Chapter II

History of Movements in Context of the Study Villages

Introduction

This chapter will discuss about the history of the tribal movements held in the surrounding areas of the study villages, mostly in Central India. It aims at to explore the link of the past movements with the local movements under study. The chapter has been divided into four sections. The history of tribal movements broken out in Chotanagpur and those in the study areas of Uttar Pradesh will be discussed in the first and second sections respectively. The third section will provide details of the crises appeared in land and forest resources in the study areas, as the background of the present movements. The fourth section will present the demography and social composition of the study villages.

I

Chotanagpur Region: Its Locations and Inhabited Tribes

Chotanagpur plateau is located in eastern part of India comprising Ranchi, Hazaribagh, and Kodarma plateaus covering 65,509 sqkm areas lies between the basin of Ganga and Son rivers in the north and the Mahanadi river in the south; with Damodar valley falling approximately in the its centre from west to east. In colonial India, Chotanagpur was an administrative division of Bengal with five districts; Hazaribag, Ranchi, Palamau, Manbhum and Singhbhum.¹ Except Manbhum which has been disintegrated and partially allocated to West Bengal (Purulia district), remaining four districts are now part of Jharkhand state.

Chotanagpur region had been higher concentration of tribal population since a long period. Different tribal communities arrived in this region at different time

¹ Imperial Gazetteer of Bangal (1907), The Central Secratariat Press, Calcutta.
trough different routes. These communities were primarily of two origins—Kolarian and Dravidian. By the time they reached this territory, they were more identifiable as language communities than racial groups. Their social, political, and cultural organisations were similar and stood in contrast with the organisations of caste Hindus.

**The Kolarians and Dravidian Tribes**

Kolarians are a group of East Indian tribes believed to have common ancestors. They can be identified by their distinct Kolarian physical features like short stature, dolichocephaly, and permanent zygotic arches on the face, besides dark skin colour. Their population is expected to be between two or three million and they inhabit the jungle and mountain of the country west and southwest of what was once in the colonial presidency of Bengal. This area of inhabitation is often referred to as the Kolarian region. The main Kolarian tribes are the Munda Kol, Larka Kol or Ho of Chotanagpur, the Bhumij in the Manbhum, and the Santhal living in the mouth of the River Mahanadi in the northern Orissa to Bhagalpur on the pharynges of north Bengal, including what is known as Santhal Pargana (east of Chotanagpur). The Juang community represents the best lowest stage of Kolarian being primarily hunter and gatherer and some of them primitive agriculturist. The Kharia are partially civilised and a few of them practice ploughing the land. (Dalton1872: 151-157). Among the major tribes in Chotanagpur, Oraons were of the Dravidian origin. The remaining four—Munda, Santhals, Hos and Bhumij have the Kolarian ancestry.

In terms of population, Bhumij, Santhals, Mundas, Oraons, and Hos were the largest tribes in Chotanagpur before colonial rule began there. Cheros and Kharwars were also present in significant numbers in Palamau. According to the census of 1901, altogether 22.7 percent population of Chotanagpur (4,900,429) was that of animists (distinctly tribal). Besides, there were communities, especially Bhumij, who called themselves Hindu, but had close social-cultural association with other tribal communities. A number of tribes had adopted Islam and Christianity by this time.

**Tribes and their Revolts in Chotanagpur**

The tribal leaders, remained in peace for centuries with this kingdom; albeit they were not quite comfortable with the outsiders employed by the rulers for different
administrative works. This discomfort became visible after the Grant of Diwani of Bengal by the Nawab to the East India Company (1765 CE). The situation worsened and several movements were launched; primarily against the outsiders and consequently against the colonial rulers who were supporting those intruders. A brief account of such struggles can help in gathering the historical framework for our study.

**Chuar Uprising (1767-1772, 1782-1802, and 1832)**

Although British East India Company got the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa from the Nawab of Bengal in 1765, it took the company several years to execute the new arrangement. Hostile Chuar (Bhumij) zamindars in the Barabhum and Manbhum were the first to resist. These estates were nominally attached to the Collector of Midnapur. Chuars refused to pay taxes in 1767 as soon as they were asked to do so. The leader of the uprising was Jagan Nath Dhal of Ghatshila. Rajas of Barabhum and Manbhum also declined to comply with the British demands of revenue.\(^2\) In 1769, another uprising, a greater one, took place under the leadership of Jagirdar of Kailapal, Subla Singh. In 1771, three Chuar leaders revolted simultaneously. The trio included Sham Ganjan of Dhadka, Subla Singh of Kailapal and Dubraj Singh, the eldest son of Barabhum Raja. For the next ten years there remained peace in the region but in 1782 Chuars of Jhalda, Tamar, Jharia and Nawagarh launched revolts. In the very next year Zamindar of Kailapal revolted again. This time he continued plundering the surrounding areas and withholding revenues till 1784. In 1789-90, Chuars of Jhalda, Tamar, and Patkum refused to comply with the revenue demands and launched a fresh revolt. In 1798 Chuars of Parganas Raipur, Ambika Nagar and Supur became insurgent under the leadership of Durjan Singh and they disturbed the estates of Barabhum and Manbhum. Coupland (1911) has presented an account of Chuar rebels in the following words:

> Chuars lived in remote and inaccessible places, they were difficult to get at; they constantly made raids when they were least expected, and when troops were sent out against them, disappeared into their

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\(^2\) Coupland H (1911). Manbhum: Bengal District Gazetteers, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, p 47-68
fastnesses, only to reappear and commit fresh depredations as soon as
the troops were withdrawn.3

While the first phase of Chuar uprising was caused by the exorbitant revenue
demands of the British, the second phase (1800-1816) had the succession issues as the
core of the problem. Earlier, Chuars settled these issues themselves, but presence of
British magistrates and their interference in the matter created new complications.
Those who were not satisfied with the decisions of the officials resorted to plundering
and revolt.

The situation remained relative peace in the region for the next twenty-five
years, till another revolt led by Ganga Narayan erupted in 1832. Usurious taxes,
including house-tax (ghartaki), money lending, and subsequent loss of land by the
landholders to the moneylenders due to default in debt payment were the primary
causes of this revolt that led to murder of Dewan of Barabhum Madhab Singh.

**Kol insurrection (1831-37)**

The Kol revolt broke out in December 1831. It was the biggest uprising against
British administrators, which united the Hos, Mundas and Oraons of Chotanagpur
They decided that not a single foreigner should be left alive in their land. In every
village, The Sads (Hindus) and the Dikus (outsiders) were murdered, plundered, and
their houses were burnt down. By the end of January, the rebels were in control of the
Chotanagpur administrators (Dalton 1872:170).

The Kol insurrection was emergence from fire that had long been
smouldering. The revenue system adopted by the British weakened the Raja of
Chotanagpur. He was left with a much smaller area. Another problem was the
growing revenue demands of the grant holders in service of the royal court. Initially
they were entitled to collect only the Raja's share in the revenue, but gradually they
started increasing this share on their own wish. Due to shrinking of his area under
direct control and regularly increasing demands of the collectors, Raja of Chotanagpur
became a regular defaulter. Under pressure, the lands belonging to the Mankis (tribal

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3 Coupland H (1911). Manbhum: Bengal District Gazetteers, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, p 47-68
leaders) were being handed over to the Sikh and Muslim Jagirdars and thikadars for cultivation and revenue collection.

Another group of foreign (outsiders) exploiters came to Chotanagpur after 1819 when Raja was found to be incapable of providing police services to his area and his authority of policing was handed over to new recruits under the British policing system. Police started imposing their own taxes. Same was the case of the newly established postal system. Following extract from the Joint Commission Report after the Kol insurrection prepared by Dent and Wilkinson presents the grave picture of deteriorating status of the Kols:

The Kols throughout Nagpur had within the last few years had their rents increased by their ilakadars, zamindars and thikadars, by 35 per cent. They had made roads through the pargana without payment, as begari (forced labour). The Mahajans, who advanced money and grain, managed within a twelve month to get; from them 70 per cent, and sometimes more. They disliked the tax upon liquor which was fixed at four annas a house, but more than that amount was levied very generally, besides a rupee salami and a khasi or goat.4

The narrative above makes it clear that Kols, who were hitherto autonomous and independent, paying tributes, not taxes, were reduced to bonded labourers, losing their lands to the moneylenders. This was a result of presence of new revenue and administrative system introduced by the British which favoured the outsiders and landlords.

Against the exploitations of the outsiders, the Dhangar Kols of Sonpur raised arms in December 1931. They were joined by Mundas of Bandgaon. Later, Oraons of Ranchi also joined hands. The insurgents were reported to be only 1000-1200 but the movement had spread across the Chotanagpur as drumbeats spread the message of revolt and support was gathered through circulation of arrows. The decision to fight for pride was taken at the famous meeting of Lankha in Tamar. The Kol rebels killed

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about thousand outsiders and were subdued only after large scale military operation under Captain Wilkinson.

The action started on 11 December 1831, a few days after the tribes had assembled at Lankha in Tamar and pledged to “cut plunder, murder and eat...” Soon after, beating of nagada (drum) circulation of dheori and arrows of war were being circulated to other Kol villages to as an invite to join war. Those people who joined war returned with the arrow as a whole and those wanted to oppose the movement came back without arrow. The arrows were circulated through Chotanagpur along with a notice to all foreigners to quit or meet direct consequences.

On the 20 December army of 700 men plundered, brunt and seriously wounded two persons during a raid on villages held by Sikh thikadars Hari Singh and Diyal Singh. By the end of January 1832, the insurrection had spread entire Chotanagpur. The attack was against the Hindu, Muslims, and other foreigners. The Dhanger Kols of Chotanagpur joined hands with Larka Kols of Singhbhum. The Singhbhum district was commonly known as Tibet of Chotanagpur and Ho tribal of this area were called Larka (fighting) Kols or Larka Ho because of their innate fighting spirit. These Kols never allowed any outsider to settle or pass through their area (Dalton, 1872:171-173).

Santhal Uprising (1855-56)
Santhal Hul was similar to the Kol revolt in nature--it targeted outsider moneylenders and the institutions that protected them, viz. zamindari system and British land revenue, police and judicial administration. This was not a revolt of Chotanagpur, though it did muster support of Santhals living in the region. Santhal Hul began in the adjacent Santhal Pargana district and engulfed Birbhum district, both touching Chotanagpur. On June 30, 1855 two Santhal rebel leaders Sidhu and Kanhu Murmu mobilised ten thousand Santhal in Bhagnadihi village of Santhal Paragana. They declared themselves as free and took oath to fight unto the last against the British rulers as well as their agents.

Statement of Bindra Manki before the Magistrate of Chatra
The Santal rebels, led by Sido and Kanhu, made tremendous gains and captured control over a large tract of the country extending from Rajmahal hills in Bhagalpur district to Sainthia in Birbhum district. For the time being, British rule in this vast area became completely paralyzed. Many moneylenders and native agents of the Company were killed.

The courage, chivalry and sacrifice of the Santals were countered by the rulers with veritable butchery. Out of 50,000 Santal rebels, approximately 20,000 were killed by the British Indian Army. The Company was finally able to suppress the rebellion in 1856, though some outbreaks continued till 1857.

The Santal Hul had a long-lasting impact. Santal Parganas Tenancy Act was introduced by the British administration. This Act provided some protection to the indigenous people from the ruthless colonial exploitation. The regular police was abolished and the duty of keeping peace and order and arresting criminals was vested in the hands of parganait and village headman.

Sardar Agitation (1859-80)

The spread of Christianity in Chotanagpur took new turn among the Munda in 1850. During the mutiny of 1857, the zamindars attacked the German mission at Ranchi and offended the Christian at the village. After the suppression of the mutiny, the tide turned in favour of the Christian raiyats. The Saradar agitation led by Christian raiyats put them on the offensive against their master. The Saradar agitation or Mulukul raiyats (Struggle for land) from 1858 aimed at expelling the zamindars, claiming the lands earmarked as Majhikhas and Khuntkatti after Bhuinhari Survey, protesting against the incidence of forced labour and deplorable condition of the tribes-folk. The leaders distracted the Dikus, the non-white judges, and the administrators who were alleged to be relatives of zamindari class. The tribes often refused to pay rents, turned out rent collector and sought forcefully to claim their ancestral land. They also raised fund for fighting the legal battle necessary for the restoration of their lost rights and land.

Birsa Munda Movement (1895-1900)

The Santhal insurrection was followed by the Kharwar movement (1871-1880) and the Saradar agrarian agitation (1859-1880) by the Oraon and Munda revivalism
(1880-90) and Birsa politico-religious movement. All these movements had certain new social-cultural dimensions. The breakdown of traditional agrarian order under new revenue and administrative systems entailed social consequences. The practice of liquor consumption and migration of Munda labourer to tea gardens and surrounding areas further overturned the traditional authority. Christianity introduced a new element in tribal society which disturbed the old way of life.

The Birsa’s emergence as leaders of the anxiety, confusion and frustration of the forty years of the Sardar movement (focused primarily on legal battle for *khuntkatti* and *majhikhas* lands) was a natural outcome in a community that had enjoyed autonomy for a long period in history. The synthesis of traditional and the modern values achieved by Brisa set the trends for the future movements in the region.

**Jharkhand Movement: Demand for a Separate State**

Among the above major tribal movements, the Kol insurrection (1831-31) the Saradar movement (1858-95) and the Birsa Munda movement (1895-1900) had their origin among the Munda of Chotanagpur plateau. The other tribal groups like the Oraons, Hos, Kharwars took active part in these movements. The root cause of all these movement was the experience of oppression and exploitation of tribes by the non-tribes in Chotanagpur plateau. There was also the ethnic factor involved in the revolts. The revolts were directed against the zamindars, moneylenders and petty government official, who not only exploited the tribes-folk, but they were aliens (Singh 1985: 119). John McDougall, in his studies on Sardar and Kharwar movements (1977,1978) in Chotanagpur between 1858 and 1898, shows that the nature of movements varied at consequence of variation in the peasantisation of Adivasi society.

The post-independence phase of tribal movement in Chotanagpur and adjoining regions is marked by the rise of Jharkhand Party and participation in general elections. This new regional party had its origins in the Adivasi Mahasabha created before independence. The two factors which contributed to formation of both Adivasi Mahasabha, and later the Jharkhand Party were the experience of failure of the militant movement, and more importantly, framing of constitution of India. Further it was discovered by the census 1941, which had given the excepted figure of the tribal
population of Chotanagpur, that the numerical strength of the tribes-folk was good enough to sustain an organisation like Adivasi Mahasabha. The census of 1951, like census 1931 showed that the tribals were not very large community, in fact, never being majority in Chotanagpur region. Therefore the Jharkhand Party was thrown open, at least in principle, as embodied in its constitution, to all Chotanagpuries. Therefore, a transition from ethnicity to regionalism was the formative factor in movement. This was partially in keeping with the larger political and secular stance trending those days that language, and not ethnicity, should determine the formation of state (Singh 1983:4).

Coal mining and industrialisation of Chotanagpur during early years of twentieth century alarmed tribal leadership. These activities led to rapid influx of non-tribal labourers in the tribal regions. Some educated Christian tribes first raised the demand of Chotanagpur sub-state joined either to Bengal or Orissa. They made a representation before Simon Commission (1928) for the sub-state under the banner of Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj. Between the two World Wars both industrialisation and influx of outsiders grew geometrically, making tribal leaders paranoid.

The movement initiated by the two independent tribal political organizations Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj (1915) and Adivasi Mahasabha (1938) had clear objectives to follow. The main objective of these two organizations was to work for a separate state for the Adivasis in the region. The leaders of these organizations felt that the Chotanagpur plateau and Santhal Paragana were different from neighbourhood areas and showed different geographical and cultural characteristics. The leaders of Chotanagpur played very important role in formation of the Adivasi Mahasabha along with those of Santhal Paragana district and they felt that there was need for separate state for the Adivasis of Jharkhand. The Jharkhand movement in first phase (1938-50) was clearly a tribal ethnic movement. The initial success of the Jharkhand Party was the ability of its leaders to utilise the intense ethnic images about the outsiders in the mind of the tribal in the area (Singh 1983: 73, Sinha 1972:389).The factors generating Jharkhand movement, which also kept it alive can be summarised as: growing discontent among the tribal people of Chotanagpur on account of land alienation, exploitation of money lenders, strong apathy towards dikus and political development in the wider setting of the country (Sen 1972: 403).
S.C. Panchbhai (1983:31-52) in his study “Jharkhand movement among Santhal” argues that the Santhal Movement, and later the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha were able to organise people because there existed feelings of alienation among the masses. Oppression by mahajans, police, and zamindars was being felt by the masses. Sido-Kanhu or later on Jaipal Singh merely represented these feelings in an organised manner. It was the mass that created the leader, instead of the leader mobilising the masses.

The Jharkhand movement underwent a shift in 1950 by showing some changes in its nature. The Adivasi Mahasabha was changed its name to Jharkhand Party. The sharp ethnic term ‘Adivasi’ was replaced by non-ethnic term ‘Jharkhand’ which primarily meant a distinct geographical territory. Now the movement demanding an autonomous state for the tribes became popular. The result was obvious; Jharkhand Party won all the 33 seats of the region in 1952 elections and got the status of the opposition party (in Bihar assembly). The transition from ethnicity to regionalism not so smooth and non Adivasi ethnic interests was at clash with the party stand in 1950-60. The participation of the non-Adivasis in the movement processes was missing. The movement underwent change in 1970 as the tribes in general and their organizations in particular became more accommodative to non-tribes in their area (Tirky, 2002:240-244). In 1973 Jharkhand Mukti Morcha was founded by leaders like Binod Bihari Mahato, A.K.Roy, Sadanand Jha, Shibu Soren and Shailendra Mahato. This was the first time in the history of the Jharkhand Movement that non-tribals became its leaders.

II

Geographical Connectivity of the Study Area with Chotanagpur Region

The Chotanagpur plateau is closely connected with the great Vindhya Range, where falls our study area. It is believed, that a portion of country, earlier known as great Dandaka forest, was the place where the Mundaris first appeared in this area. It was covered thick forests of Sal trees (shorea rhobusta), which is considered to be of religious value among many tribes and is still present in good number despite mindless deforestation due to mining and industrial activities.
The mean elevation of this Vindhya Range rather flat highland is upward two thousand feet above the sea level. In the west it rises up to three thousand six hundred feet, and to the east and south, its lower steppe, from eight hundred to a thousand feet above sea level, comprises a great portion of Manbhum and Singhbhum districts. The whole region is about fourteen thousand square miles in extent, from west to east. The central table land on which tribe lived is surrounded by the high land of western and south western direction, which stretches to Sarguja and Jashpur with the Vindhya Mountain standing in the west direction the Satpura range stands in the south west. They divided water of Narmada and Mahanadi forming a cover in which growing colonies of Kols lived. (Dalton1872:161-164).

**Movement Tradition in Mirzapur-Sonebhadra districts**

The district Mirzapur, a part of it presently formed the Sonebhadra district, has played asignificant role in the history of freedom struggle. The history of mutiny of 1857 finds mentions in the historical annals of the district. Prior to the mutiny, we get a long description of fiscal adjustments with raja Mahip Narayan Singh after his accession. In the year 1794 some big changes were introduced in the administration of the district whereby the raja was removed from the governance of the province and left with only a limited jurisdiction. At the time of outbreak of freedom struggle in 1857, the outlook in Mirzapur district was favourable to the British rulers. The sympathisers of countryside were neutral and were generally on the side of law and order.

After the news from Meerut and Delhi about the mutiny, the area became tense on the 19th May. The protesters destroyed the property of East India Railway which was under construction. Further, rumours floated from Manda Akhori village near Vindhyachal that dissenters were planning an attack on the city and large bodies of armed men were reported to have collected at the village. Nearly 27 persons were arrested including the leaders. In another incident, crusaders of Hazraibag were choked on Son River and were compelled to turn toward south to Singrauli. On reaching Kota, they affected a good deal of utterly purposeless damage to the buildings and works in a coal mine, after which they moved to Rewah district in Central Provinces (now Madhya Pradesh). However, the mutineers from Danapur, not
only entered Mirzapur successfully but also managed to convince the soldiers of 50th Native Infantry stationed here to revolt. The group then moved to Rewah.

The second phase of the history of freedom struggle in the district started with the establishment of the Committee of Indian National Congress in Mirzapur between 1890 and 1895. This was the only committee which controlled the entire district and its functions were limited to sending its representatives to the annual session of the congress and also helped by monetary contributions. The committee was also engaged in cultivating political consciousness and national spirit among the masses of the district.

The people of Mirzapur district were active participants in the freedom struggle and, particularly in the civil disobedience and non-cooperation movements. They used non violent means like processions over nearly the entire district. The movement gradually turned violent and the authorities were busy dealing with skirmishes here and there. In 1930s Mirzapur was considered to be one of the most violent districts in the eastern United Province; although most of the eruptions were spontaneous and no radical organisation was operational in the district. Alarming intensity was observed in rural areas of Narayanpur, Kaila hat, Ghaipur, Jigna, Paharampur, Ahaura, Kachhwa, Bajha and Sikhar besides the town on Mirzapur. On August 13, 1942, there was a police firing at Ahaura Bazar in which two persons were killed and three injured. On August 17, 1942, five persons lost their lives when Pahara railway station was set on fire. In Bajha police action on August 24, 1942, five persons were seriously injured.

Movement tradition in Bundelkhand Region

The land revenue settlement and the annexation of Avadh were the two important sources of growing discontent in the Bundelkhand region. The 1857 uprising had also impact in most part of Bundelkhand —Banda, Hamirpur, Jaoulan, Jhansi and Lalitpur. Out of these, the district Banda was the first to witness of widespread rural disturbance in the villages in Paragana Baberoo and Maw on the banks of river Jamuna. The rebellion took place after the released prisoners from Allahabad and Kanpur crossed this region. The rural uprising targeted the institution of power with which they interacted daily like the Tehsils and Thanas. The petty government
official, Thekadar, tehsildars operating in a village had to face challenges. (Ray 2010).

After 1858, a new feature developed in the Banda district. The construction of railways and growth in trade and commerce began in this area. The opening of English education school in district brought new political ideas and knowledge from west. During the close of 19th century, the activities of Arya Samaj led great social awakenings among local population, especially the backward classes. In 1930, civil disobedience movement was started in Banda, along with rest of the country. The Salt Satyagraha was followed by the civil disobedience movement in which people from all walks of life participated. Altogether 65 persons were sent to jail in 1930. The movement spread throughout the district. A large number of peasantry joined the Congress along with the women. People of the district participated in election of 1937 which were conducted under the Government of India Act, 1935.

III

Crises in Land and Forest Resources in Study Areas

Earlier, the raja (King) was the biggest zamindar in our study areas. He directly interacted with the tribal people on many occasions. During his visit to forest area for hunting, the Kol people served them as assistant. In lieu of this service the raja granted pieces of land to these servicemen. When the population pressure increased, some upper caste and other backward class people migrated to the forest areas and reclaimed that forest land, by paying nominal najarana to the king who owned the territory. These upper caste people also employed the Kols as bonded labourers.

The Kols were usually employed for clearing the forest for preparing cultivable land. The forest, which was the biggest source of sustaining livelihood resources, had turned to a place of creation of surplus cultivable land after influx of outsiders. There was emerged a new master-servant relationship between landlord and tenants in the area. The landowners were fully dependent on Kols for all agricultural activities. A small piece of land, usually 1-2 hectare, was given to Kols for the homestead and cultivation purposes; the produce of the land was enjoyed by Kols. The plot given by landlord to Kols was locally known as kolia. The landowner helped the tenants with necessary commodities; cash was given without any interest.
Among the Kols, the right to forest was a subject of collective ownership which allowed them to resort to collective hunting, food gathering, grazing, collection of wood, and for meeting all types of needs. This is how the forest was regarded mostly as a common property resource. But right to land had a mixed pattern of ownership—the community as well as individual members had ownership rights over the farms.

There existed three types of land owing structures in study area—community land belonging to a village, community land belonging to a clan, and land owned by individual members. The original land resource crises have historic roots, and as it passed through the different phases of history, further complications grew up. Today, land alienation is common problem in most of the tribal areas.

Highlighting the land issue of the Kol tribes in Haliya block of Mirzapur district in Uttar Pradesh, Kripa Sankar (1990, 1999) has mentioned that land alienation was initiated by local kings during the colonial period and it grew further with the abolition of zamindari system. After independence, land reform laws were introduced to solve the problem, but it could not. In last three to four decades, these tribes have received a meagre amount of gram sabha land under the land reform programme. But they faced severe harassment in connivance with government officials of lower ranks, i.e., lekhpal and village pradhan. The study suggested that government intervention was necessary to improve the land ownership of the tribes under the scheme of distribution of the gram sabha land and ceiling land among the landless. The Kols in our other study area of Bundelkhand faced the similar problems, as dealt by Bharat Dogra (2001).

Zamidari abolition took place after independence under the law of UP Zamidari and Land Reform Act, 1950. The intermediaries hitherto known as zamindars, became bhumidhar or landlords. The bhumidhars were given heritable and transferable land rights. The Kols (tenants) did not get the ownership rights. Instead, they were made Saradar of the land that was under their cultivation.

A Saradar has permanent and heritable interest in his landholding but he could not transfer the land to others. He could only use the land for agriculture, horticulture and animal husbandry. In some cases bhumidhar and Saradar were allowed to have an
asami-- a tenant. Even a gram sabha was allowed to engage a tenant or asami. Such a tenant neither had heritable nor transferable right of bhumidhar or Saradar for conversion of land for any other purpose.

The issue of tribal land distribution came into new phase in mid 1970s through the programme that aimed at distribution of gram sabha (G.S.) land among Scheduled Caste and landless who really got land patta of gram sabha land. This programme was for the people mostly outsider and native landowners. According to rule, land management committee was to be constituted with the village pradhan as its president and lekhpal as the secretary for allotting the land. This committee worked only on paper; in reality, all the decisions had been taken by the pradhan and the lekhpal. The law gave uncontrolled authority to the two officials of the committee who invariably misused their rights to allocate land to their kin showing them to be landless. A large no of irregularities were reported during my field visits to the study villages.

These irregularities offered new opportunities for outsiders to intrude. The distribution of patta land provided big money to lekhpals. They collected money from the tribes, landless and others with assurance that G.S. land will be distributed to them this time, but before the allocation, the official was transferred to another village. The new lekhpal would start the exercise afresh. The officials took advantage of general impoverishment among the poor tribes. They took help of muscle men to douse the dissent if it ever arose. No legal action was ever taken against the muscle men, pradhans or lekhpals.

In Utter Pradesh, the Government wanted to increase the forest area during 1960s. For that purpose, land belonging to gram sabha was transferred to the forest department. It was later found that many of the ceiling surplus land beneficiaries managed to get patta of land belonging to forest department. To avoid the implementation of the Ceiling on Landholding Act 1960, the large landholders started transferring surplus land to their family members, servants, and even to fictitious persons who did not exist at all. On papers, the land was transferred, but in reality it remained with the original landholder.

The Kaimur Survey Settlement introduced in 1986 saw a steep rise in the land conflict due to the connivance of the survey agencies and the revenue machinery. The
survey agency did not follow the Supreme Court order regarding the distribution of land rights among the Adivasis. It allotted the land to rich and landlord class. As a result, the conflict in protected area of the Kaimur Wildlife Sanctuary in U.P. gets escalated among the Adivasis (Mukherjee (2012).

The similar cases of crisis in land are also reported among the tribes of other parts of the country. It is stated that landholding position among SC/STs has not improved substantially in the past 50 years; it has further declined in many states like in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, where the tribes are constantly losing lands in terms of both area and number (Mohanti 2012, Lobo (2012) Balagopal (2012).

Industrialisation and Displacement in the Study Areas

At the beginning of 12th century, tribals of this region had attained adequate adjustment with natural resources and developed collective responsibility and incipient cultivation through Dahiya system. During the British period, this system was stopped and settled agriculture was developed (District Gazettes, Mirzapur 1988).

The first cement factory in the area was established in 1951 at Chuk, north of River Son. Later on a new one came up at Dala in 1972. The production of aluminium was started in 1962 with the formation of Hindustan Aluminium Corporation (HINDALCO) by Birla Group (India) and the Kaiser (USA). To meet the requirement of Hindalco, the Kannoria Chemicals were constructed in 1964, and started manufacturing caustic soda, liquid chlorine, hydrochloric acid, stable bleaching powder and benzene hex chloride. All these industries changed the spatial dynamics of the area. The increasing demand of power to boost the industrialization, policymakers tried to build new dams and reservoirs. The Obera Rihand power complex is one such industrial project which consists of both thermal and hydro power generation plants. It generated about 50 percent of electricity requirement of U.P. The complex comprises three units i.e. Obera thermal power plants (in 1964), Obera hydro power plant (started in 1964), and Rihand hydro power plant (construction started from 1954-1962). The Anapara thermal power plant was constructed in 1979-1988 under the joint collaborations of Government of India and Government of Japan with a total cost of Rs. 3 billion with a projected generation
capacity of 3130 MW. The Renusagar thermal power plant with capacity of 270 MW was installed by Hindalco. The National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) selected the area of Rihand River bank close to reservoir for the establishment of super thermal power. It has capacity of 2000 MW. Besides this, the NTPC has constructed another thermal power plant at Bijpur. The Singrauli power complex has emerged as a significant power generation centre in India.

The above mentioned industrial projects have adversely affected social environment of local Adivasi people. They were displaced from their native land, were deprive of livelihood and ecology, and were marginalised in the process of modernization and industrialization. The situation generated poverty and deprivation in the region.

IV

Introducing Study Villages: Demography and Social Composition

Location of the Districts

The district Mirzapur lies between the parallels of 23° 52’, and 25°32’, North latitudes and 82°7’ and 83°33’ East longitudes. On the north and northeast it is bounded by the Varanasi district; on the south by the territory of Sarguja of Chhattisgarh; on the east by the district of Shahabad and Palamau of Jharkhand; on the southwest by the territory of Rewa; and on northwest by the district of Allahabad.

According to local legends, the earlier name of the district was Girijapur, which was based on the name of the goddess Girja (Parvati) who sacrificed herself here in vajana. Mirja Vindhyavasini and Lakshmi are the other names of the goddess whose temple still exists at Vindhyachal. The present name of the district is derived from the Goddess Lakshmi who emerged from sea. The word Mirja is formed from two words: 'Mir' meaning sea and 'ja' meaning 'borne of', with the additional 'pur' standing for town.

The Valley of Son River abounds in the caves which were the earliest dwelling of the primeval inhabitants. It is said that Bhars had settlements along with

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6 Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers Mirzapur (1988 Page no 1)
Cheros, Kols and Korwars communities in the district. Up to 5th century there was the rule of Kol kings of Vijaygarh fort. The district was famous as second Kashi during the 11th and 13th centuries. During the 9th century B.C. Brahamadutt dynasty was subdued by Nagas. In the 8th to 7th centuries B.C. the present area of the district was in Kaushala and Magadha. The Kushaans and Nagas also held their supremacy over this region before the advent of Gupta period. After the death of Harsvardhan in the latter half of 7th century, it remained under control of Gurjar and the Pratihars till 1025 A.D., before they were driven out by the Mohammad Ghani. This area was under administration of various Governors of Maughal emperors (District census handbook 2011).

The district Mirzapur, with the exception of the villages namely Mowat, Nerikatani, Maheshpur, Durjanipur, Mangarahi, Deohat, Katra and Bamsaur which it received from Allahabad, falls entirely under what was once known as the province of Benaras. The sovereignty of this region was formally encroached by the East India Company in 1775. The company captured it from the Nawab Vazir of Avadh, but the influence of zamindar raja of Benaras remained. It remained in possession of the raja of Benaras till 1794, before raja Mahip Narayan Singh surrendered its control to the Governor General of India. It was not until the 1830 that Mirzapur became a separate revenue jurisdiction of its own, because until that year it had been a part of Varanasi.

In Mirzapur district four tehsils were created with administrative point of view. These are Mirzapur, Robertsganj, Chunar, and Dudhi. On the 4 march 1989 the southern part of Mirzapur district was separated and formed Sonebhadra district.

Bundelkhand Region

Bundelkhand is the name of the cultural-geographical region in central India, which is bounded by Vindhya plateau in South, Yamuna River in north, Ken River in east and river Betwa and Pahuj in west. The region is, at present, administratively divided between Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The Seven districts of U.P.(Jhansi, Jalauon, Hamirpur, Lalitpur, Banda, Chitrakoot and Mahoba)and Six districts of M.P. (Datia, Tikamgarh, Panna, Damoh, Chhatarpur and Sagar) together constitute Bundelelkhand region.
The name of Chitrakoot comes from the words ‘Chitra’, meaning various
colours and ‘Koot’ meaning a hill. Whereas different coloured stories and levels of
awareness reflecting different traditions can be found around the base of Chitrakoot
hill. During the prehistoric time this region seems to have been inhabited by the
primitive people like Bhils and Kols whose descendents still inhabit the vindhya
forest of the district. This region was also, in the remote past, inhabited by the
neolithic man evidence of which has been found near Manikpur. The district stands
divided into Chitrakoot Dham town in Trauhan, while other parts are Chitrakoot,
Karwi, and Sitapur.

The Sitapur area of Chitrakoot district was, originally a settlement of Kols.
This area was earlier known as Jaisinghpur. The king of Panna gave this area to a
mahant, who changed the name to sitapur in honour of Sita, wife of lard Ram. The
jagir of Tarauhan was given to one Rahim Khan by Panna king and Rahim Khan took
abode at Tarauhan in 1763 A.D. The undivided Banda district came under the control
of Marathas around the middle of 18th century. In 1762 Nawab Vazir of Avadh Shuja-
ud-daula tried to raid Bundelkhand but his troop was defeated by a combined force of
raja Guman Singh (Bundelkhand), raja Hindupat (Panna) and other Bundela chiefs in
the battle of Buxar in 1764. Thereafter, a struggle for control of the region began
between Panna and Banda rajas which ultimately led to destruction of Bundela power.
In present days the districts Chitrakoot, Banda, Hamirpur, Mahoba and part of Jalauon
lies in one district Bundelkhand with headquarter Banda having nine tehshils.

The Scheduled Tribes (ST) in Uttar Pradesh

It is worth to note here that many of the tribes of UP were not recognized as ST,
though they are ST in the nearby states. In 2002, the government has recognized them
as ST in certain districts of the state. The following table will mention about it.
Table 2.1: Tribes Recognised as ST in particular districts of U.P.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Tribes</th>
<th>Residential Restriction (district in U.P.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gond, Dhuriya, nayak, Ojha, pathari, Raj Gond</td>
<td>Maharajganj, Sidharthnagar, Basti, Gorakhpur, Deoriya, Mau, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Ballia, Varanasi, Mirzapur and Sonebhadra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kharwar, Khairwar</td>
<td>Deoriya, Ballia, Varanasi Ghajipur and Sonebhadra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sahariya</td>
<td>Lalitpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Parahiya</td>
<td>Sonebhadra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Baiga</td>
<td>Sonebhadra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Pankha, Panika</td>
<td>Sonebhadra and Mirzapur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Agariya</td>
<td>Sonebhadra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Patari</td>
<td>Sonebhadra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Chero</td>
<td>Sonebhadra and Varanasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bhuiya, Bhuiyan</td>
<td>Sonebhadra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In post-independence India while scheduling the tribes, many important tribal communities like the Gond, Dhuriya, Kharwar, Kahars, Kairwar, Kols, Mallah, Nayak, Ojha, Pathari, RajGond, Sahariya, Parahiya, Baiga, Pankha, Panika, Bhuiya, Bhuniya, Banjara, etc. were simply ignored. They were not only denied ST recognition, rather put under the SC category in couple of district around the Kaimoor range in Sonebhadra and Mirzapur district. The Gonds are mainly located in two places the hills of Vindhya Range and plain of the Ganga River. Those inhabited in hill region involves in wood cutting are treated as S.T., but those inhabiting in plain area involved in fishing by occupation are not treated as S.T. The Kahar known as Mahar, Dhemar, Behera, Bhoi and Machhmar (In Bundelkhand) are sub caste of Gond. Gond is the main tribes of which Kahar is only occupationally derived. (Verma 2013:56) Mallahs are the fishing and boating tribes; they were mainly involved in transporting goods through water. During the British reign the term Mallah was purely occupational and they represent themselves as descendant of Nishada, a mountain tribe of Vindhya region (Crook 1896:460-61). These tribes placed in SC category, were declared untouchable, though they had no experience of untouchability in tribal society. The tribes who were placed in the OBC category lost all government reservation facilities and continued to suffer deprivation until the Mandal Commission Recommendations were implemented in 1993. Some of them who were conscious enough raised their voice and organised many demonstrations for inclusion in the ST
Category. After 52 years of active and passive demonstration, the Parliament finally recognised some of them as ST in eastern districts of U.P. in 2002-03.

The Parliament passed Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment) Act, 2002, which came into force on 7 January 2003. In U.P. the amendment law excluded 17 castes and sub-castes from the list of SC and placed them in the ST list by Constitution Order, 1950. (In effect, the number of castes under these two categories changed. SCs came down from 69 to 52, while S.T.s grew up from 5 to 22). In doing so, the Parliament again made mistakes by not recognising some other tribes. Even the recognised tribes face area restrictions. Also, the amendment did not touch the tribes who were earlier listed in the OBC category.

The Kol: The Tribe Selected for Study

A Dravidian tribe found in considerable number along the Vindhya Kaimur plateau. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the meaning of the name. The word Kola is a Sanskrit means “a hog”, and according to the same the tribal designation is simply a term of contempt applied by Aryan to the aborigines. According to Herr Jellinghause, the word means ‘pig killer’. According to others, like the tribal term Ho and Oraon, it is derived from Mundari Ho, Hore which means a man. Mamoria (1957) has identified Kols as a group of tribes belonging to the Austro-Asiatic linguistic branch.

The Kols of Mirzapur stated to be emigrated from a place called Kiutali, in the territory of the Bardi raja in the Rewa state. They name one Nanhu as their ancestor. They have a tribal temple at Pipri near Chunar where there located the shrine of Birmha Devi, the goddess of shrine. The other tribal deity is the raja Lakhan Deva or Lakhan. Like many of the kindred tribe they legend a kingdom in the Gangetic valley, where they expelled by the Savaras and retried into hill country the hill country near Chunar was formerly called Kolana, and the Paragana of Kol also in Banaras still bears their name.

Crooke in 1896 reported that the Kol in the north western provinces seems to have shed off elaborate system of totemic sects which are found among the Munda of Bengal. They divided into several exogamous divisions namely Barwariya Kol,
Momasi, Rautia, Rajaboria, Thakuriya, and Turkel. They practice community endogamy and clan exogamy. The Mirzapur Kol prefers to have an elaborate series of rules on the subject of adaptation but it is almost have been borrowed from their earlier neighbourhood. They are inspired by Hindu and follows marriage rule. Monogamy is the form of marriage, rules of residence followed by the patrilocal.

The Kol Samaj is their traditional caste council. The executive of the council, a five member body, is headed by a Choudhary and assisted by a Chharidar and three other members. This body is empowered to impose the punishment like excommunication and cash fine.

Kali is the famous deity. Shitala and Bandevta are their village deities. Sacred specialist from other communities used to worship their deity and perform their marriage rituals. The other community like Brahman and Kayastha do not accept food and water from them; other communities accept Sidha from them. The Kols do not accept food and water from the Chamar and Muslim communities.

By occupation most of the Kols were ploughmen. A few of them had their own land. Earlier days, the village landlord provided the Kol labourer with a bigha of land as free of rent, which was known as kola, koliya land. The landlord took two days forced labour in the years from all Kol ploughmen, one for ploughing and others for thatching his house. The more primitive Kol practiced the system of cultivation by burning (dahya) down the jungle.

But the situation changed in post-independence period. They were not only denied tribal recognition but also put in the S.C. categories in case of Mirzapur and Sonebhadra district of U.P. They have been raising their demand to be included in S.T. category but no action has been taken yet by the government.
Demography of the Study Villages

Table 2.2: Demography of the Study Villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic head</th>
<th>Name of Study Villages</th>
<th>Shivdwar</th>
<th>Lohari</th>
<th>Uchadeeh</th>
<th>Rampuriya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area of village</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,340.74</td>
<td>1,340.74</td>
<td>235.05</td>
<td>235.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Households</td>
<td></td>
<td>307</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>2,207</td>
<td>1088</td>
<td>1,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>927</td>
<td>1,124</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>891</td>
<td>1,083</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total SC population</td>
<td></td>
<td>1214</td>
<td>1,041</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>626</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>588</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total ST population</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate person</td>
<td></td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1,125</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>268</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>82</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate Person</td>
<td></td>
<td>1468</td>
<td>1,082</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>659</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>802</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total workers</td>
<td></td>
<td>565</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>445</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main work</td>
<td></td>
<td>400</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>363</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural labourer</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This table explains the basic demographic details including number of households, population details, literacy status, and main working and agricultural population in study villages from census reports of 2001 and 2011. The maximum number of households belong to Shivdwar (338) and minimum in Lohari village (231) as per Census-2011. Similarly, in Chitrakoot district study village Uchadeeh (931) contains maximum number of households and Rampuriya village (95) contains minimum households in Census report of 2011. This shows the number of households in study villages was continuously increasing. Similarly, the total population shows an
increasing trend between 2001 and 2011. Only in the case of Schedule Caste population in Shivdwar, one can see a declining population between 2001 and 2011. A corresponding increase in Schedule Tribe population can also be observed in the same village. This variation is due to the fact that Baiga community living in the village got the ST status in 2002. Hence an increase in the ST population (from zero to 371; 184 male and 187 female) and a corresponding decrease in the SC population were recorded in 2011. Similarly, in case of literacy Shivdwar appears to be catching up fast while Uchadeeh shows growing illiteracy trends (contrary to the decline trends in other villages) between 2001 and 2011. The case of main worker, the Shivdwar and Lohari villages show decreasing numbers while Uchadeeh and Rampuriya village show increasing trends on comparing Census 2001 with that of 2011. The agricultural labourer in Shivdwar and Uchadeeh villages return maximum number and Lohari and Rampuriya villages return minimum between 2001 and 2011.

Table 2.3: Community composition number of household in study villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the community</th>
<th>Study villages in Mirzapur/Sonebhadra districts</th>
<th>Study villages in patha region of Chitrakoot district Bundelkhand region of UP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shivdwar (number of households)</td>
<td>Lohari (number of households)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakur</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBC</td>
<td>244</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yadav</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teli/Gupta</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pal</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahar</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lohar</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>152</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kol</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamar</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhat</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baiga</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nat</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhobi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field work

This table explain the community composition in terms of number of households in study villages. All the study villages consist of mix population of all
castes. The caste composition of study villages includes GEN, OBC, SC, and ST community. The Brahman and Thakur castes come under general category. These communities are dominant castes and belong to so called Badaka group in these study villages. The Shivdwar and Uchadeeh villages consist of maximum number of Brahman households as compared to Lohari and Rampuriya. In case of Thakur Lohari and Uchadeeh have higher numbers. Population of OBC category household is more in Shivdwar and Lohari as compared to Uchadeeh and Rampuriya study villages in Chitrakoot district. The Scheduled Caste households are more in Lohari and Uchadeeh in comparison to those in Shivdwar and Rampuriya villages. The Scheduled Tribe population is found only in Shivdwar village which consists of 30 households. The Rajput and Brahman castes are major employers of the Kol, and Chamar agricultural wage labourers in the village.

In summing up, the Kol inhabitants of Mirzapur/Sonebhadra had been a traditional connection with the series of tribal movements held in its nearby territory of Chhotanagpur, now in Jharkhand. They have also been in direct contact with the left movements in their territory since a long time after independence.

The crisis of land and forest in both of our study areas appeared with emigration of outsiders into the territory and grabbing the land after the colonial rule, which reduced the Kols to the bonded labourers in their land. Later the region is disentangled in a strange relationship of the landlords, the bandits, contractors, police and ore exploiters. The industrial projects in their territory have further complicated their life of survival. This situation serves as the backdrop of discussing the local movements in next chapters.