

## Ancestral Advancement Arrangements and Social Disarray in Jharkhand: An Anthropological Enquiry

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### Abstract

British colonial state transformed the forest dependent swidden agriculturist indigenous people into settled plough agriculturist communities. Colonial agrarian policy was guided by the two agrarian acts, the CNTA and SPTA. In the first phase, emphasis was given on setting up of large-scale industries and promotion of extractive industries to feed them. For power generation, hydroelectricity was a new addition to the existing thermal ones. Agriculture was pushed down to the second grade on the scale of preference. Nothing was done to expand irrigated fields and agriculture was left to the vagaries of rains. The waters of the Multipurpose Hydro-Electric projects, such as Damodar Valley Corporation and Subarnarekha Multipurpose Project flew to the neighboring states of West Bengal and Odisha leaving the land of their origin high and dry. Rain-fed agriculture accompanied by hybrid seeds and chemical fertilizers and pesticides continuously ruined the soil and resulted in low productivity coupled with intermittent drought conditions catalyzed the food insecurity of the people. In the next phase, post 90s economic reform period, more and more agricultural and forest land were diverted towards non-forestry purposes to meet the corporate demand for investment in industry. Agriculture by the small farmers found no place in the policy of 'Development' of the post reform period. Jharkhand was formed with the objective of furthering this 'Development' agenda. But till now the dreams of people are not fulfilled despite the changes in the development parameters and policies. In this paper I have tried to analyze the developmental prospects and its impact in the state of Jharkhand.

**Keywords:** CNTA, SPTA, Damodar Valley Corporation, Subarnarekha Multipurpose Project, Bombay Plan, Heavy Engineering Corporation, Bokaro Steel Plant, displacement Koel-Karo Multipurpose Project, NBA

### Introduction

Jharkhand is a tribal dominated state of India. A total of 32 types of tribal groups live here. Each tribal group has its own language and culture, on the basis of which they determine their lifestyle. Major tribal community includes Santhal, Oraon, Munda, Ho, and Khadia. There are some groups whose existence is ending, or they have reached the verge of extinction like Khond, Kol, Kanwar and Birhor etc.

The tribal community of Jharkhand basically depends on forests and forest produce to meet their needs. Due to which they are not only fulfilling the daily basic needs but also their economic activities are being regulated through the forest. The abundance of forests and the availability of minerals are proving to be a boon for them, but these natural resources are also becoming an important center of attraction for modern industrial society. The utility of natural resources are important for the development of industrial society. Industrial societies consider all those type of places as their center of activity and try to access the available natural resources. The standards and parameters set for the present development have paved the way for exploitation of these resources in most of the circumstances. As a result, displacement of tribal society, change of place, separation from nature, landlessness etc., are arising in most areas of Jharkhand. Tribal society completely depends on these natural places for its language, culture, lifestyle and all kinds of religious activities. If we talk about their deity, then they live in the forests, if we talk about religion then it also starts from nature and for this reason they are also considered as nature worshippers. The whole system of tribal society depends on water, forest, land i.e., 3 J (Jal, Jungle, Jameen)

But the winds of development have distorted their earlier established socio-cultural structure and its result is visible in the form of various social movements happened and taking place recently. Industries have to exploit the natural resources for development, while the tribes also have to maintain their nature conservation image. Both these circumstances present conflicting scenarios and this contradiction is being considered as the situation of social turmoil. The conditions of social turmoil develop when human society is not able to preserve its security and religious-cultural standards. They come forward for struggle after getting charged by the prospects of development. Turmoil situation is a scenario between two conflicting situations, where people struggle for their existence. All the agitations and movements that have taken place in Jharkhand till date are related to the protection of 3J. Some of the prominent *vidrohs* include Santhal *vidroh*, Munda *vidroh*, Kol *vidroh*, Jatra Tana Bhagat Movement etc. Here, for centralizing all these points, an attempt has been made to present a critical description of the various policies of development and their effects over the tribal people of Jharkhand.

### **Author Approach towards the study**

It is necessary to have a comprehensive overview of the policies made for development and its effects over the tribal society as they have not only given positive effects but also negative ones. Although new techniques and parameters of development have been applied in this area, but how those parameters are affecting the tribal society, it is still aloof. Most of the problems of tribal society remain in the trough of the future if they are not brought to the fore. Here a lot of effects or issues can be seen like decreasing population, displacement, cultural erosion linked to the current pattern of development. For example, cases pending in courts, matters related to transfer of land and their impact on tribal society have been outlined. If these issues are not brought to the fore, then later they turn into social turmoil. These circumstances prompted me to present this study.

### **Post-independence Policy Framework**

As soon as the collapse of the British colonial rule in India appeared to be imminent after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, the capitalists of the country became apprehensive of the possibility of the communists and socialists to capture political power and abolish private property. The Zamindars feared the growing peasant movements demanding land reform. The internal colonialists were threatened by the growth of tribal autonomy movements in the country. The bureaucrats and the police, responsible for unleashing a reign of terror on the people of India at the behest of their colonial masters, were shaken to realize that their days were numbered.

The peasants, the workers, the Dalits and the Adivasis started dreaming liberation from the age-old bondage and injustice. Some preferred to wear 'Gandhi Topi', while others held red flag. Gandhi stood for the emancipation of the rural India and the communists and socialists wanted to establish socialism in the country.

The course of events in the following years after independence provided a sigh of relief to the former and spelled a chain of disappointments to the latter. The universal franchise provided political power to the people, but it was without the economic stamina. It very soon turned out to be the husk without a grain. The real power remained with the same people who enjoyed it under the British. The independence provided them the opportunity to expand the economic strength and political power at the cost of the people who struggled for the freedom of the country. The tribal India was specifically targeted to achieve this goal.

The proposals, commonly known as the Bombay Plan, for the post-independence economy of India were drafted much before the independence and were published in 1944-45. The signatories of the Plan were, Jehangir Ratanji Dadabhoy Tata, Ghanshyam Das Birla, Ardeshir Dalal, Sri Ram, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Ardeshir Darabshaw Shroff, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and John Mathai. The Bombay Plan virtually shaped the economic policy of the country; the state should invest the public money to construct heavy industry, especially steel plants, to benefit the private sector in the long run, and the private companies should be given protection from the competition in the market with the foreign companies so that they could sell their low quality products and earn high degree of profit from a captive market. Industry needed land, the forests above it and the minerals beneath it!

It was believed that India took the path of socialism through the Bombay Plan because it suggested the construction of big industries by the government. It was obviously a misnomer. Socialization of Indian economy was not, and could never be, the agenda of the Bombay plan. The first two Indian Five-year Plans were the direct outcome of the Bombay Plan clothed as the copy of the Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Russia of the 20s. The people of India were given an impression that India was taking a socialist path of development by Nehru and his favored economist P. C. Mahalanabish. But, unlike the Soviet Union private enterprises could amass private property. This was called the 'mixed economy'.

Heavy Engineering Corporation in Ranchi and Bokaro Steel Plant in Dhanbad emerged out of this planning. The Indian capitalists did not invest a single farthing but kept reaping the benefits in terms of cheap steel and machine tools for their industries in the following years. The real contributors were the people of Jharkhand. They provided the land and minerals and the cheap labour. The minerals were free, and the land was taken either at a throw away price or even without it and the labour was made available by deliberately destroying the traditional means of livelihood of the people. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurated the Heavy Engineering Corporation on the 15<sup>th</sup> November 1963 in Ranchi. In both the cases the socialist Russians provided the technology, the capitalist Indians prepared the planning and the Government of India provided the money and they together dug the grave for the indigenous people of Jharkhand.

Around the same time big dams were constructed over the holy river Damuda (Damodar) by submerging large numbers of villages and displacing thousands of people without proper compensation and rehabilitation. Electricity was required to turn the wheels of the industries.

The Tatas were the cleverest of all the signatories of the Bombay Plan. They got the promulgation of the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act delayed for long four years to grab the tribal land on a large scale in Singhbhum and used the ill-gotten money that their ancestors accumulated by acting as the agents of selling opium to China by the British for the construction of the Tata Steel. Today the company claims, "The Swadeshi Movement encouraged Jamsetji Tata to set up Asia's first ever privately-owned integrated iron and steel plant" (Tata Steel, Annual Report 102<sup>nd</sup>, 2008-09:28). Once in the Pragati Maidan in New Delhi they put up a huge billboard on an industrial exhibition. It depicted the picture of dancing Adivasi

girls of Jharkhand and at the corner there was a caption in small letters that read, 'We also make steel'! As if celebration of tribal culture was their main objective! Behind the false face of patriotism and paternalism hid the monster that reared its head in ruthless acquisition of tribal land, in Gua firing in 1980, in killing the trade union leaders in the past and in continuing the land grab march in the present. The Kalinga Nagar massacre is the glaring one.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru termed these gigantic public and private sector industries and dams as the 'modern temples of India'. These modern temples were built on the ancient 'Sarnas' (the place of propitiation of nature and ancestral spirits) of the Adivasis!

After independence the Indian ruling elite under caste-class combine, having satisfied with its hunger of power, engaged itself in satiating its thirst of wealth. 'National interest' was the 'login name' and 'Development' became the 'password' to have a smooth access to the natural resources of the country for their inhuman exploitation and criminal expropriation (Mullick, 2007 : 71). Public servants, police and politicians formed a nexus to this end. Where colonialism left off, development took over (Jewitt, 2004:70). World of artefacts devastated the natural world. While Dams and mines displaced millions of peasants and tribals, destruction of forests caused hunger and destitution. The swelling multitude of 'ecological refugees' (Gadgil, 2000: 4), who constitute about one third of Indian population, were turned into sweat labourers and treated as the dirt of development. In Jharkhand alone 15 lakhs people have been displaced so far and 15 lakh acres of their ancestral land have been alienated from them. Development in Jharkhand had been taking place under the threat of guns. Behind the repression that accompanies development lies a perception of the Adivasi peasantry as physical obstacles in the drive to gain full access to land, raw materials and natural resources (Devalle, 1992: 104). The ideology of development had turned the habitats of the adivasis all over the country into 'internal colonies' (Padel, 2000: 288).

### **Jharkhand state and Development Discourse**

Most of the activists and sympathizers of Jharkhand separate state movement believed that while the objective of the movement was to de-colonize the tribal habitat of the pre-British Jharkhand, the state of Jharkhand was carved out of Bihar with the goal of fulfilling the demand of 'Development' of the nation at the cost of continuing 'internal colonial situation' in Jharkhand. With the passage of last 21 years since the formation of the state in 2000 the meaning of 'Development' has gradually surfaced with all its dimensions before the people of the state.

Public opinion on the issue of 'Development' in Jharkhand is fairly divided. We have noticed that the issue emerged with the large-scale open-cast mining operations, construction of big reservoirs for hydroelectric power generation and gigantic iron and steel and heavy industries in the early years after independence. The issue continued to torment the indigenous people in the following years; as such activities kept increasing leading to large-scale dispossession of land, displacement and outmigration.

The state and the elite society including in-migrating outsiders of middle and trading classes, stand firmly for 'Development' that requires natural resources. The owners of the natural resources, especially the proprietors of land (the cultivating communities), oppose 'Development' with collective determination. The opposition costs life and property on the face of an aggressive state. Killings and imprisonment of the people who oppose displacement has been a regular affair of the statecraft.

The protagonists of the people's movement against displacement repeatedly say that they are not against change in the economic condition of the state. They also aspire for better livelihood and well-being. What they oppose is the generation of wealth for the rich at the cost of the poor. If 'Development' means 'Destruction' then they have right to oppose such development. The popular opposition to the Koel-Karo Multipurpose Project brings the point home; "*bijli bati kabua, dibri bati abua*", we do not want electricity, we are happy with our kerosene lamp, was the slogan that they raised while opposing the project that was about to displace more than hundred villages.

Every society aspires for change, but all changes are not welcomed. If the change does not take the community to a higher level of well-being and leads to deprivation, there will naturally be an opposition to such change. 'Development' is a form of change, basically economic. It is preached that a growth in economy of the country will eventually benefit every citizen and not just the rich. However, nobody living in the lower ladder of the economic benefit would prefer to wait when his or her share of well-being would 'trickle down'. This is especially so if the person is asked to sacrifice his/her present livelihood resources and forced to live a lower level of livelihood for the sake of 'Development'.

This debate on 'Development' leads to two positions. One, a form of 'Development' that would initiate the economic change from the lowest ladder of social ranking, which is termed as 'Development from below'. The other view rejects 'Development' as a form of inclusive change and think in terms of an 'Alternative to Development' for the well-being of the poor and the deprived and eventually the same of all the citizens. This discourse on 'Development' needs to be understood with a bit of elaboration.

## Development Debate

The ideology of development is so overarching today that nobody can escape from its grip. Several softer notions have been tried to make devastating impact of development bearable, namely, development from below, participatory development, development as freedom, and even alternative development! The very development of the ideology of development needs some elaborations.

There are so many approaches to development existing in the society, viz., Holistic Vs Reductionist Developmental approach, Inclusive development approach, Cohesive Development approach, Centralised planned development approach and market-oriented development approach.

A holistic approach therefore suggests that there are different levels of explanation and that at each level there are “emergent properties” that cannot be reduced to the one below. (McLeod, 2008: 1). Whereas Reductionist approach undermine the indivisible unity of experience. They run counter to and ultimately destroy the very object of studies.

Social justice refers to the principles, values and belief that every individual and group is entitled to fair and equal treatment, which is necessary for the achievement of a society in which all people have equal access to rights, not only under law, but in all aspects of life, and all people get an impartial share of the benefits as well as carry a fair share of the responsibilities of society. (USAID, 2018: 8)

Inclusive, and integrated development approach ensure that all people, including those who face discrimination and thus may have limited access to a country’s benefits, legal protections, or social participation are fully included and can actively participate in and benefit from development processes and activities.

Another form of development discourse is Cohesion development approach which say that societies fragmenting, and pledges “to combat inequalities within and among countries; [and] to build peaceful, just and inclusive societies” (UNGA, 2015: 3). This policy goal reflects recent trends, as social inequality, and a fear that society is drifting apart have become major concerns.

Whereas Centralized planned development say that Society was assumed to be mechanistic and predictable, possible to plan centrally. The anticipation of such ‘plannability’ was direct consequence of superficially sticking to the original communist doctrine that sets manageability as a major feature of the communist society derived from utopian ideas developed later by Marx. In this context the communist society is supposed to be a mechanism, something like a complex clock. Each screw and cogwheel has its own defined role and limited freedom.

Market-oriented development model is fraught with economic cycles of up and down that lead to economic uncertainty and catastrophe for many people of limited resources. Much government revenue is spent on tourist-oriented infrastructure at the expense of a well-funded social security system. A new, morally oriented economic philosophy is called for at this time. The focus should be on a basic-needs approach and the welfare of the population rather than the needs of the market for continual growth and profit. (Thornburg, 2011: 1)

These development models focus on the prospect of cohesion, market, holistic and centralized plan of development model. Their ultimate goal is to reach the last man of society and make all the basic needs available to the person. But in my view the development can be seen in Jharkhand as “In common parlance, development describes a process through which the potentialities of an object or organism are released, until it reaches its natural, complete, full-fledged form. Hence the metaphoric use of the term to explain the natural growth of plants and animals” (Esteve, 1997:11). Let us take the example of mango. The outcome of the development of the seed of mango to a ripe fruit is a process that leads first to the germination of the seed, then the growth of the mango tree and finally the flowering and bearing of the fruits. This approach of description is completely beyond the earlier studies and approaches of development.

In other words, “Development is a process of self-motion from the lower (simple) to the higher (complex)...the transition from the lower to the higher takes place because the tendency to the higher is contained in the lower in a concealed form” (Rosenthal and Yudin, 1967:119). Therefore, “Development refers to that process of change in which something becomes more and more concrete and mature, as opposed to the simple succession of one thing passing away as another comes into being or transforms into something else...”

The seed of mango will eventually develop into mango tree and bear mango fruit, it cannot be expected to develop into a tamarind tree and bear tamarind fruit. If one wants to have tamarind in the same garden, he/she will have to first uproot all the mango saplings and replace them with tamarind saplings.

Capitalism led by the west, especially the United States of America after the World War second, changed radically the meaning of ‘development’ in the context of human civilization. Industrial civilization, as it has developed in the Western European countries and the US is considered to be the highest form of human civilization and therefore, those societies who achieved it are the developed ones and the rest of the world and peoples are underdeveloped. The ‘underdeveloped’ people should become ‘developed’ by adopting the economic and political systems of the industrial civilization. This notion undermines two facts; one is that industrial civilization is not the ultimate form of the development of human society and the other is that every person has the right to grow according to their own genius and volition. What is best can only be judged by its sustainability and acceptability by the majority. Thus, the scheme to impose the industrial civilization on others cannot help them to develop according to their own genius but by its brutal violation. To say that every society is destined to develop into an industrial society is wrong and motivated by vested interests of capitalism. It

is as absurd as saying that every plant will eventually develop into the tamarind plant and bear only tamarind fruit! The hidden agenda is to forcibly replace all the various plants by the tamarind plant! This notion of development has therefore been aptly called the 'development terrorism' (Bhaduri, 2007: 1).

In this scheme of things the West considers India to be 'underdeveloped' and India considers its internal colonies as 'underdeveloped' and in the internal colonies like Jharkhand *adivasis* are considered to be sitting at the lowest rung of the ladder of development. They are to be developed! And they can only be developed by joining the march of development led by the ruling classes.

But this scheme has been proved to be self-defeating. "The unprecedented high economic growth on which privileged India prides itself is a measure of the high speed at which India of privileged is distancing itself from the India of crushing poverty. The higher the rate of economic growth along this pattern becomes, the greater would be the underdevelopment of India...." (Bhaduri, 2007: 2)

India has leaped forward from the era of mixed economy of the past to the free market economy of the present. The present is the natural outcome of the past. Now the state does not construct steel industries, it does the mining, because that is what the private sector industries need to maximize their profit. The state assists them mostly in terms of making the resources available to them and brutally suppressing any popular opposition to this predation by the owners of the resources.

Jharkhand has been the largest producer of ecological refugees. Increasingly more and more people have been being displaced under the development projects; However, when we re-calculate the HDI using the Planning Commission's inflation-adjustment of per capita expenditure, the all-India HDI is 0.343 as against the HDI of 0.253 for STs. This results in a 36 per cent difference between the all-India and ST HDIs. This is even higher than our 32 per cent difference. So, we can be confident that our procedure has not overstated the difference between all-India and ST HDIs. In fact, it is likely that this is an understatement of the difference between all-India and ST HDIs. The reason being that for calculating life expectancy at age one, there are no separate life tables for STs. (Sarkar et al: 2006:24)

### Alternative Development

Those who believe in the efficacy of 'Development' in removing poverty expect that it should lead a community or individual to a higher level of well-being. If a development model fails to register any progress towards this goal then an alternative of that model is to be sought without however, questioning the ideology of 'Development' as such.

It is observed, "India's national income is growing at around 8% per annum, but there are sections of the population whose income is not growing at that rate. For instance, the incomes of the bottom 10% (as per the National Sample Survey) have not been falling or even stagnating; rather they have been growing at about 2% per annum over the last decade or so...Does such growing inequality amount to deprivation for the poorest sections?" (Nathan and Xaxa. 2012:1). The discussion on well-being and deprivation is cast in terms of the discourse on exclusion. "Exclusions are of two forms. One is exclusion from access to or denial of rights to various services, such as health, education, housing, and water, with sanitation also being more recently included as an essential service. The other form of exclusion is that of deprivation of the right to express one's views, of representation and voice..." (Nathan and Xaxa. 2012:3). "*Adivasis* are excluded for provision of services, but they are not excluded for extraction of minerals, or use of their water resources for electricity generation and irrigation; they are not excluded for recruitment of unskilled labourers...In this process the *adivasis* have been displaced and subjected to 'adverse incorporation' as the lowest rung of the urban working class, of the urban poor. Adverse incorporation (or adverse inclusion) is the condition of incorporation where the workers are marginalized and thus trapped in conditions of poverty. The movement is from exclusion to adverse incorporation" (Nathan and Xaxa. 2012:5). The authors finally argued that at least in theory there is a possibility of having a form of incorporation which is not adverse. "With provisions of infrastructure and essential services, education and health in particular, and with security of tenure in their land and other productive resources, such as common forests, there is no reason why there should not be a process of inclusion that is also developmental, in the sense that the outcome of inclusion is a superior state of well-being" (Nathan and Xaxa. 2012:5).

Amartya Sen and Jean Drez consider the issue of economic development is to be seen in the larger context of the demand of democracy and social justice. They believe that development is best seen in terms of an expansion of people's basic freedoms, or human capabilities. In their words, "In this perspective we have to recognize the importance of the two-way relationship between economic growth and the expansion of human capability, while also keeping in mind the basic understanding that the expansion of human freedom and capabilities is the goal for which the growth of GDP, among other factors, serves as important means. Growth generates resources with which public and private efforts can be systematically mobilized to expand education, healthcare nutrition, social facilities and other essentials of fuller and freer human life for all. And the expansion of human capability, in turn allows a faster expansion of resources and production, on which economic growth ultimately depends...Those who dream about India becoming an economic superpower...have to consider not only the reach of their understanding of the mutual relationship between growth and

development, but also their appreciation of the demands of social justice, which is integrally linked with the expansion of human freedom.” (Dreze and Sen, 2014:ix-xi)

The authors also point out the role of the agency of women and equitable distribution of (political) power. Thus the views spelt out above by Nathan, Xaxa, Sen and Dreze talk about a form of development that accepts certain inalienable factors, namely, land and property rights (right to livelihood resources), people’s active participation in making policies (democracy), human capabilities (like health and education) and social justice.

### **Anthropological literature about paradigm of development**

Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer’s edited Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology (2005) visualizes the term ‘development’ in two directions. Firstly social evolutionism but picture changed from mid twentieth century in which the term ‘development’ is seen in economic perspective including production, consumption and living standards while focusing Third World countries. Secondly, ‘Development’ is ‘the term which is especially associated with the international projects of planned social change set in motion in the years surrounding World War II, which gave birth to ‘development agencies’, ‘development projects’, and, ultimately, to ‘development studies’ and ‘development anthropology’. The encyclopedia suggests that both senses treat development separately but in Development Anthropology, to understand the term comprehensively, the two of them need to be dealt in total. It makes all the difference in the world precisely which historical epoch of Greece is being imagined as constituting the paradigm and standard of Greekness. To many modern Greeks, for example, their supposed classical ancestry is just one more facet of their perceived misfortune to be Greek.

Wilson’s (1942) work in Zambia in the late 1930s showed the ways in which industrialization and urbanization processes were structured by colonial policies that discouraged permanent settlement and led to social instability, as massive levels of male migration took place back and forth between rural and urban areas. Long’s (1977) ‘actor-oriented’ work in Peru explored local, small-scale processes of growth, entrepreneurialism and diversification in an area for which the dependency theorists might have argued that there would only be stagnation, challenging macro-level structural analysis by focusing on the complexity and dynamism of people’s own strategies and struggles. Updating such approaches to understanding social and economic change, Arce and Long (2000) make the case for the role of the anthropologist as furthering understanding of the ‘localized modernity’ through ethnographic study of the ways in which dominant development processes are fragmented, reinterpreted, and embedded.

Applied anthropologists have also drawn attention to issues of western bias in the assumptions that inform development initiatives, uncovering areas of cultural difference and highlighting the value of local or ‘indigenous’ knowledge. The growth of interest in indigenous knowledge has now been a long-standing area of engagement between anthropologists and development practitioners, with its recognition that development interventions should be informed by the systems of knowledge recognized by local people. Loomis (2002) has made an eloquent case, based on his research within Maori communities in New Zealand, that local ideas about resource conservation could form a sounder basis for ‘sustainable development’ than many of the paradigms and approaches advocated by development agencies.

If we move to see the prospects of Anthropological approaches towards the development of tribes in India, we find that the prospect of Nehruvian Panchsheel has been enacted and implemented for their development. Dr. B.S. Guha explained the tribal welfare goals in such a manner that "schemes for tribal welfare must fulfill two essential conditions namely, conformity to the social values and patterns of the people for whom they are intended and the psychological receptivity and ability of the tribal population to absorb them. Theoretical perfection of a scheme or its suitability to people in general must not be regarded as the criterion for tribal people. Ignorance of these basic facts and inability to appreciate them are responsible for the failure of many developmental programmes which by themselves are unexceptionable." (Guha,2000: 7)

If we go to the understanding of Kroeber, it is evident that anthropology - however specific it may often be in dealing with data - aims at being ultimately a coordinating science somewhat as a legitimate holding corporation co-ordinates constituent company. We anthropologists will never know China as intensively as a sinologist does, or prices, credit and banking as well as an economist, or heredity with the fullness of the genetic biologist. But we face what these intensive scholars only glance at intermittently and tangentially, if at all, to try to understand in some measure how Chinese civilization, and economics, and human heredity, and some dozens of other highly developed bodies of knowledge do indeed interrelate in being all parts of man; following out of man, centered in him, and products of him”. (Kroeber : 1953 : iv)

Social anthropology has, in the sense in which it is used here, greater kinship with sociology, history, philosophy, and other social sciences. In fact, I do not see any real distinction between social anthropology and sociology if the latter concerns itself with the study of social forms and processes by using direct and intensive methods of observation and investigation.” (Dube 1962 : 241).

Despite of these kind of paradigms set by the Anthropologists, the development prospects of tribal communities have not been implemented in efficient manner. None of the Anthropologists have focused to specify that if *jal, jungle, jameen* of the tribal communities will be destroyed or snatched and they will start revolting against that. What possible kind of

study/steps need to be taken? The same kind of problem has started in Jharkhand. Since the progressive development mode was applied in this region the larger communities have started revolting against the model of development and later it is being converted into turmoil.

### **Mode of Enquiry and Object of Analysis**

In this study real-time observation of the activities have been done to outline the brief description of present happenings in Jharkhand. Specifically those topics have been selected, which were directly concerned with creating social turmoil like of creation of big dams, industry establishments, displacement policy of Jharkhand. Apart from that the researcher has done some direct observation of the areas and spoken to the people. So that the basic reasons behind the social turmoil can be identified. Here pre-existing literatures i.e., secondary sources have also been used to create a correlation of development policy and social turmoil. Although most of the dams are located in tribal areas but only 19.9 percent of tribal holdings are irrigated as compared to 45.9 percent of all holdings of the general population. There is a drop in tribal population from around 60 percent in 1911 to 27.67 percent in 1991. These developments have in turn driven out vast numbers of tribal to make out a living in the urban areas and in far-flung places in slums.

### **Alternative Development Paradigm in Social Turmoil**

In recent years, few powerful social movements registered their presence in the country, namely, CHIPKO, Narmada Bachao Andolan, Niyamgiri Bachao Andolan, Koel-Karo anti Dam Movement, Singur and Nandigram movements and Anti-POSKO movement. All these movements opposed the present development model of the government. They present quite a different view of development.

NBA (Niyamgiri Bachao Andolan) has a clear vision of an alternative development paradigm of a democratic eco-socialistic economy with decentralized planning. It stands for participatory decision-making. It focuses more on rural area-based small-scale industrialization where there would be a need-based production by masses, not greed-based 'mass production' as in capitalism. Chipko movement has raised almost the same issues; it stands for Gandhian approach to development. It stands for an economy with decentralized planning and dispersed power of decision-making. It demanded agro and forest produce based industry, and replacement of the Forest department with cooperatives of local people, village councils and forest councils (Sharma. 2009:194). Niyamgiri Movement raised the issue of tribal rights over livelihood resources and indigenous culture and strongly opposed mining of their livelihood providing sacred hill. As alternative to the dominant development model of the Government of Odisha, it pointed out the importance of the sustainable way of life in symbiosis with nature. Koel-Karo anti-displacement agitation in Jharkhand raised the issue of tribe's cultural relationship with land and river. The leaders clearly stated that they do not want the development that displaces people and destructs their livelihood. Singur-Nandigram anti-displacement movement that caused the fall of left-wing government in West Bengal strongly condemned the development policy of the government. The POSCO (*Pratirod Sangram Samity*) fought for agriculture against the drive of the government to replace it with industry. All these movements succeeded in stalling fully or partially the attempt to displace people from their traditional agriculture and forest-based livelihood. Not necessarily all of them had an alternative development model in mind but one thing they had in common was that they challenged the present model of development.

### **Recent land movements in Jharkhand**

Prof. B. K. Roy Burman once stated in a meeting in Ranchi that what comes out of the state process is often disregarded by the state mechanism. He was referring to the violation of the protective land laws of Jharkhand (in those days Bihar) by the bureaucracy and dominant elites armed with the state policy of industrialization of country. Despite the fact that economic reform and structural economic change were already adopted by the state in the early 90s the state process continued to respond positively to the demand of the people for their right to forest, right to land and right to participation in decision making. The legislative wing of the state passed three radical legislations in a row. They are, as follows.

1. 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the Constitution 1992
  2. Provision of Panchayat Extension in Scheduled Areas Act 1996
  3. Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Forest Rights) Act 2006 and Amended Rules 2012
- The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 (also Land Acquisition Act, 2013) framed to replace the draconian colonial Land Acquisition Act of 1894.

In recent years all these four acts have been subjected to violation at various degrees in the country, in general, and in Jharkhand, in particular. We will take up two movements as case studies with a view to analyze the nature of the movements and the issues that they have raised in terms of changing the policy of the state government. They are the Anti CNT and SPT Acts amendment movement.

In spite of laws like tribal land conservation, CNT Act/SPT Act, 36,496 acres of tribal land was occupied by non-tribals in Jharkhand. In this regard, 4,745 cases of land withdrawal by tribals are pending in many courts. Ranchi, the capital of Jharkhand, has been the highest in the matter of land transfer.

It would be pertinent to state here that Section 71 (A) of the CNT Act provides for the return of the land illegally transferred by the tribals to the original *ryot*. Despite the above provision, many complaints were received for the past several years of illegal transfer of tribal land. For the prevention of which, the Government of Jharkhand, in a meeting of its Minister *Parisad*, on 24 March 2014 approved the formation of 'Special Investigation Team - SIT' for illegal transfer of land of scheduled tribes and illegal transfer of government land.

The same thing is being repeated in the year 2016. Under section 21 (b) of the Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act, arable land will be transferred in a systematic manner in the name of non-agricultural land, which local tribals can never tolerate. Again, misinterpretation of those laws is being done to prepare the transfer of the land of the tribals easily, which will have to be taken very seriously.

Among them, the amendments of the years 1947, 1969 and 1996 are important. Under the amendment of the year 1947, there was a case related to the police station and district, in which the transfer of land of ST to the same police station and the transfer of land of SC and BC to the same district. Even after this, the illegal transfer of land did not stop. When the land of the tribals continued to come out of their hands under the imprint and spades, its return process began to prolong under the title suit. After this, amendment 71 (1) of 1969 provided for SAR court for the return of the land of tribals under Bihar Schedule Area Regulation. In this, a member of the Scheduled Tribe can request to return his land by applying. After this, in the year 1996, Section 49 of the CNT Act was amended to provide land acquisition for Scheduled Tribes for industry and mining.

The Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act was enacted on 11 November 1908. This Act is actually a carbon copy of the Bengal Tenancy Act 1885, in which certain provisions have been added in relation to Scheduled Tribes (ST). There is a total of 271 sections in the Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act. The sub-rules were announced by different notifications from time to time regarding the implementation process of these streams, which have been compiled and renamed Chhotanagpur Tenancy Rules 1959. In view of all the provisions, the Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act has been divided into 19 chapters. There are some provisions of the Act which are related to Scheduled Tribes. Based on these, it has become a belief that this Act is only with provisions related to Scheduled Tribes. In fact, it also has provisions related to the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes.

### **Amendment in the Act**

The Act has been amended from time to time regarding this. When the CNT Act was enacted in the year 1908, agriculture was the means of livelihood of 90 per cent of the people and the main source of government revenue. Due to these reasons many provisions regarding rent were quite stringent. At that time the *zamindari* and *jagirdari* system was in force and there were often quarrels over the land between the *ryots* and the *zamindars*. Many provisions were brought for immediate diagnosis of these conflicts. In other words, the rights and responsibilities of the zamindar and the *ryot* were defined.

### **Recent initiative for amendment**

1. Amendment of sections 21 and 13 of CNT-SPT respectively (The wire, 24 August 2017)

Current provision: Section 21 and 13 of CNT-SPT respectively provides that the *ryots* can do agricultural work on their own land for their own use. Apart from this, the *ryoti* land can also be used for non-agricultural work like warehouses, pump houses, houses, ponds, bamboo-fence etc. for agricultural work.

What is the proposal for amendment: In addition to the earlier conditions after the amendment, a rule has been made to use *ryoti* land in non-agricultural works like marriage hall, hotel etc. In this, the ownership will also remain with the same tribal family. They will be able to build shops, hotels, marriage halls etc. on their land.

2. Amendment of section 49 of the CNT Act (The Hindustan Times, 4 May 2016)

Current provision: Section 49 of the CNT Act already provides that transfer of *ryoti* land can be done for industrial project and mining.

What is the proposal for amendment: In addition to the earlier conditions after the amendment, transfer of *ryoti* land can be done for linear projects such as road, canal, railway, cable, transmission, water pipes. *Ryoti* land can also be transferred for public utility services such as pipelines, schools, colleges, universities, panchayat buildings, hospitals, *anganwadis*. After the transfer, if the land is not used for the project within five years, then the land will be returned to the former *ryots* without returning any compensation again.

3. Amendment of section 71A of the CNT Act (Times of India, 24 Nov. 2016)

Current provision: Section 71 of the CNT Act already provides that the illegal transfer of Scheduled Tribe land is refunded through the SAR Court. Under the second provision of Section 71A, there is a provision for compensation in lieu of transfer of Scheduled Tribe land to non-Scheduled Tribes.

What is the provision for amendment: After the amendment, there will be a provision for return of illegally transferred land of Scheduled Tribes through SAR Court. But the second and third provisos will be erased, so that the option of keeping the land with the transfer by paying compensation will be eliminated.

The Jharkhand government wants to amend more than a dozen laws including the Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act (CNT Act) 1908, Land Acquisition Act 1898, Money Landers Act 1974. Initiatives have been taken by the Law Department for changes in these Acts and the Department has sought an intention in this regard from the Law Commission. Under the PESA Act 1996 (Panchayat Extension to the Scheduled Area Act 1996), several laws are proposed to be amended with the aim of vigorously implementing Panchayat Raj in tribal dominated areas. He said that by amending these laws, *gram panchayats* will get many rights. Amendment of other laws including CNT will not cut any rights to the Scheduled Tribes and other sections, but will be implemented more strictly. Before the land acquisition, a provision is being made to get permission from the Gram Sabha, so that the will of the villagers can be taken care of. He said that the laws that have to be amended include Land Acquisition 1894, CNT Act 1908, Land Reforms Act, Fixation of Agriculture Area 1968, Money Landers Act 1974, Excise Act 1915, Arrangement Act 1997, Jharkhand Mine Minerals Rules 2004, Jharkhand Panchayati Raj Act 2001, Khadi and Gramodyog Act 1956, Prevention of Improvement of Animals Act 1955, Agricultural Produce Market Act 1960, Kendu Patta (Control of Trade) Act 1973 and Forest Produced Regulations of Trade Act 1984. Government is thinking that due to the implementation of Panchayati Raj system and many technical changes in the meantime, there is a need to change these laws. When Gram Sabha has got the consent regarding the land acquisition, the work will be done as per the wishes of the villagers. The Deputy Commissioner will be able to take a decision in this regard only with the consent of the Gram Sabha. Apart from this, the Central Government has also sought an intention from the Law Commission for amending Section 89 of CPC. Despite the shortage of staff in the commission. (Law Commission Jharkhand Report, 2018)

### **Social turmoil and development as problematic situation**

When the situation of contradiction between development and humanitarianism develop in a society, it creates a scene of turmoil. As this type of situation is directly happening in the human society, so we call it as social turmoil. Where larger group of people start revolting against the coming development model as they consider it difficult for their survival.

The concept of current development is mainly driven by factors like capital, capitalist, profit, and loss in which there is little or no inclusion of human values. Due to which any scheme brought in tribal areas emphasizes on the development of infrastructure, but as soon as issues like employment, displacement and resettlement of tribals come to the fore, the efforts made to solve them prove to be insufficient. If we take the example of HEC established in Ranchi, the capital of Jharkhand, then in 1958 when it was under construction, a total of 159 families were displaced. Out of which only 1 family got job and remaining 158 families were left out. Even today there are many such families out of these families who are making rounds of the courts in the hope of rehabilitation. In such a situation, can it be said that development is taking place or has happened here? This is a questionable. Since the tribal society is less educated and mainly unskilled as compared to the mainstream society, their participation in the development works done in such a situation becomes a lot of work and they are unable to adjust themselves in the face of modern development policies. It is difficult for them. Therefore, many times they are not able to ensure their participation in spite of getting work opportunities. Therefore it is necessary that the concepts of development should be implemented in the tribal areas while preserving the humanistic values, otherwise development does not take long to become destruction.

### **Conclusion**

The graph of the incessant conflict between the state and the people in Jharkhand on the issue of ownership and the usage of livelihood resources has once again shot up in recent years. Consequently, the governance of the state has entered a critical phase. Resource alienation by both state and private parties has created social unrest, at a scale unprecedented in the post-independence period. People's struggle for survival exhibits two dimensions. The struggle without has as usually an impact on the struggle within. But they could not be integrated with the state system of either kind. Is it their fault or they have been systematically kept outside the state process by the builders of the state? This is a big question in front of the democratic government. And it is essential to make specific policies for their development, so the present context of *pathalgarhi* kind of act can be stopped. The entire development efforts implied for the development of tribal people have created the chaos of their pre-existing social and natural system. Earlier as they were living in the settled system of natural settings but at part when the modern development prospects have initiated, it has brought the drastic-deteriorating changes in their society and community affairs. Now, they are living in a dilemmatic situation and are not properly informed about the consequences of the activities initiated for their development. On one side they are thinking about accepting this process of development but in another side, they are confused to accept or deny. This confusion has created a lot of chaos in their society and community. Their traditional system of management and cultural system has broken down and now they are standing at the out corner of society. So, the negativity of the development prospects can easily be seen in their

day today affairs. This situation need to be mitigated and proper systematic solutions to be provided for their betterment and survival.

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