Chapter I

Introduction

"Man has created many new worlds - of language, of music, of poetry, of science; and the most important of these is the world of moral demands, for equality, for freedom, and for helping the weak".


I. Introduction

The space of interaction between the idea of civil society and the ideal of development are the broad outlines that construct and contain this study. Various linkages between the concepts of marginalisation and social capital are thus located within these paradigms. Different segments that constitute civil society and their differential developmental patterns that emerges as a result of the interface between these various segments and their realities of struggle to earn a livelihood are the arenas of contestation that form the backdrop. This work is an engagement with the history, politics, culture, economics of resources and development trajectories of two communities occupying the same geographical space and their resultant epistemological positions. "Introduction of the modern state everywhere disrupted and transformed earlier distributions and arrangements of social power".

Civil society as a pulsating sphere that contains many segments and their interrelationships is a concept that has been utilized for constructing some of the bases. This space implicitly creates culture as a location of contestations; transforming it from a culture of politics to a politics of culture creating differences between the different communities. The fact that the language of depiction, appraisal, and narratives that bring out the various experiences of political economy within the communities are analogous to each other, though they are constitutionally different from each other creates a stage that is inherently unequal. Any such analysis has to be therefore in comparison to each other. Moreover, in that "these analytical languages are historically indexed and structured ... third world societies face large historical processes as problems - the reorganization of social life around a colonial state and then a

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modern sovereign state, conflicts generated by early industrialization, contradictions arising out of secularisation of state forms against resistance from universalistic claims of traditional religion to control all aspects of social life.

However, space and society connections are also non-linear and complex as “The notion that space and society “interact” or that spatial patterns “reflect” social structure is not just crude and mechanical in its construction, but also prohibits insights concerning geographical space; at root this … view of relation between space and society remains tied to the absolute conception of space.” The principle of development process is one that liberates society from the bindings of natural space though creating ‘differentiations’ along with a ‘relativised space’. This generates the idea that “Space is neither leveled out of existence nor infinitely differentiated. Rather the pattern which results is one of uneven development.”

I.1 Statement of the Problem

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. It will be interesting to note the political map charted out of such practices, it will indicate the various divisions in the society as well as the levels of development in that region.

The study is based on an interdisciplinary theoretical construct, in that no single theory is utilized for the study. The discourse is that of underdevelopment and marginalization which locates itself in the economies of discrimination and deprivation and the social construct of the “Other” and in the emerging space of gender/subaltern/racial/caste discrimination studies. The idea of exclusion that was developed by the World Bank in its run up to the publishing of the World Development Report 2000 and 2001 is also important as they encompass similar ideals of

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4 Kaviraj and Khilnani, Obsid, p. 5-6.
discrimination and deprivation in relations between poverty and social inequity. The emergent space thus created is essentially the "ruptures in history"\textsuperscript{8} that allow insights into the selectively forgotten enclosed spaces of historical construct. Various concepts of marginalization are explored here in order to bring out its multidimensional and embedded nature.

Alongside this, the concept of social capital is explored as a counter process to that of marginalisation process; providing amelioration from the rages of deprivation and exclusion. The study of social capital and marginalisation is important because it "facilitates the study of conflict over resource availability, distribution and usage and is also a structuration component in the creation of power hierarchy"\textsuperscript{9}. The increase and decrease of social capital is also an indicator of the processes of social change.

The Chota Nagpur plateau region in the south of Bihar was declared as the state of Jharkhand on the 15\textsuperscript{th} of November 2000. It is the homeland to 32 tribal groups primarily for whose benefit the statehood was granted. In fact, the region is an abode of different ethnic groups. Most of them are the ‘ecosystem people'\textsuperscript{10}, who earn their living directly or indirectly from depending upon nature. Richly endowed with its diverse flora and fauna and mineral resources, the ecosystem people are now facing a threat brought about by the development practices. Besides ecological degradation, the growth oriented development paradigm also threatened the traditional pattern of livelihood and the societal structure of the ecosystem people. These people not only depend on nature for their survival, their value and belief systems are also intricately linked to it. Hence their traditional way of life is also threatened by modern development process, which creates a clash between traditional belief system and technocratic development.

Their 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 and the ban on timber logging and the nationalization of the Minor Forest Product (MFP) trade in the region have caused serious threat\textsuperscript{11} to the livelihood of these people. This lays the foundation of the marginalisation process of the tribal communities.

\textsuperscript{9} Swain, Ashok and Bhattacharya Dwaipayan (2001): Social Capital and Democracy, Economic and Political Weekly, 24\textsuperscript{th} February, p. 639.
in the region. The differential development patterns of the tribal and the non tribal populations show that the marginalisation process has a firm grip on the tribal populace in relation to the non tribal populace. 

This is where social capital accumulated within the tribal communities 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 the options of survival. This is shown by Veena Mazumdar\footnote{Mazumdar, Vina (2001): ‘The Bankura Experiment’, in D. K. S. Roy (ed): Social Development and the Empowerment of the Marginalised Groups, Sage Publications, New Delhi.} in relation to the peasant women of Bankura who have crossed the barrier, “Taboos on inter­communal social relations, eating together, marriage choices, speaking in public and accepting leadership of a person considered to be lower in social status all seem to break down more easily when the women act together. They achieve this through various methods of persuasion”. This she claims is a portent of the “groundswell of change”

1.2 Definitions: Situating the Study

1.2.1 The Idea of Marginalisation

The idea of marginalization is one that simultaneously denotes an abstract ideal and a concretised reality that is representative of some of the cruelest and callous situations to be faced by human beings. Its definitions are many, but all of them have a nebulous quality, in that it is portrayed as an invisible but an ever present process that is highly contextual. As Cox notes, “Marginalisation cannot be quantified, nor even defined in a precise sense. What it basically signifies is a situation in which a section of the population is pushed to the margins of a society, for whatever reason?”\footnote{Cox, David Ray (2001): ‘Marginalisation and the Role of Social Development’, in in D. K. S. Roy (ed): Social Development and the Empowerment of the Marginalised Groups, Sage Publications, New Delhi.}

Marginalisation as a concept has primarily been used in gender geography and to define regional inequalities. The base of the concept is that due to economic, social and political circumstances, some population groups are pushed to the very margins of survival, that is, can barely eke out a living. They are called the marginalised. It also denotes spatial differentiation since the process of marginalisation is implicit in the construction of spatial inequality. Here, Soja’s (1989) views on the social organisation is of use; he argues that, “it is necessary to place the concept of spatiality, the created space of social organisation and production at the very heart
of critical human geography in order to disclose the social relations that are inscribed within and constituted through its various forms and productions\textsuperscript{14}. Soja's argument places him in a similar position to that of David Harvey's projected historio-geographical materialism.

Therefore if there is domination of one actor due to certain advantages accruing to that actor in the social space, then the other actors in the same social space are marginalised or deprived. This approach has been called the 'third space'\textsuperscript{15} or 'third approach'\textsuperscript{16}. Rose uses the concept to define the marginalisation in gender, "These studies interpret women's lives not through categories of production and reproduction, but through another kind of sociality"\textsuperscript{17}. As Smith states, "third space seems to offer a different conceptualization of the constitution of society"\textsuperscript{18}. This is the spatial aspect of marginalisation where space is structured through power patterns to produce differences. The same can be applied to the construction of differences in the spaces occupied by the tribal communities and the other Indian communities. Thus, there are large overlaps between a notion of social exclusion and definitions of poverty. With broadening of notions of income poverty, incorporating notions of vulnerability, and the entitlements framework, convergence of thinking about deprivations exclusion and marginalisation seem to predominate.

I.2.2 Social Capital: The Modes of Contesting Marginalisation

Social Capital refers to the trusts, networks, and norms (societal) shared by a community/ or as a group of people that helps them to make decisive actions in a highly effective manner to address common aims. The increase and decrease of social capital is also an indicator of the processes of social change, so is an important indicator of the levels of marginalisation. This idea originated in the eighteenth century (in de Toqueville's works), it was Robert Putnam who brought it to the imagination of the present world. The concept of social capital has also been used by Pierre Bourdieu and Gavin Kolanckiewicz. According to Bourdieu social capital refers to the sum of

\begin{itemize}
\item Many other theorists have also worked on the concept of third space, such as Homi Bhabha (1994) has used these concepts in the construction of identities and defines third space by hybrid identities, Gillian Rose (1993) has made use of it in gender construction in Geography and Smith (1997) has made use of it in the explanation of present social cultural formation.
\end{itemize}
resources or assets which accrue through the possession of a network of relationships\(^\text{19}\). Adding on to this definition, Kolaniewicz asserts “social capital comprised both the network and assets available for mobilization through network\(^\text{20}\). In a traditional society, the upper class/castes have more access to social capital through their attributional position. Today, due to the forces of modernization, the conditions are in a more fluid state, so the relational position of the individuals, which is expressed through his possession of social capital, adds another dimension to the nature of differentiation. The closeness of structural set-up of a particular society is defined by the extent to which the relational and attributional positions converge; this also provides another path for mobility in the power hierarchy. Thus, if people’s development is viewed “in terms of expansion of opportunities that the individual in the society enjoys”\(^\text{21}\) social capital seems to be quite significant.

The concept of network strength is important in formulating the idea of social capital\(^\text{22}\). In recent times it was Robert Putnam who used this concept to bring out the strength in associations formed by people in his quasi-experimental study of sub-national governments in different regions of Italy. The work concludes that the norms and networks of civic engagement also powerfully affect the performance of representative government\(^\text{23}\). Social Scientists in several fields have recently suggested a common framework for understanding these phenomena,
a framework that rests on the concept of social capital. By analogy with notions of physical capital and human capital – tools and training that enhance individual productivity; “social capital” refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trusts that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.24

There are many manifestations of social capital. Fukuyama opines, “While social capital has been given a number of different definitions, many of them refer to manifestations of social capital rather than social capital itself”25.

Virtually all forms of traditional culture-social groups like tribes, clans, village associations religious sects etc, are based on shared norms and use these norms to achieve cooperative ends. The literature on development has not as a general rule, found social capital in this form to be an asset; it is much more typically regarded as a liability. Economic modernization was seen as antithetical to traditional culture and social organizations, and would either wipe them away or else be itself blocked by the forces of traditionalism.

In reality most of these trust networks are narrow entities, bounded by family and kinship ties at its widest expanse and does not expand to encompass the greater society, making it “segmentary, that is they are composed of a large number of identical, self-contained social units like villages or tribes in nature. Modern societies, by contrast, consist of a large number of overlapping social groups that permit multiple memberships and identities”26.

1.3: Emerging Research Concerns

The proposed study intends to look at the process of marginalisation that operates amongst the tribal communities of the present Jharkhand state. The conditions that govern the process are very important here. The causes of poverty of the tribal communities in the Chota Nagpur region

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26 Putnam, Obsid, p. 124.
are deeply rooted in the process of marginalisation that operates here. The societal structure that prevails in the region also has a role to play. The existence of social capital amongst the tribal communities creates a network of norms and trusts that help create a buffer against the marginalisation process. Since social networks are disturbed by the modernization process unleashed by industrialisation in the region, the prevalence of and impact of social capital amongst the tribal communities forms an important part of the study. Various questions come up in the process and they form the emerging research concerns that are addressed in the study.

1. What is the nature of the marginalisation process and how does it operate amongst the tribal communities of Jharkhand?

2. What are its linkages:
   a. What is the role of development processes to arrest land alienation?
   b. Land as forests: Regulations and results (in the form of forest related government acts) and the role of forest department
   c. Specific government interventions as Tribal Sub Plans in combating the marginalisation process?

3. What is the nature of social capital in the tribal and non tribal communities and what are its linkages?

4. How does the accumulated social capital in the tribal communities act as a resource in combating and controlling the marginalisation process?

I.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives emerging in the proposed study are

1. To understand the conditions that have governed the process of marginalization amongst the tribal communities of Jharkhand vis a vis the non tribals;

2. Identifying patterns and forms of marginalisation prevalent amongst the tribal communities vis a vis non tribal communities especially in relation to sources of livelihood;

3. To understand the institutional linkages of the marginalisation process;

4. Identifying social capital created by social networks in the tribal society and non tribal society; and

5. Focusing on the importance of social capital amongst tribal communities of Chota Nagpur indicating impacts on resource availability, distribution, usage and containment of the process of marginalisation.
1.5: Database

The database of the study has been generated from various sources. They include government documents, published books and articles as well as primary data that has been collected from the field.

1.5.1. Primary Sources

Primary field surveying through structured questionnaires at different levels, across age and gender groups based on participant observation and cohort based group discussion generated data for the primary sources. Narratives of work, exploitation and succour have also been collected from the field.

The major informations collected from the primary survey are socio-economic and demographic attributes (social composition, size of the household, religion, age sex structures, marital status, literacy, educational status, occupational status/structure, migration details of the members and their ancestors), of the households. There were land related queries (possession of property, ownership, size of land owned, mortgaging details, sale of land details, agricultural production, livestock activities), that showed the patterns of land ownership and land relation in the villages amongst the two social groups. Forest related activities (forest usage, materials collected from the forests, comparative size of forests, access, rights and plantation), were also queried and information gathered to determine the importance of forests in livelihood sustenance.

Thirdly, social capital activities (social networks, economic linkages, exclusion inclusion networks, knowledge of community activities/history, relations with governance and developmental planning, activities of the local bodies and their efficiency/energy/effectiveness) were focused on. This also included discussions with the panchayats at different times. The data required for social capital initiative was also collected many individual interviews as well as a structured questionnaire.

1.5.2. Secondary Sources

The major sources of secondary data are

i. The Census of India, 1881-1991, General Population Tables,

ii. The Census of India, Bihar State, Special Tables for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, General Population Tables, and Economic Tables;
iii. Directorate of Statistics and Evaluation, Government of Bihar;
v. Bihar Forest Department, Government of Bihar;
vi. Bihar State Forest Development Corporation Limited, Government of Bihar
vii. Chief Inspector of Mines and Factories, Government of Bihar;
viii. Settlement Reports of the Chota Nagpur Division, 1891-1931
ix. District Gazetteers of Santhal Pargana, Manbhum, Singhbhum, Ranchi, Hazaribagh and Palamau 1891-1931
x. Famine Commission Reports, Chota Nagpur Division, 1896-97;
xii. Famine Commission Reports, Chota Nagpur Division, 1896-97;
xii. Commission of the Labour Immigration, Government of Bihar and Orissa, 1935;
xiii. Bengal District Revenue Proceedings, 1793-1947
xiii. Jharia Coal Fields Environmental Status Reports, B.C.C.L., Coal India Limited, Government Of India, Dhanbad.
xvii. Anthropological Survey of India Reports on Impact of Industrialisation
xviii. National Sample Survey data from the reports no. 376-380.
xix. Published and unpublished books and papers.

1.4: Methodology
A variety of methodologies have been utilised to construct the study. The methodology involves the usage of the various types of data. It also includes the analysis of secondary and primary data relating to indicators of marginalisation and social capital. It has been attempted to analyse quantitatively and qualitatively the environmental resource base and its relation to the process of marginalisation and by studying the various land laws and the economy of the study region on
the basis of temporal trends (1981-2001) and spatial distribution of the selected indicators and also their intra regional variations.

Percentages of the various indicators have also been used. Growth rates of the land use changes have also been calculated. The formula used for calculating the growth rate is

\[ R = \frac{P_0 - P_1}{P_1} \]

where

- \( R \) = Growth Rate
- \( P_0 \) = Value of Current Year
- \( P_1 \) = Value of Base Year

Bar graphs and line diagrams have been used to illustrate the results. The attempt is to understand and examine the underlying forces behind the dynamics of the resource base, process of marginalisation and the accumulation of the social capital within the tribal and non-tribal communities. There is thus an attempt at constructing a comparative analysis.

Most of the secondary data used is conducted on a district level study. The data gathered from the Census of India sources is till the 2001.

There has also been a massive reorganization of the districts within the Chota Nagpur region, now created into the state of Jharkhand. The 1981 Census records 6 districts in the Chota Nagpur region. They are: Dhanbad, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Ranchi, Santhal Parganas and Singhbhum. The 1991 Census records 13 districts in the same region, the earlier mentioned districts had been split into smaller units to form new districts for the ease of administration. The districts are: Dhanbad, Deoghar, Dumka, Giridih, Godda, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Lohardaga, Gumla, Ranchi, Purbi Singhbhum, Paschimi Singhbhum and Sahebganj. In the 2001 Census these have been once again reorganized into 18 districts: Garhwa, Palamau Chatra, Hazaribagh, Kodarma, Giridih, Deoghar, Godda, Sahebganj, Pakaur, Dumka, Dhanbad, Bokaro, Ranchi, Lohargdaga, Gumla, Paschimi Singhbhum and Purbi Singhbhum.

For ease of comparability and creating a stable base for micro analysis at the district level, the districts (that have now been broken up into smaller districts) have been clubbed together at the 1981 level to make the adjustments in the data calculation. The table shows the reorganization of the original districts in the state in the different Census years, which have been clubbed together to create a compatible platform for data analysis.
Table I.1 Organisation Of Districts During Different Census Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dhanbad</td>
<td>Dhanbad</td>
<td>Dhanbad, Bokaro</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Giridih,</td>
<td>Giridih, Hazaribagh</td>
<td>Chatra, Hazaribagh, Kodarma, Giridih</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hazaribagh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Palamau</td>
<td>Palamau</td>
<td>Garhwa, Palamau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranchi</td>
<td>Ranchi, Lohardaga, Gumla</td>
<td>Ranchi, Lohardaga, Gumla, Garhwa, Palamau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santhal Parganas</td>
<td>Deoghar, Dumka, Godda, Sahebganj</td>
<td>Deoghar, Dumka, Godda, Sahebganj, Pakaur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singhbhum</td>
<td>Purbi Singhbhum, Paschimi Singhbhum</td>
<td>Purbi Singhbhum, Paschimi Singhbhum</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


The measurement of social capital was done by conducting surveys in the field. There are various methodologies available to measure social capital, notably that used by Putnam (1993), Fukuyama (1999) and the World Bank in a series of commissioned papers in between 1999-2000. In the case of India particularly Renata Serra’s empirical work on measuring social capital at the state level is of particular importance. Also to be noted is Peter Mayer’s study on the same issue with different methodology wherein he devises an index of accessibility by factorizing the indicators and then concluding that such an exercise is of immense importance in macro level studies.

The fieldwork was guided by a qualitative framework for measurement of social capital based on Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) method as used by Neela Mukherjee (2002) in her work 'Measuring Social Capital, Forest Protection Committees in West Bengal'. Her work concludes that 'mere establishment of institutions does not guarantee that localised natural resources will be managed in a sustainable manner. The process of social capital formation is important, for it holds the key to collective achievement of common goals and objectives by a community/group.'

Due to usage of diverse techniques to bring out the different attributes located within the study, they are enumerated within the precincts of the concerned chapters and sections. The most commonly used methods are enumerated here.

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I. 5 Sampling Technique
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. The selection of remote villages also needed the consideration of time, approachability and resources.

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\(^{31}\) using Kundu’s Composite Index for regional analysis.

Alongside this a Location Quotient for the tribal population was constructed for knowing 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Development Index</th>
<th>LQ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Godda</td>
<td>17.58</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sahibganj</td>
<td>17.11</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dumka</td>
<td>16.80</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Deoghar</td>
<td>18.14</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dhanbad</td>
<td>25.46</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Giridih</td>
<td>17.91</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Hazaribagh</td>
<td>18.44</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Palamau</td>
<td>19.32</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Lohardaga</td>
<td>19.33</td>
<td>2.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Gumla</td>
<td>18.43</td>
<td>2.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ranchi</td>
<td>21.51</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Purbi Singhbhum</td>
<td>20.67</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Paschimi Singhbhum</td>
<td>16.51</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Census of India, Bihar Series I and III, 2001 and Special Tables on Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, Bihar Series I & III, Census of India, Registrar General of India, 2001.

Thus two districts have been selected in the second stage:

1. Dhanbad, which represents the highest development index category and lowest tribal LQ category

2. Paschimi Singhbhum, which represents the lowest development index category and the third tribal LQ category. This has been chosen because it has a higher urban tribal population and exhibits better mixed social groups settlements than the district with highest tribal LQ value.

In the third stage, two villages from each district were chosen using the following criteria:

1. A mixed village with a fair representation of all the social groups (50% tribal population and 50% non-tribal population)

2. A village with relatively better accessibility (A metalled road connecting it to the main district centre)

3. The first village is to be located within a distance of 10 – 15 km from the district centre.

4. The second village is to be located at a remote part from the nearest urban centre, within the distance between the district head quarter to the village being more than 25 kms.

The villages surveyed are given in the table; all fall under the rural category of the Census.

Table I.4: Field Work Villages in the Selected Districts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population (%Tribal Pop to Total Pop)</th>
<th>Distance (in kms)</th>
<th>Connectivity</th>
<th>Sl.</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population (%Tribal Pop to Total Pop)</th>
<th>Distance (in kms)</th>
<th>Connectivity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Amaghata</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Highway 32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Matkobera</td>
<td>50.08</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Metalled road to Chaibasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sondaha</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Metalled road to Dhanbad</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Durhirta</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Highway 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Berketni</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Highway 32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This region was chosen as social conditions exist here wherein there is a long history of tribal non-tribal interface at all layers. The non tribal penetration into the tribal areas has been in progress since the colonial period in the region. There has also been a difference in identification
of outsiders (*dikus*), the earlier immigrants are now considered a part of the society, whereas new immigrants are now considered the outsider. There is daily interaction between the two social groups in the region even in the interior rural areas. Since the main argument behind this kind of selection is to examine the social networks and the land ownership patterns of the tribal and non-tribal communities inhabiting the same localized space, interactions of the two social groups can be thus studied here.

At the final stage, the tribal and non-tribal households were randomly selected from the villages (comprising of several tolas/tolis/hamlets) and various socio-economic backgrounds for the household survey based on questionnaire. House listing was conducted in the field followed by consultations with the village headman, VLW and the Amin before the individual households were selected.

Individual interviews at the district, block and village level administrative and development agencies personnel were of qualitative nature. The discussions focused on the land laws, their interpretations, traditional land rights prevailing in the villages and role of the government in creating development in the area. Focus group discussions with various age cohorts, gender groups and social groups were held that shed light on the important processes and means of land alienation.

1.6 Study Area

The Chota Nagpur region constituted the southern part of Bihar and now forms the state of Jharkhand. The region lies between 22° N to 25° 30' N latitude to 83° 47'E to 87° 57' E longitude. Singh (1991) comments “Conventionally, Chota Nagpur is limited within the bounds of Bihar as before the reorganization of the States which resulted in the merger of parts of former Manbhum, now Purulia district, in West Bengal on grounds of dominance of Bengali population, although there is no sharp change in the nature of terrain either across the Bihar – Madhya Pradesh boundary traversing through the Pats across the Orissa – Bihar boundary which cuts indifferently across the drainage line”.

The river Damodar in the East borders the Chota Nagpur plateau, the hills of Rajmahal in the North and the North-East, the hills of Khersawan in the South and the plains of West Uttar Pradesh in the West. The word ‘Jharkhand’ denotes the region of Chota Nagpur plateau,

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FIGURE 1.1

STUDY AREA
Chotanagpur Region
evoking an image of lush forested land, hills and dales of red laterite soil and a composite tribal population, simultaneously conjuring the unrest as manifested in the numerous tribal revolts and the recent struggle for the creation of the Jharkhand state.

The Chota Nagpur plateau forms the north-east extension of the Deccan plateau of peninsular India, and covers the southern part of Bihar, now covers the entire state of Jharkhand. It is not only a distinct physiographic entity but also represents a distinct cultural inhabited originally by the various tribal groups and the non-tribal population who have migrated to the region over the past two or three centuries.

The region enclosed within the newly created state of Jharkhand comprises of 22 districts. They are: Chatra, Garhwa, Palamau, Dumka, Pakaur, Godda, Deoghar, Sahebganj, Dumka, Hazaribagh, Kodarma, Giridih, Ranchi, Lohardagga, Gumla, Dhanbad, Bokaro, Purbi Singhbhum, Paschimi Singhbhum, Searikela-Kharsawan, Latehar and Simdega. The new districts were created after the 2001 Census survey was conducted, so the Census of 2001 gives the list of only 18 districts that were then further split to form the new districts.

The tribal homeland was once upon a time the refuge zones where the tribal communities migrated to after being driven away from their original homelands by the invading Aryans. This is the space that according to Chatterjee (1968)\textsuperscript{33} Vidyarthi and Rai (1976)\textsuperscript{34} and Khubchandani (1998)\textsuperscript{35} was the meeting place for the three major linguistic families in India, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and the Indo-European and a culture unique to this region. The native people are the tribal people, four major (Santhal, Munda, Oraon and Ho) and twenty eight smaller tribes. There is diversity even amongst the thirty two tribes in this region. Innumerable migrants from different parts of not just India but the entire subcontinent have arrived here over time and slowly been assimilated into the composite culture prevailing. This culture bears in it the seeds of exploitation based on the attitudes of the population and the laws of governance. In the colonial period, this was constituted as a special area, after independence it was declared a scheduled area. The non tribal immigrants have established themselves gaining ascendancy over the tribal population segments controlling basic resources in land as well as employment opportunities.

\textsuperscript{33} Chatterjee, S (1968): 'The Linguistic Regions of India', Census Monograph, Registrar General of India, New Delhi.
\textsuperscript{34} Vidyarthi, L. P. and Rai, B. K. (1976): Tribal Culture of India, Concept Publication, New Delhi.
This conflict between the two social groups has created a culture of repression and oppression, of the tribal populace by the governmental forces and other not only during the colonial period but also during the post independent period by the state government of Bihar. The tribal communities in turn are characterised by a culture of protest, be it against the colonial rule as evidenced by the repeated outbreak of the revolts during colonial period or in the post independent period, against the laws of the Government of India and those of the Bihar state as witnessed in the numerous forest *andolans* (movements/protests) and the agitations for the demand of the creation of Jharkhand state. The projection of the ‘other’ is nowhere so visible as it is here. The region is thus considered as a region not only in terms of its physiography but also in cultural and economic criteria.

1.9 Rationale Behind The Study

The rationale of this study is that the interaction of the two social groups in Jharkhand - tribal and non tribal reflect the conflicts and contestations over resource allocation at the micro level that shape the social institutions and networks. The dominant position hitherto held by the tribal communities is being lost and they are becoming marginalised. This exploitation of ethic tribal social groups has its roots in the colonial era as there was not a mindless exploitation in the Chota Nagpur region in the colonial period. There was a definite plan and this was carried out through the various laws enacted as part of governance, not just in the colonial period but also in the post independence period. The basic premise of this study is that land is the basic resource possessed by the tribal communities and the loss of which creates destitution and marginalisation. The marginalisation thus created is a process that has not ceased to act in the region despite innumerable attempts to create development in the region through different programmes. The marginalisation thus brought about is sustained by the maintenance of inequalities between the two communities of tribal and non-tribal populace. This process is facilitated by the development of certain knowledge based power structures that help in forming the regulation for governance in the society, thereby controlling the resources for survival. The knowledge is in turn structured in terms of scientific/non-scientific, useful/useless and legitimate/illegitimate. Therefore the development and the implementation of knowledge systems have a direct relation to the governance of the process of marginalisation. Also, this has an
impact on the attitude of the rulers that is reflected in the various policies for the development of the region.

The discourse of Orientalism\textsuperscript{36}, that is everything that was not European or different from the European or the construction of the Orient by Europe according to its own ideas involves the development of knowledge systems that accentuated the power relation in the colonies. This was the politics of difference by which the colonial rulers governed. This is true of Indian colonialism also\textsuperscript{37}. Thus, this is a spatial realm where most inequalities that exist in the societal groups in India today have a root, although there was justifiably a similar process operating within the Indian society in form of caste relation since the past ages. The construction of the other, from the oriental other in the colonial era to the tribal other in the post independent period controls most of the policy decisions of the present times and is controlled by vested interests in the state. Most of these constructions are also spatially rooted in certain regions. These interest groups devise rules according to the gains or profits to be accrued to them selves in the name of the entire nation. Thus development of inequality in the Chota Nagpur region has historical roots and is based on the theory of difference.

Yet, there exists certain resilience within the tribal communities that help them survive despite the marginalisation conditions that push them to the edges. This strength has to be captured and its pattern studied to arrive at a wholistic view of the tribal society. Moreover, this has to be in the perspective of comparison between the tribal and non-tribal communities so as to understand the linkages between them. This will also pave the way for the formulation of better means of governance and development, allowing this resource rich region to catch up with the rest of the country.

**I.10 Limitations of the Study**

Conducting a study like this has many limitations. An attempt has to been to base the study on both primary and secondary data base, though in many cases, the secondary data for the

\textsuperscript{36} The main emphasis on Orientalism as a discourse sprang from the post modern studies of colonialism. This is based on Foucault’s idea of knowledge as a tool for wielding power. This came into limelight after the publication of Edward Said’s Orientalism in 1978. Yet, Said’s view based not on India but on the Arab nations ahss also been applied to India. Also, this does not mean that Said’s is the only view considered here, there is a lot of other works of this genre concerning India.

\textsuperscript{37} This idea has been developed in the works of Ronald Inden (1992), Bernard Cohn (91996), Nicholas Dirks (1999), Breckenridge and van der Veer (1999), regarding India and Stuart Corbridge (1991), S. B. C. Devalle (1992) and Sarah Jewitt (1997) regarding Chota Nagpur.
concerned indicators and years has been unavailable. This was accentuated when data for the colonial and post colonial period was rendered non comparable for inaccessibility and discontinuity of certain kinds of data collection. Moreover, data for backward regions are difficult procure, especially for the state of Bihar that does not have proper maintenance of records. Important statistics are missing form the various reports.

Secondly, the institutions dealt herein are government owned or controlled and thus falling in the security classified group. Thus all data was not available, only those that could be provided without breaking the security norms are provided here.

A major problem was also faced in the form of the two elections, first at the national level and secondly at the state level that were held in April May 2004 and February March 2005 respectively. This was the period when field work was in progress, the study was repeatedly hampered as well as interrupted during those times. Government officials at all levels were then busy with the election duties and the entire area being naxalite prone became security threats. Field work had to be abandoned in several instances in the villages and wait for the government to be restored to order.

The areas that surveyed were also controlled by the naxalite groups who continuously monitored the ongoing work. There was also a lot of interest and hindrances from the block offices in some areas who refused to co-operate.

Lastly, the study is based primarily on theoretical formulations, therefore, a geographer in the field of representations of networks and imageries does face some limitations. Though the concepts have been used in geography to relate regional inequalities, there exist very few works that provide a holistic view of the situation. Moreover, the study of marginalisation and social capital within the tribal communities in Jharkhand is a space that has been rarely ventured by other researchers. So, in effect this study was the charting of unknown oceans.

1.11 Literature Review
The idea of Chota Nagpur has also changed in the minds of Indians. From a densely forested region to be avoided to a highly lucrative region in terms of gaining employment, the representation of Chota Ngapur travelled along way. Many studies have been conducted to enquire about the changes in space that is Jharkhand, and the reason for the unequal development conditions existing there.
The first attempts to demarcate the regions as developed and non developed was made by Hagood\textsuperscript{38} and Kendall\textsuperscript{39} on the basis of crop productivity. In the nineteen fifties and the sixties the Dependency schools of Economic thought brought out the relationship between development and underdevelopment, with Frank\textsuperscript{40} coining the famous phrase, development of underdevelopment. This was followed by a number of studies on the different socio economic backgrounds of different regions and their plausible reasons of underdevelopment. The main theorists of this time were Singer (1954), Myrdal (1957), Hirschman (1958), Meyer (1968), Slatter (1975), Santos (1979), Perroux (1961), Williamson (1965), Boudevilled (1966), Friedman (1966), Alonso (1968), Douglas (1968) and Smith (1979) are most well known. In the Indian Context, such studies were conducted. Prominent amongst them are Mitra (1961), Mishra (1971), Sdasyuk and Sengupta (1971), Bhatt (1972) Raza and Chattopadhyay (1974), Raza and Kundu (1982) are the pioneers in this field. Recent studies of resource availability and the conflicts are found in the works of Agrawal and Ostrom, (2001), Ambus and Shrestha (2001), Barraclough, and Ghimire, (1995), Berks, and Farvar, M. (1989), Brit (2001), Chopra and Kadekodi (1999), Murty (1990), Gilmour, and Fisher (1997) HMGN 1995, HMGN/FINIDA/ADB, 1989, ADB (1999), Hobley, (1996), Malla, (2001) Ostrom, (1995), Pathak, (1994), Shrestha and Britt (1997), Stevenson (1991) and Sundar and Jefferey (2001).

The major relations causing inequal growth in the Jharkhand region was found to be the enclave formation of the region as has been explained in the model of Raza and Chattopadhyay and in the internal colonisation theory of Michael Hechtor (1975). Therein, the economic development was to be governed by formal associations and informal relations were ignored. The intensive industrialisation of the region resulted in the weakening of the informal resource ownership ties and their control mechanisms amongst the tribal population of Jharkhand who were ignorant of the formal development procedures.

The main problem was displacement of the people and the lack of available land, for the land that they were allotted in compensation for loss of land for governmental use was usually unproductive in nature. As Singh comments, "modern agencies of development and patterns of resource utilization are largely responsible for distributing the benefits of development. They are


\textsuperscript{40} Frank, Andre G. (1966): The Development of Underdevelopment, \textit{Monthly Review}, No. 18. pp.17-31
also largely responsible for disturbing the ecological balance between physical and cultural systems of landscape in tribal habitat, such as Damodar, Mahnadi, Narmada and Son basins or peninsular uplands as also the Himalayan habitats of unprivileged people”. 41

This is indeed the scenario in Jharkhand. As Raichudhuri opines “the socio economic development of the tribal people in some parts of the country has taken an ironic twist in the sense that the predominantly tribal regions are extremely rich in natural and economic resources, yet the adivasi populations are not deriving the benefits of this wealth, A remarkable example is provided by the loosely identified Jharkhand region. Most of the Indian Steel plants both in the public and private sectors - and rich mineral deposits are located in this region”. 42 Yet, most of the tribals of this region are living below the poverty line and are entirely dependent on the natural resources for their basic needs. The problem is that even the natural resources are being alienated from them, pushing them towards marginalisation. A few studies are mentioned here that study the causative factors of process of marginalisation of the tribal communities in Jharkhand region.

Chatterjee 43 in his study of social capital as an instrument of people’s development in a tribal village of West Bengal found that relational position of a person better explains the possibility of access to power and therefore to the survival capabilities as this indicates opportunities of the access to and mobilization of resources. The study also reports as its finding that the possession of social capital provides potential for providing alternative channels to the power position. This is so because though traditionally the upper class/ castes possess more resourceful connections, the process of modernization has activated a variety of socio-economic and political forces.

Beteille corroborates this 44 when he states “it (modernization) tends to loosen the rigidity of traditional structure and to provide greater choice to the individual in entering interpersonal relations which cut across cut across the boundaries of older established groups”. Thus researchers have considered the various openings in society when the forces of modernization were just beginning to act.

Modernization at times is seen as equivalent to industry lead development, and this is the process that has had maximum impact in the region. This is brought out in the myriad writings of Prakash Louis (2001, 1999, 1998) and Virginius Xaxa (2002, 2001, 1999) continuously. They write about the plight of the marginalized tribal communities of Jharkhand where in the loss of land resources causing survival problems and the lack of proper education constricting access to better employment are viewed as the two most hindering facts in the region. Added to these are the problems of loss of forest rights, heightened in migration of the outsiders and the problem of corruption that has mired the tribal communities in despondency. As pointed out by Singh these are similar reasons that has caused repeated outbreaks of protest (the various tribal revolts) in the past.

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

Viegas looks at the land control and the related structures of power in the Jharkhand region. He finds that owning land confers prestige on the owner and in the tribal region after the communal system of land ownership was broken down this has translated into the power

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structures as is in the all the other Indian regions. This ideal was not present in the tribal society, but was later on as more tribal communities came in contact with the outside world. This has mostly caused marginalisation of the tribal communities; since they lost whatever land they had through the various processes of land alienation. The power relations already prevalent in the region was already being manipulated by the outsiders and some powerful people from their own community, so they were prevented from achieving any kind of redressal measures. He further deals with the factors like education, and rural power dynamics that have a great impact on the total power system. The alienation process is explained here on the basis of alienation leading to inequal opportunities resulting in inequal power relations and finally the marginalisation of the tribal communities.

Fernandes⁴⁸ studies the exploitation and marginalisation of the tribal communities in terms of the informal economy of the tribal communities and their dependence on the forests. According to him, the difference between the formal and the informal economy is the reason for existing inequality as it explains the differences in the accesses to the resources, which govern the survivability of the tribal people.

Corbridge⁴⁹ in his study focuses on the process of exploitation leading to the marginalisation of the tribal communities as a result of the various alienation processes acting in the region. He identifies the knowledge systems of governance of the region in the colonial era as the base for the resultant exploitation. Later on, the policies of resource appropriation changed their nomenclature and became the developmental policies for the region. Thus, he traces the journey of the exploitative factors from the colonial times to the modern times.

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

The studies show how even in the past as in the present, the loss of survivability options has created marginalisation amongst the tribal populace of Jharkhand. They have survived by depending a lot on the social capital resources available to them. In the current scenario this has

⁴⁸ Fernandes, Obsid.
some how got lost in the official parley of creating development in the region. Yet, it survives and acts as a shield against the process of marginalization creating better survivability options. The attempt to examine this view and its continuing importance or lack of thereof is what has shaped the present study.

1.12 Organisation of the Study

The entire study is divided into eight chapters. The introduction deals with the broad outline of the subject as well as the aims and objectives of the research. It also sets out the various chapters and their contents, so that an idea is easily obtained of the work contained there in. Moreover, it also sets out the broad arguments that help structure the dissertation.

The 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 various theoretical constructs are explored here thoroughly. These include the economics of marginalisation, the social settings that make the process operational and its continuity, as well as the exclusion and inclusion concepts. The concept of social capital is also thoroughly explored here so as to posit it as an antidote to the process of marginalisation.

All of these arguments are set within the development of the ideal of civil society that has taken root in almost all sections of social science and development ethics. Since it is civil society that contains and governs all such processes, the base of these arguments are grounded therein. Alongside this, the environmental and the common property resources ideals are also explored so as to situate the arguments in a multi-cornered framework.

The discourse of Orientalism, that is everything that was not European, or different from the European or construction of the Orient by Europe according to its own ideas involves the study of the development of knowledge systems that accentuated the power relation in the colonies. This was the politics of difference by which the colonial rulers governed. This is true of

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50 The main emphasis on Orientalism as a discourse sprang from the post modern studies of colonialism. This is based on Foucault’s idea of knowledge as a tool for wielding power. This came into limelight after the publication of Edward Said’s Orientalism in 1978. Yet, Said’s view based not on India but on the Arab nations, has also been applied to India. Also, this does not mean that Said’s is the only view considered here, there is a lot of other works of this genre concerning India.
the Indian colonisation also\textsuperscript{51}. Thus, this is a realm where most of the inequalities that exist in the societal groups in India today have a root. This construction of the other, from the oriental other in the colonial era to the tribal other in the post independent period controls most of the policy decisions of the present times is controlled by vested interests in the state. These interest groups devise rules according to the gains or profits to be accrued to them selves in the name of the entire nation. Thus inequality has historical roots and is based on the theory of difference.

The third chapter deals with the macro processes of state in development focusing on details of tribes facing maximum land alienation and displacement due to the various rules of the government of the day for procuring the natural resources of the region in the process of creating industrial development. With the devastation of World War II, reconstruction and development were the key words amongst the international community, with emphasis on economic progress. This meant the rapid industrialization of the nation; India led by Jawaharlal Nehru put stress on development of the basic industries to slowly achieve the goal of the complete self-sufficiency and security. The bulk of India's natural resources are located in the Chota Nagpur plateau region. Therefore mineral exploitation became the most important activity in the industrial scenario. The tribal people were thus further dispossessed; after independence from foreign rulers, a situation of internal colonization arose in the region. The exploitation of the tribal people has therefore continued in a direct line from the colonial times to the post-colonial era.

The hypothesis is that, the government that due to vested interests are unable to oversee equal development for all regions in a nation creates this process of marginalisation due to land alienation in most cases. These interest groups can be for the betterment of the entire nation or for a small section of a large populace. Such a kind of development pattern leads to the formation of enclaves where the area to be exploited is joined forcibly to the world capitalist system and does not sustain any links with the regional economy. Neither is the area developed. This leads to unrest amongst the population involved.

In the Indian scenario this took place in the Chota Nagpur region, which was industrialised for the cause of India's development. Yet, the benefits arising from this industrialisation did not reach the tribal communities who lost out in the process of national development, even after special care being taken to safeguard the tribal interests. This is where

the social alienation comes into being, for they govern the societies' attitudes towards certain
groups. The politics of difference has been played to the full in the region, till the demands for
political recognition could not be ignored any more resulting in the formation of the state of
Jharkhand, comprising parts of the Chota Nagpur plateau that was included in the state of Bihar.
This region consists of 18 districts, and has been carved out of the entire south Bihar region.

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

This also translates into control over the resource base and thereby exercising a strict control over the population. For if the livelihood sources of the population is controlled and the alternatives reduced, then they are automatically pushed towards marginalisation. They thus reach the boundaries of survivability, and eke out a bare living. Here land is the most important resource since most of the tribals are dependent upon agriculture as the major livelihood occupation, supplemented by the sale of forest products for accessing cash money for their requirements. Since their major resources have been alienated from them due to industrialisation, they are now facing survival problems. Thus the process of land alienation causes marginalisation.

The western countries have always led the idea of development and the economic theories of the day were based on their home situation. To impose them totally in India has created problem since the ground conditions do not fit. Here theories of development fit in, and political economy is important since it is the politics of a country that decide its economic policies. Therefore, Nehru’s bending towards the socialistic type of plan system saw the emergence of the five year plans of Indian development. Similarly the areas of mineral exploitation were not enriched or developed; rather they became more destitute than ever. This encases the formation of an enclave in the region. The literature on political economy also

includes the debates on the resource ownership and the resultant benefits to be accrued from
them, and whether the government’s policies for industrialization is actually bringing progress to
the indigenous people of that area. The primary resource here is land, though the days of land
imperialism are long gone being replaced by capital imperialism of today.

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

The various acts and efforts of the Government of India to combat the
marginalisation process are visible in the various plans implemented with the specific aim
creating development in the tribal areas. For this, the Tribal Sub Plans (TSP) instituted by the
Planning Commission has been extensively studied here along with the development profiles
of the state at various time periods.

The fourth chapter looks at the marginalisation in the economic arena locating it
specifically in the sphere of work. Herein the employment and unemployment scenario of the
tribes is looked at along with their work force structure and occupational pattern that was noted
in the field. This brings out processes/phenomena on the varied nature of the process of
marginalisation. The indicators are drawn from varied sources and represent different realities
that combine to create the veracity of the concept.

The fifth chapter marginalisation in the domain of land examines inequality in land
holdings of tribal and non tribal community alongwith changes in land use pattern in Jharkhand
1971-2001. The results show how the tribes are slowly losing the control over land by moving
towards casualisation of labour. This is accompanied by their restricted usage of the forests that
is seen by the changes in the share of forests in Jharkhand lessening their entitlement bundle
from nature. The third chapter focuses more specifically on the idea of land as a primary
resource and alienation as a concept. Historical roots of land laws and the processes of land alienation are dealt herein. The political economy of the Company period was manifested in the idea of Permanent Settlement of land, introduced by Lord Cornwallis in 1793. This created a same base of land revenue extraction from all over the Suba of Bengal. Unfortunately all the land in the entire province was not of the same quality, nor where the same land laws prevalent everywhere. This single legislation had the most important impact on the entire province, it upset settled people and created a new strata of landlords; inaugurating a system of far more exploitation than ever before. The English had absolutely no concept of common properties in land and therefore did not recognize the fact that it had existed in the Chopta Nagpur region. This led to land alienation of the tribal people in hitherto unconceivable proportions. The continuation of this process was accentuated with the discovery of mineral and forest resources in the area. Also the introduction of the railway line in the region created an easy access for the outsiders, the dikus.

The historiography of the colonial period concerned with the Chotanagpur region in relation to land is discussed with the emphasis on the tribes and their rights to resources. The writing of history at any time is a little biased depending on the person, his circumstances and his times. The last is a determining factor in looking at how and when what happened and the various interpretations put upon it. The nationalist history of the Indian nation is all encompassing, that is the history of the majority people is the history of every person. ‘And yet historians today are getting interested precisely in such fragments of the past, ‘unimportant’ events of no obvious consequence which stick out and refuse to fit into any of the established patterns of historical reconstruction akin to perhaps the Freudian slips of psychoanalysis and central to much social anthropological work for some time. They afford oblique entry points into social history and can throw light upon dimensions obscured by dominant - all too often teleological-analytical frameworks’ (Sarkar, 1989:3-4)55. Reconstruction of tribal history in perspective of the process of land alienation and the resulting deprivation is an endeavour of such nature. At the same time as Friedrich Nietzsche remarked in his Untimely Meditations “For since we are the outcome of earlier generations, we are also the outcome of their aberrations, passions and errors, and indeed of their crime; it is not possible to wholly free oneself from this

chain. If we condemn these aberrations and regard ourselves as free of them, this does not alter the fact that we originate in them”.

The sixth chapter then goes on to explore the explicit manifestations of the marginalisation process as land alienation in Jharkhand. The sub-processes of alienation of the tribal communities that constitute marginalisation process are studied herein with respect to the non tribal communities. Loss of common property resources and its alienation is also constituted as part of the land alienation process.

The seventh chapter deals with sustainability and forest resources wherein the Land is studied as forests along with associated policy, politics and impacts. In this, after examining the forest policy for both colonial and independent India, the role of the State Forest Development Corporation is examined bringing the institutional element in forest control. Role of Forests in the process of marginalisation process is looked at as differentiated forest rights of the tribal and non tribal communities, its implications and impacts leading to the differential level of dependence on MFP of the tribal communities. This leads to a study of the mechanisms of sale of MFP that form some of the sites of immense exploitation within the system.56

The eighth chapter deals with the social capital networks that operate within the tribal and non tribal communities. This chapter sets out the various networks that exist within the tribal communities resulting in accumulated social capital within the tribal society. The 'strength of weak ties' is examined here; and it deals with how the social capital accumulated within the tribal society helps resist the onward set of the process of marginalization. A comparative analysis has been attempted so as to see whether the communities have any differential rates of social capital and their impacts. The measurement of social capital will be done by conducting surveys in the field; the results show the importance of the accumulated social capital within the tribal communities to combat the process of marginalisation.

The indicators used here are also indicators of the manner in which identity formation takes place in a community. The exclusion and cohesion of the society marks the various processes of identity formation in its primal form. Later they are liked to the development platform. So the aggregate scores will also indicate levels of identity formation within the

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tribal society as opposed to the idea of a collective as evidenced by the political formulations in the state of Jharkhand.

The summary of conclusions is the arena wherein the main ideas contained within the chapters and their cohesion is dealt with. This will regroup the earlier arguments, propositions and decide if they have been validated in the work. The politics of the region will show up the lacunas in the development process in the region. The marginalisation of the people that is caused by the development of the entire nation, so are these people what is called development refugees? The tribal communities who can be said to form the autochthonous communities of India have once again become refugees and marginalized in their own land. Unfortunately, today they have no more refuge zones left where they can live in peace and in sync with nature as before. Moreover, the achievement of all that they were struggling for, the creation of a new state, has raised the expectations yet the actions of this newly formed state belie these hopes. The aim would be to arrest the process of marginalisation, for though the development process cannot be reversed, some amelioration can take place. Thus some ideas detailing how best to develop and be in step of the rest of the nation is explored here. The indication is towards people oriented governance leading to all holistic development for the region.