100) | 28 (100) | 14 (100) | 4 (100) | 100 (100) |

Source: NSS unit level data, 61st round

Note:1) Land Possessed in hectares: Landless (<0.01), Sub-Marginal (0.001-0.40), Marginal (0.41-1.00), Small (1.01-2.00), Medium and Large (>2.00)¹⁰.

2) Figures in parentheses give distribution of land-ownership across various employment status.

Not surprisingly, the highest percentage of landless and land-poor is among the wage workers in agriculture. The high incidence of landlessness or near landlessness is perhaps the principle reason for the agricultural workers and

¹⁰According to land size classification used by National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector in a report on "Conditions of work and Promotion of Livelihood in the Unorganised Sector", 2007.

other workers to pursue wage work or non-farm activities, particularly in rural sector (NCEUS 2007).¹¹ Occupational diversification among other land-size categories has also been seen across the country. The small, medium and large land owners are mostly engaged in agriculture. Some level of diversification among other works has also been observed for this group. Normally, it is argued that workers from the medium and large land owning households move from cultivation of own farms to services and business enterprises. Whereas workers from the landless households on the other hand move out from agriculture to manual based non-agricultural activities; such as rickshaw pulling, mechanics, and wage labourer in trade and business enterprises (Hossain 2004).

It is highly likely that the landless and near landless workers will have low educational attainment, due to low level of physical capital, resulting in their absorption in unskilled category of work, mostly in the unorganised sector of the economy. Hence, level of education is a very crucial factor determining labour absorption in the labour market and is necessary for obtaining productive and remunerative employment. Table 4.10 and 4.11 gives the percentage distribution of workers by education across rural and urban sector. It shows that the level of education among ST workers, in almost all categories of work, in both urban and rural areas is lower compared to Non-ST workers.

In general, in the rural areas, the percentage of population with low education, i.e. primary education and below is higher than those with education above middle level. Specifically for STs, the percentage of worker with low education is far more compared to Non-ST workers. The proportion of illiterates is also much higher for the ST workers compared to Non-ST workers across all types of employment. Mostly, workers with low level of education are absorbed in the labour market as agricultural labourers, other workers, or as self employed in agriculture and non-agriculture. For most of these occupations, educational requirement is less and hence, they find it easier to enter into these occupations. Whereas the workers with higher level of education is more clustered in the other

¹¹A Report published by National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector on "Conditions of work and Promotion of Livelihood in the Unorganised Sector", 2007.

occupations outside agriculture and self-employment. These are the people with some level of capability in terms of educational attainment and have managed to find employment in the non-farm regular employment.

Table 4.10: Percentage Distribution of workers by Education, 2004-05 (Rural)

| Level of Education | Self-employed in non-agriculture | Agricultural labourer | Other workers | Self employed in agriculture | Other |
|--|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|------------------------------|-------|
| ST | | | | | |
| Non-literate | 57 | 68 | 68 | 61 | 26 |
| Literate without formal schooling | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Primary and below | 28 | 22 | 27 | 25 | 30 |
| Above Primary to secondary | 9 | 5 | 3 | 10 | 33 |
| Higher secondary | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Diploma/certificate/Graduation and above | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Non-ST | | | | | |
| Non-literate | 43 | 65 | 63 | 49 | 36 |
| Literate without formal schooling | 4 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Primary and below | 35 | 29 | 25 | 29 | 31 |
| Above primary to secondary | 14 | 5 | 8 | 16 | 20 |
| Higher secondary | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| Diploma/certificate/Graduation and above | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: NSS unit level data, 61st round

In urban sector also, the difference between ST and Non-ST (primary or below primary) worker's education is very significant. Proportion of ST workers with low level of education is considerably high compared to Non-ST workers. Also, a similar trend of clustering of illiterate and less literate workers towards casual employment and self employment can be seen in urban sector as well. Again, the workers with somewhat higher level of education are clustered towards regular wage/salaried employment. Hence, it is evident that education is a very fundamental determinant of the outcomes of a labour market. Share of workers with low education is high among casual workers in both rural and urban sector for ST as well as Non-ST population.

Table 4.11: Percentage Distribution of Workers by Education, 2004-05 (Urban)

| Level of Education | Self-employed | Regular wage/salary earning | Casual labourer | Others |
|--|---------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| ST | | | | |
| Non-literate | 43 | 20 | 46 | 27 |
| Literate without formal schooling | 0 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Primary and below | 22 | 21 | 43 | 32 |
| Above primary to secondary | 25 | 32 | 10 | 14 |
| Higher secondary | 3 | 7 | 0 | 15 |
| Diploma/certificate/Graduation and above | 7 | 17 | 0 | 10 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Non-ST | | | | |
| Non-literate | 24 | 18 | 35 | 20 |
| Literate without formal schooling | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Primary and below | 27 | 22 | 24 | 23 |
| Above Primary to secondary | 28 | 31 | 32 | 24 |
| Higher secondary | 8 | 7 | 3 | 16 |
| Diploma/certificate/Graduation and above | 11 | 20 | 2 | 15 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: NSS unit level data, 61st round

The lack of education and physical capital may be a major constraint for the land-poor households to avail the employment opportunities in relatively higher remunerative occupations (Hossain 2004). In terms of poverty also this is the worst effected group. The abject poverty prevalent among this marginalised section of the society constraints the conduit of acquiring capabilities, skills and education, that can ensure better place in terms of employment in the labour market and lower level of employment leads to a increase in poverty level. Hence, they enter a vicious cycle of poverty and low capabilities that leads to their absorption at a lower level.

4.3 Industrial Distribution of Workers

In the context of the above trends it is significant to look at the changes at the disaggregate level across various industrial sectors/ sub sectors as it could reveal important insights into the processes that are underway. Increased share of STs in sectors where the conditions of work is better would mean entirely different process when compared to a situation where STs are pushed to sectors which are known for poor conditions of work.

Industrial distribution of the workforce reveals that throughout Jharkhand, agriculture provides maximum employment to the total workforce, especially to the tribal workforce. In total, agriculture accounted for around 80 per cent of all ST workers in Jharkhand. The high percentage of workforce in agriculture bears a direct relation with work force participation. Mining and quarrying, one of the most important industry in Jharkhand and which has also lead to massive displacement of people, particularly of tribals, from their land on the name of development, shows that its contribution in total employment is very negligible. The share has declined from 2 per cent in 1999-00 to 1 per cent in 2007-08. However, as we have seen historically, tribals have formed a major section of the workforce in mining and quarrying industry; the trend is continued even now. With a population of only 27 per cent of the total population of the state, STs constitute 36 per cent of the total workforce in mining and quarrying in 2007-08.

Table 4.12: Nine fold Industrial Classification of Workers

| Industrial category | 1999-00 | | | 2004-05 | | | 2007-08 | | |
|---|---------|-----|----|---------|-----|----|---------|-----|----|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Agriculture, forestry and fishing | 83 | 59 | 43 | 80 | 50 | 43 | 78 | 47 | 45 |
| Mining and quarrying | 2 | 3 | 32 | 1 | 3 | 18 | 1 | 1 | 36 |
| Manuf. & repair services | 5 | 10 | 22 | 5 | 13 | 16 | 4 | 12 | 13 |
| Electricity, gas and water | 0 | 1 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 63 |
| Construction | 4 | 6 | 29 | 8 | 12 | 23 | 10 | 15 | 25 |
| Trade, hotels and restaurants | 1 | 9 | 7 | 1 | 11 | 5 | 2 | 11 | 8 |
| Transport, storage and communication | 1 | 3 | 15 | 1 | 4 | 13 | 2 | 5 | 17 |
| Finance, insurance, real estate and business services | 0 | 1 | 18 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Community, social and personal services | 4 | 8 | 19 | 2 | 6 | 15 | 3 | 7 | 15 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | | 100 | 100 | | 100 | 100 | |

Note: 1- Sectoral share in total ST employment, 2- Sectoral share in total Non-ST employment, 3- ST share in total employment in respective sectors.

Source: NSSO Employment and Unemployment Data, Various rounds

The industrial sector seems to have more or less stagnated in terms of providing employment to STs; there is an increase in the employment of Non-ST population in industrial sector. Most significant increase in employment is observed in

construction, where the share has increased from 4 per cent in 1999-00 to 10 per cent in 2007-08 but it is lower than the increase in their Non-ST counterpart. This can also be shown using the workforce composition of construction where proportion of STs has declined from 29 per cent in 1999-00 to 25 per cent, indicating to the entry of more non-ST population in this industry. Nevertheless, employment in the service sector is drastically increasing over the period. In trade, hotels and restaurants and transport, storage and communications as well share of ST employment has increased.

Overall there is a considerable increase in the service sector. This increase is not only for STs but also for Non-STs. Expansion of service sector without expanding the manufacturing sector is characteristic to an underdeveloped economy. The occupational structure of an underdeveloped economy demonstrates that agriculture and allied activities takes the largest share of the labour force (varying from 70 to 80 per cent of the population), which interestingly enough, is followed by petty trade and domestic services, called tertiary activities and not manufactures, i.e. secondary activities. In a poor economy, this is natural because the above services require a very negligible savings, skill and education which are within the ability of the economy to supply. This is also true that in these services there exist a huge number of disguised employments over and above those in the primary sector.

Here again there is a need to explore sectoral patterns, in terms of rural and urban sector, to understand the actual implications on ST employment as wide variation exist among these two sectors in terms of wages and other conditions of employment.

Table 4.13: Industrial Distribution of Workforce (in Percentage)

| Industry | Rural | | | Urban | | |
|--|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 |
| Cultivator | 68.8(52.9) | 69.6(54.7) | 66.0(39.4) | 12.2(3.5) | 13.3(3.9) | 4.1(1.8) |
| Agricultural labourer | 21.2(23.6) | 22.6(25) | 18.9(36.5) | 9.3(2.1) | 12.1(3) | 3.4(2.6) |
| Forestry, hunting and plantation, orchards and allied activities | 1.0(0.8) | 0.3(0.5) | - | 1.2(1.4) | 0.4(1.1) | - |
| Mining and quarrying | 1.7(4.5) | 1.3(2.8) | - | 12(17.8) | 10.9(14.1) | - |
| Household industry | 1.9(3.6) | 1.4(2.8) | 3.3(4.8) | 0.9(1.8) | 1.5(2.3) | 1.6(3.3) |
| Other than household industry | 1.8(4.4) | 0.8(2.3) | - | 22(25.2) | 12.9(18.1) | - |
| Construction | 0.3(0.7) | 0.3(0.8) | - | 6.5(3.4) | 3.8(3.2) | - |
| trade and commerce | 0.4(3.1) | 0.3(3.2) | - | 4.4(16.6) | 4(18.4) | - |
| Transport etc. | 0.6(1.8) | 0.4(1.5) | - | 8.5(9.4) | 4.5(7.3) | - |
| Others** | 2.3(4.6) | 3.3(6.4) | 11.8(19.3) | 23(18.7) | 36.6(28.6) | 90.9(92.3) |
| Total | 100(100) | 100(100) | 100(100) | 100(100) | 100(100) | 100(100) |

** Figures for 2001 include all other works, other than cultivators, agricultural labourer, and household industry

Note: Figures in parentheses corresponds to the respective figure for the non-ST population

Source: Census of India, Bihar and Jharkhand various rounds

Interestingly enough in both rural and urban sector agriculture provides employment to a large section of the population. This persistent and substantially high concentration of STs in agriculture is reflective of the fact that for most tribals, urbanisation and the pattern of industrial development did not mean expanding opportunities for employment. It is for this reason that even within urban sector, agriculture, which is elsewhere peripheral to the urban context and employment for the other group, continue to account for a far larger share of the ST workforce than one would expect.

In terms of composition of rural employment we find a conspicuous change in it across time coupled with high degree of diversification in favour of non-farm activities, especially in the tertiary sector employment. Data also reveals that the rate of diversification of the rural workforce in each sector is much more pronounced since the inception of policy reforms in 1991. Nevertheless, we find more or less continuous declining trend in the share of cultivation in employment

in both rural and urban sector accompanied by an opposite trend in the relative shares of the other sectors of the economy since 1981 for both the groups. A remarkable increase is seen in the employment of the rural and urban workforce in the tertiary sector as compared to the secondary sector since 1991. This increase is obviously accompanied by a decline in the share of the agricultural sector. However, it is also observed that rural employment diversification is more pronounced for Non-STs compared to STs. Data from rural sector shows that among both the groups the proportion of workers engaged in cultivation has decreased considerably. But for STs proportion of agricultural workers has also decreased, which is a reversal of the trend followed during 1961-1981 where agricultural workers among STs has increased in this region (Census of India, Bihar 1961, 1971, 1981). Lower share of ST agricultural labourers in total employment is mainly due to limitations of the scope of both census as well as NSS survey. Tribal agricultural labourers possess a low geographical mobility. The cultivators employ them only in the peak period when transplanting and or harvesting takes place (Singh 1986). It has also been observed that during this peak season to the adjacent areas, particularly to Bihar and West Bengal where agricultural labourers are in great demand. But as soon as the peak agricultural operation is over (generally 15 to 20 days) they are thrown out of employment. This compels them to return to their native places where they take-up some other low paid job and spend most of the time working in those jobs. Hence, when enumeration is conducted, they are not counted as agricultural labourers. If we include these temporary agriculture labourers, the share of agricultural labourer would go very high.

Thus, rural sector shows employment diversification for both ST and Non-STs, although the diversification is more for Non-ST population. The diversification phenomenon in case of rural India is primarily related to distress-induced population pressure which is assumed to have aggravated the land constraint, and led to the emergence of urban informal sector on one hand and a low wage rural residual sector on the other (Vaidyanathan 1986). Nonetheless, for STs opportunities available outside agriculture is also very limited. This can be seen

by the strikingly high proportion of STs in cultivation despite of the ongoing agricultural crisis. In the context of shrinking agricultural income, this consistently high proportion of STs in cultivation can itself be an indicator to the absence of any other alternative source of employment. Many studies (Atkinson 1998; Borooah, Dubey et al. 2005; Ito 2007; Majumder 2007) have already proved that in case of employment in other industry outside agriculture, there seems to exist substantial disparities among both these two groups.

The data for both urban and rural sector (Table 4.13) reveals that employment in household industry among STs has increased considerably. Household industry among tribals of Jharkhand, generally, consists of traditional home-based industries, such as weaving of rough and cheap cotton cloths, making rope, mat, basket, potteries and tiles etc. in addition to blacksmithy, stone carving and wood works. Household industries like mat and basket making are, generally, carried by women in leisure period, when they are free from the household duties. It is also important to note that in addition to serving peasants with other materials, they also often provide temporary labour, particularly during the transplantation and harvest seasons (Singh 1986). Case studies suggest that home-based production is one of the most exploitative work arrangements in India. The utilization of home workers enables employers to avoid industrial regulations which govern hours of work, working conditions, benefits and wages (Singh 1988). Mainly, it is the disadvantaged women in the scheduled caste and tribes that provide a willing pool of labour for household enterprise, and are disproportionately represented in home production (Karlekar 1982; Mukhopadhyay 1984; Dunn 1993).

Despite of the presence of many heavy industries in the region, data from 1981 to 1991 shows that the STs have not benefitted to any significant extent (see Table 4.13). Surprisingly, although the local tribals had to give up their home and means of subsistence for the establishment of numerous gigantic industrial projects, an alternative employment was not given to them. This is applicable for both rural and urban sector. While the manufacturing other than household industry claims only 0.8 per cent in rural and 12.9 per cent in urban sector

employment for tribals, the corresponding figure is as high as 2.3 per cent and 18.1 per cent for Non-ST population in rural and urban region respectively. This fact indicates nothing but acute industrial backwardness of the tribals in terms of employment.

In urban sector, although, the share of agriculture continues to be very high for STs, it is declining for both groups, decline being considerably larger for STs. In 2004-05, there has been a precipitous increase in share of ST employment in urban agriculture, which has declined for Non-STs. However, during the period 2004-05 to 2007-08 shares shows a sizeable decline (table 12). Out of total workforce engaged in agriculture and allied activities, ST workforce constitute 19 per cent in 1999-00 which has increased to 27 per cent in 2007-08. The maximum employment in this area is provided by sectors other than agriculture and household industry to both ST and Non-ST. To estimate which are these sectors we need to look at the distribution of workers across various industrial categories in the urban a provided by NSSO.

Table 4.14: Distribution of Workers across Various Industrial Categories- Urban

| Industrial category | 1999-00 | | | 2004-05 | | | 2007-08 | | |
|---|---------|-----|----|---------|-----|----|---------|-----|----|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Agriculture, forestry and fishing | 13 | 9 | 19 | 24 | 7 | 33 | 16 | 6 | 27 |
| Mining and quarrying | 7 | 9 | 11 | 4 | 9 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 18 |
| Manuf. & repair services | 7 | 19 | 6 | 22 | 16 | 16 | 14 | 19 | 9 |
| Electricity, gas and water | 2 | 3 | 11 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Construction | 11 | 8 | 18 | 21 | 7 | 30 | 23 | 9 | 25 |
| Trade, hotels and restaurants | 16 | 24 | 10 | 12 | 27 | 6 | 8 | 23 | 4 |
| Transport, storage and communication | 9 | 7 | 19 | 4 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 12 | 7 |
| Finance, insurance, real estate and business services | 4 | 3 | 16 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 7 | 1 |
| Community, social and personal services | 31 | 18 | 21 | 12 | 19 | 8 | 27 | 20 | 15 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | | 100 | 100 | | 100 | 100 | |

Note: 1- Sectoral share in total ST employment, 2- Sectoral share in total Non-ST employment, 3- ST share in total employment.

Source: NSSO Unit level Data, Various rounds

Among other sectors, interestingly, the big shift has been in manufacturing, the share of which has almost doubled from 1999-00 to 2007-08. The share of STs in manufacturing workforce also showed a considerable increase from 18 per cent to 25 per cent from 1999-00 to 2007-08. Mining and quarrying shows a decline from 7 to 6 per cent, but STs share in total mining and quarrying employment has increased from 11 to 18 per cent. Similarly, construction industry also shows an increase both in terms of sectoral employment share in total ST employment and share ST employment in total workforce engaged in construction.

Within service sector, the share of trade, transport, and finance in ST employment showed a decline both in share of sectoral employment to total ST workforce and share of ST employment in total workforce engaged in these services. This is in contradiction to the fact that the employment in these sectors has increased significantly for the other group as well as for rest of the India (Joshi 2004). It seems that these sectors are exclusively a domain of the non-tribals, leaving a microscopic share for ST population. Hence, in the category of sectors other than agriculture and household manufacturing, the increase is primarily in manufacturing and construction. Also, there is significantly high proportion of STs engaged in community, social and personal services as well.

Not only is the share of ST employment in the agriculture but also the absolute number of persons engaged in agriculture declining. This can be seen in the table (see Table 4.14), where we have calculated the decadal growth rate for cultivators, agricultural labourers and non-agricultural workers across rural and urban sector for both male and female. The decadal growth rate in employment in these sectors provides some important insights in analysis in the employment trends of the economy in general, and ST employment in particular.

Table 4.15 shows that the overall growth rate of cultivators and agricultural labourers for ST is negative, which means that the absolute number of ST population engaged in agriculture has declined in both rural and urban sector. Across gender, there is a sharp decline in male cultivators accompanied by a rise in female cultivators, which may be taken as an indicator for distress driven

employment shift. In order to cope up with poverty, households go for livelihood diversification, whereby male member going out of agriculture in search of other employment and female member takes up the agricultural work (Sethi 1982; Verma and Dixit 1988; Dunn 1993). A steep rise in growth rate of non-agricultural employment provides evidence for this phenomenon. However, for Non-STs in rural areas, growth rate in cultivators is positive, marginal for males but very high for females. It is negative in the urban sector, with a decline in male workforce engaged in cultivation and females increasing in number, but increase in female is less compared to decline in male cultivators. Among agricultural labourers also, for Non-STs both in the urban and rural areas growth rate is positive, increase being considerably high in rural sector for both male and females. Hence, among Non-STs there is a steep rise in both agricultural workers and non-agricultural workers, but for ST it is the non-agricultural workers that are increasing. Growth rate in employment in all sectors is higher among Non-STs primarily because the growth rate in population for non- STs is very high compared to STs (Singh 1986).

Table 4.15: Decadal growth rates of Agricultural and Non-agricultural Workers between 1981 and 2001

| | ST | | | Non-ST | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| | Cultivators | Agricultural Labourer | Non-agricultural workers | Cultivators | Agricultural Labourer | Non-agricultural workers |
| Rural | | | | | | |
| Total | -6 | -13 | 39 | 84 | 448 | 153 |
| Male | -17 | 1 | 30 | 22 | 396 | 116 |
| Female | 36 | -32 | 74 | 543 | 556 | 518 |
| Urban | | | | | | |
| Total | -58 | -53 | 54 | -14 | 44 | 67 |
| Male | -62 | -50 | 48 | -33 | 29 | 60 |
| Female | -35 | -59 | 77 | 296 | 114 | 202 |

Source: Calculated using data released by Census of India, Bihar 1981 and Jharkhand 2001.

Negative growth rate of cultivators and agricultural labourers clearly indicate that the absolute number of cultivators and agricultural labourers among ST population is declining. This also indicates that a section of people who were engaged in agriculture are now moving out to other sectors of the economy. Among Non-ST group, however, there is no clear trend to argue that people are

moving out of agriculture. Nonetheless, from the declining share of Non-ST workers in agriculture, it is plausible to argue that workers are engaging in other sectors of the economy. Hence, there is a change in the production structure, for the primary occupation, with a shift away from agriculture towards industry and tertiary sector.

However, one interesting point to note here is that although there is clearly a shift in the production structure from agriculture to industry and tertiary sector, data for subsidiary occupation shows that even for those who are shifting to other occupation, agriculture continues to be a major source of subsidiary income (see Table 4.16). The figures are equally high for both ST and Non-ST population. Apart from the agriculture, majority of population depends on low skill activities like forestry, logging and related activities (primarily ST workers), construction and work in private households.

Table 4.16: Subsidiary Activity of Non-Agricultural Workers (2004-05)

| Economic Activity | ST | Non-ST |
|--|-----|--------|
| Agriculture | 95 | 98 |
| Forestry, logging and related activities | 2 | 0 |
| Construction | 1 | 2 |
| Work in private households (domestic maids, cooks, gardeners, gatekeepers, secretaries, governess, baby sitters etc) | 2 | 0 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Source: NSS unit level data, 61st round

Subsidiary work is dominant not only among non-agricultural workers, but also among workers engaged in agriculture (see Table 4.17). Interestingly, about 50 percent of the ST workers and 55 per cent of the Non-ST workers were engaged in agriculture under principal status as well as subsidiary status. This is primarily because a large chunk of cultivators also work as agricultural labourers. Almost 55 per cent of ST and 32 per cent of Non-ST workers cultivators are engaged as agricultural labourers (calculated from NSS unit level data, 61st round). Apart from agricultural labourers they are also engaged in livestock, dairy, poultry and gatherer of forest produce. In non-farm sector, for subsidiary work, majority are engaged in construction and retail trade with some small proportion in other occupations that require less capital investment and low level of education.

Table 4.17: Subsidiary Activity for Workers engaged in Agriculture (2004-05)

| Economic Activity | ST | Non-ST |
|--|-----|--------|
| Agriculture | 50 | 55 |
| Forestry | 7 | 4 |
| Other mining and quarrying | 2 | 2 |
| Manufacture of food products | 2 | 1 |
| Manufacture of tobacco | 2 | 3 |
| Manufacture of wood and wood products | 1 | 1 |
| Manufacture of non-metallic products | 4 | 1 |
| Construction | 17 | 25 |
| Retail trade | 13 | 6 |
| Hotels and restaurants | 0 | 0 |
| Transport | 1 | 2 |
| Work in private households (domestic maids, cooks, gardeners, gatekeepers, secretaries, governess, baby sitters etc) | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Source: NSS unit level data, 61st round

Being unable to get job in considerable portion of the year, the workers engage themselves with some kind of subsidiary activities. Those primarily engaged in agriculture for most part of the year, also go for other works during the off-seasons or after cultivating their own fields. Even for non-agricultural workers, who are mostly engaged with other activities throughout the year, during harvesting season when the requirement for labour is high, they go back to agriculture. One possible reason for this could be that owing to small land-holding size, a few members of poor household move to other work while the rest of the family manage the agricultural activity and in the peak harvesting season they come back to work in agriculture. These are the livelihood strategies that a poor household adopt in order to eke out their living.

4.4 Employment and Wages in various Occupations

The industrial classification of workforce for ST has limitation in providing proper insight into the nature of activities workers perform. Hence, to further understand whether the declining share of agriculture in employment is a fallout of maturing of positive growth forces in the economy or is a result of adverse trend in the agrarian sector, we disaggregate employment into different industries occupations in which STs are engaged. Since the last quinquennial round on employment and unemployment survey was conducted in 2004-05,

NSSO 61st round, we will use data from this round to analyse the situation. The data is restricted to only those sectors which accounts for considerable share of ST workers.

Table 4.18: Distribution of Workforce according to NIC-98 Classification in 2004-05

| Activity (NIC classification) | ST | Non-ST | % of ST pop. engaged in various activities in total workers in that industry |
|---|------|--------|--|
| Mining and Quarrying | 6.4 | 5.2 | 18 |
| Manufacturing | 25.8 | 23.9 | 25 |
| Electricity, Gas and Water | 0.2 | 0.6 | 7 |
| Construction | 40.4 | 25.1 | 29 |
| Wholesale and Retail trade and Restaurants and Hotels | 6.2 | 20.8 | 5 |
| Transport, Storage and communication | 7.4 | 8.5 | 13 |
| Financing, Insurance, Real estate and Business Services | 1.2 | 2.9 | 7 |
| Community, Social and Personal Services | 12.3 | 13 | 15 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | - |

Source: NSSO unit level Data, 61st round, 2004-05

Data from table 4.18 shows that apart from agriculture, major industries where employment of STs are considerably high are mining and quarrying, as 18 per cent of the total workforce employed in mining and quarrying, manufacturing has 25 per cent, construction 29 per cent and community, social and personal services 15 per cent of ST's are employed. Among other industries, manufacturing and construction provides far more share of employment to ST population. Figures are also high for the other group, but for ST share is higher. Hence, based on the analysis of these four industries, we will look at the occupational distribution and wage differential of ST and Non-ST workers across these industries in table 4.19.

The table 4.19 shows that mining employs more than 50 per cent of ST population, corresponding figure being only 9 per cent for the other group. Also, in occupation like office attendants (Peons, Draftiers etc) and electricians, electrical fitters and related workers, it is mostly STs. However, in the supervisory position like supervisors and foreman we can see that only 1 per cent of STs are there compared to some 5 per cent of Non-STs. This pattern bears a

resemblance with what we found during the colonial times as well. During the colonial times as well, all the elite jobs were taken up by the higher caste people like Brahmins, Rajputs and upper caste Bengalis, leaving the low end jobs like coal cutting, washing etc for the tribals because they were believed to be more physically fit for those kinds of jobs. It seems that a similar pattern prevails even now, with all these low paid jobs, involving more manual labour, being done by STs whereas managerial and supervisory jobs being taken up by other groups. One of the reasons for dominance of ST population in these jobs at lower end is that these low status activities have not been encroached upon by workers belonging to other caste groups. Therefore STs find it easy to obtain employment in such activities.

Table 4.19: Occupation under Mining and Quarrying and Manufacturing (NCO-68 classification) in 2004-05

| Industry and Occupation | | No. of workers | | Wages per day (in Rs) | |
|-------------------------|--|----------------|-------------|-----------------------|--------|
| | | ST | Non-ST | ST | Non-ST |
| Mining and quarrying | Miners and quarrymen | 17735 (52) | 14580 (9) | 57 | 70 |
| | Office attendants(peons, draftiers etc) | 1308 (4) | 2828 (2) | 179 | 211 |
| | Supervisors and Foreman | 476 (1) | 8015 (5) | 308 | 335 |
| | Loaders and unloaders | 2315 (7) | 14979 (10) | 50 | 53 |
| | Electricians, electrical fitters and related workers | 6262 (18) | 18291 (12) | 308 | 335 |
| | Total workers/ Average wages (in Rs) | (100) | (100) | 212 | 229 |
| Manufacturing | Bidi makers | 51551(37) | 101448 (23) | 27 | 41 |
| | Stone cutters and cravers | 19703 (14) | 14755 (4) | 83 | 53 |
| | Other workers (Not reporting any occupation) | 41369 (30) | 82048 (20) | 60 | 68 |
| | Total workers/ Average wages | (100) | (100) | 57 | 54 |

Note: Figures in parentheses give the proportion of workers in a particular occupation out of total workers in that industry.

Source: NSSO Unit level Data, 61st round, 2004-05.

In manufacturing as well the scenario is similar. The whole upward movement of manufacturing, shown in table 4.19, is largely limited to just two sectors, *Bidi* Makers and other workers with no specific job. Apart from these two categories it is the stone cutters that dominate the industry. Both these industries are part of traditional household industries which is not capital intensive and skill requirement is also very low. Tribals since antiquity are engaged in these

activities and despite all these developmental projects they are still engaged in the same activities. Most of the traditional activities they perform are uncommon among the general population. They are traditional, more time consuming, less productive and less remunerative in nature. It is also seen that in these industries work environment is more exploitative when compared to other industries. For example in Bidi making industry, employers employ STs, mostly ST families to collect Tandua leaves from the jungle and pay them almost one-fourth of the price at which they sell it (Singh 1986). In case of stone cutters and carvers, the demand for their products is not very high, which mainly comes from the traditional rural households and in the era of machine made goods engaging in these works are also not remunerative. We can also notice that there exists a substantial wage differential among both groups of workers engaged in these works. In all these occupations in both mining and manufacturing there is a substantial difference in the amount of remuneration ST and Non-ST receive. Except for stone cutters and cravers, which is an occupation exclusively for ST people, in all the other occupations wages received by ST is lower than that of Non-ST.

Out of total non-agricultural workers, construction accounts for 23 per cent of the ST workforce. Construction is one of the major sectors where employment of ST is very high.

Table 4.20: Occupation under Construction in 2004-05 (NCO classification-68):

| Construction | No. of worker | | Wages per day (in Rs) | |
|--|---------------|-------------|-----------------------|--------|
| | ST | Non-ST | ST | Non-ST |
| Brick layers, stone masons | 23944 (9) | 93896 (15) | 78 | 84 |
| Reinforce concrete, cement finisher | 18126 (7) | 24825(4) | 59 | 62 |
| Construction workers | 42486 (16) | 183737(29) | 61 | 52 |
| Other labourers (not reporting any occupation) | 173872 (67) | 340587 (52) | 55 | 55 |
| Total workers/Average wages | (100) | (100) | 63 | 63 |

Source: NSSO Unit level Data, 61st round, 2004-05

In construction sector most of the workers are classified as other labourers not reporting any occupation. The figure is as high as 67 per cent for ST in comparison to 52 per cent for Non-ST (see Table 4.20). The work that needs some

level of skills like reinforce concrete, cement finisher etc, the share of ST employment is very less.

Table 4.21: Occupation under Community, Social and Personal services in 2004-05 (NCO classification-68):

| Occupation Category | No. of workers | | Wages per day (in Rs) | |
|--|----------------|-------------|-----------------------|--------|
| | ST | Non-ST | ST | Non-ST |
| Teachers | 9873 (56) | 141946 (88) | 282 | 372 |
| Ayahs, nurses and maids | 5700 (14) | 4055(2) | 36 | 27 |
| Domestic servants | 1366 (3) | 6458(4) | 11 | 49 |
| Maids and related housekeeping service workers | 3694 (9) | 7520(5) | 26 | 50 |
| Total workers/ Average wages | (100) | (100) | 31 | 36 |

Source: NSSO Unit level Data, 61st round, 2004-05

The situation of these workers in community, social and personal services does not appear to be better either. This sector accounts for largest share of ST employment after agriculture. Generally, it is found that this sector is dominated mostly by women (Neetha 2009). Under this category, majority of tribals are in the category of teacher, which is by all means is considered as white-collar job. However, the credit of high share of employment of ST among teachers is primarily because of the job reservation provided by the government that safeguards jobs for scheduled communities. But even after this reservation, share of STs engaged in teaching is far less compared to Non-ST population, figures being 56 per cent and 88 per cent for each group respectively. Apart from teaching, other occupations where ST employment share is considerably high are Ayahs, Nurses, maids, domestic servants and related housekeeping service works. Except for domestic servants where Non-ST share is slightly high, in all other category ST employment is higher than Non-ST. Figures for employment of tribal women as domestic servants outside the state is also very high. A recent report says that about two lakh Adivasi young women from Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal are presently working as house-maids in middle-class homes: 61,000 in Delhi, 42,000 in Kolkata, 36,000 in Mumbai, 13,000 in Bangalore, 26,000 in Goa (Manoj 2003). Srujana (1997) has also discussed plight of tribal women who migrated to Delhi as domestic workers. She argues that at present there are around 40,000 tribal domestic workers in Delhi. The tribes which migrated were mostly Oraons, Mundas and the Kharias. Among these, the Oraons were

prominent in the migration flow because of their exposure to education and influence of the missionaries (Srujana 1997). We can notice the wage differential as well within these two groups where Non-ST receives significantly higher wages than STs.

Therefore, the occupational distribution in various industries reveals that STs are normally absorbed in socially low class jobs, which normally do not require greater skills and the remuneration they get for these jobs are significantly lower compared to what is paid to the Non-ST group in the same occupation. It seems that, on one hand, their lack of skills and education restricts their entry in better employments, despite government reservation. On the other hand we see a lot of wage differential that clearly shows that after STs enter the job market they face wage discrimination. It is also said that the tribal labourers suffer some of the most exploitative conditions such as sexual exploitation of women, bonded labour, work overload, abuses etc. (Omvedt 1981).

4.5 Economic and Social Security for Tribals in the Labour Market

It has been pointed in the analysis that workers are engaged in different sectors such as construction, mining etc. The analysis thus far on the employment of STs in various industries reveals that STs are mostly engaged mostly in manual work in nature. It is clear from the evidences in the previous section that STs are worse-off compared to Non-STs in terms of their position in the labour market. Given the type of employment STs are engaged in, and their low wages, it is important to examine the conditions of work and lives of the workers at the work places. The economic and social security for workers in the labour market is an important indicator of measuring the well-being of the workforce. Our analysis so far has not divided sectors in to organised and unorganised sectors and examined the nature of employment. When the economy is classified in two sectors; formal/organised and informal/unorganised, employment in each sector itself can give some important insights into the economic and social security of the worker.

As it is evident from the definition of unorganised¹²/informal workers, they are deprived of any kind of social, employment and economic security. On the contrary, formal/organised workers are entitled to all kinds of social and economic securities. It is mainly the informal sector that serves as the main source of employment and source of living for the increasing labour force in the region as well as in the country (NCEUS 2007). Surplus labour, mostly in the urban area gets absorbed in this sector (Jacob 2001, Chen et al. 2006). This sector is a "sponge" for absorbing the otherwise unemployed (Mahadevia, 2001). Sankaran (2001) pointed out that a large section of the workers in the informal¹³ sector face economic insecurity; live and work in the face of persistent risk of losing employment. This sector is also characterised by unsatisfactory work conditions, inhumane treatment, deprive of any kind of health, employment of social security, wages are not remunerative, even they are not provided with safety measures at the work place.¹⁴ NCEUS (2007) defines the conditions of work of informal workers as the employees who do not enjoy employment security (no protection against arbitrary dismissal) work security (no protection against accidents and illness at the work place) and social security (maternity and health care benefits, pension, etc.) and therefore any one or more of these characteristics can be used for identifying informal employment. Hence, presence of a large proportion of workers under informal employment can itself reveal that the workers are in distressed condition.

Having discussed the nature and features of organised and unorganised sectors, we now attempt to understand the share of organised and unorganised sector workers in the labour market for both ST and Non-ST population. The table 4.22 depicts the share of workers (organised and unorganised) in both organised and unorganised sectors. It can be observed from the table that around 42 per cent of the ST workers and 64 per cent of the Non-ST workers are working in the informal sector. It is interesting to note that among ST population, proportion of

¹²"Unorganised workers consist of those working in the unorganised enterprises or households, excluding regular workers with social security benefits, and the workers in the formal sector without any employment/ social security benefits provided by the employers"- NCEUS 2007.

¹³ The term informal and unorganised and formal and organised has been used interchangeably.

¹⁴ Report of the National Commission on Labour 2002.

workers engaged in formal sector is much higher compared to informal sector; figures being 58 per cent and 36 per cent respectively. However, within the formal sector, the proportion of informal workers is also very high among ST workers compared to the Non-ST workers, proportion being 49 per cent and 17 per cent respectively. Almost 87 per cent of the total workforce among ST work as informal or unorganised workers where as 13 per cent in formal or organised employment. For Non-ST workers the figure is 74 per cent and 26 per cent respectively, which shows that in terms of employment Non-ST workers are far better off than ST workers.

Table 4.22: Employment in Formal and Informal Sector, 2004-05 (UPS)

| Sector/Worker | Informal/Unorganised worker | Formal/Organised worker | Total |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| ST | | | |
| Informal/Unorganised sector | 38 | 4 | 42 |
| Formal/Organised sector | 49 | 9 | 58 |
| Total | 87 | 13 | 100 |
| Non-ST | | | |
| Informal/Unorganised sector | 57 | 7 | 64 |
| Formal/Organised sector | 17 | 19 | 36 |
| Total | 74 | 26 | 100 |

Source: NSS unit Level data, 61st round, 2004-05

Only 9 per cent of the formal/organised ST workers are engaged in formal sector vis-a-vis 19 per cent of Non-ST workers in formal employment in formal sector. Hence, a majority of both ST and Non-ST workers are engaged in informal work, though, proportion of ST workers engaged in informal employment is much higher compared to Non-ST workers. Following NCEUS (2007), we can infer that very high incidence of ST workers in informal sector clearly indicates that, almost 87 per cent of the workers do not have any kind of employment, health or any other social security. Therefore, in order to examine the degree of employment and other social security measures that workers receive from the work place, we have used three different indicators such as job security, income security and other securities consisting of social security and representation security.

Job Security:

The period for which the worker is sure about his stay in the work legally or by any other means from the employer can be used as a way to define job security for the workers. Job security can be provided through a contract or through government legislations. Apart from contracts and legislative laws, there are other indirect ways of getting information on the job security. For instance, the type of work the person is doing and the type of enterprise in which he/she is working can give some account of the job security of the workers. Hence, status of work, type of enterprise and type of contract has been used to analyse the level of job security in both category of workers.

Table 4.23: Job Security for ST and Non-ST Workers (2004-05)

| Employment Category | | ST (in %) | Non-ST (in %) |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| Status of worker | Self employed | 72 | 62 |
| | Regular | 4 | 12 |
| | Casual | 24 | 26 |
| | Total | 100 | 100 |
| Type of enterprise | Proprietary | 64 | 69 |
| | Partnership | 1 | 2 |
| | Public sector and public/private Ltd | 23 | 18 |
| | Other type of enterprise | 12 | 11 |
| | Total | 100 | 100 |
| Type of contract | No written contract | 84.0 | 79.0 |
| | Written < 1 year | 0.4 | 0.8 |
| | Written > 1 year and <3 years | 0.4 | 1.0 |
| | Written > 3 Years | 15.2 | 19.2 |
| | Total | 100 | 100 |

Source: NSS unit Level data, 61st round, 2004-05

From table 4.23, we can see that majority of workers are in the category of self employed. Of the total population, 72 per cent of ST workers and 62 per cent of Non-ST workers are self employed, and 24 per cent of ST workers and 26 per cent of Non-ST workers are employed as casual workers. Only remaining 4 per cent and 12 per cent of ST and Non-ST workers respectively are engaged in regular employment. Proportion of self employed workers, a large majority of which consists of marginal farmer, artisans, hawkers, petty shopkeepers, etc, is considerably high among ST compared to Non-ST. It is argued that petty self-employed workers most often are not entitled to any kind of social and economic securities (Kundu, 1996). However, not all self employed workers are vulnerable.

Some of the self-employed workers consciously make a trade-off between employment with full benefits and protection, and self employment because it offers them flexibility, independence, and also sometimes more income (Haldar 2009). Also, some high income professionals and consultants classified as own-account self-employment are not vulnerable. Yet, mostly own account workers have low earnings, and have no entitlement of any basic employment standards as minimum wage, overtime pay or paid holidays (Saunders 2003).

The second aspect of job security, type of enterprise, shows a similar pattern. It can be pointed that majority of workers in both ST and Non-ST group are engaged in the most vulnerable type of enterprise that is single headed proprietary; figures being 64 and 69 per cent respectively. Since, single headed proprietary enterprises are run by self-employed persons, the level of vulnerability is expected to be no less than the self-employed. Moreover, the poor tribal people cannot own a sufficiently large enterprise in order to ensure the decent conditions of work and welfare measures. The third aspect of job security which is presented in table 4.23 is Type of contract. This depicts the duration of employment for both the ST and Non-ST groups. The table shows that workers are engaged in a more subdued conditions particularly tribal labour. It shows that 84 percent of STs and 79 per cent of Non-ST workers have no written contract. Proportion of ST workers under this category is higher compared to the Non-ST workers. Only 15 per cent of ST workers and 19 per cent of Non-ST workers reported having a job contract of more than 3 years. The three indicators of job security reveal that both ST and Non-ST worker groups are subject to job insecurities. Nonetheless, STs workers are much more vulnerable than their Non-ST counterpart as they have higher job insecurities in all three indicators. A larger proportion of the workers are engaged in informal activities, most of them work as self employed and is under single headed proprietary and predominantly they do not have any written job contracts.

Income security:

The second indicator of socio-economic security is income security. The differences in the average wage rate among the workers and the way in which income is distributed can be used as a measure to analyse income security among the workers. This measure of income security is provided by Kantor et al. (2006) while analysing the decent work in informal economy. The income insecurity is measured through three indicators; average earnings, eligibility for paid leave and the method of payment. The table 2.24 shows the situation of income security for both ST and Non-ST working group.

Table 4.24: Income Security for ST and Non-ST workers (2004-05)

| Type of Security | | ST (in %) | Non-ST (in %) |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| Average wage per day (in Rs.) | In agriculture | 57 | 52 |
| | Non-agriculture | 127 | 151 |
| Eligible for Paid Leave | Yes | 16 | 25 |
| | No | 84 | 75 |
| | Total | 100 | 100 |
| Method of payment | Regular (monthly, weekly) | 31 | 52 |
| | Daily | 43 | 39 |
| | Other (including piece rate) | 26 | 9 |
| | Total | 100 | 100 |

Source: NSS unit Level data, 61st round, 2004-05

The table shows that the average wage of ST workers both in agriculture and non-agriculture is considerably lower vis-a-vis Non-ST workers. It is Rs 127 for STs whereas Non-STs receive Rs 151 wage for the non-agricultural work. It can be observed that the wages for agricultural labour are far lower as compared to non-agricultural labour. But, our analysis showed that most of the tribal labour force is engaged in the agricultural sector (see Table 4.12). The second indicator of income security, eligibility for paid leave, shows that around 84 per cent ST workers and 75 per cent of Non-ST (proportion being higher for ST) workers are not eligible for paid leaves. From the table 4.22 it is observed that majority of workers are working as unorganised workers, who are generally not eligible for paid leaves. Also, since a vast section of workers work in casual employment on daily basis, provision of paid leaves will not be applicable to this section, indicating the degree of vulnerability.

The third aspect, the mode of payment also shows that largest proportion of ST workers (43 per cent) is paid on the daily basis and 26 per cent through other methods of payment like piece rates, indicating towards a process of casualisation mostly for ST workers in the labour market. On the contrary largest proportion of Non-ST population, i.e. 52 per cent of Non-ST workers are paid on regular basis (monthly or weekly). From the discussion thus far, it can be inferred that ST workers are worse-off in all three aspects of income insecurity, which indicates their status in the labour market.

Other securities:

Among other securities, social security and representative security through participation/association in unions plays a significant role in determining security for quality of life of the workers and representation security indicates their representation in workers in any association that works for or represents interest of the worker. Hence, it also indirectly represents a worker's voice in the decision making.

Table 4.25: Other Securities for ST and Non-ST Workers (2004-05)

| Type of Security | | ST (in %) | Non-ST (in %) |
|--|--------------------|-----------|---------------|
| Social security benefits | Any one | 1 | 4 |
| | Combination of Two | 2 | 4 |
| | All benefits | 10 | 18 |
| | No benefits | 87 | 74 |
| | Total | 100 | 100 |
| Presence of Any union/Association in the activity | Yes | 2 | 9 |
| | No | 92 | 89 |
| | Not Known | 6 | 2 |
| | Total | 100 | 100 |
| Whether member of union/association (For those who have union/association in their activity) | Yes | 10 | 90 |
| | No | 15 | 85 |

Source: NSS unit Level data, 61st round, 2004-05

The other security measures for both ST and Non-ST workers are shown in table 4.25. As is expected from the presence of large proportion of workers in informal sector, somewhat 87 per cent of the ST workers and 74 per cent of the Non-ST workers do not have any social security benefit. Also since majority is engaged in informal sector, presence of union or association in the enterprise is also almost negligible for

ST workers and less (9 per cent) for Non-ST workers. Nevertheless, among the workers, who reported presence of association or union in the enterprises, only 10 per cent of the ST workers reported having membership in union/association. Rest 90 per cent of the members belong to the non-ST community.

All these three indicators for job security, income security and other kind of securities reveals that the condition of ST workers in the labour market is much more vulnerable than their Non-ST counterpart. Mostly the workers are engaged in informal employment, with very low or no job, income, social and representative security. A large part of the tribal labour force find difficulty in accessing employment with decent income and working conditions. Mostly, they do not have access to most of the social and economic securities and the jobs in which they are generally employed are not covered by most of the labour legislations.

4.6 Conclusion

Jharkhand, being a natural resource rich region, was one of central attraction during both the colonial period and in the post independence period. During the colonial period, the interest of the British government was solely extraction of resources. Hence, they established various mining and other industries in this area and exploited the tribals for the development of these industries. However, for independent India, the objective was development; development of the region as well as people. The policies adopted by the independent India for inducing development are largely based on industrialization and infrastructure development. Hence, in the post independence period government continued development of various mining and other industries, which was initiated during the colonial period, resulting into displacement of tribes and checking their major source of livelihood.

Our analysis found that these industries had its limitations in providing employment to the tribals, one of the most marginalised sections of our society. We have found that Jharkhand being a poor economy, the condition of both STs and Non-STs is disproportionately miserable. The surplus labour in the agriculture and the declining labour absorption in agricultural sector show that

agriculture has reached its maximum absorption capacity. The situation of STs is worse in comparison to Non-STs. Despite all kinds of government interferences for providing them better opportunities, the tribals are finding themselves more and more marginalised. In terms of ownership of enterprises and employment both we found huge disparity among ST and Non-ST groups. For STs, labour market participation is an outcome of poverty and dearth of livelihood within their indigenous economic system, which have strong implications on their sectoral concentration, nature of work, and their bargaining position.

The presence of very high WPR and increasing unemployment rate among STs indicate that a large population from ST group is in the labour force either working as principal or subsidiary occupation or is seeking employment. It also indicates that the entry of this workforce is mostly to eke out their livelihood. There is a greater proportion of STs who are coming out of agriculture and joining Non-agricultural sectors. However, their entry is restricted to few selected sectors like construction, manufacturing, community, social and personal services.

Although, agriculture provides the maximum employment to ST workers in both rural and urban areas, a high degree of diversification is found in favour of non-farm activities. There is continuous decline in the share of cultivation in employment in both rural and urban sector accompanied by an opposite trend in the relative share of other sectors. The same trends are prevalent among the Non-ST population also but they are more prominent in the case of scheduled groups. Both the groups show high degree of employment diversification outside agriculture. Interestingly, with this high degree of employment diversification also in primary occupation, people's dependence on agriculture in subsidiary activity is increasing. In both the group, most of the workers reported having employed in subsidiary status as well which is a clear indication of their vulnerable condition.

Even though similar trend are present among both ST and Non ST workers, it is naive to equate them with the other weaker sections in rural India. This is

because, first, in villages, caste hierarchy restricts ST in getting employment anywhere else. Secondly, most of the attached workers and bonded labourers are mainly drawn from the scheduled groups. And finally, wage rates for similar kinds of work and in similar occupations are different based on social hierarchy. Also, the nature of activities the ST workers engaged in are more traditional and less remunerative.

Although a relatively large proportion of workers among ST population are engaged in formal sector, it is also found that they are mostly absorbed as informal workers. The proportion of informal workers in both formal and informal sector is significantly higher among ST workers than Non-ST workers. Since, these workers are mostly devoid of any kind of securities in terms of job, income, social and representation security, they belong to the most vulnerable group.

Hence, we may conclude that a major factor behind economic disparities of STs in India has been the employment structure itself. The occupational distribution is highly skewed with very few from the ST population present in the socially elite occupations like professionals, supervisors, managers, administrators etc. Overwhelming majority of the ST workers is in occupations like farming, labourers, and also in mining and quarrying industry at low grade and laborious jobs, traditional manufacturing industries like Bidi making and stone and as domestic servants, ayahs, nurses and other related activities. The benefits in terms of employment, business, investment opportunities and other avenues of economic advancement have overwhelmingly gone to the non-tribal outsiders while the tribals have ended up in the low paid, insecure, transient and destitute labour market with no economic, employment, income, social or representation securities (Raj 2006).

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

Development has become a buzz word in the post-independence era. After independence, a number of development programmes, policies and projects have been implemented to induce development in the country. Following these policies India has successfully achieved a rapid economic growth during the last 60 years period. GDP has increased at a rate of 5.04 per cent per annum in during the period 1960 to 2010. However, this process of growth has come with the cost of excluding and marginalising many sections of the society from its benefits. The scheduled tribe (ST) population as a community is considered as one of the worst affected section. The costs of development for this community are not only about being excluded from the benefits of growth, but far worse, they being often stripped of their very means of sustenance, that they are left with little choice to make, but to live on the margins in the modern economy. However, it would only be a half truth to argue that the paltry conditions of work and life of these people were entirely the making of the developmentalist agenda of the independent nation state. Rather, the roots of their incapacitation lie in their history- a history of systematic constriction of their capabilities and opportunities such that they render themselves, ultimately, landless, skill-less and listless, who in the modern economy are not capable of being employed or to use the new jargon 'employable'.

In this context, the concern of this thesis was 1) to provide a historical account of the process following which tribals of Jharkhand moved out of communitarian production system and became a part of capitalist labour market, 2) to evaluate the process of marginalization in labour market in the post-independence era in the light of the process followed during the colonial period.

Subjugation and exploitation of tribal people is something not new, only the scale and rate at which it has taken place varied. Tribal people in Jharkhand had always lived in a condition of economic autarky, marked by common ownership of land and forest resources. Introduction of Mughal regime dismantled the

relative autonomy of this tribal egalitarian society to a certain extent. Mughal regime brought two important changes in the tribal society: first there was colonisation of establishment of settlements by the peasant class, who were encouraged by the Mughal rulers and Zamindars to reclaim lands. Second, the region witnessed the rise of the state, organised under a single ruler.

However, the changes brought by the Colonial rule were more obtrusive. Introduction of monetary rent and privatization of land played a very crucial role in disintegrating the tribal society. These two important changes introduced in the tribal economy were the main factors that led to rapid loss of land by the tribals and the general collapse of economies based on sharing and compelled them to sell their labour power. These changes were eventually introduced by manipulating the political and revenue system as well as land tenure system.

First and foremost change introduced by money was that it created need for money in a non-monetary economy. Since, heavy monetary rents were levied the tribals had to mortgage their lands to take loan in order to pay the rent and further another loan to repay the previous loan. In the process they got trapped in the vicious circle of indebtedness, most of them lost their land, and some became bonded labours to their masters. Secondly, introduction of money into the economy resulted in the collapse of exchange system, including exchange of labour power among the kin and friends. In its place, tribals started selling their labour in the market for money.

Colonial period converted land into scarce commodity, and led to the development of land market thereby assigning private property right over land. Privatization of land during British era led to flow of capital and penetration by market opened the gates for influx of non-tribals especially money-lenders and traders into tribal areas. This opened up the way for large scale alienation of land from tribes to non tribes, especially after tribal areas came to be linked by roads and railways. The mechanism through which this was achieved was coercion, and most often debt bondage. This reduced tribal cultivators to the position of tenants, landless labourers, and bondsmen. Land being the primary source of

livelihood for the tribals, loss of land proved to be a major reason for them participating in the labour market.

Most of the tribals also depend on forest for supplementing their livelihood. Forest forms a most important subsidiary source of livelihood for Tribals. However, colonial government intervened with the forest policies as well. Much of the forested land was declared as government land after survey and settlement. Earlier, Tribals only had to part with a portion of their produce and land belonged to them, but once the land was declared as belonging to Government in British era, the tribals were declared as encroachers upon the very land that they had lived on for centuries. In most cases, as tribal land was commonly owned, it never had an owner which government could recognise. Claims of tribes over vast tracts of land were dismissed. Trees and forests became government property, which later become free resources to exploit them.

The dispossession of tribals from their land and restriction of control over forest and forest produce that occurred during the colonial period pushed tribal people into the wider labour market. They were compelled to find employment as labourers in nearby quarries, coalfields and emerging towns. One of the most important sectors that tribals moved on masses was the plantation sector that opened up in Bengal and Assam. They have also been affected by two more sectors of modern economy-industry and mines. The industries, mines, railways and roadways that came up in Jharkhand during this period led to massive land alienation among tribals. The underlying common factor among these new establishments was that although they started on capitalistic line, they were all labour intensive. Hence, the requirement of labour in all these industries was very high. The tribal peoples, who by now had become a sturdy, hardworking (and submissive) person and who was able to live at a sub-human level of existence due to alienation from land and natural calamities, were ready to meet this new demand for unskilled labour with low wages and poor working conditions. This led to the emergence of labour market among tribals.

relative autonomy of this tribal egalitarian society to a certain extent. Mughal regime brought two important changes in the tribal society: first there was colonisation of establishment of settlements by the peasant class, who were encouraged by the Mughal rulers and Zamindars to reclaim lands. Second, the region witnessed the rise of the state, organised under a single ruler.

However, the changes brought by the Colonial rule were more obtrusive. Introduction of monetary rent and privatization of land played a very crucial role in disintegrating the tribal society. These two important changes introduced in the tribal economy were the main factors that led to rapid loss of land by the tribals and the general collapse of economies based on sharing and compelled them to sell their labour power. These changes were eventually introduced by manipulating the political and revenue system as well as land tenure system.

First and foremost change introduced by money was that it created need for money in a non-monetary economy. Since, heavy monetary rents were levied the tribals had to mortgage their lands to take loan in order to pay the rent and further another loan to repay the previous loan. In the process they got trapped in the vicious circle of indebtedness, most of them lost their land, and some became bonded labours to their masters. Secondly, introduction of money into the economy resulted in the collapse of exchange system, including exchange of labour power among the kin and friends. In its place, tribals started selling their labour in the market for money.

Colonial period converted land into scarce commodity, and led to the development of land market thereby assigning private property right over land. Privatization of land during British era led to flow of capital and penetration by market opened the gates for influx of non-tribals especially money-lenders and traders into tribal areas. This opened up the way for large scale alienation of land from tribes to non tribes, especially after tribal areas came to be linked by roads and railways. The mechanism through which this was achieved was coercion, and most often debt bondage. This reduced tribal cultivators to the position of tenants, landless labourers, and bondsmen. Land being the primary source of

livelihood for the tribals, loss of land proved to be a major reason for them participating in the labour market.

Most of the tribals also depend on forest for supplementing their livelihood. Forest forms a most important subsidiary source of livelihood for Tribals. However, colonial government intervened with the forest policies as well. Much of the forested land was declared as government land after survey and settlement. Earlier, Tribals only had to part with a portion of their produce and land belonged to them, but once the land was declared as belonging to Government in British era, the tribals were declared as encroachers upon the very land that they had lived on for centuries. In most cases, as tribal land was commonly owned, it never had an owner which government could recognise. Claims of tribes over vast tracts of land were dismissed. Trees and forests became government property, which later become free resources to exploit them.

The dispossession of tribals from their land and restriction of control over forest and forest produce that occurred during the colonial period pushed tribal people into the wider labour market. They were compelled to find employment as labourers in nearby quarries, coalfields and emerging towns. One of the most important sectors that tribals moved on masses was the plantation sector that opened up in Bengal and Assam. They have also been affected by two more sectors of modern economy-industry and mines. The industries, mines, railways and roadways that came up in Jharkhand during this period led to massive land alienation among tribals. The underlying common factor among these new establishments was that although they started on capitalistic line, they were all labour intensive. Hence, the requirement of labour in all these industries was very high. The tribal peoples, who by now had become a sturdy, hardworking (and submissive) person and who was able to live at a sub-human level of existence due to alienation from land and natural calamities, were ready to meet this new demand for unskilled labour with low wages and poor working conditions. This led to the emergence of labour market among tribals.

However, the migration of labour from these tribal regions to industrial regions was not a smooth transfer. The indentured system of recruitment followed by penal code was adopted to recruit these labourers as well as to get control over labour force. The labour relation that developed during this period was not free, because an element of unfreedomness was present in the pattern of recruitment itself. The penal sanctions placed in employers' hands a blunt instrument for disciplining the labourers as well as for forcing them to abide by the rules and orders set by the employers. The need for an indentured system was realised because of the shortage of workers to work in the newly emerged industries. Hence, an indentured system was followed to bind these workers.

These industries in its infant stage of development used tribal workers from Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas to meet the demand for labour. However, with time demand for tribal workers declined in coal mining and was replaced by a more competent group of workers, whereas in Assam tea estates recruitment of local people increased after 1953 Act, owing to scarcity of food to support the population. Hence, again tribals were left in the labour market with no "means of production" to search for employment.

In the post colonial period, the ideas, institutions and policies adopted for inducing development were highly influenced by the policies used during the colonial period. The policy of heavy industrialization and restriction over use of forest were largely motivated by the colonial industrial and forest policies. For example, the present restriction of tribals over forest use is shaped through the enactment of the forest Act of 1864 and the Indian forest act of 1927 by which the rights enjoyed by the tribals' independence were reduced to 'privileges' conferred by the government. The concept of private property was introduced with permanent settlement act in 1793 which converted independent tribal landowners into tenants of zamindars. This system was followed in the post-colonial period as well and created a number of problems for the tribals. Like, when theory of eminent domain is used to acquire any land with individual possession in public interest through the land acquisition act, 1894 with compensation payable only to those who had valid title to such land, tribals

hardly get the compensations. Secondly, the process of extraction of natural resources, particularly coal and other minerals, is also carried forward from colonial period. Even now this process is leading to large scale displacement of people from their land, mainly tribals. Along with the process of land alienation another process of huge influx of outsiders resulting from these developments also continues. It is assumed that the current phase of displacement of tribals from their land and the influx of outsiders into the area has surpassed the earlier phase (Munda 2005). This is evident from the changing demography of the region. The share of tribal population in total population has declined from 60 per cent in 1911 to 27.63 per cent in 1991 (Saxena 2005).

In the process of heavy industrialization, it was expected that opening up of industries will open new employment opportunities for the tribals and eventually tribals will also benefit in the process. However, in our analysis we have found that the process of heavy industrialization and other developmental projects in the region has not created sufficient jobs for the indigenous population of the region. There has been an increase in State Domestic Product and considerable expansion of modern industrial activities during the last 50 years, but paradoxically enough these are not reflected through changes in employment structure. Stuart Corbridge (1987) has argued to an extent that the industrialization of Jharkhand has been at the expense of tribal land rights and has led to a significant drain of resources and revenues from the region.

Nonetheless, in our analysis we have found that the emerging mining and other industries which resulted in massive land alienation among tribals had opened very limited employment opportunities for the tribals. Also, for those who got employment in these industries, condition is not better off. Usually, work in these industries is divided into various types and grades depending upon skill and knowledge required for work. Not used to work other than cultivation and not being in possession of modern skills and knowledge a very large majority could secure only lowest paid jobs. The entry into white collar occupation has been very difficult for this socially marginalised group.

The structure and mode of tribal exploitation is still continuing in the name of “development” and is projected as a national achievement. Following the process of land alienation and exploitation, tribals increasingly find themselves more and more marginalised. Consequently, the process of tribals’ participation that started during the colonial period to eke out their livelihood continued even in the present period. Even now, faced with all kinds of exploitation and landlessness tribals are looking for employment outside their traditional agriculture.

Therefore, colonial and post colonial periods are two different phases of historical development which have had significant implications for the emergence and shaping up of labour market for tribals. Historically, it has been seen that tribals were employed in unskilled works which was required for the development of various industries. During the early phase of industrial development in India, there was three-tier system existing in these industries. The British officials were at the top, followed by the high caste Hindus in the middle, supervising the work of group of tribals, semi-tribals and lower caste Hindus. A similar hierarchical relationship can be observed in the employment structure in the current period. Although, the British officials are no longer there, but the upper segment of the occupational hierarchy is occupied by the socially elite class, leaving the lower stratum for the marginalized section of the society.

Hence, we may conclude that a major factor behind economic disparities of ST in India has been the employment structure itself which has been shaped following a long historic process. The occupational distribution is highly skewed with very few from the ST population present in the socially elite occupations like professionals, supervisors, managers, administrators etc. Overwhelming majority of the ST workers is in occupations like farming, labourers, and also in mining and quarrying industry at low grade and laborious jobs, traditional manufacturing industries like *Bidi* making and stone craving and as domestic servants, ayahs, nurses and other related activities. Even for same occupation in same industries, the remuneration that ST workers receive is distinctly different from what the other group receives. As most of the ST workers (about 87 per

cent) are absorbed in the labour market as informal workers, they lack most of the social and economic securities. Most of the workers do not have job, income, social or representation security, which is a common attribute of informal workers. The proportion of Non-ST workers engaged in formal activities, with all kinds of social and economic securities, is far more compared to ST workers.

Major reason for their absorption in the informal/unorganised workforce, as we found in our study, is the lack of physical and human capital. We found that majority of ST workers belong to either landless or near to landless category. Most of the landless and marginal landholding class are concentrated in the category of casual work and as agricultural labourers in agriculture. Level of educational attainment among the ST workers is also far less compared to the Non-ST workers. A very high proportion of ST workers are either illiterate or with low education. With this low level of education, their occupational mobility is highly restricted.

Hence, in order to reduce poverty level among this marginalised section of the society and induce development, the policies should be framed by taking into consideration the structural and institutional bottleneck of the tribal society. We have seen that land, forest and other natural resources are the mainstay of tribal economy. Hence, in order to develop this group we need to provide them the property right over land, forest and water resources in their areas. We should then try to formulate policies to identify the potential of tribals to use these resources efficiently and productively.

Mere industrialization in the tribal regions would not help the tribals as producing a capitalist from within themselves to run the private sector or to actively participate in the formation and distribution in the public sector would be difficult for them given the level of skills they possess. In fact, this process is perpetuating the dominance of the non-tribals in the economy. Even, their employability in these industries is very restricted on the account of limited capabilities. Yet for the tribal workers who are getting absorbed in these industries, their employment is restricted to mainly low skilled low remunerative

jobs. Hence, despite various reservations provided by the government to this marginalised tribal community, they are hardly able to reap the benefits of all these legislations. Only reservation in job and educational institutes may not result in upliftment of the tribals in their occupational status and position in the labour market as well as in the society. We need to focus on the skill development among the ST population not only by providing better education but also by giving better trainings by identifying their potential and for enhancing their capabilities. Without this the development initiatives, instead of improving the conditions of the tribals, would further push the tribals into a perennial condition of backwardness.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abraham, Vinoj. 2009. Employment Growth in Rural India: Distress Driven? *Economic and Political weekly* 44 (16):97-104.
- Acemoglu, D., Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. 2001. The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation. *The American Economic Review* 91 (5):1369-1401.
- Ahmad, Nesar, and Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt. 2006. Engendering Mining Communities: Examining the Missing Gender concerns in Coal Mining Displacement and Rehabilitation in India. *Gender Technology and Development* 10 (3):314.
- Ahmed, Waqar. 2007. Indigenous Communities and their Marginalized Space. In *Studies in Indian Economy*, edited by K. R. Gupta. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributers (P)LTD.
- Amin, Samir. 2003. World Poverty, Pauperization and Capital Accumulation. *Monthly Review* 55 (5).
- Areeparampil, Mathew. 1996. Displacement due to Mining in Jharkhand. *Economic and Political weekly* 31 (24):1524-1528.
- Atkinson, A.B. 1998. Social Exclusion, Poverty and Unemployment. In *Exclusion, Employment and Opportunity*, edited by A. B. Atkinson. London: CASE Paper 4, Center for Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics.
- Badgaiyan, S.D. 1983. Tribal Worker in Colonial Industry. In *Tribal Area Development*, edited by S.N.Mishra and B. Singh. New Delhi: Society for the Study of Regional Disparities.
- — —. 1986. 19th Century in Chota Nagpur and Santal Parganas - Political Economy of Migration. In *Studies in Migration*, edited by M. S. A. Rao. Delhi: Manohar Publications.
- Bagchi, A.K. 1973. Some Implications of Unemployment in Rural Areas. *Economic and Political weekly* 23 (31):1501-1510.
- Bagchi, A.K., and P. Das. 2005. Changing Pattern of Employment under Neo-liberal Reforms: A comparative study of West Bengal and Gujarat. *Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 48 (4):945-58.
- Bandyopadhyay, Madhumita. 1999. Demographic consequences of non-tribal incursion in Chotanagpur region during colonial period (1850-1950). *Social Change* 29 (10):10-46.
- Barton, G. 2001. Empire forestry and the Origin of Environmentalism *Journal of Historical Geography* 27 (4):529-552.
- Basu, D.N., and S.P. Kashyap. 1992. Rural Non-Agricultural Employment in India: Role of Development Process and Rural-Urban Employment Linkages. *Economic and Political weekly* 27 (51/52):A178-A189.
- Basu, Moushumi. 2008. Arcelor-Mittal in Jharkhand. *Economic and Political weekly* 43 (48):22-23.
- Bates, C., and Marina Carter. 1992. Tribal Migration in India and Beyond In *The World of Rural Labourer in Colonial India*, edited by G. Prakash. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Behal, Rana P., and Prabhu P. Mohapatra. 1992. Tea and Money versus Human Life: The Rise and Fall of the Indentured System in the Assam Tea Plantations 1840-1908. In *Plantations, peasants and Proletarians in Colonial Asia*, edited by E. V. Daniel, H. Bernstein and T. Brass. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.
- Beteille, A. 1986. The Concept of Tribe with Special reference to India. *Archives of European Sociology, Vol.XXXVIII*:297-318.

- Bhadra, R.K. 1990. Some Features of Tea Plantations and Surplus Labourers in Assam. In *Tea Garden Labourers of North-East India*, edited by S. Karotemprel and B. D. Roy. Shillong: Vendrame Missiological Institute.
- Bhalla, A.S. 1990. Rural-Urban Disparities in India and China. *World Development* 18 (8):1097-1110.
- Bijoy, C.R. 2008 Forest Rights Struggle : The Adivasis Now Await a Settlement. *American Behavioral Scientist* 51 (12):1755-1773.
- Borooah, Vani K., Amaresh Dubey, and Sriya Iyer. 2005. Has Job Reservation been Effective? Caste, Religion, and Economic Status in India <http://www.econ.cam.ac.uk/faculty/iyer/JobReservationIndia.pdf>.
- Bose, S.R. 1931-32. The Jharia Coal Industry. *Indian Journal of Economics* 17:302.
- Breman, Jan. 1989. *Taming of the Coolie Beast: Plantation Society and the Colonial Order in Southeast Asia*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Carter, Marina. 1992. Strategies of Labour Mobilisation in Colonial India: The Recruitment of Indentured Workers for Mauritius. In *Plantations, Proletarians, and Peasants in Colonial Asia*, edited by E. V. Daniel, H. Bernstein and T. Brass. London: Frank Cass and Co. LTD.
- Cerruti, Marcela. 2000. Economic Reforms, Structural Adjustment and Female Labor Force Participation in Buenos Aires, Argentina. *World Development* 28 (5):879-891.
- Chakravarty, Lalita. 1978. Emergence of an Industrial Labour Force in a Dual Economy. *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 15 (3):249-327.
- Chatterjee, Suranjan, and Ratan Das Gupta. 1981. Tea-Labour in Assam: Recruitment and Government Policy, 1840-80. *Economic and Political weekly* 16 (44/46):18861-18868ss.
- Chen, Martha, Joan Vanek, and James Heintz. 2006. Informality gender and poverty *Economic and Political weekly* 41 (21):2131-2139.
- Choudhury, N.C., and S.K. Bhowmik. 1986. Migration of Chota Nagpur Tribals to West Bengal. In *Studies in Migration*, edited by M. S. A. Rao. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Clark, Gregory. 2007. *A Farewell to Arms*. Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press.
- Corbridge, Stuart. 1987. Industrialisation, internal colonialism and ethnoregionalism: the Jharkhand, India, 1880-1980. *Journal of Historical Geography* 13 (3):249-266.
- Cuthbert, S.T. 1846. Extracts from a Report on Chota Nagpore. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 8:407-416.
- Cutter, S.L. 1995. Race, Class and Environmental Justice. *Progress in Human Geography* 19 (1):111-122.
- D'Souza, V. 1975. Family status and Male work participation. In *Women in Contemporary India*, edited by V. D'Souza. New Delhi: Manohar.
- D.N. 1988. Factors in the Jharkhand Movement. *Economic and Political weekly* 23 (5):185-187.
- Dalton, E.T. 1868. The "Kols" of Chota-Nagpore. *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 6:1-41, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3014243>.
- Dalton, Edward Tuite. 1872. *Tribal History of Eastern India*. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing.
- Damodaran, Vinita. 2007. Famine in Bengal : A Comparison of the 1770 Famine in Bengal and the 1897 Famine in Chotanagpur. *The Medieval History Journal* 10 (1&2):143-181.
- Danda, Ajit K. 1991. *Tribal Economy In India*. New Delhi: Inter-India Publication.

- Darwin, Charles. 1959. *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection Or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* Edited by J. W. Burrow. England: Penguin Classics. Original edition, 1959.
- Das, A.K , and S.K. Banerjee. 1962. *Impact of Industrialization on the Life of the tribals of West bengal*. Calcutta: Director of Social Welfare, Govt. of West Bengal.
- Das, A.K., and H.N. Banerjee. 1964. *Impact of Tea Industry On the Life of tribals of West Bengal*. Calcutta: Govt. of West Bengal.
- Das, Arvind Narayan. 1975. Struggle of workers and Tribal Peasants in Chhotanagpur. *Economic and Political weekly* 10 (9):384-386.
- Das, M., and P. Dutta. 2007. Does Caste Matter for Wages in the Indian Labor Market? In *Draft Paper*: World Bank.
- Das, Maitreyi Bordia, Gillette Hall, Soumya Kapoor, and Denis Nikitin. 2010. *Indigenous Peoples, Poverty and Development*. World Bank.
- Dasgupta, Ranajit. 1981. Structure of the Labour Market in Colonial India. *Economic and Political Weekly* 16 (44/46):1781-1806.
- — —. 1986. From Peasants and Tribesmen to Plantation Workers: Colonial Capitalism, Reproduction of Labour Power and Proletarianisation in North East India, 1850s to 1947. *Economic and Political weekly* 21 (4):PE2-PE10.
- — —. 1992. Plantation Labour in Colonial India. In *Plantations, Peasants and Proletarians in Colonial Asia*, edited by E. V. Daniel, H. Bernstein and T. Brass. London: Frank Cass,
- — —. 1994. *Labour and Working Class in Eastern India: Studies in Colonial History*. Calcutta: K P Bagchi & Company
- Datt, Gaurav. 1999. Has Poverty Declined since Economic Reforms? Statistical Data Analysis. *Economic and Political weekly* 34 (50):3516-3518.
- Davis, Steven J., and John Haltiwanger. 1992. Gross Job Creation, Gross Job Destruction, and Employment Reallocation. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 107 (3):819-863.
- Deaton, Angus, and Jean Dreze. 2002. Poverty and Inequality in India: A Re-Examination. *Economic and Political weekly* 37 (36):3729-3748.
- Dessing, Maryke. 2002. Labour Supply, The Family and Poverty: The S-Shaped Labor Supply Curve. *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 49 (4):433-458.
- Dev, S. Mahendra. 2008. *Inclusive Growth in India: Agriculture, Poverty, and Human Development*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Dunn, Dana. 1993. Gender Inequality in Education and Employment in the Scheduled Caste and Tribes of India *Population Research and Policy Review* 12 (1):53-70.
- Duyker, Edward. 1987. *Tribal Guerrillas: The Santals of West Bengal and the Naxalite Movement*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Ekka, Alexius. 2000. Jharkhand Tribals: Are They Really a Minority. *Economic and Political weekly* 35 (52/53):4610-4612.
- Elwin, V. 1963. *A new Deal for Tribal India*. edited by G. o. I. Ministry of Home Affairs. Delhi:
- Enmer, P.C. 1986. The Meek Hindu: The Recruitment of Indian Indentured Labourers for Service Overseas, 1870-1916. In *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour before and after Slavery*, edited by P. C. E. (Ed.). Dordrecht: Foris.
- Escobar, Arturo. 1995. *Encountering Development: The making and Unmaking of the Third World* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

- Faggio, Giulia, and Jozef Konings. 2001. Job Creation, Job Destruction and Employment Growth in Transition Countries in the 90's. In *Discussion Paper Series, No. 242*. Bonn, Germany: IZA.
- Fay, C.R. 1936. Plantation Economy. *The Economic Journal* 46 (184):620-644.
- Ferguson, Niall. 2007. *The evolution of Financial Services*. New York: Oliver Wyman.
- Fernandes, W. 2008. Sixty Years of Development-Induced Displacement in India: Scale, Impact, and the Search for Alternatives In *India Social Development Report 2008: Development and Displacement*, edited by H. M. Mathur. Delhi: Oxford University Press/ Council for Social Development.
- Galenson, David W. 1984. The Rise and Fall of Indentured Servitude in the Americas: An Economic Analysis. *The Journal of Economic History* 44 (1):1-26.
- Ghosal, Ratan Kumar. 2007. Dynamics of Diversification of Rural Employment Structure in India: The changing Trajectories. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 50 (4):643-656.
- Ghosh, Kaushik. 2006. Between Global Flows and Local Dams: Indigenouslyness, Locality, and the Transnational Sphere in Jharkhand, India. *Cultural Anthropology* 21 (4):501-534.
- Ghosh, Pranab Kumar, Chittaranjan Sahoo, and Sabyasachi Rath. 2009. Traditional Agriculture Wisdom for Sustainability in Tribal Areas. *Orissa Review*:58-63.
- Gosh, Arunabha. 1991. Probing the Jharkhand Question. *Economic and Political weekly* 26 (18):1173-1181.
- Gottheil, Fred M. 1977. On an Economic Theory of Colonialism. *Journal of Economic Issues* 11 (1):83-102.
- Government of India. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Central Province to Coompta.
 ---. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Samadhiala to Singhana.
 ---. 1858. A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of East-India Company.
 ---. 1931. Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. London.
- Grantham, George. 1994. Economic History and the History of Labour Markets. In *Labour Market Evolution: The economic history of market integration, wage flexibility and employment relation*, edited by G. Grantham and M. Mackinnon. London: Routledge.
- Green, David A. 1994. Bridging the Gap between Labour Economics and Economic History: A Labour Economist's Perspective. In *Labour Market Evolution: The economic history of market integration, wage flexibility and the employment relation* edited by G. Grantham and M. MacKinnon. London: Routledge.
- Guha, R. 1983. *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Guha, Ramachandra. 2007. Adivasis, Naxalites and Indian Democracy. *Economic and Political weekly* 42 (32):3305-3312.
- Gunter, Bernhard G., and Rolph van der Hoeven. 2004. The Social Dimension of Globalization; A review of the Literature. In *Working Paper 24*. Geneva: Policy Integration Department, World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, International Labour Office.
- Gupta, K.L. 1977. Bihar. In *Land alienation and restoration in tribal communities in India*, edited by S.N.Dubey and R. Murdia. Bombay: Himalaya publishing house.
- Haan, Arjan de. 1995. Migration in Eastern India: A Segmented Labour Market. *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* XXXII (1):51-92.
- Habib, Irfan. 1985. Studying a Colonial Economy without Perceiving Colonialism. *Modern Asian Studies* 119 (3):355-381.

- Haldar, A.K. 1990. Tribal Mining Labourers of Chotanagpur. In *Tribal Transformation in India, Vol.1*, edited by B. Chaudhuri. New Delhi: Inter India Publication.
- Haldar, Tanushree. 2009. Supermarket and Micro-Retailing: A cost based Socio-Economic Analysis, M.A. Thesis, Department of Economics and Politics, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan.
- Herbert, Tony, and Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt. 2004. Coal Sector Loans and Displacement of Indigenous Populations: Lessons from Jharkhand. *Economic and Political weekly* 39 (23):2403-2409.
- Hodgson, Geoffrey M. 2006. *Economics in the Shadows of Darwin and Marx: Essays on Institutional and Evolutionary Themes*. Massachusetts, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Hossain, Mahabub. 2004. Rural Non-Farm Economy: Evidence from Household Surveys. *Economic and Political weekly* 39 (36):4053-4058.
- Human, J., and M. Pattanaik. 2000. *Community Forest Management: A Casebook from India*. Oxfam: Oxford.
- Hunter, W.W. 1868. *Annals of Eural Bengal*. London.
- — —. 1877. *A statistical Account of Bengal*. Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Hussain, Azmal. 2008. Development Induced Displacement: Contents and Consequences. In *Development Induced Displacement: Issues and Implications*, edited by A. Hussain. Hyderabad: Icfai University Press.
- Hussain, Monirul. 1992. Tribal Question in Assam. *Economic and Political weekly* 27 (20/21):1047-1050.
- Ito, Takahiro. *Caste Discrimination and Transaction Costs in the Labour Market: Evidence from Rural North India*. Institute of Economic Research, Hititsubashi University 2007.
- Iyer, Lakshmi. 2010. Direct versus Indirect Colonial Rule in India: Long-term Consequences. *Review of Economics and Statistics* 92 (4):693-713.
- Jacob, Paul. 2001. Magnitude of the Women workforce in India: An Appraisal of the NSS estimates and methods. *Sarvekshana*: April-September 1-8.
- Jha, G.C. 1964. *The Kol Insurrection of Chota Nagpur*. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.
- Joshi, Sanat T. 1998. Land alienation and the accelerating tribal transformation. In *Tribals in India: The changing scenerio*, edited by S. N. Tripathy. New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House.
- Joshi, Seema. 2004. Tertiary Sector-Driven Growth in India: Impact on Employment and Poverty. *Economic and Political weekly* 39 (37):4175-4178.
- Kaldor, Nicholas. 1957. A Model of Economic Growth. *The Economic Journal* 67 (268):591-624.
- Kannan, K.P. 2007. Interrogating Inclusive Growth: Some reflections on Exclusionary Growth and Prospects for Inclusive Development in India. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 50 (1):17-46.
- Kantor, Paula, Uma Rani, and Jeemol Urni. 2006. Decent Work Deficits in Informal Economy: Case of Surat. *Economic and Political weekly* 41 (21):2089-2097.
- Karlekar, M. 1982. Some Perspectives on the Employment of Scheduled Caste Women. *Social Action* 32:292-302.
- Kaur, Amarjit. 2004. *Wage Labour in Southeast Asia Since 1840: Globalization, the International Division of Labour and Labour Transformation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Klodt, Henning. 1997. The Transition to the Service Society: Prospects for Growth, Productivity and Employment. In *Kiel Working Paper No. 839: The Kiel Institute of World Economics*.
- Kumar, Arun. 2003. Violence and Political Culture: Politics of the Ultra Left in Bihar. *Economic and Political weekly* 38 (47):4977-4983.
- Kundu, Amitabha. 1996. New Economic Policy and Urban Poverty in India. In *Economic Reforms and Poverty Alleviation in India*, edited by C. H. H. Rao and H. Linnemann. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Kunhaman, M. 1985. The tribal Economy of Kerala: An Intra-Regional Analysis. *Economic and Political weekly* 20 (11):466-474.
- Kurian, N.J. 2007. Widening Economic and Social Disparities: Implications for India. *Indian Journal of Medical Research* 126 (4):374-380.
- Lal, K.S. 1995. *Growth of Scheduled Tribes and Castes in Medieval India*. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan.
- MacDougall, J. 1985. *Land or Religion? The Sardar and Kherwar Movements in Bihar*. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Mahadevia, Darshini. 2001. Informalisation of Employment and Poverty in Ahmedabad. In *Informal Sector in India*, edited by A. Kundu and A. N. Sharma. New Delhi: Institute For Human Development.
- Maitra, Priyatosh. 1969. Changes in Occupational Pattern and Industrialization in India: 1901-1961. Paper read at Trends of Socio-Economic Change in India: 1871-1961, at Simla.
- Majumder, Rajarshi. 2007. Earning Differentials across Social Group: Evidences from India. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 50 (4):943-953.
- Manohar, K.M., and B. Janardhan Rao. 1992. Tribal Agricultural Labour_ An Enquiry into the Depeasantisation process. In *Tribal Transformation in India*, edited by B. Chaudhuri. New Delhi: Inter-India Publication.
- Manoj. 2003. Two Lakh Young Adivasi Women Working as Housemaids in Big cities. *Hindustan (Hindi)*, 24 March, March 24.
- Marx, Karl. 1976. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume 1*. Translated by B. fowkes. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Mathur, H.M. 2006. Globalization, Displacement, and Impoverishment Risks: Large Corporations and Tribal Corporations and Tribal People in Orissa, India. Paper read at Working Group on Involuntary Resettlement, Environmental Risks and Sustainable Development at IAPS/Bibalex Conference on Environment, Health and Sustainable Development, 11-16 September, at Alexandria, Egypt.
- McPherson, H. 1909. Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Sonthal Parganas. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot.
- Meher, Rajkishor. 2009. Globalization, Displacement and the Livelihood Issues of Tribal and Agriculture Dependent Poor People: The case of Mineral-based Industries in India. *Journal of Developing Societies* 25 (4):457-480.
- Mishra, Amit Kumar. 2009. Indian Indentured Labourers in Mauritius: Reassessing the 'New System of Slavery' vs Free Labour Debate. *Studies in History* 25 (2).
- Mohapatra, Prabhu Prasad. 1985. Coolies and Colliers: A study of Agrarian context of Labour Migration from Chotanagpur, 1880-1920 *Studies in History* 1 (2):245-303.
- Mukhopadhyay, M. 1984. *Silver Shackles: Women and Development in India*. Oxford: Oxfam.

- Munda, Ram Dayal. 2005. Globalisation and Challenges of Tribal Development. In *Durgabai Deshmukh Memorial Lectures*. New Delhi: Council for Social Development.
- Nair, M.K. Sukumaran. 1987. *Tribal economy in Transition*. New Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
- Nanda, Bikra Narayan. 1987. From subsistence to wage labour: The time element in tribal transformation. In *Working Paper no. 6516*: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
- Nath, G., and Japani Patel. 1998. Structural adjustment and its impact on tribal areas and people in India. In *Tribals in India: The changing scenario*, edited by S.N.Tripathy. New Delhi: Discovery publishing house.
- Neetha, N. 2009. Changing Dimensions of Female Employment in India: Insights from NSSO Data. *Labour and Development* 14-15 (2 & 1):22-48.
- North, D. 1990. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nunn, Nathan, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2009. The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa. In *Working Papers: National Bureau of Economic Research* (Cambridge, MA)
- O'Malley, L.S.S. First Published in 1910, Reprint 1984. *Bengal District Gazetteers: Santal Parganas*. New Delhi: Logos Press.
- Omvedt, Gail. 1981. Steel Workers, Contract Labourers and Adivasis. *Economic and Political weekly* 16 (30):1227-1229.
- Orans, Martin. 1959. A Tribal People in an Industrial Setting. In *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, edited by M. Singer. Philadelphia: Publication of the American Folklore Society, Bibliographical Series, vol. X.
- Ozler, Sule. 2000. Export Orientation and Female Share of Employment: Evidence from Turkey. *World Development* 28 (7):1239-1248.
- Padel, F. 1991. Folk Concept of Health and Disease: A Case Study. *Eastern Anthropologist* 44 (1-3):179-188.
- Pandey, R.N. Status of Employment and Unemployment Statistics in India edited by M. O. S. P. Implementation. New Delhi: Ministry Of Statistics and Programme Implementation.
- Prakash, Amit. 1999. Decolonisation and Tribal Policy in Jharkhand: Continuities with colonial Discourse. *Social Scientist* 27 (7/8):113-139.
- Prasad, Jitendra. 1988. Nature of Industrial Development and its Consequences in the Tribal Regions of Bihar. In *Changing status of depressed castes in contemporary India: essays in honour of Professor S.C. Dube*, edited by S. N. Chaudhary. Delhi: Daya Publishing House.
- Punekar, S.D., and R. Varickayil. 1989. *Labour Movement in India Documents: 1850-1890; Vol. 1: Mines and Plantations*
3vols. New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research.
- Raj, Felix J. 2011. *Globalisation and Plight of Tribals'* 2006 [cited 9 May 2011]. Available from <http://www.geothals.org/globalisation.htm>.
- Raman, Ravi. 2010. *Global Capital and Peripheral labour: The history and political Economy of Plantation Workers in India*. New York: Routledge.
- Ramasamy, P. 1992. Labour Control and Labour Resistance in the Plantations of Colonial Malaya. In *Plantations, Proletarians, and Peasants in Colonial Asia*, edited by E. V. Daniel, H. Bernstein and T. Brass. London: Frank Cass and Co. LTD.
- Rao, Nitya. 2003. Life and Livelihood in Santal Parganas: Does the Right to a Livelihood Really Exist? *Economic and Political Weekly* 38 (39):4081-4084.

- Rao, S Laxman, Priya Deshingkar, and John Farrington. 2006. Tribal Land Alienation in Andhra Pradesh: Processes, Impact and Policy Concerns. *Economic and Political weekly* 41 (52):5401-5407.
- Rayappa, P. Hanumantha, and Deepak Grover. 1979. Employment Planning for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. *Economic and Political weekly* 14 (24):1015-1022.
- Rege, D. V. 1950. Report on an Enquiry into Conditions of Labour in Plantations in India. Simla: Labour Investigation Committee, Government of India.
- Rothermund, D. 1988 (Reprinted on 1993). *An economic History of India: From pre-colonial times to 1991*. London: Routledge Publications.
- Roy, Tirthankar. 2002. Economic History and Modern India: Redefining the Link. *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 16 (3):109-130.
- Sachchidananda, and B.B. Mandal. 1985. *Industrialization and Social Disorganization*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Sankaran, T. S. 2001. Social Security for Workers in Unorganised Sector. In *Informal Sector in India*, edited by A. Kundu and A. N. Sharma. New Delhi: Institute For Human Development.
- Saunders, Ron. 2003. Defining Vulnerability in the Labour Market. In *Research Paper W/21*. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks.
- Sawaiyan, Shanti. *Forcible displacement & land alienation is unjust*.
- Saxena, K.B. 2005. Development as Destitution. *Alternative Economic Survey, India 2005-06: Disempowering Masses*:263-274.
- Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press
- Sen, Arup Kumar. 2002. Mode of Labour Control in Colonial India. *Economic and Political weekly* 37 (38):3956-3966.
- Sengupta, Arjun, K. P. Kannan, and G Raveendran. 2008. India's Common People: Who are they, How many are they and How do they live? *Economic and Political weekly* 43 (11):49-63.
- Sengupta, Nirmal. 1980. Class and Tribe in Jharkhand. *Economic and Political weekly* 15 (14):664-671.
- Sengupta, S. 1973. *Santal Rural Economy: A study based on village survey in Santal Parganas*. Calcutta: Agro-Economic Research Centre, Visva-Bharati.
- Sethi, R.M. 1982. Changing Patterns of Female Labour in Agriculture: The case of Punjab. *Social Action* 34:354-367.
- Shah, Alpa. 2006. The Labour of Love: Seasonal Migration from Jharkhand to the bricks Kilns of other states in India. *Contribution to Indian Sociology* 40 (1):91-118.
- Shah, Mihir. 1984. Capitalist Development and the Transformation of Agrarian Relations in Chingleput District, 1783-1980, PhD Dissertation, Centre For Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram.
- Sharan, Ramesh. 2005. Alienation and Restoration of Tribal Land in Jharkhand: Current Issues and Possible Strategies. *Economic and Political weekly* 40 (41):4443-4446.
- Sharma, Chandan Kumar. 2001. Tribal Land Alienation: Government's Role. *Economic and Political weekly* 36 (52):4791-4795.
- Sharma, Subhash. 2010. Development for What and Whom and at Whose Cost? Some Sociological Reflections on Development of Tribes in India. *Social Change* 40 (2):195-212.
- Simeon, Dilip. 1995. *The Politics of Labour Under Late Colonialism*. New Delhi: Manohar.

- Simmons, C. P. 1976. Recruiting and Organizing an Industrial Labour Force in Colonial India: The case of the Mining Industry, 1880-1939. *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 13 (4):455-482.
- Simmons, Colin. 1985. De-Industrialization, Industrialization and the Indian Economy, 1850-1947. *Modern Asian Studies* 19 (3):593-622.
- Singh, I.P. 1988. *Women's Oppression: Men Responsible*. Delhi: Renaissance Publishing.
- Singh, K.S. 1969. Pattern of Agricultural Changes in Tribal Chhotanagpur. Paper read at Trends of Socio-Economic Change in India: 1871-1961, at Simla.
- — —. 1969. Tribal Land Organization in chotanagpur and its Development. Paper read at Trends of Socio-Economic Change in India: 1871-1961, at Simla.
- — —. 1972. Agrarian Issues in Chotanagpur. In *Tribal situation in India, vol.13*, edited by K.S.Singh. Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.
- — —. 1978. Colonial Transformation of Tribal Society in Middle India. *Economic and Political weekly* 13 (30):1221-1232.
- — —. 1982. Transformation of Tribal Society: Integration vs Assimilation. *Economic and Political weekly* 17 (34):1376-1384.
- Singh, P.K. 1996. From simplicity to Organised Complexity. In *Tribes in India: Ongoing Challenges*, edited by R. S. Mann. New Delhi: M D Publications Pvt. Ltd.
- Singh, R.S. 1986. *Changing Occupational Structure of Scheduled Tribes* New-Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
- Sinha, S.P. 1993. *Conflicts and Tension in Tribal Society*. New Delhi: Concept publishing Company.
- Sircar, Kalyan K. 1986. Labour and Management: First Twenty Years of Assam Company Limited (1839-59). *Economic and Political weekly* 21 (22):M38-M43.
- Srivastava, A.R.N. 1992. *Changing Values and Tribal Societies*. New Delhi: Inter-India publishing.
- Srivastava, K.B. 1981. Administration through Stages among the tribals of Chotanagpur. In *Tribal Development and its Administration*, edited by L. P. Vidyarthi. New Delhi: Concept Publishing company.
- Srujana, K. 1997. Delhi: Defiance Against Dehumanisation. *Labour File*.
- Standing, Guy. 1989. Global Feminization through Flexible Labor. *World Development* 17 (7):1077-1095.
- — —. 1999. Global Feminization Through Flexible Labor: A Theme Revisited. *World Development* 27 (3):583-602.
- Swamy, Stan. *Dispossess them first and then hunt them down as criminals* (9th November) 2010. Available from <http://revolutionaryfrontlines.wordpress.com/2010/11/11/india-dispossess-them-first-and-then-hunt-them-down-as-criminals/#more-12557>.
- Tete, Peter. 1984. *A Missionary social worker in India: J.B.Hoffmann, The chotanagpur tenancy act and the catholic co-operatives, 1893-1928*. Rome: Universita Gregoriana Editrice.
- Thorat, S.K., and Mallick. 2004. Labour and Occupation Discrimination in Rural Areas. In *Working Paper*. Indian Institute of Dalit Studies: New Delhi.
- Thorat, Sukhadeo, and Nidhi Sadana. 2009. Caste and Ownership of Private Enterprises. *Economic and Political weekly* 44 (23):13-16.
- Tomlinson, B. R. 1982. The Political Economy of the Raj: The Decline of Colonialism. *The Journal of Economic History* 42 (1):133-137.

- Tripathy, P., and Nibedita Nath. 2008. Land Relations in Tribal Areas in Orissa In *Contemporary Society of Tribal Studies*, edited by G. Pfeffer and D. K. Behra. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Unni, Jeemol, and G. Raveendran. 2007. Growth of Employment (1993-94 to 2004-05): Illusion of Inclusiveness? *Economic and Political weekly* 42 (3):196-199.
- Vaidyanathan, A. 1986. Labour Use in Rural India: A study of spatial and Temporal Variations. *Economic and Political weekly* 21 (52):A130-A146.
- Valodia, Imraan. 2001. Economic Policy and Women's Informal Work in South Africa. *Development and Change* 32:871-891.
- Verma, D.N., and R.S. Dixit. 1988. Place of Women in Occupational Structure of Scheduled Caste Population in U.P. In *Women in India*, edited by D. Maurya. India: Chugh Publications.
- Verma, Nitin. 2005. Coolie Acts and the Acting Coolies: Coolie, Planter and State in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Colonial Tea Plantations of Assam. *Social Scientist* 33 (5/6):49-72.
- Virmani, A. 2005. Policy Regimes, Growth and Poverty in India: Lessons of Government Government Failure and Entrepreneurial Success. In *Working Paper 170*. New Delhi: Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations
- Walker, T., and J Ryan. 1990. *Villages and Household Economies in India's Semi-arid Tropics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Weiner, Myron. 1978. *Sons of the soil: Migration and Ethnic conflict in India*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- World, and Bank. 2009. Indian Poverty Assessment Report. New Delhi: World Bank.



P 15
P 17
P 43