

19. Reconstruction

## SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF JHARKHAND : PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

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Creation of smaller states was a positive step in giving recognition to the tribal development and identity. The new state, however, has promoted the values of the elite only. It has worked towards the assimilation of the tribals rather than giving dignity to their distinct culture and identity. The paper argues that the development of tribal states is possible not merely by creation of small states but by genuinely following the tribal notion of federalism and democratization based on the principle of consensus and participation. In order to have the real development of the tribals in Jharkhand there is need of social reconstruction. The relationship of domination has to be broken for democratic institutions. Cultural action has to be a component of development. Democratization is to be done by creating counter value system. Women have to be part of the process of development. Moreover, there is needed transformation from within as well. Tribal society needs to be open to the current scientific and technological development. The change should come from within and not be imposed from outside. There has to be self-criticism. Instead of the tribal society being assimilated by the values of modern development, it should assimilate what is good for the society.

### Introduction

It is obvious that the wealth of natural and mineral resources was the rationale for the new State of Jharkhand. It had a major share of the region towards the revenue of the parent state, but got little in return. For instance, about 40% of the total minerals of the country are available in Jharkhand. The State is the sole producer of cooking coal, uranium and pyrite. It ranks first in India in the production of coal (37.5%), mica (90%), kyanite, copper (40%), and iron-ore (22%), besides bauxite, quartz, ceramics and other minerals in India. The geological exploration and exploitation of gold, silver, base metals, decorative stones, precious stones, etc. are the potential areas of future'. Jharkhand is also endowed with other resources such as surface and ground water, land with immense bio-diversity, moderate climate, disciplined and skilled manpower, adequate availability of power, which are the basic essentials for the growth and development of industries (Ibid). Apart

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from the minerals, Jharkhand also has many industries such as Muri Aluminium Factory, Bokaro Steel Plant, Tisco, Telco, and so on. Thus though Jharkhand contributed substantially to the national exchequer very little was spent for the development of the region before its bifurcation (see Tiwari *et al.*, 2000 :12-3). Even Laloo Yadav, the Janata Dal supreme, refused to pay salaries to the minority school teachers in Jharkhand, due for more than two years before the bifurcation of Bihar.

In Jharkhand even before its formation various groups of tribals and non-tribals were busy discussing their strategy to gain the maximum for their own respective groups on the basis of ethnic and religious affiliations. What emerged very strongly in various public and private discourses was the holistic idea of development encompassing politics, economy, education system, and culture. Hence, for the reconstruction of Jharkhand what was expected by the locals was a holistic approach to development and not mere economic.

It is from this point of view that we will make an assessment of the performance of the government in the new tribal state in the last five years. The criteria are obviously the notion of development, which takes into consideration such areas as economy, culture, ethnicity, politics, education, gender, health, roads, electricity and human rights.

#### Theoretical Framework

Two extreme positions are taken in connection with the creation of the smaller states. The first position views the creation of smaller states as a "threat" to the country's "unity and integrity" (Sharma 2003 : 3973). The second makes a case for the smaller states for "better articulation of regional political and social aspirations" and for bringing the "structures of governance and administration closer to hitherto neglected areas" (Kumar S. 2002 : 3705).

The proponents of the first school of thought (Sharma 2003 : 3973-75) argue that the demand for creation of new states is often fuelled by "regional and linguistic fanaticism" and that some constitutional parameters are called for to strengthen the already existing provisions in the Constitution and also to safeguard "against the far-reaching implications" of the frequent demand for new states. They believe that Article 3 of the Constitution of India, which has a provision for formation of new states by altering the boundaries of existing states, is being misused as a tool to satisfy "regional and linguistic aspirations of

people" and has become "an instrument to achieve electoral gains". They assume that in the demand for the reorganization of states on the basis of "linguistic and cultural differentiation" the sectarian instinct of the ignorant masses is stirred up by the "professional politicians" to serve their own interests. Sharma justifies regional identity to a certain extent but finds it as a curse when "political parties demand separate statehood to satisfy their lust for power and to gain political mileage". He argues that for "more development" there is no need of more states. He finds superficiality in the argument that smaller states are necessary for better governance and socio-economic development. He finds the notion of "small is beautiful" illusory : "It would be the most profound mistake if anyone thought that creation of new states is panacea for all the problems," he says. In the next breath he adds,

The need of the hour is to concentrate more on development of the states already existing. It is immaterial whether the state is small or big; what is required is a strong political will to govern with full honesty and sincerity. Development requires a conducive atmosphere to be created by both : leaders and citizens (Ibid. : 3974).

Sharma's observation above seems to be self-contradictory when he calls for a "conducive atmosphere" for development within "already existing" states. The proponents of the second school of thought use the same argument to suggest that "conducive atmosphere" is a possibility only within the framework of the smaller states. Sanjay Kumar (2002 : 3705-09), for instance, accepts that smaller states may not necessarily be the answer to all the problems of the earlier state. He, however, insists that "creation of smaller states is something of an answer to the specific problems of regional discrimination and unequal access to state power that has affected the people in bigger states". Further he says,

History speaks in favour of the small states like Haryana and Himachal Pradesh has shown positive results. Even though a hilly state, the success story of literacy in Himachal Pradesh can be largely credited to the size of the state which made it possible for the administration to reach to the people. Haryana would still have remained a neglected underdeveloped Hindi-speaking area within the state of Punjab, if a separate state had not been created. The north-

east may not look like a success story today, but the real question is: whether it would have been better off, if it had not been divided at all. We might have been witnessing an open civil war in that case (Ibid. : 3708).

Apart from the two positions above either in favour or against the creation of smaller states, there is yet another discourse on the principles in which a reorganization of the states should take place. The principles of the first line of thought in this discourse emphasize or the linguistic compatibility, cultural homogeneity and visibility of mass support for the creation of the federal units (Ibid. : 3705). On the contrary, some others urge for 'development' and not 'cultural identity' as the rationale for the demand for new states. They argue that the acute sense of relative deprivation and lack of development has transcended the cultural identity and cohesion, which had appeared to be a strong force in the initial years of post-independent political development (see Kumar P.2000 : 3078-79). They insist that the demands for separate states were "largely a response to economic or administrative neglect in the larger parent states" (Ibid. : 3082).

Whereas 'economic neglect' or 'development' has been one of the core factors for the demand of smaller states in general, it will be a gross mistake to take only the 'economic' criterion as a justification for reorganization of federal units if we are talking of the 'tribal states'. The rationale for the bifurcation of the states is that only the tribals can solve the problem of the tribals because they are the victims of the so-called development. Their development is possible in a decentralized set up alone, which is possible in the tribal self-governance. When there is a centralized type of administration, there is seen to be no perception of the suffering of tribals. Even if there is sincerity within the administration there is no sensitivity to the plight of tribals. This is the problem of democracy that surfaces in the process of tribal development. Hence, it has to be solved by the political system alone, which is by creating smaller units of administration which would presumably be more sensitive, local, decentralized, etc., to rectify the evils of the centralized system of governance.

An allusion may be helpful here - in Germany small states are very de-centralized, chiefly at the level of culture that is values, past history, geography and solidarity, etc. Each community has a memory. This memory influences people's thinking and acting. The history of memory of a people is very important. Their collectivity has a memory,

which may not always be understood by a centralized organization. This memory contributes to the identity of the group. Memory and identity are linked. Identity is not only of the past but of the future - looking at the future which is for recognition, freedom, and assertion of their identity. The vision of future of the tribals may not necessarily correspond with the central authority. The conflict arises because the locals have different types of vision for the future. In terms of Marxism, there is conflict between classes. At the centre there are elites whether internationally, nationally or internally, who are insensitive to those at the periphery.

What emerges from the grassroots - from people and from their own culture, history, surroundings, etc., cannot be ignored. This is very much in correspondence with the principles of federalism. The concept of federalism allows the originality of cultural groups to be part of the broader group. The essence of federalism, as William S. Livingston points out, lies not in the constitutional or institutional structure but in the society itself. Federal government is a device by which the federal qualities of the society are articulated and protected (as cited in Khan 1998 : 181). For Michael Burgess the hallmark of federalism, is 'union combined simultaneously with autonomy' and that this unique situation of federalism sustains the idea of cultural pluralism and multiple identities which, in turn, gets its proper expression and articulation through the concept and the process of federal nation building (as cited in Suresh 1998 : 53-4). According to Carl J. Friedrich federalism is primarily the process of federalizing a political community meaning the process by which a number of separate political communities enter into arrangement for working out solutions, joint policies and making joint decisions on joint problems and conversely also the process by which a unitary political becomes differentiated into a federally organized whole (as cited in Singh 1998 : 42). Daniel J. Elazar is of the view that federalism involves the linking of individuals, groups and politics in lasting but limited union in such a way as to provide for the energetic pursuit of common ends while maintaining the respective integrities of all parties (as cited in Khan 1998 : 181). Hence, a bifocal perception of the distant and the near, the general and the specific, the abstractions and the particularism, the country and the region, the locale and the neighbourhood, the neighbourhood and the locality, the language and the dialect is what constitutes federalism (Narayanan 1998 : vii-ix). Decentralization is, thus, defined quite broadly to mean transfer of planning, or administrative authority from the Central government to

field organizations, local administrative units, and semi-autonomous local organizations.

The spirit of federalism as mentioned above has to be incarnated into innate inherited social and historical structures. The social, cultural, and mainly political and economic structures are the result of the historical processes which makes it more difficult for the state. This has to be in sensitivity to the needs of the common people. Particular groups have to be safeguarded. There can be certain kinds of integration but respecting the identity of the groups only. In this connection Oommen suggests a healthy integration of assimilation and secessionism. In his view "assimilation and secessionism are the two sides of the same coin". Further, "if assimilation is viewed as stabilizing, secession is considered as system breaking". He observes that it is "assimilation which leads to secessionism" and "authentic pluralism, that is, the dignified coexistence of the diverse elements which constitute a polity ensures their identity without denying equality to them". This, he thinks, is the key to evolving a just and humane social order anywhere, including India (Oommen 1998 : 15-6).

This paper argues that the dominance of a few powerful people and a promotion of their philosophy that what is good for them (elite) is good for everybody does not recognize the well-being of everybody. There is an impoverishment which does not allow smaller groups to come up. On the contrary, the totality of federalism allows individuals to express and preserve their identity. This is very much in the line of concept of participatory development that takes into account indices such as individual choices, inclusiveness, human rights, gender, ethnic identity, etc. (see Dreze & Sen 2000; UNDP 2004).

At the very outset, it is important to ask : administration for what and development for whom ? If these states were primarily formed for the development of the tribals who had so far been neglected, is the purpose fulfilled in the last five years ? Five years may be too short a time for any qualitative transformation, but is the orientation of development policies in the right direction ? Have the state government and administration been sensitive to the all-round development of the tribals of the state ? What then is the status of the state of Jharkhand ?

Economic issue cannot be seen in isolation from cultural, social and political. The big question is whether after the bifurcation of Bihar

tribals have more access to the resources available than before. Or is it the elites who continue controlling the resources and their management. In other words, is Jharkhand completely 'liberated' from Bihar or does Bihar still exist in Jharkhand. The new policies and programmes of the Jharkhand government reveal that though in principle it seeks the welfare of the tribals, in practice the policies are contrary to the values of the tribals and other vulnerable groups. Outsiders continue pouring in, taking away resources and jobs, resulting in the virtual ejection of the locals from their homeland. In the name of the 'common good' and 'national interest' tribals are getting displaced in thousands day after day. They have, therefore, started asking 'who is the nation and who defines the nation.

A comprehensive and exhaustive response is simply not feasible. Hence, it will be my effort to briefly analyze the industrial policy of the state Government from a tribal perspective.

#### Development Paradigm – Repeating the Historical Blunder

In the last 58 years of Independence, it has been exposed that the western model of development that the builders of India adopted, backfired completely from the subaltern perspective. But we do not seem to have learnt from the past mistakes. The Industrial Policy-2001 of Jharkhand, for instance, emphasizes that the new State was created precisely "to optimally utilize the available resources" of the State to accelerate the industrial development of the State for "expected industrial growth". The philosophy of the State Government seems to be the maximization of capital investment for its accelerated economic development and generation of employment opportunities for which "conducive" atmosphere needs to be created. The Government seeks to create environment for attracting investments including foreign investment. Some of the important policy objectives in connection with the weaker sections are to provide better development opportunities to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, handicapped, weaker sections and women, and to ensure their participation in the development process. However, there are inner contradictions in the policy which are sure to go against the poor people, causing unemployment.

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The obvious reference here is to the popular perception of the tribals in Jharkhand that the infiltration of the *Biharis* was responsible for the exploitation and marginalization of the local.  
Ibid., No. 1.3.  
Ibid., No. 1.4.

There is a plan to create Special Economic Zone (SEZ) whereby investors will be made available the land, power, water and communication facilities. A number of tax concessions by the State Government and the Central Government are also offered as incentives. This zone will act as a magnet and over a period creates number of ancillaries. The Special Economic Zone would also have an IT Park, Bio-Tech Park, Hotels, Recreation facilities, Housing, etc. with state of the art technology. The State has to act as a catalyst, enabler and enhancer to promote maximum activities through private participation. The establishment of Special Economic Zone would accord a fillip to export promotion. The high quality supporting infrastructure available at SEZ would greatly enhance the investment and economic development of the region. Government intends to set up an SEZ along Jamshedpur - Ranchi National Highway corridor on both sides - the area lying within a distance of 5 kms. on both sides. The basic issue of interest for tribals is their attitude and approach to the question of land. The Chotanagpur tenancy Act, 1908 in its originality prohibits the sale and transfer of the tribal land. The Act had been amended 24 times till 1985 (Sinha 2003). It will not be surprising if it has been amended more than 30 times by now.

It is good that heavy emphasis is given in the policy on improving the communication and transportation network including railways, air transport, information technology, etc. In Jharkhand the length of the National Highways is 1600 kms. and that of the State Highways 2711 kms. The State Government claims that an ambitious project of Four Lane Highway between Hazaribagh and Baharagoda via Jamshedpur measuring 333 kms is under construction. The plan is also to construct High Specification Road between Ranchi and Sahebganj via Govindpur, Jamtara and Dumka, providing gateway to Assam and North East. As per the plan Ranchi-Daltonganj-Garhwa road shall also be strengthened. The Policy seems to envisage IT for all by 2010 by accelerating the rate of computer penetration in the state so that it reaches a penetration of one per 50 people by the year 2010. Towards the goal of IT for all by 2010, policies are provided for setting the base for a rapid spread of IT awareness among the citizens, propagation of IT literacy, networked Government, IT-led economic development, rural penetration of IT applications, training citizens in the use of day-to-day IT services like tele-banking, tele-medicine, tele-education, tele-documents transfer,

Ibid., No. 16.1

Ibid., No. 16.2

Ibid., No. 7.0

tele-library, tele-info-centres, electronic commerce, public call centres, among others; and training, qualitatively and quantitatively, world class IT professionals.

However, the policy seems to have been prepared in an air-conditioned chamber, completely alienated from the reality. And, the reality of Jharkhand is that it has only 40.7 per cent (Rural 38.1% & Urban 67.8%) literacy rate (Chhattisgarh 52.1% & Uttaranchal 63.2%). Percentage of the agriculture labourers in the state is 31, out of which 25.7 per cent are male and 37.8 per cent female. The total tribal population of the state according to 2001 census is 70,870,68 of which 65,00,014 (91.7%) are rural and 5,87,054 (8.28%) are urban. Total tribal illiterates are 47,48,275 of which 45,00,883 (94.78%) are rural and 2,47,392 (5.21%) are urban. If the state Government is convinced that it is 'higher' education and management studies and not primary education are the priorities, it is surely not tribal-friendly.

Again, what seems to be a dangerous trend in the policy is the demand for special incentives for the IT industry, such as (a) Exemption from environmental clearance; (b) Exemption from zoning regulations for purposes of location; (c) Self-certification for purposes of compliance of the following Acts : Water and Air Pollution Act, Factories Act, Employment Exchange (Notification of vacancies) Act, Payment of Wages Act, Minimum Wages Act, Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, Workmen Compensation Act, Shops and Establishments Act; etc. All this seems to be anti-labour and anti-poor. The talk of Human Resource Development is a good thing. But it will have to be seen whether the project takes off in the first place. Skill development is the key to quality and productivity. It also ensures employment of local people in sophisticated industries. New technology and tools are being developed which must be made available to the local youth for optimal utilization of the resources at disposal. Tribals are apprehensive about the authenticity of the very proposal of the State Government.

The promises of the policies of the government are great, but not much has happened for the poor. May be it is asking for the moon in just five years. Government does talk of development, but whether that model of development is the right one is a matter of debate. But the more important question is whether the present State Government is actually interested in the tribal development. The Industrial policy

Ibid., No. 17.1

2001 surely does not say so. The identity of the tribals in the process of development in Jharkhand is totally ignored, as we discuss below :

#### Legitimizing Anti-Federal Structure

In principle the bifurcation of the mother state recognizes federalism but in practice its spirit seems to be violated. That this is so is clear from the focus of the new state government in once again adopting the model of development from the west without any sensitivity to the local socio-cultural organizations. The capital intensive economy rather than labour has been responsible for the out-migration of thousands of unemployed boys and domestic working girls in the mega cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, and so on. That the economic policy of the new state is not tribal-friendly but only industrialist-friendly is clear from the Industrial Policy-2001 for the State of Jharkhand.

The identity of the tribals is identified in different facets of their life – geographical, societal, economic, historical, political, religious, philosophical, literary, art and music (Munda 2002 : 108-21). One of the reasons for the demand of Jharkhand separate state was to safeguard their tribal identity and culture, but the apathy of the government has disillusioned the tribals.

The Chotanagpur plateau has been the habitat of the 30 tribal groups living in Jharkhand. In the last 60 years or so there has been an increased influx of the outsiders for livelihood virtually displacing the tribals. According to a study of the total number of the displaced persons in Jharkhand from 1951 to 1995 the tribals were 41.27 per cent (Ekka & Asif 2000 : 95).

The present policies of the Government, instead of safeguarding the territorial identity of the tribals, have only facilitated an acceleration of its disintegration that started in the colonial period with the 1984 amendment of the *Land Acquisition Act*. There is now rampant exploitation of land, water, forest and environment for commercial purposes of which tribals are no beneficiaries.

This is reminiscent of the letter of the Chief of Seattle to the President of United States in 1854 :

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This Policy was to remain in force till 31<sup>st</sup> March 2005, and the same policy is likely to continue.

"How can you buy or sell the sky, the warmth of the land ? The idea is strange to us. If we do not own the freshness of the air and sparkle of the water, how can you buy them ? Every part of this earth is sacred to my people. Every shining pine needle, every share, every mist in the dark woods, every clearing and humming insect is holy to the memory and experience of my people ... But if we sell you your own land, you must remember that the air is precious to us, that the air shares the spirit with all the life it supports. The wind that gave our grand father his first breath also receives his last sigh. And if we sell you our land, you must keep it apart and sacred, as a place where even the White Man can go to taste the wind that is sweetened by the meadow's flowers ..."

In so far as social solidarity is concerned, tribals have their identity as an ethnic group. Their social affirmation is in their togetherness and solidarity. The central values of the tribal communities in relation to nature (land, forest, water) are that of harmony, accommodation and symbiosis. The values that the present modern development promotes are the relationship of exploitation and oppression. The tribal value emphasizes on coexistence as opposed to the relationship of subjugation of the earth in the modern notion of development. There is in the tribal system collective ownership of land and hence non-commodifiability and non-saleability of land. The land belongs to the past, present and future generations. The central values of modern development are interested in the commodification of land and other natural resources for profiteering.

There is, thus, collectivity of economy in the tribal society. The values such as social responsibility, communal ownership, decentralization, egalitarianism, communitarianism, etc. are central to their economic relationship. The values of the modern development, on the contrary, are individualism, personal gains, competition, centralization, hoarding, etc. There is relative equality of man-woman in the tribal society unlike strong stratification; hierarchy and ranking that are the hallmark of the larger Indian society. Tribals have very close mutual solidarity through village cooperatives. There is also dignity of labour of both men and women and none of the forms of labour is considered as mean.

The historical consciousness of the tribals in Jharkhand is being ignored today. The rootedness of the tribals in their land is being

overlooked by the policy-makers and also the law-keepers. Politics in the tribal society is characterized by self-rule and participatory governance or federalism. Decisions are taken by consensus. This is real democracy where the society runs on the basis of concern for everybody. The value of modern development emphasizes the centralization of power, bureaucratization and decisions by a few. Tribals have no participation in the decision making process today. Their religious relationships are marked by symbiosis between human and nature. There is a complementarity of the two. The notion of control and subjugation of cultural and religious relationships is absent in the tribal system. There is, rather a notion of reverence and respect for all forms of life - plant, animal and human. The distinctive way of life, values, ethos, etc. make tribals different from others. Their view of the world, human beings and cosmos is specific to them. Their action is determined by their belief pattern. They do not have a written tradition but only oral. All this is bypassed by the government either Central or the State.

### Conclusions and Recommendations

What we have said above is the clear idea of what tribal people wanted in and through the creation of the new state of Jharkhand and what is happening in actuality.

Creation of smaller states was a positive step in the direction of giving recognition to the problem of tribal development and identity. There were high expectations to make the tribals self-reliant. The bifurcation was for the sake self-expression in the midst of so much diversity. Federalism allows decentralization. In a federal set up 'politics' is for the people and not for the elite. However, the centre which is expression of the elite has supported the processes of globalization, privatization and internal colonization. The internal colonialists are the ones to occupy the natural and human resources. They have come back with a vengeance in the new forms of new elites. They steal the Common Property Resources (CPR) of tribals. What appears in the functioning of the NDA government in the last five years in Jharkhand is that whatever was given to tribals by 'legislation' is slowly being taken away by 'new legislation'; that is by the Industrial Policy, the Land Acquisition Act, and by the Amendments brought about in the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act, 1908. This is one of the impacts of globalization, which is detrimental to the tribal societies.

One of the reasons for the failure of the tribal development programmes is the import of the western model of development which

was based on the principle of exploitation of natural resources in colonies abroad and of labour at home. In the course of time the tribal society became a victim of internal colonization. Due to the non-participatory governance, tribals were pushed out of their traditional habitat. Today's model of development in Jharkhand is doing precisely that. Community consciousness in tribal society has given way to competition, individualism and capitalism.

The process of the so-called development in the state of Jharkhand is taking place without much sensitivity to the articulation of the rights, survival and development of India's most marginalized communities. There is no reference whatsoever to human rights and constitutional rights in the whole question of development. There is also an absence of transparent, participatory and inclusive process in the decision making process. There is lack of consistency and clear recognition of rights to ancestral lands, territories and natural resources. There is insufficient protection against forced relocation and eviction and inadequate provision for rehabilitation. Moreover, there is no recognition, protection or promotion of tribal customary laws, practices and governance. There is an absence of provision for Free and Prior Informed Consent (FPIC). There is an unacceptable absence of rights of self determined development or protection from adverse impact of liberalization, privatization and globalization.

The current development model has been adversely affecting the livelihoods and well-being of tribals. There is insufficient protection for tribal knowledge system. There are no provisions for their education systems including languages, histories, technologies, etc. or for educating dominant sections of society about their culture, world-view, ethos, etc. There is no respect or protection for tribal religions and spiritual practices, for their sacred sites or spiritual institutions and practitioners. There is inadequate provision for equal access to general education or health support services. There is no protection or recognition of tribal approaches to health and systems of healing. Neither the state nor the central government has any gender perspective or articulated position on the question of women's rights. There is no acknowledgement either of the States' obligations towards rights to children and youth including protection from negative impacts of changing social environment. There is no reference to problems of increasing militarization of tribal lands. There is no reference to the urgent and anticipated increased need for conflict resolution and peace promotion using tribal strategies, customary laws and reconciliation mechanisms among tribals. In the new state

of Jharkhand there is no recognition to the principles of fundamental respect of difference, by which is implied the acceptance and respect for different societies with their distinct identity, culture, ethos and ways of life. There is no recognition either of the rights to life and livelihood with dignity.

In brief, the new state which has been bifurcated in the name of the tribals has promoted the values of the elite only. It has worked towards the assimilation of the tribals rather than giving dignity to their distinct culture and identity. I argue that the development of tribal states is possible not by creation of small states but by genuinely following the tribal notion of federalism and democratization based on the principle of consensus and participation. In order to have the real development of the tribals in Jharkhand there is need of social reconstruction. The relationship of domination has to be broken for democratic institutions. Cultural action has to be a component of development. Democratization is to be done by creating counter value system. Women have to be part of the process of development. However, there is needed transformation from within as well. Tribal society needs to be open to the current scientific and technological development. The change should come from within and not be imposed from outside. There has to be self-criticism. Instead of the tribal society being assimilated by the values of modern development, it should assimilate what is good for the society. Jai Birsa ! Jai Jharkhand !

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