



Review Paper

Neo-liberalism and resistance movement for cultural revitalisation: a study on indigenous people

Diganta Das

Central University of Gujarat, Gandhinagar, Gujarat, India
diganta253@gmail.com

Available online at: www.isca.in, www.isca.me

Received 20th October 2016, revised 2nd May 2017, accepted 12th May 2017

Abstract

Over the decade under the era of Neo-liberalism, the indigenous people have been subjected to discriminate and deprive from their natural resources which they are using both as materially and spiritually. Neo-liberalism has brought liberalization, privatization and globalisation mode of development, as result it substitute their livelihood from agriculture to industrialisation. For the national objective of development, the government has given much impotence of structural development as the foreign investor are become grid for investment in India. This LPG mode of development process has obliged to work for the elite section of society, as result it improvised the condition of indigenous people by depriving them from their livelihood. It has changed the relationship between nation-state and Indigenous people, has brought anti-globalisation movement and a left ideology against this change. This article is devoted to understand how the globalisation has impacted on the Indigenous people. Again, tried to explore how the anti-globalisation movement are grown as a resistance of globalisation and tried to revitalise their traditional based culture. At last, tried to understand about the recognition of international and national laws for the development of indigenous people.

Keywords: Globalisation, Indigenous people, Resistance, Revitalisation, Deprivation, Discrimination, State.

Introduction

The 21st century is grown under the sign of confrontation between the globalized and the globalisation. It has changed the nature of nation-state and social structure of global society. This change has brought the anti-globalisation movement and an ideological power left blow around the world against this change. They has criticised this regimes of authoritarian and bureaucratic in nature. The growing discontent, protest and resistance have declined the regime of neo-liberalism. Giddens stated that globalization as an extension of modernity rather than a split with it. Later he argued that with the expansion of European colonialism, along with the concept of nation-state, Giddens shifted his focus over the indigene, their plundered cultural resources, and exploitation of indigenous labour and land¹. Around 1980, international organisation like World Bank, International Monetary Fund, world trade centre etc. had come and the policies of privation, deregulation and liberalisation etc were the main motto of these institution. This policy has cuts the social spending and basic subsidies of common people. It has transferred social rights of health care and education into commodities. During the 1990s, the world income grown to 2.5 percent in against of lower per capital income than the decade before. It has increased the numbers poverty people across the global. It is recognised that the darkest side of the Globalisation is uncontrollable. Under this era, the flow of capital is increase, but it is asymmetrical in nature, as result it has increase the gap between indigenous people and rich people.

The anti-global movement have denounced the destructive flow of exploitation of the indigenous land and people, as such movement are considered as a most important illustration of social conflict and argumentative political behaviour. Their main agenda is to generated solidarity against neo-liberalism over the world during 1990s. It can be considered as a grassroots and alternative mode of political participation, in characteriser it is flexible, decentralized networks. Their main motive is to reshape the value like dignity, liberty and justice along with Global democracy and local self-management at grass root level, along with to overcome the problems of poverty, discrimination, social displacement, starvation, poor health condition and environmental devastation.

Activists are belonging in the anti-globalisation movement from over the world as like environmentalist, youths, peasant, the urban poor, and indigenous people to control over their livelihood. The Canadian social activist had organised collective action against the Canada-US free trade agreement (CUSFTA) during 1980 and it can be considered as one of the earliest collective action against neo-liberalism (Jeff rey M. Ayres). Some others anti-globalisation movements were Direct Action Network in North America, the Movement for Global Resistance in Barcelonaetc.

The WTO summit was shut down by the protester in November 30, 1999, as soon as the movement spread around the world. Again in September 2000, the anti-neo-liberalist had protested

in against World Bank / IMF meetings in Prague. Since then, anti-globalisation movement has transferred from international areas to the regional areas such as Porto Alegre, Mumbai, Dakar, Caracas, London, Mumbai, and Atlanta to discuss alternatives to corporate globalisation, Juris, Jeffrey².

Globalisation and issue of exploitation

Indigenous people are considered as the original people within a given territory. Most of the country around the world has recognised their rights over their natural resource. From generation to generation, they are utilising these natural resource as a material and spiritual way for their survival of life. But in the tresses of development, all their rights are violating by the respective government. For the national development, the government has been continuously utilising this natural resource and establishing industries within the territory of indigenous people. The destruction of natural resource is considered as a prime factor for the climate change and it has carried a threat for these people within their areas. It is a threat for erosion of natural resource, erosion of traditional knowledge and culture and most prominently threat for their livelihood.

It is estimated that in India, around 67.6 million people are belong from tribe community and it is constituted around 7 percent of the total population. This number has preceded the population country like France, Britain Australia and so on. Furthermore they are regarded as one of the most primitive people at the early stage of evolution of society and their culture and occupation are related with the forest, as they enjoyed the birth right to unitise the forest. They are the most depriving groups but it is most interesting that the rich natural resources are under the grip of this tribe. But the dominant groups are trying to pull out them from those forests and trying to assimilate them within the mainstream society. The Constitutional has provided several rights and programmes by assuring their all-round development. But over the decade they are the most vulnerable groups. All the constitutional provision is existed in a symbolic way and a small portion have enjoyed it. In this regard, the Corruption and inefficiency of official are considered as prominent cause.

More than 1500 major irrigation project are made since independent and it is cause of displacement more than 16 million people, around 40 per cent of them are tribal people. It is the prime cause of erosion of natural resource and the tribal culture, as the agencies like IMF, WB, IBRD, etc. have created favourable condition for it. This process of evasion and extraction has forced them to leave their place and constrain them to work in low wage in urban areas. According to the numbers of dam, India's position is the second over the world. In India more than Rs.300 billion was invested for the construction of dam and hydropower project by 2000. The World Bank had provided fund for more than 87 large scale dam projects, as it had invested only for 58 and 59 dam projects in the Africa continent and Latin America respectively. Around

\$ 7 billion had provided by the World Bank in India between 1981 and 1990. In India around 60 per cent of these large dams are located in central and western India where about 80 per cent inhabitants are belongs from tribals' communities. Furthermore, there is no reliable and complete information on the number of tribals displaced since independence. It is estimated that around 5 to 7 million tribes are displaced due to establishment of dams and approximately one in every ten tribe are displaced by mines, industries and others developments projects³. The concept of Privatisation is emerged in this new area of globalisation. For the objective of raising revenues, many Public Sector Enterprises are privatised, like BALCO in the tribal belt. It has adversely affected the tribal people's employment and livelihood⁴.

Over the century, an unavoidable conflict is seen between tribe and national interest. The national objective of the state is to build productive structure. This has led to the extraction and exploitation of the natural resource. It is the prime cause for the changing relationship between the tribe and the state. For the intension of development, the tribal lands are transferred on the hand to non-tribe. It has led to environmental degradation and declined the forest cover areas from 40% in 1950's to just 10% in 1980's in India. It has pushed these people to come out from their original place in search of job in industry, mines, railways etc.

National Aluminium Company Limited (NALCO) was set up in Damonjodi in Koraput district of Orissa. The tribal communities of the block are Khond, Gond, Paraja, Bhottada and Gadaba. They had lost their land, the authority of the industrial has given the assurance to provided cash compensation but the amount is too low than the market value of land .The situation of tribes become impoverishment, poor and marginalised after displacement. They have lost their agricultural land due to the industries and none of them has land to practice agricultural activities. Most of them are transferred their works from agriculture to pan shop, tea stall and most of them are engaged as wage worker in the industry. As a compensation pack, only one members of the family are able to get job in the industry. But rest of the family members are remained unemployed and imposed to depend on a single breadwinner. Even more, they have to lost their house and resettle in a new colony where they have to face lots of adjustment problems. It had affected 26 villages, 597 families were displaced, 254 are tribal, 56 dalits and the rest belonged to other communities. Out of the 10,058.76 acres of land acquired, 427.30 acres was for mines, 2,638.96 acres for townships and 6,992.50 acres for the plant. Around 2,805.49 ha (40.94 per cent) was government land for which no compensation was paid and 2,834.56 ha (41.36 percent) were agricultural lands. All the people of surrounding village were depending up on this land for their survival and produced fruits, leaves, flowers, etc. Some of family were rehabilitated in the Analabadi and they were deprived from their home land. For them only 156 more houses were built; 352 of these families have been given one job each, viz, 35 dalits, 14

tribals and 168 other castes and eight of the employees are women. Women were the major victims from it. Throughout this project, Women has lost their entire source of livelihood, as they played a vital role including as a collector of the MFP, firewood etc. over the decade, the status of women within the tribe society are declined. In this regards widows are faced most of the vulnerability for maintain their family and suffering from health hazard, malnutrition and various common diseases. In the rehabilitation policy, no such special provisions are keeping for these widows. Malnutrition and anaemia is the normal condition for them.

Again in Machkund Hydro Electricity Project, more than 2,938 families were displaced, 1,500 (51 per cent) tribals and 300 Dalits. Among these displaced family, around 600 families were rehabilitated and among them 450 tribal families and 150 others. Around 25 per cent people were rehabilitated at Dandakarany an area around Malkangiri. Some of them were decided against to leaving their home place. Ultimately, they were settled for higher compensation and better rehabilitation. In the same line, Upper Kolab - Multi-Purpose Project was situated in Koraput district was constructed to harness the water potential of River Kolab. It was supposed to generate maximum capacity of 240 MW and irrigates 47,985 ha of agricultural land for kharif and a little less for the rabi crop. From this project, more than 149 villages were affected. Out of this more than 13,095 families were fully affected and among them 2,127 family were dalits, 7,092 were tribals and 3,882 family were belongs to other castes. Out of this, only 3,067 families were identified for rehabilitation, 1,443 of them tribals, 458 dalits and 1,166 others⁵.

Since 1950 more than 160,000 people were deaths as a consequence of climate changed and it was estimated by the World Health Organization (WHO) estimated. In 2004, the Asian tsunami was the cause of killed more than 280,000 people and in 2003, in France more than 15,000 people were killed by the European heat-wave⁶. Again, in the coastal areas of Philippines, women have been facing the same problems. It has reduced their income from farming and fishing and forcing some women into sex work and thereby increases HIV infection. Again up to 77 per cent of the forest areas are expected to shift and it has affected both biodiversity and livelihoods based on these forests. This has totally destroyed the forest vegetation and it is the only source of income for tribal women. For the medical purposes, these women are using almost 300 forest species and a shift in forest vegetation is adversely affected their livelihoods and health.

Indigenous movement as a resistance and revitalisation of tradition

Over the world, some groups of people are recognised as an Indigenous within their territory according to the international laws. They are considered as an aboriginal within a given territory, as they have been enjoying it from generation to

generation. They have their own tradition and culture within their areas. Due to the influence of globalisation, they have been facing the threat of their autonomy, economic independence and freedom over natural resource. International organisations like united Nation, the international Labour organisation and the World Bank has set a special sets of political rights for the indigenous people to protect their traditional based all freedom including culture, identity, language, employment, health and rights over natural resource etc. Their status is characterized as an effective marginalised, isolated or minimally participative. Their ability to influence in the external politics is very little and it has subjugated their status in comparison to other majority groups, as it has narrow down their authority to influence other section of society.

According to UN state that the indigenous people have demonstrated the history of resistance and cooperation over the decades, as it is an opinion and determination to live within their distinct territorial identities⁷. In May 2016, the Fifteenth session of the united Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) has declared that indigenous people' as distinctive groups. It has emphasized to protect for their specific rights based on their linguistic, territory, and development of a given region by the international or national legislation. Over the decades the relationship between the indigenous people and the non-indigenous people are become more and more complex, as result the degree of conflict and subjugation are increase. As consequence, they have been facing the problem of identity crises from the pressure of assimilate into their surrounding society.

Different scholar from across the world has classified Indigenous movement in different form. After independent, Scholars like Desai (1979), Gough (1974) and Guha (1983) have classified tribal movements as peasant movements. But K.S. Singh (1985) has criticised this view on tribal movement and stated that tribal movement is social and political organisation in nature along with the social isolation. L.K. Mohapatra stated that tribal movement has three prime causes and it's including movement as a cause of outsider exploitation, economic deprivation, and separatist affinities. Again, Mohapatra (1972) describe tribal movement as reactionary, conservative and revolutionary. Surajit Sinha (1968) has described it into five groups and it does included Ethnic rebellion, Reform movements, and Political autonomy movements, Secessionist movements, and Agrarian unrest. S.M. Dubey (1982) has classified tribal movement into three groups, as Religious and social reform movements, Movements for separate statehood, Insurgent movements and Cultural rights movements. Ghanshyam Shah has described it into three groups and it has as Ethnic, Agrarian, and Political. K.S. Singh has classified tribal movement into four categories as agrarian, sanskritisation, cultural and political. Over the century, numerous adivasi movements were seen against the destruction of forest and home land over the century. In 1772 movement of Bihar was considered as the first beginning of Tribal movement.

After that several movement were upraised and it was as followed revolts in Andhra Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Mizoram and Nagaland⁸.

The tribal movement of Jharkhand and Orissa was started after the jungle Bachao Andolan of 1980s. The tribals of Singhbhum district of Bihar was started to protest and it was the protested against the government policies to replace the natural Sal forests with highly-priced teak. Navdanya Movement started in 1982 and it was the movement to empowering women or anti-globalisation campaigns. This movement was led by environmental activist Vandana Shiva and tried to promoted biodiversity conservation and organic farming. It helped to created markets for farmers and tried to promoted quality food for consumers. An NGO called Development Alternatives was founded in 1983 by Ashok Khosla and the main motto to work at the grass root level for financial, Social and Environment sustainability and able to generated more than three lakhs jobs across India through environmentally-sound and commercially viable technologies. Again, against the illegal mining of Vishakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh, the tribes and villagers of had put a strong protest, as result still much of the land remains free from the hold of illegal mining. In north-Eastern region of India, different tribal movements are seen around the issue of identity, irregular developments etc. are the prime causes.

Most of the adivasi people of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, and Maharashtra are lived in the mountains and the plains areas of Narmada river valley and their livelihood are based on the natural resource. Since 1985, a struggle is going on against the displacement and devastation of natural resource from the Narmada Valley project, as it has constituted by 30 large dams, 133 medium size dams, and 3,000 small dams and with 75,000 km of canal. All these projected have directed linkages to the waters of the Narmada River. The World Bank has funded for this project. Narmada Bachao Andolanis related with rights over economy, environment, and livelihood, personhood, for humanity. The slogan of this movement is got track with the slogan of 'Amra gaon maamra raj' (our rule in our village), 'Ham sab ek hain' (We are one), 'vikas chahiye, vinas nahin' ('we want development and not destruction).

Again, the Jharkhand movement was started for the issue of deforestation, deprivation from job, influx of outsider. They had demand for the creation of separated state covering from Palaman in Bihar to Keonjhar in Orissa and from Surguja in Madhya Pradesh to Manipur in West Bengal of the Indian Union for their identity preservation. This movement was leaded by an oxford educated tribe who was belonging from the Munda community. This movement was grown up against the multinational company which was situated in the Kshipur, Koraput, Kalahand, district of Orissa. This company had displaced more than 993 people and thousands of migrated due to geographical and socio-economic reason. But the successive government and the local business man had openly support this

project. Such type of movement against the mining is common among Bhuiyan, Juang, Munda, Santhal and Kondh. Their chief slogan was the "our lands, our minerals and our rights". But the government had taken the entire illegal path to fulfil their dream and even more harassed the local people by police in false cases.

The tribal people are deprived from all the development projected since independent. All the tribal movement in India such as Naxalite movement, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh etc. were related with the issue of alienation, deprivation, cultural assimilation, uneven development etc. and against the insensitive of government over this issue.

State for the Rights of Indigenous people

For clarification of the relationship between the federal state and the tribal government, the US government has recognised sever laws for the development of tribe, as it had developed the tribal community. The US government had recognised tribal nations as domestic dependent nations. But this tribal nation had the limited sovereignty power. Both the Sovereignty of the federal government and the individual states were the interdependent with each and it was limited by other within a structure of dual sovereignty.

Indian appropriations act of 1871: This act had come in 1871 with the provision that no Indian tribe or Nation should no recognised as an independent nation or power which they were enjoying before this act. But it was recognised as federal crime to commit murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent within the Territory of United State.

United States v. Kagama (1886): In 1886, the united Supreme Court was affirmed the Indian Appropriations Act of 1871 Act in United States v. Kagama. According to it, within the territorial areas of United State, the Congress had power to give penalty, protection and safety to all Native American tribes.

The General Allotment Act (Dawes Act), 1887: In U.S Law, this act was known as Dawes Severalty Act, (Feb. 8, 1887). This act had brought the provision of distribution of reserved land among tribe. There was the provision to provide 160 acres land to each head of family, 80 acres to each unmarried adult.

Revenue and Indian Citizenship acts, 1924: The government of United State had provided citizenship to all Native American who were born within county territory along with Native American women who married to U.S. citizens and Native American veterans of World War I.

Indian Reorganization Act, 1934: This act was known as the 'Wheeler-Howard Act' or the 'Indian New Deal.' This law had given much importance on the tribal self-governing power and it had brought relationship between the federal government and tribal. It had given much emphasised on the issue of eliminate

the erosion of tribal land, prohibited to land allotment to non-tribe etc. It had established a special revolving loan program for the development of tribe and under article 17 of this act a tribal business charters was set up.

Public Law 280, 1953: This law had brought the new division of authority among the federal, state government and tribe, as result the legal authority was transfer from the federal government to state governments. It had increased the role of state government in the criminal justice systems, as it had elimination the role of federal criminal justice system.

Scheduled Tribe (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005: This bill has recognised the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes who were occupied the forest land before October 25, 1980. Under this act every family would be entitled to 2.5 hectares land. This bill has included the provision of 12 forest rights such as the rights to live in the forest, to self-cultivate, and to use minor forest produce. But this law has forbidden the activities such as hunting and trapping. In this regard, the eligibilities of land rights of individual and family are determined by the gram Sabha.

In Indian constitution, there is some special provision for a distinct community. In article 342 said about the provisions for statutory recognition, article 330 and 332 mention about the proportionate representation in Parliament and state legislatures, article of 19 (5) mention about some restriction that outside cannot freely move or settle in some areas. In article 29 mentions about the protection and preserved of language, traditional culture, etc. In article 16(4) mention about the provision of jobs and appointments in favour of tribal communities. In the section of directive principle section (article 46) said about importance of education and economic for the weaker section of society including tribe, in article 244 and 244 (a) said about the provision for the 5th and 6th schedule. In article 244 (a) said about the special treatment of administration for the tribal areas. There are the provision of seat reservation of 7.5 per cent in government, semi-government and educational institution for the tribal communities. The Panchayat Scheduled Areas Act, 1996, has said about the protection and preservation of traditional culture and custom of the tribal people through the gram Sabha⁹.

Conclusion

It is growing consensus that Neo-liberalism is one of the prominent factors for the progressive marginalisation of Adivasi people. It has brought the geographically isolated adivasi area to homogenization, as result traditional self-governance systems come to contradiction with globalisation. As a consequence the adivasi people are become frustrated and it has brought threat for their livelihood, traditional culture. The government has taken several constitutional provisions for the development of indigenous people. But, these laws are obliged to work for the elite section of society, as it has more improvised the condition

of indigenous people by depriving them from their natural resource. Indigenous movement are the only way which resists the power, privilege and wealth of elite section. The uprising indigenous movement are the evidence of this resistance. It has denounced the destructive flow of exploitation of the indigenous land and people and considered as alternative social conflict and argumentative political behaviour, grassroots and alternative mode of political participation, in characteriser it is flexible, decentralized networks.

References

1. Aravinda L.S. (2000). Globalisation and Narmada People's Struggle. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4002-4005.
2. Ayres Jeffrey M. (2004). Framing Collective Action against Neoliberalism: The Case of the "Anti- Globalization Movement. *Journal of World System Research*, 10(1), 11-34.
3. Pathy Jaganath (1998). Impact of Development Projects on Tribals. In Vidyut Joshi (Ed), *Tribal situation in India*, Rawat publications, Jaipur.
4. Fr. John Felix Raj. S.J. (2004). Impact of Globalization on Tribal Communities. the Goethals Indian Library and Research Society St. Xavier's College, <http://www.goethals.in/collections/felixrajarticles/ImpactGlobalization.htm>
5. Stanley William (1996). Machkund, Upper Kolab and NALCO Projects in Koraput District, Orissa. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1533-1538.
6. McMichael A.J., Woodruff R.E. and Hales S. (2006). Climate change and human health: present and future risks. *The Lancet*, 367(9513), 859-869. [https://saludsindanio.org/sites/default/files/documents/files/151/Climate Chg Human Health](https://saludsindanio.org/sites/default/files/documents/files/151/Climate%20Chg%20Human%20Health).
7. United Nation. (2009). State of the World's Indigenous Peoples, 9, United Nations Publications. http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP_web.pdf
8. Aggarwal Mamta (2016). Tribal Movements in India. <http://www.historydiscussion.net/essay/tribal-movements-in-india/1797>
9. Virginius Xaxa (2014). Constitutional Provisions, Laws and Tribes, Yojana.