Traditional Wisdom and Biodiversity Protection Among Tribal Communities of Jharkhand, India

Meena Kumari

Central University of Jharkhand, India

Abstract

This research paper investigates the religious beliefs of the tribes in Jharkhand and their significant influence on biodiversity conservation. By combining insights from anthropology and ecology, the study examines the intricate connection between indigenous spirituality, cultural customs, and ecological care. Central to this exploration is the concept of totemism, which emphasizes the respect for specific plants or animals representing ancestral spirits or deities. Within tribal communities, these totemic beliefs drive conservation efforts, guiding sustainable management of resources and nurturing a profound bond with the environment. Taboos, integral to indigenous religious practices, play a crucial role in regulating resource use and maintaining ecological harmony. Taboos dictate restrictions on harvesting or hunting during religious festivals and seasonal rituals, allowing nature to regenerate and resources to replenish. Such restrictions also designate certain areas as sacred groves or sarna, where plant and animal species are shielded from human interference, safeguarding biodiversity and cultural heritage. Despite their importance, sacred groves and traditional conservation methods face numerous threats such as industrialization, urbanization, and deforestation. Additionally, the decline of traditional beliefs among younger generations further jeopardizes these sacred sites and biodiversity hotspots, making them vulnerable to degradation. Through interdisciplinary research and collaboration with local communities, this study aims to inform policies and community-driven initiatives for preserving ecological heritage and promoting sustainable development in Jharkhand. By recognizing and preserving indigenous knowledge and cultural practices, we can pave way for more balanced and sustainable relationship between humans and natural world, not only in Jharkhand but also beyond its borders.

Keywords: Tribal Communities, Jharkhand, Religious Beliefs, Biodiversity Conservation, Totemism, Sacred Groves, Traditional Knowledge, Sustainable Resource Management.

1. Introduction

For centuries, the indigenous peoples of Jharkhand have maintained harmonious relationship with their surrounding environment, guided by traditional religious beliefs and cultural practices that emphasize the sacredness of nature and the interconnectedness of all living beings. In recent years, as environmental degradation and loss of biodiversity have emerged as global challenges of paramount importance, scholars and conservationists have increasingly turned their attention to the unique role played by indigenous communities in biodiversity conservation [1]. This research paper explores how the religious beliefs of tribes in Jharkhand connect with protecting nature. It looks at their cultural traditions, spiritual practices, and rules for managing resources. The goal of this research is to understand how their knowledge and practices have sustainably kept the environment healthy. Through a comprehensive examination of totemic beliefs and practices, the researcher seeks to unravel the role of spiritual values in shaping conservation ethics and guiding sustainable resource management strategies. Integral to the analysis is the exploration of spatial and temporal

taboos imposed by tribal communities to regulate resource utilization and promote ecological balance. Temporal taboos, observed during religious festivals and seasonal rituals, dictate restrictions on harvesting, hunting, or fishing until specific times of the year, allowing for natural regeneration and resource replenishment [2]; whereas spatial taboos, on the other hand, designate certain areas as sacred groves or sarna, where plant and animal species are protected from human interference and habitat destruction.

Furthermore, the research endeavours to portray the challenges in traditional conservation practices in Jharkhand. The erosion of traditional belief systems and cultural practices among younger generations further undermines the conservation efforts of indigenous communities, placing sacred sites and biodiversity hotspots at risk of degradation and destruction. By identifying the challenges and opportunities facing tribal conservation initiatives, the research aims to inform policy interventions and community-based strategies for safeguarding ecology and promoting sustainable development. The paper thus serves as a comprehensive exploration of religious beliefs of tribes of Jharkhand in biodiversity conservation. By delving into the spiritual dimensions and cultural foundations of conservation ethics, the paper also illuminates the vital role played by tribal communities in preserving biodiversity and safeguarding ecosystems. Through collaboration with local stakeholders, the research aspires to contribute to conservation discourse and support efforts to protect the natural and cultural heritage of tribals of Jharkhand.

2. Biodiversity Conservation Practices of Tribal Communities in India

India stands as one of the 12 mega biodiverse countries globally, hosting four biodiversity hotspots. Throughout history, traditional societies in India, particularly tribal communities, have played a significant role in conserving this biodiversity across diverse habitats [3]. With livelihood activities like shifting cultivation, hunting, and pastoralism, India's tribal population, comprising 8.6% of the total population, is spread across the country, representing around 573 tribal communities, each with unique traditions. Approximately 15% of India's land is inhabited by Scheduled Tribes across different eco-geographical zones. Jharkhand, boasting a substantial tribal population, is recognized as one of the most biodiverse regions [4]. Shifting cultivation, known locally as "kuruwa" is a prevalent agricultural practice among tribal communities in Jharkhand. This method involves clearing small patches of forest land, cultivating crops for a few years, and then allowing the land to regenerate through natural succession while moving to a new plot. By rotating cultivation sites, tribal communities prevent soil degradation and maintain biodiversity [5]. They often plant a variety of crops, including indigenous varieties, promoting agro-biodiversity and preserving traditional knowledge of crop cultivation. Hunting and gathering are deeply ingrained practices among tribal communities in Jharkhand, intertwined with cultural traditions and dietary habits. However, these activities are conducted following strict customary rules and rituals to ensure sustainable use of natural resources and preserve wildlife populations.

Hunting is typically limited to specific seasons, and certain species are considered sacred and protected from hunting. The Santhal tribe, known for their hunting skills, traditionally hunt small game like birds and rodents for consumption while adhering to traditional norms that prohibit hunting during breeding seasons to maintain ecological balance [6]. Additionally, they gather medicinal plants and wild fruits, contributing to the conservation of plant diversity. Many tribal communities in Jharkhand practice pastoralism, rearing livestock such as cattle, goats, and buffaloes. Pastoralists migrate seasonally with their herds, allowing them to graze on diverse vegetation and preventing overgrazing in any single area [7]. This mobility fosters a symbiotic relationship between humans, animals, and the environment, contributing to the preservation of grasslands and supporting biodiversity.

The Oraon tribe practices transhumance, moving their cattle between different grazing grounds depending on the availability of fodder and water. This rotational grazing system prevents soil erosion, promotes grassland diversity, and allows for natural regeneration of vegetation, thereby conserving biodiversity. Tribal communities in Jharkhand possess rich traditional ecological knowledge passed down through generations, encompassing a deep understanding of local ecosystems, plant and animal species, and natural resource management practices [8]. This indigenous knowledge serves as a valuable tool for biodiversity conservation, guiding sustainable resource use and ecosystem management [9]. The Ho tribe has a sophisticated understanding of forest ecology and medicinal plants, identifying and classifying numerous plant species based on their medicinal properties and ecological roles. They use them for various healthcare needs while ensuring the sustainable harvest to maintain plant populations.

Jharkhand, with its significant tribal population and diverse ecosystems, contributes to the preservation of biodiversity hotspots within India. Tribal conservation practices such as shifting cultivation, hunting regulations, and pastoralism help maintain habitat diversity and support endemic species found in these hotspots, thereby safeguarding India's unique biodiversity [10]. Moreover, these practices enhance ecosystem resilience against environmental threats like climate change and habitat degradation. By maintaining forest cover, conserving soil fertility, and preserving water resources, tribal conservation efforts contribute to the long-term sustainability of ecosystems in Jharkhand. Lastly, tribal conservation practices are deeply rooted in cultural beliefs and traditions, reinforcing the cultural significance of biodiversity conservation. As custodians of traditional knowledge and practices, tribal communities play a vital role in preserving indigenous cultures and heritage associated with biodiversity, fostering community resilience and identity [11].

3. Tribal Religious Beliefs and Biodiversity Conservation in Jharkhand

Tribal communities in Jharkhand hold deep-rooted religious beliefs and adhere to taboos that emphasize the importance of nature conservation and the protection of natural resources. These beliefs are interwoven with their cultural practices and rituals, shaping their interactions with environment [12]. In Jharkhand, tribal religion has served as guiding force for sustainable resource management and biodiversity conservation for generations [13]. Tribes like Santhal, Munda, Oraon, and Ho have developed intricate knowledge systems and cultural practices that are closely tied to preservation of natural surroundings. These communities view themselves as custodians of land, with the responsibility to ensure its well-being for future generations.

Conservation strategies aimed at preserving biodiversity integrate with the traditional practices and beliefs of indigenous communities [14]. However, commercial interests in forests have often overlooked these indigenous conservation practices, leading to conflicts between traditional conservation efforts and economic development agendas. This disregard for indigenous knowledge systems has contributed to the weakening of traditional biocultural practices, raising concerns about the effective management of natural resources in Jharkhand [15]. A comprehensive study conducted on tribal communities in Jharkhand examined various aspects, including their socio-economic status, religious beliefs regarding biodiversity conservation, indicators of erosion of traditional knowledge, and strategies for sustaining tribal belief systems. The findings of the study underscored the critical importance of preserving tribal belief systems for effective biodiversity conservation in the region.

It is imperative for commercial interests operating in forest areas to acknowledge and respect indigenous conservation practices. By incorporating indigenous perspectives and knowledge systems into forest management policies and practices, it is possible to strike a balance between conservation goals and economic development aspirations [16]. Strengthening traditional biocultural practices is crucial for ensuring the sustainable management of natural resources and promoting the well-being of tribal communities [17]. Jharkhand, with its substantial tribal population, plays significant role in India's demographic landscape, concerning Scheduled Tribe (ST) population. The state has high percentage of Scheduled Tribe population, exceeding the national average, with 32 Scheduled Tribes present, including Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) like the Asur, Birhor, and Korwa. With a forest cover surpassing the national average,

Jharkhand's tribes engage in diverse lifestyles, ranging from hunter-gatherer societies to settled agriculturists, each contributing uniquely to the cultural and ecological uniqueness of the region [3].

4. Tribal Population, Forests and Religious Beliefs

The distribution of tribal population across Jharkhand's districts reveals concentration in areas such as Ranchi, Khunti, Simdega, and Gumla. These regions are characterized by high dependence on forests, with 17 out of 24 districts being predominantly tribal. Tribal communities in Jharkhand have deep reliance on forests for various aspects of their livelihood, including food, fuel, materials for crafts, and fodder for livestock [11]. Moreover, forests hold significant cultural and spiritual value for these communities, often being considered as sacred spaces. Religious beliefs and taboos play crucial role in shaping the relationship between tribal communities and their natural surroundings in Jharkhand [16]. Specific plant species, animals, and land or water bodies are associated with religious taboos, with certain actions being prohibited or restricted to maintain harmony with nature. These taboos serve as guidelines for resource management, helping to regulate and conserve natural resources to prevent over-exploitation. For instance, tribes may have prohibitions against hunting or cutting down certain trees during specific times of the year to allow for natural regeneration and sustainability.

Tribal communities in Jharkhand have developed traditional practices that facilitate the management and conservation of natural resources. These practices often stem from religious beliefs and rituals, with totemism and the establishment of sacred groves being notable examples [7]. Totemism, practiced among various tribes in India, involves associating specific plant or animal species with ancestral spirits or deities, thus prohibiting their harm or exploitation. Sacred groves, designated forest areas protected by religious beliefs, serve as biodiversity hotspots and play a crucial role in maintaining ecological balance [4]. The geographical proximity of tribal districts in Jharkhand to forest fringes further emphasizes the intimate relationship between tribal communities and their natural environment. The lifestyle of tribal communities revolves around the sustainable utilization of natural resources for sustenance, with practices like shifting cultivation, agroforestry, and traditional fishing methods being prevalent [1]. These communities have developed intricate knowledge systems and techniques for resource management that have passed down through generations, contributing to their resilience and adaptability in diverse ecological settings. The association of religious beliefs with resource conservation highlights the significance of indigenous knowledge in biodiversity conservation efforts. While some of these beliefs may seem irrational from an outsider's perspective, they have proven to be effective mechanisms for regulating human interactions with environment and ensuring long-term sustainability of natural resources.

Understanding and respecting these indigenous beliefs are essential for formulating effective conservation strategies that are culturally sensitive and inclusive of tribal perspectives. Integrating traditional practices and indigenous knowledge systems into conservation efforts can enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of biodiversity conservation [8]. By leveraging the wisdom and experiences of tribal communities, conservation initiatives can be tailored to local contexts, ensuring their relevance and acceptance among the affected populations. Moreover, fostering partnerships between tribal communities, government agencies, and nongovernmental organizations can facilitate collaborative approaches to conservation that empower indigenous peoples and promote community-led conservation initiatives. The reliance of tribal communities in Jharkhand on forests and the intertwining of religious beliefs with resource conservation underscores the importance of preserving indigenous knowledge and traditional practices [13]. Tribal diversity and forest reliance in the region highlight the need for conservation efforts that are sensitive to the cultural, social, and ecological dynamics of the area. By recognizing the value of indigenous knowledge and integrating traditional practices into conservation strategies, it is possible to achieve more holistic and sustainable outcomes for both the tribals and the environment.

5. Sacred Symbols, Totemism and Biodiversity Conservation

Totemism, a cultural phenomenon prevalent among various indigenous groups worldwide, represents a group's ancestry through symbols, beings, or objects, often non-human in nature. Among tribal communities, totems serve as significant symbols linking lineages to non-human beings or natural objects, forming intricate religious associations that foster a deep connection between indigenous peoples and elements of nature [16]. Different regions exhibit unique totems, often reflecting the local flora, fauna, and topography. In Jharkhand, tribal communities like Santhal, Ho, Munda, and Oraon, have numerous totemistic clans, each with distinct symbolism and significance. These clans are delineated based on animals, plants, or objects, with each clan tracing its lineage and identity back to its respective totem. Within these totemic groups, tribal members adhere to strict prohibitions against harming plants or animals associated with their clan, viewing them as sacred and integral to their cultural and spiritual heritage [14].

This reverence for totems extends beyond mere symbolism, driving tangible conservation efforts aimed at protecting and preserving the natural world. Totems hold a revered place within tribal communities, often venerated and integrated into various rituals and ceremonies that mark important life events and communal gatherings. The significance of totems transcends mere religious symbolism, permeating various aspects of tribal life and guiding social interactions and resource management practices. Offenses against totems are believed to carry severe consequences, including the potential reduction in clan size, thereby reinforcing the imperative to uphold conservation efforts and maintain harmony with nature [10]. In the Chhotanagpur region of Jharkhand, majority of totems among major tribal communities are based on animals or plants. This emphasis on living totems underscores the intimate relationship between indigenous peoples and their surrounding environment, as well as inherent value placed on conservation of flora and fauna. Totemism serves as a mechanism for ensuring the protection and conservation of various species, including those that may be threatened or endangered due to environmental pressures or human activities. Through the practice of totemism, tribal communities actively contribute to biodiversity conservation and ecosystem preservation. By assigning sacred significance to specific plants, animals, and natural objects, these communities establish a framework for sustainable resource management and environmental stewardship.

The conservation implications of totemism extend beyond the realm of symbolism, influencing tangible actions and behaviours aimed at safeguarding biodiversity and natural habitats. Tribal taboos and prohibitions against harming totemic species serve as effective mechanisms for regulating human interactions with environment and minimizing the negative impacts of resource extraction and land use practices [3]. Additionally, the reverence and respect accorded to totems foster a sense of responsibility and stewardship among tribal communities, driving collective efforts towards the preservation of their ancestral lands and heritage. Thus, by upholding taboos and rituals associated with totems, tribal communities actively contribute to biodiversity conservation and ecosystem preservation, along with safeguarding the rich ecological heritage for the coming generations.

6. Festivals and Biodiversity Conservation

Indigenous nature-based festivals held at sacred groves also play significant role in contributing to socioeconomic, cultural stabilization, and biodiversity conservation in Jharkhand. These festivals serve as important gatherings where tribal communities come together to celebrate their cultural heritage, reaffirm social bonds, and express reverence for the natural world [5]. Festivals and local fairs serve as platforms for preserving traditional practices and transmitting socio-cultural heritage from one generation to the next, ensuring the continuity of indigenous traditions and beliefs. During festivals, tribals often make vows to protect and preserve nature and the environment, reinforcing their commitment to sustainable living practices and ecological stewardship. These festivals represent more than just religious observances; they embody regulated communal behaviour and a deep-seated reverence for nature that permeates every aspect of tribal societies [15]. Through songs, dances, and rituals performed during festivals, tribal communities express their emotional attachment to the forest and environment. Tribal women play a particularly significant role in festival celebrations, composing songs that celebrate nature elements such as the sun, moon, forests, animals, and rivers. These songs reflect the deep spiritual connection indigenous peoples have with their natural surroundings, capturing the essence of their reverence for the environment [4]. The Sarhul festival, for example, worships the Sal tree as a God, emphasizing the importance of tree protection for ecological balance. Similarly, many festivals in Jharkhand are associated with the worship of specific tree species or animals, highlighting the close relationship of tribals with their natural environment.

7. Sacred Trees, Taboos, and Biodiversity Preservation

Taboos associated with sacred trees play a crucial role in facilitating their conservation among tribal communities in Jharkhand. These taboos are deeply ingrained in the cultural and spiritual beliefs of indigenous peoples, with violations believed to bring misfortune and spiritual repercussions [8]. Trees such as Karam, Sal, and Kendu, hold significant reverence in Jharkhand, with various ceremonies, including marriage rituals, often conducted under their shade. The veneration of these trees underscores the intimate connection between tribal communities and their natural environment, where trees serve as focal points for cultural practices and rituals that have passed down through generations. For example, the use of Sal leaves for ceremonial worship and the invocation of specific trees in rituals reflect the diverse beliefs and traditions associated with different tree species.

Cultural practices involving the association of specific trees with significant life events such as birth, marriage, and death serve as means of promoting biodiversity conservation, as they encourage reverence and respect for the natural world. These rituals and cultural practices are considered promising measures for sustainable biodiversity conservation among tribal communities in Jharkhand [12]. By embedding environmental stewardship and conservation principles within their cultural and religious beliefs, indigenous peoples uphold traditions that contribute to preservation of local ecosystems and biodiversity. Sacred groves, often known as *jaher*, hold a special significance in the social and cultural consciousness of tribal people in Jharkhand. Each *jaher* is associated with a specific deity tree and serves a particular purpose within the community. These groves are protected and preserved due to their association with sacred totem or taboo species that hold spiritual or cultural significance for indigenous peoples. Taboos associated with sacred trees, along with cultural practices and rituals involving their veneration, play a significant role in facilitating biodiversity conservation among tribal communities in Jharkhand [14]. Through festivals, songs, dances, and ceremonies, indigenous peoples reaffirm their deep connection with nature and express their commitment to environmental stewardship. Sacred groves serve as tangible manifestations of this relationship, preserving the cultural heritage and ecological integrity for generations to come.

Despite the cultural and ecological significance of sacred groves, they are under threat from various forms of human activity, including agricultural expansion, grazing, urban development, and the erosion of cultural beliefs. In Jharkhand, as in many other regions, the shrinking of sacred groves poses a significant challenge to the conservation of biodiversity and preservation of cultural heritage. As these sacred sites continue to face pressure from external forces, efforts to protect and conserve them must be strengthened to ensure the survival of indigenous traditions and the maintenance of ecological balance. Sacred groves and sites hold profound cultural, ecological, and spiritual significance for tribal communities. They serve as focal point for community gathering, religious ceremonies, and cultural activities, fostering social cohesion and reinforcing traditional values. By upholding taboos, beliefs, and rituals associated with these sacred sites, tribal communities contribute to the preservation of biodiversity and the conservation of natural resources. However, the ongoing threats to sacred groves underscore the urgent need for concerted efforts to protect and sustain these invaluable cultural and ecological assets for future generations.

8. Conclusion

In nutshell, it can be summarized that tribal wisdom plays significant role in biodiversity conservation, serving as intrinsic motivators for protection and sustainable management of natural resources. The tribal communities of Jharkhand have long revered nature as sacred and imbued with spiritual significance, viewing the natural world as an extension of their own existence and identity. Totemism, a prevalent cultural practice among these communities, underscores the reverence for specific plants or animals believed to be ancestral beings. By regarding certain species as sacred ancestors, tribal groups establish a deep-seated connection with the natural environment, fostering a sense of reverence, responsibility, and reciprocity towards the ecosystems upon which they depend. One of the central mechanisms through which indigenous religious beliefs contribute to biodiversity conservation is the imposition of spatial and temporal taboos. These customary norms and restrictions regulate resource utilization, promoting sustainable resource management practices and preventing over-exploitation of natural resources. Temporal taboos, observed during festivals and other communal gatherings, dictate restrictions on harvesting or hunting until specific times of the year, allowing for natural regeneration and replenishment of resources. Spatial taboos, on the other hand serve to protect plant and animal species from human interference, preserving biodiversity and ecological balance.

Sacred groves, revered as sacred spaces by tribal communities, act as protected zone for an array of plant and animal species, serving as hotspots of biodiversity within the landscape. They not only provide habitat for endangered and endemic species but also serve as repositories of traditional knowledge, ecological wisdom, and cultural practices passing down through generations. However, despite their ecological and cultural significance, sacred groves face numerous threats from various sources, including developmental activities, urbanization, and resource exploitation. The encroachment of mining operations, agricultural expansion, and infrastructure projects pose significant challenges to the integrity and conservation of these sacred sites, endangering both biodiversity and cultural heritage. Furthermore, the erosion of traditional belief systems and cultural practices among younger generations exacerbates the vulnerability of sacred groves to external pressures and undermines their role in biodiversity conservation. In light of these challenges, it is imperative to recognize the importance of integrating indigenous knowledge systems and customary practices into contemporary conservation strategies.

Collaborative approaches that engage tribal communities as active partners in biodiversity conservation efforts hold promise for achieving meaningful and sustainable outcomes. By fostering partnerships between government agencies, non-governmental organizations, and local communities, it is possible to leverage traditional ecological knowledge and cultural practices to enhance the effectiveness of conservation initiatives and promote holistic approaches to environmental management. Moreover, efforts to document and preserve tribal totemic beliefs, sacred sites, and customary laws can contribute to the revitalization of indigenous cultural heritage and the empowerment of tribal communities. By acknowledging the intrinsic connection between cultural identity, spiritual beliefs, and ecological well-being, policymakers and conservationists can develop inclusive and culturally sensitive conservation strategies that respect the rights, traditions, and autonomy of indigenous peoples. The religious beliefs of the tribes of Jharkhand serve as invaluable resources for biodiversity conservation, offering insights into sustainable resource management practices, and inspiring reverence and stewardship for the natural world. By honouring and preserving indigenous knowledge systems, cultural practices, and sacred sites, paving path towards a more harmonious and sustainable coexistence between humanity and the natural environment, can be ensured.

References

1. Malhotra, K. C., Gokhale, Y., Chatterjee, S., & Srivastava, S. (2001). Cultural and ecological dimensions of sacred groves in India. *INSA*, *New Delhi*, 1-30.

- 2. Sivakumar, K. P., Nair, A. S., & Jaya, D. S. (2014, June). Indigenous reverence for environment: a review on sacred groves in India. In *International Conference on Indigenous Initiatives for Environment and Development* (pp. 28-29).
- 3. Savyasaachi. (2008). Deforestation, Nature and Conservation: An Indigenous Discourse. *Contemporary Perspectives*, 2(2), 279-313.
- 4. Bhakat, R. K., & Sen, U. K. (2008). Ethnomedicinal plant conservation through sacred groves. *Tribes and Tribals*, 2, 55-58.
- 5. Malhotra, K. C., Gokhale, Y., & Das, K. (2001). *Sacred groves of India: an annotated bibliography*. New Delhi: Development Alliance.
- 6. Maity, D., Dey, S. K., Soumita Chatterjee, S. C., & Maiti, G. G. (2015). Ethnobotany and environmental management by the tribal communities of Patratu, Hazaribagh District, Jharkhand.
- 7. Dudley, A. M. (1999). Indigenous forest use practices and sustainability: a case study of the Adivasis of the Nilgiri Biosphere region, South India.
- 8. Sutradhar, A. (2015). Indian Environmentalism and Tribal Movements.
- 9. Sen, A., & Lalhrietpui, E. (2006). Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill: A view from anthropology and call for dialogue. *Economic and Political weekly*, 4205-4210.
- 10. Pandey, R., & Rao, P. V. (2002). Impact of globalization on culture of sacred groves: a revival of common, but decay of the traditional institution. In *Ninth Biennial conference of IASCP* (pp. 17-21).
- 11. Kujur, J. M. (2008). Tribal Women and Sustainable Ecology. *Better Quality Of Rural Life: North East Regions Tribal, Dalit Areas*, 229.
- 12. Mullick, S. B. (2011). Commons to Capital: With a Special Reference to the Mundas of Jharkhand. *Social Change*, 41(3), 381-396.
- 13. Deb, D. (2007). Sacred Groves of West Bengal: A model of community forest management. *Available at SSRN 2403540*.
- 14. Padhi, S., & Panigrahi, N. (2011). Tribal movements and livelihoods: Recent developments in Orissa. *CPRC-IIPA working paper*, 51.
- 15. Gadgil, M. (2007). Social change and conservation. J. Pretty, A. Ball, T. Benton, J. Guivant, D. Lee, ODW, M. Pfeffer & H. Ward (Eds.), The Sage Handbook of Environment and Society, 485-500.
- 16. Sharma, S. (2010). Development for what and whom and at whose cost? Some sociological reflections on development of tribes in India. *Social Change*, 40(2), 195-212.
- 17. Banerjee, A., Ghosh, S., Springate-Baginski, O., & One, N. F. (2010). The creation of West Bengal's forest underclass: An historical institutional analysis of forest rights deprivations. *School of Environment & Development, University of Manchester*.