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Land Laws, Livelihood and Human Security of Tribes in India

Simon V. S.*

Abstract
In every stages of history there were challenges upon the tribal communities. Land, livelihood and human security of the tribes in India have been the most sensitive problem since they came under the dispossession of both personal and community sovereignty over the land and resources. They are on the brendline of their social and economic conditions that is questioning their culture and identity. New industries and intermediaries have insinuated into the tribal area and initiated deforestation and encroachment of forest. This paper is trying to analyse the background of tribal land alienation and the major hurdles they have gone through the past years. The paper also highlights how the laws, policies and Acts are influencing the tribal land issues and their rights over forest and forest products, and to what extent the government can address the issue.

Keywords: Land Laws, Livelihood, Human Security, Tribes, India

Introduction
The term ‘scheduled tribes’ used to identify ethnic minorities who are distinct and uncertain group consists 8.6% of India’s ethnic minorities. Despite the British used the term to address the hill and forest tribe, there is a lack of common identification about the tribes in India. In general we can understand tribes on the basis of their geographically isolated location, deprivation, use of tribal language, practice of animism and physical features, among other factors (Ghurye, 1963). Each tribe has established its own socio-cultural diversity that is distinguished from this nation (Rout Naresh 2015:72). They represent a society that lacks positive traits of the modern society and thus constitutes a simple, illiterate and backward society (Xaxa Virginius 1999:3590). Article 342 of the constitution recognizes over 700 tribal groups in India, they are also called as Adivasis. After India’s independence in 1947, the categorization of tribal communities was formalized through a detailed separate statutory list of the Scheduled Tribes Order of 1950 that came into force following the reorganization of the Indian states (Ghurye, 1963). The essential characteristics, first laid down by the Lokur Committee, for a community to be identified as Scheduled Tribes are 1) indications of primitive traits; 2) distinctive culture; 3) shyness of contact with the community at large; 4) geographical isolation; and 5) backwardness.

Land, Livelihood and Human Security
Land and Livelihood are connected to each other because the tribal livelihood history comes from the natural and ethnic factors. The predominant livelihood options of the tribals based on agriculture, animal rearing and forest, apart from temporary migration and wage engagement has already been reported by other workers also (Singh and Sadangi, 2012). A livelihood is ‘sustainable’ when it can cope with, and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities to the next generation: and which contributes net benefit to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term” (Chamber and Conway, 1992).

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In Jharkhand UNDP programme on strengthening government capacity to the effective implementation of livelihood programmes in 2009 led to creation of the Jharkhand State Livelihood Promotion Society (JSLPS) for creating sustainable livelihood to poor, particularly for persistently excluded communities. But it could not fulfill the objectives in a full manner. Most of the external experts are working on their development instead of looking their culture and vision. Now a day’s sustainable livelihood is a buzzword because there is huge gap in policy and its implementation at grass root level. Tribals are the worst sufferers as most of the projects such as dams and industries are located in inaccessible tribal areas. And it creates huge problem in the way of traditional livelihood of the tribes without making proper alternatives. A story of Bonman, a member of the Bettakurumba tribe came from the Gudalur forests of South India says that. "They are paupers, dependent on the government for cheap asbestos roofs which are ovens in summer and iceboxes in winter. They took away our forests which are like our mother and father, to sell it to the timber merchants.” He speaks for thousands of adivasi (tribal) people across India, who has lost their livelihoods (Marcel Thekaekara Mari, 2016). As Verrier Elwin observes, the tribe should be left alone rather than the government imposing on them development schemes that bear no relevance to or are out of sync with the ground reality.

Human security provides broad description regarding the conditions that affect the quality of life in a given Tribal community: physical security, economic development, public health, cultural freedom, and others (Gregory Guedel, 2014). The term Human Security was first coined in 1994 in a report of the United Nations Development Programme. It says of Human Security as ‘safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression,’ and protection from the sudden and hurtful disruption in the patterns of daily life’ (UNDP, 1994). According to the Commission on Human Security (2003), human security is what constitutes a minimum level of survival. Human Security is thus a very basic requirement that must be met before development requirements become relevant (Miklian, Jason and Ashild Kolas 2014). Human Security today place people first and recognizes that their safety is integral to the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security (Axworthy, Lloyd 2001:20).

Empirical data on human security analysis of the tribals in India has chronically designated unsatisfactory conditions compared with the other communities of the state. The major Human security problem facing by the tribe today is homogenous in character. Gender bias and oppression are very common in the tribal area means that Adivasi women are worst affected alone with Poverty and deprivation which are making the situation severe in the area. State’s withdrawal from the basic medical health facilities is reflected in the malnutrition of children and women. Thousands of infant deaths due to malnutrition reported in the several states of India. The people should not get the basic necessities of life such as shelter, food, water, medicine, education and employment and more than half of the people don’t have land. Governance in the implementation of the welfare policies and programmes create a number of human security problems in the tribal sector. Even though the court has ordered redistribution of alienated land to the tribals, but no state are being dared to do the court order. Crores of rupees spending in the name of tribal development fail to reach in the hands of the tribal people.

Tribes in India

In accordance with the 2011 census Indian tribal population are 10.43 crore that is 8.6 % of the total population living in 15% of total land. Having sex ratio of 990 females per thousand males while in general 940 females per 1000 males in India. States of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh are contributing 23.66% ST population in India (Tribal Welfare and Development Annual Report 2014-15:58). And more than half of the tribal populations are seen in Central part of the India. While we are analyzing the table (Table 1.1) some states and UTs are very low in the percentage of tribal population while comparing with the total national strength. While we are analyzing the table (Table 1.1) some states and UTs are very low in the percentage of tribal population while comparing with the total national strength. While we are analyzing the table (Table 1.1) some states and UTs are very low in the percentage of tribal population while comparing with the total national strength. While we are analyzing the table (Table 1.1) some states and UTs are very low in the percentage of tribal population while comparing with the total national strength. While we are analyzing the table (Table 1.1) some states and UTs are very low in the percentage of tribal population while comparing with the total national strength.
special characteristic that are a pre-agriculture level of technology; a stagnant or declining population; extremely low literacy; and a subsistence level of economy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>% of STs to total ST population</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>14.69</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Orissa</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Jharkhand</td>
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<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Karnataka</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Assam</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Nagaland</td>
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<td>J&amp;K</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>1.09</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>0.99</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>0.91</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>0.87</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Kerala</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>0.38</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Uttarakhand</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Dadra &amp; Nagar Haveli</td>
<td>0.17</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Goa</td>
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There are 3 states and 2 Union territories in India where Scheduled Tribes are not notified that is National Capital Territory Delhi, Punjab and Haryana and Puducherry and Chandigarh. Mizoram has the highest proportion and UP have the lowest proportion of scheduled tribes among the states. The States/UTs total tribal population in percentage is indicated in Fig. 1(a). In accordance with the census 2001–2011 the decadal growth of the Scheduled Tribes in the rural area increased from 10.4 to 11.3.

Colonial and Postcolonial Tribal Laws

Before the British rule the forest preservation was executed through the local customs and beliefs. For the British forest was a great treasure. Policies and laws are framed in accordance with their colonial agenda of extracting the maximum profit from its colonies. The beginning of first forest policy was with the Dalhousie memorandum of forest conservation in 1855 named “Charter of Indian Forest”, decisively renewed the forest land as government property. In 1861 the Department of Forest was created. In 1856 the government appointed an officer Inspector General of Forest (Kulkarni, Sharad 1987:2143). This incident led to the enactment of first Forest Act in 1865. With a stroke, common property resources became a thing of the past. A succession of laws was then passed with the sole purpose of curtailing the traditional rights of tribal people in forests (Mohan Mathur Hari 2009:173). New Forest Act passed in 1878 to strengthen control over the forest. The scientific forestry and
centralized regulation adopted by the British Government entangled the forest dependant and forest inhabiting tribal people.

**Figure: 1(a) STs in States/UTs as a percentage of the total State/UT population, 2011 census**

![Figure 1(a) STs in States/UTs as a percentage of the total State/UT population, 2011 census](image)


A Satyagraha was called in Cuddapah during the Non-Cooperation Movement because of the government exploitative policies after 1898, with the leadership of the Chenchu tribes. Colonial government intentionally kept a sided the development of the tribes, in 1874 Scheduled District Act and kept large portion of the tribal land outside the purview of the administration. With the introduction of Excluded and Partially Excluded Area Act in 1935, curb the legislation of the provincial government into the tribal Area. British government continued their exploitative policies led the increased the misery of the indigenous people and made them undergone to severe exploitation. The discrimination was highest at the time when the introduction of 1894 National Forest Policy, that curtailed their forest rights. This Act paved the way to intruders like traders, contractors, and non-tribal to encroach the forest.

The Forest Right Act of 1927 also comes into being for the regulation of the people benefit over the forest and produces and it helped the British and their requirement of timber. The title says “An Act to consolidate the law relating to forests, the transit of forest produce and the duty leviable on timber and other forest produce”. Even if the state control over the forest but they deprived them of the introducing the way of subsistence of the forest. Simply the meaning of the Act is that government
has right acquired forest and generates revenue from it. Moreover the Forest Settlement Officer after reaching the higher single authority stand for the rights of the powerful communities and forget the tribes.

Many struggles were emerged from northeastern, eastern and central Indian belt, Malpahariya uprising of 1772 and 1942 Lakshman Naik’s revolt in Orissa are the examples, but the British could not suppress the struggle but they accepted the demand put forward by the tribes. The British did not consider the tribal rebellion as the freedom struggle. The rebellions including Ho mutiny of 1831, Khond revolt of 1846 and Santal uprising of 1855 led the British to pass the Act in 1874 considered tribal area into a ‘Scheduled District’. It is incorporated in to the 1919 Government of India Act, under Section 52A. After that up to 1947 numerous reforms, laws and acts are introduced by the British. In 1935 they put forward the position in view of tribal land as “Totally and Partially Excluded Areas.”

National Forest Policy of 1952
The newly introduced policy has made more hurdles in front of the tribes. The new national policy of government was declared in 1952 India Resolution. The new policy barred cultivation and required a paid permit for grazing, which was difficult to obtain (Mohan Mathur Hari 2009:173). Even though policy initiated to increase the tree cover with 33 percentage of total geographical area. But it did not mention anything about the composition of the forest. It means, it has given consent to the national interest to override above the tribal rights. Adivasi living near forests were discouraged from using the forests. The government tried to obtain more and more revenue from the forest (Kulkarni, Sharad 1987:2144). The 1894 policy spoke about the ‘rights’ of the rural communities over forest produce. Slowly it became ‘rights and privileges’, which was given a legal status to the Indian Forest Act 1927. One would have expected the post-independence government to might do this damage. But the 1952 policy turned the phraseology to “rights and concessions.” It means that there is no further amendment is made to the Basic Act of 1878 (Kumar, Hazra Arnab 2002:30). In 1960 Scheduled Tribes commission appointed by the president in accordance with the provision of 339 under the chairmanship of U N Dhebar. The commission was pointed out the forest officials negative attitude towards the tribal rights in relation to forest produce for their lively hood and also mentioned that the government is failed to implement the Act 1952 in full spirit.

Draft of Policy of 1988
Basic Objectives: The basic objectives of the forest policy are stated to be
(1) Maintenance of environmental stability through preservation and necessary restoration of the disturbed ecological balance.
(2) Conservation of the natural heritage of the country by preservation of the remaining natural forests.
(3) Checking soil erosion and denudation.
(4) Increasing substantially the forest/tree cover in the country through massive afforestation and social forestry programmes.
(5) Meeting the requirements of fuelwood, fodder, minor forest produce and small timber of the rural and tribal populations.
(6) Increasing the productivity of forests to meet essential national needs.
(7) Encouraging efficient utilisation of forest produce and maximising substitution of wood.
(8) Creating a massive people's movement with the involvement of women for achieving these objectives and to minimise pressure on existing forests.

This is the policy has made the forest a drastic change in 1988. It was a significant beginning in the matters of forest conservation and forest rights of the dwellers. The role of the village community in the conservation and management are being taken into consideration, it initiated the historical Joint Forest Management. It changed the centralized to participatory and local need based planning and conservation. In practice JFM are limited to other forms of welfare forestry and the protective activity. Lack of clear definition and lack of knowledge of the social and economic development at the bottom level was the reason for the failure of the policy. The forest policy of 1988 remains a non-statutory and advisory statement issued by the government of India and is not backed by law. The
recommendation was similar to the 1952 resolution. This means that the property rights remain vested with the state or the Forest Department (Kumar, Hazra Arnab 2002:35).

There are provisions that affect the tribal regarding their shifting cultivation. There may be areas where shifting cultivation is desirable even from the standpoint of environment and also for providing sustenance to poor tribal communities (Kulkarni, Sharad 1987:2147). Because of this recommendation the Katkari tribe, one of the primitive tribe in Maharashtra, lost the land they are cultivating for several years. It adversely affected their livelihood. More over the resolution did not mentioned about the existing encroachers, those who are transfer the forest land before the independence. One of the basic reasons of these encroachments is the loss of lands owned and cultivated by the tribal (Kulkarni, Sharad 1979). In Maharashtra the government introduced a law for the restoration of tribal land to the former tribal cultivators. After passing the law it was sent to president’s consent, it takes about nine month for the approval of the president. After that it was challenged in the Supreme Court but 10 year later got clearance to the law. Later on the government initiated confidential bill that stayed the Act. But because of the public protest government called back the stay. This incident shows that the transfer of the forest land is only addressed through the successful identifications of alienated land.

The Forest Rights Act of 2006

Indian tribes have a larger history of conservation and using of forest resources as livelihood since the ages. The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, enacted in 2007 for the upliftment of tribals as well as to eradicate the human security threats they are currently facing. The forest Rights Acts of the 2006 helped to restore the forest-dwelling communities’ rights to land and other forest resources during the continuance of colonial forest laws in post-colonial India. Political activists, political parties, civil society organizations and a section of the State represented by the bureaucracy perceive the FRA as a milestone in the history of tribal social movements. It has won for the tribal forest people their long overdue rights over “forest land” (De Debasree 2011). Before this forest Rights Act the forest dwellers were mostly excluded from the decision making. Now they are considering us as the protectors and preservers rather than encroachers. The major important factor of this act is that no one can move the dwellers from the critical area without their prior consent. The act further clarifies that these areas that have been demarcated as core areas cannot be used for any other purposes in the future, except for wild life conservation(Sharma Rama: 2015:100). Even though the forest officials did not agree to the rights and miseries of the tribals there has been series of conflict between them in relation to the owner of the land. In Karnataka the tribals are being evacuated from their land for the purpose of building game sanctuary, moreover the government did not provide adequate rehabilitation. It involved the power transferred to the local authorities over forest resources and its discretionary powers. However, in practice, the Forest Rights Act does not effectively devolve such decision-making powers to democratically elected local institutions, a necessity for political decentralization (Bose, 2011).

There were several draw backs in relation to the practicability of the Acts, it is related to the governance that the fund distributing was mainly by the joint forest management committees for afforestation and is controlled by the forest department, it override the power of the Grama Sabha and Grama Panchayath, by implementing the monocrops and afforestation that will adversely affect their livelihood, biodiversity, practices. Sanjoy Patnai has pointed out that, one of the most contentious issues influencing the realisation of the forest rights within a protected area has been the declaration and demarcation of the “critical wildlife habitat” (CWLH), a crucial aspect of the Forest Rights Act. Further, the tribes got privilege under the Act only if they are bona fide dwellers of the forest and livelihood find their from the forest since year 1930. Through the implementation of this provision people belongs to nomadic tribal community and other forest dwellers, will not get their rights and better consideration. Government afforestation programme and tribal rights of using the forest for their livelihood (Section 3 (1) of FRA 2006), will not go smooth because the afforestation led displacement of tribes from their land, culture and biodiversity. The process of enclosing these commons, and pushing adivasi and other forest dwellers out of the forests, has been going on for the past 200 years and continues unabated (De Debasree 2011).
Moreover the forest Rights act of 2006 is not says anything about the pending the cases of tribes under the Forest Conservation Act of 1980. Moreover Criminal Tribes (CT) Act in 1871 initiated by the British Government and Kheria Sabar tribes brought under the act because of the specific purpose. Our Independent India put forward Habitual Offenders Act in 1959, it identified the Kheria Sabar tribal people as ‘born criminals’. But in the other side number of cases are filed against the Panchayath officials and administrators of forest department in the Kheria Sabar tribal area for diverting the development fund of the Kheria Sabar community. There is no adequate upliftment of living condition in this area for ages. Forest Rights Committee is working in Panchayath head quarters but the women and people from are far away its reach. Practically there are no good interaction and contact with the officials.

**Tribal Land Alienation in India**

Land problems of the tribes in India are emerged with the reign of the British rule. After the initiation of new laws and policies land encroachment is being highly increased with the consent of the British to the market forces. Problems of land alienation are mainly about the availability of land and its demand. But in most part of India, land alienation are Severe because of the new economic policy and market liberalization in 1991 also as an important incident that paved the way to industries, intermediaries, Money lenders, Businessman, etc... in the tribal area. Moreover major and small Dams, Coal Mines and other projects expelled the tribal from their native land. Even though the rehabilitation and resettlement of the tribes are done by the government, but the resettlement of the indigenous people not properly undertaken in relation to their cultural and social history. Now they are struggling with their day to day life.

The land alienation has begun in the medieval period and was high in the colonial days. The authorities decide to done survey and settlement operation for passing the legislation and identification of tribal forest rights. But the law indirectly helped the land lords in practical. The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908 (CNTA), the Santal Pargana Tenancy Act 1949 (SPTA), the Land Acquisition Act 1894 (LAA), the Scheduled Area Regulation 1969 (SAR), etc are the some Acts introduced by the government to restitute tribal land transfer and other land related issues. The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908 (CNTA), the act is passed in Jharkhand for guard the ownership of tribal land. Till now the act is amended more than 25 times and the last was in 1995. Due to the enlistment of the Act is the 9th schedule there is no possibility of judicial review rather than states can amendment. Annual report of the Ministry of Rural Development 2004-2005, said that Jharkhand is the state when the most tribal land alienation happened. Over 26 lakh of people were lost their land in terms of development and housing projects after the independence. The continued alienation has not only intensified their poverty, but also seriously threatened their identity in their own homeland (Sharan Ramesh 2005:4443).

Forest and tribes are inseparable they had customary rights over the forest for their livelihood. Implementation of the 1884 forest policy in Orissa taken away their rights over the forest. And British opened the tribal areas for Zamindars, contractors (Thekedars) traders, money-lenders, and government officials, these development introduced market economy in this area. Number of tribals groups are residing in Orissa, in accordance with their numerical strength, such as Kondh, Gond, Santhal, Saora, Bhuiyan, Paraja, Koya, Oraon, Gadaba, Juanga and Munda, these are the major tribes. According to an estimate there were more than 70 tribal revolts over a period of 70 years (1878 to 1948). These revolts were anticolonial in varying degrees (Pati, Biswamoy 1978). Orissa having 1733 million tonnes (70 %) of total Bauxite deposit in India, it created larger development and displacement in tribals area. Vedanta Resources and the fight for Orissa’s Bauxite Malis, Tribal People’s Protest at Kalinga Nagar, Bauxite Mining in Sambalpur Bharat Aluminium Company (BALCO) movement in Sambalpur (Undivided) paved the secular processes of resistance by the Forest Dwellers to protect Forest Resources, J. K. Paper Mill of Rayagada, POSCO-India Steel Plant at Paradip, Steel project of the TISCO and so on and so forth have quenched the eyes of tribals problems and issues in different parts of Orissa (Rout Naresh 2015:80).
Story is not much different in Andhra Pradesh, home to 34 tribal groups. The state has witnessed huge land alienation and struggles that are happened in the British period and after the independence. In 1961 government Abolished the Zemindari system that’s led transfer of large portion of land into the hand of Forest Department. However, this period is reported to have been one of the worst periods for forests and forest dwellers as there was large-scale migration and encroachment of land by the non-tribals from the plains, and most of the forests transferred to the FD after the land ceiling were fully worked and cleared of any economic timber before transfer (Reddy Gopinath M. and K. Anil Kumar 2010:19). It led large scale people uprising in different part of the state. The root causes of the tribal uprising are mainly due to Migration and transfer of tribal land to non-tribal. They are being tourtured by the Forest department and other non tribals after that they had expelled from their many native places such as Khammam, Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram, Adilabad and Srisailam. The forest officials argued that tribes were exploiting the forest. Causes of land alienations in post industrial period little different. In Andhra Pradesh land alienation has mainly happening because the acquisition of agricultural land for Special Economic Zones (SEZ), Irrigation Project, Industries and Power Projects ect….. Majority of the people displaced from the area are mainly tribes and small scale farmers. In total displaced people 80% of that is caused by the Dam only. The 75 percent of displaced persons who were not resettled were forced to become migrant labourers and urban slum dwellers and subjected to traumatic psychological and socio-cultural consequences (Muthyam Reddy, 2006).

Land Alienation in North-East
Land alienation is a social problem and also a reason for conflict. Individual ownership of land has been led to concentration of land in few hands and creates inequality in the society. Because there was a communal land system that is maintained by the village community and exited a good solidarity. The tribal tradition of private ownership is different from the present practice of accumulating private property and unscrupulously expropriating and appropriating the village commons for personal use at the cost of fellow villagers (Nongkynrih A. K. 2009:34). The major factors that led to the communal land into the private land due to the policies of the national government. In the case of Mizoram and the Jaintia hills of Meghalaya now the entire land is utilizing by the modern political bodies. Traditional practices are being questioned and they find is no relevance in the current situation. Now the state government and the autonomous district council of Jaintia hills are controlling all matters of the area. Another important thing is that the difference in the state statistical terms and classifications comparing to tribal practices. As the actual practices of the tribes unknown to the public, it is led to the incorporation of the new terminologies upon the traditional knowledge and customs. State fails to safeguard its constitutional duty to protect the traditional classification of lands because of government interference by using new terminologies and statistics that are not suitable to the practices of the tribes.

Land alienation is the most common incident in the North Eastern states in Indian people in general and tribes in particular. Many land alienation are happened in their manly because of the conflict in that area, even though developmental project is one factors. This part of India is having complex history of custom and traditions but they are living in unique as a part of India. Tribes are primarily seen as a stage and type of society. Tribes in India are not a homogenous category. They differ widely among themselves with respect to the regions they live in, the languages they speak, their physical features, the geographical terrain they inhabit, their mode of making a living, the levels of development at which they are placed and the size of the community they represent (Xaxa Virginius 2001:203). After the annexation of area in 1826, British India began to control the administration of this area by dividing the area into two hills and the plain area. Again hill is to subdivided as Excluded Areas, and Partially Excluded Areas in accordance with accessibility and development of the region. The British put restrictions on people from the plains entering both classifications of hill areas and on purchasing or owning land there (Kumar Nikhlesh 2005: 199). After the independence of India, the makers of the Constitution had incorporated special provisions for the administration of the tribal and scheduled area by adding it into the fifth and sixth schedule. Hills of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura are come under the Sixth schedule and rest of the scheduled are of country will come under the fifth schedule. Even though, the hill areas of Manipur inhabited by the tribes, and those which the plains
Tribe of Assam inhabit are not covered by the provisions of either schedule (Nongkynrih A. K. 2009:18). Moreover there are some act including 371A for Nagas, 371G for Mizo, Manipur under 371C , Arunachal Pradesh is come under fifth schedule are also given these tribal community in special status in the India.

Because of the modernization in Nagaland only half of the land is available for agriculture now. Substantive modernization and dispossession of Jhum lands is primary to landlessness. Tribal people of Tripura facing a different picture, there is acute landlessness in relation to their internal factors due to the migration happened between 1947 to 1971 from the East Pakistan. In 1886, the laws of ‘Landlord and Tenant Act’ create the situation worse in Tripura, this act help the people to acquire communal land. Most of the Bengali settlers and tribal chiefs benefited by this Act. The second important factor is that through rehabilitation plan of government regarding the immigrants from the Bangladesh transferred 26,101 hectares land for their settlement. Over a period of time, the immigrant settlers further accelerated the process of expropriation of the lands of the tribal farmers (Bhattacharyya 1988: 17-20). In Arunachal Pradesh the village named Nyigam and Nyishi, have similar land holding pattern in relation to Nagas. The both villagers are practicing two type of community land holding which used by village community and land owned by individual community. In both cases there is massive amount of privatization happening due to the influence from the outside, Nyshi villagers are encroaching the common land and used as if their own. At the same time Nygiam village the contractors influence the people and exploiting the natural resources including cutting large heavy timber. A larger portion of land is being transferred from the tribal area was from the Assam. The total land used for development projects in Assam during 1947-2000 works out to 1,401,184.8 acres, which is more than 8 percent of the state’s total geographical area. Out of this total 55.71 percent are common property resources (CPRs), the type of 16.23 percent of the land is not known and 28.06 percent is private, which alone the State takes into consideration for paying compensation (Fernandes and Bharali 2006: 127).

Tribes – the biggest victims of development
Due to the globalization and market forces tribal life has begun to face severe problem in relation to their property. Industrialization seriously affected the life of forest dwellers socially and spiritually. The tribal communities were not able to stop the market forces, due to their system of communal land tradition. They slowly responded to the private ownership and that made changes in the community with division. Instead of conquistadors armed with weapons of destruction and war, the new assault is disguised as “economic development” promoted by entrepreneurs pushing poisonous technologies (Angel. Bradley 1991). The people were pushed to another place which they are not acquainted with. Displacement sometimes happens only through force, the places were tribal people involved in project are sometimes faced ruthless displacement.

The Forest Act of 1865 and 1927 took away the centuries old cultural practices of the indigenous people and the government and extended its hegemony over the forest. Alienation is inherent in exploitative relations of production and its nature varies with that of exploitation. Hence it is also different among societies based on slavery and serfdom (Satya Deva 1981: 126-127). Land alienation is happening in two ways narrow and broad. In the narrow sense, it could mean the alienation of individual landholdings and means of livelihood. In the broader sense, alienation includes the loss of common property and rural commons (Sharan Ramesh 2005:4443). Almost 75% of the tribes are directly and indirectly influenced by their livelihood from the forest. But the laws and regulations of the government kept the tribals out of his forest territory and it negatively impacted their customary rights and privilege of using forest. Referring to Foucault's notion of governmentality, argue that, through the colonial and post-colonial histories of categorization, recent efforts by the national government to recognize traditional forest tenure rights have reinforced political control over the scheduled tribes through new forms of authority, and rules for inclusion and exclusion (Bose Purabi 2013:72).

There is a high degree of land alienation is going on in Chhattisgarh. In Bastar alone, MoUs for an investment of Rs 17000 crores were signed in 2005 for the proposed Tata and Essar Steel Plants
There are about 195 industries and 127425 small industries are functioning (Tete 2006). In the North Eastern region of India this change has accelerated the emergence of private land. Private property, leasing, and market reforms are begun to come into existence. Because of the privatization in and of the forest there are many farmers had acquired the forest land in Khasi Hills. In India during the last 50 years more than 50 million people have been uprooted from their homes and huts, displaced from their farms, jungles and rivers and sacrificed at the altar of ‘National Interest (Ray, Parshuram 2000:33). Taneja and Thakkar (2000) has point out that estimates on displacement in India from dam projects alone range from 21 million to 40 million. Most of the projects are being undertaken in the tribal land could not be benefitted to the indigenous. The major project including Hirakud, Bhakra etc,… and the Bahilai, Durgapur steel project gave only negative impact on the local people. India is the largest country having 3600 large dam and 700 under construction. But mostly the government does not considered the cost of displacement and environmental impact of the project. Because of this, concerned authorities seldom undertake detailed and systematic surveys of the population to be displaced. This makes it very difficult to know the actual number of displaced persons (Himanshu Thakkar 2000). With introducing less amount of displacement figure they get sanction to the concerned project. The number of persons displaced by the Hirakud dam was between 1.1 lakh and 1.6 lakh, while the official figures are only 1.1 lakh. Unofficial figures of displacement due to the Hirakud dam are 1.8 lakh persons (Himanshu Thakkar 2000). According to the Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MTA) nearly 85 lakh tribals were displaced until 1990 on account of mega developmental projects like dams, mining, industries and conservation of forests etc. More over new projects called Special Economic Zone(SEZs) accelerated the displacement of the people in general and the tribes in particular. Protected areas are also emerging as substantial people-displacing projects. The protected areas alone displaced as many as 600,000 tribal populations (Tripathy, 2012).

Conclusion
Despite numerous laws, policies and Acts are passed by the government, the problems of land alienation plaguing the tribal areas for almost two centuries. The framers of the resolution have not been able to solve the issues of encroachment on the forest. The alienation can solve only through the effective restoring, and the alienated land to the tribal and the government also should take immediate action on the pending illegal cases against the tribal on forest management. In addition, tribal people have little or no experience in handling large amount of cash. As a result, compensation paid in cash rarely helps them regain their previous standard of living. It quickly slips through their fingers for weddings and other festivities or ill-planned business enterprises (Mohan Mathur Hari 2009:182). Best settlement way to solve the rehabilitation of tribe is the replacement of the land that lost. Despite there is enough land to be disbursed legally to the tribals, disagreement from the part of the government regarding the distribution remaining as an obstacle to the resolvement. Moreover fresh approach should adapt to public initiatives because of its helps the tribes to take part in the process of development rather than the victim.

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Women are the greatest gift of God for the Society. She is held as the incarnation of Shakti. She is identified with Prakriti. She has the power of creating, constructing, sustaining and destroying. They have been glorified in Indian epics, scriptures and folklore. But ironically today they have become the victims of evil forces. Like other social groups, women are accorded an inferior status in tribal society also. As a matter of fact, acute poverty, malnutrition and starvation death have come to be associated with the life of many of the tribal people, living in different parts of the country. The problems which threaten them all in common are illiteracy, ignorance, economic backwardness and recent crisis of displacement due to development. This study, thus, makes a humble attempt to describe the challenges and issues faced by tribal women during protest movement arising out of development-induced displacement. For the purpose of this paper, condition of the tribal women in Kalinganagar and Kalinganagar has been chosen as the case study to establish the linkage between mindless industrialization and security threats to human beings in general.

Keywords: Industrialization, Protest Movement, Tribal Women, India

Statement of the Problem
Development is often a mask for extracting resources in a way that destroys communities and ecosystems. So, the present study leads to questioning industrialization as the basis of development. If industrialization causes poverty, environmental pollution, social upheaval and does not solve it, then “it is illegal to use poverty to legitimize the uncritical continuation or acceleration of industrial development policy” (Lohmann, 2006). Since the onset of new economic policy, the Government of Odisha is in a hurry to invite national and multinational corporations to set up industries, to develop the socio-economic condition of the people, on the other hand, local people, mostly tribal and dalits, the most neglected section of our society are resisting these development/industrial projects fearing displacement and loss of a secured livelihood. In every step, industrialization has proved to be security threats to their lives. Kalinganagar is the best testimony to this fact.

Tribal women happen to be among the most disadvantaged and unprivileged communities in India. Even after five decades of planning and development, they still remain outside the pale of any form of visible change. Thus, the effects of displacement, in case of tribal whose very survival is already at stake, are disastrous. However, socially and legally it is agreed that the land-oustees should be rehabilitated to new locations with an improved economic, social and cultural environment, which is, however, not happening in reality. Hence, development-induced displacement entails loss of habitats, traditional organisations and cultural ethos, with total disturbance in the socio-economic status of the affected population. Displacement forces people to start life afresh, often leading to the loss of their socio-economic conditions. Development-induced displacement is problematic at best, even when a state has the best interests of the entire population at heart. The effects can be catastrophic when such displacement occurs in the midst of conflict and human rights abuse, or when a state deliberately or
arbitrarily targets some of its people to bear a disproportionate share of the costs of development and denies them a proper share of the benefits. Development is a right but it also carries risks to human life, livelihood, and dignity.

The development project puts tribal women in an extremely disadvantageous position when they are faced with displacement and its unsettling effects (Basu, 2006). It limits the ability of women to adapt to new circumstances and to secure improved living conditions. Reconstituting livelihood after relocation is particularly problematic for women, mainly because of their dependence on common property resources. For planners, the easy way out is to side track these issues, as these do not affect as profoundly. It is not wonder then that most relocation plans do not compensate for the loss of common property assets such as forested lands, water bodies and grazing lands, which provide tribal women with a major source of their earnings. The lack of literacy and skills also makes their absorption into the labour market more difficult. Newly introduced schemes for women such as tailoring, spinning, file-making and candle-manufacturer were unrelated to ground realities, and failed to generate much gainful employment (Mehta 2000).

Study Area
Kalinganagar, covering 83 revenue villages, 10 Gram Panchayats of Sukinda and Danagadi blocks in Jajpur district. To set up Steel plants and Ancillary product plants in Kalinganagar, 7818 Acres land allotted to different companies (IDCO, Bhubaneswar and ADM Office Kalinganagar) and 16 million tons crude steel will be produced per annum by a dozen of Mega, large and medium industries in the area. Simultaneously, Kalinganagar will have definite stress on the natural environment which will seriously impact on human security. Table 1 shows land allocation to various corporate houses in Kalingnagar, year of arrival and investment in Cr. Rupees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>List of plants</th>
<th>Years of arrival</th>
<th>Investment in Crore Rs.</th>
<th>Land allotted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mideast (MESCO)</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>530 Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Orion</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>150 Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Maithan Ispat</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>100 Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Uttam Gala</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1179</td>
<td>370 Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>NINL</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1510</td>
<td>2500 Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Maharastra Seamless</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>500 Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>TISCO</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>16000</td>
<td>2400 Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Rohit Ferrotech</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50 Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>JINDAL</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>4764</td>
<td>678 Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>VISA industries</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>390 Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dinabandhu</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>100 Acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>K.J. Ispat</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>50 Acres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: ADM office, Kalinganagar and IDCO, Bhubaneswar

Objectives
Objectives of the present study are:
- To identify the potential sources of threats to human security.
- To map out the socio-economic condition of the tribal women in-road of industrialization.

Research Methodology
The methodology used in the present research work is interdisciplinary based on a collection of primary data and secondary data. Modern methodologies like techniques of questionnaire, interview and survey method have been followed. Direct interview with the victims have been conducted. Apart from this, secondary data like books, articles, magazines, reports, newspapers, journals and unpublished writings have also been consulted.
Protest by Potential Displaced Tribal

When you are transferred from one place to another place for a short time of one to two or three years, and in case it is not to your choice one. You are doing all possible means either to cancel or to change the place of transfer. When we are leaving our birth place and being snatched away from all social and economic means, will we not raise our voice against this forced eviction? This was the simple truth asked by the displaced person to the officials in Kalinganagar. By all account, initially the local people welcomed the idea of the industrial complex, with hope that, the new industries would usher in development of the area, give employment to the local populace, and improve their standard of living. So when land acquisition took place between 1992 and 1994, undertaken by IDCO, people accepted the compensation at the extant rate without a murmur. They believed the verbal assurance given by government officials that jobs would be provided to them when the industries would start. They continued cultivating the acquired land as before, till around 1997 when the first batch was displaced. A significant number of people have gradually refused to become silent sufferers of the ill effects of development and are now raising their voices collectively to counter development plans that they feel go against their interest and existence. In the process, they are profoundly influencing the emergence of an alternative development paradigm for India (Hussain 2008). Trouble started when, at the time of being shifted to the Gobarghati Colony, the displaced demanded jobs before they would leave their hearth. When nothing of the sort was forthcoming, the villagers sat on dharna, refusing to leave. Matter took a cruel and ugly turn when, late in the evening, police was used to forcefully evict the people. Reportedly, bulldozers were used and 60 people were arrested. The trust of the people in general was shaken (PUCL 2006).

Government collects from the company Rs. 3,50,000/- per acre of tribal land, but pays only Rs. 37,000/- to the tribal

Tata Steel Limited (TSL) has been allotted 2400 acres in Kalinganagar for the construction of a six million tonne plant. The land that the government purchased at the rate of Rs. 37,000/- per acre in 1994 from some of the affected families (not all affected have been yet counted for project impact and rehabilitation) was sold to the Tata company for Rs. 3, 35,000/- thus making for the state a net profit Rs. 715,200,000/- and at the same time giving the Tata company a saving of over Rs. 87,600,000over the market price. The current market price ranges between Rs. 5, 00,000/- to Rs. 7, 00,000/- per acre. It was this dispute over compensation that was on the negotiation table till 2nd January and was the reason why the people had assembled to prevent the bull-dozers from destroying their houses and taking over their lands that fatal day.

Source: South Asian, 30th January, 2006 (http://www.thesouthasian.org)

In 2004 an organisation to protect the interest of the people affected by the industrial complex was formed; it called itself Sukinda Upatyaka Adivasi-Harijan Ekata O Surakshya Parishad, which was later renamed, and remains such till date, as Visthapan Virodhi Jan Mancha (VVJM), Sukinda. In October 2004 they had issued an open letter to the Chief Minister, expressing their concern and grievances about the hardships faced by them due to the emerging industrial complex, and spelt out several demands; five demands meant for the people to be displaced, and six demands concerning the people already displaced. The salient features of the demands included:

- Stop further construction in agricultural land
- Giving patta to the people settled before 1980
- Land acquired, but unused, be returned to the original owners
- Stop deliberate targeting of Tribal/Dalit villages for land acquisition
- The homestead land to be raised to one acre per displaced family
- The Parishad to have a say in rehabilitation matters
- One job per displaced family (Nayak, 2007).

During 2005, the Visthapan Virodhi Jana Mancha (VVJM) resisted all kinds of activities like land-survey, bhupipuja, levelling, and boundary wall construction etc. — relating to setting up of industries in the Kalinganagar Complex. They organized protest meetings and sit-in demonstrations in
front of construction sites. People told that, government had issued notice to do a family survey. But the Manch decided not to cooperate with the government to do this survey as their demand for patta of their land was not met (ibid).

Among all these the incident of 9th May 2005 assumes greater significance, in terms of signifying a culmination of simmering discontent against the administration and the companies under their protection. On 9th May, hearing that the bhumipooja for Maharashtra Seamless was going to be performed; people had assembled at the site to protest and obstruct the proceedings. That people were not carrying any arms was corroborated by one of the officials present at the site. The ADM of Kalinganagar came to the site to negotiate with the people. The local police was already present, though not in very large numbers, to provide security to the officials of Maharashtra Seamless. The people reiterated their demands to the ADM and did not move from the place. It is alleged that the ADM, Shri Santanagopalan, in his enthusiasm, ordered lathi-charge and rushed towards the protestors, pushing some of the obstructing women to the ground. At this sudden action of his, which the people saw as a provocation, clashes ensued. People resorted to stone pelting and the vehicle of the ADM was damaged. The ADM was beaten up in the melee, and when the IIC of Kalinganagar PS tried to save the ADM he too was beaten up; both of them sustained injuries. Seeing the peoples rage the police retreated from the scene that afternoon, to return later with more reinforcements. They entered the villages and went on a rampage. Fearing retaliation, most of the men folk had fled the villages and taken shelter in the surrounding hillocks. Therefore the brunt of the police fell on the women folk and children. They were roughed up and at least 25 women were arrested. Hearing of the police terror, people from nearby villages also fled their villages and took shelter in the nearby forest. It is alleged that the privations caused the death of two children. Also, an old man, who was severely beaten up by the police, died later (Pandey, 2008).

On 2nd January 2006, with the help of the administration, the Tata Company undertook the programme of levelling the land where their plant was to come up. Top district officials, including SP and DM, were present. People of the area had assembled to protest. Coming sporadically from several villages, their numbers had gradually swelled to 300-400, including women and children, some of them carrying bows and arrows, tangias (a kind of pick axe) and other traditional weapons, customarily carried by tribal people. They were assembled on the adjacent fields to the site, close to Champakoila village. By all accounts, the mobilization of the police was massive, around 10 platoons that are around 300 policemen, requisitioned by the SP for overseeing the levelling of a piece of land. They had come prepared for combat, for a decisive show of strength, armed and battle ready. They had taken positions, according to unofficial police sources, divided in three contingents on three sides of the Tata site, which was temporarily fenced by long ropes. Some of the policemen, while chasing the demonstrators, had tripped on the uneven land around the site. This in turn encouraged some of the fleeing crowd to return. (Anyone, who has followed the resistance of the weak against the mighty administration, would understand the dynamics and psychology of such conflagration). The police had started fire, ostensibly to give cover to its fallen colleagues. But, inexplicably, they fired to kill, and some of the agitators fell victim. In the melee one of the policemen, an unarmed Havildar, Gopabandhu Mohanty, slipped and fell in the hands of the fleeing tribals. He was killed by the disoriented crowd. After this, the men in uniform and gears ran amok, the officials present did nothing to restrain them. They were baying for blood, seeking revenge, using the death of a colleague as an alibi. The people, frightened out of their wits, ran, as the police shot unrestrainedly from behind. Bodies, dead and injured, including women and children, lay strewn on the ground. The villagers carried some of their injured and dead people to the villages and admitted the injured into the hospital. The others, dead and injured, were taken to the hospital by the police. The final count, that emerged were shocking: 1 policeman dead and 4 injured; 12 tribals dead (table -2) and 37 injured, the dead, as well as the injured, included women and children (PUCL Report 2006).

These were the six who were taken alive into police custody. They were returned dead with bayonetted stab marks on their bodies, with bullet wounds on their chest with both wrists cut off, with their genitals chopped off and the two women with their breasts chopped off. Below is the list:

- Sri Rama Gagarai, Age- 35, Married, with 5 children, Village- Gadpur, Killed by Police custody.
- Sri Landu Jarika, Age- 29, Married, two daughters, Village- Bamiagotha, Killed by Police custody.
- Sri Bhagaban Soy, Age- 25, Unmarried, Village- Gobarghati, Killed by Police custody.

Table 2: List of the people killed in police firing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male/Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Landu Jarika</td>
<td>Bamiagotha</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ramachandra Jamuda</td>
<td>Bamiagotha</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Junga Jarika</td>
<td>Bamiagotha</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gobinda Laguri</td>
<td>Bamiagotha</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rama Gagaraj</td>
<td>Gadapur</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bana Badra</td>
<td>Gadapur</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mukta Bankira</td>
<td>Chandia</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Rangalal Mundei</td>
<td>Baligotha</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ati Jamunda</td>
<td>Chandia</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Deogi Tiria</td>
<td>Champakoila</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sudam Barla</td>
<td>Belhudi</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bhagaban Say</td>
<td>Gobarghati</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: PUCL, Odisha

The above killings were the consequence of a series of acts of deceit, betrayal, injustices, which should give us an idea at what level our democracy and standard of governance stands at. The issue of land rights, fair compensation, implementation of compensation packages, jobs, rehabilitation had become perennial issues between the tribals affected by the setting up of Kalinganagar, the Government and the Industry. The Government's all out support, encouragement, and open identification with Industry at the cost of being unjust to the tribals has been the thumb rule. It is not easy to summaries such a massacre, especially when committed by a democratically elected government, done to favour and facilitate a business house, Tata Company that is held by Indian mainstream society as one of India's most reputed monopoly houses. If the blood of these twelve martyred could give us a mirror image picture of our political and social progress as a democracy it would show: The tribal community comes out as a noble people, law abiding, peace loving, largest contributors in terms of free land, forest, minerals and labour to the national development agenda of Independent India. While on the other hand the Government of Odisha, the Industrialist who are operating in Kalinganagar come out as law-breakers, mafia like operators, concerned only with profits and not national development.
Evidence of disparities faced by women in displacement

This paper argues that women are often forced to bear a greater burden through displacement than their male family members. It demonstrates that these realities and the gender specific impacts of displacement are rarely considered in resettlement planning, which often threatens women security. The study thus examines the indicators and substantiates the existence of disparity and disadvantage women face in their relocation in road of industrialization.

In Kalinganagar, researcher have documented that, the change of use in tribal land is bound to have many impacts on the tribal communities. Land in their economy is their sustenance, not primarily a commodity. So it loss forces them to change their lifestyle from their community based informal society to an individual based formal society. In displacement situations, tribal women often lose previous income-earning opportunities, and are consequently forced to the margins of the labour market. For women the sale of minor forest products and river resources are important sources of

No difference between present Government and East India Company!

“By just reacting to the people clashing with police at Kalinganagar will obfuscate the paramount truth underlying the tragic massacre. What is happening now is just like what East India Company (EIC) was doing to Indians. The EIC was paying pittance to indigo and opium farmers to procure the produce to sell in China for exorbitant profits. The profits were shared among EIC stakeholders, viceroy and the Crown. Opposing Indians were subjected to cannon fire. At one stage, the Chinese refused to buy anything from the imperials. Then the British government used Indian soldiers to wage war against China!

Now the decision makers of the state (union and state government) are paying $0.075 per tonne of iron ore to public exchequers. The miners get this iron ore for $.075 to sell it for at least $45 per tonne in international markets. The state disposes off at least 63 million tonnes of iron ore like this per year. The $0.075 per tonne received by public exchequers is insufficient to even pay salaries and pensions of government staff. Do you see why our government employees are paid little and infrastructure is crumbling?

The $45 x 63 million per year goes to palaces of Indian miners, decision makers and mafia, including police officials and district collectors. This is just from iron ore. We have to count all other ores being exported away, public land usurped and development funds (printed/borrowed rupees) embezzled. This is why cannon fire is being unleashed against people who are opposing the robbery of even their personal possessions. The siren of industrialisation and development is bogus and humbug. India does not need to import exorbitantly priced coke to make steel/sponge iron for exports. One-sixth of humanity living in India has barely 2 percent of global deposits of iron ore. Our current steel production is sufficient to meet domestic needs.

Odisha’s CM has been recklessly transferring public’s iron ores to private parties for piddle royalty of $0.075 per tonne, which is valued in market $50-110, depending on various delivery terms. This is not economic justice to public as guaranteed by the constitution of India. The CM has thus subverted the constitution of India. He and perhaps all political parties in India have no consideration whatsoever that India has just 2 percent of iron ore reserves, but is exporting it away to other nations in raw or some finished form.

Now the Odisha CM has massacred Kalinganagar people opposing a takeover of their private lands and dwellings (their only wherewithal) to transfer the same to some private individuals, so-called industrialists. This is blatant injustice. Public and private wealth is being looted under the garb of industrialisation.

India has become a banana republic with such constitutional figures as the Chief Ministers massacring people to loot their private possessions and siphon off public wealth for pittance, in addition to being involved in other rackets and scandals, as per prominent newspapers”.

Excerpts from statement and letter to the President of India by Dr. S. Acharya, Citizens for Democracy, USA

Source: Kalinganagar Update, on Mines and Communities Website
income. Relocation robs them of access to these common property resources. Often such resources either do not exist or are too far from new settlements.

Threats to human security due to development, conservation, disasters or conflicts, often leads to tremendous alienation from common property resources such as forest, land, fodder or water. Women have traditionally enjoyed a higher status in production systems that rely on common property resources. Moreover, they depend more than men on common property resources for their economic wellbeing and social status due to the gender-based division of labour that makes them caretakers of the family. However, legal processes justifying displacement in the name of eminent domain do not recognise the importance of common property resources, and thus allow alienation processes to take place which have a very negative impact on the gender and power dynamics in the communities. Industrialization, not only threatens human security through displacement and relocation, there is also the problem of deforestation, loss of agricultural land, environmental degradation and marginalization of weaker section.

The so-called growth led development policy adopted by the government not only brings misery to the life of the tribal communities but also has handicaps them. Their aspiration to lead a life goes unnoticed. They are not only physically excluded from their land but also denied to live like human beings. The loss of traditional sources of income generation forces some women to enter into a labour market where they end up working as construction workers, agricultural labourers and domestic servants on very low wages. It has also found that, with the loss of their livelihood, many women find themselves confined to the domestic realm with additional worries of feeding the entire family on a very low budget.

During the field visit, it was found that, domestic violence in the form of beating up women is quite a common phenomenon in tribal families. This trend is mainly a consequence of drinking habits that have plagued the tribal society. In tribal society women normally performed more work than men. But at the same time, they admitted that women are still beaten up (especially after alcohol consumption by the men) on one or other pretext despite their valuable contribution in day to day work. Usually they become victims of male violence if they protest against their drinking habit or refuse to give them money for alcohol or on issues of food.

One understands it better when one realizes that tribal women enjoyed a slightly higher social status than women in caste societies did. But no tribal treated them as equal to men. That relatively high status was linked to their land and forest. As long as their sustenance was community owned women and some decisions-making power since in most tribal societies they were in charge of the family. These resources were thus the locus of their work that made them economic assets. That was the foundation of their relatively high social status. When the project alienates the resources from them, women lose access to work but do not get access to work in the project. But for exceptions, tribal women who want to work are forced to take up low paid unskilled daily wage jobs. Others are reduced to being housewives alone living on the man’s single salary. However, they have to continue to play their role of providers of the family even after losing the resources (Fernandes and Bharali, 2011).

As stated above, as a result of the loss of the Common Property Resources and the rest of their livelihood on which their status depended, tribal women are forced to remain at home to look after the household without any productive work outs While they are deprived of their sustenance, their role of catering to the nutritional, health and other needs of the family remains unchanged. Men become the only or main income earners since most jobs go to them. However, one is not certain that the woman gets all the income or enough money to run the household. Men and children often absorb the value system of the dominant culture to which they are exposed through the workers from outside the region coming to the new industrial townships. So they spend more than in the past on clothes, entertainment and other trivia, thus making a relatively small amount available for the woman to run the household. In other words, social factors like such cultural contact affect women more than men (Muricken et al. 2001).
The Kalinganagar industrial project displaced many tribal women, who were living comfortable with their limited agricultural land resources, fishing ponds and other available resources. Once the resources are gone, they lose the permanent sources of their livelihood income, which they have been using since generations. What will they do? How long they can survive in this situation? They will be virtually forced to work as daily labourers, industrial labourers or domestic labourers!!!

**Summing Up**

Development as a cause of displacement, it must be said that development is different. Some disasters may be inevitable just as some conflicts may be necessary but no one would view them as a good in and of themselves. Development, on the other hand, is seen as a right to which all people should have access. But just as people have a right to development, they have a right to be protected from development’s negative effects, including arbitrary eviction and the loss of economic, social, civil and political rights. When displacement does occur as a result of development—even and especially before it occurs—international guidelines and evolving international norms affirm that its goal is to improve lives and livelihoods and require that it should be a transparent and participatory process. The study “Industrialisation, Protest Movement and Tribal Women: Challenges and Issues”, attempts to clarify that anomaly, and examine the manner in which industry has ripped apart the ecological, cultural and social fabric that holds tribal communities together. The study endeavours to illumine the dark corners of Kalinganagar’s development corridor, and hopes to provoke debate and action against a system that allows the ruthless exploitation of defenceless women for the benefit of the privileged.

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Development and Population Displacement in Odisha: A Human Rights Perspective

Mrutuyanjaya Sahu*

Abstract
Development is intended to address deprivation. Paradoxically the ongoing process of development in Odisha not only deepened but also widened deprivation and caused large scale displacement. In the case of Odisha’s development model, displacement caused by large projects has actually resulted in a transfer of resources from the weaker section of society to the privileged ones. Mega dams, thermal power plant, mining and industrial projects create victims of development. It can be said that the bigger the development project, the greater the centralized control over it. This centralization has a bias in favour of large landholders, rich farmers, engineers, bureaucrats and politicians. The large scale development projects are basically designed to enhance the power of the state and private capital and are incapable of representing or serving the interests of the vast majority of the people. With the takeover of forests by the state, the traditional or customary rights of forest-dwellers were gradually converted into privileges and even further into concessions. This paper highlights the process of development in Odisha and its implications to deal with human displacement issue. Also, it seeks to reassert the protection of the rights of displaced peoples and what needs to be addressed today is the right to development, in which all their fundamental rights and freedom are realised. It concludes that though infrastructure development is necessary, it has to be implemented with a human face so that the effect of displacement is minimized and the goal of inclusive development will achieve.

Key word: Development, Displacement, Constitution, Rights, Odisha, India

Introduction
Development was an integral and even non-negotiable part of the modernizing agenda of the Indian state at independence. It was comprehensively defined to encompass not only an industrial economy, but also simultaneously a programme of social transformation and political democratization. The history of last two decades has been marked by the process of development in general and economic transformation in particular in India. As in other parts of the India, in Odisha, the last two decades have witnessed a major change in the nature and process of development activities. In a state like Odisha where an overwhelming majority of the population lives in rural areas and is suffered by chronic poverty, widespread unemployment, subsistence production, and poor basic facilities, the planning and execution of large development projects play a vital role. These projects include dams, power, mining, and industrial and allied with infrastructures, transport network, and commercial forestry. However, there has been a lack of effective planning and execution of the infrastructure projects. Most of the development projects in Odisha have brought adverse effects in the form of displacement of people from their traditional homeland and way of life and denying them their basic rights of livelihood (Velath 2009). When development-induced displaced persons bear the burden of development, they do so at the cost of their own human rights and social justice. The effects of the externalization of the cost of development are realized in serious impacts on the environment and in a transformation of people through the reduction of an enormous diversity of life ways into a significantly reduced set of social, cultural and economic relationship that is compatible with the

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industrialized form of production that from the basis of current development models. In pursuit of growth based on a neo liberal development paradigm in an era of heightened economic globalization, Odisha state government policies have favoured increased for foreign investment in mining and other related industries. Because of its rich natural resources and the new investor-friendly development policies, Odisha is now fast becoming an attractive destination for the large corporations, Indian as well as multinational, looking for investment opportunities (Sahu 2008). It has attracted large development project right from the beginning of the planning era in the early 1950. The Hirakud Dam and the Rourkela Steel Plant located in Odisha were among the first major projects undertaken in India. The state has witnessed a further rapid development. However, these projects have not benefited the local population, which has a large tribal segment. On the contrary, the paradigm of development has increased inter-and intra-country socio-economic inequalities, displacement and devastation, and drastically altered the relationship of the tribes with their natural environment and its resources, which invariably led to disempowerment of the tribes (Xaxa 2001). The projects of development had finally, come to be questioned by the advocates of sustainable development strategies as well as by movements questioning the rationale of projects that contribute to the prosperity of the some social groups even as they cause the large scale displacement of others. This paper seeks to reassert the protection of the rights of displaced people of Odisha and what needs to be addressed today is the ‘right to development’ in which all their fundamental rights and freedoms are realised.

Development and Displacement in Odisha

Odisha could be categorized as one of the poorest states in the country, next to Bihar, despite its rich natural resources. The state is endowed with huge mineral resources having about a third of the country’s iron-ore reserves, large bauxite, chromate, coal and dolomite (Somayaji 2008). Hence, industrialization of the state is a must to eradicate the poverty, to open up employment opportunities to be educated and unskilled labour, besides enhancing the state’s revenue. The elites of Odisha, mainly politicians, higher caste land owners, traders and the urban middle class have always taken a pro-industry stand for rapid industrialization. In the general elections, both national and regional, political parties of the state have been giving false promises to provide jobs to growing number of unemployed educated youths. It may be recalled in 1980s when the first child sale due to hunger and starvation was reported from Kalahandi, the then Chief Minister of Odisha announced 1000 industries in 1000 days to be set up. The public sector mega Aluminum plants were set up in Anugul and Koraput districts in the early 1990s. These two industries displaced more people than jobs provided (Meher 2008).

The development activities in Odisha began in the late 1940s; it granted momentum in the early 50s with the introduction of the Pradeep Port plan. The major development projects which induced large scale displacement in the state are the industrial project such as the Rourkela Steel Plant, the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) and the National Aluminum Company (NALCO); multipurpose dam projects like Hirakud, Rengali; Upper Kolab, Upper Indravati, Balimela, thermal project like Talcher Thermal Power Station, Ib Thermal Power Project and Talcher Super Power Project, and the coal mining projects in the Talcher and Ib valley coal mining areas; etc. The state's endeavors aimed at encouraging private investment at any cost have been vigorous. During the last five years, the state government has signed 43 memorandums of understanding (MoUs). Notable among them are international and Indian corporate giants, namely POSCO (Korea), Vedanta Aluminum (UK), Rio Tinto (UK), BHP Billition (UK-Australia), Alcan (Canada), Hindalco, Jindal, Tata and Sterlite. Mining projects worth 3,000 billion rupees have already been launched and projects worth a further. 11, 000 billion rupees are in the pipeline. Thus, Odisha is fast emerging as a major site of foreign direct investment and multinational development projects, which violates the rights of the indigenous population in the hill districts and mineral reserves areas of Odisha. (Sahoo 2005).

Development has been both mantra and myth, as thousands of cores of rupees have been ploughed into millions of projects, while the promise of employment and prosperity has remained elusive. Agriculture being the source of income and employment for 85 percent of its people does never have priority. It has always been suffering from extreme poverty and central neglect in terms of the economic sphere due to the unequal allocation of resources. According to the estimation, the poverty
ratio for the state in 2004 was 46 percent; highest in India. The cultivable land in Odisha has declined. In between 1980-2000, 26,500 hectares of forest land were destroyed for mines and industries. In addition the juggernaut of development reducing them to ecological refugees, victims of strategy growth, which forced them to pay the price of development, while others else reaped the fruits (Fernandes 2005).

The Continued Suffering
The relationship between development and displacement is an ironical one. The State of Odisha in the process of development has been experiencing the grim truth of displacement due to development projects. A glaring revelation of displacement in the state is that a significant number among the displaced people is the tribal’s, and other economically marginalized rural people, who had depended upon the natural resources for their livelihood (Fernandes 2009). The sacrifice of millions of displaced tribal who gave their land, houses, source of livelihood and suffered in the national interest will only be recorded as footnotes in the history of development of the country. Their pain, suffering, all will be forgotten in the government’s project files and never find a mention anywhere as is evident from the stories of Hirakud and Rengali displaced persons. One need not go in to a detailed analysis of the various ‘developmental’ projects initiated after the independence, and the development mania which continues even today, but the fact remains that nobody cares for the DPs. It is only their sheer resolve to build lives in spite of all the adversity and their spirit of struggle to keep pushing for better rehabilitation measures that things have improved. The struggles of DPs either in Rengali, Upper Indravati, Khashipur, and Kalingnagar or all over the state has gone a long way in broadening the envelope of the development discourse and also contributed to deepening of the democratic norms and ethos in the country. One might not talk here of the Hirakud development project, which affected 285 villages, 22,144 families, 18,432 houses and 112,038.59 acres of cultivated land, which were submerged in the Hirakud reservoir, but still all the sacrifices made by the displaced people will only be counted as a footnote in the history of the country’s ‘development’ (Baboo 2006).

Even though the State Water Commission brings out a detailed directory of the various power and irrigation projects but there is no information available about the numbers of DPs and PAFs. Whatever data there is exists only because of the efforts of the people’s movements, NGOs, academics and researchers. It has been estimated that in Odisha sum 14 lakh people, most of them adivasis, have been displaced by the development projects so far (Pandey 2008). The total number of displaced people in Odisha during 1951 to 1995 on account of various projects is approximately 5, 46,794, and 794 out of whom 3, 25,000 account for dam projects only. Further, Fernandes, Das, and Rao put that by 1985-86, around 8,07,500 people have been displaced due to major projects like Bhakra, Rihand, Hirakud, Balimela and Upper Kolab. The total number of displaced and rehabilitation from 1951 to 1991 in Odisha is mentioned in below:

Table 1: Displacement and Rehabilitation Situation in Odisha, 1951-1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Displaced</th>
<th>Resettled</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Backlog of settled</th>
<th>Backlog in Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dams</td>
<td>3,25,000</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td>27.69</td>
<td>2,35,000</td>
<td>72.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industries</td>
<td>71,794</td>
<td>27,300</td>
<td>38.03</td>
<td>44,494</td>
<td>61.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mines</td>
<td>1,00,000</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>15,540</td>
<td>31.08</td>
<td>34,60</td>
<td>68.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,46,794</td>
<td>1,92,840</td>
<td>35.27</td>
<td>3,53,955</td>
<td>64.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The data presented above is only until 1990 but the situation has not changed much whether in terms of continuance of displacement due to developmental projects, in fact, it has increased in this hyped up economic boom as never before, or record of rehabilitation. The per cent of those rehabilitated is still as low as 25-30 percent of the total number of displaced population. The magnitude of displacement put above by various groups/individuals shows the seriousness of displacement in India and Odisha as well, and thus draws a special attention. In the age of liberalization, privatization and globalization, the future will certainly witness more cases of displacement in Odisha.
Displacement and Rights

Development-induced displacement inevitably leads to violation of human rights. Displacement predominantly affects those who are politically, economically and geographically marginalised (Mathur 2006). The push of globalization and the State development policies in recent decades have however endangered the continuation of their traditional lifestyles, and they are victims of serious human rights violations as a consequence of the dispossession of their lands and natural resources, widespread violence and repression, and assimilation. In accordance with international law, members of Indigenous Peoples and Minorities enjoy all the fundamental human rights and freedoms of people everywhere and certain international law has also developed specific legal provisions to secure and protect their rights. The Declaration on Right to Development in 1986 states that right to development as an inalienable human right. The right to participation is based on various articles of the International Bill of Human Rights, which consists of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). More specifically, the 1991 International Labor Organization Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO Convention 169) stipulates (Article 7) that indigenous and tribal peoples shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of national and regional development plans that affect them (Velath 2009).

The process of development-induced displacement in Odisha takes away many rights from the displaced that in fact, are granted to them by the Indian Constitution. Ironically, Article 19 (e) of the Indian Constitution guarantees to its citizens the freedom ‘to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India’ and Article 21 says that ‘no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law’. Thus when the state takes away land deprives CPR dependent communities of their livelihood on the assumption that the natural resources are state properties ‘the right of the state has appropriated to itself goes counter to the citizen’s fundamental rights’ (Fernandes and Paranjype 1997). Under Article 19 of the Indian Constitution, all people have the right to freedom of assembly, freedom of expression and speech. But Odisha government and private companies have been consistently disrupted peaceful democratic meeting by using police and paramilitary forces, which is violation of the right to the peaceful assembly (Meher 2006). In the last two decades, Odisha has witnessed many struggles to protect life and livelihood (for example, in the towns of Balipal, Gandhamardan, Chilika, Indravati, Gopalpur, Kashipur and Kalinganagar). The police firing at Gopalpur, Maikanch and at Kalingnagar that led to the loss of poor and tribal lives opposed to mega development projects, can be seen as denying their basic rights of livelihood and an ongoing conflict between the two sides: between the one favoring 'industrialization', led by the government, and those opposed to it. If the democratically elected continues the violation the rights of tribal, which from the perspective of the subaltern is very democratic, the weaker section of the society will be more dehumanized and excluded resulting in resistance movements including violent protests (Samal and Das 2006).

Land Alienation and Rights of Local People

Land is a particularly contentious issue with regard to development projects, especially in areas with tribal populations, and it is important to understand the constitutional provisions here. The tribal land, water and forest alienation took place through a process of gradual, systematic and dubious appropriation of these rights under the British colonial State’s penetration into the domain of customary communal property resources. Due to large-scale industrial and infra structural projects, the tribal and poor people are displaced from their productive assets and homes. The Land Acquisition Act of 1894 (amended in 1984) empowers the government to acquire the people land, by compulsion for both the public and private purposes, also termed as ‘national interest’. This Act helps the State as a weapon for immediate land acquisition. It is in pursuance of this principle of ‘eminent domain’ by the Indian state that the property or ownership rights of the state came to infringe on the rights of the displaced peoples (Ramanathan 1996).

In the eastern Indian state of Odisha appear to have been the latest example of the immaturity and ineptness that define many of India’s democratic institutions. Some of the large-scale acquisitions in
the years succeeding independence like those for the Hirakud, Machkund, Sileru dams and Rourkela steel plant in Odisha. For the Hirakud dam in Odisha, 1, 12,038.59 acres of cultivated land were acquired in the 1950s and today 50 years later, according to the Odisha government, approximately Rs 6 core (out of the assessed compensation of about the Rs 9 core) has not reached the 3,098 affected families. Odisha Land Reforms Act 1960, section 22 prescribes restrictions on alienation of land by members of the Scheduled Tribes to non-scheduled tribe members. This becomes more important in the context of the rights of tribal upland who have enjoyed these lands as their ancestral domain from time immemorial, but the sovereign domain of government alienates people from their traditional sources of sustenance livelihood and social networks and causes untold hardship and miseries (Sharma 2003).

The recent protest movements against land acquisition for special economic zones (SEZs) in Kalingnagar since 2006 has stirred a national debate on the rights of those displaced and brought recognition to the fact that development-induced displacees are stakeholders in development and should be entitled to rights as equal partners (Pandey 2008). In May 2006, the Odisha government announced a new draft policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation (ORRP), which provides for inter alia, ‘land for land’ compensation for the acquisition of land for development purposes and SEZs and employment to at least one person from each affected family. But in Odisha, the resettlement programme neither acknowledged this loss nor compensated properly and thus deprived them of their right to livelihood. Besides the R&R policy has endorsed a patrilineal view of property rights by giving land entitlements only to major sons above 18 and unmarried daughter and sister more than age of 30. This raises major issues of social justice and equity. The constitution of India does not explicitly recognize any right to be protected from losing one’s habitat and livelihood. Article 21, which confers the right to life, is undoubted one of the most read into provisions of the Constitution. It is up to the states to determine the extent to which the communities who are dislocated and suffer loss of habitat and livelihood can have a say in the matter of being compensated for livelihood losses.

**Constitutional Provisions and People’s Rights**

Local institutions are socially embedded and function in the context of social and economic inequalities. In the process the local institution can be advantageous, functioning as an important actor in the implementation of R & R policy. Under the Odisha adaptation of Central Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas Act, 1996, (PESA), for the first time in Odisha it is legally provided that the Grama Sabha or Srama Sasan will exercise ownership rights over the minor forest produce. The act provides an extensive power to the Grama Sabha and Panchayats in Fifth Scheduled areas. It mandates that there should be consultation with the Grama Sabha and/or Panchayats mandatory both in cases of land acquisition for development projects and before preparing a resettlement and rehabilitation package for the project affected tribal’s (Bandopadhya 2004). The PESA seeks to provide significant protection to the tribal’s in the scheduled area against arbitrary, discretionary, and motivated action by the state relating to land acquisition. However, the state has never consulted on the type of development people desire, thus violating the right to decide their own priorities as part of right to development as an inalienable human rights (Bharati 1999).

The Government of Odisha is signing memorandum of understanding (MoU) with an en-number of companies to set up mega projects. The mining lease given to UAIL, Vedanta Alumina Limited in Lanjigarh block of Kalahandi district is illegal, in fact, unconstitutional. The area where the lease has been given is Scheduled Area, that is to say, territory governed by the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution of India. In these areas, the governor is empowered to make the regulation, repeal or amend any law of parliament to prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the scheduled tribes or regulate the allotment of land to members of the Scheduled tribes in such area (Sahu 2008). The Supreme Court in Samatha vs. State of Andhra Pradesh (AP), 1997, categorically held that transfer of land by any means including lease by the Government to a non-tribal is impermissible under the Schedule Fifth. It was held that the executive, while exercising the constitutional power to dispose of its property, should equally be cognizant of the constitutional duty to protect and empower tribals. Therefore, the court is required to give effect to the constitutional
mandate and legislative policy of total prohibition on the transfer of the land in Scheduled area to non-tribal.

**Rule of Law**

The rule of law remain eminently measurable in terms of governance transparency and public accountability of the class of developmentalists, though not fully the theory of development which may, and does indeed run counter to the idea of the rule of law (Baxi 2009). A blatant double set of values is apparent in the application of Law. Under Article 19 of the Indian Constitution, all people have the right to freedom of assembly, freedom of expression and speech. The not-so-hidden cost of development in the state of Odisha design of developmental governance escalates state investment and dedication of disproportionate resources in police, paramilitary and related security forces. The police and paramilitary forces, along goondas hired by companies, have consistently disrupted peaceful democratic meeting is a violation of the right to the peaceful assembly. Odisha Government security forces have been responsible for a reign of terror against the Adivasi by arbitrary arrest, torture, custodial death, maiming, rape and extrajudicial killing. The armed police march past villages and conduct the regular patrols as a way of instilling fear in villagers and extorting their consent. Instead, the Government of Odisha has chosen to rely on police power, rather than democratic dialogue: they have launched a concerted campaign to silence and suppress opposition to the project through the excessive use of force (Padel and Das 2009).

The police forces are arresting community leaders, activists and others identified as opposing the project including women and minors, w protestors against the UAIL, POSCO, and Tata projects are arrested by countless false cases. The majority of the arrests appear to be based on trumped up charges involving dacoit or arson and stringent interpretations of the law. The arrest of Bulka Miniaka, a respected member of the community of Kashipur, on charges of a dacoit on 2 December 2004, the murder of anti-POSCO activist Dula Mandal by pro-POSCO goons on 21 June 2008, then gunned down of social activist Amin Banara near the Tata factory site on 1 may 2008 and several leading activist have been attacked and murdered by company hired goons or State suppression by force has been the hallmark of bauxite-mining projects in Odisha and this underscores coordinated efforts to ensure that bauxite-mining projects proceed as planned, with or without the consent of the local people. The collusion of the Government of Odisha and Private companies in repressing the voices and desires of the people explains the culture of impunity surrounding the incidences of violence. The Government of Odisha should uphold the rule of law, specifically to enforce the Samatha Judgment, cancel any unconstitutional mining leases, and refrain from granting any further constitutional leases on Adivasi land in the future. (Goodland 2007).

**Forest Rights in Odisha**

The Forest Rights Act (FRA), which was passed by parliament in 2006, has been implemented in India since 2008. It provides a legislative basis to redress the historical injustice forest dwellers in the country, including Odisha. The Act was an outcome of concerns about increasing land alienation and acquisition of forest dwellers from the forest was looming in the last two decades. The Act was about protecting the interests of the tribal and forest dwellers in relation to their habitats. The Act also provides safeguards against arbitrary eviction or relocation of tribal’s and other forest dwellers living in/ dependent on protected areas. However, the FRA has not been implemented in Odisha a comprehensive manner and that it has focused more on providing land right to individual claimants than community claimants (Sarap et al 2013).

Scheduled tribe (STs) constitute 22.8% of the total population of Odisha, according to the 2011 Census. They compromise 62 tribes, including 13 particularly vulnerable tribal groups (PTGs). Odisha had a very long history of customary rights over forest. Recognizing the symbiotic relationship between tribal people and forests, establishing industrial projects, laying railway tracks, building towns and collecting raw material for industries gave birth to a process of deforestation and makes an insecure livelihood for tribal and indigenous communities in the hilly areas and tribal belts of Odisha. The Odisha government’s agreement with Vedanta Alumina to allow mining of bauxite deposits in the Niyamgiri hills, the home of the Dongaria Kondha tribe, is an example of how
corporate interests backed by state support are trampling on tribal livelihoods and threatening an ecologically rich and important region (Sahu 2008). However, if the recent stand of the Odisha government towards the UAIL and SIIL is any indication, then the agreement has violated the forest rights act as the state government has not taken the local communities, especially the tribal’s into consideration. It meant the loss of rights earlier by the tribal community over the forest and land sources around them (Mohanty 1998). In the process, the rights of the working class and the marginalized are violated in the mad rush for exploitative growth. So it becomes the responsibility of all the concerned people to join efforts for building collective and long-standing resistance against ideas and actions that deprive people of their rights to life and livelihoods.

**Intellectual Property Rights**

The predominant tribal people of Odisha are the Khond, the Saora, the Bhuiya, besides the Gond, the Munda, the Dongaria and the Santal having good indigenous knowledge. The new development paradigm has given away the large traditional ethno-biotic knowledge and skill base possessed by the tribal communities of Odisha from the mainstream (Mahapatra 1994). The assertion of intellectual property rights of the tribal is an apt way of surviving in the market economy. Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) encompasses the preservation of indigenous knowledge bases in the fields such as medical plants, agriculture bio-diversity and environmental management and compensation to indigenous people for the use of their expertise. Apart from plants indigenous people have drawn attention to new varieties of crops, organic pesticides, sweeteners, new fruits, preservatives and perfumes. In the age of liberalisation researchers of professional gene hunters sub-contracted by international companies visit, talk to the tribals and take away their samples. When the samples are processed and a product is made, the so called discovery is patented and rights are under the control of the company backing the project. The National Environment Policy 2004 in section 5.2.2 envisages the legal recognition of the tribal intellectual Property rights but still the traditional knowledge base of the tribals is either ignored or not legally recognised by the foreign sources.

**Environment Cost and Sustenance of Livelihood**

Environmental protection is clearly provided in the constitution of India and judicial interpretation has strengthened this mandate. Despite India’s commitment at the Climate Convention, green-house gas emissions in Odisha have skyrocketed. Odisha’s environment and social fabric are severely threatened by large-scale mining and industrial activities, there are expected to further intensity in coming year (Goodland 2007). Presently, the state emits significant per cent of the world’s greenhouse gases. By 2020, this figure is expected to rise to one per cent at the current rate of development. The environmental clearances have granted to UAIL, POSCO and Sterlite industry, without the use of rapid environmental impact assessment, creates a conflict interest and violates the judicial principles of National Environment Policy 2006. It has been seen in the past that because of improper environment impact assessment study, the NALCO smelter in Angul has come to be established in a place where the fluoride level in the ground water was already high and identifies eleven villages that were affected by the increase in fluoride levels, which can have serious health risks.

Besides causing drastic climatic changes and a decline in wildlife habitats, mining in Odisha has undermined the livelihood of thousands of Adivasis. It deprives future generations of the benefits of the state’s mineral resources. Marginalized people are forced to live with a scarcity of water as rivers are diverted for industrial use, the ash ponds, red mud stacking and chemical effluents disposed of into the rivers not only contaminate the water, making it unfit to human and animal consumption, but also harm their agriculture lands and destroy their produce (Samal and Das 2006). Loss of habitat and livelihood, environmental hazards, the inadequacy of the compensation packages, the irregularities of the planned rehabilitation scheme, and the socio cultural impacts on the people are the direct impacts of development activities. When people directly affected by pollution or development projects, are made to participate in the decision, along with the representatives of industry as well as government officials, the industry and the developers cannot exploit the local landscape or disregard the community. Development in such a context is more likely to be ecologically-sensitive and justice-oriented.
Conclusion
The human rights dimension of the development process has often been sidelined because it does not fit well within the prevailing conceptions of development. In the recent years, the plights of indigenous people in Odisha have started to become a specific issue of concern in the international human rights agenda, as well as in domestic legislation and policies. Displacement is not on the wane. Ironically, the development policy presumes that displacement is inevitable. There is an attempt to justify it as ‘national interest’ actually diminishes poor people’s ability to control and gainfully use natural resources. The technocratic model of development adopted by the Odisha government was thoughtlessly derivative and has proven to be economically iniquitous, environmentally unsustainable and politically less than democratic in its denial of the right to livelihood and sustenance.

Development is necessary and indeed, crucial to improving the living conditions of Odisha’s marginalized communities. However, it cannot take place without the participation of those who may stand to lose a significant portion of all that is valuable to them. What is thus needed is an alternative model of development, a model that believes the “small are beautiful” and effectively counters the ‘large’ that symbolizes unsustainable and elitist development. It has to be man-centric and nature-centric. The fruits of development should not go to the privileged beneficiaries only; all the affected people should be given every opportunity to be a part of project benefits. Resettlement and rehabilitation measures should be a participatory one, so that all stakeholders are involved in the process of resettlement. Compensatory policies should not be half-hearted and should provide a suitable environment, employment opportunities, education facilities, food security and health care facilities for the displaced. The entire issue of displacement must be seen as complex human rights, political, social, economic and cultural problem and must not be seen as a merely administrative issue. Displacement policy, practice and research need to focus not merely on the risks and impact of displacement, but also should development institutional mechanisms that will protect and strengthen the rights of displaced women and men, including their right to information, shelter and development. The challenges faced in the process require strong determination, sustained political commitment of the government, resources, capacity and over a period of time. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the state to ensure that the processes of change and goal of development are so guided as to achieve the constitutional goal of creating a vibrant socialist welfare society.

References


Forest Rights Act & Community Conservation Initiatives in Odisha: Exploring an Alternative Regime of Forest Governance

Pratap Mohanty* and Rabindra Garada**

Abstract
As with all rural communities, a central factor affecting tribal livelihood possibilities is access to and control over natural resources, in this case both land and forests. A major problem is that traditional homelands of tribal communities have been classified as forest lands vested with the state. In the absence of clearly defined property rights, millions of tribal families living in or around forest land can be deemed encroachers and thereby illegal occupants, continually living under the shadow of eviction. The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006” has created uproar since its enactment especially due to the concern raised by the conservation lobby. In Odisha one can take account of two facets of conservation. The communities who have been residing within the protected areas have no legal standing as of today because the state never acknowledges their very existence - an ethical blunder and a blatant human right violation. On the other hand there are thousands of forest protecting communities who have been active and vigilant in maintaining around 12% greenery of the state are hardly find any place in laws and policies. This paper reiterates that there is ample space within the ambit of Forest rights Act that both the facets of conservation, may it be the protected areas or the self-initiated forest protecting groups interest, can well be managed with every concern towards conservation. This paper also delves deep into some of the inherent problematic areas beyond the Forest Rights Act and reiterates that by engaging indigenous and local communities conservation can be a powerful means of coping with the global changes sweeping our planet. It may require a sharing of power not favored by many of the agencies currently in charge; but on the eve of socio-economic and environmental change of great proportions, conservation can no longer afford to consume its precious resources in fighting its best and most promising allies. The paper argues that, so long as the homo-sapiens that form an integral and natural part of this ecosystem, both surviving from the forest and at the same time preserving it, are not endowed with their cosmic right, no amount of laws and acts will help in conserving the natural resources of the state.

Keywords: Forest Right, Conservation, Common Property, Community Forest Management, PESA, (CCAs) Community Conserved Areas, Odisha, India

Introduction
Possibly the most exciting conservation development of the 21st century is the global recognition of community conserved areas. These have been defined as “natural and modified ecosystems, containing significant biodiversity values, ecological services, and cultural values, voluntarily conserved by indigenous and local communities, through customary laws or other effective means” (Pathak et al 2004). The conservation of sites and species by indigenous peoples and local communities is age old; but the fact that these are equivalent in many ways to conventional government managed protected areas has not been recognized until recently. It is only by struggles waged by communities for recognition of their initiatives and rights, along with the work of some international organizations and the exploration

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of new conservation models by some countries that CCAs have burst into global scene during the first few years of this century.

Keeping in view the above developments in international arena and especially after the Vth IUCN World Parks Congress in 2003 and the 7th Conference of Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) in 2004, in an affidavit to the Supreme Court of India on 21 June 2004, Government of India made a very significant admission that ‘the historical injustice done to the tribal forest dwellers through non-recognition of their traditional rights must be finally rectified. This marked a historic departure from the colonial perspective that has characterized state regulations of forests, which regards forests as preserves of nature that necessarily should ideally be devoid of human habitation; and which regards the state's role as the sole legal and natural monopolistic guardian of the country's forest wealth.

The Indian Forest Act, 1927, the Wild Life Protection Act, 1972, and Forest Conservation Act, 1980, are all based on the common principle that ‘any human 'interference' in a forest ecosystem would lead to its destruction’. This legal perspective ignores that tribal groups also form an integral and natural part of this ecosystem, both surviving from the forest and at the same time preserving it. Indeed, just prior to its admission to the highest court of the land, the Indian government had ordered on 3 May, 2002 the eviction of all forest encroachers, leading in just four months to the expulsion of around 300,000 impoverished cultivators from over 152,000 hectares. Mass protests and destitution finally persuaded the Government of India to introduce in Parliament on 13 December 2005, the Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005 and the rest is a story of relief to a considerable extent.

Against a colonial legacy of commercial timber harvesting and rampant hunting, the dawning of India’s conservation era since the early 1970s has resulted in the creation of an extensive network of protected areas – national parks, tiger reserves, and wildlife sanctuaries, buttressed by a formidable legislative and institutional framework. A landmark event in this conservation history was the passing of the Wild Life Protection Act in 1972, which provided for the constitution of state wildlife advisory boards, sanctuaries, and national parks; the total protection of 133 endangered species of mammals, birds, and reptiles; and strict penalties for violations of the Act. The following year saw the launching of the central government - sponsored “Project Tiger” scheme with substantial financial and advisory inputs by the World Wildlife Fund. Initially implemented in nine reserves, each divided into Core and Buffer Zones, Project Tiger advocated an ‘Ecosystems Approach’ for the elimination of all forms of ‘Human Exploitation’ in the former and the ‘rationalization’ of activities in the latter. Its mandate was strengthened through further legislation: the 42nd Amendment Act to the Indian Constitution in 1976, which enabled both Parliament and state governments to pass legislation relating to forest and wildlife conservation with national law prevailing in the event of conflict. This Amendment also included two new articles: Article 48-A which reinforced the State’s role in protecting and improving the environment and safeguarding forests and wildlife, and Article 51-G, which described the protection of the environment, forests, and wildlife as ‘the duty of every citizen of India’. This was followed by a further spate of activities: the creation of a Department of Environment in 1980, upgraded five years later to a full-fledged Ministry; the Forest Conservation Act of 1980, which prohibited states from de-notifying reserve forests and restricted their use for non-forest purposes; and the Environmental (Protection) Act of 1986 empowering the central government to coordinate all activities relating to resource management. In 1986 and 1991, further amendments were made to the Wild Life Act, including a total ban on trade in animal products; protection for specified plants; greater restrictions in sanctuaries; and increased penalties and powers of prosecution for wildlife wardens.

At the close of the century, this legislative commitment to wildlife conservation has led to a dramatic increase in protected areas from 65 in 1970 to 554 in early 2000, covering 4.69 percent of the country’s total land area. But within this extensive network, conflict has been endemic. Surveys conducted in the 1990s revealed clashes between Forest Department/Project Tiger staff and local residents over poaching, illegal grazing, coercive relocation programs with woefully inadequate compensation packages, and human and livestock deaths caused by animal attacks in 47 out of 222 protected areas. This is hardly surprising given the presence of at least 3 million people, mostly
belonging to scheduled castes and tribes, who live inside over half of India’s protected areas without access to basic facilities and often under severely restrictive regimes. To add to this disturbing scenario, competing economic agendas of state governments have led to the de-notification of portions of several parks and sanctuaries for mining, road and dam construction, all of which have undermined efforts to conserve these areas (Haan.A, 2003).

The aforesaid conservation initiatives have its own merit and especially in the present context every national and international forum have started giving serious thought on global warming and such related development. Nevertheless, amidst these entire clamors no state can leave aside the genuine livelihood concern of its largest bulk of population of aborigines and other traditional forest dwellers. The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 Act speaks about the historical injustice since long and provisions laid down for a transparent and judicious recognition of their rights over forest resources. The Act has also institutionalized the process of community conservation as a corollary to resource governance.

Odisha—A Fact Sheet

Odisha has a total population of 36.81 million, which accounts for 3.57% of the total population of India. The scheduled tribes (ST) and scheduled castes (SC) constitute respectively 22.13 and 16.53 per cent of the total population. There are 62 tribal communities have been designated as Scheduled Tribes of which 13 have been recognized as Primitive Tribal Groups. Nearly half the State’s area (44.70 %) is under Schedule V of the Indian constitution with a total population of 9,870,884 (2001 census), out of which 68% is constituted by tribal population and 20 % is constituted by Scheduled Caste population. According to Haans & Dubey, in 1999-2000, 73 % of the Scheduled Tribes in Odisha were below poverty line as compared to 55 % and 33 % respectively for Scheduled Castes and General Castes. The estimate for 2003 elevates this number to 87% of Scheduled tribes living below poverty line.

Data collected by Kundan Kumar in his paper “Dispossessed and Displaced” tells us that almost 8111.55 sq. km. (5%) of Odisha have been declared as protected areas (Sanctuaries and National Parks). The majority of these protected areas are located in the Scheduled V areas or unclear areas where there is a large concentration of tribal population (Kumar. K, 2006). Leaving aside the total forest resources on which the tribals have been critically depending upon for livelihood concern, the tale of protected areas in Odisha is an alarming one. The irony is that, due to Government apathy, the procedures laid down by the rule of the act have never taken in its spirit and the implementation process seems to be very casual.

To a considerable extent, Odisha portrays a very confusing scenario as far as the different shades of livelihood and conservation initiatives are concerned both from Government, NGO and activists point of view. Literature and independent research on protected areas gives a stunning picture of the plight of tribal and other traditional forest dwellers in Odisha. It also initiates a fresh debate whether such a large populace and its life and livelihood will be thrown away for the sake of conservation or not. Conservation Need is not a new one. Rather Conservation Politics is a completely new theme constructively engaged in disenchantment of the people living in these areas. Amongst the least debated provisions of the Act, which is considered extremely important, is the one providing communities the right to protect and manage any traditionally conserved ‘community forest resource’, and to impose penalties on anyone violating traditional rules of conservation. Across India, a quietly growing phenomenon that many conservationists who only roam around in national parks and sanctuaries have been blind to is that of community-conserved areas (CCAs). There are hundreds of such sites, where tribal or other communities are conserving natural or semi-natural ecosystems, very many with significant wildlife or biodiversity value. We believe this is only the tip of the iceberg, as everywhere we have gone to investigate such sites, we have been told of dozens more. For all the acrimony of the debate on the Act one should be hopeful that there would be a resolution between conservationists and human rights activists (and amongst various strands within these sections).
Community Conservation Initiatives in Odisha

Odisha stands apart from other states for providing numerous examples of community based and self-initiated institutional arrangements for protection and management of forest resources. Popularly known as Community Forest Management (CFM), such initiatives are found in almost all the districts of the state, with higher concentration in Nayagarh, Bolangir, Mayurbhanj, Koraput, Dhenkanal, Nabarangpur and Phulbani districts. Thus a large forest is in Odisha now is de-facto common property managed by communities though these are de-jure state property. Community forestry initiatives are manifestations of rural community’s response to forest demudation. Usually the leading role is being played by the poorer and marginalized sections of society, whose lives and livelihoods are embedded in forests (Johari.R).

Besides livelihood concerns ecological effects of forest degradation have also played a significant role in inducing forest protection by local communities. CFM initiatives have brought recognition and pride to many villages and have been a strong driving force motivating the non-protecting villages in the neighborhoods to undertake protection and regeneration of degraded forest patches. CFM has thus resulted from a desire to save forest patches for posterity and also quite strikingly from an urge to assert the villager’s control over the forest patch that is otherwise open to all.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.</th>
<th>Protected Area</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Number of villages</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
<th>Number of inhabitants</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bhitarkanika</td>
<td>National Park</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Kendrapada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Badrama</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>72 including hamlets (Survey, Sambalpur Integrated Development Institute); 25 Revenue villages*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sambalpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gahirmatha</td>
<td>Finally Notified</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kendrapada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bhitarkanika</td>
<td>Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>410*</td>
<td>2 lakhs*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kendrapada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Hadgad</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>16*</td>
<td>6538*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Keonjhar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Nandankanan</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khurda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Baisipalli</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>35 - (Satkosia Praja Surakhhya Samiti),</td>
<td>5874 (2001 Census)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nayagarh &amp; Boudh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kotgad Wildlife</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>62* 65 - (Office of DFO,Baliguda)</td>
<td>9178* 9911 - (Office of DFO,Baliguda)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Phulbani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Chandaka</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>47*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khurda &amp; Cuttack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Khalasuni</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sambalpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kuldhiha</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>20 (Vasundhara)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Balasore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Balukhand Konark</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>36 villages, 5 inside the sanctuary 31 adjoining the boundary line. (RO of Konark as quoted in Issues in Sanctuaries and National Parks in Odisha)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Puri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>Villages/Override</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Debrigarh-30, Mundakabi-183 Lambipalli-68, Jhagadabehera-152 Total-463 (1st three villages have STs only and the 4th is a mixture of ST and OBC)</td>
<td>Sambalpur &amp; Bargarh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Lakhari Valley</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>23* 51 - (Vasundhara)</td>
<td>2145* 6945 - (Vasundhara)</td>
<td>Gajapati</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sunabeda</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>75* 62 - (District Collector ate Office, Nuapada)</td>
<td>22,000 approx (Vasundhara)</td>
<td>Nuapada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Nalabana</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Khurda, Puri &amp; Ganjam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Karlapat</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>52 including 3 un-surveyed villages (Vasundhara)</td>
<td>1455 (Vasundhara)</td>
<td>Kalahandi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Simlipal</td>
<td>Deemed Wildlife Sanctuary</td>
<td>65 including 4 in the core area (Wild Odisha 04’)</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>Mayurbhanj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Wild Odisha ’04
Enough people on all sides of the spectrum are convinced that both forest dwellers and wildlife have been given a raw deal, that the biggest problem is not one against the other but the juggernaut of industrial development versus both, and that therefore a unified approach is the only way to protect both environment and livelihoods.

### Table 2: VSSs, VFPCs and Unregistered Groups in Forest Management in Odisha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Forest division</th>
<th>No of VSS</th>
<th>Area Protected (In Ha)</th>
<th>No of VFPCs formed</th>
<th>Area Protected (In Ha)</th>
<th>No of Unregistered groups</th>
<th>Area protected (In Ha)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angul Circle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Angul</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>37586.18</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>17751</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Athmallik</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>7017.36</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>26254</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Athgarh</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>7349.59</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>7207</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Dhenkanal</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>13774.98</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>30550</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>3996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Keonjhar</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>16322</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>20697</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>82050</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>102459</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berhampur Circle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Puri</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5580.0</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>17507</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Nayagarh</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>585.0</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>10824</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Ghumusar (N)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>702.0</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>28617</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Ghumusar (S)</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>13489.3</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>35058</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Parakhemundi</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>46639.0</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>10237</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Phulbani</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>29504.0</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>54237</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>5102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Baliguda</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>10378.0</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>34280</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Boudh</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>52222.6</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>5260</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1499</td>
<td>159099.9</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>196020</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>14914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambalpur Circle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Sambalpur</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>58941</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1615</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>Bamra</td>
<td>256</td>
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<td>138</td>
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<td>1394</td>
<td>150724.24</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Karanjia</td>
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<td>27.</td>
<td>Baripada</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>21822.37</td>
<td>152</td>
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<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>23986.57</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>56101</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>6685</td>
<td>634608.12</td>
<td>4928</td>
<td>1008798</td>
<td>769</td>
<td>114841</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The existence of about 10,000 forest protecting communities (Table-2) protecting around 10-12 percent of the total forest area in the state is strong evidence of extensive spread of CFM which has evolved over a period of time. According to a study undertaken by Asoka Trust for Research on Ecology and Environment (ATREE) on impacts of CFM in Kandhamal district which comes under schedule Vth area forest cover shows an increase from 53.7% to 67.2% in the study area between 1991 and 2001. The study findings attribute the increase in forest cover to protection of forests by local communities. A similar observation has also been made in the State of Forest Report (1999) published by Forest Survey of India showing a remarkable increase in forest areas in Mayurbhanj and Balangir districts between 1997-1999 because of existence of protection efforts by the villagers. The proceedings of the National Workshop on JFM, Ministry of Environment & Forest 2005 say:

“…..The practice of joint Forest Management started in early 1950s. Its the first state to issue the resolution in this regard in August 1988. There are 9778 JFM committees managing about 0.82 million ha of forest area of the state. About 1.7 million families are involved in this programme of which around 0.7 million families belong to the Scheduled Tribes…”

Despite the huge contribution of community forest protecting groups, they hardly find any place in laws, policies, administrative programmes or budget allocations. Although many of these initiatives exist on Government lands, villages often find it difficult to solicit support from the government while discharging their duties. This entails that community forestry initiatives should be recognized as a system of forest governance, and financial and other support should be extended to them as and when required. Many community initiatives are struggling trying to create livelihood options linked to their conservation efforts. In many community forestry initiatives villagers are seeking help in creating some natural resource based enterprises or increases in productivity (Pathak.N, 2009).

India’s National Forest Policy, 1988 aims at maintaining 33 percent of country’s geographical area under forest and tree cover. The forest cover in the state, based on interpretation of satellite data of Oct-Dec 2006, is 48,855 Sq.k.m which is 31.38% of the state’s geographical area which again below the recommended forest area. Pie chart in figure 1 shows that around 11% of total forest area of Odisha is being protected by the community.

![CCA vis-a vis Area Protected by FD in Orissa](image)

Source: OFDC, Govt of Odisha/State Level Steering Committee (SLSC) and Nature and Wildlife Conservation Society of Odisha (NWCSO), 2003. Odisha

Again it is always a conservative estimate as we don’t have a correct, all pervasive assessment of exact number of village forest protecting groups as well as other unregistered forest protecting communities in the state. Even after deducting the 11% from the 31% of forest cover that we have as of today, again the rest 20% of the forest having all kinds of protected areas can never be said being exclusively protected by the forest dept or for that matter the state or the central government. In simple arithmetic term one can very well dismiss the claim that even half of the forest resources of Odisha and for that matter India are being preserved and protected by the forest department. It is simply because of the fact that different studies have shown that moving people out of protected areas
has resulted in a disruption of a number of processes, with potentially negative consequences for the ecosystems themselves. The “Sariska” case is an eye opener for all.

Livelihood & Environment
Presently, the problem with regard to conservation and livelihood concern has gone beyond a limit, wherein the corridors of judiciary have taken a lead role. In Odisha, cases have already been filed in the Hon’ble High Court, questioning the different facets of the act. The most horrible part of these cases not only stems from the conservation concern rather some of them have started questioning the veracity of PESA. One needs to understand that the present legislation as is stated in its preamble does not aim to legitimize the encroachments. Rather it aims to recognize the legitimate rights of Forest dwelling communities, which had not been recorded properly during consolidation of state forests. But most important part of the whole debate is to examine whether the “The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006” or FRA has a space for the conservation concern or rather the scope of legitimate community forestry initiatives within it. However FRA prescribes that all future creations of “inviolate” conservation zones and curtailment of rights in protected areas shall require the “free, Prior, and informed consent” of tribal people who live on such land. It also emphasizes that all forestlands—irrespective of location and category— that have traditionally been used by tribal communities will henceforth be treated as “community forest resources” and says that forest dwellers can act decisively in conserving such resources. What is most important, the FRA says that recognized rights of forest dwellers include conservation of forests and biodiversity (Section 5).

The FRA empowers holders of forest rights and their Gram Sabhas to
• protect the wildlife, forest, and its biodiversity;
• ensure that adjoining catchment areas, water sources, and other ecological sensitive areas are adequately protected;
• ensure that habitats of forest-dwelling scheduled tribes and other traditional forest dwellers are preserved from any form of destructive practices affecting their cultural and natural heritage;
• ensure that the decisions taken in the Gram Sabha to regulate access to community forest resources and stop any activity that adversely affects the wild animals, forest, biodiversity, and natural heritage are complied with.

Further, these Acts talks of recognizing rights on only forest areas those are already under various kinds of use. The Act has also prescribed a framework of procedures to identify eligible claimants through Gram Sabhas and committees constituted at various levels involving Government officials/elected representatives while excluding ineligible encroachers. Hence, the question of legitimizing ineligible encroachers under the present law does not hold true. That the apprehensions regarding loss of forests is unfounded as the granting of rights under Forest Rights Act is only concerned with recognizing rights to land already under cultivation.

The key has been the creation of institutional structures to face the challenges of outside forces and internal change, changes in behavior and management strategies, and enhancement of livelihood options to reduce excessive pressure on natural resources. There are literally thousands of such sites, some of them well documented, if only we as conservationists cared to look (Singh, N & Kumar, K. 1993)

Table 3: Forest Area Diverted to Non- Forest use in Odisha (From 2005 to 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Projects</th>
<th>Area diverted to non-forest Use (In Hectare)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2004-05</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1219.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2005-06</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1711.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2006-07</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>508.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2007-08</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1493.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2008-09</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1274.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The organizations and campaigns rigorously fighting for the conservation and environmental concerns should not be biased in their approach. Their concern till date might have gained strength if they would have highlighted the extent of rich forest land diverted for different non-forestry purposes. The details of the same till 2008 have been given in the table (Table-3). Let’s make the peoples movement more vibrant so that the livelihood concern must not faded away in these unnecessary hue and cries. Odisha has a long history of self-initiated conservation process with every care to livelihood concern. Once the tribal brethren ensured and endowed with their cosmic right, they will themselves be the best vigilant watchdog of the entire forest resources of the state and the country as a whole.

Conservation of resources by communities is a part of livelihood insurance and is linked with other environmental and social dynamics. Conservation initiatives can lead to other social reform in the village, e.g., equity, empowerment etc. On the other hand other social processes such as efforts towards generating empowerment may lead to initiation of conservation. Conservation therefore cannot be seen in isolation from other social, economic and political processes within the community. Forest Rights Act allows for a greater role and empowerment of Gram Sabhas in determining claims, managing forests they have traditionally conserved, checking processes destructive of forest dwellers habitats, and protecting traditional knowledge. It also allows for greater livelihood security for traditional forest dwellers who have been unjustly denied tenure, and mandates that any displacement and relocation can only happen by consent. It provides a greater possibility of community involvement in government managed Protected Areas. If applied meaningfully and transparently, this act could lead towards many forms of co-management and to greater livelihood security than is possible in current management regimes of forests, including in the national parks and sanctuaries in India. One of the most critical lessons learnt from community conserved areas is that areas important for biodiversity conservation are often important for the survival and livelihood security of traditional communities. The issue of people within the official protected areas has plagued conservationist for decades. Increasingly there is a recognition that livelihoods will need to be integrated without compromising the existence of ecosystems and species. Many community conserved areas provide valuable insights into how this can be done.

Looking into the dimension and magnitude of problems associated with the life and livelihood of communities either within the corridor of protected areas or the communities associated with community conserved areas, we must look beyond the ambit of the Forest Right Act. A single central act simply cannot act as a panacea for all the problems associated with the issues of livelihood and conservation from different standpoint. Hence in order to strive for a happy blend of the two, one need to consider some of the pertinent management principles as envisaged by Ashish Kothari, (Kothari.A,2006) an acclaimed environmentalist as follows:

- Community conserved areas should be recorded as part of the national protected area system, and communities recognized as protected area managers.
- Systems of rights and responsibilities, building on traditional or customary arrangements, need to be established or strengthened.
- There is a need to support participatory monitoring and evaluation of community conserved areas initiatives by providing appropriate resources and capacity-building for communities.
- Even in Protected areas, conservation that attempts to keep communities out of the decision making process and or out of the sharing of benefits, is unlikely to be successful for long. Community support is needed to achieve long term conservation objective. There is no substitute for engaging with people. Indeed public communication and collaboration can significantly enhance conservation objectives and outcomes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6</th>
<th>2009-10</th>
<th>28</th>
<th>2207.23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2010-11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>911.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2011-12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2425.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: - Economic Survey, 2005-12-Annexure-6-2
Conclusion

The objective of public policy should be to harmonize the potentially conflicting interests of people and wildlife resources. For the purpose, both conservation and development programmes must involve the people concerned (forest villages, foresters, development agencies), so they are ultimately successful (Guha, 2003). One issue raised by many critics is; how and who will stop villagers either from being exploited by stakes, or from ignoring the above responsibilities as their own populations and needs increase? This is indeed a valid concern, given that significant destruction has taken place in many forest areas due to these reasons. However, it is also true that where communities have mobilized themselves or been helped to mobilize (as in the case of many joint forest management sites or even some protected areas like some areas in Odisha), they have managed to tackle these problems.

In fact that many of these conservation and environmental efforts have held on for so long against all odds is enough to indicate what they can achieve given an appropriate policy environment. Equally important, they could provide critical lessons for how to manage the official Wildlife Sanctuaries and National Parks of the state, in a way that integrates the livelihood requirements and rights of local people with the needs of wildlife conservation.

Notes

The IUCN Vth World Congress on Protected Areas, or IUCN Vth World Parks Congress as it has become known, is a 10 yearly event which provides the major global forum for setting the agenda for protected areas. Previous Congresses have had a tremendous impact in assisting national governments to create new protected areas, and direct more resources towards biodiversity conservation.

7th Conference of Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) in 2004, adopts the proposed process for the periodic assessment of the status and trends of biological diversity, in dry and sub-humid lands, taking into account national laws, policies and programmes and recognizing the urgency for action in those countries severely affected by land degradation, focusing on strengthening the capacities of developing countries and countries with economies in transition to conduct assessments at the national level and build on the knowledge and structures of ongoing global assessments, as well as national assessments.

The Indian Forest Act, 1927 was largely based on previous Indian Forest Acts implemented under the British. The most famous one was the Indian Forest Act of 1878. Both the 1878 act and the 1927 one sought to consolidate and reserve the areas having forest cover, or significant wildlife, to regulate movement and transit of forest, and duty leviable on timber and other forest produce. It also defines the procedure to be followed for declaring an area to be a Reserved Forest, a Protected Forest or a Village Forest. It defines what is a forest offence, what are the acts prohibited inside a Reserved Forest, and penalties leviable on violation of the provisions of the Act.

The Wildlife Protection Act, 1972 is an Act of the Parliament of India enacted for protection of plants and animal species. Before 1972, India only had five designated national parks. Among other reforms, the Act established schedules of protected plant and animal species; hunting or harvesting these species was largely outlawed. The Act provides for the protection of wild animals, birds and plants; and for matters connected therewith or ancillary or incidental thereto. It has six schedules which give varying degrees of protection.

Project Tiger is a Tiger conservation programme launched in 1973 by the Government under its then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The project aims at ensuring a viable population of Bengal tigers in their natural habitats and also to protect them from extinction, and preserving areas of biological importance as a natural heritage forever represented as close as possible the diversity of ecosystems across the tiger's distribution in the country. The project's task force visualized these tiger reserves as breeding nuclei, from which surplus animals would migrate to adjacent forests. Funds and commitment were mastered to support the intensive program of habitat protection and
rehabilitation under the project. The government has set up a Tiger Protection Force to combat poachers and funded relocation of villagers to minimize human-tiger conflicts.

**Community Forest Management (CFM)** refers to community-based activities which are geared towards the sustainable use of forest. This however, is an oversimplification as evidenced by the fact that the concept of CFM has been evolving over decades but until now, cannot be defined more precisely. This is due mainly to the various forms and contexts in which CFM is found. The complexity becomes even more apparent when one remembers that, apart from communities, NGOs, forestry departments, and donor agencies are all involved in the dynamics of forest management and all have significant impact on CFM with regards to its social, economic, and political aspects.

**JFM) Joint Forest Management Lately** there has been recognition about the rights of the local people, especially, the tribals and the need to involve them as partners in the protection and management of 148 forests. The National Forest Policy of 1988 envisages people's involvement in the development and protection of forests. The requirement of fuel wood, fodder and small timber such as house-building material, of the tribals and other villagers living in and near the forests, are to be treated as first charge on forest produce. The policy document envisages it as one of the essentials of forest management that the forest communities should be motivated to identify themselves with the development and protection of forests from which they derive benefits. Government of India has requested all the state governments to involve committed NGOs for motivating and organizing village communities for protection, afforestation and development of degraded forestland, especially in the vicinity of habitation and issued guidelines to all state governments (letter No.6-21/89-F.P. Dt. 1-6-990).

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Hydro-Fever in the Upper Tista Basin and Issues of Regional Environmental Security

Vimal Khawas*

Abstract
Transboundary Tista Basin forms a part of the larger Brahmaputra Basin in the Eastern Himalaya. In recent times, traditional symbiotic and intimate human-environment relationship in the Tista Basin has been increasingly put to danger by diverse undercurrents of development. Besides other forms of development including improper expansion of agriculture and irrigation, unscientific construction of roads and buildings, unplanned urbanization etc., the Central and Provincial Governments of India are vehemently underway with series of hydropower projects particularly within Sikkim-Darjeeling catchment of the basin. This has resulted in imbalances in the environment and various ecological systems there in.

Keywords: Tista (Teesta) basin, Hydropower, Environmental Security, Transboundary water Management, Sikkim, Darjeeling, India

[Int this essay is part of the larger research work being conducted under project ‘Hydropower development in the context of climate change: Exploring conflicts and fostering cooperation across scales and boundaries in the Eastern Himalayas’ funded by Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).]

Introduction
Transboundary Tista River flows the Eastern Himalayan landscape and is the fourth major river after the Ganges, Brahmaputra and Meghna in the Eastern South Asian region. It flows the entire length of Sikkim and carves out some of the profuse and verdant Himalayan temperate and tropical river valleys. As it flows down, the river forms border between Sikkim and West Bengal. It flows about 172 km in the hilly region of Sikkim and Darjeeling (India). The river criss-crosses for about 98 km in the plains of West Bengal (India) and another 134 km in Bangladesh before joining Brahmaputra in Bangladesh. As it traverses down, Tista receives water from a large number of tributaries on either side of its course forming a complex and dynamic river basin and a unique eco-region often referred to as ‘Tista Eco-region’.

Regional Significance of the Tista River Basin
Tista (Teesta) Basin forms a part of the larger Brahmaputra Basin in the Eastern Himalaya. The river drains a total geographical area of about 12159 km². Around 2004 km² of the basin (about 17 percent) area lies in Bangladesh with the rest being in India. The Eastern Himalaya is considered as an important global ‘biodiversity hotspot’. The region besides being source of varied forms of natural/bio-resources also acts as a global ecological sink.

Further, the basin has been home to several social groups in Sikkim, northern West Bengal (India) and Bangladesh since historic past. Starting from the Lepcha Tribe, Ethnic Bhutias and the Ethnic Nepalis

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in Sikkim-Darjeeling Himalaya to the agrarian communities of North Bengal and Bangladesh, the region is the source of livelihood for several socio-cultural groups. The basin has been the source of ethno-cultural and ethno-religious basis for many social groups in Darjeeling-Sikkim region.

Tista is the primary source of water to the agricultural crops of in Northern West Bengal and North Western Bangladesh. Besides, other associated livelihood options including rafting, sand/stone mining and fishing to name only few have thrived across the basin since long. Tista basin, therefore, provides the significant human and environmental security to the region and its geography milieu.

Source: IUCN (cited at thethirdpole.net)
Overview of Tista River Basin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical Region</th>
<th>Political Region /Administrative Region</th>
<th>Basin Area (Sq Km)</th>
<th>Percentage Share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hills</td>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>6930</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West Bengal (Darjeeling)</td>
<td>1121</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plains</td>
<td>West Bengal (Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar)</td>
<td>2104</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>12159</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Drivers of Hydropower Development

The traditional symbiotic and intimate human-environment relationship in the Tista Basin has been increasingly put to danger by diverse undercurrents of development in recent times. This has resulted in imbalances in the environment and various ecological systems there in. Besides other forms of development including improper expansion of agriculture and irrigation, unscientific construction of roads and buildings, unplanned urbanization etc, the Central and Provincial Governments of India are vehemently underway with series of hydropower projects particularly within Sikkim-Darjeeling catchment of the basin.

The mega hydropower projects proposed in the area are part of the Government of India’s program of dam construction to create another 200 billion cubic metres of storage through the 50,000 MW Hydroelectric initiative launched in May 2003. It is part of the Central government’s master vision of the north-eastern region as ‘India’s Future Power House’, with around 168 dams planned. The potential for hydro development in India as proposed by the government is immense and a modest estimate of the same has been assessed at 84044 MW at 60 per cent load factor - if about 148,000 MW is the installed capacity. The North Eastern region including the Tista region contains the sizeable share of this with 59000 MW.

Considering huge untapped hydel potential of the Tista, Rangit and their numerous perennial tributaries, the Central and Provincial governments see huge opportunity to mobilize flow of capital investment through public, private or joint sector. Therefore, apart from development of various small, mini and micro hydel projects, several mega projects have been awarded to NHPC, NTPC and private developers in the last one and half decades.

From these projects, the State governments of Sikkim and West Bengal will get 12 percent of free power. As per reports, Sikkim hopes to yield approximately INR 2000 crore per annum by tapping into ‘the enormous hydroelectric potential’ of the basin within the State. Besides contributing to the growth and development of the country, Sikkim visualizes of a prosperous Sikkim with the revenue earned.

However, mention should be made that the number of mega projects in Sikkim allotted to public and private sectors has been lowered radically from around 27 in 2006-07 to 16 in 2014-15. Important reasons cited in this regard include critical social, ecological, geological and financial considerations. Reportedly, the Sikkim-Nepal earthquake of September 2011 played significant role in bringing down sizeable numbers of hydro-projects in the Sikkim Himalaya. The data recorded in the official documents indicate that number of ongoing mega projects came down from around 25 in 2010 to about 18 by 2012. Accordingly, the identified hydro capacity of the Sikkim Himalaya has been lowered from over 5200 MW to around 4200 MW as per the recent reassessment study of the Central Electricity Authority (CEA, 2014).
In the Darjeeling region, out of three mega projects one (TDLP III and IV) is already commissioned. Others are in various stages of construction. Further, the Chief Minister of West Bengal has recently announced four more projects in Darjeeling catchment of the Tista basin. Consequently, the Sikkim-Darjeeling catchment is now expected to produce over 6000 MW of electricity within the next few decades.

**Hydro Electric Potential Development in the Upper Tista Basin**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region/State</th>
<th>Identified Capacity as per reassessment study</th>
<th>Capacity Under Operation</th>
<th>Capacity Under Construction</th>
<th>Capacity Under Operation + Under Construction</th>
<th>Capacity yet to be taken up under construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total (MW)</td>
<td>Above 25 MW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>4286</td>
<td>4248</td>
<td>669.0</td>
<td>2622</td>
<td>3291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>2841</td>
<td>2829</td>
<td>272.2</td>
<td>160.0</td>
<td>432.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CEA, 2014 [MW: Megawatt]

**Issues of Regional Environmental Security**

The biggest concerns at the moment are the varied impacts of such gigantic development ventures on the regional environmental security in this fragile region and its neighbourhood. The recent tectonic events in Sikkim (2011) and Nepal (2015) and the consequent disasters have further challenged the very idea and future of hydropower dams in the region. These seem to have either been overlooked or their impacts underplayed by respective EIA reports.

**Earthquake**: There are concerns that building hydro-dams may lead to river-induced seismicity in this geologically young and seismically active region. The Darjeeling-Sikkim catchment of the basin is located in the high-risk seismic zone IV of the Indian seismic zoning map and therefore had been active seismic region in historical times. Recent major earthquakes in Nepal (April 2015) and Sikkim (September 2011) measuring 7.8 and 6.8 in magnitudes have clearly exposed the region’s wherewithal with regard to earthquake disaster.

The Nepal earthquake of April 25, 2015 and series of aftershocks thereafter have reportedly damaged about 14 hydropower plants across Nepal resulting in a loss of 150 megawatt (MW) of electricity. In this regard, Sunkoshi Hydropower plant has apparently suffered serious damage with its 3-km canal suffering from multiple leakages. Environmentalists, activists and researchers in the region have long been warning against too many constructions of mega dam projects in the upper Tista catchment.

The fragile geology coupled with mega hydro-dams could further induce earthquakes and the resultant landslides and flash floods could result into a disaster. The central government, provincial governments and hydropower companies may, however, dismiss the earthquake related concerns as fear mongering. Yet, a contingency plan for disaster management in the event of earthquake is a far cry for almost all the hydro-projects in the area!

Scholars across the world have reported the performance of various types of dams under earthquake shaking. Their studies show that concrete dams may be subject to severe cracking, movement and opening of joints that may render the dam unserviceable or may require major repairs. However, till date there is no recorded failure of concrete dam as a result of earthquake shaking, although our experiences with the seismic behaviour of mega dams are still limited. We have, however, to be aware that each dam is a model located at a site with special site conditions and hazards. Based on the observation of the earthquake behaviour of other dams, it is still very difficult to make a prediction of
the extent of damage that could occur in a particular dam. At the present time, we are still in a learning phase as very few large modern dams have been exposed to strong earthquakes.

**Landslides:** It may be noted that Sikkim-Darjeeling segment of the Tista basin is featured by a number of active and dormant landslides. A cursory glance at landslide statistics gives us a fearful idea of the enormity of damage done and the ever-present threat to life and property in the region. In the last one-century more than 10000 slides have been registered in Darjeeling region alone. Thousands of lives have been lost and the overall economic development of basin negatively impacted.

Mention should be made here that heavy and spontaneous rain on June 30 and July 01, 2015 triggered a string of landslides across Darjeeling Himalaya killing over 40 people. According to Praful Rao, President, Save the Hills, ‘Kalimpong was pummeled by torrents of rain starting from approximately 20:00 hrs. I watched the clouding as it formed over us and remained almost stationery much like the clouding over Uttarakhand in 2013. Kalimpong received almost half (226 mm) the entire July month's average rainfall (548.7mm) in the 06 hours’. *Darjeeling Together*, an initiative of the people of Darjeeling to help the people affected by the recent landslides, has placed the following preliminary figures on the impacts of landslides: villages affected: 165, people affected: 94797, houses damaged: 1907, people in relief camps: 2360. Initial report of the district administration has calculated property loss to the tune of INR 12 crores in the Darjeeling region.

According to a recent study of Wadia Institute of Himalayan Geology, Dehradun, the Sikkim Earthquake (2011) triggered several hundred landslides in Sikkim, Nepal, Tibet and Bhutan Himalaya. In the Indian Territory, the earthquake-triggered landslides were reported as far as 100 km away from the earthquake rupture zone. Within Sikkim, the study reported over 350 new landslides in the post-earthquake period.

Notably, after impoundment and pondage by the dam, the water level in the area will rise considerably. As a consequence, the strength parameters of the slope mass will decease and it may become susceptible to destabilization thus triggering new landslides and further destabilisation of already active slides. A live example of such a situation is seen along the National Highway between Tista Bazar and 27 Mile near Rambi in Darjeeling region where TDLP-III regularly impounds water threatening livelihood security of the riparian settlements in the area.

This is no great news for a region already facing the cost of short-sighted mountain development.

**River Erosion:** It is also important to highlight here that of all the Himalayan Rivers, Tista reportedly has the highest sediment yield. According to Centre for Science and Environment (1991), it approximately, brings down 98 cum of silt per hectare of its catchment per year giving an annual denudation rate of 9.8 mm per year. And surprisingly, this is among the highest denudation rates estimated for any river valley in the world. Scientists have estimated the average denudation rate for the Darjeeling Himalaya alone in the order of 0.5 mm to 5 mm during a normal year. But during a year of catastrophic floods such as 1968, the denudation rate for that year can possibly go up to 20 mm. It may further be noted that the effects of erosion and sedimentation provide favorable conditions to river shifting. River Kosi has shifted by about 150 km to the west during the last two centuries. According to Hunter’s Statistical Account of Bengal, Tista was originally a river of Ganga basin. Tista, which at present flows into Bangladesh to meet up with the Brahmaputra used to flow into the Mahananda and the Ganga in Bihar about 220 years ago. In 1787, due to incessant rain followed by heavy flood and devastating earthquake Tista shifted its course to Brahmaputra basin. If such sudden river capture occurs today, thousands of villages will be swept away in a gigantic flash flood inflicting incalculable human and environmental insecurities.
Sediment Yield of Himalayan Rivers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>River</th>
<th>Sediment Yield (cum/ha/yr)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ganga (at Farakka)</td>
<td>04.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arun</td>
<td>11.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun Kosi</td>
<td>27.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamur</td>
<td>60.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamla</td>
<td>28.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosi</td>
<td>16.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramganga</td>
<td>17.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmaputra (at Pandu)</td>
<td>07.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dihang</td>
<td>07.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tista</td>
<td><strong>98.40</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digha</td>
<td>17.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lohit</td>
<td>34.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manas</td>
<td>07.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subansiri</td>
<td>10.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pagladiya</td>
<td>31.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indus</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chenab</td>
<td>25.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulej</td>
<td>06.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beas</td>
<td>15.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** cited from CSE, State of India’s Environment: Floods, Flood Plains and Environmental Myths, Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi, 1991, pp 51

**Ecological Degradation:** The degradation of the basin’s environment and ecosystem due to varied drivers of development primarily hydro is emerging as major concerns for ecologists and environmentalists. It is feared that construction of dams, fluctuation in natural river discharge and diversion of river waters through closed tunnels are gradually changing the ecological settings of the upper Tista basin. Further, submergence of valleys, deforestation, pollution of fresh water sources and improper sewage disposal are other pertinent factors that are affecting the basin’s ecosystem devastatingly. Consequently, the rich biodiversity and high level of endemism are under threat in the upper Tista basin. Conservation and management of natural resources base are therefore critical for the region. Scholars have grouped major threats to the basin biodiversity under five interacting categories: over-exploitation, water pollution, flow modification, destruction/degradation of habitat and invasion by exotic species.

With global scale environmental changes being superimposed upon all of them things become murkier! River ecosystems and riparian communities of the region are experiencing the disastrous effects of the hydro-companies’ actions of dam building including blasting, tunneling, water diversion, road construction and muck dumping. Environmental activists are of opinion that dancing and roaring Tista will be silenced and rich biodiversity in the basin will be lost for all time to come if current development paradigm of the region is not arrested. This is a very serious issue both to our coming generations and us. It is further disheartening for all of us who live within Tista basin and with historical, socio-cultural and emotional linkages with the region that National Geographic has listed Tista River among eight mighty global rivers that run dry because of human overuse.

Further, with the impacts of global warming becoming more apparent, Tista basin perhaps is most in-tune to the signs of change brought about by climate warming. There are copious instances where people across the spaces of Tista Basin have narrated revealing insights on how changes in the regional climate are affecting their lives and livelihood. In this connection it is important for us to understand the glacial behaviour, snowmelt run-off and monsoon rainfall in the basin. Information on glacial behaviour and its impacts is necessary to analyse the impacts on downstream population and the environment and to gauge the economic and environmental viability of projects in the region. The
information on melt water yield and its chemical and sediment characteristics is vital to the safety and maintenance of the hydroelectric installations and reservoirs/dams in the region. SW Monsoon plays a very significant role in the water regime of the basin. Its deviation will render devastating impacts both on water regime and health of the numerous hydro-projects in the region.

**Transboundary Issues:** As an international river, there have been serious issues on table with regard to sharing of Tista water between India and Bangladesh. Besides several existing and proposed hydro-dams in the Sikkim-Darjeeling catchment, the Government of West Bengal has diverted almost entire Tista Water via artificial canal at Tista (Gajoldoba) Barrage in Jalpaiguri to irrigate its thirsty North Bengal leaving little or no water for Bangladesh. Given the number of hydropower dams planned upstream farmers down streams are not sure how long they will continue to get water when they need it.

As a lower riparian country of the basin, Bangladesh has been regularly voicing its concern for the equitable sharing of the transboundary Tista River. But it is still to be achieved despite several meetings between Bangladesh and Indian governments. Tista water sharing agreement was to be signed during the then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visit to Bangladesh in September 2011. It was, however, postponed at the last minute due to objections by West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee. Recent visit of Indian Prime Minster Narendra Modi to Dhaka largely revolved around addressing long pending land boundary issues. Bangladesh, however, is hopeful of settling Tista water sharing issue sooner than later. It now wants to build on the recent goodwill and camaraderie generated by Modi’s visit.

Experts often project that the next 10-15 years shall witness depressing intra and inter-State water disputes if policy makers both in India and Bangladesh do not come up with viable solutions for the sustainable management and sharing of Tista Water. There is, therefore, an urgent need to re-look India’s neighbourhood policy!

**Select References**


National Geographic. 8 Mighty Rivers Run Dry From Overuse.


Educational Status among the Scheduled Tribes: Issues and Challenges

T. Brahmanandam * and T. BosuBabu **

Abstract
Scheduled Tribes have always been a geographically, socially isolated group and are economically marginal. Over centuries they maintained their own law and order system. With the advent of British, the tribal regions were thrown open for development. In the name of development they were pushed into margins. In the post-Independence period, sincere and concerted efforts were made for the development of tribals both economically as well as educationally. Despite these efforts the performance of the tribes in education is much lower than the Scheduled Castes. As the studies on tribal education suggests that most of the time the policy makers approach was only to develop national curriculum rather giving importance to their culturally linked education. This in turn encouraged them to be dropouts at primary level. This off course directly impacted their overall educational status.

Keywords: Tribes, Panchcheel Approach, Dhebar Commission, Primary Education, Dropouts, India

Introduction
Education, the essential components of man-making and nation building, can be understood at different level—from information on general knowledge to epistemology. Population is potential only with human resources. Education makes human resources possible. Population with human resource is the most invaluable asset of the nation state. Without it, population remains to be the liability of the government. To make a point clear, education holds knowledge, skill, and character. The Governments of independent India did not take due note of education as the key to man making and nation building. The Governments relied more on literacy mission based on 3Rs (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic) to fulfil its welfare schemes as incorporated in the Directive Principles of State Policy. At the backdrop of the New Education Policy coming up, the paper makes a critical attempt to appraise the status and statistics of the education among Tribes across India.

Development cannot be considered in isolation. Moreover, the mere development of a few affluent persons few cannot be attributed to the overall development of the country in general and the tribal (population) in particular. While referring to development, Sen (1999) stated that unless the capabilities among human beings are adequately addressed and deprivations faced by these groups are overcome, development cannot take place. In fact he stressed on the capabilities and human freedoms, and this freedom can only be achieved from political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency, and security, which are all different but inter-connected.

India has been bestowed with rich diversity—be it flora or fauna and corresponding habitats by the benign nature. The civilizations and their cultures constitute the rich heritage of India. However, a sizeable part of Indian population is yet to get benefits out of it. They are still living with a culture

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considered to be primitive by the urban conglomerate. Going by anthropologists, they live in secluded areas and constitute a distinct ethnology group (Verma 1996). The term “tribe” is applied to people who are considered to be primitive and live in tribal areas as specified by the govt. A tribe is a self-contained unit; it constitutes a society in itself.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1911 defines a tribe as a “collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous though originally it might have been so” (Nithya 2014). According to Majumdar quoted by Verma (1996), “A tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous with no specialization of functions, rule by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise united in language and dialect, recognizing social distance with other tribes or caste without any social obloquy attaching to them, as it does in the caste structure, following tribal traditions, beliefs and customs, iliberal of naturalization of ideas, from alien sources, above all conscious of homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration”.

Considering the above definitions, the Indian tribes (ethnic groups) are characterized in respect of distinctive social and cultural ethnic groups residing in areas of hills, forests, sea, and islands. Their lifestyle is quite different from those civilized (Preet 1994). Their societies are not static, rather dynamic. However, the pace of social change in tribal society is very slow. Since they are socially and economically backward, attempts have been made by the Government to develop them. Today, the governments are paying special attention to the development of the Tribes (Nithya 2014). Though our national leaders and constitutional makers were committed to uplift these sections, a desired development has not yet been achieved in this regard (Chandra Guru et al: 2015).

Based on the above observations, the proposed paper on ‘Educational Status among the Scheduled Tribes: Issues and Challenges’ would critically examine the following objectives.

Objectives of the Paper

1. To study the complexity among variables responsible for lower level of education among tribals;
2. To review the effectiveness of different educational programmes and their impact on tribals,
3. To assess the educational gaps and suggest suitable remedial measures for improvement of their education.

The present paper is mostly based on secondary data from various research studies including census data, committee reports on tribal, annual reports of tribal welfare ministry, Report on Selected Educational Statistics, and also NSS reports, etc.

As the British came to the Indian subcontinent, most of the tribal regions were brought under development for revenue collection (Sen 1992). On this point, Virginius Xaxa (2015) has made an important observation that the incorporation of the tribal regions into the colonial rule led to their integration into the larger social system, and this had helped the colonial masters to bring a uniform legal and administrative structure on one side and laying down or extension of roads, railways and other means of communication on the other. All these developments had adverse impacts on the socio-economic developments of the tribals. The powerful non-tribals found it an opportunity to encroach into the tribal lands with an excuse of development programmes. The non-tribals in due course evicted the tribals from their own land became the land holders of the same and made the tribals work for them as hired agricultural labours. As tribes became aware of land being the private property (written records of rights on land), there was unrest among tribes for the land they had been evicted from. This marked the beginning of unrest and rebellion in several tribal territories. The resistance movements compelled the British administrators to introduce partially or completely excluded areas of administration in British India. Following a policy, the British kept the Tribes in isolation and away from the national mainstream (Chandra Guru, et al 2015). Hence it is clear that the British policy towards tribals was of isolation and allowing them to pursue their own socio-economic and cultural life. This has pushed them into backwardness (Bhowmik 1988; Sen 1992).
During the pre-independent period, the individual and collective efforts were made by many social workers and voluntary organizations to bring the tribals in to mainstream. The Christian missionaries introduced lots of development and welfare activities to the tribal people especially in areas of health and education. They did all these activities throughout the country, but they succeeded mostly in Assam, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh. Their zeal for social welfare was unique and their approach was humanitarian.

Among many others, V. Elwin (first a missionary and later an anthropologist) and some other anthropologists made their contributions by bringing different aspects of tribal life to limelight. Based on his prolonged experience of working in tribal areas, Elwin developed a firm conviction that tribals could be developed only “along the lines of their own genius” (Sahay1998). Elwin’s observation was criticized by a section of politicians and social workers including G .S Ghurye, who advocated for a complete assimilation of the tribals to the mainstream of Indian society. He argues that tribals are backward Hindus, and any attempt to isolate them would be meaningless (Vidyarthi 1976). While advocating this policy, they did not apprehend the negative consequences of the cultural contact. They also ignored the fact that a tribal culture has many positive and useful facets, and that must be preserved. Elwin and other anthropologists were thus considered as “isolationists”, “revivalists”, “no changers” and alleged to treat tribals as museum specie for academic purpose.

Subsequently after Independence, Nehru (the first Prime Minister of India) took a stance on Elwin’s arguments and outlined his Government’s approach to working on the development of tribals without imposing anything from outside. The logic behind this approach was to preserve their traditional institutions, customs, and practices. He then supplemented his famous five principles known as Panchsheel. The essence of these principles is that development should be along the lines of genius of the tribal community, and nothing should be imposed upon them.

Brief Review of Literature

Virginius Xaxa (2015) describes that the colonial state did nothing to improve the socio-economic conditions of the tribals other than providing them protective measures. He says that the post-independent India also continued the same policy with little modification such as providing certain percentage of seats in state sponsored educational institutions and government services. Under these provisions, 7.5 per cent jobs have been reserved both at the centre and states for tribals. This has opened a large pool of government services to them. Though reservation provides employment opportunities, the lack of educational qualifications and necessary skills denied them of the jobs, and the reserved seats remain vacant in many cases. In the case of quota for higher grade services, the condition is even worse as candidates with necessary qualifications are not available.

Rami’s paper (2012) discusses the status of primary education in the tribal district of Dang in Gujarat. In the district, there are about 412 primary schools; out of which, 378 primary schools are run by the district panchayat. The paper concludes that most of the schools have buildings, but they fail to attract the girl students owing to the lack of other essential amenities like drinking water as well as separate toilets for boys and girls. The common toilet facility has prevented many tribal girls from enrolling beyond 5th standard. Hence, the drop out ratio goes higher among the tribal girls. Another problem that makes tribal students leave schools is the medium of instruction which is quite different from their own vernacular dialect.

Pradhan (2011) describes that despite special initiatives like Ashram schools, introducing vernacular to primary level, and teaching in local dialects, the tribals are still lagging behind non-tribals. Under such circumstances, the government and policy makers should put best efforts to improve their educational status.

Ghosh’s (2007) paper provides in-depth literature on the tribal education of Jharkhand and West Bengal. He says that few tribals are badly in need of special attention for their literacy and basic education. He discusses on the tribals of “Ho” and “Mahali” in Jharkhand and “Lodha” in West Bengal and their low literacy, especially of female literacy. He also says that the female enrolment
ratio is much lower among these tribals than that of their males. Due to low overall enrolment ratio of these tribals, there is a further sharp decline of enrolment immediately after the primary education, and this trend continued among males and females. During the cultivation period, the drop-out rate is more because children are required to assist their family members in sowing, weeding, plantation, and harvesting activities. Economic hardship is also a major factor for the drop out of the tribal children. He also said about a number of initiatives taken by the governments like low-cost primary schools having one or two-teachers in sparsely populated tribal habitations. To achieve gender equity in education, a number of suggestions have been given by the author such as motivation of parents to send their daughters to school, curriculum to be customised to the needs of tribal children, separate toilets for girls, and other child care centres are some of the suggestions.

Gautam’s (2003) paper on Janasala experience is the record of a collaborative programme undertaken by both the Government of India and United Nations agencies (UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, UNESCO and ILO) to achieve universal elementary education especially for girls and children from the deprived communities, working children, and children with specific needs. The programme covered nearly three million children; out of it, 33% would be tribal children. Under Janasala, many favourable interventions were undertaken to improve quality education of tribal children. As the tribal children possess cognitive abilities, a suitable curriculum and teaching methods should also be adopted. Finally, the paper concludes that the non-tribal education has very limited value in the tribal cultural milieu because it does not match with the lifestyle of individuals and the needs of the tribal community. Linking school education to life in general and the needs of the tribal communities in particular is the most important step that requires serious attention, and efforts should be made in this direction.

Rana et al. (2003), while reviewing the situation of primary education in West Bengal, made certain observations, stating that the primary education across India has been facing multiple problems such as infrastructure, shortage of schools, shortage of teachers, and financial handicap of the parents. He also observed that just addressing the problem of infrastructure would not provide any guarantee to improvement either in quality or spread of primary education. To improve the literacy level, a number of issues were suggested such as parents’ participation in monitoring and governance to improve the delivery of primary education. It can be cited in this regard that the Bengal Government’s “Sishu Siksha Karmasuchi” (SSK) experiment provides the cost-effective primary education particularly to the most underprivileged sections of society. Finally, the evils of private tuition must be put an end.

Tribal Scenario
The tribal population in India is numerically a small minority, but they represent an enormous diversity of groups. Tribals vary among themselves in respect of language, dialects, physical features, size of the group, habitat etc. They live largely in isolation, but they spread over the length and breadth of the country. Prior to the Constitution, 1950 the tribes were variously termed as aboriginals, adivasis, forest tribes, hill tribes, primitive tribes, etc. Upto 1919, the so called groups were included in the ‘Depressed Classes’. Later, the Indian Franchise Committee, 1919 had accorded a separate nomenclature for these groups for census reports, and in 1931, they were recognised as primitive tribe. Only in 1951 order, they were identified as scheduled tribe (Verma 1996). In 1951, the number of schedule tribe groups was only 212, and their number has increased to 573. In spite of their own vernacular, they can speak in common language of the state where they live. There are more than 270 such languages in India (India Education Report, 2002). As per 2011 census, they are 10.43 crores constituting 8.6% of the total population of the country and occupying about 15 percent of the country area in various ecological and geo-climatic conditions ranging from plain to forest, hills and inaccessible areas. There are 75 ethnic groups considered as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs). Scheduled Tribes are in largest number i.e. 62% in the state of Odisha. The largest concentrations of indigenous or Schedule Tribe people are found in two distinct geographical areas. More than half of the Scheduled Tribe population is concentrated in Central India, i.e., Madhya Pradesh (14.69%), Chhattisgarh (7.5%), Jharkhand (8.29%), Andhra Pradesh (5.7%), Maharashtra (10.08%), Orissa (9.2%), Gujarat (8.55%) and Rajasthan (8.86%). The other populated areas are in the North East, i.e., Assam, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Meghalaya, Tripura, Sikkim, and Arunachal
Pradesh. Among the states of India, Mizoram has the highest proportion of Scheduled Tribes (94.43). In contrast, Uttar Pradesh stands with the lowest proportion of Scheduled Tribes (0.57). In India, as many as 20 states and 2 union territories have the highest concentration of ST population. The national average is 8.6%.

Educational Status of Tribals in India

India is moving towards an inclusive growth, but owing to the lack of education and skill development, the marginalised sections are not part of the inclusive growth. To make them to be part of the inclusive growth, the Constitution has empowered the backward classes with reservations in education and jobs. For this purpose, the Constitution of India has earmarked certain special provisions to enable the SCs and STs to access to education. These special provisions were adopted through the amendment to the Constitution in 1951, and a special clause was added to article 15(4). This clause empowers the state to make special provisions for the educational development of the SCs and STs (Sahoo 2009). These special provisions too have failed to bring impressive impacts on their literacy level as many tribes have their own peculiar and vernacular language different from the common language spoken in the state where they reside. It’s found that as many as 22 per cent of tribal habitations have less than 100 population, and more than 40 per cent have between 100 to less than 300 people, while others have less than 500 people (Panda 2011; Sujatha 2008). Because of these, their literacy rate did not go beyond 8.5 per cent in 1961. In the same period, the female literacy rate was much more depressing than that of male literacy that was 3.2 per cent. Recognizing their deprivation and marginalization in Indian society, the Government of India has started an innovative scheme for the promotion of education among Scheduled Tribes, i.e., the establishment of Ashram Schools. The Ashram school concept was started in the Third Plan in all scheduled areas across India. It aims to promote education to the marginalised in a customised way. In addition to Ashram schools, there was construction of hostels for boarding and lodging to tribal students in the schedule areas. These special measures were introduced to achieve targeted results in elementary education among the tribals. In spite of this, the literacy rate has not crossed beyond 11.39 percent in 1971 because of the complex nature of issues like absenteeism, stagnation, drop-out, and seasonal migration by the tribal children.

In the meantime, the Dhebar Commission of 1960 identified certain specified reasons for the educational backwardness of tribals. They were vague generalisations like inappropriate and unattractive teaching methods adopted by the teachers, etc. It also touched upon the other problems like poor economic condition and subsistence economy. In such a situation, children are seen as economic assets to supplement the family income by working with the parents and with others (Hasnain, 2004). In a situation of dire necessitates of life, education becomes a matter of luxury for the tribal family (Pradhan 2011). All these factors have contributed to work out a broader policy for tribal education. In this background, the Dhebar Commission recommended to provide the mid-day meal, clothing, free book, reading and writing materials, etc. to all the tribal children in backward areas. The commission further considered the difficulties of children in respect to topographical factors and recommended the opening of schools in localities where there were at least 30 school-going children, though there should be a school within one mile. The commission then suggested the adjustment of timings, vacations, and holidays of schools to suit the tribal social and cultural life. It even proposed to create an atmosphere of tribal culture in the schools (Ministry of Tribal welfare, High powered Committee, Govt. of India Report 2014:158-159).

The Kothari Commission has also highlighted that the tribals deserve education with great emphasis and attention (Kothari 1966). In view of this, the Kothari Commission endorsed the recommendations of the Dhebar Commission with a note of urgency that ‘intensive efforts’ must be made to provide for five years of early education to all tribal children by 1975-76. In order to achieve the literacy rate in tribals, the Commission also suggested in educating the parents simultaneously. Despite intensive efforts on tribal education, it could only bring a marginal difference from 11.3 per cent in 1971 to 16.35 per cent in 1981 (Table-1); whereas in female literacy, there was no sign of relief, and it remained single digit, i.e., 8.04 per cent in 1984. This indicates that in the first three decades of
independence, the growth of tribal education was very slow due to high dropout rate and the growing gap between tribals and non-tribals. Due to this the tribal higher education suffered severely.

Table 1: Scheduled Tribe Literacy Rate and Gap, 1961-1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Schedule Tribe</th>
<th>Scheduled Caste</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>Gap between ST and SC</th>
<th>Gap between ST and GEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>8.54</td>
<td>10.27</td>
<td>27.86</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>19.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>11.29</td>
<td>14.67</td>
<td>33.80</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>16.35</td>
<td>21.38</td>
<td>41.30</td>
<td>5.03</td>
<td>24.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, Registrar General of India

Recognising the low literacy rate, the Tribal Sub-Plan which was introduced in the Fifth Five Year Plan for overall development has also accorded priority on promotion of education in children and women (Sujatha 2008; Xax 2011). Inspite of these efforts, the Fourth All India Educational Survey (1978) revealed certain harsh facts on tribal education that more than 25,000 tribal habitations had no school at all. As far as secondary schooling was concerned, 82.18 per cent of the tribal population was within reach of eight kilometres, and only 18.8 per cent of them had access to higher secondary school (Ministry of Tribal Welfare, High powered Committee, Govt. of India Report: 2014).

During the Sixth Five Year Plan, it was estimated that nearly 56 per cent (49 per cent boys and 70 per cent girls) of the tribal children were yet to receive elementary education. Looking at this challenge, the National Policy on Education (NPE) was framed in 1986 with an aim to reduce the stagnancy at primary level and increase the participation of disadvantaged sections participation at higher level. On the other, the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) also gave the ‘overriding priority’ to universalization of elementary education to all the children in the age-group of 6-14 years by 1990. These policy developments helped to pay special attention on tribal masses by the government. Based on the understanding of tribal problems, the NPE recommended a number of measures like developing curricula and study materials including text books in tribal language at primary level and then gradually switch over to the regional languages. It was also stressed to use mother tongue, especially local dialects, as the medium of instruction in order to attract more and more tribal students and facilitate them to access to formal education. All these initiatives have changed the primary education graph of the STs from low to high, and it get reflected in higher education. Due to this, the gap between the ST and non-ST population got reduced from 22.21 to 14.03 per cent between 1991 and 2011, and it (including female literacy) continues falling below the national average (Table-2).

The 2011 census data indicate that the educational development of STs is quite uneven among different states. The data indicate that some states with higher concentration of tribal population have been doing extremely well. They are Mizoram (91.5%), Nagaland (80.0%), Manipur (77.4%), and Meghalaya (74.5%). Whereas some states with more number of tribal habitations continue to perform very low. They are Jharkhand (57.1%), Madhya Pradesh (50.6%), Orissa (52.2%), Rajasthan (52.2%), and Andhra Pradesh (49.2%).

Table 2: Literacy Rate of All Social Groups, SC and ST Population (1991-2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>All Social Groups Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Scheduled Caste Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Scheduled Tribe Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>64.13</td>
<td>39.29</td>
<td>52.21</td>
<td>49.91</td>
<td>23.76</td>
<td>37.41</td>
<td>40.65</td>
<td>18.19</td>
<td>29.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>75.26</td>
<td>53.67</td>
<td>64.84</td>
<td>66.64</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>54.69</td>
<td>59.17</td>
<td>34.76</td>
<td>47.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>80.89</td>
<td>64.64</td>
<td>72.99</td>
<td>75.17</td>
<td>56.46</td>
<td>66.07</td>
<td>68.53</td>
<td>49.35</td>
<td>58.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, Registrar General of India

The working group on Empowerment of Scheduled tribes (2007) has categorically indicated that the large scale industrialisation and exploitation of mineral resources on one side and the construction of
irr lands. Displacement has adversely affected the school going children and prompted their discontinuation. The socio-cultural practices or socialisation has also directly impacted on the education of tribal children. On socio-cultural factor, Xaxa (2011) has made an important observation that reading and writing were unknown to the traditional tribal society. It was the Christian missionaries who introduced this alien phenomenon of education to tribal society. As the school environment was alien to the young tribal child, and they didn’t wish to stay in it. The school was new and external to the children who—could hardly adjust, and those engaged in imparting knowledge were also strangers to their society (Sattar 1984). All these issues have made the tribal children unattractive to education. The high drop-out rate in tribal society is to a great extent linked to this fact also. The issue of drop-out is most serious as far as the education of tribal children is concerned. The drop-out of tribal students at primary, upper primary and secondary level was much higher than that of the general population in 2001-02. The data on drop-out rates for the period 2005-06 to 2011-12 indicate a decreasing trend and hence an improvement in the status of school-going tribal children at all levels. During 2005-06 to 2011-12, the all India drop-out rates fell down by 3.4 per cent for all children in classes 1-5 and 4.5 per cent for tribal children. For classes 1-10, the drop-out rates for children all over India fell by11.3 per cent during 2005-06 to 2011-12. In case of tribal children, the figure for the same period was 12.6 percent (Statistics of School Education 2011-12).

Table 3: Dropout Rate, 2004-05 & 2010-11 Scheduled Tribe (Provisional)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Classes 1st to 5th</th>
<th>Classes 1st to 7th</th>
<th>Classes 1st to 10th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All</td>
<td>S.T.</td>
<td>Gap</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-05</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>(-) 10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>(-) 16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>(-) 13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-11</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>(-) 8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>(-) 8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>(-) 8.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above table-3 is on the dropout rates of Schedule Tribe children at two intervals between 2004-05 and 2010-11. In both the periods for all the classes, i.e., 1st to 5th, 1st to 7th, and 1st to 10th, their ratio of dropout rates is higher than all groups. In 2004-05, except in 1st to 5th and the remaining classes, the dropout rate of the ST girls is higher than that of the ST boys. In 2010-11, the dropout rate in 1st to 5th Std. got reduced in all cases including ST children. However, the same phenomenon is not noticed in higher classes. On the contrary, the dropout rate got increased in 1st to 7th and 1st to 10th classes. The increase of dropout rate in higher classes may be due to the impact of external factors like non-availability of schools nearby, safety and security of the girl, non-availability of toilets, etc. These are some of the peculiar factors which are linked to the girl’s dropout.

Scheduled Tribes students’ participation in the premier institutions

The Scheduled Tribe students are very few in specialized courses offered by the premier institutions like Indian Institute of Technology (IITs) and Indian Institute of Management (IIMs). Since 1973, these premier institutions have been following the constitutional provisions of reservation of seats—15% for SC and 7% for ST. Initially, the IITs had quota system, but the quota system was scrapped and a modified scheme was introduced in 1983. In lieu of the quota system of reservation prevalent across the country, there is slightly a different scheme in place at IITs, as these are the Institutes of National Importance. This strategy was evolved on the basis of experience of implementing the quota system over a decade (1973–1983). The logic cited for this change is that the IITs, being Institutes of
National Importance, should not compromise on the quality of students studying there. Accordingly, students admitted through the reserved quota have no relaxation in qualifying the courses or getting the degrees. They are, however, allowed to complete the program at a slower pace (take longer to get the degree). In case, a good number of candidates fail to satisfy the minimum eligibility criteria in written tests, the SC/ST candidates are given a relaxation of 50%. If vacancies still exist, a further relaxation is offered with a deferred admission after one year of preparatory course covering Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics. After one year of study, only those candidates who are able to clear a cut-off in the final semester are allowed to continue the regular studies. The seats reserved for SC/ST students are not transferable to general category and roll on to the next year’s students for the Preparatory Courses.

As against the 22.5 per cent of seats reserved for them, only 12 per cent of seats get filled up by the SC and ST students combined at the IITs, according to recent estimates (see Table-4). The scheduled Tribes students share has not gone beyond 4 percent except in Assam. The latest data indicate that only 7 per cent of the seats are utilised by SCs against the constitutional provision of 15 per cent. In other words, a sizable chunk of SC/ST students are out of these courses, even when they get admissions. Their capacity to utilise the available opportunities was found to be below 3 per cent.

Table 4: Representations of SC/STs in IITs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IITs</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>per cent of seats filled by the SCs</th>
<th>per cent of seats filled by the STs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guwahati</td>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khargpur</td>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanpur</td>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rootkee</td>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All IITs (Utilisation)</td>
<td>2005-06</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusions

From the beginning, the tribals remain to be the forest dwellers. In many terrains, forests are unreachable and inaccessible. Moreover, the tribal life and livelihood is directly linked to the forest resources. Due to this, their relations with outside world are either forged or severed depending on their circumstances. During the British rule, the tribal regions were made open for revenue collection mostly in the name of development. Moreover, the agrarian policy evicted the tribals from their own lands that went to the hands of non-tribal landlords and moneylenders. This gave rise to widespread discontent among the tribals who revolted against the British rule at several occasions. Due to this, the British opted for the policy of appeasement as it had long term colonial interests in India. The sole aim was to let the tribes live in their own way as long as they did not cause trouble, and thus to allow them to maintain their status quo.

In the post-independence period, the Government of India followed a policy of limited assimilation following Nehru’s Panchcheel policy that again restricted the planners to act contrary to the cultural and traditional life. Due to this, the policy makers have made targets without understanding the nitty-gritty of their cultural and traditional life. This resulted in a situation where, according to Roy Burman, the new laws seeking to protect the tribals actually led to greater exploitation of tribals. It appears that development is possible only with the involvement of local people. Based on this observation, the orientation of planning must be customised, i.e., the planners must study the problems of tribals and plan accordingly.
Education is an important avenue for upgrading the economic and social status of an individual in the society. It’s very essential for backward communities like SCs and STs. Based on the discussion in the paper, the government has to do a lot to improve their educational status. Even after the implementation of Sarva Siksha Abhiyan, only 88.46 percent of ST households are covered under primary schools in a radius of 1 km. There is decline in the percentage of school dropouts and out of school children among the tribals, but to further reduce the number, the curriculum should be prepared in their mother tongue. There can be mid-day meal, night school, adult education centres etc. Moreover, the government must appoint some tribal members as teachers wherever possible. This will certainly bring confidence and also motivate the tribal students to get enrolled to the school and keep on continuing. Along with this, more number of Ashram schools should be opened in their areas, and the government rules are to be given little more relaxation so that more and more children can get into the school system. The premier institutions like IITs and IIMs are to reach out to the tribals if they fail to turn up. There should not be any discriminatory treatment at such institutes, even if they joined. In view of all these conditions, priority must be given to the sector wise plans and its implementations for the betterment of the tribal children.

Recommendations
The dearth of adequate schools and competent teachers to fulfil the goals of Right to Education Act, 2009 is another impediment in achieving the target of education in tribal areas. For addressing the current scarcity of competent teachers in tribal areas, special efforts must be made to train the teachers so that more number of competent teachers can get into the education system. Most of the educational schemes are not really supportive to their betterment, and they have not generated any significant impact. The state education machinery is largely responsible for this situation. There should be proper accountability of the state education department to mobilise tribals to primary education and skill developments. It’s pertinent to note that the skill development is very essential along with primary education. There is a good number of Self-Help Groups (SHGs) based on micro-finance credit system. Many tribals get into it and have had first-hand experience self-determination.

Inclusion of local culture, folklore, and history to the curriculum can help building confidence among the tribal children, and this approach may help in increasing their enrolment and retention at school since music and dance are the essential aspects of their cultural life. Therefore, storytelling, theatre, painting, music, and dance performances should be promoted at schools. Similarly, sports like archery, football, and other popular local sports are extremely beneficial remedies for dropouts; it should be promoted. The tribal literature and ethnohistory constitute the invaluable indigenous knowledge. It should be documented, researched, and promoted. For developing a better understanding of the tribal cultures and their promotion, there should be adequate number of cultural research and educational centres in tribal regions. An important step in this direction is to teach tribal history and culture at schools to both tribal and non-tribal children. It would indirectly help to overcome the paucity of teachers in tribal areas. Institutions of ITDA/ITDP and micro-projects should support the tribal schools for betterment, inclusion of more children, and prevention of dropouts.

The residential schools should be set up specifically for nomadic tribes. The basic criteria should be: (a) The schools should be at places where the weather is least harsh; (b) there should be special security for the children, including girl children for whom there should be women wardens; (c) the parents should be informed of the curriculum and activities of their children; (d) there should be proactive efforts by officers on Tribal Affairs to approach to every family and to help them make an informed choice to send their children to the schools; (e) during breaks, children should be allowed to go back home and live with their parents; (f) at social gatherings, such as village fair, wedding, etc. children should be allowed to join, if possible, with their relatives and parents. There is a marked absence of quality education both at secondary and higher secondary schools in tribal areas. The governments need to establish full-fledged residential schools like Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya up to XII Std., closer to their habitations (within a radius of ten kilometres). These schools must provide comprehensive quality education including health care and prepare children for competitive exams to uplift the marginalized children. This, in due course, will bring substantial and desired changes.
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Differentials and Determinants of Women Empowerment in Tamil Nadu

S. Gunasekaran*

Abstract
The present study was conducted on a large sample of 3600 married women aged 15 – 49 years selected from both the rural and urban areas of three different districts of Tamil Nadu indicate that the overall level of women empowerment is around 50 percent of the expected level in both the rural and urban areas. The empowerment level of women on various dimensions indicate that the women are relatively more empowered (around 60 – 70 percent) in socio-cultural, familial and psychological, it is moderate (around 45 percent) in economic empowerment and it is very poor (less than 25 percent) in legal and political. The factors significantly associated with the women empowerment are: age of women, type of marriage, education of women and her husband, occupation of women and her husband, membership in SHG and exposure to mass media.

Keywords: Empowerment, dimension, mass media

Introduction
The need for women empowerment has been an important topic of discussion in many international forums such as the International Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, 1993), the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (UN, 1993), the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994), the Fourth International Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995) and the World Health Assembly (Geneva, 1996). Considering the importance of the need for women empowerment, the achievement of women’s empowerment and gender equality was included as one of the Millennium Development Goals (UN, 2000)and it has been reemphasized as one of the 17 goals of sustainable development goals (UN,2015).

Empowerment is a socio-political concept that goes beyond participation and consciousness-raising. It considers cognitive, psychological and economic components. The cognitive component refers to women’s understanding of their conditions of subordination and the reasons that create such conditions. The psychological component includes the development of a feeling that women can improve their condition and the belief that they can succeed in their efforts. The economic component of empowerment signifies that women are able to engage in a productive activity that will allow them some degree of financial independence, however small and burdensome in the beginning. Such income generating activities however are however difficult to implement because they are risky, time consuming, and hard to sustain (Stromquist,1988).

The concept of women empowerment involves several dimensions like social, economic, psychological and political. Social empowerment connotes formation of social capacities such as health, education, freedom and opportunities for realizing one’s potentialities. Economic empowerment implies entitlement to employment, income, property, productive resources and benefits regardless of gender differences. Psychological empowerment signifies confidence building, acquisition of a sense of

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efficacy and ability to overcome the feeling of helplessness. Political empowerment implies equal say in the decision making process in the power structure at all levels from local to global. All these dimensions of empowerment are so intertwined with one another that over reliance on one to the neglect of the other not likely to work (Sharma, 2000).

Many researchers have developed different measures of women empowerment on various dimensions at the individual and societal level. The Gender Empowerment Measure developed by Aasha Kapur Mehta(1996) focuses mainly three measures of gender empowerment based on the following indicators: representation in Lok Sabha, state legislatures, gram panchayats, panchayat samitis and zilla parishads; the literacy rate; exercise of the right to vote; life expectancy and income. Holding the Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) devised by the UNDP to be unsatisfactory, Indira Hirway and Darshini Mahadevia(1996) present an alternative conceptual framework for measuring gender development in the south at the individual and societal levels and compute their Gender Development Measure (GDM) for 15 major states in India. On the other hand AnjuMalhotra.et.al (2002) have constructed a list of the most commonly used dimensions of women’s empowerment, drawing from the frameworks developed by various authors in different fields of social sciences. Allowing for overlap, these frameworks suggest that women’s empowerment needs to occur along multiple dimensions including: economic, socio-cultural, familial/interpersonal, legal, political, and psychological. As the measurement of women empowerment on these six dimensions are found to be more appropriate, the measurement model developed by Malhotra at individual level is used for this study. The level of women empowerment on these six dimensions is assessed in this study in both the rural and urban areas of Tamil Nadu.

Objectives

The objectives of the study are:

i. to assess the level of women empowerment in both the rural and urban areas of Tamil Nadu;

ii. to study the demographic and socio-economic differentials and determinants of women empowerment; and

iii. to suggest suitable measures to improve the level of women empowerment in both the rural and urban areas.

Sample Design

The present paper is based on a large scale study carried out in Tamil Nadu during the period from June 2013 to May 2015 by the department of applied research of the Gandhigram Rural Institute with the financial assistance from the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, New Delhi. The study was carried out on a sample of 1800 married women (aged 15–49 years) each from the rural and urban areas selected from three different districts of Tamil Nadu Viz. Madurai, Karur and Viluppuram representing low, medium and high level of gender development as per the gender Development Index of the Tamil Nadu Human Development Report.

The sample for the study was selected based on a multistage random sampling procedure. In the first stage, each district was grouped into two sampling domains such as rural and urban areas. Both the rural and urban sample was selected in two stages. The selection of Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) which are the villages in rural areas and wards in urban areas in the first stage followed by selection of respondents using systematic sampling procedure within each of the PSUs in the second stage. In total, six PSUs from rural and six PSUs from urban areas were selected in each of the three districts based on PPS sampling procedure.

A complete list of all married women aged 15–49 years prepared for each PSU from the records maintained by the village health nurse/anganwadi workers served as the sampling frame for each of the selected PSUs. The sample for each PSUs is fixed at 100. In order to take care of non-response for various reasons, a 10 per cent over sampling was done. Of the 110 women selected using systematic
Sampling procedure, 100 women were interviewed in each of the 12 selected PSUs in each of the three selected districts.

Measurement of Women Empowerment
The following six domains of women empowerment were considered in this study:
1. Economic;
2. Socio-Cultural;
3. Familial;
4. Legal;
5. Political; and
6. Psychological:

For each of the six domains, a set of indicators were developed and were placed on a three point scale (0, 1 & 2 for not taking decision on her own, taking decision in consultation with other family members and taking decision on her own on a specific task respectively) in order to measure the level of women empowerment in each domain and also total empowerment combining all six domains together.

Results and Discussion

Total Empowerment: The results of the analysis of data on the total empowerment of women combining all the six domains of women empowerment is presented in this section. Each of the six domains is having a set of measurement indicators. A total of 90 indicators combining all the six domains of empowerment are used to assess the overall empowerment status of women. The number of indicators under each domain and the total indicators are shown in Figure 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain with number of Indicators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Economic (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Socio-Cultural (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Familial / Interpersonal (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Legal (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Political (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Psychological (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total indicators (90)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1

It is found that the overall total mean empowerment score is 88.83 for women from rural areas and 89.24 for women from urban areas which are 49.4 and 49.6 per cent of the total expected score of 180 for rural and urban areas respectively. The results of the study indicate that the overall empowerment status of women combining all the six domains of empowerment is lingering around just fifty per cent of the total expected level in both the rural and urban areas. Thus, women empowerment is just half way in both the rural and urban areas and there is a long way to reach the targets set under SDGs on women empowerment in India.

Empowerment by Demographic Characteristics: The mean empowerment score of women according to their demographic characteristics is presented in Table 1. It is observed that the mean empowerment score significantly increased with the increase in age of women in both the rural and urban areas. In rural areas, it has increased from 85.0 for women aged less than 25 years to 90.73 for women aged 40 years and above. In urban areas also, the mean empowerment score increased from 82.29 for women aged less than 25 years to 92.03 for women aged 40 years and above. Age of husband also shows a significantly positive effect on women’s empowerment with the mean
empowerment score of women significantly increased with the age of husband in both the rural and urban areas. Increase in husband-wife age difference also significantly increases the empowerment status of women in rural areas but not in urban areas. Women who had non-consanguineous marriage in rural areas and those who had love marriage in both rural and urban areas tend to have more empowerment status than others. Family size is not making any significant difference in the empowerment status of women. However, in urban areas, increases in family size significantly decrease the empowerment status of women. Overall, among the various demographic variables examined in this study, age of women, age of husband, love marriage are showing significant influence on the empowerment status of women in both the rural and urban areas.

Husband-wife age difference in rural areas and family size in urban areas are making significant difference in the empowerment status of women.

Table 1: Mean empowerment score of women according to their demographic characteristics in both rural and urban areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic characteristics</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th></th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>88.83</td>
<td>17.619</td>
<td>1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of respondents (years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;25</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>85.00</td>
<td>19.569</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25–29</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>88.35</td>
<td>17.138</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30–34</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>88.63</td>
<td>16.414</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35–39</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>90.12</td>
<td>17.679</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≥ 40 yrs</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>90.73</td>
<td>18.534</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F = 4.067</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F = 13.823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of husband (years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≤29</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>85.11</td>
<td>19.526</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30–34</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>88.26</td>
<td>16.813</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35–39</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>89.32</td>
<td>16.357</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40–44</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>89.10</td>
<td>17.109</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≥ 45 yrs</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>90.58</td>
<td>18.246</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F = 3.765</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F = 12.808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband-wife age difference (years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≤ 3</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>87.38</td>
<td>17.394</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4–6</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>88.40</td>
<td>16.651</td>
<td>763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7–9</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>90.71</td>
<td>18.394</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10+</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>90.22</td>
<td>19.506</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F = 2.891</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F = 0.627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of marriage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consanguineous</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>87.57</td>
<td>16.354</td>
<td>614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non- Consanguineous</td>
<td>1081</td>
<td>89.72</td>
<td>18.230</td>
<td>1186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t = 2.966</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t = 2.570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love / Arranged marriage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love marriage</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>92.82</td>
<td>17.641</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arranged marriage</td>
<td>1589</td>
<td>88.34</td>
<td>17.456</td>
<td>1535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t = 3.622</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t = 2.957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family size</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≤ 4</td>
<td>1157</td>
<td>89.28</td>
<td>17.352</td>
<td>1251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5–6</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>88.38</td>
<td>18.609</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7+</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>85.60</td>
<td>13.739</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F = 1.937</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F = 8.430</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Expected total empowerment score : 180
**Empowerment by Socio-economic Characteristics:** The mean empowerment score of women according to their socio-economic characteristics is presented in Table 2. Education of women and their husband is observed to be the most significant factor in improving the empowerment status of women in both the rural and urban areas. In rural areas, the mean empowerment score has increased significantly from 85.09 for illiterates to 99.33 for the educational level of college and above, which is an increase of about 14 points. In urban areas, it has increased from 83.58 for illiterates to 99.84 for college and above which is an increase of about 16 points. Thus, education of women plays a significant role in improving the empowerment status of women in both the rural and urban areas.

In the case of education of husband, an increase of about 6 points in rural (87.43 to 93.24) and 9 points in urban (86.39 to 95.12) areas is observed for an increase in education of husband from illiteracy to college and above. Occupational status of women and their husband is also making a significant difference in the level of women empowerment in both the rural and urban areas. Salaried women and women having salaried husband seem to have significantly more empowerment than women engaged in other occupation in both the rural and urban areas. Community is not making any significant difference in the empowerment status of women in rural areas. However, in urban areas most backward caste women have attained significantly more empowerment status than women belonging to other caste groups. Women in nuclear family have attained significantly more empowerment status than women in joint family in both the rural and urban areas. Exposure of women to mass media seems to have significantly positive effect in empowering women in both the rural and urban areas. Overall, the results indicate that education of women and her husband, occupation of women and husband, type of family, membership in SHG and exposure to mass media are showing significant association with the empowerment of women in both the rural and urban areas.

**Domain-wise empowerment status:** The mean empowerment score attained by women under each domain and the total mean empowerment score combining all six domains of empowerment are presented in Table 3. The results indicate that in all, the level of women empowerment is only fifty percent of the total expected level in both the rural and urban areas. In rural areas, the domain wise level of women empowerment is highest at 66.5 per cent for familial aspects which is followed by psychological (65.2 per cent), socio-cultural (59.6 per cent) and economic (45.1 per cent). The rural women have very poorly performed in their empowerment status in political (23.3 per cent) and legal (19.7 per cent) aspects. A near similar pattern of empowerment status is observed for women in urban areas where the highest level of empowerment is observed for psychological aspects (70.1 per cent) which is followed by familial / interpersonal (66.7 per cent), socio-cultural (58.9 per cent) and economic (44.8 per cent) aspects. Legal (23.2 per cent) and political empowerment (16.9 per cent) are at the bottom of the empowerment level among the six domains in urban areas.

Heterogeneity in the levels of scores in different domains is depicted in figure 2. The median standardized score varies from domain to domain. However, the women empowerment score is almost similar for both rural and urban areas in all the domains except political domain. The box plot graph shows that in the domain of socio-cultural (freedom of women), Familial (domestic participation/freedom) and Psychological (level of psychological wellbeing) women empowerment is above median score (better). In the domain of Economic empowerment the total score is around median score (fair well) in both rural and urban areas. In the case of Legal awareness and Political awareness/participation, women empowerment is below the median score (not fair well). In summary, this analysis identify that the domain of Legal and Political aspects are to be concentrated more to improve the overall status of women empowerment.
Table 2: Mean empowerment score of women according to their socio-economic characteristics in both rural and urban areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic characteristics</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>88.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education of respondents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>85.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate &amp; Primary</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>86.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>86.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>88.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher secondary</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>94.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College and above</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>99.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F=19.871</td>
<td>P≤0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education of Husband</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>87.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate &amp; Primary</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>86.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>89.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>88.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher secondary</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>94.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College and above</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>99.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F=3.190</td>
<td>P≤0.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation of respondents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Agriculture</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>86.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Business</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>93.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>106.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coolie</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>87.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Wife</td>
<td>1559</td>
<td>87.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F=22.594</td>
<td>P≤0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation of husband</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Agriculture</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>87.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Business</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>90.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>94.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coolie</td>
<td>1053</td>
<td>87.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>91.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F=8.659</td>
<td>P≤0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Caste (SC)</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>89.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Backward Caste (MBC)</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>89.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backward Caste (BC)</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>88.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F=0.404</td>
<td>P≤0.668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>1414</td>
<td>89.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>86.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t = 2.122</td>
<td>P≤0.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership in SHG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>92.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1177</td>
<td>86.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t = 6.121</td>
<td>P≤0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure to mass media</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>1537</td>
<td>87.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>98.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t = 10.172</td>
<td>P≤0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Expected total empowerment score : 180
### Table 3: Mean empowerment score for each domain and the total mean empowerment score combining all domains

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domains</th>
<th>Total Score</th>
<th>Mean score</th>
<th>Percent Score</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10.82</td>
<td>10.75</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Cultural</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>23.82</td>
<td>23.54</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familial</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>30.61</td>
<td>30.68</td>
<td>66.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>6.97</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.66</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13.04</td>
<td>14.02</td>
<td>65.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Empowerment</strong></td>
<td><strong>180</strong></td>
<td><strong>88.83</strong></td>
<td><strong>89.24</strong></td>
<td><strong>49.4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Above the level of Total Mean Empowerment  - Below the Level of Total Mean Empowerment

**Figure 2: Box plot Graph of various domains of women empowerment**

**Discussions**

The results show that among the six domains of women empowerment, women’s economic empowerment is at an average level and the legal and political empowerment are in a relatively poor status whereas the other three domains show a relatively better status. Economic empowerment
indicators used in this study are based mainly on their household spending. As it involves daily cash flow on various household expenditures, the women themselves are not taking the risk of purchase and spending money on their own and instead they got permission from their husband for every expense. Even the working women have to give their salary/wages to their husband and get it for every day spending. Thus the economic empowerment level of women observed in this study shows the high prevalence of women’s economic dependence on others even for household spending. The deep rooted cultural practices which defines the women’s role in the household as to look after the household work besides take care of the children, husband and other elderly members in the family prevents women in-taking decision in economic aspects even for the household expenses. Except for women headed households, most of the women are not involved in household spending and do it so after the concurrence of their husband. Thus the economic empowerment/independence of women seems to be a difficult task in the near future in both the rural and urban areas.

The legal empowerment of women is observed to be staggering around 20 percent of the expected level in both the rural and urban areas. This shows that women are very much ignorant of their rights which in-turn plays a curial role in making women submissive to all atrocities against them. The young women and those who have studied up to higher secondary and above are observed to have comparatively higher empowerment status in both the rural and urban areas. The results indicate the need for an intensive legal awareness programme for women in India in order to relieve themselves from the clutches of their submissive nature. They should be made aware that there is legal protection for them in every space in the country in order to achieve women empowerment.

In the case of political empowerment, the main focus in this study is their awareness about various political parties and leaders and their participation in various political forums, activities including public meetings and willingness to contest elections. Though the voters turn out seems to cross over 70 per cent in most of the elections in Tamil Nadu, their empowerment in terms of their political awareness is very poor at about 23 per cent and 17 per cent of the expected level in rural and urban areas respectively. The urban women are much worse than their rural counterparts. They are not bothered about the happenings in the political space in the country. But their votes are major determinants of victory in the general elections. Though 30 per cent of seats are reserved for women in the local body elections, their awareness about the current political trends at the state and national level is very dismal. Thus, political awareness, opportunities and support for their participation in the state and national politics are important need of the hour to ensure women empowerment at grass root level.

Overall, the factors significantly associated with the women empowerment are age of women; type of marriage; education of women and her husband; occupation of women and their husband; membership in SHG and exposure of women to mass media in both the rural and urban areas. Thus the results indicate the need to focus on programmes which will improve women’s educational attainment, regular employment, micro finance through SHG and more exposure to mass media.

Conclusion
Among the six dimensions of women empowerment assessed in this study, women fare better (around 60–70 per cent) in their empowerment level in psychological, familial and socio-cultural aspects which are their traditional role in the society. They are the silent spectators of all sorts violence against women in the society which make them more tolerant and gain more psychological strength to face and manage the situation in the interest of the family. It is a welcome trend that women in both the rural and urban areas have gained more psychological empowerment which seems to be a strong base for women to focus their empowerment in other dimensions also. They have a strong psychological determination which is having a strong bonding with the family and society. Thus, it is clear that women are psychologically very strong and could succeed in all other domains of empowerment, if given opportunities and political support. But, in reality, they are not given due representation either in state or national politics even in Government or Parties headed by women in India. All Government and political parties are dominated by male and women’s participation in decision making at Government and political level is very minimal though nearly half of the
population are women in this country. Many women leaders in the country during the past and at present have clearly proved their ability to run Government successfully withstanding all odds in their political career.

In this context, the results of the study suggests the need for a massive political and legal awareness programme for women and all opportunities must be created for their participation and active involvement in legislation (political) judiciary (legal) and bureaucratic (government officials) systems in the country. Their number in these fields has to be increased; their voice to be heard and they should also be in a position to decide the safety, security and welfare of women of all sections of the society in the country. In order to achieve this goal, an intensive government sponsored institution / system has to function to implement women centered programmes and monitor / evaluate the impact of these programmes on the empowerment status of women in both rural and urban areas as well as among all sections of society. Unless women have the opportunity and ability to sit on the top of the decision making process, women empowerment will be a slogan forever at the global as well as national level.

Recommendations:

- Education (both school and higher education) is the basic need for women to empower. In this regard, school education has to be made available and easily accessible to girls in rural areas.
- Girl’s school enrollment ratio and school retention ratio should be improved with adequate infrastructure facilities, adequate and qualified teachers and separate facilities for the privacy of girl students.
- Every school should have a female teacher who should also act as a counselor to guide, counsel and provide psychological support to girl students when they are in distress. This will allay the fears of parents on the safety of girls in school and encourage more parents to send their girls to school in rural areas.
- All girl students of BPL families should be given free education up to college level besides monetary support for their living expenses during college studies in order to encourage girls for higher education.
- Political and legal studies focusing on women’s rights has to be made as add on course for all students at high school and college level mainly for awareness purpose without any credit basis.
- A massive political and legal awareness programme should be launched for women through mass media for which government should allocate funds generously in order to improve their political and legal empowerment.
- As women constitute nearly half of the population in the country, at least 30 per cent of seats in both the legislative assembly and parliament may be reserved for women. This will ensure their collective participation in Governance.
- Reservations may be made in all top positions in judiciary and bureaucracy at the state and central level in order to facilitate women’s participation in decision making process at the state and national level.
- Women should be given due reservation in education and employment in both the government and private sectors so as to make them economically productive.
- Based on the results of the 2011 census and socio-economic survey, more employment opportunities should be created for women in both the rural and urban areas.
- Total prohibition should be strictly implemented throughout the country in a phased manner in order to prevent violence against women and relieve the poor from the clutches of debt and diseases.
- Toll free emergency number with recording facilities may be made available to every woman for immediate access to help during distress either in the hands of intimate family members or strangers.
- Women protection forums may be formed in each village and urban wards and these forums may be recognized by the district social defence cell of the government as a liaison agency between the government and the women in distress.
The legal age at marriage of girls may be increased to 20 so as to make them both mentally and physically capable of facing the challenges of marital life.

A regular monitoring and evaluation mechanism should be made available at the national and state level to help the Government to assess the reach and effectiveness of Government programmes aimed to empower women in the country.

References
Interwar Internationalism: Origins and Impact of a ‘Scientific’ Approach to the Study of International Relations

Srihari Hulikal Muralidhar*

Abstract

The First World War spurred an interest among academic scholars, philanthropic foundations, and even policymakers in some countries to look for conditions which can ensure lasting world peace. This required them to adopt an ‘internationalist’ outlook in that a mere examination of domestic socio-economic and political conditions would have been myopic and would have failed to explain the persistence of conflict among nation-states. The search for peace in the interwar period was accompanied with a belief among scholars that it was the political class which was responsible for these continual conflicts. They believed that the publics of different nation-states inherently supported peace. Misplaced priorities among statesmen, to put it simply, caused wars. Consequently, the conditions for lasting peace could only be identified if we detached ourselves from pursuit of narrow interests and the concomitant ‘beggar-thy-neighbour policies’ which was characteristic of the inter-war period. Inter-war internationalism was characterized by a fundamental belief that if we studied inter-state relations, diplomacy, and statecraft scientifically, it would be possible to establish lasting peace i.e. it would be possible for the concerned scholars to establish and participate in transnational networks who can then guide policymakers on how to establish and maintain stable, ordered, democratic, and peaceful societies. This essay examines the origins of liberal internationalism in the interwar period which, inter alia, shaped and was shaped by transnational networks such as think tanks, academics, philanthropic foundations and so on. The impact it had on post-war period, especially with respect to the very way IR as a separate discipline of inquiry functioned, is also investigated, including discussions of how it evolved over time.

Keywords: Inter-War Internationalism, International Relations, Scientific Approach

Origins of Interwar Internationalism

The etymology of ‘internationalism’ lies in the aspiration for world peace, in the notion of world citizenship inscribed in institutions like the League of Nations (Clavin 2011, p. 5-6), says Patricia Clavin, a leading scholar on interwar internationalism. ‘Internationalism’ is understood by Skjoldager and Tønnesson as the liberal-inspired belief that it is possible to establish a legally regulated system, based on sovereign states, in which peace and security will prevail, and that this can be achieved through the development of law, organization, exchange, and communication (Skjoldager and Tønnesson 2008, p. 303).

In the 1920s, it was strongly characterized by its claims and aspirations to international democracy (Clavin 2011, p. 9). One could see a feedback mechanism of theory-practice in this context. Theoretical outlook informed institutional practices. Institutional practices, in turn, sought to reinforce theoretical outlook. For instance, it was this ‘internationalist’ outlook which inspired, inter alia, the setting up of League of Nations. In turn, the League of Nations’ claim to be some sort of international parliament, which was echoed in its structure, notably in the Assembly and Council, and which also, formed part of the institution’s public presentation of its activities, spurred internationalist scholars’

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interests and activism (Clavin 2011, p. 10). This is not to claim that a single, common position was taken by all internationalist scholars across countries. Rather, the League’s structure and functions further reinforced their belief that the conditions for peace and prosperity lay in actively participating in its activities and discussions, not in isolationism, which was the majority public and governmental opinion in the United States.

The Role of Philanthropic Foundations
Several philanthropic foundations have taken upon themselves the responsibility to ‘do their share’ towards creating a better world. This practice continues even today with foundations such as The Gates Foundation providing grants to applied or policy-oriented research as well as action-plans in the areas of healthcare, sanitation, drinking water, education and so on. The raison d’être varies from case to case. In some situations, the underlying notion seems to be that there are practical limitations to what both the market and the state can do. There is an active role for the ‘third sector’. In other contexts, the driving motivation seems to be that the state and market have vested interests and therefore pursue it myopically at the risk of foregoing long-term welfare.

In the interwar years, philanthropic foundations were guided by the idea that they could facilitate the creation of a peaceful international society. This, they conceived, could be done by promoting research into international affairs, active exchange of scholars across countries, and efforts at educating the public on the major problems concerning world politics and how to resolve them (Rietzler 2011, p. 47-49). Alfred Zimmern, for instance, believed that politics and populist politicians were the enemy – if experts could educate and convince the public, a truly democratic and scientific sound international order was possible (Rietzler 2011, p. 50). They were also motivated by the desire to be involved and actively partake in international organizations. To quote Rietzler, “By cooperating with non-state actors and international organizations the foundations managed to put into place frameworks for the discussion of international problems by academic and social elites.” (Rietzler 2011, p. 57)

One important contribution of foundation internationalism was their attempt to establish institutions and networks that sought to go beyond the barriers that the nation-state imposed. Rietzler notes that ‘League historians today conclude that some of the expert personnel of the technical organizations did indeed develop a distinct identity, and that nationality played a subordinate role when it came to choosing certain policies’ (Rietzler 2011, p. 50). This is extremely important and relevant to present times because we have witnessed, for the past couple of decades, similar processes at work in the EU institutions, mostly prominently in the European Commission. The ‘impact’ of this line of thinking is not only reflected in particular institutions such as the ones mentioned here. It has greatly influenced post-war theorizing as well. Institutionalist approaches, for example, stress the role of communicative action and norms governing behaviour within institutions and how they shape the very identities and interests of actors involved (Borzel and Risse 2000, Hall and Taylor 1996). To put it simply, the deliberative and discursive processes that take place within these institutional settings contribute to the creation of common understandings and positions (Rosamond 2013).

Interwar Internationalism’s Assumptions
This internationalism, while certainly not unitary in character, had several epistemological assumptions which were common to its different variants. It was and still is strongly positivist. The following is a list of the key assumptions:

- It is possible to study inter-state relations scientifically. Such a scientific study should be insulated from politics and populist pressures.
- Objectivity in an absolute sense is possible – that is why experts are needed and valuable – politicians are driven by short-term interests; experts analyze matters scientifically, keeping in mind the long-run impact and welfare of the public. Furthermore, experts take a macro view both spatially and temporally and are therefore not blinded by narrowly conceived interests. They investigate what is good for the world as a whole and also what is good in the long-run.
Such an objective assessment by the experts will lead to scientific, rational policy prescriptions and outcomes.

Politicians are the real problem who create all this conflict in pursuit of their narrow self-interests (in the name of nation-state), following beggar-thy-neighbour policies. It is possible for everyone to progress and prosper if we can identify the root causes of conflict by approaching the matter scientifically and we rectify them by implementing policies that conform to experts’ advice.

In more ways than one, this ostensibly ‘scientific’ outlook of interwar internationalism is what contributed to the establishment of IR as a separate ‘scientific’ discipline. The recognition and acceptance of the need to scientifically identify the causal conditions of peace and conflict led to the constitution of International Relations as a separate field of inquiry. Prior to that, it used to be constituted as one of the sub-disciplines within political science, economics, or history. It also established the figure of IR expert.

The Importance of International Studies Conference

The International Studies Conference (organized in 1928) was the first transnational attempt which institutionalized academic cooperation in the field of international relations (Rietzler 2011, p. 57). Before 1928, there was no international platform for the exchange of ideas between institutions for research in, or teaching of, IR (ISC 2016). The ISC was supposed to be a platform where scientists, experts, organisers and statesmen could familiarise themselves with the views of their colleagues from other countries. As such, it created a new kind of ‘international sociability’ between IR scholars (ISC 2016).

The idea was that the ISC could choose from time to time a subject of topical research to be examined simultaneously by its members, first in written form, and then jointly at round-table and plenary study meetings. Individual governments, government organs, political parties as well as institutions that were engaged in any form of propaganda were not allowed to join (ISC 2016). Again we see this persistent tendency to insulate scientific study of international affairs from politics, the unflinching belief that a-political objective assessments are not only possible but necessary for creating conditions of peace. Zimmern contends that IR was far greater developed in the US and Great Britain than on the European continent. According to him, the difference was due to the far greater development in the Anglo-Saxon world of the academic study of the social sciences (ISC 2016).

Variants of Internationalism and their Impact

Hitherto the essay has been discussing ‘internationalism’ in singular. This is for simplicity’s sake, not to convey that the internationalism that evolved during the interwar period was unitary in character. There were several strands of internationalism that developed, as Skjoldager and Tønnesson (2008) demonstrate in their discussion of Scandinavian internationalism. Why is this important for our discussion which is looking mainly at the impact of interwar internationalism? The existence of different variants points to the fact that no single ideology triumphed over the rest and became accepted by everybody. This is particularly important when we consider the claims made by neoliberals who claim that their world-view represents the ‘natural order of things’ (Schulz-Forberg 2013).

Skjoldager and Tønnesson points to two dominant strands of internationalism that emerged in this period in Scandinavian countries: liberal and social democratic. The social democratic variant different from the liberal variant in its emphasis on the basic precondition(s) for creating permanent peace – they emphasized the improvement of the social conditions of the working class whereas the liberals emphasized the role of a well-functioning market in the improvement of living conditions of everyone. However, it also shared some commonalities such with respect to international arbitration, disarmament etc. (Skjoldager & Tønnesson 2008, p. 314). At the same time, we ought to bear in mind that, on a global level the two main strands were: liberal and socialist. Socialist internationalism essentially took the view that the working classes of different countries must come together and act as one class, for the ultimate conflict is between the have-s and the have-nots, not between different
religions or nation-states. This sentiment was best exemplified by Marx and Engels’ slogan in *The Communist Manifesto*. Socialist internationalism was projected as an alternative to ‘bourgeois nationalism’.

Internationalism also varied from region to region. The advocacy of foundation internationalism, for example, was markedly different from Scandinavian liberal internationalism. In the latter case, it was primarily a foreign policy ideology which aimed at safeguarding the security and interests of the small Scandinavian states, to secure a role for them in a post-war settlement (Skjoldager & Tønnesson 2008, p. 315). This is in marked contrast to the US which did not have such concerns (given that it was a large economic and military power). Plus, the mainstream governmental and public opinion was aligned in favour of isolationism over interventionism. Liberal internationalism in the US was primarily the result of a minority composed of academics and philanthropic foundations who, inter alia, tried to ensure American influence on the world stage.

Although arguably the liberal variant had a lot more influence in its neoliberal avatar on the world as a whole in the post-war scenario, the social democratic variant did not wither away. It is the social democratic variant which influenced in the formation of post-war welfare states across Europe, for example. In the US, it was only by the 1980s and 1990s that the liberal variant resurfaced as the dominant ideology (famously expressed by the Washington Consensus). At the same time, however, it is imperative for us to remember that the present monetarist and libertarian connotations that neoliberalism possesses did not always exist (Schulz-Forberg, p. 246). Neoliberalism was not conceived so in the interwar years.

Liberalism came increasingly under attack in the interwar years. The Soviet mode of planned economy had become an attractive alternative. The liberal economies were reeling under the Great Depression and the Soviets were doing well with their famous Five Year Plans. That state intervention could improve human conditions was an anathema to liberal thought. Humans were fallacious, having limited cognitive abilities. The market was perfect because it was a key element of the *natural order* (emphasis added, Schulz-Forberg 2013, p. 238-39). While some argued for a strong, authoritarian state to ensure that the market functioned properly, others such as Lippmann vehemently opposed it on the grounds that a strong state was just another form of planned economy. They believed that the roots of human progress were to be found in the operation of rule of law, respect for individual and property rights, and free trade. The raison d’être for the state’s existence was to maintain law and order and ensure that the markets functioned efficiently. Ludwig von Mises conceived the liberal frame of eternal world peace as based on free trade and the rule of law (Schulz-Forberg 2013, p. 251). Walter Eucken saw global trade and nation-building as processes that go hand-in-hand (Schulz-Forberg 2013, p. 259).

While the strong-state variant withered in Europe after the rise of Nazism in Germany in the 1930s, one could argue that it did survive the Second World War, for we see elements of this line of reasoning in the post-war period in the so-called ‘developmental states’ of East Asia such as Japan, South Korea, and Singapore. They all had strong, authoritarian states, which intervened in the markets as and when they deemed necessary and played an active role in promoting specific policies for economic growth and development. Outside of East Asia, however, we do not see states being influenced by this strand of thinking. Most states, at least by the ‘80s, had adopted the view that the state as an obstacle, a nuisance which inhibited the otherwise natural evolution of the market-society (Schulz-Forberg 2013, p. 242). The infamous ‘shock-therapy’ policies implemented in Latin America were the result of this line of thinking.

**Concluding Remarks**

The technocratic side of the interwar internationalism – exemplified by the League’s focus on healthcare, labour conventions, co-ordination of transportation and energy networks and so on – survived WW II largely intact, says Clavin (Clavin 2011, p. 10-11). This is true in that, although the League is considered largely a failure, it still did provided the framework for post-war settlement in terms of the establishment of the United Nations, its structure and functions, its various organs, and so
on. The interwar internationalist outlook (especially the liberal variant) did not just influence the UN but is also clearly exemplified in other post-war institutions such as IMF, World Bank, and GATT/WTO. Both the economic and socio-political aspects of liberal internationalism have left their imprint on these institutions.

On a theoretical level, liberal internationalism arguably spurred the growth of the field of International Relations. Its claims and aspirations to eternal world peace were considered ‘idealistic’ and impractical by scholars such as E H Carr, who in contrast proposed a ‘realistic’ view of international affairs, one based on an essentially pessimistic view of human nature, as opposed to liberal internationalists who saw human nature as essentially benign (although not flawless). However, on a more fundamental level, it is the positivistic approach to knowledge and reality that has had a more lasting impact on the very discipline of IR. For instance, while realist scholars claimed that they portrayed the international system ‘as it is’ instead of ‘as it ought to be’ i.e. realistically without any normative pretensions, they still retained the positivism of liberal internationalism. They still do. The same goes for behaviourists who were prominent in the late ‘50s and ‘60s. While specific assumptions or claims may have been rejected or reformulated, the positivism of liberal internationalism remains very much alive in these dominant theoretical paradigms, challenged only recently (since ‘90s) by the so-called ‘reflectivist’ paradigms such as constructivism and institutionalism. Economics, however, still remains very much positivistic, both in theory and practice. It is not just the burgeoning of neoliberal economics, but the very epistemic foundation upon which such formulations are based where we see the Enlightenment-inspired internationalism has had a lasting impact.

Bibliography
E-Governance in India: Sociological Perspective

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Abstract

e-Governance, especially in developing countries, is looked upon as a means to change the very concept of governance resulting in empowerment of the citizens and increased transparency in public sphere. The experience of production, diffusion and use of ICTs in India has been intriguing and complex, it is also home to one of the largest set of civil society experiments using ICTs to empower the marginalized. e-Governance in India, with its grand scale of investment, ambitious goals and pervasiveness, is one of the biggest spectacles of technological intervention in everyday life of people, especially in the rural areas. The paper aims to build a theoretically informed case for sociological enquiry into e-governance by problematizing the relationships between technology, development and governance – from the grand global narratives to the local contextual minutiae. The paper argues that there are structural constraints that confront initiatives in that direction there by reinforcing or aggravating inequities scripted by the current global capitalist dynamic.

Keywords: ICTs, Governance, Technology, India

Introduction

Recent academic and policy discourse has converged around the idea of ‘good governance’ is essential for human development. This discourse also promotes information and communication technologies (ICTs) as important instruments of development and has been integrated into a series of development projects and “good governance” initiatives. The e-governance is a result of a development which is revolutionizing the government and citizen interface. It is stated that, in recent years, e-governance has become a corner stone of the government policy and considered as one of the most important instruments in realizing the idea of good governance and this initiative will improve the functioning of the state by simplifying administrative process and enhance its accountability and transparency (Vandana and Ajay, 2012).

According WEF Global Information Technology Report, India’s ranks 24th out of 134 countries with 5.38 score in accessing and overall priority of ICTs. Therefore, there is tremendous potential for e-governance to provide exponentially benefit to their citizens, as result e-government initiatives have been undertaken both by the central government and various state governments to replace traditional modes of working (Sanjay and Ajay, 2005). According to NASSCOM, the e-governance market in India is witnessed year-on-year growth and is estimated to be 1400 crores in size in 2001-02, Rs 2200 crore in 2002-03 and e-governance market grew by 18% in 2002-03. Our National e-Governance Plan (NeGP, 2006) which assumes to take “a holistic view of e-Governance initiatives across the country integrating them into a collective vision, a shared cause”, exemplifies how technology has hegemonised policy in India. The NeGP aims to ‘make all Government services accessible to the common man in his locality, through common service delivery outlets and ensure efficiency, transparency & reliability of such services at affordable costs to realize the basic needs of the common man’. (ibid.)

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Concept of e-governance

Generally, governance refers to the system of directing and controlling the actions, affairs, polices and functions of a political unit, organization or nation (Majumdar, 2004). The concept of e-governance is of recent origin, e-governance is an attempt of government to harness information technology to improve the efficiency or effectiveness of the executive function of government (Schoeniger, 2002). It is further viewed that e-governance has emerged because of the increasing interest of government, citizens to exploit new media and the latest technologies which involves new styles of leadership, new ways of debating, deciding policy, investment, accessing education, listening to citizens, organization, delivering information and services (Sumanjeet, 2006). Former Chairman NASSCOM Product Forum and CEO India Operations estimate “23 percent of government spending goes on defense, while 46 percent of it on governance. If a small fraction is spent on technology, namely to streamline the processes, it will really boost the domestic tech industry”†. In this context, e-governance is considered as a high priority agenda in India, as it is considered to be the only means of taking IT and governance to the “Common Public” and ICT has enabled governments to adopt holistic approach by connecting various departments and organs of government as never before. With the advancements in ICTs e-governance has become not only necessary but also essential in a set-up where people are the biggest stakeholders (Krishnaiah, 2001).

Evolution of ICTs

In some studies technology is considered an entity that shapes rural community life (Wisner, et al., 2004). Extreme pessimism or optimism characteristically greet introduction of new technologies that may radically transform socio-economic processes and structures. It is further argued that in the neo-liberal era of governance, technology has come to occupy a central role. Over the last few years the Internet is no longer what it was in the 1970s or 1980s; it has become a contested space with considerable possibilities for segmentation and privatization. The first phase of the internet was confined largely to a community of insiders – Scientists and select government agencies. The second phase of the Internet, centered in the 1980s, opened it up to a far larger and less specialized community. However with the establishment of the worldwide web in 1993 and its large scale discovered by business by 1995, the internet has entered a third phase, one characterization by attempts to commercialize it. With the advent of ICT initiatives, the way we communicate transact and deliver things has gone for a paradigm shift, the third phase of Internet witnessed increasing digitization and use of information processing technologies to reduce costs, improve speed and quality of delivery (Sassen, 1998).

In development literature ICT is created as a monolithic and homogeneous entity. Kling (2000) states that a monolithic view leads to overestimating the generalizability of specific information technology applications from one context to another. Orlikowski and Iacono (2001) point out that ICT is anything but a monolithic entity. It has many facets, it is fragmented and undergoes constant change. ICT use is contextual and its consequences are intended as well as unintended. Markus (2000) observes that the unintended consequences of ICT are far more prevalent. Sein and Harindranath (2004) in a review of ICTs’ use in national development identify four views. They are i) ICT as a driver of the economy, and ICT directed at specific development activities. ICT is seen as a commodity or product to be used to earn foreign currency through export. ii) ICT as supporting general development activities. This view suggests that ICT helps in activities related to development, that is, development planning and the management to development projects, development training, and as support for agencies engaged in development activities such as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (Madon 1994). It is a widely accepted fact that one of the most important problems facing developing countries is the problem of ‘information poverty’ (i.e. the scarcity of the reliable information essential for the efficient and effective functioning of both governments and firms). iii) ICT is viewed as force to have a macro-level influence (e.g. in infrastructure development, education, in the development of the private sector). ICT can help enhancing the working of markets and reducing transactions and coordination.

costs within and across organizations. iv) ICT directed at specific development sectors or projects. This view suggests that ICT is conceptualized as having a developmental impact when it is used within the context of targeted developmental initiatives.

In this context, it is stated that, the introduction of e-governance will mitigate social inequalities inherited through the hierarchical division of society (where the structural discrimination directly impedes equal access to benefits of development by excluding marginalized), or what is called “resilience of social structure”, (Resilience of social Structure” refers to the perpetuation of social inequalities inherited through the hierarchical division of society. Access to resources might be restricted, prevented and inhibited by various (structural) forces and cultural, institutional or law related processes) (D’Souza, 1990). With this is objective, e-governance in India, has been one of the biggest STS experiments of 21st century and the policy makers tend to justify the adoption and expansion of e-governance on the grounds that it cost less, reduces waste, promotes transparency, eliminates corruption, generates possibilities to resolve rural poverty and in guarantees a better future for citizens. In other words, government tends to portray e-governance as the panacea for all ranges of problems confronting India⁴.

The proponents of “IT for Development” view technology as a means of overcoming inequalities and poverty and much of the policy – oriented discourse, pointed out that, technology is a “neutral tool (whose)…. Impacts … are essentially conditioned by the kind of users to which it is put” Thus, technology is a neutral tool, which could produce detrimental impact only if it was applied in inadequate ways (i.e. overuse, exploitation). After all, it is argued that, a “weapon doesn’t kill” while the shooter does. Technology, then, does not seem to carry an inherent dimension of usefulness or harm⁵. The largely positivist narratives, thus formed, have left little room for sociological concerns in the technological interventions of the state. But it is also true that such a ‘network society’ discourse of globalization generalizes epistemologies, and ushers new forms of hegemony of technology (Visvanathan, 2001; Wade, 2004). The global pitch for e-governance, which is situated in the ‘network society’s’ politics of knowledge and the neo liberal “trans-national state” (Gupta & Sharma, 2006), is largely yet to be appropriated in the Indian context.

Technology Vs Development

The concept of technology transfer was long considered as a potent engine for development in particular (Ruttan, 1998). Classic models of technology transfer assumed that the movement of predetermined and prescriptive ensembles of artifacts, practices and knowledge would impact on economic growth and push societal development, and that such technology packages – just like suitcases – would travel and be unpacked at the final destination without much deformation (Agnew, 1982). Recent scholarship in the field of Development Studies (DS) and Science and Technology Studies (STS) concentrated on the malleability of technologies that shift into new geographic, institutional and cultural contexts (Shrum, 1995). Technology’s malleability is also relevant to the relocation of local practices, processes and experiments to wider regional spaces – a process also described as scaling up (Edwards, 2008; Mitlin & Satterthwaite, 1992).

Science and Technology are inextricably related to Development, but there has been little appreciation of the complex relationship between them. “The last sixty years have repeated a refrain of scientific breakthrough, technological promise and developmental disappointment” (Smith, 2009, p. 125), yet the grandiose of technology based development projects, has only increased, especially in the developing world. Nandy (1988) argues that the national invocation of the ‘scientific temper’ after independence generated euphoria for development that overshadowed the moral components and the obsolescence created by the very same science. Even worse, the standing of scientists as almost “god-kings” and only source of legitimate knowledge gives “no scope for any assessment and evaluation of scientists by non-scientists” (ibid). In the process they’ve manufactured and cultivated concepts and

⁵ Julia Quartz, 2011. Constructing Agrarian Alternatives
ideas, like “take-off” from ‘traditional society’ to a ‘drive to maturity’, finally to the ‘age of mass consumption’ (Rostow, 1960); Transfer of Transfer (TOT) from ‘developed’ to ‘underdeveloped’ countries; “leapfrogging” as the “only way to reconcile the aspirations of developing countries for modernisation…” (Goldemberg, 1992); “technological catch up” which developing nations must undertake (Juma & Clark, 2002); and the “fast race” to use science and technology for economic growth and development (Leach & Scoones, 2006).

Science, according to Nandy, became “the new reason of the state” and “in the name of science and development one can today demand enormous sacrifices from and inflict immense sufferings on the ordinary citizen”. Vulnerability research in STS partly rests upon existing research that emphasizes the failure of (complex) technological systems. Most of the vulnerability research in STS pays attention to the ways in which technology shapes the social and vice versa. Scholars within this social constructivist tradition of research attend to the ways in which a society, a system or a group of people is embedded into particular socio-cultural, political and historical contexts that are constituted by modern science and technology.

India has long been on the receiving end of “technological imperialism” (Headrick, 1981), initially by the colonizers and later by the colonial ideas which they left behind, which includes our identification as a third world country and the baggage that comes with it. The deeply historical tenet of ‘cultural neutrality’ of science and technology in India continues to grant validation, to technological interventions for development (Prakash, 1999). Similarly, the discourse on information and communication technologies and development has engendered the digital divide - as a binary divide that can be fixed technologically and with ‘change in attitudes’ of people, to allow technology to succeed (Selwyn, 2003; Warschauer, 2003).

The above arguments can help to trace the footsteps of the modernisation theory and the ‘technological optimism’ which pervades it – and how ‘technological determinism’ has dominated the clichéd narratives of ‘development’ and ‘progress’, and in turn has rendered them even more clichéd. For example, ‘Asian Tigers’ progress actually happened because of “specific set of relationships between the state, economy and society” (Castells, 2000a). But their story is often touted as the grand success of the modernization project of technology. Their example reveals how ‘technology and ‘development’ have been ‘black-boxed’ – de-historicised and de-contextualized to simplify the globalization discourse.

Issues of e-governance
Reviewing extensive amount of literature on governance and development, one of the key issues which Shirin Madon (2009) identifies is: [T]he agenda of good governance is a policy directive launched by the international development agencies to support their policies of economic and political liberalization. There are two main elements to this agenda – a bureaucratic and a political element. The bureaucratic element focuses on administrative simplification through decentralization. In recent years, this has been coupled with the introduction of managerialist influences within development policy through techniques such as capacity building, integration and increased usage of ICTs. Its political element focuses on strengthening systems of democratization in developing countries by making government information transparent and by promoting accountability mechanisms to enable citizens to hold government responsible for the provision of public services and welfare. (p. 45).

However, these ideas (administrative simplification, decentralization, transparent and accountability) are accepted “unproblematically,” the “evidence so far shows that the linkage between better technology and better governance and ultimately better development is not automatic”. Technology can’t solve anything unless the objective is properly stated and sought to be achieved with deliberate action. Further it is argued that any problematization must acknowledge governance not as a formal managerial or technological issue, but as a historically specific social activity (Madon, 2009).

* * *

So the epistemology of modern technology and the political ontologies of developing nation-states can be seem as producing new forms of governmentality, that would be ‘e-Governmentality’. It is a lot more than just the electronic or digital form of Foucauldian governmentality. In the same way as e-governance is lot more than its traditional form. If government is ‘the conduct of conduct’ and governmentality is ‘governmental rationality’ (Foucault, 1991), what happens when they engage with technological rationalities, especially with interpretively flexible technologies like ICTs? Heidegger’s ‘The Question Concerning Technology’ (1977) can provide an answer. If “technology is a way of revealing” (ibid.) then ICTs do reveal the world in a particular way or in other words, they develop a world-view of their own.

Sarukkai’s (2008) argument that technologies are not merely subservient to some notion of governance that is already there. Rather, they begin to dictate what good governance should be and modify the discourse of governance and development to suit their strengths and weakness. What they dictate will very much depend upon the nature of these technologies. For example, one of the most important characteristics of ITs is speed, speed by which information is transmitted, databases are checked, and as so on. This element of speed now becomes an important element of good governance not necessarily because this is the way we conceive of good governance, but that is what these technologies are best suited to do … [this] points to the usefulness of these technologies in having speedy governance and not necessarily effective or humane governance. (p. 54). To add to Sarukkai’s example – along with time, ICTs also annihilate space. So, the idea to reach out to the people on the margins, who could not be reached through traditional governance in the villages through e-governance, is not as simplistic as it seems to be.

Sreekumar (2008) rightly explains the problem with e-governance research in India: clumping of e-governance initiatives as inherently good from a macro perspective is a major assumption in the literature on e-governance. The basic problem with this rationale is not only the hype or even the ‘sweeping grandiloquence’ of its rhetoric … But more importantly, our attention to macro-level impacts often ignores what really happens on the ground. These technologies are actually used and experienced in everyday practice quite differently from the way their potential uses and benefits are configured for public consumption by their progenitors as well as commentators. (p. 167).

Socio-Technological Constraints

One common finding encountered by researchers studying the shaping of social policy in India is that the social structure ensures that benefits of social development are distributed according to inequality of status i.e., those who are in relatively higher status get the maximum benefit of social development and the vice versa. Thus, programmes for social development always end up in benefiting privileged section of the society. In case of Internet technology, it is continuously diffusing around the world but they enter in different social contexts and behave differently. Most of the literature considers only the lack of infrastructure and resources, capacity building, e-readiness indices, ‘bridging’ a pathological (mis)conception of digital divide, need for change in attitudes of the government and the people, identification of various stake holders in ICT4D projects, etc., as problems and challenges for e-governance in India (for example: Misra, 2009; Agarwal, 2007).

e-governance depends not only the supply of infrastructure enabling individuals to access the Internet but also on growth in the percentage of internet users within a society. There are enough surveys carried out on e-government projects which tend to conclude that many e-government projects fail to achieve the intended objectives in India. It is said that 35% of e-government projects are total failure and 50% of the e-governance projects are partial failures††. Lack of solid project plan, undefined objectives, in adequate planning and poor containment of the project scope and goals are main reasons for the failure of e-governance projects. However, there is ample evidence that many e-governance projects, in the developing and the developed world have not resulted in significant improvements in citizen services and welfare, rather they are considered as e-administration or e-services applications despite their “overtly developmental objectives.

In India, although some scholars have critiqued the hegemony of science (e.g. Nandy, 1988), and technological determinism and optimism (Saith & Vijayabaskar, 2008), still critical questioning of the role of technology in delivering ‘development’ remains little. And the critique on the role of development in shaping ‘technology’, i.e., how the politically and culturally loaded agenda(s) of ‘development’ influence the concept, design and access of ‘technology’; is zilch in the public sphere and inappreciable in academia. This problem escalates further for ICTs, as they are “pervasive and cross-cutting and can be applied to the full range of human activity, from personal use to business and government uses … [and] foster the dissemination of information and knowledge by separating content from physical location” (Task Force on Science, Technology and Innovation, 2005, p. 49).

Richard Heeks (2006), a pioneer in the field of Information Communication Technologies for Development (ICT4D), compares the research work in the field to “stones being thrown into a pond, each one making a ripple but then sinking without trace”. Political economist Robert Hunter Wade (2004) goes one step further to call ICT4D literature, “a pot-pourri of anecdotes and correlations, where the criteria of inference are so elastic that the correlations become causations”.

The failure of many e-governance programmes once again hinting at a need for a more complex understanding of the processes and structures that shape technology use. Many state governments have launched e-governance initiatives to use ICTs to ensure improved quality and delivery of public services without adequate understanding of the technology use and its interface with society. Technologies as they are available through imports are more likely to aggravate social inequities if they are deployed without taking into account the needs of the poor and marginalized. ICTs do not have any intrinsic ability to undermine existing traditional institutions of power, economic or social, unless agents direct them towards such ends. Digital space, whether private or public, is partly embedded in actual societal structures and power dynamics‡‡.

Conclusion

India is suffering from the “vicious circle” of defective e-governance, as the basic input i.e. governance itself is poor. Further, there is a complete lack of transparency and accountability among the persons dealing with these projects. As a result the money and resources meant for the common man are misappropriated by corrupt governmental officials and departments. Despite the island of excellence, e-governance has not been able to make rapid progress in India (Sinha, 2009). It is said that, government in developing countries boasts too much and delivers too little and not sufficiently responsive or accountable (Sumanjeet, 2006). Surprisingly India has neither a mandatory legal framework for e-governance nor are there any policies or strategies for effective e-governance and it argued that for successful implementation of e-governance it requires proper environment in which e-governance can be operated (Rangan and Mehrotra, 2003).

It is always been easier to develop e-governance applications which rely on obtaining and inputting quantitative data for measuring progress but which may or may not have a bearing on improving the living conditions of communities. One needs to focus on the social appropriation of ICTs rather viewing e-governance as a mere techno-managerial process without tensions over the social meaning of technology. Nandy argues that technology, which introduces undesirable social change to rural communities in the name of progress, should be considered as morally inferior (Nandy 1987: 136). To worsen the situation the Government of India is concentrating more upon the image rather than upon the end results. The grass root level action is missing and the benefits of ICT are not reaching to the under privileged and deserving masses due to defective ICT strategies and policies of Indian Government.

Sein and Harindranath (2004) while presenting the different perspectives which locate ICT in the national development agenda argues for using the ‘ensemble’ view. The ensemble view conceptualizes ICT beyond the technology (i.e. hardware and software) extending to the social and cultural contexts where ICT based initiatives are situated. In this view, the social and contextual

aspects determine how ICT is conceived. The ensemble view allows us to examine the socio-technical components of ICT which in turn help us to understand the design and its functioning. It is important for social scientists not to promote ICT developments uncritically, but to subject them to critical analysis to help citizens exercise their power and responsibility to influence the pattern of developments. He also argues that the nature of the information society will largely reflect whatever the dominant sections in society believe the information society should be. It is believed that ICTs will reinforce existing inequalities and create new inequalities. Sassen (2000) argues that internet reproduces hierarchies of power which does not mean that the old hierarchies would disappear, but rather new hierarchies emerge alongside the old ones.

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