

**ENVIRONMENTAL RESOURCE BASE AND THE
PROCESS OF MARGINALISATION: A STUDY OF
TRIBES OF CHOTA NAGPUR**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree
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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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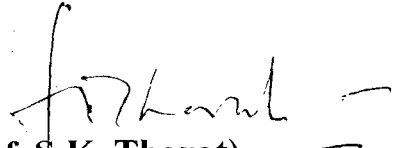
CERTIFICATE

I Bashabi Gupta certify that, the dissertation entitled “**Environmental Resource Base and The Process of Marginalisation : A Study of Tribes of Chota Nagpur**” submitted by me for the degree of **Master of Philosophy** is my bonafide work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Chapter I

Introduction

As long ago as 1756, the philosopher Immanuel Kant classified empirical knowledge according to space and time. Description according to time is history and according to space is geography. The former is a report of phenomena that follow one another with reference to time. The latter is a report of phenomena beside each other in space. History is a narrative, geography a description. Geography and history thus fill up the entire circumference of human perception based on concepts of space and time. Therefore space is something that surrounds us, something with a prosaic entity, volume and area, and also something that is infinite, and coterminous with time.¹ The Orientalist discourse is thus situated primarily on a spatial bias, which is the conceptualisation of the particular region of Orient i.e. the East in the mirror of the Occident or the Western European world. Thus, whoever is not a western European person is an oriental person: this is called the 'geography of representation of spaces and peoples'². Similarly, orientalism in India is used to project the difference of some people with the others, the normal being the general Indians and the other being the tribal populace.

The space occupied by India in the world history and geography is an ancient one. This is also associated with the thick layer of mist that surrounds the entire issue of antiquity of the tribal people. It is assumed that ever since man walked on Indian soil, these tribes have been present here.³ Their history has been lost just as the people themselves became invisible behind the thick forest cover. India at independence was a divided country, the great nation envisaged by the nationalist leaders torn into two. With this there were numerous areas/spaces that was a little further away from the surrounding countryside – the Chota Nagpur plateau was one such area, as Kumar remarks "Chota Nagpur, the eastern part of the Gondwana mountain range, remained conspicuously outside the main currents of Indian history for two thousand years. It remained till the end

¹ James, P. E. (1972): *All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical ideas*, The Odessey Press, Indianapolis.

² Said, Edward(1978): *Orientalism*, Penguin, London.

³ Ghosh, Oroon. Kumar, (1976): *The Changing Face of Indian Civilization*, Minerva Associates Publications, Calcutta.

of the 18th century a different world in itself, on the outer fringe of Indian history”.⁴ Though people from all over India populated it, still, there was some thing sacrosanct about the region and its native people.

I.1: Statement of the Problem

Based on the theoretical constructs of space and society interaction the study looks at the tribal space in Chota Nagpur region of Eastern India. The colonial period through its various surveys and settlement reports discovered the mineral wealth of the region; the forest wealth was already visible. The region has been exploited of its natural resource base quite extensively. But what was developed later on was the knowledge base that helped structure various control regimes over the environmental resource base. This study is mainly based on the knowledge discourse and how it acts as an instrument of creating inequalities in space, with particular reference to the knowledge systems used as methods of exploitation in the Chota Nagpur region, causing disparities in the regional developmental patterns.

The region with its vast environmental resource potentiality became the victim of the Western civilisational needs in the colonial era. Here knowledge domination acted as the major tool of exploitation. It has been found that the British ruled India and particularly the Chota Nagpur region (the oriental society) based on their own perceptions of Oriental behaviour and their own Occidental knowledge base.

The English colonialists has shaped the knowledge base according to their own convenience and applied those in their colonies. They thus formed laws and regulations related to different fields which served their purpose of economic enhancement of their mother countries. The laws that thus best served their purpose were the land laws, forest laws. changing the economic structure by introducing monetisation of the economy and deindustrialising the region, which were direct attacks on the natural resources, the only potential of the colonised country to develop. Hence the English colonial laws found it very strategic to exploit natural resources from the Chota Nagpur region of India, the richest region in India in terms of natural resource potential.

⁴ Kumar. Purushottam, (1994): History and Administration of Tribal Chota Nagpur, Atma Ram and Sons, New Delhi, p.1.

The colonial base has gone so deep into the Indian administrative and political psyche that even after independence, it is still not able to overcome the vicious circle of colonial knowledge base; so naturally there is the exploitation of the resource rich region and the weaker sections of populations that live in them for the benefit of the State. Thus the laws applied there are also of exploitative nature leading to the marginalisation of the tribal communities whose only source of survival is the natural resource base of the region. The development of spatial inequalities is the reason for the kind of marginalisation seen in the Chota Nagpur region.

The populace also witnessed social degradation, especially within the oriental discourse that created the projection of the 'other'. It was hoped that the emergence of the independent Indian state would ameliorate some of the problems. Since, so rich a region in natural resources must also be essentially developed, this region was industrialised rapidly. Unfortunately, the region today is a classic example of the development of under development, for even the development rhetoric is based on the same concept of oriental and western differences, which is the developed west and the underdeveloped east.

Thus the same principle has applied in the Chota Nagpur region. The irony lies in the fact that all the riches of the region that are being used to help the nation develop are not having any reciprocal impact on the region. Rather, the original owners of the region are being marginalized every day. The region saw immense exploitation in the colonial period in the shape of increased deforestation, plantation of newer species of plants that was detrimental to the biomass of the region and mineral exploitation that resulted in environmental degradation, marginalisation of the people and loss of survival options. Does the theory of economic drain as applicable to India in the colonial period hold true for the Chota Nagpur Region in the post independence period? Thus basic problem of the region is that of regional underdevelopment produced by development in the region. Therefore the basic problem emerges as one of unequal development of the region that leads to marginalisation of a certain group of people, the tribal communities as they lose control over their natural resource base.

The developmental projects launched by the Government have led to displacement of the original tribal inhabitants who were never the beneficiaries of eth major projects in the region. Datt and Sundharam define it as a 'rootless growth' "which

causes people's cultural identity to wither. The major concern of development is to harness the natural resources with the aim of maximisation of profit, the displacement of millions of indigenous people was a natural consequence of the growth process. The number of dams, factories, mines, railway lines, and such other projects measures development in India, as in other countries. While these could be considered as elements of growth, this process hides the displacement of the millions of tribals, especially women, many of whom are rendered homeless and join the ranks of landed labourers and migrant domestic workers as a consequence of environmental destruction and displacement".⁵

I.2: Defining the Parameters

There are various terms used in the study that needs to be clarified at the offset. Three concepts have been used that structure the entire study. They are enumerated below.

1. The Environmental Resource Base

Park (1980) mentions environment refers to the sum total of conditions which surround man at a given point in space and time.⁶ All that man obtains from nature thus forms the environmental resource base of man. As Strahler and Strahler (1976) remark, "Primarily, the concern of all geographers is with the environment of man. But Man cannot exist or be understood in isolation from the other forms of life and from plant life".⁷ Thus, all the gifts of nature, such as trees, streams, soil, air, water, land, and minerals all together form the environmental resource base of a region.

The various components of the environment such as land, water, air, forest are not in a static position, rather they are dynamic in nature and constantly changing; the dynamism is an outcome of both natural processes and the effect of anthropogenic interference in the natural system. With change in seasons, the environment also undergoes change as it does with the passage of time but; the environmental change witnessed in the last century has had irreconvertible changes, leading to large scale environmental degradation. The study conducted by Mishra and Mishra (1986), attempts

⁵ Dutt, R, and Sundharam, K.P.M, (1988): Indian Economy, S Chand and Company Limited. New Delhi, pp. 75-95.

⁶ Park, C.C. (1980): Ecology and Environment Mangement, Butterworths, London.

⁷ Strahler, A.N. and Strahler, A.H,(1976): Geography and Man's Environment, John Wiley. New York, p.4.

to highlight the importance of environmental resource base for man and the possible impacts on their degradation. The study draws attention to relation between the increasing pressure of population on natural endowments and the new technologies that has provided man with increased power and knowledge to exploit the natural resource base indiscriminately.

For as Nijkamp (1997) comments “ the twin character of space and environment is mainly caused by the fact that environmental externalities impose unpaid burden by the pollutant son the others, - are usually transmitted to others (individuals, cities, regions, continents, ecosystems etc) through the medium of space. In other words, environmental externalities tend to show up as spatial spillovers; there is hardly any situation in which pollutants would spoil their own living area. This means essentially that all space related activities are directly related to existence or origin of environmental problems”.⁸

Thus environmental resource base refers to the entire range of natures’s endowments that can be used by man and is essential for his survival.

2. Marginalisation as a Product of Spatial Differentiation and Widening Disparities

Marginalisation as a concept has primarily been used in gender geography and to define the regional inequalities. The base of the concept is that, due to economic, social and political circumstances, some population groups are pushed to the very margins of survival, that is, can barely eke out a living. They are called the marginalized. It also denotes spatial differentiation since the process of marginalsiation is implicit in the construction of spatial inequality. Here, Soja’s (1989) views on the social organization is of use; he argues that “it is necessary to place the concept of spatiality, the created space of social organization and production at the very heart of critical human geography in order to disclose the social relations that are inscribed within and constituted through its various forms and productions”.⁹ Soja’s argument places him in a similar position to that of David Harvey’s projected historio geographical materialism.

⁸ Nijkamp, P,(1997): environment and the Space Economy, In Indian Journal of Regional Science, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1,p.25.

⁹ Soja, Edward, (1989): The Ontology of Space: Explanations and Socio Spatial Dialectics, In Annals of American Geographers, Vol. 80.

Soja further opines “spaciality situates social life in an active arena” where the various social actors by their actions construct it and thus is social change affected. Therefore if there is domination of one actor due to certain advantages accruing to that actor in the social space, then the other actors in the same social space are marginalized. This approach has also been called the ‘third space’¹⁰ or third approach.¹¹ Rose uses the concept to define the marginalisation in gender, “ these studies interpret women’s lives not through categories of production and reproduction, but through another kind of sociality...(this work) has created a women’s space, but one which does not depend on an essentialist understanding of women, and in this manner it escapes the terms through which masculinist geography interprets space, ... The subject of feminism must be positioned in relation to social relations other than gender”.¹² She further clarifies that “this space is not so much a space of resistance as an entirely different geometry through which we can think of power, knowledge, space and identity in critical ...ways”.¹³ As Smith states, “third space seems to offer a different conceptualisation of the constitution of society”.¹⁴ This is the spatial aspect of marginalisation, where space is structured through power patterns to produce differences. The same can be applied to the construction of differences in the spaces occupied by the tribal communities and the other Indian communities.

There is an economic aspect to the spatial differences that constitute the marginalisation process amongst the tribal communities of Chota Nagpur. Here also parallels are drawn from gender geography. Boserup (1970) has enunciated this in her work on the harmful effects of economic development on female gender in the work fields, creating a situation of subordination and lower status. Thus marginalisation occurs in the women’s lives due to economic development. Indeed in Palmer’s view, this has happened as a result of rise in the work bundles of women, as now they have to do two or

¹⁰ _____ (1996): *Third Space*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

¹¹ Many other theorists have also worked on the concept of third space, such as Homi Bhabha (1994) has used this concept in the construction of identities, and defines third space by hybrid identities, Gillian Rose (1993) has made use of it in gender construction in geography and , Smith (1997) has made use of it in the explanation of present social culture formation.

¹² Rose, Gillian (1993): *Feminism and Geography*, Polity Press, Cambridge, p. 136-138.

¹³ *Ibid*, p.159.

¹⁴ Smith, Susan. J, (1999): *Society-Space*, In Paul Cloke, Philip Gang and Mark Goodwin (ed): *Introducing Human Geography*. Arnold, New York, p. 21.

more jobs to maintain the house hold.¹⁵ This leads to examination of rural development policies, where Dixon (1978) shows how the benefits from development process do not reach the female half of the rural population.¹⁶

This is echoed in Karlekar's (1982) work, who opines that the process of development has proved to be destructive and detrimental to the female labourer, since they are bypassed in the developed economy.¹⁷ Row (1985) argues that the industrialisation process leading to development has with the introduction of high technologies has reduced employment opportunities for female labour.¹⁸ Krishnaraj (1988) opines that displacement of female labour has taken place due to increased industrialisation with its selective labour employment and high capital investment. Mies, (1986)¹⁹ that women have traditionally been seen as natural resources, (the concept of *kshetra* in Indian land terminology) and have been exploited as one would the natural resources thereby causing marginalisation.²⁰ Bina Aggarwal has shown how with increase in the farm technology the access of women to agricultural work has decreased, thus lowering their economic position and leading to lowering in their social status also.²¹ There are a variety of other studies such as Brydon and Chant (1989), Deasi and Krishnaraj (1990), Dietrich (1992) and Momsen (1991) who all subscribe to the view that modern developmental process has created marginalisation in the lives of the women in the underdeveloped nations.

These can also be applied to the tribal communities, who face similar discriminatory attitudes in the work arena and in the social field. Thus this concept has been used in the study.

¹⁵ Boserup, Esther, (1970): *Women's Role in Economic Development*, Allen and Unwin, London.

¹⁶ Dixon, R, (1978): *Rural Women AT Work, Strategies for Development in South Asia*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

¹⁷ Karlekar, M,(1982): *Poverty and Women's Work, A Study of Sweeper Women in Delhi*, Vikas, New Delhi.

¹⁸ Row, (1985) quoted in Datta, Anindita and Sinha, Sachidanand, (1997): *Gender Disparities in Social Well Being,: An Over view*, In *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, , No. 4:1, Sage Publications New Delhi.

¹⁹ Mies (1986): *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale, Women in the International Division of Labour of Labour* , Zed Books, London.

²⁰ Aggarwal, Bina, (1988): *Who sows? Who reaps? Women and Land Rights in India* In *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 531-81.

²¹ Aggarwal, Bina, (1988): *Who sows? Who reaps? Women and Land Rights in India* In *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 531-81.

3. Socio economic and Cultural Lag

The socio economic and cultural lag in the tribal society has been defined as the difference in the social and cultural set up of the tribal life style as compared with the social and cultural set up of the Hindu caste system in India. The lack of 'modernization' in the tribal society is basically attributed to the communal ownership of resources, which is a reflection of backwardness and primitivity, as against the private property ownership of the other societal structures in India. This is basically caused by the difference between the formal economy of the modern India and the informal economy prevalent in tribal societies.²²

The under development of the tribal society is attributed to its social and cultural set up. The point of friction is that all those aspects of the tribal society such as the group dancing, free mixing of men and women, an infinite sense of time and dependence on natural resources, animistic and totemic religion which were not compatible to the Hindu societal behaviour ideals were considered as deviance and as such contributed to the construction of the cultural and socio economic lag in the tribal society.²³ This was similar to the manner in which the English colonialists viewed the Hindu society of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, so does the rest of India view the tribal society today, reflecting also the views held by the colonial rulers. Today, in the creation of a secular image of the pan Indian society, these are being hidden away under the carpet of unity.

But, as Sujata Miri comments, "Thus when we talk of social change or development, we should not look at tribal religion and culture, especially their rituals, ceremonies, customs, myths and artistic symbols only from one perspective. Similarly, development of tribal societies- socially economically, and educationally – may indeed lead to the emancipation of the oppressed peoples of history, but it does not in any sense mean doing away altogether with their rich heritage".²⁴

²² Fernandes, Walter, (1991): Forest and Tribals: Informal Economy, Dependence and Management Traditions, In Mrinal Miri (ed): Continuity and Change in Tribal Society, IAS, Shimla.

²³ Saraswati, Baidyanath(1991) Tribal Lifestyles, The Changing Contexts, In Mrinal Miri (ed): Continuity and Change in Tribal Society, IAS, Shimla.

²⁴ Sujata Miri, (1991): Whither Tribal Culture, In Mrinal Miri (ed): Continuity and Change in Tribal Society, IAS, Shimla.

I.3: Objective of the Study

All inequalities that are visible today have roots that stretch into the historical events of that region. More over, for a backward region to develop, there has to be a proper recognition of the obstacles in its path. The main purpose of any study in the geography of development is to locate the region in a specific manner, to superimpose the underdevelopment spatially on to the environmental resource base and thereby work out the dynamics of development in the region. Only then can planning be achieved so as to bring the backward districts on a par with the other industrialised regions of the country.

The main objectives of the study are:

1. To study the various knowledge systems that were in use in the colonial period for gaining control over the environmental resource base of the Chota Nagpur Region, primarily the situation of the tribal communities, (how constructed Western knowledge structured the power regimes in the colonial period primarily using the concept of the 'other')
2. To study the importance of land as an environmental resource base through the process of land alienation, (using the knowledge gained in controlling the strategic resource that decides the survival opportunities)
3. To examine if resource control of a particular kind as witnessed in the Chota Nagpur region causes marginalisation of the tribal communities
4. To examine the factors that form a part of the process of land alienation (factors such as forest laws and industrial location in the process that helps create inequalities)
5. To study the position of the independent Indian state vis a vis the knowledge regime inherited from the colonial state and its own methods of resource control and allocation

I.4: Database

The data base of the study has been generated from various sources. They include government documents, published books and articles.

The prime sources are:

- i. The Census of India, 1881-1991, General Population Tables,
- ii. The Census of India, Bihar State, Special Tables for Scheduled Castes and

- Scheduled Tribes, General Population Tables, and Economic Tables;
- iii. Directorate of Statistics and Evaluation, Government of Bihar;
 - iv. Directorate of Statistics and Evaluation, Department of Agriculture and Cooperation, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India; 1971-1991
 - v. Bihar Forest Department, Government of Bihar;
 - vi. Bihar State Forest Development Corporation Limited, Government of Bihar
 - vii. Chief Inspector of Mines and Factories, Government of Bihar;
 - viii. Settlement Reports of the Chota Nagpur Division, 1891-1931
 - ix. District Gazetteers of Santhal Pargana, Manbhum, Singhbhum, Ranchi, Hazaribagh and Palamau 1891-1931
 - x. Famine Commission Reports, Chota Nagpur Division, 1896-97;
 - xi. Commission of the Labour Immigration, Government of Bihar and Orissa, 1935;
 - xii. Bengal District Revenue Proceedings, 1793- 1947
 - xiii. Jharia Coal Fields Environmental Status Reports, B.C.C.L., Coal India Limited, Government Of India, Dhanbad.
 - xiv. Land Acquisition Tables and Employment Status Reports, B.C.C.L., coal India Limited, Government of India, Dhanbad.
 - xv. Ministry of Mines and Minerals Report, Government of Jharkhand, Ranchi.
 - xvi. State Forests Reports, Forests Survey of India, Ministry of Forests and Environment, Dehradun.
 - xvii. Anthropological Survey of India Reports on Impact of Industrialisation

I.5: Methodology

The methodology involves the usage of the various settlement reports to determine the historical data on land revenue and settlement pattern. It also includes the analysis of secondary data relating to the economic indicators such as tribal occupational structure and landuse. It has been attempted to analyse qualitatively and quantitatively the environmental resource base and its relation to the process of marginalisation, by studying the various land laws and the economy of the study region on the basis of temporal trends, (1971 and 1991) and spatial distribution of the selected indicators area and also their intra regional variations.

For this, the percentages of the various indicators have been used. The growth rates of land use changes have also been calculated. The formula used for calculating the growth rate is :

$$R = \frac{P_0 - P_1}{P_1} \times 100,$$

Where R = Growth Rate,

P₀ = Value of Current Year

P₁ = Value of Base Year.

Bar graphs and line diagrams have been used to illustrate the results. The attempt is to understand examine the underlying forces behind the dynamics of environmental resource base and the process of marginalisation of the tribal communities.

The 1971 Census records 6 districts in the Chota Nagpur Region. They are: Dhanbad, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Ranchi, Santhal Parganas and Singhbhum.

The 1991 Census records 13 districts in the Chota Nagpur region, the earlier mentioned districts had been split into smaller units to form new districts for ease of administration. The districts are: Dhanbad, Deoghar, Dumka, Giridih, Godda, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Lohardaga, Gumla, Ranchi, Purbi Singhbhum, Paschimi Singhbhum, and Sahibganj.

For ease of comparability, the districts have been clubbed together to make the adjustments in data calculation. Giridih and Hazaribagh has been clubbed together to form the district of Hazaribagh, Deoghar, Dumka, Godda and Shahibganj has been clubbed together to form the district of Santhal Parganas, Ranchi, Lohardaga and Gumla have been joined together to form the district of Ranchi and Purbi Singhbhum and Paschimi Singhbhum have been clubbed together to form the district of Singhbhum, as enumerated in the 1971 Census.

Thus due the less number of districts in the study region only two time periods has been taken. Before that, the configuration of the various districts was also different. Extensive and rigorous statistical tools such as regression and Principal component Analysis have been avoided, since they are not suitable to for the small size of the data.

Thus simple quantitative techniques such as percentages and growth rates of various variables and their temporal variations have been worked out. These help in establishing the theoretical construct of the study.

1.6: Limitations

Conducting a study like this has certain limitations of both time and space. The study is based on secondary data. At times, data availability posed a problem. This was accentuated when data for the colonial and the post colonial period was rendered non comparable for inaccessibility and discontinuity of certain kinds of data collection.

Secondly, the data for backward regions is difficult to procure, especially for Bihar that does not have proper maintenance of records. Important statistics are missing from the various reports.

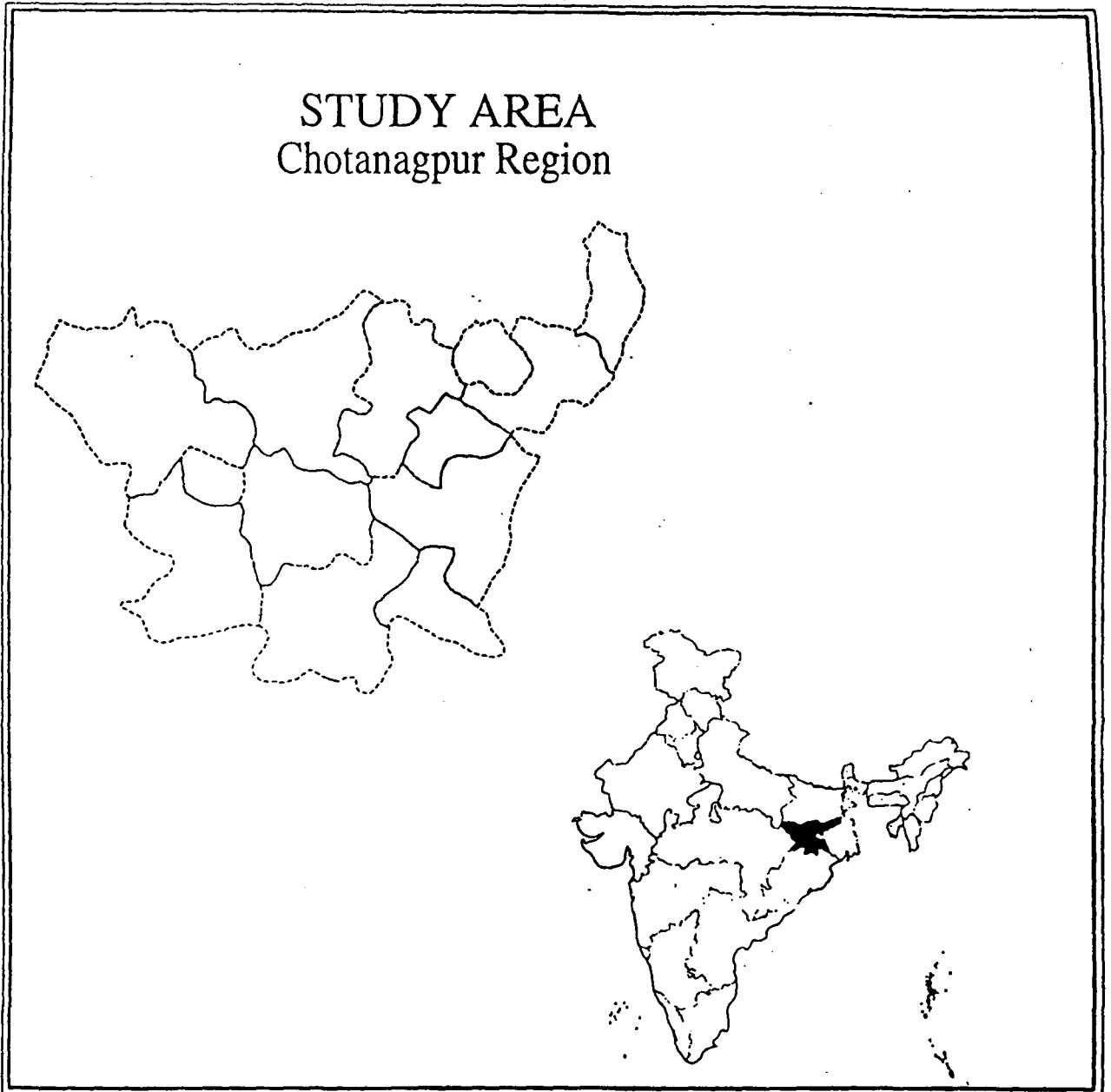
Thirdly, the institutions dealt with herein are mostly government owned or controlled, therefore falling in the security classified group. Thus all data was not available, only those that could be provided without breaking the security norms have been provided.

The study is based on a literary theory, therefore, a geographer in the field of representations of imagery does face some limitations. Though this concept has been used in geography to relate regional inequalities, there exist very few works that provide a holistic view of the situation. Certain generalisations have been made in the discussions and the study is based mostly on secondary data. A primary survey for data collection could not be provided due to scarcity of time.

1.7: Choice of the Study Area

1. The Chota Nagpur region has a unique distinction of being the oldest landmass in Eastern India, and is a continuous region regarding physiography-geology and its environment.
2. The region was once a refuge zone, then a borderland and then incorporated into the general fabric of the eastern region, where it has maintained its general spatial aloofness, this generates curiosity as to how it could do so even after being so thoroughly explored in the colonial era.
3. The amount of exploitation in the past and present the present is stunning. The richness of the region come to the fore when it is considered that even now it

FIGURE 1.1



is the major natural resource region in India, so the question that arises is that how rich it originally was to survive even today and what should be the mode of conserving the natural resource.

4. The paradox of the development of underdevelopment in the region inspires a study as to causes behind it.
5. The socio cultural pattern of the region is distinct as no other tribal region in India has the multitude of tribes and their lifestyles as present in this region. Nor has anywhere in India witnessed the kind of demographic changes that this region has, firstly due to out migration of the tribes during the nineteenth century and finally the in migration of people from all over India in search of jobs in the mineral industry.
6. The complexities present make it an extremely distinctive region to study.

I.8: The Study Area

The region lies between 22° N to 25° 30' N latitude to 83° 47'E to 87° 57' E longitude. Singh (1991) comments, " Conventionally, Chota Nagpur is limited within the bounds of Bihar as before the reorganisation of the States which resulted in the merger of parts of former Manbhum, now Purulia district, in West Bengal on grounds of predominance of Bengali population, although there is no sharp change in the nature of terrain either across the Bihar- Madhya Pradesh boundary traversing through the Pats²⁵ across the Orissa- Bihar boundary which cuts indifferently across the drainage line".²⁶

The river Damodar in the East borders the Chota Nagpur plateau, the hills of Rajmahal in the North and North East, the hills of Khersawan in the South and the plains of West Uttar Pradesh in the West. The word Jharkhand that is at times used to denote the region of Chota Nagpur thus evokes an image of lush forested land, hills and dales of red laterite soil and a composite tribal population, simultaneously conjuring the unrest as manifested in the numerous tribal revolts and the recent struggle for the creation of the Jharkhand state.

The Chota Nagpur plateau forms the north east extension of the Deccan plateau of peninsular India, and covers the southern part of Bihar, now covers the entire state of

²⁵ Pats are high level laterite plateaus in the Chota Nagpur region.

²⁶ Singh, R.L, (ed) (1991): India, A Regional Geography, New Delhi, U.B.S. Publishers, New Delhi, pp. 650-675.

Jharkhand. It is not only a distinct physiographic entity but also represents a distinct cultural unit inhabited originally by the various tribal groups.

The region is today enclosed within the newly formed state of Jharkhand, comprising of 18 districts. They are: Palamau, Garhwa, Chatra, Hazaribagh, Bokaro, Dhanbad, Shahibganj, Dumka, Koderma, Giridih, Godda, Deoghar, Ranchi, Lohardaga, Gumla, Purbi Singhbhum, and Pashimi Singhbhum.

The tribal homeland was once upon a time the refuge zones where the tribal communities migrated to after being driven away from their original homelands by the invading Aryans. This is the space that according to Chatterjee (1968)²⁷, Vidyarthi and Rai (1976)²⁸ and Khubchandani (1998)²⁹ was the meeting place for the three major linguistic families in India, the Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and the Indo European and a feature unique to this region. The native people are Tribal people; four major (Santhal Munda, Oraon and Ho) and twenty-six smaller tribes, there are in total thirty tribes in the region. This is mixed with the innumerable migrants from different parts of India, imparting to the region a composite culture that fashions the lifestyles of the tribal communities as well as the immigrants.

This culture bears in it the seeds of exploitation based on the attitudes of the population and the laws of governance. In the colonial period, this was constituted as a special area, and excluded from the normal rules and regulations after most of the exploitation had taken place. This region thus has a culture of oppression of the tribal people by the governmental forces not only during the colonial era but also during the post independent period by the government of Bihar. The tribal communities in turn are characterised by a culture of protest, be it against the colonial rule as evidenced by the numerous revolts during the colonial period or in the post independence period, against the laws of the Indian government and those of the Bihar state as witnessed in the numerous forests andolans (revolutions/ protests) and the agitations from the demand of the Jharkhand state.

²⁷ Chatterjee, S. (1968): *The Linguistic Regions of India*, Census Monograph, Registrar General of India, New Delhi.

²⁸ Vidyarthi. L.P, and Rai. B.K, (1976): *Tribal Culture of India*, Concept Publications, New Delhi.

²⁹ Khubchandani. Laxman, (1998): *Tribal Identity, Language and Change*, Inter India Publications, New Delhi.

The projection of the 'other' in the tribal communities by the mainstream Indian society is nowhere so visible as it is here. This contributes to the construction of exploitative relations in the region. The region is thus considered as a region not only in terms of its physiography but also in cultural and economic criteria.

I.9: Rational Behind the Study

The rationale for this study is that, there was not a mindless exploitation in the Chota Nagpur region in the colonial period. There was a definite plan and this was carried out through the various laws enacted as part of the governance. The basic premise of the study is that land is the basic resource possessed by the tribal communities and the loss of which creates destitution and marginalisation of the entire community. This marginalisation is brought about by the development of certain knowledge based power structures that help in forming the regulation for governance in the society, there by controlling the resources for survival. The knowledge in turn is structured in terms of scientific denoting useful and non- scientific denoting useless knowledge. Therefore the development of the various knowledge systems has a direct relation to the governance of the process of marginalisation. Also, this has an impact on the attitude of the rulers that is reflected in the various policies for the development of a region.

The discourse of Orientalism,³⁰ that is every thing that was not European, or different from the European or construction of the Orient by Europe according to its own ideas involves the study of the development of knowledge systems that accentuated the power relation in the colonies. This was the politics of difference by which the colonial rulers governed. This is true of the Indian colonisation also³¹. Thus, this is a spatial realm where most of the inequalities that exist in the societal groups in India today have a root. This construction of the other, from the oriental other in the colonial era to the tribal other in the post independent period controls most of the policy decisions of the present times is controlled by vested interests in the state. Most of these constructions are also spatially

³⁰ The main emphasis on Orientalism as a discourse sprang from the post modern studies of colonialism. This is based on Foucault's idea of knowledge as a tool for wielding power. This came into limelight after the publication of Edward Said's Orientalism in 1978. Yet, Said's view based not on India but on the Arab nations, has also been applied to India. Also, this does not mean that Said's is the only view considered here, there is a lot of other works of this genre concerning India.

³¹ This idea has been developed in the works of Ronald Inden (1992), Bernard Cohn, (1996), Nicholas Dirks (1999) Breckenridge and Van der Veer (1999) regarding India and Stuart Corbridge, (1991), S.B.C. Devalle (1992), Sarah Jewitt, (1997) regarding Chota Nagpur.

rooted in certain regions. These interest groups devise rules according to the gains or profits to be accrued to them selves in the name of the entire nation. Thus development of inequality in certain regions has historical roots and is based on the theory of difference.

I.10: Literature Review

The exploitation of the region was based on a certain knowledge structure that needs to be explored. According to Dikshit, Kant subscribed to the view of cognitive structuring of space, by the human actor.³² Geography is relevant to contemporary work as it historically emerged as a discourse within 'epistemological space' to meet certain needs of colonialism and relate to the various regional inequalities prevalent today. The definition of social space is many and varied. Buttimer distinguished between objective and social space – of groups whose social structure and organization have been conditioned by ecological and cultural factors and subjective social space as perceived by members of particular human groups, since subjective social space is a part of perpetual environment, it can hardly be quantified.³³ In many instances subjective and objective social space seems to coincide. Subjective space reflects values and cultural traditions and objective space reflects dimensions of the environment.

Social change in a way reflects the changes that are occurring in the space occupied by a certain group of people or society. This involves the processes of acculturation, assimilation, cohesion, conflicts, co-operation, integration and socialisation. The study of social change in space was renewed by August Comte in the nineteenth century, who observed that cultural changes are slow, gradual and continuous. They follow an order, which is fixed and determined, and the difference between separate cultures is due to the speed with which the different social groups passed through successive stages. Basing his argument on the Enlightenment rationale prevailing in Western Europe at that time, he came to the conclusion that every phase of culture, moral, intellectual, and technical must pass through three stages:

1. Theological
2. Metaphysical and

³² Dikshit, Obsid, p. 4.

³³ Buttimer, A. (1983): The Practice of Geography, Longman, London.

3. Positive³⁴

The social process theory is a notion of movement, change or flux. Society exists only as a time sequence. Society lives on only as a changing equilibrium of present relationships. The concept of society as an organic whole found expression in the works of Hegel, in his theory of Social Dialectics that emphasised the continuity of history. Under the influence of Hegel, Comte and Darwin was added to by Marxian theorists. The debate was centred around the relation between personal and interpersonal factors in historical process and the relation between the individual and society in the process. If society is a process and not a product, of agglomeration, it follows that it can only be a flow of relations or interactions between the individuals and society and the various societal groups. If society was a flow of interrelationships, it follows that history is an unbroken continuity of such relationships. This seriality concept emerges from the French School of Geographical thought, especially in the works of Jean Paul Sartre.³⁵

Post Modern theory on social change involves the writings of Baudrillard, Foucault and Derrida, who underscore the theoretical and political gains of a critique of identity for creating a space and imagining the possibility of a coalition politics of difference and a reflexive critique of power and knowledge systems. This is reflected in the writings of Edward Said, Benedict Anderson and Ronal Inden to name a few. Said's (1978) book *Orientalism* created a furore in the literary circles as it was meant to be a kind of literary critique of the orientalist literature. The theory of difference since then has been applied to many studies of tribal space in India. The 'Orient' in the beginning was one whole structure that the eastern nations. Later on, it was "subdivided into realms of previously known, visited and conquered ... and those regions not previously known and conquered. Christianity completed the setting up of main intra-Oriental spheres; there was a Near Orient and a Far Orient, a familiar Orient ...and a novel orient. The Orient therefore alternated in the minds geography".³⁶ Therefore, the idea firmly grounded in the concept of space also represented a certain region in the world, which had to have certain attributes that were decided by the western world.

³⁴ Hartshorne, R.(1959): Perspectives on the Nature of Geography, Rand McNully, Chicago.

³⁵ Johnston, R. J, Gregory, D, and Smith, D, (1994): Dictionary of Human Geography, Blackwell, Oxford.

³⁶ Said, Obsid, p.58.

The same construction has been applied to the tribal regions in India and especially the Chota Nagpur region. The idea of Chota Nagpur has also changed in the minds of Indians. From a densely forested region to be avoided to a highly lucrative region in terms of gaining employment, the representation of Chota Nagpur travelled along way. Many studies have been conducted to enquire about the changes in space that is Jharkhand, and the reason for the unequal development conditions existing there.

The first attempts to demarcate the regions as developed and non developed was made by Hagood³⁷ and Kendall³⁸ on the basis of crop productivity. In the nineteen fifties and the sixties the Dependency schools of Economic thought brought out the relationship between development and underdevelopment, with A. G. Frank (1966)³⁹ coining the famous phrase, development of underdevelopment. This was followed by a number of studies on the different socio economic backgrounds of different regions and their plausible reasons of underdevelopment. The main theorists of this time were Singer (1954), Myrdal (1957), Hirschman (1958), Meyer (1968), Slatter (1975), Santos (1979), Perroux (1961), Williamson (1965), Boudevilled (1966), Friedman (1966), Alonso (1968), Douglas (1968) and Smith (1979) are most well known. In the Indian Context, such studies were conducted. Prominent amongst them are Mitra (1961), Mishra (1971), Sdasyuk and Sengupta (1971), Bhatt (1972) Raza and Chattopadhyay (1974), Raza and Kundu (1982) are the pioneers in this field.

The major relations causing unequal growth in the Chota Nagpur region was found to be the enclave formation of the region as has been explained in the model of Raza and Chattopadhyay (1974) and in the internal colonisation theory of Michael Hechter (1975). The main problem was displacement of the people and the lack of available land, for the land that they were allotted in compensation for loss of land for governmental use was usually unproductive in nature. As R. L. Singh comments, "modern agencies of development and patterns of resource utilization are largely responsible for distributing the benefits of development. They are also largely responsible for disturbing the ecological balance between physical and cultural systems of landscape in tribal habitat,

³⁷ Hagood, M.J, (1943): Statistical Methods for Delineation of Regions Applied to Data on Agriculture and Population, In Social Force, Vol. 21, No.1, pp.287-97.

³⁸ Kendall, M. J, (1968): Geographical Distribution of Crop Productivity in England, in B.J.L. Berry (ed) Spatial Analysis, A Reader in Geography, Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

³⁹ Frank, Andre G. (1966): The Development of Underdevelopment, In Monthly Review, No. 18. pp.17-31

such as Damodar, Mahnadi, Narmada and Son basins or peninsular uplands as also the Himalayan habitats of unprivileged people”.⁴⁰

This is indeed the scenario in Chota Nagpur. As Raichudhuri (1992) opines “the socio economic development of the tribal people in some parts of the country has taken an ironic twist in the sense that the predominantly tribal regions are extremely rich in natural and economic resources, yet the adivasi populations are not deriving the benefits of this wealth, A remarkable example is provided by the loosely identified Jharkhand region. Most of the Indian Steel plants both in the public and private sectors - and rich mineral deposits are located in this region”.⁴¹ And still most of the tribals of this region are living below the poverty line and are entirely dependent on the natural resources for their basic needs. The problem is that even the natural resources are being alienated from them, pushing them towards marginalisation. A few studies are mentioned here that study the causative factors of process of marginalisation of the tribal communities in Chota Nagpur region.

Javeed Alam (1991)⁴² in his study reflects on the exploitation of the tribal communities due to their being constructed as the other by the mainstream Indians. due to their inability to understand the tribal cultural essence. This difference creates the ‘other’ that is the tribal person. The meeting of the ancient tribal culture with the modern culture had created a divide, as the latter did not accord any respect to the former. The tribal communities in turn retaliated by using the word *Diku* meaning outsider to express the synonyms of exploiter, oppressor and destroyer. Alam traces how culture inherently becomes political when put in such circumstances, and the cultural structures in turn structures the power relations in the region. Thus development in its various guises has played the part of the *Diku*. While concluding, Alam also warns of the dangers lurking within the tribal society which having changed rapidly to adjust to the new situations is facing problems of diffusion and in an extreme case of extinction. Alam’s essay is important for understanding the cultural element in the make up of the Choat Nagpur

⁴⁰ Singh, R.L, (1986): Ecological Processes of Rural Habitat Transformation in India, In Geographical Review of India, Vol. XLVII, No. 1, pp. 1-11.

⁴¹ Raichaudhuri, S, (1992): The Jharkhandis: Vision and Reality: A Micro study of Singhbhum; In Economic and Political Weekly, November 21, pp. 51-55.

⁴² Alam, Javeed, (1991): Fragmented Culture and Strangulated Existence: Jharkhand’s Cultural Encounter with the Modern, In Mrinal Miri (ed): Continuity and Change in Tribal Society, IIAS, Shimla.

region and why the development schemes that are formed do not succeed as they do not take the cultural factors in its planning.

Philip Viegas (1989)⁴³ looks at the land control and the related structures of power in the Chota Nagpur region. He finds that owning land confers prestige on the owner and in the tribal region after the communal system of land ownership was broken down this has translated into the power structures as is in the all the other Indian regions. This ideal was not present in the tribal society, but was later on as more tribal communities came in contact with the outside world. This has mostly caused marginalisation of the tribal communities; since they lost what ever land they had through the various processes of land alienation. The power relations already prevalent in the region was already being manipulated by the outsiders and some powerful people from their own community, so they were prevented from achieving any kind of redressal measures. He further deals with the factors like education, and rural power dynamics that have a great impact on the total power system. The alienation process is explained here on the basis of alienation leading to unequal opportunities resulting in unequal power relations and finally the marginalisation of the tribal communities.

Walter Fernandes (1991)⁴⁴ studies the exploitation and marginalisation of the tribal communities in terms of the informal economy of the tribal communities and their dependence on the forests. According to him, the difference between the formal and the informal economy is the reason for existing inequality as it explains the differences in the accesses to the resources, which govern the survivability of the tribal people.

Stuart Corbridge⁴⁵ in his study focuses on the process of exploitation leading to the marginalisation of the tribal communities as a result of the various alienation processes acting in the region. He identifies the knowledge systems of governance of the region in the colonial era as the base for the resultant exploitation. Later on, the policies of resource appropriation changed their nomenclature and became the developmental

⁴³ Viegas, Philip,(1989): Land Control and Tribal Struggle for Survival, in Walter Fernandes (ed): National Development and Tribal Deprivation, ISS, New Delhi.

⁴⁴ Fernandes, Obsid.

⁴⁵ Corbridge Stuart, (1991): Ousting Singbonga: The struggle for India's Jharkhand in Chris Dixon and Michael Jefferson (ed): Colonialism and Development in Contemporary World, Mansell publishing Limited, London.

policies for the region. Thus, he traces the journey of the exploitative factors from the colonial times to the modern times.

B.K. Roy Burman in his study of the communal land systems of the tribal areas traces the development of these rights from the ancient times to the modern times. He relates these to the various poverty alleviation programmes that was launched by the independent government of India to ameliorate the conditions of poverty of the tribal people. According to him these have not succeeded due to the existing colonial mentality of the developmental planners.

These are the basic studies that were used in constructing the study, not all are elaborated here. Many studies are made use of that are given as footnotes in the ensuing chapters.

I.11: Organisation of the Study

The entire dissertation is divided into five chapters. The introduction deals with the broad outline of the subject as well as the aims and objectives of the research. It also sets out the various chapters and their contents, so that an idea is easily obtained of the work contained there in. Moreover, it also sets out the broad arguments that help structure the dissertation. The historiography of the colonial period concerned with the Chotanagpur region is discussed with the emphasis on the tribal people and their rights to resources.

The writing of history at any time is a little biased depending on the person, his circumstances and his times. The last is a determining factor in looking at how and when what happened and the various interpretations put upon it. The nationalist history of the Indian Diaspora is all encompassing, that is the history of the majority people is the history of every person. 'And yet historians today are getting interested precisely in such fragments of the past, 'unimportant' events of no obvious consequence which stick out and refuse to fit into any of the established patterns of historical reconstruction akin to perhaps to the Freudian slips of psychoanalysis and central to much social anthropological work for some time. They afford oblique entry points into social history and can throw light upon dimensions obscured by dominant - all too often teleological-

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analytical frameworks' (Sarkar, 1989:3-4)⁴⁶. Reconstruction of tribal history in perspective of the process of land alienation and the resulting deprivation is an endeavour of such nature. At the same time as Friedrich Nietzsche remarked in his *Untimely Meditations* "For since we are the outcome of earlier generations, we are also the outcome of their aberrations, passions and errors, and indeed of their crime; it is not possible to wholly free oneself from this chain. If we condemn these aberrations and regard ourselves as free of them, this does not alter the fact that we originate in them".

The first chapter deals with the various theoretical aspects used in constructing the study. Of special interest here are the forms of colonial knowledge, which Bernard Cohn has dealt with so eloquently in his book *Colonialism, the forms of Knowledge in colonial India*. Census similarly was a tool used by the British to impart various forms of legality, authority and authority in their Indian Empire. With the beginning of decolonisation, or withdrawal of the British imperialism, new ways of looking at facts came up. A major stand is that of the *Orientalist discourse* which was prevalent in Europe, from the beginning of colonization; meaning not only the romanticisation of the orient but also its critique, first evinced convincingly by Edward Said in his famous work entitled *Orientalism*. This work unleashed a fury of other works that deal with the construction and deconstruction of the 'other' and till date holds sway over most post colonial writings. This projection of the difference has carried on over to the independent government of India and has created a mainstream and secondary stream of people and policy in India.

With the devastation of World War II, reconstruction and development were the key words amongst the international community, with emphasis on economic progress. This meant the rapid industrialization of the nation; India led by Jawaharlal Nehru put stress on development of the basic industries to slowly achieve the goal of the complete self - sufficiency and security. The bulk of India's natural resources are located in the Chota Nagpur plateau region. Therefore mineral exploitation became the most important activity in the industrial scenario. The tribal people were thus further dispossessed; after

⁴⁶ Sarkar, Sumit; (1989): "*The Kalki Avatar of Bikrampur: A Village Scandal in Early Twentieth Century Bengal*, in *Subaltern Studies IV, Writings on South Asian History and Society*, Ranajit Guha, (eds), (1989), Oxford University Publications, New Delhi.

independence from foreign rulers, a situation of internal colonization arose in the region. The exploitation of the tribal people has therefore continued in a direct line from the colonial times to the post-colonial era.

The western countries have always led the idea of development and the economic theories of the day were based on their home situation. To impose them totally in India has created problem since the ground conditions do not fit. Here theories of development fit in, and political economy is important since it is the politics of a country that decide its economic policies. Therefore, Nehru's bending towards the socialistic type of plan system saw the emergence of the five year plans of Indian development. Similarly the areas of mineral exploitation were not enriched or developed, rather they became more destitute than ever. This encases the formation of an enclave in the region. The literature on political economy also includes the debates on the resource ownership and the resultant benefits to be accrued from them, and whether the government's policies for industrialization is actually bringing progress to the indigenous people of that area. The primary resource here is land, though the days of land imperialism are long gone being replaced by capital imperialism of today.

The second Chapter focuses more specifically on the idea of land as a primary resource and alienation as a concept. Historical roots of land laws and the processes of land alienation are dealt herein. The political economy of the Company period was manifested in the idea of Permanent Settlement of land, introduced by Lord Cornwallis in 1793. This created a same base of land revenue extraction from all over the Suba of Bengal. Unfortunately all the land in the entire province was not of the same quality, nor where the same land laws prevalent everywhere. This single legislation had the most important impact on the entire province, it upset settled people and created a new strata of landlords; inaugurating a system of far more exploitation than ever before. The English had absolutely no concept of common properties in land and therefore did not recognize the fact that it had existed in the Chopta Nagpur region. This led to land alienation of the tribal people in hitherto unconceivable proportions. The continuation of this process was accentuated with the discovery of mineral and forest resources in the area. Also the introduction of the railway line in the region created an easy access for the outsiders, the *dikus*.

The experience of the tribal communities of the ChotaNagpur is a saga of revolts, suppression and oppression. The exploitation of these people both by the Indians and the English rulers as well was multi faceted, on social, economic and legal frontiers to name a few. The struggle was to gain control of their own territory and environment from the pre-colonial time to post-colonial time. The exploitation of resources has always been a powerful tool to extend control and authority in the hands of both the colonial and the post-colonial state.

This was the first region in India to have the maximum industrial investment since independence. The ChotaNagpur region has three major steel plants and the first multi purpose dam project to help it develop. Yet the original owners remain destitute and with time face increasing marginalisation. Another very important aspect of industrialization is the fact that maximum of the mining sector is operated by Government of India undertakings. Therefore the Government has a direct stake in these areas. The Coal Industry was nationalized in 1973-74. The steel industry has always been a part of the government-managed industry. Similarly the Damodar Valley Corporation has also been a government of India undertaking. This creates a situation of Governmental default on the development field of the region or rather selective development.

The third chapter deals with the forest laws and the restriction on uses of forestry products by the tribal people as an agent of land alienation of the tribal people. The relationship of tribal populace with the forests is said to be one of body and soul. So alienation from the forests left a deep mark on their psyche. Also, there began the struggle for survival after the loss of access to forests, which created loss of resistance to severe famines in the region. This is also seen in historical context, especially with the famine data available in the colonial period as well as the forestry rules and regulations. In independent India the forestry regulations have barely been changed, therefore the exploitation continues. Along with the reserved forests of the yesteryears has been added the national parks of today. This has had serious survival implications for the people.

The fourth chapter deals facts of how displacement caused by industrial development created a scene of impoverishment of the tribal people. They were neither able to get employment in the mines nor were they able to till land. Any employment they received consisted of manual labour that paid very little. This chapter deals with the

data of land alienation due to industrialisation in the entire region. The chapter also looks at the rehabilitation policies and programmes followed by the holding companies. The dealing of rehabilitations by the holding companies, the compensation paid to the people was of two types:

1. Cash compensation and
2. Job compensation.

Job compensation was for very few people and they were employed at the lowest rung of the ladder. Some statistics is available from the coal mining industry as to how many tribal people are employed where and at what levels. The occupational structure will give the state of development very well. A section of this chapter deals with the impact of industrialization on the tribal people. Especially the environmental impact is important since that involves their living problems. Many of them work in the mines, but the villages adjoining the mines are in a sad position. The land is polluted as is their air and water so how will they live? All those who practice agriculture as their main occupation face a lot of problems, not only of environmental pollution but also of lack of irrigation. The cultural changes and the social alienation faced by them have created immense problems in the tribal society, creating an unbalanced and fragmented tribal society.

The tribal people have not actually benefited from the division of Bihar and their realization of it is also causing problems. The development of the region is once again fast assuming important political meaning. The struggle for survival continues since the dikus are those who benefited most. The reigning of the concept of otherness and the continued social alienation are now providing for eruption of the tribal people in day-to-day life and has assumed Hobsbawmian characteristics of the change in the people.

The conclusion will regroup the earlier arguments, propositions and decide if they have been validated in the work. The politics of the region will show up the lacunas in the developmental process in the region. The marginalisation of the people that is caused by the developmental processes of the entire nation, so are these people what is called the development refugees? The original people whose stay on the land of India predated the Aryans have once again turned refugees in their own land. But unlike all those centuries ago today they have no place to escape to. The achievement of all that they were struggling for, the creation of a new state; has raised the expectations yet actions of the

new state belie these hopes. The aim could be to arrest the process of marginalisation, for though the development processes cannot be reversed, yet, some amelioration can take place. So some ideas dealing with how to best to develop and be in step with the rest of the country is explored. The indication is towards bottom up people oriented policies.

Chapter II

Forms of Knowledge: Systems of Power

The Construction and Use of Knowledge as Modes of Governance and Means of Domination (1793 – 1947)

This chapter aims to establish the various forms of knowledge that was used in the colonial era and after independence to establish certain power structures and gain control over the Chota Nagpur region. The basic idea is to find how particular knowledge systems came into being with the help of newly developed scientific rationale in the western world, and later on how this knowledge was transformed into forms of governance in the colonial times. The arguments are located within a broad perspective of colonialism, with special reference to the conceptualisation of tribe as an anthropological political category and its continuance in the post independence period. Thus the link between developments of science based knowledge in the social sciences and ethnology and / or anthropology in the western world and its modified usage in the colonies is explored here, the focus is on England, as the British were the main colonial power to affect the Indian Sub continent.

An important part of this knowledge base is the Orientalist discourse that uses the politics of difference as a tool of governance. Orientalism is described as the reflection of the orient in Europe's mirror or vice versa. Any way, the idea is to define oneself in contrast to the definitive other, that is how different is the self from the other. This is the basis of differentiation in Indian society, and though it was begun in the colonial era to define the European image in contrast to the Indian one, it has continued as various segments of the India society adopt it to define themselves.¹ Thus, the tribal communities are the 'other' of the Indian society, since they are different from what the run of the mill Indians are supposed to be.² This is a discourse that highlights the formation of inequality embedded in society, having grave implications in the social alienation processes that lead on to the economic alienation of the 'other' groups of people. Therefore, any projection of difference has a kind of denigrating effect projected on to the other person.

¹ Singh, Jyotsna. G. (1996): *Colonial Narratives: Cultural Dialogues*, Routledge, London.

² Walter Fernandes (1989): *National Development and Tribal Deprivation*, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi.

The Chapter is divided into five sections:

- II.1 Colonialism: Themes and Characteristics: Formation and Conditioning of Knowledge Systems
- II.2 The Politics of Difference: Orientalism in India
- II.3 Hegemony and Control Through Knowledge
- II.4 Systematising the Collection of Knowledge
- II.5 Orientalism Literature in the Twentieth Century
- II.6 Development; The New Definer Power in the World
- II.7 Models of Resource Control

The study is based on the Chota Nagpur region in the South Bihar region of India, today a state in its own right called Jharkhand. The development of certain forms of governance especially for dealing with this region is heavily linked with certain ideals of the tribal societies prevalent in England at that time. That these knowledge systems and the corresponding governance had a disastrous impact on the region is another issue. The idea here is to explore how the knowledge systems so developed were used as tools of power by the colonisers, giving credence to the popular saying that knowledge is power.

Moreover in the post independent period, how some of these norms have gained ground in the governance is also examined. Thus, the ideals of development prevalent in the world scenario at the end of the second world war is also important for these were the international linkages that influenced India's development after independence.

The analysis of colonisation and its impact is closely linked to the choice of strategies and policies of development followed in a post colonial society. The historical roots and causes of backwardness, the inherited pattern of underdevelopment and the consequent obstacles to development crucially determine development strategies and policies. As Bipan Chandra says "The term colonisation as a modern category emphasising in a holistic manner a system of societal domination came into widespread use during the 1920s"³

The prime sources of the work include the literature produced during the colonial period and the later criticisms of the works produced during the colonial period. These include the creation, configuration and usage of censuses of the colonial era, colonial

³ Chandra, Bipan. *Essays on Colonialism*, New Delhi, (1999), p. V.

ethnological writings, land survey records, settlement records, district gazetteers etc. The secondary data sources include various books and papers both published and unpublished. The ethnographic data collected and used in categorising people is of particular interest since they reflect the trends in social and anthropological science study prevalent in Europe and particularly in England at that time. The inference is that the colonial government made active use of academic strata in their project of colonisation.

II.1: Colonialism: Its Themes and Characteristics: Formation and Conditioning of Knowledge Systems

The initial wave of colonial development confined largely to the Americas was based on the mercantile capital in Europe.⁴ In Asia, the existence of powerful and sophisticated states largely precluded the imposition of direct rule by the European powers until they had industrial revolution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indeed, the rise of industrial capital provided the means and imperative for the establishment of colonial structures in Asia. Colonialism was intensified as industrialisation spread and accelerated. This process finally came to completion with the internationalisation of individual and finance capital in the last decades of the nineteenth century.⁵ It was accompanied by a new and more intense wave of European colonisation that continued till its virtual completion in an imperial global economy. Dixon and Herrferman remark, “This final phase of European colonisation continued and intensified during the early years of the twentieth century as the dominant colonial states began to influence more directly and intimately the social, economic and political life of colonial possessions”.⁶

The word colonialism evokes images of intrusions, conquests, economic exploitation and domination of the indigenous population by the European colonisers. The imageries of white man’s burden, darkest Africa, the noble savage, backward peoples and the stagnant villages of India are attestations of the same. Domination by one people of the other has always been at the forefront of human history but western colonisation had some different facets. They are namely the different modes of

⁴ Dobb, Maurice. (1959): *Studies in Development of Capitalism*, London.

⁵ Hobsbawm, E.J. (1968): *Industry and Empire*, Penguin Books, London.

⁶ Dixon, Chris and Hefferman, Michael, (1991): *Colonialism and Development in the Contemporary World*, Mansell Publishing Limited London, p. 3.

production (capitalism) and technology (industrialisation) and took virtually a global shape. In James's opinion these two factors made "western imperialism a much more complex and far reaching process than any other forms of domination that existed previously".⁷ It had not one but multiple facets, as can be seen in the number of fields that they interfered with and had profound influence on, at times bringing about structural change in its entirety.

Therefore it can be said that "all faces of western hegemony carry the multiple character of being both a contribution of to the collective human repertoire and expression of imperial domination suffused with the effect of power" in accordance with Pels and Salemink.⁸ This facet of power has been built into all notions of race, progress, evolution, modernity and development as hierarchies extending in time and space. Thus, this knowledge has had an immense impact whose importance has continued to hold, though the works need to be studied after divorcing them from the persuasive effect of power and all of these works converge on the subject of knowledge.

Colonialism is a word with myriad meanings. As Sudipta Kaviraj remarks, "Colonialism is a set of institutions but also emphatically a set of discourses. Both of these sets – structures and discourses do of course show historical change in their constitution over long periods of colonial history".⁹ He further contends that the field of power in the colonial period was structured in three interconnected levels. The top level is occupied by the political power relations, this is a complicated level at the beginning of colonial rule since it lacked the focus of a regime at its centre, and later on, as the rule become more powerful spreading over the entire subcontinent they congregate into peculiar forms of the colonial state. This is further located in temporal and conceptual relationships, a tangled web of the earlier forms of governance whose signs still existed and the social relations from the same. Therefore the colonial state has to exist in the limited space allowed to within these parameters.

The construct of the theories of state and governance in the colonial period is directly linked to political developments in Europe, particularly England. Kaviraj further

⁷ James, J. (1995): , *Colonialism's Culture*, Zed Books, Sydney.

⁸ Pels. Peter, and Salemink. Oscar, (1999). *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

⁹ Kaviraj. Sudipta, *On the Construction of Colonial Power: Structure, Discourse and Hegemony*, NML. New Delhi (1989).

opines that “ this state is peculiarly dependent on and inextricable from some discursive structures, its history must be written as a part of the discourse of Enlightenment, in terms of rhythm, ruptures and punctuations of that different history. Its power is believed to be driven its functionaries and critics – both from the grand discourses of European rationalism- its theories, self definitions, narratives delusions and strategies. It uses that discourse to define and describe itself, to negotiate and bring under control the alien social world it has entered, Others in this social world, who have to deal with it as enemies, as friends, applicants for its favour, also see the centrality of this discourse to understand its institutions and their logic of functioning”.¹⁰ Thus, the colonial state was an extension and mixture of the enlightenment discourse prevalent in England in the eighteenth century and the space allowed to it by the host Indian society.

Infact, colonialism was made possible, and then sustained and strengthened as much by cultural technologies of rule as it was by the more obvious and brutal modes of conquest. As Dirks states, “Colonial knowledge both enabled conquest and was produced by it, in certain important ways, knowledge was what colonialism was all about.”¹¹ The influence of the enlightenment theories in the knowledge categories and forms in the colonial era was most evident, since the system stressed on the exact Cartesian rather than any kinds of asymptotic conceptions of knowledge, as a result assumed that all knowledge was readily transferable into technical control over whatever was known to the colonial world; whatever did not conform had to be deleted or ridiculed as valueless. Kaviraj opines that the “enlightenment theories were proto positivist i.e. positivist before its programme, and extended such general beliefs about nature, means and consequences of knowledge from nature into historical world. Rather, equally significant part of enlightenment theories was not only its belief in the possibility of precise, incontrovertible knowledge but the impossibility of all men attaining it in equal measure”.¹² Though it was aligned to doctrines of equality of all men, the dichotomy in it was that there was to be a hierarchy of men as receivers and users of knowledge, making possible a certain rank order of individuals as well as societies. Thus was the colonial

¹⁰ ibid

¹¹ Dirks, Nicholas, Foreword, in B.S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge, The British in India*, Princeton, (1996), p.1.

¹² Kaviraj. Sudipta, cited above, p.23-24.

conquest was explained, as to how and why a numerically small group of men could rule over such a huge empire as India, since the inference to be drawn is that British rule was to be for the good of the Indian masses; this would enrich not only the colonial nation but also civilise the natives.

At the time of colonising India, reactions against the exact Cartesian nature of knowledge had set in England in the form of romanticism that was also a reaction to the industrialisation that was in rage in eighteenth century England. Romanticism doctrinally formed a counter enlightenment stream, essentially posing a question to the taken for granted hierarchies of civilisation according to the rationalist school of thought. When the East India Company personnel such as William Jones, James Princep and William Bentinck became aware of the fact that India could be better ruled if there was adequate knowledge about the country, they realised that their task of governance would become easier. Thus began the efforts of collecting knowledge wherever possible, best exemplified in the successful establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784.

II.2: The Politics of Difference: Orientalism in India

This section deals with the buildup of the concepts of orientalism in India. II.2.1 deals with the shift in the idea of India from that of a land with a glorious history to one that has no history. The change in the attitude is marked, since this also affects the attitude of the governing forces. Thus slowly, India is viewed as a subject of denigration, the classicity of Indian Civilisation is lost, and its former glory is passed as 'pretensions'. II.2.2 deals with the development of scientific knowledge in Social Sciences. The inclusion of the scientific component allowed the growth of anthropology as a subject from the descriptive methods of ethnology that later on ruled the delineation of categories that were used to identify certain people.

II.2.1: The Shift in the Idea of India

The Englishmen, who began to collect knowledge about India, soon discovered a treasure trove in India. India in the finds of William Morris Jones and Colin Mackenzie was a historical profile, whose greatness though had been lost in the present mire of history, it was still the land of riches, a civilisation that had rivaled the ancient Greek civilisation in its hey day. Also, with this arose the cultural forms in societies newly classified as traditional, that were "constructed and transformed by and through colonial

knowledge, which created new categories and oppositions between colonisers and colonised, European and Asian, West and East”¹³ as remarked by Dirks. He points at the beginning of orientalism in India by saying that “Ruling India through the delineation and reconstitution of systematic grammar for vernacular languages, representing India through mastery and display of archaeological memories and religious texts, Britain set in motion transformations as powerful and as the better known consequences of military and economic imperialism”.¹⁴ This was the beginning of certain projections about India’s past, a history that was constructed by the British though based on locally gathered knowledge. This can also be called the beginning of orientalism in India, a constructed image that gained precedence and later on changed with changed circumstances in England.

The existence of the tribal communities was acknowledged when the East India Company tried to safeguard its South West frontier against Maratha raids. The first skirmishes were with the Pahariya tribals of Rajmahal. This gave the Britishers another view into the window of Indian populational diversity. When research seriously began into the tribal affairs, the English officials were often confused as Alam states, “when the rationality of the higher echelon of the social pyramid fails to comprehend the kind of response they were unaware of, they immediately involuntarily set in motion a social mechanism for the ‘other’. Therefore this is more an other who is incomprehensible, unpredictable and non - communable is available”¹⁵. All this is exactly what goes to make a being irrational and it is therefore easy now to stick onto him a label of ‘primitive’.

This way of building a picture of the culture of a human group also becomes immediately political because the group at a higher position in the social pyramid, as the possessors of civilisation (not that they are not) and higher forms of social existence acquire the weight of deciding what to do with them, what needs to be done for them and above all how to deal with them. Alam calls this labeling, as “their logic is not an immersion but a straight forward duplication of what is condemned as colonial. The

¹³ Dirks, Nicholas, (1996): Foreword, in B.S. Cohn : Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge, The British in India, Princeton, (1996), p.1.

¹⁴ (Ibid)

¹⁵ Alam, Javeed, (1989): Fragmented Culture and Strangled Existence: Jharkhand’s Cultural Encounter with the Modern, in Mrinal Miri (ed):Continuity and Change in Tribal Society, IAS, Shimla, p.3.

‘other’ seen in the orientalist discourse surfaces once again in the land relations also, this attitude becomes the base for further relational development”.¹⁶

The various ethnological societies and the Asiatic Society of Bengal in their reports and publishings enhanced the fact as well as glorifying the supposed ‘exotic’ element in the Indian society- the ‘aboriginals’ as classified by them. For example, in 1869 Thomas Henry Huxley, the then president of the Ethnological Society of London inaugurated a special meeting in the ethnology and archaeology of India, emphasised the fact that the meetings would be to primarily gain knowledge about the “savage hill tribes”.¹⁷ The main speakers were veterans of the India Service Sir George Campbell and Sir Walter Elliott, to whom he deferred – “I precede my Indian friends simply as a sort of clearer of jingle, in advance of their elephants”.¹⁸ Though Pels thinks “This deference, however, obscures that Huxley’s emphasis on Indian aborigines betrayed his reliance on an ethnographic tradition that, in the colonial practice from which it had emerged had already been superceded by new developments”¹⁹

Here through the eyes of the colonial officer, writer and missionary stock is taken of the social reality or how they perceived the society and the people. As has been argued by Ronald Inden (1990) in his ‘Imagining India’ and Edward Said (1978) in his book ‘Orientalism’ such accounts can not be said to be entirely objective because these works “essentialised” the reality and ‘imagined’ and constructed categories designed to exercise hegemonic control area the ‘Other’. Yet as discussed by Susan Bayly (1995) the idea of narrow self contained, so called hegemonic knowledge and data collection is only a too familiar stereotype and in reality, colonial ethnography is vastly diverse in the way it describes “caste”, “tribes”, “races” and “nations”.²⁰ Through rooted in colonial context, these works give a fair idea of the situation and how various categories emerged due to different necessities. Similarly Pels is of the opinion that “early Indian ethnographic data

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Huxley, Thomas. Henry. (1869): Opening Address by the President, Special Meeting on the Ethnology and Archaeology of India, Journal of Ethnological Society of London. n.s. 1, p.89-94.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Pels, Peter. (1999): The Rise and Fall of the Indian Aborigines, Orientalism, Anglicism, and the Emergence of an Ethnology of India, in Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink (ed): Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

²⁰ Bayly, Susan. (1995): Caste and Race in Colonial Ethnography, in Peter Robb (ed): The Concept of Race in South Asia, Oxford University Press, New Delhi., p. 166

was, like its London counterpart synonymous with the attributions of aboriginality, the classification of human beings according to the primordial 'seat' of their 'race'"²¹ The vogue of studies on Indian aborigine between 1830 –1860 introduced on ethnological discourse that by the end of this phase came to "racialize caste, a reinvention of caste that would inform the production of Pan-Indian surveys of "tribes and castes from the late 1860s onwards"²²

Gradually, after the late eighteenth century Indian ethnology come to be based on the imperially marginal ethnographic tradition of Indian aboriginality and this was rejected once again when 'scientific' ethnology or rather anthropology become a central mode of production of colonial intelligence. This fact helps in configuring *Orientalism* and the processes that gave shape to how Europeans perceived India.

This is the notion criticised by Said (1978), even those who are critical of his work also share the assumption that orientalism is the discourse that governs enunciations about itself.²³ This transformation of orientalism into ethnology occurred less at the level of British imagination of India than at the level of its methodological engagement with it. "The orientalist articulation of knowledge on foundational texts gave way to the ethnological articulation of knowledge on bodies. The suggestion that there was a part of the Indian population that was both "originally" different from, and much older than, Hindu civilization reduced the importance of both texts of this civilization and the pandits on whom the British relied for their translation"²⁴

At the same time, the emergence and consolidation of the novel relationship between coloniser and colonised in the first half of the nineteenth century - statistical and scientific supervision, military and labour recruitment and missionary activity in the form of both Christian conversion and secular education made the bodies of colonised more important to the coloniser than their speeches in writing. The emergence of ethnology of

²¹ Pels, Peter. (1999): *The Rise and Fall of the Indian Aborigines, Orientalism, Anglicism, and the Emergence of an Ethnology of India*, in Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink (ed): *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

²² Dirks, Nicholas. B. (1992): *Castes of Mind in Representations* No. 37, p. 56-78.

²³ This definition of orientalism is found in the works of Breckenridge and Van der Veer 1993, Dirks 1992, Inden 1986, 1990, Mani and Frankenberg 1985.

²⁴ Ludden, David, (1993): *Orientalist Empiricism*, In C. Breckenridge and P. Van Der Veer (ed) *Orientalism and the Post Colonial Predicament, Perspectives on South Asia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, p. 255.

India marks the maturing of colonial practices that tried to mediate between the “practices of difference”²⁵ of orientalism and the practice of anglicizing Indians to become Christians and citizens. Poised between orientalism and anglicism Indian ethnology emerged an ambivalent mediator of Indian nationality and imperial citizenship. Edward Said’s influential critique of orientalism has usually been interpreted as a discussion of the Western representation of the otherness in general – including ethnology and anthropology.²⁶ Therefore the changing political contents of the idea of Indian ethnology grew upon and back into strategies of the colonial knowledge. It also shows up the contrast between orientalism and anglicism and the resultant methodological shift from text to bodies in Indian colonial intelligence.

Pels (1999) argues that orientalist imagery of the eighteenth century to twentieth century was reinvented by the altogether new discipline of ethnology, a discipline that itself owed much to the colonial institutionalisation of science and statistics. Where as classical orientalism, based on the translation of and commentary on foundational texts was central to be the development of colonial intelligence under the aegis of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in decades before 1800 AD, its locus of the development increasingly shifted to Europe afterwards. From almost 1830 onwards, the practical development of such colonial intelligence more and more relied on the ethnographic typification of contemporary statistics and scientific inscription as ethnology.

Dirks agrees with Pels when he comments “colonial form of the knowledge progressively deprivileged historical knowledge and replaced it with anthropological knowledge”.²⁷ This also marks the change in the perception of India by the Britishers as the glory of the yester year is lost. An important example of this fact is found in James Mill’s ‘History of British India’ published in 1858; it serves well outline the basic features of this shift. Mill disregarded the ethnographic knowledge compiled by the Asiatic Society of Bengal members’ by saying that he himself had no Indian experience

²⁵ Van der Veer, Peter,(1993): The Foreign Hand, Orientalist Discourse in Sociology and Communalism, In C. Breckenridge and P. Van Der Veer (ed) *Orientalism and the Post Colonial Predicament, Perspectives on South Asia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, p.27-29.

²⁶ This view has been endorsed in the works of Clifford 1980, Falxon 1983 and Mitchell 1992.

²⁷ Pels, Peter, opp. cited p. 83-90.

or language knowledge and denying that “observing and acquisition of languages”²⁸ were necessary for the correct judgment of Indian history. Mills by arguing that “rude nations seem to derive a peculiar gratification from pretensions to a remote antiquity”,²⁹ put forward a critique to the idea of the “particular respect” with which orientalists such as William Jones regarded the “legendary tales of the Hindus”. Mills held the opinion that “Hindu fiction” are marks of a rude age and “Hindus themselves perfectly destitute of historical records”.³⁰ The true “history of the rude age” therefore can only be written from an English point of view, by a “critical” or “judging history” that discriminates between real and false causes and effects. This shows how the ‘noble savage’ became the knowledge aborigines and the ‘Black Races of Bengal’ in W.W. Hunter’s *Annals of Rural Bengal* first published in 1868. Earlier, this had been substantiated by Macaulay who showed in his famous *Minute* of 1835, the rhetoric of Science of Francis Bacon – was sufficient to authorise all the changes.

II.2.2: Development of Scientific Knowledge in the Social Sciences

Dominated by the model of natural history, science sought to reach behind everyday phenomenon by composing specimens of science, language, or forms of civilisation and establishing their basic units and relations between them. Nomenclature of a so called new and imposed variety came up: the idea of ‘origin’ became of utmost importance, science tried to come to new classifications of the origin of genus, species and varieties of genealogies of language families, or of ‘stages of civilisation’. ‘Origin’ pointed to a time “other” than the present that yet contained the causes, effects and possibilities of the present.³¹

For the development of Indian ethnology, the emphasis on origin implied that representations used within the sphere of oriental history had to give precedence to terms expressing a rupture within it. True history had to resemble geology, or natural history, but not Indian chronicle. For scientific analysis, the original texts of the oriental tradition were surface phenomena, more symptoms of a “rude age”. Names like the *Laws of Manu*, Sanskrit and Hindu were surface description to be superseded by scientific

²⁸ Mill, James, (1858): *The History of British India*, 5 th edition, with notes and continuation by H.H. Wilson, James Madden and Piper, London., Vol I, p. xx – xxii.

²⁹ *Ibid*, Vol I, p.107.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 115-116

³¹ Pels, *opp cited*, p. 87-89.

analysis of “oriental despotism” and ‘division of labour’, ‘Indo – European language families’ ‘Aryan races’, ‘criminal tribes’, ‘primitive tribes’ and a host of others.

The development of Anthropology as a subject is entirely due to the influence of science in the social sciences. The anthropometric measures of the cephalic index, the hair textures, skin colour (pigmentation, or the degrees of brown) all contributed to the growth of the subject. This gave an illusion of scientific rationale to the othering process of race identification. However, this genetic data was put to political use. The discrimination of the human races has been central to political and social processes in different parts of the world for many centuries. As MacEachern remarks “Anthropology has been involved in the making racial discriminations /distinctions on the basis of biological characteristics through much of its history”³².

II.3: Hegemony and Control Through Knowledge

These knowledge systems have been critiqued by Cohn who views in the scientification of various arenas of colonial impact as means to control and exercise hegemony. He argues that painstaking efforts by British Orientals to study Indian language were not part of collaborative enterprise responsible for a new renaissance but rather an important part of colonial project of control and command. Dirks (1996) explains Cohn’s essay, ‘The Command of Language and Language of Command’ and ‘The Transformation of Objects into Artefacts, Antiquities and Art in Nineteenth century India’ as a exercise in how the “Orientalist imagination that led of to brilliant antiquarian collections, archaeological finds and photographic forms”;³³ in this case the collection of paintings of Sir Colin Mackenzie both painted by him and commissioned as well as the reconstruction and cataloguing of the Amravati Marbles, where in fact forms of constructing an India that can be better packaged subsumed and ruled.

Similarly, regarding the dress code of the Indians and the English considerations of what was appropriate and what was not according to Cohn expressed the colonial imaginative of domination that later become a tool to demonstrate colonial domination of imaginative in the arena of nationalist resistance and appropriation. Cohn in his easy

³² MacEachern., Scott, (2000): Genes Tribes and African History, In *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 41, No.3, pp18-29.

³³ Dirks, Nicholas, (1996): Foreword, in B.S. Cohn : Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge, The British in India, Princeton, (1996), p.1.

‘Cloth, Clothes and Colonialism: India in the Nineteenth Century’ recounts how modes of dress were to denote rank and supremacy in the colonial office as well as separation between public and private spheres in lives of ordinary Indians. He also highlights how codes of law; a space of colonial power that determinedly followed indigenous lines by the first translated Manu Smriti and the Muslim code become responsible for institutionalising particular British ideals of the ways to “regulate a colonial society made up of others rather than settlers, leaving extremely problematic legacies for contemporary Indian society”.³⁴

Therefore, for Cohn ‘colonialism played a critical role in the constitution ... in the formation of the state and in the development of basic forms of knowledge – even as it shaped through its cultural technologies of domination, much of the modern history of colonized peoples and spaces’.³⁵

The segregation of the two communities the European and the Indian acted as a means of control and establishing hegemony. This was the case not just in the official sphere but also in the private sphere in the lives of both the communities. Even when the books were being written for the training of young Englishmen coming out to India for service, strict separation was advocated; the idea was to thus indicate the superiority of the Englishmen. A reverse effect of this was that when the Englishmen committed any crime they were not adequately punished. The Indian codes of law was known to the British lawyers but the English code of law was not known to their Indian counterparts. This is an example of withholding of knowledge so that the English community retained a strong hold over the native community. Thus the hegemony was established in all fields through the acquiring and selective dispensing of knowledge.

II.4: Systematising the Collection Of Knowledge

The settlement records of the colonial state, the census, district gazetteers were all means of categorizing and classifying data that would help in greater control of the people. Most of the works of the colonial era were geared for that purpose. The

³⁴ Ibid, p. 3.

³⁵ Cohn, B.S (1996): Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge, The British in India, Princeton, (1996), p.9.

categorization of different communities and the flora and fauna all served to enhance control over the environment in a firmer manner. The idea was that as the cataloguing was done for inanimate objects, so could the living species be better known and controlled. This section is divided into three parts. Part II.4.1 deals with the methods adopted for the systematic collection of knowledge. Part II.4.2 deals with the emergence of the category, 'tribes' in the colonial literature and Part II.4.3 deals with the concept of tribe as developed in the colonial literature.

II.4.1: Introducing Schematic Knowledge Collection

An important facet of British colonial knowledge system establishment was the idea of census and survey following the idiom of know the numbers and mark the people. Francis Buchanan, the first officer to have conducted a survey of Bengal between 1806-1813, established a pattern of colonial knowledge that holds sway till date in India: a 'statistical survey' followed in the various Gazetteers and other census documents. There Pels remarks "the intimate relationship between science and statistics is apparent from the fact that Buchanan was thought to be 'very well known qualified' for statistical research on the basis of his botanical and zoological work".³⁶ The idea of statistics in the colonial intelligence was less aligned to the modern science of quantification but more to the original meaning of the German words "staatenkunde" or "statistik" meaning statecraft.

This was a departure from the earlier travelogue knowledge style and the older Orientalists' textual content of the colony. Sir John Sinclair in nineteenth century England had begun the process of reform in society by directing statistics towards the 'others' in their society - the criminals, and lunatics and their education, religion etc. Where as in India, the entire society was of the others, as evidenced by Appadurai's comment that "otherness was everywhere.... statistics were applied to a society that could as whole be perceived as deviant"³⁷. According to Kenneth Jones census

³⁶ Pels, cited above, p. 94.

³⁷ Appadurai, Arjun, (1993): Number in the Colonial Imagination, in C. Breckenbridge and P. Van der Veer, (ed) :Orientalism and the Post Colonial Predicament, Perspectives on South Asia, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, p. 318.

documents describe, enumerate and analyse the colonial world and are the most fundamental sources of the statistical information about it.³⁸

Similarly, Bernard Cohn remarked, “ through the asking of question and compiling of information in categories which the British ruler could use for governing, it provided an arena for Indians to ask questions about themselves and Indians utilised the fact that the British Census Commissioners tried to order tables on caste in terms of social precedence”³⁹. In the discussion of impact of census it is seen how within the categories provided by the colonial state the subjects defined and identified themselves.

The Settlement Reports and the Land Survey Reports were means of knowing who owned how much land as well as its quality. The land surveys around the forest tracts were highly rigged so as to include more areas, as have been evinced in the Porahat sub division in Singhbhum, at the time of the land survey in 1906-1911. This put the survey officer T.S. Macpherson in a quandary, for according to him, this kind of lacunae caused the local people to distrust the land survey and withhold information and distrusts the administration.

The various committee reports such as the Famine Reports of the different years, the labour migration reports all point to the colonial government’s obsession with figure/ numbers. The subtext is that figures en mass represent a body without any identity and cohesion so that different categories can be made according to the understandings of the colonial rulers and thus can be managed easily. This transformation or reconfiguration of the identities was done at all levels, political, social and economic. Strangely, the colonial government refused to accept the overlap of all these spheres, thereby maintaining a strict rigid structure of categorizing.

Thus emerged the categories of advanced tribes like the Santhal, Mundas, and backward tribes like Baigas, and plains tribes like Santhal, and the hill tribes such as the Mal Phariyas, and criminal tribes like the Pahariyas. The basis of this categorizing discourse was often ambiguous and designed according to the needs of the governance. Various concerns and notions shaped the discourse on tribes, dominant themes being that

³⁸ Jones, Kenneth, (1981): Religious Identity and the Indian Census, in N.G. Barrier (ed) :The Census in British India, : New Perspectives, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

³⁹ Cohn, B.S. (1994): The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia, in B.S. Cohn (ed): An Anthropologist Among Historians and Other Essays, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

of social and cultural changes which accompanied the broader question of evolution/movement from 'savagery' to civilization and the various agencies of such changes.

II.4.2: The Evolution of the Concept Of Tribe in Colonial India

As all these categories emerged, they lent legality to the British colonial power. In effect western theories of the orient reflect power relations between the colonized and colonizer societies. The earliest census conducted in India first mentions the word "tribe" as an official category. Previously they were the 'aborigines'. The credit for the first detailed "story of aborigines" goes to Brian Houghton Hodgson, who first served in the Bengal residency then as the Resident of Nepal. He followed Traill's⁴⁰ version of ethnology and became interested in the bodies of 'Indian aborigines', first with the Gurkha, then with the Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal tribes of Assam.

As mentioned earlier this was the time period in the mid to late nineteenth century that witnessed the emergence of Anthropology as a systematic science and anthropometry became a major tool to distinguish the race of people and therefore classify them as advanced or backwards, depending on certain measurements of their physique. Secondly, the language spoken became the prime indicator of race and lastly the orientalist texts that had been produced were eclipsed by insistence of natural science on observation of the population en masse (in a body). All these would decide who were "the ancient inheritors of the whole soil." James Logan congratulated Hodgson in 1854 by writing that "in India, history might be the slight superstructure and ethnology the solid basis".⁴¹

Pels opines that the Indian history that relied on texts and the interpretation by the orientalist scholars had been contextualized by the biological racisms of ethnology.⁴² These emerged at the boundaries of the empire because of specific political problems arising there. Similarly John Briggs of the Madras infantry first introduced the Indian aborigine to the Ethnological Society of London in 1851. Robert Caldwell, a missionary in 1856 published his "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages" to juxtapose a group of non Aryan aborigines of India to the superstitious despotism of the Aryans.

⁴⁰ Traill., George. W, (1828): Statistical Sketch of Kamaon, In Asiatic Researches, NO. 16, pp.137-234.

⁴¹ Hunter, William. Wilson, (1886): Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson, John Murray, London, Reprinted in 1991, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi.

⁴² Pels, cited Above, p.89-90.

Knowledge of various tribes varied from actual contact with the tribes to those based on mediated information is popularly held beliefs. Dr. Archibald Campbell, Hodgson's assistant in Nepal bears this statement in a paper presented by him did not aim to 'meet any scientific system' but referred to 'the most important considerations which affect a British Officers inter course with the wild tribes of India while living amongst and governing them'.⁴³ In the same vein, George Campbell had argued for 'field based' science of the colonial officials. The London Ethnographic Society had emerged from the previously formed Aborigines Protection Society (APS) whose members had certain attitudes. In Colley's opinion they were mostly from the emergent middle class and saw in the protection of the aborigines a real cause to continue 'forging the British nation' and the fortunes of the middle class in particular.⁴⁴ The focus of the APS was on the condition of the aborigines in the colonial areas. They were against the "excesses of the settler colonialism and hardly touched upon a revenue administration like India ... it changed its objective from protecting the defenceless 'uncivilized tribes' to 'recording their history'. Aborigines were treated more in term of salvage ethnography – as dead or dying.⁴⁵

The orientalist's faced a problem as they had constructed India with a unitary conception of 'Hindu civilization' yet the presence of aborigines created a rupture in the whole picture. Whereas earlier, language was something that had tied them together now "language indicated racialized bodies whose interests were opposed to the "usurping Hindus" as Hodgson⁴⁶ called them. This racial division can partly be interpreted as a particular phase in which a group of British traders turned into a colonial administration which increasingly saw the cultural, political and economic involvement with an Indian elite as corrupting and compromising. Moreover it produced a paradoxical advocacy of Indian "aborigines" that lasts into the 20th century.⁴⁷ The politics of aboriginality is always enmeshed in the paradox that the definition of the ethnic essence of such people

⁴³ Campbell, Archibald, (1869): On The Lepchas, In Journal of Ethnological Society of London, n.s. 1, p.143-157

⁴⁴ Colley, Linda,(1992): Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837, first Published Yale University Press, New Haven, reprint Pimlico Press, London.

⁴⁵ Pels cited above, p. 99.

⁴⁶ Hodgson, cited above, p.143.

⁴⁷ Elwin, Verrier, (1963): New Deal for the Tribal in India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

seems impossible without these people moving 'ab origine' that is away from the primordial seat that had till then characterized them.

II.4.3: The Definition of Tribe in Colonial Literature

Very few early works, descriptive ethnographic accounts of various communities of Chota Nagpur are available. The underlying intention is to look into the representation of the tribes in colonial writings, related to this is the wider debate on the nature of colonial ethnographic data collection and the question of hegemony and power connected with it. Many Indian historians now a days protest that colonial ethnographic literature could not have been the product of neutral and scientific observation. Recent works, as mentioned by Susan Bayly (1995) focus on the "complex interactions between the institution of a manipulative colonial state and the responses of Indians to the process of data collection by tribe caste and community".⁴⁸

In these writings, an attempt is made to locate the Santals, Mundas, Hos, Oraons, Birhors, Pahariyas, Sauria Paharias etc within the colonial ethnography. In most cases, observations were merely of a speculative nature, most of the works, barring a few, were general accounts of the province, its people and resources and the customs and cultural practices.⁴⁹ Though discussions on tribes are not central to the contents of most of these works, nevertheless, they have been referred to because they can be regarded as a stereotype of the meagre knowledge about the tribal communities. It also reflects the general attributes towards the tribes 'that most of these writers acquired by their own observations and from other sources. For instance Sir George Campbell had read a paper by Edward Dalton, the then Commissioner of Chota Nagpur who wrote about the Jushpore Oraons that they were "the ugliest of race ... utterly destitute of all ambition to rise into respectability of appearance They approach the Negro in physiognomy."⁵⁰ Before this also, Campbell in his pan-Indian manual of ethnology had listed physical

⁴⁸ Bayly, Susan. (1995): Caste and Race in Colonial Ethnography, in Peter Robb (ed): *The Concept of Race in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi., p. 205.

⁴⁹ In this genre are: W.W.Munter's *Annals of Rural Bengali*; 1864, E.T. Dalton's *1872 Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, F.8. Bradly Birt (1905) *Chota Nagpur: A Little Known Province of the Empire*, 1906 *The Story of an Indian Upland* etc.

⁵⁰ Campbell, George, (1869): *On the Races of India as Traced in Existing Tribes and Castes*, In *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, n.s. I pp.128-140.

appearance, language, religion, laws and manners and customs”⁵¹ as criteria for judging the racial stock of aborigines. He also refers the “Coolies on the Maidan” as the most aborigines of aborigines. It shows that another more implicit, economical criterion of defining aboriginality was also operative.

The writers about the tribal communities of Santhals, Hos, Mundas, Oraons, Mal Pahariyas faced a lot of problems since these could not be easily typified and classified as they did not confirm to certain notions held by colonial ethnographers on caste, tribes and race. These officials did not produce a uniform colonial code for the distinction of all the different tribes. As colonialism penetrated and spread, regional societies in various provinces were studied and what came to the fore in many cases challenged classically held notions of these communities. But even then it cannot be denied that the overreaching structure for understanding the society at large was caste as a monolithic institution, and in relation to it were located tribes and other groups in a complex hierarchical interplay. Certain fluidity was believed to have existed at least in peripheral regions, in that groups, ethnographically distinctive, were conceded to be outside of the stereotypes of fixed pan-Indian caste hierarchies and of an all pervading brahmanical value system. These are the areas that Sivaramakrishnan (2000) refers to as boundary zones in his analysis of the jungle mahals of Bengal.

All of these works are located within the certain dominant themes and concerns of 19th century ethnography like dividing population into more ‘savage’ and ‘wild’ casteless mountaineers and highlanders like the Mal Pahariyas of Chota Nagpur and caste bound people living in the plains, Aryan and non-Aryan people. Besides, people were also classified on environmental grounds where ‘civilised’ and ‘savage’ were distinguished on the basis of habitat. Of course no single stereotype was to be ascribed to, a variety of views existed. But in many ethnographical works of the 19th century the terms tribes, aborigine and race have been used interchangeably, at times ‘caste’ was also included in the list imprecisely. Yet as Bayly states it is from this official mind and minds of

⁵¹ Campbell, George, (1866): The Ethnology of India, In Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 35, ii. Special number on Indian Ethnology, P. 1-52.

missionaries, medics and other professional men, that can be derived a much fuller picture of the so called 'colonial understanding of India'.⁵²

Till today there is a debate on what is a tribe, from the studies of British colonial administrators like E.T. Dalton (1872) and H. Risley (1891) to the pioneer works of S.C. Ray (1912, 1915) and V. Elwin (1943), as well as the bulk of contemporary writings on the adivasis, the term tribe has remained vague, not adequately conceptualised.⁵³ In general tribes were seen as homogeneous units forming undifferentiated blocks (although set in hierarchy of more and less primetime groups) marked by backwardness. Nag (1968:194) asserts that the notion of a tribe has generally been associated with a largely undifferentiated pre-state segmentary forming.⁵⁴ Yet for the colonial officials the idea of tribes became synonymous with primitivism, animism and backwardness. K.S.Singh (1978) puts forward two ideals held by colonial ethnographers /anthropogists. One is that the "Tribal communities were treated as isolates, tribals as Noble Savages and the primitive condition was described as a state of Arcadian simplicity. Secondly the idea was that 'tribes were a sub-system of the Hindu system and that they were being absorbed into the Hindu Society'.⁵⁵

Interestingly, in no Indian language does the word "Tribe" occur, defined by the Oxford dictionary as a race of people", new applied especially to a primary aggregate of people in a primitive or barbarous condition under a headman or a chief". In India these autochthonous communities were known as Jana and the other word to describe the Hindu system was jati', both derived from the root 'janm' meaning to be born or to give birth to, thus implying a primordial community. This view given by Professor Nihar Ranjan Ray is not without its problematique. The most commonly used term of the adivasi seems to be more appropriate. K.S. Singh (1989) suggests that these categories appear rather amorphous in a fluid social situation. According to him, "The tribes in the ancient period were better known by territorial categories rather than discrete categories".⁵⁶ Various concerns and ideas shaped the discourse on the tribes, dominant

⁵² Bayly, cited above, p.188.

⁵³ Devalle, S.B.C. (1992): Discourses of Ethnicity, Culture and Protest in Jharkhand, Sage Publication, New Delhi, p. 13.

⁵⁴ Nag, (1968):

⁵⁵ Singh, K.S. (1978):

⁵⁶ Ibid.

themes being that of social and cultural changes which accompanied the broader question of evolution / movement from 'savagery' to civilisation and the various agencies of such changes. Undoubtedly the 1831 – 33 Kol rebellions were an important landmark in the history of growing interest on tribes.

II.4.4: Tribal Policy As Means of Resource Control in Colonial Period

The British espoused the policy of isolation for the tribal communities, yet it was the colonial actions that ended the isolation of these communities. Primarily they imposed revenue on land in these areas but the land system was not similar to the rest of Bengal Presidency. This created a host of problems and ended up in rapid exploitation of the tribal people. Along with this the market system penetrated deep into the tribal areas and the traditional forms of exchange died away. With the market come the middlemen, the 'diku' connoted as the exploiters.

The set up of the various fairs and markets to facilitate the exchange of goods in the Chota Nagpur region gave ready access to the outside business men in the hitherto jungle areas. The development of the road network was also responsible for this facilitation. The windfall gains to be had from trade in these areas as the prices charged were exorbitant attracted the traders. Also, there was a captive market for the goods they sold, since there was no other way for the tribal communities living in the interior regions to have access to the open market in the urban areas. The establishment of the Railway networks can be blamed for the waning of this trade system, since it gave even more easy access to a greater number of outsiders to this region.

To enhance the imperial timber trade certain regulations were created so as to protect the forest wealth and also for it to serve as a reserve in times of scarcity. This took the shape of the attention paid to the natural resources of the region - systematic cutting down of jungles and creation of reserve forests.⁵⁷ Finally came the mining companies completing the process of exploitation by gradually gaining control of the primary resource - land. Mining was a new venture that had to be encouraged to raise the revenue generation from land in the region. Also, there was extra revenue generated for the grant of the mining lease. Alienation as economic and social processes saw a huge out

⁵⁷ Skaria, Ajay,(1999): *Hybrid histories: Forests, Frontiers, and Wildness In Western India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

migration of the tribal communities from Chota Nagpur to the tea plantations in Assam and as indentured labour in other colonies.⁵⁸

Another facet that science gave an impetus to is the botanical knowledge existing in the colonial set up. Many precious species of trees were identified and the timber trade was enhanced. The setting up of the botanical garden at Calcutta, also was part of this gathering of knowledge. This helped the colonial rulers to draw on the forest wealth of India, and they later on imposed their methods of tree growth in the region. This took the form of silvicultural practices, destroying the natural balance and setting up a man made one. Monoculture was also beneficial for trade, which was the main objective behind the act. Also, the increased botanical knowledge gave an insight to which trees to put in the reserve list at the time of reserving the forests for government use only. Thus the most useful species of trees were put on the reserved list.

II.5: Literature Review of Constituent of Power Based on Knowledge Systems:

The legacy of 200 years of western hegemony reflected in racism and exotism of the aboriginal continues to be recycled in western cultures in the form of stereotypical images of non-western cultures. Pieterse and Parekh (1997) opine, “in the context of imperialism and colonialism different times of inquiry converge on the themes of knowledge and imagination. On one hand, in the sceptical tradition, there is the theme of reality versus image or in the false imagery of domination, such as stereotypes, othering, orientalism etc”.⁵⁹ A different take on the imagery of power is concerned with the ways in which images, regardless of whether they are true or false, are constitutive of social relations and realities, Said’s Orientalism⁶⁰ feature both these elements, the critique of orientalism as a false imagery as well as the acknowledgement of this imagery, whether false or true constituting certain practices and institutions. Images function as signals and markers in constituting boundaries, between self and other, us and them, normal and

⁵⁸ Guha, A. (1977): *Planter Raj to Swaraj*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

⁵⁹ Pieterse, Jan Nederveen, and Parekh, Bhikhu, (1997): *Shifting Imaginaries: Decolonization, Internal Decolonization and Post Coloniality* In (Ibid) (ed): *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture, Knowledge and Power*, Oxford university Press, New Delhi.

⁶⁰ Said, Edward, (1978): *Orientalism*, Vintage Publications, New York.

abnormal.⁶¹ Clusters richly flag salient boundaries or chains of images as indicated in works such as those dealing with images of race in 19th century Britain.⁶²

II.5.1: Orientalism Literature in the Twentieth Century

Edward Said inherited two distinct bodies of literature that helped him construct orientalism. One concerned the place of Asia and particularly India in the historical construction of the “European imaginaire”. The second was the space of politics and ideology of orientalist projects emphasising their relation with expansion of colonialism. Other publications of this genre are Wilhem Halbfass’s (1988) book *India and Europe: An Essay in Understanding* and Ronald Inden’s (1990) *Imagining India*. Breckenridge and van der Veer (1993) opine that “Theoretically Said and Inden’s work in as much as they have their roots in Foucault’s project to unravel the multiple relations of knowledge and power in the west and in Gramsci’s speculations about hegemony and resistance”.⁶³ These perspectives in the nature of power have more recently been connected to orientalism and concerns about politics of representation.⁶⁴

The term “colonial discourse” means to understand the ‘language of historical representation of the colonial peoples and by extension of oppressed others more generally. The discussion of otherness has tended to imply that others are undifferentiated and that projects that focus on difference – whether the difference of general, race, class, or cultural otherness – have a homologous relation one to the other: race can stand for class and class for the culturally distant.⁶⁵ Positioning the third world along side race and gender in debates on otherness is worthwhile, particularly when it calls attention to the legacies of domination and repression, the multiplicity of voices and the complexity of power that is culturally embedded in the everyday.⁶⁶ Similarly, Aijaz Ahmed (1991:145-46) comments “when Foucault uses the term discourse in dealing with western episteme, he presumes the presence of modern state forms and institutional grid that arose between

⁶¹ This concept has been used by various authors such as Gilman (1985), Downing and Bazargan (1991).

⁶² Pieterse and Parekh cited above, p. 6.

⁶³ Breckenridge C. and van der Veer P, (1993) (ed): Introduction, In *Orientalism and the Post Colonial Predicament, Perspectives on South Asia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, p.3.

⁶⁴ Clifford, James, (1988): *On Orientalism In The Predicament of Culture, Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 255-276.

⁶⁵ Pels, cited above, p. 97.

⁶⁶ Mohanty, Manoranjan, Mukherji, Partha. Nath, and Torunquist, Olle, (1998) (ed): Introduction, In *People Rights, Social Movements, and the State in the Third World*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.4.

the sixteenth and seventeenth century”.⁶⁷ Sudipta Kaniraj (1989) has already elaborated on colonialism being a set of discourses, thus not one otherness exists in the colonial policy but many. Infact the projection of otherness is the politics of difference -- creating divisions, ruptures and alienation in an already fragmented India society.

Early orientalism developed alongside the European Enlightenment. “This convergence of oriental and Enlightenment discourse facilitated the coalescing of important notions of modernity, citizenship and rationality”.⁶⁸ Halbfass has argued that India came to illustrate the theme of the eclipse and suppression of natural light through superstition and ritualism, a theme that enjoyed great popularity among thinkers of the Enlightenment. The view coincided with an indigenous Brahmanical notion of the staged deterioration of civilization to the depraved conditions of the present (Kaliyuga).⁶⁹ Ludden is of the opinion that orientalism became the template for knowing an oriental other in contradistinction to European capitalism rationality and modernity.

Said describes Orientalism as “a systematic discourse by which Europe was able to manage and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively”.⁷⁰ Orientalism in India being the politics of difference, focuses on the essential difference between the east and west, and within India, between castes, religions communities and trines. Peter van der Veer (1993) stresses this essential difference in relation to the prime religious other in India- the “Hindu other” and the “Muslim other” and how colonialism helped solidify these into a nation.⁷¹ This difference is inferred from Said’s conclusion that orientalism is never for from what Dennis Hay has called the ‘idea of Europe’, a collective idea identifying as (Europeans) as against all other (non-Europeans) and indeed it can be argued that the major

⁶⁷ Ahmad, Aijaz, (1991): *Orientalism and After*, In (ed) *In Theory, Classes, Nations, Literatures*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi

⁶⁸ Breckenridge C. and van der Veer P, cited above, p.2.

⁶⁹ Halbfass, Wilhelm, (1988): *India and Europe: An Essay in Understanding*, State University of New York Press, Albany, p. 60.

⁷⁰ Said, cited above, p .3.

⁷¹ Van der Veer, Peter,(1993): *The Foreign Hand, Orientalist Discourse in Sociology and Communalism*, In C. Breckenridge and P. Van Der Veer (ed) *Orientalism and the Post Colonial Predicament, Perspectives on South Asia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, p.27-29.

component in European culture is the idea of European identity as a European one. According to Said, subsequent American interest in the oriental world was political, as a result of some of the obvious historical accounts of it, but it was culture that credited that interest.

Thus orientalism emerged as a distribution of geopolitical awareness in aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical and philological texts, a discourse that is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power – cultural, intellectual, political and moral. Orientalism became a versatile component of political discourse in Europe, as political disputes about India in relation British shaped understandings of both India and Europe. As Halbfass (1988) comments “Jones and Mill informed Hegel’s study of India”.⁷²

Similarly according to Krader (1975)⁷³ and O’Leary (1989)⁷⁴ parliamentary evidence for the Company Charter renewal and news despatches from India formed the basis of Marx’s reports for the New York Tribune and his Asiatic Mode of Production. With the emergence of Europe as a dominant political force in the world, notions about its superiority theoretically become prominent. Ludden (1993) opines that “Beginning with Hegel, Europe’s dynamism and historicity expressed Europe’s primacy ...and India’s at best secondary stature. For Marx and Weber, capitalism revealed and contextualized India’s stagnant backwardness, which they explained using facts about traditional village economy, despotic governance, religiously based social life and sacred caste dimensions. Established as facts by colonial knowledge and by their conventional authority in European political discourse, they were as truths for theorists to use in making sense of the world”.⁷⁵

Yet, inherently there are some contradictions present in this idea of orientalism. The tendency was to denote a particular space such as India or more specifically village

⁷² Halbfass, cited above, p. 88.

⁷³ Krader, Lawrence, (1975): *The Asiatic Mode of Production: The Sources, Development and Critique in the Writings of Karl Marx*, Van Gorcum, Assen.

⁷⁴ O’Leary, Brenden (1989): *The Asiatic Mode of Production: Oriental Despotism, Historical Materialism, and Indian History*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

⁷⁵ Ludden, David, (1993): *Orientalist Empiricism*, In C. Breckenridge and P. Van Der Veer (ed) *Orientalism and the Post Colonial Predicament, Perspectives on South Asia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, p. 265.

India' as "unchanging" and therefore stagnant. It projects a linearity of vision that always does not correspond to reality where spaces evolve and change with time. Secondly as Breckenridge and van der Veer (1993) remark "the colonized subjects are not passively produced by hegemonic projects but are active agents whose choices and discourses are of fundamental importance in the formation of their societies".⁷⁶ Lastly, although it is a discourse that legitimates colonial rule but it continues to exert a considerable influence on the sociological understanding of India after independence.

II.5.2: Orientalism as a Practice and its Relevance in India Today

Indian life in many facets has been affected by orientalism it inherited, ranging from nature of vernacular fiction to the census collection. The projections of India according to van der Veer "as a land of differences, that its essence is unique and unfathomable owes itself to orientalist views of some sort".⁷⁷ Nehru's *Discovery of India*, is a more systematic use of orientalism to craft a charter for nationhood, where he discovers a wise and ageless Indian nation, invaded, conquered, exploited and divided over centuries of foreign rules, but still remaining in essence of its traditions and still struggling for freedom. Nehru's discovery is a journey towards national self awareness, as he discovers India's identity in knowledge constituted by orientalism, he finds himself.⁷⁸ Therefore it is seen how orientalism as a system of knowledge used by Europeans to bolster their own superiority and gain legitimacy colonialism was later used against them using similar techniques; an implicit example lies in the history of Indian nation formation during the freedom struggle.

Yet all this also created in India an "internal orientalism" (by analogy with Michal Hechter's (1975) internal colonialism) the consequence of which is in Breckeridge and van der Veer (1993) opinion "the very cultural basis of public life has been affected and infected by ideas of difference and division that have colonial and orientalist roots".⁷⁹

⁷⁶ C. Breckenridge and P. Van Der Veer, cited above, p.4.

⁷⁷ van der Veer, P., cited above, p.11.

⁷⁸ Ludden cited above, p. 263 and Singh, J, (1996) cited above.

⁷⁹ C. Breckenridge and P. Van Der Veer, cited above, p.4.

There is a vital link between orientalist discourse and the public sphere of today, the politics of difference in what makes one Indian different from another (difference between castes, class, tribe, mainstream, minority, religion etc) is but a follow on the pervading orientalist discourse. So even in the post colonial era a theory of difference that was deeply ingratiated in the practices of the colonial era control people in a strange continuity. Therefore “by thus, linking the discourse of the nation irretrievably to the politics of biologically and socially based group difference, all traditions of politics, thoughts, social groups, were seen as emanations of group identity and essential lewdly differences.... Laid the grounds for a political discourse in which all group differences could only be seen as dangerous separations”.⁸⁰

Following this discourse, the Indian ‘mainstream’ views the ‘tribal society’ as the ‘other’ and exhorts it to join them. Any articulation of their tribal identity is therefore viewed as separatism. Along with this the stereotype of a ‘primitive, backward, undeveloped’ persona is also attached to it. This has lead to serious problems of social alienation in the Chota Nagpur region. Thus the new comers to the region, the Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Bengalis, Biharis, Marwaris all viewed the land as ‘terra nullius’ as the Europeans colonizing America had once viewed the spaces peopled by the Red Indians and later on implied the same in reserving the forest wealth of India and especially the Chota Nagpur region. The tribal people term them as ‘diku’ an outsider, exploiter and despoiler. If the adivasis were ‘no body’ occupying ‘no land’ then they could be treated as sub human beings and their land claimed by the others as their own.

After independence, this stream of thought was abolished, though the recognition of the difference with its imaging remained. What changed was the attitude –this was not an abrupt change but the result of the missionaries’ work, who also were a different kind of ‘other’. Thus began the process of integration, acculturation, a beginning to bring them into the greater Indian fold, like they

⁸⁰ Ibid, p.42

were the “other Indians” as commented by Ashok Maity (1992).⁸¹ This was a project similar to that of the colonial era as colonial rulers were present to ‘civilize’ the natives and makes them loyal “citizens” of the British Empire. Many nationalist historians and sociologists were involved in this process, the primary focus of which was through agricultural knowledge diffusion (K.S.Singh 1985).

Concepts of Hinduization and Sanskritization were developed to explain social change in modern India. D.D. Kosambi (1975) opines that Brahmins acted as pioneers in underdeveloped localities into which they introduced plough agriculture that replaced slash and burn cultivation or food gathering.⁸² G. S. Ghurye has also expressed the idea of integration and assimilation; he used the language about the exploits of warrior saints who acted as agents of “Indian acculturation” and how it should be continued in post independent India “a moral duty of the main stream”.⁸³ Suniti Kumar Chatterjee (1951) is one of the earliest proponents of the idea of Sanskritization, particularly in the North –East. M.N. Srinivas (1952) used concept of Sanskritization in a more structural sense by advocating processes of social mobility in gaining a better caste terms and the reform religions that existed like the Vaishnava cult and the Bhakti cult played an important role in his analysis.⁸⁴

As is evident, the tribal identity of a tribal person was seen as ‘other’. Any tribal person who embraced any other religion then became a part of that religion, his status changed to that of the other religion other. The Indian psyche was constructed as an essentially Hindu one. The primitive under development was what bothered the mainstream more. This is so because these social realities were reflected in the economic system of the society. Herein lies the seeds of inequality that creates marginalisation in the tribal communities. The various kinds of knowledge systems were biased against them, as slowly, their resources

⁸¹ Maity, Ashok. K. (1992): The Other Indians: A Review, In Buddhabeab Chaudhuri (ed): Tribal Transformation In India, Vol III, Inter India Publications, New Delhi.

⁸² Kosambi, D.D. (1975): An Introduction to the Study of Indian History, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, p.172.

⁸³ Ghurye, G. S. (1957): Caste and Class in India, Popular Prakashan, Bombay.

⁸⁴ Srinivas, M.N. (1966): Social Change in Modern India, Allied publishers, Bombay.

for survival was taken away, since it was required by the other people to develop. India after independence embraced the god of development that determined patterns of inclusion in relation to resource allocation.

II.6:Development: The New Power Definer in the World

This section traces the journey of 'development' through the many schools of thought since its emergence on the world scenario in the post world war II period. Indian development is said to have borrowed something from all the theories. This is so because the welfare state in India follows a dual role following the path of a mixed economy.

The post World War II era presented a new watch word for the world community, "development", which figured primarily in Harry Truman's 20th January 1949 speech. He was announcing the new American superiority in the world arena. The global emergence of the limited states as a dominant power, consolidation of the Soviet Union as a countervailing power and in many countries of Asia and Africa the decolonisation through political independence required new rules of creating the new 'other' as the economic other. So the idea was to "develop" and state intervention in the market processes was a step to this achievement.

The difficulty here is that there is not one definition of development but many, each can interpret the word in ones own manner. It denotes progress in some form or the other. The ideals of development have changed over time, in the beginning the ideals. Development as a socio economic process received attention in literature of social sciences widely, mainly in the break down of colonialism and the widespread poverty of the newly developing nations.

A group of theorists came out with the view that the third world nations could overcome the obstacles and can reach the same levels achieved by the developed world by emulating the modern developed countries. Hence the first main stream theories of development within the capitalist world were born as modernisation theories. According to modernisation theorists, development in these newly developing nations is possible by modernisation in values,

institutions, functioned organisations and also change in attitude of the people of the societies.

The development discourse was then based on the political polarity existing in the world. The idea of development in itself is ambiguous. In the first stage it was economic growth. Lele (1993) states, "Based on the recent experience of European reconstruction economists were the first to dominate the disciplinary domain of development. For them economic growth were a precondition for, if not the same as, development."⁸⁵ The theorists include Rostow (1956) Lewis (1946), Myrdal (1954) etc.

Industrialisation, capital accumulation, planning and an interventionist state were stressed as basic elements of theory and practice (Sen 1984).⁸⁶ The progress of development theory can be traced through the liberal, neo-classical, Marxist and theories of most recent origin, the populist ones. The economic liberalism formed by theorists like Smith, Ricardo and Mill suggests that capital production and exchange is carried out through discrete economic agents where purposeful interaction in the market secures fair profit for themselves and a full employment equilibrium in the economy. Corbridge (1987) opines that the patterns of production and exchange thus instituted also affect a rotational use of societies scarce resources.⁸⁷ In colonial India, Ranade in 1898, Dutt in 1901 and Naoroji in 1901 espoused liberal social theory. These are not accepted widely in the present age. The Ricardian framework of the comparative advantage theory then would associate third world countries only as raw material producing nations which was the policy followed in the colonial era.

Then come the stages of growth theories of Rostow 1956, 1960, Hoselitz 1960, McClelland 1961, and Apter 1965. This school saw development as a succession of stages through which all societies, defined as nation states must pass on their way to modernity until they reach the "take off stage". The

⁸⁵ Lele, Jayant, (1993): *Orientalism and the Social Sciences*, In C. Breckenridge and P. Van Der Veer (ed) *Orientalism and the Post Colonial Predicament, Perspectives on South Asia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, p.50.

⁸⁶ Sen, Amartya, (1984): *Development in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

⁸⁷ Corbridge, Stuart, (1988): *The Third World in Global Context*, In Michael Pacione (ed) *The Geography of the Third World: Progress and Prospect*, Routledge, London,

advanced western world was seen as an end point the normal to which all other societies aspired to. This indicates once again the pervasiveness of orientalism formulation with west as normal and the rest as abnormal or aspiring to become normal.

The critique of this functionalism found expression in the under development model of the dependency school. This was clearly influenced by Marxist ideals and that to new analysis of the inequities of the international economic order. The main proponents of this school were A.G. Frank, Samir Amin (1976) and Wallerstein (1974) who saw capitalist industrialization as part of the problem because it sustained links with the world economy and facilitated a continued process of surplus transfer from the third to the first world (Frank 1983:25). Frank visualised development as a “zero-sum game” and argued that development in the periphery was ‘dependent’ upon the core nations due to unequal trade relations.

This was also in some ways based on Paul Baran’s (1957) work “The Political Economy of Growth”, which evolved as a critique of Prebisch’s (1959) idea of import substitution industrialization (ISI). According to Baran it was not enough to urge reforms once the core power of monopoly capitalism or to seek to reform the system from within. The third world people had to recognise the trap of the capitalist world economy which was asymmetrical unequal and repressive. Yet the third world had to have trade relations in the same trap. In Baran’s (1973) opinion “economic development in the third world will be resisted because it is profoundly inimical to the dominant interests in the advanced countries.”⁸⁸

In Wallerstein’s (1974) world systems theory model of surplus transfer, actors in the core (the metropolitan capitalists) call on their state machines to the geographical equalisation of profits. “In effect they use state power deliberately and persistently to weaken (under develop) the periphery by conquest, monopoly pricing, protectionism and so on, but not so in the semi periphery”.⁸⁹ Wallerstein

⁸⁸ Baran, Paul (1973): *The Political Economy of Growth*, Penguin, Harmondsworth,

⁸⁹ Wallerstein, Immanuel, (1974): *The Modern World System*, Academic Books, New York, p.67.

implies that it suits the core to preserve a variable semi-periphery as a buffer between themselves and periphery. Taking the agreement further Arghiri Emmanuel (1972) talks of uneven cores existing in the trade systems. Though based on Marxism, these ideologies are highly criticised by orthodox Marxists.

Marx had been hopeful in phases about the capacity of colonialism to modernise traditional India based on which is Warren's (1980) thesis that imperialism was the "pioneer of capitalism" which is again an extremely controversial thesis. The orthodox marxists included Lenin, (1920s), Luxemburg (1960s), Laclau (1979), Brenner (1977), the major argument was one of modes of production. They argued that "modern capitalist mode articulated with traditional non capitalist modes and in doing so gained certain benefits such as cheap labour or raw materials."⁹⁰ This concept of articulation was often combined with a theory of internationalisation of capital which examined the accumulation of capital on global scale.⁹¹ Froebel et al (1990) states "This in turn promoted rapid third world industrialisation and a new international division of labours".⁹² Brian Davey's "Economic Development of India" is a formulation to explain India's economic development against the backdrop of modes of production argument.

The internationalisation of capital created industrialization was seen in the East Asian nations development case. Gunnar Myrdal in his Asian Drama Vol III (1968) has identified three economic factors that are in circular causation to each other leading to stagnation. They are

1. Output and Income.
2. Condition of production
3. Levels of living
4. Attitude towards life and work
5. Institutions
6. Policies

⁹⁰ Keily, Ray(1995): sociology and Development, The Impasse and Beyond, University of East London, London. The other people who hold this opinion are Carter 1979 and Wolpe 1980. Keily has generated this view from them.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Froebel, F, Heinrichs, J, and Kreye, O, (1977): The Tendency Towards a New International Division of Labour, In Review, No. 1, pp 73-88.

He considers policies as mixture of all these factors with predominance of the economic ones. He argued that non economic factors effects economic factor which in turn affect non economic factors. The vicious cycle of poverty can be transformed into virtuous cycles by proper formulation of policies.⁹³

One fact becomes evident that all these theories of development inherently are talking of industrialization. Gavin Kitching (1989) is of the opinion that the desire for development, particularly industrial development, has its roots in nationalism as much as in a desire to alleviate poverty and promote greater economic equality. The reason behind this is that without industrialisation, nation states would be unable to produce the armaments that would enable them defend themselves against more powerful industrial nations.⁹⁴ In addition the belief that there are definite limits to growth that can be achieved from agriculture alone has furthered the case for industrialisation.

What is being talked of here is the economic development of a nation. Yet, even economic development is a function of a number of variables, such as social, cultural and political. The entire process is also set with the social political parameters and relations. As Kaldor (1955) remarks, "study of the dynamics of economic growth leads beyond the analysis of economic factors, to a study of psychological and sociological determinants of these factors".⁹⁵ More over with passage of time the ideals of development have also changed. The ideal in the 1970s was the redistribution of wealth and the means of achievement was the basic needs programme initiated by the International Labour Organisation.

Later, on came the back lash to too much economic development, instead of top down, there was a trend of bottom up approach to the entire problem of development. This was the beginning of the environmental movement in the world. The first landmark in this was the publishing of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1972 followed by Schumaker's *Small is wonderful*. Later on many other publications have made their mark. Yet, the colonial knowledge and the policies were what had changed the

⁹³ Gunnar Myrdal, (1968): *The Asian Drama*, Vol III, Penguin, London.

⁹⁴ Kitching, Gavin, (1982): *Development and Underdevelopment in a Historical Perspective*, Populiam, Natinalism and Industrialisation, revised Edition, Routledge, London.

⁹⁵ Kaldor, N, (1955): *An Expenditure Tax*, George Allen and Unwin, London, p.130.

environment of many a place and had gone unnoticed. This was the beginning of the post modern period that saw the emergence of the studies of colonialism after almost a gap of 25 to 30 years after it had ended. These perspectives were then incorporated into the studies.

Yet, through out the Western world (no longer the colonial powers, the change is to be noted in the terminology) maintained its superiority over the Third world nations. Even the environmental movement is fraught with the political pulls and pushes. So, even now, the difference between the Orient and the Occident is being played out to control once colonised third world nations. Unfortunately the same story is being played out within the third world nations' themselves. The colonial patterns once in place prove to be enduring ones as regions that were being exploited are still now bearing the brunt. And it is the knowledge base achieved during the colonial regime that still governs the attitudes and policies. The situation in the Chota Nagpur region is an example of this chronic underdevelopment in a resource rich region. This pattern has been in place since the colonial times, so the tribal communities residing there are being continuously deprived of their resources.

Industrialisation was the path trodden by the colonial powers to become colonial powers. therefore, for many developing nations it was a positive vision for progress, rather than agriculture, which was termed as stagnant. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, stated in his book, 'The Discovery of India' (1946), as his goal to create the right kind of modernized India by replacing the colonial state by a centralized nation state as the main agency of power. This state would be the driving force behind economic production in post colonial India, as "No country can be politically and economically independent unless it is highly industrialized and the economy based on latest technical achievements of the day must necessarily be a dominant one".⁹⁶ This points to several facts- the ideological premise underpinning Nehru's nationalist thought places the nation state at its very heart, as well as reinforcing a colonial teleology of progress and modernity. Far more problematically it claims a spurious ideological unity among all citizens, irrespective of caste, religion, sex, wealth and education – the entity

⁹⁶ Nehru, Jawaharlal, (1946): The Discovery of India, Ed. Robert I Crane, Garden City, New York, Anchor Books, p. 28-29.

called 'Mother India', "whose mountains, rivers and fields...were all dear to us ... invocations going back to Bharat, an embodiment of beneficence and plentitude" He put all his faith in an abstract idea of the future, supported by a notion of the 'spirit of age'.

The Congress Party under his aegis set up the National Planning Committee in 1938. He liked the idea of socialism, since it was the middle path. He favoured a path of planned development for India just after independence and the Planning Commission was set up, with the first five year plan being announced in 1950-51. This was the path India had to follow to develop. Nehru's words, "Industrialisation produces steel, it produces power. They are the bases. Once you have got the base, it is easy to build. The strategy governing planning in India is to industrialise and that means the basic industries being given first place".⁹⁷ Following Soviet Russia that had evolved economic planning based on total nationalisation following Marx's views on the abolition of private ownership of the means of production as a means to abolish exploitation, India's basic industries were also State owned public sector enterprises. Nehru's 'Democratic Socialism' was a policy meant to modernise India with state control. The second five year plan from 1955-60 was based on these ideals, and given shape and direction by P.C. Mahalanobish was entirely an industry oriented plan. The strategy emphasised investment in heavy industries to achieve industrialisation that was assumed to be the basic condition for rapid development.

II.7: Models of Resource Control

India's natural resource capacity is immense. She has good reserves of coal, iron ore, mica, uranium, calcium carbonate, zinc, copper and phosphorous as well as forest resources. There are various models to study the state society relationship vis a vis natural resource allocation. Three models are presented here. Part II.7.1 deals with the ecological progression model developed by Gadgil and Guha (1992), Part II.7.2 deals with Shepherd's (1993) common property resource management model, Part II.7.3 deals with Echeverri- Ghent's resource dependence model and Part II.7.4 deals with Chattopadhyay and Raza's (1974) regional development model. The requirement is a

⁹⁷ Nehru Quoted In Dutt and Sundaram, (1990): The Indian Economy, Revised Edition, S. Chand Publishers, New Delhi, P.140.

certain flexibility to account for the political content of development programmes, which greatly affect the particular resource allocation models development in a nation.

II.7.1: The Ecological Progression Model

The ecological progress model is based on the stages of ecological growth and change in the human cycle. Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha (1992) in their book, "This Fissured Land" have developed three such models, where the transition of human society from hunter gatherer to industrial society is shown. The land occupied slowly reduces in the three figures consecutively and the complexities increase. Thus the progress towards industrial society is achieved through continuous ecological changes. This means that the availability of resources decline with increase in technological development in the human society. The second factor that affects the progression is the increase in population, which causes a decline in the resource availability.

This is a simple model, providing the elementary model for resource allocation in any society. The path indicated is followed by only the most simple and isolated tribal community when it embarks on the passage to development. Such a condition rarely exists in real world situation today. Somehow, the isolation of most populations are being broken down and industrial influence is reaching into the hidden places on his earth.

Table 1.1 gives the relationship of human society with resource base, where, as populations grow the resource base shrinks along with increasingly high ecological impact.⁹⁸

II.7.2: Common Property Resource Management Model

Shepherd's (1993) model of forest use is also important here since it represents how land alienation takes place due to forest policies. She realises the fact that many colonial and thereafter post colonial governances fail to recognise the common property resources, and how located within these spaces private property rights can exist. She stresses on the idea of population growth in the region acting as an agent of change and reducing the availability of the common property resources when the state does not act as a regulatory body. Her first model exhibits the indigenous and participatory forest management, as shown in figure 1.2. In her second model Shepherd shows that common

⁹⁸ Gadgil, Madhav and Guha, Ramachandra, (1992): This Fissured Land, An Ecological History of India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

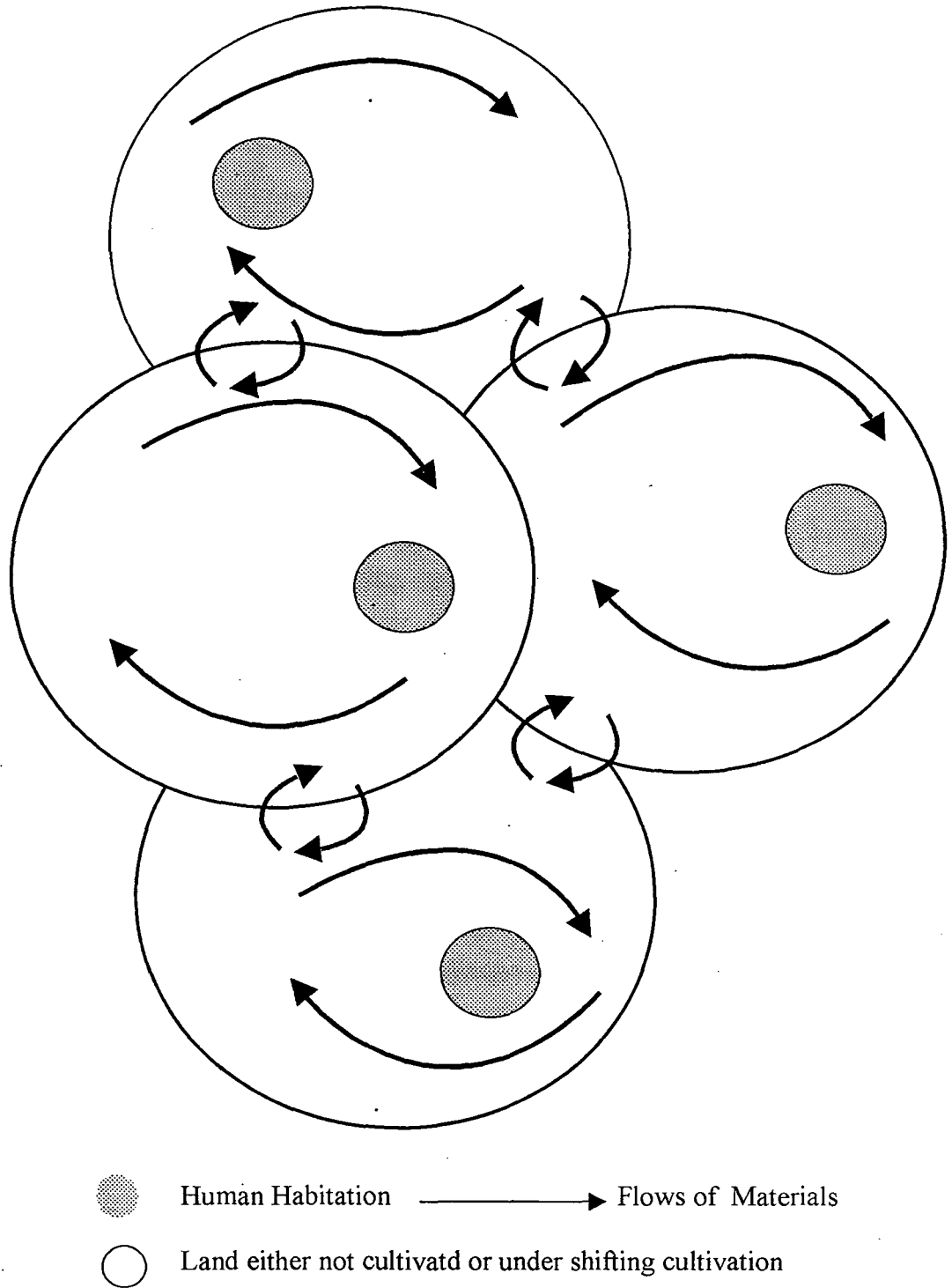
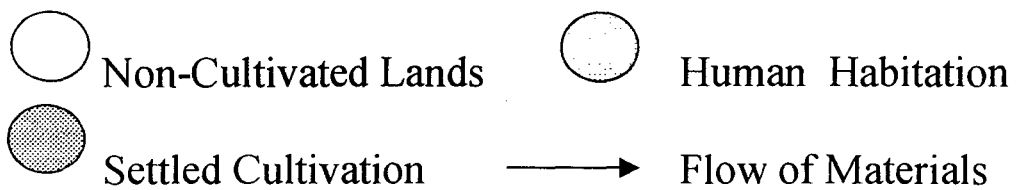
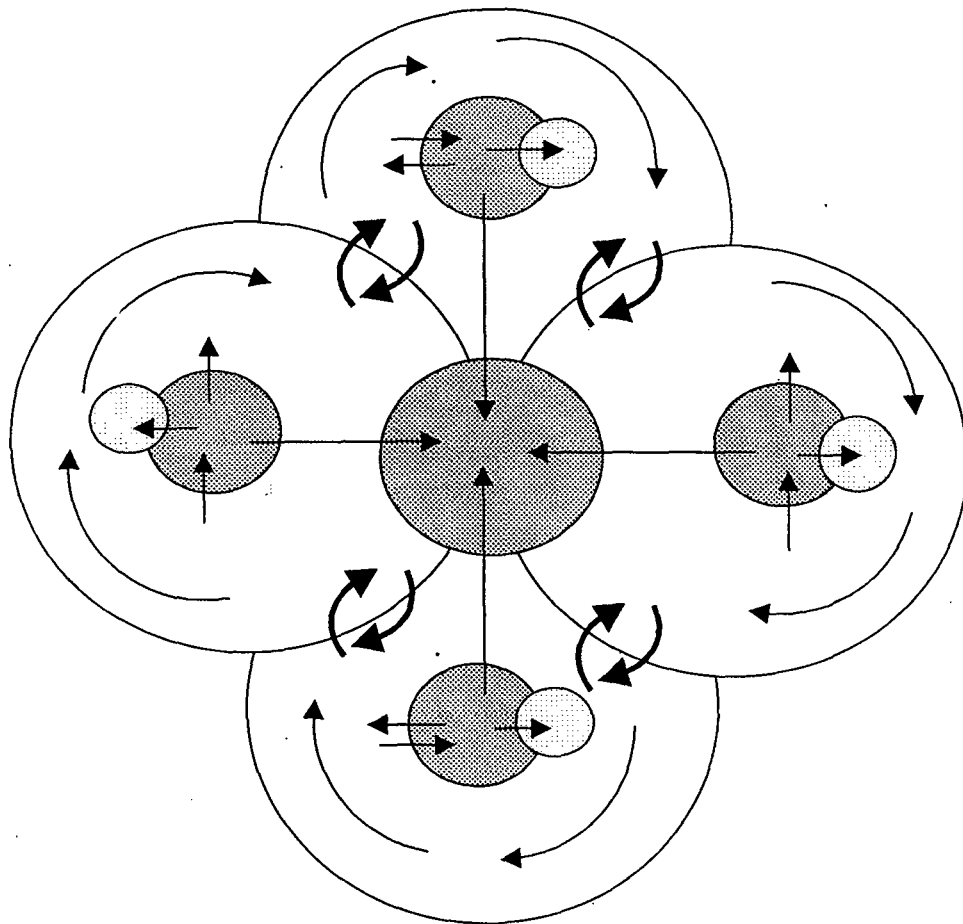


Figure 1.1

In productive, stable environments, hunter-gathered cum shifting-cultivators maintain well-defined territories. Cycles of materials in such environment are largely closed on the spatial scales of territories with flow of materials across territorial boundaries being much less significant. The thickness of an arrow indicates the intensity of the flow.

Source: Gadgil and Guha, (1992): *This Fissured Land, An Ecological History of India*



Figures II.2

Material flows in an agrarian society. Settled agriculture makes possible generation of surplus grain and livestock production, which can support concentration of non-agricultural populations in towns and cities. This material export from cultivated lands has to be made good by flows from surrounding non-cultivated lands. Material cycles thus become much more open in comparison with the hunter-gatherer shifting Cultivator State. Settlements adjacent to cultivated land represent villages, the larger habitation in the centre, towns. The thickness of the arrow indicates the intensity of the flow.

Source: Guha and Gadgil, same as in figure 11.1

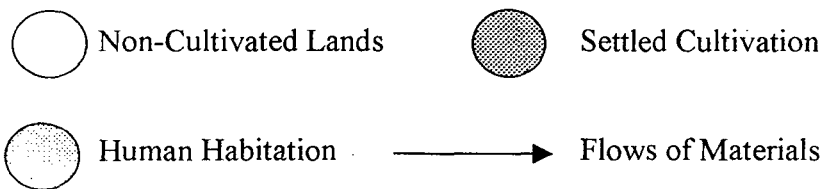
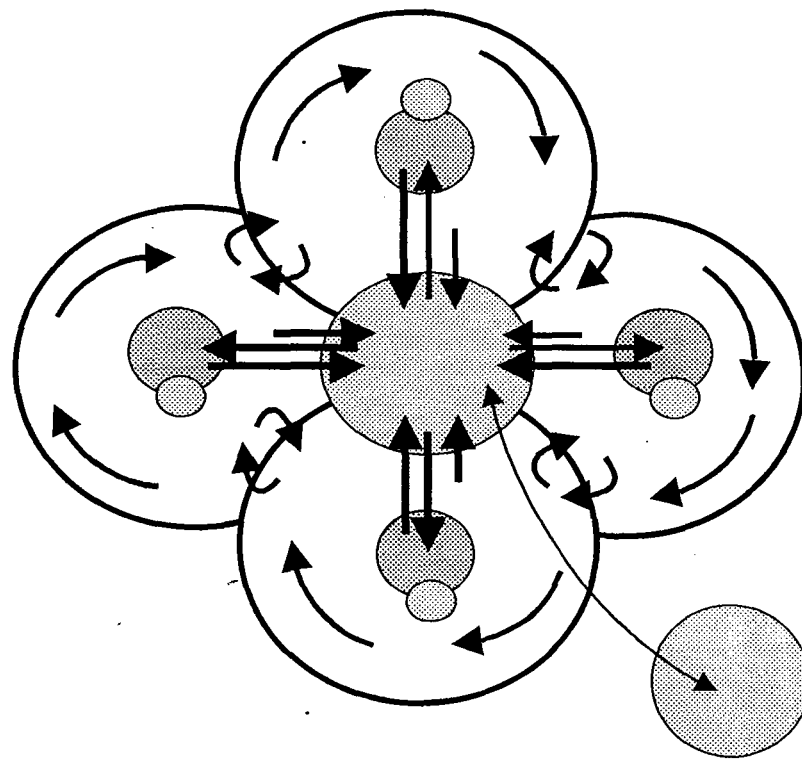
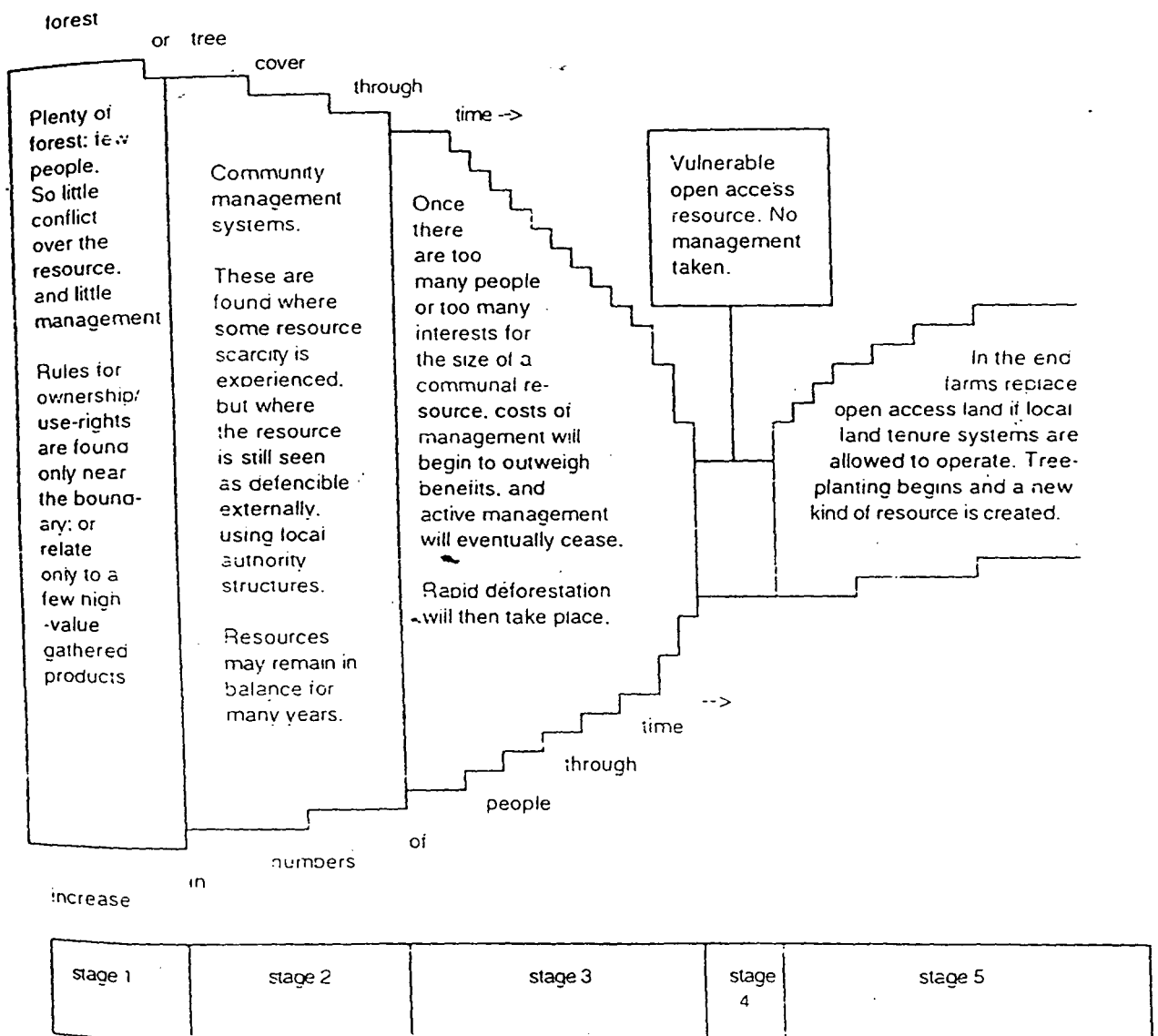


Figure II.3

Materials flows characterizing modern Indian society. Such societies not only tap surplus agricultural production, but also a great deal for the product of non-cultivated lands to meet the requirements of the urban-industrial sector. Thereby the materials cycles become totally open, with large outflows from rural hinterlands. These are partially compensated for by the organized flows of materials such as fertilizers from the urban-industrial sector to the cultivated lands. The large central human habitation represents an Indian city such as Bombay; the separated habitation in the upper right hand corner, the industrialized countries. The thickness of an arrow indicated the intensity of the flow.

Source: Gadgil and Guha, Same as in figure II.1

Figure II.4: Shepherd's 'First Model' - "Indigenous and Participatory Forest Management"



Source: Shepherd, 1993a

FIGURE II.5: Shepherd's Second Model

Area-type 1	Area-type 2	Area-type 3	Area-type 4
Geographical site characteristics			
remote low pop. density	->-----> ->-----> ----->	----->-----> ----->----->	near to town high pop. density
Type of land use -----> extensive -----> intensive			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Crops and heavy dependence on livestock in dry areas. hunting in wet. Non timber forest products (NTFPs) vital in both. * Soil fertility is maintained by swidden-fallow systems. in wet and dry areas. * Labour is the key constraint in these systems whether high or low rainfall. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Permanent agricultural plots where economic. Swidden elsewhere. Still some open land but fallows shortening. * Soil fertility is maintained by silt inflow, dung or is declining. * If animals important, grazing pressure is increasing. Kept on nearby commons. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * More intensive agriculture. Nearly all land held in permanent registered plots. * Dung or other fertiliser saved and bought. * Animals fewer, kept on farms. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Highly intensive agriculture; with all farms contiguous. * Increasing land prices, and plot fragmentation. * Fertiliser mainly purchased. * Landlessness. * Hired agri-cultural labour. * Off-farm employment increases. * Animals stall fed or sold off.
Extent of Common Property Resources (CPRs)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Lots of shared forest or range. CPR management rules extant and functioning. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Communal land getting scarcer. * Management rules beginning to cause conflict. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * All communal land gone except hilltops, and sacred groves. CPR rules now unworkable. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Scraps of waste land may still exist. Management rules forgotten. Open access only.
LIKELY VILLAGER INTERESTS: PROMISING PROJECT INTERVENTIONS.			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Homestead planting for hedging, fruit, shade. Just a few high-value trees wanted. * Tree-related cash from NTFPs: such as fuelwood, browse and honey (in dry forest); game, medicine and foods (in moist forest). * Forest management with local people (JFM) likely to be successful. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Mostly homestead planting for shade, fruit, hedging and maybe small timber. * If animals kept, damage to planted trees common. * Cash from farm-grown fruit, and from NTFPs. * Try JFM only if villagers keen. * Possibility of village subgroups managing smaller reserve areas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Interest in field-boundary planting of poles timber and fuel. * Interest in all the homestead planting options. * Cash sales of fruit, poles, and farm-grown fuel-wood possible, if there is no competition from remoter CPRs. * Investigate subgroup or individual reserves, not JFM. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * All tree-needs from farm except quality timber. * May be good markets for high value farm tree-products. * ? Fodder for stall-fed animals. * Alley-cropping and mulching? * Put whole farm under trees and work off-farm? * JFM impossible.

Source: Shepherd 1993a.

property resource management develops in Stage two where some resource scarcity is experienced. This scarcity is brought about by the reduction of access to the forestry resource. The management techniques of the common property resource begins to decline in stage three, “when there are too many people and too many interests for the size of a resource and the management costs start to outweigh the benefits”.⁹⁹

Shepherd’s model is important since she argues for ‘helpful state intervention’ in the form of joint forest management that is being followed by the Indian Government at present. This may help in recreating a resource that has already been depleted. The drawback in this model is that the model cannot accurately exhibit the complexity and fluidity of many different resource management strategies and area types that can be found in the developing world. Yet, it is helpful in formulating the willingness of all the parties concerned in regenerating a common property resource, such as the forests. The dispossessed community can also feel a requirement to shield themselves from further exploitation by controlling this process at the local level.

II.7.3: Resource Dependence Model

In dealing with public policy as a tangible interaction between the state and society, there is Echeverri-Ghent’s (1993)¹⁰⁰ model, where the basic assumption is that the state’s and therefore implicitly the political paramount concern is survival. In order to further this objective, the state must acquire resources from its environment constituted of societal groups. Societal actors that control the relevant resource exert influence on the state and its policy activities. Such transactions between the state and societal groups constitute the relationship of mutual dependence.

The relative dependence of the State and the societal group on one hand is determined by the following factors

- Importance of Resources controlled by each and the other
- Concentration of control over resources
- Uncertainty of supply of resources

⁹⁹ Shepherd, G, (1993a): *Indigenous and Participatory Forest Management and the Role of External Intervention*, Paper presented at National Resources Institute Workshop on ‘Stakeholders and Tradeoffs’ London, March 1993.

¹⁰⁰ Echeverri Ghent, J, (1993): *The State and the Poor,: Public Policy and Political Development in India, and the United States*, Los Angeles developed the Resource Dependence Model . The Model presented here is drawn from Prakash’s development of the modified model to incorporate the ethnic identities and the states reaction to these.

➤ Abundance of resources

All these factors in them selves do not cause dependency. Rather, dependency is a function of asymmetric exchange of resources. The importance of resource controlled by the other party goes a long way in determining the nature of State - society relationship. If the resources that are controlled by the society is important for the State's survival, it will tend to be accommodative and weak. If the State is able to control most of the resources crucial to society, it will become dictatorial and can usually implement it will over societal actors.

Three types of resources are important in any public policy oriented study of the State - society relationship:

- Political Resources
- Economic resources
- Information resources (Prakash, 1998)¹⁰¹.

The state in India controls a vast array of goods and services crucial to the development and poverty alleviation of the societal groups concerned. The economic resources controlled by the state can determine the future development profile of the region.

Conversely, if the societal groups control a vast potential political resources invested in the State by exercising their right to vote. Though, this is a two way relationship since the societal groups need a share in this political resource controlled by the State to legitimise their own claims as well as to skew authoritative allocation of resources in their own favour.

Both the society and the State need to share the third resource: information to further their individual causes. The State being in a condition to generate large amount of information still has to depend on the societal groups for local information and then societal groups need the overall information.

¹⁰¹ Prakash, Amit, (1998): *The Politics of Development and Identity in the Jharkhand Region of Bihar, India (1951-1991)* University of London Ph.D. Thesis, 1998

II.7.4: Rregional Development Model

Boudhayan Chattopadhyaya and Moonis Raza developed this model in 1974. This is one of the models' developed in India that takes into account the enclave character of certain regions, that becomes almost inevitable in the race for development.

They critique the idea that growth automatically trickles down from the centre to the periphery. The accumulation of capital also operates differently in different stratas of the society. This capital accumulation at times may not stimulate the growth in the region, particularly if they are tied to interests outside the region. Then the investment is always made outside the region and linkages do not develop within the region.

According to them, this was extremely common in the colonial period. They attribute the underdevelopment of a region to the internal and external economies of scale. Supporting the Latin American dependency school, they list the causes affecting the economies of a region as:

1. Non economic Compulsions, that serve between the metropole and has the maximum share in resource allocation and usage
2. the numerous modes of production and generation of surplus operating simultaneously create a gap in earning prowess and the property generation
3. The forcible monetisation of the economy creates a situation for easy penetration of usurious capital into an underdeveloped region
4. lastly, the level of technological development lags behind, causing inefficiency in the region

All these mean that the metropole is always in a commanding position, naturally, once the colonial rule is overturned the vacuum is filled by the leading national metropolitan cities. The surplus from the region is thus neatly siphoned off for the up keep of the urban metropolitan economy.

This is usually the usually the case of the resource rich region, creating a certain enclave, where urban centres present in the region act as the outposts of the metropolitan economy. The produce from such a region is invariably a primary produce and the raw material is processed elsewhere.

Thus, it is joined to the external economies without any linkages in the regional economy. Here the Satellite centres are present for the production of raw materials. "Mining and plantation areas" usually develop in clusters at a very low level of urbanisation and along with lack of social infrastructural facilities"¹⁰² and low technology usage. The labour is mostly unskilled and the skilled labour is brought from outside the region. This is a region with high intra region disparity.

This model fits in the situation existing in Chota Nagpur quite well. The forcible induction of the regional economy of Chota Nagpur into the world economy is evident in that the maximum export of minerals occurs from this region but there is very little development. The income opportunities of the local people is extremely limited as no linkages with the regional economy has been developed, this has been utilised as only as raw material producing region, much as was the position of the nation in the colonial times. This enclave character thus makes for uneven development in the region, along with a disbalanced population structure that is the result of immigration in the region. The lure of employment draws the population from other regions and they do not invest in the region. Neither do they care for its development. Also, they reduce the opportunity of the locale people's access to employment, this gives rise to societal tensions between the hosts and the guests.

However, it is likely that the societal groups when not given due political and economic space on the policy agenda may organise and mobilise dissent on ethnic lines. This feature aligned to the development plank has seen the maximum rise in protest and gain attention to address their grievances. Since the State controls most resources, Fernandes (1989) states that "income generation, distribution of resources and asset ownership is conditioned by social, economic and cultural factors".¹⁰³ Providing the resource in this model is land and the society that of the tribal communities and the region the Chota Nagpur region, then the Indian State has followed the colonial one in acting as a despot. Though there are special provisions made to protect the tribal populace, yet they are the worst affected.

¹⁰² Boudhayan Chattopadhyay and Moonis Raza, (1975) Regional Development: Analytical Frame work and Indicators, In the Indian Journal of Regional Science, July, 1975.

¹⁰³ Fernandes, Walter, (1989) (ed): National Development and Tribal Deprivation, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, p.2.

When the resource is land then the State possesses the right to mine it. Also land under forest is also under State control as well as private ownership. The tribal community to whom it actually belonged to is dispossessed. They are the ones who have to sacrifice for the nation to develop as has happened in Chota Nagpur. The minerals produced, the industries that manufacture are all taken outside the region since there are no linkages for ancillary growth. The State gains maximum benefit in the form of high revenue generation and in return the region is lagging behind in terms of development. The money allocated is not spent and disappears through the various lacunae. The meagre impact of the development policies in the region led to the heightening of the socio economic conflict and unrest in the region in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This was the Jharkhand Movement that has succeeded in winning a separate state comprising the traditional regions of tribal dominance, though this situation has changed today.

The idea of land alienation as a major constituent of the process of marginalisation is explored in the next chapter. The process of social differentiation helps it to a great extent. Thus, the “others” created is always made to pay for one’s own development. The systematisation of knowledge acquisition is the major force that acts behind the process, since that knowledge reveals the options of maximum profit to be had from a region and by implication its most vulnerable position. That knowledge is a tool for wielding power is acknowledged, since it is that which governs all the decisions of the government who acts as the main resource allocator. Thus, the access to resources that determines the survivability of a person is a most important controlling knowledge in the entire spectrum survivability of the people who are exclusively dependent on it.

Chapter III

Land Laws in Chota Nagpur and their Impact on the Tribal Populace (1793-2000)

Land is the most basic resource that can be owned by man. It is also the crucial resource that decides the future of a person. More so, in the case of the tribal economy which is based entirely on agriculture and barter. There is an egalitarian society with equal land rights for everyone.¹ The process of land alienation has been in continuance since a long time but it saw unprecedented growth during the colonial rule. This was caused primarily by increasing accessibility to the tribal areas that had hitherto been encircled by forests. Also the change in the mode of production (industrialisation) and the alignment of the tribal economy to the world capitalist system created a means of exploitation. Satya Deva (1981) points out that alienation is inherent in exploitative relations of production and that its nature varies with that of exploitation. Hence the manifestation of alienation also differs among societies based on slavery, serfdom and capitalism.

This chapter looks at the various processes that have shaped land alienation in tribal areas. Particular stress is given to the land laws enacted by the colonial government, specially the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793 that radically changed the land revenue system. The entire chapter is divided into five sections,

III.1. Alienation as a Concept in the Social Sciences

III.2. The Process of Land Alienation in Chota Nagpur Prior to the Colonial Rule

III.3 Land Laws Enacted by the British In Chota Nagpur and Its Impact on the Common Property Resources of the Region

III.4 Tribal Response to the Imposition of Land Laws: A Saga of Revolts

III.5 The Post Independent Scenario in the Region– Role of Mineral Exploitation

The English trading company had come to India primarily with hopes of winning immense profits. Even after the grant of the Diwani in 1765 the aim remained profit maximisation, for which land revenue became the main source. As Rao (1987) remarks,

¹ Singh, K.S, (1969): Tribal Land organisation in Chota Nagpur and its Development: Trends OF Socio Economic Change in India, 1871-1961, IIAS, Shimla.

“thus the concept of alienation may be interpreted to understand a problem of tribal peoples where land becomes the primordial source of exploitation and results in the creation of a society where exploitative production relations exist”.²

Moreover the British laws to exact exact revenue from the region of Chota Nagpur, was similar to that of Bengal, but the amount of cultivable land was much less from the rest of Bengal Suba.³ This region was altogether a different geographical region in that the Bengal region was an area of Gangetic flat plain land and the Chota Nagpur was a plateau land. The alluvium soils of the Bengal plains were much more fertile than the red lateritic soils of the Chota Nagpur plateau. So land in the Bengal plains produced much more than in the Chota Nagpur region. Also, there was a distinct difference in the land laws prevailing in both the regions, one was individual property system and the other its opposite, the communal ownership of land. Yet, the colonial rulers at the beginning had one set of laws for the entire region. This resulted in as Bagchi (1992) states “peasant adjustment included repeated outbreaks of peasant resistance against the British rulers and their local collaborators”.⁴

Therefore, in a predominantly agrarian nation like India, land assumes the greatest importance; for its value lies not only in its food potential but also and perhaps most importantly, in its capacity to energise economic and social mobility.⁵ This assumes great importance in a hierarchically structured society both socially and economically since ones position on the social pyramid determines ones power and control over those positioned below him regarding access to various resources. The once egalitarian tribal societies today is marked by a high degree of class stratification as well as the traditional intra and inter tribe stratification. This means that there is variation in the access to the resources by different people on the hierarchical scale.⁶

According to Viegas (1989) the potential of land to act as an engine in organising economic and social space can be “seen in the context of human perceptions which are to

² Rao, B. Janardan, (1987): Land Alienation in Tribal Areas, Kakatiya School of Public Administration, Warrangal, p.24.

³ Suba, a regional division used in the Mughal era, the regionalisation was based on revenue administration.

⁴ Bagchi, Amiya. Kumar, (1992): Land Tax, Property Rights and Peasant Insecurity in Colonial India, Nml, Occasional Papers, New Delhi, p.x.

⁵ Desai, A.R. (1978): Agrarian Stratification in India, In Rural Sociology, (ed) Popular Prakashan, Bombay.

⁶ Viegas, Philip, (1989): Land Control and Tribal Struggle for Survival, In Walter Fernandes (ed) National Development and Tribal Deprivation, ISI, New Delhi.

a great extent culturally determined”.⁷ Bohman speaks of “organising concepts” that is ideas to which many other ideas and activities are related and which constitute the primary postulates in a system of thought in a given society, calls them “units of thought” which have their own denotations (ranges of meaning) and connotations (associations with other units of thought) which perhaps account for the differences in perception of the same object in different societies (Bohman quoted in Neale (1979)).⁸ Interpreting the above mentioned formulation Viegas (1989) contends that thus land acquires several meanings, an aerial space producing food, but when it is associated with “crossing the boundaries of subsistence economy and enters the area of surplus generation, it begins to be viewed as tool for acquiring political power and control”.⁹

More than within the tribal society, this relationship view exists in the non tribal society and is the prime structuring means of power patterns in the tribal society when invaded by non tribal people. The causes for and the processes involved in the alienation of tribal land point out in a very graphic manner the disequilibrium in the power balance in operation between the socially, economically and politically powerful landlords and the powerless tribals.¹⁰ This is crucial in understanding the tribal society’s cultural existence as well as exchanges with the tribal populace in the sphere of culture that by its nature, also immediately becomes political. The ‘other’ seen in the orientalist discourse surfaces once again in the land relations also, this attitude becomes the base for further relational development. The tribals in term label the outsiders as ‘Dikus’ denoting exploiters, oppressors and cheating peoples.

III.1: Alienation as a Concept in Social Sciences

Alienation as a concept in the social sciences is essentially a Marxian construct; alienation as a concept and framework defines the state of human being in a social situation of total social-economic formation of a society. Rao (1987) comments, “Starting with Hegel, it was used by Marx in his early writings to describe and criticise a social condition in which man far from being the active initiator of the social world seemed

⁷ Ibid, p. 176.

⁸ Neale, W, (1979): Land is to Rule, in Robert E. Frykenberg (ed) Land Control and Social Structure in Indian Society, Manohar, New Delhi, pp. 3-15.

⁹ Viegas, cited above, p.176.

¹⁰ Ibid, p.183.

more a passive object of determinate external processes”.¹¹ Hegel’s idea of alienation was highly “non-materialistic and idealistic with mythical overtones”. For Hegel, it was not the real world living human beings but “the absolute idea that undergoes alienation”.¹² This means that the alienation is not working in the real world but is acting on an idea that is perceived by some one. Its existence is only at an ideal level denies it the right to exist in real world conditions.

In Colletti’s (1975) opinion Karl Marx has criticised the idea put forward by Hegel, by saying that Hegel’s philosophy suffers from the double defect of being at one and the same time from “uncritical positivism and uncritical idealism.”¹³ He further clarifies it, by commenting, “It is uncritical idealism because Hegel denies the empirical, sensible world and acknowledges true reality only in abstraction, in the “Idea”. And it is uncritical positivism because Hegel cannot help in the end restoring the empirical object world, and originally denied the idea has no other possible earthly incarnation or meaning.”¹⁴ Therefore Hegel’s idea cannot be disregarded but neither can it be used in the in any real world situation.

According to Marx, in his early writings {Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (EMP) the concept is formulated as “estranged labour” phenomena. Alienation in Marx’s conception of man in the capitalist society is the process that facilitates the exploitation of many by a few (Sharma 1979:53). Sharma (1979) further quotes Marx, “Alienation is fundamentally a particular relation to property, involving involuntary surrender to antagonistic other”. A human subject can also view it as a process of relinquishment of a possession to a claim to something; this also transforms people into antagonistic groups. Swingwood (1975) opines “Alienation is also described as a process by which man is progressively turned into a stranger in the world which his labour has created”.¹⁵ For Marx, alienation was a characterise feature of social relations under which the conditions of peoples life and activity, that activity itself and the

¹¹ Rao, cited above, p. 24.

¹² Ibid, p. 25.

¹³ Coletti, Lucio, (1975): Early Writings, Karl Marx, Penguin Books, London.

¹⁴ Ibid. p.20.

¹⁵ Swingwood, Alen, (1975): Marx and Modern Social Theory, Macmillan Press, London, p.89.

relations between people, appear as a force which is alien and hostile to the people.¹⁶ He considers alienation as an inevitable form of capitalistic social relations.

In EPM (1844) he wrote, “though private property appears to be the reason, the cause of alienated labour, it is rather the consequence ... later this relation becomes reciprocal”.¹⁷ Sharma, (1979) commenting on Marx’s attitude towards alienation expresses the opinion that according to Marx, while private property is the product of alienated labour, it is also a means by which labour alienates.¹⁸ He further opines that Marx in his latter works systematises his analysis while presenting the paradox of capitalist production of ever increasing material wealth at one pole and ever increasing impoverishment of the working class on the other, and aptly perceives the “exploitation” of capitalist and alienation of wage labour.¹⁹ Thus alienation and exploitation both became characteristic features of capitalistic society.

The formulation of private property in land in turn is included in the larger debate surrounding the issue of whether the creation of private property in land by British rulers in India is an accomplished fact or not. According to Bagchi, (1989) “Most wars in recorded history have been fought regarding control over land and its produce and therefore its analysis is of utmost importance in analysis of social change, economic transformation and political revolution”.²⁰ He further comments “ the lack of private property in land, the union in the person of the sovereign of both the public and private spheres of social life, and hence the lack of separation of the strictly political sphere from civil society have been regarded separately and jointly as the characteristics and constitutive elements of ‘oriental ‘ societies and mere specifically of “oriental despotism”.²¹ In Krader’s (1975) view this tradition of economic writing dates back to Jean Bernier in the seventeenth century but was authenticated by G.W.F. Hegel in eighteenth century.²² Stokes (1976) opines that this view was also adhered to by a very

¹⁶ Marx, Karl. (1844): Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, Reprinted in 1970, Progress Publishers, Moscow, p. 8.

¹⁷ Marx, obsid, p.10.

¹⁸ Sharma, T.R, (1979): Karl Marx: From Alienation to Exploitation, In Indian Journal Of Political Science, Vol. 40, No. 3, p.353.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 354.

²⁰ Bagchi, Obsid, p.1.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Krader, L, (1975): The Asiatic Modes of Production: Sources, Development and Critique in the Writings of Karl Marx, Van Gorcum, Assen.

important group of policy makers in colonial India.²³ Bagchi (1989) picks up the dissention and comments “Paradoxically enough, the alleged lack of individual property as against mere possession in the village communities of Asia (including India) and their subjection to the sovereignty of the state provided the germ of the Asiatic mode of production as conceptualised by Karl Marx”.²⁴

An opposite view to the above argument also exists that credits the Asian lands to be endowed with the institution of private property in land. The implicit recognition of the presence of private property in land in the Mughal dominions goes back at least to Tavernier, a contemporary of Bernier.²⁵ Guha (1963) states that amongst the British officials and policy makers Philip Francis ascribed to the view that the zamindars or the landlords were the proprietors of the soil.²⁶ Krader (1975) mentions that Mark Wilks was of the view that in the Mysore kingdom of the eighteenth century land was owned by individual cultivator.²⁷ Montstuart Elphinstone also supported this in his journals on the Maratha territory.

“However the second view was drowned in the need that the European writers of the eighteenth century felt of conceptualising the Orient as the changeless ‘Other’ to which European countries would also approximate if they failed to carry out the kinds of revolution they were hoping for. Then of course, with the spread of European colonialism the Orient had to be seen as that passive corpse which European colonisation / conquest would gleanings into life. Some of even Marx’s writings could be interpreted along similar lines”²⁸

However, in reality some forms of private property in land did exist though this fact was not recognised by everybody. This was “fractured by the need of the colonial state to finance operations- almost exclusively from land- a need that necessarily had to interfere often arbitrarily with the pre-existing patterns of possession and ownership”.²⁹ Richard Jones (1831) was one of the very few political economists of the eighteenth

²³ Stokes, Eric, (1978): *The Peasants and the Raj*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 90-119.

²⁴ Bagchi, obsid, p.1.

²⁵ Ibid, p.2.

²⁶ Guha, Ranajit, (1963): *A Rule of Property for Bengal*, Indian Edition, Orient Longman, (Reprinted in 1981), Calcutta.

²⁷ Krader obsid, p.56.

²⁸ Avineri, 1989, Introduction in Bagchi, 1989, obsid.

²⁹ Bagchi, Obsid, p.5.

century who recognised the fact. But a systematic analysis of the way in which the revenue systems introduced by the British fractured the possibility of creating a property owning peasantry or initiating a process of accumulation based on improving productivity remains still needs to be carried out for different regions in India. Embedded in all this were the seeds of land alienation process that escalated in a large scale movement upon the introduction of the Permanent Settlement Act in 1793.

Once the exploitative relations were established, alienation followed naturally. The process is carried on by as Sharma states “Marx mentions objectification of human beings which leads to estrangement”.³⁰ Rao (1987) mentions that Karl Marx deals with the concept of alienation of man from four different dimensions:

1. From the product of his labour
2. From himself life activity
3. From his species being
4. From other men³¹

Marx himself states “In other words, alienation must be viewed and understood from different perspectives such as in relation of the worker to the product of his labour, in relation to the activity of production itself in terms of its impact on the worker, and in the context of individuals and social life of man in his relation to nature, to himself, to the object and to the other men”.³² “Rather, he the lord of his creation appears as the servant of the creation”.³³ Satyanarayana (1975) opines that the tribal communities lived by and large in pre-capitalistic socio-economic formation having communal ownership of land.³⁴ This was because the community ownership of land on India was not commodities prior to the down of the British capital³⁵.

³⁰ Sharma, Obsid, p.354.

³¹ Rao, obsid, p.29.

³² Marx, Obsid, 71-15,

³³ Colletti, Obsid, p.266.

³⁴ Satyanarayana, K, (1975): A Study of History and Culture of the Andhras, Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, p. 44.

³⁵ Prior to the entry of the British capital in India, these society were not markedly disturbed by the previous nature rulers. The break up of community ownership of land during the period of the Britishers who penetrated with their capital into these areas through activities made the land das a component of the private property (Rao1987:48).

Land is not only a source of livelihood according to PUDR (1981)³⁶ but is also connected with their sense of history and is a symbol of social prestige for them.³⁷ The communal ownership meant owning the land in its own right. Yet to understand the dynamics of the land problem in totality one needs an “understanding of the logic of the ‘underlying forces’ that govern its ownership pattern... such a discussion would essentially involve an analysis of ‘the mode of production’³⁸ from its historical perspective”.³⁹

Marx states “a distinct mode of production determines the specific mode of consumption, distribution, exchange and specific relations of these different phases to one another” (quoted in Rudra 1983)⁴⁰. The relation of a particular political form that took over could be generated out of the economic form that exists. Rudra (1983) further quotes Marx to bring out the interrelationship, “the specific economic form in which unpaid surplus labour is pumped out of the direct producers determines the relation of rulers and ruled, as it grows directly out of production itself and in turn reacts upon it as a determining element. Upon this however is founded the entire formation of the ‘economic community’ which grows out of production relations themselves, thereby stimulating simultaneously its specific political form”.⁴¹

The social formation of tribes dates back to the pre-class society of the hunter gatherer stage. Slowly with changing food relations the inter tribe and intra tribe relations in society emerged. But in spite of all these changes the idea of private property did not come up. As Kosambi comments “Land was territory, not property: game and food gathered was shared out to all. Food production is more efficient than food gathering, the settled agrarian method of life less uncertain than tribal hunting and scavenging off the

³⁶ Peoples Union for Democratic Rights, (PUDR), (1981): Report on Forest Policy, New Delhi.

³⁷ Eelwin, Verrier, (1963): A New Deal for Tribal India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi.

³⁸ The mode of production is “a definite form of activity, of those individuals a definite form of expressing their life, a definite mode of life on their part.” As individuals express their life so they are what they are therefore coincides with their production, both with “what” they produce and “how they produce. The nature of individuals thus depends on the material conditions determining their production” in Karl Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, 1968, Moscow p.32.

³⁹ Rao, Obsid, p.88.

⁴⁰ Rudra, Ashok, (1983): Class Relations in Indian Agriculture, in S.A. Shah,(ed)India, Agricultural Development, Manohar, New Delhi.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 242.

products of nature which left man decidedly more helpless in his struggle with the environment".^{42,43}

This happened when the tribal groups like Munda, Hos, Santhals settled down to settled agricultural practices. They helped in clearing land and set up villages, called 'hatu' and the original land clearing right was 'Khuntkatti' in the Munda areas. The food production stage could lead to generation of more surplus which was made possible by the division of labour. Next came the barter economy and continued till the entry of the British rulers into the area and transformed land into a commodity. Sen (1962) states, "Prior to the advent of the British rule land was inalienable form the tillers of the soil. Rights inland were divided among the king, the feudal lords and the peasants from whom, as a general rule, land could not be taken away. The bourgeois concept of private property in land did not yet develop, except sporadically here and there. But the steadily growing monetisation of the economy maturing into money rent shook the roots of this inalienability, and land became a commodity. It could also be purchased and sold like any movable property".⁴⁴

III.2: The Process of Land Alienation in Chota Nagpur Prior to Colonial Rule

The tribal groups of Chota Nagpur had migrated to the region after the Aryan invasion (the Aryans first invaded India around circa 3000 BC).⁴⁵ They were driven away by the Aryan invaders who conquered the land in the North West, and laid the base of the Hindu civilisation in India.⁴⁶ At the beginning they were mainly hunter gatherers but later on settled down in village communities. All land was in joint ownership of a family or a group of agnate families. Each family made his own clearances which came to be called 'hatu' and the rights of land was primarily accredited to them; called 'khuntkatti'.⁴⁷ Hoffman observed that continuous settlements occupied by the same clan constituted one

⁴² Kosambi, D.D. (1975): An Introduction to the Study of Indian History, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, pp.21-22.

⁴³ There is no concrete evidence of emergence of kingship among Mundas nor on the origin of the Nagbansis. S.C. Roy (ibid: 141; 1915: 136-81) and Dalton (1872: 164-68) recorded a myth of origin according to which the first Raja may have been a Naga adopted by a manki. See (* P.C. Roy Chowdhury 1965b: 143-44 and K.S. Singh 1971b:170) Denalle (1992).

⁴⁴ Sen, Bhowani, (1962): The Evolution of Agrarian Relations in India, Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, p. 132.

⁴⁵ Pande, G.C. (1984): Fundamentals of Indian Culture, Dimensions of Ancient Indian Social History, Vol II, Books and Books Publishers, New Delhi.

⁴⁶ Dey, Nundalal (1986): Civilization in ancient India, Kanti Publications, New Delhi.

⁴⁷ Roy, S.C. (1912): Mundas and Their Country, City Bar Library, Calcutta.

'patti' for Munda areas and 'parha' for Oraon areas, headed by a 'manki' who controlled all settlements (Hoffman quoted in Scwalbe 1983).⁴⁸

Devalle opines that Chota Nagpur's settled communities shared a similar language and social institutions and up to the advent of the first Nagbansi Raja (c. fifth century A.D) followed parallel patterns of social economic and cultural development.⁴⁹ Their organisation was patriarchal, the Munda being the chief or/and founder of the village was a secular person, the religious head was the 'pahan' or priest, both of whom came from the original families of the village.

The *khuntkatti* system and the egalitarian character of tribal society began to change with social stratification based on a differential attainment of power over land and with the transformation of the offices of the chiefs of villages and confederacies into hereditary positions. This marked the beginning of a tendency towards the establishment of chiefdoms. This was the beginning of state making in Chota Nagpur.⁵⁰ The election of a raja among Mundas and Oraons, initially with no prerogatives over land initiated a change in their economic and political patterns which lead to state formation. In time the Nagabansi Raja's family of Chota Nagpur drew up genealogies to support its claims to a Rajput Origin.⁵¹ This also shows that the Raja's family wanted social recognition in the Hindu society, indicating a move towards climbing the social hierarchy, by declaring themselves to be of Aryan caste origin. The implications also point out that there was a social divide between the caste Hindus and the tribal populace

Thus came the threat to the tribals way of communal landownership. The Rajas to gain soon became Hinduised and formed marital alliances with families long recognised as Hindu. The impact of the this social change amongst the rulers was felt as Damodaran (1998) comments, "further, Rajputs and Brahmins from Hindustan were initiated to settle in the country and to assist the Raja in his expeditions against neighbouring states or in

⁴⁸ Schwalbe, L. J. (1983): *The Munda and Oraon in Chota Nagpur*, Academic Gerlag, Berlin, p. 35.

⁴⁹ Devalle, S.B.C, (1992): *Discourses of Ethnicity, Culture and Protest in Jharkhand*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p. 61.

⁵⁰ Sinha, Surajit, (1987)(ed): *Tribal Politics and State Systems in Precolonial Eastren and North Eastern India*, K.P. Bagchi and Company, Calcutta.

⁵¹ There is no concrete evidence of emergence of kingship among Mundas nor on the origin of the Nagbansis. S.C. Roy (1912: 141; 1915: 136,) and Dalton (1872: 164-68) recorded a myth of origin according to which the first Raja may have been a Naga adopted by a Manki. The same is also stated in P.C. Roy Chowdhury 1965b: 143-44, K.S. Singh 1971b: 170, and Devalle , obsid.

controlling his vassals. They were rewarded with grants of land and began to dispossess the village communities".⁵² Therein began the process of land alienation; the 'jagirdar's and the 'thikadars' with 'thikas' or contractual authority over the whole village. Devalle (1992) remarks, "The emergence of an aristocracy with economic privileges (control over land, labour, services and rent) accelerated the already existing process of social differentiation. The ensuing mode of production has been characterised as feudal".⁵³ Out of this system emerged the practice of 'begari' or 'kamioti' or 'free labour' for the landlord. Later this system transformed itself into a system of bonded labour or slavery.

This period is also characterised by heavy immigration of low caste Hindus from the surrounding plains. Therefore, labour supply was in plenty. Peasants paid rents to the Jagirdars,⁵⁴ but did not necessarily enjoy security on the land they tilled since they could be displaced/replaced by other peasants who provided forced labour in the form of the agricultural rent.⁵⁵ The area had been left almost undisturbed by the earlier kings. But during the Mughal period emperor Jehangir imprisoned the 16th Nagbansi Raja Durjan Sal in the Gwalior Fort, where he witnessed all the pomp and show of the Mughal court. After he agreed to become a vassal of the Mughal state and paid the tribute demanded he returned to Chota Nagpur determined to introduce that kind of pomp and show into his own tribal court. For this he invited the traders from Northern India and in cases of payment default gave them villages and adjoining lands as payment for luxurious goods.⁵⁶ The new landlords also intervened in the internal affairs of the villages, restricting the activities of the panchayat and exerting pressure on chiefs in order to preclude independent decisions. Non-economic coercion served to reinforce the economic control over the means and processes of production and formed an integral part of the pre-capitalist mode of exploitation.

⁵² Damodaran, Vinita, (1998): Famine in a Forest Tract, Ecological Change and Causes of 1897 Famine in Chota Nagpur, In Grove et al, (ed): Nature and the Orient, An Ecological History of South and South East Asia, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.863.

⁵³ Devalle, obsid, p. 62.

⁵⁴ Jagirdars, means estate owners, Jagirs being grants of estates to certain persons by the Emperors in the Mughal period.

⁵⁵ Sharma, R.S. (1985): How Feudal was Indian Feudalism? In The Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. 12, No. 2-3, pp.19-45.

⁵⁶ Basu. Sajal, (1994): Jharkhand Movement, Ethnicity and Culture of Silence, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Rashtrapati Niwas, Shimla.

A complex land tenure system thus evolved in Chota Nagpur together with the rising power of the Rajas. In fact, the concept of service land grants⁵⁷ seems to have been alien to the area. The practice may have started quite late since the oldest registered base dates back only to 1676.⁵⁸ The increased immigrations of the other people into this region caused a population disbalance as well as changes in land holding records by the time the entire region was surveyed in 1912-13. Population disbalance refers to the immigration of other castes from different parts of India into the region, reducing the numerical strength of the tribal communities and diluting their concentration in the Chota Nagpur region. When granted land or having usurped them from the tribal communitiites, they changed or created the documentation so as to show that they were the original owners of land and not the tribal populace who also demanded the land as their own.

The interior areas of southern Chota Nagpur mainly in the Ranchi, Lohardaga and Gumla districts some *khuntkatti* rights did remain inalienable. But there the process of appropriation was connected with the eminence of the money lender in the socio-economic stratification. In the existing feudalistic set up a variety of land holding tenures came up. Devalle (1992) mentions some common land tenures systems prevalent in Choat Nagpur.⁵⁹ Amongst them are the 'Khuntkattidar'⁶⁰ rights, the 'Ghatwali system'⁶¹, 'Paikan lands'⁶², Sardars, Manki's⁶³, Mandali system⁶⁴. Damodaran also mentions them, but also comments that these rights to lands were limited and was easily accepted in the tribal society.⁶⁵

⁵⁷ Devall, Obsid.

⁵⁸ Roy, Obsid, p. 164-65, Devalle, Obsid, p. 64.

⁵⁹ Devalle, Obsid, p. 65.

⁶⁰ *Khuntkattidar* rights accrue to the first pioneer families in the tribal areas, who were amongst the first people to lay the base for village by delineating the area with the help of *Khunts* or poles.

⁶¹ *Ghatwali* system refer to the rights of those tribes who live by the sides of the passes (*ghats*) in the Chota Nagpur plateau region and guard the passes against invaders. They were granted special land rights by the kings, in the form of rent less land cultivation in the region.

⁶² *Paikan* lands refer to those land that were given to the *Paiks* or soldiers of the ruling Kings or landowners. This was also a form special land grant in lieu of service to the ruler. These were also rent free lands.

⁶³ Sardars and Mankis were the traditional village headmen, who enjoyed special lands in the village for their sole purpose. Also they did not have to pay the rents in the same amount as the other people in the village.

⁶⁴ A group of 15 villages or more formed a *Mandal* in the Singhbhum area Chota Nagpur. This is similar to the *Parha* formation in Ranchi, and Manbhum. The headmen of these *Mandals* or *Parhas*, enjoyed rent free lands and also had some amount of private ownership of the lands they cultivated.

⁶⁵ Damodaran, Obsid, p. 865.

Yet when reflected upon the various systems and their role in the process of land alienation was not widespread, since they were limited amongst a few people, plus these people were the part of a check and balance system, as their power could be superseded by the king as well as by the panchayat. The speed of land alienation was slow even if the process was in operation all over. The thick cover of the forest and its attendant menaces was the cause. The entry of the British into this area changed all that, so it was not that land alienation processes began with the colonial era, it is just that they accelerated the change in pace of change; as Devalle (1992) comments, “all this was later compounded with changes brought about by British colonial administration”.⁶⁶ The problem of viewing the land alienation process in the pre colonial era in today’s idiom has been well summed up by Amartya Sen (1984) “in this system a set of holdings of different people are judged to be just (or not just) by looking at past history, and not by checking the consequences of that set of holdings. But what if the consequences are recognisably terrible”.⁶⁷ The consequences of all the land alienation processes and their alignment to the British law and administration regime were in reality terrible for this area. There were famines where none had occurred before and there were repeated outbreaks of discontent and protest in the form of tribal revolts, since they were the worst affected.

III.3: The Land Laws of the Colonial Era and its Impact on the Common Property Resources of the Chota Nagpur Tribal Populace

Bernard Cohn writes on the British penetration in Chota Nagpur region as development of mechanisms of frontier administration as, “starting in the 1770s, in Bengal, the British began to investigate, through what they called ‘enquiries’ a list of specific questions to which they sought answers about how revenue was assessed and collected. Out of this grew the most extensive and continuous administrative activity of the British, which they termed the land settlement process”.⁶⁸ This was the knowledge gathering process after which a reign of terror was unleashed in the region, the fear was of loss of land for defaulting payments, the loss also implied marginalisation of the people, a change in the manner of viewing land as a commodity instead of inalienable

⁶⁶ Devalle, Obsid, p.64. This view is also adhered to by Roy, Obsid, Appendix III.

⁶⁷ Sen, Amartya, (1984): Development in India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p. 310.

⁶⁸ Cohn, B.S., (1996): Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge, The British in India, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 5.

property, loss of prestige and standing in society. Thus it was the knowledge and the various formulations in land rent theory developed in England at the time that resulted in that specific type of governance. After the grant of the Dewani of Bengal Suba in 1765, Kumar (1994) mentions that “the first agreements with rents was reached with the Raja of Chota Nagpur in 1771”.⁶⁹ This section is divided into five parts. III.3.1 Deals with the famine of 1770 as a precursor to the settlement Act of 1793, III.3.2 deals with the theories and ideas that helped construct the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793, III.3.3 deals with the real implications of the Act and its imposition in the Chota Nagpur Region, III.3.4 deals with the impact of the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793 on the Chota Nagpur region and III.3.5 deals with special tenancy Acts formulated for Chota Nagpur in the colonial era.

III.3.1 :The Famine of 1770 In Bengal and Chota Nagpur as a Precursor to the Settlement Act of 1793

An extremely important landmark in the agrarian history of Bengal after the British East India Company took over the governance was the famine of 1770 A.D. Sinha, (1968) considers “appalling spectre on the threshold of British rule in Bengal. There was no such widespread devastating famine in Bengal in the seventeenth century or in the first half of the eighteenth... the Famine of 1770 in Bengal can only be compared to the famine of 1630-31 in Gujarat which had turned that garden of the world into wilderness”.⁷⁰ The ravages of famine and unwise government measures brought Bengal on the verge of bankruptcy as mentioned by Sinha in 1927.⁷¹ Hunter (1868) comments that as a result of the famine “thirty five percent of whole population and fifty percent of cultivators perished”.⁷²

Most of Chota Nagpur tribal populace withdrew deep into the forests and survived. But the Jungle Mahal areas of South West Bengal (South west areas of Midnapur, Birbhum and Bankura) suffered a lot. As Hunter (1868) remarked later “Bengal had lost one third of its people and one third of its surface speedily became

⁶⁹ Kumar, Purushottam, (1994): History and Administration of Tribal Chota Nagpur, Atma Ram and Sons, New Delhi, p.14.

⁷⁰ Sinha, N.K. (1968): The Economic History of Bengal, Vol II, Calcutta, p. 48.

⁷¹ Sinha, J.C. (1927): Economic Annals Of Bengal, London.

⁷² Hunter, W.W. (1864): The Annals of Rural Bengal, Government of India Press, Calcutta, Reprinted in 1999, by Government of West Bengal, p. 45.

waste. Three years after the famine, so much land lay uncultivated that the Council began to devise measures for tempting the subjects of native princes to migrate into its dominions”⁷³. Viewing the situation in the Chota Nagpur area, Vansittart (1767) was compelled to note that even during this period, the East India Company pursued expansion of the revenue base through subjection of jungle Zamindars as a way to compensate for losses in the plains.⁷⁴ This oppression is further attested to in his writings of 1769 “since the government has fallen into the hands of the English, every part of the country is visibly in decline. Trade, manufacture, agriculture are considerably diminished, many of the inhabitants have been driven in oppression from their homes and collection of revenue becomes every year more difficult”.⁷⁵ In the decade between 1760-1770, the revenue from Bengal went up from Rs.116,925 to Rs.902149 and western jungles contributed to only 2.5% of the total which amounts to Rs.879595.275.⁷⁶ In fact, the revenue demand went up even as famine struck the land.

The object of political control was collection of revenue from land. Firminger in 1812 reported that a survey of the governance of the company forty years after the battle for proper laws for Bengal evolved the Fifth Report on the affairs of the East India Company. Therein he observed, “it was essentially as revenue collectors that the English entered into the actual occupation of the country... the exigencies as revenue collectors that the English entered into the actual occupation of the country.... the exigencies of revenue service... compelled them to elaborate a system of government”.⁷⁷

The famine had two important impacts. Firstly it created an imbalance between land and available labour to work when land became surplus also bringing a decrease in the market value of land.⁷⁸ The second impact as enunciated by Sen (1984), was that the famine precipitated a huge immigration of Santhals into the Jungle Mahal region of

⁷³ Ibid, p. 58.

⁷⁴ Bengal Districts Revenue Meetings, v.1, Letter No. 1767, George Vansittart, Collector of Midnapore to Richard Becher, Collectorate General at Calcutta, Bengal Revenue Board Collection, National Library, Calcutta.

⁷⁵ Vansittart quoted in Sivaramakrishnan, (1999): *Modern Forests*, Oxford University Press, new Delhi, p.44.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p.44.

⁷⁷ Firminger, W.K, (1812): *Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company*, Vols, I – III, R. Cambay and Sons, Calcutta. IESHR,

⁷⁸ B.B. Choudhary, (1958): *Agrarian Relations in Bengal after the Permanent settlement, 1793-1818* unpublished D.Phil dissertation, University of Calcutta, Calcutta.

Bengal, (estates of Bishnupur, and Principalities of Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapur) as agricultural labourers from the interior plateau region.⁷⁹ They were hardworking people spread all over the southern part of Bengal and Bihar and were noted as “Clearers of forests” to help reclaim land that had become forested due to lack of cultivators. This imagery of them as field labourers is reflected in the history of Titu Mir (his revolt in 1831 is a landmark in Bengal’s agrarian history) when he comments on Santhals as being agrarian labourers.⁸⁰

After the famine the land revenue was hiked but those lands that became derelict could not be assessed. For this, a “Bazè Zameen Daftar” or wastelands office was set up. A “Baze Zammin Regulation Act” was passed in 1788 to bring these lands under the revenue net.⁸¹ “Though ironically the leading agrarian historian of Bengal has found this actually retarded agricultural recovery after the famine of 1769-70 since this restricted the Zamindars in making rent free land grants.⁸²

Thus all the problems faced by the East India Company officials in realising the revenue from land to fill their coffers lead them to devise a method for the uninterrupted supply of revenue generation. This took the shape of the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793, a novel idea that had not been tried anywhere else prior to its imposition in Bengal and scarcely hence. This was indeed the result of the ongoing debate of estate production and its viability in England. From the very beginning the political economic theory developments in England has had an important contribution in fashioning the governance in India. This was just the beginning of the import of ideas that still continues. Unfortunately, these rules were imposed without any thought for how it would affect the population on whom it was to be imposed; the only concern was the garnering of wealth and creating a new section of Indian people who would always blindly support the laws

⁷⁹ Sen.Suchibrata (1984): *The Santhals of Jungle Mahals, An Agrarian History, 1793- 1864*, Ratna Prakashan, Calcutta.

⁸⁰ Mahashweta Devi (1974): *Titu Mir*, translated in 1998 by R.B. Chatterjee, Seagull Books, Calcutta.

⁸¹ Chaudhury, Benoy. Bhushan, (1976): *Agricultural Growth in Bengal and Bihar, 1770-1870: Growth of Civilization since the Famine of 1770*, in *Bengal Past and Present*, No. 95, pp.290-340. The term baze Zameen was applied to Jungles considered culturable wastelands.

(1974a): *Land Market in Eastern India, 1793-1940. Part I The movement of Land Prices*, IESHR, New Delhi pp.1-42.

(1974b): *Land Market in Eastern India, 1793-1940. Part II The changing composition of the Landed Society*, IESHR, New Dehi. Pp.133-167

⁸² Sivaramakrishnan Obsid, p. 45.

imposed by the colonial rulers. This was also the beginning of the politics of difference, though this had already been played out in 1757 in the defeat of the last independent Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Daula.

III.3.2: The Theories and Ideas that Helped Construct the Permanent

Settlement Act of 1793

The central theme for the Permanent Settlement policy, “assessment forever” had already been vaguely anticipated by some of the junior officials in the East India Company’s service during the period separating the assumption of Diwani from the appointment of Warren Hastings to the Governorship of Bengal. Alexander Dow first formulated the idea of Permanent Settlement as a policy recommendation in 1770. It was the thesis of Henry Pattulo’s “Essay” published two years later. In 1776, Philip Francis made it the very basis of his famous revenue plan, and he went on arguing for its acceptance during the rest of his term in office until 1781. The idea was incorporated, at least in its essence, in both Fox’s bill that was not passed by the English Parliament and in Pitt’s Bill which received Parliament’s assent as the India Act of 1784.

During the second half of the 1780s it was adopted by Thomas Law for his ‘mukarari’ experiments in Bihar, given legal sanction by Lord Cornwallis in his rules for a decennial settlement issued in the winter of 1789-90 and finally entered into the statute book as Regulation I of 1793. Dow, Patullo, Francis, Law and Cornwallis were thus its leading champions in the eighteenth century. Guha remarks, In spite of all their doctrinal differences they had between them some common area of agreement in two respects: first, in the conceiving of the Permanent Settlement as a clean break with what was the basic agrarian policy of the Company’s Government in Bengal up to 1785; and secondly, in justifying their alternative as an indispensable measure to ensure the right of private property in land”.⁸³

The idea common to all of these was a belief that a sound administration must have the security of land ownership as its basis, and but only a Permanent Settlement could ensure this. “In other words, Bengal society was to be fashioned after the image of

⁸³ Guha, Ranajit (1963): *Permanent Settlement of Land for Bengal*, Reprinted In 1981 by Orient Longman, Calcutta, p. 12

Whig England. Francis did in fact speak of the Company's territories as an 'estate'".⁸⁴ Francis in his famous 'Minute' of 1776 wrote, "we had an estate in Bengal... the greatest, the most improvable and most secure, that ever belonged to any state"⁸⁵. Ratnalekha Ray (1979) has described this process as reducing Zamindars from a polity to a unit of economic production.⁸⁶

III.3.3: The Permanent Settlement Act of 1793: Its Imposition and Implications In Chota Nagpur

From the very beginning the English had considered the Zamindars as the proprietors of land. Therefore, the actual cultivators lost out. In the tribal areas the village chiefs, mankis, (majhi's) Parha Chiefs were considered the landowners. The Permanent Settlement Act of 1793 introduced by Lord Cornwallis on 22nd March, 1793 was a landmark in the agrarian history of Bengal. Bagchi (1992) comments that in the Act the "government authorised a small group of large revenue payers to collect the land tax from the occupiers or cultivators of land and then pay most of it into the government coffers, after retaining a portion (initially authorised to be 10% of the revenue) as the reward for their trouble. This system is better styled as the Zamindari rather because it was only in the case of these large revenue payers (who were usually called "Zamindars" in British Documents) that the quantum of tax on a given peice of land was fixed permanently".⁸⁷

What the permanent settlement actually did was to vest individual land proprietorship on a host of landowners taken en bloc to be Zamindars, who then could freely inherit, sell mortgage or give away these lands. While the Permanent Settlement reinforced the new Zamindar's position it seriously weakened that of common peasantry and created sharp conflicts in the countryside. The idea was to fix the rents once and forever, so that the land owners did not face any problem realising revenues and giving it to the government. If any of the Zamindars could not pay the State's demand in time, then instead of imprisonment as done in Mughal times his estate would be put up for auction to realise the governments' dues. "This distinguishing characteristic of the Cornwallis system was the recognition of a group of intermediaries as holders of property

⁸⁴ *ibid*, p. 17.

⁸⁵ Francis quoted in Guha, *Ibid*.

⁸⁶ Ray Ratnalekha, (1979): *Change in Bengal Agrarian Society, 1760-1850*, Manohar Publications. New Delhi.

⁸⁷ Bagchi, *Obsid*, p.5.

rights in land revenue”⁸⁸. Moreover, the Permanent Settlement was for the low lands of Bengal, for the permanently settled areas of Bengal. Sen (1984) opines that it encroached into woodland Bengal though Chota Nagpur plateau which till then had not been included in the British territories completely, was inhabited by the tribal people whose structure, age old beliefs and notions, social and economic patterns were quite distinct from the rest of the people of Bengal which was included in the territories completely governed by the East India Company.⁸⁹

Regarding the imposition of the Permanent Settlement in the Chota Nagpur districts, Dewalle (1992) opines, “in 1789 it was suggested that the Permanent Settlement should not apply to Chota Nagpur since the revenue received from this area was more of a fixed tribute than a tax determined by land production”.⁹⁰ Unfortunately this suggestion was not adhered to and the Act was imposed causing a negative reaction in the rural areas, especially when the Zamindari estates, village headmen who had fallen back on revenue arrears on lands of which they had been declared proprietors were auctioned off to recover revenues.

The luxurious lifestyles led by the zamindars had involved them into indebtedness and the operation of usurious capital became one of the pivots around which the land market revolved with the result that land started passing into the lands of money lenders.⁹¹ Also, there was no proposition in the new land laws for the customary land rights of the adivasis and the parha chiefs, for as Devalle (1992) remarks, “Customary law was abruptly replaced by contract law”.⁹² The Raja of Chota Nagpur had constant difficulties in paying the revenue, the zamindars were ruined, landlords with unlimited power increased the rents of cultivators, and the oppression and pauperisation of the peasantry grew.

The landlords ignored tribal land inheritance laws, so much so that “Complete villages could be bought at the Ranchi Court, as for instance, when the village headman went into debt and gave his village as a guarantee. As soon as the creditor won the case,

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Sen, Obsid.

⁹⁰ Devalle, Obsid, p. 66.

⁹¹ Chaucduri, B.B. (1993): Tribal Society in Transition: Eastern India 1757-1920, In Mushirul Hassan and Naryani Gupta (ed): India's Colonial Encounter: Essays in Memory of Eric Stokes, Manohar Publications, New Delhi.

⁹² Devalle, Obsid, p.66.

he started acting as a zamindar, demanding rent from the khuntkatti peasants.⁹³ In the Santhal system a number of families had settled down under the leadership of a Mandal or Mjhi (village headman), who was chosen by the people to represent and govern the community. “The clearer of the jungle would become the owner or co-owner with his original associates. Their descendants owned the jungle land out of which the village came up, all else were stratified agrarian society in the Chota Nagpur under the Mandali system”.⁹⁴

III.3.4: Impact of Permanent Settlement Act of 1793 on Chota Nagpur

The introduction of the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793 resulted in a complete destruction of the indigenous systems of revenue collection and ultimately replaced the communal ownership of land by individual relationship. Gupta (1963) further suggests, “The most important long-term objective of the permanent settlement, apart from deriving a stable revenue regularly was to promote the extension of cultivation to the vast stretches of waste land and thereby promote the trade of the province”.⁹⁵

This idea did not work out in the plateau area. This was partly because of the distinctiveness of the regional problems of that area and partly for the total ignorance of the tribal people there about any systematic revenue laws. “As the area had long been left undisturbed to decide its own issues according to its own tribal customs, the tribal people were in general oblivious of the agrarian laws and regulations prevalent in settled districts. They had evolved a totally different and independent system of revenue laws which again varies from one tribal chief to another and his relationship to the King or the local Raja”.⁹⁶

As the revenue demands went up more estates (Kingdoms and Zamindaris) were broken up. An instance is gathered from some estates’ valuation of revenue demands in the areas later termed as ‘Jungle Mahals’ of Bankura and Manbhum districts. Table 2.1. gives the revenue demands of certain Estates and Mahals in 1793.

⁹³ Ibid, p. 68.

⁹⁴ Gupta, S,C, (1963): Agrarian Relations and Early British Rule in India, Calcutta, p.5.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p.8.

⁹⁶ Sen, (1984), Obsid, p. 43.

Table III.1 :Revenue Demands of Certain Estates or Mahals of the Jungle Mahals (1793)

Mouza No.	Name of Estate	Area in Acres	Revenue in Rs. A.P.
938	Chatna or Samatabhhum	140-194	731-7-10
981	Lalbazar	24,464	325-12-8
982	Maisara	5,957	91-15-0
983	Kundi	88,245	225-11-0
984	Harendrabani	12,358.50	78-8-0
985	Kulat	6,412.50	182-1-4
986	Indpur	4,863	40-10-0
987	Bhedua	8,941	113-10-0
988	Khatra	16,760.50	192-8-0
989	Lohat	24,598	505-11-6
990	Bhelaidiha	25,781.50	524-2-3
991	Phulkusma	36,763.50	212-9-8
992	Shyamsundarpur	88,100	247-10-7
993	Simlapal	48,712.50	759-13-8
994	Amoikanagar	85261	372-14-0
995	Riapur	79,363	2657.13
	Total	556,581	

Source: Sen, Suchibrata, (1984): The Santhals of Jungle Mahals, An Agrarian History, p. 45.

There is also some evidence of this also available from revenue demands in 1817.

Table III.2 :Revenue Demand in Rupees, of Select Jungle Estates 1767-1817

Zamindari	No. of villages in 1817	Previous Demand (Rs.)	Ferguson's Settlement	Prevalent in 1817
Ramgarh	25	126	616	672
Lalgarh	-	-	879	-
Jamboni	72	84	516	670
Jaitbhumi	145	-	703	4000
Jhargram	33	238	400	236

Source: The table is adapted from figures provided by Das, Civil Rebellion, P.37, and Sivaramakrishnan (1999:40).

The revenue demands were not properly assessed since the actual resources of the region was not known and the area was covered with thick jungles. The lateritic soil did not yield much production and the populace depended a lot on forest products such as mahua flowers, wax, wood, dry leaves etc. Unfortunately with the introduction of the Permanent Settlement all their right to forest products were also lost, since they were

leased out to traders (the land of the villages was and that meant trees and shrubs too). For instance, a letter from one such trader Mr. Heaven wrote to Mr. S. Davis, the then collector of Burdwan (1793) "I shall.... for the purpose of an exclusive privilege of cutting what wood. I may want and to procure other produce of the jungle may afford. I know of no table of rates or duties enacted under authority of it... I shall enact name, neither shall allow any person to cut wood, take any other produce of that jungle without paying what I have been obliged to pay to pay".⁹⁷

The backlash of all such processes was the Chuar rebellion of 1799-1800. The transformation of ownership in landlord rights was partly thwarted in the jungle parganas. But the gradual extension of cultivation by forest clearing after 1800 introduced new groups into the peasantry (first the Bhumij castes from North Bihar and Eastern United Provinces had replaced tribal groups between 1775-1800 and now they were displaced by Sadgopes from lower Bengal) and spread a system of mouzawar assessment (village tenures that strengthened village heads).⁹⁸ The village heads were called mandals, pradhans and majhis depending on whether these were Mahto, Bhumij or Santhal villages, often lost out in the process as more powerful people usurped their positions. They often organised raiyats effectively against 'Jamabandi' (revenue assessment).⁹⁹

Another facet was the duties of policing the area. Regulation XXII of 1793 established a police administration by the government of the East India Company. In the process it took policing work from zamindars in Bengal and gave it to 'thanedars' to be appointed by the government, who were under the direct control of the District Magistrate.¹⁰⁰ This angered the landlords and the situation became uncontrollable.

With an eye to pacifying the region and "for attaching and conciliating the jungle tribes which occupy the western frontier of Bengal and for rendering them peaceable and useful subjects",¹⁰¹ the then commercial Resident Henry Strachey proposed to give back the police powers to the jungle landlords. For better governance, a district called the "Jungle Mahals" was created by the Regulation XVIII of 13th December 1805. A separate

⁹⁷ Proceedings, Bengal; Board of Revenue No.21 of 6th August 1793., Letter from Mr. Heaven to the Mr. Davies, Collector of Burdwan.

⁹⁸ Sen, (1894), obsid.

⁹⁹ Sivaramakrishnan, obsid, p.52.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p.58.

¹⁰¹ Proceedings of Bengal Judiciary: (Criminal): No.72 of 14 March 1800, Response of Henry Strachey to the Chuar Disturbances.

position named 'Magistrate of Jungle Mahals' was created. The jurisdiction of the newly formed district would include the following areas:¹⁰²

- The followings were from the district of Birbhum, pachet, Bhagmundry, Bogan, Kaoden, Taraf Bahapur, Katlas, habila, Jhalola, Jharria, Jayapur, Mukundapur, Kismat Naneagarh, Kismat Chaontly, Torag, Tung, Nagar Kiasi and Patkum.
- The following parganas and mahals were annexed from Burdwan Senpahari, Shergarh and Bishmpur.
- The following parganas were taken away from Midnapur Chatna, Brabhum, Manbhum, Supur, Ambika nagar, Simlapal and Bhalaidiha.
- As much of Chota Nagpur conquered (Ramgarh, parts of Hazaribag, Chatra, Ranchi and Palaman)¹⁰³

Moreover, an important change had been enacted in agrarian relations. The Regulation VII of 1799 granted landlords extensive power to collect the rents, who in their turn increased coercion upon the raiyats. The tribal peasantry were particularly not granted 'pattas'¹⁰⁴ for land and they also migrated deep into the jungles as the Zamindars became more oppressive. Thus began the movement of the Santhals into the Damin-I-koh region of Bhagalpur district, free from any disturbances and rackets in rent seeking. There they displaced the Pahariya tribals who were mainly hunter gatherers.¹⁰⁵ The Jungle Mahals though constituted for the benefit of the tribal peasantry did not offer any amelioration, rather it presented a sordid picture of zamindary exploitation which can be seen from the following table.

¹⁰² Sen, (1984), Obsid, p.57-58.

¹⁰³ The Paraman Raj was then a fractured entity. Major Roughsedge of the Ramgarh battalion had marched into the area and adjoined various parts of it. Kumar, Obsid.

¹⁰⁴ *Pattas* are the land documents relating to ownership rights of the peasants.

¹⁰⁵ Sen, (9184), Obsid.

Table III.3: Revenue Demands and its Breakup in Some Districts of Bengal Presidency (1812-13)

Districts	Government Revenue	Farmer's Rent	Zamindary Profit	Remarks (in Sicca Rupees)
Birbhum	14,508	23,871	9,363	The district comprises 458 estates, Rs.69200
Bhagalpur	9,958	14,820	4,862	519 estates paying 650,00
Burdwan	27,360	34,652	7,297	2559 estates paying 28,46,000
Jungle Mahals	3,654	19,677	16,023	86 estates paying 4,38,000
Midnapur	5,045	12,906	7,861	1,701 estates paying 15,16,000

Source: Parliamentary papers, House of Commons, Vol.XI (1831-32 pp.255-256).

By 1817, the Raja of Chota Nagpur was divested of his property and lands settled by Mundas and Oraons put under direct administration of the East India Company as part of the district of Ramgarh.¹⁰⁶ The Government further usurped the right of the Raja and his jagirdars to levy tax and collect the tax on the production of liquor, road tolls and other sales tax in 1823. The incursion of the East India Company into the Chota Nagpur plateau continued relentlessly. In the meantime the tribal people's suffering increased and tribal peasantry became pauperised and marginalized. This happened as more and more lands slipped out of their hands and they were forced to become agricultural labourers. This was also the reason behind the Santhal's migration to the Damin area, where they were promised ownership of land and security of tenure. Also all these laws provided an entry of outsiders into the deep reaches of the forests.

In the southern part of the plateau lay the region inhabited by the Ho tribe in Singhbhum. The Raja of Singhbhum had tried to subdue the Ho tribals but was unsuccessful. When the British tried to enter the Kolhan region in Singhbhum, the Kols put up a good resistance. They opposed the land laws and also the corrupted practices of

¹⁰⁶ Devalle, Obsid, p.67.

the 'daroga' (thanadar of the yesteryear), the Zamindar and the lack of redressal of their woes. The major point was the loss of 'ghatwali' rights of the people. The tenure of 'ghats' (hill passes) was held on nominal or no rents. When this practice was tampered with, the Ho's protested and broke out in revolt, popularly known as the "Gunga Narain's Hungama' of 1831-1833. This was also the revolt of Larka Kols.

Dent and Wilkinson who reported on the situation reiterated the rapacious nature of moneylenders, landlords and corruption of government authority who helped oppress the poor tribal populace. Therefore, in 1833 by Regulation XIII the entire region was made into the South West Frontier Agency. The Kolhan was made a Government estate in 1837. The criteria for inclusion of areas into the South West Frontier Agency (SWFA) was "a jungly geography, tribal sociology, chronic disturbance, both through administration and commerce".¹⁰⁷ In Baden Powell's first land survey the region comes under the Bengal Presidency. The region became the Chota Nagpur division by Act XX of 1854. Baden Powell in his survey of land in Bengal in 1875 first prepared a table of the total districts present under the Bengal unit.

Sivarakrishnan, Obsid, p.65.

Table No.III.4: List of Districts In Bengal Presidency, Chota Nagpur Division

Name of Province, With form of Government and chief Revenue Control	Date of Acquisition, and former territorial designation	Name of Revenue And Administrative Division	Name of Present District	Taluk, Pergana or other sub-division of District	Date of Land Revenue Settlement	Date of Revision of Settlement	Remarks on the nature
Bengal (Presidency of Fort William In Bengal)	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa' granted in 1765. (Orissa as far as the Subarnarekha River, i.e. part of Midnapore District).						
Lieutenant Governor(1854). Legislative Council(1862) Board Of Revenue	(Bihar) A.D. 1765	Bhagalpur Division	Monghyr Bhagulpur Purneah Malda Santhal Pargana	===== ===== ===== =====	Permanent Settlement " " " {Part Permanently Settled	}===== }	The Damin-I-Koh exempt from Regulations (and Permanent Settlement) since 1780 and forms a Government Estate settled under Act XXXVII of 1855. and now under Regulation III of 1872
	Chutia Nagpur (or Chota Nagpur) After Kol rebellion of 1831-32 placed under South West Frontier Agency (SWFA) by Regulation XIII of 1833.	Became Chota Nagpur Division by Act X of 1854.	Hazaribagh Lohardagga Manbhum Singhbhum	===== ===== =====	In large part Permanently Settled; with several large Government Estates.	}===== }===== }=====	'Scheduled Districts' (by Act XIV of 1874)

Source: Baden Powell, B.H, (1875): Land Systems In Bengal, Government of India Press, Calcutta, . 35.

After the Kol revolt of 1831-33, the Santhals had migrated to the Dain-I-Koh region of Bhagalpur division which later was made into a Government estate. With their effort in the Santhal Parganas the 'Jamma' (revenue) of estate had a spectacular rise as shown in the table III.5.

Table No. III.5: Rise in Revenue from the Damin-I-Koh Estate of the Government, 1837-1850.

Year	Revenue in Rs.
1837-38	6,402
1838-39	8,099
1839-40	9,918
1840-41	10,412
1841-42	21,823
1843-44	23,450
1845-46	32,430
1846-47	36,407
1847-48	39,905
1848-49	40,947
1849-50	43,724

Source: H. Macpherson: Settlement Report, Santhal Parganas, Calcutta 1910, p:35

This was achieved by giving Santhals rent free lands for 3-4 years and then charging rent at a nominal rate. But once again the vanguards of British civilization appeared on the scene: Moneylenders, Mahajans, a court system completely alien to the Santhal and finally on unholy alliance between the 'munsiff' (the Indian staff employed in the position of junior lawyers) in the courts and the mahajans. Moreover, the system in the Santhal Society of repaying debts by free labour the "Kamioti System" was abused to the utmost. The absence of an organised market also played its part. The result was the Sardar revolt in 1855. All this played its part in the formation of the Scheduled Districts Act in 1874 by Regulation XIV created by dissolving the South West Frontier Agency. Thus it is evident that the British rulers kept on changing the nomenclature of the region quite often, the change can be ascribed to the kind of resistance they met in their efforts to expand their base in the region. Though

nominally this region had acceded to them in 1834, there still existed regions in the interior parts where outsiders had ever set their foot.

III.5 : The Special Tenancy Acts Formulated for Chota Nagpur

The first Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act was enacted in 1869 (Act II BC). But the landlords and their associates' land grabbing and other exploitative activities continued unabated, indeed under a legal stamp now. "Around 1856, the jagirdars, some 600 in number had come to control approximately 150 villages each. Munda land laws were disregarded by landlords. Backed by British law the landlord "regained" possession of lands when there were no male heirs".¹⁰⁸ As Hoffmann noted in relation to laws forbidding adivasis to sell their lands: "The lawgiver intended the lands to be inalienable, i.e. to remain in the possession of the raiyats (peasants). The lawyer says: they are unalienable/unsaleable, i.e. the raiyat cannot give his valuable right in the land for money but he can give it for nothing."¹⁰⁹ But Tenancy Act of 1869 did not abate their problems nor was the illegal rent increases checked by the Chota Nagpur Landlord and Tenants Procedure Act 1879 (popularly known as Rent Law).¹¹⁰

All these found expression in the revolt or Ulgulan of Birsa Munda in 1899-1900. By the time the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 was enacted to protect *khuntkattidar* rights on land, very few *khuntkatti* villages existed.¹¹¹ The restrictions on land transfer from tribals to non-tribals under Section 46 of the Act also fostered the emergence of a class of adivasis who were moneylenders on a part time basis. The tribals were thus conquered and forcibly integrated into the colonial system. The process of despoliation of their lands and resources that then started was to be further accelerated when Chota Nagpur was acknowledged as a source of mineral wealth.¹¹² The land once transferred from tribals to non-tribals under Section 46 of the CNT Act i.e. either through the Bhuguta Bandh mortgage¹¹³ or through the Mukarari lease was never restored to the

¹⁰⁸ Devalle, Obsid, p.66.

¹⁰⁹ Hoffman, 1961:fn337, Quoted in Viegas, Obsid, p.179.

¹¹⁰ Devalle, Obsid, p.67.

¹¹¹ Singh, K.S, (1972): Tribal Situation in India, IIAS, Shimla, p. 102- 107.

¹¹² Devalle, Obsid, p. 68-69.

¹¹³ A kind of mortgaging where the possessor mortgages a part of the possession which he continues to use and can be returned back after the completion of certain terms.

tribals. The transferees trap the innocent tribals in a net of deceptions in such a way as to prevent them from going to courts of law for claiming restoration of alienated land.¹¹⁴

So much of alienation of tribal land in the Chota Nagpur region occurred primarily because of lack of British conception about customary rights and common property resource. Fischer and Krutila... have attempted to define common property resources (CPR's) as "a resource used if not necessarily owned in common by all members of the community". They further emphasised that "neither inclusion nor discrimination is permitted in respect of their access, it is therefore often referred to as open access resource"¹¹⁵

Das (1984) opines in a paper based on the views of the English jurist Blackstone, that originally rights to property accrued to individuals from the property of nobody or *res nullius*.¹¹⁶ According to Roy Burman (1992) from this accrues the rights of the conqueror over land.¹¹⁷ They ignored that individual rights over land was embedded within communal rights.¹¹⁸ For the British all lands in the Chota Nagpur seemed to be *res nullius* as had happened in the European Colonisation of the Americas.

The other concept in legality of land ownership is *lex loci rei sitae* or the law of the place where the thing is situated. This "means that the general rule of the common law is that the laws of the place where such property is situated exclusively of the parties, the modes of transfer and the solemnities which should accompany them. Faced with the difficulty of applying the principle of *res nullius* in the areas of Amerindians conquered by European settlers, the colonialist argued that the original populations were too 'barbaric' to have a *lex loci* which could be recognised by Court. The British Privy Council postulated as late as 1919 that some cultures might be so 'primitive' as to create

¹¹⁴ Sarkar, M.C.(1991): Customary Rights in Land and Forest of Tribes in Chota Nagpur and Santhal Pargana Region of Bihar, In Mrinal Miri (ed): Continuity and Change in Tribal Society, IIAS, Shimla, p. 102.

¹¹⁵ Fischer and Krutila, quoted in Barik, B.C, (2000) (ed): Resource Management and Contours of Development, Rawat Publications, Jaipur.

¹¹⁶ Das, J. N, (1984): Land, Land Relation and Land Reforms in the Plains and Valleys of North East India, (Paper on the same theme organised by the North East India, Council for Social Science Research, Shillong, April, 17-18, 1984).

¹¹⁷ RoyBurman, B.K, (1992): Historical Process in Respect of Communal Land System and Poverty Alleviation Among Tribals, In Bhuddhadeb Chaudhuri (ed): Tribal Transformation in India, Inter India Publications, New Delhi, Vol. III, p.134.

¹¹⁸ Goswami, M.C, (1986): Traditional Land Tenure and Land uses Among the Communities, In, B.N. Bardoli, (ed): Alienation of Tribal Land and Indebtedness, Tribal Research Institute, Assam.

an “unbridgeable gulf” between themselves and the concept of *lex loci*”.¹¹⁹ To be noticed here is the use of imagery of that quintessential “Other” in the projection of the native populace Yet, Denhez (1983) has shown by research into original legal systems that there are few places in the world where a state can claim wholesale confiscation of lands on that basis that there are no recognisable *lex loci*.¹²⁰ Roy Burman states clearly that “the concept of *res nullius* is essentially colonial. Where the colonial rulers found it difficult to introduce *res nullius* they tried to operate the principle of primary of conquest. Sir William Ward in his introduction to the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation of 1886 drawing upon India’s Foreign Department Letter No.2234 dated January 28, 1890 propounded this view”.¹²¹

In an effort to win over the feudal and the tribal chiefs, after the Revolt of 1857 was suppressed the tribute receiving feudal chiefs who could manage to establish their political sway over the forest tracts and tribal areas were encouraged to assume the roles of rent receiving land lords in many parts of country (Metcalf 1979).¹²² Thapar and Siddiqui have stated “many of the tribal revolts of the latter part of the 19th century were related to this fact of the instance of integration of the tribal areas in the company’s territory resulting in social dislocation”.¹²³

III.6: Response of the Tribal Populace to the Land Laws: A Saga of Revolts in Chota Nagpur

The Chota Nagpur plateau has been shimmering with discontent ever since the tribal inhabitants of the region interfaced with the non-tribal intruders as exploiters in their midst.¹²⁴ The colonial system bore harshly on the tribal communities who with a sensitivity born of isolation and with a relatively intact mechanism of social control revolted more often and far more violently than any other community including peasants

¹¹⁹ Roy Burman, *Obsid*, p.142.

¹²⁰ Denhez, Marc(1983): *Folk Laws, National Self Image and their Impact on Sovereignty of Countries*, In H. N. Finkler (ed): *Papers on the Symposium of Folk Law and Legal Pluralism*, IUAES Congress, Vancouver, Canada, August 1983.

¹²¹ Roy Burman, *Obsid*, p. 141.

¹²² Metcalf, E.F, (1979): *From Raja to Landlord*, In R.E. Frykenberg (ed): *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, Manohar, New Delhi.

¹²³ Thapar, Romila, and Siddiqui, Majid Hayat(1979): *Chota Nagpur – The Pre Colonial and Colonial Situation*, In *Trends in Ethnic Group Relations in Asia and Oceania*, UNESCO, New York, p.30.

¹²⁴ Rai, Haridwar, Kumar, Vijay and Pandey, Kanak.K, (1997): *Tribal Protest Movement in Bihar, Modernization, Militancy and Ethnicity*, In Anju Kohli, Farida Shah and A.P. Chowdhury(ed): *Sustainable Development In Tribal and Backward Areas*, Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, p. 141.

in India.¹²⁵ The official records, scattered over a wide spectrum, refer to the acts of depredations, disturbances outbreaks of violence and riots, rebellions and uprisings, raids and expeditions of pacification – the character of which has yet to be ascertained. K.S. Singh (1978) has related the rise and consolidating its official hold, the history of East India Company's governance and later of the Crown's governance in India with tribal rebellion movements in three phases. "The initial phase 1795-1800 coincided with the rise, expansion and establishment of the British Empire. It saw the rise of primary resistance movements. Resistance is inherent in all movements but during this phase it was spontaneous, elemental and widespread involved not only one tribe but many".¹²⁶

The traditional chiefs and their subordinates who had lost their property under the new rules led most of the movements. "It was resistance to the new system and to the new classes of the people who were inducted by it, namely, the system of local administration and taxation, evangelisation and humanitarian measures. the new landlords, moneylenders and government officials all of whom were to be thrown out in a violent upsurge".¹²⁷ The Chuar Rebellion in the Chota Nagpur region was led by the disposed Raja of Pachet, whose Zamindari was sold off to recover revenue losses. An acknowledged leader Gobardhan Digpati of the Chuar revolt was a zamindar in Barabhum. This revolt thus falls in the above mentioned category. Another feature of these disturbances is that the tribes played a dominant but by no means an exclusive role in it, there were large sections of non-tribals who also joined hands lending to the movements the character of a regional movement.¹²⁸ Jha (1974) characterises the Chuar unrest as the last stand of independent chiefs against British conquest and early 19th century banditry the outcome of such conquest that led to the alteration of tenant landlord relations and the reorganisation of police and judicial administration.¹²⁹ The chuars concentrated their attacks on officials appointed for revenue collection, darogas (policemen) and other persons, linked to the administrations, causing them to abandon

¹²⁵ Singh, K.S, (1978): colonial Transformation of Tribal Society, in Economic and Political Weekly, July 19, p.1229.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ In Manbhum area (encompassing the present districts of Dhanbad in Jharkhand and Purulia in West Bengal) the ryaits took the opportunity to rise against the oppressing Zamindar, Raja Mummenant Singh and refused to pay revenue Sen 1984,obsid..

¹²⁹ Jha, J.C.(1974): The Kol Insurrection of Chota Nagpur, Thacker and Spink, Bombay.

their post and flee. “The message conveyed to the land purchasers and their adherents that they and their commerce was unwelcome”.¹³⁰

In fact, the Kol rebellion can also be enumerated under the first category. The Kol revolt or better known as Gunga Narain’s Hungama of 1831-33 followed the same path as trodden by the Chuar rebellion. As Sivaramakrishnan (1999) remarks “the politics of chuar unrest and its aftermath set in motion a logic that became a recurrent feature of colonial rule in jungle mahals”.¹³¹ The Kol revolt was set off primely due to erosion of ‘ghatwal’ rights in land and exacerbated the process of land alienation. By sacking police stations, Gunga Narain revived the logic of chuari.¹³² Also attacks were carried out against Dikus¹³³ and their internal collaborators from the tribal society. This was pointed out when Gunga Narain killed his uncle Madhub Singh since he committed excesses in league with outsiders. This phase culminated in the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

The Santhal Rebellion or Hul of 1855-1857 represents a transitional phase and took on both the characteristics of the earlier agrarian based struggle and the later revivalistic movements. So the Santhal Hul, in Devalle’s (1992) opinion was “an agrarian struggle as a striving for economic redress as epitomised in the struggle for land; secondly, as a defence of the historical identity of the community”.¹³⁴ This coordinated resistance is reflected in the meaning given to land as territory and to its defence. That is land is not only conceived as a means of production but also as an anchor of self-definition and identity projection.

Singh (1978) comments that “the second phase (1860-1920) coincided with the intensive phase of colonialism which saw a much deeper penetration of tribal and peasant economies by merchant capital – higher incidence of rent, increase in land distress sales etc. All gains registered during the first phase of movements were washed away. Not only those who had been expelled came back, but many more also came intensifying the exploitation of the tribes”.¹³⁵ This period saw a complicated mix of agrarian, cultural, religious and political issues as bases of exploitation. “To previous injustices new socio-

¹³⁰ Sivaramakrishnan, Obsid, p. 26.

¹³¹ Idid, p.54.

¹³² Ibid, Quoting Commissioner Dent in 1834, in Bengal Judicial Criminal Proceedings, 1832.

¹³³ Sinha, S.C, Sen, J, and Panchbhai, S, (1969): The Concept of Diku Amongst the Tribes of Chota Nagpur, In Man India, Vol 49, No.2, pp.121-138.

¹³⁴ Devalle, Obsid, p.112.

¹³⁵ Singh K.S. (1978) Obsid, p. 1230.

economic inequalities were added. This resulted in a general dislocation of the social order and in a reorganisation of the local economies which became subordinated to the colonial system".¹³⁶ Simultaneously, the incoming plains people and the Christian missions introduced by the British also threatened the indigenous culture; this was systematised by the new educational system and moral and legal codes. "Colonialism also implied the enhancement of socio-cultural differences with a racist perspective, creating new inequalities that proved functional for the colonial system. These differences not only separated coloniser from the colonised but also strengthened existing social divisions such as the opposition between the "hill" and 'plains' people amongst the tribes and outside the tribe as well".¹³⁷

The agrarian discontent remained and found various expressions in the 'mulakai larai' 'ulgulan' and 'bhumakal'.¹³⁸ Moreover, this period saw massive erosion in the traditional forest rights by means of the newly imposed forest reservation laws; restrictions were also imposed on shifting cultivation and the increase in begari and immigration to plantations. Further, these movements had a definite religious and political overtone. They sought to restructure the entire social system - the beginning of revitalisation Movements. The Kherwar Movement (1871-90), Santhal insurrection lead by Sidhu Kanhu, and Dupu Gossain (1856-90), the Munda Oraon Sardar Movement (1869 - 1895), Birsa Munda's Ulgulan 1895-1900) all had these elements in their movements. aligned was the want of a separate homeland, the "tribal kingdom".¹³⁹

The third phase (1920-1947) according to K.S. Singh "saw the rise of the movement of a secular and political nature" based on two major events:

1. Participation of tribes in the national and agrarian movements and
2. Emergence of a separatist movement in Chota Nagpur.

Also, the spread of education and opening up of the other philosophical thought streams to the people played its part. There followed formation of the Praja Mandals and the Kisan Sabha and the Chota Nagpur Improvement Society (1916) culminating finally in

¹³⁶ Devalle, Odsid.

¹³⁷ Ibid, p.113.

¹³⁸ These are all synonyms for revolution, used in the different revolts enacted in the region.

¹³⁹ This was Birsa Munda's dream, that he fought to achieve, K. S. Singh mentions this in his book, the Hanging Mist and the Dust Storm, Birsa Munda and his Movement, 1874-1901, A Study of a Millenarian Movement in Chota Nagpur, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

the formation of the Adivasi Mahasabha (1927-28). After independence the demand for a separate Jharkhand state gained far more importance than that before and finally the demand was conceded to on 15th November 2000 A.D. The period from 1947 to 2000 saw the rise and fall of the Jharkhand Movement that had elements of all the previous rebellions that had gone before.

The tribal populace of the Chota Nagpur plateau has always had a tradition of protest against exploitation and oppression. Their history since the advent of the colonial rule is ample proof of the fact, the same tradition of exploitation and rebellion have been carried on to the post independence period, responded to in a similar manner by the tribal communities. The violent uprisings are still prevalent today, yet, it is the identity of the state that has changed, from the colonial to the Indian State. There have been many and varied instances of tribal protest in the recent times peaceful ones, violent one, but the most successful one was the economic blockade in the region whereby no movement of commodities were allowed on an inter regional basis. Thus the important minerals like coal, iron ore and uranium was stopped causing disturbance in the entire nation.

III.7: Post Independence Scenario in the Region: Land Laws and

Exploitation of Mineral and Forestry Wealth for National Development

After independence India set sail on the boat of development, Nehru's views were for rapid industrialisation, and in the constitution of India the main thrust of provisions for tribal areas were

1. To protect and promote tribal interests through legal and administrative support and
2. To raise the economic condition and thereby upgrade their quality of life

For India to industrialise it required basic industries and mineral wealth. Bihar rather Chota Nagpur is known as the 'Ruhr of India'. It has large resources of coal, iron ore, mica, manganese, copper, chromite, clay, fireclay and apatite. Logically therefore, this is the region that has maximum industrialised at the most rapid rate. Ironically, it was the campaign against the Ganga Narain rebellion (Kol Insurrection) in 1932 that occasioned a close acquaintance with the hills and forests of Chota Nagpur, revealing a brisk trade in coal and iron...”,¹⁴⁰ giving the colonial state one of the first glimpse of a rich mineral

¹⁴⁰ Sivaramkrishnan, Obsid, p. 64.

wealth. These were later developed by private investors and after independence by the Indian Government.

The Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 was the only Land Act to protect the customary rights of tribal peasantry. Land transfers can only occur with the permission of the Deputy Commissioner. "The C.N.T. Act (1908) *with some modifications* is affective in the plateau region even today".¹⁴¹ Yet the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 empowers companies government authority and private persons to acquire land for mineral exploitation and public purposes. The same law applied in the Chota Nagpur region with some modifications, amended once in 1967 for changes in interest rates and once again in 1984 regarding the satisfaction of legality of possessor of the said land. Therefore, there is a legal method by which land is alienated from its original tribal possessor.

The state of Bihar passed the abolition of Zamindari Act as the Land Reforms Bill in 1950 and the Bihar Agricultural Lands – Ceilings and Management Bill in 1955. Yet all these laws could not check the continued presence and importance of the money lender despite passing the Money Lender's Act in 1974. The Kamioiti labour regulation act passed in 1920, making bonded labour a feature of rural Bihar has still not been abolished. As Devalle (1992) comments, "All this legislation could not contain money lending and land alienation through manipulation of the law".¹⁴²

A large number of development projects, industrial mining, irrigation and hydel are located in tribal area. Jharkhand receives a fifth of the total public sector investments in industrial pursuits.¹⁴³ Pandit Nehru while inaugurating the Damodar Valley Corporation hydel power plant at Maithon, Panchet (Dist. Dhanbad) called them "temples of modern India"; unfortunately the people who gave up their lands for these temples to be built and help the nation progress have now become destitute. Chota Nagpur has steel mills at Jamshedpur and Bokaro, coal mines in Jharia, Karampura Ranchi, Ramgarh, Heavy Engineering plant at Ranchi, Copper plant at Ghatshila, mica industry at Giridih, mica mines at Koderma and Hazaribagh, aluminium plant at Muri and Uranium mining in Jaduguda. The backlash of these projects has been most acute and painful for the adivasis. This rapid pace of industrialisation saw an overwhelming rise in the population

¹⁴¹ Sarkar, Obsid, p. 101.

¹⁴² Devalle, Obsid, p, 75,

¹⁴³ Ibid.

Chota Nagpur; the tribal population of the region has been slowly declining. The amount of immigration is staggering. But this has resulted in “increasing land alienation and displacement”.¹⁴⁴ According to Fernandes (1989), this gives the industrial location in Chota Nagpur an “enclave character” so that the area itself is materially developed and the infrastructure built, but the beneficiaries are mostly outsiders who come into the area to exploit its resources for their own benefit. The local population is marginalised”.¹⁴⁵

A very important facet of national development is the displacement has been adequately met by rehabilitation measures. Between 1951-1961, a decade when the industries were set up 17% of the affected families in Bihar were adivasis. A few studies have also been conducted on this issue Rothermund (1978) on the Dhanbad Coal mines, Vidyarthi (1974) on the heavy engineering plant at Ranchi, Mahapatra (1987) on tiger project affected people in Orissa and two notable studies by the Anthropological survey of India, by Banerjee (1978) and Sengupta (1984).

As mentioned by Rai, Kumar and Pandey (1998)¹⁴⁶, tribal poverty in Bihar is the dark underbelly of national prosperity. The displaced people could not find suitable jobs and became the most low paid and ill-treated section of labour reserve. Sacchidananda comments very aptly, “appropriate measures to provide effective protection to these people have not been taken. The issues in this content are not confined to alternative use of resources, cost benefit analysis of project etc. They involve basic issues/values, human rights, civilisational concerns and national obligations. The turmoil of the tribals are unprecedented”. (1991: 340). Thus they become resourceless, homeless and friendless. Other than economic coercion, non-economic coercion is also in use. Bagchi (1982) opines “A continual inter change between capitalist and precapitalist relations has not ceased after independence...Capitalist profit making uses pre capitalist measures.”¹⁴⁷ This has repeatedly led to protest measures of the tribal people. “The use of non-economic coercion is not a ‘feudal’ remain, but a mechanism used by the upper classes, the police and administration to control... In Jharkhand, social degradation is directly translated into

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 143.

¹⁴⁵ Fernandes, Walter (1989) (ed): Introduction, In National Development and Tribal Deprivation, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, p. 7.

¹⁴⁶ Rai, Kumar and Pandey, Obsid.

¹⁴⁷ Bagchi, A.K, (1972): Changing Pattern of Caste, Indian Sociological Society, New Delhi, p. 98.

economic exploitation, the outcome of development for the adivasis”.¹⁴⁸ The nation has forgotten the Gua massacre, which is but one perpetration in a host of others. Thus the basic resource of the tribal people that is land is being alienated from them. The role of land laws is only a small measure in the entire whole. The other parts are the role of the forests and the process of industrialisation that complete the picture. These issues are dealt with in the next two chapters.

¹⁴⁸ Devalle, Obsid, p.91.

Chapter IV

The Role of Forests in the Process of Marginalisation in Tribal Chota Nagpur

This chapter looks at the role the forests play in the process of land alienation in tribal regions of the Chota Nagpur plateau in Jharkhand. The aim of the chapter is to find how through the process of creating reserve forests and protected forests in the British period began the process of alienation of forested land from the tribal populace; and its relevance in the present period. Furthermore, what went into the construction of the forestry rules and how the specific scientific knowledge that helped the scientific forestry methods in the colonial period is examined. This knowledge was used to govern the people, throwing up several forms of state making processes that operated in this region, which helped the colonial rulers to gain legitimacy and authority to establish it self. The impact of these policies resulted in the famines (1896-97) that engulfed the region immediately after the first forest policy came in to being in 1874. Similarly, the demarcation of the forest boundaries also created a lot of controversy. Were these the impetus behind large scale immigrations of the tribal people from this region to the other regions of India (notably the tea gardens of Assam and as bonded labour in the fields? Also examined is how the forest policies of the post independent Indian government have taken shape and affected the tribal populace The most important impact of the forest policy in independent India was the nationalisation of the minor forest product (MFP) trade creating another furore in the forests of Chota Nagpur. The newly imposed joint forest management programme (JFM) in the region also has its role in the entire process, though one can ask how relevant and valid is it to the region.

The subtext of the entire argument is that how much control should the state possess over the resources, for these are in reality methods of state control over the resource base of the nation. And aligned to this fact another question raises its head, for whom is the state providing this protection? For whose good is this being achieved? The nation's or the population of the country and if that is separable from the people who live in the affected areas! The people who live in the region and who are losing out or those who live far away and enjoy the benefits without encountering survival problems; does that imply that there is a favoured population and a non favoured population? The most

bewildering fact is that the policies reflect the British colonial strategy at its best and does that mean that some of the regions that are rich in natural resources are being internally colonised? Yet, in a constitutional welfare state like India this should be impossible, though the facts speak a different language.

This chapter is divided into five sections:

- IV.1 Forest conditions prevalent in pre colonial India
- IV.2 Forest laws and their scientific construction in colonial period
- IV.3 Impact of the colonial forest laws on Chota Nagpur
- IV.4 Forest policy in independent India and its impact on tribal population of Chota Nagpur
- IV.5 Whose Forests? The people or the state!

The ChotaNagpur plateau has long been designated as the Jharkhand, the land of shrubs and forests. This was the name given to the region in the Vedas. Basu (1994) remarks that Chaitanya Mahaprabhu in the fourteenth century passed through the tract of Jharkhand on his way to Nilachaldham (Puri) and the *Ain i Akbari* mention it as the forested land rich in minerals.¹ The British designated this region during the colonial rule as the Chota Nagpur division. The region is Independent India's recently formed state of Jharkhand, carved out of the state of Bihar, comprising the 18 districts of the South Bihar plateau (ChotaNagpur region). The most distinct feature of the region throughout the different ages has been its dense forest cover and its tribal population. Today, both of them are facing problems of survival.

The tribal population, at one time considered an integral part of the forests are now considered its enemies and are displaced as more forests are placed under the state protection. This is not a new phenomenon in the area; the process of creating state ownership of the forest wealth began in the colonial period. The tribal population thus divested of their land is now landless and homeless, for their relation to the forests they inhabited is not just one of social, economic and political, but one of soul. Therefore, for the tribal ousted from the forested tract not only does his body become malnourished but his spirit starves too. To them, as Gujrati (1996) comments, the forest is a "resource, but

¹ Basu. Sajal, (1994): Jharkhand Movement, Ethnicity and Culture of Silence, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Rashtrapati Niwas, Shimla.

not just a resource or a collection of trees. It is rather a reflection of the tribal life support system. Forests are their emotions. They are the organic past of their life. They have existed since historic times in a symbiotic relationship, mutually reinforcing each other".²

A typical characterisation / projection of the tribal village is a one located in a small clearing in the midst of a dense forest, some fields nearby and a graveyard marked by stones and dense growth of forest. Driven out of their original lands they inhabited by the invading Aryans, the tribal people were the first people in India's history to enter the forest and clearing land for cultivation. This accorded them ownership rights in the forests. The land was owned as a communal resource. In the Chota Nagpur area, the first people who colonised the forest areas are called *Khuntkattidars*³ and their villages are found all over. The structuration of their society was based on who came first, with most rights being accorded to the *Khuntkattidar* or original settler family. They learnt to live with the forest and living so close to nature has slowly managed to ferret out its secrets. They have the knowledge of, as Padel (1998) says "leaves of countless plants which they use for a huge range of foods and medicine. From seedlings to mature plants, in their cycles of development through seasons, huge trees and small herbs they know the forest plants and a great deal about their different qualities and uses".⁴ The tribal communities have faced untold problems over the loss of forested land. They have starved, immigrated to plantation areas, mining regions and have repetitiously revolted. The process that pushed them to the edge is outlined here.

IV. 1: Forest Conditions Prevalent in the Pre Colonial Period

The ancient texts of the Indian civilisation such as Vedas and Puranas mention forests as *aryanas* and *vanas*. In the later Vedic age the word *jangal* or jungle emerges. The king of the Nisada tribe is projected as Rama's friend in the epic Ramayana. The

² Gujrati. Sangita, (1996): Forests and Tribals: An Exploration Into Relationship in Baidyanath Saraswati (ed) Decoding Interface Between Society and Environment, Debate and Ground Level Realities, Indira Gandhi Foundation for Liberal Arts, New Delhi, p.109.

³ *Khuntkattidars* were those people who first came into the forest area of the Chota Nagpur plateau and established their villages. Their name originates from the word *Khunt* meaning post, implying those who set the first four posts i.e. demarcated the boundary of the forest to be used for setting up village sites as well as fields for cultivation., in K.S. Singh, (1982); The Hanging Mist and the Dust Storm , Birsa Munda's Ulgulan, The Study of a Millenarian Movement, Manohar, New Delhi.

⁴ Padel. Felix, (1998): Forest Knowledge: Tribal People, their Environment and the Structure of Power, in David Arnold et al (1998) (ed) Nature and Orient, The Environmental History of South and South East Asia, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.891.

traditional view of ascetics and sages living in the forests is counterpoised by the by the presence of the *rakshasas* their enemies. Also it is peopled by the various '*vanar jatis*' who are loyal to the Aryan kings

The forests here assume two-fold meaning, a place where there is complete peace for a sage to concentrate on meditation as well as other forest dwellers who are regarded as enemies by the invading Aryans. They are the vanquished original settlers and since they do not conform to the Aryan notions, they are their enemies. As long as they exhibit allegiance to the ruling Aryan king, they are regarded as being loyal, but if they assert their independence they become enemies. The jungle therefore also becomes a refuge for the conquered people who are not assimilated into the Aryan society.

In recorded history, Emperor Ashoka (IIIrd century B.C.) in one of his edicts mentions the forest tribes present in his empire should be conquered for better governance.⁵ Basham (1971) opines "Therefore they are to be disciplined, reformed and subdued orders the monarch".⁶ This attitude seems to have been carried on in Indian tradition, it means that the adivasis⁷, barely tolerated were allowed to live in the forests, which were considered to be marginal spaces.⁸ They have to obey the laws settled by the Aryan kings and if inhabiting the villages (in rare cases) abide by the conditions made for them by the dominant populace. In other words from the very beginning they have been the quintessential 'other'. Jha, (1994) mentions that their rights to the forests and its products were not tampered with, though Chanakya's Arthashastra mentions that the Sandalwood forests belong to the King and imposes penalty on those who kill the elephants in the forests.⁹

This continued throughout the history of India, till the advent of the British colonialists. Be it the Gupta Kings of the Golden age of Indian history or the Mughal emperors of the medieval age the rights of the adivasis vis a vis the forests were

⁵ Bhattacharya, France, (1995): Forests and Forest Dwellers in Modern Bengali Fiction in Roger Jeffery (1995) (ed) The Social Construction of Indian Forests, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

⁶ Basham, A.A. (1971): The Wonder that was India, Paperback Fontana, IIIrd Edition, Sidgwick and Jackson, London, p. 54.

⁷ *Adivasis* is another name used to denote the tribal indigenous and autochthonous communities in India.

⁸ Marginal Spaces here refers to the spaces outside the normal society. Thus the connotation of the other, that is something that is not in the normality of societal life, people by those who are different from the usual civil life.

⁹ Jha, L.K., (1994): India's Forest Policies, Analysis and Appraisal, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi.

undisturbed. At times some amount of revenue was collected from the king of Chota Nagpur region. This becomes evident from the relationship that the tribal populace have developed with the forests. Gupta et al (1981) remarks, "Almost all of the economic activities of the tribal revolves around the forest which is their natural habitat".¹⁰ Forests are their sustenance as well as their source of income. Their informal economic system that evolved over time is based upon forests. Even their social and political structure is based on their relationship with the forests, for as Fernandes, (1993) opines "community based as against individual based formal system".¹¹

Similarly, their economic system is based on communal ownership of property rights. They also have well developed forest management systems, some of the most common being the institution of a sacred grove or *Sarna* and the cemetery or the *Sasandiri* are covered with trees that are never felled, in other words, conservation. As Gujrati (1996) remarks, "the relationship and dependence was institutionalised through a variety of cultural and religious mechanisms, namely myths and legends which enable the tribals to reaffirm and reproduce their existence and their unique identity".¹² Moreover their belief system tells of the existence of Gods and Goddesses and other deities that are all related to the forest and that the mother goddess who sustains all of them lives in the forests. Therefore the forests are revered and used with extreme care.

IV.2: Forest Laws and their Scientific Construction in the

Colonial Period

All this drastically changed with the advent of the British colonial rulers. Their understanding of the forests and the tribals' relationship with it was different and indeed subsumed under their military and commercial requirements. As Fuchs (1992) mentions "For invaders of a higher productive stage of culture the vast territory of food gatherers and primitive agriculturists appeared needlessly extensive and inviting free appropriation. Against usurpers of a superior culture, in possession of more effective weapons the

¹⁰ Gupta. Ranjit, Banerjee. Prava, and Guleria. Amar, (1981): tribal unrest and Forestry Management in Bihar, Centre for Management in Agriculture, Monograph No. 98, Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, p.15

¹¹ Fernandes. Walter, (1993): Forests and Tribals: Informal Economy, Dependence and Management Traditions, in Mrinal. Miri, (1993) (ed): Continuity and Change in Tribal Society, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Rashtrapati Niwas, , Shimla, p.53.

¹² Gujrati. Sangita, Obsid, p.111.

defence of their territory proved impossible for primitive food gatherers”¹³, the sentiment expressed holds true of the situation in beginning of colonial rule in Chota Nagpur. This section is divided into two parts, Part IV.2.1 deals with the construction of forest laws and Part IV.2.2 deals with scientific rationale developed in Europe that helped create the laws. They also helped create certain forms of governance that were in tandem with the forest laws and the science guiding them.

IV.2.1: The Scientific and Political Rationale Behind the Construction of

Forest Laws

According to Jewitt, (1998) the base of the scientific forestry in India is the evolution of “European silvicultural principles and centred around the production of sustained timber yields often through creation of monocultures”.¹⁴ The early colonial imaginary was shaped by an “unknown and baffling sociology, the apparent lack of a stable agrarian order and a landscape of impenetrable jungle in woodland jungle”.¹⁵ Moreover as in the case of creating and identifying a tribe where scientific developments in Europe played a major shaping role here also the “developments of earth and planet sciences landscape aesthetics and hunting attitudes in Europe was salient to the production of colonial forest knowledge” and the working of the forestry laws reveal “competing agendas for using power, competing strategies for maintaining control and doubts about the legitimacy of the venture”.¹⁶

Rather, it can be said that scientific forestry was shaped in colonial woodland Bengal by creating ideals out of some practises leading to construction of certain set patterns of forest management. Colonial rule in India was shaped by the flow of might be lumped together as colonial knowledge.¹⁷

Lefebvre (1991) opines that representations are the confluence of ideology and knowledge that achieve consistency only by intervening in social space and its production

¹³ Fuchs. Stephen, (1992): Indian Tribals and Forests, in Buddadev Chaudhuri (1992) (ed) Tribal Transformation in India, Vol III, Inter India Publications, New Delhi, p.363.

¹⁴ Jewitt, Sarah (1998): Autonomous and Joint Forest Mangement in India's Jharkhand: Lessons for the future? In Roger Jeffrey (ed) (1998): The Social Construction of India's Forests, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.147.

¹⁵ Sivaramakrishnan. K, (1999): Modern Forests Statemaking and Environmental Change in Colonial Eastern India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p. 77.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Bayly. Christopher, (1993): Knowing the country: Empire and Information in India, Modern Asian Studies, Vol.27(1) pp. 3-43.

can be of significance in this context.¹⁸ Therefore ‘botanical surveys, tree plantations, and timber conservancy were measures of that representation and entered the colonial repertoire for knowing and ordering the landscape at the same time by the beginning of the twentieth century’.¹⁹ According to Young (1995) ‘where they occurred, persisted, failed, shrank and enlarged are all aspects that set colonialism off against its historical and geographical particularities’.²⁰ Sivaramakrishnan further states, “therefore, the production of landscapes as historical spaces and recognizing the concomitant production of societies and cultures that takes place is essential”.²¹ Similarly, Gregory (1994) opines ‘tribal people were associated with tribal palaces, and the production of these places had as much to do with the history of these people as it had to do with the geography of their lands. When landscapes were partitioned through colonial survey and policy, their inhabitants were also compartmentalized’.²²

Representations of forests help evolve methods of stringent control over not only the resource but also the population by the state. This marks the entry of the state into resource control through regulation measures. In the case of forestry, this operates in a dual manner: first forestry as land management is involved in broader issues of land administration – agriculture, revenue, and stability achieved by continued production. Secondly, the forest departments feel the pressure to develop themselves, standardize their procedures and therefore practise scientific methods that are universally acceptable; these should also be in tandem with the larger governmental procedures. There is then a tension between fitting forestry into a wider universe of managed landscapes of production and identifying it as a distinct separate and professionalized activity. The effect of this tension suggests a constant production and transformation of science in its applications, the context of which is often development.²³

Therefore, forest conservancy in colonial Bengal began with the urge to directly control, systematize and regulate the extraction of timber from what was thought to be

¹⁸ Lefebvre, Henri, (1991): *The Production of Space*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

¹⁹ Sivaramakrishnan, K, *Obsid*, p. 80.

²⁰ Young, Robert, (1995): *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, Routledge, London, p.165.

²¹ Sivaramakrishnan, K, (1999), *Obsid*.

²² Gregory, Derek, (1994): *Geographical Imaginations*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, p.164.

²³ Sivaramakrishnan, K, (2000): *State Sciences and Development Histories: Encoding Local Forestry Knowledge in Bengal, Development and Change*, Vol. 31, pp.61-89.

the rapidly deforested hardwood jungles. 'The rhetoric of conservancy espoused the environmental ideas of watershed management, species conservation and wildlife protection, alongside it also expressed strident political and economic realities of territorial expansion, the establishment of British rule in strategic regions, and the laying down infrastructure for administering the empire. While both strains of conservancy ultimately facilitated the disempowering of local communities in the forests, and expedited capital accumulation through forest exploitation, they 'created, in their discordance, interstitial spaces for the modulation of forest policy'.²⁴

As was often the case elsewhere, the Indian Forest department attempted to justify its actions by ridiculing the indigenous knowledge systems with the popular opinion that these systems were primitive, backward, wasteful and had no concept of modern scientific conservation methods. The reason given for creating reserve forests was that there was widespread deforestation caused by the shifting cultivation practised by the tribal populace who lived there and the other numerous uses that they made of the forest resource. In fact the system of shifting cultivation or *Jhum* came under vigorous attack from the colonial foresters, in Stebbing's (1922) words, it was considered a "pernicious system...probably as destructive to forests as any other act of man".²⁵ The exception to this rule were in the regions of extremely poor soil, where forest revenue was considered to be least, and greater revenues collection could be made by encouraging the *Jhumias* (shifting cultivators) as in the case of certain areas inhabited by the Maler tribesmen in northern Santhal Parganas. Elsewhere this practice was severely discouraged. Therefore the forests had to be placed under state control so as to regulate and protect the resource.

It is not that the indigenous forest knowledge was lacking but the colonial rulers did not consider it as proper knowledge, after all it was possessed by the adivasis or tribal people who were identified as 'primitive' and 'savage'. And the land that they occupied was after all in one sense considered '*res nullius*'. The usages of the forest by the Britishers were many and moreover, demand for good quality wood was rising at home (Britain) and in the colony (India).

²⁴ Ibid, p. 70.

²⁵ Stebbing. E.P, (1922): The Forests of India, Vol, I. J. Lane, London, p.31.

During the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries the use of forest by the tribal communities did not destroy forests, rather it was the accelerated use of wood by the colonial government that began and intensified the exploitation of the forest wealth that caused deforestation. Savur, (1996) protests against the idea that the tribals' use of the forests caused deforestation by stating "in strong contrast, uses of leaves for milch even in un-hilly areas or timber trade in pre British days or use of teak for ship building by Angaria in Ratnagiri did not destroy the forests. The damage began from the seventeenth century, with the European merchants struggle for control. They needed timber for mounting guns and for construction: the English factories in India in 1670-71".²⁶ Indeed, deforestation in India has been rather a more complex process than that suggested by the population based models of 'open access' or common property resource degradation.²⁷ The more popular models of Hardin and Shepherd can be utilised here with some modifications.²⁸

The new confidence generated by the use of 'scientific methods' or rather mono culture of valuable species of trees such as Sal and teak saw the establishment of what were known as Working Plans, that was supposed to help the enactment of science in an unhampered landscape forcing an increased curbing of the traditional rights of the indigenous communities. Many scientific methods were adopted to better the growth of Sal, the most important commercial specie in the Chota Nagpur region. These included the thinning of forests, clearing of the creepers to facilitate the better absorption of light for quicker growth. Yet, the natural regeneration of the Sal forests remained quite elusive to the colonial foresters.²⁹

²⁶ Savur. Mnaorama, (1996): The Political Economy of Deforestation in India, in An Exploration Into Relationship in Decoding Interface Between Society and Environment, Debate and Ground in Baidyanath Saraswati (ed) Decoding Interface Between Society and Environment, Debate and Ground Level Realities, Indira Gandhi Foundation for Liberal Arts, New Delhi, p.42.

²⁷ Jewitt, Sarah, Obsid, p.146.

²⁸ These models were enumerated by Garret Hradin in his famous The Tragedy of the Commons model, where all the accessible resources are depleted by increase in the base population. The problem with Hardin's proposition was that what he considered to be common property resources were actually open access resources and there is a lot of difference between the two. So one model can not fit into the other.

²⁹ Gadgil, Madhav and Guha Ramachandra, (1995): Ecology and Equity, The Use and Abuse of Nature in Contemporary India., Penguin Books, London.

IV.2.2: Construction of Forest Laws and their Implementation in Chota Nagpur

At first Britain did little in the way of managing what it considered to be India's 'inexhaustible' forest resources, the realisation that "the safety of the empire depended on its wooden walls"³⁰ was probably a major factor responsible for reservation of teak forests in Malabar in 1806. By the mid- nineteenth century, however, concern about declining forest resources, climatic change, soil erosion, declining agricultural productivity and the need to secure future supplies of timber for railway construction, ship-building, and military purposes resulted in the first proposal for forest conservation. This idea has been enumerated in many works such as Guha (1989)³¹ and Pathak (1994)³² dealing with the ideals behind the construction of the forestry rules in British India.

The colonial rulers found the forests not being used to their optimum, (in their opinion) and also that the presence of these formed a boundary to their expansion of territory. The land revenue being exacted from the forest areas was also minimal since the soil was not of good quality so as to support intensive.³³ This became evident during the initial years of expansion of British rule in India, when in the Chota Nagpur region the tribals protested fiercely against encroachment in to their territory. The main problem during the Chuar Rebellion as faced by the British was that the miscreants hid in the jungles and outsiders were afraid to venture into the dark depths of these forests which had hitherto been inviolable. The dense forests of the Chota Nagpur plateau thus formed a barrier or rather a boundary of the British Empire at the early decades of British rule in India. The forests were considered to be infested with a lot of dangers: wild animals, diseases as well as ferocious and rebellious tribes men. Moreover, they experienced their first opposition to extending and establishing their rule in this region from the tribal populace.

³⁰ Ghate. R.S, (1992): Forest Policy and Tribal Development, A Study of Maharashtra, Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, p. 31.

³¹ Guha, R, (1989): The Unquiet Woods, Ecological Change and Peaseant Resistance in the Himalaya, Oxford University Pares, New Delhi.

³² Pathak, A, (1994): Contested Domains, The State, Peasants and Forests in Contemporary India, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

³³ Sen. Suchibrata, (1984): The Santals of Jungle Mahals, An Agrarian History 1793-1861, Ratna Prakashan, Calcutta.

So the forests presented a dichotomy, a resource that was not available to them and also as an area that sheltered the revolutionaries. It took the British administrators about 100 years since the inception of their rule in India to come up with the idea of creating reserve forests. To deal with these they created certain rules that helped them to rule and regulate these spaces of ‘anomaly’³⁴ that did not fit into their conception of woodlands. Zones of anomaly are those spaces in colonial historiography that did not confirm to the British idea of woodlands or the forests. The tribal communities along with the Hindu castes peopled this space. So together, these could not be easily slotted into some preconceived space that was familiar to the Colonial rulers.

The Imperial Forest Department was set up in 1864 and subsequently the first Act was passed in 1865. The Forest Department after being established was asked to generate its own resources to maintain itself, this revenue function of the Department spelt doom for the forests in the long run. The Forest Department excelled in the collection of revenue, and finally was merged with the Department of Revenue. Savur (1996) opines that this ensured that the “department’s major interest became blatantly commercial rather than conservation. By linking the forests with revenue, the resources that were generated by the Forest Department were syphoned out into the general treasury, leaving little to be ploughed back into the forest department”.³⁵

The Act of 1865 classified forests into reserved and unreserved. The reserve forests were to be state owned and the rest were left out. Notably, the privately owned forests were exempted from this rule. This ensured that the maximum of the forests held by the landowners were left undisturbed, only the common property resources were attached. By this time the Permanent Settlement Act had already been implemented. So the major revenue payers in that system, the land owners were exempted from the purview of the Act of reserving the forest lands, which were classified as the privately owned lands. To disturb them would be to cut the revenue to be generated from the land holdings as zamindaris and estates.

The only lands that were left were the communal lands owned by the tribal communities. Also, these groups did not have any formal boundary demarcating their

³⁴ Sivaramakrishnan. K, Obsid.

³⁵ Savur. Mnaorama, Obsid, p.44.

land or formal documents regarding land ownership. It was all an understanding between the tribal communities who live in the forests and those who lived in the fringe areas of the forests. These unclassified forests were later on surveyed and progressively demarcated as reserves forests. The reserved forests were made out of bounds local populace. In fact the initial reason for creating such an Act was to counteract some local pressure from various interest groups. In the Chota Nagpur region, the prime interest groups were the forest contractors who were afraid of losing their trade profits as they were in continuous disagreement with the local adivasi communities about the limit of the forests that they could lease. Also, "There were pressures from forest dwellers, who on the other hand were losing their homeland and their very means of existence, the land settlement surveys had ignored their rights and failed to provide titles to their lands".³⁶ Shifting cultivation was officially banned in the Central Provinces in 1867; later on this was also applied to the Chota Nagpur Division.

The Act of 1878 empowered the government to "declare any land covered with trees, brushwood or jungle as government forest by notification".³⁷ This was followed by the declaration whereby all commercially viable forests were reserved. "This Act established the colonial state's monopoly right over India's forest lands which were to be divided henceforth into four categories:

1. Reserved Forests
2. Protected forests
3. Private Forests
4. Village Forests"³⁸

Out of all these only the village forest category was to be available to the villagers for unrestrained use. The forests that were made reserve forests were completely restricted for use by the villagers, the protected forests were allowed access only for grazing and collecting wood for their domestic needs, minor forest products that supported their existence, became out of bounds for the villagers as ordained by the government. This reduced tribal communities access to the forest for food products and their economy also

³⁶ (Ibid)

³⁷ Ghate. R.S, (1992): Forest Policy and Tribal Development, A Study of Maharashtra, Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, p.33.

³⁸ Jewitt. Sarah, (1996): Agro- Ecological Knowledges and Forest Management in Jharkhand, India: Tribal Development or Populist Impasse? PhD Dissertation submitted at the University of Cambridge, 1996, p.44.

suffered as they lost access to the minor forest products that were used by them as economic goods in the open market.

With the establishment of these Acts, the access of the adivasis to the forests was extremely reduced. Yet these were not the only Acts that they had to contend with, the 1894 Voelcker Resolution added to their woes.³⁹ His recommendations were formulated as the Resolution 22 F on Forest Policy in India, and this had the single most impact on the tribal communities access to forest resources. Based on his ideals, the forests were reclassified according

1. to their suitability for soil protection (the forests situated on the Himalayan mountain slopes)
2. commercial timber production (stands of tak and sal, the important varieties)
3. the fulfilment of the villagers survival needs (the least valueable forests, can be called degraded forests)

This law also brought in legislation creating normal customary rights of the villagers' forest use into 'privileges' to be granted by the Forest Department, the action was to be for 'public benefit'.⁴⁰ As Ghate (1992) remarks "this was primarily a means of maximising timber yields and profits at the expense of other claims (notably the subsistence requirements of local people) to forest resources. He asserts that the colonial Forest Department enhanced its revenue collection tenfold from Rs.5.6 million in 1869 to Rs. 56.7 million in 1925.⁴¹

Damodaran (1998) writes, "By 1890s the total reserve forest area of Chota Nagpur was 5839 square miles. Of these over 5431 square miles were closed for grazing purposes. In 1894 all state lands within the five districts of Chota Nagpur division were declared to be 'Protected Forests' further controlling hitherto unclassified forests".⁴²

³⁹ Dr. J.A. Voelcker was an agricultural specialist by profession and placed utmost importance to retain forest cover as an exercise to lessen the impact of soil loss by erosion on taxable agricultural land.

⁴⁰ Corbridge. Stuart, (1991): *Ousting Singbonga: The struggle for India's Jharkhand* in Chris Dixon and Michael Jefferson (ed): *Colonialism and Development in Contemporary World*, Mansell publishing Limited, London, p. 163.

⁴¹ Ghate. R.S, (1992): *Forest Policy and Tribal Development, A Study of Maharashtra*, Concept Publishing House, New Delhi.

⁴² Damodaran, Vinita, (1998): *Famine in a Forest Tract: Ecological Change and the Causes of the 1897 Famine in Chota Nagpur, Northern India*, in David Arnold et al (ed)(1998): *Nature and the Orient, The Environmental History of South and South East Asia*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p. 874.

The success of these acts was consolidated in the Forest Act of 1927, “which quietly tightened the colonizer’s hold on its imperial assets as Champion and Osmaston refer most pithily to forests”⁴³. This Act also recommended the setting up of forest based industries in the forest area as well as increased co-operation between the forest and the agricultural departments of the province. It also curtailed more rights of the adivasis. The separation of Burma (now Myanmar) from India in 1935 saw a huge loss in total forest acreage of India, subsequently creating an increased the pressure on the forest reserves of Chota Nagpur.

No more Forest Acts were enacted after 1927. The Forest Department at its inception had also set up offices of forest guards and beat officers who served in the forest areas other than the infrastructural facilities set up in the district and regional headquarters. These institutions in the forests slowly became centres of corruption and the laws were interpreted as wished or required by the forest officer.

IV.3: Impact of the Colonial Forest Laws on the Chota Nagpur

The impact of the colonial forest policy as imposed on the Chota Nagpur spelt disaster for the tribal communities inhabiting the region. The various forestry laws enacted by the colonial served one prime purpose: an unprecedented increase in loss of land by the tribal communities in Chota Nagpur. The communal system of landownership was completely disregarded and maximum amount of land that was declared as reserve forest and protected forest belonged to these people. Since there was a forcible takeover of forested land no compensation was paid to the original owners.

Moreover, the adivasi communities were ignorant regarding the knowledge of any kind of compensation to be paid to them in lieu of loss of forest land owned by them. In many cases, other people, who had the knowledge and were aware of the compensation process, notably the outsiders (the forest officials, trades men and other service men residing in the region), often availed of the compensation opportunities in the name of the tribal people. Thus the adivasis were doubly cheated. The process of claiming compensation was a long and tedious one, which the mostly illiterate adivasi communities could not afford to follow; they were also not familiar with the concept of private property. Furthermore, the colonial government did not recognise the communal

⁴³ Savur. Mnaorama, Obsid, p. 47.

rights of land occupancy of the tribal communities, so the compensation was never paid to those who deserved it.

In fact the complete limits of the disruption caused by the implementation of the colonial forestry laws on the lives of the forest dependent tribal communities is difficult to imagine. "Many people had to cope with the sudden loss of important forest based religious sites and traditional festival grounds and hunting grounds while others were forced to undertake a form of settled agriculture that was completely alien to them".⁴⁴ For instance, Elwin (1964) writing about the Juang tribe in Orissa draws attention to the "complete cultural and religious collapse"⁴⁵ that resulted from the imposition of the colonial forestry laws in the region inhabited by them.

According to Corbridge (1991), "The main victims of this process of reservation were the tribals of central India. In Bihar, large forest tracts in Singhbhum, Palamau, Ranchi and Santhal Parganas were brought under the guidelines of 1894, and in these districts the tribal peasant was brought face to face with a new commodification of time and space. Measurement replaced mythology as forests fell to management practices designed to maximise the production of commercial timber. In place of mixed forest, with its delicate balance of major and minor forest products, the tendency was now to replace trees such as *Mahua* and *Kusum* with Sal and Teak plantations. In place of open access to forests there now appeared wire fences and forest guards. In place of a complex landscape of irregular jungles and symbolic centres there now appeared a management plan which emphasised regular coppicing and which introduced straight line planting. In place of rights there now emerged privileges and offences. Finally in place of customary use based on local need there emerged a set of restrictions based upon a minute regulation of time and space. Grazing, henceforth, would be for specific types of animals, on particular days of the week, in particular parts of a forest".⁴⁶

Guha (1989) mentions that subsistence production was also disrupted by forest reservation as although Village forests were set aside for the use by local people, many communities were confronted quite suddenly with substantial limitations on woodland

⁴⁴ Jewitt. Sarah, Obsid, p. 45.

⁴⁵ Elwin, H.V.H.(1964): The Tribal World of Verrier Elwin, An Autobiography, Oxford University Press, p. 173.

⁴⁶ Corbridge. Stuart, Obsid, p. 164.

areas available to them.⁴⁷ The collection of food articles such as fruits, seeds, honey, leaves, and fuel wood, twigs, and grass from the forest were strictly curtailed. This created a food shortage in the region. For Example, O' Malley (1910), noted in the district gazetteer of the Santhal Parganas district, "twenty three species of trees were put on the reserve list under Section 29 of the Forest Act, that is they may not be cut, except when under 2 feet in girth, without the written permission of the forest officer. Some of these are Sal (*Shorea robusta*), Bamboo (*Dendrocalamus strictus*), Asan (*Terminalia tomentosa*), Murga (*Pterocarpus Marsupium*), Ebony (*Diospyros Melanoxylon*), Satsal (*Dalbergia latifolia*) Kusum (*Schleichera Triguja*) and Mahua (*Bassia latifolia*) and Sabai grass (*Ischoemum angustifolium*), Bair (*Zizyphus Jujuba*), Amla (*Phyllanthus Emblica*), Bahera (*Terminalia belerica*), Palas (*Butea frondosa*), Harra (*Terminalia Chebula*)".⁴⁸ Out of these, the Asan, Mahua, Murga and Kusum form part of the major diets of the adivasis. The sabai grass is used for covering the roof and the rest for building purposes. Also, deities of the forests were supposed to live in these plants. Slowly, as more and more forests were placed under the reserved and protected category the access of the adivasis to these essential food items lessened.

The result of the Forest Policy of 1894 was visible in the famine of 1897 that affected large parts of the Chota Nagpur region. As Damodaran (1998) comments " At the outset it should be pointed out that many wild fruits and roots formed part of daily diet of the adivasi majority in Chota Nagpur, and it is fallacy to think as some historians are wont to, that these items were famine foods to be eaten only in times of scarcity".⁴⁹ The Ranchi district gazetteer mentions that there was no record of a famine in the area prior to 1897. Though there were several periods of drought, famine had not yet made its appearance in the district. The population moving to the jungles and surviving the dry period with the jungly foods counteracted the distress of the earlier periods of drought.

Rains had failed in the summers of 1895 and 1896. Already there was deterioration in the position of the peasants; they had almost no stocks of food grains left. The first indication of the famine was the drastic rise in food prices in August 1897, but

⁴⁷ Guha, Obsid.

⁴⁸ O'Malley. L.S.S, (1910): Bengal District Gazetteers, Santal Parganas, Bengal Seceretary Book Depot, Calcutta, p. 214.

⁴⁹ Damodaran. Vinita, Obsid, p. 858.

prior to that there was an outbreak of Cholera in the affected districts. However, Andrew Forbes of the Famine Enquiry Committee noted that ‘independently, however, of cholera there has been a marked increase, as in Manbhum⁵⁰, for instance, where although the deaths from cholera have notably fallen off since June, the death rate has still been increasing. This is no doubt in great measure to the general lowering of the system among the labouring classes owing to want of proper food and consequent diminished power of resistance against attacks of fever and other ordinary disease’.⁵¹ As if to keep proportion with the lessened amount of food grains availability, the number of beggars went up in the small towns, there was an increase in movement of people in the region, moving about in search of work and food.

The importance of access to forestry products comes in here. In his report on settlement operations in the Chota Ngapur estate in 1882, Slacke mentions 21 species of seeds and fruits of 45 uncultivated trees that were used as food, he also mentions 34 trees whose leaves were used as vegetables and 18 species of edible roots. He also enumerates 97 forest products that were used as medicines, 28 forest products used as oils and gum, 17 species used as dyes and 33 creepers used medicines and rope fibres. Bell, in 1860s had noticed that the tribes of the region were highly dependant on the forests for their daily diet. In fact it was the intimate knowledge of the forests and its secrets that enabled the tribal to survive in the lean periods when rains did not fall and there was scarcity of food. Man (1861) writes about a missionary in the Santhal Pargnas who had noted ‘a Santhal will manage to live where even a rat would starve’.⁵² Moreover the hunting activity of the tribals was completely restricted by the forest laws that prohibited forest use; another source of food was closed off to the tribals.

The district officer in Hazaribagh district reporting on the growing scarcity noted observantly that the degree of intensity of the famine would vary with regard to the availability of jungle produce. He therefore identified the areas to be most like to be affected in the district as the thanas that lay along the Grand Trunk road on the lower

⁵⁰ Mnabhum, Obsid.

⁵¹ ibid

⁵² Man. E.G. (1861): Sonthalia and the Sonthals, Ratna Prakashan Calcutta, p.146.

plateau, namely Buri, Chouparan, Bagoda, and parts of Koderma and Dumri. all of which were substantially deforested areas.⁵³

This had an adverse impact on the tribal populace; they began to migrate out of the region in large numbers. The Assam tea plantations gained the most from this emigration. An indication of the total number of people who migrated from the Chota Nagpur region to Assam tea gardens over a period of 48 years is provided in Table No. 3.1. The trend of immigration was quite heavy in the early years, immediately after the implementation of the forestry laws of 1874, when almost 59.19 % of the total workforce in Assam had migrated from Chota Nagpur (Figure III.1). This indicates that work availability in the home areas of the migrants had decreased sharply; therefore to survive they had to migrate. In 1894 the total percentage of men from Chota Nagpur working in Assam was 49.94 %. Nearly 50 % of the labour migration to Assam thus had its origin in Chota Nagpur. During the famine period in 1897-98 the percentage rises from 42.33 % in 1897 to 55.48 % in 1898, a 13.15 % increase in the immigration rates. This simply exhibits the fact that large numbers of tribal people were forced to migrate due to the circumstances, not that they had a better life in the tea garden, but the hope of at least earning a living was there.

⁵³ Damodaran, Vinita, Obsid.

Another factor was at work that was created by the forest policies. As forests thinned out in the region, more people came in to fill the vacuum. "Apart from population growth, which contributed to pressure on land, state and private capital interests in many areas effectively joined hand to extract vital natural resources from the rural districts, beginning with timber and game. The crisis sharpened with the passage of years and climaxed in the last decades of the nineteenth century in the 1897 famine".⁵⁴ Pathak (1994)⁵⁵ also stresses this point in explaining the entry of the market economy into this region in the wake of the mutiny of 1857, since by then the road networks through these places had been established and enhanced troop movement during the mutiny. The entry of the Indian Railways into the region accelerated the change in the economy of the region. Three major routes ran through this region, and large forested regions were destroyed to facilitate their construction. This also accelerated the entry of more people from the other regions of India into the area that till then had remained inviolate.

Table. No. IV.1: Labour Immigration From Chota Nagpur To Assam

Years	Total Immigration	Immigrations from Chota Nagpur	% of Total
1878	32,189	16,932	52.6
1879	18,286	10,824	59.19
1880	No Data	No Data	No Data
1881	No Data	No Data	No Data
1882	18,952	8,980	47.38
1883	26,390	11,577	43.87
1884	32,747	16,795	51.29
1885	21,144	9,790	46.3
1886	22,715	12,160	53.53
1887	29,090	16,385	56.33
1888	33,317	20,252	60.79
1889	37,548	22,877	60.93
1890	26,205	13,162	50.23
1891	37,939	16,557	43.64
1892	41,802	17,910	42.84
1893	37,143	17,837	48.02
1894	35,706	17,833	49.94
1895	56,501	18,369	32.51
1896	61,301	16,122	26.3
1897	66,328	28,078	42.33

⁵⁴ Damodaran. Vinita, Obsid.

⁵⁵ Pathak, Obsid.

1898	33,516	18,594	55.48
1899	25,872	11,192	43.26
1900	45,044	17,605	39.08
1901	19,887	7,558	38
1902-03	20,199	6,661	32.98
1903-04	17,769	6,513	36.65
1904-05	19,050	7,048	37
1905-1911	No Data	No Data	No Data
1911-12	45,905	10,670	23.24
1912-13	46,239	14,205	30.72
1913-14	45,849	9,314	20.31
1914-15	46,212	16,058	34.75
1915-16	72,608	26,506	36.51
1916-17	33,998	14,871	43.74
1917-18	15,084	6,385	42.33
1918-19	135,610	57,703	42.55
1919-20	65,463	27,455	41.95
1920-21	571,526	217,856	38.12
1922	No Data	No Data	No Data

Source: Report of the Commission of Labour Immigration 1935. contd.

Table 2. exhibits this well, immigration into the region is always greater than emigration (Figure IV.2).

Table No. IV.2: Population Immigration and Emigration In Chota Nagpur

Year	Immigration	Emigration
1891	96,000	3,33,000
1901	1,79,000	2,82,000
1911	2,93,000	7,07,000
1921	3,07,000	9,47,000
1921	3,07,000	N.A.
1941	N.A.	N.A.
1951	4,80,000	N.A.
1961	9,35,600	N.A.

Source: *Census of the Concerned Years.*

The timber companies that were granted contracts did their best to denude the region of all its resources, and the continuous high demand for timber aided the process. Therefore, slowly, the dense forests of the land of jungles became denuded of its forest cover. Even the jungle land lords treated the forests as their reserves in repaying debts, exacerbating the process. The establishment of the various hats and bazaars in the region by the colonial administrators hastened the change in economy by introducing money

Population in Lakh

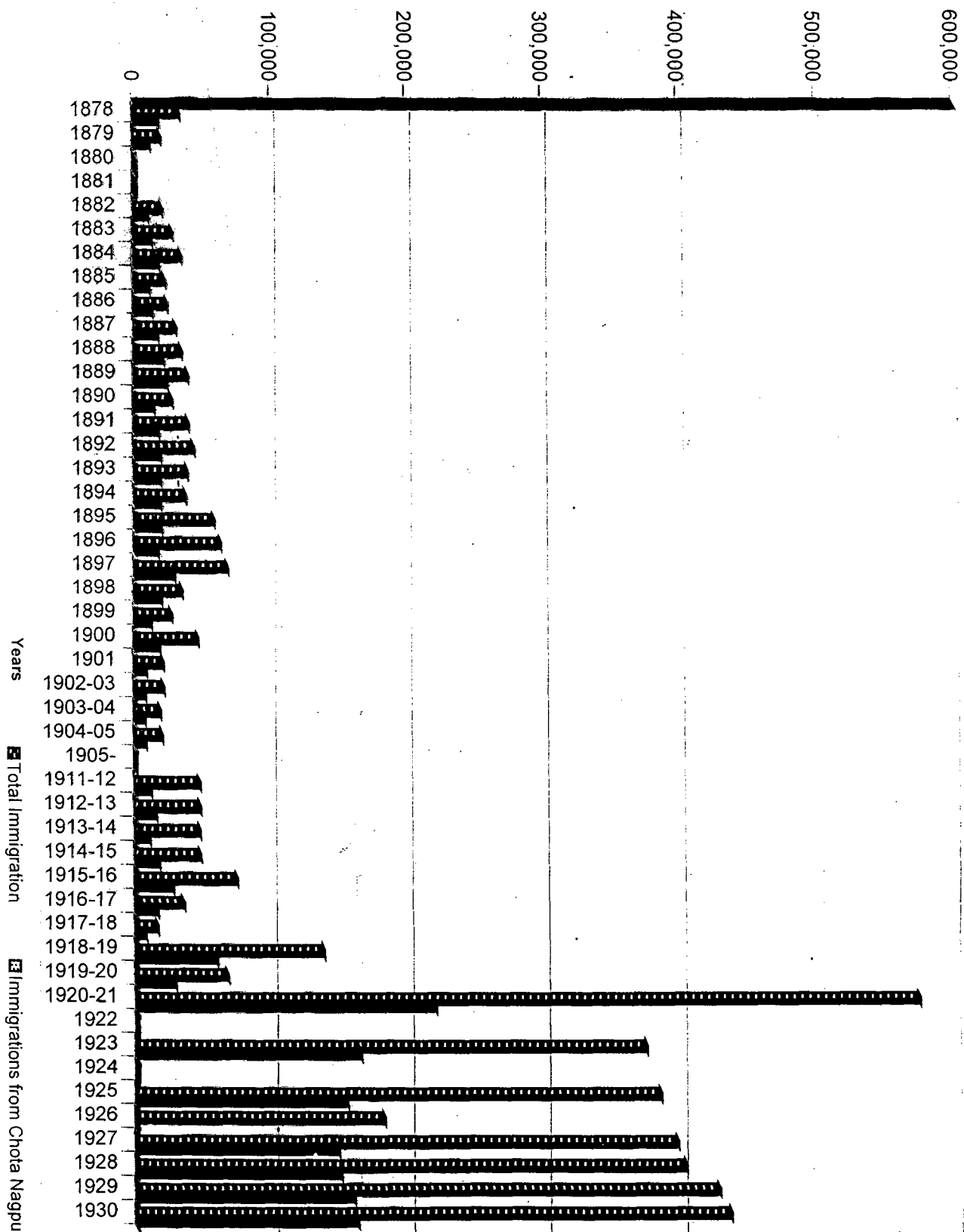
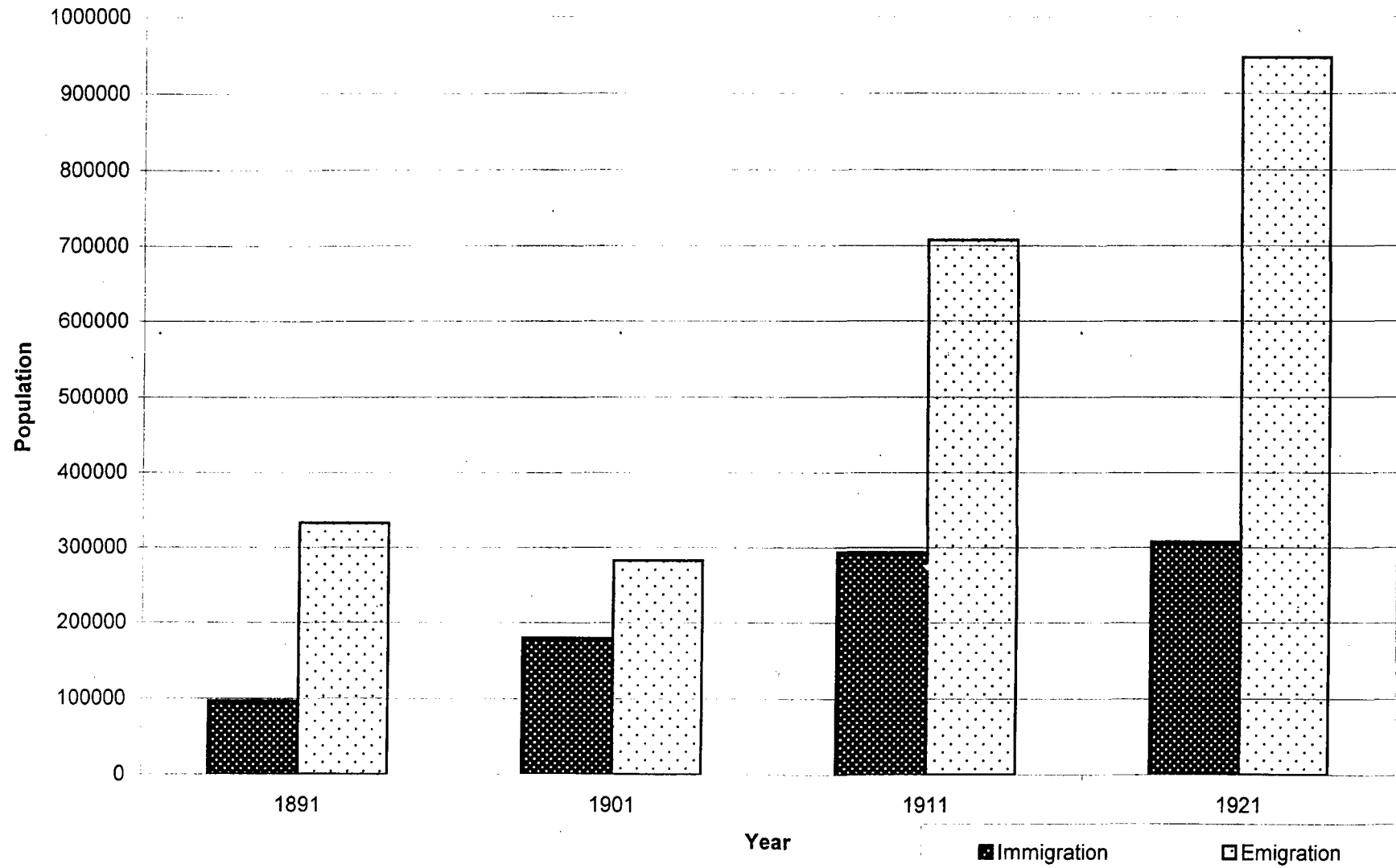


Figure IV.1: Immigration of Labour from Chota Nagpur to Assam 1978-1930

Figure IV.2: Movement of people to and from Chotanagpur



transactions and making all other kinds of exchange illegal, leading to an undermining of **the barter** economy of the tribal communities. Also, with loss of cultivable land and other forest resources, the tribals were ensnared in a deep and dangerous web of debt, this gave the moneylenders an advantage in exploiting the adivasis. People migrated to the Assam plantations to work also to save their lands and belongings from the clutches of mahajans or the moneylender. During the famine, the indebtedness of the tribal populace increased, also creating the pathway for increased migration to work as coolies in the Assam tea plantations. Thus a fine balance between the people and the environment that had existed earlier was “critically destabilized as a direct consequence of the penetration of the Western economic system into the deep forest regions in the wake of economic and forest policy changes of colonial rule”.⁵⁶

Basu (1996) records two couplets that is extremely telling in the circumstances, *Chol re Mini Assam jabo, deshe boro duhko re, Assam deshe re Mini Cha bagan hariyal* (O Mini, let us go to Assam, there is much poverty in the homeland, in Assam the tea gardens are green) and later on apparently upon arrival in Assam Mini replies, *Sardar bole kam kam, Babu bole dhorī aan Shaheb bole libo pither cham, Re Jaduram, dhoka diye Pathali Assam.*⁵⁷ (The sardar is forever forcing us to work, the babu wants us to be brought to him, the shaheb is threatening to beat us, Jaduram you have deceived me and brought me to Assam). This indicates that the living and working conditions in Assam plantations was also highly exploitative. Yet, the lure of work brought in more and more tribals every day. Though later on the share of the migrants from Chota Nagpur in the total migrant workforce of Assam lessened, as more people from other parts of the country entered the labour market, it never went below 21%.

Furthermore, the adivasi communities had to cope with the imposition of a whole series of new rules adjusting their access to forests as deemed by the Forest Department officials, who were extremely strict when dealing with forest crimes. As Jewitt (1996) remarks, ‘In a majority cases it was not even possible for villagers to maintain their links

⁵⁶ Damodaran, Obsid.

⁵⁷ Basu, Sajal (1996): *Jharkhand Movement, Ethnicity and Culture of Silence*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Rashtrapati Niwas, Shimla

with the local forests by working with the Forest Department”⁵⁸ for according to Stebbing (1923). “the right stamp of man did not present himself for competition with the European applicants”.⁵⁹ This indicates that there was a racial bias and that the right stamp of man had to be someone from the higher echelons of society, rather than the people who actually lived there and were knowledgeable about the forests. Ghate (1992) mention that the tribals who were employed by the forest department as labourers were paid a mere pittance.

The Table No.IV.3 shows the forest crimes recorded in the four districts of the Chota Nagpur division, Figure IV.3 exhibits the grazing and Figure IV.4 exhibits the felling crime facts. Palamau in grazing (Figure IV.5) and Santhal Parganas tops the list in felling (Figure IV.6). These are the two districts that were incidentally most effected in the famine. Singhbhum (Figure IV.7) and Kolhan (Figure IV.8) are the regions that have moderate crime rates in all the years. The implication is that in the districts severely hit by the famines there were more incidences of forest crimes as the people were forced to forage in the forests for food, which had now been put out of their reach by the forest reservation laws. The districts that were not so hard hit witnessed a lesser forest crime rate.

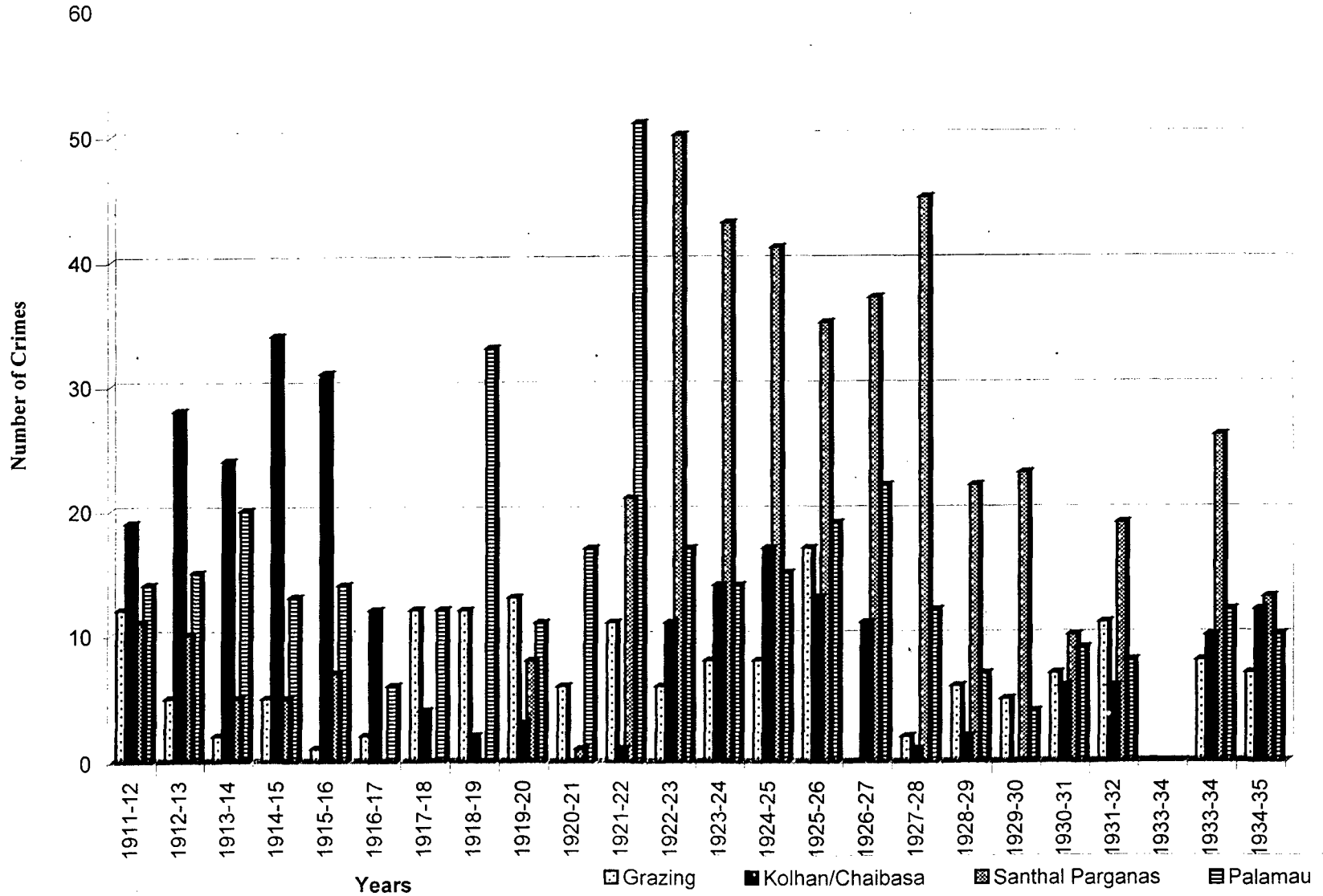
Table No. IV.3: Forest Crimes In Reserved and Protected Forests of Chota Nagpur

Years	SINGHBHUM		KOLHAN/CHAIBASA		SANTHAL PARGANAS		PALAMAU	
	Felling	Grazing	Felling	Grazing	Felling	Grazing	Felling	Grazing
1911-12	108	12	32	19	167	11	87	14
1912-13	33	5	105	28	127	10	62	15
1913-14	30	2	104	24	112	5	52	20
1914-15	77	5	114	34	118	5	87	13
1915-16	49	1	136	31	68	7	70	14
1916-17	119	2	83	12	129	0	62	6
1917-18	98	12	97	4	77	0	62	12
1918-19	97	12	52	2	104	0	107	33
1919-20	86	13	31	3	113	8	64	11
1920-21	42	6	35	0	92	1	86	17
1921-22	94	11	51	1	158	21	113	51
1922-23	66	6	92	11	220	50	71	17
1923-24	70	8	77	14	166	43	55	14
1924-25	69	8	64	17	185	41	87	15

⁵⁸ Jewitt, Sarah, (1996): Agro- Ecological Knowledges and Forest Management in Jharkhand, India: Tribal Development or Populist Impasse? PhD Dissertation submitted at the University of Cambridge, 1996

⁵⁹ Stebbing. E.J, Obsid, p.31.

Figure IV.3 : Forest Crimes (Grazing) Recorded in Chota Nagpur 1911-1935



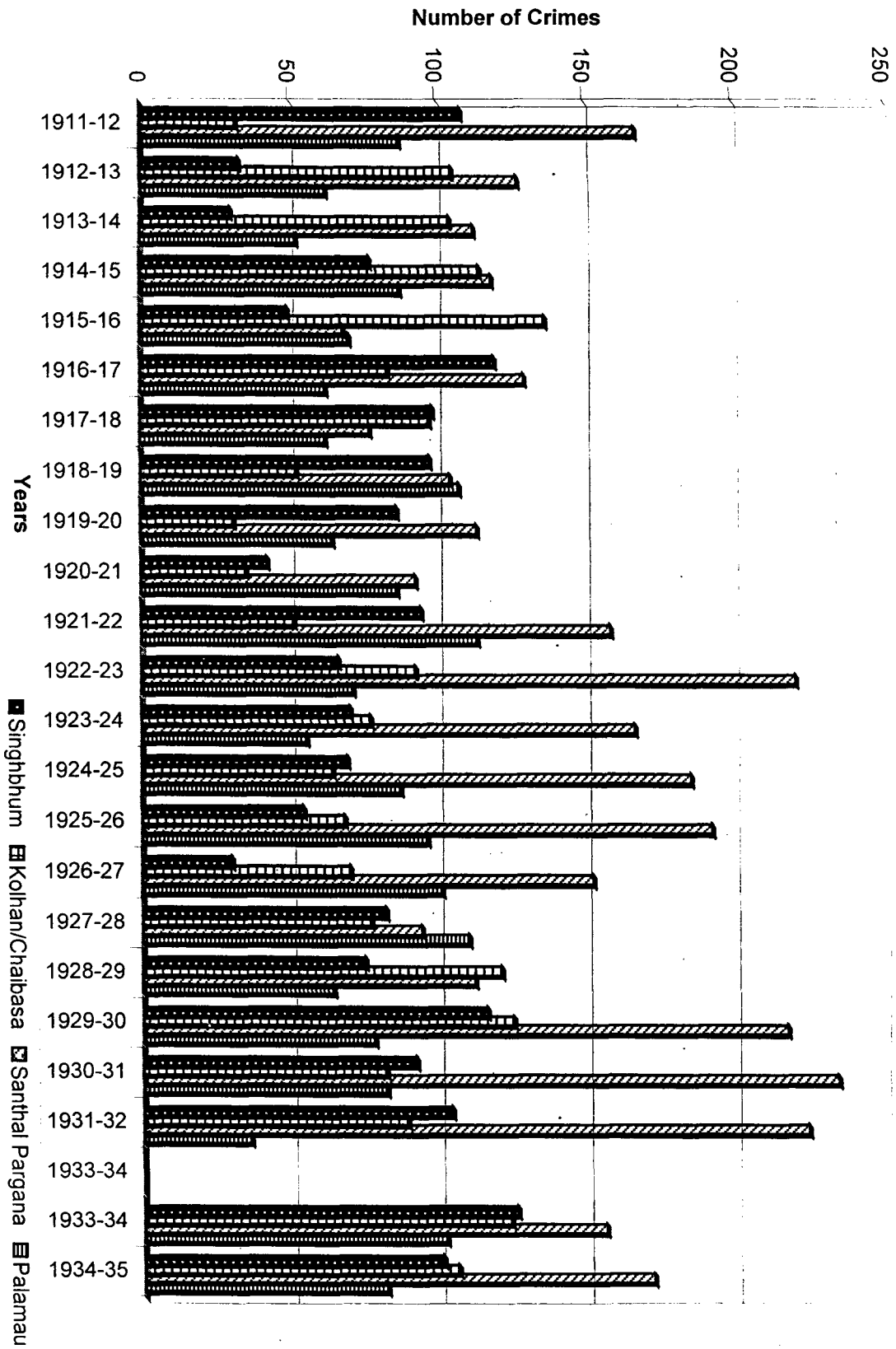


Figure IV.4 : Forest Crimes (Felling) in Chota Nagpur 1911-1935

1925-26	54	17	68	13	192	35	96	19
1926-27	30	0	70	11	152	37	101	22
1927-28	82	2	77	1	94	45	110	12
1928-29	75	6	121	2	112	22	64	7
1929-30	116	5	125	0	217	23	78	4
1930-31	92	7	82	6	234	10	82	9
1931-32	104	11	89	6	224	19	36	8
1933-34	No Data	No Data	No Data	No Data	No Data	No Data	No Data	No Data
1933-34	126	8	124	10	156	26	102	12
1934-35	101	7	106	12	172	13	82	10

Source: *Government of Orissa and Bihar (1911-12 - 1934-35)*, quoted in *Corbridge, (1991)*

The Birsa Munda revolt of 1898-1900 was an expression arising out of all these factors. The revolt was a violent one, with the ire directed mostly towards the money lenders and the other petty officials who were involved in day to day exploitation of the tribals. The revolution took place in the regions of Dombari hills, the forests of Ranchi, Lohardaga and Gumla, three regions that had been hard hit by the forest policy, since all the forests had become reserved or protected forests. Prior to the 1897 famine there had been no recorded famine in the region, therefore that was also a consideration behind the expression of discontent by the tribals.

The next impact of the forest policy was felt around 1911- 12 to 1922-23 when the region was surveyed for the first time. During surveying the settlement officers often included land with Khuntkatti rights in the protected forest regions. Thus this was another way for the government to increase its forest wealth. Since at the time of reservation no proper boundaries had been drawn, now at the time of surveying arbitrary boundaries were drawn. As the Settlement Officer of the Singhbhum district, Macpherson (1908)⁶⁰ remarks 'The reservation was one great encroachment on khuntkatti rights in Khas Porahat' the lands were forcibly inducted into the forest area. Similarly as was the case in the Porahat plateau there have been complaints from all over Chota Nagpur. Another complaint that was common was that the tribals were not granted rights to their lands, since they at times did not produce the documents required for their registration. Indeed much of the tribal land pattas (land documents) had already been usurped by the outsiders with the connivance of the petty officials of the Forest Department and the Judiciary.

⁶⁰ Macpherson, T.S, (1908): *Settlement Report of Singhbhum*, Government of India Press, Calcutta, p. 160-161.

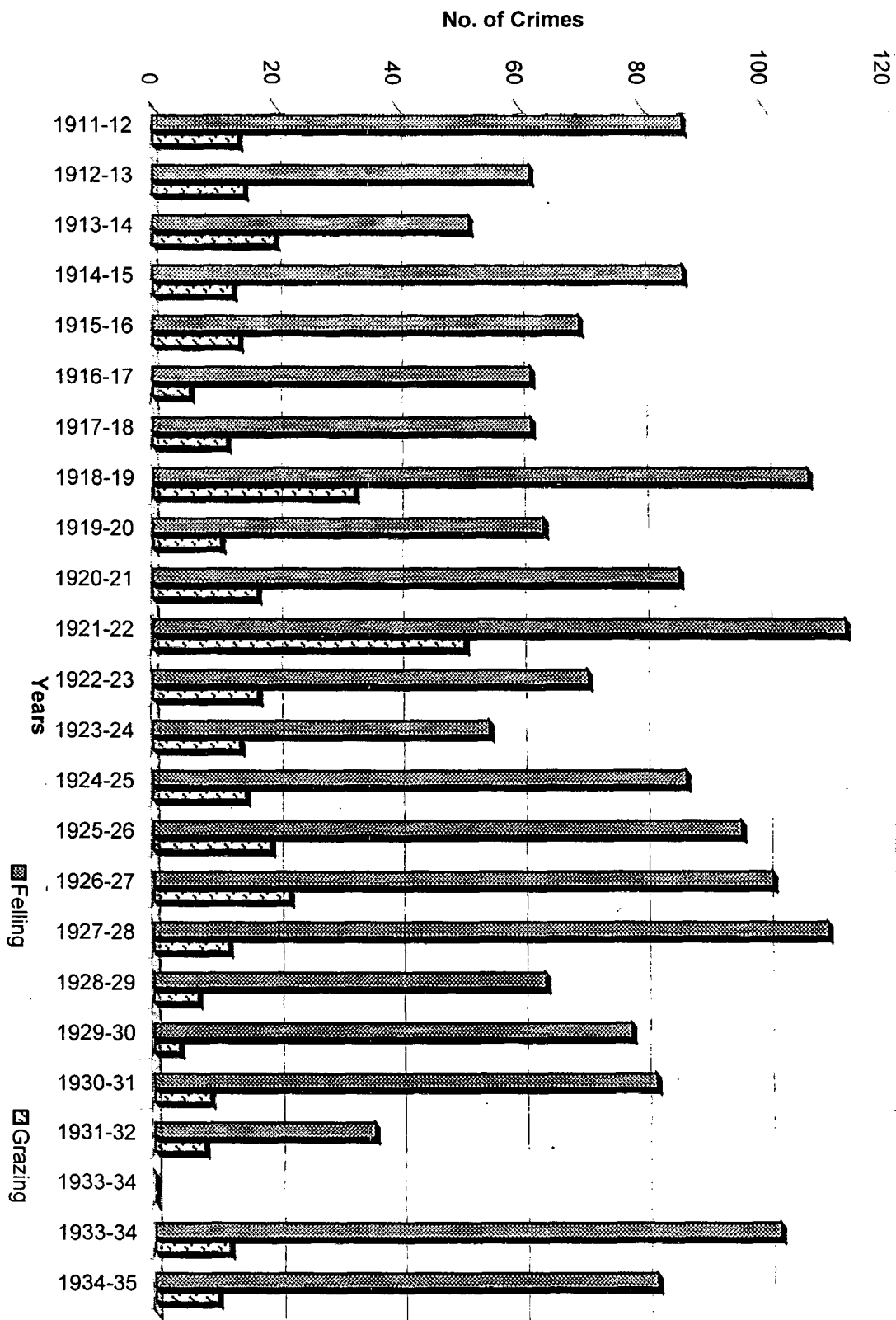


Figure No. IV.5: Forest Crimes Recorded in Palamau, 1911-1935

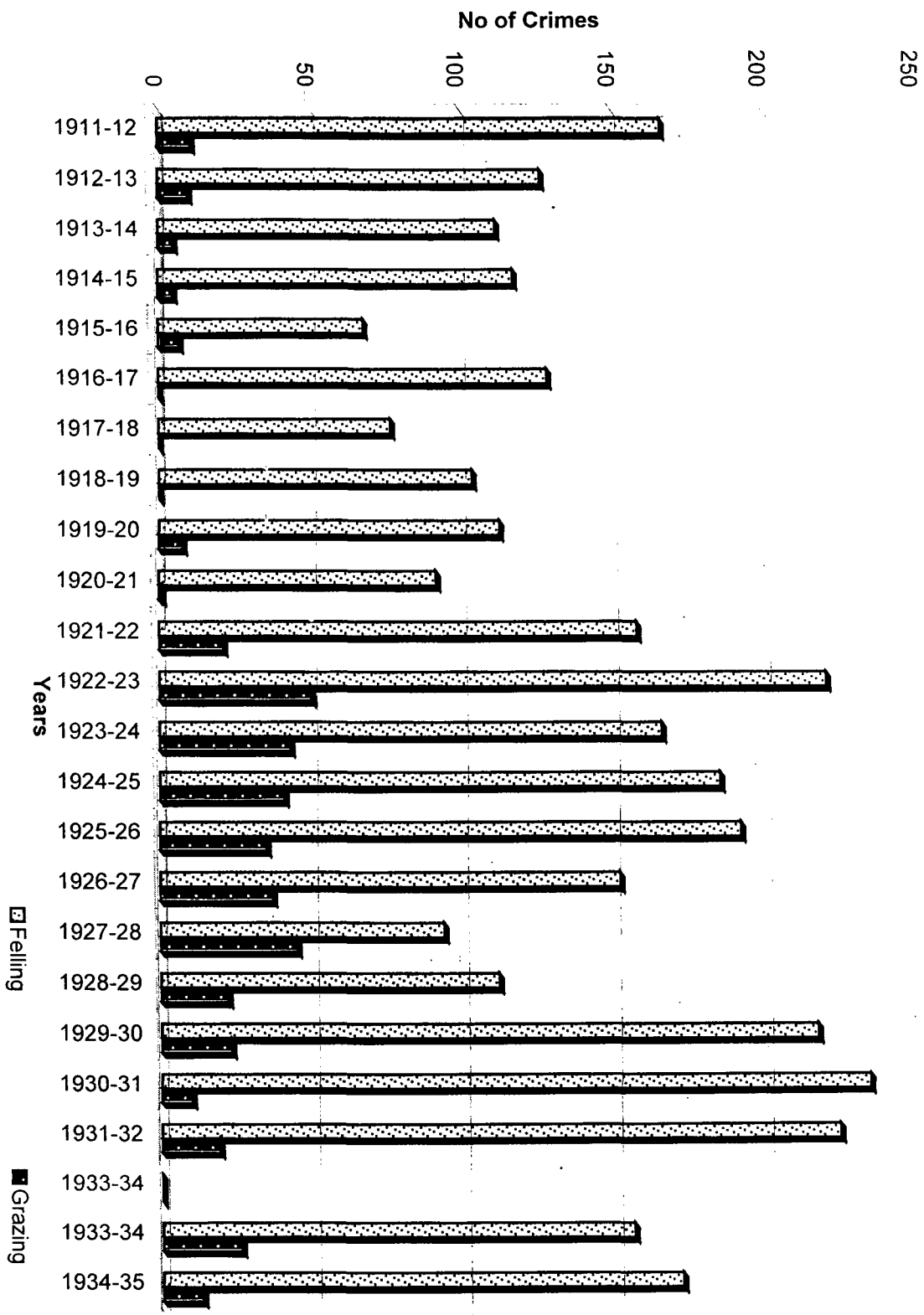


Figure No.IV.6: Forest Crimes In Santhal Parganas 1911-1945

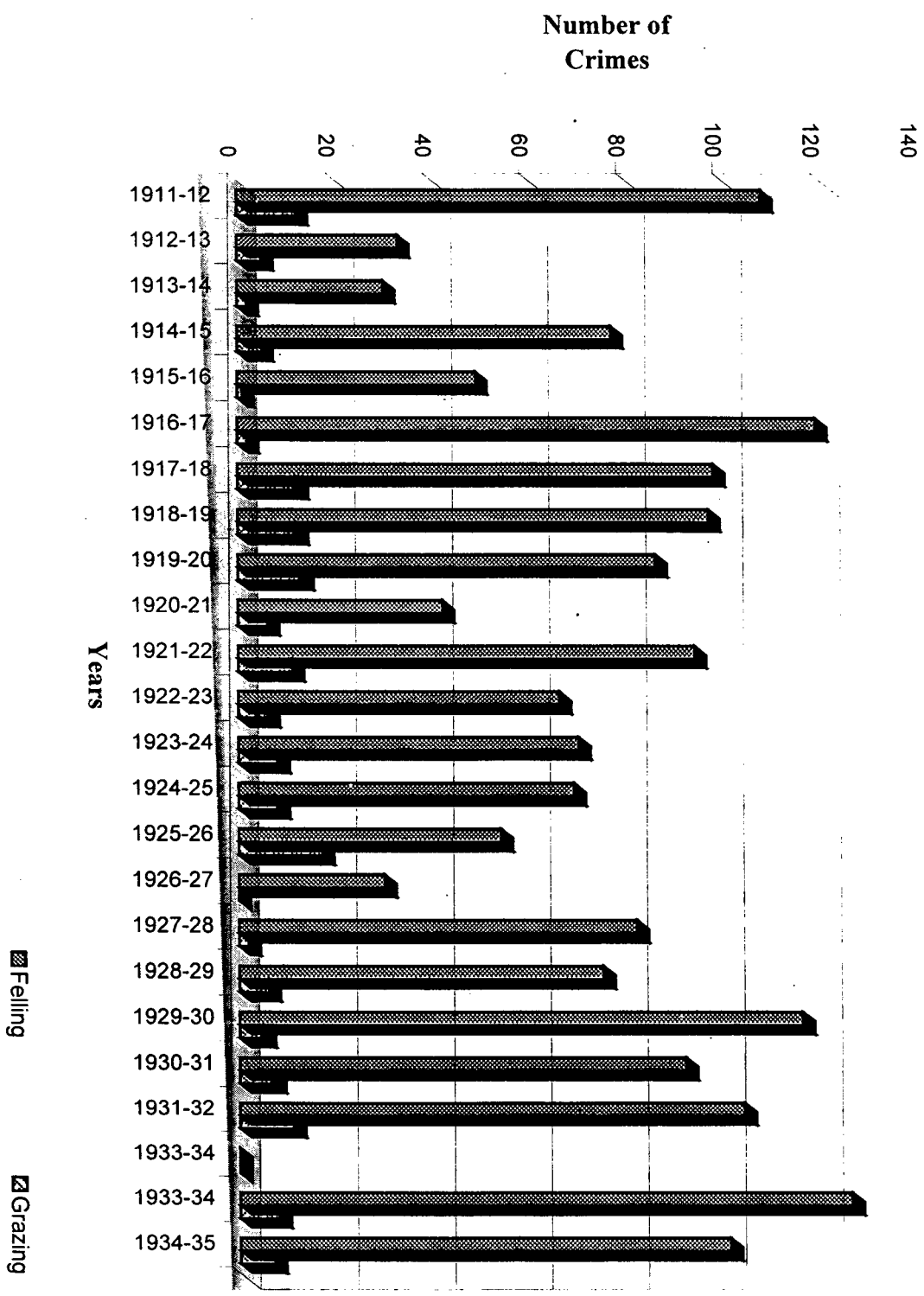


Figure IV.7: Forest Crimes Recorded in Singhbhum 1911-1935

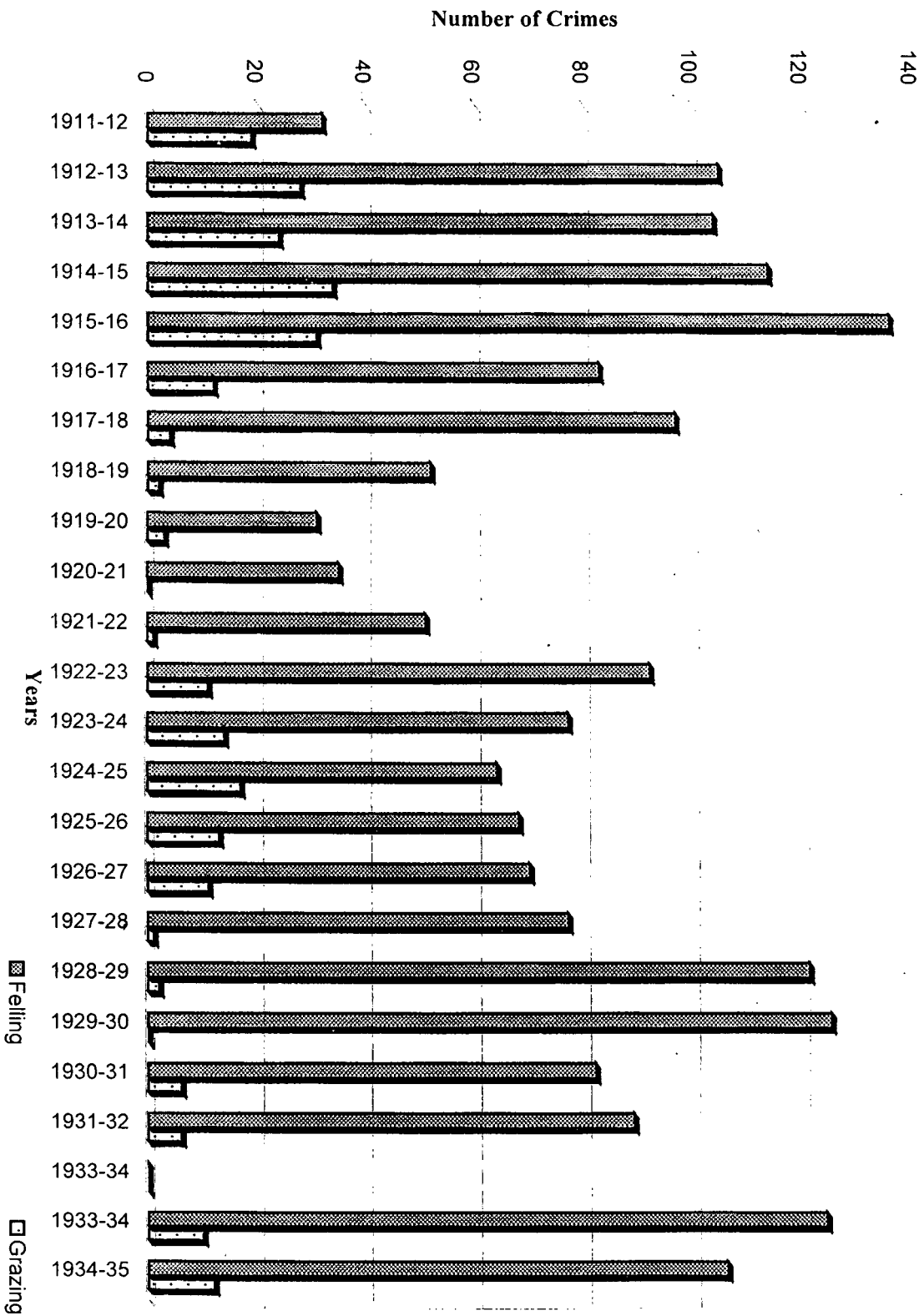


Figure IV.8 : Forest Crimes in Kolham/Chaibasa 1911-1935

Areparampil, (1989) comments, the reply of the tribals is worth noting, 'the only 'pattas' that we have are the grave stones of our fathers and grandfathers'.⁶¹ According Roy Chowdhury, (1958) "the main object of the Birsa movement was the assertion of ancient rights of the aborigines over land and jungles".⁶²

As Chatrapati Singh (1986) asserts "if the natural resources of rural and tribal people are to be usurped and no alternative made available to them, the courses of action for such people are few: they either steal, die of poverty, revolt or are forced to migrate".⁶³ The tribals of Chota Nagpur reacted in all the above mentioned ways, but this not halt their march towards increased marginalisation. The regions where forests were regulated on a large scale; the villagers resorted to everyday forms of resistance as mentioned by (Scott 1985)⁶⁴ which was exhibited in the rise of forest crimes in the region. The forms of every day resistance means that in the daily contact with the authorities the tribals exhibited various forms of resistances that they could not be caught for, but those that hampered the activities of the authorities. A classic example of this is found in the activities of the 'guides' and 'coolies' (forest labourer) who worked in the forest department. Often they would lose their way and delay the work that the sahib (master, forest official) had come for, though they would be perfectly knowledgeable about the paths that crossed the forest areas.

IV.4: Forest Policy in Independent India and its Impact on the Tribal Population of Chota Nagpur

After independence, India issued the first forest policy in 1952. This policy was almost a copy of the colonial policy and placed faith in the scientific forestry methods. There after some changes have been inducted. A major change was the nationalisation of the minor forest produce trade in the 1974. This Section is divided into three parts, Part IV.4.1 deals with the forest policy followed from 1952-1988, Part IV.4.2 deals with

⁶¹ Areparampil, Mathew (1989): Industries, Mines and Dispossession of Indigenous Peoples : The Case of Chota Nagpur In Walter Fernandes and Enakshi Ganguly Thukral, (ed): Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation: Issues for a National Debate, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi .

⁶² Roy Chowdhury, P.C. (1958): Bihar District Gazetteers, Singhbhum, Secretariat Press, Patna, 100-101.

⁶³ Singh. Chatrapati,(1986): Common Property and Common Poverty, India's Forests, Forest Dwellers and Law, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.21.

⁶⁴ Scott. J. C, (1985): Weapons of the Weak: Everyday forms of Daily Resistance, Yale University Press, New Haven.

nationalisation of the minor forest produce trade and its impact and Part IV.4.3 deals with Joint Forest Management and its Impact on the tribal populace. The forest laws in Chota Nagpur were also subject to the various land laws of the state of Bihar. After it was constituted into the new state of Jharkhand, no new forest policy has been implemented.

IV.4.1: Forest Policy in India, 1952-1988

The National Forest Policy announced on the 12th of May 1952, conceded that the old policy of 1894 had many good points that were retained in the new policy. Many more stringent measures of forest conservation were added. The tribal communities who were expecting amelioration of the stringent forest rules were disappointed. Rather they lost out in the development stakes of the nation. In fact, the Act of 1952 is based on the Voelcker Resolution of 1894, therefore the structure and the objectives of the post colonial forest policy are similar to the earlier colonial policy.

Singh, (1986) asserts that the Indian Forest Policy stressed on 'scientific forestry', forest privatisation and reservation, trying to implement the colonial system of classification "with greater zeal".⁶⁵ According to Guha (1983), "The Act also emphasised the importance of the 'national importance' over and above the needs of local people, so as to ensure as a whole was not 'deprived of a national asset' by the mere accident of a village being situated near to a forest".⁶⁶ The driving interest behind this was to pacify India's enlarging industrial, commercial, communications and defence needs.

The classification of forestry presented in the Act was:

1. Protected Forests
2. National Forests
3. Village forests
4. Tree lands

As Jha (1994) states, "Classification of 1952 aimed to attract proper attention for due management of each type of sizeable forest. Every kind of sizeable forest was considered as significant for the country. Moreover, conservation of all kinds of forests, irrespective of their function, classification and ownership, was considered gainful for promotion of

⁶⁵ Singh, (1986) *Obsid*, p.3.

⁶⁶ Guha, R (1983): *Forestry in British and Post British, A Historical Analysis In Economic and Political Weekly*, , October, 1983, pp.1882-1897, and November 1983, pp. 1940-1947.

national welfare”.⁶⁷ The difference between Voelcker’s Resolution of 1894 and the India Forests Act of 1952 was that the former had the conditional provision of giving back of the forest lands for agriculture to the forest villagers. This provision was completely scrapped in the latter Act. The independent state in India was able to yield greater power than the colonial state and so its measures were implemented with greater zeal and accuracy.

In 1995 there were 67,513 villages in Bihar of which 17,044 (24%) villages have forests as a recorded land use. In these villages about 2.5 million ha area is classified as forest. Population of these villages is 11.21 million. The villages having less than 100 ha, between 100-500 ha and more than 500 ha forest area in each village constitute 68%, 27% and 5% of the total villages, respectively. Table No. provides details of villages by forest area and population. In the case of Chota Nagpur about 70 % of these forest villages are located in the region. The table is for entire Bihar since the state of Jharkhand was not formed at the time of survey.

Table No. IV. 4: Forests as Land Use in Villages

Forest Area	No. of villages	Total Forest Area (ha)	Population
Less than 100 ha	11,389	416,595	6,209,529
100 - 500 ha	4,695	1,099,036	3,861,870
More than 500 ha	960	986,506	1,133,721
Total	44		

Source: State Forests Report, Bihar, FSI, 1999.

⁶⁷ Jha. L.K, (1994): India’s Forest Policies Analysis and Appraisal, Asish Publishing House, New Delhi, p. 47.

Unfortunately, the development agenda followed by the country after independence clashed with the Forest Policy's stated goal of conservation. The forest's welfare gave way to the 'national interest', that is industrial requirements. The main aim was to enhance the forest based industrial projects. Thus forests served the commercial interests of the people and not the conservation that was proclaimed goal of the forest Department. Thus timber and other forest products' exploitation went on a major scale hand in hand (Guha, 1983, Ghate, 1992, Pathak, 1994). According to Pathak, (1994), between 1956 and 1967, the extraction of industrial wood increased from 4, 460,00 cubic meters to 9,260,000 cubic meters and between 1948 and 1970 the consumption of printing and writing paper increased from 100,000 tonnes to 400,000 tonnes. Similarly, the rate of revenue increase was five times from Rs.24 crore within the period of 1950-51 to 1970-71.⁶⁸

At times this revenue increase was made over ruling the welfare of the people as well as their rights to the forests. The example is found in the policy regarding the disbursement of the bamboo for the paper industries. The policy was to sell the forest produce at concessional rates from depots run by the Forest Department. The draw back to this sound system to prevent excess exploitation of the forests was that these depots were rarely had the products preferred by the local people, and the industrial needs were always given preference. This was also a loss incurred by the forest department since the industries were on a subsidy and paid less than the price that the local people would pay. An example of this would be in the procurement of bamboo, for the paper and pulp industry, an area where both the industrial houses and local artisans make their presence felt. The bamboo was sold at a rate of 22 paise to Rs. 22 per tonne, to the industrial houses and the local artisans had to pay Rs. 1200 on the open market, making hand made and craft paper more expensive so as to cover the cost of the raw materials. On the other hand the paper mills could sell their products at a much lower price. In extreme cases, no bamboo was available in the open market for the when the paper mills would buy the entire lot, leaving nought for the local artisans.

Also, much of the mineral exploration was on forested land as is evident in the Chota Nagpur plateau. The state of Jharkhand has a forest cover of up to 70 %, yet, the

⁶⁸ Pathak, Obsid, p. 45.

maximum of industrial development is also present there. This also implies that the forests were of secondary consideration as was their inhabitants, since much of forested land was acquired by the mining companies and industrial complexes to set up the residential quarters for their personnel, most of whom were recruited from outside the region. Forests were also drowned due to the construction of dams and reservoirs that supplied energy to the industries and water for extending agriculture in other regions.

Chota Nagpur is the treasure house of minerals in India. The chief mineral deposits are coal, iron ore, copper, mica, bauxite, dolomite, fireclay, kaolin, kyanite, and limestone. Almost all the districts have some kind of mineral deposits. The main centres are Santhal Pargana, Palamau, Dhanbad, Ranchi, Singhbhum, Dumka, Hazaribagh, Giridih and Lohardaga. The metal mineral resources of bauxite, copper, iron and manganese constitute 22%, 24%, 18 % and 11% respectively, of the country. They are mostly located in Gumla, Palam, Lohardaga and Singhbhum districts. To assess forest cover in these areas, forest cover map prepared by FSI, based on 1997-98 satellite data was overlaid on the composite mineral maps provided by Indian Bureau of Mines, Nagpur. It has been found that in 1993, of the total 399 leases of all minerals, 93 leases of bauxite, copper, iron and manganese are being operated over 21,589 ha of area, which includes 10,151 hectare of forest cover. Figure IV. 6 shows the percentage of forested land that is used as leased land for mining purposes; the overall percentage for Chota Nagpur is 42%

Table No. IV.5: Encroachment of Leased Area on Forest Area

District	Mineral Deposits	Lease Area	Forest Cover (in ha)		
			Dense	Open	Total
Gumla	Bauxite	06,665	2,421	631	3,052
Palamu	Bauxite	309	2	62	64

Lohardaga	Bauxite	3,070	1,943	169	2,112
Singhbhum	Copper	6,418	463	582	1,045
	Iron & Manganese	5,127	2,735	1,143	3,878
Total		21,589	7,564	2,587	10,151

Source: A study of FSI (Unpublished), 1997

Table No. IV.6: Percentage of Forest Area Used as Leased Area for Mining Purpose

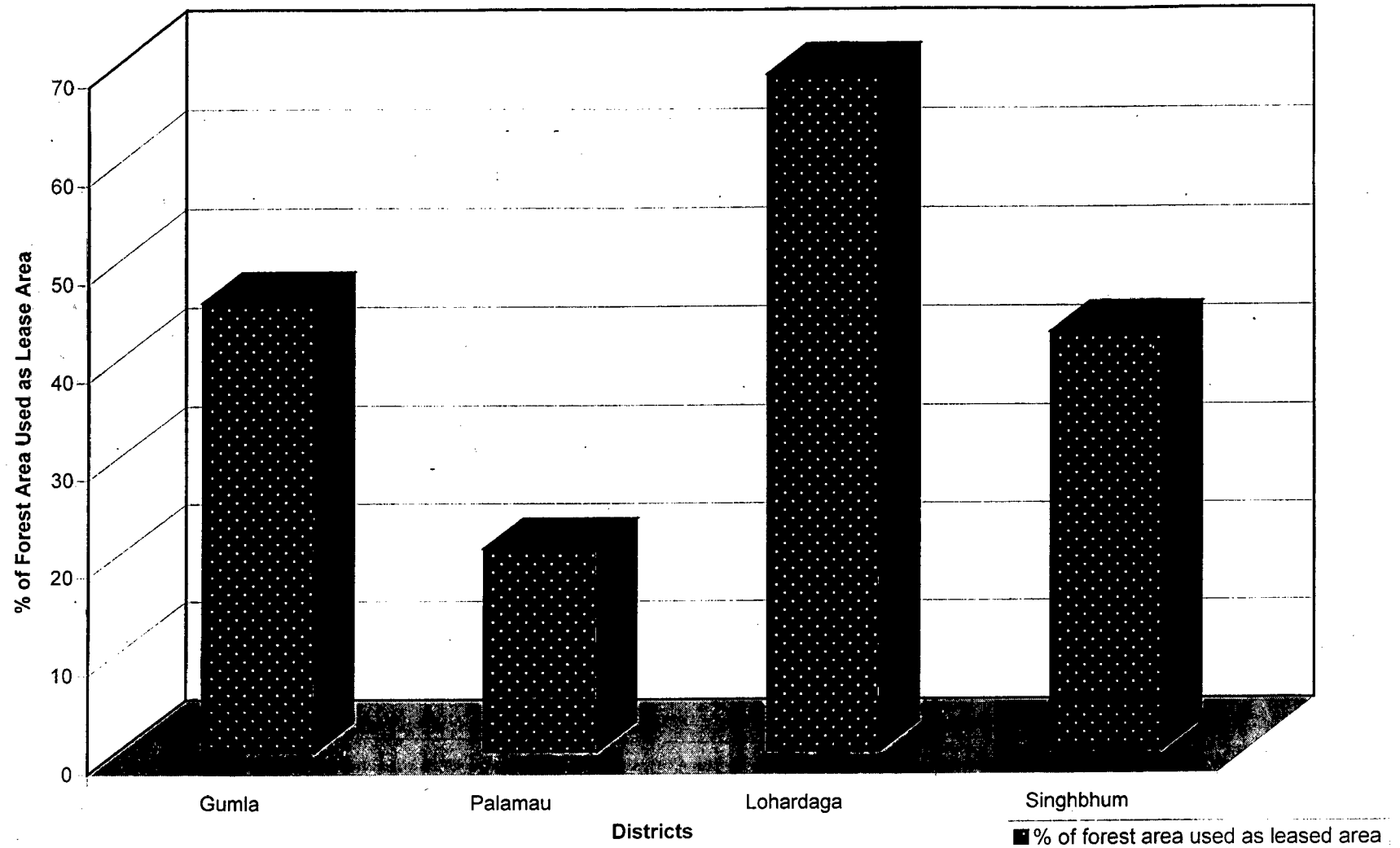
District	Lease Area	Total Forest Area	% of forest area used as leased area
Gumla	6,665	3,052	45.79144786
Palamau	309	64	20.71197411
Lohardaga	3,070	2,112	68.79478827
Singhbhum	11,545	4,923	42.64183629

Source: Table No 3.5. Figure 6 indicated the percentage in the different districts. 1997

Jewitt. (1996) comments “the extent of this exploitation had severe implications not only for forest stability, but for the livelihoods and culture of the forest dependent populations whose control over the remaining common property resources was further eroded and whose role in management of state forests remained minimal. At the same time growing populations of local people were putting further pressure on declining areas of Village and protected forests in their attempts to meet their subsistence needs for forest products”.⁶⁹ Many others became wage labourers to meet their subsistence needs, thereby unbalancing the labour market, since the presence of extra labour in the market further depressed the wage rate prevalent. The exploitation was not only in the economic arena but also in the social and political spheres. The Dhebar Commission that was set up in 1961 to gauge the feasibility and impact of industrial growth in Jharkhand expressed its annoyance over the situation and recommended (to no avail) more autonomy and control

⁶⁹ Jewitt, Sarah. Obsid, p. 49.

*Figure : Percentage of Forest Area Used as Leased Area for Mining Purpose
In Selected Chota Nagpur Districts, 1999*



to be given to the tribal communities over natural resource management in the regions they inhabited.

Slowly, the tribals became uninterested in protecting or conserving the forests at all. They saw that all the profits went to the outsiders who had come in as forest officers, beat patrols, traders, and forest contractors (especially from illegal fellings by the forest department officials and forest contractors acting in cahoots). So they became destructive, creating a sense of detachment from the forests. It was felt at the time that if they protected the forests they were bringing their own ruin on themselves. So the encroachment on forest lands and theft from the protected forests increased. The dissatisfaction felt by the villagers was expressed in the Chipko movement that erupted quite suddenly in Uttarakhand; this was a protest against cutting trees aimed to check the unholy illegal nexus between the forest officials and the forest contractors as well as to gain more control over the natural resource base of the neighbourhood. Also, this created aspects for conservation that the forest department had enshrined in its policy but failed abysmally to keep.⁷⁰

Similarly, the Jharkhand tribals protested against the setting up of eucalyptus and teak plantations that would disturb the natural balance of the region. In Singhbhum district of Bihar, (now a part of Jharkhand) there were violent opposition to the clear felling for setting up of teak plantations that for a time to suppress the movement the state resorted to becoming a police state. The intensity of the movement in the 1970s and early 1980s did not abate till the forest officers withdrew. The nation was shocked to hear of the Gua killings in 1981, but by the time the news spread in the wider world, several Guas had been enacted in the forested land of Jharkhand.

With continued reports of daily resistance policies adopted by the people, the wider criticisms aimed at the government for becoming an authoritarian state, declining forest cover in the country and its resultant fall offs all had their role to play in the next policy that was announced by the Government. Shiva et al, (1986) argues that on the other hand, the world wide environmental concerns of deforestation and overexploitation

⁷⁰ Roy, S.B. and Mukherjee, R (1991): Status of Forest Protection Committees in West Bengal., In R. Singh (ed): Managing the Village Commons, (Proceedings of National Workshop on Managing Common Lands For Sustainable Development, of Our Villages, A search for Participatory Management Models, December, 15-16, 1991, IIFM, Bhopal .

of nature during the 1970s and early 1980s brought “India’s joint crisis of unsatisfied basic needs and ecological instability”⁷¹ to the forefront.

Yet, the Forest Bill of 1981 barely saw any change in its composition, the commercial basis of British forestry tradition was kept alive, when 81 out of 84 provisions of the Act of 1894 was incorporated in the new bill. Also introduced were further restrictions on peoples use of forests and more heavy punishment for forest crimes. It also recommended the enhancing the powers of the forest officials to contain forest crimes, despite the previous evidence of the preceding years when the forest officials had corroborated with the contractors illegally and destroyed forests (Guha 1983). According to Pathak (1994) the bill was primarily aimed to negate the customary rights of access to the forests and increase the monopoly of the state in controlling the natural resource base of the nation. Finally the bill was not accepted due to steady opposition from both the forest dwellers and the intellectuals from all over India.⁷²

This was the backdrop to the new initiative of the Government, which took the shape of the Forest Conservation Act, 1980. This Act felled some of the powers of the state governments in transferring forest lands for other uses, making it mandatory for them to seek the central government’s acquiescence before embarking on any such action. Also, the Sixth Five Year Plan (1979-1984) emphasised the need to protect forests to help sustain agriculture and significant financial outlays were made for forest conservation, afforestation, fuel wood creation, and establishment of environmental stability. “The plan also reflected wider environmental concern for genetic diversity in its emphasis on the need for complete protection for representative sample of land, water, flora and fauna in sanctuaries and biosphere reserves. Project Tiger had been set up in 1973 and between 1970 and 1988 the area under wildlife reserves increased from 2.3 % to 4 % of India’s land area. Palamau has the only tiger reserve in the region. The Tiger project in Palamau has caused the displacement of many tribal communities living in the area. The extensive displacement has resulted in loss of livelihood of the people. They were not even reimbursed in terms of livelihoods as in job compensation. The lump sum

⁷¹. Shiva, V., Saratchandra, H.C. and Bandopadhaya, J (1983) Social Forestry For Whom? In D.C. Korton (ed): Community Mangement, Asian Experience and Perspectives, Kumarian Press, New Delhi, pp.238-46.

⁷² Pathak, Obsid.

money paid also did not reach the actual project affected people at times. These resulted in the tribal populace's involvement in the naxalite movement in the region.

Also, the Social Forestry measures began to show results in the 1980s, this was attributed to the changed attitude of the government in giving increased attention towards community forestry than commercial forestry. Yet, the emphasis on commercial forestry did not decrease and thus social forestry as a project did not succeed in India. This was a 'top down' approach, where the learned were going to teach the illiterate; and ended in serving the interests of the rich farmers. As a result, economically or socially marginalized community members (tribals and other low caste people living near the forests) have often been excluded from the benefits of many social forestry schemes by the more affluent farmers, who could use their clout with the officials to obtain free and subsidised saplings for themselves. They could also afford both the necessary inputs and the time lag required for trees to mature. Landless people, by contrast, have often been forced into losing their traditional access to village common property resources by appropriation of village commons 'wastes' by the state for social forestry programmes. This was a method of non economic coercion by the rich people of the village in connivance with the officials who were only too happy to benefit from the underhand deals.⁷³

Another important government action was to create a separate Ministry of Environment and Forests in 1985, detaching it from the Ministry of Agriculture under whose jurisprudence it was till then. Thereafter, the Forest Conservation Bill of 1980 was revised in 1988, and clear felling of the forest tracts was restricted. The outright commercial bias of the earlier Acts was reversed, though the state control on the forests was enhanced. An effort was also made to increase the involvement of the local people living on forests' edge in conservation measures. This attitude reflected the World's change outlook on importance of the environment in development. This also served as the launching pad for the new programme in forestry management, the Joint Forest Management (JFM) in 1988-1990.

⁷³ Sharma, R. A, (1991): Socio Economics of Participatory Forest Management in with Particular Reference to Orissa, In, R. Singh (ed), Obsid.

The Joint Forest Management was the community based approach that saw the involvement of the local people in the policy making of the government. This gave the local people to express their requirements as well as protect the states requirements for the first time. West Bengal and Orissa were leaders in this field, the experiments there regarding the scheduled tribe areas had succeeded quite well. Bihar adopted the Joint Forest Management Resolution in August 1990; it is applied to the Degraded Protected Forest (DPF) tracts that is about 14,000 square miles. The revenue villages are the units within which the Village Forest and Protection Management Committees (VFPMC) are formed to look after the degraded forests. According to Mehrotra and Kishore, (1990) the profit return for the villagers is supposed to be 100 % though this has not yet happened any more.⁷⁴ At present 935,085 ha of forest area is being managed by 1,675 Village Forest Management and Protection Societies (SFR, FSI, 1999)⁷⁵

Sarin, (1993) is of the opinion that in exchange for protection and management of the forests by the villagers the government allows them to use the minor forest produce, also, if the trees matures and are sold, then 50 % of the profits is given to the villagers.⁷⁶ The twist in the tale here is that in 1975 the trade in minor forest products was nationalised. Therefore, only the villagers can now collect those items that have not been put on the protected list. Jewitt (1996) contends that this move has instilled a sense of belonging in the villagers and they are less inclined towards committing forest crimes.⁷⁷ This is an indication of participatory forest management techniques and quite a lot of degraded sal forests have thus been revived. Yet, the states control over the natural resources has not lessened, rather it is tightening the control. The villagers' proposals are accepted at the state's leisure and the final decision rests with the state forest department.

The result of this policy is visible in the increased reclamation of degraded forests and increase in forest cover in the region. The result might also be attributed to the fact that for the first time the government has acknowledged the fact that the people living

⁷⁴ Mehrotra, S, and Kishore, C. (1990): A Study of Voluntary Forest Protection in Chota Nagpur, ISO/SWEDforest, IIFM, Bhopal.

⁷⁵ State Forest Report, Bihar, Forests Survey of India, Ministry of Environment and Forests, Dehradun

⁷⁶ Sarin, M. (1993): From Conflict to Collaboration, Local Institutions in Joint Forest Management, National Support Group for Joint Forest Management, Society for Promotion of Wastelands Developments and Ford Foundation and Ford Foundation, Joint Forest Working Management Working Paper, 14, new Delhi.

⁷⁷ Jewitt, (1996) Obsid.

near the forests are not always hindrances to progress, that their involvement is necessary in the path of development. Moreover, there is increase in use of indigenous knowledge in the forest management process and less of imposition of scientific techniques; what has been achieved is a compatible mix of the knowledge systems, keeping in view what is good for the growth of the trees.⁷⁸

IV.4.1.1: The Present Status of Forests In Chota Nagpur

There are three forest types in the region viz Tropical Moist Deciduous, Tropical Dry Deciduous, and Subtropical Broadleaved Hill Forests. Sal (*Shorea robusta*) is the major forest species, which covers about 55% of the forest area. The total geographic area of Jharkhand is 79, 714 sq kms, out of which only 21,644 sq kms are forested regions, indicating a forest cover of only 27.16%. This is quite a low forest cover percentage for a land whose name means forested land (Figure 10). Table 3.7 shows the status of forest cover in Chota Nagpur districts from 1995-1999. At the time of the forest survey, Chota Nagpur of Jharkhand was still a part of the state of Bihar. That is the reason why some of the statistics are for the whole of Bihar, in any case, the forest cover in Chota Nagpur region of Bihar was the maximum. The recorded forest area for Bihar is 2.92 million ha which constitutes 16.81% of the geographic area of the state. The Chotanagpur Plateau and south Bihar Plains covering the southern half of the state are rich in forest resources whereas the Gangetic Plains, which is thickly populated and intensively cultivated, has meagre forest resources. By legal status Reserved Forest constitutes 17.28%, Protected Forest 82.69% and Unclassed Forest a mere 0.03%. The causes of deforestation are many and varied as have been outlined above, industrialisation featuring as a major factor. Therefore lack of forest cover cannot be attributed to only exceptional growth rate of population, but also to the nation's need to develop itself.

The classification of forests is as the dense, open and shrub forests. Dense forests indicate at least 70 % forest cover, open forests mean that they are not so dense neither so degraded, but some where in between. Shrub means stunted vegetation growth in the

⁷⁸ Shiva, V., Saratchandra, H.C. and Bandopadhaya, J (1983) Social Forestry For Whom? In D.C. Korton (ed): Community Mangement, Asian Experience and Perspectives, Kumarian Press, New Delhi, pp.48-75.

region. The dense forests are quite less in the forest cover, most of it is open forests and shrub.

Table No. IV.7: Forests Cover in Chota Nagpur Districts in 1999 (in sq kms)

Districts	Geographic Area	Dense Forest	Open Forest	Total	Change from'97	Shrub
Dhanbad	2,996	7	94	101	-1	44
Giridih	6,892	507	942	1,449	-8	100
Hazaribagh	11,165	2,455	2,319	4,774	-18	214
Palamau	12,749	2,754	2,043	4,797	-6	410
Ranchi	18,266	2,083	2,420	4,503	-8	218
Santhal Pargana	14,206	281	1,213	1,494	25	372
Singhbhum	13,440	2,964	1,562	4,526	-32	260
Total	79,714	11051	10593	21644	-48	1618

Source: State Forests Report, Bihar, FSI, Ministry of Environment and Forests Dehradun.

Table No. IV.8: Forest Cover in Chota Nagpur Districts in 1997 (in sq kms)

Districts	Geographic Area	Dense Forest	Open Forest	Total	Change from'95	Shrub
Dhanbad	2,996	7	95	102	2	43
Giridih	6,892	506	951	1457	1	94
Hazaribagh	11,165	2,436	2,356	4792	8	207
Palamau	12,749	2,726	2,077	4803	-8	410
Ranchi	18,266	2,095	2,416	4511	-6	-
Santhal Pargana	14,206	282	1,187	1469	16	-
Singhbhum	13,440	3,013	1,545	4558	-44	393
Total	79,714	11065	10,627	21590	-31	1147

Source: State Forests Report, Bihar, FSI, Ministry of Environment and Forests Dehradun

At present, the most coal mining district of Dhanbad has the least forest cover in all of Chota Nagpur, and it has also declined between 1995-1999. This is a district that has had the earliest induction to mining activities in the region. Coal mining was begun in 1832, the first official note of mining is 1892. The forest cover is concentrated towards the north west of the district where the mining activity and its associated building activity is the least. The establishment of the Bokaro steel plant in the district has also led to severe deforestation.

Change in forest Cover in Chota Nagpur Between 1997-1999

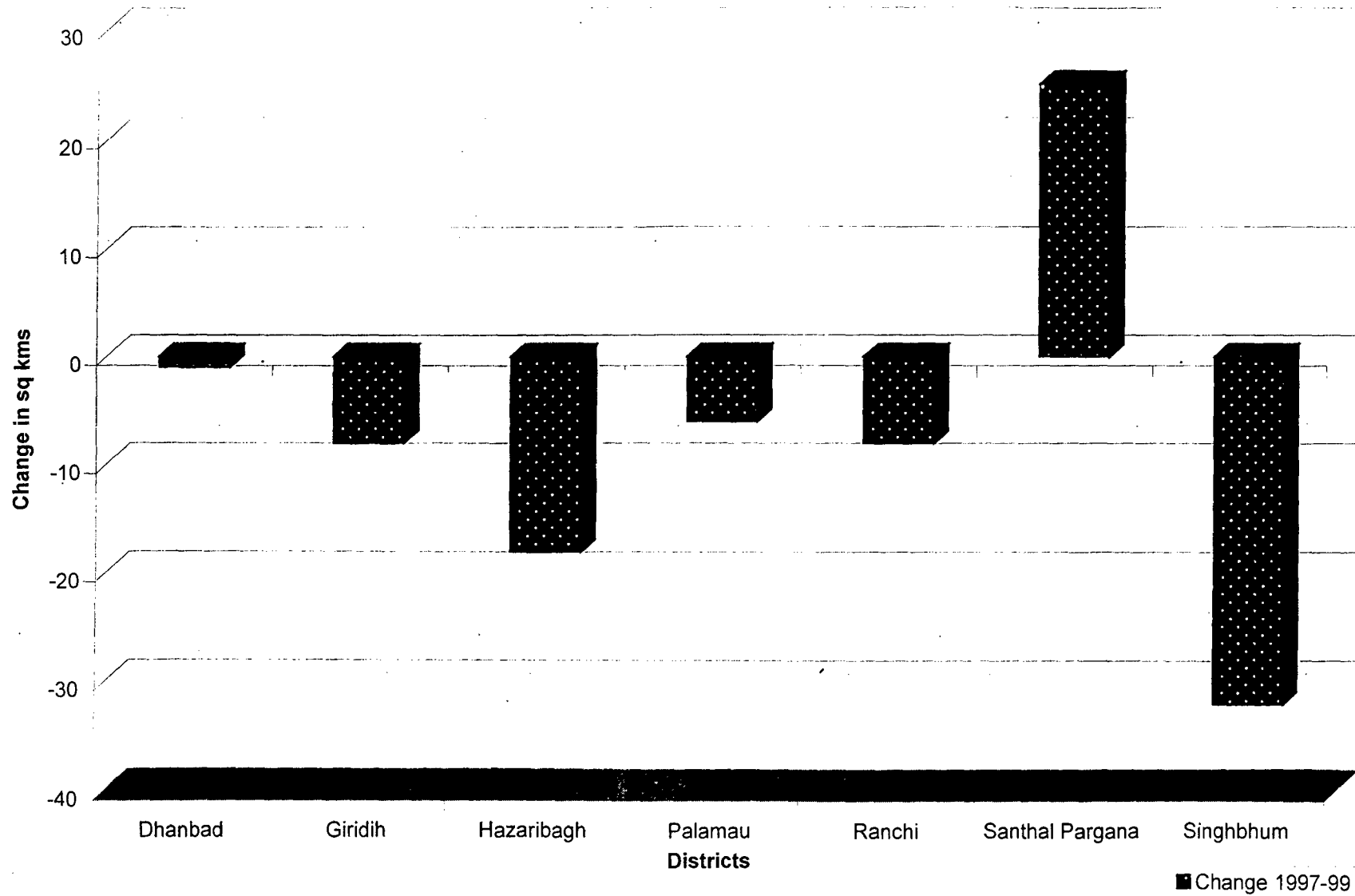
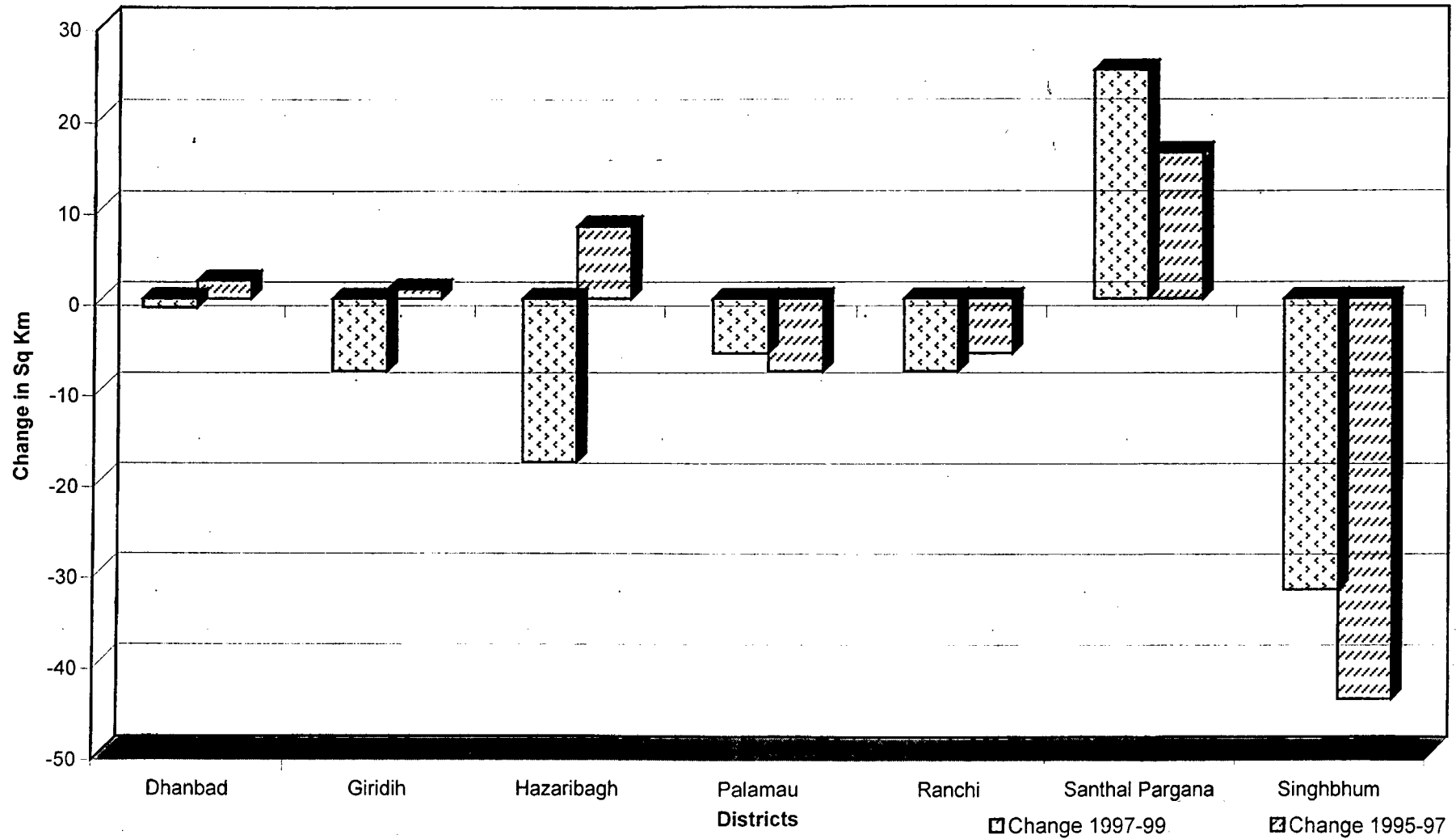


Figure : Change in Forest Cover in Chota Nagpur Districts 1995-1999



Giridih is the next ranking district in having least effective forest cover. Here, the dense forest is less than open forest, and there has been a steep decline in forest cover including shrub cover of the district.

Hazaribagh has retained about one third of its forest cover. But recent trends indicate a change for the worse as there has been a huge negative change in its forest cover in the recent past. This may be due to the enhanced exploration of Mica in the district, the mines are usually located deep in the forests. The number of the coal mines here is also quite large. The adivasis have slowly moved from the forests after losing their land to seek employment as manual labourers in these mines. The Betla national forest in this district is a reserved forest.

Similarly, Palamau has managed to retain only one third of its forest cover. This was one of the most hard hit districts in the Famine of 1897 and since then not recovered from the blow, even after the passage of nearly a century. This is the place of abject increasing poverty, since the loss of the forests has pushed the populace towards marginalisation. Moreover, this has also traditionally been the most disturbed area in the plateau region and has seen immense immigration from the neighbouring states of Uttar Pradesh, Chattishgarh and Bihar. The tribal communities have been displaced by the immigration of the low castes from the neighbouring lands.

Ranchi, Singhbhum and Santhal Pargana have become the most denuded districts in the region. The change in the forest cover for Singhbhum between 1997 and 1999 is the greatest: -32 sq kms. Santhal Parganas is the best achiever, managing to resuscitate about 25 sq km of forested land. This could be the influence of the joint forest management, but it is also the result of the government's efforts to increase bamboo acreage for the paper and pulp industry in the Hoogly basin.

The increase in forest cover in Santhal Pargana district is mainly due to plantation of *Dalbergia sissoo*, *Acacia catechu*, *Eucalyptus* spp., *Acacia* spp. etc. raised during early 1990s. Losses in Singhbhum and Hazaribagh districts are mainly due to encroachments and also transfer of about 2 sq.km forest area to Kiriburu mines in Singhbhum district and 7 sq. km. forest area to Piparwar Coal Project of Central Coalfields Ltd. in Hazaribagh district.

The afforestation of wastelands and degraded forests was taken up during the First and Second Five Year Plans in Hazaribagh, and Ranchi districts in the early fifties. Later, plantations of fast growing species like *Eucalyptus spp.*, *Acacia spp.* and Bamboo were raised for increasing the supply of raw material for paper and pulp production in the Santhal Parganas district. Teak plantations were raised in Singhbhum and Palamau districts. Afforestation of Kosi and Gandak catchments with species of economic value like *Dalbergia sissoo*, *Gmelina arborea*, and *Albizzia procera* was also started during this period. The plantation activities increased further after launch of social forestry project (SIDA aided) in 1985. The tree species which are generated by plantation are given in the Table No.IV.9 below

The problem of the afforestation programmes was that most of the species was for commercial usage and did not help the rural economy at all. Table No. 9 shows the total amount of plantation achieved by all agencies in the state over the period of last 50 years. A fact that becomes clear is that the plantation of tree species follows the clear cut ideals of silviculture introduced by the colonial rulers about a century earlier is still prevalent. The need is also geared towards the developing industrial needs of the nation. The genetic diversity is slowly thus being lost from the region. This will definitely have an adverse impact on the tribal communities, further reducing their resource base.

Table IV.9 Tree Species Generated by Plantation in Bihar, 1999

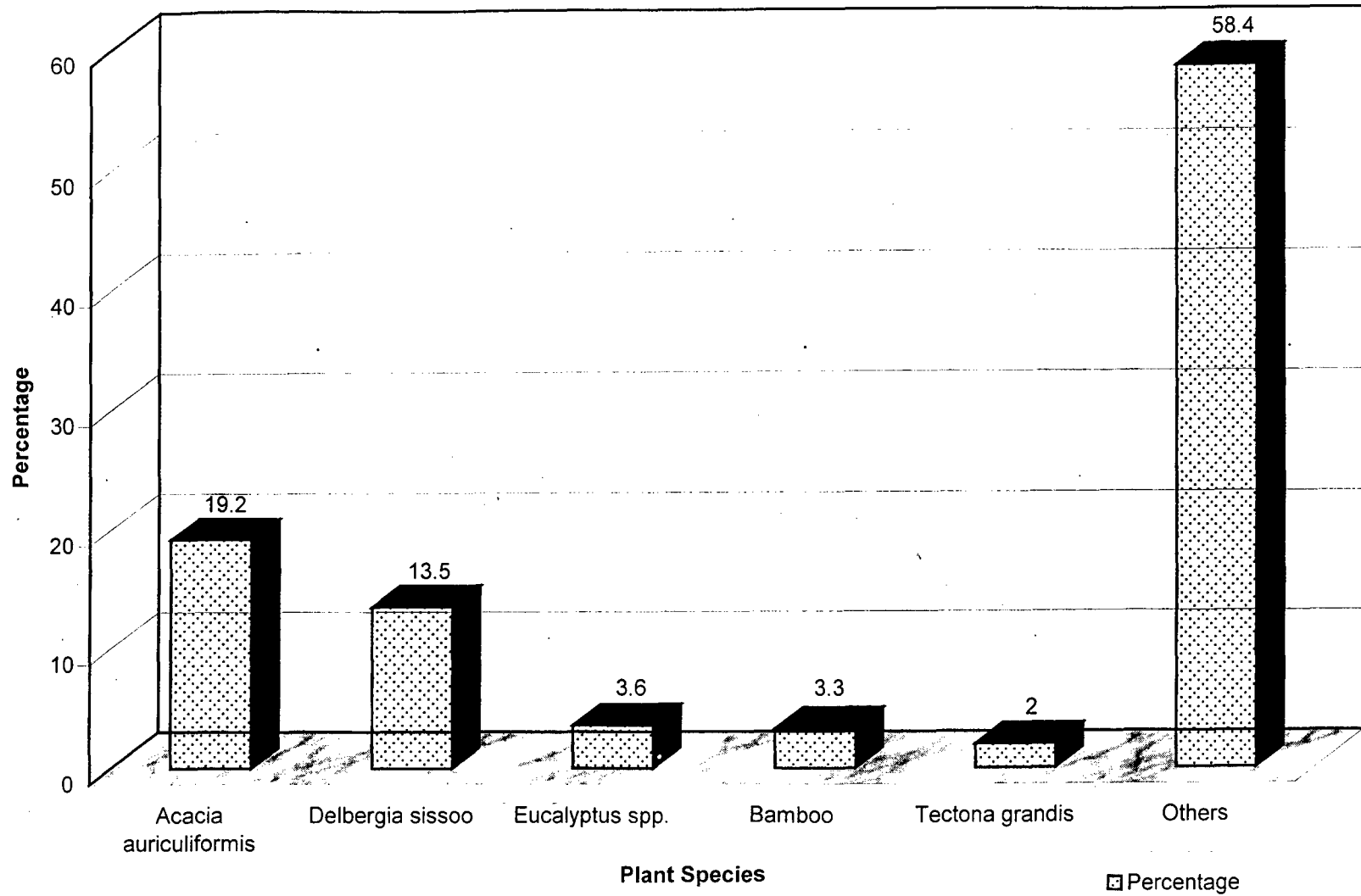
Species	Area in ' 000 ha	Percentage
<i>Acacia auriculiformis</i>	64.55	13.5
<i>Delbergia sissoo</i>	45.39	
<i>Eucalyptus spp.</i>	11.98	3.6
Bamboo	11.18	3.3
<i>Tectona grandis</i>	6.62	2
Others	196.99	58.4
<i>Total</i>	336.71	100

Source: Bihar Forest Department, 1999.

IV.4.2 : Nationalisation of Minor Forest Produce Trade and its Impact in Chota

Nagpur

Figure : Percentage of Particular Species Planted bt the Forest Department 1997



Minor Forest Products or MFP has an extremely important role to play in the tribal economy. MFP indicates all forest products, other than timber. Kumari and Sinha, (1994) suggests that therefore these form “important raw materials for cottage, small and village industries and contribute to national economy through export and import substitution”.⁷⁹ Tribal communities depend primarily on forests for their livelihoods and collect various forest products for their food, medicine and building materials. Many studies have brought out the fact that about 10 % - 15 % of the income budget of an average tribal family is financed through sale of MFPs in the local markets.

Collection of MFP is conditioned by availability, marketability, access to forests and various other constraints. Some of the commercially important MFP s are

1. *Sal* Seed (*Shorea robusta*)
2. *Mahua* Seed (*Bassia latifolia*)
3. *Kuaum* Seed (*Schleichera triguja*)
4. *Karanj* Seed (*Galedupa arborea*)
5. *Palash* Seed (*Butea frondosa*)
6. *Amla* fruit with Seed (*Phyllanthus emblica*)
7. *Harra* fruit (*Terminalia chebula*)
8. *Bahera* fruit ((*Terminalia balerica*)
9. *Jaugi Harra*
10. *Mahulan* leaf
11. *Mahulan* crop
12. *Kendu* leaf (ibid).⁸⁰

At times the list also includes Bamboo, and they were managed by the Forest Department of Bihar, but to monitor the trade the Bihar State Forest Development Corporation (BSFDC) was formed. Usually the middle men would buy the product from the tribals in its raw form and then sell it to other buyers in the cities where it would be processed. The procuring price would be extremely low, the tribal populace would get almost next to nothing for the product sold. Later it would be sold at many times its actual value and the middle men would make windfall gains.

⁷⁹ Kumari. Punam, and Sinha. A.K. (1994): Role of Minor Produce in Tribal Economy, in Buddhadeb Chaudhuri, (1994) (ed) Tribal Transformation in India, Vol III, Inter India Publications, New Delhi, p.348

⁸⁰ Ibid.

The first phase of nationalisation began with the nationalisation of the trade in Kendu (bidi) leaves in 1973. This was a very important Act since Kendu leaves have about 40 % share in MFP trade. This was done with the help of Bihar Tribal Economic Condition Improvement Act, by whose sanction the state has a monopoly of MFP trade in tribal areas, the collecting authority being BSFDC. The process of Nationalisation was repeated in 1977-78 when the collection of Sal seeds came under its preview. The order on Kendu leaves was reiterated. Slowly, during the 1980s trade in almost all the important MFPs like the Mahua seed, Karanj, Kusum and Hurra nut has been nationalised. The Table No. IV.10 shows the rates paid and the amount collected for sal seeds and the mahua flowers.

The intention behind the nationalisation of MFP trade was to help the tribal communities that were engaged in MFP collection and were being swindled by the middlemen. The price fixed by the Government was intended to be sufficient, so that the tribal communities did not lose out, and paid the right value for their labour. Unfortunately, this has not happened. There were outbreaks of violent oppositions from

Table No. IV. 10: Amounts Procured and Rates Paid for Selected MFP

Year	Sal Seeds		Mahua Flowers	
	Amount in tonne	Price (in Rs.)	Amount in tonne	Price (in Rs.)
1977-78	14948	0.4	N.A.	0
1978-79	390	0.4	N.A.	1.5
1979-80	16888	0.4	N.A.	0
1980-81	1542	0.45	N.A.	0
1981-82	11521	0.55	N.A.	2
1982-83	2610	0.75	N.A.	2.5
1983-84	21186	0.9	N.A.	2.25
1984-85	2642	0.9	N.A.	2.25
1985-86	21567	1	N.A.	2.75
1986-87	12779	1.2	N.A.	3
1987-88	13934	1.2	N.A.	3.5
1988-89	21851	1.2	N.A.	3.5
1989-90	4950	1.2	4.062	3.5
1990-91	5000	1.3	51.55	3.5
1991-92	3000	1.3	27.893	5.75

1992-93	6000	1.3	387.889	5.75
1993-94	3500	1.3	N.A.	5.75
1994-95	5000	1.5	N.A.	7
1995-96	N.A.	1.5	N.A.	7
1996-97	N.A.	1.5	N.A.	7
1997-98	N.A.	2	N.A.	7

Source : BSFDCL, Ranchi, 1999.

the tribal communities, protesting against the nationalisation and asking for the orders to be repealed. There were even shootouts in the Simdega (Ranchi) in 1978 and the Gua protests had a similar reason behind it.

The collection of MFPs, especially the Sal seeds and Kendu leaves did rise, as did the price paid for the goods procured by the government Table No. 3.10 (Figure). Yet, the tribal communities kept on protesting against the order. The prime reason behind this was that, they were facing a whole lot more problems than they had earlier in the non-nationalised period. The main cause was that there were no well established procuring centres for the MFPs in the region. The lack of agents to purchase the MFPs meant that the tribals' labours were lost, since these are durable goods.

Moreover, the process did not have immediate payment status, the payment was made later by the forest officials. This lessened the ready cash value of the good, since then the adivasis could count on the sale money for buying necessities. In Simdega subdivision, where there used to be 100 haats (markets), not even 10 procuring centres were set up. Moreover, the men employed by the Forest Department turned out to be those employed by the contractors who had earlier purchased MFP goods from the tribals. Also, the actual contractors to whom the state was selling or gave the lease to procure from the tribal communities did not change in composition at all. The forest officials were also involved as contractors, or were working hand in glove with the contractors. In all this it was the poor tribal who lost out. For example, in 1978, no procuring centre for Sal seeds was established in the Simdega subdivision even after six weeks after the nationalisation announcement.

A study conducted by Gupta et al of the Centre for Management in Agriculture, Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad in 1981 holds the Forest Department responsible for the fact that the well meaning scheme went completely awry and resulted

in alienating the tribals further from the government as well as increasing their marginality by reducing their economic bargaining power. According to the study, the manner in which this process was accomplished were highly faulty as well as corrupt. The Forest Officials being corrupt did not implement the rules properly and aided the vested interests of the traders. Also, the created confusion and this resulted in high losses that were incurred by the tribals. The officials also asked for bribes when paying the proper amount to the tribals and these allegations were confirmed in the study.

The intention was to transform the tribal economy in one go, without caring for the fact that the recipient people may not like the transformation. When the conflict came up, the forest officials armed with governing powers wielded the baton and forced a further deterioration of the situation. Now, the traders could cheat the tribals at ease and not worry about any forest office intervention, since they now were contracted through the forest department, which blessed all their activities. One fact that came out was the schism between the officials who were mostly from the north Bihar region and the governed that were mostly the tribal communities. The officials held them in huge contempt and exploited them completely. The ignorance and the illiteracy of the tribal communities completed the exploitation scenario. There was also a clash between the newly educated tribals, who refused to give the bribes. They faced a whole lot more harassment at the hands of the local officials.

This has been a case of unimaginative economic growth. The structure of change as referred by Matthai (1971) became more important than the process. Also, the change did not take into account the socio political structure of the society to be changed. It sought to replace the entire gamut of existing relationships in the economic and social spheres. Also, the trade benefited the unscrupulous traders most, since they had already a monopoly over the trade and now could control the forested land through the government as well. Rather the tribals were deprived of their one source of cash crops, and now they were completely ousted from the development of their space, between the triad of government, traders and the corrupt officials an development practioners. Thus slowly but surely the tribal communities have been pushed towards increased marginalisation.

IV.5: Whose Forests? The state or the People!

As Corbridge (1991) remarks, “the erosion of forestry rights in India can be traced back to 1865. In that year the first Forest Act was passed, to be replaced by the more elaborate provisions of Act VII of 1878 and Act XVI of 1927 More important than either of these Acts, however was a Resolution on Forest Policy in India (Resolution No. 22 – F) issued by the government of India on 19th October 1894 It was this resolution – the so called Voelcker Resolution – which first defined the rights of the state and the local groups in the forests”.⁸¹ Since then, the rationale behind every forest policy that further encroaches upon the forest dweller’s rights has voiced the same reason: that of national interest. Voelcker wrote in 1894 “ The sole object with which forests are administered is the public benefit. In some areas the public to be benefited are the whole body of tax payers, in others the people of the tract within which the forest is constituted, but in almost all cases the constitution and preservation of forests involves in greater or lesser degree, the recognition of rights and restrictions of privileges of use of forest area, which may previously have been enjoyed by the inhabitants of its immediate neighbourhood”.⁸²

The question that arises is that whose forests are they placing under reservation policy? And secondly for whose benefit: which tax payer is Voelcker taking of here; the tax payer in Britain or the tax payer in Calcutta or the tribal communities who resides in the forest? For in the final analysis, it is the last person who is being double cheated: it is his ancestral land that the government is placing under reservation and it is he who is losing his source of subsistence and scarring his soul in the process for his Gods are being desecrated. Voelcker had argued that the preservation of forests in India would directly benefit the agricultural community, since adequate forest cover would ensure proper soil management techniques. The shifting agriculture practised by the tribal communities seemed to him as wasteful, primitive (due to use of simple implements) and essentially damaging to the forests.

Maybe, at that time of colonial rule there was no one to think of the welfare of the poor tribal Indians who were methodically being deprived of their lands and other resources. It was hoped that the Indian government formed after independence would

⁸¹ Corbridge. Stuart, (1991) Obsid, p. 163.

⁸² Voelcker. J.A; (1894): Reprinted in Government of India, (1967), Report of the Committee on Tribal Economy in Forest Area, Department of Social Welfare, New Delhi., p.82.

some how ameliorate the condition. Once more, the tribal communities were disappointed, their voice disappeared in the more strident voices of the other interest groups. Moreover, the postulation of a tribal identity seemed to be a betrayal of the larger Indian identity, a threat to the integration of the Indian Union. Therefore, any such attempt had to be dealt with strong repression. Though the state was a welfare state committed to the ideal for equality and welfare for all, the tribes recognised as 'backward' were to be granted special privileges. That provision was also subject to the state's recognition of the tribe being a tribe.

The agenda for development set by the leaders at the time of independence demanded the sacrifice of the tribal forest dwellers of their lands even more than that demanded by the colonial rulers. Now, even the smokescreen, that of exploitation by the outsiders was gone; the State, whether the colonial one or the independent Indian one had become the exploiter. The people who exploited were now their own neighbours. So New and more rigorous forest policies came into being, instead of amelioration of their condition, further restrictions were imposed on them. Corbridge, (1991) opines, "Bluntly stated, various governments of Bihar have contrived to sponsor rapid industrial development of the Jharkahnd more or less regardless of the offence that this does to the local communities that they are obliged to legally protect".⁸³ Bhowmick, (1981) comments that in the case of forests, this became even more evident due to the Forest Policy of 1952; "what in 1894 became rights and privileges, in 1952 became right sand concessions and then concessions, turning the tribals, who formerly regarded themselves as the lords of the forests ... into subjects of the Forest Department".⁸⁴

'The temples of modern India' as envisaged by Nehru has become harbingers of marginalisation and death for the tribal communities. For as Roy Burman (1994) states "Even the National Commission on Backward Area appointed by the Planning Commission in its report on North Eastern India has advocated individualisation of communal resources for the sake of progress. It subscribes to the commonly held view

⁸³ Corbridge. Stuart, Obsid, p. 173-174.

⁸⁴ Bhowmick. P, (1981): Forestry, Tribe and Forest Policy in India, in L.P. Vidyarthi (1981)(ed): Tribal Development and its Administration, Concept Publishing, New Delhi, pp.29-38.

that communal land system is incompatible with development".⁸⁵ The National Commission for Agriculture has been advocating a similar view for a long time when speaking of tribals, " Their rights and privileges have brought destruction to the forests and so it is necessary to reverse the process. Having over exploited their resources, they cannot in all fairness, expect that somebody else will take the trouble of providing them with forest produce free of charge"⁸⁶ This kind of attitude is one that is most prevalent in the governance arena, that the tribals spoil their own habitat. Yet, they forget that this degradation of the forests is being done to forests that were already graded as degraded, and if the tribal has to subsist he has to forage in the same degraded forest to eke out a bare living. This does not also mean that since there is no prevalence of customary rights in the caste based Hindu society, then that right should be completely disowned.

The forests were common property resources for the tribal communities, and these were taken over by the government very skillfully to achieve complete control over a vital resource. In the colonial period a reserve of wood for industrial use was extremely important especially during war time. The ideas of forest conservation all relate to their commercial usages and thus the trade interests are the first to be protected in the name of protection of forests. The knowledge systems of monoculture of precious species of trees are an example of that. Even after independence, these knowledge systems were acknowledged to be better than any indigenous system. The actual tussle is between the extension of settled agriculture and the shifting agriculture of the tribes. The land under forest was thus a conflict zone for the settled agriculturalists and the shifting agriculturists. The commercial angle managed to cash in on the conflict between the two. The impact of the forests is but one side of the narrative of marginalisation of the tribal communities. The other side is occupied by the process of industrialisation the impact of which is examined in the next chapter.

⁸⁵ RoyBurman. B.K, (1994): Historical Process in Respect of Communal Land System and Poverty Alleviation Among Tribals, in Buddhadeb Chaudhuri, (1994) (ed) Tribal Transformation in India, Vol III. Inter India Publications, New Delhi.

⁸⁶ Report of the National Commission for Agriculture, Vol. IX, Forests, (1976), Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, Government of India, p.344-345.

Chapter V

Industrialisation and the Process of Marginalisation in Tribal Chota Nagpur

This chapter aims to look at how the process of industrialisation has caused land alienation and decreased the control of the tribal communities in Chota Nagpur over their environmental resource base thereby leading to marginalisation. In the forest dominated informal economy of the tribal communities the idea of industrialisation was indeed a revolutionary one. It was completely different from their ideals of time, space, economy and economic - space relations. In fact they had to adjust to a whole new circle of life when they were faced with the industrial process. The change thus induced was multifaceted, but the damage done was non repairable.

The process of industrialisation began in the colonial period, and was accelerated in the post independent period. This does not mean that the development process through industrialisation that India adopted was faulty, or that the development thus achieved should be rolled back; just that the tribal areas that faced the brunt of industrial development were not taken proper care of. In the haste to develop, the gains to be had in the near future were looked at ignoring the losses to be conceded or the possible impacts. The industrial activity in Jharkhand has been established for a long time, be it the trade in timber or the later discovered minerals.

Along with the long history of industrialisation, there is an associated history of exploitation and non-development of the region. The changes occurring seemed just to decrease the developmental possibilities of the indigenous population, resulting in the revolts and autonomous movements. As Mandelbaum (1981) remarks “ the process of establishing rooted development usually takes considerable time, often involves internal conflicts, and are best conducted according to some sequence of appropriate changes, social, cultural, as well as economic”.¹ The path to development without harming the residents of the area have to be worked out, for there is no fixed or ready made path to follow. Every region has to have its own path of development; usually local variations are worked out under a national development stratagem. Unfortunately this aspect of localised planned development was ignored in the beginning years of industrial

¹ Mandelbaum. David. G, (1981): Anthropology and the Challenged of Development, in Ideas and Trends in World Anthropology, Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, p.4.

development, the only plan that existed was an all enveloping one for the entire nation, disregarding the particularities of the various localities.

This chapter is divided into eight sections. They are:

- V.1 Industrial Development in Chota Nagpur in the Colonial Period
- V.2 Industrial Development in India and Policy Regarding the Tribal Area
Industrialisation 1947-1999
- V.3 Few Instances of Industrialisation in Chota Nagpur
- V.4 Impact of Industrialisation on Tribal Chota Nagpur I: Displacement and
Rehabilitation
- V.5 Impact of Industrialisation on Tribal Chota Nagpur II: Environmental
Degradation
- V.6 Impact of Industrialisation on Tribal Chota Nagpur III: Change in
Occupational Structure of the Region
- V.7 Impact of Industrialisation on Tribal Chota Nagpur IV: Change in Land
Use Pattern in the Region
- V.8 The Role of State in Creating Marginalisation: Development for Whom?

Before going into the details of whether the process of industrialisation does cause marginalisation of the tribal communities, the parameters of what is industrialisation needs to be set. In general terms, industrialisation means the “the process adaptation to the industrial system of production. Industry has been used here as synonymous with factory or a mechanised productive centre with all its ancillaries where there is large scale employment of labour and capital”.² Industrialisation can also be defined as a particular way of organising production and assumes that there is a constant process of technical and social change that continually increases society’s capacity to produce a wide range of goods.

On the other hand it could also mean spread of industries and industry led development. It might be said that as industrialisation in the nineteenth century emerged from the western world, Moore’s remark, that it involves a “total transformation of pre-industrial society into a type of technology and associated organization that characterize the advanced, economically prosperous and relatively political stable nations of the Western World”³ holds true in the western imagery of industrialisation.

² Das Gupta. Pranab. K, (1978): Impact of Industrialisation on a Tribe in South Bihar, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, p.1.

³ Moore. W.E. (1963): Social Change, Prentice Hall Sociology Series, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, p.89.

Industrialisation can also be mentioned as a process of acculturation, though a complex one that involves the intermixing of cultural, economic and political elements from one society to the other but also the technology that can be used for increasing levels of development and better standards of living. Industrialisation then means the usage of inanimate energy for increasing the production rates and altering the organizational bias of society. According to Banerjee, (1981) “apart from its economic content, the process of industrialisation needs ancilliary support with attendant values and rules of conduct for its proper sustenance and functioning. Depending upon the contact situation, it provides an alternate economic resource to surplus population from agriculture sector to balance their economic insufficiency. As a result of this changing situation, the existing cultural life of the pre-industrial societies alters considerably to meet the demands of their growing needs”.⁴ Therefore industrialisation emerges as an agent of change, fuelled by inanimate energy sources and using new technology, it attempts to completely overhaul the process that had hitherto prevailed and impose a new monetary based unequal society dependant upon the availability of technology.

V.1: Industrial Development in Chota Nagpur in the Colonial Period

The colonial policy for industrialisation was not meant to enhance the Indian position; rather, British gain from any kind of industry was always in the forefront of any industrial policy. As Chandra (1999) remarks, “During the first half of the nineteenth century, there was the sudden and quick collapse of the handicrafts industry in India. The ruin of Indian artisanal industries proceeded even more rapidly once the railways were built”.⁵ Industrial growth suffered in relation to the industrial growth in Britain. New industries came up only in the second half of the nineteenth century. India was envisaged as a producer of raw material only. Industrial development policy was actively manipulated by the colonial state to become the producer and exporter of raw materials only to be regulated by tariff barriers and open market policy, the former applicable to the Indian entrepreneurs and the latter policy for the British merchants exclusively. There was also positive discrimination in favour of the British owned industries, for which permits were granted by relaxing the strenuous norms. State support for any kind of manufacturing was severely lacking.

⁴ Banerjee. Sukumar, (1981): Impact of Industrialisation on the Populations of Jharia Ranigunge Coal Field Areas, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, p. 2

⁵ Chandra. Bipan, (1999): The Colonial Legacy, The Case of India, in Essays on Colonialism, Orient Longman Limited, New Delhi, First published in 1992 in Bimal Jalan (ed) The Indian Economy: Problems and Prospects, Penguin Books India, New Delhi, p.90.

It is to be noted that there exists a group of theorists who view colonialism as a distinct mode of production; the most prominent proponent amongst them is Hamza Alvi. According to him colonialism is “colonial capitalism” meaning “a capitalist mode of production that has a specifically colonial structure, whose features were “the internal articulation and external integration of the rural economy” and “the extended reproduction of capital in the imperialist metropolis”.⁶ This view is not shared by the general theorists, for them colonialism does not represent a specific mode of production, in Chandra’s (1999) opinion it is “a social formation, in which several modes of production, relations of production and forms of exploitation co- exist including the capitalist mode of production”.⁷ The colony thus faces a drain of wealth from its resources and there is unequal exchange between the two nations. India did not experience any industrial revolution and its growth was stunted by the colonialists, there was a process of de-industrialisation that was followed. The induction of India into the world capitalist system was completed without India benefiting from it due to its subservient position as a colony of Britain. This shows that the “subordination of the colony’s economy and society is the crucial or determining aspect, and not mere linkage or integration with world capitalism or the world market”.⁸

The mineral wealth of Chota Nagpur was discovered at the time of suppressing the Chuar Rebellion in 1799–1800 A.D. Coal mining began in the Ranigunge fields back in 1774,⁹ which marks the year of discovery of the mineral and exploitation of coal in Greater Bengal. The mica industry at Hazaribagh and Giridih, copper in Singhbhum all had their place in the process industrialisation. The final seal to the opening up of industrial base development came with the discovery of extensive iron ore reserves at Gorumahisani hill in Mayurbhanj-Singhbhum border and at Gua and Noamundi in Singhbhum in 1900 A.D. Corbridge (1991) states that this date is important since, prior to this, “there was little incentive to prospect for minerals, owing to a strict prohibition on issuing of prospecting licences to companies and syndicates”.¹⁰ The facilitation in

⁶ Alvi. Hamza, et al, (1982): *Capitalism and Colonial Production*, Routledge , London, p.63.

⁷ Chandra. Bipan, (1999): *Colonialism: Some Basic Aspects*, Orient Longman Limited, New Delhi, First Published in Peter Limqueco (ed) (1989): *Partisan Scholarship: Essays in Honour of Renato Constatntino*, Journal of Contemporary Asia, London-Manila, p.8.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Sivaramakrishnan, K.S. (1999): *Modern Forests Statemaking and Environmental Change in Colonial Eastern India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

¹⁰ Corbridge. Stuart, (1991): *Ousting Singbonga: The Struggle for India’s Jharkhand* in Chris Dixon and Michael Jefferson (1991) (ed): *Colonialism and Development in Contemporary World*, Mansell publishing Limited, London, p. 165

acquiring of tribal lands for mineral wealth was incorporated in the 1908 Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act, by making it mandatory for the public welfare to have precedence over ownership rights of private (communal land made private by the British rule) property in land.

The Coal industry saw its first lease for mineral extraction being granted in 1843 at Ranigunge, the Company which bought the lease was M/S Bengal Coal Company that subsequently came to have firm control over the entire area by establishing a series of collieries on the left bank of the river Damodar. The first mines at Jharia were officially leased in 1892, starting the base of the mineral exploration industry in the region. Coal mining also began in Sutanpur in Santhal Pargana in 1895. The TATA Iron and Steel Company (TISCO) was set up in 1910-1911 in Jamshedpur (Sakchi) along with Bengal Iron and Steel Company (BISCO). Around 1910-1911 in the Santhal Parganas some fireclay, china clay, and glass clay was also found. Stone and limestone quarries are also familiar in the region.

Herein begins the story of land alienation due to industrialisation. Though the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act had been enacted in 1869 and later on amended to include the Khuntkatti lands in 1908 declaring the tribal owned land to be inalienable except by the consent of the Collector (sale of tribal lands to non tribals was forbidden, thereby creating a sort of protected land market in the region as well as depressing its value), the setting up of the industries witnessed no problems in the region. As Corbridge remarks, "By virtue of the Land Acquisition Act of 1984, the state was able to secure for mining companies almost limitless access to tribal lands on grounds that industrial development would serve a public purpose".¹¹

Till date, there is no proper record of how much land was leased to the coal mining companies in the Jharia Raniganj fields. At the time of nationalisation of the coal mines it was discovered that there were no proper documents relating to the ownership of land by the various operating collieries. The idea at the onset of mining was to grab as much land as possible by foul means more than fair, the lease was usually signed with the local zamindar (who had also in all probabilities usurped the land from the tribal, as the zamindar could also be the local money lender, [mahajan] or an outsider who had come there for service and forcibly occupied land by settling on it). "Between 1915 and 1925, upto 100,000 acres of tribal lands in south west Singhbhum passed into 'public

¹¹ Ibid.

domain' for the quarries themselves, for housing compounds, for service roads, railways and so on".¹²

The industrial activity in the region meant chiefly the exploration of minerals and some associated factories. The development of ancillary industries had not taken place. The statistics of 1940 (Table V.1) reveal an industrial scenario that is just beginning; there were in total 124 factories in all Chota Nagpur, and total population employed was 53308. Moreover, all the settlement surveys recording the details of all the districts were conducted here around 1910-1920. After that the first comprehensive report of the chief mines inspector and the chief factory inspector was printed in 1940. The major types of factories were engineering, railway workshops, smelting and rolling mills, rice and oil mills, chemical manufacturing, cement, stone dressing, bricks and tiles, lac and bidi making. These types are scattered all over the region.

The district wise break up of the industries (Table V.2) indicates that Dhanbad (Manbhum)¹³ district has the maximum number of industries that is 49. The types of industries here is also more than any of the other districts, though the total labour employed that is 11,625 much less than the other districts. Maybe some kind of ancillary industrial set up was visible there at that time, since the maximum people are employed in the bricks and tile making industry. At the time of emergent growth, houses and other buildings are what is required maximum and this trade caters to that section. The most important industry is engineering, there are 17 factories of this in the district. Though the most important industrial activity is that of mining in the district, the kind of factory located here gives an idea of what service was most required by the mining activity.

Table No. V. 1: The Factory Scenario In Chota Nagpur, 1940

Districts	No. of Factories	No of Workers
Dhanbad	49	11625
Hazaribagh	7	923
Palamau	1	1099
Ranchi	23	1542
Santhal Parganas	20	1273
Singhbhum	24	36846
Total	124	53308

Source: Chief Inspector of Factories, Government of Bihar, 1940.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Earlier Manbhum district comprised areas of the present districts of Dhanbad, and Bokaro in Jharkhand and Purulia of West Bengal.

The district having the second highest number of industries is Singhbhum, where the major activity shifts to the minerals and metal smelting industry. These factories also employ the maximum number of labourers viz 32,508.

The next district in ranking is Ranchi with 23 recorded factories in all, employing 1542 people. The major industry is rice and oil mills, 12 factories employing 98 people only. There is one cement industry in the district and employs the maximum number of people, 630 labourers in all.

Amongst the rest of the districts, Hazaribagh and Santhal Parganas are moderately industrialised in terms of recorded factories operating. Palamau is the least industrialised with only a singular cement factory located in the district.

Table V.2 showing the district wise breakup of the factory situation in Chota Nagpur in 1940 is given on the next page.

Chota Nagpur has always been rich in minerals, so its mining activity is more than its manufacturing base. The total number of mines working is 821, employing about 1,21,971 people (Table No. V.3). Dhanbad is richest in coal, having 238 mines employing 73,542 people with some gold workings prevalent in the district. Hazaribagh is richest in mica, there are 471 mica mines employing 19,967 people. Palamau has only one coal mine employing only 107 people. Ranchi has 12 mines, limestone quarrying is

Table. No. V. 2: District wise Break up of the Factory Situation in Chota Nagpur, 1940

Types of Factories	DHANBAD		HAZARIBAGH		PALAMAU		RANCHI	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Engineering	17	3181	2	38	0	0	1	205
Railway Workshop	1	346	1	278	0	0	0	0
Coach Building and	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Motor Repairing	0	0	1	12	0	0	0	0
Smelting and Rolling	3	1073	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iron and Steel Smelting	0	0	2	204	0	0	0	0
Rice and Oil Mills	5	275	0	0	0	0	12	98
Chemicals	1	36	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cement	1	25	0	0	1	1099	1	630
Stone Dressing	1	19	1	48	0	0	0	0
Bricks and Tiles	9	5477	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lac	11	1193	0	0	0	0	4	197
Distillery	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50
Printing	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	55
Tea	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	307
Total	49	11625	7	580	1	1099	23	1542

Source: chief Inspector of Factories, Government of Bihar, 1940.

contd.

Types of Factories	SANTHAL PARGANA		SINGHBHUM	
	1	2	1	2
Engineering	1	30	5	1991
Railway Workshops	0	0	3	1763
Minerals and Metals	0	0	5	32508
Mica	1	185	0	0
Rice and Oil Mills	13	832	6	361
Stone Dressing	4	161	0	0
Lac	1	65	0	0
Chemical	0	0	2	106
Printing	0	0	1	76
Saw Mill	0	0	2	41
Total	20	1273	24	36846

Source: chief Inspector of Factories, Government of Bihar, 1940

(In the Table, 1 = Number of Factories and 2 = Number of Workers)

the most important mining activity, followed by coal mining. In the Santhal Parganas district, stone quarrying is the most important mining activity, followed by coal mining. Singhbhum has majority of its mines involved in iron ore exploration and employs 10,102 people. The other important mines are copper, limestone and manganese is shown in Table No. V.4.

Table No. V. 3: Total Working Mines in Chota Nagpur, 1940

Districts	No of Mines	No of Workers
Dhanbad	244	73909
Hazaribagh	491	21603
Palamau	1	107
Ranchi	12	2447
Santhal Parganas	14	3263
Singhbhum	59	20642
Total	821	121971

Source: Chief Inspector of Mines, Government of India, 1940.

Table No. V. 4: District wise Break up of Total Working Mines in Chota Nagpur, 1940

Types of Mines	DHANBAD		HAZARIBAGH		PALAMAU		RANCHI	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Coal	238	73542	15	1428	1	107	5	915
Fire Clay	4	178	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gold	2	189	0	0	0	0	0	0
Steatite	0	0	5	208	0	0	0	0
Mica	0	0	471	19967	0	0	0	0

Lime stone	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	1532
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Source: Chief Inspector of Mines, Government of India, 1940.

contd.

Types of Mines	SANTHAL PARGANA		SINGHBHUM	
	1	2	1	2
Coal	8	302	0	0
Stone	6	2961	0	0
China Clay	0	0	6	1911
Chromite	0	0	13	1000
Copper	0	0	4	2614
Iron Ore	0	0	19	10102
Kyanite	0	0	1	60
Limestone- Gravel	0	0	5	3196
Manganese	0	0	10	1720
Steatite	0	0	1	30

Source: Chief Inspector of Mines, Government of India, 1940

(In the Table, 1=Total Working Mines and 2 = Total people employed).

The industrial scenario also indicates an important change brought in by the industrialisation process, that of urbanisation. Since most of the labour force has immigrated to the area, it is estimated that the local inhabitants have lost out even the most basic chance of being employed. The 1881 census recorded only 4 towns, and in 1891 it recorded only 7 towns. Immigration to the region took place around 1901, and 1911; since then there has been a significant rise in its urban population component. In 1921 the census recorded a rise of 60 % in its urban population, in between 1921 –1931 it fell to 30 % and rose again during 1931-1941 reaching 61.71 %. The number of towns also increased from 14 in 1911 to 16 in 1931, the net urban population in the same period rose by 112.78 %. The districts where most of the immigration happened were Dhanbad, (part of Manbhum) 170,914 people came in to the district as enumerated in the 1931 census, followed by Singhbhum 110,757 people in the 1931 census. The other districts had little immigration in the same period.

This rapid pace of change in a very short time had an enormous impact on the tribal communities and their economy as well as way of life. After being depleted in population terms during the period from 1874 to 1921, (Table No. IV.1 in Chapter IV) it suddenly witnessed a spurt in the immigration of outsiders, foreigners to the region. The tribal way of life was denigrated, even labour for the hard work in the mines was imported from outside. The tribal communities increasingly also lost control over whatever meagre environmental resources were left to them due to increase in

population. They were forced to work in the most hardy of jobs for a pittance pushing them further towards marginalisation.

V.2: Industrial Development in Chota Nagpur and Policy Regarding the Tribal Area Industrialisation 1947-1999

This section is divided into three parts, part V.2.1, deals with the concepts of industrial development in India concentrating on the establishment of the mineral exploration industry and the heavy industry in Chota Nagpur. Part IV.2.2 deals with the general status of industrialisation in the region. Part IV.2.3 deals with the policies followed by the government regarding the tribal area industrialisation concentrating primarily on industrialisation in Chota Nagpur region. The base of India's development was the setting up of heavy industries with the help of the mineral resource available in Chota Nagpur region. The plan succeeded but took a toll on the local tribal communities; also the lack of development of the ancillary units in the region hindered the spread of development in the region, ending up as a process of 'developing underdevelopment' in the words of A.G. Frank.

V.2.1: Concepts and Ideas Behind Industrial Development in India and its Linkages with Tribal Chota Nagpur

India after independence focused on industrialisation as a means to achieve development. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of independent India was an ardent follower of industrialisation, as the tool to achieve development as had been achieved by the developed nations of the West. Thus, the Nehruvian developmental model acted as the initial impetus for industrial growth in India. Singh, (1992) comments that "to Nehru, the problem of development was basically a problem of scientific orientation of the Nation's attitudes...the social framework was viewed as oppressive and non-functional.¹⁴ He sought the middle path of mixed economy; disliking dogmas of any kind believed that to be the synthesis of the two systems of capitalism and communism. To him, it resembled the highest form of economic organisation.¹⁵

According to Krishnamurthy, (1992) the process of industrial acceleration in India can be traced to the Second Five Year Plan (FYP)(1955-1960), totally a Nehruvian Plan, with a clear direction- to lay the foundation for rapid industrialisation and

¹⁴ Singh, K. Manmohan, (1992) Jawaharlal Nehru and Economic Change in V. T. Patil, (ed) (1992), Explorations In Nehruvian Thought, Inter India Publications, New Delhi, p.96.

¹⁵ Ibid.

modernization of the economy.¹⁶ The plan was based on the Mahalanobis strategy of development giving maximum priority to heavy industries. The implementation of this policy witnessed the establishment of the public sector in India.

Thus, as Roy and Srivastava, (1986) comments, "...it had the tones of a complete overhaul of the entire system of society and power disbursement. The inherent implication was *industrialisation*, a duplication on the paths of Western and Soviet societal success"¹⁷ was visualised. Big was beautiful, enormous developmental and industrial projects were undertaken. Unfortunately, in the third FYP, the ideas ran into trouble; the external aggression by China brought the economy to and near halt accompanied by the sudden demise of Nehru. His views of complete turnover of the human spirit by education and national progress by industrialisation did not achieve the total potentiality it had promised. The delays and the gestation period involved in the implementation of the third FYP and the establishment as well as production of the heavy industries lead to a situation of food shortage and advancement of unemployment rates.¹⁸

In his book Political economy of development in India, Bardhan, (1984) states that "the state is an important part of the economic base itself",¹⁹ as it is the depository of absolute powers of planning. Therefore, the independent state in India is able to wield maximum powers over the development process; this absolute power was not available to the colonial government, who used a different kind of absolutism. While planning has had an impact on the pace and course of industrialisation in India, the linkages between industrialisation and spread of development in the regions of industry establishment appears to be weak. A main cause was the inadequate attention paid to infrastructure and inefficient utilisation of resources.²⁰

Bryant 1997 opines that, "the role of unequal power relations in constituting a politicised environment ...ways in which conflict over access to environmental resources is **linked** to systems of economic and political control first elaborated during

¹⁶ B.V. Krishnamurthy, (1992): Nehru's Approach to Planning and Development - Post Nehru Directions In Plan System, in V. T. Patil, (ed) (1992), Explorations In Nehruvian Thought, Inter India Publications, New Delhi, p.138.

¹⁷ Roy and R.K. Srivastava, (1986): Dialogues On Development, The Individual, Society and Political Order, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.67.

¹⁸ B.V. Krishnamurthy, (1992): Nehru's Approach to Planning and Development - Post Nehru Directions In Plan System, in V. T. Patil, (ed) (1992), Explorations In Nehruvian Thought, Inter India Publications, New Delhi, p.139.

¹⁹ Bardhan. Pranab, (1984): The Political Economy Of Development In India, Blackwell Ltd, Oxford, p.34.

²⁰ Ahluwalia. I. J, (1994): The Contribution of Planning to Indian Industrialisation, in T. J. Byres (ed) State and Development Planning in India, OUP, New Delhi, p. 374.

the colonial era”; resulting in “increasing marginality and vulnerability of the poor as an outcome of such conflict”²¹ took place in the regions where the industrialisation occurred. These were the ‘special areas’ or the tribal areas in the Chota Nagpur plateau where. As Prakash (1998) comments.... “the old problems of agrarian relations combined with those thrown up by a rapidly industrialising economy”²² created a renewed base for ethno-regional agitations. This kind of social and economic inequities as an integral part of development is not confined to India alone, it has been seen in the Brazilian developmental process (In the writings of Bunker (1985), Hecht and Cockburn(1989), Hall (1989), and Schmink and Wood(1992)) as well as the Mexican Zapatista peasant struggle). “The shift from the cultural politics of the early 20th century to the political culture of the 1990s ...did not occur as a sharp break at independence in 1947, but has been a much gradual change; indeed almost imperceptible. The implications of the shift are profound, signalling the demise of a political culture based on an ideology of martial power and the rise of politics based on democratic demographic realities and exploitation by the state”.²³

Thus, in the case of indigenous people, modern development has often been associated with disrupted livelihoods, cultural genocides and the degradation of local environments (Hong, 1987, Hecht and Cockrun 1989, Colchester, 1993, Hewitt, 1996). Instead, it is to document the ways in which many indigenous people have been especially disadvantaged as their way of life is subverted by the spread of a development process outside their control. Thus political struggles, economic interests and ecological change come together in patterns of human environment interaction²⁴ and become evident in an area such as the Chota Nagpur region.

Section IV.2.2: The General Status of Industrialisation in Chota Nagpur

The pattern of industrial development in Chota Nagpur was entirely resource based; the table 4.18 exhibits the variety and production of minerals in Jharkhand state. Map No. 4.1 shows the location of mineral mining. Presently, the total value of mineral production is over Rs. 300 crore in the state. The coal mining industry in the region

²¹ Bryant. Raymond. L, (1997): Power, Knowledge and Political Ecology in the Third World: A Review, p. 2-3.

²² Prakash. A, (1998): The Politics of Development and Identity in the Jharkhand Region of Bihar, India (1951-1991) University of London Ph.D. Thesis, 1998, p. 21.

²³ Hauser. W, (1997): Swami Sahajanand and the Peasants of Jharkhand, in Internet, at www.altavista.com, virginia.edu.com, p.31.

²⁴ Bryant, Obsid, p.3-4.

received a fillip in the post independence era, essentially due to increased energy requirements and the establishment of the iron and steel industry. The Fertiliser plant at Sindri was set up in the late 1950s, the steel plant Bokaro was commissioned in the third plan, the Heavy Engineering Company at Ranchi during 1958-59 and the cement factory at Chaibasa in the early seventies, the Uranium Corporation of India Limited to mention a few industrial developments in the region.

Along side, the Damodar Valley Corporation multi purpose project was completed in 1961 to provide power for the industries, the Surbarnorakha Multipurpose project began in the 1970s and in the late 1970s the Koel Karo project was commissioned. In the arena of thermal energy the Chandrapura plant was a part of the DVC, Patratu thermal power plant was set up in the mid 1970s and Bokaro plant in the early 1980s. All this tallies up to a huge whole, in the initial years after independence no other region had faced so much of industrialisation in so concentrated an area.

The total investment in heavy industry and mineral exploration in the various plan periods is shown in Table No. V.5 and V.6.

Table No.V. 5: Financial Outlays Under the five Year Plans For Heavy Industry and Minerals (in Actual Amount)

Heads	1st Plan	2nd Plan	3rd Plan	Annual Plan	4th Plan	5th Plan	6th Plan
	1951-56	1956-61	1961-66	1966-69	1969-74	1974-79	1980-85
Power	149	452	1252	1212	2932	7400	307051
Industry							
& Minerals	55	938	1726	1510	2864	8989	15002

Source: Mishra and Puri, Indian Economy, S. Chand Publishers, New Delhi, p.115.

Table No.V. 6: Financial Outlays Under the five Year Plans For Heavy Industry and Minerals (in Percentage)

Heads	1st Plan	2nd Plan	3rd Plan	Annual Plan	4th Plan	5th Plan	6th Plan
	1951-56	1956-61	1961-66	1966-69	1969-74	1974-79	1980-85
Power	7.6	9.7	14.6	18.3	18.6	18.8	28.1
Industry							
& Minerals	2.8	20.1	20.1	22.8	18.2	22.8	13.7

Source: Mishra and Puri, Indian Economy, S. Chand Publishers, New Delhi, p.115.

With the onset of planned development in India, the industrial process received a fillip in its progress and spread. The number of industries increased. The Factory sector in Chota Nagpur grew and became much more diversified. The data obtained was for the years 1958 and 1965, both important since in the former the second plan for industrial development initiated in 1955 began to crystallise as industries were set up and the latter, as that was the year the Green Revolution technology began to function in India. Both of their impacts can be seen in the industrial scenario in Chota Nagpur.

The total number of factories in 1958 were 2433 employing about 1,04,142 people. In the Districts, the trend visible in 1940s continued to prevail. Table No. V.7 exhibits the details of the Chota Nagpur region.

Table No. V. 7: Factory Situation In Chota Nagpur, 1958

Districts	No. of Factories	No. of Workers
Dhanbad	1104	26249
Hazaribagh	319	16976
Palamau	81	2469
Ranchi	206	3863
Santhal Parganas	176	1582
Singhbhum	547	53003
Total	2433	104142

Source: Chief Inspector of Factories, 1958, Government of Bihar.

Dhanbad had the maximum number of registered factories functioning, with 1104 factories in total tally, employing 26249 people. There was an astonishing rise in the number of rice and oil mills functioning in the district, i.e. 962 registered units. The largest employer was the bricks and tiles factories, employing about 7623 people. Many new factories also came to be set up, such as the petroleum factories and coke ovens.

Next ranking industrial district was Singhbhum, with 547 factories in total employing 53,003 people. The largest number of factories in the district is for the Bidi,

made from tendu leaf that abounds in the forests of Singhbhum. The largest factory group in terms of employment is the mines and minerals related factories employing 34,389 people. Here also the emergence of new factories such as Hosiery, Cement and Asbestos manufacture is visible.

The surprise was in the rise of Hazaribagh, which overshadowed Ranchi in 1958 in Factory growth. Here also there was a steep rise in the rice and oil mills, amounting to 95. The largest factory group is of course the mica processing industry with 154 units in the district, employing about 12,262 people. The electricity generation factories have emerged as the newly set up factory sector as have the printing and coke oven factories.

Amongst the other districts' Ranchi has the largest number of saw mills and also a wide variety of factories. Its engineering group is also well developed with 42 factories functioning employing 964 people. Santhal Parganas also show the rise in the rice and oil mills, 115 in number and employing 604 people it is the largest factory group in the district. The situation is shown in table number V.8.

Table No. V. 8: District wise Break up of Factory Situation in Chota Nagpur, 1958

Types of Factories	DHANBAD		HAZARIBAGH		PALAMAU		RANCHI	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Engineering	68	4851	31	1074	4	47	42	964
Iron and Steel Smelting	0	0	1	443	0	0	0	0
Rice and Oil Mills	962	4372	95	169	29	78	72	218
Chemicals	4	5244	1	10	0	0	1	108
Cement	2	642	0	0	2	1345	3	789
Stone Dressing	4	183	0	0	0	0	1	20
Bricks and Tiles	15	7623	0	0	0	0	1	22
Glass	0	0	2	1406	0	0	0	0
Lac	2	53	0	0	26	725	25	769
Bidi	0	0	0	0	2	76	1	27
Electricity Lamps	1	446	0	0	0	0	0	0
Electricity Generation	11	586	12	817	2	25	3	38
Saw Mill	18	181	9	91	9	92	24	240
Printing	5	55	6	61	6	65	20	332
Ice and Ice Candy	1	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mica	0	0	154	12262	0	0	0	0
Water Supply	2	114	0	0	1	16	0	0
Cutlery	0	0	1	48	0	0	0	0
Textile Bleaching	0	0	3	363	0	0	1	24
Petroleum	5	498	0	0	0	0	2	23
Coke Ovens	4	1386	1	195	0	0	0	0
Furniture	0	0	3	37	0	0	4	87
Distillery	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	58
Tea	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	47
Confetionery	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	15
Hosiery	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	39
Plastic	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	16
Cold Storage	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	27
Total	1105	26251	320	16978	82	2471	207	3865

Source: Chief Inspector of Factories, 1958, Government of Bihar

(In the table 1= Total Number of Factories and 2= Total Number of Workers)

Table V. 8 continued

Types of Factories	SANTHAL PARGANA		SINGHBHUM	
	1	2	1	2
Engineering	1	2	1	2
Iron and Steel Smelting	12	202	27	6905
Railway Workshops			1	926
Minerals and Metals			23	34389
Rice and Oil Mills	0	0	82	648
Chemicals	115	604	1	78
Cement	2	57	2	1116
Stone Dressing	0	0	2	53
Bricks and Tiles	2	79	0	0
Glass	0	0	1	616
Lac	0	0	11	252
Bidi	4	150	310	6838
Electricity Lamps	12	270	0	0
Electricity Generation	0	0	3	47
Saw Mill	8	71	42	361
Printing	4	13	24	240
Ice and Ice Candy	14	99	1	13
Mica	1	10	0	0
Water Supply	0	0	0	0
Cutlery	0	0	0	0
Textile Bleaching	0	0	0	0
Petroleum	0	0	1	19
Coke Ovens	0	0	0	0
Furniture	0	0	3	97
Distillery	1	16	0	0
Tea	0	0	0	0
Confetionery	0	0	3	69
Hosiery	1	11	1	25
Plastic	0	0	0	0
Cold Storage	0	0	1	16
Sanitary Equipment	0	0	7	185
Gas Manufacture	1	110	0	0
Total	178	1694	547	52895

Source: Chief Inspector of Factories, 1958, Government of Bihar

(In the table 1= Total Number of Factories and 2= Total Number of Workers)

The total number of working mines in the region is shown in Table No. V.9.

Table No.V. 9: Total Working Mines in Chota Nagpur, 1958

Districts	No of Mines	No of Workers
Dhanbad	451	140252
Hazaribagh	510	59471
Palamau	24	2536
Ranchi	28	4101
Santhal Parganas	67	4667
Singhbhum	66	21724
Total	1146	232751

Source: Chief Inspector Mines, Government of India, 1958.

The total working mines in the region has also risen, there are 1146 mines employing 2,32,751 people. The largest number of mines is in Hazaribagh, 510 in number employing 59,471 people. Mica mines is the largest mining group with 450 mines functioning though coal mines employ the largest number of people with 43,934 people employed in 55 mines.

Next in hierarchy is Dhanbad with 451 mines, of them 435 devoted to mining coal and employing 1,39,979 people. Other kind of mining activity in the district is negligible; there has been a reduction in the variety of mines operating in the district. The trend is towards specialisation in one product only.

Next in the tier are Santhal Parganas and Singhbhum, with 67 and 68 mines respectively. The former has more stone quarries and the latter has the maximum iron ore mines employing the maximum numbers of people 3558 and 12315 people respectively. Here many new kinds of mines have also started functioning. The least number of mines are found in Palmau and Ranchi 24 and 28 respectively. With coal being the largest group of mines in both the districts, employing 905 people in Palamau and 2331 in Ranchi district, the emerging trend of the coal industry as the leading mining industry in the region is visible. The table No. V. 10 exhibits the trends. Of mining activity.

Table No. V. 10: Total Number of Working Mines in Chota Nagpur, 1958

Types of Mines	DHANBAD		HAZARIBAGH		PALAMAU		RANCHI	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Coal	435	139979	55	43934	3	905	11	2331
Fire Clay	14	247	3	100	5	141	2	284
Feldspar	1	12	3	100	0	0	0	0
Quartz	1	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lime Stone	0	0	2	267	1	122	5	806
Mica	0	0	450	15170	0	0	0	0
China Clay	0	0	0	0	1	47	5	60
Dolomite	0	0	0	0	2	755	0	0
Graphite	0	0	0	0	9	337	0	0
Iron Ore	0	0	0	0	3	229	0	0
Bauxite	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	620
Total	452	140254	514	59573	25	2538	29	4103

Source: Chief Inspector of Mines, Government of India, 1958.

contd.

Types of Mines	SANTHAL PARGANA		SINGHBHUM	
	1	2	1	2
Coal	23	671	0	0
Fire Clay	0	0	0	0
Feldspar	0	0	0	0
Quartz	0	0	0	0
Lime Stone	0	0	4	844
Mica	0	0	0	0
China Clay	2	438	14	2384
Dolomite	0	0	0	0
Graphite	0	0	0	0
Iron Ore	0	0	24	12315
Bauxite	0	0	0	0
Stone	42	3558	1	110
Chromite	0	0	2	382
Copper	0	0	4	4400
Kyanite	0	0	3	22
Manganese	0	0	7	536
Apatite	0	0	1	27
Asbestos	0	0	2	32
Silica	0	0	1	164
Quartz	0	0	3	508
Total	67	4667	66	21724

In 1965, the number of factories functioning in Chota Nagpur has increased. The emergent leading district in terms of maximum functioning factories is Singhbhum, with 680 factories employing 85,930 people. The growth of engineering factories in the district is sharp, with 54 of them functioning, employing 31,234 people. The mines and mineral based factories have also increased, there are 32 of them functioning providing employment to 44,943 people. There are a lot of new factories that have come up due to spread of industrialisation, such as Water Supply, Tyre, Dyeing etc. Table No.V. 11 exhibits the factory situation in Singhbhum.

Table No. V. 11: Total Registered Factories Functioning in Chota Nagpur, 1965

Districts	No. of Factories	No. of Workers
Dhanbad	606	24881
Hazaribagh	576	22913
Palamau	148	3204
Ranchi	585	16331
Santhal Parganas	422	3128
Singhbhum	680	85930
Total	3017	156387

Source: Chief Inspector of Factories, Government of India, 1965.

Next in line is Dhanbad, which has lost its top position in number of factories operating due to the closure of many rice and oil mills with only 344 of them functioning, employing only 822 people. Engineering has now emerged as the new rising factory group, with 116 units functioning employing 6339 people. There is also a diversification in the type of factories as Tar product making factories have come up, primarily due the increased coal mining industry in the district.

There has been an enormous rise in the number of factories in Ranchi from 1958 to 1965. This can be directly attributed to the establishment of the HEC plant at Hatia, in Ranchi. The Number of rice and oil mills in the district has risen to 220 employing 595 people. The number of engineering factories has also gone up to 120 employing 2992 people. The newly emergent iron and steel smelting factories are 15 in number employ the highest number of people in the district ie 6625 people. Many new industries have also come up.

The other districts such as Hazaribagh has 576 factories employing 22,913 people. Santhal Parganas has 422 factories the largest group being the rice and oil mill numbering 325 and employing 1118 people. There are many engineering factories as well but their employment total is quite low, only 471 workers for 41 units. The Table No.

4038 shows the factory situation in the district. The factory situation of Palamau, which has the least number of factories, 3 cement factories being the major employer in the district, employing about 1493 workers. The largest number of factories belongs to the rice and oil mill group.

The total number of mines being worked in 1965 was 1064 employing 2,50,155 people. Hazaribagh has the largest number of mines ie 458 but the largest employer in the mining activity is Dhanbad, employing 1,45, 815 people. The trend is towards specialisation in the mining products, such a mica in Hazaribagh, coal in Dhanbad and iron ore in Singhbhum This is shown in Table No. V.13 and V.14.

The industrial scenario after independence improved so much that the first decade saw an unprecedented growth in the number of factories and mines. The total number of factory grew from 124 in 1940 to 3017 in 1965. The total population employed also increased from 53,308 to 1,56 703 people nearly a three fold increase. Similar is the situation in the mining sector. Table No.V. 14 shows the comparison, the figure No. exhibits the facts.

In the 1970s the denomination of counting industries changed to small scale and large scale industries. So, the type of data collected also changed. Also, due to turbulent political and economic conditions in Bihar, data was lacking. Recently, after the creation of state of Jharkhand, some tabulation is emerging as has been provided later on in the chapter.

Table No. V. 12: District Wise Break up of Factories Operating in Chota Nagpur 1965

Types of Factories	DHANBAD		HAZARIBAGH		PALAMAU		RANCHI	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Engineering	116	6339	74	1763	7	74	120	2992
Rice and Oil Mills	344	822	149	436	69	197	220	595
Iron and Steel Smelting	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	6626
Chemicals	6	4502	5	1043	0	0	3	167
Glass	0	0	7	2097	1	100		
Cement	1	252	0	0	3	1493	8	878
Stone Dressing	8	286	6	146	1	18	20	387
Bricks and Tiles	17	6712	8	1113	0	0	9	680
Lac	0	0	0	0	30	908	19	534
Bidi	0	0	0	0	3	63	3	53
Electricity Lamps	3	568	0	0	0	0	0	0
Electricity Generation	27	771	36	1894	3	30	13	93
Saw Mill	36	313	33	330	25	258	85	889
Printing	11	132	8	88	5	50	23	387
Ice and Ice Candy	1	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
Water Supply	8	286	3	35	1	13	1	50
Petroleum	3	36	0	0	0	0	1	11
Coke Ovens	6	2016	1	239	0	0	0	0
Confectionery	4	45	0	0	0	0	7	116
Cold Storage	2	33	3	37	0	0	2	71
Coal Washery	3	914	1	1368	0	0	0	0
Tar Products	3	366	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dyeing	1	13	1	10	0	0	2	24
Tyres	6	60	0	0	0	0	2	23
Textile Bleaching	0	0	1	308	0	0	2	47
Furniture	0	0	3	30	0	0	0	0
Cutlery	0	0	2	48	0	0	0	0
Mica	0	0	232	11885	0	0	0	0
Hosiery	0	0	2	27	0	0	0	0
Sanitary Equipment	0	0	1	16	0	0	0	0
Distillery	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	40
Tea	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	35
Hosiery	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	30
Furniture	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	150

Table No. V. 12 contd.

Types of Factories	DHANBAD		HAZARIBAGH		PALAMAU		RANCHI	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Cotton	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	557
Leather	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	50
Paper	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12
Plastic	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	89
Aluminium	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	657
Storage Batteries	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10
Plywood	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	18
Water Supply	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tyres	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gas	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	60
Total	606	24481	576	22913	148	3204	585	16331

Source: Chief Inspector of Factories, Government of Bihar, 1965

contd.

Types of Factories	SANTHAL PARGANA		SINGHBHUM	
	1	2	1	2
Engineering	41	570	54	31234
Railway Workshops	0	0	1	1447
Minerals and Metals	0	0	32	44943
Chemical	4	115	6	139
Glass	0	0	2	691
Rice and Oil Mills	325	1118	313	814
Stone Dressing	13	618	8	223
Lac	1	26	11	165
Confectionery	1	10	3	63
Furniture	2	105	4	70
Electricity Generation	11	129	34	105
Bidi	9	177	40	1379
Sawing Mill	1	13	92	689
Printing	8	83	0	0
Jute Boiling and Pressing	2	28	0	0
Cotton	2	20	0	0
Pottery	1	68	0	0
Dyeing	1	48	1	17
Printing	0	0	27	270
Sanitary Equipment	0	0	7	157

Table No.V. 12 contd.

Types of Factories	SANTHAL PARGANA		SINGHBHUM	
	1	2	1	2
Gas Manufacture	0	0	2	182
Cement and Asbestos	0	0	28	3085
Petroleum	0	0	2	20
Ice and Ice Candy	0	0	2	26
Hosiery	0	0	1	15
Tyre	0	0	3	39
Cold Storage	0	0	1	12
Water Supply	0	0	6	145
Total	422	3128	680	85930

Source: Chief Inspector of Factories, Government of Bihar, 1965

Table No. V. 13: Total Working Mines in the Chota Nagpur Region.

Types of Mines	DHANBAD		HAZARIBAGH		PALAMAU		RANCHI	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Coal	377	145616	81	53362	3	1145	12	1669
Fire Clay	9	199	4	84	3	301	2	194
Steatite	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0
Lime Stone	0	0	3	261	2	570	0	0
Mica	0	0	368	9785	0	0	0	0
Feldspar	0	0	1	18	0	0	0	0
Dolomite	5	203	0	0	0	0	0	0
Graphite	0	0	9	317	0	0	0	0
Iron Ore	0	0	2	82	0	0	0	0
China Clay	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	64
Bauxite	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	1225
Total	392	146020	470	64011	9	2018	29	3154

Source: Chief Inspector of Mines, Government of India, 1965. contd.

(in all the tables, column 1=Total Number of Miner or Factories and column 2= total Number of People employed)

The continuation of the table is in the next page.

Table No. V. 13 contd.

Types of Mines	SANTHAL PARGANA		SINGHBHUM	
	1	2	1	2
Coal	20	951	0	0
Stone	53	6300	0	0
China Clay	6	747	14	2441
Fire clay	4	111	0	0
Feldspar	1	12	0	0

Quartz	1	71	0	0
Chromite	0	0	1	12
Copper	0	0	3	4081
Iron Ore	0	0	36	11794
Kyanite	0	0	10	609
Limestone- Gravel	0	0	3	6942
Manganese	0	0	2	233
Apatite	0	0	5	209
Asbestos	0	0	5	250
Stone	0	0	1	87
Quartz	0	0	1	71
Dolomite	0	0	1	19
Slate	0	0	1	20
Total	85	8192	83	26768

Source: Chief Inspector of Mines, Governmnet of India, 1965

Table No.V.14:Comparitive Change in Factory and Mine Situation in Chota Nagpur, 1940-1965

	1940		1958		1965	
	Factory	Mines	Factory	Mines	Factory	Mines
Dhanbad	49	244	1105	451	606	386
Hazaribagh	7	491	319	510	576	458
Palamau	1	1	81	24	148	24
Ranchi	23	12	206	28	585	28
Santhal Parganas	20	14	176	67	422	85
Singhbhum	24	59	547	66	680	83
Total	124	821	2434	1146	3017	1064

Source: From above mentioned tables

Table No. V. 15: Comparitive Situation in Employment in the Industries in Chota Nagpur , 1940-1965

	1940		1958		1965	
	Factory	Mines	Factory	Mines	Factory	Mines
Dhanbad	11625	73909	26775	140252	25097	145815
Hazaribagh	923	21603	16976	59471	22913	63610
Palamau	1099	107	2469	2563	3204	2618
Ranchi	1542	2447	3863	4101	16331	3152
Santhal Parganas	1273	3263	1581	4667	3128	8192
Singhbhum	36846	20642	53003	21824	86030	26768
Total	53308	121971	104667	232878	156703	250155

Source: Same as Table V.14.

V.2.3: Government Policy Evaluation Regarding Tribal Area Industrialisation in Chota Nagpur

The Scheduled Area and Scheduled Tribes Commission came into force in 1959²⁵ under Article 339²⁶ of the Indian Constitution. The Chairman of the Commission was Sri. U.N. Dhebar, the commission later on spelt out the parameters for a proper policy for industrialisation in the tribal area. The committee reported that while it would not be in the nation's benefit to stop the process of industrialisation, it would also need extra care when industrialising the tribal areas. As Singh (1983) remarks "The Commission recognised that industrial activity has its impact on the individual, the family, society and on the entire environment, with consequent psychological, social and economic consequences. They noted with regret that that the problem had not viewed comprehensively; this needed to be done".²⁷ The lack of proper planning for development to take place in the Chota Nagpur region is explained here quite explicitly, the changes that would happen and their possible impacts is also taken note of, in fact the idea that they would require special treatment is of utmost importance. Unfortunately, the government of the day did not heed the warning.

Thus the realisation that these regions would need to be dealt with in a special manner, but yet not very different from the 'isolating' policy of the Colonial era was made in the 1961 when the Commission submitted its report. The problem once again was how not to recreate the colonial situation in the tribal areas without making the policies seem colonial, rather they should have the subtle flavour of being Indian, implying that the tribal society was a little bit different from that of the Indian one. Yet, the treatment meted out to these regions has had a distinctly colonial flavour. That period saw various issues in the tribal development arena; a basic contending issue was the integration of the tribal society in the mainstream. This would decide how they would be treated, what would the development plans be in the regions where they lived. Various theories came up, Ghurye's integration theory, Elwin's isolating economy, Srinivas's process of Sanskritisation, Bose's Hindu way of absorption, all have their own niche in the full picture.

²⁵ Vide Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs notification no. 11/6/59-SCT. IV DT

²⁶ Article 339 states that "The President may at any time and shall at the expiration of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution by order appoint a Commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States" Constitution of India, 1950.

²⁷ Singh. Bhupinder, (1983): *Industrialisation in Tribal Areas*, in S.N. Mishra and B. Singh (ed) (1983): *Tribal Area Development*, Society for Study of Regional Disparities, Conference Vol. 2, Rourkela, p.98.

Displacement caused by the development process became a prime concern along with social disintegration of the traditional tribal society. The Dhebar Commission in 1961 had noted that the magnitude of displacement was immense, caused due to irrigation, power and steel projects. The total displaced tribal populace were 14,561 families from an area of 62,494 acres with only 3,479 families being allotted alternative land. The cash compensation that had been paid had not reached the tribal families in many instances disappearing en route. Those who had received the cash compensation could not use it for productive purposes, being used in the daily expenditure of the family, and the alternative land provided had irrigation problems so that returns from agriculture was not enough.

The B.K. Roy Burman Committee in 1968 presented another report on the social processes of industrialisation, taking Rourkela as its field. There the Government had promised the displaced persons that their resettlement would be in colonies within an 8 km radius of the steel plant. Roy Burman²⁸ denoted the emergent social structure as “the outcome of a series of abortive social changes” the final system displaying “symptoms of cultural lethargy” as the village and community links were continuing despite fact that they had been rendered obsolete and unusable. This could happen since the old system was at time acting as a buffer against the changes and destruction wrought in by the industrial process.

The next evaluating Commission, set up in 1968-69 was named after its Chairman, Shila Ao who submitted their report in 1971. The judgement of government policies in the report was harsh. The report stated, “The expectation that the industrialisation of tribal area would help in improving the economic condition of the tribal communities has proved to be largely illusory. Major industrial projects like the mammoth steel plants located in tribal territory, far from providing employment opportunities to the tribals, have operated to their detriment by uprooting them from their hearths and homes and offering them no satisfactory alternative to the traditional methods by which they eked out a living in their old environment ... As cash compensation is squandered on drink and tribal rituals, destitution is the price the tribals have had to pay fro the establishment of industries in areas inhabited by them”.²⁹ This assessment was

²⁸ Social Processes in the Industrialisation of Rourkela with Reference to Displacement and Rehabilitation of Tribals and Other Backward People, Vol., Monograph No. 1, Part XI E, Census of India, 1961, Registrar General of India, Ministry of Home Affairs.

²⁹ Report of the Study Team on Tribal development Programmes Committee on Plan Projects (1969), Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi 1971, p. 60-61.

also based on the figures of displacement and rehabilitation caused by the various industrial projects in the Chota Nagpur region and the resultant social change in the tribal societies ushered in by industrial development in the region.

The next Commission, was set up in 1978 to review the levels of development in the tribal areas and to recommend policies to enhance industrial development in the region as well as to distribute the fruits of this development to the tribal communities. It was under this report's recommendation that the Government termed all tribal sub plan areas as backward areas and adopted a different approach to these areas development. "The team observed that economic opportunities created by the establishments of industrial and mining complexes in tribal areas and the growth of large townships around them have bypassed the tribals as they did not have the necessary skills or enterprise to exploit those opportunities. The tribal hinterlands of the industrial and mining cities have become more backward and poor".³⁰ The last report in 1989-90 concentrated on the reservation issue that resulted in the implementation of the Mandal Commission in 1991.

Reading between the lines, the main reason for continued underdevelopment of the region is attributed to the inequality between the industrial economic system and the traditional tribal economic system. This disadvantage is a perceived one, as the former is imposed on the latter. Once again, the difference between the formalised economy of industrial world and the informal economy of the tribal communities rears its head, with the latter being disadvantaged. This is the conclusion drawn by Sharma (1978)³¹, as he analyses the traits of the socio economic structure of the tribal society and that of the industrial society. Many proposals such as imparting proper training to the tribals, the licensing policy to be implemented more vigorously, special care taken of the environment of the tribal communities etc. the goal would be a delicate compromise to be evolved with the with the development of industrialisation and maintaining the stability in the tribal society which is in a transitional phase. This means the hounouring of the traditional ways of life along with the modern.

V.3: A Few Instances of Industrialisation in Chota Nagpur

This section looks at the some of the most important industries operating in the region. The selected industries are the HEC plant at Hatia, the coal industry in the region, the DVC project, the Bokaro Steel plant, and some of the power projects.

³⁰ Singh. Bhupinder, Obsid, p. 100.

³¹ Sharma, B.D, (1978): tribal Development, The Concept and the Frame, Prachi Prakashan, New Delhi.

V.3.1: The HEC Plant at Hatia

After independence, the scenario changed, the sleepy forested land gave way to a future of industrial activity in the region. First came the establishment of the Heavy Engineering Corporation in Hatia, Ranchi. The idea behind this plant was, to quote Nehru, “We want to build mother machines which will build the other manufacturing machines”.³² The Heavy engineering manufactures act as accelerators of industrialisation. Earlier India was a major importer of these. It was only in the second plan that allotted finance to set up the industrial base of the nation. The dream materialised only after 1958.

The Plant at Hatia incorporated many other specialised projects. They were:

- Heavy Machine Building Project
- Coal Mines Machinery Building Project
- Foundry Forge Project
- Heavy Machine Tools Plant

The Bihar Government had offered grants of free land for establishing this industry. The plant was set up with the assistance of the erstwhile Soviet Union. The Bihar Government also promised electricity and water facilities for the plant when it was set up. It was proposed that Ancillary units were also to be established. The maximum production for all types of products was 80,000 tonnes.

It was a huge complex, supporting the idiom that big is beautiful and paving the path for enhanced industrial production. Some basic facts about the project:

- Located on about 1,316,930 sq miles
- Area covered by buildings 2,85.020sq miles
- Materials handled per year in the plant area by rail transport 1,063,175 tonnes
- Consumption of electric current per year 1,39,075 MWH
- Consumption of drinking water 61,390cm per day
- Consumption of service water 13,02,150 cm per day
- Consumption of coal 1360 tonnes per day
- Consumption of steam 30.75 tonnes per day
- Acetylene pressure 10,000 mm water column 68.2cm per hour
- Consumption of oxygen 388cm per hour
- Consumption of compressed air 26080 per hour

³² Nehru. Jawaharlal, (1936): Presidential address to the Lucknow Session of Congress, 1936.

- Total workforce 11,339 men (Adapted from Vidyarthi 1965)³³

The plant is India's foremost machine tools factory in India today. Later on, the industry expanded and also acted as a growth

V.3.2: The Coal Industry in Chota Nagpur

The coal industry in the Chota Nagpur has been operating since 1892 when the Jharia coal mines began functioning. The coal mines sector is the single largest industrial employer in the region. It is spread over 9 districts: Dhanbad, Bokaro, Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Koderma, Giridih, Deoghar, Dumka, and Gumla. The total number of coal mines in the region is 183. The earlier count of mining activity has changed in this industry after it was nationalised in 1974-75. Today, there is a holding company, Coal India Limited, with its various subsidiaries in the region. The three subsidiaries that operate in the region are:

- B.C.C.L.: Bharat Coking Coal Limited, covering the Jharia coal field belt
- CCL: central Coal Field Limited covering the Bokaro and Karanpura seams,
- E.C.L.: Eastern Coal Fields Limited, covering parts of the Ranigunge seams that extend into the Jharkhand state.

Together, the area covered is immense. There is no proper documentation of the total covered by these projects. This is also compounded by the fact that, at the time of nationalisation, no measurement was made of the total land that was under the mining activity, as no compensation was paid to the mine owners for the land utilised, only for the total stock of the coal in the mine.³⁴ Out of these, B.C.C.L. has about a 100 mines, CCL owns about 80 mines and ECL owns the rest. Even this calculation is problematic since here the least producing mines are not included along with the derelict mines; that are opened at times of crisis.

Most of the underground mines are partially mechanised, though manual cutting of coal also is highly prevalent. These days there is an increased incidence of Open Cast Mines, or Open Cast Projects (OCP). This is done to minimise the cost of production, though this is possible only when the coal seams are near to the surface. Numerous townships, housing estates, water works, entertainment parks, medical facilities and educational facilities have been set up for the benefit of the coal mine workers. This is one industry that dominates the industrial face of Chota Nagpur.

³³ Vidyarthi. L.P, (1965): Industrialisation in India, Concept Publishers, New Delhi.

³⁴ The Coal Mines Nationalisation Act, 1973, Government of India.

V.3.3: The Bokaro Steel Plant

The Bokaro Steel plant was established in 1965, with Soviet assistance. It is located at the confluence of Damodar and Bokaro rivers. It is situated over 34, 227 thousand acres of land. The captive power plant at Patratu was built to provide power for the Steel Plant. This plant specialises in making steel for use in the railway industry. This plant was the second steel plant in the region. Most of the workforce employed in the plant has come from outside the region. The decision of building a steel plant at Bokaro was made in the second five year plan.

- Initial Investment by the government to set up the steel plant Rs. 3.75 crores
- Set up with the help of technology transfer from erstwhile Soviet Russia
- Total land acquired for the plant 10,511.17 hectares
- Total Government and forested land transferred 2,046.08 hectares.
- Further area demanded and acquired for improvement 1,044.36 hectares
- Building the Garga Dam reservoir for water supply 1,451.58 hectares
- Railway tracts laid on 742.99 hectares
- Capacity 3.160 million tonnes of steel
- Energy Consumption in 1987-88 was 9.93 Gcal / tcs
- Despatches of finished products in 1987-88 13.60 million tonnes
(compiled from Srinivasan, 1988: 151-52)³⁵

The Bokaro Steel Plant was the fourth major steel plant in India. Its functioning to day is slow, seeming to be affected by the slow growth in the public sector industries.

V.3.4: The Uranium Corporation of India Limited

The Uranium Corporation of India limited has its base in the Jaduguda mines in Singhbhum. It is spread over 2000 acres of land. Production began in the 1970s in the mines. The grading of uranium ore at Jaduguda is 0.04 % to 0.05 %. It has several captive mines:

- Jaduguda mine and mill
- Bhatin mine
- Narwapahar mine
- Turamdih mine
- Rakha, Surda and Mosaboni Uranium Recovery Plants, Size: 66.15 tonnes

³⁵ Srinivasan. N.R, (1988): The History of Bokaro, Steel Authority of India Limited, Bokaro.

This is India's major source of nuclear mineral. The recent atomic blast at Pokhran was accomplished with the help of raw material from these mines. This is entirely an Indian Government Enterprise.

V.3.5: Multi Purpose Projects in Chota Nagpur

The Chota Nagpur region has many projects that are meant for power generation. Though maximum of these are thermal power plants, yet dam heads have been constructed to turn the turbines. Also, these act as means of flood control and generate hydel power for use in the nearby industries. The irrigation component of the river valley projects in the Chota Nagpur is quite low, most of the irrigation benefits are distributed to the near by states.

V.3.5.i: The Damodar Valley Project

The main river valley project in the region is the Damodar Valley Project. There are four dams in the project

- The Tilaiya Dam is in Hazaribagh district on the river Barakar, the dam is 30 meters high, and 366m long. There are two power houses, the power generation capacity is 2000 kw each.
- The Konar Dam on the river Konar, in Hazaribagh district, the dam is 49 mts high and 3548 mts long.
- The Maithon Dam is on the river Barakar, 94 mts high and 144 long. There are three hydel power units, each having the power generating capacity of 20,000 kw each. This dam is in Dhanbad district.
- The Panchet Hill dam is built on the river Damodar in Dhanbad district. This is an earthen dam, 45 mts high and 2545 mts long. There is one hydel power generating unit with a capacity of 40,000 kw.

The DVC project covers an area of 84,140 acres. It was while inaugurating this project, that Pandit Nehru called these symbols of industrialisation as 'modern temples' of India.

V.3.5.ii: The Subarnarekha Multi Purpose Project

This was built on the river Subarnarekha in Singhbhum district to supply power to the Jamshedpur industrial area. There are two dams, two barrages, and seven canals, with a total length of 342 kms. There is also 742 kms of roads built under the project head.

V.3.5.iii: The Koel Karo Project

This hydel power project is to be built on the river Koel and Karo, in Paschimi (West) Singhbhum, Ranchi and Gumla districts'. The total land submerged will be about 66,000 thousand acres. This project has faced vehement opposition from the tribal

communities, for the first time in the history of Chota Nagpur. This was planned when the ill effects of the earlier projects such as enhanced sedimentation and lack of proper facilities for the tribal communities who lost their land were coming to the fore. So, its execution till date is undecided, half the work has been done and there are many people who are violently opposed to the Koel Karo project dams.

These are some of the visible signs of industrialisation in Chota Nagpur. They also represent the industrial progress of the nation. The railways carry millions to tonnes of finished steel for the industries in other parts of India, as well as coal for the thermal power plants all over the country. The maximum minerals are carried out of the region as no ancillary units for their treatment are located here. Yet, so much of industrial set up makes for a heavily industrialised landscape. The lush forested lands have now given way to the massive factory buildings and planned townships for the staff employed in these industries and mines.

V.4: Impact of Industrialisation in Tribal Chota Nagpur I: Displacement and Rehabilitation

The massive industrial complexes are the prime symbols of industrialisation in Chota Nagpur. The huge plants and the massive steel works emit quantities of black smoke that seem to darken the nearby sky. The darkness is metaphoric, depicting the sad plight of the tribal communities that used to live on that land. Maximum of these people have faced grave poverty and been reduced to penury, doing the most back breaking and least paid of jobs. Their social image has also been disrupted. Many social evils of the immigrant society have entered their society. The free people of the jungle with a different concept of time are now bound to the industrial unit's whistle, signifying the beginning of work that almost rules their life. Yes, Chota Nagpur is the proud region of the nation that has achieved maximum industrialisation but the indigenous people are the maximum losers in the entire deal. The first major impact felt by the tribal communities in the process of industrialisation was the loss of land, leading to displacement of entire villages.

This section deals with the displacement and rehabilitation of the tribal communities in the region due to industrialisation. For that purpose, the section is divided into two parts. V.4.1 deals with the magnitude of displacement caused by the establishment of various industries in the region. V.4.2 deals with the rehabilitation policies followed by the different organisations. The responsible authorities do not settle the majority of the claims for rehabilitation; they are unable, as they do not have the

resources. In many cases the tribal communities are cheated of the compensation paid by the organisations. They are either ignorant or they have been duped by other people.

V.4.1: Magnitude of Displacement Due to Industrialisation in Tribal Chota

Nagpur

Every industrial set up was built by displacing some people. Thus, every small factory to the large industrial complexes is built on the buried remains of some tribal village, dotted with the sarna's³⁶ and the sasandiri's,³⁷ the hopes, aspirations and losses as well as the history of some tribal family. The magnitude of displacement is immense in almost all cases. Data for all the industries set up is not available, so some of the specific industries have been taken as examples. Here a generalisation is possible since this what has happened all over the region. Each industrial establishment share the same characteristics, the difference lies in the magnitude, the larger industries have displaced more people and the smaller plants have displaced less people. The prominent industries selected as case studies are: the coal industry, the heavy machine making industry, the steel industry, the mineral mining industry and the hydel power plants.

V.4.1.1: Displacement Caused by the Coal Industry at Jharia

The coal mining industry is the largest in the largest industry in the region, both in terms of area covered and people employed. The total displacement caused by the Coal India Limited in the entire Jharkhand region is given in Table No.V.16. There are two major coal companies functioning in the area: the Central Coal Fields Limited and the Bharat Coking Coal Limited. The other subsidiaries and private companies account only for 8 % of total mine ownership and coal production. Both are subsidiaries of the holding company Coal India Limited, which was formed after the nationalisation of the coal industry in 1974-75.

The case study presented here is that of Bharat Coking Coal Limited (BCCL) located at Dhanbad and carrying on its mining activities in the Jharia coal fields. This company has been chosen since this is the oldest coal mining area in the region, the first

³⁶ Sarna is the sacred grove that exists in a corner of every tribal village. The trees from here are never felled. It is believed that the gods and goddesses of the village live in the sacred grove. In effect this was a method of tree specie conservation carried out by the tribal communities.

³⁷ Sasandiri is the burial ground of the tribal populace. A stone would mark the place of burial. The tribals, when asked for formal evidences of landownership are reputed to have said that their land deeds are the stones that mark their burial grounds, that is the stones of the sasandiri.

Table No. V. 16: Total Displacement caused by Coal India Limited in Chota Nagpur

Name of Company	No. Of Displaced Families
Eastern Coalfields Limited	14,750
Central Coalfields Limited	3,984
Bharat Coking Coal Limited	2,250
Total	20,984

Source: Government of India, 1985, quoted in Bosu Mullick and Chatterjee, 1997.

lease for coal mining exploration was granted in 1892. Later on, this was the first area where the mines were nationalised in 1972 and grouped under one company. Due to its long mining history and having faced all the associated changes after independence, this is taken to represent the coal mining industry in the region.

The Jnaria coal field is one have the richest and oldest coal fields in Chota Nagpur. The details of displacement in the pre-nationalisation days is unavailable, most of it is missing. At the time of nationalisation, BCCL inherited about 3,150 acres of land from all the consolidated mines. The actual figure remains in the dark since the collieries are spread over the entire district and no compensation was paid to the colliery owners for the land on which or under which the mining activity was carried on.

Since then, a certain record is available for the land acquired. This is shown in Table Nos.V.17 and V.18 and displayed graphically in Figure No. 4. The land now is acquired under two heads, one through the Land Acquisition Act of 1894, and through direct sale to the company. The table denotes that land is usually acquired through the Land Acquisition Act, that is acting through the district Commissioner. This is so because, under the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 and amended in 1964, the tribal lands are inalienable. Only the District Commissioner can issue the order for the tribal lands to be sold, and that also for public welfare. The tribe that is in dominance in this region is the Santhal tribe. The higher incidence of land being bought under the 1894 Act shows that the public welfare, as perceived by the state is for alienating the tribal lands for mining purpose, from which the nation will benefit, but maybe not the tribal whose land it actually is, he has lost his land forever. The displacement thus occurred has no known bounds.

Table No. V. 17: Total Land Acquired by B.C.C.L.

Year of Acquisition	Acquired Under L.A. Act	Acquired by Direct Purchase
	(In acres)	(In acres)
1972	0	3.41
1973	0	28.415
1974	0	75.545
1975	245.6	148.2968
1976	0	131.5133
1977	0	151.27
1978	0	178.8287
1979	0	208.9924
1980	75.38	259.872
1981	596.37	225.711
1982	387.255	154.4291
1983	419.21	156.1012
1984	419.9	82.0383
1985	36.88	23.185
1986	87.99	18.835
1987	733.45	18.818
1988	94.21	61.82
1989	173.15	80.89
1990	358.105	22.22
1991	526.36	14.07
1992	711.74	1.7
1993	141.147	2.37
1994	31.81	0.72
1995	11.55	1.25
1996	0	5.09
1997	14.07	162.3156
1998	16.85	26.256
Total	5081.027	2243.9624

Source : Estate Office, BCCL, Dhanbad, 1998

Table V. 18: Total Land Acquired by B.C.C.L.

Means of Acquisition	Land Acquired In Acres
Total Land Acquired Through L. A. Act	5081.027
Total Land Acquired Through Direct Purchase	2243.962
Total Land Purchased by Agreement (Possession taken without registered deeds)	1538.009
Total land Acquired by BCCL	8862.998

Source : Estate Office, BCCL, Dhanbad, 1998

Today in the Jharia Coal Field (JCF) area, there is another kind of displacement of population in the villages. The cause is not the setting up of the mines but the problems created due to mining, primarily minefire. Furthermore, unsafe mining methods have created cavities under the surface so subsidence can occur any day. Also, the blasting that is used in the mining process does not make for stability of buildings with a 5 km radius of the mine. Unfortunately, the villages and mines coexist side by side. 83 villages have to be displaced under the current estimates. Table No. 4.50 shows the proper break up. More land is also being acquired for building townships for the company employees, providing the townships with access roads to the main roads, and other civic amenities such as schools, and sports complexes. This indicates that many more displacements are in the offing. Even urban centres have to be displaced due to fire and flood hazards, primarily that of Jharia, Kendua and Moonidih, showing a dismal picture of the coal fields region.

Table. No. V. 19: Displacement Due to Mining Hazard

Primary Cause	Status Quo Conditions (Total number of people)	If Fire Control Projects Succeed (Total number of people)	No. of Affected Villages
Safety	18,800	12,100	57
Mining Expansion	3,500	6,900	26
Total	22,300	19,000	83

Source :JCF Environment Management Plan, Nor West Mine Services Limited, BCCL, Vol II, 1997

V.4.1.2: Displacement Caused by HEC at Hatia, Ranchi

The Heavy Engineering Complex was set up in 1956. That was the first encounter of the tribal populace with modern industry causing massive displacement. Table No.V.20 exhibits the total land acquired for the HEC complex in 1958 for various industrial purposes. Tribal communities primarily inhabited the villages; the main tribes were Oraon and Munda. The lands were mainly under the traditional system of cultivation, meaning that the tribal communities depended on these for survival.

The HEC caused an abrupt change in the community and societal system of the tribal populace of the region. This enhanced the process of marginalisation of the tribal communities, and they became beggars from the proud owners of land. This also caused problems of cultural disintegration amongst the indigenous people. Table in next page.

V.4.1.3: Displacement Caused by Bokaro Steel Plant

The total land for the establishment of the Bokaro Steel Plant was acquired through the land acquisition office of the Bihar government through notification Number B/VII-498/52-5059 R dated 9.8.1956. 56 villages were displaced, affecting about 35000 people. Table No. V.21 shows the break up of the land acquired for various purposes.

The displacement caused the tribal community of the area to become paupers, though compensation was paid to them. These people had already lost out to the land grabbing mine owners and now they had to contend with losing land to their protector, the Government of India.

Table V. 20: Total Displacement Caused by Bokaro Steel Plant

Land Acquired	in Hectares
Total Area Acquired and Delivered	10,511.17
Total Government and Forest Land Transferred	2,046.08
Area Under Process of Acquisition	1,044.36
Total	13,601.61

Source: The History of Bokaro, Srinivasan, 1988, p.14.

Table No. V. 21: Purpose for Which Land was Acquired for Bokaro Steel Plant

Purpose for Which Land Was Acquired	in Hectares
Plant, Slag Dump, Cooling Ponds, and Marshalling Yard	6,963.99
Township Including Airstrip	4,093.29
Garga Dam Reservoir	1,451.58
Railways	742.99
Total	13,251.85

Source: The History of Bokaro, Srinivasan, 1988, p.14.

V.4.1.4: Displacement Caused by UCIL, Jaduguda

The Uranium Corporation of India Limited operates in Singhbhum, extracting the precious atomic mineral Uranium. This is the sole supply of atomic energy needs of the nation. The total area acquired by the company for mining requirement is 2000 acres. The Juduguda township necessitated the displacement of 5 villages. The rest of the number of

villages displaced remains in the dark. The industry was set up in 1967 acceding to the increased needs of atomic energy for the nation. This industry has been currently in the eye of various controversies regarding the health hazards being posed by the continuance of the mineral extraction. Yet, plans are afoot for expansion of existing mining facilities.

These are a few of the examples of displacement caused by various kinds of mining activities. The figures quoted are quite small, when viewed in the wider perspective. For instance, evidence from mining leases suggests that in Singhbhum, 1,51,000 acre of land is under mining leases only. The other purposes of the mining companies are excluded in the figure. Such a figure is not available for all the districts, which would indeed paint a bleak picture of the status of land held by the tribal communities.

V.4.1.5: Displacement Caused by Hydel Power Plants

The temples of Modern India that Nehru proclaimed the Damodar Valley Corporation to be was actually a temple, in that it displaced several thousand people to establish itself. The DVC project displaced 93,487 people from 84,140 acres of land.

The Subarnarekha Project has acquired 1,044 cares of land for building the dams and the approach reads, the amount of land acquired for its township is undisclosed.

The Koel Karo Scheme will displace about 66,000 people from 50,000 acres of land. Out of this, 26,000 acres are cultivable land.

The Icha reservoir Scheme will people from over 21,000 acres of land. The Icha Canals will displace people from about 30 villages over 58,700 acres of land.

The Roro Irrigation scheme in Singhbhum runs for a length of 25 kms but it has displaced about 358 households from 37 villages in the district. Moreover, the benefits of the irrigation scheme are also not accruing to them since there is shortage of flowing water in canal. Table No. V.21 exhibits the total land acquired for river valley projects (both for hydel power and irrigation) in Chota Nagpur.

These are just a few examples of the displacement caused by the construction of hydel power plants and feeder canals. There are lot many irrigation schemes that exist in the region but serve no purpose other than occupying some amount of land.

The total of all these means of displacements in the process of industrial development is huge. The major fact that emerges is that the state itself is a willing party to this kind of land alienation going on in the Chota Nagpur region, since most of the industrial and power plants are established and run by the Government itself. To quote Mr. Bandi Oraon, the Vice Chairman of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

Commission as well as a member of the Bihar legislative Assembly in 1997, “ I have absolutely no hesitation in saying that ...the Bihar Government, the entire machinery of the Bihar Government and also some aspects of the Central Government has been actively looting the lands of the tribal communities in Chota Nagpur, and the lower Courts and the High Court have extended their support actively in this loot of tribal land making tribal landless and homeless and throwing a large number of them on the roads to take up the shameful job of begging” (quoted in Bosu Mullick and Chatterji, 1997: 12)³⁸

Table No. V.21 exhibits the happening in a tabular manner.

Table No. V. 22: Displacements Caused by River Valley Projects in Chota Nagpur

Name of project	People Displaced	Land Acquired	No of Villages Involved	Cultivable land
Damodar Valley Corporation	93487	84140	305	37320
Subarnorakha Multipurpose	N.A.	1054	N.A.	N.A.
Chandil Dam	N.A.	1349694	N.A.	N.A.
Icha Reservoir	N.A.	21000	N.A.	N.A.
Icha Canals	N.A.	58700	N.A.	N.A.
Kutku Dam, Palamau		20000	14	7000
Ranchi Irrigation	N.A.	5135	N.A.	N.A.
Koel Karo Hdro Electric Project	66000	50000	113	26000

Source: Bosu Mullick and Chatterjee, 1997.

V.4.2: Rehabilitation Policies Followed By the Various Organisations

The magnitude of displacement that has taken place in the wake of industrialisation is immense in the Chota Nagpur region. That is but one side of the coin, rehabilitation being the other side. The policies followed by the various organisations have some common points. They are:

- Payment of some amount of Compensation in lieu of loss of land
- Provision of jobs in the industry
- At times provision of alternative land to compensate for the land lost.

These with some variations form the base of the rehabilitation policy followed by the different organisations. In the earlier period, none of the companies had any reprehensive rehabilitation policy, other than the National Thermal Power Corporation. It was only after there was a lot of pressure from the international institutions such as the World Bank that India formulated a comprehensive Draft National Policy for Rehabilitation of

³⁸ Bosu Mullick, S, and Chatterji. Samyadip, (1997): Alienation, Displacement and Rahbilitation, Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi, p. 89.

Persons Displaced as a Consequence of Acquisition of Land. Chatterji, 1997 comments that the policy “recognises the need to settle displaced persons (DP) because they pay the price of development. However, it takes displacement for granted. It can be argued that displacement itself is an offshoot of the present pattern of development”.³⁹ The policy espouses the ideals of total rehabilitation when dealing with the displaced persons, meaning, not only land or job compensation but also some kind of vocational training being imparted to the DP, so that his future survival requirements can be met. This is seldom followed in reality. Table No.V.23 exhibits the total displacement and rehabilitation that has been caused by industrialisation in the region.

Table No. V. 23: Total Displacement and Rehabilitation in Chota Nagpur Due to Industrialisation

Type of Projects	Total Displaced Persons	Total Rehabilitated	Backlog
Mines	2550000	630000	1920000
Dams	16400000	4100000	0
Industries	1250000	375000	875000
Wildlife	600000	125000	475000
Others	500000	150000	350000
Total	21300000	5380000	

Source: Bosu Mullick and Chatterjee, 1997.

V.4.2.1: Rehabilitation Policy Followed by the Coal Industry

The Coal India Limited (CIL) has a policy for settling the displaced persons that is in accordance with the Central and the State laws. The rehabilitation policies followed by the subsidiaries have been evolved as and when required by the subsidiaries. The CIL identifies the project affected people as those who hold the title to the land which is being acquired by the Company for its use. Landless labourers who work on certain pieces of land being acquired, tribals who depend upon the forest areas being acquired, and share cropping tenants are also recognised by CIL who have to be compensated. Table No. 4.56 shows the total employment provided to one member of the families as rehabilitation measure in lieu of land loss by the family. Land loss is taken to mean loss of livelihood, so by giving employment, the organisation is providing for an alternative livelihood or means of survival to the family.

For this purpose, the case of BCCL is studied. The major thrust at the beginning was giving job compensation for the loss of land. The ratio was two acres for one person to be employed. Table No.V.24 shows the total jobs that have been granted as compensation to the people who have lost their land. Monetary compensation for the land

³⁹Chatterji. Samyadip, (1997): Displacement and the Rehabilitation Policy, in Ibid

lost by the people is also paid, the value of land determined on the basis of prevailing legal norms and the quality of land as stipulated by the state government. The Company also helps the DPs to identify and purchase the equal amount of land that has been lost by the owner; the purchase is funded by BCCL. This is a part of the land for land scheme.

Table No. V. 24 :Number of Jobs to be Provided to One Member of the Family by CIL

Name of Company	Employment Provided to one Family Member
Eastern Coalfields Limited	4195
Central Coalfields Limited	3984
Bharat Coking Coal Limited	750
Total	8929

Table No. V. 25 Total Jobs Given as Compensation by B.C.C.L. 1972-1999

Year of Acquisition	Persons Employed in Lieu of Land loss (1 person for 2 acres of land)	Total Lands Acquired by BCCL by Displacement (in acres)
1972	0	0
1973	4	8
1974	21	42
1975	21	42
1976	2	4
1977	18	36
1978	84	168
1979	96	192
1980	117	234
1981	237	474
1982	217	434
1983	184	368
1984	53	106
1985	43	86
1986	59	118
1987	212	424
1988	173	346
1989	395	790
1990	664	1328
1991	387	774
1992	192	384
1993	67	134
1994	315	630
1995	161	322
1996	242	484

1997	139	278
1998	79	158
Total	4182	8364

The Company is also supposed to help with the non farm activities of the people who are displaced.

For those displaced persons who have been affected by present mining activities, such as mine fire, safety measures and expansion of mining activities several host sites have been identified. These sites will house the DPs from the other areas. Till date only five such host sites have been selected. They are: Darida, Nagrikalan, Bhuli, Bhalgora and Bastacolla. But, out of 22, 300 families, these will accommodate only 10,800 families. The future of the rest is unsure. Another major problem is that, these host sites may become affected sites in a decade's time. There is no planning in BCCL for that eventuality.

V.4.2.2: Rehabilitation Policy Followed by the Steel Industry at Bokaro

The policy followed by the government was centered around payment of compensation for land lost, provision of jobs with special training to be imparted to those inducted into the organisation and relocation in some of the other near by villages.

The compensation paid to all the land owners for land acquired to set up the Bokaro steel Plant amounted to Rs. 9.20 crores. The populace was rehabilitated in three villages: Ritudih, Balidih and Ukrid. Recruitment was generally in the lower levels of the employment structure as unskilled labour. Though the Government of India emphasised the training of displaced persons so as to gainfully employ them in the organisation, the training programme was utilised to train only 474 persons out of the total 14,493 displaced people who were later on employed in the plant.

V.4.2.3: Rehabilitation Policy Followed by the Other Industries in the region

The other industries in the region such as the HEC at Ranchi, the Patratu thermal power plant and the other assorted industries all follow the norms laid down by the Government. In the earlier cases of industrialisation such as the DVC, HEC and the private sector industries, there is scarcity of data regarding the rehabilitation policies followed by the organisations. DVC still has a back log of 12000 pending land litigation cases in the Calcutta High court, the claims have not been settled. HEC encouraged immigrant labour intake even for the most unskilled of jobs. The other river valley and irrigation process does not incorporate any rehabilitation policies for the displaced persons; only cash compensation is paid at a very nominal rate.

This shows that the basic impact of industrialisation on the tribal communities has been disastrous. Many people have lost their only means of survival, the communities have become pauperised. Those who were employed were put to work in the unskilled labour category that paid the least amount. Furthermore they had to face social discrimination in the places they worked. They became a society of slum dwellers and beggars. Their societal structure and ways of life were not only disrupted but also misunderstood and the level of exploitation was extremely high. They thus became a captive underpaid labour force. Many people, including the dealing officials, also cheated them of their rightful compensation claims and the rates for sale of land as settled by the government were also quite low. The money was never enough to compensate for the loss of livelihood of the tribal communities.

V.5: Impact of Industrialisation in Tribal Chota Nagpur II: Environmental Degradation

The second component of impact of industrialisation in the region was on the environment. This was as painful for the tribal populace as was the loss of their livelihoods due to land loss because; their soul was linked to the environment. The pollution of the atmosphere, land and water sources and the clearing of forests also created livelihood problems for the tribal communities, whose economy was forest dominated. The major impact is that of the mines in the region, primarily the coal mines and the uranium mines. The health hazard of the Uranium mines is becoming more prominent with passage of time as is the carelessness of the concerned authorities regarding these issues.

This section is divided into three parts, Part A deals with the impact of coal mines. Part B draws attention to the health hazard caused by the Uranium mines at Jaguguda, this is but one example from a multitude. Part C deals with pollution caused by the other industrial growth in the region.

V.5.1: Impact of Coal Mines on the Environment

Most of the coal mines have similar impacts on the surrounding environment. This was regarded as the least important of mine planning and exploration activities. The idea was there the mineral lies, just waiting to be explored and put to gainful use. So proper care was not taken. The Jharia coal field's impact on the environment is studied here as a representation of the changes wrought in the environment due to mining activities for a prolonged time.

Mining operations in Jharia has never considered the environment as a constraint to its activities. Wherever there existed the requirement of such an evaluative project the aspect was superficially covered at the best. Thus environmental implications were almost never taken into account in the development of the area, only the production of coal was. There are both direct (from the extraction process) and indirect (through extraction on both the upstream and downstream) impacts on the environment attributed to coal mining. The entire area has been disturbed by human activity for a long period.

The primary impact was on the rich forested areas; forested areas in the district were sacrificed to coal mining operations resulting in deforestation, land degradation and exploitation of wild life. Because the vegetation of the JCF is severely disturbed, there is no wildlife habitat of any significance.⁴⁰ Total forested area in Dhanbad is 46773.27 acres, or 10.7 % of the total land area in the district. Table No. V.25 gives an idea about the forestry status of Dhanbad district.

Table No.V. 26: Break up of Forested Land in Dhanbad

Type of Forest	Area in hectacres	Percent
Dense Forest	16,685	3.97%
Open Forest	14,685	3.36%
Degraded Forest	11,919	2.83%
Occasionally cultivated degraded forest	4012.27	0.953%
Total	46773.27	10.7%

Source : NRIMS, NRSA (1995) Land use report.

Not only was forested land overtaken, cultivable land was also taken into mining activities. The extent of areas that have been disturbed in the JCF is immense. Discrepancies do exist in the numbers reported.⁴¹ Table No. 4.59 provides a comparative account of this fact.

Table No.V. 27: Different Accounts of Total Area Disturbed by Mining (ha)

Name	Area (ha)	Current Activity	Future Impact	Severely Eroded	OB Dumps	Subsidence Areas	Mine Fires
B.C.C.L (1988)	6,300	4,700	9,300				
NRIMS (1995)	16,115	4,146		1,917	8,945	1,107	
CMPDI (1996)	6,297	434			631	3,500	1,732
NorWest (1996)	1,948	1,142		2,867	575	1,894	

⁴⁰JCF Environmental Management Plan, Volume I and Volume II, prepared for Bharat Coking Coal Limited by Nor West Mine Services, Canada, p.1.ES4.

⁴¹ Ibid, P.4 -1.

Source: Norwest EMP Report, 1997:4-1

These areas have high sedimentation and erosion rates; the silting of the Jamuniya river is a case study of this. Other effects of land disturbance are enumerated below.

Besides the above mentioned effects there are pollution impacts caused by extensive mining in the district. Industrialisation and urbanisation has played havoc with the ecosystem, altering them almost completely at places. The elucidation of these broad headings will prove the fact in greater detail.

Technology Underground

The technology used in underground mining in the JCF is primarily Bord and Pillar with some modernisations in the shape of the newly installed Longwall system (at the Moonidih Colliery) and all its deviations (Coal Compendium 1989:2). The major effects are subsidence of land due to unsafe mining methods, pumping of water out of the mines leading to changes in the hydrology of the area and acid mine drainage.⁴² Extensive use of high explosives results in noise and air pollution and toxicity in the soil. Gaseous contaminants in the mines pose a danger to the safety of the workforce; in case they escape over ground, they add to the air pollution. Also the abandoned mine shafts are dangerous, as they are not properly filled. These features are discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

Technology Opencast

Damage to the environment is much more in the case of open cast mining techniques than by underground methods, yet, BCC.L is concentrating on this method for coal extraction.⁴³ This method of coal mining involves the removal of overburden by mechanical means (Draglines, loaders etc) thus exposing the seams to be worked on. BCCL's Open Cast Projects (OCP) generally has a large exposed surface that is unstable and unvegetated.⁴⁴ The impacts of this method are many and varied, from hydrological and hydrogeological disturbances, soil damage to noise pollution, excessive dust emission and creation of external overburden (OB).⁴⁵ All these have been discussed under their individual headings in the following paragraphs.

⁴² Malhotra, K. K, (1995): Environment and Ecology-Relevance to Coal Mining In Mine Tech, Volume 11, No. 5, p. 41

⁴³ NorWest Report, Ibid, p. 2-11.

⁴⁴ Ibid, ES-9.

⁴⁵ Malhotra. p. 42.

⁴⁶ JCF Environmental Management Plan, P.2-19.

⁴⁷ Annual Environment Management Plan Report, (AEMP) 1988, p.12

⁴⁸ Nor West Report, Obsid, p. 2-21.

Hydrological and Hydrogeological impacts of the JCF

The JCF is drained by a small number of seasonal and intermittent streams (called jores and nallas) flowing from the north to the south into the Damodar river which forms the southern boundary of the area. There are some annual drainage such as the Jamuniya Nadi, Khetri and Khudia nadi⁴⁶. The watershed areas are characterised by the presence of a large number of ponds both natural and manmade.

Ground water in the JCF occurs in a multi aquifer system, with the Gondwana sandstones being good aquifers⁴⁷. "The ground water in the JCF has been disturbed by mining for decades. The de-watering of the underground and open cast mines combined with the flooding of worked out goafs has resulted in a present situation that is not clearly understood".⁴⁸ There have been reports of drying up of wells in the vicinity of the mines.⁴⁹ The disturbance caused by mining activities has created a complex watershed resulting in changes in the hydrology of the area.⁵⁰

Devegetation causes steep profiles and the slope of the land helps in providing a direct entry of water courses into the mines resulting in the unsafe working conditions for the people. Furthermore most of the water sources are polluted from acid mine discharges, The surface water sources are also contaminated by the washing of trucks, dumpers, loaders etc vehicles on their sides, releasing large amounts of petroleum and its associations in the water. Population near the mines also use these sources as a free resource and domestic waste and sewage is also one of the main polluting factors due to a badly maintained sewage system.

The continuation of de-watering of the active mine pits will result in further drying up of the wells in the area. Ground water quality has been affected by higher salinity levels due to increases in acid mine drainage.⁵¹

These in turn affect the hydrogeology of the area. The JCF is composed primarily of sedimentary rocks of the Gondwana Supergroup (Permian age) overlying Archean metamorphics (Proterozoic).⁵² The slope of the land is from east to west with a truncating fault line at the southern boundary the dip being about 10 degrees. (Norwest

⁴⁹ AE MP Report, Obsid, p. 89.

⁵⁰ Nor West report Obsid, Vol I, p. 2-19.

⁵¹ Central Mine Planning and Design India Limited, Report on Mines Safety 1988, Dhanbad, p.13.

⁵² Wadia. D.H, (1994): Geology of India, Himalay Publishing House, New Delhi, p. 51.

⁵³ AEMP Report, 1995:3.

EMP Report, 1997: 2-2). The withdrawal of water from the mines causes changes in recharge of the ground water levels, activity of the saturation zone and capillary structure of soil.

Soil Properties

The soil is classified in the JCF using the USDA soil Taxonomy system, five main orders are determined in the entire district (Soil Survey Report, prepared by NRIMS, supervised by NRSA, Hyderabad for BCCL 1995:1-6).

Table No. V. 28 : Classification of Soil Order Types in Dhanbad

Order	Area	Percentage
Entisols	9,391	2.2%
Inceptisols	117,991	28.0%
Alfisols	234,076	55.7%
Ultisols	1,325	0.3%
Oxisols	1,988	0.5%
Subtotal	364,771	86.7%
Others	55,979	13.3%
Total	420,750	100%

Source : Norwest EMP Report No. 1 1997 : 2-11

An estimated 90 hectare of soil disturbance is required to support BCCL's ongoing open cast mining activity. Mining has disturbed the soil compaction reducing the biological activity leading to infertility. The topsoil is affected resulting in changes in the moisture content, recharging of ground water and increasing gully erosion. The climate indicates a heavy rainfall account, with the disaggregation of soil particles erodibility of the topsoil increases. Already there is existence of gully erosion near the mines (Malhotra, 1995: 29). Soil management in the form of regeneration of vegetation is an important part of BCCL's environmental management programme.⁵³

Subsidence

Inappropriate engineering and unsafe operational measures result in occurrence of subsidence in underground mining operations with passage of time (Norwest EMP Report No.I, 1997:3-14). The Table No V.27 shows the various factors affecting subsidence movements caused by mining. The physical impacts vary from simple negligible lowering of ground surface to severe damage to buildings or other surface features by wide and deep cracks. This is seen in the Jharia town where buildings have been damaged extensively; in fact the whole town is feared to subside any time (Malhotra, 1995: 34). Hydrological impacts include dislocation in aquifers and thereby

reduction in availability and contamination of water resulting in retardation in the growth in the vegetation due to poor availability of water. Water logging in the central portion of the subsidence leads to the appearance of ephemeral ponds causing adverse flow conditions in the watershed increase in runoff aggravating the erosion potential and leaching out of the oxidized mineral matter with the water (*ibid*)

Table No.V. 29: Factors Affecting Subsidence Movements in Mining

Dimensional	Operational	Natural	Rate & Time
Thickness of extraction	Method of working	Nature of overlaying rock mass	Rate of extraction and its variation
Width of extraction	Goaf Support Previous working around	Geological disturbances	Time
Depth of workings		Surface Topography	
Dip of seam	Direction of extraction		

Source: Malhotra, 1995:34

The most dangerous impact of this phenomenon is that it causes direct air circulation through the goaved out areas which if not checked with the coal available results in spontaneous heating and fires within goaf areas. Also, the fire may spread both underground and over ground with disastrous consequences. Moreover, this lets the water collected over ground in the natural depression to flood into the mines; this has happened in the JCF causing untold deaths (*ibid*). Furthermore the collapse of supports due to subsidence results in fatal accidents (Pathak, 1982:66). Thus subsidence has profound impacts on the environment as well human safety in the mines, the entire topography changes.

Minefires

This causes major perturbations to the micro-environment; if uncontrolled may affect the macro environment also. The air that circulates in the underground shafts has direct access to the air flowing in due to subsidence resulting in the spread of fire

(Malhotra, 1995:36)⁵⁴. There is immense loss of coal in the JCF that has had a fire since 1910 at Jharia. The origins of this kind of combustion is in underground and endogenic causes that is, under certain thermal and gaseous conditions there is a self combustion of coal which is exothermic in nature (*ibid*, Coal Compendium, 1988: 15). There is complete loss of vegetation and reclamation of soil is difficult after the fire event. Carbon monoxide is released into the atmosphere in large quantity, along with unburnt hydrocarbons and nitrate and sulphur oxides. A major impact is the warming of the area, (a sort of micro level global warming) in BCCL, an area of about 17 sq km is severely being affected at present (Malhotra, 1995:39).

Coal Washery Emissions

BCCL at present operates 9 washeries which process 7 million to 9 million TPY of raw coking coal, using jigs, heavy media vessels and heavy media cyclone process to separate coal from waste material (Norwest EMP Report, 1997:ES-11).

Table No.V. 30: BCCL Washeries at a Glance

Existing Washeries	Production Capacity (Million Tones/Annum)	Year of Commissioning
1. Dugda-I	1.8	Taken over from HS Ltd
2. Dugda-II	2.0	“
3. Bhojudih	1.70	“
4. Patherdih	1.60	“
5. Lodna	0.30	Taken over with nationalization
6. Sudamdih	1.60	1980
7. Barora	0.43	1982
8. Moonidih	1.60	1983
9. Mohuda	0.63	1990
Washeries Under Construction		

⁵⁴ Malhotra. K. K, (1995): Environment and Ecology-Relevance to Coal Mining In Mine Tech, Volume 11, 197

10. Lodna	0.50	1990
11. Madhuband	2.50	1991
Proposed Washeries	Future	
12. Pootkee	3.00	1992

Source: BCCL Washery Division Report, 1988:4

The crucial element is water, thus most of the washeries are built near the banks of the Damodar river. This water full of coal bearing slurry is then released back into the river untreated, thus a major source of water pollution. Recently, the cleaning technologies are being used, a closed circuit system that releases these into some selected ponds (*ibid*). The ponds that these polluted waters are released into have little capacity and during monsoons the waters overflow into neighbouring area. Thus the nearby water sources and land are polluted. Also there exists the problem of insufficient power supply, due to frequent electricity failure which require that the circuits be emptied before they are started just proves the in efficiency of the pollution control measures (*ibid*, 3-19). Though BCCL has agreements not to pollute the river it seldom honours them. Another aspect is the dust emitted in these washeries, even these technologies do not work as large amounts of dust is emitted into the atmosphere.

Coke plants

BCCL operates 4 coke plants producing about 176 000 TPY of coking coal (*ibid*, 3-20). The smoke produced in the process of manufacture of softcoke and hard coke contains gaseous elements such as Carbon Monoxide (CO), sulphur dioxide (SO₂), nitrous oxide and unburnt hydrocarbons (*ibid*), which are directly released into the atmosphere. The Norwest EMP report No.I cleverly states that “any water discharged by the coking process is likely to be contaminated” not indicting BCCL, yet it is a known fact that the water is released into jores and nallas⁵⁵. The released materials contain effluents such as grease and oil.

No. 5, pp 26-58.

Noise pollution

The noise pollution comes primarily from the dynamite blastings used in the OCPs and the movement of heavy loaders and trucks ply in the collieries, carrying coal and OB from the mines. The table indicates the decibels produced.

Table No. V. 31: Decibels Produced by Mining Equipment

Equipment Type	Decibel Unit
Jack Hammer drill	120 dBA
Auxiliary fans	120 dBA
Dumpers (operator level)	95 dBA
DHD drills	110 dBA
Dozers	95 dBA

Source: Malhotra, 1995: 48

Noise pollution is a recent concept in the pollution family in the coal mines, as it was accepted that to gain economically these were natural conditions.

Environment Impact Assessment and Management Plan

The coal industry after nationalization has got a severe backlog of environmental degradation. Such a backlog is not only time consuming but also an expensive process. BCCL now has a responsive environmental management programme, with three main aspects: monitoring the ambient emissions, carrying out impact assessment studies management of adverse impacts (BCCL AEMP Report; 1996:12)

Impact Assessment

Viewing the environmental degradation there is an increased awareness of the trends of disasters following the rise in degradation rates. The impact is calculated by an interaction = $M \times I \times \text{Priority}$, where,

M = Magnitude of Impact

I = Importance with respect to the parameters (Malhotra, 1995 : 49).

Various methods are used in the preparation of an impact assessment report, these are not be elaborated, sufficient to state that they follow the usual norms. Except that, in this case the communities affected are not really consulted (Norwest EMP Report, 1997: ES-12). Instead, the Environment Management Plans prepared by the BCCL as well as its contractors are used here.

V.2.2: Health Hazards Caused by Uranium Mining at Jaduguda

The mining complex owned by the UCIL at Jaduguda is being continuously highlighted for its increasing health hazards posed by it to the neighbouring villages. There are cases of nuclear poisoning in the nearby tribal communities, who live in close proximity to the mines and the processing plants. The situation has become so dangerous that a public interest litigation was filed in the Supreme Court of India, on the 4th of September, 2000 asking the concerned authorities to take proper care regarding radiation damages to the local people.⁵⁶

‘Independent studies around the Jadugoda mines show that the uranium mines have indeed resulted in radiation pollution. During the mining and milling process the quantities of tailings produced are radioactive and are dumped in ponds. Water from these ponds as also from the processing seeps into the surrounding soil. The first tailing pond was constructed in Telaitand village that was subsequently evacuated when a second needed to be built. A third pond was built in another village – Chatijkocha. a prosperous village with good crops and producing forest products and the seat of famous theatre groups. The village was forcibly evacuated in 1996 by the UCIL with the help of the police forces and razed to the ground. This led to a huge mobilisation that resulted in the UCIL ‘apologising’, but nothing has been done about rehabilitating people either from these villages or from the mines area’.⁵⁷

The main diseases that abound due to radiation leaks are blood cancer, deformation of various body parts of the foetal life, tuberculosis, impotency, infertility and thalassemia. The Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC), has defended the government stating that the radiation leaks are well within control. Yet, the number of deformed births is on the rise as are other radiation related diseases. The prime problem is the water pollution, through the tailing ponds, form where the pollution spreads. The

⁵⁶ The Hindu, 5th September 2000, , New Delhi

⁵⁷ Economic and Political Weekly, Editorial, 2000.

dumping of waste products without reducing the radiation content in open land fills also causes pollution. Thus. The land is polluted, as is the water. The tribal communities in the area face a bleak future, with the mining region being the sole supplier of India's nuclear requirements raw material, the Government is unlikely to close the mines.

The suggestions for amelioration of the problem can be adopted from the recommendations made by JOAR (Jharkhand Organisation Against Radiation) in August 2000. They were protesting against the careless attitude adopted by the government.

- A multi-disciplinary team comprising of Medical personal, Radiologist, Ecologist, Sociologist, Chemist, Biologist etc from independent institutions i.e. All India Institute of Medical Science AIIMS New Delhi, should be constituted to look into the impact of the uranium mining operations (low-level radiation) on the environmental, health, safety and socio-economy of Jaduguda area.
- The import of radioactive waste/material and radio-medical waste into Jaduguda for dumping/storage or in the guise of recycling or further extraction should be stopped immediately.
- All the villages around the already existing tailing dams/ponds should be immediately evacuated to a safer place until proper and permanent rehabilitation is done.
- The DAE, BARC and UCIL should set up a full fledged Medical Centre in or around Jadugora with medical personnel qualified to treat low level radiation related diseases, its function should be supervised by AIIMS.
- The Atomic Energy Regulatory Board AERB, should be made autonomous from the Department of Atomic Energy, according to International norms.

V.3: Environmental Pollution from Other Industrial Development

The other industrial developments such as the HEC plant, the Bokaro steel plant and the numerous other factories all put in their share of environmental pollution. The major victim is the air, since the plants let out untreated gaseous effluents into the atmosphere. Anyway, pollution control is a new word in the Indian industry's dictionary.

Prior to this, all the environmental gifts were free gifts, there to be used without any care, an inexhaustible source of natural requirements.

The amount of forest cover has also declined over time as more jungles were cleared for the establishment of the industries. This has enhanced the soil erosion rate of the region, as evidenced by the increased sedimentation in the DVC reservoirs to just name one example. The water of the Damodar has become highly polluted, and the subsequent ground water pollution has caused untold damage. The ponds that are used for effluent release from the industries have become excellent breeding grounds for the mosquitoes, increasing the incidence of malaria in the region. Influenza fevers and other fevers caused by infections such as meningitis is also quite common here.

The fly ash from the washeries and the thermal power plants put a layer of soot over the soil, leading to ground pollution and lessening the agricultural output. In any case, the agricultural possibilities are lessened due to less rainfall caused by intense deforestation and lack of irrigational facilities. The dust from the mining activities also cause lung congestion and associated diseases. The other diseases that is described as occupational hazards are the rheumatism and joint disorders. There is also a lot of malnourishment related disease prevalent in the region.

These are some of the impacts of the industrialisation in Chota Nagpur. These together lower the standard of life quality in the region, especially for the tribal communities who were used to live in the pristine lap of nature. They slowly become marginalized as they lose out on the economic control of their lives and their environment is harmed too.

Section VI: Impact of Industrialisation on Tribal Chota Nagpur III: Change in Occupational Structure in the Region

The occupational structure will show the real condition of the tribal workers in the region. For this three census years have been taken, 1971, 1981, 1991. The establishment of the industries in the late 1960s had an impact that was recorded in the census of 1971. So, the data base has been taken from 1971. The division of the categories was revised in the 1971 Census. Thus, there exists a nine fold classification in industrial labour today.

The nine categories are

- I. Cultivators
- II. Agricultural Labourer
- III. Forestry, Fishing, and plantations
- IV. Mining Quarrying

- V. (a) Manufacturing in House hold Industry
- VI. (b) Manufacturing in other than house hold industry
- VII. Construction
- VIII. Transport, Storage and Communication
- IX. Service

The first four categories make up the primary sector. The categories of Va, Vb, VI and VII represent the secondary sector. The overall occupational structure in the region in 1991 indicates a heavy dependence on the primary activities and a reasonably developed tertiary sector. There is a meagre amount of population engaged in the secondary sector. The tertiary sector is also quite developed and has registered some amount of advance.

Table NoV. 32 : Occupational Structure of Chota Nagpur, 1971- 1991

District	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
	1971	1991	1971	1991	1971	1991
Dhanbad	65.22	54.84	14.58	16.46	20.19	28.71
Hazaribagh	85.27	73.96	5.04	7.17	9.69	18.87
Palamau	90.2	81.59	3.22	4.72	6.58	13.7
Ranchi	81.11	63.62	7.43	7.09	11.45	29.3
Santhal Pargana	87.7	84	4.83	5.82	7.47	10.18
Singhbhum	72.87	90.44	15.36	4.12	11.77	5.45
Chota Nagpur	81.23	81.12	8.09	6.15	10.65	12.73

Source : Census of Bihar, Series I, General Economic Tables, Registrar General of India, New Delhi, 1971, 1991

The change is visible in the next table,

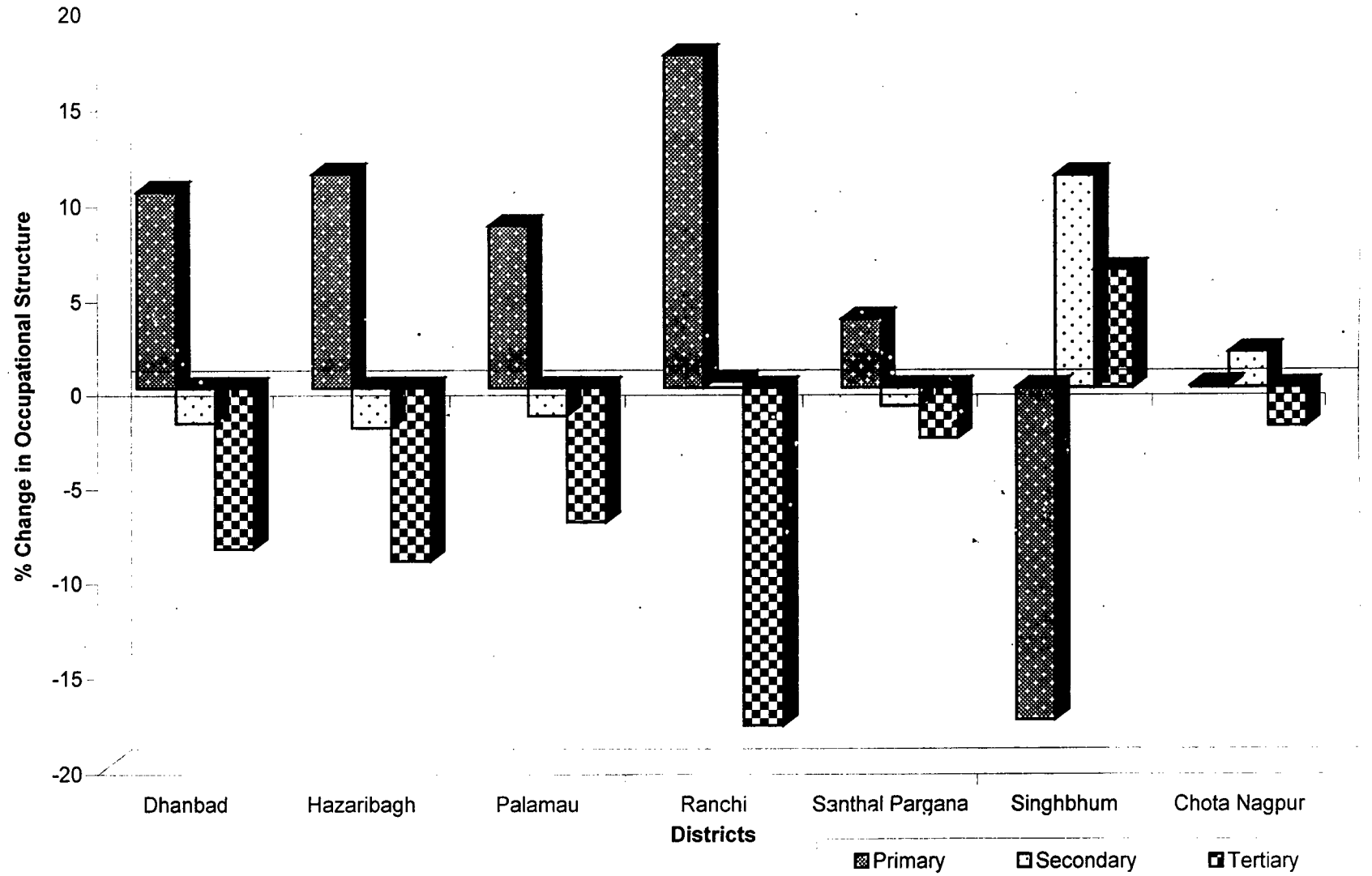
Table NoV. 33 : Change in Occupational Structure in Chota Nagpur Region

Districts	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Dhanbad	10.38	-1.88	-8.52
Hazaribagh	11.31	-2.13	-9.18
Palamau	8.61	-1.5	-7.12
Ranchi	17.49	0.34	-17.85
Santhal Pargana	3.7	-0.99	-2.71
Singhbhum	-17.57	11.24	6.32
Chota Nagpur	0.11	1.94	-2.08

Source : Census of Bihar, Series I, General Economic Tables, Registrar General of India, New Delhi, 1971, 1991

The change shows that there has been a negligible growth in the primary sector, a slight growth in the secondary sector and a negative growth in the tertiary sector. At the disaggregated level, there is positive growth in the primary sector in all districts except Singhbhum, and there is negative growth in the secondary sector in all the districts except Ranchi and Singhbhum, where the ancillary industrial linkages have developed. The tertiary sector registers a negative growth in all the districts except Singhbhum,

Figure No.3: Percentage Change In Occupational Structure in Chota Nagpur, 1971-1991



exhibiting that there has been a general achievement in the industrial process operating in there so that it has energised the service sector. This can be then said to be the only district that has benefited from industrialisation.

The tribal occupational structure is examined here from 1971 to 1991. The main categories emphasised here are the cultivators and the agricultural labourers, representing the primary sector and the workers in the household industry category represent the secondary sector and the rest of categories clubbed together make up the tertiary sector.

Table No. shows the distribution of tribal labour force in the region.

Table NoV. 34 Tribal Occupational Structure in Chota Nagpur 1971

Districts	T pop	TMW	I	% I	II	%II	Va	% Va
Dhanbad T	155645	55296	23278	42.09708	13744	24.85532	1211	2.190032
R	127	43238	21152	48.91993	12856	29.73311	1099	2.541746
U	28540	12058	1926	15.9728	888	7.364405	112	0.928844
Hazaribagh T	331789	107960	60652	56.18007	30721	28.45591	1602	1.483883
R	311031	101453	57939	57.1092	102978	101.5032	1505	1.483446
U	20767	6507	713	10.95743	779	11.97172	97	1.490702
Palamau T	287150	97109	57387	59.09545	34466	35.49208	831	0.855739
R	283904	95976	57110	59.50446	34006	35.43177	824	0.858548
U	3246	1133	277	24.44837	463	40.86496	7	0.617829
Ranchi T	1516698	491821	344789	70.10457	97895	19.9046	9041	1.83827
R	1451	473305	342268	72.31447	94632	19.99387	8693	1.836659
U	65101	18516	2521	13.61525	3263	17.6226	323	1.744437
Santhal Pargana T	1154281	416956	304150	72.94535	91323	21.90231	4852	1.163672
R	1148030	414795	303825	73.24703	90653	21.85489	4840	1.166841
U	6251	2161	325	15.03933	670	31.00416	12	0.555298
Singhbhum T	1124317	407833	216742	53.14479	141854	34.78237	5244	1.28582
R	1050355	383658	214425	55.88962	138726	36.15877	5130	1.337128
U	73462	24175	2342	9.687694	6128	25.3485	319	1.319545

Source: Census of Bihar, Special Tables for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Table No. C-VIII, Part B, Registrar General of India, 1971. contd.

The table exhibits the general structure of the population in 1971. In the category of cultivators, Santhal Pargana district has the highest percentage share of cultivators that is 72.94 % showing an overwhelming dependence on agriculture, also this is the least industrialised district in the region. The lowest share of the cultivators is found in Dhanbad with about 42.09 % of the tribal populace being employed as cultivators, primely because of the presence of the mining industry in the district. The number of agricultural labourers (category two) has the highest percentage in Palamau district and the lowest in Ranchi district.

Figure No.1: Occupational Structure in Chota Nagpur Districts, 1971

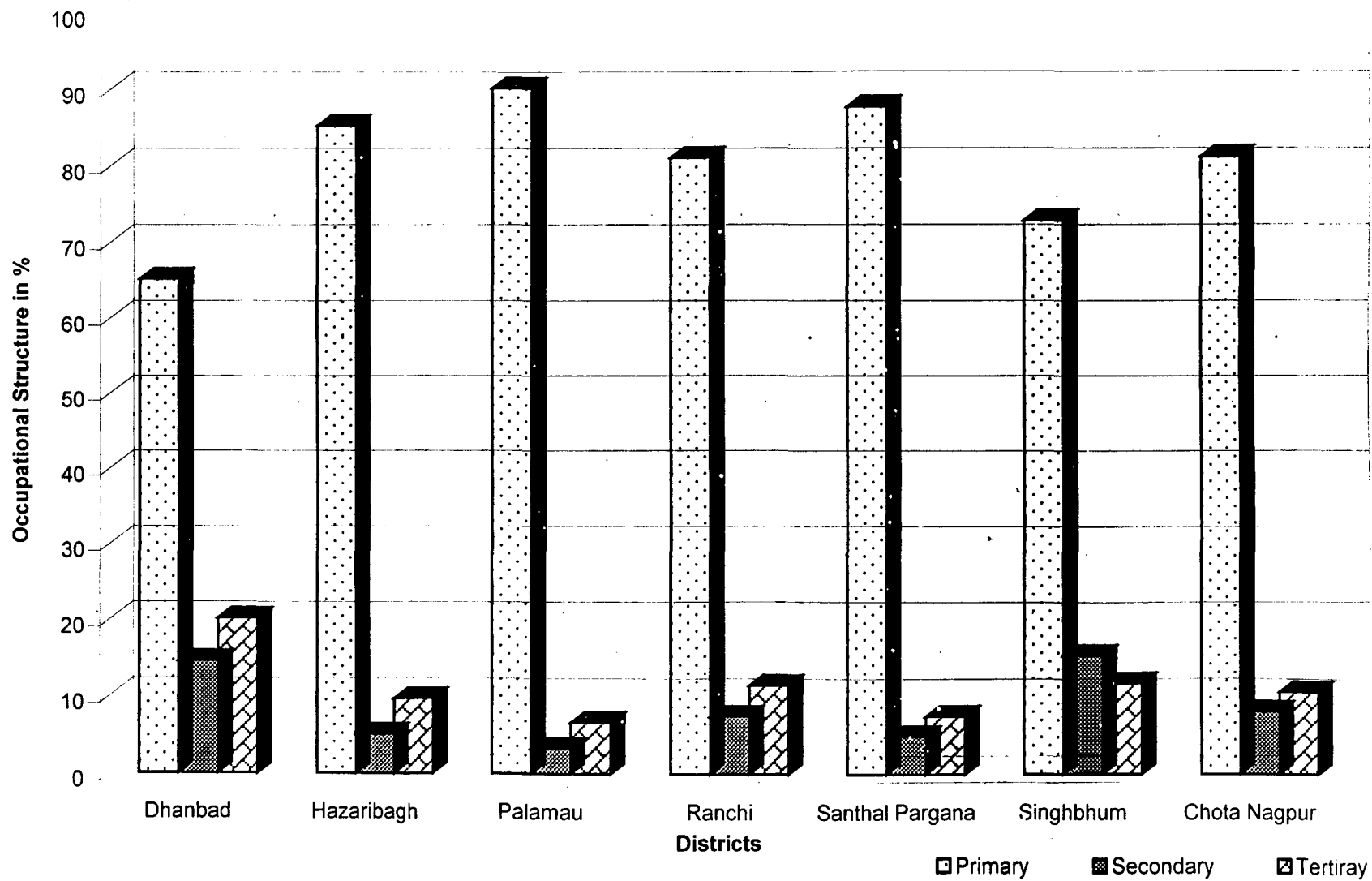


Table NoV. 35 Tribal Occupational Structure in Chota Nagpur 1971

	III	% III	IV	% IV	V	% V	VI	% VI
Dhanbad T	293	0.529876	8059	14.57429	2624	4.74537	3270	5.913628
R	258	0.596697	5054	11.68879	1597	3.69351	73	0.168833
U	35	0.290264	2996	24.84657	1027	8.517167	3197	26.51352
Hazaribagh T	1654	1.532049	8185	7.581512	1197	1.108744	554	0.513153
R	1500	1.478517	5084	5.011187	1020	1.005392	371	0.365687
U	54	0.829876	3101	47.65637	177	2.720148	183	2.812356
Palamau T	1460	1.503465	358	0.368658	242	0.249205	90	0.092679
R	1433	1.493082	356	0.370926	227	0.236517	77	0.080228
U	27	2.383054	2	0.176523	15	1.323919	13	1.147396
Ranchi T	2463	0.500792	1561	0.317392	8214	1.67012	1658	0.337115
R	2163	0.456999	1332	0.281425	4941	1.043936	1221	0.257973
U	300	1.62022	256	1.382588	3283	17.73061	436	2.35472
Santhal Pargana T	7023	1.68435	402	0.096413	1681	0.40316	175	0.041971
R	6896	1.662508	339	0.081727	1469	0.354151	159	0.038332
U	127	5.876909	63	2.915317	212	9.810273	16	0.740398
Singhbhum T	4280	1.049449	6623	1.623949	14331	3.513938	2108	0.516878
R	4050	1.055628	3866	1.007668	6108	1.592043	477	0.124329
U	230	0.951396	2757	11.40434	8223	34.01448	1631	6.746639
	VII	% VII	VIII	% VIII	IX	% IX	Tertiary	% Ter
Dhanbad T	1065	1.925998	1409	2.548105	1336	2.416088	18056	32.65336
R	395	0.913548	464	1.07313	666	1.540312	8507	19.67482
U	670	5.556477	945	7.837121	670	5.556477	9540	79.1176
Hazaribagh T	197	0.182475	901	0.834568	2297	2.12764	14985	13.88014
R	133	0.131095	557	0.549023	1302	1.283353	9967	9.824254
U	64	0.983556	344	5.286614	995	15.29122	4918	75.58014
Palamau T	118	0.121513	442	0.455159	1715	1.766057	4425	4.556735
R	83	0.08648	413	0.430316	1450	1.510794	4039	4.208344
U	35	3.089144	29	2.559576	265	23.38923	386	34.06884
Ranchi T	1348	0.274083	4404	0.895448	21060	4.282046	40708	8.276995
R	594	0.1255	2542	0.537074	15449	3.264069	28242	5.966977
U	752	4.061352	1767	9.543098	5615	30.32512	12409	67.01771
Santhal Pargana T	443	0.106246	1196	0.286841	5711	1.369689	16631	3.98867
R	380	0.091612	1032	0.248798	5202	1.254113	15477	3.731241
U	63	2.915317	164	7.589079	509	23.55391	1154	53.4012
Singhbhum T	692	0.169677	5163	1.265959	5080	1.245608	38277	9.385459
R	475	0.123808	2869	0.747801	7629	1.98849	25474	6.639768
U	709	2.932782	2394	9.902792	2457	10.16339	18401	76.11582

Source: Census of Bihar, Special Tables for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Table No. C-VIII, Part B, Registrar General of India, 1971. contd.

The house hold industries category has the highest percentage in Dhanbad district showing an ancillary development in the district, thereby attesting to the fact of the industrial process. The lowest percentage is found in Palamau where the presence of industrial process is the least. The tertiary sector is visible as a having a big share in the total main workers since most of the categories have been clubbed together. In that,

Dhanbad has the highest possible share and the districts with the least amount of share are Palamau and Santhal Pargana where the industrial process has had little impact.

In the 1981 census, the highest share of cultivators is found in the Ranchi district and the lowest is found in Dhanbad, the trend of the earlier decade is maintained. Ranchi's lead in agricultural development began in this decade, though in comparison with the other agriculturally developed districts in India the development is quite negligible. The land use pattern in the district reflects this fact. Even the presence of the HEC plant in the district was not enough to drag it into the industrial society; only a small part of it was intensely affected. The agricultural labourer category saw its highest percentage share in the district of Palamau, the earlier trend holds true. This means that there has been enough land alienation in the district for it to make most of the settled agriculturists turn into agricultural labourers.

Table NoV. 36 Tribal Occupational Structure in Chota Nagpur 1981

Districts		TPOP	TMW	I	% I	II	%II	Va	%Va
Dhanbad	T	192777	62100	11276	18.15781	9,813	15.80193	1480	2.3833
	R	150882	48133	8272	17.18571	9,102	18.9101	1414	2.9377
	U	41895	13967	3004	21.50784	711	5.090571	66	0.4725
Hazaribagh	T	423670	64288	44012	68.46068	21,044	32.73395	2257	3.5108
	R	389542	57154	42665	74.64919	20,559	35.97124	2188	3.8283
	U	34128	7134	1347	18.88141	485	6.79843	69	0.9672
Palamau	T	351432	130293	77320	59.34317	42,878	32.90891	936	0.7184
	R	346538	128840	76992	59.75784	42,677	33.12403	933	0.7242
	U	4894	1453	328	22.57398	201	13.83345	3	0.2065
Ranchi	T	1732032	641692	467282	72.82029	98,430	15.33913	10972	1.7099
	R	1584907	601822	460234	76.47344	93,844	15.59331	10558	1.7543
	U	147125	39270	7048	17.94754	4,586	11.67813	414	1.0542
Santhal Pargana	T	1367868	520027	121989	23.45821	93487	17.97734	12584	2.4199
	R	1358063	517098	121485	23.49361	93035	17.99175	12553	2.4276
	U	9805	2929	504	17.20724	452	15.43189	31	1.0584
Singhbhum	T	1261504	481071	263248	54.72124	136078	28.28647	5561	1.156
	R	161491	450986	261190	57.91532	133372	29.57342	5390	1.1952
	U	100013	30085	2058	6.840618	3706	12.31843	171	0.5684

Source: Census of Bihar, Special Tables for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Primary Census Abstract for the Scheduled Tribes, 1981. contd.

The category of the household labourers has the highest percentage share is found in the district of Hazaribagh, showing that its linkages with the industrialisation process is now well established and that ancillary industrial growth has begun. The least percentage share in this category is found in Palamau showing that there is lack of industrial activity

in the district and even if there are industries, then the related developments of spread of more industrial growth there is restricted in the region.

The share of the tertiary workers in the total work force in 1981 is the highest in Ranchi, exhibiting the fact that the establishment of the industrial complex has indeed brought about a change in the occupational structure of the tribal people as more of them are now seeking employment in the industries established in the region. The least amount of the percentage share of tertiary workers is in the district of Palamau. The industrialisation process in the region has not stimulated the district's development at all, since the lack of populace in the tertiary sector reflect the lack of service sector.

Table NoV. 37 Tribal Occupational Structure in Chota Nagpur 1981

Districts	ter	% ter	MMW	% mmw	% mmw to total pop	NW	%Nw to mw	%nw to total pop
Dhanbad T	26327	42.39452	7908	12.7343	4.102149	122769	197.7	63.684
R	14454	30.02929	1396	2.900297	0.925226	95353	198.1	63.197
U	11873	85.00752	512	3.665784	1.222103	27416	196.29	65.44
Hazaribagh T	29656	46.12992	30222	44.02355	14.14845	257228	377.82	121.53
R	20904	36.57487	29724	46.68278	15.10544	233763	370.98	120.13
U	8752	122.6801	498	11.17414	3.256103	23465	469.14	137.89
Ranchi T	65008	49.8937	160118	69.14311	22.18347	930222	565.33	181.5
R	37186	28.86215	157774	72.58661	23.43644	825311	556.01	179.64
U	27822	1914.797	2344	18.46546	5.332781	104911	712.96	207.33
Palamau T	9159	1.42732	17114	13.13501	4.86979	204025	156.59	58.055
R	8238	1.368843	17015	13.2063	4.909995	200683	155.76	57.911
U	921	2.345302	99	6.813489	2.022885	3342	230.01	68.288
Santhal Pargana T	35962	6.91541	158083	30.399	11.55689	689758	132.64	50.426
R	34429	6.658119	157858	30.52768	11.62376	683107	132.1	50.3
U	1533	52.33868	225	7.681803	2.294748	6651	227.07	67.833
Singhbhum T	73363	15.24993	121304	25.2154	9.615824	659129	137.01	52.249
R	48321	10.71452	119560	26.5108	74.03509	590945	131.03	365.93
U	25042	83.23749	1744	5.796909	1.743773	68184	226.64	68.175

Source: Census of Bihar, Special Tables for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Primary Census Abstract for the Scheduled Tribes, 1981

The percentage change in the occupational structure between the years of 1981 and 1971 is quite telling. The maximum amount of change is found in the cultivators category, all registering a negative change, indicating a stagnation condition in the region in agriculture. The greatest change is in Santhal Pargana, showing a negative change of 49 % overall. This means that there has been a drastic change in the primary sector in the district. This can mean that the tribal people have been slowly pushed out of the lands owned and inhabited by them. The magnitude of change seems to indicate that there is an increased process of marginalisation in the district. The tribal communities having lost out on their actual resource is now having to look for other alternatives. This is the only

district in Chota Nagpur to have a tiger project, and this has obviously eaten up into the resource base of the tribal communities. The least amount of change is found in the Palamau and Singhbhum. This shows that the conditions of exploitation notwithstanding in the land relations, the demand for cultivation as a livelihood option have retained its hold on the region.

The change in the agricultural labourers is not so drastic. Yet, the number of agricultural labourers is decreasing, as indicated by the negative change figures, the greatest being in the district of Dhanbad. The lowest value is obtained from Hazaribagh meaning that the district is still facing problems that accrue immediately after the set up an industry.

The household labour category, the maximum positive change is found in Hazaribagh, recording a negligible value of change. The highest change in percentage share is found in Hazaribagh and the lowest in Singhbhum, showing that the district of Hazaribagh is now in the process of change and the next census data will be able to clear up the situation. The other districts generally hold on to their varied positions in the process of industrial development, Dhanbad has all the characteristics of an industrialised district, with low percentage share in the cultivator category, and high tertiary sector percentage share as well as in the house hold sector. Ranchi is emerging as a rapidly industrialising district, with a classic case of change from high share in the cultivators in 1971 to less in 1981. The other districts are feeling the industrial process, some change is emerging but they will need more time.

Table No V. 38 Change in Tribal Occupational Structure in Chota Nagpur 1971-1981

District		1971			1981 Change		
		% I	% I	% I	% II	% II	% II
Dhanbad	T	42.09708	18.15781	-24	24.85532	15.80193	-9.05339
	R	48.91993	17.18571	-32	29.73311	18.9101	-10.823
	U	15.9728	21.50784	6	7.364405	5.090571	-2.27383
Hazaribagh	T	56.18007	66.58057	10	28.45591	30.97054	2.514634
	R	57.1092	71.44365	14	101.5032	32.81402	-68.6891
	U	10.95743	30.79773	20	11.97172	8.392333	-3.57939
Palamau	T	59.09545	59.34317	0	35.49208	32.90891	-2.58317
	R	59.50446	59.75784	0	35.43177	33.12403	-2.30774
	U	24.44837	22.57398	-2	40.86496	13.83345	-27.0315
Ranchi	T	70.10457	72.82029	3	19.9046	15.33913	-4.56546
	R	72.31447	76.47344	4	19.99387	15.59331	-4.40056
	U	13.61525	17.94754	4	17.6226	11.67813	-5.94447
Santhal Pargana	T	72.94535	23.45821	-49	21.90231	17.97734	-3.92498
	R	73.24703	23.49361	-50	21.85489	17.99175	-3.86314

U	15.03933	17.20724	2	31.00416	15.43189	-15.5723
Singhbhum T	53.14479	54.72124	2	34.78237	28.28647	-6.49591
R	55.88962	57.91532	2	36.15877	29.57342	-6.58534
U	9.687694	6.840618	-3	25.3485	12.31843	-13.0301

Source : Computed from the above two tables.

In 1991, the highest percentage share in the cultivators is found in the district of Hazaribagh and the least in Dhanbad, matching the pattern of the earlier years. The highest percentage share of agricultural labourers is found in the district of Hazaribagh and the least percentage share in Ranchi. Ranchi has thus emerged as an industrially transformed district in between the three censuses spanning a gap of 30 years. The household industries category workers' highest percentage share is found in Ranchi, followed by Dhanbad, the least is in Palamau, showing retardation in the growth of the district in terms of sharing the benefits of industrialisation.

The tertiary sector 's percentage share is highest in Hazaribagh, which is quite a surprise since this means that the other categories of workers in the industrial classification have developed quite well. But still its primary sector is highly undeveloped and the tribal communities are being pushed further towards marginalisation as evidenced by the high percentage shares in the agricultural labourer's sector. Also, the district has a large percentage share in the cultivators category.

Table NoV. 39 Tribal Occupational Structure in Chota Nagpur 1991

District	Total Pop	T Main W	% TMW	I	% I	II	% II
Dhanbad T	225282	68566	30.43563	26385	38.48117	14417	21.02646
R	174706	53522	30.63547	25132	46.95639	12649	23.63327
U	50576	15044	29.74533	1253	8.328902	1768	11.75219
Hazaribagh T	522510	169906	64.97552	93582	55.07869	40156	23.63424
R	463023	153272	66.09726	92530	60.3698	38875	25.36341
U	59487	16634	55.64644	1375	8.266202	1281	7.701094
Palamau T	443266	155367	35.05051	93871	60.41888	49706	31.99264
R	437353	153526	35.10345	93601	60.96752	49189	32.03952
U	5913	1841	31.13479	270	14.66594	517	28.08256
Ranchi T	2216298	808464	36.47813	592971	73.34538	80521	9.959751
R	2023337	751712	37.15209	582405	77.47715	74906	9.964721
U	192961	56752	29.41112	10566	18.61785	5615	9.893924
Santhal Pargana T	1464657	592309	40.44012	418,396	70.63813	357539	60.36359
R	1451872	588913	40.56232	417479	70.88976	137870	23.41093
U	12065	3396	28.14753	917	27.00236	669	19.69965
Singhbhum T	1444641	557083	38.56204	235954	42.35527	157576	28.28591
R	1311243	519873	39.64734	233722	44.95752	153268	29.48182
U	133398	36886	27.65109	2232	6.051076	4308	11.67923

Source: Census of Bihar, Special Tables for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Primary Census Abstract for the Scheduled Tribes, 1991 contd.

Figure No.2: Occupational Structure in Chota Nagpur Districts in 1991

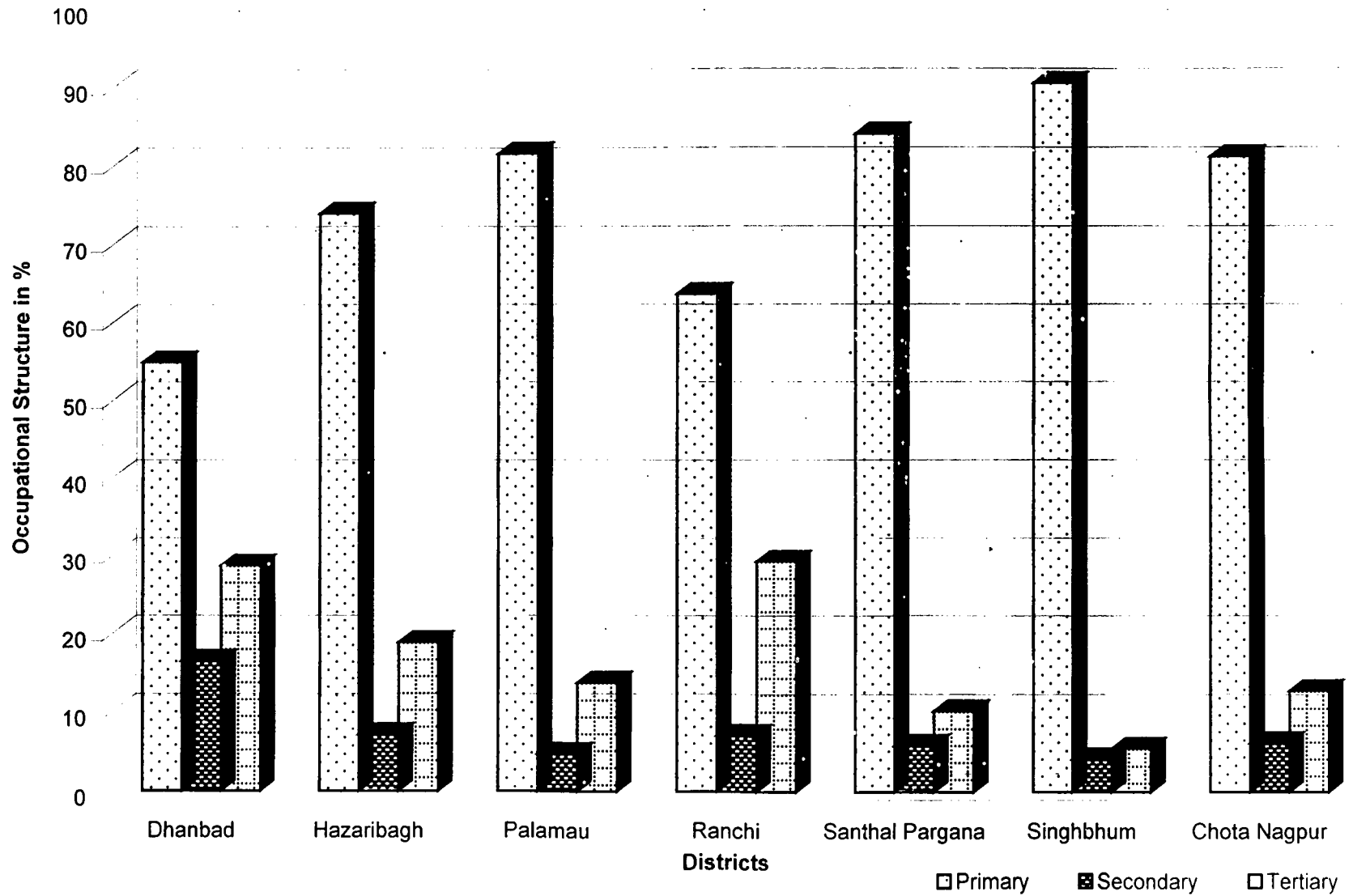


Table No V. 40 Tribal Occupational Structure in Chota Nagpur 1991

District		Va	%Va	Ter W	%Ter W	MMW	%MMW
Dhanbad	T	1908	56.1837	25856	37.70965	7594	11.07546
	R	1739	2.536242	14002	26.1612	7067	13.20392
	U	169	0.315758	11354	75.47195	527	3.503058
Hazaribagh	T	3012	11.87217	33156	19.51432	35145	40.80238
	R	2922	3.528753	19453	12.69182	34618	44.24176
	U	90	0.415256	13703	82.37946	527	7.843219
Palamau	T	1438	9.558628	10313	6.637832	30735	19.78219
	R	1426	0.917827	9273	6.040019	30384	19.79078
	U	12	0.007816	1040	56.49104	351	19.06573
Ranchi	T	10804	586.855	74239	9.182722	173067	67.55882
	R	10014	1.238645	39510	5.256002	171217	70.96432
	U	790	0.105093	34721	61.18022	1850	10.40722
Santhal Pargana	T	10,165	1.716165	24850	4.195445	145645	24.58936
	R	10135	1.720967	23075	3.918236	145397	24.68905
	U	30	0.005094	1753	51.61955	248	7.302709
Singhbhum	T	6986	1.254032	65185	11.70113	123503	22.16959
	R	6151	1.183174	35804	6.887067	123341	23.72522
	U	835	2.263731	29295	79.42038	1162	3.150247

Source: Census of Bihar, Special Tables for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Primary Census Abstract for the Scheduled Tribes, 1991

The change in the occupational structure between 1981 and 1991 is shown in the table given below.

Table No V. 41 Change in Tribal Occupational Structure in Chota Nagpur, 1981-1991

District	1981	1991	Change %	1981	1991	Change	
	% I	% I		% II	% II		
Dhanbad	T	18.15781	38	-20	15.80193	21.02646	-5.22452
	R	17.18571	47	-30	18.9101	23.63327	-4.72317
	U	21.50784	8	13	5.090571	11.75219	-6.66162
Hazaribagh	T	50.76842	110	-59	16.13987	46.80244	-30.6626
	R	55.84736	120	-64	17.45285	49.97154	-32.5187
	U	10.0785	16	-6	5.62097	15.66911	-10.0481
Palamau	T	59.34317	60	-1	32.90891	31.99264	0.916269
	R	59.75784	61	-1	33.12403	32.03952	1.084506
	U	22.57398	15	8	13.83345	28.08256	-14.2491
Ranchi	T	56.51014	73	-17	27.36855	9.959751	17.4088
	R	58.55619	77	-19	28.30844	9.964721	18.34372
	U	12.19285	19	-6	7.010597	9.893924	-2.88333
Santhal Pargana	T	23.45821	71	-47	17.97734	60.36359	-42.3863
	R	23.49361	71	-47	17.99175	23.41093	-5.41917
	U	17.20724	27	-10	15.43189	19.69965	-4.26776
Singhbhum	T	54.72124	42	12	28.28647	28.28591	0.000558
	R	57.91532	45	13	29.57342	29.48182	0.091608
	U	6.840618	6	1	12.31843	11.67923	0.639203

Computed from table No.

Most of the changes in the category of cultivators is negative. The largest change is in the Hazaribagh district, and the least percent change is in Palamau. This shows that the cultivators' percentage share in the total workforce is decreasing in all the other districts and the least in Palamau. The agricultural labourers category change also shows a distinct pattern, that is in most cases there is a positive change meaning an increase in the numbers of the agricultural labourers. This means that the access to the land resources in the various district is lessening and pushing the tribal communities a little more towards marginalisation. Already they have lost so much land resource that any little more is pushing them too near to the margins.

The household workers category registers a massive change in most of the districts other than Hazaribagh. The greatest change is in Dhanbad exhibiting a steep rise in the workers in this category. This means that the district is nearing end towards the changes wrought in by the industrial process and quite soon, it will move into the developed realms. The tertiary sector registers a negative change in all the districts. That means that the people working in categories of industry are no more finding employment. The highest negative values are exhibited in Palamau district and the least in Ranchi. This shows that Ranchi is still developing more service industries than any other district in the region.

In general there is a definite increase in the second category, which is the agricultural labourers showing that the tribal populace were hitherto dependent on land and cultivation are now moving towards becoming agricultural labourers. This indicates that the loss of land is too much, such that it is pushing the people towards the margins and that they are willing to work for any amount and without any security. The non development of the tertiary sector means that the links that are developed for enjoying the fruits of development are absent in the region. Thus, industrialisation has had a marginalisation on the tribal communities who have lost their land for the development of the nation.

Section VII: Impact of Industrialisation on Tribal Chota Nagpur IV: Change in Land Use Pattern in the Region

An important indicator of the impact of industrialisation is the change in the land use pattern in the region. Sinha (1965) defines land use as “ the relative portion of lands put under different uses and the appearance of their regional distribution on the landscape. The relative proportions of the different land use types give us an idea of the nature of the land use balance”.⁵⁸ The changes in land use pattern indicate the dynamics of the industrial processes influencing the region.

Table NoV. 42 :Land use Pattern in Chota Nagpur, 1971-1991 (%)

Categories	1971	1991	% Difference (1991-1971)	Growth Rate
Forest	29.21	29.24	0.03	0.19
Area not Available for Cultivation	13.77	15.47	1.7	12.43
Other Uncultivated Land (degraded land)	7.52	6.22	-1.3	-17.29
Fallow	19.23	31.61	12.38	25.09
Net Cropped Area	30.27	25.03	-5.24	-17.23
Gross Cropped Area	33.74	27.38	-6.36	-18.78
Area sown more than once	3.53	2.36	-1.17	-33.15
Net Irrigated Area	8.07	7.51	-0.57	-23.03
Gross Irrigated Area	7.74	8.57	0.83	-10.05
Cropping Intensity	111.5	109.42	-2.08	-1.87
Irrigation Intensity	106.9	124.92	18.02	16.85

Source: Indian Agricultural Statistics, 1970-71 to 1973-74, Vol II, Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India,

The Chota Nagpur region, once covered almost all over by forests is now facing a deforestation problem, thus the first land use to be noted in the region is the forest cover. There has only been a marginal growth in the forest cover of the region. The area not available for cultivation has also increased, and registered a positive growth. This fact shows that the land available for cultivation has decreased, so the number of people employed on land had been affected. The lack of proper land for cultivation indicates that there does exist problems of survivability for the tribal people who are solely dependent on agriculture as their prime source of livelihood. Fallow land has increased to 25%, in the region, supporting the earlier view. The other uncultivated land, such as degraded land has quite reassuringly shown a negative growth rate, or reforestation and the implementation of various people friendly forest policies such as the joint forest management programme.

⁵⁸ Sinha, (1965): Present Land Use Pattern in Canal Irrigated Areas of Patna, District, In The Geographical Outlook, Vol. 4, p.63.

Despite this change, the other land use indicators show negative growth rates, such as those of the net cropped area, gross cropped area that is put under cultivation more than once a year, and cropping intensity. Only the irrigation intensity exhibits a positive growth rate, meaning that there have been more efforts at providing irrigation facilities in the region. All the indicators show up the fact that there is lack of accessibility to cultivable land and thus the tribal groups already deprived of their land resources by various means are now facing marginalized conditions, as their means of livelihood is hampered with. This happens primarily due to the pollution effects of the industries and the rapid deforestation in the region. This type of land use pattern denotes a high level of industrialisation, which is prevalent in the entire region.

The District wise breakup of the land use pattern is also looked at to determine the minute regional variations that exist.

**Table No V. 43 : Land use Pattern in Dhanbad 1971-1991
(Percentage)**

Categories	1971	1991	% Difference (1991-1971)	Growth Rate
Forest	8.38	7.83	-0.55	-6.51
Area not Available for Cultivation	32.18	39.93	7.75	24.09
Other Uncultivated Land (degraded land)	9.76	7.31	-2.45	25.08
Fallow	21.08	22.55	1.67	6.97
Net Cropped Area	28.61	22.38	-6.23	-21.77
Gross Cropped Area	30.53	23.54	-6.99	-22.89
Area sown more than once	1.93	1.17	-0.76	-39.37
Net Irrigated Area	3.61	1.26	-2.34	-72.58
Gross Irrigated Area	3.56	1.51	-2.06	-67.4
Cropping Intensity	106.75	105.23	-1.52	-1.42
Irrigation Intensity	105.39	125.33	19.94	18.92

Source: Indian Agricultural Statistics, 1970-71 to 1973-74, Vol II, Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India

Dhanbad district as has been proved above was one of the first areas to be industrialised. Thus the land use pattern shows up this fact well. The land under forests has registered a decline, showing increased deforestation. The area not available for cultivation has also increased, as has the degraded land category. This is perhaps due to the environmental impacts of the mining activities in the district. Along with this, the net cropped area, gross cropped area, net irrigated area, cropping intensity etc, all show a negative growth. Thus agriculture is not very well developed here. The irrigation intensity shows a positive growth rate, perhaps due to the fact that many irrigation schemes take up the land area of the district, though it may not actually irrigate land in the district.

The pattern of land use in Hazaribagh is shown in the Table No.. The first fact to be noted that in this district there has been a rise in the forest cover. This has probably been achieved by the increase in afforestation programmes. At the same time there has been a decline in the growth rates of land not available for cultivation, net cropped area, gross cropped are, and area sown more than once. So this indicated that the forest cover has increased under the aegis of the forest department, by declaring more lands to fall in the reserved forests category and as national parks. This translated into the fact that land availability to the tribal communities has decreased, and since the forests are under the protected and reserved category, the forests and their products is also unavailable to them. So, the process of marginalisation of tribal communities is enhanced, as they are subjected to land alienation and loss of livelihood sources. The existence of several national parks in the district, (the Betla National Forest etc) has lessened the availability of hunting game to supplement their diet and economy.

Table No V. 44 Land use Pattern in Hazaribagh 1971-1991 (%)

Categories	1971	1991	% Difference	Growth Rate (1991-1971)
Forest	40.17	43.04	2.87	7.14
Area not Available for Cultivation	15.1	14.55	-0.55	-3.62
Other Uncultivated Land (degraded land)	8.11	5.45	-2.66	-32.82
Fallow	16.82	19.31	2.49	14.78
Net Cropped Area	19.8	17.65	-2.15	-10.84
Gross Cropped Area	22.11	19.78	-2.33	-10.53
Area sown more than once	2.3	2.12	-0.18	-7.87
Net Irrigated Area	5.59	8.97	3.38	42.99
Gross Irrigated Area	6.28	10.88	4.6	55.1
Cropping Intensity	111.67	112.06	0.39	0.35
Irrigation Intensity	125.32	135.93	10.61	8.47

Source: Indian Agricultural Statistics, 1970-71 to 1973-74, Vol II, Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

The next district considered is the Palamau, forming the western border of the region.

Table No V. 45 : Land use Pattern in Palamau 1971-1991 (Percentage)

Categories	1971	1991	% Difference	Growth Rate (1991-1971)
Forest	48.05	43.68	-4.37	-9.08
Area not Available for Cultivation	9.18	10.63	1.45	15.78
Other Uncultivated Land (degraded land)	3.2	3.08	-0.12	-3.79
Fallow	18.23	25.32	7.09	38.92
Net Cropped Area	21.34	17.29	-4.05	-19
Gross Cropped Area	26.55	19.32	-7.34	-27.12
Area sown more than once	5.23	2.06	-3.17	-60.35
Net Irrigated Area	25.77	23.31	-2.46	-26.74

Gross Irrigated Area	21.4	25.59	4.19	-12.85
Cropping Intensity	124.41	111.95	-12.46	-10.02
Irrigation Intensity	103.28	122.87	19.59	18.97

Source: Indian Agricultural Statistics, 1970-71 to 1973-74, Vol II, Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

The Palamau district is the home of one of the tiger projects in the country. Yet the Forest cover has registered a negative growth in the district, there are also several protected and reserved forest areas existing in the district, showing that perhaps, even these measures have been inadequate to protect them from the timber merchant's greed. This also follows the set pattern of land use seen in the region till now, the rise in the area unavailable for cultivation, the decrease in the other uncultivable land, and the decline in all the indicators whose positive growth rate would perhaps have had signified a thriving agricultural activity. The agricultural component in the district seems to have gone into a decline. So, the query is how does the tribal communities who are predominantly classified as the backward people by virtue of their agricultural practices survive? Since there is no opportunity for agricultural growth, they do not survive, if they do, they become the marginalized communities. The multiple layers of the process of land alienation operate smoothly here. And as the nation progresses through industrialisation, these peoples conditions is regressing, through the same process.

**Table No V. 46 : Land use Pattern in Ranchi 1971-1991
(Percentage)**

Categories	1971	1991	% Difference (1991-1971)	Growth Rate
Forest	23.54	18.69	-4.85	-20.61
Area not Available for Cultivation	1.41	11.97	1.56	14.96
Other Uncultivated Land (degraded land)	5.37	4.92	-0.45	-8.45
Fallow	21.2	32.2	11	51.86
Net Cropped Area	39.47	32.22	-7.25	-18.36
Gross Cropped Area	43.07	35.8	-7.27	-16.86
Area sown more than once	3.58	3.58	0	-0.4
Net Irrigated Area	3.32	4.9	1.57	20.26
Gross Irrigated Area	3.3	5.1	1.79	28.29
Cropping Intensity	111.5	111.13	0.37	1.84
Irrigation Intensity	106.9	115.73	8.83	6.68

Source: Indian Agricultural Statistics, 1970-71 to 1973-74, Vol II, Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

Ranchi district was at one time in the past covered by the dense forests. Yet, here it is seen that the growth rate of forests register a record decline. The positive growth rate of the fallow land also indicates that there is a meagre amount of agricultural activity. The rise in the area not cultivated records a positive growth rate, showing that land is put

under other uses. Ranchi is home to one of the largest machine tools factory in India, the HEC, as has been mentioned earlier. This indicates that there has been a decline in the land available for agriculture and the land use change patterns support it. Thus industrialisation in the region first takes away the land from the tribal communities who own the land, and then they are further marginalized by the conditions of declining agriculture.

This is attested to in the land use pattern in Santhal Parganas district also. Though the forest land use have recorded a high positive growth rate, there is decline in the area put under agriculture more than once, indicating that there is not too much agricultural activity. The forest growth might be attributed to the growth in the people oriented policies implemented by the forest department such as the joint forest management policy and the increased efforts at afforestation by the government authority. The question here is that what species of trees are planted? There have been incidences in the region of eucalyptus plantation for the enhancement of the paper and pulp industry which has a presence in the district. So, the native species that help in the survival techniques of the tribal people are ignored to look after the commercial viability of the forest wealth. The fallow land has increased and the net sown area and gross cropped areas show negative growth rates exhibiting a decrease in the agricultural practices. Then, where is the land to be put under agriculture? Similarly, the cropping intensity, net irrigated area and gross irrigated area, considered as the indicators of agricultural growth show negative growth rates. All this is in accordance with the pattern found generally in the Chota Nagpur region.

Table No V. 47: Land use Pattern in Santhal Parganas 1971-1991 (%)

Categories	1971	1991	% Difference (1991-1971)	Growth Rate
Forest	10.26	13.47	3.21	31.91
Area not Available for Cultivation	14.68	14.81	0.13	1.34
Other Uncultivated Land (degraded land)	12.23	10.95	-1.28	-10.01
Fallow	22.45	28.73	6.28	28.56
Net Cropped Area	40.39	32.03	-8.32	-20.34
Gross Cropped Area	46.25	34.59	-11.66	-24.89
Area sown more than once	5.91	2.58	-3.33	-56.08
Net Irrigated Area	9.53	6.24	-3.29	-47.82
Gross Irrigated Area	8.8	7.52	-1.28	-35.82
Cropping Intensity	114.54	102.99	-6.55	-5.71
Irrigation Intensity	105.78	130.11	24.33	23

Source: Indian Agricultural Statistics, 1970-71 to 1973-74, Vol II, Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

The district of Singhbhum has experienced a lot of land related problems, this was the first district in the region to experience factory growth after the steel plant was set up in Jamshedpur (earlier Sakchi) in 1911. The table below indicates the land use pattern in the district in the recent past. There have been gains in the forest cover but, as usual this means that the forest resources is under the firm control of the government authorities and that they are denied to the tribal communities. The area not available for cultivation has also increased, indicating an advanced stage of industrial growth. All the other indicators of agricultural activity register negative growth rates. So the access to agriculture as a livelihood to the tribal communities who are the agriculturists in the region is reduced. This is also seen in the overwhelming presence of the tribal workers in the agricultural labourer categories in the above mentioned occupational structure.

Table NoV. 48: Land use Pattern in Singhbhum 1971-1991 (%)

Categories	1971	1991	% Difference (1991-1971)	Growth Rate
Forest	29.07	32.9	3.83	13.18
Area not Available for Cultivation	15.83	21.26	5.43	34.24
Other Uncultivated Land (degraded land)	8.26	6.69	-1.57	-19.01
Fallow	16.94	13.53	-3.41	-20.11
Net Cropped Area	29.9	25.62	-4.28	-14.3
Gross Cropped Area	30.98	26.95	-4.03	-13.01
Area sown more than once	1.39	1.34	-0.05	-3.52
Net Irrigated Area	5.68	3.44	-2.24	-48.16
Gross Irrigated Area	5.66	3.83	-1.83	-41.18
Cropping Intensity	103.63	105.2	1.57	1.51
Irrigation Intensity	103.21	117.11	13.9	13.47

Source: Indian Agricultural Statistics, 1970-71 to 1973-74, Vol II, Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

Thus it is seen how land use categories have grown over time, registering a negative growth in terms of agricultural activities and indicating a high incidence of industrialisation in the region.

Section VII: The Role of State in Creating Marginalisation: Development for Whom?

The growth of industrialisation has displaced the tribal communities from their original land and created paupers out of them. The process of rehabilitation has not helped them. The alienation of land thus happening is caused by the government for the betterment of the nation. As they lose control over land, the power equations also change in both the societies, that of the tribals and that of the outsiders. The social alienation of tribal communities finds renewed expression in such a situation, as the tribals have become voiceless here. They are the passive objects of development.

For how can they speak against the good of the nation? Even if they are being driven to the margins of survivability, they are forced to remain silent and embrace death in grace. If they protest, they are shot down. There are numerous instances of police brutality in the last fifty years of Indian independence; the independence and other related issues of human rights are not for them. They are branded as antisocials, extremists and secessionists if they demand for their own homeland, which has been slowly alienated from them by a planned process of development. So their voices are silenced. It is the State that is the major element in unleashing all the havoc. Its policies are not region specific but an all encompassing one, therefore, the unconfirming areas are losing in the race, as they are made to follow regulations that are incompatible to the region.

They have become victims of the process of development. There is a debate as to if they can be termed as development refugees. Also, there exists the idea of internal colonialism, that is has the Indian Government and Bihar Government purposefully and consciously made an effort to create an underdeveloped area from which the resources could be drained out for the welfare and development of rest of the nation? There is no clear cut answer to this question for the answer lies in the grey ambiguity in between. The question that arises here is all that is taking place in Chota Nagpur is meant for whom, the people who are losing out or the people in the other parts who are enjoying the benefits? Does that imply that there exist two different sets of people in the welfare state of India who are supposed to enjoy the fruits of development on an inequal sharing bias? The implication is not quite true, since the intentions to create the ruling governments espouse development in the region but they peter out in the implementation process.

The government of India owns all the major industrial projects partially or wholly. Thus it is the Government of the day that becomes the perpetrator of all the ills that are brought to the region by means of industrialisation. The difference is in the degree of destruction and repression; the state government does more in these arenas than the central government. The State Government is the real oppressor since all the problems of the area have to be dealt by it. In this case, the Bihar government has always had a step mother like treatment for the Chota Nagpur region, though about 60 % of its total revenue was derived from this region. The state Government did not spend even 2 % of its total revenue earned in the developmental aspects of the region.

Various interest groups have dictated the policies regarding this region, keeping their own interests in mind. Also, many people do not consider the tribal communities as the right holders of the resources for what do primitive people need to survive, other than

the development process initiated for them by the government, and never mind if it kills them before it develops them. Overtones of the colonial attitude regarding Indian development are prominent here.

The political expression of discontent found expression in the renewed demand for a tribal state. The demand for a separate state of Jharkhand though present at independence was not as strong as it later became. The people who espoused the cause were termed as traitors, out to disturb the internal security of the nation. They were either won over to the integrationist side as was the case of Jaipal Singh in the 1960s or made to appear as a betrayer of the nation. They were used as pawns in the political equations (for example Shibu Soren, chief of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha). Yet, the idea of the separate state survived in the hearts of the people whatever the antics of the politicians. So whichever party promised them that dream turned out to be the victor.

Finally, the dream came true, the state of Jharkhand was created out of the 18 South Bihar districts comprising the Bihar part of the Chota Nagpur plateau. The Jharkhand state was created on the 15th of November 2000, it was the 25th state of the Indian Union. Yet, the reality was not so rosy as that of a dream fulfilment. The decisions of the state government since then have not changed anything for the tribal communities. They now face increased efforts to develop them, and increased risk exists for land alienation through increased industrialisation. They are still the lower most strata of the society, and the benefits that should accrue to them are snatched away by others. Now the exploitation has taken another shape: it has become exploitation of tribals by tribals, as those who have managed to develop themselves to fit into upper and middle rungs of the existing society are now assuming the right to exploit the opportunities that should accrue to their less developed brethren.

The future remains to be seen. The experiences of the tribal communities have taken new untrodden paths, so what the future will bring is uncertain and unpredictable. The state of the nation has changed; a lot of change has come into the political arena, bringing welcome changes in the development thinking also. The hope is for a better and brighter tomorrow.

A Summary of Conclusions

The effort here is to trace the theoretical developments beginning in the colonial era as ethnography, which was translated into governance as gathering or collection of knowledge for ensuring proper control over the subject people. The theoretical construct then moves on to how a tribe was conceptualised and aligns it to the scientific developments in Europe. The discourse of Orientalism thus emerges from all such knowledge based systems of dominance, this has continued to hold power in the modern times. It is the knowledge gathered that empowers the colonial rulers, rather the idea that they are the possessors of superior knowledge that emboldens them. The scientific developments thus grants them legitimacy to decide on any course of governance they chose to better serve their own economic interests. Thus, in the colonial period the economic requirements of the colonial rulers become the welfare of the colonised nation. Specially where there was a concentration of resources such as in the Chota Nagpur region and populated by the so called primitive people, the right to the resources was taken to be the colonial ruler's and the people could be treated as mere pawns.

The modern Indian State changed very little in reality from the colonial superstructure and aligned itself to the theme of development, which has worsened the condition of the tribal communities. The early processes of land alienation began in the colonial era, and the alienation process deepened its functioning as social alienation in the nineteenth century. Independence did not bring any amelioration in the situation; rather new forms of exploitation and alienation emerged. The forestry resources were not returned to the tribal communities; rather the god of development encompassed all the other requirements. And its fruits were for only a selected few people. The industrialisation process meant for the development of the population caused marginalisation to the tribal communities by dispossessing them from their primary resource that is land. The employment opportunities were also limited, causing the development of the enclaves in the resource allocation process.

The theories of development show the change in the developmentality in the world scenario, with the passage of time. Thus, the ideals of development has changed from simply means to achieve economic progress to encompassing the more

humanitarian goals in its folds such as bettering the physical quality of life and paying more attention to the health care sector, to enhancing the primary education facilities in the third world nations. Another facet of development has emerged from the environmental movement, that of sustainable development, i.e. developing in such a way in the present that does not hamper the development prospective of the future. This is now the present model to develop. Yet, despite all this, the divide between the developed and the developing nations continue, and this knowledge of having a developed structure is used by the rich nations to manoeuvre the poorer nations. Similarly, within a country, this same happens in relation to the more developed and the less developed regions.

This leads to how the resource is allocated, and what were the means to lessen the gap. Four resource allocation models are discussed above, representing the four views of resource management. The first one is the ecological view, that of progression of man from the nomadic existence to the industrial stage, which is supposed to be the ultimate stage of development. The second one is the common property resource management model, which helps in managing the communal property ownership rights. The third model brings out the relationship between the state and the people in resource allocation and the last one brings out the problems of resource rich but development poor regions. All these exhibit how the knowledge of development techniques is used by the ones in power to deprive the other regions of proper development, and thereafter using this difference to keep them at a disadvantaged position.

The tribal communities have thus through out remained the forever 'other' in social and economic arena, as the childlike innocent primitive savages in the colonial period to the primitive backward people in the post independence period, a continuance of the colonial theme. The query that arises is in Said's words " Can one divide reality, as indeed human reality seems to be genuinely divided, into clearly different cultures, histories, traditions, societies, even races and survive the consequence humanly? By surviving the consequences humanly, I mean to ask whether there is any way of avoiding the hostility expressed by the division, say of men into us (westerners) and they (orientals)?"¹

¹ Said, Edward, (1978): *Orientalism*, Vintage Publicatuions, New York, p.45.

The various processes shaping the land alienation process in Chota Nagpur is examined in detail. Since the base determines the structure, the condition of land alienation in colonial period and its impacts have been studied in great detail. The analysis shows that in the post independence era the process has gone unabated, just that the headings have changed. Land assumes the greatest importance since that was the most important resource owned by the tribal communities. So, with the help of knowledge gathered regarding the lifestyle of the tribal communities, it was easy to target them, by depriving them of their livelihood sources by dispossessing them of the land held by them.

The law governing the rent from land was designed for the English countryside, its antecedents of construction were embedded there. Without any thought to the possible impacts the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793 was imposed on Chota Nagpur, with the ideals of achieving an enhanced or at least a regular supply of revenue. The destruction wrought on the tribal populace through this Act was tremendous. This showed up the ignorance and the lack of concern of the Colonial rulers regarding the region, in contrast to the paternal approach adopted by them regarding dealings with the tribals. So much more research was conducted into the whys and wherefores of the various revolts, the conclusion reached was that the tribal communities revolted only against the corrupt Indian officials and not the English rulers, forgetting that the petty Indian officials were but representatives of the British colonial rule in the region.

The maximum contribution of the colonial rule was in opening up of the region to the outside world, there by ending the relative isolation of the tribal communities. This was done through many ways, the passage of the railway lines through the region, the opening up of the roads and finally in cutting down the forests, reducing the density of the tree growth, so that it no longer enclosed a secret world away from the prying eyes of the outsiders.

The economic exploitation was carried out not only through land alienation process but also with the abrupt change in the exchange system. The introduction of the monetary economy had an immense derogatory impact on the tribal populace, Thus they were always in debt since they had no holdings of money and were also continually

cheated by the traders and money lenders. The exploitation was not only an economic one, but a social and political one as well.

The outsiders, called the diku were in most cases guilty of exploiting the region and its populace for their own benefit. Thus their image of being the oppressors is characterised by the money lender and the other traders in the region. The laws for protection of land and its rights in favour of the tribal population were easily sidestepped. Rather, the law was made use of to cheat the tribal communities. Together, there was almost a conspiracy to dispossess the tribals.

Sadly, the land laws have not changed much since the colonial times in Chota Nagpur. Though the legislation exists, yet its implementation to safeguard the interest of the tribals is lacking. Thus, it is seen that the government initiatives have not borne any fruit. It is to be hoped that the newly created state of Jharkhand as dreamt of by countless tribal leaders of the yesteryear who perished in the attempt makes progress and imposes stricter laws. To conclude, a Birsaite song that says it all,

The true word is in the land.....

The word of the land is with us²

The state has chosen strengthen its hold over the natural resources by the means of forest policy. Whether it actually benefits anyone other than itself and the interest groups supporting it is immaterial. So, though the forests are common property resources for the entire nation (and not just the tribal communities), its benefit accrues maximum to those who engaged to in destroying that resource. The blame is conveniently put on the tribal communities who in reality are the true inheritors of our nation's forest wealth.

The Forest Laws that had been imposed in the colonial regime were not repudiated in the post independent Indian state. Rather, the same processes were exacerbated, and the same logic was followed. The colonial knowledge system continued to hold sway over the Indian governance. This was also echoed in the conceptualisation of the tribal economy in the Indian mentality. Thus, in efforts to stop the harmful effects of shifting cultivation, it was decreed that it was a crime and allowed only in a few regions. The nationalisation of the trade in the minor forest products had an immense impact on

² Ibid, p.135.

the tribal populace, reducing their access to ready cash in the long run. The state was also not equipped to administer the better rates available for the MFPs due to lack of proper infrastructure, the result was that the law intended to bring relief to the tribal communities pushed them deeper into the mire of debt.

Moreover the growing needs of the industries were given preference over the survival of the poor tribal communities, who were any way wasteful of their resources, in the government's parlance. So the silvicultural practices are being followed till date to the detriment of the forests in Chota Nagpur, since the tribal people who depend on the forests for food cannot eat the leaves of the Eucalyptus, nor is any biomass generated from the decay of the leave of that particular plant. These are not included in the scientific fact finding committees of the government regarding the plantation of the foreign species of plants.

The process of industrialisation ushered in the modern age in the region, primarily after independence. This ushered in a new phase in the exploitative relations of production in the tribal society. In their own land, the tribals became refugees, as there was massive displacement of the tribal villages for the establishment of the industrial complexes. The tribal communities had to make way for the new temples of India that gifted them further alienation, marginalisation and grinding poverty.

Once again, this was done in accordance to the western genealogies of development knowledge processes. The invisible hand of power of the all pervading selective knowledge systems is once again apparent. The development of systematic tools for exploitation of the 'other' communities implicit in the process of industrialisation is important to note. Since, this development is selective in distributing the benefits achieved, the tribal communities have lost out. The land use patterns and the change therein indicate how their agricultural base has been eroded till now they have become paupers. The occupational structure echoes this point. From the agriculturists they have now become the land less labourers, transformed from the rightful owner of the land resource to a state of penury.

India's development programme was well and good, but not region specific. The drive to develop made ill effects disappear from the forefront. Recently, the interest has been renewed in trying to undo all the problems being faced by the tribal communities.

Then also, the impetus has come from the western nations, who having developed well are now facing the environmental problems created by the same developments. Now they are turning back to nature and are seeking the knowledge that will help them live in harmony with the environment. Once again the recurring theme of a certain set of knowledge acting as the instrument of power is visible. Even in the environmental problem being faced by the world, the relationships of knowledge is being used to play the politics of difference.

The same is happening in the relationship between the Chota Nagpur tribal communities and the government. Finally, it is the resource control knowledge systems and that knowledge which governs the resource allocation that directs the process of marginalisation of the tribal communities in Chota Nagpur. With the help of myriad tools of governance, the tribal communities are being pushed to the margins of survivability. The process had begun a long time ago, but its continuance is witness to its importance that is unabated till today. After all, it is the access to resources by a person that determines his well being.

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