INTRODUCTION
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In India, due to the specific socio-historical conditions, the over utilisation of natural resources proves beneficial only to a small group of people. The developmental goals are fulfilled by diverting the resources away from the survival needs of the majority. While the benefits from development are shared by a privileged few, the repercussions are shared by poor and the marginalized sections of the society. The misutilisation and depletion of the natural resources result in the further impoverishment of these people. These unequal rewards from development are mediated through the state and its various institutions.

Although several works have already been done in the area leading to the problem of food security and migration, I am looking at it in a different context. The role of the State in post-liberalisation phase making a shift from the welfarist orientation to a neo-liberal state that has intensified the problem of food security and migration. Although food insecurity remains my area of concern, I will be looking into more specifically the problem of migration, relating it to the impact of sponge iron mines in Keonjhar district and the impact of sponge iron factories in Sundergarh district, deriving thereby that migration is intense in Keonjhar district whereas it is episodic in Sundergarh district. This study looks at the relations more closely by analysing views elicited from individuals and groups affected by these processes. It attempts to provide an understanding of the public policies of the government of Orissa, and people’s perception of the impact of the policies and programmes on their livelihood.

The problem of food security revolves around the issues of improper functioning of ration shops, very low off-take under the public distribution system, deficiencies in the provision of ration cards and few or no ‘food for work programmes’. However, in this study of mines I am looking at it in a different context through the aspects of public policy and migration. A whole gamut of Orissa government’s policies in the post 1990s will be looked into starting from the Orissa government’s policy document on Agriculture 1996, policies related to land and forest, policy reforms and investment in mineral resources facilitating private sector investment in mining and mineral based
industries which has posed a major threat to its environment and social fabric, displacing and undermining the way of life of thousands of Adivasis. Orissa has emerged as a hub for metals business and has the potential to attract investment up to US$ 30-40 billion over the next five years. Between 1991-04, it has attracted 0.9 percent of India’s investment, aggregating to nearly US$ 370 million. During 1991 to 2003, it has approved over US$ 2.3 billion of foreign direct investment.

The Foreign Direct Investment in Orissa During 1991-2003

Source: Directorate of Industries, Government of Orissa
The FDI-Sectoral Break-Up in Orissa

Source: Directorate of Industries, Government of Orissa

The Orissa government is thus acting as a promoter and facilitator of corporate sector. With the restructuring of the economy into an open economy, the mining sector has been liberalized, making it easier for mine-owners to obtain permission for prospective mining. The mining sector has been opened to private initiative and investment, removing the restrictions on foreign equity participation to attract foreign capital and technology. This policy of the government of Orissa has no doubt helped the State to generate revenue from mining and allied activities but it has failed to take account of the profound social and environmental costs that constitutes a social and ecological debt to the people of Orissa which in turn has lead to the problem of food security and migration.

I have taken up two districts namely Keonjhar and Sundergarh to study the above issues. The analysis is based largely on my personnel experience and conceptualisation of the situation as I saw it. The study is compartmentalized presenting a comparative picture of the sponge iron mines in Keonjhar district and sponge iron factories in Sundergarh.
district. The impact of both on the livelihood of the people has been studied, thereby deriving how it has led to the problem of food security and migration and subsequently looking into why migration is intense in mines belt whereas it is episodic in the factories belt.

The basic difference between sponge iron mines and sponge iron factories is that, the mines provide the raw materials in the form of iron ore and manganese ore which are extracted and feeded into the sponge iron factories for processing and production of sponge iron. The mines are small scale units, operating on lease with poor infrastructural facilities which have inhibited their optimum development. The private parties form a cartel controlling the operation and distribution in mines. The lease is temporary, as once the deposits are exhausted the lease is cancelled. There is no job security and employment generation is less. The mines being mechanized, the emphasis is on hiring technical experts from outside as a result of which there is no space for manual labour. The unskilled and semi skilled labourers have been the worst sufferers. On the other hand the sponge iron factories are licensed and authorized. They are registered units under the Factories Act 1948 and report to the inspector Factories and Boilers as per the Orissa Factory Rules 1950. They are large scale units requiring more investment, so the employment generation is more and there is job security. Apart from it they have to report to the labour department, excise department, police department, pollution control board. Their accountability is tested at various stages of their operation.

When it comes to environmental concerns, the mines are following the primitive methods of extraction such as blasting and hand-picking which leads to enormous waste and is environmentally destructive. The emphasis being on open-cast and underground mining the environmental damage is extreme. Moreover the mines are operating without the mandatory consent of the pollution control board and without any environmental clearance. The rules and regulations are observed more in the breach. The factories are accountable to the pollution control board which monitors the pollution and does heavy metal analysis. Thus they have the capacity to deal with hazardous processes and wastes which is absent in mines. In the subsequent chapters the impact of sponge iron mines and
sponge iron factories will be dealt with in the respective districts, presenting a comparative picture of migration being intense in Keonjhar district and episodic in Sundergarh district.

Both Keonjhar and Sundergarh districts abounds in tribal population and falls in Fifth Schedule areas\(^1\). The scheduled tribes of Keonjhar District totaled four lakhs ninety-nine thousand and four hundred fifty seven in 1991 census which increased to five lakhs ninety-five thousand and one hundred eighty seven in 2001 census thus registering a growth of 11.90% in a decade (1991-2001).\(^2\) As per 2001 census there are 46 scheduled tribes in the district. Out of these the principal tribes are Bathudi, Bhuyan, Bhumij, Gond, Ho, Juang, Kharwar, Kisan, Kolha, Kora, Munda, Oraon, Santal, Saora, Sabar and Sounti. These sixteen tribes constitute 96.12% of the total tribal population of the district. Joda Block of Keonjhar District has been selected as the primary aim of the work remains to study the impact of the sponge iron mines on the livelihood of the people and out of a total of 110 mines in Keonjhar District 75 are found in Joda Block. Besides in the respective villages of Joda Block namely Jojang, Jalhari and Palasa taken up for study as many as one lakh people have been affected out of which eighty percent are tribals. The tribal people Juangs and Bhuyans are the worst sufferers in Joda Block due to the construction of mining projects. The forest cover of the district is 3543 sq.km. which is 42.67 percent of the total geographical area (8303 sq.km.) of the district.

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\(^1\) Fifth Schedule [Article244 (1)] refers to the provisions as to the administration and control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes. Scheduled Tribes constitutes nearly 22.21% of the total population of Orissa. Nearly half the State’s Area (44.70%) is under Schedule V of the Indian Constitution, with a total population of 8,870,884 (2001 census), out of which 68% is constituted by tribal population and 20% is constituted by scheduled caste population. The areas under Schedule V in Orissa are Mayurbhanj, Sundergarh, Koraput, Rayagada, Nabrangpur and Malkangiri districts in whole, Kuchinda tahasil of Sambalpur district, Keonjhar, Telkoi, Champua, Barbil tehsils of Keonjhar district, Khondamal, Balliguda and G.Udaigiri tahsils of Khondamal district, R.Udaigiri tahsil, Guma and Rayagada blocks of Parlekhemundi tahsil in Parlakhemundi sub-division and Suruda tahasil of Ghumsur sub-division in Ganjam district, Thuamul Rampur and Langigarh blocks of Kalahandi district and Nilgiri block of Balasore district. The scheduled areas contain almost 70% of the forest areas of Orissa even though they form only 44% of the State area.

\(^2\) The data available on http://keonjhar.nic.in/introduction.htm
The total population of Sundergarh district is fifteen lakhs seventy three thousand and six hundred seventeen out of which the scheduled tribes constitute seven lakhs ninety eight thousand and four hundred eighty one and scheduled castes constitute one lakh thirty eight thousand and one hundred fifty seven. The scheduled tribe population is the second largest in the state accounting for 50.69% of the district population. Besides, the rapid increase in the growth rate of urban population may be attributed mainly to the industrial development in different parts of the district. Among all the districts of Orissa, Sundergarh has now recorded the highest proportion of urban dwellers, even if there was no urban centre in the district upto 1941. By, 1951, the total urban population of the district accounted for only 2.78 percent of the total district population. But there was a sudden spurt in the proportion of the urban population of the district to 17.9 percent in 1961, 23.25 percent in 1971, 30.52 percent in 1981 and 33.46 percent in 1991. The rapid urbanization in this district has been mostly due to the location of the large-scale integrated steel plant in Rourkela. Due to the backward and forward linkage effects, it caused expansion of sponge iron factories around this urban centre. Taking into account the socio-economic features of the district it can well be said that the district provides a strong ground for the operation of the sponge iron factories. The total cultivated land of the district is 3,36,000 hectares out of which the high land constitutes 1,86,000 hectares which is uncultivated and unirrigated land. The low and medium land is 1,50,000 hectares. Broadly speaking, it is an undulating tableland of different elevations broken up by rugged hill ranges and cut up by torrential hill streams and the rivers Indravati and Brahmani. The general slope of the district is from north to south. Because of this undulating, hilly and sloping nature of landscape, the area is subject to rapid runoff leading not only to soil erosion but also to scarcity of water, the most essential aspect of agriculture. The average size of the operational holdings of the district is only 1.73 hectares, out of which if we take into account the class-wise

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3 The data available on http://sundergarh.nic.in/introduction.htm.


number of operational holdings, the marginal farmers (owning 1-2.5 acres) of land are more numbering 65,281 whereas large farmers constitutes a miniscule number only 584. The agricultural base is weak and since the region is endowed with rich natural resources like iron ore, manganese, bauxite, dolomite there is a vast scope for mineral based industries. I have chosen Bonai and Lauhnipara Blocks in Sundergarh District for my study, as out of 70 sponge iron factories in the district, 30 are found in Bonai and Lauhnipara Blocks.

**Objectives of the study:**

1. To study the public policies related to mining and industrialisation in Orissa.
2. To understand people’s perception of the impact of government policies and programmes on their livelihood.
3. To study the role of the state in the post-liberalisation phase and how it has led to the problem of food Security and migration.
4. To study why migration is intense in Keonjhar District whereas it is episodic in Sundergarh District.
5. To find out what measures the government should adopt to fill in the lacunas in the policies implemented by it.

**Hypotheses:**

The public policies of the state contravening the rights of the tribals related to land and forest has led to the problem of food security and migration. Whereas migration is intense in Joda Block of Keonjhar District, it is episodic in Bonai and Lauhnipara Blocks of Sundergarh District.

**Perspectives on Tribal Development: A Literature Review**

As far as Review of Literature is concerned, the issues I am dealing with in the context of the state of Orissa, has been mentioned by very few. This thesis of mine will look into the
respective works available and try to fill in the gap. The focus of the review of literature is on the public policies of government of Orissa in the 1990s.

Morgan Stanley (2007), in a critical review points out that the social pressure arising from widening inequality has increased in the past few years, driven by globalization and the rise of capitalism. He finds the “rising social challenge on account of the rise in inequality” a worrying trend. He also finds that “the inequality gap in wealth is even starker as the analysis indicate an increase in wealth of over $1 trillion (over 100 percent of GDP) in the past four years and the bulk of this gain has been concentrated within a very small segment of the population” leaving the semi-starved people at the receiving end. Thus utilization of cheap natural resources and cheap labour is built into the prevailing model of development in India.

Govind Chandra Rath propounds that the mainstream development model has limited impact on the people living at the periphery, specifically on tribes. The welfare model of development complements the lapses by elevating the standards of life of the people at the periphery through introducing a series of welfare policies, self-employment and wage-employment programmes. But the corruption of bureaucrats, low levels of people’s adjustment with the new set of self-employment and wage-employment programmes, and transnational forces in the form of globalization, place major obstacles in the path of free and fair performance of the welfare model of development programmes. The benefits of the welfare model of development are not equally distributed among the members of the groups, and in some cases even lead to the intensification of the oppression of the less privileged members by the privileged members of the same tribe. In both the cases, it is necessary to restructure the development policy with the salient objective of equal dissemination of benefits and retention of earlier egalitarian values at the receiving end of the development. There is increasing resistance among tribes today to the violation of their rights to natural resources like forest and land as well as their right to political power, education, food and health. This resistance gains ground because of the

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unsuccessful performance of the welfare model of development and the marginalization of the tribes from mainstream development, which in turn necessitates a new way of restructuring policies and implementing agency to accelerate the process of providing more opportunities to tribes under the domains of these two models of developments. The tribals now have introduced another alternative, in which they claim to develop the power of decision making and control over local resources to their gram sabha (village assembly) under the provisions of the PESA (Panchayats Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996. This alternative intends to provide a new domain in the development discourse of the future.

Nehru argued that it was not a healthy sign for a newly-emerging nation like India to allow the vulnerable tribal groups to remain perpetually confined to a primitive economy. His economic policy was regulated by the mixed-economy philosophy of reserving some key sectors for the state, leaving the rest free for private enterprise (Nehru 1964: 132-33). But such an economy did not suit the tribal situation. They could not produce a capitalist from within themselves. The mixed economy rather perpetuated the dominance of the non-tribals in the Indian political economy. Capital formation further pushed the tribals into a perennial condition of backwardness as it crippled the potential of the indigenous economy. Industrialism, development, implementation of scientific knowledge and commercialization of forestry together uprooted the tribals from their traditional economy.

Harsh Mander propounds that the shortcomings of government policies and programmes designed to help and ‘uplift’ the poor have been exposed before. What is new in his

7 The Constitution of India, through its 73rd Amendment, paved the way for a separate and progressive legal and administrative regime for tribal areas to usher in genuine tribal self-rule. The final framework was laid down by the Bhuria Committee Report, which was legalized through the provision of the PESA (Panchayats Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act 1996.


work is the cumulative effect of authoritative evidence from such a wide range of programmes and conditions which are targeted to individuals or households. So often, it seems these either miss their targets or hit them and do more harm than good. Here the evidence is that, however benign the intentions, what happens on the ground is often perverse, leaving poor people not empowered and prospering but weaker and poorer than before. According to Mander "if strict and fair action against corruption is accompanied by motivation of staff, recognition of good work and responsiveness to genuine grievances, employee motivation is found not to decline but in fact greatly blossom among the large majority of staff. The second source of hope, powerfully guided by Mander is the right to information. Transparency associated with people’s planning in Kerala, and the movements for social audit and access to information in Rajasthan, are persuasive evidence that freedom of action to information is a key, if not the main key, to better governance. And the action needed is unequivocal. His works Unheard voices: Stories of Forgotten Lives” and the “Ripped Chest: Public Policy and the Poor People in India” are appeals for imagination, realism, solidarity, commitment and action to reform the policies of the state and the practices carried out in its name. The ripped chest shows the ways to inspire good actions and much change for the better.

He attempted a critical appraisal of the dominant neo-liberal notions of ‘good governance’ in contemporary social science literature, premised on a number of axioms. The first of these is that structural adjustment policies that liberate the market rein in government spending, secure macro economic stability and liberalise trade and investment, leading to economic growth. Secondly, economic growth is synonymous with development and thirdly, economic growth would benefit all sections of people, including impoverished and socially marginalized groups.

He tried to argue that this notion of ‘good governance’ works mainly for business and capital, but not for the poor and marginalized people. They need instead, a strong and active state, regulated market, legislative interventions for equity and strong genuinely democratic institutions of participatory governance and public accountability.
Adding to his views, B.D. Sharma propounds that the participation of tribals in the industrial and mineral development should be conceived in dynamic terms so as to strengthen their socio-economic base in the process of its transformation from the primitive to the modern. The new nuclei of growth will continue to emerge and expand. Development of mineral resources needs special attention, as the rich parties can preempt the rights for mineral exploitation of these areas on payment of nominal statutory charges. By the time the tribal realises that he has been sitting on a ‘gold mine’ the legal rights would have been vested in others. In case of unregulated mining activity, particularly in the remote areas, new Zamindaries would emerge and the people may be reduced to the levels of ‘serfs’. The plan, therefore, should envisage a well regulated mineral development policy in which the local people are the major partners. Project planning for the same needs a different approach. It should envisage a distinct preparatory stage as an integral part of the project, including (i) identification broadly of a general region for the location of industry, (ii) intensive socio-economic development of the local area including the likely hinterland of the project through education, health services, irrigation, animal husbandry and upgrading of general skills and (iii) a planned programme of rehabilitation of the people directly affected by acquisition of land for diverse purposes.

In N.C. Saxena’s views economic development and reduction of poverty requires two different strategies. It is believed that whereas the former set of policies have to be geared to increase the production and need not take into account the interests of the poor, the latter is the responsibility of the Ministry of Rural Development which has no control over the anti-poor policies followed by other ministries and which are justified in the name of economic development. How existing policies of other departments impact on the poor is hardly analyzed by the rural developments of central and state governments. What is required is ‘mainstreaming of poverty concerns’ through overhauling of the

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policies of all government departments, under close supervision of the planning commission.

As per the report of the (World Bank 1997:27), the neo-liberal paradigm of 'good governance' stresses that governance is far more than just government and includes within its ambit also the private sector and civil society.\textsuperscript{12} It regards the role of the state primarily to act 'not as a direct provider of growth but as a partner, catalyst and facilitator. It maintains that strong states are a necessary but not sufficient condition for good governance for poor people. It requires at the same time strong institutions and organizations of dispossessed and excluded people who assert as an inalienable entitlement their right to participate in all aspects of governance, and to hold the state tightly, continuously and effectively accountable.

Derze and Sen debate about the appropriate role of the state in the context of liberalization in India.\textsuperscript{13} They argue that it is not a question of more or less government but of the type of governance to have. They stress its role mainly in advancing human capabilities and effective freedoms, not merely as a means to greater economic growth but because human beings should be valued as ends in themselves, and the advancement of human capabilities should be the objectives of social and political organization. The specific agenda that they recommend includes expansion of basic education, health care and social security, population policy, land reform, local democracy, women's rights, sound environmental policies and a credible legal system.\textsuperscript{14}

They challenge the neo-liberal perspectives on good governance. According to them even if enhanced economic growth is guaranteed by structural adjustment policies, economic growth does not automatically result in sustainable human development. The trickl- 


\textsuperscript{14} For a detailed discussion see 'Hounded like Criminals' in Harsh Mander, 2001, p.13.
down effect seldom takes place and hence, it does not automatically reverse poverty, which is much more than income and consumption failures. It does not intrinsically expand human capabilities and substantive freedoms. More important than how much is produced, are questions of what is produced, by what means and for whom.

Jagannath Pathy examines that the development paradigm is built on the unequal socio-political structure.\(^{15}\) This paradigm of development has treated the rest of the biosphere as an enemy to be defeated and tortured for immediate maximization of exchange value. This anthropocentric and essentially reductionist perspective of natural world has eroded the ecological resource base of the humanity and destroyed the customary tribal matrix of harmonious, holistic and anticipatory equilibrium between nature and culture. It promotes the gradual triumph of reason, rationality and value neutrality, cultivating a contempt for consciousness, values, ethics and traditions, and thereby, institutionalizing the belief that abandoning the traditional, cultural and institutional elements is the sine qua non of development.

In Arun Kumar’s views lack of proper survey and settlement, unsystematic land administration, mutually contradictory regulations, unsympathetic and anti-tribal bias of the officials, judicial delays and cumbersome and complicated procedures are few of the legal and administrative lacunae that point to the state’s inefficiency in dealing with disputes related to land.\(^ {16}\) Tribal land alienation is the most important cause of the pauperization of tribal people, rendering their economic situation, which is extremely vulnerable even at the best of times, even more precarious.\(^ {17}\) Despite the enactment of laws in several states to protect tribal landowners from such exploitation, tribal land alienation has continued at a disastrous pace, both through loopholes in the law and in


\(^{17}\) To an extent, this phenomenon of tribal land alienation is universal in tribal regions worldwide because of the powerful and predatory assault by wider ‘civilisation’ on their traditional social organization.
contravention of it. In Orissa an accounting of the land alienation from 1990 to 2000 reflects that 17,492 cases of land alienation have been instituted. The state has failed to measure the lands through cheaper Plane Table Method of Cadestral Survey. Rather the state blames the vulnerable tribal communities for encroaching on government land. This has become an issue whenever the state has attempted to establish a mega-project in the resourceful tribal regions ignoring the corporate rights of these vulnerable communities over their community land and forest-based resources enjoyed for generations together.

According to (Ghosh; 1996) all the forest policies promulgated during both pre and post-independence periods have been directly implemented in the state. As a result of this, the tribal communities were steadily isolated and segregated from appropriating the forest resources the only source of their livelihood. The traditional rights of these communities over time have been replaced by concessions and controlled under various state policies. The implementation of these policies during different plan periods has drastically affected the economic, social and cultural life of the tribal people. In the pre-independence period, the Forest Act, 1865, empowered the government to declare the land covered with trees as forest land. As a result, rights of the tribal people were restricted in the name of 'national interest'. Later on the Indian Forest Act, 1878 divided forests into three categories, viz., reserve forests, protected forests and village forests and strengthened government control over forest and forest resources. This not only restricted tribal communities as regards free entry, but also restricted certain forest areas for the people in the name of forest classification. The National Forest Policy, 1894 laid emphasis on the regulation of community rights and restrictions on the privileges previously enjoyed by the villagers in the immediate neighbouring forests, and brought out a formal relation of tribals with that of forest department as a crucial issue in the forest management by protecting hill slopes and imposing ban on shifting cultivation. The Indian Forest Act, 1935 consolidated the power of the state on forests so as to meet the requirements of British industry, military and commerce.

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B.D. Sharma propounds that the tribal economy is intimately connected with the forests and their economy. This relationship has been recognized, but has not been articulated in terms of clear policies and programmes. The tribal economy and the forest economy therefore have tended to apart with adverse implications to both. In some cases, the forests have suffered tremendous loss while in others the tribal economy has been shattered. In some cases, the loss to the national economy has been sizeable and to the extent it has adversely affected the weakest groups, the imbalance in the socio-economic structure has increased. A clear analysis of underlying processes in the changing socio-economic structure of the tribal communities and their implications to the forest economy, therefore, is urgently needed. It will help in evolving a viable policy for development of the forests and the tribal economy.

In the Post-Independence period, the first National Forest Policy of 1952 attempted to redefine the traditional rights of the forest-dwelling tribes, which converted certain concessions (enjoyed by tribals for long) by withdrawing the release of forest land for cultivation, controlling free grazing and discouraging tribals to do away with the practice of shifting cultivation. The National Commission on Agriculture (NCA) in 1976 revised the National Forest Policy, which recommended that forests should be managed efficiently for commercial purposes and for the maximization of forest productivity but NCA remained silent about the traditional rights of the tribals. The Indian Forest Bill, 1980 again vested powers with forest officers to arrest and for the seizure of goods. These policies reflected the colonial legacy which did not treat adivasis as the friends of forests and empowered the state government to declare any reserve forest as non-reserved and also allotted forest land for non-forest purposes. According to Ashish Kothari, a member of Kalpavriksh-Environment Action Group, of all the forest land diverted for non-forest purposes since 1980, over 50 percent has occurred in the 1990s as a result of the rapidly increasing demand for such lands by industry and infrastructure. Of the 95,000 hectares of forest land given to mining since 1980, 63 percent has been given in the period between 1997 and 2005, despite proof that they will be socially and ecologically

devastating. More than half of the population that depends directly on natural resources is facing a serious crisis of survival as these resources get sucked up by the industrial and urban juggernaut.

Archana Prasad propounds that the development paradigm that guided the natural resource policy ensured that colonial forest laws still governed management practices. The poorest tribal people are victims rather than subjects of mainstream economic development. The contradictory forces unleashed by state policy saw a new phase of struggle for tribal rights as it used the state power to protect the interests of the forest bureaucracy, conventional environmentalists and industry. According to the data provided by the Ministry (of Environment and Forests) to the Supreme Court, in the last three years, 5.75 lakh hectares of forest land, including dense forest cover, has been handed over for non-forestry purposes like projects and mining. The Policies are now moulded around economic interests as the government moves towards achieving its target of averaging a 9 percent growth rate and no attention is paid to the need for detailed impact studies and effective public hearings on projects.

Adding to it N.C.Saxena critically reviews the role of the forest department. He points out that the tribal communities are not only forest-dwellers but also for centuries they have evolved a way of life which on the one hand is woven round the forest ecology and forest resources and on the other ensures that the forest is protected against depredation by men and nature. But at present, the state retains hegemony over these resources, often in conjunction with large private corporate interests. The state has established barriers to the access of poor communities to forest resources for sustainable livelihood. It has been estimated that there are about 100 million forest dwellers in the country living in and around forest lands, and another 275 million for whom forests continue to be an important source of livelihood and means of survival. Though exact figures are not


21 For a detailed explanation, see Saxena (1996).
known, a substantial proportion of these would be tribals. 22 About one million are estimated bamboo and basket weavers. However, most state government’s have allocated bamboo supplies at highly subsidized rates (less than one percent of market rate in Orissa and 5 percent in Gujarat) to the industries, whereas artisans have no allocation and are forced to steal for their livelihoods. Most NTFPs are nationalized, which instead of improving the bargaining power of the poor, have often benefited traders and created monopolies. There are several bans on processing and value addition, so much so that in Orissa tribals can collect hill brooms, but cannot bind these into a broom, nor can they sell the collected items in the open market. In recent years, significant progressive interventions like Joint Forest Management (JFM) schemes and pro-people laws like the Provisions of Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 have created legal spaces to restore, at least partially community control over forest resources. However, the progress is halting, because forest department’s at the state level resist giving away of their powers, and the influence of private industry including multinationals and trade remains powerful.

K.B.Srivastva in his work, Panchayats in Scheduled Areas: An analysis of provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (Central Act No.40) and “Extent of its Adaptation by the States having Fifth Scheduled Areas” (1999), examines that the underlying premise of the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (hereafter referred to as PESA) is that tribal community can be brought back from the brink of economic, social and cultural disaster only if they are restored effective and

22 In terms of occupation, there remains today only few tribal communities like the Birhors of Madhya Pradesh, Chenchu, Yenadi and Yeribula of Madhya Pradesh and the Onge, Jarawa and Sentinelese of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, which are entirely dependent on forestry and food-gathering, but even they barter these products for other goods in village markets. Most forest-dwelling tribals continue to depend on the collection of NTFPs as a major supplementary source of livelihood. An estimated million tribal cultivators engage in slash and burn shifting cultivation, covering 26.7 million acres of land. This system is known variously as 'jhum' in North-eastern states, 'poor' in Andhra Pradesh, 'dahiya' or 'bewar' in Madhya Pradesh and 'komar' 'bringu' or 'gudia' in Orissa. Today settled but usually low productivity dryland subsistence agriculture is the predominant source of livelihood for the large majority of tribal people. Cottage industries are the mainstay of small scattered tribes, such as bamboo and cane artisans.
comprehensive control over their own destinies. Accordingly, this law seeks to create legal spaces and institutions that can carry the potential to arrest, and even reverse the somber recent history of tribal communities. The PESA is unprecedented in that it gives radical self-governance powers to the tribal community and recognizes its traditional community rights over natural resources. In one stroke, the Act creates a space for people's empowerment, genuine political participation, convergent community action, sustainable people-oriented development and auto-generated emancipation. Prior to the passage of this Act, laws passed by the central and state governments were applied mechanically to tribal areas, even when these contravened traditional tribal practices and institutions. Section 4 (m) (v) of the PESA lays down that the "State Legislature shall ensure that the panchayats at the appropriate level and the gram sabha are endowed specifically with the power to prevent alienation of the land and take appropriate action in this regard. These powers are clearly intended to extend to:

- Regulate the transfer of land from scheduled tribes to non-tribals.
- Detect instances of land unlawfully alienated from scheduled tribes.
- Restore illegally alienated land to the original tribal landowners.

However, a survey of state laws reveals that most state governments have not so far adequately amended the existing laws, nor have they passed fresh laws or administrative instructions in order to bring these in conformity with PESA, 1995. The amended Panchayats Acts of Andhra Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Orissa have made provisions for empowering gram panchayats or gram sabhas subjected to "as may be prescribed". The state governments have not issued detailed guidelines or amended the relevant laws accordingly.

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24 For a more detailed discussion of the Bhuria Committee report as well as a critical reading of PESA, see Savyasaachi (1998), who argues that the PESA does not go far enough in advancing genuine self-rule for tribal communities.
The relevant literature available on Industrialisation and Mining is extremely limited and therefore it has not been possible to make any generalizations. The interest of the anthropologists in these fields is still in the nascent stage and most of the work is therefore of exploratory nature. There has been no attempt to study the impact of industry and mining on the society within its ambit. But the available literature inspite of its meagerness has been categorized in order to be meaningful. Such categorization has facilitated comparative studies.

Martin Orans examines the problems of adjustment of a tribal community, the Santal, to an industrial urban setting of which they have been part for the last 50 years. Unlike other studies dealing with the impact of industrialization over a short span of time which, in fact, are limited to the establishment phase of an industry, this has distinction of being one which studies the problem when the industrial complex is well established and the industry and the urbanizing factors are fully integrated with the population. The most important part of Orans study is the development of political and tribal consciousness amongst the Jamshedpur Santal. The Jharkhand movement is strongest in Jamshedpur. Since it is an important aspect of the modern political system, the TISCO management has also "discretely" supported some of these movements. This tendency is clearly to resurrect the erstwhile tribal characteristics/traits. It creates a new direct bond with all the Santal and to a somewhat lesser degree with all the tribals of the area. This new bond rests ultimately on the somewhat known opportunity for the Santal and other tribals to function as a successful interest group.

L.P.Vidyarthi further brings out that Industrialisation initiates a chain reaction – social, cultural and economic. It is not always that the region where an industry has been set up has the maximum benefit in economic terms. In fact industrial culture can directly benefit in its productive and administrative set up only those who have the requisite skills.


Otherwise the local people gain nominally and at the same time they undergo the greatest change in their socio-cultural set up. There is a tremendous change in the occupational structure of the local community, the main reason for change being loss of agricultural land, rendering all agricultural-based occupations to vanish. Adding to the same N.K.Bose propounds that the group-status changes to individual- status under the impact of industrialization. While discussing the impact of industrialization on the tribal life he contrasts it with the impact of Hindu social organization on the tribal communities. In relation to Hindu society they retained their group identity but became part of the traditional economic and social system. As a group they carved out a place in the caste system. But under the impact of industrialization, the tribal individual goes alone as “wage earner” and his old ties are more or less dissolved and the individual is released as an emancipated unit to take his place in competitive productive organization. Industrial development generates many ideological changes also. One such important field is of politics. In those industries which are labour intensive and have a sizeable tribal population, it may be worthwhile to study the role of trade- union, participation of tribal labourers in it and the consequent changes they (the tribal labourers) bring about in political ideology into their own traditional habitat. This “feed-back process” has a special value because most of the industries are located in politically volatile regions viz., West Bengal and Bihar.

The parameters of a policy for industrialization of tribal areas were spelt out by the Dhebar Commission (1961), while they averred that it would not be fair to expect the march of industrialization to be halted, there would be a consequential obligation to the tribals to see that the process does not sweep them off their feet. In other words, industrialization could proceed unabated, but the tribals should be enabled to build on their own moorings. The Commission recognized that industrial development has its


impact on the individual, the family and society and on the entire environment with consequent, psychological, social and economic consequences.

According to Jyotirmaya Mohanty migration is almost an universal feature of industrialization and is the outcome of differences in economic activities and opportunities.29 In her views, in many Asian countries, as in the Third World in general, “industrialization and economic development” always accompanied “considerable migration to the growing centres of labour demand. Under the mounting pressure of population growth on land already densely settled and a stagnant rural economy the village folk generally migrate to the industrial urban centres for employment. In other words, the surplus labour in the rural sector moves to the urban sector in search of work. It is argued that even in the primary-sector dominated countries the migrations are more due to industrial ‘pull’ than the agricultural ‘push’.30 In the Indian context, the motivational aspect of the movement is explored by scholars like Ashish Bose (1978)31 who have stressed the role of push factors in migration and others like Tapan Piplai and Niloy Majumdar (1969: 509-522) who have stressed the importance of pull factors.32 Arguing that the push and pull factors are not independent of one another but are complimentary, N.K.Sovani (1966) has taken the view that they do not work in isolation rather they reinforce each other.33 In the process of rural-urban migration, the ‘push’ as well as ‘pull’ factors work together. Various ‘push’ factors like population pressure, modernization of agriculture and the traditional land-tenure system prevalent in the “areas of departure” (i.e. the rural areas) along with the major ‘pull’ factors like the rapid increase of employment opportunities and the provision of better working conditions


existing in the urban centres are responsible for the influx of the villagers inside the urban areas.\textsuperscript{34}

The National Commission for Rural Labour (1996), study points out that uneven development within the country has two major dimensions: namely, inter-regional disparity in economic growth and the other is the disparity between different socio-economic classes.\textsuperscript{35} It identified two sets of reasons for rural labour migration: (1) migration for survival, and (2) migration for subsistence. The first one i.e. migration for survival denotes the extreme economic and often social hardships faced by the labourers in rural India and migration becomes an outlet as part of their strategy for survival. Such migrants consist of mostly landless, unskilled and illiterate people and over half of them belong to the depressed or indigenous communities which are officially referred to as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The second reason i.e. migration for subsistence denotes relatively a better situation for rural labourers. Their survival may be worked out within the local socio-economic and ecological environment. They are compelled to migrate often for shorter duration and to nearby regions as compared to migrants for the survival strategy who have to migrate longer distances and for longer duration. Seasonal migration is considered by National Commission for Rural Labour (NCRL) as largely involuntary for survival.

M.S.A.Rao conducted a study entitled “Some Aspects of Sociology of Migration in India”. In this study he points out that the seasonal migration occupies a very important place in migration studies, but unfortunately it is the most neglected area.\textsuperscript{36} Since the census data are not useful in this regard, primary studies are needed to unravel the different dimensions of the problem including the conditions concerned, the role of middlemen, the nature of exploitation and an assessment of relevant legislations.


Seasonal migration has acquired a singular importance in the context of commercial crops such as cotton, sugarcane, tobacco, potato, groundnut and mulberry. There are other operations which need seasonal labour such as bamboo-cutting, felling of trees for timber and cutting wood for fuel, construction of roads in forests and other areas and desilting of tanks and canals and building of tanks, bridges and dams. He further pointed out that the labourers from Palamuri and Orissa are known for such works. According to Rao, seasonal migration tends to be exploited by the middle men, and hence the process of recruitment and different patterns of organization of work needs to be studied in detail.

The existing literature in the field of migration in general and rural-to-rural migration in particular has concentrated on an analysis of the causes of migration, the characteristics of migrants and the volume of migration on the basis of available Census data. Relatively little attention is given to the process of migration, the experience of the migrants during the process and the aftermath of migration in terms of accommodation and adjustment of the migrants to a comparatively new environment, a comparison of the characteristics of the place of origin and the place of destination and the distinct features of migrants and non-migrants. However, there is currently a tendency among the social scientists to supplement this source by data collected in special sample surveys of migration.

**The Study Design**

Based on the need of the study and the methodology adopted, the aspect of the study design further concretizes its objectives and formulates a hypothesis. It also specifies the focus of the study and the manner in which it was conducted.
Sample Design:

Sources of Data Collection:

In both the districts apart from interview schedule, focus group discussion, participant observation, case histories were taken up in each village visited on the sample basis. Also
some of the line department officials were consulted at the village level, to know their opinions. The district level officials were also met to know their views on the impact of sponge iron mines in Keonjhar district and sponge iron factories in Sundergarh district.

Methodology:

In a comparative political analysis, a consistent method and adequate research tools are necessary. The methodology of the research is primarily analytical. The research is based on both Primary and Secondary sources. The Primary constitutes both micro and macro level data. The micro level data was collected through interviews and informal talks, drawing information as well as core perceptions from the tribal community while probing the role of different players and stakeholders. The macro level Primary data was collected from the reports of the welfare agencies (both government as well as non-government), official records such as District Statistical Handbook, District Gazetteer and materials from Tribal-Cum-Harijan Research and Training Institute, Bhubaneswar, Orissa. The Secondary data was drawn from various books, journals and published articles. Looking at the varied needs of the study a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies was adopted for the study. The qualitative data was drawn from participant observation and interview schedule. The interview schedule was open-ended, unstructured and informal so as to gather maximum varied information on the subject. To mobilize more data, informal discussion was held with the tribals and government officials who are the targets of my study. Following the preliminary discussions, micro-study with participatory methods was taken up to get a picture into the situation of the villages. The study was taken up firstly by the:

Participatory micro study at village level:

Micro studies are important to understand the mechanisms which are at work at the qualitative level of any problem, which cannot be captured effectively by a large-scale survey. A micro study of the villages will provide the scope for intense observation of the factors that are active in a specific context. A large-scale survey tends to overlook many
aspects which are location specific or situation specific, since specificities are lost in aggregation and standardization. A micro study gives space for all the specificities and also gives better qualitative information since careful handling of the data is possible. The approach of this study is Participatory Action Research. It is participatory as views are elicited from individuals and groups. This study attempts to provide an understanding of the public policies of the government of Orissa, and people’s perception of the impact of the policies and programmes on their livelihood.

**Identification of the study area:**

The two Districts namely Keonjhar and Sundergarh Districts have been identified for the study from the Northern and Western Districts of Orissa. For the study, I took up Joda Block in Keonjhar District, covering 3 gram panchayats and Bonai Block and Lauhnipara Block in Sundergarh District covering 2 gram panchayats in Bonai Block and 1 gram panchayat in Lauhnipara Block. A round of preliminary visits and consultations was taken up to identify the villages for micro study. The selection of the gram panchayats and villages was done after consultation with the Voluntary Organisations (V.O) functionaries and local elected representatives. The source list was obtained from them and from the source list the total households (hhs) in the respective villages was prepared. The source list is the sampling frame from which the sample is to be drawn. It is representative of the population. The sampling is defined as taking any portion of a population or universe as representative of that population or universe. The sample of the study constitutes the affected households and the criteria of selection of the households was on the basis of the size of land holdings. Since my study is based on social sectors, the stratification of the households on the basis of size of the landholdings is considered most appropriate. The various parameters used are:

1. Landless

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37 A household for the purpose of the survey is defined as one group of family members and other related persons living and eating together in a kitchen.

2. 1-2.5 acres - marginal farmers
3. 2.5-5.0 acres - small farmers
4. 5 acres and above - large farmers

The maximum affected households are in the category of small farmers owning 2.5-5.0 acres both in the sponge iron mines in Keonjhar district and sponge iron factories in Sundergarh district. The sample size of the present study is 100 households.

A socio-economic profile of the habitat to which the households belong would be helpful in getting more insights into the issues under concern.

Thus the study is multi-dimensional and attempts to cover a wider area. It examines the phenomenon basically from a public policy angle and attempts to explain the gap between promise and performance. The study does not entirely depend upon the survey method although that is the major tool used. Other tools like participant observation, case histories and informal discussions with different categories of people are also employed. Thus the study has taken all the possible care which would improve its scientific validity on the one hand and reflect the reality on the other.

Chapterisation:

The Thesis contains six chapters.

After briefly explaining the public policies of government of Orissa, a shift from a welfarist orientation to a neo-liberal state which has intensified the problem of food security and migration and different reasons that led to the selection of the two districts of Orissa in order to study the problems, the remaining portions of the introductory chapter have been devoted towards the objectives of the study, hypothesis, review of the literature in the related fields, sample survey design and the methodology. Chapter-1 reviews the impact of the public policies of government of Orissa leading to the problem
of food security and migration. Chapter-2 studies the pattern of land alienation and forest encroachment in two districts of Orissa. Chapter-3 studies the impact of sponge iron factories on the livelihood of the people in Sundergarh District of Orissa. Chapter-4 studies the impact of sponge iron mines on the livelihood of the people in Keonjhar District of Orissa. And finally, Chapter-5 studies the political economy of sponge iron factories in Sundergarh District and sponge iron mines in Keonjhar District and summarises the main findings of the study, draws conclusion and highlights the policy implications.