



I N T R O D U C T I O N

The tribes of India are specially safeguarded by our Constitution and The Government is generously contributing to the welfare programmes for Tribal Development keeping in line with the Directives of the State Policy and other mandatory provisions in the Constitution. The problems of tribes living in compact areas is essentially that of economic development of their areas and of integrating their economy with that of the rest of the country. Another dimension of the problem is of social integration with the main stream of national life. In this respect our Five-Year Plans pledge to formulate development plans to suit the specific potentialities and levels of development of separate regions and sections of population.

Industrialisation in the mineral-rich but paradoxically backward areas, which are the abodes of tribal people, is one such deliberate policy of the Government not only to foster economic betterment of the indigenous population but also to transform the inwardly conflicting mixed society into a popular industrial culture; An area of study, which concerns planners much in this regard, is the implication of industrialisation on the tribals who are constrained by their stereo-typed economy, aboriginal motivations and age-old value systems. There exist in the structure of the society factors, which prevent or obstruct a fast development requiring a quick adaptation

to the advancing technology, advanced methods and providences and advanced way of life. Therefore, any large-scale industrial development, which for its own progress brings many adverse to the tribes at least at the initial stage, is unlikely to offer fast significant benefits to the local tribals.

Industrialisation of the tribal-inhabited mineral-rich districts of Central and South-Eastern India is a phenomenon of the post Independent days though exploitation of minerals and manufacturing of certain basic commodities like steel, cement, wagon building etc. started at the dawn of the present century on certain favourable spots to suit the needs of the colonial economy. The economic activities in the districts of Singhbhum of Bihar State and Sundargarh of Orissa State began with forest and mineral exploitation in the last decade of the 19th century with the expansion of railways and road communication. Though Singhbhum first felt the essence of large-scale industrialisation mostly during the earlier decades of the present century, it is only after Independence, that industries started diversifying and expanding to cater the huge demand in nation-building process. The industries of Sundargarh are the achievements of Independent India. In both the districts, the industries developed in areas with no industrial heritage and in tribal-dominated jungle-clad tracts which in due course appeared as leading complexes of basic as well as engineering industries of the country. The economy of the districts was initially based on subsistence type of agriculture but now both have undergone a significant transformation from unsound economic base to a reasonably sound one. This has brought forth other

changes in socio-economic conditions, infrastructural development, industrial positions, resource utilization, increase in urbanisation, labour utilization and many other aspects of development.

It is important to note that about a half of the population in the two districts is tribals in their ethnic origin. Participation of these tribals in industrial activities howsoever meagre it may be started since the thirties. Acute crisis in the supply of labour which was created as one of the inevitables of the World War II, created scope for further addition to tribal labour force. Independent India experienced more tribal participation as a result of the obligation imposed by the Constitution, particularly in the Public Sector. But inspite of the continuous cumulation of tribals in the manufacturing sector, the aggregate participation is still insignificant and ineffective in view of their number, skill, category of employment and above all, the real economic betterment accruing to them. Even after twenty five-years of planned industrial developments, the tribal inhabitants of these districts are significantly backward from the rest socially, economically and in terms of modernisation. Besides, the industries have created many difficult odds for them which are of cultural, economic, environmental and social types. This calls for the study of the implications of industrialisation on the tribals - their economy, traits and social values in these areas. It would be very pertinent to come out with a research on the impact of industries in question on the habitat, economy and society of the tribes of Singhbhum and Sundargarh.

Objectives :

Keeping in line with the above, the objectives of the present study are as follows :

i) To understand the stage of industrial development and the gradual involvement of the tribals chronologically, it has been felt necessary to study the history of industrialization in the mineral-rich areas of Central and South-Eastern parts of India.

ii) To study the relevance of physical, demographic and economic base in the areas covered by the present study. While considering the economic benefits of industrialisation, the contribution of industries to the regional economic growth deserves thorough investigations.

iii) To study the conflict between the traditional tribal economy and the new economy generated in and around the urban-industrial complex. This calls for not only the understanding of the prevailing tribal economy but also studying the participations and adjustments of the tribals with the new economic institutions. Reflections of industrial culture on the tribal traits are expressed in their changed way of life in the industrial neighbourhoods and peripheral areas. A search is, therefore, necessary to understand their reactions about living within the cosmopolitan industrial society.

iv) To study the varying economic and socio-cultural impact from village to village with varying distance from industrial towns. The study makes an attempt to note the villagers' attitude towards

industries and analyses the resultant reactions like acceptance or rejection of many of the innovations of industrial society.

v) To assess the social transformation that has taken place among the diverse ethnic-religious cultural groups in the industrial complexes as well as in villages prone to diffusion and in unexposed villages. Industrialisation has caused to them social transformation which includes tribals' social organisation, education and culture, food and clothes and their way of life. Some of the positive factors of social transformation led the tribals to become more conscious of their well being, more equipped for non-traditional pursuits and more assimilated in the mass society.

vi) To study the cost and benefit of industrialisation to the tribal population. Most of the items of benefit and cost on social dimension are difficult to measure, but it has been found imperative to study whether benefits like more employment, increased income, improved way of life could counterpoise the damages to the aborigines by generating pollution to their environment and loss to the society by antagonism, uprooting, social pollution, frustration and attenuation of tribal culture.

vii) Finally, to promote and modernise the tribal economy and to safeguard the interests of the tribals so that this vulnerable section of our society and their way of life are not much adversely affected. For this, it has been felt necessary to put forward a set of strategies and policy recommendations. These recommendations should be so framed that while promoting their upliftment there is minimum

social re-structuring and reorganisation, and least deviation from their traits.

Methodology :

The present study aims at evaluating the impact of industrialization on the tribals both converted and non-converted as well as on non-tribals on comparative basis over a period of time. Emphasis has been given to study the group dynamism and interaction of different communities against the industrial setting. The major framework of the study is divided into four parts :-

(i) Tribal traits, society, habitat and economy :

Detailed study has been made on the major tribal communities of the two districts about their distribution, economic pursuits, living conditions, food habits, literacy and education, social system, impact of the christian missionary, degree of modernisation and stage in the process of change, and their attitude towards non-traditional economic pursuits, etc., to establish a picture of the tribal society in general for ascertaining the levels of development and the degree of acceptance of the industrial culture by different tribal communities.

It has been felt necessary to consider the contribution of the selected industries to gross product, employment, income of the region. The indirect effect of industrialisation by means of infra-structural development, increased trade and commerce, increased land-based products initiated through market mechanism and extension of health, education and other facilities, have been also evaluated.

(ii) Impact of industrialisation on the tribals :

This part deals with the impact of industries on tribal and non-tribal communities in two ways : First, a study has been made about the participants in the industrial and allied urban activities within the complexes most of whom reside within the urban limits or villages in the immediate fringes. The study mainly concerns about the perceptible change in the tribal economy and the tribals' participation in the industrial activities. Similar study has been made about the non-tribals to set the standard of neo-industrial culture and how far the tribals are adjusting with it. Secondly, to demarcate the spatial extent of industrial impact in the districts, necessary study has been made and two sets of villages have been identified with inhabitants' distinct attitudes towards industries and different living conditions. They are the influenced villages with higher industrial occupation, and villages not yet exposed to industrial occupation.

(iii) Nature of social transformation and benefits and costs of industrialisation :

The social transformation due to industrialisation in industrial towns, in villages prone to diffusion and in unexposed villages have been studied and finally assessment has been made as to how the industries have been beneficial or damaging to the tribal communities.

(iv) Framing policy recommendations :

The above has led to the identification of such forces and factors which act as impediments to the development of tribals as individuals as well as communities. For establishing the causes of

the tribals, their better participation and their gradual absorption in the main stream of our national life a set of strategies has been framed and the follow-up policy recommendations have been made.

Selection of Study Areas :

The Jamshedpur Complex (Jamshedpur - Jugsalai - Adityapur industrial centres) and the Rourkela Complex (Rourkela - Kansbahal - Rajgangpur industrial centres) have been chosen for study areas on account of strong reasons. While the former has experienced more than 60 years of industrial past since the dawn of this Century, the later has grown over 25 years as a part of our planned development. This is important since the study aims at knowing also the chronological differences of the impact. Besides, the Jamshedpur Complex is principally the prestigious seat of the private sector, the vast Empire of the Tatas, and the Rourkela Complex is principally a centre of concentration of mammoth public sector enterprises. This is important since it highlights the difference in the dealings of the public and the private sectors with the tribals. In view of the structure of the complexes, Jamshedpur is definitely a more mature one compared to Rourkela where ancillaries and other forward - backward linkages are yet to be developed. For this study, the region of Jamshedpur Complex has been taken as the entire district of Singhbhum while Sundargarh district has been considered as the region of Rourkela Complex.

Selection of Tribal Communities :

As many as 24 tribes exist in the Singhbhum district and 40

in the Sundargarh district. This study has analysed the cases of such tribal communities only who constitute at least 1% of the total tribal population of the respective districts. For understanding further variation of impact, a distinction has been made between the converted (who have embraced christianity) and the non-converted tribals as well as the non-tribals.

Industries, when required to be surveyed, were selected on the basis of tribal employment. Only key industries which had at least 2% of their labour force from tribal communities have been considered.

Survey Techniques :

The study is the outcome of a long-drawn and rigorous field survey . To tackle the problem, several kinds of data were collected both from primary and secondary sources. Much of the data were obtained through surveys since the nature of data and information required is not usually available in published works and records. For this purpose, survey was conducted in as many as five stages. First of these is the "Survey of industries" which was designed to collect, general information apart, data on employment pattern, tribal component in the working force, facilities and social overheads, welfare aspects, etc. The second stage concerning industrial "workers' survey" at the shop floor and in labour colonies (households) aimed at collecting data from workers on their socio-economic conditions, working environment, attitudes towards industries, opinions about industrial functionalism, social changes etc. The third stage of survey related to

"participation of workers" in manufacturing was conducted at the shop floor. The next stage was the "village survey" designed to obtain information on socio-economic conditions, ethnic environment, rural social institutions and their functions, tribalism etc. In the last stage an attempt was made to conduct 'opinion survey of the villagers' to collect data on attitude towards industries, changes in the way of life, attenuation of tribal culture, reaction to modernisations and others.

Sample Coverage : The selected industries in Jamshedpur and Rourkela employed as much as 56% and 95% of the total manufacturing workers of the two complexes respectively. They included 90% of the tribal workers employed in Jamshedpur complex and 68% of the tribal workers in Rourkela complex. The industrial workers' survey in the second stage included as many as 229 workers of the selected industries in Jamshedpur and 249 workers of the selected industries of Rourkela complex. Of these 197 and 216 were tribal workers in the two places respectively. In fact, the survey was designed to cover 4% of the households of the tribal workers in the two places on the basis of a multistage sampling to have representation from different cross-sections of workers in terms of categories of employment, ethnic origin, factory, shops and residential locations. Eliminating such interviewees who were neither available at the time of survey nor agreed to respond, the actual sample size came down to 2.46% of the tribal workers at Jamshedpur and 2.64% at Rourkela.

In the participation of workers in manufacturing survey, informations about the extent of absenteeism and its cause was obtained

11

with the help of the Time Offices and the Personnel Departments of the industries. Further to know the absentees' views on the cause of absence, another attempt was made to interview the veteran absentees on the shop floor by taking their token numbers from the Time offices. This survey was not permitted to be conducted by the private sector industries. In Rourkela Steel Plant as many as 146 available veteran absentees were interviewed of which about 50% were from different tribal communities.

In fourth stage of the survey, 10 villages were covered around Jamshedpur complex and another 18 around Rourkela complex. These villages were selected on the criteria, namely, distance from the nearest industrial centre, accessibility and tribal concentration. In the last stage, to conduct the household survey in the above villages, 15% of the households were attempted but actually 13.8% around Jamshedpur and 14.2% around Rourkela responded.

In order to make the industrial workers' survey unbiased, about half of the total proformas were distributed to the literate workers and social service organisations who canvassed and responded duly. For all the primary surveys, different sets of questionnaires were prepared which are appended in this work.

Limitations :

The study suffers from the limitation of too much generalization of the theme. Though the general issue of "impact of industrialisation on the tribals" may be worthy subject of investigation,

disaggregation of variables and attributes in terms of the country and location, industrial mechanism, ethnic variations, socio-politico-religious institutions would give clearly different results which may require separate recommendations and prescription for further development. But a study on the basis of disaggregation of variables would involve long-drawn, elaborative team work and huge resources which is beyond the scope of a dissertation like this done by individualistic effort.

Much of the collected information is only recent and no data over time for temporal comparison could be obtained either from the industries or from the individuals. Even census data on ethnic groups, migration, etc. for recent years were not available. Furthermore, the questionnaires pursued during the field survey included prospecting type of questions in certain aspects like education, income, expenditure, participation in the industry and about certain habits not to be found in an industrial society; however, some probability of exaggeration and concealment cannot be denied.

It is worth mentioning that sophisticated analytical techniques and models could not be used since much of the information obtained through primary surveys suffer from the sense of subjectivity. Besides, many of the socio-cultural attributes cannot be expressed in quantitative terms. They are qualitative statements only.

Environmental implication of industries has been based on the notional ideas and scientific measures of the amount of pollutants, degree of contamination, resultant health hazards, etc. could not be

obtained. Opinions on good and bad effects of industrialisation on environment and ecology have been biased by individual's understanding and ego.

Lastly, the study suffers from limitation of not including in its scope the institutional provisions for implementation of the policies, financial implications, legal involvements, etc. Neither there is any attempt to give detailed treatment on plot specific compensation and land distribution, architectural prescriptions for tribal housing, technological precisions for improvements of working conditions, etc.

The Outline of the Study :

The study has been initiated with a historical account of industrialisation in India mainly during the Colonial Administration and later after Independence. The industries of Jamshedpur Industrial complex sprang up during the early decades of the present century while those of Rourkela complex are the achievement of the plan periods. The involvement of the indigenous tribal population in the process of industrialisation in this part of the country has been discussed in this chapter.

The third chapter deals with the geo-economic background of the study area extending over the districts of Singhbhum and Sundargarh. The entire discussion is devoted to the geographical account in terms of the location, physiographic, climatic and vegetational characteristics, resources, demographic base and finally the economic

base of the two districts. Though the two districts have many physiographic constraints, they are endowed with immense national resources. How these conflicting factors are conditioning the economic development and how the growth and concentration of the indigenous people, the tribals, have been influenced by those factors are discussed in this chapter. This chapter also deals with the direct and indirect contribution of industries on the economic growth of the two regions.

The fourth chapter discusses the economic, habitational and social characteristics of the major tribal communities of the study areas. In economic field, it has been found how the tribal communities have retained their pursuits inspite of centuries of subjugation and exploitation of the caste Hindus and the perceptible changes in their economy in response to overall development of the country. It also explains the tribals' interaction with Nature which has conditioned an adjustment between social force and physical landscape influencing the choice of site and neighbour, internal structures of the villages, architecture, food habit, etc. The social system of the tribal population has been discussed in terms of their kinship and group organisation, festivals and dancing, religion and finally, the impacts of the Christian missionaries who are active in these areas.

The fifth chapter deals with the changing economy of the tribals in the new industrial setting. The changing economy is reflected in their changing occupational structure and dependency, income and expenditure pattern, savings and indebtedness, etc.

15

The next two chapters, the sixth and seventh deal with the tribal's involvement in the urban-industrial work and living in industrial neighbourhood. The former discusses the incidence and causes of absenteeism of the tribals and their general participation in the industrial jobs. The factors responsible for their poor participation have also been discussed here. The latter chapter explains briefly the process of development of different living environment in the two major centres and the quality of living environment in terms of utilities and services, community facilities, etc. Moreover, an attempt has been made here to verify how far the tribals' concept of dwelling units and living styles as briefed in chapter IV has been fulfilled in different living environments. Also the inter-personal and inter-community reactions of the tribals on the created living environments in the industrial setting have been discussed here.

An attempt has been made in the eighth chapter to study the differential spatial impact of the industries in the two districts. Two sets of villages, exposed and unexposed, have been identified by taking into consideration the changing density of population, sex-ratio, literacy, tribal concentration, employment and income, villagers' reaction to industries, etc.

The ninth chapter explains how the factors like direct link with the industries, missionary influence, economic and social status, caste-based profession structure, nature of urban-industrial contacts, etc. have contributed to the social transformation of the tribals. It also attempts to measure the degree social transformation of the

tribals living in the urban-industrial complexes with the help of a number of grouped indicators of explaining variables. For this, a simple multivariate type regression model has been developed.

To synthesize, an attempt has been made in the tenth chapter to balance the benefits of industrialisation with the costs incurred by the tribal communities of the two districts. Finally, the study recommends a set of policy measures to be taken up for safeguarding the tribal interest while considering future industrialisation of the tribal areas. A conclusion of the entire study has been added in the end.