A Summary of Conclusions

This study is located in the theoretical construct pertaining to marginalisation of space and certain social segments inhabiting therein and examination of the rich body of literature on social capital. This is embedded within the civil society network along with ideal of discrimination and alienation that serve as a framework for culling out evidences. Marginalisation is construed here as a process that successively creates deprivation through inequality in the social and spatial interactions between the tribal and the non tribal segments. Tribal society is classically interpreted as an egalitarian society, yet inequality in the socio-economic structural spheres is evident. The initiators of this change as formulated in this research are located outside the tribal society, within the non tribal society. Thus, today two kinds of distances exist: distances within the tribes and distances between the tribes and the non tribes. The focus of this study is entirely on the latter. What is explored herein is the power networks embedded in the idea of the eternal 'other' conditioning social and ethnic discrimination that eventually creates marginalisation. The manifestation of the marginalisation process is studied here as discrimination and deprivation in the sphere of work, marginalisation in the domain of land, land alienation processes, land as forests: reduction of access to and usage of forests. The dynamics of land as a basic resource is sought to be captured herein as it is a site of everyday contestations between the tribal communities and non tribal communities in the rural areas, as well as between the forces of governance and tribal communities.

The purpose in the study was to locate the processes wherein the distances between the tribes and the non tribes in the same locality increase and their relationship to the traditional rights and livelihood sustenance, particularly with reference to the tribes. Dominant actor in the space creates inequality. As the tribes were the dominant actors in terms of land resources the study focused on how this vital resource has been alienated from them in its various forms and the resultant alterations in the livelihood sustenance measures and power relationships between the two social groups. Inequality thus created accentuates the marginalisation process so much so that the earlier dominant position of the tribal communities is lost and they are pushed to the
margins of survivability. Inequality, deprivation and discrimination are all active participants of this process.

The idea of social capital used here is based primarily on the strength of the kinship, clan, and family networks. Here, the concept of social networks becomes important for as Loury (1998) comments, "Economic analysis begins with a depersonalized agent... but it cannot adequately capture the ways that racial inequality persists over time. In actuality, individuals are embedded in complex networks of affiliations ... Each individual is socially situated, and one's location within the network ... substantially affects one's access to various resources". The study contends that even after so much of marginalisation of the tribal communities there are modes of combating the marginalisation process within the tribal communities. Delving into another process that create the capital to help them survive even in the face of great odd. This resilience within the tribal communities is the social capital that helps them deal with a lot of day to day onslaught of the marginalisation process. This capital also provides them with better bargaining power and creates a separate identity for them, which then helps them to survive. Their cultural sphere also is enhanced, in that they use the cultural assets also to create a buffer stock of social capital. New political mobilization by the assertion of their rights on an ethnic base marks the resurgence of the tribal communities, as they demand for the development due to them making them conscious of their identity and strength.

This aim of this research is in effect an attempt to study the interface between tribal and non tribal populace of the Chota Nagpur plateau that has over time created unequal relations subjecting the tribal population to the marginalisation process. This process has various manifestations, such as creating certain kinds of exclusion from certain opportunities in the society and economic arena for certain segments of the population. Every kind of exclusion inherently creates an inequality amongst the different communities inhabiting that space. The tribals' problems with land accessibility (in the form of agriculture and the use of forests) for livelihood options have further created a situation of continuously living on the edge. The conversion of forest into reserved forest, the ban on timber logging and the nationalization of the

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Minor Forest Product (MFP) trade in the region have caused serious threat\(^2\) to the livelihood of these people. This lays the foundation of the marginalisation process of the tribes in the region.

The Multistage Stratified Random Samplings has been used in the selection of sample districts, blocks, villages and population. It was completed at various stages, using mostly secondary data first and primary information on the field wherever needed, especially to choose the remote villages. In the first stage, two districts – topmost and bottommost have been selected on the basis of Composite Index constructed on the basis of selected demographic, social and infrastructure variables\(^3\) using Kundu's Composite Index for regional analysis. Alongside this a Location Quotient for the tribal population was constructed for examining the concentration of the tribal populace in the various districts of the state of Jharkhand. Both the results were then arranged together, it was found that the concentration of tribal population was inversely proportionate to the development index of the district. The selection of the villages were made on the basis of fair representation of social group wise population distribution, some level of connectivity with the first set of villages being located near (0-15 kms) of the urban centre and the second set of villages being located away from the urban centres (beyond 25 kms).

The database was built from both secondary (government documents, books, journals etc) and primary sources (field survey). Some of the indicators utilised to study marginalisation are: employment structure, casualisation of labour, structural changes in the workforce, changes in the share of forests as compared to the gross cropped area, commodification of resources, land alienation, levels of dependence on forests and decreased access to forest resources. This is where social capital accumulated within the tribal societies is important, as a tool in resisting the marginalisation process by providing support to the people on the borders of survival by widening the sphere for options for survival. Social capital has been examined as relationship networks that already exist in daily life yet have the strength to generate resilience from within itself to combat the marginalisation process.


The study is spread over eight chapters. The first chapter introduces the broad outlines of the research along with the definitions and aims and objectives of the research. The second chapter deals with the primary concepts used in the theoretical construct of the study to locate it in the space pertaining to marginalisation and social capital amongst the tribal and non tribal communities of Jharkhand. The third chapter details how tribes have faced maximum land alienation and displacement due to the different development projects and various rules of the government of the day for procuring the natural resources of the region. The intervention of the government to create amelioration for the tribes is also examined here. The fourth chapter looks at the marginalisation in the economic arena locating it specifically in the sphere of work. The fifth chapter marginalisation in the domain of land examines inequality in land holdings of tribal and non tribal community along with changes in land use pattern in Jharkhand from 1971 to 2001. Historical roots of land laws and the processes of land alienation are dealt herein. Political economy of the East India Company period manifested in the idea of Permanent Settlement Act introduced by Lord Cornwallis in 1793 is the beginning of the changing land relations in the region. Other land laws enacted since have also been scrutinised to ascertain the tribal traditional rights in land. The sixth chapter then goes on to explore the explicit manifestations of the marginalisation process as land alienation in Jharkhand. The seventh chapter deals with sustainability and forest resources wherein the Land is studied as forests along with associated policy, politics and impacts. The eighth chapter deals with the social capital networks that operate within the tribal and non tribal population groups in order to study the stocks of social capital as well as its functioning.

Macro level development processes and marginalisation

An in depth study of the developments in the Chota Nagpur region during the colonial periods offer an opportunity to understand the nature of interventions made by the colonial rulers in the region. It is well documented that the primary motive of the colonial power was to carry out extensive exploitation of natural and human resources. Especially where there was a concentration of resources such as in the Chota Nagpur region and populated by the so-called primitive people (tribal populations), the right to the resources was taken to be the colonial ruler’s and the people could be treated as mere pawns.

The perspective of development followed in the post independent era was primarily based on the experiences of the developed western countries that emphasised industrialisation as a key
towards modernisation. Industrialisation therefore unleashed the process of intensive investment in the mining and industrial sector in Chota Nagpur. Primary amongst these were the coal industries, steel plants at Bokaro and Jamshedpur and numerous hydro electric plants such as the Damodar Valley corporation and the Subarnarekha projects. As a consequence of industrialisation, there has been massive displacement of tribal populations in certain areas. Due to establishment of industries about 68 – 70% of tribal people lost their land, for example, the coal industry with the largest aerial extent has displaced the maximum number of people in Jharkhand.

The benefits of employment generated by the establishment of industries were appropriated more by the non tribal populations who were trained in skills required in the industries. Tribals were primarily employed as casual daily wage labour and only 15% of the tribal population could be employed in the economic activities.

There is a discrepancy in total land acquired and the quantum of land against which job compensation was granted in both the case studies of Bharat Coking Coal Limited and Bokaro Steel Plant. It is seen that more land was acquired and the lesser number of jobs were provided. On the other hand the non tribals appropriated about 60% of total employment generated. Cash compensation was inadequate. Under the project based rehabilitation schemes, one may observe that cash compensation was disproportionately distributed. The tribal populations were mostly cheated and at times compensation took three to four years to reach the recipients. This time lag proved disastrous for the tribal people who having lost land and livelihood became paupers. The large number of litigation cases being decided upon by the Kolkata high court fro different industries attest to the fact of irregularities in the process of land acquisition and the compensation offered thereafter.

Government intervention to create amelioration for the tribes in Chota Nagpur in the form of tribal sub plans were introduced in the sixth five year plan. The TSP and the MADA approach jointly were to create development in the tribal areas. Allocations of fund under TSP were enormous; unfortunately it was either misappropriated or remained unutilised. Wherever the funds were utilised, the benefits accrued primarily to the non tribal populations even in the rural areas. Infrastructure development for the tribes was commandeered by the non tribals. Minor irrigation projects and agricultural development programmes that formed the focus of TSP in various periods accrued more to the non tribal populatiosn living in Chota Nagpur. It is
observed that non tribal, judiciary, bureaucracy and police nexus connives against distributing advantages of development to the tribes.

**Marginalisation in the arena of work**

The macro processes observed above are then located at the micro level by examining the patterns of tribal non tribal interface in the sphere of work. The sphere of work is a complex network of relationships and power alliances that structure and regulates opportunities to work. Within these networks, the tribal populations are powerless as most of the opportunities are controlled by the non tribal populations. Amongst the tribes unavailability of economic opportunities causes the increase in casualisation of labour engaged in labouring jobs. The work force participation (WPR) rates of the tribal populace have come down from 55% in 1981 to 37% in 2001. This is indicator of severe stress within their economy wherein minimum work is unavailable. The wage rates are also depressed in the rural sector where most of the tribal populace are engaged in work. The non tribal population in comparison is in a better position and has resources that help them overcome stress.

The field survey showed that WPR is lowest in Paschimi Singhbhum as compared to Dhanbad. This trend is in conjunction with the WPR all over the country, yet is special in the case of the tribal populace of Chota Nagpur as these people are already living on the margins and it takes a little change to push them into penury. There is a significant gap between the tribes and non tribes in the marginal workers category. While the tribes register an overwhelming presence, a trend that has remained steady over time confirms the lack of opportunities available to them in the arena of work where as non tribes demonstrate low percentages of marginal workers.

The population available and seeking work exhibit low values within the region as is evidenced from the secondary and field data, coming to only about 3% according to the Census and 2% according to the field data. The changed workforce structure of the tribes from cultivators to agricultural labourers indicates the precarious nature of their livelihood options that are finely balanced at the edge of absolute poverty. The non tribal population on the other hand witnesses a rise in the cultivator's category and a decrease in the agricultural labourer category, showing signs of resurgent growth within their economy.

The other important arena where the tribes are being marginalized is the household industries sector where their products have declined due to the increased availability of
industrially produced goods. There is a an important fine fissure herein between the tribes and the non tribes who have shown signs of revival in the 1990s within this sector while the tribes do not, though the extent to which it is growing in the economy of the region is not clear. These trends are also supported by occupation data generated from the field which indicates that the 35% of the non tribal segment is engaged in agriculture that does sustain their livelihood and 40% in self employed in non agricultural activities. It can also be observed that opportunities in the sphere of work are laced with social discrimination that has extreme effects but is difficult to overcome. These kinds of intense inequalities affected in the arena of economic relations also shape the resource availability relations. It is seen that the only resource available to them is land (though unproductive yet of economic value) and land in itself thus becomes a site for operation of the marginalisation process.

Marginalisation in the domain of land
Land assumes the greatest importance since that was the most important resource owned by the tribal communities loss of this deprives them of their livelihood sources. There are inequalities in the land holding pattern between the tribal and non tribal population groups in Jharkhand. The land that the tribal populations possess is often marginal land with low capacity for production resulting in survival problems for the tribal populations. This shows that working on land does not provide the tribes with sustainable livelihoods. The land they operate on or rather possess is not developed, thus its yield is less as compared to lands owned by the non tribal groups.

It is observed that the non tribes have a larger share of the net sown area and net irrigated area as compared to the tribes. This is indicative of the fact that the gains distributed as a consequence of agricultural development and minor irrigation projects included in the TSP are appropriated primarily by the non tribes. Tribal segment of the population rarely receive benefits from the special plans and other development programmes for agriculture. There is active participation of social discriminatory practises as well as legal infringements on the land rights of the tribal populace.

The first land law to be imposed in the region was the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793 with the ideals of achieving an enhanced or at least a regular supply of revenue. The destruction wrought on the tribal populace through this Act was tremendous. This showed up the ignorance of the prevalent communal land systems in Chota Nagpur and the lack of concern of the colonial
rulers regarding the region, in contrast to the paternal approach adopted by them regarding dealings with the tribals. The imposition of this Act of 1793 resulted in widespread famines and continuous out breaks of revolts by the tribal peasantry. Since then, many other exploitative land laws were imposed without any thought to the possible impacts in the colonial period followed by a startling regularity of revolts in the region which is well documented. The land laws have not changed much since the colonial times in Chota Nagpur. Though the legislation exists, especially the 1908 Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act that protects tribal land, yet its implementation to safeguard the interest of the tribes is lacking. Government initiatives have not borne any fruit and the tribal leaders of the newly created state of Jharkhand have brought almost no changes in the system of land laws.

**Land alienation as marginalisation**

The process of land alienation is a complex process whose functioning is silent and devastating for the tribal communities. There is a host of ambiguity in the law and the practice and the interpretations of the concerned terms. The field study evidences that almost 45% of total land owned by the non tribal society is tribal alienated land.

Pattern of migration is important in the tribal society, as land rights are associated with the first migrant to that village. This region has throughout witnessed increasing levels of non tribal incursions. In order to see the role of migrants who had been settled in the region a category of current and living migrants was created based on their time period of settling in Chota Nagpur. The old settled households are the ones who have been living in the region for the past three generations and the current and living migrants whose fathers had migrated and are living or those who have migrated themselves. The idea was to look at who has disproportionate access to land, the older settled households or the current living migrants. The older settled households all have particular land rights but the current and the living did not have any particular land rights. It is interesting to note that the current and the living migrants are the ones amongst the non tribals who own more land than the old settled households amongst the non tribal population. This shows that it is the new migrants who are actively involved in the process of land alienation as according to the land rights in the villages they are the ones who have least access to land ownership.
An extremely interesting fact is that most of the land owned by the non tribal populations is recorded inherited and they have registered land deeds for the land owned by them. This assumes importance in the light of the fact that tribal land in Chota Nagpur is inalienable. This indicates that land lost by the tribal s is now the property of the non tribals populations. The land rights in the village are also dependent upon the location of the land. The lands nearest to the village are the ones that are most prized as they have maximum productive capacity and social prestige attached to them. It is these lands that are changing hands within the villages surveyed. About 50 % of current transaction in land between the tribals and the non tribals deals in this land. The non tribals who are not supposed to own lands within the village do own lands within the villages.

Mortgaging out of land is common for the tribals on primarily cash terms. This shows that there is indebtedness amongst the tribal populace as well as cash requirement amongst them. It is interesting to see that land is primarily mortgaged out to the non tribals, without retaining even usurfractary rights over the land. The non tribals in comparison have less mortgaged out land and their terms mostly retain the usurfractary rights on land. The mechanism of mortgaging is an important part of the land alienation process. The mechanism is quite simple once mortgaged out to the non tribal, that piece of land becomes their own private property. Whatever the tribals might do they are never able to repay the loan so that after some years, legally that piece of land is registered in the name of the non tribal with the tribal still unaware of the change in status of his land. The market in land is depressed in the region especially in the rural areas. This depression is created by the non tribals to keep the land prices low so that the tribals cannot profit from sale of their land on their terms. In the terms set by the non tribals, there is usually some forms of cheating involved. The disregard for the rights of the tribal communities over land resources is a fact that shines clearly. This is a mindset, a power structure and a social discrimination and deprivation that are deliberate in its attempt to usurp the resources of the tribal communities.

Declining access to common property resources and forests as marginalisation
Lessening of the common property resources in land in the sample villages was prominently observed. The non tribals are the ones who are usually encroaching upon the communal land and refuse to accept its communal nature. There is at least a 25% decrease in common property
resources in land in almost every village. This shows that the access of the tribal populaces to the most simple of their land resources is dwindling and that restricted usage creates a system of favours to be granted that translates into the dominant role within the village hierarchy. The operation of the marginalisation process assumes clarity here as herein land alienation is looked at as manifestations of the process of marginalisation. It has all the elements of the marginalisation: deprivation of the traditional rights in land, creation of inequality by loss of livelihood and intense social discrimination of the tribal communities embedded in the power networks of legal governmentality contesting practices of the tribes. Herein land is looked at as land resources in its various aspects of ownership and the relationships based on that ownership.

Next, land is captured as forests, a resource that also holds immense importance in the livelihood options of the tribal populace. The National Sample survey Organisation and the field study conducted has revealed greater dependence of the tribal households on forests as MFP provide considerable amount of support and sustenance. Yet, there is weak linkage of MFP collection and sale: This facet of tribal economic activity is important because about 40 - 60 % of his cash entitlement is obtained from the generation and sale of MFP. The access of the tribal to the forest resource restricts his access to MFP. Thus the forest rights codified by the government have an impact on the tribal population. Payment of fees (about 30% of tribal population pay to access forests as observed in the field study) for access to forests and satisfying corrupt forest officials reduces the cash bundle of the tribal populace.

It is not that the non tribals do not utilise MFP, they in most cases do not collect MFP. They form the basic market demand for MFP. Their dependence on MFP is less as compared to the tribal populace as they have alternative sources of income. MFP collection and sale is also a site of exploitation for the tribal populace. Middlemen, primarily non tribals and some tribals come to the tribals’ doorsteps to collect MFP and pay them. The middle man is a vital link for the tribal populace for sale of his MFP. In lean seasons, this middleman advances money to the tribal on terms of exclusive procurement of MFP. The middleman subtracts some amount from the government approved rate to compensate for his labour. The MFP is thus collected at half the prevailing price and sold at more than twice the price paid on procurement.

This creates a system of bondage for the tribal wherein money advanced in the lean period curtails his freedom in choice of customer as well as the price of his collected produce. This is what the nationalisation of the MFP sought in 1974 trade to prevent. Unfortunately, the
nationalisation of MFP trade has had an adverse effect on the tribal populace as it has now curtailed his choices to sell as it is difficult for him to approach the government approved MFP collection centre. There also, the sale money is given to him after at least six months. This time lag in receiving payment makes it difficult for him to survive during the concerned months. Thus he prefers to sell to the middleman. The collection centers are few and not established within easy reach of most forest villages and at these centres the tribal populace faces social discrimination and is the victim of fraudulent trade practices.

State forest policies have restricted the access and rights of the tribal populace to a great extent. This is site of continuous contestation between the state forest officials and the tribal populace. It is also an important site of corruption of the forest officials who accept bribes to grant access to the tribal populations. The forest contractors involve only about .1% of the tribal populace of the villages as labour in their camps. They prefer to import migrant labour from their own places of origin further reducing the employment opportunities of the tribal populace. This is not a new phenomenon in the area; the process of creating state ownership of the forest wealth began in the colonial period. The tribal population thus divested of their land is became landless and homeless, for their relation to the forests they inhabited is not just one of social, economic and political, but one of soul. Therefore, for the tribal ousted from the forested tract not only does his body become malnourished but his spirit starves too.

The loss of forest resource affects the tribal populace adversely. This is where the societal resilience is important to resist the onslaught of the marginalistion process. This societal resilience is identified as social capital. Forms of resistance, collective bargaining for better livelihood opportunities are indications of social capital utilisation at the micro level.

Social capital as modes of combating the process of marginalisation

Classically tribal social structure was a well knit coherent formulation with reciprocal interrelationships between all the actors from the households to the village and the regional headman. With the introduction of the money economy these bonds began to lose their coherence. Currently they are a loosely knit society with a loss in some of the earlier positions and influences enjoyed by the households. The process of social capital is found to be one that actually helps them to survive in the face of adversity. There is an inherent stock of this capital
within the traditional tribal societies, the uses of which are only now being understood. This is so as earlier; this is the very capital that was mocked at by the other societies, as they did not conform to the practices and norms of the main stream society. Thus, their networking strength is now coming into prominence and being utilized formally to make gains in every day lives. Though this is not some thing new, as the earlier land rights that the tribal societies used to hold were also social capital based rights, it now has the required stamp of legality that was earlier missing giving the under privileged a foot hold in the power structure that governs them.

Herein various relationship networks have been visualized. ‘The strength of weak ties’, a quote from Granovettor shows that the tribals have different resources that they can be mobilized at times of stress. This need has been assessed on the basis of willingness to help monetarily and donate human labour when required. It is found that within tribal society, this willingness and actual help is available more than within the non tribal society.

Coexistence of modernity and tradition is seen in the existence and importance of the kinship groups with both the tribal and the non tribal society. It is interesting to note that most people are members of some kinship based group, which also forms the base of their social interaction. The groups interact with each other. There is higher functioning of the democratic processes within the tribals as compared to the non tribals. This also includes aspects of leadership and decision making processes, where the non tribals are used to external influences but the tribal populations from a coherent bonding not allowing external influences at all. All decisions within the group are made in a open democratic manner and the hereditary leader though given precedence can be overruled. There is also agreement amongst the tribals that belonging to some kinship group does enhance their livelihood options as these groups help create livelihoods by collective bargaining. Within the non tribals, these groups have representations from far off places making it difficult for them to participate in collective bargaining at the local level.

Dualism in social capital networks is represented by fact that the circles that include also exclude some people. This defines the networks of inclusion and exclusion in the society. This also showcases the social cohesion between different social groups inhabiting the same space. It is found that primary circles of inclusion are strong for the tribal populations while they are diverse for the non tribal social group. The strength of the non tribal groups is thus more dispersed than the tribal groups. It is also interesting to note that social exclusion has different
connotations for the two social groups. While the tribals identify bad or illegal behaviour as a main cause for exclusion, the non tribal society identifies ethnicity as a cause for exclusion. This shows the ethnic bias that is prevalent in the non tribal society in various discriminating modes exist and function in reality.

Land conflict amongst the tribal and the non tribals is common in the villages but only during the times of production activities in agriculture. Rest of the year there is peaceful coexistence. Most of the non tribal people acknowledge that there is tolerance of the other society but the inter societal trust is moderate as best. The tribals on the other hand feel that there is little inter-societal tension and inter societal trust is more than that felt by the non tribals.

Within the economic linkages, the tribals have a clear edge over the non tribal societies as most of them stand together on the same platform of livelihood insecurity and assist each other in the economic arena. For the tribals, economic relationships are reciprocal and this is least visible in the non tribal society. The reciprocity of economic arena relationships is missing within the non tribal society, proving a major gain in the stocks of accumulated social capital for the tribal population.

In governance and trust section, it is seen that most of the trials repose more faith on their traditional panchayats than the government appointed one. There, they are heard, whereas in the modern panchayats set up by the governments, they have to be silent as that arena is dominated by non tribals. They also trust the local officials of MP, MLA etc but have little trust in the ground level worker. The non tribal is somewhat in the middle position as they know that they have the networks that are buried in other social systems that will assist them ride out the bad times and their trust in the political leaders is also moderate.

The resilience within the tribes is the social capital that helps them deal with a lot of day to day onslaught of the marginalisation process. This capital also provides them with better bargaining power and creates a separate identity for them, which then helps them to survive. Their cultural sphere also is enhanced, in that they use the cultural assets also to create a buffer stock of social capital. New political mobilization by the assertion of their rights on an ethnic base marks the resurgence of the tribal communities, as they demand for the development due to them making them conscious of their identity and strength.
In conclusion, it can be said that the process of marginalisation has caused disrupted livelihoods, and the degradation of local environments all of which is true for the tribal communities of Jharkhand. The requirement is a certain flexibility to account for the political content of development programmes, which greatly affect the particular resource allocation models development in a nation. The functioning of societal discrimination and confluence between the judiciary, police, administration, and the non-tribal social group is an important component of the process of marginalisation. They abet and succor illegal practices of land transfer in regard to land deals, mortgage terms, non-recognition of the traditional rights and access to forest resources.

This is a consequence of “the role of unequal power relations in constituting a politicised environment ... ways in which conflict over access to environmental resources is linked to systems of economic and political control first elaborated during the colonial era”; resulting in “increasing marginality and vulnerability of the poor as an outcome of such conflict” \(^4\). The conflict between the outsider exploiters posing a forest contractors, forest department officials, the officials at the Block head quarter, the judiciary, and the district magistrate’s office along with the influential citizenry on and the marginalized tribal communities is of such nature.

The subtext of the entire argument is that how much control should the state possess over the resources, for these are in reality methods of state control over the resource base of the nation. And aligned to this fact another question raises its head, for whom is the state providing the protection? For whose good is this being achieved? The nation’s or the population of the country and if that is separable from the people who live in the affected areas! The people who live in the region and who are losing out or those who live far away and enjoy the benefits without encountering survival problems; does that imply that there is a favoured population and a non-favoured population? The most bewildering fact is that the policies reflect the British colonial strategy at its best. Does that mean that some of the regions that are rich in natural resources are being internally colonised? Yet, in a constitutional welfare state like India, this should be impossible, though the facts speak a different language. Efforts to contain the marginalisation process such as the TSP are evident of the Government’s initiative to provide sustainable livelihoods for the tribal populace.

The varied trajectories of development that are the visible maps of the enactment of the latent processes of marginalisation and social capital have been focused on in this study. Thus,

though the tribal population is seen to be marginalized in their own space, they are also surviving. Slowly, it is hoped that they will be able to arrest the process of marginalisation and perhaps face less exploitation. The development initiatives in this direction are urgently required. There could be measures such as better implementation of plans, focus group based policy initiatives and empowerment of the tribal communities. A more focused democratic decentralized development policy based on land rights is required for the complete rural restructuring process necessary as the initiative of the state to redress the exploitation and marginalisation.