The Adaptability of Tribal Land Rights amidst Rapid Urbanization

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Abstract

During the modern era of rapid urbanization, it is to be noted that the tribal communities are being faced with a dire choice between embracing future progress or holding onto their traditional heritage. The land rights of the tribal populace have often been granted a lower predilection than other concurring rights. With issues of human rights violations and other more pressing issues, the issue of land rights is usually pushed to the backburner. However, it is to be noted that this indeed could be put forth as a primal root cause of all their issues in the first place. While it is indeed true that the government has established certain safeguards to prevent the loss of land from tribal hands, the problem arises when the authorities step forward to uproot their traditional society, to build an urban environment that essentially renders them to be a fish out of water. How far could the authorities hide behind a façade of goodwill and attempt to veil their selfish ambitions under the veil of development, before it severely cripples the livelihood of the tribal population in question? The paper will attempt to investigate the age-old conflict between tradition and modernity, while adequately gauging the social pulse with regards to how the tribal community might be dealing with this issue. Recent developments regarding land grabbing and human rights abuse regarding the tribal community, will be examined in a thorough manner to understand the stance of legal loopholes in the existing statutes. It has been claimed that amendments to the existing acts have significantly weakened its enforceability. The paper will focus on identifying sustainable solutions that would strike a balance between preserving the traditional values and heritage of the tribal community while also considering the push for modernization from the government. Furthermore, the dystopian creation of slum-dwellings will also be examined to formulate a proper hypothesis of how the conflict amidst modernity, poverty and traditionality have resulted in a societal disparity of disproportionate magnitude.

Keywords: Land Rights, Tribal Rights, Tribal, Modernization, Urbanization.

The Indian Landscape of Urbanization

History has viewed the creation of cities as a sign of societal advancement. Cities that existed before the Industrial Revolution were distinctly different from those that developed after it. Most people on earth now live in urban areas. In urban regions, there will be almost 5 billion people by the year 2030, according to estimates. A significant portion of this urbanisation will take place in Africa and Asia, with potentially significant social, economic and environmental repercussions. Even if it has the potential to usher in a new era of prosperity, resource efficiency and economic progress, urbanisation also creates inequality, poverty, water scarcity, air and dust pollution, as well as carbon and lead emissions that cause climate change and health risks. This also applies to India. This pattern of urbanisation is also devouring indigenous peoples' traditional habitats, depriving them of their land and resources, escalating their poverty and health risks, harming the ecology and environment, and destroying their way of life without providing them with alternatives. This presents a problem for urban development that is sustainable.

Therefore, a more sustainable alternative to this urbanisation process must be found. Such an alternative viewpoint can be offered by tribes or indigenous people who live in harmony with nature and the environment. The essay considers the aforementioned disputes and considers the difficulties of inclusive and sustainable urban development in areas with a high indigenous population. It is important to first make a difference between urbanisation and urban development.

Demographers describe urbanisation as the fraction of the population that lives in urban areas relative to the overall population of the nation, which is on the rise (Poston and Bouvier 2010)¹. Urban areas are typically understood to be populated places that are more populous and denser than rural settlements and more ideal for locating administrative facilities and functions. However, urban areas are defined differently in different countries. Fewer than half of the countries that provide data on urban population use neither administrative nor population-

¹ Population and society: an introduction to demography. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK

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related factors in their definitions, whereas significantly more than half do. (Buettner 2015²; United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) 2012³). Since urban administrative status is typically granted to larger communities, the administrative and population-based criteria are related (Tacoli et al. 2015)⁴. On the other hand, urban development has been described as a technical and political process concerned with the welfare of individuals, management of land use, design of the urban environment, including networks of transportation and communication, and preservation and improvement of the natural environment. Additionally, it comprised a variety of occupations, educational and medical facilities, improved wellbeing, and a flourishing arts and aesthetics scene.

According to Kingsley Davis, there are four main reasons why the urban phenomenon has drawn interest and attention from academics from a sociological perspective. (1955)⁵. First off, such phenomena are relatively new in human history, he claims. Cities were not present before most other facets of civilization, such as language, religion, social stratification, or the family, and urbanization, the phenomenon where a significant fraction of the population resides in cities, has only recently emerged. Second, urbanisation reflects a fundamental shift in the way society functions as a whole. It itself is a result of fundamental economic and technological advancements, and once it exists, it tends to have an impact on all facets of life. In addition to the clearly defined metropolitan milieu, it also exerts its pervasive effect in the rural hinterland. The third reason for sociologists' interest in cities is because, once they are created, they frequently become the centres of power and influence in all of society, regardless of how rural or agricultural it may be. Finally, the urbanisation process is still in progress and many of the related issues remain open-ended, so its potential and future course are still up in the air.

² Urban estimates and projections at the United Nations: the strengths, weaknesses, and underpinnings of the world urbanization prospects. Spat Demogr 2:91–108

³ World urbanization prospects: the 2011 revision. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, New York

⁴ Urbanisation, rural—urban migration and urban poverty. International Institute for Environment and Development, London

⁵ The origin and growth of urbanization in the world. Am J Sociol 60(5):429–437

It's critical to keep in mind that for a very long time, India was viewed as a nation of villages and hamlets while studying the process of urban growth in that country. Ramachandran (1989)⁶ disputes this idea by stating that with over 12,000 urban settlements, India has an enormously developed urban infrastructure. He goes on to say that India may be the world's most urbanised country in terms of the total number of urban facilities present throughout the length and breadth of the country. He goes on to say that India may be the world's most urbanised country in terms of the total number of urban facilities present throughout the length and breadth of the country. It should be noted, nevertheless, that neither academics nor decision-makers paid much attention to India's urbanisation process until quite recently. Although the majority of nationalist leaders who took part in the Indian liberation fight were themselves city dwellers, Prakash (2002)⁷ makes the intriguing remark that during the initial stages of India's planning and development period, they did not address the issue of urbanisation. This argument is continued by Batra (2009)⁸ who claims that the significance of cities in India's future was mysteriously left out of both Gandhian and Nehruvian conceptions of the country. Ambedkar, on the other hand, believed that urbanisation may help abolish the caste system that dominates a huge portion of Indian society. He frequently repeated the line, "The affection of the educated Indian for the village community is, of course, limitless, if not sad," during the Constitutional Assembly Debates (1948–1949)9. What is a village if not a breeding ground for nationalism, communalism, and ignorance? indicates his disagreement with the societal framework of the community.

According to Batra (ibid.), urban challenges have only recently started to play a significant role in public discourse and government policy. Further explaining, he notes that there is a growing amount of academic research on built form, spatial linkages, and city government in India today. This transition, according to him, is evidenced by the planning apparatus's perception of cities (as opposed to villages) as the sources of economic growth, which has since evolved

⁶ Urbanization and urban systems in India. Oxford University Press, New Delhi

⁷ The urban turn. In: Sarai Reader 2: the cities of everyday life. Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi, pp 2–7

⁸ A review of urbanisation and urban policy in post-independent India. Working paper series, Centre for the Study of Law and Governance, Jawaharlal Nehru University

⁹ The Constitutional Assembly Debates. Rajya Sabha, New Delhi. https://rajyasabha.nic.in/rsnew/official_sites/constituent.asp

into one of the state's guiding principles due to the "global hegemony of neoliberalism" (Lefebvre 1968)¹⁰. The fact that Indian cities never had the "same size of publicly supplied mass housing, mass manufacturing-based economy, or premeditated master planned infrastructure and services" sets them apart from those in Europe and even Latin America. A significant portion of housing has been created through land transformation outside of master planning, with the majority of the economy being "bazaar like" and centered on municipally delivered services and infrastructure. The "poor" are heavily active in market activities, just as other social groupings, "over real estate, over the production and distribution of commodities" (Benjamin 2010)¹¹. In the name of modernity, where planned growth is intended to "manage" chaos," this kind of urbanisation is characterised as neoliberal by the employment of policies and programmes to discipline and regulate these everyday actions in favour of big business and the elite. Indian cities were largely absent from the policy radar till the 1990s. From the standpoint of the welfare state and social justice that served as the foundation for master planning, their "unplanned development," de facto tenures, and mixed-use housing were addressed. Even while this planning was disconnected from daily life, its actual subversion by massive land regularisation had more to do with politics (Ibid.). 1991 witnessed two incidents. The Indian economy first underwent "liberalisation," as it were. The World Bank's emphasis on a policy perspective to shift urban finance away from the basic necessities strategy of the 1970s and 1980s stressed the city as the hub for economic productivity (Cohen 1990)¹². Cities would then be able to finance massive infrastructure as actors on the international scene as a result. Poverty brought on in the "near term" would eventually be reduced by "economic growth." The impoverished were skillfully depicted as "marginals," "slum" dwellers, and placed in a situation where those who were "productive" would be entitled to first claims. Such a "Victorian" viewpoint served as the foundation for institutional transformation that encouraged financial responsibility on the part of municipal organisations and replaced political authority with mayor-centric and specifically administrator-controlled "city managers" (Benjamin 2010; Ibid.).

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¹⁰ Le Droit À La Ville. Anthropos, Paris

¹¹ Manufacturing neoliberalism: lifestyling Indian urbanity. In: Banerjee-Guha S (ed) Accumulation by dispossession: transformative cities in the new global order. Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp 92–124

¹² Macroeconomic adjustment and the city. In: Harris N, Fabricius I (eds) Cities and structural adjustment. University College London Press, London, pp 49–59

Cities would then be able to fund extensive infrastructure and become players on the global stage. Economic growth would eventually result in less poverty than it had caused in the "short term." The poor were cleverly portrayed as "marginals," "slum" dwellers, and put in a position where those who were "productive" would have priority over claims. Such a "Victorian" perspective provided the theoretical underpinnings for institutional change that promoted fiscal responsibility on the part of municipal organisations and substituted political authority with mayor-centric and specifically administrator-controlled "city managers" (Benjamin 2010; Ibid.). The idea behind the introduction of urban development initiatives like the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) in 2005 was this economic and political foregrounding. According to Mohanty, the national strategy did not give much thought to the development of Indian cities prior to the introduction of the JNNURM. Leading Indian urban studies researchers have referred to JNNURM as one of India's "harshest neoliberal urban development programmes" (Benjamin 2010; Ibid.).

Sustainability Issues

The Brundtland Commission's book Our Common Future, which was published, is where the phrase "sustainable development" was first used (1983)¹³. According to the definition given in the essay, sustainable development is any type of growth that satisfies current demands without jeopardising the ability of future generations to satiate their own wants. The commission emphasises the following two ideas:

- 1. The idea of "needs," specifically the idea that the most vulnerable individuals in the world should have their most basic needs met first.
- 2. The assumption that the environment's capacity to satisfy both present and future needs is constrained by the state of technology and social organisation.

The commission also emphasises that the environment is more than just physical surroundings; it also refers to social and political contexts, which goes beyond the traditional school of thought.

¹³ Our common future: the World Commission on Environment and Development. Oxford University Press, New York

Additionally, it stresses that development concerns not only how poor countries might improve their circumstances but also what the entire globe, including affluent nations, should do to improve their shared circumstances. Understanding urban growth in the context of sustainability is vital in this situation. The goal of a sustainable urban development process is to elevate urban communities to a state of "sustainability" and to establish or enhance the sustainability-related traits of an economic, social, and environmental city. But there are many issues that modern cities face, including pollution, traffic, crime, urban poverty, etc. These are not characteristics of sustainability since they do not uphold human decency and the fundamental necessities of existence.

The fact that "the problem of equity has been largely overlooked in city designs" is one of the most significant planning flaws. The city masterplans exhibit a terrible lack of planning for poverty. The unwillingness to acknowledge urban poverty or to provide sufficient housing for the urban poor is the foundation of the issue. Indian cities have not planned for inexpensive housing, generally letting the market to decide on housing options. The casual consideration given to important city infrastructure, such as solid waste management, the public transit system, and addressing the challenges of marginalised social and economic groups, results in additional design deficiencies. Urban planning has avoided the challenge of developing a comprehensive, decentralised, and integrated solid waste management system. Cities now struggle to store rubbish and are evicting more people from areas outside of settlements as a result. Public transportation and transit-oriented development are both in similar situations (Jha 2019)¹⁴. The provisions for gender, children, the elderly, and those with disabilities are severely lacking in the master plans.

It should also be highlighted that the majority of post-independence Indian housing programmes fell short in terms of adequately defining the concept of "housing poverty." Electricity, water supply, sanitation, and even sewage management, parks and open spaces, access to a housing loan or even renting a property, and a person's ability to access jobs and

¹⁴ India's urban challenges: recommendations for the new government (2019–2024). Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi

social relationships must all be considered when discussing sufficient housing. These factors "limited major housing designs in the following ways:

- 1. Newly constructed apartments had structural flaws and lacked basic amenities;
- 2. In many cases, these units were out of reach financially;
- 3. These units were far from the city centre, locations of employment, and sources of income; and
- 4. They destroyed preexisting social networks.

As a result, many of these recently constructed or renovated homes were neglected or remained uninhabited. Aside from that, the demands of urban environments and the rising population density exacerbate poor air and water quality, scarce water supplies, challenges with waste disposal, and high energy usage (D'Souza 2019)¹⁵.

According to the National Geographic, some of the major environmental and ecological threats of urbanization can be witnessed as follows:

- 1. Rapid urbanisation might exacerbate poverty because local governments cannot adequately serve everyone.
- 2. Increased air pollution from concentrated energy consumption has a major negative impact on human health.
- 3. Lead concentrations in urban air are raised by automobile exhaust.
- 4. Significant amounts of uncollected garbage pose numerous health risks.
- 5. The risk of environmental hazards like flash flooding can be increased as a result of urban expansion.
- 6. Loss of urban tree cover is facilitated by pollution and structural obstacles to root growth.

¹⁵ Housing poverty in urban India: the failures of past and current strategies and the need for a new blueprint. Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi

7. The loss of habitat and food sources, harmful substances, and automobiles all have an adverse effect on animal populations.

There have been other emerging tribal settlements that appear to have shared comparable traits, but to a lesser extent. Therefore, there is a chance to redirect things towards sustainability and construct the new ones using that idea. The paper explores the urbanisation that has already taken place in tribal regions in this setting and looks at how sustainability might be incorporated into it. Before talking about urbanisation in tribal areas, it's critical to understand what Indian tribes and indigenous people are.

The Context of Tribes and Indigenous People in India

The term "tribe" has been appropriated by "anthropologists" from the common language, which mainly referred to individuals who were viewed as being primitive. They were illiterate and lived in isolated, underdeveloped locations. It was sometimes used interchangeably with the word race. Anthropologists have developed this idea over time. According to Berteille (1977)¹⁶, a tribe is "a society that is a self-contained unit with its own territory, language, culture, economic system, and political system." Tribes have been classified as indigenous people in more recent years. While phrases like "tribes" and "indigenous people" can refer to the same thing, there is a greater differentiation. The term "indigenous people" refers to the tribes that inhabited each region or territory before European colonisation in the 16 and seventeenth century. As a result, unlike the term "tribe," which is not always the case, indigenous people have a tendency to take on the form of a historical category. Tribal communities in India claim to be native people. (Xaxa 1999)¹⁷. This can be seen in their adoption of the term Adivasi to differentiate themselves from others. Adivasi refers to indigenous people. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples has been signed by India. However, it denies tribal people the status of indigenous people, claiming that everyone in India is indigenous. However, a significant intervention occurred in the form of the Supreme Court's January 2011 decision in the "Kailas & Others vs State of Maharashtra" case. "92% of India's population is descended from immigrants," the jury stated.

¹⁶ The definition of tribe. In: Thapar R (ed) Tribe, caste and religion in India. Macmillan, New Delhi, pp 7–14

¹⁷ Tribes as indigenous people of India. Econ Polit Wkly 34(51):3589–3595

The Adivasis are one of India's most vulnerable and marginalised communities. Although they presently make up only around 8% of the country's overall population, they are one of the most disadvantaged groups and are also the most marginalised. This ruling validates the tribes' assertions that they are India's original inhabitants.

The Challenges and the way forward regarding urbanization in tribal areas

Xaxa (2012)¹⁸ states, Geographic and social isolation from the larger Indian society is one of the marked features in terms of which tribes in India came to be conceptualised. This meant that rather than considering the stage of their social formation, they were conceptualised in relation to the larger Indian society. That explains why numerous organisations and communities come together at a different level of social formation have all come to be identified and defined as tribes. Tribes benefited from the autonomy of government over the land they occupied because they lived apart from the wider Indian society. They were in charge of the land, the forest, and other resources and were self-governing according to their own set of rules, customs, and traditions. Despite this, they did interact with the outside world occasionally.

There was communication between tribes and towns while colonialism was in effect. These meetings were mostly for administrative purposes, such as paying taxes, showing up in court, and buying supplies for domestic use. However, many tribal people migrated nearer to the metropolis as modern education spread and more economic opportunities emerged, either with the Christian missionaries or the government. However, they also refrained from cutting bonds to their natural habitats. This phenomenon developed as modern schooling spread and fresh, more contemporary job prospects appeared. These prospects required them to relocate to towns. The mobile population in the towns at the time of independence was quite small. However, India's improved employment prospects after independence encouraged a steady rise in the number of tribal people relocating to towns.

¹⁸ Tribes and development: retrospect and prospect. In: Xaxa V, Nathan D (eds) Social exclusion and adverse inclusion: development and deprivation of Adivasis in India. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp 22–35

Despite this, only a small portion of the tribal population lived in towns (Khakha 2019)¹⁹. Only 1% of the indigenous people resided in metropolitan areas in 1961. In 1971, the amount was the same. From 1981 to 2001, there was a decadal increase of around 2%, bringing the number from 3% in 1981 to 7% in 2001. 11% of the indigenous population resided in metropolitan areas in 2011. Tribes have so been moving into towns and cities at a regular rate. Despite this expansion, only 2.8% of the nation's urban residents are from tribes (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2013)²⁰.

There are now more indigenous people living in urban areas, however this increase is not consistent across all regions or subregions. Compared to the rest of mainland India, a higher percentage of tribal people reside in urban areas in the northeast. Overall, the urban phenomenon in tribal areas may be seen in the rising proportion of tribal residents as well as the rise in recent years in the number of townships of various types. Tribes lived in 4378 metropolitan areas/towns in 593 districts, according to the 2001 Census of India. The number has probably greatly increased throughout the years. The number of tribes living in towns in tribal territories has significantly increased. The fact that the number of towns in tribal territories has significantly increased shows that this process is still happening. The urbanisation is neither uniform or of the same origin in these places, which is another fact that needs to be taken into consideration. For instance, the majority of the urbanisation in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Odisha was a result of the industry that occurred during and after independence. Cities like Jamshedpur, Bokaro, Bhilai, Ranchi, Rourkela, Dhanbad, etc. have developed as a result of the region's industrialization, mineral extraction, and growth in transportation and communication. Similar to northeast India, the majority of the towns there, including Sylhet, Silchar and Shillong, began as British administrative hubs. Township construction has increased dramatically since independence. According to the 2011 Census, about 28.9% of the 1.99 million residents of states like Nagaland reside in metropolitan areas. An increase in urban tribal population is far from consistent throughout regions or subregions, as may be shown by looking at a national overview of tribes in urban areas.

¹⁹ Tribes and urbanisation in North East India: issues and challenges. Econ Polit Wkly 54(38): 46–52

²⁰ Annual report. Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi

In comparison to the tribal regions of mainland India, the northeast region has a higher proportion of urban tribal people. According to Vidyarthi (1972)²¹, the rate of industrialization and urbanisation has greatly accelerated in tribal areas as a result of the forces driving the exploitation of mineral resources, the development of mineral-based industries, the emergence of industrial, commercial, and administrative centres, as well as other factors. Most tribal groups have experienced land alienation and social unrest as a result of these dynamics. This can be seen in the loss of traditional jobs, traditional homes, and traditional ways of living, as well as the exhaustion of compensation funds, unemployment, intense and unfair competition with migrant workers on the job market, lofty goals, and intense frustration. One of the first people to theorise about the socioeconomic placement of tribes in urban cultures was Chattopadhyay (1972)²². He suggested that tribes would be forced into subservient economic pursuits as a result of their absorption into an "urban, industrial society."

As was previously said, this form of urban growth was based on the expropriation of indigenous people's land through land acquisition as well as the alienation of tribes' land to non-tribes. According to Sharan (2005)²³, land alienation to individuals can be classified into four crosscutting categories, including alienation in urban and rural areas, alienation between tribes, and alienation within tribes. Alienation has mostly been induced and requested in metropolitan areas for housing (by foreigners) and non-agricultural purposes. Both tribes and non-tribes have been impacted by this type of alienation, which has intensified since independence. The environment is important to tribes for material and spiritual reasons in addition to ecological ones. Tribal society is woven into the very fabric of nature. It shows up in a variety of things, including food, buildings, household items, artefacts, ceremonies, rituals, customs, festivals, and more. Even though the indigenous societies' reliance on nature is extreme, it is not in any way passive. Communities interact with nature and change it into forms that are useful to them without upsetting the balance between them and the environment. Tribes and environment coexist in a harmonious manner (Xaxa 2008; Ibid.).

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²¹ Socio-cultural implications of industrialisation in India: a case study of tribal Bihar. Council of Social & Cultural Research, Bihar and Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University, Ranchi

²² The problem of tribal integration to urban industrial society: a theoretical approach. In: Singh KS (ed) The tribal situation in India. Indian Institute of Advanced Studies (IIAS), Shimla, pp 486–493

²³ Alienation and restoration of tribal land in Jharkhand: current issues and possible strategies. Econ Polit Wkly 40:4443–4446

There is a realisation in tribal communities that nature and resources sustain and support human life, including its growth to fulfil its full potential, while also utilising nature and its resources for their regeneration and growth (Ekka 2007)²⁴. A clearer understanding has emerged of the connection between injuring the environment and improper resource use and resource depletion, environmental degradation, pollution, desertification, loss of ozone layers, threat of resource scarcity, and climatic disorders. Tribes have a reverent attitude towards nature as a result of this. The tribal people's shared views on life and development are consistent with the Brundtland Commission's definition of sustainable development (1983). As was already established, according to the commission, sustainable development is defined as meeting current demands without compromising the capacity of future generations to satisfy their own requirements.

This demonstrates how the natural order interacts with tribal societies. The two orders are not autonomous, discrete, or separate. Instead, they are interdependent and make up a unified moral code (Xaxa 1998)²⁵. There is a duty to nature as well as to one's fellow humans. It plays a significant role in their daily lives and shapes how they view the world. For them, the idea of development without considering nature is meaningless. A fascinating distinction between rational domination and rational adaptation is made by Max Weber in his understanding of rationality (Kalberg, 1980)²⁶. The understanding of sustainability, including urban development, depends on this distinction. This divide is also crucial to grasping development in relation to indigenous peoples.

²⁴ Indigenous people and development in India. In: Kujur JM, Minz S (eds) Indigenous peoples of India: problems and prospects. Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, pp 262–284

²⁵ Cultural dimension of ecology: a case study of the Oraons. In: The cultural dimension of ecology. Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, pp 125–128

²⁶ Max Weber's types of rationality: cornerstones for the analysis of rationalization processes in history. Am J Sociol 85(5):1145–1179

Conclusion

Indigenous people are rational, not irrational, people. However, their reasoning towards other people and towards nature is one of adaptability rather than of dominance. As a result, their worldview and way of life are based on coexisting peacefully and side by side rather than conquering and dominating nature. A large portion of the unsustainable growth in modern times is attributable to the rationality-based orientation of modernity. This is notably the case with urban growth, including that occurring in regions where tribal or indigenous people reside. A higher standard of living is necessary for everyone in all aspects of urban life in order for urban development to be sustainable. Only when urban growth addresses both the bigger issue of solid waste management, traffic congestion, air and dust pollution, etc., on the one hand, and the problem of fairness in access to income, housing, water, and sanitation, on the other, is this quality of life conceivable. This necessitates approaching the issue logically. However, the issues mentioned before will arise precisely because of the reasoning based on dominance and exploitation. Consequently, a fresh strategy is required. In terms of adaptability, rational ordering provides a solution to this issue. A social order that is defined by equality in society, collectivism in the economy, accommodation in history, and ethical living is formed on the foundation of such adaptation, according to Munda (1989)²⁷. Understanding that the current attitude of rational domination over the planet is incorrect and that indigenous peoples offer a sustainable alternative in terms of rational adaptation is necessary to achieve sustainability. This is a distinguishing characteristic of indigenous civilizations that needs to be considered throughout the planning process as opposed to copying the current method of planning, which generally uses a top-down approach and ignores the local resources, environment, ecology, and population. Rethinking urban development in tribal communities in an orthogenetic way is necessary. Urban growth can become sustainable with the help of such a model.

²⁷ Tribal identity: the crises and the way out. In: Mary BK, Peeradina S (eds) Cultural forces shaping India. Macmillan, New Delhi.