

Politics and conflict in development: land, law and progress in Jharkhand, India

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To my parents for giving me the courage to pursue my dreams.

Certificate of Original Authorship

I, Gautam Pingali declare that this thesis, is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the School of Built Environment of Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building at the University of Technology Sydney.

This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise reference or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

This document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

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September 18th, 2020

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Abstract

The Adivasis are the indigenous communities of India. After a long struggle for autonomy, spanning centuries, their dream of an indigenous state was finally realised with the formation of Jharkhand in 2000. The birth of Jharkhand brought with it hope that moving forward the Adivasis would have more control over their destiny. However, within three months of Jharkhand being formed the newly formed government of Jharkhand announced the creation of Koel-Karo dam, dampening their vision of self-determination as the state continued to exert its dominance on the Adivasis. The agenda for the creation of Jharkhand slowly revealed itself to be a resource-dependent state that had little regard for Adivasi communities. Today, this conflict continues as the Adivasis enforce their legal right through the Pathalgadi movement and call the state unlawful and corrupt if it enters their land.

Central to these conflicts is the question of development. Seen in its raw form it is the conflict between the 'modern' and 'traditional' pursuits of development by the state and the Adivasi respectively. This contradiction is witnessed in their quest for industrialisation and agriculture respectively. Development ultimately is a product of contestation over the idea(s) of development by different actors making it deeply intertwined within the power and politics that creates enclaves of inequalities and exclusions through the control and distribution of resources. Development becomes a question of contention as the state of Jharkhand is focused on a 'fast-track' model of growth built on 'efficiency' and 'high return' while delegitimising 'traditional' practices for the 'superiority' of liberal capitalism. It is in this context that this thesis undertook a deeper study on the conflict in the state of Jharkhand to identify the development orthodoxies of the key actors in Jharkhand.

It was identified that the actors studied in this thesis – the state, the corporate entities, and the Adivasis – reflected a distinct ideology that is inclusive of their particular style as presented in the literature – the state aligns with the principles of state-led modernisation, the corporate entities lean on the ideology of neoliberalism, and the Adivasis stand for the theory of alternative development. This finding brings to light the deeply entrenched biases of the actors with the conclusion that the conflict in Jharkhand will persist until these differences are recognised and welcomed through participation and collaboration.

Acronyms

1894 Act	1894 Land Acquisition Act
2013 Land Acquisition Act	The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADC	Autonomous District Council
AITPN	Asian Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Network
APDR	Association for the Protection of Democratic Rights
BIRSA	Bindrai Institute for Research, Study and Action
BISCO	Bengal Iron and Steel Company
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
CAD	Constituent Assembly Debates
CBAA	Coal Bearing Areas (Acquisition and Development) Act, 1957
CII	Confederation of Indian Industry
CM	Chief Minister
CNT	1908 Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act
Convention 107	1957 International Labour Organization Convention 107
Convention 169	1989 International Labour Organization Convention 169
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
E&Y	Ernst & Young
FIAN	Food First Information and Action Network
FRA	The 2006 Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GNH	Gross National Happiness
GNI	Gross National Income
Gram Sabha	General assembly of the people of the village
Greater Jharkhand	The original demand for Jharkhand included districts of Bihar, West Bengal, Odisha and Madhya Pradesh
HDI	Human Development Index

HPI	Human Poverty Index
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INC or Congress	Indian National Congress
India Inc.	Collective of top Indian corporations
KPMG	Klynveld Peat Marwick Goerdeler
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MoU	Memoranda of Understandings
NAPM	Medha Patkar-led National Alliance of People's Movement
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NREGA	2005 National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
PESA	1996 Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas Act
PPP	Public-private partnership model
PPPP	People-public-private partnership model
PwC	PricewaterhouseCoopers
R&R	Rehabilitation & Resettlement site
SC	Scheduled Caste
SC/ST Act	1989 Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act
SEZ	Special Economic Zones
SIA	Social Impact Assessment
SPT	1949 Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act
ST	Scheduled Tribe
TAC	Tribal Advisory Council
TISCO	Tata Iron and Steel Company
UN General Assembly	United Nations General Assembly
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPA	United Progressive Alliance