

# **Locating Tribal Identity and Cultural Existence in the Light of Industrialization in Post-Colonial India's Jharkhand**

**Niharranjan Mishra<sup>1</sup>**

## **Abstract**

The tribal communities in India have developed their identity in close proximity to the natural resources around which they had developed their cultural traditions, economy, social control mechanisms, religious myths and techniques of production. They have developed a symbiotic relation with their local environment. For them land was not merely a source of livelihood rather a representation of their cultural identity and existence.

In the name of development, tribal communities in post-colonial India have been alienated not only from the development processes, but even from their own dwellings. As mainstream development processes tended to create social spaces of inequality, tribal communities face marginalisation virtually in every sphere of social life. More than half of them are malnourished, two thirds continue to be illiterate and live below the poverty line. With the introduction of globalisation more land is being acquired to encourage investment by the Indian and foreign private sector in the tribal region of Middle India. Due to this marginalization their long-standing social position, which is 'self-representation' has become question mark. The loss of land has brought a question on their indigenous identity. With the above back ground taking some secondary cases and also from personal experiences the present paper has tried to explore the impact of industrialization on tribal identity and cultural existence in India with reference to Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Odisha.

As capitalist penetration deepened in natural resource rich areas of South Bihar, the voice for separate state came in demand to address the colonialism and local peoples' autonomy. Since the late 1980s, Jharkhandi movement was increasingly coming into focus that demands swaraj for the local people. As a fact, local people especially adivasis, who are located in worlds that were transformed by modernity and colonialism and now by the Indian state, coping with the everyday is often a challenge. At times, they are vulnerable subjects of 'progress' and development whilst at other times they are able to exercise agency and negotiate the structures of dominance. This study reveals how bifurcation of Jharkhand from Bihar and Chhattisgarh from Madhya Pradesh also failed to deliver its promises. Some of the questions that would be raised are as follows: How does resource rent state (Odisha, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh) as an actor bring about cultural transformations in Adivasi worlds? How the local adivasi positioned them within the paradigm of state development that facilitates capitalist project? Paper also deconstruct and de-codify the meaning of development when the cries of development echo all around in the forms of displacement, ethno genocide and dispossession in resource rich region of the India.

**Keywords:** Development, Jharkhand, Resource, Adivasi. Identity

---

<sup>1</sup> Associate professor and Head, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, NIT Rourkela, Odisha. Email: niharhcu@gmail.com

## **Introduction**

The formation of the new states- Jharkhand, Chhatisgarh and Uttarakhand marks a new phase of democratic development of India. These state was created on the issues oof development not on the basis of linguistic division. The formation was clearly deal with the issues of autonomy and development. While the case of Jharkhand is most specific because the ethnic conflict, demand for autonomy was so older than others (Jewitt, 2008). Demand for autonomy articulate a sense of ethnicity and identity came true when Jharkhand bifuracated from Bihar in 14 november 2000. The formation of a new state is viewed as an opportunity to achieve developmental goals and indicators. It is because the formation of Jharkhand drew attention of the other parts of India for the developemtn of the capabilities of the tribe or original settlers and inhabitat who have been living in this region from time immerorial. Jharkhand once established for tribal self rule has chosen the capitalist model of development for the wellness of the region. The model of development in capitalism is based on two interrelated processes: one is related to the immediate use of the natural resources and the other is to transform the people and communities against their will, into a hegemonised dispossessed class (Baviskar 1997a). The post-independence developmental model of Jharkhand and other state of Indian nation state are based on achieving the major four basic goals: a) integration of the diverse social structure into one homogenised discourse of national integration, b) economic development in terms of raising the standards of living of the larger section of the society, c) social equality in an in- egalitarian social order, and d) political democracy in a culture that had valued authority based on status and power concentrated in the hands of the minority elite (Kothari 1990). Through developmental projects, states impose the prerequisite condition of capitalism to pursuit the goals of lakshmi (Rudolph and Rudolph 1987) and assume that these goals would generate capital centric growth. In reality, development projects have generated malignant growth (Bhaduri 2016) The political economy of the development in India in general and Adivasi regions of Jharkhand in particular drew attention because the uses and access of the resources are based on the mode and means of production. Specific modes of production or distinctive patterns of resource use remain the foundation of any distinctive culture. If we look into the history of jharkhand formation, we can found that how the newly state failed to delieve its promises

Tha Condition of Jharkhand after formation of jahrkahnd can be shows as following:

a) The Jharkhand region is a neglected backward area
b) The tribal population has been subject to exploitation, oppression etc.
c) Tribal land has been alienated in various ways
d) Deforestation has affected the tribal and non-tribal people very badly, socio-economically denying them forest land and its produce
e) Only scanty minor irrigation facilities have been created particularly after independence
f) Poor transportation and communication facilities
g) Low levels of nutrition in tribal areas
h) Dearth of hygienic drinking water supply
i) Unsatisfactory rehabilitation of displaced persons
j) Exploitation by liquor vendors and money lenders
k) Disruption of the traditional system of village headman
l) Inept functioning of the tribal advisory council and regional development authorities
m) Diversion of Fund

From colonial time to till now, resource rich regions of Jharkhand have been defined, organized, controlled, subjugated and restructured through a range of developmental policies and practices but the issues remain to be address. State interventions to develop these regions are primarily economic and political that serves particular agendas and has physical and cultural effects on the regions. To improve the region and the community, state have been exercised of what Foucault acknowledged as ‘governmentality’. Li (2007) argued that multiple tactics, calculation and finalities are prioritized before intervention that is tuned to achieve final results. These developmental interventions are traversed by the will of power having multiple intention, developmental, visionary vocabularies, techniques, devices etc. worked for transformation of the society that shows how state politics continued with developmental politics and issues remain unaddressed.

## II

### Conceptual Discussion within the frame of Identity and Indigeneity and Capitalism

The present paper is within the larger framework of identity in general and of cultural and politics of identity in particular in the context of Jharkhand. On the question of tribal identity, it

is necessary to ask what is its base culture and how identity politics is talked by adivasi. Identity is about, how an individual or group see and define themselves and how an individual and group see and define them. The notion of identity began with a paradoxical combination of sameness and difference. The root of the word 'identity' is the Latin ( idem) mean sameness. However, 'identity' is not a simple term or a settled state but it is the process of construction and adaptation, have no end (Robert Parkin 2000: 50). It is a stock, indispensable, technical and a cultural buzzword<sup>2</sup>. Social scientist has employed the term identity to describe the idea of self-hood in Eriksonian way. (Erikson 1972) idea of self-hood is based on the uniqueness and the features that make a person, group, and community distinct from others. Colonialism and imperialism shaped the cultural form of indiginity. Neomarxism often mentioned that in the resource rich region of Adivasi, economic backwardness is a result of the integration of lagging countries into the economies of advanced countries. Wallerstein, Amin and others neomarxists questioned the political forms under which this integration of subsistence economy of Adivasi occurs with the capitalist economy that velocitized industrialization, urbanism and dispossession of the local tribal. Neo-Marxists cannot adequately explain the significant disparities in levels of development across lagging countries.

Developmentism or development as operation is organized through three main strategies; intervention of power, professionalization of development and institutionalization of the development. The first strategies worked in the formation of the field of the power, second is the professionalization of the development that includes technification which allowed experts to intervene or classify the problem and formulate the accumulative policies in the name of development that also produce a reign of truth and norms of the development. Escobar conceptualized this process as a field that is used for control of knowledge. Controlling of knowledge is the way through which state is able to create a grammar of the capitalist development. This is the way by which state developmentalism ideologically fuelled up by capitalism that economizes the life of the people. The third strategy is the institutionalization of the development. State apparatus or institutions became the agents of the deployment of the development. State apparatus interact with the local bodies can be better understood as state reductionism which is a kind of the governmentality. It led the dispersion of the local center of

---

<sup>2</sup> See Andrew J, Weigert. J. Smith Teitge, Dennis W. Teitge 2007

power and knowledge in the name of development. These strategies of state developmentalism with ideologically and practically nexus with corporates leads a varieties of knowledge about the subject but state who failed at many level use these developmental strategies get success to penetrate, integrate and control the territory. That is the way through which the region where developmentalism works became politically and economically manageable

With the emergence of the new social movement within nations ; modern concerns about ethnicity, race, language and other factors have influenced identity and it becomes a core issue of interest to social scientists. The identity had been developing on the domain of sociology by the work of Cooley in the 19th century ( self, looking glass), Weber ( verstehan) and Mead ( self, generalized others), Blumer, Garfinkal, and Goffman ( Back, Front). At the same time, the Eriksonian perspective on identity has enriched the discourse till today. It is used mainly in Cultural studies, Sociology and other disciplines of Social Sciences to observe the qualities of ‘sameness’ in relation to person’s or community connection to another person , community or group. At the same time, the Eriksonian perspective on identity has continued and used largely to observe the quality of sameness or uniqueness in relation to an individual’s or group connection in relation to a person’s connection to others and to a particular group of people. The boundary of identity gets recognized by the practices of religion, culture, belief and the day to day activities of the people. Anthropologist talked about the culture, and how culture shapes the identity but there was an effort to assimilate and integrate the tribal population into mainstream.

### III

#### **Industrialization and Dispossession : An exploration of Identity in form of Dispossession**

The Neoliberal Indian state has resorted to the principle of ‘accumulation by dispossession’ (Harvey, 2005). The accumulation process is mainly occurring in resource-rich areas which are inhabited by tribal communities. Due to resource accumulation both forests based and minerals from state sponsored Multinational Corporations, their livelihood, customary rights to land, water and forests has been severely affected and millions have been dislocated. Although there are laws, both international and constitutional to protect the tribes, but the ground reality is just opposite. There is no way to get rid of these problems and hence they are resisting against these reckless industrialization. The state owns and controls a variety of property, including

enterprises, land and forests, armaments and war materials, state budget funds and deposits in state credit institutions in the name of development and industrialization to generate more surplus revenue. To generate more surplus state has established more industries with the logic of economic development. All that is state property, but in essence, there is no real difference between the property of the capitalist state and the property of private capitalists. Today state makes an alliance with the capitalist force which can be termed as a crony-capitalism control the labour force and capital of the society. The present study will attempt to explore the nature of alliance to understand the nature of resistance between defender of subsistence economy and capitalist economy. In modern capitalism, state property as regards its class essence, the total property of the society is captured as the state monopoly property the concentration of the natural resources, property and its production led the qualitatively new form of capitalist ownership. The present study interests center on the question of impact of industrialization in neoliberal era and at the same time study will appraise how industrialization as a process attacks, undermines and displaces the traditional social order. Because it is necessary to explore the nature and dimension of conflict that is based on several interest of different actors (State, capitalist and local native).

Tribal and other native class produces their commodities with their work, but state commodified the labor and skill of the people. The present study will employ the Karl Polanyi approach to understand land commodification. So the paper will explore the ways how people resists and claims for their right when state forced to commodified the nature through the logic of development and economic rationalization. State productive forces via the logic of development and through technological progress transformed the tribal societal structure. It is because capitalism as an institutionalized form converted nature, labour and capital into a commodity form which have an economic value. in the market. The commodification of land resources and labour has resultant resistance. People with same interest organized and resist for several interests. Resistance movements against industrialization have been organized against the forces that threaten sustainable use of land, water, forest and their unequal distribution, exploitative power relations behind this, centralization of decision-making and disempowerment of communities caused by the related development process. The economy of modern capitalist economy includes the following major sectors a) the monopoly sector (private- monopoly and State monopoly enterprises), b) the non-monopoly sector (small and medium joint stock

companies), c) the small commodity sector. In Chhatisgarh, Odisha and Jharkhand, the internal colonialism thesis can be used to understand the changing identity of the local tribe due to colonialism and industrialism. In the context of Odisha tribes (Mohanty, 1990; Padhi and Panigrahi, 2011) have address the issues of identity, ethnicity and livelihood. Their study argue that paradox of tribal poverty and natural resource abundance in maintained and perpetuated by not attacking the power of the capitalist class that have had a colonial mindset and ideology. They treated the resource rich region of tribal areas as an internal colony for extraction of resources which greatly outweighs the funds allocated by the state for tribal development (Padel and Das, 2010). Developmentalism in form of colonialism have an impact on tribal lifeworlds. The next section will discuss the changes that take place at cultural sphere of Jharkhand's tribe monopoly of the state in case of political economy. This second tries to answer how jharkhandi identity has rooted in the issues of ethnicity, natural resource and the political slot that opposed the industrialization.

Development is the qualitative condition to get freedom but developmental indicators of Jharkhand shows that still it is much backward in compare to others at the time when major resources and mineral are found in Jharkhand.

**Table 1. Development Indicators: Jharkhand and India**

S N	Indicators	Jharkhand	India
1	Total Population (In Millions)	33	1210
2	Net domestic Product (at factor cost) (Rs crores) [For state) Gross Domestic Product (at factor cost) (Rs crores) (For India)]	63297	4493743
3	Sex ratio (females per 1000 males)	947	940
4	Literacy rate (%)	67.63	74.04
5	Human Development Index (HDI)	0.376	0.467
6	Gender Related Development Index (GDI)	0.558	0.59
7	Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)	0.435	0.495
8	Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index Value (IHDI)	0.308	0.343
9	Poverty Headcount Ratio (%)	39.1	29.8

10	Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)	0.441	0.283
11	Prevalence of Underweight Children under 5 years of age (%)	57.1	42.5

Source: 1, 3-4 - Census of India 2011;

2- RBI Handbook of Statistics on Indian Economy and Economic Survey of India 2010-11; 5- India Human Development Report 2011, IAMR and Planning Commission;

6-7-Gendering Human Development Indices: Gendering Human Development Indices: Recasting the Gender Development Index and Gender Empowerment Measure for India, Ministry of Women and Child Development, GOI;

8- Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index for India's States 2011, UNDP; 9- Tendulkar Committee Report 2009, Planning Commission;

10- MPI data and updates for 2011, OPHI; 11- India State Hunger Index 2009, IFPRI.

As figure shows, the human development and other indicators are not up to mark in comparison to India. Top down developmental discourses continue as before after formation of Jharkhand that failed to deliver its promises. The process of development is seen to come from above that conceive this region as a traditional static, economically backward and undeveloped as it was conceived by the earlier colonial state, post colonial state and the Bihar. It is hard to imagine a situation where half of the land and forest area are lease out, accumulated or ready to be lease out for mining companies and developmental projects. If one question what mining has given to the Jharkhand. Following table can help to answer this question. Mining induced conflict is common in the districts of Jharkhand. It also induces counter insurgency in term of Maoism and development project conflict issues.

**Figure 1: Conflict In Jharkhand: Incidents and Mortality, 2009-2013**

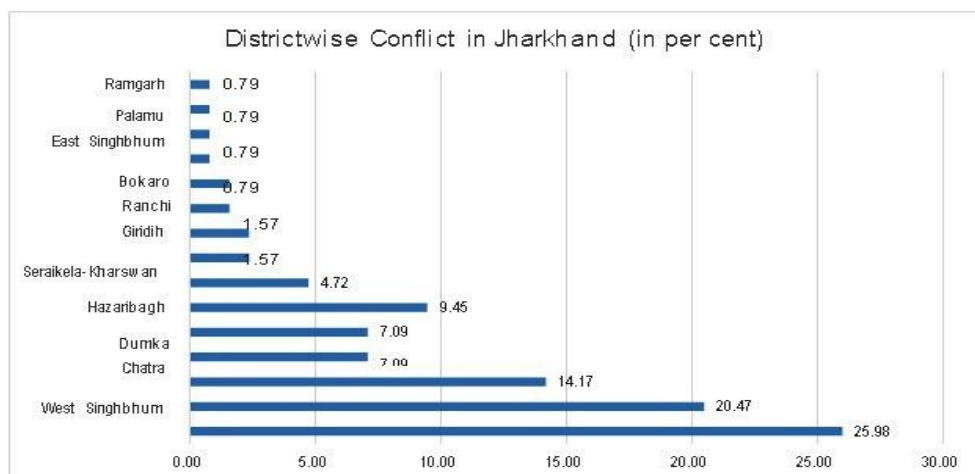




Figure 1 shows a district-level analysis of the conflict in Jharkhand. A lot of the districts with the highest fatalities are in fact the ones identified in the preceding section which were among the poorest performers on most human development indicators and also had a relatively higher share of the ST population. Of the total conflicts in Jharkhand in 2013, 21 per cent occurred in Gumla and 26 per cent occurred in Latehar. For growth of commodity production and technological progress, state largely depends on resource appropriation and exploitation of the assets which have been collectively held by the tribes, peasant and others that induced Adivasi to oppose the state and corporate developmentalism. Table three focuses on counter insurgency that came in form to oppose state developmental agendas.

**Table 2. Counter insurgency and developmental projects.**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Incidents</b>	<b>Civilians killed</b>	<b>Security Force personnel killed</b>	<b>Left Wing Extremists killed</b>	<b>Total killed</b>
<b>2009</b>	742	140	68	31	239
<b>2010</b>	501	132	25	15	172
<b>2011</b>	517	149	33	16	198
<b>2012</b>	480	134	29	7	170
<b>2013</b>	383	120	30	12	162

Source: Government of India (2009-2013), Ministry of Home Affairs

Table 2. deals that how resource rich region of Jharkhand is converted into a conflict zone. Development projects, resource loot and politics over developmental projects has induced this situation in which local inhabitat is most vulnerable at the end.

After a brief introduction about industrialization and development and its impact on identity and society, this paper seeks to discuss the politics over cultural and political identity of the tribe. The term tribe is a colonial construction ( Beteille 1995) and the present day tribal have been frosty in the social political category by the colonial and the post-colonial process. So, the tribal identity has been portrayed by the social scientists, politicians and the social activist in their own

demarcation. Today, the march of modernity has changed the societal form. Robinson and Kujur (2010) mentioned that the discourse on tribal identity is often associated with 'the rootedness in land'. But in India it is problematic. Due to the complex migration pattern (Baviskar 2005) there is not a fixed singular identity of the tribe. In a modern state, land is the subject of the state and the tribal who claimed their identity through the land appear to be more fluid and diversified and land becomes a subject of the state. Now, all society produced an altered lifestyle for many reasons. For example, traditional organization, the value system of the tribe, and their livelihood all is actually vanished. So, tribal traditional based eventuality patterns are also not as before. Furthermore tribal differentiations have also emerged that are based on class, region, status, race, ethnicity, power and other features of modern society that categorized people. All above mentioned features of modernity or (status differentials) produces an arena where "identity politics" are now played unfashionably at both the micro- macro political levels. Jharkhandi identity and 'Son of Soil' concept is used extremely for fixation of political identity and cultural identity by the political parties and activist

Tribal become a mean for the political parties and in the name of cultural identity, they started to play an identity politics. Tribe, who has taken active participation in autonomy or Jharkhand movement, became a resource for political parties. Tribe, at a same time, becomes a 'human capital'<sup>3</sup> or 'cultural capital'<sup>4</sup>, whereas the politics of identity walk in the way of identity capital. The term 'identity capital' stand for what individuals 'invests' in "who they are". These investments possibly secure future disbursements in the "identity markets" of late- modern communities. To produce a new knowledge system, a new kind of identity market is also formed. Any can see it with the demands of the political parties mainly JMM when they are in a way to establish a stable sense of self identity through different slogan or issue. I will discuss the JMM roles and issues in the part of Jharkhandi movement. To talk about the cultural identity of the tribe, first, to relate with the historical, political and economic phenomena which remold the tribal identity. The real identity of the tribe does no longer exist due to political, economic and social changes. The dynamics of persistence and change of tribal cultural identities– adaptation, anomie and as such aspects always reshape the identity.

---

<sup>3</sup> Becker, G. S. 1964. *Human Capital*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>4</sup> Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J.C. 1977. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. Beverly Hills. California: Sage.

The experiences of native people's culture, their indigenous beliefs and values became the basis of cultural identity today. The tribe is the enumeration category and it have been placed under "social and an administrative category. The identity of the tribe after independence of India being expressed by the term Scheduled tribe. The term scheduled tribe is an expanded identity cutting the limitation of dialect, territoriality, ethnicity and culture. The difficulties with the cultural identity of the tribe is that tribe in modern India is a political construction rather than an empirical reality ( Xaxa 1999:3093). With the march of modernity and coming of Christian missionaries in the Chota Nagpur (Singh 2005), the tribal elites and activists themselves became conscious about the identity of the tribe. The cultural and political consciousness of the tribe gets shaped through unique symbols like an arrow, bow, archery that represented the tribal cultural identity (Devi 1980, Alpa Shah 2011). Words like Johar, Adivasi have also given a new identity to tribal. At the same time, the romanticized history of Birsa Munda (Singh 2005) was also an attempt to construct the political identity of tribal. It was done for cultural revitalization. It also came in a form of reaction against the industrialism and colonailsim.

Here, my endeavor is to show, how the rise of cultural identity (self-assertion) among the tribe gradually shaped the political identity of the tribe. The self-assertion movement of 1907 was a religious revitalization movement among the tribes of Chota Nagpur (Hos),<sup>5</sup> – the Satya Dhram movement and Punya Dharam movement <sup>6</sup> and at the same time, the belief of Hinduism was also challenged. Christianity had played a vital role in making of cultural and political identity of the tribe. As Christianity spread, it gave the tribe a history and a myth. It promoted the concept of private land right along with the measures of health and education. It is a fact that Jharkhand evolved from the concept of 'Sarna' and sacred grove that has rooted in religious belief. The evolution of such belief gave specific identity to tribe. Mibang (2007) mentioned that culture has a social space that attached to the person's identity. Here, I have taken an example from the study of Sanjukta Das Gupta. She said that Ho Adivasi cultural identity is attached with deep emotional bond with the homeland (or locally-used territories). In the case of Hos, Singhbhum ( kolhan) is considered as their homeland ( Gupta 2006, Sen 2011).

---

<sup>5</sup> See Gupta S.D, 2006. The Changing World of The Singhbhum Hos, 1820-1922. *The Indian Historical Review*, 33(1) Pp76-98.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

Identities and interests are formed through the contingent, lived experience of ‘situated cultural practice’ and sedimented histories of people and place’ ( Moore 1999:658). The Hari Baba (religious revitalization) movement took place in 1931-1932 (Gupta2006:94) was the cultural history of the Ho tribe. In the initial stage the movement was concerned with the need of reestablished religious purity. The program of purification aimed to cleanse the impure elements of Hos culture, was gradually linked with the assertion of Ho identity. The movement had also a political space which aimed to isolate Hos people from the *Tantis*( weaver). It was because the weaver designated them as inferior class. It had also aimed at driving out alien oppressors mainly the Hindus. In terms of purification, the Hari Baba movement was completely anti spirit movement ( Bonga). Worshiping *Bongo* is a tribal subject but the identification of the Hos got changed and they thought that their local gods are not taking care of them so they become displeased and calm for religious reformation. By this reformation, they adopted many Hindu customs. But this was a transition era. It did not mean that the surrender of Ho cultural identity into Hindu institutionalized hegemony ( Sen 2011).

The respect for nature and ancestral spirit is always present in tribal community which provided tribal a unique cultural identity against the institutionalized religion like Hindu, Muslim and Christian. Social scientist has examined the cultural expression of identity, its meanings, and how it is maintained at group boundaries (Barth, 1969 ) or in day to day activities (Garfinkel 1967). The *Maghe Parab* of five days in the month of January – February, Sohrai of Santhal, Sarhul of Mondays are the ways to assert their identity. After independence, tribe proclaimed their identity through representation in the political arena, the privilege what they have from constitution of India. Without going on a historical account of the event, I only limit myself on some aspect of *Jharkhandi* movement which typifies the claiming of ‘cultural identity, autonomy and justice’ to tribal through political representation (Basu 2012). The formation of political parties like JMM by Sibn Soren, AJSU, was the attempt to take recognition of the adivasi sympathy, at the same time they became very passionate and violent in demanding the adivasi right. A. K Roy, a noted communist and labor leader also a Ex.MP of Dhanbad protested the coal mafias (*dikus*) to produce the consciousness among the local labor ( have not class in Maxian sense). This was an attempt of affirming the political identity of the tribe or have-not peoples. The all earlier movement and association related to adivasis right get fused with the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha ( JMM) at a huge rally on February 4th 1973 in Dhanbad. These three leaders

joined hands and it was A.K.Roy that acted as the ideologue for Jharkhandi movement. He also coined the slogan Lalkhand, and the JMM's two main slogans were: *Fasal Japt, Zamin Japt Andolan* (crop seizure, land seizure movement); and *Maro Mahajan, Maro Daroga* (beat Moneylenders, beat Police). This movement spread like a stream and became an absolute expansion throughout the region of South Bihar (Jharkhand).

The all event of that time produces a politics of avowing the cultural identity whereas the population of Jharkhand is ideologically divided into an outsider and moolwasis. The movement targeted forest official, moneylender, mafias, and *dikus*. At that time, Jharkhand flag was red and green proclaiming the compound ideology of Communism and JMM. In the name of redistribution of justice, the game of identity politics started with the slogan the moolwasis (native) was considered as *lalkhandis*. The popular slogan of that time *vote se nahin, chot se lenge Lalkhand* (we will not take *Lalkhand* by vote but by hitting). The movement intensified the identity and construct the identity of tribal by romanticizing their glorified past. The movement chapter is closed when the new Jharkhand state is formed. But, Jharkhand still does not fulfill the hope of the tribe and the local people. The state led development or investment induced destitution of the tribe because most of the natural resources are located in the tribal areas. Tribal get alienated from their ancestral land and their right to access of natural resources is also demarcated through forest and land policy. Tribes are the most victims of state led development programs. Tribal activist and political parties promote tribal rights and privilege only for their own sake. Hence, in the absence of social justice, a new form of identity is crystallizing among the tribe of Jharkhand( Xaxa 1999). Identity politics are for asking the certain inalienable right- for example, equal opportunities, equal treatment, freedom to practice, participation in democratic governance ( Gergen 1999). As a fact, In Jharkhand, politics of identity is used as a political motto rather than reality.

## **Conclusion**

Talking to original culture and cultural identity of the tribe is highly problematic (kujur2010). Indeed tribe is not economic class. It has its own culture. The cultural right is not a human right or political right. So, State and political parties used to play the politics on the issue of identity. Any can see it in the case of Jharkhand, before the formation of the state the issue in the name of the state ( Vanachal vs Jharkhand) and after making of the state the politics of domicile, a

political agenda of safeguarding of tribal cultural and political identity. The tribal people were seen as a social indifferent mass that can satisfy the need of unskilled labour in industry. The official reinforcement and the exploitation by the *dikus* contribute to new identity formation of the tribe. Now, the concept of Jharkhandi identity is totally a political articulation. Development planning and industrialization is based on the market logic of economic growth. The issue of dispossession and change in identity from moral peasant to labourer also show the story of ecological degradation and environmental marginalization of the people's life and livelihoods. Sustainability is overlooked in the narrow paradigm of cost benefit analysis of economic rationalization. Therefore the natural cultural site becomes an arena where state and other capitalist enterprise can invest to generate more surpluses that dispossesses the locals. One form of identity has emerged in order to counter the developmentalism that favours industrialism. State nexus with cosmopolitan capitalist have direct confirmation with preexisting social order that have a huge impact on the cultural sphere of Adivasi that is embedded with the ecology and nature and provided them a sense of identity in form of ecological people.

## References

- Barth, F. (Ed.). (1969). *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference. (Results of a symposium held at the University of Bergen, 23rd to 26th February 1967.)*. Universitetsforlaget.
- Basu, I. (2012). The Politics of Recognition and Redistribution: Development, Tribal Identity Politics and Distributive Justice in India's Jharkhand. *Development and Change*, 43(6), 1291-1312.
- Beteille, A. (1995). Construction of Tribes'. *The Times of India*, 12.
- Beteille, Andre. 2005. 'What should we mean by "Indigenous People"?' in Karlsson B.G. and T.B. Subba (eds.), *Indigeneity in India*. London. New York, Bahrain: Kegan Paul
- Bhaduri, Amit . ( 2016) *Malignant Growth*. New Delhi: Aakar Book.
- Baviskar, A. (1997). Tribal politics and discourses of environmentalism. *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 31(2), 195-223.
- Baviskar, A. (2005). Adivasi Encounters with Hindu Nationalism in MP. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(48), 5105-5113.
- Devi, M. (2002). Chotti Munda and His Arrow. 1980. *Trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Calcutta: Seagull Books Pvt. Ltd.*

- Garfinkel, H., & PRESS, P. (1967). Studies in. *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs: NJ: Prentice Hall
- Gergen, K. J. (2009). Social Construction and the Transformation of Identity Politics. [https://www.swarthmore.edu/sites/default/files/assets/documents/kenneth-gergen/Social%20Construction\\_and\\_the\\_Transformation.pdf](https://www.swarthmore.edu/sites/default/files/assets/documents/kenneth-gergen/Social%20Construction_and_the_Transformation.pdf)
- Gupta, S. D. (2006). Impact of Forest Laws on an Indigenous Society: The Hos of Singhbhum, 1820–1932. *Indian Historical Review*, 33(2), 39-65.
- Gupta, S. D. (2011). *Adivasis and the Raj: Socio-economic Transition of the Hos, 1820-1932*. Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *Spaces of neoliberalization: towards a theory of uneven geographical development* (Vol. 8). Franz Steiner Verlag
- Jewitt, S. (2008). Political ecology of Jharkhand conflicts. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 49(1), 68-82.
- Kohli, A. (1990). *Democracy and discontent: India's growing crisis of governability*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Kothari, R. (1990). *State against democracy: In search of humane governance*. New Delhi: Ajanta Publications
- Li, T. M. (2007). *The will to improve: Governmentality, development, and the practice of politics*. Duke London: University Press.
- Moore, D (1999). The Crucible of Cultural Politics: Reworking Development in Zimbabwe's Eastern Highlands." *American Ethnologist* 26(3):654-89.
- Mibang, T. (2007). *Tribal Studies-Emerging Frontiers of Knowledge*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Mohanty, B. B. (2001). Land Distribution among Scheduled Castes and Tribes. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36(40), 3857-3868
- Padel, F., & Das, S. (2010). *Out of this earth: East India Adivasis and the aluminium cartel*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- Padhi, S., & Panigrahi, N. (2011). Tribal movements and livelihoods: recent developments in Orissa. *CPRC-IIPA Working Paper*, 51.
- Parkin, R. (2000). Proving" indigeneity," exploiting modernity: Modalities of identity construction in Middle India. *Anthropos*, 49-63.
- Robinson, R., & Kujur, J. M. (Eds.). (2010). *Margins of faith: Dalit and tribal Christianity in India*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications India.
- Rudolph, L. I., & Rudolph, S. H. (1987). *In pursuit of Lakshmi: The political economy of the Indian state*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sen, A. K. (2011). *Representing Tribe: The Ho of Singhbhum Under Colonial Rule*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.

Shah, A. (2011). *In the shadows of the state: Indigenous politics, environmentalism, and insurgency in Jharkhand, India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Virginius Xaxa. (1999). Tribes as Indigenous People of India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(51), 3589-3595.