

**THE FLIP SIDE OF DEVELOPMENT: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS  
OF TRIBAL DISPLACEMENT IN BRAZIL AND INDIA**

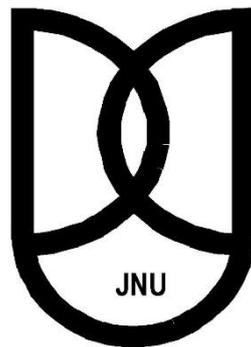
*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University*

*In Partial fulfilment of the requirements*

*for the award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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### DECLARATION

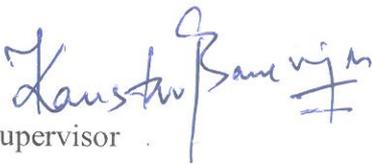
I declare that the dissertation titled "*THE FLIP SIDE OF DEVELOPMENT: A Comparative Analysis of Tribal Displacement in Brazil and India*" submitted by me in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of **Master of Philosophy** is my original work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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**ABBREVAITONS**

BNDES	Brazil's National Development Bank
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CNT, Act	Chotanagpur Tenancy, Act 1908.
EIA	ENVIRONMENT IMPACT ASSESSMENT
FRA	FOREST RIGHTS ACT
FUNAI	NATIONAL INDIAN FOUNDATION(BRAZIL)
GDP	GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT
ILO	INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION
IMF	INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND
KKJS	KOEL KARO JAN SANGATHAN
LPG	LIBERALIZATION, PRIVATIZATION, GLOBALIZATION
MDIC	MINISTRY OF DEVELOPMENT, INDUSTRY & FOREIGN TRADE
MNC	MULTI-NATIONAL COMAPANY

MPI	MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY INDEX
NGO	NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORAGANIZATION
PAC	ACCELERATED GROWTH PROGRAM
PDS	PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM
PESA	PANCHAYAT EXTENSION to SCHEDULED AREA, 1996
PTG	PRIMITIVE TRIBAL GROUP
SPT, Act	SANTHAL PARGANA TENANCY, ACT 1949
ST	SCHEDULED TRIBE
TALCO	TAJIK ALUMINIUM COMPANY
TISCO	TATA IRON & STEEL COMPANY Ltd.
UN	UNITED NATIONS
UNDP	UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
UNDRIP	UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES.

## Chapter 1

### **INTRODUCTION**

The analysis and articulation of the title “The flip side of development: A comparative analysis of the tribal displacement in Brazil and India”, itself is very important in the first place. To understand the meaning of development and introspecting its flipside, is the main concern of this chapter. In the context of globalization which itself is a dynamic, multi- faceted and contested concept, how the concept of ‘development’ can be a single or so called mainstream notion. The categories of people affected due to certain development projects are different. My concern is to analyse the tribal people displacement issues related to some mega development projects. Also, this is going to deal with some of the gravest consequences like discrimination in the disguise of development. How can development and discrimination go hand in hand? Especially when certain social group is targeted and get nothing in return in the name of so called development. Therefore, I am trying in my research topic to bring the existing reality of development and discrimination. Especially in the era of globalization, where people are connected to each other across globe through technology and internet. What impact does it have on people who stands out of reach from such developments? And also, to understand if mere fulfilment of development projects leads to development in dynamic sense. The concept of development is seen through different lenses across the globe depending upon the countries categorized into developed, developing and underdeveloped on the basis of economic and non- economic aspect, generally.

However, non - economic factors also play dynamic role in contributing to the misery, poverty, injustice, low standard of living, health, lacking education and also ecological and cultural shocks. The phenomena of displacement of tribal is not a local in nature. The aboriginal ones in any country have to bear the extraordinary burden that even trickle down to generations and generations. Therefore, the analysis of the concept of development in the context of globalization is essentially important. More other aspects

should be incorporated in defining concept of development. <sup>1</sup>A development can be seen, it is argued here, a process of expanding the real freedom that people enjoy (Sen, 1999). The real freedom would not just mean narrow concept of economic development rather broader idea including non-economic and environmental factors. People would be in a position to freely participate in political and social terms. This would be called as real freedom, a real development of nation. Development for people, of people and by the people. The concern of this topic stands essential in the era of globalization, urbanization, modernization, where sometimes humanitarian and ecological aspects are overlooked. Especially, the developing countries who constantly are in the competition with developed countries to come at par with them. The developing countries like India and Brazil are showing much potential to enter into level playing field with immense resources and manpower. Also, both the countries sharing some sort of colonial experiences and emerging as a developing state. I am comparing both Brazil and India because amongst other competing developing nations, they share some sort of similarities as well as distinctiveness, in terms of aboriginals affected due to certain development projects, resistance towards such projects and humanitarian aspect that faces the gravest consequences of such developmental projects. The problem of indigenous people being affected, especially being displaced from their surround on the pretext of installing various gigantic development projects, has become the matter of concern across the globe.

However, both the countries, Brazil and India are unique in their own ways. Being more specific in research topic my case studies will include state of Jharkhand in India and Mato Grosso in Brazil. The specific area chosen for study due to various similar instances as well as dissimilar evidences showing the need of mainstream idea of development and changing mode of protests and resistance by the indigenous communities. This is a comparative study to bring the phenomena of discrimination and exclusion of aboriginals who are misguided, lured and uprooted from their culture, practices and social norms, into one common table. The tribal associate themselves with their natural surroundings. It is their way of expressing themselves, through various arts, dance forms, folklore, songs and certain practices. The implications of globalization on indigenous people across the

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<sup>1</sup> Amartya Sen brings along the sociological aspect of the concept of development with the economic one. According to him major sources of unfreedom are poverty, inequality, social discrimination, poor economic opportunities, problem of State's repressive measures and so on. That needs to be done away to fulfil the concept of development in its real and dynamic aspect. This stands relevant for developing country like India and Brazil.

globe in the disguise of the rhetoric of development, it becomes utterly important to compare and contrast the two. Both being agrarian based states and tribal inhabited place.

In this regard it is also important to take into account economic and non-economic factors to understand and analyse the concept of development. The phenomena of displacement and problem of rehabilitation could be seen through different lenses to get a better and clear picture of the same. The larger concern is to trace the social exclusion of the marginalised section of the society and especially the aboriginals in the guise of development projects that usher in the era of globalization. Also, to understand the need of restoring the habitats of the indigenous people especially and securing their means of livelihood. The globalization has opened up a space for multiculturalism. This political philosophy of 'multiculturalism' also become critical of the fact that in the course of intermixing a community should retain their unique cultural, lingual and ethnic identity. The popular culture entails submission of certain norms and following the global identity. In terms of advanced technology, Information technology, cyber security, trade, food, clothing and in many other spheres this trend has penetrated deep. No country, no community is aloof from the implications of globalization, good or bad. If we are talking about the global identity, we must also be cautious to what extent it should be done to avoid any sort of identity crisis. This issue become very significant for the indigenous peoples who have their own set of culture, rituals, language, dance and festivals, institutions and so on. These indigenous people find their identity in relation with nature and their own practices. But some indigenous community still inhabit in remote and uncommunicable areas. On the other hand, the intensity of influence of globalization is so strong that it overarches local traditions, once exposed to it. Unless the indigenous people are exposed to this global culture it hardly seems to be overarching. But the problem lies in coercive means through which they are exposed to it. The phenomenon of globalization extends almost every aspect of day today lives cultural, social, political and so on. Therefore, it is an attempt to see the broader concept of development induced displacement in the era of globalization.

## **1.1. DEVELOPMENT & SOCIAL EXCLUSION**

### **1.1.1. LATIN AMERICA: MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL**

The State of Mato Grosso located in the south of Amazon river, in Brazil is an interesting one to trace the pattern of discrimination in the guise of development projects and contrast it with the Indian context. Brazil is known as a country of migration because majority of population are the residents of generations earlier immigrants or slaves. Brazil is known for high rate of violence due to resisting against certain development projects. It is often seen to arise from the country's hinterland, mainly. However, the documentation regarding the displaced people internally or externally is either not available or manipulated by the government agencies of Brazil <sup>2</sup> (Muggah, 2014). The implicit displacement and absence of proper resettlement of people affected are the main topic of concern. The economy of Brazil is highly marked by agribusiness. The state of Mato Grosso, once had rich tracts of rainforest cover and savannah vegetation. On the pretext of establishing and expanding agribusiness, these lands rich in flora and fauna were encroached upon, since 1970's. The people whose primary occupation is based on agriculture has to bear the brunt. The people remain relatively poor in economic terms and their low standard of living begin to add misery to their life. The tribal people residing in the forest covers are displaced and uprooted from their environment. They are forced to leave their natural surroundings and become prone to new mainstream culture and society. The region is enriched by the forest cover in the north western region by amazon forest, which is place for many species of flora and fauna. Not only this, many indigenous people who dwell in the forest inhabit in this region. Following is the map to show the distribution of the forest cover in Mato Grosso, Brazil.

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<sup>2</sup> The United Nations High Commission of Refugees (UNHCR) and the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) the two important authorities to supply data have seen failing to provide accurate records, in fact the data remain absent from the records.

### 1.i. Map of Latin America showing vegetative cover



The social exclusion mere not only mean unequal distribution of economic assets but also marginalising the poor tribal (particular) in sharing the social platform in voicing their opinion and grievances (Buvinic, Mazza, & Deutsch, 2004) <sup>3</sup>. The impact of social exclusion is seen pertaining over generations. Before proceeding further, it is important to understand what is social exclusion? How and whom is it going to affect, is the larger concern. The understanding of the concept of Social Exclusion would make the picture clear regarding development induced displacement particular of the indigenous people. The kind of social stigmatization that they face, followed by discrimination is visible across the globe. The harsh implications of social exclusion remain persistent and intergenerational. For example, poverty, sickness, low standard of living, poor health etc. seem to assail along with the marginalised section of the society.

<sup>3</sup> According to Mayra Buvinic the social exclusion lies in the grey patch in the social structure. It is not absolute, in its function. It operates when the marginalized section of the society is not given equal space in decision making in economic, political or social affairs. The social exclusion is multidimensional. She claims that it especially affects the culturally defined groups.

Here, talking about the same in the context of Latin America the indigenous poverty rate is much higher than other populations in Latin America itself (State of the World's Indigenous Peoples, 2010). The Latin America and Caribbean is marked by varieties of Afro descendent, indigenous people and mix of European and Amerindian descent.<sup>4</sup>The average income of indigenous people is half of the non-indigenous people of Latin America. The standard of living is relatively poor and health falls miserably low. This aspect creates yet another mode of discrimination in the social fold following stigmatization of the marginalised groups. The education received by indigenous people are relatively low. The dropout rates of tribal in education is due to above such factors. More than fifty percent of indigenous people have been reportedly dropped out in primary schools, in Guatemala (State of the World's Indigenous Peoples, 2010). All these factors stand responsible for social exclusion of the most deprived section of the society. It is important to take into account the, further marginalization of this unprivileged section of the society. Especially I am more concerned with the aboriginals of the land. Who are not only socially, politically and economically deprived but also, culturally and ecologically uprooted from their surroundings. The globalization not just deals with the economic factors alone but also social, political and environmental concerns across the globe. Tribal being the worshipper of nature have been protector and preserver of their natural surroundings. The environment related issue is a global concern. The development projects cannot be done away with either. The dilemma of deciding the true beneficiary of the development needs to be prioritized and clarified. The usual pattern of displacement of tribal in the disguise of development projects and further marginalisation and social exclusion is the main concern.

Also affecting indigenous people in Brazil. There are as many as 283 tribes in Brazil. Ameti, Bororo, Bakairi, Ikpeng and so on, are some of the tribes mainly located in the Mato Grosso region of Brazil. However, there are as many as 67 more such tribes which have not been reached and contacted yet (Inter American Commission on Human Rights, 2000).

The expansion of economy by expanding agribusiness, in the context of globalization is the main concern. The introduction of agribusiness in the lands of Mato Grosso needs to

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<sup>4</sup> Indigenous poverty rate in Latin America: Paraguay 7.9 times higher, Panama 5.9 times higher, Mexico 3.3 times higher and Guatemala 2.8 times higher.

be critically analysed. It is also important to understand that agribusiness is not demarcated within the limited framework of spatial and economic aspect. It is in continuous interaction with the agents of globalization like trade, commerce, communication, cultural influence and so on. At present, Brazilian agribusiness is producing soybean, cotton sunflower, maize and cattle at national level (Paludo). As the agents of globalization is in constant and reciprocal action to the economy, it is going to suffice the demand, globally. The scepticism arises here, as to along with expansion of agribusiness, keeping in mind the demand of the consumers globally, what further implications is it going to bring along. Certainly, the expansion of agribusiness accompanying with clearing of large tracts of rainforest cover into commercially oriented agricultural activity, installing of large farms, food storage houses, inviting more of food processing units, export and import companies, use of highly mechanized agricultural practices and so on. The larger concern regarding such practices not only have adverse effect on environment but also the aboriginals, who are coerced to displace from their surroundings, as “deslocados”<sup>5</sup>. The taxonomy not only imply the socio-economic consequences that one faces when dislocated elsewhere from their native place, but also prone to the grave loss of ecological and cultural heritage. The aboriginals of the land have to face such consequences in particular. Once they are displaced from their surroundings and perhaps coercively resettled somewhere else or often they are not resettled at all, begin to face existential as well as identity crisis. The tribal people, whose cultural practices remain incongruent with so called mainstream dominant cultural practices lead them to face some kind of discrimination when they are displaced. It is not just relationship of tribal with the possession of land but it is a way of expression through practicing certain rituals, norms which is exclusive to them. The rituals and practices are often associated with the nature. The unique way of performing their oral tradition, folklore, customs, language, culture and art etc. need to be preserved. Whereas they are also seen as obstacle in the path of development. On the pretext of development projects these indigenous people are forced to displaced from their surroundings and no proper rehabilitation and resettlement is ever done to them. Their chances of being vulnerable increases in comparison with the rest of the society (Indigenous and Tribal People's Right

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<sup>5</sup> Term used to indicate families, communities or individuals who are displaced either due to severe climatic conditions or development projects such as mining, hydroelectric projects, agro-industrial estates and so on.

over their ancestral lands and Natural Resources, 2009). The tribal population is seen socially excluded in terms of decision making or redressing their grievances or in policy making. However, their socio-economic conditions are relatively low. On one hand, they are engaged in farms as peasants, labourers and on other, with the intensification and expansion of agribusiness in Brazil they have become prone to the threat of unemployment and displacement. This issue is debated by some scholars through different lenses, as a matter of land sparing on one hand and on the other, the development issue.

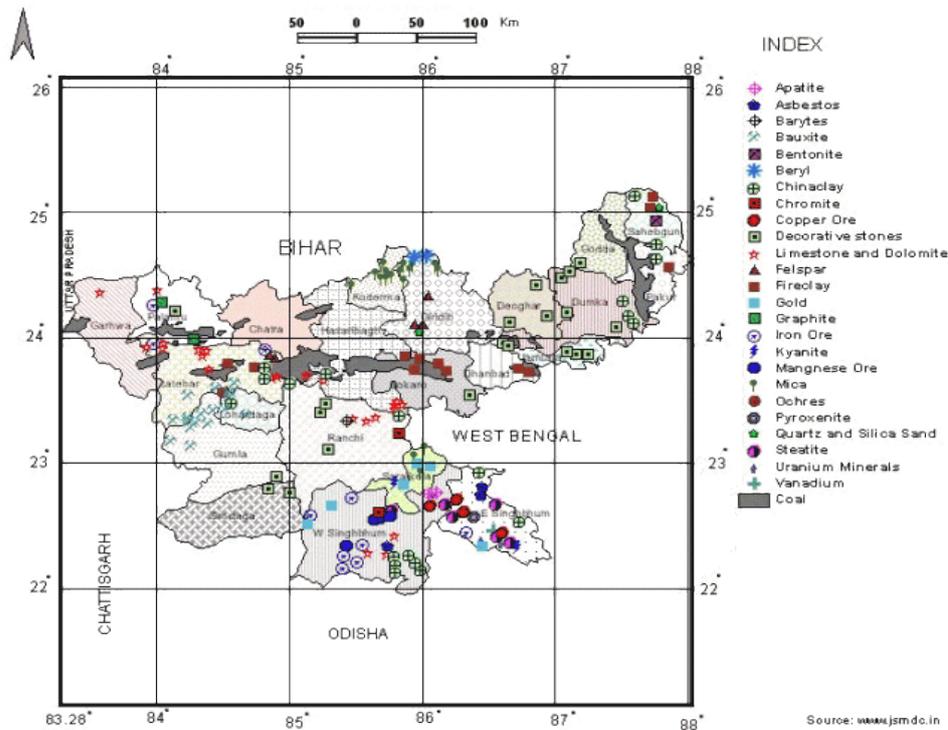
My concern is to look into the matter through the concept of 'development'. To analyse the flip side of development. The concept of development needs to be understood in terms of identifying the beneficiaries, in its true sense. If it only takes positive aspect of constructing mega architecture like big dams, roads, establishing industries and so on, then it would be ignorant in the part of analysis of the entire issue. My case study that include the developing countries of Brazil and India are not just to provide opportunity for agents of globalization to prosper and flourish but also make some section of the society and environment vulnerable. It should essentially be noted that analysis on the backdrop of globalization where the spatial concentration is also the matter of concern. This phenomenon is reachable only to the ones who have access to the agents of globalization. Who are obviously in a better position in terms of socio-economic conditions. This section of the society is in a relatively better position in terms of availing the benefits of globalized world through communication, networks, trade and government policies etc. that has actually led to shrinking of space. But on the other side of the concept of development and contemporary globalization, there are also certain section of the society who are being further marginalized due to the impact of the same. The aboriginals who have their own way of expression through folklore, language, customs, art and culture etc. which needs to be recognized and valued are not taken into account. At the same time measures should be taken to preserve their unique identity and retain their practices which are mostly environment friendly. This section of the society is seen to have been driven away from their natural surroundings and local setup unlike the other urban spaces which is seeming to contract and shrink. It becomes important to figure out who is the actual beneficiary of the 'development'. What is the flip side of it and what

causes widening of social gaps as a consequence of it. However, this phenomenon is not restricted to one time and space but across the globe.

### 1.1.2. INDIA: State of JHARKHAND

Jharkhand is a state in the eastern part of India, in the regions of Chotanagpur Pleatu. Jharkhand was carved out of Bihar on 15<sup>th</sup> November 2000. The Literal meaning of Jharkhand is ‘the land of forest’. The land of Jharkhand is rich in minerals. It accounts for almost 90 per cent of coal resources, 40 per cent of copper, 22 per cent of iron ore, 90 percent of mica along with bauxite, quartz and ceramics. Many big industries are situated in Jharkhand like, TISCO (TATA Iron and Steel Company Limited) TALCO (Tajik Aluminium Company) and so on. However, in spite of being rich in minerals, the population depends upon agriculture. Rice is extensively grown in the lands of Jharkhand, majorly. These are mostly tribal land. Following is the pictorial representation of distribution of minerals in Jharkhand.

#### 1.ii. Map showing distribution of mineral resources in Jharkhand, India.



Source: (Government of Jharkhand, 2016)

There are as many as 32 tribes in Jharkhand. Some of the prominent ones are Oraon, Munda, Santhal, Ho, Kharia and so on. The indigenous people of India are known to be earliest inhabitants of a country. They are called 'Adivasi' or referred to as 'original inhabitants'. The tribal community is spread across the country with specificities of their own. The government of India identifies 533 tribes in India, out of which 32 are in Jharkhand (Chandramouli, 2011). The term 'Adivasi' got popularity in the last few decades in India. However, it holds a political connotation with the term. It reflects their social status as well as their cultural and ethnic identity. The term 'Adivasi' is often used to describe the tribal rights, their association, protests and resistance with their specificity. Moreover, the term also conveys a sense of connectivity to environment, lands and empowerment of the community. However, the word 'Scheduled Tribe' (ST) is often used as an administration term, more precisely. Though the term 'Scheduled Tribe' and 'Adivasi' is not coterminous, neither the Constitution of India mention, but the term Scheduled Tribe is used as 'Anusuchit Jan Jati'. Hindutva forces have gone far in describing them as 'Vanvasi' to address them as a primitive one. Whatever, the political motive behind identifying the tribe, it should be decided by the community itself, by what they want to be called as. It should specifically lay down the distinction between indigenous and non-indigenous of a country.

India's social structure is different and unique with the presence of Caste structure. On the basis of occupation and birth, it is divided into four 'Varnas'<sup>7</sup>. The hierarchical social order, itself perpetuates the process of Social exclusion. However, the 'Adivasi' of India does not fall in any of the four Varnas of the social order. The historiography of the inception of hierarchical social order should be analysed and be very clear in identification of tribal. As I have mentioned above the underpinning political rationale behind, it would lead to ambiguity in identifying beneficiaries in receiving education, health, Food and so on (Burman, 2009).

Although the state being rich in terms of its mineral resources, the large section is dependent on agriculture. Indigenous people of Jharkhand are engaged in agriculture

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<sup>6</sup> Government of Jharkhand, Official website of the state.

<sup>7</sup> A social hierarchical division based on the concept of superiority of birth and occupation. That leaves large section of the lower strata of this classification socially excluded.

sector mainly. The persistent impoverishment is the outcome of historically deprivation. The poor tribal have been exploited by the European colonizers and later by the 'Zamindars' or the land owners of India.

The indigenous people associate their identity with river, forest and land (*Jal, Jungle aur Zameen*) which cannot be compromised for any development projects. Jharkhand (previously Bihar) has seen many resistances against such sociocultural threat as well as exploitation. One such historical resistance was of 'Koel Karo Hydroelectric project'. Which had the capacity of producing 732 MW of power in the state, submerging almost 200 villages. This was the attack on cultural and social identity of tribal of Jharkhand once they were displaced. The beneficiaries were certainly not the poor tribe but the rich, elite ruling class. The then Bihar Government brought an ordinance to dispose off their traditional and cultural symbols like bows and arrows. This was issued with a purpose to disarm the indigenous people and deployed armed forces to curb the movement. However, in the midst of this people began organizing themselves and formed Koel Karo Jan Sangathan (KKJS)<sup>8</sup> which took the lead as a collective resistance. Since the inception of the development project of 'Koel Karo Hydroelectric dam' in 1973 there has been consistent resistance from the tribal people. In 2003, Mr. Arjun Munda then Chief Minister of Jharkhand announced the withdrawal of the project on the pretext that the cost of the project has increased.

During British colonial rule, acts like CNT (Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act, 1908) and SPT (Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act 1949) emerged as a defensive mechanism against arbitrary acquisition of lands of tribal (Raza, 2015). Although the initial stages of post-independence era did not prove to be a breakthrough to resolve the impoverishment of poor tribal people. First few decades were the period of resistance movements and protest demonstrations, one such being Koel Karo during 1970's and 80's. India after serving for almost 200 years to Europeans got Independence on 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1947. The eminent leaders of the freedom struggle took the mammoth task of nation building. The concept of development was seen from the economic point of view with launching of 'Five-year plans.' The planners were more inclined towards measuring the development of country through economic growth rate. However, amongst all the measurements, construction of

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<sup>8</sup> Initially, 'Jan Sangharsh Samiti' in the Koel are in Gumla district and 'Jan Sanyojan Samiti' in Ranchi district were formed. Later, they both combined together to form Koel Karo Jan Sangathan, in 1976.

Dams were given significant importance. It began seeing as a mile stone in nation building process. Dams were referred to as 'temples of modern India', symbolizing prosperity of a country (Mohanty, 2005). These mega projects provided power to growing industries, irrigation projects, agriculture and so on. In process of installing such Mega structure like hydroelectric power plant, nearly 6 lakhs tribal have been displaced, only in Jharkhand. The inappropriate rehabilitation done to them contributed in adding to their miseries. There are tribal which reside in remote and almost unreachable area of Jharkhand like 'Paharias' who still reside on hills, or the 'Birhors' continue to be impoverished (Sinha, 2013). The post- independence era, had not just challenges of policy making, but policy making for the diversity of population across India. Keeping in mind the specificity of indigenous people's rights, practices, rituals, culture, folklore, festivals and so on. However, this arduous task of nation building along with retaining the identity and specificity of communities, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India supported the view of autonomy for tribal.

The Indian Government immediately after independence began to formulate number of development policies for the welfare of the indigenous peoples. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, through his Five-Year Plan directed his modernist views the benefits of modern medicine, agriculture, economy should be enjoyed and be accessible by tribal people of India. He emphasised over and again that the development projects must be in compatible with tribal communities as well as environment assessment must be done. The development in India has seen a paradigm shift over the years. The few decades after the independence, the development stage was seen as a primitive though a rigorous one. Where more focus was given in constructing Mega development projects like hydroelectric power plants, installing industries, agricultural equipment and so on. This was the period where more emphasis was given to build new industries, dams etc.

The transition phase in Indian economy came with opening up to global markets through LPG (Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization). This LPG model of development remained virtually advantageous to indigenous people of a country. The benefits of this LPG model were highly enjoyed by the elite and ruling class of the society. The persistent impoverishment remains with the tribal. Where there is lack of primary education in India and especially large section of the tribal people remain illiterate, encouraging Private

global schools or MNC's<sup>9</sup> will not help them. If the parameter of development is measured by such MNC's in the context of India, then the dilemma in development, which I have discussed would definitely emerge. This LPG model of development openly invites capitalists, private firms from across the globe to invest in India. They usually, promote and encourage mega development projects. This kind of development is registered in calculating in economic growth of the country, but not the prosperity of it. This is the transition phase when huge number of companies and firms started arriving in India. India being an agricultural economy suffered a lot due to this following deforestation, land acquisition, industrialization and so on. This caused many people to get displaced and evicted from their surroundings upon which they were depend for their livelihood. According to The World Bank Report India between 1951 and 1990, around 21.3 million people have been displaced due to so called 'development projects'. The intensification of displacement is the outcome of conditions created under Liberalization Privatization and Globalization (Meher, 2009).

The recent model of development can be seen as more welfare oriented at collective as well as individual level. A separate 'Tribal Development Block' was created in the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61)<sup>10</sup> and a tribal sub-plan in Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-61) and so on. The development process should not be in conflict with their ethnic identity and simultaneously, provide equal opportunity in all spheres. Any sort of development project that has any chance of exploitation or disturbance to natural surroundings of tribal should be done away with. However, the mainstream debate outwardly disapproves this idea of doing away of any sort of industrialization and development projects rather see poor 'Adivasi' as an obstacle in the path of development. The problem is not about installing the project itself but to a larger humanitarian concern. Due to such development projects, people are displaced or coercively evicted, false promises made to the local people regarding compensation or employment, improper rehabilitation and so. Therefore, the development should be analysed from the indigenous people's point of view that would count for prosperity of a country, in terms of achieving development. If it is not taken into consideration, this would lead to further marginalization of tribal.

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<sup>9</sup> Multi-National Companies have played a significant role in the era of globalization. Not only there are certain exchange of programmes and culture but it also creates rigid social boundaries widening the gap between haves and have not's.

<sup>10</sup> Tribal Development Block 'which primarily focused in Community Development Approach.

The pro industrial development would lead to further marginalization of the poor tribal and their livelihood and not for years and decades but to generations. Social Exclusion is a process and not the outcome itself. It is the groups or communities in a society that undergo this process, usually. Through this process, the thread of solidarity, and support among the group member gets loosened. At this point the community becomes isolated and give rise to new social structure between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ (Silver, 2007). Similar is the case of Jharkhand where a contrasting difference is made as ‘tribal’ and ‘non-tribal’ or ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ respectively. The local term for the outsiders is ‘Dikus’. They are basically the immigrants from neighbouring states who came and settled in the name of seeking employments in these big mineral based industries of Jharkhand. However, the poor tribal were shown just an illusion of development to acquire their land and livelihood making them further entangled in the process of exclusion and their impoverished situation. Whereas the local tribal had to migrate to other places in search of employment and end up getting petty and small jobs as labourer, peasants or domestic helper. It is not just about migration, but coercively evicted from their natural surroundings and their communities. The outsiders or ‘dikus’ are seen as a threat to the cultural and social domain of the indigenous people. It should be the role of the government to generate employment for poor tribal people and be given equal opportunity in the field of education, medical facilities and PDS (Public Distribution System) and so on. This would retain their ecological relationship along with the development projects. The beneficiary of the ‘development would then be justified’. The poor tribal people lands are snatched away from them on the pretext of installing development projects like mega hydroelectric power plants or big industries. They are assured of giving compensation in terms of proper rehabilitation, employment in the industries and so on. Which they never receive in their lifetime. The development serves the purpose of these outsiders who are economically well off than the local tribal. These dikus over the time have established a good network with the capitalists and receive the benefits directly. It becomes difficult to get a breakthrough from the vicious cycle of the process of ‘Social Exclusion’.

The entire development concept needs to be upgraded accordingly and at regular intervals. The perception should be pro poor tribal. The development of a country should be measured by the standard of people taken together and that basic necessities of life

should not be beyond their reach. The hardships of tribal should be understood and effective measures should be taken by the government as well as civil societies, NGO's and alike. The concern for studying this topic servers the better understanding of development in generations to come, especially for the indigenous people. The rhetoric created about some gigantic development projects hide the harsh realities behind it. The state as well as non-state actors are at rigorous play in bringing up more and more number of such development projects, that are visibly and mainstream notion of development.

Brazil and India, both have undergone rather, undergoing some sort of similar consequences of the concept of development. The agents of globalization are at interplay with high intensity. No sector of a country, people or even ecology is untouched by its influence. The problem of development induced displacement is of greater concern, on a global scale. The concept of development has seen a paradigm shift from economic oriented to a people's welfare at collective as well as at individual levels. The progress and prosperity of a country is marked by the progress of its people in terms of fulfilling basic necessities of life (food, shelter and clothing) , education, health, employment etc. The role of State becomes essentially important to understand the problems of people at grassroot level and make effective implementation of policies. However, we have seen in both the cases (Brazil and India) a shift from 'developmental state' to 'democratic developmental state', where bottom-up approach in decision making and participation of people, civil societies, NGO's have been encouraged.

Simultaneously, the developing countries have shown immense potential in providing platform for many capitalist countries to invest and get itself flourished. The mainstream debate of development focuses on both economic as well as non-economic factors to be taken as parameter of development. Globalization along with Privatization and Liberalization has provide condition for the capitalist firms to flourish. Along with the exchange of trade and communication, culture and tradition of societies is exchanged. Multiculturalism has emerged as a political philosophy in this context. It is important to strike a balance between sharing a traditional and cultural values of a community. The sharing of culture and retaining it simultaneously should be the focus of community.

Indigenous peoples are the most affected ones of both the development projects as well as multiculturalism, which apparently are the tools of globalization. This is the flip side of development to be studied and analysed. The indigenous people`s socio-economic

conditions have remained relatively low due to historical experiences. Once ‘their’ lands are snatched away in the disguise of development, they not only become impoverished and vulnerable but also, they identity crisis these indigenous people associate themselves with lands as empowering entity. The impact will be borne by generations to come and not only this the environmental concern that they have and practices that plays and important role in preserving would be hampered. It might be easy to install a mega development plant in some other suitable area where people and environment is not affected by it, but if the natural surroundings of a community and environment is lost it will never be regained. Especially, in the contemporary time when the entire world is concern about the climate change and all small or big nations are participating in conserving and protecting the environment.

Through this research work I have tried to incorporate theoretical, historical as well as contemporary issues and concern to study the topic. This research work is a comparative study of tribal displacement in Brazil and India. The reason for selecting an interstate comparison is because they both share some sort of similarity as well as dissimilarities. The two countries are similar in a way that they both share colonial history and indigenous uprising movement to resist against coercive rules. Both the countries have been agrarian economy and large section of population dependent on agriculture. The availability of abundant natural resources attracts many capitalists to invest in these countries. In recent years both the countries have shown an increase in their GDP’s and also have opened up towards global market through the policy of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization. Brazil and India have seen actively participating in international forum and global organizations like BRICS. Brazil and India both have significant number of indigenous population which are unique in their own ways. They play integral part in preserving and protecting their environment. Also, their beliefs, rich cultural and aesthetic practices make their surroundings a unique one.

My research title intends to seek beyond the mainstream notion of development which is limited to materialistic and economic aspect only. The main concern is to study and analyse the tribal displacement in the disguise of certain gigantic mega development projects. Which has become an important issue recognized globally. Especially in the context of globalization the intensity of both, installation of big development projects and tribal displacement have geared up simultaneously. The concern is to strike a balance

between the two and provide for sustainable development means. The research is based on secondary sources. Mostly journals, articles, news clips, documentary movies, official documents from government websites have been referred to. The research would deal with some of the critical questions concerning the notion of development affecting indigenous population in Brazil and India, if the development has proved any emancipation in terms of social, cultural or environmental aspect and also and the importance to address the tribal displacement issue in the disguise of development. Following are the chapters that sum up my dissertation research work.

- (i) First chapter is an introduction to my research work. It deals with the research design and research question. It thoroughly explains the research work that it intends to seek. The chapter briefly introduce with the case studies, as it is based on secondary sources. It is a comparative study between two emerging globally potential countries i.e. Brazil and India. It deals with the problem of social exclusion that a particular section of the society has to face because of unplanned and biased developmental project. The concept of social exclusion remains a process rather than some phenomena. The rationale behind taking the particular community to be address as 'tribal displacement', suggest their ways of associating themselves with the nature. In both the cases, Brazil and India similar instances have been traced where a significant number of indigenous population inhabits and struggle to retain their own uniqueness.
- (ii) Second chapter is about the dilemma that emerges out of 'development' concept. The development is seen through various aspects to understand the real meaning of the term 'development'. Mere mentioning infrastructural, economic and materialistic means of development provide a narrow scope. Therefore, it is important to expand the idea and bring in some more aspects other than economic ones. The social, cultural, political and environmental aspects are taken to be considered. The concept of development seeks to incorporate economic and non-economic factors to attain a sustainable development model. Whereby, a development is said to reach the least advantageous section of the society. The proposed chapter is based on theoretical framework, in order to address the dilemma issue.
- (iii) Third chapter is about tracing the historiography of the lands of indigenous people. They have been forest dwellers; nature worshipper and their identities are associated with the nature. The two countries, Brazil and India have abundant natural resources and man

power that were once belonged to the natives. But on the disguise of certain developmental projects and infrastructure development, their lands were snatched, mostly illegally. Brazil and India have had a colonial history, that might have added to the process of invisibility of tribal community as such. The instance of their resistance and mode of protests against such development projects, threatening their lives and livelihood are elaborated.

(iv) Fourth chapter deals with the contemporary time, the era of globalization. In which the notion of shrinking spaces is introduced through opening up to liberalization, privatization and globalization. Where private and non-state actors get a chance to participate in a level playing field. The advantageous, developed and capitalist countries or even private firms tend to take interest in minerals resource rich countries like Brazil and India. The globalization being dynamic in nature had always been there in the society. Only, in the present time the intensity with which it has upheave has drawn attention of common people. The concept has not only opened the gateways of economic opportunities with the other countries, but it has also threatened some sort of authentic and uniqueness of communities. Indigenous people being the one. Not being part of globalization is impossible, on one hand and maintaining the authenticity and uniqueness at the same time is a challenging one. Thus, the chapter address the issues related to globalization and development.

(v) The fifth and last chapter is an overview of the proposed research work. The need of taking up such topic to be studied and analysed is discussed. The entire framework within which the development is seen through various lenses are elaborated. The most important of studying the indigenous community and need to preserve and protect the environment is dealt with.

The research is intended to seek the development issue in a more pragmatic way. The real beneficiaries along with the ecological impact must be considered important. The numerous traditional practices and rituals that makes the identities of tribal different, the same concern calls for the proper assessment of their habitat to conserve the biodiversity. The pattern of tribal displacement is traced along the tribal regions of the world. Especially Brazil and India have shown the evidence of features worth comparing and contrasting.

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## Chapter 2

### **DEVELOPMENT & DILEMMA: A theoretical framework**

The development concept is a contested one. It can be seen through the lenses of economic and materialistic aspect or it can be seen through socio-cultural aspect and even ecological aspect. The growth of the nation is seen in terms of its economic growth generally, but it does not suffice the criteria of considering development, alone. The people of the nation in multiple aspect like their socio- economic condition, health, sanitation, education, women safety and empowerment, providing equal space for participation culturally, socially and politically need to be taken into consideration to recognize the development of the nation. It is also seen that the development is directly related to infrastructure and mega development projects like construction of roads and railways, mega hydroelectric power plants and so on. The problem arises when these development projects and gigantic infrastructure are installed in the fertile land or forest area upon which livelihood of some population depends. The large tracts are cleared off for this purpose, leading to deforestation and making a fertile agricultural land into a waste land. People whose primary occupation is based on forest and land faces the worst consequences. The development required for such people go in vain, as they never receive the benefits out of it. On the other hand, they are more likely to become vulnerable in social and economic aspects. Such development projects encourage the process of social exclusion of particular section of the society. It is both harmful for the people as well as for the environment. The development concept through materialistic and infrastructure aspect becomes critically important as it call for sustainable development model. The most important being access to safe and clean water. Brazil and India having significant population would find it difficult to cope up with this problem. Water and sanitation problem to some extent is positive but it is not sufficient, in Latin America. When the development concept has variations in deciding the fulfilment of the notion, it is likely that dilemma would emerge out of it. To address the dilemma and analyse the grave social, human and environmental consequences in a theoretical framework is the main concern of this chapter. It is important to address this dilemma as its implication on any section of the society would lead to destruction from lives and livelihood not for once, but for generations to come.

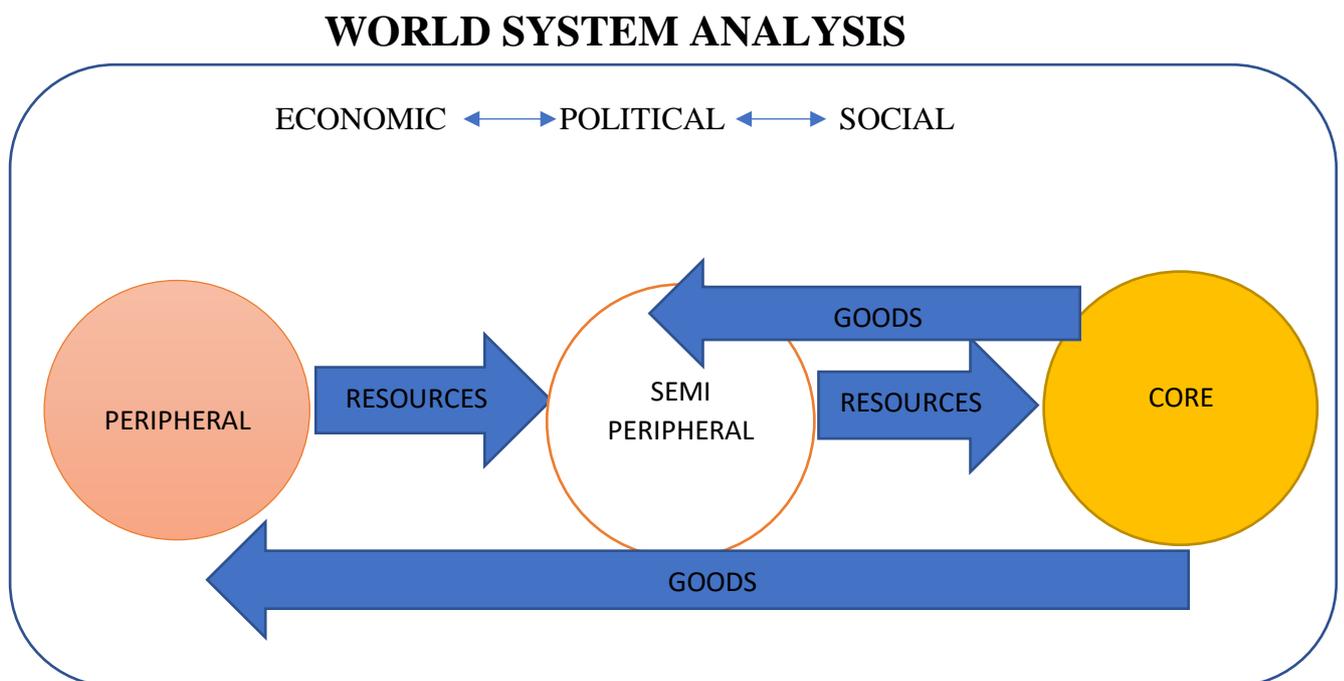
The most common feature of the concept of development is to analyse who is in the receiving ends. The development should be associated with the emancipation of people from their deprived conditions, from being underprivileged or any such conditions that obstruct mankind from enjoying equal space and resource in the society. The field that is taken in this research is Brazil and India, which has shown a potential to compete with the world powers or become one. But it has its colonial history, that has evidently shown the marginalization of some sections of the society. Being more particular, the indigenous people are the worst sufferers in this regard. As they are largely, dependent on the forest dwellings for their survival and associate themselves with their natural environment. Their identity is based on their unique way of sharing relationship with nature and their natural environment. As Amartya Sen would see development as expansion of real freedom that people can enjoy<sup>11</sup>. The development means not only in terms of calculating economically, but also socially, ecologically and politically as well (Sen, 1999). The people for whom the entire 'development' concept revolves around should not be put to compromise their freedom in any possible aspect. The aspect of development needs to be expanding in contemporary times. Along with globalization, comes urbanization, industrialization and modernization, advancement in technologies and so on. These are at constant interplay to give road to the concept of development. According to Immanuel Wallerstein's theory of 'World-Systems Analysis' this interplay between core, semi-periphery and peripheral states can be understood. According to him the modern nation state exists in the economic, political and social framework, which he refers to as 'world-systems'. Almost all the countries of the world are part and parcel of the world system. He introduces Mini-systems which are small scale, self-sufficing economic units, where goods and services are produced in a sociocultural system. Secondly, He talks about 'World- empire' where economy operates on the basis of extraction of surplus from other parts of the region or districts. The administrators play important role in extracting it either for the military or political rulers. Thirdly, are the world economies, which operates on the basis of extraction of surplus from these districts to the one at the centre, ruling. The capitalist world system has absorbed all these three above mentioned systems in the entire world. The establishment and existence of this economic relationship depends upon the purpose that it serves for the capitalists. European Capitalists was the establishment of world economy on highly unequal division of labour between European states and rest of the world. The surplus is extracted subtly through

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<sup>11</sup> Amartya Sen describes how the freedom of people become incompatible with the narrow view of development. The freedom of people is compromised in order to fulfil the development in terms of one aspect only.

expanding the production, only to meet the demands of the elite communities and cater to their interests. According to Wallerstein, the mechanism through this entire process of subtle extraction and feeding the interest of elite class is classified into three parts. The core, semi-periphery and the peripheral states. The peripheral states being the most disadvantageous and least developed. The core states of the world are developed countries like North America and Europe. These are capitalist countries promoting accumulation through surplus extraction by the semi periphery and peripheral states. However, all this functional interplay take place implicitly, through government purchasing, Research programme funding, infrastructure development projects and so on (Wallerstein, 2004). Following is a pictorial representation of the ‘World System Analysis’ to understand the interplay of resources and goods in the economic, political and social framework. The underdeveloped countries continue to be poorer and developed ones remain rich. This shows how development of advantageous countries on being dependent on rich in mineral and natural resources least developed countries or developing countries like Brazil and India will continue to be status quo unless a policy framed for development is seen from other perspective, than just economic or infrastructural means.

**2.i. Pictorial representation of theory of ‘World System’ by A.G. Frank**



Source: Self Illustration

My argument in bringing about the concept of world system analysis is that the development issue still remains unresolved. The dilemma in deciding the beneficiary is subtle and latent. The analogy of core- periphery relationship relates to the present conceptualization of development, where core being the development elite authorities or capitalists and in periphery lies the tribal or aboriginal ones. Such development projects subtly start extracting not only resources but also start displacing and dislocating people. Therefore, it is not just an economic relationship but has certainly to do with sociocultural aspect as well.

Change in economy also lead to certain changes in social and political aspect of the country. Especially, the developing countries like Brazil and India have shown tremendous potential to grow at a fast pace in its economies. Both the countries have drawn attention of the superpowers towards itself. As I have mentioned above, the economic change would have had certain impact on cultural and ecological aspect. Each and every country is depended on one or the other country. Even groups of countries coming together in a single forum to tackle the issue globally like, BRICS, (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), World Bank, IMF<sup>12</sup> (International Monetary Fund, 2018), United Nations and so on. The concept of development and dilemma associated with it have trans- national implications, today. The development must ensure people's freedom which are associated with society, culture, religion and anything as such which would not affect their existence. Development also means freedom from poverty, ill health, unstable economy and other like factors (Sen, 1999). Brazil and India both miserably rank poor in terms of poverty in Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) surveyed in 2017. In Latin America and Caribbean, the estimation of 19 countries were taken. Out of these, 33 million people are Multidimensional Poverty Index poor. The average count of this come as 6.6 percent of the population in Latin America and Caribbean countries cover MPI poor. On an average, 9.1 per cent of children aged between 0-17 are relatively poorer than 5.5 per cent of people aged 18 or above.

In South Asia, 7 countries were taken to study the multidimensional poverty index. India ranks fourth in terms of MPI poor. Where 528 million Indians are poor. This is the saddest thing of the congruence that arise from the dilemma of development. The flip side of such development projects accounts to widening of disparity in terms of economic, social and even political. The term multidimensional poverty index implies its multifaceted factors being, development projects as one of the main and important one. India being rich in various mineral resources

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<sup>12</sup> International Monetary Fund is an organization established in 1945, comprises of 189 countries. It basically helps to stabilize the economies of the world.

have attracted many developing authorities across the globe a platform for investment. Every now and then, new MoU's are being signed by Government Officials, regarding development projects. Mere, inviting of the big capitalists and industrialists to install mega projects in the name of development would not be enough. The large section of the Indian masses is poor, unhealthy, uneducated and marginalized in social, political, cultural and economic realm. The following is a MPI chart highlighting South Asian countries (Multidimensional Poverty Index, 2017).

2.a. The following table shows the year and intensity of poverty in MPI.

COUNTRY	YEAR	MPI	% MPI Poor	Intensity MPI	%MPI Poor Children aged (0-17)
Maldives	2009	0.018	5.2%	35.6%	5.7%
Bhutan	2010	0.119	27.1%	43.9%	28.5%
Nepal	2014	0.126	28.6%	44.2%	33.9%
India	2012	0.191	41.3%	46.3%	49.9%
Bangladesh	2014	0.196	41.3%	47.4%	45.9%
Pakistan	2013	0.230	44.2%	52.1%	50.6%
Afghanistan	2016	0.295	56.1%	52.7%	58.6%

Source: (Multidimensional Poverty Index, 2017)

Further analysing the concept of development, I shall introduce the phenomenal work by Andre Gunder Frank in his title 'Development of the Underdeveloped'. A.G. Frank gives the social historical and structural evidence which generated economic development or capitalist development, that has led most of the countries of the world, underdeveloped. He further, elaborate his viewpoint through a 'metropolis-satellite' structure<sup>13</sup>. He emphasises, on giving importance to the historical factors which has resulted as a curse of underdevelopment for some countries. Especially, the countries who had been colonized by Europeans, who form an advantageous and elite class. He also claims that study of development and underdeveloped face a misconception regarding not taking economic factors and their relations with metropolis and satellite, into account. As economic change would definitely lead to certain socio-political and cultural change as well. Eventually, this has led to expansion of worldwide mercantile and

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<sup>13</sup> Metropoles-Satellite model given by Andre Gunder Frank describes the pattern in which the underdeveloped countries remain underdeveloped while at the same time fulfilling the purpose of capitalist advanced and developed countries. Metropoles are the Developed countries and Satellite are the underdeveloped countries.

capitalist system. The expansion of the capitalist system has penetrated over the long time into almost every sector of the underdeveloped countries of the world. Also, it has largely impacted in its economic, social, political and cultural aspect. However, according to Frank, this pattern is a resultant factor of certain historical development of capitalist systems. The contemporary understanding is that underdeveloped are in backward, disadvantageous position and some are still in their feudal stage.

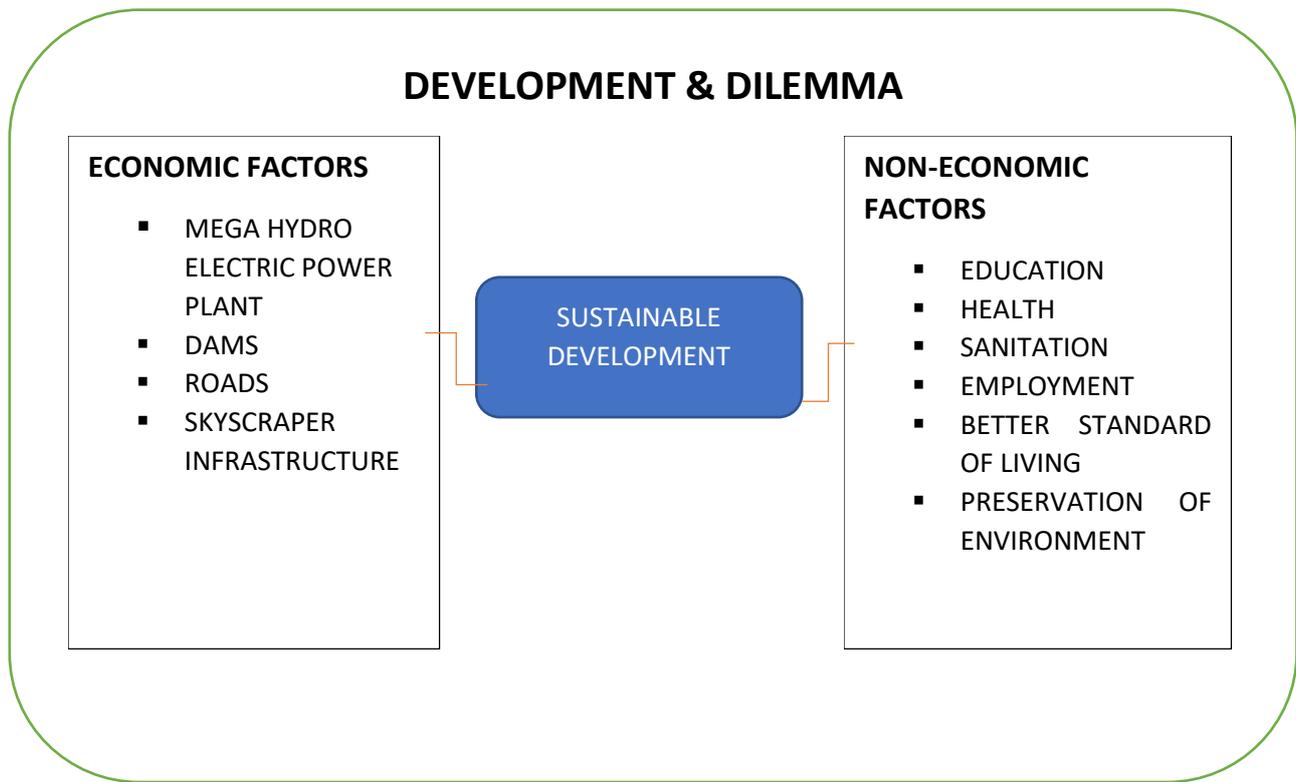
The analogy that can be drawn to understand the relationship between underdeveloped and developed countries, in the contemporary time is that, the developing and underdeveloped countries are still serving the interests of the metropolis counties in one or the other form. In the disguise of development projects, the vulnerability of the tribal, especially have increased. The developed countries which ultimately are at the receiving ends of such development projects or the metropolis countries have sought immense interest and opportunities in the developing countries like Brazil and India. The problem does not lie with the advancement of development projects, but along with it, should have appropriate measures and safeguard before installing any such projects. If the justification for inviting and installing such development project is given as for the welfare of its people, then it should be the priority of the investing companies or development authorities that people should not be harmed physically, mentally, socially, culturally or in any other possible way. The most affected ones are the aboriginals of the land whose cultural, rituals and other social norms and practices are related to nature. They reside in forests and by the rivers and some even in unreachable and uncommunicable remote areas. They have specific and unique way of expressing their cultural and social attributes. Which is in a way gets limited and sometimes curbed by not giving them the space to voice their opinions or grievances if their identity is disturbed by such development. These development projects are often megastructures like hydroelectric power plant projects, building of dams, construction of multinational institutions and the list goes on. In order to install such projects, vast areas of forest cover and even agricultural lands are being cleared off and used for commercial purposes. The development projects installed would be whose development? is the question.

In other words, the tribal people are displaced coercively from their native place leading to disenchantment from their ecological surroundings. The capitalist system motive of profit making surpass humanitarian approach, at this particular point the analysis of the dilemma of development needs to be. However, in paper, resettlement and rehabilitation record is shown and justified. But in ground reality, the displaced people become vulnerable, homeless, socially

excluded and further marginalized in all other aspects. This entire vicious cycle of development induced displacement and especially of the aboriginals continues. The worst implication of this pattern is some tribal communities which few in number are very on the verge of extinction. The metropolises still remain advantageous and developed whereas least developing countries becoming backward and disadvantageous.

The dilemma regarding ‘whose development?’ remains ambiguous. It would be not easy to withhold both in a watertight compartment or in black or white. The dilemma can be discussed and to some extent can be resolved only in the grey area, lying in between. This is the transition zone which decides to what extent the society has evolved so far. The manifestation of development should not be primarily, just in terms of technological advancement, infrastructure development, mega architecture and so on. But, it is the society and people that reflects the development in its true sense. A country having big giant developing projects like multinational companies, global or international institutes and super speciality hospitals, dams, power plant projects and so on, but the citizens remain aloof from receiving its benefits, thus how the dilemma regarding ‘who’s development?’ persists. These development project provides forum for big investor companies across the globe, who are generally developed countries of the world. The private international firms take up such projects and fulfil the main objective of the country where such development projects are installed are developing or least developing countries. The socio-economic conditions remain relatively low. Building or installing of such big projects are of no use to them, largely. So is the similar case in Brazil and India. Where majority population are poor, unhealthy, uneducated and become prone to certain natural calamities due to improper and inappropriate rehabilitation. Amartya Sen sees it as unfreedom of development because development parameters can not only be economic factors but related other factors, also (Sen, 1999). The dilemma also persists because an illusionary perception created to lure the marginalized section of the society, especially the aboriginals. It is also important to understand the culture and practices of indigenous people are different from any other social norms. Therefore, not a single policy or rule can be made for the entire country, where indigenous inhabitants reside. Their socio-cultural, lingual and other practices should be valued and given an inclusive space within the societal structure. Let us try to dig deeper into the ‘grey area’ of development and try to see through different lenses. Following pictorial representation shows the compatibility between development and dilemma.

2.ii. The following pictorial representation shows the sustainable approach to the development and dilemma.



Source: Self Illustration

The development and dilemma are bound to occur in all time and space. The dilemma of recognizing whose actual development might differ in the context, but the two aspects need to be taken together, simultaneously. The policy makers while framing developmental policies must assure the development model of a country should be based on considering even the least advantageous communities and that they are not barred from enjoying the fruits of such development projects. The main concern in this regard is about the tribal people inhabiting in the natural surroundings, whose primary occupation is small farming, fishing, hunter and gatherer. Once their natural surrounding is destroyed because of installing such mega hydel power projects or any such kind of developmental projects, these tribal people are completely uprooted from their land. The impact remains for generations and add misery to their lives. They remain socially excluded because they have their own set of rules and regulations that do not show compatibility with the mainstream social norms. Such practice of coercive displacement and uprooting them from their environment not only affect the people but the

ecology also. Therefore, the concept of development is to be seen in a broader context. The sustainable development model needs to be incorporated where the development projects installed should be responsible for incurring losses of human lives and environment. The two must go hand in hand in order to recognize the real beneficiaries, about whom the entire development concept is considered important.

As, I have mentioned above the distinctiveness of the indigenous people's socio-cultural aspect, it should be 'them' deciding the development projects. Their unique identity be kept in mind that none of their cultural, social and political and ecological sphere is hampered or even disturbed. (i)The first lens through which I am going to analyse the development concept is from the Indigenous people's perspective. In the context of Latin America, there is ongoing debate regarding identification of indigenous people. They are commonly called as 'Native American' or 'American Indian' which is generally associated with racial and ethnic identities. This identification became matter of importance because of their social interaction, institutional oppression and so on. The way indigenous people are identified hold many more aspects within the society in which they interact with each other. To pin point any kind of discrimination or social exclusion, it is essential to understand what the indigenous people want to be identified as, based on their social -history. Under the influence of European- American colonization, they have seen to be expanded in terms of diversity in their clothing, food, geography and son on. These historical influences on indigenous people can be understood in their language what they want to be called as. The European colonizers who colonized and divided the people on racial and ethnic identity, along with the aboriginals. The whites were treated superior to other native people. In this context, the contemporary debate of identification becomes important. The entire socio-political and economic discourse is associated with the identification in social interaction (Yellow Bird, 1999). Therefore, the development projects should be determined by indigenous people when it is about affecting their whole socio-cultural and spatial construct. However, until 1980's this diversity was invisible. Some researchers have defined this period as "lost" because of lack of attainment of desired development goals. Whereas, the indigenous people define it as a "Wining decade" because during this period they began emerging prominently, in the social and political domain. Along with it, there have been constitutional and legal developments adding advantage to the indigenous people's awareness.

Firstly, it is the constitutional reforms which identified the states in Latin America as multi ethnic and multi-cultural. Defying the previous exclusionary view of mono- cultural, mono-lingual, mono- ethnic and so on under one single national identity. Further, the constitutional

reform recognizes the unique and specific indigenous people's rights in terms of their culture, tradition, practices, language, land and other institutions (Vega). Secondly, it is the legal development under Convention 169 of International Labour Organization (ILO). A treaty signed in defending the specific rights of indigenous and aboriginals across the globe. This step proved as a fundamental legal instrument supporting Constitutional changes that would guarantee the rights of indigenous peoples (Courtis, 2011). Third is the Universal Declaration of Rights of Indigenous peoples by the United Nations. However, this did not prove to be much useful rather proposed to approve developed programs by indigenous peoples themselves based on their identity and specificity.

These developments and reforms changes the indigenous perspective towards development projects without compromising their socio-cultural or even spatial aspects. These indigenous people emerging as visible and active participants of the society to voice their opinion in political platform or against redressal of their grievances. They are becoming aware of their political rights through collective participation and registering their presence in indigenous local authorities like Mayor, Prefect, Governor, Minister and so on. The inclusiveness of marginalized section of the society in decision making and in other domain shows the 'development' in its true sense, in a democratic country like Brazil.

(ii)The second lens through which the entire development concept can viewed could be the role of democratic developmental State<sup>14</sup>. In 1950's and 1970's, the development state of Brazil on an average built two hundred mega hydroelectric plants. It drew the attention of many reformists, environmentalists, social activists demanding significant and ample attention on the implications of the development projects on environment as well as on local people. Installing energy generation projects is one of the most explicit roles of the government <sup>15</sup>. However, this has been criticised by Brazilian economic goals, which are in conflict and challenging on social and environmental grounds. To counter this, Brazilian developmental state has taken up new and feasible regulatory measures. As a developmental state Brazil emphasised to shift their goal from industrial or economic desire to more human capacity building and sustainable development approach. However, these can be regularly checked by receiving feedback from the civil society. Overall, the shift is from developmental state to democratic developmental

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<sup>14</sup> The concept of Development State is a post-world war II political economic phenomenon. Where the state interferes to promote the production of some sectors in an economy by encouraging industrialization.

<sup>15</sup> Financing and power plants have increased in terms of installing capacity since 2002.

state in Brazil. Taking account of people's participation and bottom up approach have been proposed and discussed on a global platform<sup>16</sup>.

The concern regarding Brazil as a democratic developmental state begins only when the relationship between the Government and Business or Public Privates Sector is analysed. Brazil being an agrarian state has lacked rather failed to develop in terms of advanced technology, manufacturing industries and even exports. Whereas Brazil Information Technology and Nuclear energy sector is developed. It seems the Brazilian notion of development is not just oriented towards economy and high technology rather strengthening the local industrial and agricultural sector. The main objective of the developmental state's economic model lies with social and environmental challenges on State, rather than on private firms. Although the entire scenario presents a 'happy picture' in the developmental concept. But the private firms have been rigorously playing their role in investing in development projects. With Brazilian economy opening up for liberalization, it has provided ground for more number of capitalists to flourish. In the contemporary globalization, developing countries have emerge as the most contesting site for developed countries whose main objective lies in profit making by extracting resources from the other peripheral countries. In doing so, it overlooks or surpass the humanitarian and environmental concern. There are ample of examples of private firms either collaborating with the government or independently, install mega development projects, which eventually lead to gravest human consequences <sup>17</sup>. Unofficially it was around 80,000 people who were displaced actually, where media and government agencies played a diplomacy in documenting the actual number of people displaced due to the 'development project'. These displaced people are usually indigenous peoples whose lands are snatched illegally and are coercively evicted from their surroundings. Followed by improper or at times no rehabilitation and resettlement measures. Thus, they become prone to further marginalization, social exclusion and discrimination. This retain their misery, poverty, sickness, illiteracy and so on, which remain persistent.

Though this new paradigm shift to 'democratic developmental state', the state is emerging more of a welfare and human capacity building state. The state being less interfering and more participatory by encouraging decentralization of authority. Following bottom-up approach

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<sup>16</sup> United Nations Conference on the Human Environment promoted these approaches. Simultaneously, many environment related movements also took place. The World Bank also took heed of implementing these possible changes. The International Labour Organization also codified Indigenous Collective Rights in the Convention 169 in the year 1989.

<sup>17</sup> Mega hydroelectric dams such as 'Itaparica Reservoir' which displaced over 10.500 families in 1988, in Brazil.

rather top down one. To make the democratic development state a success, the sources of the development should be updated regularly (B.Evans, 2008). The effective policy making and implementation to be done keeping the most marginalized section of the society in mind. To sum up the perspective of the concept of development, it can be said that the development projects need not become the breeding ground for misery, poverty for marginalized people, especially the indigenous ones. Establishment of Development firms can be useful in calculating National Gross Product, but the greater emphasis should be laid in retaining and recognizing the human lives, identity and dignity. The indigenous people must be given equal and fair chance to actively play role in the domain of politics and economy. It should be left with them to decide upon the installing of any so called 'development projects'. Unless such measures are taken, the tribal community will continue to be socially excluded and lured with illusionary perception of development. This is the case of almost every developing or least developed countries of the world. A much similar problem of development induced displacement is traced in Indian context also. To understand the peculiarity of this phenomenon, it is essential to trace the historiography of the land of indigenous people. Their way of living and resistance against arbitrary rules and laws in the colonial context.

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## Chapter 3

### HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE LAND OF TRIBALS

#### 3.1. INDIA

Tracing the historiography of the tribal land would bring the interplay of tribal of the land and their symbiotic relationship with the close environment. The first case is taken from the regions of Jharkhand in India. The state of Jharkhand came into existence on 15<sup>th</sup> November 2000. It was carved out of the state of Bihar (Southern Bihar). The name 'Jharkhand' literally means the land of forests. As the name suggests, the forest cover estimated to be 29 per cent of the total geographical area. The forest cover plays a crucial role in the state. The tribal associate themselves with nature, forest, rivers and land. These are basis of their identity. The state is also rich in mineral resources such as coal, iron ore, bauxite, mica, uranium, and so on. Many big industries like TATA, TALCO and TISCO are established in the regions of Jharkhand. But most of the people, especially the tribal are engaged in agriculture, forestry, fishery and craftsmanship. The impoverished conditions of the tribal are hardly done away with the presence of such big industries and their development projects.

However, the Scheduled Tribes in India are considered to be 'Adivasi' meaning the 'original inhabitants'. Constitution of India does not use the term 'Adivasi' though, instead refers to Scheduled Tribe as 'Anusuchit Jana Jati'. The term 'Adivasi' got popularity in recent time. The term is used widely to recognize their political and social status. India, having a unique social structure of caste system divides the society into hierarchical order based on the notion of birth, occupation and pollution. The upper most being Brahmins, followed by Kshatriya, Vaishyas and Shudras. The fifth category or 'Varna' comprises of 'Atishudras' or 'outcaste'. However, the Indian tribes does not fall any of the social structure, but also there is no complete escape from the social order in terms of facing discrimination and exclusion in the society. Their social status has never been recognized and have been subjected to discrimination and exclusion in different

arena. This was the reason that Constitution of India provided them with separate provision and governing authorities like PESA (Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Area) Act, 1996 (Soren, 2015). The state comprises of 32 tribes across the state of Jharkhand. The population of Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand is estimated to be 26.3 per cent of the total population of the state. Santhals are most numerous followed by Oraon, Munda and Ho constituting about 10 per cent of the total population (Roy, 2012). Other being Lohra, Bhumij, Kharia, Gond, Chick Baraik, Pahariya, Asur, Birhor and so on. The tribal population has been estimated to be fifty per cent of the total population that resides in the districts of Gumla, Lohardaga and West Singhbhum. Out of all 32 tribal groups some fall under the primitive category or Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2018). These are Asur, Birhor, Mal Phariya, Sauriya Pahariya etc. As most of the tribal population livelihood is dependent on forest, agriculture their socio-economic status has not been good. Some primitive tribal group that reside in remote area are far away from the modernity and sometimes lack basic amenities as well. They continue to live in impoverished conditions. Therefore, the social and economic status of the tribal have been relatively poorer and lower. The tribal children are seemed to be trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy, sickness and prone to illegal activities such as child trafficking and domestic violence.

### **3.2. Prominent Tribes of Jharkhand** (Official Website of Government of Jharkhand)

#### **1. SANTHALS**

They are the most numerous tribe of Jharkhand. In Indian history of independence, they were known for their valour and courage. The scientists and historians have studied their origin and traced them to belong to *Proto Australoid*<sup>18</sup> as their ancestors. They travelled and moved towards eastern part of India and settled there. Santhals usually follow the 'Sarna'<sup>19</sup> religion. Their gods, goddesses are '*Marangburu*'<sup>20</sup>, *Jaheraera* and *Manjhi*.

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<sup>18</sup> The Proto Australoid is a race whose origin is traced at the eastern Mediterranean area. The Santhals, Bhumij, Mundas, Malpahariyas of the Chotanagpur plateau of Central India are known to belong to Proto Australoid.

<sup>19</sup> 'Sarna' religion is an indigenous religion practiced by the tribal of Jharkhand, Odisha, Bihar, West Bengal and Chhattisgarh. The religion is sometimes politicized and recognize them within Hindu, Muslims and Christians. However, sociologists consider them to be nature worshiper, animists and spirit worshipers. The tribal believe in the god 'Singbonga'.

<sup>20</sup> The literal meaning of 'Marangburu' - marang means big and Buru means mountain.

## **2. ORAONS**

The Oraon tribes are the second most populated in the regions of Jharkhand. They speak '*Kurukh*' language which is considered akin to Dravidian language. The Oraon tribes are considered to be an agriculture society. These tribes are considered to be progressive tribes in terms of development in education and participation in church activities. About 49 per cent have adopted Christianity as their religion whereas rest continue to practice Sarna religion. However, their socio-economic conditions remain to be poor. In rural parts of Jharkhand, they lack basic amenities like food, cloth shelter, health and education. They earn their livelihood by engaging in forestry, fisheries, agriculture and domestic help in urban areas.

## **3. MUNDAS**

Anthropologists and historians trace the origin of the community of Munda tribe from South East Asia. Population of Munda tribe is estimated to be about 2 million across the states of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal and Odisha. The word 'Munda' means '*head of the village or community*'. About one fourth of population amongst Munda tribal community has adopted the religion of Christianity (Tribes in India, 2018).

The state of Jharkhand ranks fifth in the concentration of Tribal population in India. But according to the recent census report it seems there is a decline in their demographic composition. Their socio- economic conditions remain to be relatively poor. In search of better job opportunities, they keep migrating. This could be one of the factors determining the decline in demographic composition taken in a state. Also, because they reside in rural and remote areas and are mostly dependent on forestry, fisheries and agriculture. With these means of occupation, they can only earn to suffice their hunger and sometimes not even that, as these occupations are uncertain. Their low birth rate and high death rate could be another factor of their reduction in population. The lack of basic necessities of life and improper implementation of government schemes that are strictly meant to benefit the socially and economically deprived sections of the society are considered to be loopholes that are under checked or even not checked at all (Chandramouli D. , 2013).

The tribal people are seen to be more connected to natural environment like forests, land and rivers. In one or the other way they happen to preserve and protect their surroundings. They have their own set of customary laws and practices which are generally administered by the community head. With such customary laws, traditions and rituals they inter relate themselves with the environment.

The range with which tribal associate their identities with the environment is extensive. From hunters to food gatherers, from fishermen to craftsmen, from wood pickers to agrarian societies and so on. The interplay between the tribal and their immediate surrounding is significant and essential in the contemporary time. Especially, when there is a global concern of climate change, ozone depletion, greenhouse gas emission it becomes essentially important to look back to traditional means of saving our environment and natural resources.

The symbiotic relationship shared between the tribal community and environment can never have an alternative. However, there always has been misconception that tribal cut off the trees and use it for fuel. In reality, the tribal community have always been food gatherer. They pick up and collect dried branches and twigs. They are supposed to be animists and nature worshiper. They believe to worship 'Sal' tree. They celebrate the festival of 'Karam' or 'Karma' in the month of August or September. The festival signifies the importance of tree in the lives of tribal. The festival is associated with harvest. Tribal perform rituals around the 'Sal' branch as the Karma tree to please their ancestral deity 'Karam Dev'. The festival is also associated with fertility and prosperity. The celebration of 'Karam Puja' signifies their hopes in seeking blessings from 'Karam Dev' over their land and economy. As the tribes are highly depended on forest, land, rivers (Society for the Confluence of Festivals in India, 2018).

Forests are supposed to be immensely important natural resources. The most important one being wood. Upon which the paper industries thrive. Other than that, it produces many fruits, vegetables, herbs and even habitat for many animal and insect's species. Power has a direct implication with resources provided in different forms in mankind. Therefore, a powerful regime to maintain its hold over the given area always tries to look for power concentration in their hands by capturing its resources and its people from utilizing those resources for themselves. The tribal took effort to save and preserve them through their traditional means and practices. However, there has always been a gap

between the locals and the state. The misconception regarding the access to forest area and protection of forest and natural resources persists to this day (Das, 1991).

The local tribal have always been considered as hindrance in the path of development, ever since the time of British colonial rule in India. Some of the significant forests act are as follows: -

- i. First Forest policy was formed in **1855** as '**the Charter of Indian Forestry**' whose main objective was to regulate and control the unchecked exploitation of forests by the individuals.
- ii. Followed by the '**Forest Policy Act 1894**' with the objective to restrict the local people outside the demarcation of forest area for administration of state forest for public use. Which was meant for commercial purposes only. This was seen as a paradigm shift from timber production to forest conservation. Accompanied by community-based agroforestry and social forestry.
- iii. The next significant act was '**The Indian Forest Act of 1878**'. This Act categorized the forests into Reserve, Protected and Village. The main aim of the Act was to remove local rights from the villagers or tribal in the area of Reserved forests and keep them for government purposes.
- iv. **The Indian Forest Act, 1927**. This Act was re-enactment of the Act of 1878. Under section 28 of this Act, it was laid down that to create village forest within Reserved Forests or any land that is government owned.
- v. **The Forest Policy of 1952** was the first forest policy in the post-independence era. however, it seemed ecologically and environmentally concerned, it gave signs of caution for the unrestricted use by the village communities dwelling by the forests land. It emphasised on the needs of the locals to be met at a reasonable extent only.
- vi. **The Forest Conservation Act of 1980**. It prohibited the use of forest land for non-forest purposes or any sort of establishment of plantations such as horticulture, palm oil tree plantations or even medicinal plants on forests land without prior permission from the Government of India.
- vii. **The Forest Policy of 1988**. This was introduced as a highly concern for environment. It prohibited monoculture and encouraged mixed culture. It had little to deliver to local people and tribal. As it clearly mentioned that

people should satisfy minimum of their needs from forests. This came as a backlash for tribal people who were dependent on forest for fuelwood and fodder (Environmental Laws of India, 2018).

**The Environment Protection Act 1986, The Biodiversity Protection Act 2003, and Forest Rights Act of 2006** are some of the latest and significant acts related to forestry and tree plantations. The Forest Right Act 2006. The government of India through Scheduled Tribe and Other Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act 2006, recognized and stated that Forests Rights on natural habitat of tribal were not adequately recognized properly during colonial rule as well as in post-independence era. This was considered “historic injustice with the Scheduled Tribes” who are dependent on forests and even play integral part in preservation and protection of forest ecosystem. This Act provided guideline for recording the forest rights so vested and the nature of evidence required for such recognition and vesting in respect of forest land (Forest Rights Act 2006, Acts, Rules and Guidelines, 2006).

Forest laws since British colonial rule and even in post-independence era has always seen a gap between conservation of forest by the government and natural resources and accessibility to local people, villagers and tribal community in the guise of it. It should be considered that the tribal and the ecosystems have sustained because of the symbiotic relationship that they share. They are often seen as unchecked exploiters of the forest or encroachers of forests and natural resources. The laws that were made to preserve and protect the forest contradict with the inhabitant of forest itself. The indigenous people draw their identity from nature, as a nature worshiper and associate themselves with their natural surroundings. However, such forest laws have always proved to be biased in the name of highly concern for the environment by regulating or restricting the entry of local people, tribals into the forest and branding them as encroaching entity by the government. This was taken as a backlash by the tribal people and many resistance and reformation movements were carried on against such arbitrary laws. One of the remarkable and historic movement was to enact **Chotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908**.

### 3.3 CHOTANAGPUR TENANCY ACT, 1908

According to this Act, the transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals is prohibited and ensures community ownership. However, this act provides safeguard against exploitation, discrimination and displacement of tribals in the guise of development. Many political parties and government tried to amend the bill and use it to satisfy the needs of 'capitalism'. The Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 is significant and needed in its original form so that the lives of tribal people must not be put to risk. The branding of tribal as a bone of contention in the path of development and struggle to resist and restore the CNT Act of 1908 is evident from the current socio-economic status of the tribal of Jharkhand.

This CNT act came in the context of agrarian uprisings that happened in Jharkhand in 19<sup>th</sup> century. That is where a series of legislations came up and get enacted. One of the very significant and mile stone was enactment of Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1908. This act provides for the creation and maintenance of land record and also recognizing of special category of "Munda Khuntkattidar"<sup>21</sup>. The act encouraged recording of customary rights and prohibited the transfer of land from tribal to non-tribal except with the permission of the District Commissioner. It is asserted that forest rights of tribal of accession to the forest area community rights over land and rivers by associating their identities with it (Jal, Jungle, Zameen). These resources not only provide means of their livelihood but they do also worship nature. Their culture, customs, rituals, dance and song, folklore etc. revolves around the forest ecosystem

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<sup>21</sup> They belong from 'Munda tribal community' and considered to be one of the original settlers of the land. A Khuntkattidar is the male descendant of the founder of the village in which his lands are situated, originally.

and other natural resources (Raza, Chotanagpur Tenancy Act: A handbook on Tenancy law in Jharkhand, 2015).

The British colonial rule was responsible for encroachment of tribal lives and habitat. They commercialized the tribal society and to feed their own selfish interest. They allowed and encouraged penetration of outsiders into the tribal areas such as moneylenders, land owners, traders and so on. These were the elite class of the society who were benefiting from the Colonial government by exploiting their own people. They acted as inter- mediary between the British and the local tribal people. From where they use to exploit and extract resources, suppress them and feed the interest of the British. It led to the exclusion and alienation of tribal from their identity and rights in their own land. In this backdrop, many revolts took place against Forest Departments and Colonial Government to restore the laws that ensures safeguards of tribal against land grabbing, alienation from their rights and identities and also protecting the native people. Birsa Munda, emerged as a leader and hero to lead this movement to restore the tribal culture and identity, the movement is known as “Ulgulan”<sup>22</sup> (Singh, 2002).

The CNT Act has always been tried to amend according to the ruling party to satisfy their own needs in the disguise of development projects. The current status of the act was that in year 2016, CNT amendment bill was introduced and passed arbitrarily in the assembly in a very undemocratic way along with some changes in the Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act of 1949. This paved the way for capitalists and industrialists to encroach upon the tribal land, making their position vulnerable. The amendment encouraged the government to use “tribal agricultural land for non- agricultural purposes”. The amendment was seen as an adverse implication on other provisions like Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Area (Act) 1996, The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in land acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013, Forest Rights Act, 2006 and other alike.

### **3.4. SANTHAL PARGANA TENANCY ACT, 1949.**

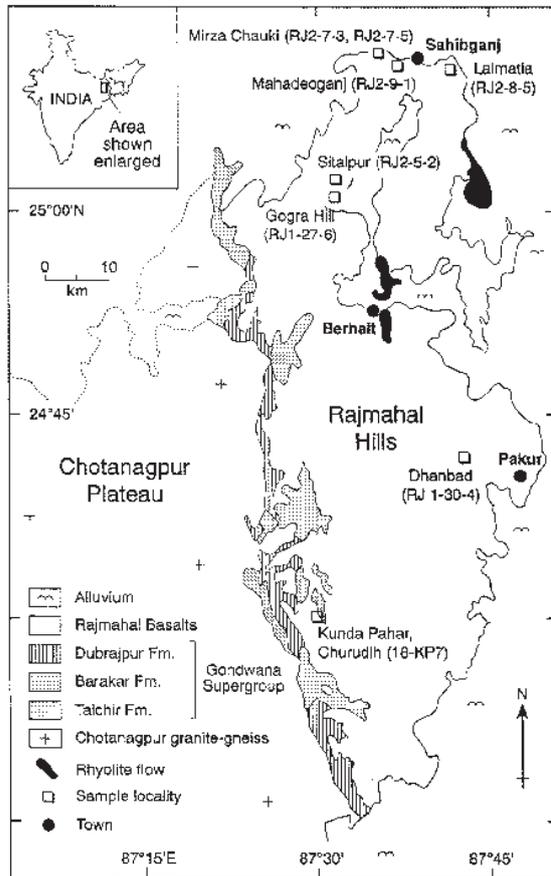
The north eastern part of Jharkhand is the area that comes under Santhal Pargana division. This division is comprised of five districts namely, Godda, Deoghar, Dumka, Jamtara,

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<sup>22</sup> The revolt was named as ‘Ulgulan Movement’ literally meaning, ‘Great Tumult’.

Sahibganj and Pakur. The earliest inhabitant of this area is supposed to be Sauriya Paharias, who settled in north of Rajmahal Hills.

3.i. The following map shows the distribution of soil in Jharkhand.



The revolt of the Santhals was the consequences of the injustice, suppression by the Mahajans or money lenders and non- Santhal settlers in the region. Under Govt. of India Act 1935, Santhal Pargana was declared as “particularly excluded area” and the act laid down that no Act of any legislation may be applicable in the area, unless it is approved by the Governor of the State, as he may deem fit. This Act was published in Bihar Gazette in year 1950. Which declared Santhal Pargana to be scheduled area excluding the districts of Godda and Deoghar. The SPT Act provides Raiyat or the owner of the land to hold it in manner of local usage or custom. Which does not materially impair the value of land or declare it unfit for cultivation purpose. The SPT Act also, prohibits transfer, lease or settlement in any manner. It clearly upholds that in the absence of any documentary evidence produced, the claim of possession of land can be considered as illegal. This Act also made it mandatory that District Commissioner must be notified with the parties and

process of the land transfer. According to the Santhal customary law of inheritance, a female can succeed over family properties. However, this act overpowers it unless she is married and stay with her own family instead with her in-laws.

### **3.5 PESA (Panchayati Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996.**

PESA was passed in the Parliament on 24<sup>th</sup> December 1996 based on the recommendations made by “Bhuria Committee”<sup>23</sup>. The Committee comprise of Members of Parliament and experts constituted by Ministry of Rural Development, headed by Dilip Singh Bhuria. The committee recommended to make customary laws and administrative political structure as the foundation which were considered more democratic in nature than other laws of the state. Also, it recommended various special powers to ‘Gram Sabha’<sup>24</sup> in order to enable the tribal to defend themselves against any kind of exploitation, social exclusion or displacement due to any developmental projects (Sundar, 2005). The 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional amendment acts has recognized the need for separate legislation for the tribal area and hence, the administration on the pretext of enabling the tribal of ‘self-rule’, it was added in the fifth and sixth schedule of the constitution. The sixth schedule of the constitution provides administration in the north eastern part of the country and fifth schedule comprises of nine states with tribal population that is administered separately. Namely Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh,

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<sup>23</sup> Sri Dilip Singh Bhuria, MP submitted its report on 5<sup>th</sup> May 1995. Its objective was to uphold the ethos of democratic tribal society and also to guarantee safeguard against any sort of exploitation by government or market, dispossession from their property or natural habitat on the pretext of industrial and development projects. Thus, the enactment of PESA Act 1996 came into existence.

<sup>24</sup> a. To give ownership of minor forest produce.

b. Power to prevent land acquisition and alienation and to restore land to Scheduled tribes.

c. It give power to check and control the money lending, thereby discouraging any sort of illegal lease of land or social political and economic exploitation and alienation.

Gujarat, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha and Rajasthan (Sharan & Singh, 1999).

The tribals of Jharkhand have always been subjected to one or the other kind of oppression ever since British colonial rule. To fulfil the needs of the big industries and capitalists, the tribal land has been encroached by the outsiders and commercialized. A paradox is seen in the laws that were enacted since colonial history. The exaggeration on protecting the environment on one hand and barring and disturbing the livelihood and lifestyle of the local forest dwellers and tribals. Even after the independence not much was done for the welfare of the tribal people. Their land rights, forest rights and customary laws were subjected to ruthless and arbitrary state laws. Tribals have been resisting these backlashes through continuous protests, demands and demonstrations to restore their identity and rights. The prominent leadership of Birsa Munda, Sidho- Kanho brothers who mobilized the masses and wage revolt against arbitrary colonial rule. The movement was fierce and strong and therefore enabled to enact safeguards against the vulnerability of land acquisition, such as CNT Act 1908 and SPT act of 1949.

Tracing the historiography of the tribal land of Jharkhand is indeed an interesting one. The close relationship of tribals and ecology, customs, traditions, rituals, faith and religion are worth acknowledging. Therefore, not all acts of legislation can be applicable throughout the country with the same intensity. The tribal region needs to be considered as a special area and needs to be administered in a different manner. Analysing the historiography of the tribal land of India and contrasting it with the tribal land of Brazil would bring out substantive and interesting shades in the research. The state must recognize their uniqueness in terms of practices and their own method of administration.

### 3.ii. Brazil



Brazil is located in the continent of South America. It is the fifth largest nation in the world. It had been the colony of Portuguese for more than three centuries. It became independent state on 7<sup>th</sup> September, 1822. As, Brazil was colonized for more than three centuries their indigenous tradition, culture, economy, polity were dependent on the colonial rule. Portugal imposed their religion, language, culture as well as institutions which unfortunately penetrated deeper into the land of Brazil. This is the reason till today the majority of population speak Portuguese and Roman Catholicism as a religion remain to be dominant in the land.

The largest rainforest on the Earth is Amazon. A large part of this area is shared by Brazil. According to Brazilian Census 2010, it was estimated that 896,917 indigenous people, about 305 ethnic groups and 274 linguistic groups lived in this area. The official data from the government showed that nearly 57.7 per cent lived within the tribal land (IBGE- Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, 2010). The indigenous people have their own way of living but encroachment of their area for fulfilling economic and

commercial purpose has led to conflict with these people. Tracing down little back the history of Brazil (Post Independence) it was a legacy of military rule from 1964 to 1985. The military regime lasted for about three decades and in 1985 a transition was seen towards democratic, civilian rule (Power, 2016). In 1988, Brazil became a new Federal Republic. The new Federal Constitution of 1988 recognized the indigenous people's social and cultural collective character. The constitution also provided them with permanent land rights. However, to get this constitutional safeguard of land right was not an easy task. Before Federal Constitution of 1988, there were 182 indigenous land plot which were approved and regulated and according to FUNAI<sup>25</sup> in May 2013, it is estimated 440 indigenous land plots was regulated. The indigenous land regularization in Brazil is a tough and slow process.

One such case of difficulties faced for claiming indigenous land regularization was of 'Xavante tribal people'. These tribes are located in the north- western part of Brazil. In 1960, these Xavante tribe had claimed of 165,000 hectares of land and it was accepted and declared indigenous in 1992. However, there was a conflict between the indigenous people and non- indigenous people and thus, it was demarcated from 1993-1998. The then President signed and approved this demarcated land in 1998. In 2005, INCRA began to record the families and household of non- indigenous for the process of expropriation. Ministry of Justice, in 2007 also determined the expropriation process (National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian reform, Brazil, 2005).

In 2013, the final regularization of indigenous land took place. In the course of regulation, many violent activities and clashes took place between indigenous and non- indigenous over claiming their land rights. Some conflict was reported because of the issue of 'deforestation'. Let us try to understand some indigenous people of Brazil as its biological history states that 99 per cent of human species who inhabit the place, their livelihood primarily depended on hunting and gathering.

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<sup>25</sup> FUNAI- 'National Indian Foundation' is a government body of Brazil. That make policies relating to indigenous peoples. It maps out and protect lands inhabited and used by tribal. It is authorized to act in case of invasion of indigenous territories by outsiders.

### **3.6. Some Prominent Tribes of Brazil**

#### **1. Xavante Indians**

The Xavante Indians are the indigenous people settled in Xavante Indian Village near the Rio das Mortes in the state of Mato Grosso, in Brazil. They are known to have fought the settlers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and probably moved westward in the middle of the nineteenth century, where they reside at present. Since then this time they are known for their violent activities against anything that they believed was encroaching upon their indigenous territory. Only in recent time that Xavante tribe have started accepting the outsiders. However, they have become flexible in interacting with the outsiders, they culturally remain intact. It is because of this reason there have been development in communication that a small airstrip is made for providing better means of transport. The term “Xavante” was used by Portuguese explorers that used to describe the lesser known tribe in the remote areas of Brazil. Today there are about 1500 and 2000 Xavante tribe, residing in an autonomous community. They speak common language and share sense of collective community. Particularly, the Xavante language is spoken by the Xavante tribe only.

Their historiography can be traced with their history of resistance to Portuguese in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Their history, also known for their fight against gold miners. In 1786, governor tried to persuade them and get resettled in the government-built villages. But only about 2000 of them agreed to come by 1788. Also, because of epidemic of measles outburst in their area many got infected and killed and others flee to escape from the disease. The tribal which were not settled had to face discrimination and ill treatment. The cruelty, on Xavante tribe began to continue until early nineteenth century, until they fought the settlers and moved westward where they presently reside (Modelling Brazilian Indigenous Tribes Land Rights with ISO 19152 LADM, 2013).

## 2. BORORO INDIANS

Bororo Indians are the tribal community that has an origin at southern part of Brazil's Mato Grosso state. They had once an extended traditional territory extending up to Bolivia and other parts of state of Goias in Brazil. According to the Brazilian Census 2010, around 1570 members of Bororo Indians reside in eight villages throughout Mato Grosso. Unlike the Xavante tribe, they have shown ability and flexibility to assimilate and accept non-Indians. At the same time remaining intact with their cultural and traditional norms. They are known for their knowledge about environment, ecological benefits and cosmological information they possess. Their language is rich in terms of detailed vocabulary. These tribe are primarily hunter and gatherers. But encroachment by some Westerners and non-indigenous people into the land of Bororo has resulted in a tremendous decline in their territory as well as their population. Today the Bororo Indians are seen engaged as farm labour or doing menial jobs. Unfortunately, much of the Bororo territory has been taken away by the Brazilian state. The word "Bororo" means a 'village court' in Bororo language. The native language of Bororo Indians is 'Bororo language' but vast majority of them speaks Portuguese. Literacy rate of Bororo Indians are not very good but they are on the path of attaining it. As much as thirty per cent of the total Bororo indigenous tribe are literate. Bororo Indians are also skilled craftsmen. The crafts that they use in their ceremonies and rituals. The 'Paori' is one such instrument that is made out of feathers of parrot placed on a gourd. This is very particular and prominent instrument used in their ceremonies (Indian Cultures by Hand Around the World, 2018).

Therefore, it is evident from both the context, Brazil and India that tribal people and state machinery have rather proved to be a paradox in nature. The autonomous administration of indigenous people over their land is encroached and interfered by outsiders. The main objective of interference is to create a binary in the narratives of the indigenous people and government. The economic motive behind enactments of certain law is the prime concern. The decline in the population and territory of indigenous people are seen as the direct consequences of the encroachment process. Leading them to dispossession of their indigenous property, forest and land rights and making them more vulnerable in social, political and economic sphere.

3.iii. The following map illustrates the indigenous territory in Brazil.



Going down the lane of historical evidences of the tribal land resort to collect significant and uniqueness about them. Their culture, tradition, practices, rituals and even belief make their society different. The symbiotic relationship that they share encourage to protect the environment and ecosystem is the matter of concern. In both the cases of Brazil and India, it was seen that either government or outsiders or any non-indigenous entity have tried to encroach their natural surroundings in one or the other form. Framing and enacting such state laws that go against the tradition and custom of tribal, place them in a critical and conflicting situation. In the disguise of certain developmental projects also, the indigenous people have been expropriated and discriminated. As, both the countries were under colonial rule for a quite long period, many resistance and revolts were carried out against arbitrary imposition of laws and rules by the government.

On the contrasting side, the indigenous people of India particularly of Jharkhand seemed to be unstable in relationship with their land rights. However, CNT and SPT Acts provide a safeguard against all atrocities. But at the same time continuous pressure and strive for quenching the thirst of capitalist objective through amendment of these laws are threatening. Unlike, Brazil's Federal Constitution which confer the land rights upon indigenous people as a safeguard and role of institutions like FUNAI which acts as a cushion against any encroachment by the non- indigenous people. Therefore, and assured protection against all sorts of discrimination and exclusion that indigenous people face in any sphere is much needed of the time. It is also important to uphold their democratic ethos and collective community spirit.

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**GLOBALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT:** Conflict with the tribal interest and their resistance

Globalization is a multi-faceted aspect, almost at interplay at the same time. According to David Held, “Globalization is a contested word”, though. The continuous interplay of society, politics, economy, culture, media, information technology and so on has made the world into almost a homogenous community with the notion of shrinking space. Conceptualizing the word ‘Globalization’ becomes important in order to understand the extent and intensity with which the above aspects are at interplay. The interplay of societies however, was never a new thing. Societies and culture have been shared among social beings from time to time. But with the intensity it has started interacting with the world’s culture, politics, society, economy have drawn the attention of thinkers and scholars to conceptualize the term. In the words of David Held, “Globalization is a spatial phenomenon lying on a continuum with the ‘local’ at one end and ‘global’ at other (Held, 1997). It becomes essentially important to have a synchronization of the two sphere, so that the concept of globalization is also understood in terms of uniqueness and specificity. Instead of homogenizing every aspect of behaviour and taste.

The intensity with which the information across the globe can be shared and retrieved in no time, shows the spatial extension that has shrunk. The concept of globalization is a dynamic one. It cannot be understood alone. Whatsoever the popularity and intensification of the concept has very much to do with the aim of evolving the society. The demand of enjoying better standard of living, better knowledge, clothing and so on is increasing day by day. The western countries have been dominant in propagating the idea, though. The third world countries are battling a race to cope with the idea in terms of economy, culture, lifestyle and so on. The idea of ‘development’ comes in the disguise of globalization. The concept of development has been the objective of intensifying and popularizing ‘globalization’, primarily. This spatial phenomenon has opened gateways to job opportunities, raising income and sharing information. The hegemony of capitalist countries like United States of America has influenced over the world. They try to promote and breed on the grounds of natural resources, manpower and lands by certain mega ‘developmental projects’ like MNC’s (Multi-National Companies), mega hydroelectric power plants, transformation in hi technological infrastructure.

The concern of this paper is to dig out humanitarian and ecological aspect that globalization in the disguise of development poses threat to. Largely, the affected ones are indigenous people who are displaced from their natural surroundings without any proper rehabilitation or any sort of compensation. The tribals have a unique relationship with the ecology. This is the feature that distinguishes any indigenous group or tribal group from any other minority group. The unique fashion of performing rituals, beliefs and customs associate their identities with the environment. Displacing them and expropriating make them vulnerable.

Human development Report by UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) of 1999 was themed on 'Globalization with a Human Face'. The report showed concern over pros and cons of the effect of globalization over the countries and its people. The report admitted that globalization was never a new concept, but the way it has been intensified in the post-cold war era has dramatically become the matter of concern. The report mentions that the globalization has developed a gap between rich and poor and has created new threats to human security. People have become more vulnerable in the present time in terms of availing jobs and income, economic and political and cultural and even in environment. Citing the quote from Mahatma Gandhi on cultural insecurity in the report, "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the land to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be flown off my feet by any." This shows high concern for the indigenous people who are affected by globalization. Indigenous people have deep seated cultural roots in their environment and on the pretext of installing certain development projects they are displaced and uprooted from their natural surroundings. The first Human Development Report that was published in 1990 began with the opening lines "the real wealth of nation is its people". The objective of development is to create such an environment where people get opportunity to enjoy and live a healthy long and prosperous life (UNDP, 1990). The report did not refrain from mentioning that this objective is overshadowed by the race in achieving the material and financial wealth only. Thus, how the human development tries to seek beyond it, the worth of existence itself. In due course of time globalization has not only reduced the geographical spaces but has also widened the gap between rich and poor countries and its people. Where rich thrive on exploiting poor people and extracting limited natural resources (HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT, 1999).

The development countries like Brazil and India have drawn much attention to the entities which have propagated the mainstream idea of development. They are some regional banks, IMF (International Monetary Fund) and very prominent, the World Bank. They sought to control much of the finance of the world for development purposes through expanding the notion of globalization. The concept of Globalization presents a development model, primarily of a western and capitalist countries and a euphoria is created to strive to achieve the model prescribed. It is believed that globalization and the model of development that it endorses has largely benefitted the private firms, MNC's (Multi-National Companies), elite ruling class and rich capitalists of the countries. The indigenous people are the worst affected ones. Both the countries, Brazil and India have significant number of tribal population, both emerging as potential developed nations with immense natural resources and manpower. It becomes necessary to strike a balance between the notion of one-way development concept and judiciously utilizing the resources, keeping in mind the ecological and humanitarian needs and aspects. It is impossible to completely do away with the process of globalization, but bridging the gap between rich and poor, providing sustainable and healthy environment is important (Chakrabarti & Chatterjee, 2012).

'The Flip side of Development' is very much needed to be understood in the contemporary tie, especially in the era of globalization. With the introduction of LPG model of development in the developing countries it needs to be understood in the grass root level. The mainstream development model endorsed by international institutions like World Bank and IMF which is already dominated by the members belonging to developed capitalist countries. The one-sided model of development prescribed by the North for the Southern countries have created a pressure to cope up with it. The intensity with which the process of urbanization and modernization is expanding is a matter of concern. The skyscrapers, metallic roads, high-tech cities are encroaching upon the natural surroundings of tribal people, leading to deforestation and converting agricultural land into infrastructure development project sites. The concern is to understand the real meaning of development and striking a balance between sustainable development and ecological and humanitarian aspect. The imbalance between establishing and installing development projects and concern for maintaining natural habitat is not a limited and local one. None of the countries of the world are aloof from the effect of Globalization. The pattern in which the concept of development is being applied is one directional. The Human Development approach is one of the basic criteria that the concept itself holds. If the so called

mega development projects is not useful for the common local and marginalized masses of the society, despite their sufferings by getting displaced, the development model stands worthless.

Brazil and India, both have been agrarian based economy. A large chunk of population is dependent on agriculture and farming. Mostly indigenous people who are engaged in such occupations from one generation to the other. The UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) has recognized that the tribal people are relatively poor and uneducated. They are mostly dependent on forestry, agriculture and farming. The expansion of urbanization and modernisation have snatched a large chunk of their land. Though their lands have been restored by the <sup>26</sup>customary laws like CNT and SPT in Jharkhand, India and Land Regularization Policy in Brazil. But the persistent stroke on grabbing tribal land in the disguise of development project is not a new thing. However, in many instances, the much-needed resistance is shown by the tribal to restore their land, forest and rivers.

#### **4.1. CASE STUDY: JHARKHAND, INDIA**

Jharkhand is a 28<sup>th</sup> state in India, literally means ‘land of forest’. The state comprises of almost 32 tribes. Their livelihood mainly depends on forestry and agriculture. In spite of presence of natural resources and big industries, these have failed to give any sort of employment to these tribal and make their living a better one. Moreover, since post-independence the Indian state through its ‘development model’ adoption has expropriated, exploited the indigenous one harshly. The adoption of ‘Five Year Plans’ focused more on strengthening its economy and infrastructure. Dams were referred to as ‘Temples of modern India’. In the course of modernizing and developing India, many habitats, lives and resources were lost. The tribal people are seen resisting all such development projects which particularly aimed at crushing down their identity and displacing them from their environment. There have been many such movements in the past. One of the very significant case of resistance movement by Tribal of Jharkhand was against the mega hydel power project of ‘Koel Karo’. This movement brought

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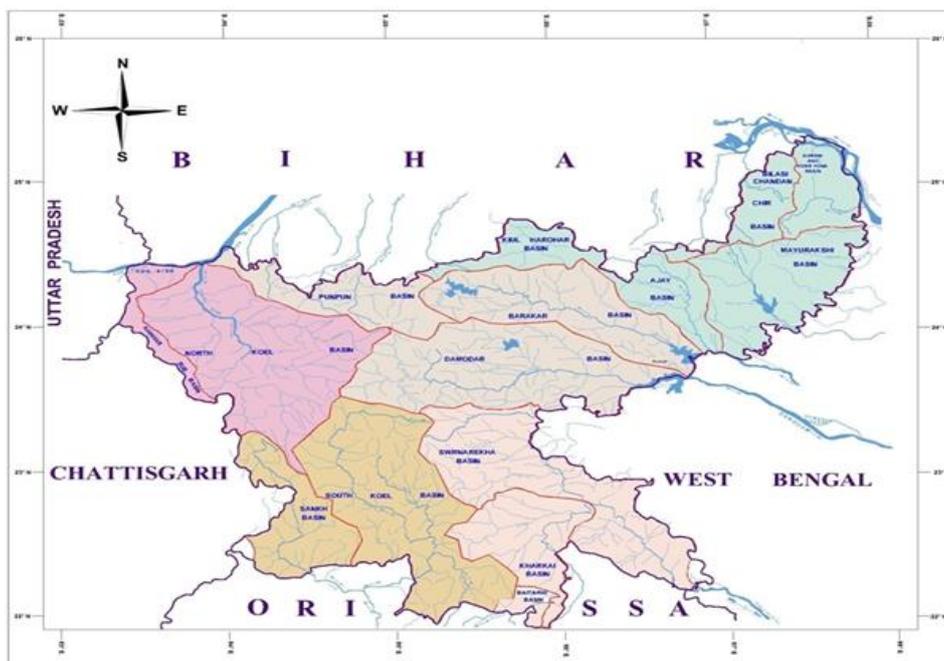
<sup>26</sup> One such customary law of Jharkhand is what the Adivasi believe in is ‘Pathalgadi’. It is basically a plaque on which demarcation of Adivasi’s territory is demarcated and ensure that no outsiders are allowed in the village. Where law of the state does not apply here. The tribal have their own set of rules (gram panchayat) that they follow.

thousands of tribal together to fight against state machinery as well as against sole aim of displacing and uprooting the locals.

## 4.2. KOEL KARO RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

The Koel and Karo Rivers are two of the major rivers in the state of Jharkhand. The North Karo rivers drain in the districts of Gumla, Ranchi and West Singhbhum, in Jharkhand. Whereas the South Karo River flows in the districts of Sundergarh and Keonjhar in the states of Jharkhand and Odisha, respectively. Below is the map of river system in Jharkhand (State of India's Rivers for India Rivers week 2016, 2016).

4.i. The following map shows the river system in Jharkhand.



Source: Government of Jharkhand, Water Resource Department.

In a general project report published in 1973, it was proposed for construction of dams on rivers Koel and Karo, respectively. It was estimated to produce 710 Megawatts of electricity for the states of Bihar (now Jharkhand), Orissa, West Bengal and Sikkim. Thus, how the project of ‘Koel Karo Hydrel Project’ was initiated.

The first dam to be constructed at Basia in Gumla district on the South Koel river. The other one to be constructed in the Lowajimi village in Ranchi district on the North Karo River. The dam on Koel River at Basia was supposed to be 44 meters high with eleven floodgates and dam

on the Karo River in the Lowajimi Village would have a height of 55 meters with six floodgates. These two dams were to be connected together by a long canal, estimated length of 34.7 Km. however, all the purpose of producing electricity was meant for the cities of different states. Local Adivasi people were kept aloof from the benefits of it. It was estimated by “Koel Karo Jan Sangathan”, that 25 villages with population of around 150,000 belonging to Mundas and Oraon tribes would be submerged. This would have caused destruction to lives and loss of environment for the indigenous people.

The project of Koel Karo Hydrel Electricity was hatched in the year 1956/57, but local people were not informed about it, for quite a long period. People of the village could not even have figured out when routes were accessed to Koel area. Making them uninformed about the project, from which they were going to get affected, could not offer jobs through this project. Instead labours were employed belonging from other regions and districts. Only in 1973, the project of Koel Karo Hydroelectricity was published. At this point of time local people came to know about the construction of dam in their area, almost two decades later. They took this step as a backlash and betrayal by the government and massive protests began against the construction of dam.

Local people began to organise themselves in large number and created “Jan Sangharsh Samittee” in the Koel area, in Gumla district. The other one as, “Jan Sanyojan Samittee” in Karo area, in the district of Ranchi. These two groups merged and united to form “Koel Karo Jan Sangathan”, in year 1976 to fight against the construction of dams, unanimously. As a form of protest, they started mass campaigning as “Kam Roko” or “Stop the Work” against government in order to show their resentment for informing the locals about the project. The Koel Karo Jan Sangathan constructed a barricade at the village gate and halted the construction work by Bihar State Electricity Board. Negotiation with the government proved a small relief for the protesters, as government agreed only to unload the materials that were stocked for long time at the site. However, in return government would not proceed construction unless a mutual agreement is sorted out between the two parties. This negotiation between the organization “Koel Karo Jan Sangathan” and the Government of Bihar took place on January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1979.

With the failure of certain moderate measures taken, like surveying the village by ‘National Hydroelectric Power Cooperation’ along with ‘Rehabilitation Department of Chotanagpur’ and Koel Karo Jan Sangathan, in 1980, the Government of Bihar proposed a coercive measure. In 1984, the government ordered the authority to continue with the implementation of the project,

despite of Adivasi people protest against it and would deploy soldiers in the area if needed. But a person named, V.P. Lakra, in Ranchi filed a petition at court, against arbitrary deployment of military forces to appropriate land unless mutual agreement is done. This was seen as a major set back in the resistance movement and the military force retreated back.

In 1985, Sushila Kerketta, Minister for Irrigation and Power, Government of Bihar, agreed to a proposal by Koel Karo Jan Sangathan to establish two separate villages as an alternative for Koel and Karo areas. But the construction of new village never took place, showing lack of trust and empathy, in the government side. Late in 1995, the Prime Minister of India, Narsimha Rao was to lay the corner stone of the dam. This agitated the Adivasis and mobilized thousands of people to protest and organize various rallies and demonstrations<sup>27</sup>. The protestors did not allow government personnel or any project related authority to enter the site. Then Prime Minister cancelled the event seeing the circumstances and the intensity of protest. But the Chief Minister Lalu Prasad Yadav decided to lay down the foundation stone for construction of dams. Around twenty-five thousand people came together to protest against it and lied down in the road on arrival of Lalu Prasad's helicopter (Claus, 2004).

Another major incident took place in history of Koel Karo resistance movement on 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 2001. Around twenty-five police officials from Tapkara and Rania police station were observed to enter the prohibited area barricaded by the locals on the pretext of searching for Naxals activists. However, they destroyed the barricade and began loading it on a truck. A villager took note of all their activities and suspected them. On asking the policemen about removing of the barricade that was constructed by Koel Karo Jan Sangathan, he was thrashed and beaten up by the police personnel. Not only he was physically assaulted but mocked and humiliated by the policemen. As a result of this incident, a massive crowd of about five thousand people mobilized and gathered around Tapkara police station. A policeman stated that he got order to shoot the protestors. Suddenly firing began and chaos was created. About eight people lost their lives and many were seriously injured. This incident created nation wide unrest and at the same time strengthened the resistance movement. The outsiders were completely debarred from entering into the Koel Karo area and needed special permission from Koel Karo Jan Sangathan that is practiced till now. Only in 2003, the newly elected chief

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<sup>27</sup> About 5000 protestors from Torpa region and 15000 marched to Tapkara region as a form of protest against laying the foundation stone for the construction of dams.

minister Arjun Munda declared abandonment of the Mega Hydel Power Project. As the entire episode had incurred high monetary loss (Akhilesh, 2002).



Accelerated Growth Program (PAC)<sup>28</sup> encouraging many developmental projects under the government of President Luiz Inacio Lula Da Silva, in year 2007.

#### **4.4. BELO MONTE DAM RESISTANCE MOVEMENT**

Xingu<sup>29</sup> River basin of the amazon rain forest was flagged for one such development project. This was the proposed “Belo Monte Hydroelectric Dam” on the river Xingu (refer map of the major river system of Brazil). It was supposed to be the world’s third largest dam to be constructed. The government proposal showed that the mega hydroelectric dam was fulfilling the environment friendly criteria, that is following the ‘Green’<sup>30</sup> model of renewable energy. The mega project of Belo Monte would have the capacity to generate electricity up to 11.233 Megawatts which would be used basically for metropolitan cities of RIO de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. The project would divert the flow of River Xingu which is one of the major tributaries of Amazon that runs 1700 miles extending up to the states of Mato Grosso to the forest areas of Para. The diversion of the flow of river would cause persistent drought in the forest area of Altamira. This would adversely affect the water table, affecting loss of flora and fauna. The project of Belo Monte would disturb the ecosystem of the Amazon rainforest, largely. The project did not include the public discussion which would threaten the social, human and environmental destruction. The Xingu River basin is supposed to be a hub of biodiversity which support an extensive channel of primary forests and is a dwelling place of around 25,000<sup>31</sup> indigenous people and almost 18 ethnic groups. The Belo Monte project on Xingu River is not just expected to loss of aquatic flora and fauna but it would displace about 20,000 to 40,000 people including rural and urban place taken together. No alternative measures, compensation or any such scheme was discussed and announced by the Brazilian Government. Thus, how the major development projects were initiated in this period. This was also the year when Brazil voted for United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples (UNDRIP) that ensures their right of self- determination, prior and informed consent for the project. But the provision remained in the paper only. The Lula government was known

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<sup>28</sup> A program initiated through public private partnership to expand the Brazilian economy, infrastructure, energy, transport, housing and other such development programs.

<sup>29</sup> Xingu means “House of God” to indigenous people.

<sup>30</sup> The green model of development ensures that it is based on renewable energy and is less emission of fossil and fuel to the environment and efficient in development purpose. It would flood less and produce electricity more.

<sup>31</sup> The indigenous people of Mato Grosso Brazil were threatened due to the mega hydroelectric project were Jaruna, Xikrin, Kuruaya, Karapo and others.

for overarching and bypassing such environmental concern and live of indigenous people. The government did not take heed of humanitarian and environmental aspect for installing and persuading any development projects. **The Constitution of Brazil** in Article 231 recognize the cultural and territorial rights of indigenous people. Ensuring their right to live in traditional territories and use of natural resources necessary for their livelihood and to associate their identities. **Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization**, in 1989 Brazil also ratified in ensuring indigenous people participating in decision making process in any development project initiated in their territory. The role of FUNAI<sup>32</sup> also became important in safeguarding the rights of indigenous people. All such measures proved cushion for the indigenous people's rights against arbitrary laws and brutality faced by them such as land grab rather land theft, sexual abuse, persecution of these tribal community and so on. Much relief came from these provisions was against the construction of Belo Monte Dam on River Xingu. The development process of the project faced deficit in fulfilling the legal obligations from indigenous perspective. The indigenous leaders from Xingu River Basin declared that none of their Constitutional Rights, ILO Convention Rights and UNDRIP Rights are taken into consideration or fulfilled by the Belo Monte project. However, Government kept publishing statements that they had meetings with the local indigenous leaders of the Xingu River Basin regarding bending of the direction of the river. One of the indigenous leader Jose Carlos from the Arara Community denied about any such meetings regarding the diversion of the River Xingu.

This Mega Development Hydroelectricity Project has violated almost all the rules and norms of the Constitution of Brazil, the UNDRIP Articles or ILO Convention 169. Especially, those rights dealing with prior consultation and consent from the indigenous people for installing any developmental projects in their territory. The laws and policies ensuring the rights of people or environment protection never got implemented. Brazil's Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) played a prejudiced role in case of Belo Monte Dam Project. However, it got criticism from national and international scholars, think tanks and intellectuals. The EIA failed to fulfil the minimum criteria. A committee was set up with 40 international experts to analyse the role of EIA, in 2009. It was a response to petition filed by Social Justice and Environmental Groups. The Committee reported that the process of construction of dam was biased non-transparent. It misinformed and mislead the people of the Xingu region. The Report determined that the consequences of construction of dam on indigenous people and aquatic flora and fauna was not

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<sup>32</sup> FUNAI is a government organization to protect the rights of indigenous people of Brazil.

taken into consideration. It adamantly omitted the concern on deforestation, cultural and social loss of indigenous people. The Report concluded about the underestimation of the Lives, health, shelter and environmental risks caused by construction of Belo Monte on River Xingu. Also, diversion of the course of river making at least two of the indigenous area permanently drought prone.

The consequence of the Belo Monte Dam project on indigenous people was direct and destructive. A Judge, Antonio Carlos da Almeida Campelo who suspended the preliminary licence for the dam. He also filed three petitions against Belo Monte license, but were dismissed later by the higher court. Brazil's National Development Bank (BNDES) which collaborated with Ministry of Development, Industry and Foreign Trade (MDIC) would finance and persuade the project up to 80 per cent. Where BNDES is an economic asset of Worker's pension and treasury fund. The move of BNDES for propagating the development project faced harsh criticism on the grounds of using money of people and not for their welfare. Also, the entire project did not mention about environmental concern in reality.

The indigenous people along the River Xingu have been persistent in their resistance movement and their indigenous leaders being more vocal against Government's development project of Belo Monte Dam. A group of Kayapo tribe began a protest by blocking BR-80 highway which crosses the Xingu River. This blockade disrupted the transport movement causing commercial and economic losses. The government did not pay heed to the protest. No negotiations were convened with the local indigenous groups to discuss to discuss Belo Monte and its consequences on residents. Instead it blatantly denied the enactment of the Constitutional laws and turned deaf ear to them. This hostile behaviour by the Lula Government created resentment among the indigenous people of Xingu River bed. Rather, as many as 100 more such development projects were kept ready at their table for future.

The problem also lies with the ambiguity with the identities of indigenous people in the state. Some are even unsure of claiming their citizenship rights. The confusion is taken as an advantage by the non- indigenous people or the outsiders<sup>33</sup> to discriminate and exclude them in certain aspect. Usually by claiming their appropriation over the land. This has acted as benefits for corporates and capitalist firms. And also because of the language barriers of

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<sup>33</sup> Similar instance of Jharkhand where the tribal consider the outsider or "dikus" responsible for their marginalization.

indigenous people, they have largely become dependent upon translators or mediators to defend their rights.

The period between 1980's and 1990's saw partnership between indigenous groups and environmentalists to fight against certain developmental projects threatening the lives and environment of indigenous people. Apart from FUNAI, many individual leaders shared their grievances on national and international platform. Ample attention from known Hollywood Director James Cameron along with his two stars Sigourney Weaver and Joel Daniel Moore, was given towards the cause. The issue was taken up and discussed globally and are responsible for Brazilian indigenous people's emancipation at present in terms of asserting their rights. However, Brazilian government and media manipulated the news and portrayed as strategy of foreign control over their natural resources (Elia, 2012).

In 1988, two Kayapo leaders went to Washington and directly met the officials at World Bank, US Congress and US treasury and narrated their grievances regarding Belo Monte Dam. Many indigenous nations came together regarding this concerned issue. In 1989, Conference of indigenous Peoples of the Xingu, a protest was conducted at Altamira demanding against any such construction of dams on River Xingu. The intensity of Protest drew international support through World Bank's decision to withdraw Brazil's Power Sector loan in 1989. This forced the government to suspend one of the dam's complex project, Kararao<sup>34</sup> Dam Complex (Diamond & Poirier, 2010).

The long era of resistance movement against construction of Belo Monte Dam came to an end recently. The Government of Brazil in a surprise decision announced the abandonment of the mega project or building of any such big hydroelectric power project in the Amazon river basin. However, the project of Belo Monte had been severely criticised by environmentalists, indigenous groups, NGO's and some scholars. The government took this step on the context of incurring economic loss due to stagnation of the project. Though for time being mega dam projects have been postponed, but until when is the question. The mega dam construction program of Brazil is unclear. The resistance by indigenous groups in support of some local, national and international entities, the movement became a successful one (Branford, 2018).

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<sup>34</sup> Belo Monte dam was formally known as Kararao dam complex.

Thus, from the above case studies of Jharkhand in India and Mato Grosso in Brazil, it is evident how indigenous people have to bear the brunt of the developing projects. Globalization and Development goes hand in hand and it also need of the time, but the way in which it is been practiced seems dangerous to certain lives and habitat. In the recent years, with GDP growth in both the countries have drawn attention of big corporate world, financing sectors and capitalists for investment purpose. The ample availability of natural resources and blind race of establishing mega development projects have threatened the lives of indigenous ones especially. These people find home and shelter in the forest dwellings and their livelihood depends upon it. The mega development projects such as hydroelectricity power plant which are generally planned to construct in the territories of tribal destruct their social and cultural behaviour with the loss of natural surroundings. In fact, these development projects do not provide any help or benefits to the local people. The development projects, however, need to go through a process of assessment from various departments of the government. The process is neither transparent nor comply with the national and international norms provided as a safeguard for Rights of indigenous people.

In both the cases above, of Koel Karo Resistance Movement in Jharkhand, India and Belo Monte Resistance movement in Xingu River in Brazil have shown quite a similar pattern of displacing the indigenous people in the disguise of development project. Firstly, the local people are either uninformed or misinformed about the construction of any such mega development project in their territory. Secondly, the blueprint of the project is published with partial truth regarding the construction of project or fulfilling any environmental assessment. Thirdly, the coercive means is used to implement the project in the territory of indigenous people. This has taken lives of many poor tribal people. The absence of any rehabilitation scheme implementation or any compensation have made their lives vulnerable. The unique relationship that indigenous people share with the environment needs to be recognized. They express themselves through dance, songs, folklore, rituals and certain belief that is specific to nature. The suffix of the names of tribal in Jharkhand denotes association of nature in one form or the other. For example, Bara from Oraon tribe meaning a tree, Dumdung in Kharia tribe meaning Fish, Kiro from Kharia tribe meaning tiger, Kerketta from Munda tribe meaning bird and the list goes on. The river Xingu in Mato Grosso, Brazil signifies 'home of god' for the indigenous people. This is how they associate themselves with the natural environment. Displacing them from their natural habitat uproot them from their culture and society. They are not able to adjust in the urban areas and face some sort of exclusion and discrimination.

Improper rehabilitation lead to deterioration in their health and lifestyle. Their impoverished condition continues for generations. Just for the sake of one development project the entire indigenous community suffers and humanitarian aspect is lost in the entire development purpose. The resentment amongst the tribal community about their territory being encroached upon by the state and state's machinery is obvious. The brutality with which they are treated and abused goes beyond the humanity. Like in the case of Koel Karo where a Villager on asking police personal about removing the barricade, was assaulted brutally and thrashed. The policemen urinated on him and hit him with the butt of their gun. This kind of response towards tribal people only in a way to resist some project that is going to affect their lives and livelihood is barbaric.

Globalization is measured by the parameters of development only in terms of material and economic aspect. This is where the actual meaning of development becomes contrary. The skyscrapers, high technology and infrastructure mere cannot decide the development of a country and its people. Especially the concern about the indigenous ones are because of their direct implications of the development project. The indigenous people are usually poor and have their unique lifestyle which are compromised due to such development projects. The development projects and conflict with their interest would never fulfil the requirement of development in its actual sense. Therefore, a balance between the development project on the pretext of Globalization and freedom from poverty, hunger, malnutrition and illiteracy should be made. This sustainable development model would ensure inclusivity of the indigenous people and restore natural habitat and environment.

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## CONCLUSION

This chapter is an overview of the analysis made in my research topic “The Flip Side of Development: A comparative study of tribal displacement in Brazil and India”. This section would deal with the question of indigenous people being displaced, for certain mega development projects to be installed. For which they never receive any benefits. The importance of relationship that they share with the environment, is the matter of concern. The reason for justifying their resistance against any kind of mega development projects that threatens their existence should be dealt with. The importance of looking into this particular section of the society determines the symbiotic relationship that they share with their natural environment. In terms of their beliefs, practice, culture and rituals, environment and indigenous people are seen to share a symbiotic relationship with each other. Across the globe indigenous people are facing similar kind of problem of displacement in the context of globalization. Even in a more intense way. The dilemma of development is not cleared out because of various viewpoints as of economic and non-economic factors. Still a middle path way is suggested in the form of ‘sustainable development’, that aims to fulfil the need and not the greed. The implications of globalization in one way or the other cater to the greed of the people. The accessibility to resources remain concentrated in the hands of rich, elite and ruling class. The rich-poor parity gap seems to widen, with the intensification of the globalization. The globalization has brought the trend of homogenization in all aspects. Even in the trend of development aspect, it is the mainstream notion of development of constructing mega infrastructures, roads, dams and other materialistic, prevails (Dohlman & Quevedo, 1997). The world shrinking into a homogenous space due to globalization has encouraged the state as well as non-state actors to invest and promote mega development projects. These gigantic development projects are usually installed in the agricultural fertile land or forest covered areas, where tribal people and forest dwellers inhabit. The mega development project which is heavy, bulky and expensive make assure that no money and material is lost in its installation process. The humanitarian aspect is overlooked and tribal displacement is normalized as part of development concept. The lives and livelihood of these people are lost and their identities are threatened, also the practices that help in preserving the environment is lost due to one such development move. The tribal also has a unique belief of worshiping nature gods and goddess.

The indigenous people whose lives, livelihood and belief rests with the surrounding in which they live get destroyed and uprooted due to such projects. This not only make the lives of indigenous people more vulnerable but also, affects the environment. The indigenous people share the symbiotic relationship with the environment.

The indigenous people draw their existence and identity from the nature and therefore their practices and rituals associated with nature conserve and protect the environment. Local indigenous communities across the world have conserved sacred forest or groves based on spiritual values. These are known to be sacred groves<sup>35</sup>, where the tribals perform rituals and festivals to please their nature god and ancestors. The space is usually a tract of land with vegetative and forest cover, with variety of species of birds, wildlife and even insects. The species of various flora and fauna is conserved through such practices with the ecological implications that the indigenous people hold. The main concern in this regard is that development induced displacement not only displace and uproot people from their natural habitat but incur heavy losses on the environment as well. It takes years to make the land fertile and forest to grow, but in no time the large fertile tracts of land are turned into a wasteland and forest cover is cleared off. It would take generation to generations to retrieve the impact and sometimes it is completely irrevocable. The sentiments of the tribal people are hurt adding more misery to their living. Firstly, they are not properly rehabilitated once they are displaced, secondly, they do not get any compensation in terms of cash or kind, thirdly they are subjected to health issue, sickness, malnutrition, poverty and unhygienic conditions, fourthly they become prone to the process of social exclusion which further marginalize them in the social, political and economic dimension. The socio-economic conditions of indigenous people are relatively poor, as their livelihood depends upon agricultural and forestry only. Such circumstances add misery to their lives and lifestyle. Their condition remains to be impoverished, unhealthy and unhygienic. The development seems far from their reach, even after sacrificing their integral identity association. The concern lies here, to suggest the actual beneficiaries of the development projects. To assure actual emancipation of the poor tribal people from such big development projects (Amrithalingam, 2016).

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<sup>35</sup> These are patches of forest land and water bodies which are considered sacred and hold spiritual values. The tribal perform rituals related to their nature god and prohibit any human activity that harms the nature. The practice of preserving sacred grove by the indigenous population across the globe, is studied as much of ecological and cultural importance.

## **5.1. Significance of Sacred Groves**

Sacred groves are a vegetative or forest tract of land considered sacred by local indigenous communities. The concept of sacred grove is practiced across the globe, especially where there is significant number of tribal population is present. The tribal beliefs stand on worshipping nature and their rituals is done around the natural environment. They worship trees, water bodies as their ancestral god and goddess. The myth or belief that their ancestors or deities live on these trees and protect the community from any harm. They consider these sacred groves as their place of worship and that the deity blesses them with prosperity. This cultural value that the tribal community hold helps in protecting and preserving the environment. The sacred grove, in recent time have drawn attention of many biologists, ecologists and scientist to study and analyse the significance of such place. The place is seen helpful in protecting some of the endangered species of flora and fauna. Such practices of protecting the environment through traditional means, is of great importance. Especially in the contemporary time, when people are selfishly pressurizing nature to fulfil their greed. The natural resources are getting depleted and pollution level rising because of deforestation and construction of dams and mega infrastructure. The implications of ruthless practices by mankind to fulfil his greed have intensified in such an extent that the implications are to be borne by global community. Many conventions and international organizations are coming together to preserve and protect the environment. The trend of climate change that has drawn the attention of many state and has alarmed the entire world. The critical need of coming together of entire human community to restore the natural resources and protect the environment is the main concern. In this regard, the sacred grove proves to be boon in conservation of natural environment, flora and fauna. The tribal have traditional knowledge of biodiversity and method of conserving natural resources. They have been practicing may be because of socio- religious values but have scientifically proven to be one of the beneficial and sustainable mode of development. The practices and rituals in sacred grove are been performed from generation to generation. The way tribal people connect themselves with the nature has its own unique narratives. Their livelihood is primarily deepened upon forest, water, fishery, small agriculture and some primitive ones like hunting and gathering. They consider that their prosperity lies on the blessings from their ancestors and nature god and goddess. Therefore, the entire community participate in preserving and protecting the environment. It is more of a community participation to celebrate and perform any rituals based on sacred grove (Solanky, 2017).

5.i. The Map shows the distribution of sacred groves in India.

### SACRED GROVES IN INDIA



(Source: cprecevis.nic.in)

India has been in the practice of conserving and preserving nature since pre-Vedic age. The traditional occupation of food gathering, hunting and picking had been the way of life. The Vedic literatures shows some evident of the lifestyle of people living in those time. The minimal basic requirements and simple living was the lifestyle of people in the societies, in India. Geographically, India seem to be in an advantageous position, with varieties of seasons and flora and fauna. The hermit (*rishis*) used to build huts in the forest and live. Similarly, the aboriginals of the land used to move from one place to another in search of gathering food and hunting. Though, they used to move in a tribe. Where ever they settled down, they prepared a sacred place for their ancestors and deities to worship. India also, having significant number of tribal population, many sacred groves have been found and documented. The above map illustrates the distribution of sacred groves in India. The regions where sacred groves have been

found have tribal populations. These sacred groves are considered beneficial for biodiversity. It contains species of various endangered and threatened flora and fauna. The forest covered areas help in retaining ground water table and soil, important for conserving water. However, there are different types of sacred groves based on the administration of the place. There are sacred groves which are managed on the basis of community effort. Where entire local villagers participate in protecting and conserving the environment. The other is regional sacred groves which is managed by group of some eminent people who acts as trustees and the third one is the sacred groves which are worshipped by the believers of ancestors and nature god and goddess. So far, around 13,270 groves have been discovered across, India (Malhotra, 1998).

5.a. The table of list to show the number of sacred groves in India.

Sr.No.	STATE	No. of Sacred Groves
1.	Andhra Pradesh	750
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	58
3.	Assam	40
4.	Chhattisgarh	600
5.	Gujrat	21
6.	Haryana	248
7.	Himachal Pradesh	5000
8.	Jharkhand	29
9.	Karnataka	1424
10.	Kerala	2000
11.	Maharashtra	1600
12.	Manipur	365
13.	Meghalaya	79
14.	Orissa	322
15.	Rajasthan	9
16.	Sikkim	56
17.	Tamil Nadu	448
18.	Uttaranchal	1

19.	West Bengal	670
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>13,720</b>

(Source: <http://www.cpreecenvis.nic.in>)

## 5.2. SACRED GROVES IN THE STATE OF JHARKHAND, INDIA.

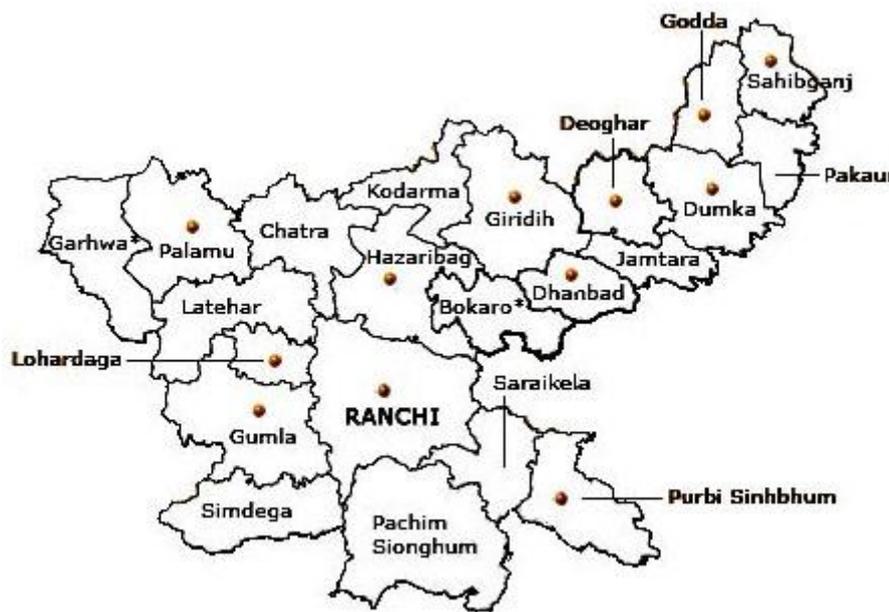
However, our main concern is to trace such sacred groves in the state of Jharkhand. To understand the significance of the tribal people and symbiotic relationship with their environment. It is also important to understand the scope of studying a particular community in the context of globalization that has increased the intensity of their displacement for some mega infrastructural development. The tribal in Jharkhand worship sacred groves known as 'Sarna'. It is usually a cluster of tree which is considered sacred and the place where these trees are located are considered 'Sarna Sthal or the sacred grove. The combination of trees must have to have 'Sal'<sup>36</sup> trees amongst it. The festival of tribal 'Sarhul' also marks the significance of sal tree. In a customary practice, the sal branch is worshipped by the head priest or 'Pahan'. The god and goddess are worshipped and offered flowers of the sal tree. The rituals are done in the sacred groves or the Sarna sthal. Pahan performs rituals and people dance around. The tribals believe that their prosperity lies in worshipping nature and preserving them. They understand the socio- ecological importance and the values associated with them. By far, as many as 29 such sacred groves have been discovered and documented in Jharkhand. Apart from the state of Jharkhand the sacred groves are prominent are in Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and some parts in North eastern states (C.P.R. Environmental Education, Chennai, 2016). The relationship that tribal people share with the ecology is unique and significant one. Be it socio-religious or ecological aspect, the need of the time is to conserve both, their traditional means of preserving environment and providing natural environment and habitat for tribal people. Getting them displaced from their own place and settling them in some unfamiliar places, not only disturb their sentiment but it catalyses the process of social exclusion, further creating the gap between haves and have nots. The concern regarding the tribal displacement

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<sup>36</sup> Scientifically its name is 'Shorea Robusta'. It is considered very sacred by the tribal communities. It is useful for commercial as well as medicinal purpose. in local term it is known as 'sakhua'.

is therefore crucial and important as their traditional method of preserving environment and biodiversity is need of an hour. The global politics on concern for environment protection is a serious issue and recent political trend. In this regard, India can contribute by playing its share of contribution by preserving and protecting the environment through its traditional practices.

### 5.ii. Distribution of Sacred Groves in Jharkhand,India.



The map shows the distribution of sacred groves in Jharkhand, India. As mentioned above, there are as many as 29 documented sacred groves in Jharkhand. They play integral role in shaping the socio- culture values of the community. The sentiment with which the tribal people are attached to their surroundings through myths, taboos, beliefs and so on are sensitive. The development rhetoric created among the masses tend to comply with the mainstream notion of development. It overlooks the humanitarian and ecological factors that possibly count in conceptualizing development. The regions or districts in which sacred groves are there, have been subjected to one or the other kind of coercive displacement for setting up of industries,

infrastructure and other development projects. <sup>37</sup>Each place has its resistance story against being forcefully displaced. It is this sentiment that the tribal share with their environment give them strength and courage to protest against and resist such arbitrary and irrevocable so called 'development projects'.

A similar pattern is traced in other parts of the world where the indigenous people have to face such coercive displacement due to development projects. Latin America showing similar as well as contrasting scenario for tracing the pattern in the era of globalization, is the concern of the proposed research topic.

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<sup>37</sup> The resistance and struggle of tribal against forced displacement due to one or the other kind of materialistic development model is evident. Be it, the Koel Karo struggle against mega hydroelectric power plant in Torpa block of Ranchi district or Masanjore dam in Dumka district and many such projects alike.

### **5.3. SACRED GROVE IN BRAZIL**

The significance of sacred groves as a way of conservation of biodiversity by the indigenous people is an interesting and crucial one. The need of conserving environment and coping up with the intensity of globalization that brings along homogenous notion, culture and lifestyle. The world in its distinctiveness is a unique in itself. Homogenization is less important than providing equal spaces for each individual, community or society as a whole. Not every society evolved at the same time and same way. Each society is composed of various communities and people, which shares mutual relationship with each other. The indigenous people however, have been practicing certain rituals which are unique in their own way. They are marginalized because of this, as it fails to comply with the mainstream societal norms and culture, which are generally prevalent.

In the context of globalization, the intensity with which the trans national economy and other factors are at interplay has changed the socio-political scenario. The ecological impact is another critical issue that the concept brings along. The sacred groves, provides a medium to for the present to the past. It connects the community as a whole to their socio-religious and ecological- aesthetic belief. The practice of nurturing and worshipping nature is practiced from generations to generations. The problem arises when the corporate firms and sometimes government starts interfering with the tribal spaces and their way of life. In the era of globalization, when countries economy and trade have been opened up, many corporate firms and capitalists of the developed countries have shown interest in these developing countries like Brazil and India. The rhetoric created by them about the development which is one directional, the people fail to assess the implications and consequences that it holds. The larger masses forget to see the flip side of the development and illusion remain to persist. Brazil is a contrasting example of this phenomena of tribal displacement on the pretext of modernization, liberalization, privatization and globalization. The trend in which both development concept and globalization need to share a common space to provide sustainability and stability to mankind and environment.

Brazil is one of the leading producers of Soy in the world. This has drawn the attention of many state and non-state actors to invest in this field. The mechanization of agricultural and demand of soy and soy product in the market has intensified the pressure on land as well. A large tracts

of forest land has been cleared off to produce <sup>38</sup>soy. The clearing off of vegetative and forest land has shown some sort of environment imbalance as well as uprooting and displacing of the people, especially tribal people. The habitat of these people is lost and the sacred groves in the forest and near water bodies which they consider holy, is also encroached upon. This process has disturbed and changed the ecosystem of the world. The clearing off of forest cover area and natural vegetative cover has resulted in loss of many species of flora and fauna<sup>39</sup>. The social and cultural lives of many, especially the indigenous ones are disturbed and hampered (Oliveira & Hecht, 2016).

The production of soy crop has increased recently because it used to feed livestock, human food, edible oil, biofuel and products in other industrial purpose. Mato Grosso, in Brazil has been one of the leading producers of the soy crop. This is the region where large tracts of land have been cleared off to produce the crop. This is also the region where many sacred groves of tribals have been destroyed to fulfil the demand of the soy production in the world. The process has led to deforestation along the southern part of Amazon River. Brazil has a history of deforestation, though. Brazil has been leading in world's deforestation on an average of 19,500 km square per year from 1996 to 2005 (Nepstad, Frank, Lima, Moutinho, & Carter, 2009). The trend of forest cover is traced declining to the production of soy crop in the regions of Mato Grosso. Theoretically the idea of 'land sparing' was propounded by Borlaug, in which he suggested to spare some land in the process of intensification and mechanization of agriculture. The intensification of agricultural produce will satisfy the crop demand in the market, without hampering the environment. The sparing of the land would include grazing places, sacred groves and certain water bodies. This concept would lessen the burden on nature, in Mato Grosso where intensification of the soy production has increased. The ecology once depleted might take generations to revive. The concern is about the indigenous people who are being displaced by encouraging such projects that include heavy machineries, logistics and so on. The expense of these projects is to be borne by the local indigenous community, by sacrificing their live and lifestyle (Richards, Pellegrina, Heitor, VanWey, & Spera, 2015). They are subjected to discrimination and social exclusion and their socio-economic conditions continue to be impoverished. If so called 'development project' cannot help in emancipation of the poor

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<sup>38</sup> Soybean has become one of the leading food in terms of agro industrial commodity. The soy production has been intensified with the rising demand in the global market. The intensified production has environmental implications, is the matter of concern. According to USDA Report 2015, Latin America is the world's largest producer of soy.

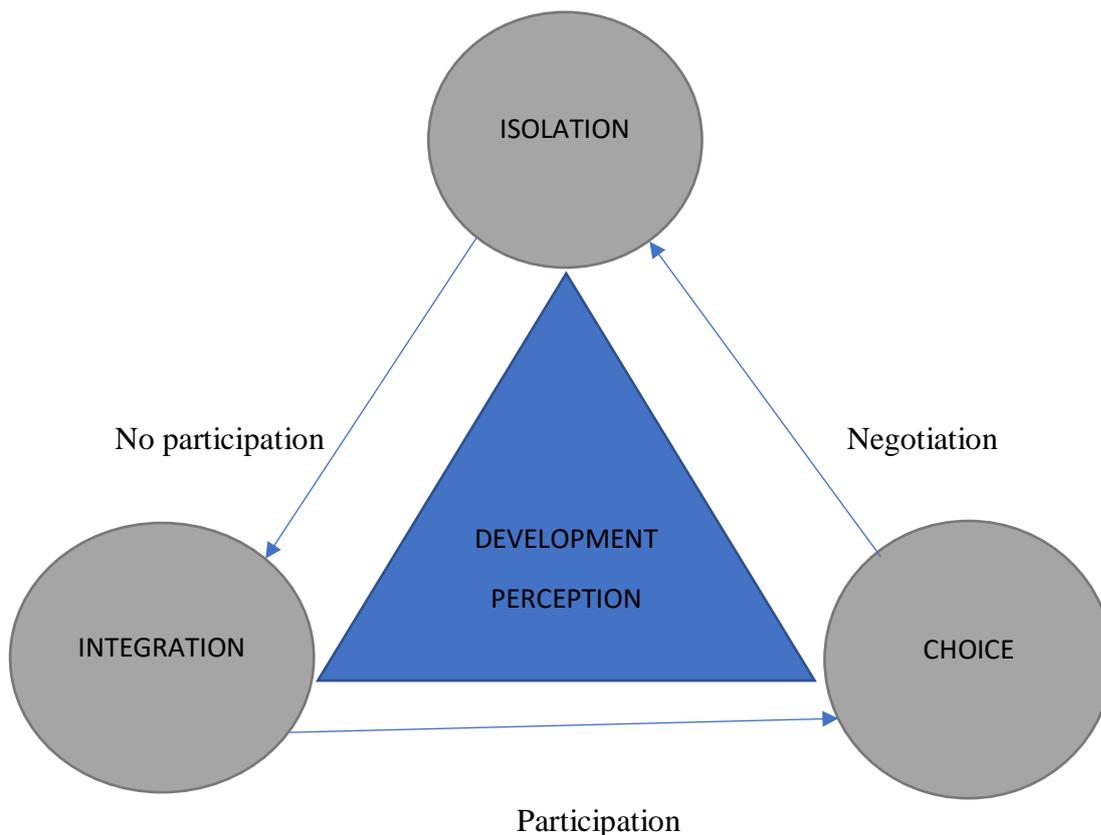
<sup>39</sup> On an average 600 species per hectare of land have been disturbed and lost, due to converting the forest cover area into soy production field in Brazil.

tribal people, then the purpose of the concept tends to fail. The symbiotic relationship that is discussed above between the indigenous people and their environment plays a significant role in preserving the environment, which is the need of the contemporary time.

But the contemporary time is the time where indigenous people’s real development or emancipation in other terms is seen. The tribal community is seen emerging and expanding in the society, assimilating some of the mainstream norms and showing some sort of inclusiveness in their intimate indigenous culture. The cultural and societal values are shared amongst other communities as well. To understand these implications, we need to see through different lenses, about how the indigenous people understand their development. The rhetoric about the mainstream notion is unworthy if does not reach to its least advantageous community. The analysis is build on the notion of development of how the indigenous people perceive in their own way.

5.iii Following is the pictorial representation of tribal perception of development.

**THE PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT FROM TRIBAL POINT OF VIEW**



The perception of tribal regarding the concept of development needs to be understood in their terms. As we have discussed that concept of development is a contested term and has multiple factors deciding the actual development. My concern is about that section of the society who

have been unprivileged in various terms. They have their own unique way of living in the community. They have remained relatively poor in economic terms because of their primitive and primary occupation that they are engaged with. They share unique and symbiotic relationship with the environment. Their own set of customary laws and social norms make the community different. Their traditional method of intermingling with the environment serves the method for preserving and conserving the biodiversity. The indigenous people have the knowledge about medicinal values of plants, whether forecasting through traditional methods, their aesthetic sense and hygiene that they maintain around their natural spaces or in the sacred groves.

Marx's ecology describes the human- environment dialect in a more pragmatic way. He explains about the 'metabolic interaction' with the human and the earth. Where he is concerned about the coercive production by the nature, in the capitalist model of development. He suggested for 'systemic restoration' or sustainable mode of development. The capitalist model of development would intensify and widen the metabolic rift. Marx demanded for a regulation or sustainability in the metabolic relationship between Human and ecology (Foster, 1999). There have been various Marxists who have contributed in writing human and ecological relationship, since 19<sup>th</sup> century. Many socialists have played important role in analysing and contributing in the development and conservation of environment. Therefore, the capitalist model of development has never been beneficial for mankind or the environment, especially in the long run. The intensification of agricultural practices has not only pressurized the earth but has intervened in the relationship with the human and environment. The imbalance between the two has created an irrevocable rift due to executing such development projects, that does not take environmental concern, primarily. This is the reason; the development dilemma continues to exist if the larger concern for human- environment relationship is avoided. Therefore, it is better to be understood in terms of the one in the receiving ends and the means with which the objective is achieved.

The perspective of development tends to change from context to context and from people to people. Here, in this research I have tried to understand the development in the perspective of one in the receiving ends. The cost bore by the people for generations because of such development projects are never seen getting any benefits out of it. But with the due course of time the tribal have started building their community in a more inclusive way. By participating in mainstream socio- cultural- political sphere, they have started intermingling with the mainstream societal norms. But it also depends upon the distribution of indigenous people

where they are settled, some still follow the primitive lifestyle, others are in the transition zone and the rest have completely adopted the modern way of living. The proportion might differ in terms of inclusiveness. I have classified the perception of development through indigenous people into three categories: -

i. **Isolation-**

In this perception of indigenous population, the analysis is made that the tribals voluntarily want to live in isolation. There are about sixty-four indigenous people living in isolation, voluntarily in the regions of Ecuador, Brazil, Peru and Bolivia, in Latin America (Fraser, 2017). The communication and interaction between these tribes and other people have been a failed attempt. The tribes are on the verge of extinction, gradually. It has been very difficult to establish any communication with them. Tribes such as, Tageri, Huaorani, Coruba<sup>40</sup>, Nanti, Nahua are critically endangered and on the verge of extinction. They have been identified from chance encounters with other tribal groups and developers. The tribes who have chosen not to participate in the mainstream society have never been interacted with (Kluger, 2015). There is instance of people being killed who tried to enter their spaces and therefore these tribal are left to live in isolation. The developers or agents of propounding development projects are kept far away from this area, where these tribal reside. For them, the development is the intimacy that they share with their environment and amongst their own tribe (Scott, 2018)

ii. **Integration-**

This tribal perception of development deals with the integration with the main stream society. The tribal voluntarily include themselves in the active participation of development. They try to intermingle with the predominant notion of culture and society and tries to bridge the gap between the two. Brazil and India, both being a democratic country offer up a political position irrespective of creed, race, gender and so on. There are eminent tribal political leaders and representative, who persuade the community for their emancipation through electoral means (Corry, 2011). But it is also important to note that, once the indigenous people completely leave their natural surroundings, culture and community practices, they become subjected to the process of social exclusion. They face discrimination in all sphere.

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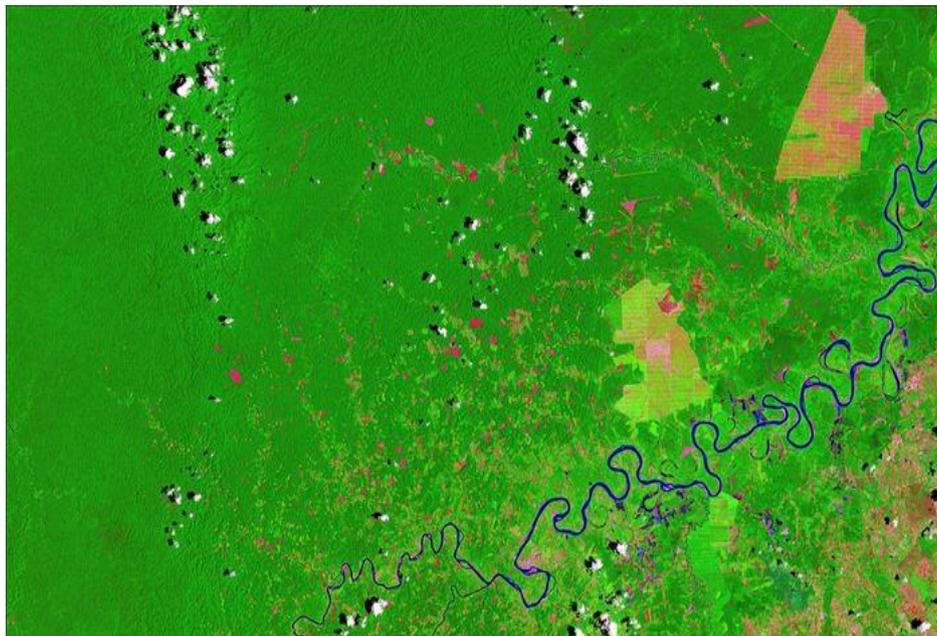
<sup>40</sup> The Coruba tribe in Latin American region is estimated around 40 in number.

This is not just the instance of one country, but the process tends to occur in almost every part of the world, where there is significant number of population exist.

**iii. Negotiation-**

The third aspect deals with the notion of negotiation by the indigenous people, whether they approve of any development project or not. It lies with the indigenous community solely to decide what kind of development related projects are proposed and to which part of the land are to be utilized in installing such project. The continuous struggle by the tribal occur due to this problem, when big corporate and capitalist's firms tries to encroach upon the tribal land and install their heavy and expensive development projects. The following satellite map shows the encroachment by the developers in the amazon region where tribals inhabit.

5.iv. The following is the satellite map showing the amazon region being encroached by the developers.



Source:  
Deforestation (pink) in the Peruvian Amazon, captured by a Landsat satellite in 2016.

USGS/LANDSAT

## An Overview

In my research title “The Flip Side of Development: A Comparative Analysis of Tribal Displacement in Brazil and India”, I have attempted to bring out the contrasting and common factors responsible for tribal displacement. The intensity with which the indigenous population are affected due to some development projects, leave them in miserable conditions. Their socio-economic conditions remain to be impoverished and leading to multiple problems like health and pollution. The opening up of trade and commerce with the world community as a whole and making the space a shrinking space, as a homogenous community, has led to the destruction of the purpose that they serve. The better understanding of globalization and development in the contemporary scenario has been tried to analyse. The two seem to be side of the same coin. But the magnification of the consumption of limited and natural resources have increased has posed a threat to the environment and its people. It also seems that there is no choice for the human community not to intermingle with the hegemonic societal norms in globalization. In almost all aspect of human life, the mainstream notion of society, culture, fashion, food and so on has become dominant. In this regard, the ones or the communities which do not want to follow the common trend are seem to be excluded. The accessibility and communication has narrowed down the distance along with the scope of understanding of the development. Now the development is seen by the material possession one country or people have and the advancement of technology. The enriched raw culture and indigenous way of life is being overlooked or not taken into consideration. The medicinal values, aesthetic sense and folk culture that indigenous people of countries like Brazil and India have are forcing to commercialize it. That would not only encroach their own spaces but also disturb their living. As in the case of Amazon region where already developers and corporate people have started encroaching and disturbing the proportion of people and natural environment. The globalization has intensified the development projects in the countries like Brazil and India, being more particular. Therefore, the study of tribal displacement in a comparative way is important. The research work has tried to bring out a common pattern that of displacement endorsed by development projects by big capitalist firms. The consequences of such projects are destructive and irrevocable. Once the trend of tribal displacement due to development is intensified, it would happen to be normalized and one single model of development would be accepted.

To further understand the implication that it holds are also important. The development projects not only serve the society but also degrade the human community to one generation. The larger beneficiary to receive the benefits from these development projects are virtual only. Thus, it is important to understand the process of social exclusion, as it has dynamic aspect to it. The research work is an attempt to derive the development in a more sustainable form, taking the ecological aspect as the main concern, as suggested in Bhaduri- Patkar model (Bhaduri, 2006). The development should be in the form of sustainable approach. The development should be in terms of full dignity of people, providing basic needs to the community and ensuring their inclusivity in the social sphere.

Thus, the research is tried to analyse the tribal displacement due to some kind of infrastructural development model. Interestingly, the topic become relevant in the current socio- global politics of preserving and conserving the nature. The topic is mostly based on the dynamic concept of development. There have been attempts made to synchronize between the development and sustainability of resources and people in the local as well as global level. The role of the State and international organization should be alert and aware to defend their people and its natural environment. The climate change is a global concern and therefore no countries can be set aloof to passively participate in policy making.

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