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The Colonial and Post-Colonial Approach to Industrialization in India's Jharkhand State: Envisioning Environmental Crisis

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Abstract:

It is a common argument that colonial and post-colonial discourses on landed property along with subsequent industrial policies alienated a large number of indigenous people depended mainly on traditional properties. Especially the tribes, who had to flee from their original Khuntkatti land to other distant places due to the huge pressure on land and forest resources. Like other parts of India, the flow of industrial capital into the state of Jharkhand not only created huge land alienation but also eradicated traditional way of living. It ruptured tribal traditional economies and also marginalized them. The situation was even more aggravated under various policies adopted by the post-colonial government to ensure so called regional development. But in ground level scenario the rise of industrial capital brings non-tribal people into the region and also created labour division. The population explosion dynamics, eviction from the traditional homestead or Khuntkatti land created a series of questions towards the necessity of unplanned development. The process of colonization in different parts of India was not free from resentment. Simmering discontent among the tribes found expressions in a series of tribal uprising throughout India and got articulated in the mainstream political movements. Jharkhand Movement was one of the oldest in this category which had been set up for a political solution to many such issues. In order to hark back to the root of tribal anger born out from gradual loss of land, this paper has been attempted.

Keywords: *Industrialization, environment, ecology, tribe, alienation, displacements*

1. Introduction

Throughout British period the economic policies were to a great extent executed to protect and promote British interests rather than advancing welfare for the Indian people (Vaidyanathan,2010:947). This familiar model however or the negativity of the colonial approach towards Indian economy had been criticized by many scholars, arguing that the government policies were mainly responsible for the decline of the indigenous tiny industries; however there was a steady shift after 1930 which “signaling a more active interests in development problems” (Vidyanathan,2010:947).Consequently just after the transfer of power, The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 rendered initiative to cope up with the stagnant economic situation and virtually taken a decisive attempt to regulate India's socio-economic policies, and it was by and large had produced a fundamental departure from the colonial policies. The need of contribution to the growth of India's industrial development becomes prioritized when the Indian Planning Commission was formed in 1950 and so on the industrial growth of India has significantly raised. It was recorded that the mining and manufacturing industries has risen around 160 percent and the modern industry by over 250 percent, however these growths drastically reduces the agricultural output and which stands 50 percent in the early fifties and 45 percent in early seventies (Vidyanathan,2010: 961). And from 1970 the industrialization took the command and forms a notable change in agricultural sector. It was observed that the number of agricultural labour has been decreased significantly from 1990 due to rapid change in the process of technology and cropping pattern and similarly the development in the industrial sector actually opened up job possibilities in service sector (Ghosh,2010:1039). However, these trends in economy always been seen as uncertainties.

The growth of economy and the subsequent change particularly in the field of development strategies took serious attention by the scholars. In a review article R.C.Guha¹ observed that the basic model on which industrialization started in India particularly from second five year plan onwards was that “underdevelopment essentially was a consequence of insufficient technological progresses”(Guha,1986: 623).The Lack of technological progress and to overcome the so called backward state of nature or *status-quo* was actually directed the state for natural resource utilization for the sake of industries and this has severe impact on the rural tribal population because the imposition and intrusion of industrial capital caused social dislocation from their own traditional practice of resource management (Guha,1986:623-25).In this structural change we speculate that the shift of the rights of managing the resources from the hands of the rural people to the hands of the state became turbulent in many states of India. Among them, Jharkhand state is

¹ An eminent Indian historian and writer

exceptional because of the massive industrial development and displacements occurred since the last century to capitalize the rich mineral resources and forest products.

2. The Demographic Situation and the Rise of Industrial Capital in Jharkhand

Regarding policies, a fundamental failure in trends can be located through massive land encroachment by the profit makers, unrecognizing the customary rights of the tribal people over 'Jal, Jungle and Zamin'² (Water, forest and Land). As a result, while approaching towards so called economic reforms, the state had faced some of the turbulent phases of struggle "related to economic interests of different actors in the use of natural resources" (Gadgill & Guha 2000:91). It also contested because of the growing urbanization due to un-broken rise in population over many years from the neighboring states. Thus according to one study the "Question of development and ecological degradation has often been traced to a dyad consisting of population growth and technological choices" (D'Souza 2002:1261). This process greatly intensified in the beginning of the 20th century brought rapid changes in regional economy in terms of growing industrial capital following substantial increase in output in Jharkhand. It is fairly comprehensive to note that the continuity of the industrial development in Jharkhand produced serious impact on the lives of tribes. They lost their traditional practices in regard to resource utilization and forced to surrender their lands and ancestral places, and gradually they became evicted. This long process of pauperization was started since the late 19th century and became rapid from the first decade of 20th century. Since then the mineral resources were exploited by the capitalist. The trend can be traced back in 1911 when the first "blast furnaces of Jamshedpur were in course of erection", (Lacey, 1931:55) the mining activities also began near Dhalbhum and Kolhan, many other mining sectors were also opened up. Within few years, Sakchi, a small town flourishes with the works that had grown up with the Tata Iron and Steel Company. In 1911 Sakchi was inhabited by only 5641 and just after 10 years the population increases nearly 57 thousand. Sakchi became a popular destination for capital and known as Jamshedpur City (Lacey 1931:55). It was however an emerging fact that the rise of capital without loss of time was the problem which imposed certain condition on the lives of the innocent tribes that eradicated the flow of ethnic bondage.³

The decline of the tribal traditional common resource management system and the extensive pressure for alternative resource management has usually been inferred from the rapid growth of urbanization in the period following 1st half of the 20th century. The evident suggests that it was started by encroaching lands. Thus Land became a central point of confrontation between tribal rights and state intervention. The pressure on land became one of the principle factors behind tribal anger, and it was aggravated due to huge population explosions. The rises of towns and non-tribal populations have seriously affected the lives of tribes. Materially the immigrants caused serious problem to the regional equilibrium and created a hybrid culture forcing the tribes to change their traditional occupation was one of the major concern of the Jharkhand Movement started in 1930s⁴. As a consequence, over the period many tribal groups were forced to migrate to other region for their livelihood⁵. Vice-versa many districts of Jharkhand have been reported huge in migration from the neighboring states and as a result, demographic composition has been changed. Different demographic studies have revealed that out of 18 districts of the state there were five tribal districts in 1961 having tribal population comprises more than 50% of the total population (Thatte, undated:1-2). In 1991 the scenario has changed totally and one can find only three tribal districts that have the majority remains. The selected data in this article suggests that from the late 20th century Jharkhand suffered greatest depopulation in tribal percentage. An article indicated that from 1951 to 1991 the tribal population decreases gradually, it shows that in 1950s the tribal population constituted in an around 36% of the total population of the region while in 1991 the number fallout and stands around 27%. So the tribal population decreases in each year (Maharanta & Chitke 2004:5053-62).

²Jal, Jungle Zamin is a popular catchword and synonymous with any grass root movement. Which is used by many scholars in their writings

³ The emerging capital flow in the industrial development certainly determined the division of labour. It was drastically changed the ethnic composition in the entire Jharkhand region. The status Report of Indigenous Peoples (SAIP) in its report observed that the growing industrialization in the entire Chotanagpur area has created a massive demographic change in between 1881-1950 because of the intrusion of the unskilled labour into the region from nearby states like West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Gaya, Munger, the number of cities also increases.

See details in A. Ekka, Status of Indigenous Peoples Land Series-4, Jharkhand 2011, & M. Bandyopadhyay, 1999, 'Demographic Consequences of Non-tribal incursion in Chotanagpur Region during Colonial period (1850-1950), Social Change, 29(3-4) Sept. Dec, pp-22-24

⁴ The non-tribal migration into Chotanagpur expressed a significant change in the fall of ethno-regionalism and the rise of regionalism haggling into the demand of Jharkhand autonomy movement.

⁵ The Out migration from the Jharkhand has been recently studied as the change in circumstances. Alpa Shah in her recent work 'In The shadow of the State, Indigenous Politics, Environmentalism and Insurgency in Jharkhand, India', 2010, Duke University press, argued that the seasonal migration of the Jharkhand Tribes to the brick factories was due to 'not only the ability to cope with everyday livelihood struggles but also freedom from the social constraints at home', Shah criticized that the Right based Jharkhandi Protagonists have raised their voices against the seasonal migration because of their ethno-regionalist vision, as they used to interconnected the migration with the loss of cultural identity as rooted in their land.

District	Social Groups	1951-61	1961-71	1971-81	1981-91	1951-91
Santal Pargana	All	1.42	1.75	1.54	2.11	1.7
	SC	3.37	1.24	3.08	1.50	2.3
	St	0.14	1.21	1.70	0.67	0.86
Hazaribagh	All	2.12	2.42	2.63	2.55	2.43
	Sc	3.32	1.93	5.64	2.63	3.38
	St	0.15	2.00	2.44	2.10	1.67
Ranchi	All	1.47	2.00	1.62	1.75	1.71
	Sc	3.10	2.59	2.25	2.12	2.52
	St	1.57	1.41	1.33	1.16	1.37
Palamu	All	1.86	2.36	2.43	2.46	2.28
	Sc	3.38	2.17	2.23	2.51	2.57
	St	2.84	2.28	2.02	2.32	2.37
Singhbhum	All	1.87	1.73	1.60	1.73	1.73
	Sc	2.02	3.67	4.43	1.96	3.02
	St	3.07	1.48	1.15	1.36	1.76
Dhanbad	All	2.46	2.15	3.66	2.35	2.66
	Sc	5.93	0.73	3.96	2.28	3.22
	St	1.14	1.93	2.14	1.56	1.69
Jharkhand	All	1.80	2.04	2.13	2.15	2.03
	Sc	3.67	1.83	3.75	2.30	2.89
	St	1.38	1.49	1.54	1.26	1.42

Table 1: Annual exponential growth rate of population, (1951-1991)

Source: Census Report, Quoted from A. Maharanta & R.Chikte, 2004, 'Demography of Tribal Population in Jharkhand, 1951-1991', EPW, XXXIX (46/47), p-5054

Table 1 indicated that the exponential growth rate is fluctuating in almost every district. The exponential growth rate in Santal Pargana is monotonically increasing from 1951 to 1981 but it decreases within the interval between 1981 and 1991. Similar nature can be traced for Hazaribagh, Dhanbad and Jharkhand. It was seen in the table that the exponential growth rate of the population of S.T in Ranchi monotonically decreasing from 1951 to 1991. Moreover, the exponential growth rate of the population of ST in Palamou is monotonically decreasing from 1951 to 1981 but it increases within the interval between 1981 and 1991. Similar nature can be drawn for Singbhum also. There can be two possible hypotheses about the slower growth rate of tribal population. One may be due to low birth rates or high death rates, another hypothesis may lead to another angle that it caused because of the huge out migration from the region (Maharanta&Chitke,2004:5053-62). In 2001 census data it was estimated that the persons who migrated from the last residents for work or employment stood 79,027 (Census 2001). Thus the equilibrium in tribal population changed drastically in between 1911 and 1951 and the percentage was down from 40 % to 31% in the period (Ekka,2011:94-95). The statistical reports of Santal Pargana clearly indicated that a large number of people from outside Southern Bihar occupied the resource rich land for their own setup. On ground, these conditions in a traditional setup brought catastrophic changes into the region and in every aspects of tribal life. However, there are some instances that many of the tribal population took some advantage from the newly emerging scopes. The Ho industrial workers participated in the trade union movement and also became a part of Jharkhand Party and Birsa Seva Dal for separation of Jharkhand. That is how many tribal workers "try to combine their sense of belonging to the village along with the social and economic gain out of the industrial complex" (Dasgupta 1978). The pressure of the outside non tribal population and the development of industrialization in the region suddenly opened up two different possibilities; it not only created an opportunity before the tribes to work as cooley or daily waged labour in those newly emerged industries but also threatened the primacy of the original settlers they practiced in decision making. Due to the change in the traditional structure they became marginalized and lost their belongings. Market forces bring drastic changes in land utilization pattern as well.

Census Year	Persons	Variations	Net Variations	Males	Variations	Females	Variations
1901	1,804,526			893,841		910,685	
1911	1,877,486	+72,960		930,753	+36,912	946,733	+36,048
1921	1,793,742	- 83,744		893,521	-37,232	900,221	-46,512
1931	2,050,258,	+256,516		1,025,296	+131,775	1,024,962	+124,741
1941	2,234,497	+184,239		121,410	+96,114	1,113,087	+88,125
1951	2,322,092	+87,595	+517,566	1,172,594	+51,184	1,149,498	+36,411

Table 2: Variation in population during 50 years in Santal Pargana district

Source: Santal Pargana Census Reports 1951

The population explosion dynamics has a great role in the formation of the Jharkhandi identity politics. It was created a broader platform for Jharkhandi politics. We are quite familiar with the fact that the intrusion of the non-tribal population and their association in the regional politics always been treated as the alien rule (*Dikuization*), however the Jharkhand movement never rejected the possibilities of the association of the residing non tribals in their fight for self-rule. In order to find the answer behind Jharkhand demand it is necessary to look at the regional economies which in other words an example of a “process of development of underdevelopment taking place in underdevelopment capitalist formation” (Devalle, 1992:78)⁶

Along with spectacular urban growth lakhs of outsider came into Jharkhand as worker or as profit makers and it was true and evident from the above data. Table 2 shows that the growth of population was very high and steady alone in the Santal Pargana District, it was recorded that, since the very beginning of the 20th century all the districts of Chotanagpur have witnessed similar kind of population growth. An apparent reference to the increasing non-tribal population in the Chotnagpur region also affected the primitiveness and it resulted the fall of ethnicity and religion which certainly brings ‘social degradation racial discrimination, deculturation and cultural distortion’ and all these change according to Devalle “acted as effective mechanism to the process of economic control and exploitation of the adivasi” (Devalle 1992: 90). It was estimated that the number of tribals following their religion decline by 33% between 1921 and 1931 (Census 1931). Moreover, an immediate result was that, a number of inhabitants give up their dependency on the land for cultivation and forced them to adapt different means of production. In such a condition a steady ecological transformation occurred on the ground of adaptation of different practices certainly imply the truth that ‘the manner in which the nature was perceived to be influencing native nature was diverse’ (Amruth,2012: 161). Since the change occurred the number of persons deriving their secondary means of livelihood from cultivation stood male 23526, female 24976, (Census 1951) which was very less in respect of the total population of the district. On the other hand, there was a healthy growths of the number of persons including dependents who derive their principal means of livelihood from cultivation of own land is Male 4, 69,045, and Female 4, 76,149 (Census 1951). Thus there was a steady decline in all the aspects of socio-economic conditions. As indicated earlier that apart from social and economic change, i.e.; the reclassification of towns, urbanization the change in demography has also manifold cultural differences.

Year	Population	Variation	Percent Variation	
			Singbhum District	Bihar State
1872	318,180			
1881	453,775	+135,595	+42.62	+15.56
1891	543,965	+90,190	+19.88	+5.94
1901	909,655	+365,690	+67.23	+0.22
1911	1,015,656	+106,001	+11.65	+3.67
1921	1,074,254	+58,598	+5.77	-- 0.66
1931	1,312,630	+238,376	+22.19	+11.45
1941	1,565,306	+252,676	+19.25	+12.20
1951	1,700,590	+135,284	+8.64	+10.27
1961	2,049,911	+349,321	+20.54	+19.77

Table 3: Growth of population in Singbhum district in between 1872-1961

Source: District Census: Singbhum, 1961

Apart from Santal Pargana, Singbhum district also witnessed a steady population growth. One can simply assume from the above tables, particularly in connection with the table 3 that in between 1872-1931 the population increases more than 100 percent (Census 1931) and it was gradually increasing in every 10 consecutive years. The population increases gradually with the coming of industries, mining and other sorts of industrial sectors. The situation was aggravated due to large scale land alienation. Since the beginning of the commercial era in 19th century the indigenous populations comprising around 85 to 90 percent of the total population have been worse hit by the industrial capital following devastating impact through commercially, socially and economically. In 1931 census data, it was recorded that the number of immigrants in Chotanagpur alone had been significantly rises in large numbers and to a great extent responsible for emergence of mixed cultural, bilingual hybrid society. Figures 1&2 and table 4 shows how the numbers of immigrants actually move from outside area into the Chotanagpur.

⁶ Susana BC Devalle 1992 ‘Discourses of Ethnicity, Culture and Protest in Jharkhand’, p-78, in this particular point Devalle criticized the objectives of the capitalist entrepreneurs for agricultural impoverishment, which was paradoxical and see the traditional society as an obstacle to the modernity. Here underdevelopment refers to a situation where the tribes never been accustomed or been integral part of the present day modernity and their relative backwardness to a great extent responsible for Jharkhandi social formation.

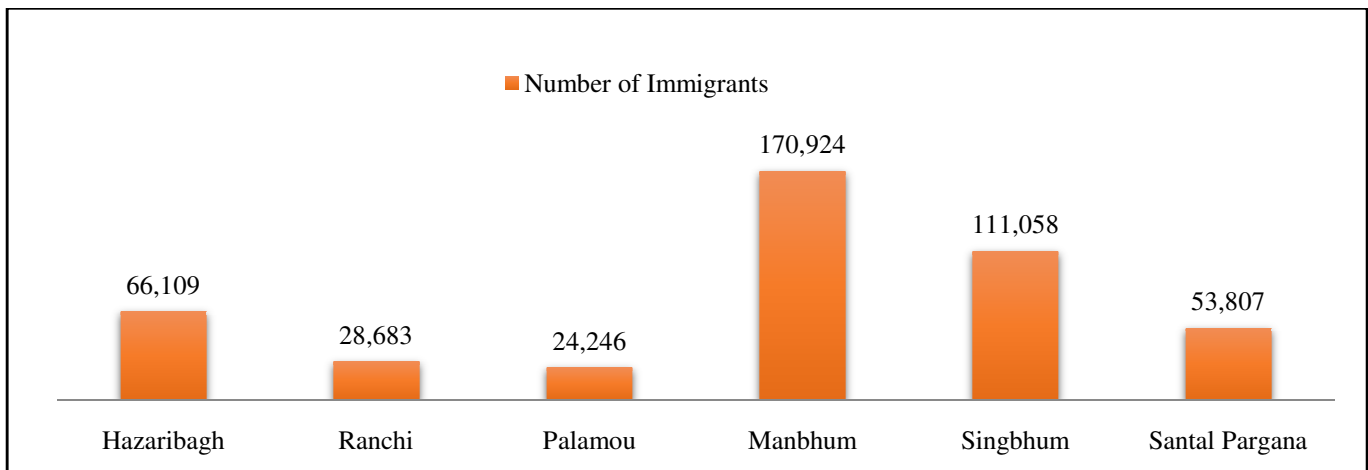


Figure 1: Migration into Chotanagpur, 1931

Source: Census of India, Vol VII, Bihar & Orissa, Part 1, 1931

With the influx of the outsiders the number of Bengali speaking people was also increased. Records of the Political Department on the issues of the depressed classes in Chotanagpur estimated that the Bengali speaking persons in British territory of Bihar and Orissa as recorded in 1911 census was 2,186,020 (Bihar State Archive, hereafter BSA:1918) and in 2001 the number of Bengali speaking people stands 26,07,601 only in Jharkhand (Census 2001). In this report Bhagalpur Division of Santal Pargana estimated 274,318 people who speaks in Bengali dialect (BSA:1918) Not only that, some reports revealed that within 10 years between 1951-1961, the Punjabis of the region increases from 30,000 to 57,000, Marwaris from 8000 to 22,000, Gujratis from 8000 to 36,000, Andhras from 18,000 to 36,000, Tamilians from 6000 to 15,000 (Sengupta,1980:666). The following Figures in this regard have been prepared according to the data available in the report of 1918 and 1971.

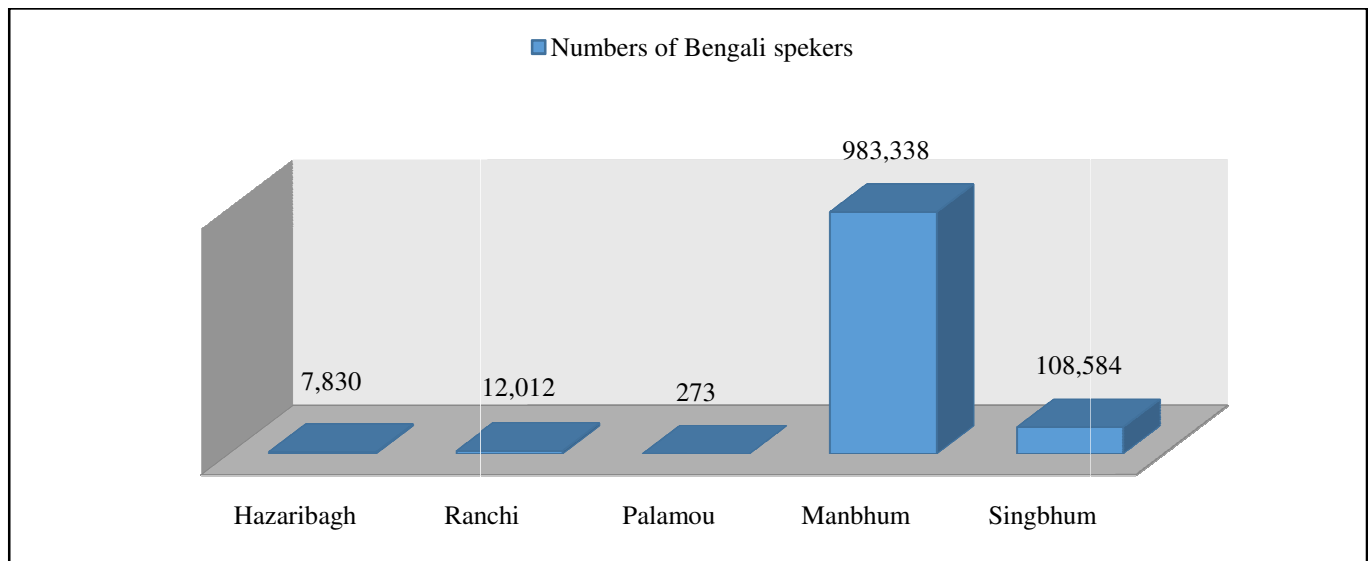


Figure 2: Numbers of Bengali speakers in Chotanagpur Div. 1918

Source: Govt. of Bihar and Orissa, File number 444 of 1918, BSA

Language	Number of persons
Assamese	24
Bengali	6,64,206
Gujrati	7404
Hindi	2,63,951
Oria	3,19,124
Telegu	26,260
Urdu	78,813
Panjabi	32,120
Marathi	2,903

Table 4: Population according to language in Singbhum district in 1971

Source: Singbhum District Gazetteer, Gazetteer Revision Branch, Government of Bihar, 1984, p-8

3. The Industrialization and Socio-Economic Dislocation

The industrialization in Jharkhand was empirically determined through examining possible scope of resource utilization (Regional Archive, Ranchi, hereafter RAR:1903). Hundreds of records have been prepared to investigate the point of levels of productivity (RAR:1903). It had been confidentially taken for granted that the 'British willing to take over mineral rights of whole of Chotanagpur District'⁷ (RAR:1903). To execute the supreme command, they decided to replace Halles 'Ecology of India' (on the ground that it was not sufficient) by a proper geological map of Chotanagpur Division with coalfield duly coloured (RAR:1903). The beginning of the coal industry in Dhanbad during 2nd half of the 19th century and the establishment of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in 1907 were the initial stages marked by the large scale exploitation of mineral resources. There was a considerable area of extension of coal mining within a short period of time was also significant. Before the nationalization of coal mining the use of coal is voracious substance for mine owners and exploited unsystematically. When the Coal India put its grip after the nationalization in 1971 the whole Jharkhand Region was opened for private contractors and mine owners (Areeparampil,1996:1524-25). Other private industrial hubs such as agriculture based industries; chemical industries, small engineering, and manufacturing industries also setup their units in almost all the parts of Jharkhand. Thermal Power Plants in Bokaro, Patratu, Chandrapura, Sindri was also established. The other industries like, Hydro Electric Projects run by Damodar Valley Corporation also generated for supplying powers to the industrial sectors (Areeparampil,1996:1525-26). The metallurgical coal of the Jharia coalfield is famous in regard to the production and utilization and has given Dhanbad a very popular destination (Bhatt,1998:123).

The large scale Industrializations in the region requires huge lands for establishment purpose. It was with the emerging colonies huge lands have been transferred to the hands of the non-tribals. Mica and coal mining lease were also granted to various private owners. As early as in 1913 mica mining lease was granted to Messrs Tata Sons & Company in the Koderma Government forest, Hazaribagh (RAR:1912-13). It can be easily assumed that the actual land grabbed by the private agencies for their mining set up is quite large square miles than the actual reports is concerned. The Uranium Corporation of India has set-up their mines at Jaduguda and Bhatin and taken away five villages which completely destroyed the lives of the aboriginals particularly the Santals who have been alienated from their ancestral land (Areeparampil,1996:1524-25). On the other hand, The Piparwar coal projects in the North Karanpura valley in the 1990s also uprooted more than 15000 people and also highly responsible for environmental degradation. More than 289 hectares of reserved forests have been cleared for construction of Piparwar project (Arreparampil,1996:1524-25). But in actually more forests areas have been cleared. It is really striking to note that from 1951 to 1991 due to mining activities around 34.4 percent of lands have been acquired only in Jharkhand (George,2005:4455-58). It would be pertinent to note that the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act (CNTA) of 1908 and Santal Pargana Tenancy Act (SPTA) of 1949 were enacted to safe guard adivasi land from the non-tribal traders and several sections from both the acts had been stands as barrier between two contested classes. But unfortunately for the Jharkhand State the land has been regularly passes away from the tribes by misusing the section 23 of the SPTA as 'Dan Patras' or Gift deeds. The poor adivasi people were pressurized to sell the lands for the money (Rao,2003:4080-84).The tables below show how critical situation emerged due to rampant land transfer for the sake of urban demand.

Land acquired by the government (1951-1995)	32,911 sq.km
Land acquired for the development	6,256,109 sq.km
Land acquired illegally around cities	3,238,000 sq.km
Land available in Jharkhand after 1995	46,802 sq.km
Land planned to be acquired	29,916 sq.km
Land left for people survival	16,886 sq.km

Table 5: Position of land in Jharkhand 1951-1995

Source: Stan Swamy, 2013, 'Fate of Commons, Commoners and Displaced: Why do people Resist Displacement?' in 'Governance of Commons and Livelihood Security' (ed) Himadri Sinha & Anant Kumar, Published by Xavier Institute of Social Service, Ranchi, Jharkhand.

Dams	Mines	Industries	Animal Sanctuaries	Others	Total
Displaced 53	Displaced 12	Displaced 2.6	Displaced 5	Displaced 1.5	Displaced 74.1
Resettled 13.15	Resettled 3	Resettled 0.65	Resettled 1.25	Resettled 0.4	Resettled 18.45
Backlog 39.86	Backlog 9	Backlog 1.95	Backlog 3.75	Backlog 1.1	Backlog 56.26
Backlog percentage 75.21	Backlog percentage 75	Backlog percentage 75	Backlog percentage 75	Backlog percentage 73.33	Backlog percentage 75.92

Table 6: Tribal displaced between 1950-1990 (in tens of million)

Source-Minz, a 'Development and/or destruction in Jharkhand: Growing Fascism, Update collective Quotes in Prakash Louis "Marginalisation of Tribes"' in EPW, 18th Nov, 2000 P-4088, as quoted in Case study, Tribal Rights in Jharkhand' Amit Prakash p-42

⁷ this colonial view was placed in a letter by R.N. Reid, The under Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner of Chotanagpur

The deleterious practice of the economy of the Jharkhand State has been consequently evolved through mineral based industries and mining throughout 19th and 20th century. The common propaganda of tribal unrest for retaining land and to secure habitat as a whole had been identified as an outcome of landlessness. It was also supplemented by huge ecological and environmental degradation caused by air and water pollution which slowly but steadily imperils the aborigines to the massive risk on their lives. Taking into account of the Jaduguda Case, that tribal people has faced a series of complication due to radioactive hazards; they became a sufferer and slowly going into the painful death (Areparampil,1996:1524-25). Haria coal field settlement also witnessed severe diseases due to unhygienic conditions of the colliery workers.

The Tabulated statement shows the death rate per 1000 of population from the principle causes of deaths during 1953 as compared with the preceding four years (RAR-1953-54).

Causes of Deaths	Total No of Deaths- 1953	Percentage of deaths to total	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949
A)Wholly or partially preventable							
Cholera	51	1.22	0.07	0.12	0.33	1.07	0.24
Small pox	14	0.34	0.02	0.20	0.40	0.17	0.04
Plague	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.03
Fever	2732	65.59	3.75	4.35	5.79	6.06	5.47
Diarrhea & Dysentery	119	2.86	0.16	0.18	0.20	0.34	0.14
Respiratory Diseases	217	5.21	0.30	0.39	0.41	0.41	0.27
B) Non preventable Diseases							
Suicide	17	0.41	0.02	0.04	0.01	0.02	0.03
Wounds & accidents	100	2.40	0.14	0.15	0.11	0.13	0.11
Snakebite	13	0.31	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.002	0.002
Wild animal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other causes	902	21.66	1.24	1.23	1.37	1.49	1.23

Table 7

The above table shows the causes of deaths, particularly from respiratory problem are high, because of the unhygienic conditions of the colliery settlement; it is also painful that the deaths among the children workers are very high. It was reported that in Jharia and Mugma coalfields, children between the age of 1 and 5 and 5 to 10 were died in maximum numbers in comparison to other and constituted 14.36 and 4.42 percent to the total deaths that means general living standard was deteriorating along with environmental degradation (RAR). In addition to this, enormous demand for the industrial development caused household alienation which took place gradually with the coming of the new industrial settlement. This sort of critical situation was largely retrieve by the mining settlement. The following chart shows how the alienation of household continued in consequences.

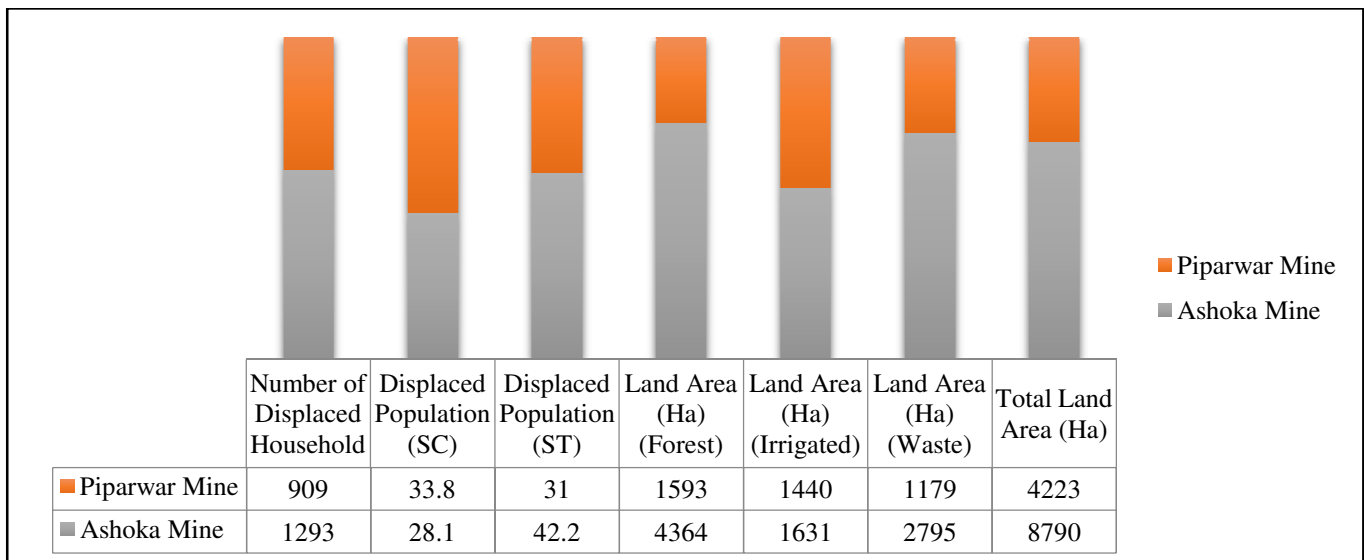


Figure 3: Land use and displacement of Households by Piparwara and Ashoka Mines, 1981

Source: District Census Handbook, 1981 Quoted by Amar Kumar Singh ' Jharkhander Katha-A Tale of Swadeshi Colonisation' in Jharkhand Matters : Essays on Ethnicity, Regionalism and Development, Edt. By Rajib Balakrishnan, Council for Social Development (India), 2004, p-37, see also P.Roy (1992)

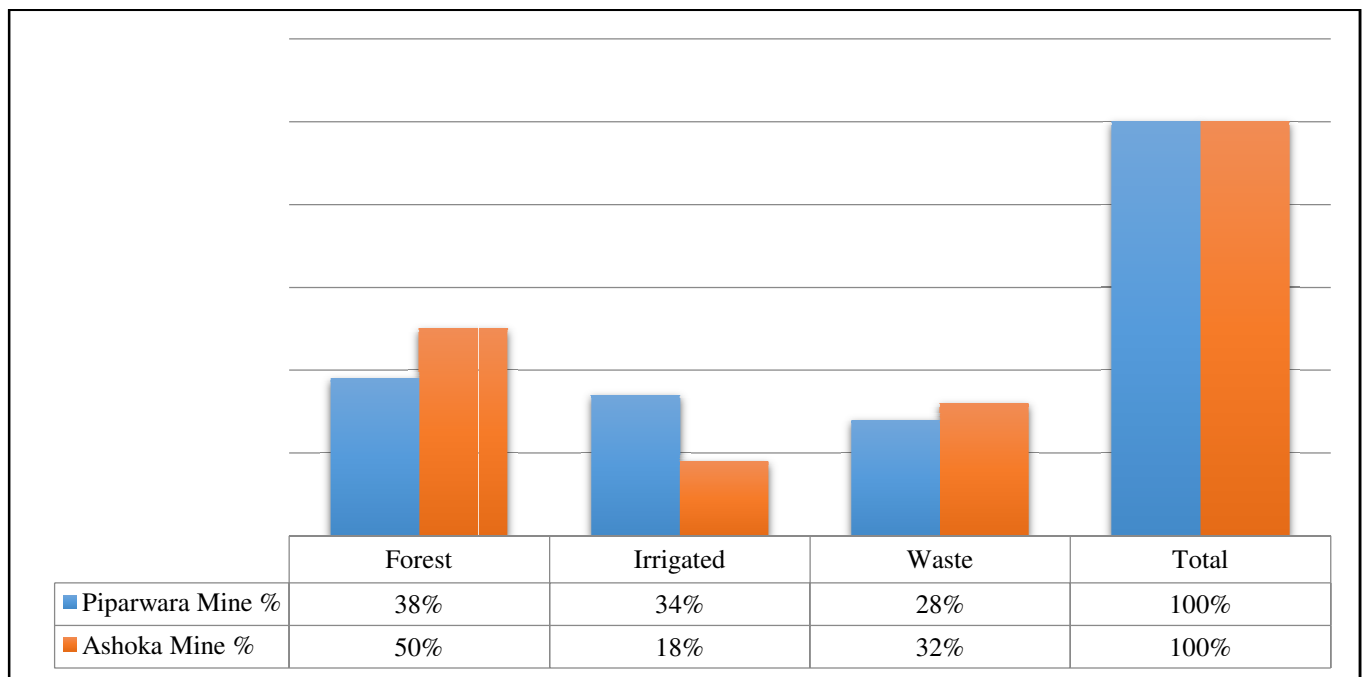


Figure 4: Percentage of Displacements of Households by Piparwara & Ashoka Mines in 1981

Source: A.K. Singh, op.cit, p-37

While the agrarian problems vis-à-vis new techniques, introduction of cash crops etc. enforcing the tribes to surrender the traditional methods of cultivation in one hand and on the other hand in the non-agricultural sector rampant change in ecological setup, health and household alienation started due to the growth of modern industries. It is necessary to remember that Jharkhand movement not only vocal against rampant change in customary practices but also take advantages politically against the long term 'development' process by projecting internal colonization theory⁸ which is fully justified. However, all of these alterations pose direct threat to the existing tradition and brought in several environmental hazards. The environmental degradation due to extensive mines and industrialization operating in the whole Jharkhand region has been responsible to rise to a more complex understanding of land and adivasi vision of nature. Due to the large scale forest destruction for commercial purpose there were severe food crisis and ecological damage. The irrigational change has also suffered traditional customs and uses. More and more emphasis on the part of industrialization in the successive years after independence put aside irrigational needs. It was the era when no major irrigational projects had been taken to

⁸Internal Colonization refers to uneven development between North Bihar and South Bihar

meet the demand of the tribes (Devalle,1992:84-85) The abandonment and radical change in the agricultural sectors bring regular drought and failure in paddy crops, in 1955-56, and in 1967 drought and crop failure affected near about 73 % of the population of Central Bihar and Southern Bihar (Devalle,1992:84-85). In 1979 to 1982 Santal Pargana noticed a severe drought of various degree (Devalle,1992:84-85). In these miserable conditions a protest movement had been launched in 1982 where police ruthlessly made firing upon the starved adivasi seeking relief of these condition, later under the banner of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) a movement originated against the incident (Devalle,1992:84-85). Another important change for tribals during this period was the labour problems. In most of the cases many tribal areas of Jharkhand have altered into a zone of easy labourers. For instances Santals of Damini during colonial period has suffered mostly due to mining activities. The proprietors always liked Santal labours because they were hardworking, honest and moreover can be used by ensuring small wages (Mallick,1998:131). However, it was none other than British who at the initial stages enjoying the mining activities in an around Damini for capital accumulation, Lord Dalhousie encouraged it and opened the pathways for the Europeans to increase mining and exploit mineral resources as much as possible. In some cases, many Europeans have their own coal mines (Mallick,1998:131). More over the loss of primitive subsistence economy⁹ in the wake of the capitalist demand emerged in the first half of the 20th century disrupted the traditional bases of the tribes of Jharkhand.

4. The Question of Safeguarding the Tribes: The Colonial Approach

A further analysis of the situations of aboriginals in the Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana Division needs to be examined from colonial point of view. During the first half of the 20th century a debate occurred on the issue of safeguarding the primitive and backward peoples in certain district not proposed for inclusion and the motive was to ensure correct measures against fraudulent activities against the tribes. It was suggested that the Governor in Council should have the power to intervene in such cases. In a letter no 33 C, dated 6th January, 1919, Patna, H. Mcpherson, Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bihar and Orissa wrote to the Secretary J.A. Hubback about the necessity of the immediate intervene of the Governor in Council with a view to safeguard the tribes of Chotanagpur under the reform scheme. Mcpherson himself was concerned and caring about the political rights and arguing repeatedly on the rights of aboriginal tribes in the legislation and district administration. He pointed out that,

“The general object of the safeguards is to protect the primitive and backward people, who from the main constituents of the population of the tracts concerned, from the application of legislation and administrative action which though suitable to the ordinary district of the province may be altogether unsuitable to these people and may be even dangerous. The great bulk of the aboriginals and semi- aboriginal races of Chotanagpur will have no voice in the selection of the divisional representative in the Legislative Council. Few of them, even under the very low franchise which has been proposed for Chotanagpur, will have a vote, and still fewer will have any appreciation of the value or meaning of a vote. It follows that no minister who can be selected from the elected members of the Council will have any responsibility vis-à-vis the backward races. His responsibility will be to the classes on whose suffrage he depends for his election and these classes have nothing in common with the aboriginal races, which indeed, in the areas where they preponderate, look on the non-aboriginal settlers as interlopers and often regard them with aversion and distrust. Although they have many good qualities, the aboriginals are ignorant, thriftless, and intemperate, and, unless specially protected they fall an easy prey to the Goalas, Sunris, Telis, and other low caste Hindu, who if not prevented by special measures gradually breakdown their special tenures, oust them from their land and reduced them to a state of serfdom” (BSA:1919).

Regarding the Transferred subjects¹⁰ and the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, Mcpherson believed a strong intervention of the Governor in Council to be necessary in the above mentioned subject in case of any problem. He enunciated that

“what action will be taken on the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, nor at what stage the subject of major industries is likely to be included in the transferred departments, but it is within the backward areas of Bihar and Orissa that the most important development of the major industries-Coal, iron, steel, mica, limestone-are taking place, and his Honour in Council consider it essential that the Governor in Council should reserve full powers of intervention in the complicated questions of labour, forests and agrarian rights, etc. that are likely to arise from the establishment of great industrial works in the midst of these primitive peoples” (BSA:1919). Mcpherson’s observation not only exposed the colonial aims in respect to the reform schemes which are brought into the midst of the tribal areas but also had specific assumptions towards uncertainties in addressing the problems of the Chotanagpur region. It was clear from the archival sources that there was a severe degree of contradictions between the ‘rights’ and ‘privileges’ of the tribes (which are inscribed in the demand for separate statehood) with the modernity emerged in colonial time and reinforced in the post-colonial times when the state initiated large scale industrial development into the region following the same style of intervention into the areas of ‘eco-savage’¹¹.

Now it would be pertinent to reconstruct the ideas of government from the post-Independence period where the first sign of land alienation was started from the very beginning of first five year plan which certainly alienated more than fifty thousand Scheduled tribe families and ten thousand scheduled caste families in order to make inroads for industrial setup of various projects (Ghosh,1998:100-101) As a result of these huge penetrations of large and tiny industries into the Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana the impact also raises with the urbanization process. It is a fact that in 1901 the Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana belt which are consisted

⁹ Primitive subsistence economy refers to pre-capitalist economy which was traditionally govern by the Jharkhand tribes, division of labour within traditional society, crop choices with the clan and other fundamental characteristics of the society became ruptured and a new social system emerged where the earlier tradition became modified according to the demand of capitalist society.

¹⁰ Transferred Subjects are those subjects which are controlled by the council ministers. These are Local Self-Governments, Education, Public Health, Forests, and Fisheries. The system ended with the introduction of provincial autonomy in 1935.

¹¹ Here eco-savage refers to the Jharkhand tribes who were ecologically, economically suffered in both the era

of only thirteen towns gradually increased into 34 in 1951 and 96 in 1971, the urban population also increased simultaneously, reports revealed that the urban population in Jharkhand has increased from 13 lakhs in 1961 to 23 lakhs in 1971 (Ghosh,1998:127). As early as 1840s when the Coal and Mica industries have set up their units, the influx of outsiders began to dominate the region and the tribes were completely dispossessed from their own land and that insist a separation from the land. In this case a central issue would seem to be an exclusion of its occupants and resources, even no policies do not meet tribal demand, in this conjuncture the tribal migration began to place within the jungle tarai as well as near urban cities as waged labour.

5. Tribal Displacements, Ecological Crisis and Human Rights in Jharkhand

One of the important expressions of capitalism is “self-expansion through the appropriation of surplus value” (D’Souza,2003:26) and the immediate effect was “the complexities of nature and its innumerable inter linkages are broken down, reconstituted and then reified into or treated as capitalist commodities or as units of capital, nature became recast and compressed through technology” (D’Souza,2003:26) Therefore the inflow of the capital through ages and of development activities in Jharkhand the rapid change in the tribal setup has been brought up by ousted them from their traditional rights encouraged the policy makers in both colonial and post-colonial time that the aim of the policies for industrialization was to secure as much as revenues by controlling its resources. It came to be talked about widely by the Jharkhandi protagonists that this situation had a great role in aggravating tribal anger and rebellion. It was estimated that in Jharkhand alone, more than 300,000 people have been displaced under the development projects; ecological devastation has completely ruined the symbiotic relations or the food chain (Mullick,2007:22-23). According to official reports the per capita availability of food grains in Jharkhand is 230 gm/day against a requirement of 480 gm/day, we can simply have assumed how inadequate it was. Similarly, more than 10.46% of the households in Jharkhand have seasonal food insecurity. Around 2.5% of the household regularly faced chronic food shortages, more over it was strange enough to know that for a period of 4-5 months more than 28% have insufficient food and factually 6% have no food half of the year (Mullick,2007:22-23). Thus ‘The Qualitative transformation’¹² of the nature for the sake of urban need has a devastating impact on the nature as well as on the lives of its dependent. This has produced habitual change. A steady shift occurred from one space to a material social place¹³ (Ashcwft 2007:15). Scholars have argued “Habitation describes a way of being in place, a way of being which itself defines and transformed place. It is so powerful because the coercive powers of colonialism and globalization have ultimately no answer to it. Whether affected by imperial discourses or by global culture, the local subject has a capacity to incorporate such influences into a sense of place” ((Ashcwft 2007:15) but in post-colonial time the movement for separate statehood became one of the resistance born from the dominant assumption that the traditional space began to shift.

In addition to the above, ecological scarcity, economic and political stress compelled the tribes to become obsessed and articulated in a series of armed conflict against the state agencies. The situation emerged over a period of time and it was accentuated to a higher degree during the 2nd world war time when the British had decided to take over village forests land from the custodianship of the Zamindars by enforcing the Bihar Private Forest Act of 1946. Through this act all the forests became vested in Government and were constituted as Protected Forests (Mullick,2007:22-23). In connection with that act, the Bihar Land Reform Act of 1950 was also enacted. Under British rule, particularly at the time of Permanent Settlement the introduction of Sale and Rent Law of 1859 causes huge drain of lands to the new classes of land owner, they were later known as the Zamindars. In many areas of Jharkhand in both the period of colonial and post-colonial time the fertile land has been transferred to the non tribals. Scholars have argued that the alienation from lands were somehow represents as exploitative to the tribal rights. Though the transfer of tribal land to the non tribals, had been stopped long years back in 1908 when the government introduced Chotanagpur Tenancy Act (CNTA) and Santal Pargana Tenancy Act (SPTA) in 1949¹⁴. The other acts like Scheduled Area Regulations in 1969 (SAR), The Coal Bearing Areas Act, 1957 and the SC and ST Prevention of Atrocities act 1989 give adivasis “an executive protection from individual resource alienation” (Sharan,2005:4443-46). These succeeding acts not only ensure tribal rights over their lands but also guarantee the customary rights of the tribes (Sharan,2005:4443-46). Despite of different regulations and acts, lease and transfer of *khuntkatti* lands¹⁵ to the contractors continues to take place and later the entire area opened up for the outside investors for their investments. It brings huge displacements of tribal families from their homeland. The scenario became worse in the post-independence period, when many gigantic industries have come over there and set up large scale industries. The intention was to acquire more land instead of what they actually need for setting up industries. With the setting up of Tata iron and steel company at Jamshedpur right about the time which took away 3,564 acres of tribal land for their purpose. Other industries too like Hindustan Copper Mines and National Coal Development Corporation Followed soon. To facilitate ‘development’ through industrialization section 49 was added later to the CNTA in 1947 (Das,1991:275-77) which added more pain to the lives of the adivasis.

¹² The term qualitative transformation has been used to clarify the transformation of the regional nature as required by the modern demand

¹³ The transformation from a space to a place denotes a change in the condition of one’s life, see detail in ‘Post-Colonial Transformation’ by Bill Ashcwft, p-15

¹⁴ Chotanagpur Tenancy Act (CNTA) and Santal Pargana Tenancy Act (SNTA) provided the legal framework of the land system in Chotanagpur and Santal pargana, these colonial acts for the first time ensures the non-transferability of lands to the outsiders.

¹⁵ Khuntkatti lands are those lands traditionally belongs to the tribes, it cannot be transferred or lease to anybody, these lands were maintained by the Manki or the village

	Ichha (Kharkai river)	Chandil (Swarnarekha river)	Netarhat firing range	North koel (Palamou)
Area (Ha)	4268.29	17,683	4368.17	20000
Displaced Number	30,800	37,600	1,50,000	6,000
%of total	80	88	90	72

Table 8: Person displaced by projects in Jharkhand

Source: Vikasman, (undated) Bulletin no-2, Tribal Resource Reaserch and Training Centre, ranchi, Quoted in Amar Kumar Singh's "Jharkhander Katha –A Tale of Swadeshi Colonisation" in *Jharkhand Matters: Essays on Ethnicity, Regionalism and Development,* Rajib Balakrishnan, Council for Social development (India), 2004, p-36

Independent India adopted five year plans which would actually opened up more area for more industries and urban expansion. These industrial sectors needed power supply to run all their industrial units, to fulfill the necessity the need of construction of big Hydraulic Power Projects under Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC) and Thermal Power Projects in different areas are materialized. These huge projects are swallowed thousands of acres of land without systematic and appropriate compensation to the land owner. The most devastating one is the Koel Karo River Valley Project. The Project was first Conceptualize in the year 1955 by the Bihar State Electricity Board (BSEB). The estimated displacements were widely contested, it is estimated that around 256 villages and more than 1,50,000 people would be displaced (Mathews,2011). However, the project was abandoned due to radical activism against it. In 1955-56 another river valley project had been launched on the banks of the river Mayurakshi. It flows through Jharkhand and then through the district of Birbhum, West Bengal. For this project approximately 144 villages have been submerged in Dumka district. Surprisingly due to the project local agriculture has been ruined and the farmers of the region declined from 3.95 million to 2.76 million. This project had a devastating impact on ecology. It was seen that after some years as the canal of the dam is silting and unable to carry sufficient water force the remaining agricultural lands were also abandoned and the local tribes were forced to migrate to other region as stone crusher. The social and economic impact of such projects are huge as they forced to leave their burial places; *Jahir Than*, and other holy places due to submergence of land and it also responsible for disappearance of several customary practices such as gifting land to daughter or sister etc (Mitra &Rao, undated: 44-45). Hence, the land and forest became the priority sectors of the Government and in regard to that various programmes have been adopted which certainly led to the exclusion of the forest base people in Jharkhand. In other words, "It had adverse impacts not only on the natural world but also operated as a form of enclosure in the manner it ended innumerable types of types of customary rights and scales of access of local communities, i. e., the traditional pattern of resource use" (D'Souza,2003:27) In 1966 a movement titled 'Hul Jharkhand' was started in Dumka district aimed at releasing lands from the Mahajans and also forcible harvesting (Mitra & Rao,44-45). Later this kind of movement became popularized and in this way the agriculture or the cultivation became a part of Jharkhand political movement. Recently World Wide Fund for Nature(WWF) supports the indigenious people's rights over their own land and forests which were historically, traditionally owned by the aboriginals, "the land territories and resources that they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used" (Kashwan,2013:613-626).

As stated earlier that in the Jharkhand state mining is a major activity and was carried out since long time, which grabbed thousands of acres of land without systematic compensation to the tribes, moreover the national census recorded that only 6.7% of the tribal population including *sadans* was involved in mining or manufacturing industries (Stuligross,2008:83-97).The forest conservation act failed to ensure such type of land use and in parallel thousands of displaced tribal families had to migrate to the other regions because of the absence of the customary rights (Kashwan,2013:613-626). The issue of displacement was one of the major factors affecting the tribal rights in Jharkhand; an estimated statistic can be drawn here for better understanding of the fact. It is estimated that more than 1,546,000 acres of land has been acquired for various development projects in between 1951 to 1995 which resulted displacements at least 1,503,017 persons of which 41 percent are tribals (Prakash,2007:42). They displaced from home and hearth which had a devastating impact on the livelihood of the tribal population in Jharkhand, lack of compensation and proper rehabilitation was so acute that the tribes had to flee to the other adjacent region for livelihood.

Since national forest policy of 1894 to 1995 the local forest people were controlled by the state and central government. Moreover, they had given easy access to the private contractors and businessman to collect forest timber and other materials, Government forest officers also enforce restrictions on the tribes to the forests. Mathew Areeparampil in his essay 'Forest Andolon in Singbhum, 1992' reported that around 5,160 cases were pending in courts against 14,000 adivasis for violations of the forest acts between 1978 and 1985, which constituted more than 11% of the total populations in Singbhum. He showed that around 1562 cases were pending before the court on forest related issues (Areeparampil,1992:178-179). Therefore, it is a fact that every time when forest laws on the tribal rights are imposed, they reacted against it. However, the truth is that the tribal people of Jharkhand have lost their forests rights due to different forest policies. One of the acute problems was regarding access to minor forest produce. It was known to everyone that most of the tribal communities used *Minor Forest Products* (MFP) (other than timber) for their livelihood, which has a substantial bearing on tribal economy. Reports have revealed that in comparison with other states the tribes of undivided Bihar have much more dependency on the MFP.

State	Income acquiring from sale of MFP (%of total income)
Andhra Pradesh	10-55%
Orissa	5.4-13%
Bihar (including the area comprising Jharkhand)	7.4-40%
Madhya Pradesh	13.6-38%

Table 9: Income realized through sale of minor forest produce

Source: *The state of Forest Report, Ministry of Environment and Forest, Government of India, Forest Survey of India, 1987, p- 53*

Despite the facts and figures of forests rights curtailed during both colonial and post-colonial India some measures and programmes have also initiated in national level to safeguards the common people. Among them Joint Forest Management (JFM) or Joint Resource Management System was foremost important because of the tribal participation in the act. These models were directed on the very concept "to avoid conflicts over resources by encouraging the funding of individually oriented income and employment generating schemes in village where community resource management is unlikely to succeed" (Jewitt,2002,2008:68-82). The joint Forest Management was framed on the basis of system adopted by the Bihar Government in 1990s but in Jharkhand it was extended from degraded forest types to all type of forests in 2001 (Jewitt,2002,2008:68-82). The aims of the projects in many areas were not succeeded because in most cases the participatory families are coming from very wealthy families. On the other hand, poorer villagers followed a distance. It is in reality many of the JFM committees were dominated by the elites and in turn reduced the opportunities of the poorer tribal families (Jewitt,2002,2008:68-82). However, the JMF represents an important step towards unprotected tribes though various anomalies on the part of management certainly reflect a negative gesture towards tribal participation. The conflicts of management and control became prominent and gave birth to another crisis supplemented to the past grievances.

On the other hand, immense pressure from outside in the long term process not only created a new vision of production pattern and agrarian distress but also brings partisan behavior by accommodating institutional governance and sub-systems (Pathak,1994:36-37). Therefore, land and territorial rights became always a part of contested domains on which tribes lost their explicit rights to the hands of the outsiders. The most worrisome aspects were that the introduction of *money economy* which is unknown to the tribes and they have no option but to accept the dependence on the commercial production in place of their traditional food production. They were socially and culturally isolated from their traditional system of agriculture. Those who used to harvest paddy in their field is now using their land for harvesting mostly maize apart from paddy. The traditional system is uprooted and the money economy was taking place very rapidly. The imposition of money economy in place of regional traditional economy partly benefited the local tribes but also it has a severe result of distraction from their bondage of traditional practices. The simmering discontent on the issue of landlessness and the growing industrial activities, joblessness became one of the core issues in Jharkhand movement. Report of the Committee on Jharkhand Matters clearly noted that all the industrial activities should be weighted in favour of the local people and this must be carried out through ecological sustainability as because the term 'Jharkhand' is evocative of ecology. It has also provided some critical observation that no policies had been taken up in comply with the ground realities (Report of the Committee of Jharkhand Matter, hereafter RCJM,1990:42). Apart from this, as far as the historical evolution is concerned it is meaningful to note that during the first five year plans, especially the first four five year plans the tribes of Jharkhand took nothing from the development programmes and leading to a widening of the gaps between state and the tribes. In the beginning of the 1990s the adivasi members of parliament brought the attention of the government on the issues related to the deprived people of Jharkhand, under the leadership of Sri Dilip Singh Bhuriua, the central government has formed a special commission to investigate the situation and recommendations concerning the self-development of adivasi people (Mundu,2002) and in 1996 the PESA Act (Panchayat, Extension to the Scheduled Areas Act) was enacted. PESA aimed at "facilitating participatory democracy in tribal areas by empowering the Gram Sabha to manage and control its own resources" (Prakash,2007:45) but in ground level conditions many fractions within tribal society emerged regarding elections for the Panchayat. Later in 2001 the State Government has passed a Panchayat Raj Act but it has also taken out even the rights over Minor Forest Products from the jurisdiction of Gram Sabha (Mullick,2007:22-23).It does not at all accepted by the tribes and therefore violated in the course of the time.

6. Labour, Market, Employment and the North-South Dichotomy

The rising impact of the global economy infested the rural backbone of Jharkhand on various modes, articulated through the policies adopted by the states. The basic change in the nature of economy can be illustrated as 'non-capitalist mode of production with the capitalist mode'¹⁶(Devalle,1992:94) and virtually the access to labour which was belong to *sardari* system of recruitment has been fully utilized for industrial sectors, it was like 'gang system', inclusive of families, children's, women and elders. They can be utilized with minimum wages not more than adult male (Devalle,1992:96). In these certain conditions where the most of the labour worked in the mines were adivasi and after the nationalization of mines most of the illegal private mines were run by the labour from the adivasi community (Devalle,1992:97). This process constantly reinforced an uninterrupted process of dissatisfaction caused by displacements. It further suffers from gradual hunger that articulated the tribes in a position to vehemently oppose the process in their own way, in 1980 Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) started campaigning for restoration of traditional agriculture and the practice of traditional culture as a symbolic protest against commercialization. It was also observed by the Committee of Jharkhand Matters that the industrial development cannot provide employment to the tribes because "the solution lies more in decentralized vocations and occupations like small cottage industries, agriculture etc", (RCJM,1990:42) thus the demand for autonomy was come from the gradual loss of property as well as the roar from the victims of the development projects.

One of the important aspects of the Jharkhand movement was the economic suppression by the North Bihar. The Jharkhand movement got momentum in this direction because people of Jharkhand believed that the reason of their impoverishment was due to looting of resources by North Bihar. The Jharkhandi protagonists believed that people from North Bihar got all the benefits from the industrialization. Most of the Jharkhandi Protagonists, writers, have called this situation as 'Internal Colonization'. To understand the meaning of internal colonialism and its relation with the demand of Jharkhand separate state one had to go deeper into it. The Internal

¹⁶ Eminent Scholar, Devalle pointed out that the traditional mode of production has gone under the newly semi capital form of production, it was neither fully capital nor traditional, what was happen was that they have been restructured for the benefit of capitalist.

Colonialism has various significance and was described by the Committee on Jharkhand Matters in 1990. This was developed categorically as synonym to British Colonialism. The British have gone after the independence but again the same conflict over resources continued. The Report of Committee of Jharkhand Matters put these situations as a malaise of Jharkhand, the report furnished that the Jharkhand Region has contributed 70% of the total revenue of the state but in return the Jharkhand area did not get much out of it. Out of the total agricultural production of Rs. 1165.92 crores of the 39 districts of the state the value of the production of the 12 districts of the North and South Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana district were 172.59 crores (RCJM,1990:21) While the total gross irrigated areas of 39 districts are 23.7 lakh hectares on the other hand the 12 districts comprise the North and South Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana Div. estimated have 1.94 lakh hectares or 12.1 percent (RCJM,1990:21). The consumption of the electricity was also much greater than the rest of the Bihar, but the rural peoples of Jharkhand do not have much scope, the 'Diku' simply enjoying the facilities (RCJM,1990:21).

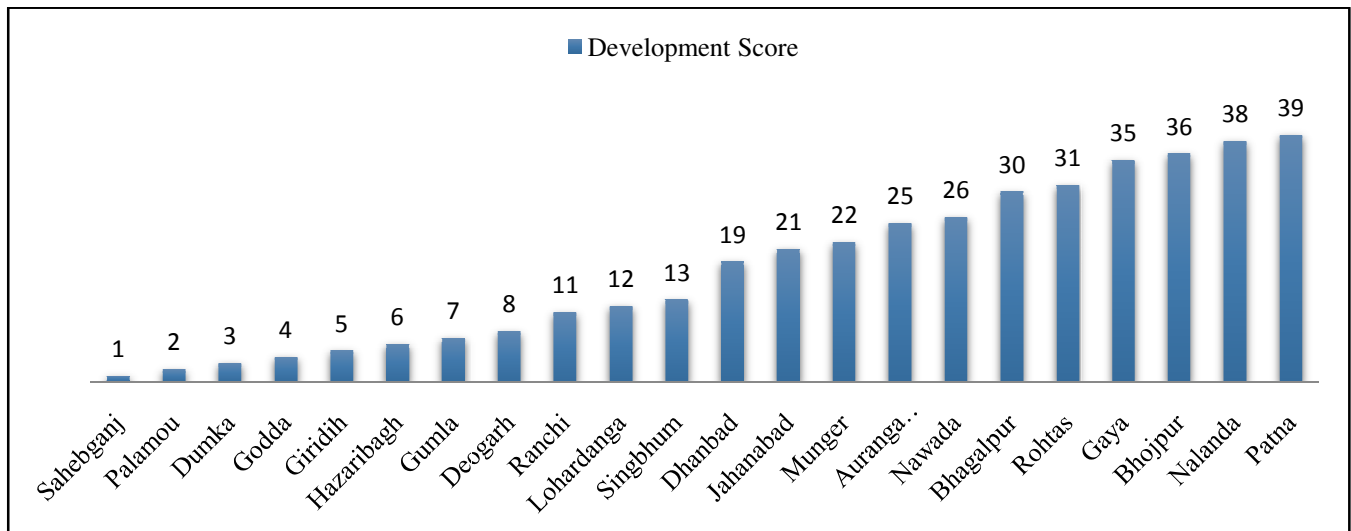


Figure 5: Jharkhand (Chotanagpur/Santal pargana and Central Bihar)-Ranking of District by Development Score

Source: A.K. Singh, (1990), Committee on Jharkhand Matters, a critique, Ranchi, Jharkhand Co-Ordination Committee, Quoted in Jharkhander Katha, A Tale of Swadeshi Colonisation, Amar Kumar Singh, p-34 in Jharkhand Matters: Essays on Ethnicity, Regionalism and Development, Rajib Balakrishnan, Council for Social Development (India), 2004,

The nature and extent of Internal Colonialism has been for a long time debated within the framework of Jharkhand Political Movement. Apart from the intimidation towards tribes, that took place predominantly within the fragmented Jharkhandi society another theory based on caste hierarchy can be drawn. Higher castes controlled the agriculture production (Roy,2003:81) However there was a series of propaganda instigated and articulated against the North Biharees for the betrayal and show affliction towards adivasi space. That is how the legacies of the Jharkhand Movement lie in so complexities that one could easily melt in sweat. The deprivation in the sectors mainly in employment, agriculture, literacy, health service, irrigation and many other sectors have coupled with the demand of separate Jharkhand State. It can't be overruled that a severe imbalance occurred in each and every sphere of development sectors in comparison with the North Bihar. Even the production of the minerals and their values in respect to the share of the both the state, Jharkhand placed almost in the top of India. Workers who were employed in all the industrial sectors have come from North Bihar but the original settlers were deprived¹⁷. This sort of discrimination ultimately gave birth to a more complex situation where the right based politics exhibited within the core politics which led to the separation movement.

Region	Per Capita Consumption of Electricity (1972-73) (KWH)	Villages Electrified till March 31, 1973 (Percent)
Jharkhand	204.4	5.0
Rest of Bihar	19.5	20.1
All India	96.3	27.3*

Table 10: Consumption of Electricity

Source: Bihar State Electricity Board, Quoted in Nirmal Sengupta, 'Class and Tribe in Jharkhand' EPW, Special Article, April 5, 1980, p-66

¹⁷However, the internal colonialism thesis had been criticized on the basis of available field based data series, these records revealed that a significant percentage of workers contributed to the industrial sectors actually originating from South Bihar, for detail pls see Stuart Corbridge, 'The Ideology of Tribal Economy and Society: Politics in the Jharkhand, 1950-1980, Modern Asian Studies, 22, 1 (1988) pp-1-42

Note: The average per capita consumption of Bihar before bifurcation was 152 units but after the creation of Jharkhand it was fall drastically and now come down to about 76 units in residual Bihar. (Bihar Electricity Regulatory Commission, Patna)

Minerals	Value (All India)	% to Total	Share of Production	
			Jharkhand	Bihar
Copper	374.8	0.77	100	Nil
Kyanite	261.1	0.54	85	Nil
Quartzite	16	0.03	60.5	5.3
Mica	201.4	0.41	58.5	Neg
Asbestos	21.4	0.04	53	Nil
Apatite	9.8	0.02	48.6	Nil
Coal (C3)	29292.7	54.27	44.5	Nil
Sand	10.4	0.02	37.3	Nil
Fire Clay	44.8	0.09	33	Neg
Chaina Clay	84.1	0.17	28.7	Nil
Bauxite	174.6	0.36	32.4	Nil
Iron Ore	3680.1	7.59	22.4	Nil
Limestone	2302.3	4.75	3.7	7.5
Manganese Ore	771.9	1.59	0.6	Nil
Pyrite	56.3	0.12	Nil	100
Other Minerals	12733.9	26.28	4.37	Nil
Total	50035.6	97.05	27.77	0.47

Table 11: Minerals of Jharkhand & Bihar during 1970s and their share

Source : *Indian Minerals Year Book 1970 Quoted in Das 1992 (Jharkhand Castle Over the Graves) P.158, see also Jharkhand Katha- A tale pf Swadeshi Colonisation, Amar Kumar Singh –P,32, see also Class & Tribe of Jharkhand, Nirmal Sengupta, EPW, Special issue 5th April 1980, p-665*

This economic deprivation either came from the state or by the North Bihar forms the basis of Jharkhand Movement. Later it was articulated and reinforced in the form of political movement, the retention of identity and the fight for land in the face of onslaught was one of the main ideological recourses that has established the power to bring back tradition as the 'alternative' The later foundation of the Jharkhand Movement on the plea to redress of the perils of the society, various political organizations entrusted the work to assembling the people of Jharkhand on a traditional essence, to get back into the golden age. It was the power that acquired through traditional customs, religions, and self esteem.

7. Conclusion

In today's globalizing world we cannot overlook the demand of tribal people not because they are marginalized but because in common, developments tend to displaced tribes more than others. Unfortunately this has happened in earlier and even in today's world, because it is a global phenomenon. In Jharkhand the rapid urbanization along with displacements are more pathetic for not only the tribal people but for the state itself. We have seen in our foregoing paragraphs that the colonial and post colonial approach of land management virtually eradicated tribal communitarian system in Jharkhand. They lost their lands since colonial period and continued in post-colonial period because in both the time laws, which were enacted are "not sensitive to the cost that the indigenous have to pay for the development of mines" (George,2005:4458) In Jharkhand, several policies vis-à-vis laws are enacted separating tribal communities as a part of development process. Large scale destructions of forests and grazing ground caused the destruction of 'primitive economy' which simultaneously marginalized the people forever. Shifting cultivation is also discouraged without showing the alternative path (Semgupta,1988:1054-55). Indeed, there was a growing realization that the urbanization in tribal area sometimes caused identity crisis, job deprivation, and hunger. Therefore, policies towards Jharkhand needs proper understanding of tribal communal system and careful attention must be taken in account that the developments are for the benefit of the tribes. Otherwise Jharkhand "A well-endowed state with a scope of immense development is enveloped in wide scale poverty and unemployment" (PAIRVI: retrieved 10.8.2013: Unpaged).

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