

CHAPTER 3

TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

The tribal population of the country as per the 2001 census, is 8.43 crore, constituting 8.2% of the total population.¹ The population of tribes had grown at the growth rate of 24.45% during the period 1991-2001. More than half of the Scheduled Tribe population is concentrated in the States of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Jharkhand and Gujarat. This chapter gives an insight into the tribal situation in India and the policies, plans and programmes for tribal development in India.

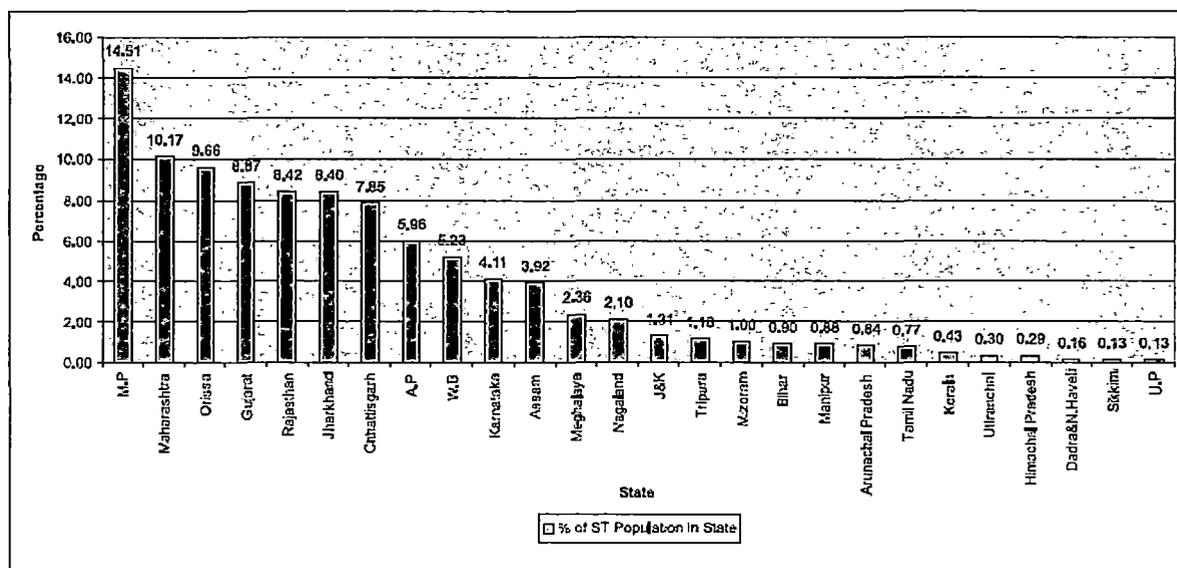
3.1 A Brief Account of the Demographic Particulars of Scheduled Tribe Population in India.

Tribal communities live in about 15% of the country's areas, in various ecological and geo-climatic conditions ranging from plains and forests to hills and inaccessible areas. Tribal groups are at different stages of social, economic and educational development. While some tribal communities have adopted a mainstream way of life, at the other end of the spectrum, there are 75 groups, in number known as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PTGs), who were identified earlier for having the following characteristics:

- pre-agriculture level of technology;
- stagnant or declining population; and
- extremely low literacy;
- subsistence level of economy.

The distribution of the tribal population in different States/UTs of India has been shown in Figure 3.1 and Table 3.1.

Figure 3.1 Distribution of STs Population



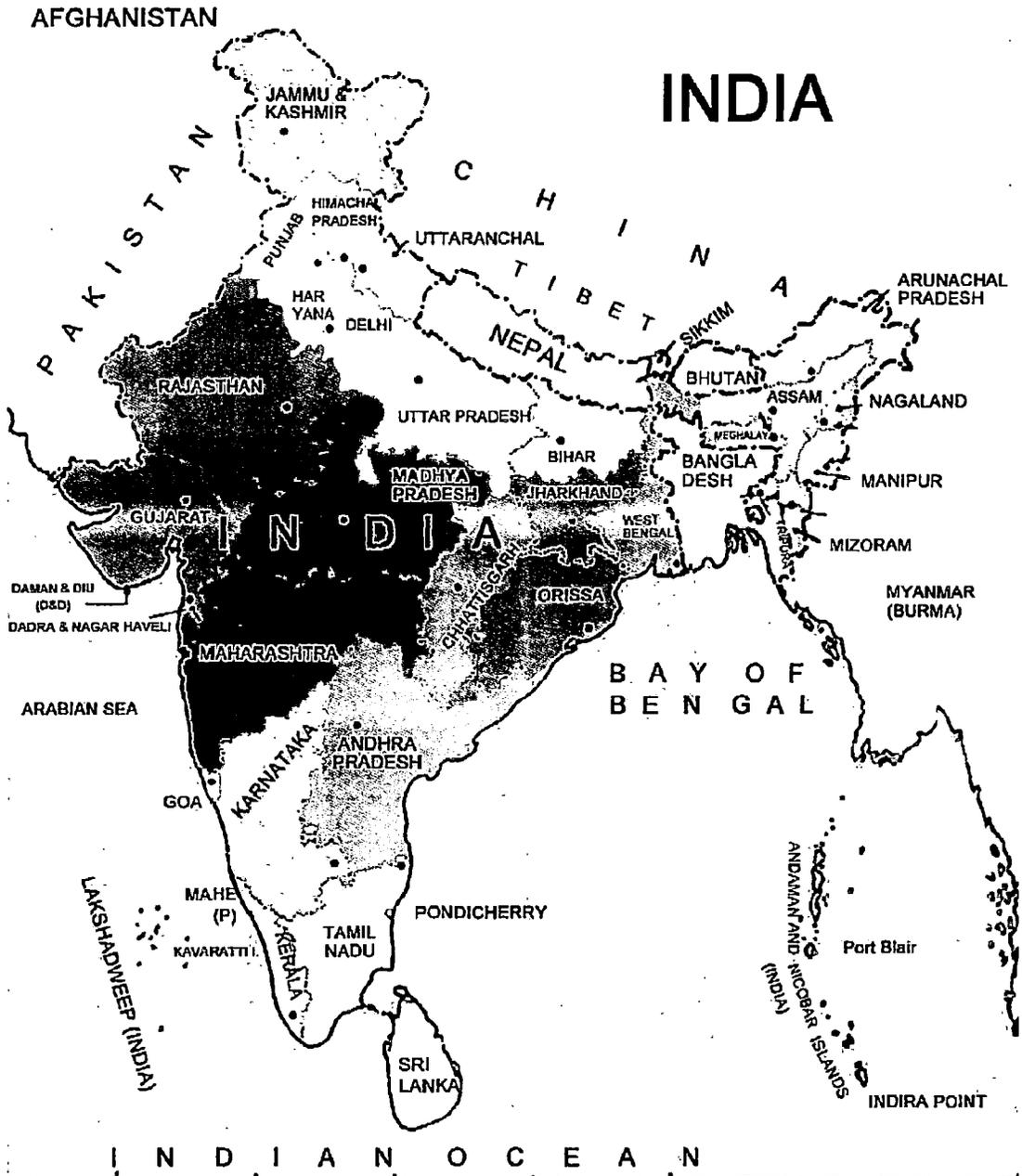
Source: Annual Report of 2006-2007, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

Table 3.1

Distribution of STs population in different States/UTs		
States	% of ST Population in States/UTs to the total ST population of the country (Descending Order)	
1	Madhya Pradesh	14.51
2	Maharashtra	10.17
3	Orissa	9.66
4	Gujarat	8.87
5	Rajasthan	8.42
6	Jharkhand	8.40
7	Chhattisgarh	7.85
8	Andhra Pradesh	5.96
9	West Bengal	5.23
10	Karnataka	4.11
11	Assam	3.92
12	Meghalaya	2.36
13	Nagaland	2.10
14	Jammu and Kashmir	1.31
15	Tripura	1.18
16	Mizoram	1.00
17	Bihar	0.90
18	Manipur	0.88
19	Arunachal Pradesh	0.84
20	Tamil Nadu	0.77
21	Kerala	0.43
22	Uttarakhand	0.30
23	Himachal Pradesh	0.29
24	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	0.16
25	Sikkim	0.13
26	Uttar Pradesh	0.13

Source: Annual Report of 2006-07, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

Figure 3.3 Distribution of ST population of India in the States.



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	10-15% (MP, Maharashtra)		2-4.9% (Karnataka, Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland)
	8-9% (Orissa, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Jharkhand)		1-1.9% (J&K, Tripura, Mizoram)
	5-7.9% (Chhattisgarh, A.P., W.B)		Below 1% (Bihar, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Uttaranchal, Himachal, Dadra & N. Haveli, Sikkim, UP)

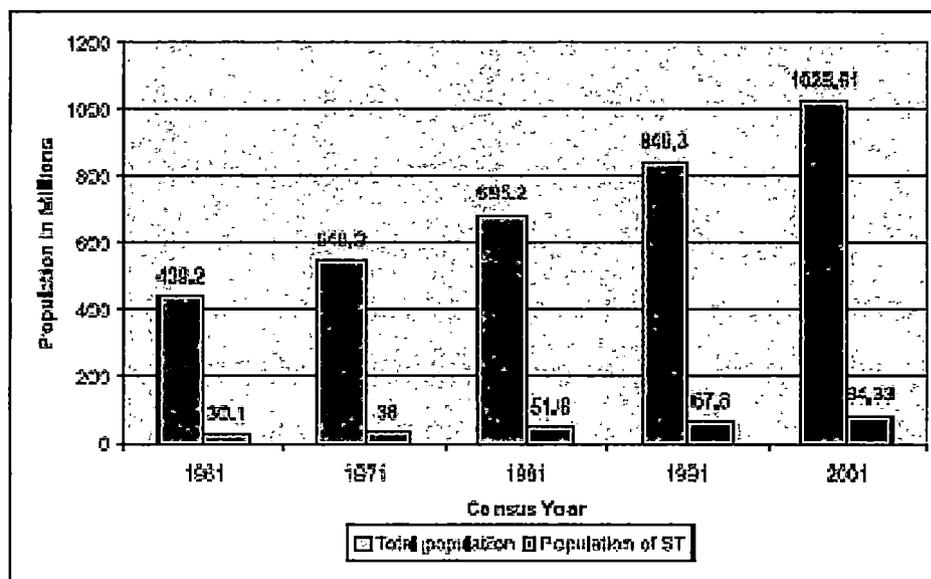
Source: Annual Report of 2006-07, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

In some states the tribal population is low. But when calculated as the percentage of the total tribal population of India, it constitutes the majority within the State or UT itself (e.g. in Lakshadweep, Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh and Dadra and Nagar Haveli). A very sizeable segment of tribal population, as stated earlier, resides in the States of Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Jharkhand, Orissa, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The tribal population as percentage of the States/ UTs is indicated in Figure 3.2. The tribal population of each State/UT as a percentage of the total tribal population of the country is given in Figure 3.3.

There are over 700 Scheduled Tribes notified under Article 342 of the Constitution of India, spread over different States and Union Territories of the country. Many tribes are present in more than one State. The largest numbers of scheduled tribes are in the State of Orissa (i.e., 62). The synonyms of these 700 or so tribes are also very many and are listed in the schedule. The main concentration of tribal population is in central India and in north-eastern States. However, tribals are present in all States and Union Territories except Haryana, Punjab, Delhi, Pondicherry and Chandigarh.

A) Population Profile: According to the 2001 Census, the population of Scheduled Tribes in the country is 8.43 crore, which is 8.2 % of the total population of the country. The population of Scheduled Tribes has been on the increase since 1961 which is shown in the Figure 3.4. The State wise overall population, ST population, growth rate, etc during 1991 to 2001 as per census 2001 are given in the Table 3.2

Figure 3.4 Comparison between Total and ST population in five censuses.



Source: Annual Report of 2006-07, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

Table 3.2

DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS: 2001 CENSUS									
S. No	India/State	Total Population		Decadal Growth in %	ST Population		Decadal Growth in %	% age of STs in the State to total State population in 2001	% age of STs in the State to total ST population in India in 2001
		1991	2001		1991	2001			
0	India	838,583,988	1,028,610,328	22.66	67,758,380	84,326,240	24.45	8.2	-
1	Andhra Pradesh	66,508,008	76,210,007	14.59	4,199,481	5,024,104	19.64	6.6	5.96
2	Arunachal Pradesh	864,558	1,097,968	27	550,351	705,158	28.13	64.2	0.84
3	Assam	22,414,322	26,655,528	18.92	2,874,441	3,308,570	15.1	12.4	3.92
4	Bihar	86,374,465	82,998,509		6,616,914	758,351		0.9	0.9
5	Chhattisgarh		20,833,803			6,616,596		31.8	7.85
6	Goa	1,169,793	1,347,668	15.21	376	566	50.53		0.001
7	Gujarat	41,309,582	50,671,017	22.66	6,161,775	7,481,160	21.41	14.8	8.87
8	Haryana	16,463,648	21,144,564	28.43					
9	Himachal Pradesh	5,170,877	6,077,900	17.54	218,349	244,587	12.02	4	0.29
10	Jharkhand		26,945,829			7,087,068		26.3	8.4
11	Karnataka	44,977,201	52,850,562	17.51	1,915,691	3,463,986	80.82	6.6	4.11
12	Kerala	29,098,518	31,841,374	9.43	320,967	364,189	13.47	1.1	0.43
13	Madhya Pradesh	66,181,170	60,348,023		15,399,034	12,233,474		20.3	14.51
14	Maharashtra	78,937,187	96,878,627	22.73	7,318,281	8,577,276	17.2	8.9	10.17
15	Manipur	1,837,149	2,166,788	17.94	632,173	741,141	17.24	32.3	0.88
16	Meghalaya	1,774,778	2,318,822	30.65	1,517,927	1,992,862	31.29	85.9	2.36
17	Mizoram	689,756	888,573	28.82	653,565	839,310	28.42	94.5	1
18	Nagaland	1,209,546	1,990,036	64.53	1,060,822	1,774,026	67.23	89.1	2.1
19	Orissa	31,659,736	36,804,660	16.25	7,032,214	8,145,081	15.83	22.1	9.66
20	Punjab	20,281,969	24,358,999	20.1	0				
21	Rajasthan	44,005,990	56,507,188	28.41	5,474,881	7,097,706	29.64	12.6	8.42
22	Sikkim	406,457	540,851	33.06	90,901	111,405	22.56	20.6	0.13
23	Tamil Nadu	55,858,946	62,405,679	11.72	574,194	651,321	13.43	1	0.77
24	Tripura	2,757,205	3,199,203	16.03	853,345	993,426	16.42	31.1	1.18
25	Uttarakhand		8,489,349			256,129		3	0.3
26	Uttar Pradesh	139,112,287	166,197,921		287,901	107,963		0.1	0.13
27	West Bengal	68,077,965	80,176,197	17.77	3,808,760	4,406,794	15.7	5.5	5.23
28	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	280,661	356,152	26.9	26,770	29,469	10.08	8.3	0.03

Source: Annual Report of 2006-07, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

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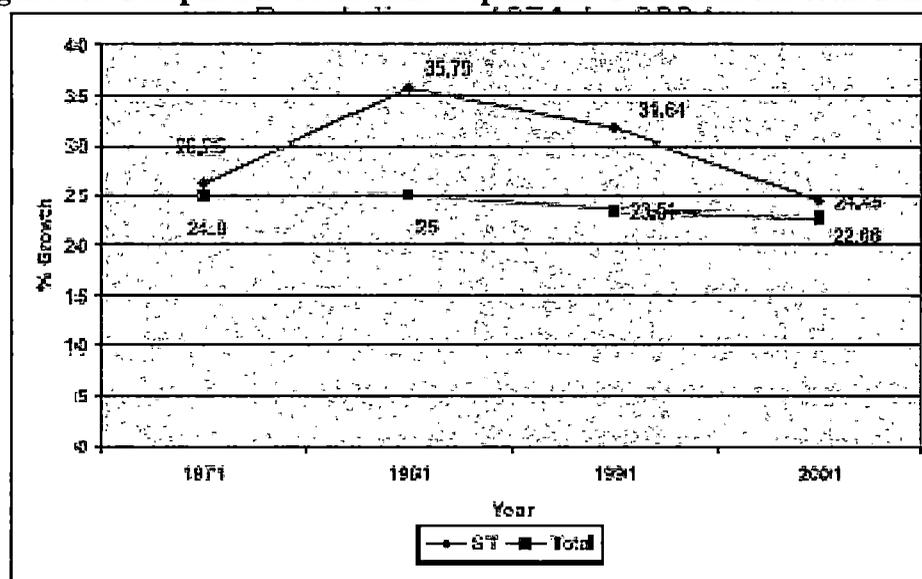
S. No	India/State	Total Population		Decadal Growth in %	ST Population		Decadal Growth in %	% age of STs in the State to total State population	% age of STs in the State to total ST population in India
		1991	2001		1991	2001			
29	Chandigarh	642,015	900,635	40.28	0				
30	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	138,477	220,490	59.22	109,380	137,225	25.46	62.2	0.16
31	Daman & Diu.	101,585	158,204	55.73	11,724	13,997	19.39	8.8	0.017
32	Delhi	9,420,644	13,850,507	47.02	0	NST			
33	Lakshadweep	51,707	60,650	17.3	48,163	57,321	19.01	94.5	0.07
34	Pondicherry	807,785	974,345	20.62	0				
35	J&K		10,143,700			1,105,979		10.9	1.31

* States like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttaranchal (now Uttarakhand) were created in the year 2000 after reorganisation of the states of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

Source: Annual Report of 2006-07, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

B) Growth: The decadal population growth between the Census Year 1971 to 1981 in respect of the tribal population has been higher (35.79%) than that of the entire population (25.0%). The decadal population growth between the Census Year 1981 to 1991 in respect of the tribal population has also been higher (31.64%) than that of the entire population (23.51%). Similarly during census year 1991 to 2001 it has been 24.45% against the growth rate of 22.66% for the entire population.²

Figure 3.5 Comparison of Decadal Population Growth of the total and ST

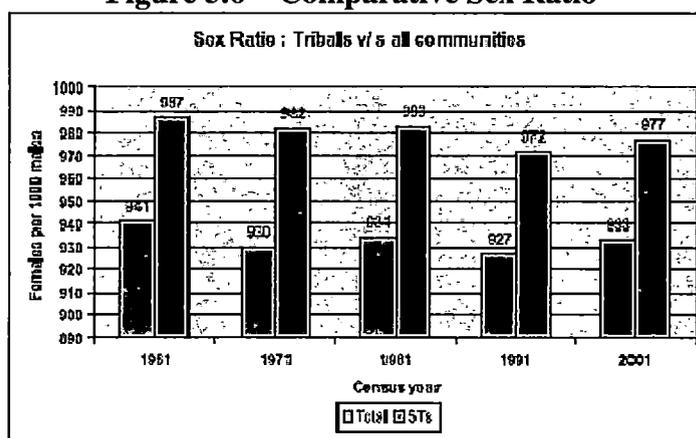


Source: Annual Report of 2006-07, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

The table 3.2 shows the ST population in the State of Karnataka has witnessed the highest growth rate of 80.82% followed by Nagaland (67.23%). The increased rate of population growth, in some cases, however, is as result of addition of new communities to the STs Lists. The lowest growth rate in respect of ST population as per 2001 census was recorded in Andaman and Nicobar (10.08%) followed by Himachal Pradesh (12.02%).

C) Sex Ratio: As compared to the sex ratio for the overall population (933 females per 1000 male), the sex ratio among Scheduled Tribes is more favourable, at 977 females per thousand males (2001 Census), though also declining. In all States except Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Uttarakhand, the ST sex ratio as per 2001 Census was better than the general sex ratio.³ The Figure 3.6 shows the comparative sex ratio on Scheduled Tribes and other communities from the year 1961 till 2001.

Figure 3.6 Comparative Sex Ratio



Source: Annual Report of 2006-07, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

D) Child-Sex Ratio: The 1991 Census revealed that the child sex ratio in 0-6 age group for the general population was 940 girls per 1000 boys for the country as a whole. In case of STs, this ratio was more favourable and stood at 985 girls per 1000 boys. In 2001, the child sex ratio in the general population further reduced to 919 girls to 1000 boys. The situation among STs, though also on the decline, remains comparatively better at 972 girls per 1000 boys. In the UT of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, the ST sex ratio for the 0-6 age group is positive. There were 1018 girls per 1000 boys in 1991, which declined to 1009 girls per 1000 boys during 2001 Census. However, it was still higher than the general sex ratio of 1005 girls (1991) and 911 girls (2001) per 1000 boys in the UT.⁴ The State-wise detail of 1991 and 2001 census figures indicating child sex ratio is at Table 3.3.

Table 3.3

CHILD SEX RATIO (POPULATION 0-6 AGE GROUP)

S. No.	State	1991 Census			2001 Census		
		Total	Gen.	ST	Total	Gen.	ST
	India	945	940	985	927	919	973
1.	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	973	981	897	957	957	956
2.	Andhra Pradesh	975	972	978	961	957	972
3.	Arunachal Pradesh	982	993	976	904	940	976
4.	Assam	975	973	990	965	966	962
5.	Bihar	953	950	983	942	938	975
6.	Chandigarh	899	889	NST	845	834	NST
7.	Chhattisgarh	984	978	996	975	962	998
8.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1013	1005	1018	979	911	1009
9.	Daman & Diu	958	966	911	926	923	983
10.	Delhi	915	912	NST	868	861	NST
11.	Goa	964	964	1122	938	937	915
12.	Gujarat	928	916	988	883	865	966
13.	Haryana	879	875	NST	819	807	NST
14.	Himachal Pradesh	951	945	966	896	876	955
15.	Jammu & Kashmir	NA	NA	NA	941	939	979
16.	Jharkhand	979	973	993	965	955	979
17.	Karnataka	960	957	970	946	941	961
18.	Kerala	958	957	961	960	961	974
19.	Lakshadweep	941	1138	936	959	1057	957
20.	Madhya Pradesh	941	929	987	932	915	979
21.	Maharashtra	946	940	982	913	903	965
22.	Manipur	974	979	968	957	955	959
23.	Meghalaya	986	949	991	973	963	974
24.	Mizoram	969	988	969	964	909	966
25.	Nagaland	993	916	1003	964	919	969
26.	Orissa	967	951	998	953	938	979
27.	Pondicherry	963	962	NST	967	962	NST
28.	Rajasthan	916	910	958	909	897	950

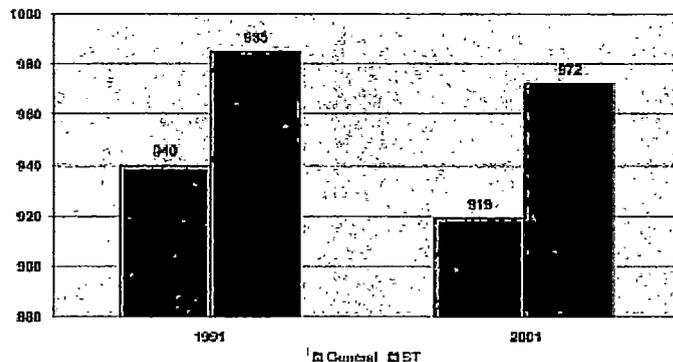
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29.	Sikkim	965	960	973	963	963	964
30.	Tamil Nadu	948	943	955	942	937	945
31.	Tripura	967	954	984	966	956	981
32.	Punjab	875	865	NST	798	767	NST
33.	Uttar Pradesh	927	926	967	916	911	973
34.	Uttarakhand	949	945	973	908	899	955
35.	West Bengal	967	967	983	960	958	981

1. Excludes Jammu & Kashmir from 1991 Census as 1991 Census was not conducted in J&K;
 2. Excludes figures of Paomata, Mao Maram and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati district of Manipur for 2001;
- Total Includes General, ST & SC population
 NA-Not available, NST-No Notified STs,
 GEN-Other than SC/ST population

Source: Annual Report of 2006-07, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

Figure 3.7 Child Sex Ratio (0 – 6 years)



Source: Annual Report of 2006-07, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

E) Literacy: The literacy rate for the total population in India has increased from 52.21% to 64.84% during the period from 1991 to 2001 whereas the literacy rate among the Scheduled Tribes has increased from 29.60% to only 47.10%. Among ST males literacy increased from 40.65% to 59.17% among ST female literacy increased from 18.19% to 34.76% during the same period. The ST female literacy is lower by approximately 21 percentage point as compared to the overall female literacy of general population. However, the increase in total as well as female literacy among STs is significant. Literacy rate has increased from 8.53

percent in 1961 to 47.10 percent in 2001 for STs, while the corresponding increase for total population was from 28.30 percent in 1961 to 64.84 percent in 2001.⁵ The details are given in the Table 3.4.

Table 3.4

Literacy amongst STs and all Social Groups						
Year	STs			All Social Groups		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1961	13.83	3.16	8.53	40.40	15.35	28.30
1971	17.63	4.85	11.30	45.96	21.97	34.45
1981	24.52	8.04	16.35	56.38	29.76	43.57
1991	40.65	18.19	29.60	64.13	39.29	52.21
2001	59.17	34.76	47.10	75.26	53.67	64.84

Source: Registrar General of India

Literacy Rate increased by 17.5 percentage points from 1991 to 2001 for STs and increased by 12.63 percentage points for total population during the same period. Male-female gap in literacy rate increased from 22.46 percentage points in 1991 to 24.41 percentage points in 2001 for STs while it declines from 24.84 percentage points in 1991 to 21.59 percentage points in 2001 for total population.

The percentage of literacy gap between STs and all population varies from 0.5 to 31.9 percentage point during 2001. The States like Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Goa, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Jammu and Kashmir are having more than 17.7 (i.e. literacy gap at all India) percentage gap of literacy rate between STs vis-a-vis total population during 2001. All States registered a decline gap between 1991 to 2001 except in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Dadra and Nagar Haveli. Although Uttar Pradesh and Bihar maintained almost the same gap as compared to census 1991 but the gap widened in case of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. States like West Bengal, Orissa, Goa, Kerala and Tamil Nadu are having more than 25 percentage point gap of literacy between STs and all population in these states. State-wise details are given in the Table 3.5.

Table 3.5

**LITERACY RATE OF TOTAL POPULATION AND
SCHEDULED TRIBES POPULATION AND GAP IN LITERACY
RATE -INDIA /STATES/UNION TERRITORIES: 1991-2001**

(Figures in percentage)

ST Code	India/State/UT#	Literacy rate- 1991		Gap in Literacy Rate	Literacy rate-2001		Gap in Literacy Rate
		Total	ST		Total	ST	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	INDIA	52.2	29.6	22.6	64.8	47.1	17.7
1.	Andaman & Nicobar Islands#	73.0	56.6	16.4	81.3	66.8	14.5
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	41.6	34.4	7.2	54.3	49.6	4.7
3.	Assam	52.9	49.2	3.7	63.3	62.5	0.8
4.	Andhra Pradesh	44.1	17.2	26.9	60.5	37.0	23.4
5.	Bihar	37.5	18.9	18.6	47.0	28.2	18.8
6.	Chandigarh#	77.8	NST	-	81.9	NST	-
7.	Chhattisgarh	42.9	26.7	16.2	64.7	52.1	12.6
8.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	40.7	28.2	12.5	57.6	41.2	16.4
9.	Daman & Die	71.2	52.9	18.3	78.2	63.4	14.8
10	Delhi#	75.3	NST	-	81.7	NST	-
11.	Goa	75.5	42.9	32.6	82.0	55.9	26.1
12.	Gujarat	61.3	36.4	24.9	69.1	47.7	21.4
13.	Haryana	55.8	NST	-	67.9	NST	-
14.	Himachal Pr.	63.9	47.1	16.8	76.5	65.5	11.0
15.	Jammu & Kashmir	NA	NA	NA	55.5	37.5	18.0
16.	Jharkhand	41.4	27.5	13.9	53.6	40.7	12.9
17.	Karnataka	56.0	36.0	20.0	66.6	48.3	18.3
18	Kerala	89.8	57.2	32.6	90.9	64.4	26.5
19.	Lakshadweep	81.8	80.6	1.2	86.7	86.1	0.6
20.	Madhya Pradesh	44.7	18.4	26.3	63.7	41.2	22.5
21.	Maharashtra	64.9	36.8	28.1	76.9	55.2	21.7
22.	Manipur	59.9	53.6	6.3	70.5	65.9	4.6
23.	Meghalaya	49.1	46.7	2.4	62.6	61.3	1.3

Source: Annual Report of 2006-07, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

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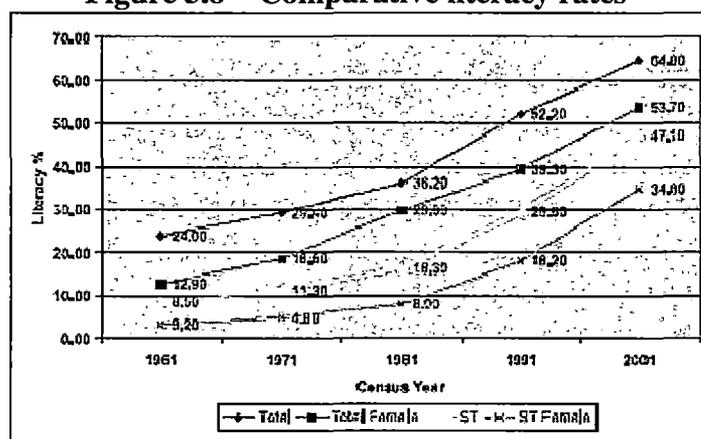
24.	Mizoram	82.3	82.7	0.4	88.8	89.3	0.5
25.	Nagaland	61.6	60.6	1.0	66.6	65.9	0.7
26.	Orissa	49.1	22.3	26.8	63.1	37.4	25.7
27.	Pondicherry #	74.7	NST	-	81.2	NST	-
28.	Punjab	58.8	NST	-	69.7	NST	-
29.	Rajasthan	38.6	19.4	19.2	60.4	44.7	15.7
30.	Sikkim	56.9	59.0	2.1	68.8	67.1	1.7
31.	Tamil Nadu	62.7	27.9	34.8	73.5	41.5	32.0
32.	Tripura	60.4	40.4	20.0	73.2	56.5	16.7
33.	Uttar Pradesh	40.7	20.0	20.7	56.3	35.1	21.2
34.	Uttarakhand	57.8	41.2	16.6	71.6	63.2	8.4
35.	West Bengal	57.7	27.8	29.9	68.6	43.4	25.2

1. Excludes Jammu & Kashmir where 1991 census was not conducted.
 2. Excludes figure of Paomata, Mao Marm & Purul Sub divisions of Senapati districts of Manipur; for 2001.
- # NST = No Notified Scheduled Tribes in the States.

Source: Annual Report of 2006-07, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

The trends in the literacy rates from 1961 to 2001 are indicated in the Figure 3.8.

Figure 3.8 Comparative literacy rates



Source: Annual Report of 2006-07, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

F) Indicators of Backwardness: According to the 2001 Census figures, 44.70% of the ST population were cultivators, 36.9% agricultural labourers, 2.1% household industry workers and 16.3% were other occupation workers. Thus, about 81.6% of the main workers from these communities were engaged in primary sector activities. These disparities compounded by higher dropout rates in formal education, resulting in disproportionately low representation in higher education. Not surprisingly, the cumulative effect has been that the proportion of STs below the poverty line is substantially higher than the national average. As

per the statement provided by the Planning Commission, it is observed that ST people living below the poverty line in 1993-94 were 51.94% in the rural areas and 41.14% in the urban areas respectively. This percentage of ST population living below the poverty line has decreased to 47.3% in the rural areas and 39.9% in the urban areas as per poverty line estimates in the year 2004-2005. There is decrease of STs living below the poverty line by about 4.7% in the rural areas and 1.15% in urban areas since 1993-94 to 2004-05.⁶ State-wise details are in Table 3.6

Table 3.6

Percentage of Population (Social Group Wise) below poverty line by states- 2004-05									
S.No	States	Rural				Urban			
		ST	SC	OBC	Others	ST	SC	OBC	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Andhra Pradesh	30.5	15.4	9.5	4.1	50.0	39.9	28.9	20.6
2	Assam	14.1	27.7	18.8	25.4	4.8	8.6	8.6	4.2
3	Bihar	53.3	64.0	37.8	26.6	57.2	67.2	41.4	18.3
4	Chhattisgarh	54.7	32.7	33.9	29.2	41.0	52.0	52.7	21.4
5	Delhi	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.6	9.4	35.8	18.3	6.4
6	Gujarat	34.7	21.8	19.1	4.8	21.4	16.0	22.9	7.0
7	Haryana	0.0	26.8	13.9	4.2	4.6	33.4	22.5	5.9
8	Himachal Pradesh	14.9	19.6	9.1	6.4	2.4	5.6	10.1	2.0
9	Jammu & Kashmir	8.8	5.2	10.0	3.3	0.0	13.7	4.8	7.8
10	Jharkhand	54.2	57.9	40.2	37.1	45.1	47.2	19.1	9.2
11	Karnataka	23.5	31.8	20.9	13.8	58.3	50.6	39.1	20.3
12	Kerala	44.3	21.6	13.7	6.6	19.2	32.5	24.3	7.8
13	Madhya Pradesh	58.6	42.8	29.6	13.4	44.7	67.3	55.5	20.8
14	Maharashtra	56.6	44.8	23.9	18.9	40.4	43.2	35.6	26.8
15	Orissa	75.6	50.2	36.9	23.4	61.8	72.6	50.2	28.9
16	Punjab	30.7	14.6	10.6	2.2	2.1	16.1	8.4	2.9
17	Rajasthan	32.6	28.7	13.1	8.2	24.1	52.1	35.6	20.7
18	Tamil Nadu	32.1	31.2	19.8	19.1	32.5	40.2	20.9	6.5
19	Uttar Pradesh	32.4	44.8	32.9	19.7	37.4	44.9	36.6	19.2
20	Uttarakhand	43.2	54.2	44.8	33.5	64.4	65.7	46.5	25.5
21	West Bengal	42.4	29.5	18.3	27.5	25.7	28.5	10.4	13.0
	All India	47.3	36.8	26.7	16.1	33.3	39.9	31.4	16.0

Legend SC= Scheduled Castes, ST=Scheduled Tribes, OBC= other backward classes

Source: Planning Commission

G) Health indices of STs versus others: The infant mortality, under- 5 child mortality and percentage of child mortality rate for STs as well as of other disadvantaged socio-economic groups as shown in the Table 3.7.

Table 3.7

Some Health Indicators			
Indicator	Infant mortality/1000 live births	Under- 5 mortality/ 1000 live births	Child mortality rate
India	57.0	74.3	18.4
SC	66.4	88.1	23.2
ST	62.1	95.7	35.8
OBC	56.6	72.8	17.3
Others	48.9	59.2	10.8

Source: NFHS 3: 2005-06, M/o Health and Family Welfare

H) Education: Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) for elementary stage (classes I- VIII) is defined as percentage of the enrolment in Elementary stage to the estimated child population in the age group of 6 to below 14 years. GER has increased from 102.4% in 2004 -05 to 109.6% in 2006-07 for all STs and from 93.5% in 2004-05 to 97.1% in 2006-07 for total population.⁷ The gross enrolment ratio in respect of all categories and Scheduled tribes at elementary stage (I-VIII) is given in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8

Gross Enrolments Ratio (GER) for Elementary Stage (I- VIII)						
				(Figures in percentage)		
Scheduled Tribes				Total Population		
Year	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1995-96	105.7	75.1	90.9	86.9	69.4	78.5
1999-2000*	99.3	70.9	85.2	90.1	72.0	81.3
2000-01*	102.5	73.5	88.0	90.3	72.4	81.6
2001-02*	99.8	77.3	88.9	90.7	73.6	82.4
2002-03*	86.7	73.9	80.5	85.4	79.3	82.5
2003-04*	90.6	81.1	86.1	87.9	81.4	84.8
2004-05	108.5	95.8	102.4	96.9	89.9	93.5
2005-06	111.9	100.6	106.4	98.5	91.0	94.9
2006-07	114.7	104.2	109.6	100.4	93.5	97.1

*Provisional

Sources: Ministry of Human Resources Development

The enrolments in these stages include underage and over-age and hence the total percentage may be more than 100% in some cases.

Gender disparity in GER at elementary stage declined 12.7 percentage points in 2004-05 to 10.5 percentage points in 2006-07 for ST children and declines 7.0 percentage points in 2004-05 to 6.9 percentage points in 2006-07 for total population.

3.2 Classification of Indian Tribes:

Tribes of India can be classified on the basis of geographical region, language, race, religion and culture contact. Yet a multiplicity of factors leads complexity to the effort of classification of these tribal groups. These factors are inter-racial mingling, geographical mobility owing to several reasons and the development process which began prior to independence in some of the tribal regions and was accelerated by the keen interest taken in these tribal groups by the British Administrators in India in the pre- independence period.

A) Geographical Classifications:

The tribal communities are distributed in most of the states of India. Roy Burban, has divided the tribal communities living in different regions into five territorial groups, taking into consideration of their historical, ethnic and socio-cultural variations.⁸

They are,

- a. North-East India comprising Assam, NEFA, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura;
- b. The sub-Himalayan region of North and North-west India comprising the North sub-montane districts of Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh as a whole including the areas recently transferred from Punjab;
- c. Central and East India comprising West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh;
- d. South India comprising Madras, Kerala and Mysore; and
- e. Western India comprising Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra.

Taking into account of these classifications and ecological, social, economic, administrative, ethnic and racial factors, L.P.Vidhyarthi has classified into six regions; North Eastern region, Himalayan region, Central India region, Western India region, Southern India region and Island region.⁹

The Indian Anthropologist, B.C. Guha classified Indian tribes into 3 zones: ¹⁰

1. North and North-eastern Zone
 2. Central zone
 3. Southern zone
1. **The North and North-eastern Zone:** This zone consists of the sub- Himalayan region and mountains and hilly tracts of the eastern region. Thus, this region includes the Himalayan region right from Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, hills of Uttar Pradesh, and all the north- eastern states of former Assam.
 2. **The Central zone:** The largest concentration of tribal population is in this zone. The tribes of M.P., U.P., Bihar, Southern Rajasthan, Orissa, Southern Maharashtra fall in this category. In other words, the zone consists of the Plateau and mountaneous belt between the Indo-gangetic plain in the north and Krishna river in the south

3. **The Southern zone:** This zone falls to the south of the Krishna river. The tribes of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala come under this zone.

The classification of B.C. Guha does not mention tribals residing in the islands of Andaman and Nicobar. The main tribes living in these islands are Zarava, Onge North Sentilese, Andamanese and Nikobari¹¹.

- I. North and North-Eastern Region:** This region consists of tribes of Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Eastern part of Kashmir, East Punjab, Assam (old province) and Sikkim. The important tribes of the region of North-east are Lepcha, Dafla, Pirmi, Garo, Naga, Khasi, Chakura, Khuki, Apatani, etc. As these tribals reside in border areas of India they have got special significance. For example, the Bhotias of Kumaon Garhwal are known for being traders. Besides business and trade they are experts in handicrafts. The Tharus of Tarai region of Uttar Pradesh also have distinguishing characteristics of their own where women have a special place. The Khas tribes of Jhonsar Bhaver were once well known for polyandry. Nagas of eastern region had a special significance in Indian politics. Also, these people were known for their famous custom of Head hunting and war dance. Kukis, Lusai, Lakher Cheri etc, used Tibetan-Chinese dialects. The Khasis and Garos are tribes which still follow matriarchy. Most of the tribes of the eastern region practise axe or shifting cultivation and have terraced farming. Handicraft is another important occupation after agriculture.
- II. Western and North-western Region:** This region consists of tribals residing in Gujrat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan. Major tribes of Rajasthan are Bhils, Meenas, Garasias, Banjaras etc. While the main tribes of Gujrat are Mahadev Kholi, Katkari and Dabla.
- III. Central Region:** Maximum number of tribes resides in this region. The main tribes of Bihar (which fall in this region) are Santhal; Munda, Oraon and Birhor. In Orissa the important tribes are Bondo, Khond, Soara and Juang. In Madhya Pradesh the major tribes are Gonds, Baigas, Marias and Murias. Guha stated that the tribals residing in this region are relatively better off than those from the southern region. They have adopted organised cultivation from the civilized Hindus and are much more influenced by the Hindu way of living. Almost all the tribals residing in this region follow patriarchy. Some of them are completely hinduised and their tribal identity is present in name only. This shows how rapid has been the process of sanskritization. In some cases tribal identity has been maintained by these people only with a view to avail of the constitutional benefits on account of Reservation policy.
- IV. Southern Region:** This region falls below the Krishna River. The tribes of Travancore-Cochin, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu come under this category. The important tribes of this region are: Toda and Kota of Nilagiri region, Chenchu and Kurovan of Andhra etc. Besides Kadar, Eurula, Chelli, Kurumba, Kena etc, are some of the important tribes of this region. Todas are famous for their polyandrous system; Nayars are known for Matriarchy.

In addition to the above 4 types of classification of Indian tribals, the tribals residing in Andaman, Nikobar and Lakshadweep also have special significance. Thus, we find that the geographical conditions of the various regions of the country have affected the tribal groups in terms of customs, culture, economy and way of living. The tribal groups residing in different parts of the country have been able to maintain their distinct social and cultural identity owing to geographical and climatic variations. Besides, their economic activities have been affected by geographical conditions.¹²

B) Racial composition:

Much research is needed to come-up with a reliable racial history of India. There have been streams of migration to this country from time to time in the past but actual routes of immigration were not known. Moreover, there has been so much of racial intermingling that the racial identity of a particular group was difficult to ascertain. Yet anthropological evidence shows that in each cultural region, some distinct traits of a particular race do exist. In this context the attempt made by B.S. Guha given in the Census of India in 1931 is quite significant. B.S. Guha listed six main races with nine subtypes of Indian population.¹³

- 1) Negrito
- 2) The Proto- Astroloid
- 3) Mongoloid
 - i) Palaeo-Mongoloids
 - (a) Long-headed
 - (b) Broad-headed
 - ii) Tibeto-Mongoloids
- 4) The Mediterranean
 - i) Palaeo-Mediterranean
 - ii) Mediterranean
 - iii) Oriental type
- 5) The Western Brachycephals
 - a) Alpinoid
 - b) Dinaric
 - c) Armenoid
- 6) The Nordic.

Guha has summed up his conclusions specifically as regards the racial composition of tribal India as follows:

1. The Kadars, the Irulas, and the Panyans of South India with frizzy hair, have an undoubted Negrito strain.
2. The tribes of middle India belong to the Proto-Australoid stock.
3. The brachyephalic Mongoloids of north eastern India have typical features of the face and the eye.
4. A slightly different Mongoloid type with medium stature, high head and medium nose lives in the Brahmaputra valley.

According to him tribal people of India can be grouped into 3 major categories:

- a. **The Proto-Australoids:** This group is characterized by dark skin colour, sunken nose and lower forehead. e.g. the Munda, the Oraon, the Ho, the Gond, the Khond, etc.
- b. **The Mongoloids:** Tribal people of the Himalayan region specifically of north Himalaya come under this category.
- c. **The Negrito:** The Kadars of Kerala and the Andamanis of the Andaman Island come under this stock.

However, Stephen Fuchs, on the basis of Guha's classification, tried to give a slightly revised version and classified tribes into following racial categories: ¹⁴

1) **The Negritos:** According to anthropologists, Negritos were the earliest race in India. Guha believed that Kadar, Palayans of South India had a Negrite strain, though he admitted that they were, however, not the pure Negrito. D.N. Majumdar and S.S. Sarkar, however denied the contention of Guha. According to them, some of the Negrito racial elements are found in other races also. Hutton believes in their existence in the Assam Region and gives the example of Konyak Nagas.

S.S. Sarkar traced Negrito strains among the primitive males and among small vagrant tribal groups which depend on the collection (food gathering) economy.

2) **The Proto- Australoids:** They are the second oldest racial group. This category of tribal groups can be found in some of the tribes of Central and South India. Guha compared these tribes with Veddas of Sri Lanka and the aborigines of Australia and finds these groups essentially alike. Thus, Indian Tribes have to a great extent retained the characteristics of this race. Guha considered the term 'Proto- Austroloid' as most suitable for these Indian Tribes.

3) **The Mongoloid Type:** In the sub- Himalayan region, north , north-eastern belt, the instances of Mongoloid race can be traced. Examples of these could be Bhotias of Kumaon and Garhwal Himalayas. Ladakhis and Baltesi, Lahoulis, the Limalbus, The Lepchas and Rongpas who have the Mongoloid element. In Nepal such tribes are Gurung, Murmi and Gurkhas (having a Mongoloid element). Besides, in N.E. states the Bodo group comprising of the Garos, Kacharis, Tipperalis, Lalungs Rabhas Mache 'Nagas' can be placed in this category.

Besides, B.S. Guha and E. Fischer talked of the Oriental type of race in north- East India. The Aryans and Orientals were followed in the subsequent centuries by various invaders on a smaller scale. Between 500 B.C. and the beginning of the Christian era, north India was first invaded by Persians and Greeks, and later on by Sakas and Kushans (from Central India). Again during the 5th century B.C., another horde of nomads from central Asia- the Huns came to India and permanently settled in northern India. Then there were Muslim invasions in the 8th century A.D. Such invasions continued until the sixteenth century when the Mughals established empire. Later on, small scale invasions took place on the west coast of India. Portuguese and later on the Dutch landed on India's western coast. Later, after the Britishers settled in India, a new clan of Anglo-Indians came into existence, who are considered as the progeny of British settlers and Indian women of various castes. There has been a lot of intermingling between various races in India. This was prevalent to such an

extent that even isolated tribal groups have not been able to maintain their pure racial characteristics.¹⁵

C) Linguistic Classification:

The people of India may be divided into four speech families.¹⁶ These are:

1. Indo-European (Aryans)
2. Dravidian
3. Austrian (Kolor Munda) and
4. Tibetan Chinese (Sino-Tibetan).

Majumdar (1985) believed that Aryan speech came into existence only as a consequence of cultural contact. In the context of tribal people a majority of experts believe that the most important groups is that of the Gonds who speak the Dravidian language. These Gonds are scattered throughout Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. Another important language of this group is Koi which is spoken by the Khandas of Orissa, the Oraons of Chhota Nagpur and the Malas of Rajmahal hills. The speeches of Toda, Paliyan, Chenchu, Erula and Kadar are also included in the Dravidian family. The Adivasis who speak these languages are far less advanced than their other linguistic kinsmen.

Austic: The Austic speech family is also known as the Munda speech family i.e. the language of the Kol or Munda group; the Santalis are found in Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and Assam; Mundari, Ho, Kharia, Bhumij and a few others which belong to Bihar. Besides, Austic speech family includes Korku in Madhya Pradesh, Savara and Gadaba in Orissa, Khasi in Assam and the language of the Nikobarase.

Mongoloid: This language is confined to the tribals residing in southern slope of the Himalayas and its north Bengal, Tripura, Assam, Nepal, Sikkim and the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. This is divided into two branches (1) Tibetans- Burmese and (2) Siamese-Chinese. The tribals in Assam, Meghalaya and in other north-eastern parts of India speak this language. In Assam the Bodo, Abhors, Miris, Daflas and Mikirs fell in this speech group. Besides, Nagas, Meithei or Manipuris, the (Lushais) also belong to this speech family.

India has been a melting pot of races; therefore, it is difficult to put Indian tribes under any category. Yet the efforts made by Anthropologists and other scholars in this context are worth appreciating.

D) Economic Classification of Indian Tribes:

The classification made by Adam Smith, Thurnwald and Herskovits to classify the tribal people on the basis of their economic life is well known all over the world. The scheme presented by Thurnwald is taken as the most acceptable in the Indian context are as follows:

1. Homogeneous communities of men as hunters and trappers, women as collectors e.g. Kadars, Chenchus, Kharia, and Korwa etc.
2. Homogeneous communities of hunters, trappers and agriculturists viz. Kamars, Baigas and Bihors are examples of this type from tribal India.
3. Graded society of hunters, trappers, agriculturists and artisans. Most of the Indian tribes fall under this category. The Cheros and the Agarias are some of the famous artisan tribes.
4. The herdsmen- the Todas and some sections of the Bhil tribe are its examples.
5. Homogenous hunters and herdsmen. This category is not represented among Indian tribes.

6. Ethnically stratified cattle breeders and traders. The Bhotias of the sub-Himalayan region of U.P. hill i.e. Kumaon and Garhwal breed yaks and are itinerant traders.

7. Socially graded herdsman with hunting, agricultural and artisan population.

D.N. Majumdar did not fully agree with the above classification. Taking into consideration mainly the technological achievements, a more lucid classification of the economic life of the Indian tribes may be attempted as follows:

1. Tribes hunting in the forests.
2. Tribes engaged in axe/shifting cultivation.
3. Tribes engaged in cultivation on levelled land.
4. Simple Artisan tribes.
5. Pastoral tribes.
6. Tribal living as folk artists.
7. Agricultural and non-agricultural labour oriented tribes.
8. Tribes engaged in service and trade.

Broadly speaking the tribals in India can be grouped as food gatherers and agriculturists. Among agriculturists there are primitive cultivators and the plough cultivators. Animal keeping, handicrafts etc. are by and large the subsidiary occupations of most of the tribes. However, a few of them are exclusively artisans or herdsman.¹⁷

E) Classification According to Culture Contact:

To classify Indian tribes on the basis of their cultural development is a really difficult task. Owing to rapid means of transport and communication various tribals came into contact with outsiders and there was the process of culture contact which resulted into acculturation, enculturation and assimilation. Verrier Elwin has tried to classify Indian tribes into four categories on the basis of culture contact:¹⁸

- a. In the first category are those tribes who are tribes in the real sense of the term. These people are at the earliest stage of development. Numerically they are present in smaller numbers at present and live in unapproachable places.
- b. The secondary category of people consists of those who are partially attached to their tradition, culture and other modes of living, yet more used to outside life and generally less simple and honest than the first category.
- c. Third category consists of those tribes who are numerically maximum in number, whose tribal characteristics in terms of religion, culture, policies and social organization are on the way to decline.
- d. Examples of another category are tribals like Bhils and Nagas who are said to be representatives of the old aristocracy of the country, who retain much of their oriental tribal life and who have won the battle of cultural contact

In the opinion of D. N. Majumdar, tribal culture may be placed into following three groups:

- i. Those who are culturally most distant from the rural-urban groups i.e. more or less away from outside contact. Some of the tribals living at isolated places can be placed in this category.
- ii. Those who are under the influence of the culture of rural-urban group and have developed discomforts and problems consequently.

- iii. Those who in spite of their being in outside-rural-urban contact have not suffered the problems of the second group, or in other words, they are acculturated into rural or urban culture.

The Indian Conference of Social Work in the year 1952 appointed a Tribal Welfare Committee which suggested the below classification:¹⁹

- i. Tribal communities
 - ii. Semi-tribal communities
 - iii. Acculturated tribal communities
 - iv. Totally assimilated tribal communities.
- i. These tribal communities are those who reside in hilly, mountaineous or dense forest regions- in places which are unapproachable and are even now maintaining their tribal way of life to a great extent.
 - ii. Semi-tribal communities- These people have started living nearer to the village communities and have adopted agriculture and other related occupations.
 - iii. Acculturated tribal communities- These people have started residing in or near rural or urban communities and have started living in villages and towns/cities. These people have also started adopting occupational and other socio-cultural traits of the outside world.
 - iv. Fully assimilated tribal groups- These people have remained tribals only for name sake and have totally adopted socio-cultural and other traits of the so-called/civilized people.

Vidyarthi, made an attempt to classify the tribal people in terms of their culture. He classified the tribal people into six culture types- (i) Forest hunting type, (ii) Primitive hill cultivation type, (iii) Plain agriculture type, (iv) The simple artisan type, (v) the pastoral and cattle breeder type, and (vi) Urban industrial type. He considered five factors to identify these cultural types. These are- their economy , their ecology , socio-cultural adaptation of tribes to ecology and the economy, the religious beliefs, and emerging contemporary situation, influx of other groups of people.²⁰

Professor G.S. Ghurye has also divided Indian Tribals into following three categories:

1. In the first category he placed those who had succeeded in attaining a respectable position in Hindu society and have successfully faced their problems.
2. In the second category are those communities who have partially become members of the Hindu community. These people by initiating the Hindu culture and its way of living (after close contact) have tried to become like the Hindu community.
3. Ghurye put in the third category those tribal communities who lived in hilly and mountaineous regions and resisted the invasion of cultural and other social practices of the outside world in their tribal life.

It was natural to have problems and resistance in the beginning but ultimately the tribals (after culture-contact) gradually gave up their traditional cultural practices. The process of sanskritization began rapidly and no doubt, at present tribal identity has remained only for name sake. In fact had there been no provision for reservation the caste identity would have also disappeared. This would have been similar to the way in which British administrator (during pre-independence) recruited some of the tribal or lower caste

Hindus (who were fit for an army job) for the 'British- India army', only after changing their surname or after adding the Rajut sur name 'Singh' after their first name. It is important to mention here that Britishers in India during their initial period, ruled this country according to the prevailing practices. During that period only 'Rajputs' could be recruited for army jobs and the Britishers identified 'Rajputs' by their surname 'Singh'. In short, the contention here is that as the process of culture contact became faster, there was rapid loss of tribal cultural and social practices almost all over the country and the tribals had little to gain and much to loose in this process.²¹

F) Classification of Indian Tribals on the Basis of Religion:

The process of culture contact affected the sphere of religion also and the tribals tried to assimilate themselves with various religious communities or various religions of the civilized people in India. Because majority of the tribals came in contact with the Hindus, therefore, they adopted Hindu religion. In this connection some information was collected in 1961 Census which classified the religion of the tribes who were residing in rural areas at that time. Here it is necessary to point out that in the year 1961 about 97 percent of the tribals were residing in rural areas and their percentage was as follows:

Table 3.9 Classification of Tribals on the Basis of Religious Affiliations

Religion	Percentage of total rural tribal population
Hindu	89.40
Christian	5.53
Buddhism	0.34
Muslim	0.20
Others	4.53

Source: Census of India.

This makes it clear that by and large the tribals have adopted Hindu religion. Those who have accepted Christianity are also considerable in number, and in number are next to those who have adopted Hinduism. An important point to be kept in mind is that even those tribes who have embraced any of the major religions, have not necessarily shed their beliefs and rituals and many of them practice their faith along with their newly acquired faith.²²

The socio-economic and cultural life of the tribal groups of India varies from tribe to tribe and region to region. They belong to various ethnic stocks have distinct pattern of economy, technology, and religious behaviour and speak a large number of languages and dialects. Though there is diversity in 'lifestyle' and 'mode of life' of these communities, but there exists a good deal of similarity in their socio-cultural and psychological level. Till today the tribes are more or less trying to retain their separate social identity, customs and regulations. There are differences between these tribes because they are at different levels of development and participation in national life. However, in general, the tribes are economically, educationally and politically backward, compared to the non-tribal people.

3.3 Tribal development- Approaches in pre independence era and post independence era.

It is essential to know how these tribal people have been approached so far by the administrations. The approaches to the tribals may be separately considered in the context of pre-independence and post-independence periods. Historically there have been three main approaches:

1. Policy of segregation:
 - A. In Pre independence period.
 - B. In Post independence period
2. Assimilation: a result of constant contact of the tribes with the rest of Indian population and the efforts of social reforms.
3. Integration of the Tribes in Regional and National Setting.

Before the discussion of the policy of segregation in Pre independence, we cannot overlook the approaches taken in the Pre British era against the tribals, since they formed an integral part of Indian civilization. It is believed that they were the earliest and original inhabitants of the country. In the context of aboriginality of the Indian tribes different authorities have expressed different views. Elwin called the Baigas “the original owners of the country” they inhabit. Thakkar Bapa considers the tribals to be the ‘Adipraja’, i.e., aboriginals of the country and the sons of Bharatbhumi, older than the Hindus. Ghurey opines that it is possible to contend that even if the tribals are not aboriginals of the exact area they now occupy, they are the autochthons of India and to that extent they may be called the aboriginal. However, the tribals fall in the line of ancestry of the Indian people and are a constituent of Indian population.²³

In the early historical period of India, which coincides with the Hindu period, the tribals either compromised with the Hindu neighbours or went further in the deep forest. All through the long centuries of Hindu rule the tribals find assimilated into the neighbouring Hindu culture. Tribal solidarity was weakened with the process of de-tribalization as they were encircled by the wider Hindu society. Ghurey opines that “almost all the so-called aboriginal tribes of the region have a Hinduised section, small or large, that they have been in fairly intimate contact with the Hindu for a long time, and that they have common interest with the Hindus in matter of religion and gainful occupation. They have shown a tendency to look upon themselves as Hindus or as people closely connected with Hindus.” “While sections of these tribes are properly integrated in the Hindu society, very large sections, in fact the bulk of them, are loosely integrated. Only very small sections, living in the recesses of the hills and the depth of forests, have not been more touched by Hinduism” and “have retained much more of the tribal creeds and organization than many of the castes of the Hindu society, yet they are in reality Backward Hindus”.²⁴

The observations of Ghurey (1963), Bradley Birt (1903), Baine (1891), Risley (1901), O'Malley (1911), Shoobert (1931) and Elwin (1952) suggested the assimilation of the tribals with the Hindu culture. It indicated that during the Hindu period of Indian history the tribal people had more or less good relations with Hindu neighbours and in course of interaction

with the Hindu neighbours they emulated many socio-cultural elements of the Hindus. During the Hindu period there was no assertive or stated policy for the tribal people, but they had more or less good mutual relations which led to tribal absorption into the major Hindu tradition.²⁵

Feudalism in India emerged within the framework of Hindu system of social organization but the structure of production in the tribal societies never took the form of feudalism, until the elements of Hindu feudal aristocracy were forcibly imposed in these areas by the Mughals in order to collect revenue. Until that time the tribal society knew no landlords, no rents. The mode of production was communalistic with no division of labour and political organization was like self-sufficient republic.²⁶ The Muslim rule witnessed a new phenomenon as the rulers harassed them in different way. In this period various types of rent and cesses were imposed on the tribals, which was in cash and also in kind. In some regions the tribal people felt disturbed due to large scale conversion of the tribals to Islam.

1(A) Policy of segregation - In Pre independence period:

The policies adopted by the British rulers were to isolate the tribals from the general masses and separate the tribal areas from the purview of the normal administration. The rulers deplored the assimilation of tribal groups in order to create a division between the tribals and non-tribals so that they could continue their rule over the pan-Indian society, exploit natural resources and cheap labour and keep the tribals in perpetual backwardness.²⁷ The policy of isolation by the Britishers was largely dictated by their deliberate efforts not to develop communication in the tribal areas which, as a result, remained cut off from the rest of the population. This policy led to exploitation by the non tribal elites. Their plight was supplemented by the introduction of the National Forest Policy in 1894 to curb the traditional rights of tribal on forests.

In some areas the British rulers created “excluded” and “partially excluded” areas and gave separate political representation. In fact the area-wise isolation began with the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1870 and a few tracts were specified as “scheduled tracts”. A number of Acts were enforced from time to time till 1919 when certain territories were declared “Backward Tracts” under the Government of India Act of 1919. The areas were, more or less, the same as those of “scheduled tracts” and “scheduled districts” with certain additions and omissions. The “backward tracts” were the result of reforms suggested by Montague and Chelmsford in their report, in which they considered certain areas to be backward, the people being primitive without political institutions and so on. This drama of helping the tribals with special protections carried on. The British Parliament was eager enough to show that something had been done to help the tribal through special administration in the areas concerned. Again in 1936 two areas were created, “Excluded Areas” and “Partially Excluded Areas” under Sections 91 and 92 of the Government of India Act of 1935. The list of the areas was embodied in the Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas) Order, 1936. In 1939 Elwin advocated for the establishment of a

sort of National Park of the tribals and advised that their contact with the outside world should be reduced to the minimum. Again in 1941 he supported the idea of isolationism to a great extent.²⁸

According to R.S.Sharma, Indian feudalism can be traced back to Maurya period, especially the Guptas. During that period the feudal powers levied excessive taxes, exploited the people by imposing forced labour via the unequal exchange between the ruling elites and the ruled. J. Banaji opines that the tribals were badly affected in this relations of production or relations of exploitation in the transition from one mode of production to another, from exchange in kind to exchange in money or from pre-capitalist mode of production to capitalist mode of production. This relations of exploitation is defined as a particular form in which surplus is appropriated from the direct producers, not the specific forms, eg. serfdom where the direct producers are tied to the means of production through some form of extra economic coercion. It takes place with the development of productive forces and property relations when the use of surplus value is expropriated by an aggregate group without providing the producers with their actual dues. Marx refers this extraction of surplus value as exploitation, when the labour time necessary for the producer to produce a value equal to the one he receives in the form of wages is less than the actual duration of his work. In its transition to capitalism, the feudal mode of production nourishes, strengthens the capitalist mode of production for its existence, and on the other hand, the latter provides strength to the former in order to reorient the former and establish its superiority. Capitalism for its own interest makes alliance with the pre-capitalist modes of production in order to secure raw materials and cheap labour supplied by the Hindu elites in total exploitation of the tribal people. Later on, capitalism makes deep inroads into the system leading to the transformation and gradual destruction of the pre-capitalist formation. After that, pre-capitalist formation disappeared and capitalism 'establishes its domination over' and capitalism expanded in those places where it was protected by feudalism.

According to H. Alavi there was direct extraction of surplus by way of land revenue and dissolution of self sufficient village economy which resulted from 'the subordination of economies to the needs of imperialism... so that segments of (these) economies do not trade with each other'. The colonial capitalism created the demand of money economy in the non-money tribal economy. To meet this demand a class of money lenders were created to lend at the usurious rates leading to the large scale alienation of tribal lands. Middlemen traders cropped up from among the money lenders in order to make commercial exploitation of forests, control the food production through the system of money-lending, tribals were, therefore, were uprooted from their natural habitats.²⁹

According to Verrier Elwin, tribals lost their means of subsistence and solidarity because of the alienation of land, loss of freedom of the forest, discontinuance of ritual hunt, loss of creative impulse and collapse of tribal industries, loss of nerve and moral resistance, all these being result of the colonial system of law and administration, tribals external contact and organized movements.³⁰

Citing D.N.Majumdar, Prof Ghurye points out the following 'discomfort' of the tribals: ³¹

- 1) The excise laws during the British period have hit the tribals hard.
- 2) British administration has replaced the tribal officials and thereby has disorganized tribal life.
- 3) Cultivable lands have been taken away from their hold.
- 4) Heavy license fees have been levied on for quarrying in the land.
- 5) Shifting cultivation has been prohibited.

1(B) Policy of segregation - In Post independence period:

In the early period of independence, the Government of India too adopted the policy of isolation though in a slightly modified form. The partial exclusion of large tribal areas was followed by special welfare measures which helped them in going ahead with a separatist move, i.e., the demand, for an independent Naga state and an autonomous Jharkhand. The Advisor on the tribal affairs to the Government of Assam, Verrier Elwin, recommended isolation of tribal groups in certain extreme cases. The declaration of "a few particular areas of tribal concentration as scheduled areas and tribal areas" indicated of the isolation policy on which Shri A.V.Thakkar as chairman of the subcommittee constituted by Constituent Assembly, emphasized that some form of isolation was suggested to check exploitation and not to keep the tribals isolated. It further recommended "considering the past experiences and the strong temptation to take advantage of the tribal simplicity and weakness it is essential to provide statutory safeguards for the protection of land". The implementation of the safeguard was made by declaring some areas Tribal and Scheduled. But since the governmental machinery was confined to the scheduled areas, the tribals living outside the areas were not duly protected.³²

The enlisting of the Scheduled Tribes also creates the wrong impression of the tribals under a special law. The first serious attempt to list these communities as primitive tribes was made during the census of 1931. In the Government of India Act [1935] a reference was made to "Backward Tribes" and again the Thirteen Schedule to the Government of India [Provincial Legislative Assemblies] Order 1936 specified certain tribes as backward in the Provinces of Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, Barar, Madras and Bombay. In the 1941 census these people were recorded as "Tribes" and separate totals were furnished only for a few selected individual tribes. Here again, the old British concept of "excluded area" was applied in a modified form where the ethnic groups were the basis rather than the area. Moreover, the Constitutional safeguards and the inclusion of tribes in the Fifth Schedule created gaps between general population and tribal population.

In pursuance of the provision under Article 343 of the constitution, the President made an order in 1950 specifying certain tribes or communities as Scheduled Tribes. These lists have been modified or amended or supplemented from time to time. Again in different Five year plans the tribal development faced financial segregation as the funds meant for "tribal

welfare” was kept reserved for tribal development and the general fund was not utilized for the development work among them.³³

2. The Assimilation:

The assimilation of the tribal people with the rest of the population is another approach and is a continuous process. In India, the tribal people have come in contact with various communities and situations leading to assimilation in different parts. Some tribals have gradually accepted the Hindu way of life and others have accepted Christianity. Mazumdar [1947], Dube [1960] and Ghurye [1963] opine that this culture contact has created a set of different types of tribes on acculturation level. According to G.S.Ghurye, the so called aboriginal tribes may be divided into three classes, first such sections of them as Raj Gonds and others who have successfully fought the battle and are recognized as members of fairly high status within Hindu society; has come into close contact with Hindus and third, the hill sections which have exhibited the greatest power of resistance to the alien culture that have pressed upon their border.³⁴ D.N. Mazumdar held “Hindu influence” responsible and gave a threefold classification: real primitive, primitive tribe with a degree of association with Hindu caste and Hinduised tribes. Whereas Elwin talked about it as the “external influence” and suggested four types of tribes, (1) most primitive, (2) individualistic and used to outside life, (3) detribalized, and (4) tribal aristocrats. Dube classified them into five categories on the basis of the present habitation and behaviour of the new communities which come in contact and they are (1) aboriginals living in seclusion, (2) tribal group with some village folk associations, (3) tribals living in mixed villages (4) tribals who have been forced to live as untouchables and (5) tribal enjoying a high social status. These classifications reveal that the process of assimilation has been a part and parcel of the Indian tribal culture.³⁵

Ghurye characterized the tribals as backward Hindus and argued that any attempt to isolate them from Indian life would be meaningless. He feels that, “while sections of these tribals are properly integrated in Hindu society, very large sections, in fact the bulk of them, are rather loosely integrated. Only very small sections, living in recesses of hills and forests, have not been influenced by Hinduism”. He opines that the tribals “are imperfectly integrated classes of Hindu society. Though for the sake of convenience they may be designated the tribal classes of Hindu society, suggesting thereby the social fact that they have retained much more of the tribal creeds and organization than many of the castes of Hindu society, yet they are in reality Backward Hindus”.³⁶ The Gonds, the largest single Tribal unit, “are the best illustration of the stresses and strains of assimilation.” “There are three subdivisions among them, two of them being aristocratic. Of these latter the Raj Gonds of the Central Province are better known and they rank with the Hindu cultivating castes; and Brahmins take water from them”.³⁷ Hence, the tribal people of different regions have assimilated themselves in the neighbour folk people and have been in fairly intimate contact with them.

3. Integration of the Tribes in Regional and National Setting:

Since the post-independence tribal policy in India was an extension of paternalistic and protectionist policy adopted by the colonial regime, it was in no way integrational in its spirit.

The policy decisions on tribal welfare; on the eve of independence were influenced by two mutually opposite schools of change. The first school was pioneered by A.V.Thakkar and other Gandhians of the contemporary period, which denounced the colonial policy of tribal isolation and separatism. Their approach was to forcibly absorb them in the mainstream of national life, completely ignoring the fact that the tribal societies have distinct cultural patterns and customs requiring special treatment and subsequent need for a special approach of development. The second school, which was led by an anthropologist, Verrier Elwin, which was opposed to all processes of detribalization, and argued in favour of a policy of 'national park', where the tribal population could be left alone in the grandeur and freedom of their hills and jungles. Elwin was particularly apprehensive of Hindu domination over tribal cultures due to their physical proximity and hence, envisaged a state of absolute protection of the tribals from the engulfing fold of Hindu religion and culture.³⁸

Striking a balance between the two contrasting approaches by eliminating isolation and force, from the two opposing theories, a new approach, based on respect and appreciation for tribal culture and tradition on an understanding of the social, psychological and economic problems with which they are faced, was evolved so that tribals are developed along with other societies on their own genius.

So the ultimate way in which the tribals were approached is the integrational one. From the past experiences of the policies of isolation and assimilation and their result forced the administrators to go a mid way and that the solution to the problem of backward areas and people lay into integration not isolation. The policy and approach towards the tribals after independence was influenced by Pandit Nehru to a great extent. He strongly believed in the coexistence of numerous diverse cultures. The quintessence of Nehru's policy for tribals popularly known as the tribal Panchsheel is expressed in the foreword he wrote for the second edition of Verrier Elwin's book 'Philosophy of NEFA [1960]. He stated five fundamental principles for the tribal upliftment, as an integrational approach which was later confirmed by the researches of anthropologist. The principles are:

- i. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
- ii. Tribal right to lands and forests should be respected.
- iii. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of the administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
- iv. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to their own socio-cultural institutions.
- v. We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that evolved.

Vidyarthi felt that from the experience of the working of the “Panchsheel” for the tribals it is concluded ³⁹:

- (i) that we should not force tribals to do things,
- (ii) that tribal rights aim at saving tribals from exploitation which can be possible only by integrating them with their neighbouring people,
- (iii) that only tribal officers may work in the area with some local bias, and in these conditions experienced non-tribal officers have proved themselves to be anthropological in approach,
- (iv) that tribal programmes be very simple, and
- (v) that one has to “serve the tribals in a dedicated spirit”.

S.C. Dube also reviewed the policy in the broader concept of national unity and opines that in tribal India there is not one tribal culture but an admixture of so many tribal customs and traditions, and “unity” is not at all there. (The British administration and the free-India administration were previously of the view that there existed unity in tribal India.) The various all India tribal Conferences organized by the Government or actively supported by it indirectly created solidarity in tribal India. But he found in this only additional encouragement to the separatist move in some parts of the country. The most desirable course, therefore, he suggests, was to work for integration of the tribes in the regional and national setting according to their genius.

The latest approaches, i.e. : (i) single-line administration, (ii) comparatively small districts due to communicational difficulties, (iii) area development approach to develop the area in its totality in the Fourth Plan and drawing the Sub- Plans in the Fifth Five Year Plans are a clear reflection of the policy of integration with the regional and national setting.⁴⁰

The discussion on how tribals are approached will, however, remain in complete unless we consider the approaches to tribal welfare.

3.4 Approaches to the Tribal Welfare:

The term tribal welfare has been used to cover an all-round development of the tribals as a weaker section of the Indian population. Before analyzing the different approaches it is important to review the views of different thinkers who have presented different frameworks about the tribal welfare activities in the country. D. N. Majumdar opines that there are three distinct tribal zones with specific problems awaiting solution and no two areas have similar problems. He finds two types of efforts that have been made for the welfare of the community, viz., (i) Reform Approach and (ii) Administrative Approach.⁴¹

In the reform approach he includes the social reformer and the administrator backed by the scientist. He is of the view that anthropology is not merely an academic discipline, it is also an applied science, and has worked everywhere as a handmaid to politics, imperialism and colonialism. Reform, he says, should be brought among the tribals only by first understanding

the tribal dynamics. Expert knowledge of anthropological methods and techniques of approach should be used both by the administrators and social reformers. He, however, concludes that the reform approach cannot solve the problems of the tribals, unless, and it is important, the tribal leadership is initiated in the matter of tribal reform.

Under the administrative approach, according to Majumdar, the States and Central Governments have helped the tribals in a stereotyped way- so many wells have been opened, tribal education was imparted through their own dialect, etc. But the main problem was that what had been done in Hyderabad was repeated in Assam and Chotanagpur. According to Majumdar this was not correct and the welfare programmes was to be adjusted to the requirements of each area. Again he preferred going in for nationalization of welfare activities rather than leaving the destiny of the tribes in the hands of so called politicians.

S.C. Dube felt that the approach to the tribal problems so far has been either aesthetic or political. He presented four main approaches to the tribal problems. They are: (i) the social service approach, (ii) the political approach, (iii) the religious approach, and (iv) the anthropological approach. In the social service approach the voluntary social agencies did considerable humanitarian work in the tribal areas in their own cultural frame of reference. In the political approach in the pre-Independence period the Britishers created the "excluded" and "partly excluded" areas and gave separate political representation to the tribes. In free India various all- India tribal Conferences have been indirectly creating "unity" in the tribals. In the religious approach material help is given for converting the tribals to a new faith, e.g., Christianity, which ultimately has given birth to an in-group of Christian tribals. Lastly in the anthropological approach main stress has been laid on understanding the tribals and then drawing up the tribal welfare programmes.

L. P. Vidyarti concurring with S. C. Dube's views assesses the tribal welfare approaches as four : (i) anthropologist's approach, (ii) social workers approach, (iii) missionaries approach, and (iv) administrative machinery for tribal welfare. Here he pinpoints the Christian missionaries rather than the religious approach. He further talks about the administrative machinery for tribal welfare. Thus there are mainly five approaches which have been employed so far for the welfare of the tribals in India.⁴² These are:

- i. Political Approach,
- ii. Administrative Approach,
- iii. Religious Approach with special reference to Missionary Approach,
- iv. Voluntary Approach, and
- v. Anthropological Approach

i. Political Approach :

The political approach for the tribal welfare may be understood in the context of the pre and post-independence period. The colonial rule created "excluded" and partly excluded" areas and gave separate political representation to the tribes. Nationalists opposed these measures as a part of a diabolic conspiracy to a new separatism.

After Independence, the constitution has given the tribals a number of safeguards by considering them to be the weaker section of the population. In the first instance a period of 10 years was given to achieve the goal, but as the problem was too complicated to be solved through a single decade, it has persisted through decades.

ii. Administrative Approach:

The Administrative Approach is closely followed by the political approach. The Government of India has constituted vast administrative machinery for tribal welfare. The President of India is primarily responsible and has been given powers to safeguard the interests of these communities and he has appointed the Director General for Backward Classes at the national level with special duties of investigating into all matters related to safeguards given to the tribal people. The Director General with the help of Regional Directors virtually funds and controls all the tribal welfare activities. He submits its report annually detailing all that has been observed by him personally and through his Regional Directors.

At the State level, the Governor has been made responsible and on his behalf the Chief Minister and the Welfare Minister are in charge of the special schemes to be implemented in the tribal areas. In some major concentrated tribal areas, the State has an independent Tribal Welfare Ministry. The Welfare Ministry is advised by two bodies- The Tribe's Advisory Council and the Tribal Research Institute- in framing the policies and programmes for tribal welfare. There is also indirect control of Parliament on the welfare activities which are looked after by the Parliamentary Committee on the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and from time to time Government has also constituted different commissions to assess and analyze the welfare works.

iii. Religious Approach:

The religious approach has been attempted by different religious agencies like Christian missionaries, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Arya Samaj and other local religious institutions is also engaged in the welfare work for the tribals. The missionaries of various denominations have been active in different parts of tribal India especially in tribal Bihar, eastern Madhya Pradesh, north Orissa in middle India and Meghalaya, Nagaland and Mizoram in north eastern Himalaya. The Christian missionaries have been active in tribal India and though they have been primarily interested in evangelization, the welfare works- educational, economic, hygiene and social works have invariably followed.

iv. Voluntary Approach

Under the voluntary agencies approach social workers, social welfare agencies, social movements, social reformers, etc, are working to uplift the weaker sections of our society in their own ways. Voluntary social services organization have done considerable humanitarian work in the tribal areas but their idealism and spirit of service have not been matched by their understanding of tribal organization, values and problems.

v. Anthropological Approach

The importance of the knowledge of anthropology for efficient administration was, perhaps, realized as early as 1807, when the Court of Directors of East India Company made formal decision that “such knowledge would be of great use in the future administration in the country”. Consequently Dr. Francis Buchanan was appointed by the Governor General-in-Council to undertake an ethnographic survey “to enquire into the condition of the inhabitants of Bengal and their religion”. Since then anthropological-oriented administrative officers like Risley, Thruston, Dalton, Grigson, Gurdon and many others had been deputed by the British Government to prepare handbooks, gazetteers, monographs, etc, on the tribes and castes of India. Owing to their pioneer effort, whatsoever might be the scientific value, a bulk of ethnographic literature was produced and perhaps, it proved helpful to the colonial administrators.

Some controversies took place in the 1930s to 1950s of the present century about contributions of anthropology to the tribals. The anthropologists stand regarding tribal problems continued to be condemned at the administrative level. The temporary isolation of tribal groups recommended by Verrier Elwin faced a number of criticisms. After Independence, in 1949, some anthropologists came out with several papers and addresses, dealing with the importance of applied anthropology in tribal welfare programmes. There are also various tribal research institutes which are engaged in conducting researches on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Besides many University departments in the country undertake research on them.

3.5 Constitutional Safeguards for Tribals:

Pre-independence tribals living in forests, hills and even on the plain were isolated from the mainstream. The status of the tribals was unsatisfactory during the princely and colonial administration for they followed a policy of neglect and saga of exploitation upon the tribals. Due to this, their land and forest were slowly and gradually grabbed by the rich people like landlords and moneylenders. The excessive encroachment on their rights in forest land led to an expression of anger in the form of riots. Thus independent India inherited a complex tribal problem from the British colonial system. The major thrust was to solve the tribal problem in view of our commitment to the objective of social justice, social, economic and political equality of status and opportunity as enshrined in the preamble to the constitution. The makers of the constitution paid special attention towards the tribal problems and tried to eradicate it forever. The concern of the constituent members of the constitution for protection and promotion of the interests of the deprived sections is amply reflected in the preamble of the constitution which was amended in 1976. It succinctly proclaims the aims and objects of the constitution, i.e., to constitute into a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic.

The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission for the Tribal Welfare and Development, 1961 headed by Shri U.N. Dheobar observed that the constitution arranged for

the provision of resources and provided the required institutional status. Some of the safeguards for the tribals in the constitution were initially in co-operated for ten years. In fixing this period, the constitution had envisaged an effective follow up programmes which would have obviated the need for their continuance. This hope has not materialized and the period has been extended. But it is observed that this has not been due to any deficiency in the constitution itself. It is the result of deficiency in performance.⁴³ The constitution deliberately laid emphasis on both aspects-protective as well as developmental. The members of the constitution were keen that the tribals join the mainstream of national life, in order to retain their traits and cultural heritage. Keeping this in view, the tribal status in constitution, therefore special provisions are made for their social and economic development. The constitution also permits for change in laws, according to the tribal situation in concerned area.

The main objective of Indian Constitution regarding the tribal folk is not to disrupt the harmony of tribal life but to work for its advancement and their integration in the democratic set up. In the new federal structure of Independent India, a special place was assigned to the tribal areas. The founding fathers of the nation appreciated their unique socio-economic situation which was simple and may require a complete different dispensation during the time of transition. Tribal development or administration of tribal areas was not formally assigned to the provisions made in the Constitution. But these areas were brought under the under two schedules [Fifth and Sixth], for which special provisions were made. The “excluded” areas were put under the Sixth Schedule. The “partial excluded” areas and some of the tribal area in the erstwhile Indian states were included in the Fifth Schedule.

Under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution, the President is empowered to declare any under-developed area having substantial population of the Scheduled Tribe as a Scheduled Area. Such areas have been declared in eight states, viz. Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan. The Governor has been given almost unlimited power in the Fifth Schedule to make Regulations for the schedules areas. This regulation can negate or modify any law passed by the Parliament or State Legislature in its application to the entire Fifth Schedule area or a part there of. Special regulations can be also be made for these areas under the same provision. Under the Fifth Schedule the Constitution also provides for establishment of Tribal Advisory Council who are consulted by the Governor in relation to his regulation-making power. It shall be the duty of the Tribal Advisory Council to advise on such matter pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the state as may be referred to the by the Governor. Tribal Advisory Council have so far been set up in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan, all of which have Scheduled Areas and also in the States of Madras and West Bengal, which have Scheduled Tribes but no Scheduled Areas.⁴⁴

The Sixth Schedule envisages a special administrative mechanism of self government to the tribals inhabiting the tribal areas⁴⁵. The Sixth Schedule was originally designed for the North East Region and is still effective for this part of India. Article 244[2] and Article 275[1] of

the Indian Constitution have given birth to this Schedule, according to which, the tribal areas as declared in this Schedule will work as the autonomous districts. Each autonomous district has a District Council for its administration. The Governor can fix the total number of all members of the Council and also reserve all the constituencies for the tribals and debar non-tribals, from contesting the elections in such areas. This can be done to protect the interest of the tribals as the non-tribals by their greater financial strength can win the election in the predominantly tribal constituencies by buying votes. The laws made by the Parliament or State Legislature do not run automatically in these areas unless applied by a Notification of the Governor. The laws are either made by the District Councils or are applied by them. These Councils serve as an instrument of self-management and have powers of legislation and administration of justice apart from executive, developmental and financial responsibilities.⁴⁶

In order to protect economic interest of the tribals, safeguard their way of life and ensure their development so that they might take their legitimate place in the general life of the country following provisions are provided in the Indian constitution to safeguard the interest of scheduled tribes.

[Art 15] the prohibition of the discrimination on grounds of religion, race caste, sex, or place of birth;

[Art 16] equality of opportunity in matters of public employment;

[Art 17] abolition of untouchability;

[Art 23] prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour;

[Art 38] to secure a social order for the promotion of welfare of the people;

[Art 29] protection of interest of minorities;

[Art 46] offers promotion of educational and economic interests of scheduled tribes;

[Art 244] special administration of Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas;

[Art 275] provides for grants-in-aid from consolidated fund of India to states for implementation of tribal development programmes;

[Art 330] reservation of seats for scheduled tribes in the house of people.

[Art 332] reservation of seats for scheduled tribes in the legislative assemblies of the states.

[Art 334] reservation of seats further extended to thirty years [w.e.f.25.1.1980];

[Art 335] allow special claims to scheduled tribes to services and posts under the union or of a state;

[Art 338] directs the president to appoint a special officer for scheduled caste and scheduled tribes to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided under the constitution. The Commission for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been functioning as per the provision of this Article and his scope includes states as well as Union Territories;

[Art 339] outlines the control of the Union over the administration of scheduled areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes. Under the provisions of this article President may appoint any time and shall at the expiration of 10 years from the commencement of this Constitution a commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and welfare of the Schedule Tribes. A National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has since been appointed. This article also empowered the Union to give directions to any state in regard to drawing up execution of schemes specified in the direction and essential for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the state.⁴⁷

The Tables 3.10 and 3.11 shows the total number of seats in both the House of people and Legislative Assemblies as well as the number of seats reserved for scheduled castes and those reserved for scheduled tribes as constituted in 2004 on the basis of the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1976 as amended from time to time. Along with it, the present position of the total number of seats in the House of People and State Legislatures as well as the number of seats reserved for both the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes as subsequently constituted as per the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 2008 is given in the Tables 3.10 and 3.11.

Table 3.10 Reservations of Seats for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in the House of People.

Serial No. and Name of the State/Union Territory.		Number of seats in the House as constituted in 2004 on the basis of the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1976 as amended from time to time.			Number of seats in the House as subsequently constituted as per the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 2008.		
		Total	Reserved for S/C	Reserved for S/T	Total	Reserved for S/C	Reserved for S/T
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	STATES						
1	Andhra Pradesh	42	6	2	42	7	3
2	Arunachal Pradesh	2			2		
3	Assam	14	1	2	14	1	2
4	Bihar	40	7		40	6	
5	Chattisgarh	11	2	4	11	1	4
6	Goa	2			2		
7	Gujarat	26	2	4	26	2	4
8	Haryana	10	2		10	2	
9	Himachal Pradesh	4	1		4	1	
10	Jammu and Kashmir	6			6		
11	Jharkhand	14	1	5	14	1	5
12	Karnataka	28	4		28	5	2
13	Kerala	20	2		20	2	
14	Madhya Pradesh	29	4	5	29	4	6
15	Maharashtra	48	3	4	48	5	4
16	Manipur	2		1	2		1
17	Meghalaya	2			2		2
18	Mizoram	1		1	1		1
19	Nagaland	1			1		

Serial No. and Name of the State/Union Territory.		Number of seats in the House as constituted in 2004 on the basis of the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1976 as amended from time to time.			Number of seats in the House as subsequently constituted as per the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 2008.		
		Total	Reserved for S/C	Reserved for S/T	Total	Reserved for S/C	Reserved for S/T
20	Orissa	21	3	5	21	3	5
21	Punjab	13	3		13	4	
22	Rajasthan	25	4	3	25	4	3
23	Sikkim	1			1		
24	Tamil Nadu	39	7		39	7	
25	Tripura	2		1	2		1
26	Uttarakhand	5			5	1	
27	Uttar Pradesh	80	18		80	17	
28	West Bengal	42	8	2	42	10	2
UNION TERRITORIES							
1	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1			1		
2	Chandigarh	1			1		
3	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1		1	1		1
4	Delhi	7	1		7	1	
5	Daman and Diu	1			1		
6	Lakshadweep	1		1	1		1
7	Puducherry	1			1		
TOTAL		543	79	41	543	84	47

Source: Election Commission of India.

Table 3.11 Reservations of Seats for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in the Legislative Assemblies.

Serial No. and Name of the State/Union Territory.		Number of seats in the House as constituted in 2004 on the basis of the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1976 as amended from time to time.			Number of seats in the House as subsequently constituted as per the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 2008.		
		Total	Reserved for S/C	Reserved for S/T	Total	Reserved for S/C	Reserved for S/T
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	STATES						
1	Andhra Pradesh	294	39	15	294	48	19
2	Arunachal Pradesh	60		59	60		59
3	Assam	126	8	16	126	8	16
4	Bihar	243	39		243	38	2
5	Chattisgarh	90	10	34	90	10	29
6	Goa	40	1		40	1	
7	Gujarat	182	13	26	182	13	27
8	Haryana	90	17		90	17	
9	Himachal Pradesh	68	16	3	68	17	3
10	Jammu and Kashmir *	76	6				
11	Jharkhand	81	9	28	81	9	28
12	Karnataka	224	33	2	224	36	15
13	Kerala	140	13	1	140	14	2
14	Madhya Pradesh	230	34	41	230	35	47
15	Maharashtra	288	18	22	288	29	25
16	Manipur	60	1	19	60	1	19
17	Meghalaya	60		55	60		55
18	Mizoram	40		39	40		39
19	Nagaland	60		59	60		59

Serial No. and Name of the State/Union Territory.		Number of seats in the House as constituted in 2004 on the basis of the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1976 as amended from time to time.			Number of seats in the House as subsequently constituted as per the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 2008.		
		Total	Reserved for S/C	Reserved for S/T	Total	Reserved for S/C	Reserved for S/T
20	Orissa	147	22	34	147	24	33
21	Punjab	117	29		117	34	
22	Rajasthan	200	33	24	200	34	25
23	Sikkim	32**	2	12	32	2	12
24	Tamil Nadu	234	42	3	234	44	2
25	Tripura	60	7	20	60	10	20
26	Uttarakhand	70	12	3	70	13	2
27	Uttar Pradesh	403	89		403	85	
28	West Bengal	294	59	17	294	68	16
UNION TERRITORIES							
1	Delhi	70	13		70	12	
2	Puducherry	30	5		30	5	

*Under the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, the number of seats in the Legislative Assembly of that State excluding the 24 seats earmarked for Pakistan occupied territory is 87 out of which 7 seats have been reserved for the Scheduled Castes in pursuance of the Jammu and Kashmir Representation of the People Act, 1957.

**Reserved 1 seat for Sanghas, 2 seats for Scheduled Castes and 12 for the Sikkimese of Bhutia Lepcha origin under section 7(1A) of the representation of the People Act, 1950.

Source: Election commission of India.

The Table 3.12 shows the number of seats reserved for both scheduled tribes and scheduled castes in Lok Sabha since its inception till the present date.⁴⁸

Table.3.12 No of seats Reserved for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in the Lok Sabha

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV
	Lok Sabha 1952	Lok Sabha 1957	Lok Sabha 1962	Lok Sabha 1967	Lok Sabha 1971	Lok Sabha 1976	Lok Sabha 1980	Lok Sabha 1984	Lok Sabha 1989	Lok Sabha 1991	Lok Sabha 1996	Lok Sabha 1998	Lok Sabha 1999	Lok Sabha 2004	Lok Sabha 2009
General	381	387	385	406	406	426	422	422	412	417	423	423	423	423	412
Reserved For S/T	26	31	30	37	36	38	41	40	39	41	41	41	41	41	47
Reserved For S/C	72	76	79	77	76	78	79	79	78	79	79	79	79	79	84
Total seats	489	494	494	520	518	542	542	541	529	537	543	543	543	543	543

Source: Election Commission of India.

In 1999, the share of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Parliament was 79[14.5 percent] and 41[7.5 percent] respectively. The corresponding figure for the Legislative Assemblies was 562[13.8 percent] for Scheduled Castes and 539[13.2 percent] for the Scheduled Tribes. The higher share of the Scheduled Tribes in the Assemblies is due to the creation of tribal states mainly in the north eastern region. In 2004 the share remained the same. In comparison to the previous years in 2009, the share of both the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was raised slightly higher where 84[15.5 percent] seats were reserved for the Scheduled Castes and 47[8.7 percent] seats were reserved for the Scheduled Tribes in the Parliament

Under the Constitution, there is no provision for reservation of seats for both the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Rajya Sabha. This is mainly because the members are not elected directly but the seats are filled up through indirect election. However, occasionally consideration is shown to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates for election to the Rajya Sabha. Similarly like Rajya Sabha, there is no provision of reservation in the Legislative Councils [Vidhan Parishad]. However, in some states, a few Scheduled Tribes candidates have been elected to the Legislative Councils. In spite of the fact that there is no mandatory provision in the Constitution for the inclusion of any Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Union Councils of Ministers. From the annual reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes it is evident that at least one seat has always been provided in each category of the Council of Ministers for the persons belonging to these classes. This proportion of representation has an upward trend.⁴⁹

Reservation for Scheduled Castes and for Scheduled Tribes in the Parliament and State Legislatures is a Constitutional obligation. However, no such stipulation was attached when

local self government institutions were introduced in the country. It was left to the states to enact laws and regulation, as they deemed fit. The Ashok Mehta Committee [1978] strongly observed that of course there has been practice of cooption/nomination of SC/ST members but they have been used by the dominant factions for their own vested interest. In this sense, the 73rd Amendment Act 1992 and the Panchayat Act [Extension to Scheduled Areas], 1996 are a revolutionary shift from the past.

The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act makes the reservation of seats for SCs/STs and women in the Panchayati Raj Institutions mandatory. It provides for reservation both at the level of seats and at the level of offices. The reservation of seats in these bodies is provided in proportion to the respective size of the population of the SCs and STs in the concerned areas. Such seats are to be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a panchayat. Further, one-third of the seats from within all categories [i.e. SCs, STs, general] are to be reserved for women. As for the offices, which are stipulated in the form of chair of locally elected Assemblies at different levels, the reservation is provided at each level in proportion of the size of population of the SCs and STs to the total population of the state. In all states, enactments have been passed in conformity with the 73rd Amendment Act and reservation for STs and others in all three tiers of the Panchayati Raj Institutions have been provided for. However, there have been some variations, both with respect to provisions and to modes of operation /implementation and this is so in reference to both seats and offices.⁵⁰

The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act was passed in 1993 which dealt with urban local bodies of the states. The act also provided for the reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribes in every municipality and “the number of seats so reserved shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in that Municipality as the population of the Scheduled Tribes in the Municipal area bears to the total population of that area and such seats were allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a municipality.” Further, one-third of the seats from within all categories [i.e. SCs, STs, general] are to be reserved for women. The offices of chairpersons in the Municipalities are also reserved for the scheduled tribes in manner of the law provided by the legislature of a state. The reservation of seats and reservation of offices of chairpersons would cease to have effect on the expiration of period specified in article 334.⁵¹

The provision of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act did not apply to the Scheduled Areas⁵² located in Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Himachal Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar (vide clause(1) of Article 244 of the Constitution) . The Parliament of India extended the Seventy Third Amendment Act to these areas on Dec 24, 1996 by legislating the Panchayats [Extension to the Scheduled Areas] Act 1996. The basic premise of the provision of the panchayats was designed so as to facilitate participatory democracy in tribal areas by empowering Gram Sabha, restore the power to community to manage natural resources like land, water, forest and minerals, and evolve an effective delivery system for development within its territorial jurisdiction. It provides for reservation of scheduled tribes in panchayats and also reserves the post of chairpersons exclusively to the Scheduled Tribes in these areas. Taken as whole, one may describe its total design as a Magna Carta of democratic empowerment of the lower rungs of federal representative hierarchy. Even though it is still early, as expected, available accounts of the performance of the panchayats vary. Some show them in good light, the performance of others may be indifferent. The record may improve as the Gram Sabha and panchayat executives acquire experience and confidence. But an important factor here is how the political executive and the bureaucracy view the constitution-backed panchayats. For the state and district tiers have

been noticed to perceive the new institutions as upstart sharers of their resources and patronage and also that their interest lies in creating impediments and ensuring their dysfunction.⁵³

The Constitutional safeguards described above, lay down the framework within which our tribal policy has to operate. The most important fact about the tribal conditions today is that they present a wide range of socio-economic conditions from near-isolated tribalisms to varying degrees of modern forms and even complete assimilation into the national community. The growth of industrialisation, particularly in the tribal areas, urgent needs for border defence and steps taken in that connection, general development of communication, etc., are the factors which are the main agents of these changes. Under these conditions, any policy, if it has to be fruitful and beneficial, should allow a good deal of latitude for differential treatment to the groups at various stages of development. Further, its implementation should be done through machinery which is sensitive to all these factors and elastic enough to allow all sorts of adjustments that the changing scene of tribal life may warrant. The makers of our Constitution were sagacious enough to lay down a system of safeguards that allows for a cautious treatment of the tribals to ensure non-interference in whatever good is found in their culture. These safeguards also open out best opportunities of higher education, government positions, etc., for those who are ready to take time. At the same time, they get all facilities of life to which they are entitled and they are given every aid to fight successfully against poverty and ignorance, unemployment and disease, exploitation and absence of better techniques. Full care has, however, to be taken to ensure that the scheduled tribes are developed according to their own genius, without imposing anything on them. The late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has given a lead in this respect, in his speech delivered at the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas Conference, held in Delhi in 1952. Speaking about the Scheduled Tribes, He said:

“.....we must approach the tribal people with affection and friendliness and come to them as a liberating force. We must let them feel that we come to give and not to take something away from them. That is the kind of psychological integration India needs. If, on the other hand, they feel you have come to impose yourself upon them or that we go to them in order to try and change their methods of living, to take away their land and to encourage our businessmen to exploit them, then the fault is ours, for it only means that our approach to the tribal people is wholly wrong.”

3.6 Indian Five Year Plans Periods and Tribal Development Programmes.

Planning is generally accepted in many developing countries as an indispensable means to promote development. The preference for it arose out of the inability of the poor and traditional societies to initiate and promote development process on the one hand and the desire of the state to put an immediate end to human sufferings on the other. The preparation and implementation of the plans of development in these countries reflect the acceptance of the responsibility of development on the parts of the states. During the process of planning

for development in these counties some new problems have emerged and the existing ones have assumed new dimensions leading to significant changes in the concept and strategies of planning and development. In every situation, planning is very important and followed by implantation or execution, depending on the surrounding. In India planning processes are being implemented for over seven decades. Planning means a scheme of action or procedure. According to Webster's Encyclopaedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language (1996), Plan refers to any method of thinking out acts and purposes beforehand. It is like a sketch, draft, diagram, and a chart.⁵⁴

In spatial a cultural consideration, Indian tribal population is at widely different stages as well as economic development. Tribes encounter difficulties/ problems in the context of socio-economic, cultural and political development. They are considered as weaker sections of the society. The tribal development planning is being implemented along with five-year plans under the control of development of government of India. Surely, five year plans help the tribal people for their sustainable development. In this section of the chapter an attempt is made to trace the planning process with specific reference to tribal development in Indian five-year Plans.

A) First Five- Year Plan (1951-56) :

The first plan for India was of the order of Rs. 1960 crores, out of which a lump sum provision of Rs. 19.93 crore nearly 1% of the total plan allocation was made for development of tribal areas.⁵⁵ The various states provided another Rs.11 crores for the development of tribal areas. The Community Development Programme launched during the first year of the plan (1951-52), the community development blocks were constituted throughout the tribal areas in the country to implement certain sectoral programmes like agriculture, health, education, communication and so on for the promotion of all round development of the tribes. In 1954, the Special Multi-Purpose Tribal Development blocks constituted exclusively for the development of tribal areas supplemented the efforts of these blocks.

Many tribal groups became landowning communities, but in times of famine and economic difficulty, their lands passed on to absent landlords. The problem of land restoration and distribution was linked up with the larger problem of land reform affecting all agriculturalists, but the tribal population could be induced and assisted to move to large uncultivated areas, which were suited to their modes of living. The tribes adopted terrace mode of cultivation using the normal village implements. The community development project accelerated the speed of agricultural development in the tribal areas. Tribal economy in the past was able to develop or exploit the physical region without control or hindrance.

The Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the Department of Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the various states dealt with the problem of education of tribal children. States programmes of tribal education included the creation of residential education ashrams, vocational and technical training schools and hostel for tribal students. A

patent programme of health education with the assistance of mobile dispensaries and the gradual introduction of regular medical services introduced the advantages of scientific methods in dealing with problems of health and disease of the people.

B) Second Five- Year Plan (1956-61) :

In the second plan, total outlay was Rs.4600 crores, particularly the allocation to tribal sector, was Rs.49.92 crores again roughly over 1% of the outlay.⁵⁶ The Ministry of Education had earmarked Rs.11.38 crore for post matric scholarship for scheduled tribes, scheduled castes and other backward classes- scheduled tribes alone getting 33000 stipends. The production of textbooks in tribal dialects, improvement of the curriculum for tribal schools and research work in tribal activities were specially emphasised. The plan contemplated the establishment of 200 community and cultural centres.

The health services included the setting up of 600 dispensaries, mobile health units and sinking of 15000 drinking water wells in tribal areas. In additions, a number of schemes were sponsored by the central government with a view to tackle the special problems by the central government with a view to tackle the special problems of scheduled tribes and scheduled areas in a more intensive manner than in the past. These include multipurpose projects like colonization schemes, construction of houses, construction of new roads and improvement of existing means of communications in scheduled and tribal areas, opening of new medical and health units to eradicate diseases such as leprosy, construction of drinking water wells, development of cottage industries, vocational and technical training of welfare workers.

A sum of Rs.3.52 crores had been allocated for the economic upliftment of scheduled tribes, which covered the schemes such as the establishment of Multi- Purpose cooperative societies, forest cooperatives, training-cum- production centres for various cottage industries and grants for economic aids to the trainees to enable them to settle in small industries. A provision of Rs.0.75 crores had also been made for opening technical schools to give training in mechanical and civil engineering disciplines and certificate courses for training of tribal in agriculture and for teacher training.

C) Third Five-Year Plan (1961-66) :

The third plan for India was of the order of Rs.8576.5 crores, outs of which a lump sum provision of Rs.50.53 crore was made for development of tribal areas.⁵⁷ The broad policies for development of tribal populations and tribal areas had been reviewed by the study team on social welfare. The welfare of backward classes had set up the committee on plan project, the committee on special multipurpose tribal blocks and the central advisory board for tribal welfare and also in special studies in respect of such tribal areas as NEFA and Nagaland. The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, which was set up in April 1960, submitted an interim report based on its study of development in nine states (Andhra

Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan and one union territory). The report emphasised that programmes should be undertaken in tribal areas for land improvement, land reclamation and soil conservation, minor irrigation, supply of improved seeds, manures, implements and bullocks, provision of facilities for training, demonstration of improved practices, development of cattle, fishers, poultry, piggeries and sheep-breeding, organisation of training-cum-production centres and provision of assistance and advice to village education.

In the medical and public health Programme the working group suggested priority for preventive measures for diseases common in each area, provision of itinerant medical units, establishments of maternity and child welfare centres and provisions of drinking water in difficult areas were also considered in the interim report of the commission. The allocations of third plan under different items are detailed in the Table 3.13.

Table 3.13

Allocation Details of Third Plan Under Different Item.			
Item	All States and Union Territories Provisions in Third Plan	Nine States and Provision in the Third Plan (Centre and State)	Union Territory Outlay Recommended in the Interim Report of SC and ST.
Education	14.48	12.26	15.38
Economic Upliftment	37.12	34.39	48.07
Health, housing and other schemes	9.55	6.99	9.45
Total	61.15	53.64	72.90

Source: Third Five- Year Plan Documents, Planning Commission, Government of India.

High Level Committee headed by M.T. Raju was appointed during 1965. The committee suggested equitable distribution of community developments funds and delineates blocks as viable units of tribal development. The blocks were given the most preferred treatment on the allocation of funds. The committee classified the panchayat samithi blocks into advanced, ordinary, backward and tribal based on the levels of their development.

D) Three Annual Plans (1966-1969):

During this period no special funds were provided for tribal development. However in 1969-70 a decision was taken to extend the total life of Tribal Development Blocks to 15 years by incorporating a new stage three. During the third stage each Tribal Development Block was given Rs. 10 lakhs.

E) Fourth Five-Year Plan (1969-74) :

The Fourth plan for India was of the order of Rs. 15902.2 crores out of which a lump sum provision of Rs.32.50 crores was made for development of tribal areas.⁵⁸ Persons of the Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes together comprise more than one fifth of the tribal population. The finance allocation of Rs.100 crores was for development of scheduled castes and Rs.150 for development of scheduled tribes. A review of the level of development achieved in these blocks has brought out the need for extension of the period of supplementary allocations in tribal development block.

In the third plan, 1,022 million and 1,718 million children belonging to the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes benefitted with parametric scholarship or stipends. In the fourth plan an outlay of Rs.11 crores was provided for the award of post matric scholarships to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The number of students of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes awarded post-matric scholarships increased from 2180 in 1951-52 to 127684 in 1967-68. An outlay of Rs.1.5 crores was provided for research, training facilities and special projects. The planning commission has constituted a study team on tribal research institutes to examine their research and training activities, functions and actual working, to explore the feasibility of including within the scope of their functions the problems of scheduled castes and denitrified communities in addition to scheduled tribes and to examine the need for setting up a central research and training institute for coordinating the activities of the regional institutes and for training personnel. In Kerala and Assam the difference between the maximum percentages of literacy in a scheduled tribe was 51% and 40% respectively.

During the Fourth Five Plan, a series of programmes were conceived and addressed to specific target groups. The Small Farmers Development Agencies (SFDA) and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Agencies (MFAL) were the first two in the series. In these cases, attention was shifted from area development to development of identified individuals who qualified for special attention according to certain objective criteria. The Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP) was another measure in the same direction but with a difference. Here the attention is given to the problem faced by an entire region which is depressed because of its agro-climatic situation. The specific target-group approach, however, was adopted to cater attention on the weaker sections of the society. In the wake of establishment of these area specific and weaker-group oriented projects, the programme for tribal areas were also on a pilot basis. Tribal Development Agencies (TDA's) were established on the pattern of SFDA which addressed themselves to the problems of the tribal population. The level of investment in the new programme was much higher compared to Tribal Development Block. Six tribal development agencies were started during the Fourth

Plan. Each Tribal Development Agency covered a group of Tribal Development Blocks. Tribal Development Agencies were expected to comprise elements of economic development, social services and prospective measures.

By the time of Fourth Plan, one of the drawbacks of the functioning of Tribal Development Blocks became clear that their activities were not properly integrated with the general development plans for the region. The Fourth Plan tried to rectify this drawback by adopting the integrated area development approach. Sectoral outlays for tribal development during the First Five Year Plan to the Fourth Five Year Plan are shown in the Table 3.14.

Table 3.14

Sector- Wise Outlays for Tribal Development (Rs in crores)				
Plan Period	Education	Economic Upliftment	Health, Housing etc	Total
First Plan	5.10	8.46	3.81	17.37
Second plan	8.05	22.70	9.76	40.51
Third plan	13.23	30.72	7.10	51.05
Annual plans 1966-69	9.32	24.07	1.93	35.32
Fourth Plan	31.50	42.25	10.45	84.20

Source: Fourth Five year Plan Approach Paper

The Table 3.14 shows that the investment in (sector wise) successive Five Year Plans have progressively increased sharply. Sectoral outlay of economic upliftment was given the highest priority in different plans.

F) Fifth Five- Year Plan (1974-79) :

During the middle of the Fourth Five Year Plan, i.e., in the year 1972, the Planning Commission set up a "Task force on Development of Tribal Areas" with L.P. Vidyarthi as the Chairman. In their appraisal, the task force observed that in spite of various kinds of investment by the State and Central governments for tribal development in successive plans, the problem of the tribals reflected in primitive methods of agriculture, land alienation, indebtedness, adverse effects of industrialization, low rate of literacy, poor health of nutrition etc., had not been solved.⁵⁹ The committee opined that one of the important factors for the lack of impact so far was that development of Scheduled Tribes and tribal areas had been looked upon as a problem of 'welfare' as distinguished from 'development'.

Taking into account of the recommendations of the task force and other previous committees, during the Fifth Five Year Plan, an altogether new approach was adopted towards tribal

development. This was termed as Tribal Sub-Plan. It envisaged the total development of the tribal areas and provided the mechanism for integrating the developmental activities of the government and the semi government organizations by financing through the Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP). The Sub-Plan aimed at narrowing the gap between the levels of development of tribal and other areas, and to improve the quality of life of the tribal communities in general.

The fifth plan for India was of the order of Rs.37250 crores out of which a lump sum provision of Rs.1182.00 crore- approximately about 0.32% was made for development of tribal areas.⁶⁰ Tribal sub-plans incorporating Programmes of particular significance to the tribal economy were prepared for areas with large concentration of scheduled tribes, in 16 states and 2 union territories. These programmes were funded through provisions in the state plans and central assistance. About 40, out of the 145 integrated tribal development projects have been formulated and an amount of Rs. 65 crores would have been spent during the first three years of the plan.

The investment in the tribal areas from the First Five Year Plan to the Fifth Five Year Plan is presented in the Table 3.15. The Table 3.15 shows that the investment in tribal development has been increasing step-by step in the proceeding plans. The percentage wise investment for tribal development was high during the Fifth Five Year Plan with 3.01% of total plan outlay.

Table 3.15

The Investment in the Tribal Areas from the First Plan to the Fifth Plan (Rs in Crores)			
Plan	Total Plan outlay	Tribal Development	Percentage
First Plan	1,960	19.93	1.0
Second Plan	7,672	42.92	0.9
Third Plan	8,577	50.53	0.6
Annual Plan (1966-67)	6,756	32.32	0.6
Fourth Plan	15,902	75.00	0.5
Fifth Plan	39,322	1,182.00	3.01

Source: The Sixth Five Plan Approach Paper.

The Tribal Sub-Plan 1974-79 basically represented disaggregation of sectoral programmes and the total outlay was a derived figure from this sector wise qualification. The First Sub-Plan 1974-79 accorded the highest priority to elimination of exploitation.

During the Fifth Plan, agricultural and allied sectors claimed the highest investment amounting 26% followed by education and health services which accounted for about 21%. Co-operation has been given a very high step up during this plan period with a total

investment of Rs 60 crores largely meant for marketing of agricultural and minor forest produces. Transport and communication had been kept at a low key claiming only about 8% of the total investment. For each Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP), an Integrated Area Development Plan focusing attention on the specific problems of the area and the tribal people has been formulated. The Sub-Plan areas in each state thus comprised a number of viable projects.

G) Sixth Five-Year Plan (1980-85):

The sixth plan for India was of the order of Rs. 97,500 crores, out of which a lump sum provision of Rs.4193 crore was made for development of tribal areas, which was 4.30% of the total plan allocation.⁶¹ The major objective of the sixth plan (1980-85) was to wage an all out war on poverty and mobilize all our latent energies for the creation of a more dynamic and more equitable society through development of SC/ST. In view of this special component plans were formulated as part of various programmes to enable Scheduled Caste/ Scheduled Tribal families to cross over the poverty line within short periods.

Separate sub plans were formulated covering 63 percent of the tribal population in the country, in 16 states and 2 union territories. The Tribal Sub Plan areas were divided into 180 integrated tribal developments for operational purposes. Other programmes included establishment of tribal research institutes for survey and research on tribal problems.

For scheduled tribes the present sub plan approach, which operated through tribal development projects, was continued. Tribal identity and the tribal way of life were preserved in a manner consistent with their aspirations for development. The main thrust of the policy thus for development of the scheduled castes/ scheduled tribal during the sixth plan fourfold namely,

- a) Integration of services at the delivery point to the beneficiary with a view to develop self-reliance
- b) Development of services from the bottom-upwards instead of top-downwards
- c) Development of skills and
- d) Introduction of latest technology based on local materials and local skills to reduce drudgery of workers and also to remove the social stigma attached to their present profession.

A simple subsidy based approach has perpetuated dependence and curbed initiative. Scheduled/Scheduled Tribal areas have shown benefits accruing to the children like ICDS project in the forms of Anganwadis, Balwadis, Creche-cum-balwadi, preschool education.

H) Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90):

The basic premises of the Tribal Sub-Plan continued in the Seventh Plan also. During the seventh Plan, the Tribal Sub-Plan strategy comprised the following:

- a) Identification of the Development Blocks where tribal population is in majority and their constitution into ITDPs (Integrated Tribal Development Projects) with a view to adopt there an integrated and project- based approach for development.
- b) Marking of funds for the Tribal Sub-Plan and ensuring the flow of funds from the control of State plan, sectoral outlays and from financial institutions.
- c) Creation of appropriate administrative structures in tribal areas and adoption of appropriate personnel policies.

The programme of tribal development with ITDP (Integrated Tribal Development Project) pattern was continued in the Seventh Plan also without any basic or major changes in the approach, pattern or structure, but better co-ordination was sought between various agencies, and social services were given priority. LAMPS (Large Agricultural Marketing Societies) were to be strengthened through broadening their popular base. Seventh Plan paid attention towards the rehabilitation of poor tribals and the removal of tribal women's backwardness.

The seventh plan of India was of the order of Rs.180000 crores, out of which a lump sum provision of Rs.6976.76 crore (3.86% of the total plan outlay) was made for development of tribal areas.⁶² Special consideration was accorded to scheduled caste and scheduled tribe families in the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), the most important poverty alleviation programme in the country. The target of coverage of scheduled caste/scheduled tribe beneficiaries in the seventh plan was 30 percent in the case of scheduled castes and 13.04 percent in the case of scheduled tribe beneficiaries. A target of 50 percent has been fixed for scheduled caste and scheduled tribe beneficiaries with effect from April 1990. Since 1990-99, scheduled caste beneficiaries were treated at par with scheduled tribe beneficiaries for subsidy purposes, both getting 50 percent subsidy to a ceiling of Rs. 5000 prior to 1990-91; the subsidy admissible to schedule caste families was only 33 percent. In the wage employment programme of Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, preference was given to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and bonded labourers. It has also been provided that at the village panchayat level, 15 percent of the annual allocation must be spent on items of work that directly benefits the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Expenditure in different plan periods for development of Scheduled Tribes is shown in the Table 3.16. The Table 3.16 shows that funds from State Plan is higher than the funds from the Special Central Assistance (SCA). SCA was low during the Fifth Five Year Plan and high during the Seventh Five Year Plan. The total expenditure for tribals development has been increasing sharply. The seventh plan's investment was highest with 7951.82 crores. During the Seventh Plan the funds from the state plan is high with 7100.57 crores.

Table 3.16

Expenditure in Different Plan Periods for Tribal Development (Rs. In Crores)			
Plan	Funds from State Plan	Funds from Special Central Assistance	Total
Fifth Plan	759.44	186.76	946.20
1979-80 (Actual)	382.45	59.45	441.90
Sixth Plan	3387.89	486.11	3874.00
Seventh Plan	7100.57	851.25	7951.82

Source: A note on Review of Programmes during the Seventh Plan, Planning Commission, New Delhi.

I) Eighth Five-Year Plan (1992-97):

In the eighth plan, taking in view of the problem related to the implementation of schemes for tribal development, the planning commission tried to be more realistic. The plan largely emphasized the re-orientation of administrative structure at all levels for functional co-ordination, integration and effective delivery of services. The strategy of eighth plan also specifically aimed at improving the living environment of the tribals by giving them better social and civic amenities and facilities. The working group recommended that the objective of the seventh plan would continue for eight plan period.

The eighth plan for India was of the order of Rs.314576.43 crores, out of which a lump sum provision of Rs.18311.93 crore was made for development of tribal areas.⁶³ Problems of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes were tackled by suitable stream-lining of mechanism of planning and implementation of programmes of special component plan, tribal sub plan, and the schemes specifically targeted for the welfare and development of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

The strategy of special component plan for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, tribal sub plan were reviewed inter-alia to make them effective instruments of planning to ensure real and tangible flow of benefits to the target group, both individuals and families.

The attempts during the eighth plan were to rationalize the scheme to:

- i. Provide guidance with reference employment opportunities and offering appropriate incentive for course, which have a large market demand
- ii. Improve the performance, if necessary by prescribing minimum standards and

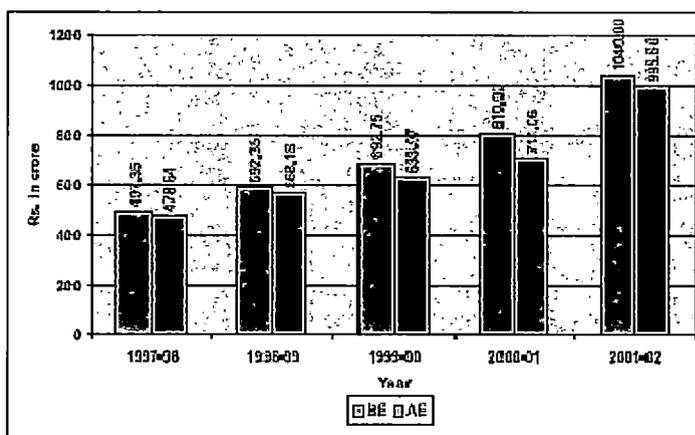
- iii. Identify causes for inter-caste/tribe variation in availing benefits under the scheme and chalk out appropriate remedial action.

In the Eighth Five Year Plan, Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) area, MADA (Modified Area Development Approach), Scattered Development Plans, and Primitive Tribe Development Plans for the tribal development approach was stressed.⁶⁴ Despite the efforts to diversify economic activities in non-formal sectors, the predominant source of livelihood in TSP (Tribal Sub-Plan) area continued to be agriculture. The main thrust was on the development of fisheries, sericulture, horticulture, plantation on waste land and growing vegetables. During the Eighth Plan these areas provided supplemental income and new avenues of employment to the tribals. Human resources development through education, vocational/craftsman training was taken up to improve the skills of the tribals. Expansion of irrigation facilities and electrification of tribal segment, expansion of irrigation wells, fertilizers, improvement of cattle breed and mining activities were also stressed. In this plan, family oriented schemes were also stressed to uplift the tribal families. The community development programmes were given second priority.

J) Ninth Five-Year Plan (1997-2002)

The Ministry implemented various tribal development programmes during the Ninth Plan period and incurred an expenditure of Rs.3387.41 crore against the budget estimates of Rs.3632.45 crore.⁶⁵ The major expenditure of Rs.2746.63 crore (81.09%) was in the form of grants-in-aid released to the State Governments as Special Central Assistance to the Tribal Sub Plan and grants under Article 275 (1) of the Constitution of India. The scheme-wise and year-wise details with regard to budget estimates and expenditure for the Ninth Five Plan period are given in the Figure 3.9.

Figure 3.9 Budget provision and expenditure during 9th Plan



Source: Annual Report of 2009-10, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

The main objective of the Ninth Plan was to intensify the efforts to bridge the gap between Scheduled Castes/ Scheduled Tribes and the rest of the population. An outlay of Rs.775 crores was provided for the Ninth Plan Group-head wise outlays during Ninth Plan period are indicated in Table 3.17.

Table 3.17

Group- Head Wise Outlay During Ninth Plan Period (Rs. In crores)		
Sl.No	Programmers	Ninth Plan Outlay (1997-2002)
I	Ongoing Schemes:	
A	Scheduled Castes:	
1	Education	204.20
2	Economic Development	29.55
3	Housing and other schemes	324.36
4	Special Component Plan	-----
	Total: Scheduled Castes	558.11
B	Scheduled Tribes:	
1	Education	18.79
2	Economic Development	1.58
3	Housing and other Schemes	3.00
4	Tribal Sub Plan	39.53
5	Hill Area Development Programme	-----
	Total: Scheduled Tribes	62.90
	Total: Ongoing Schemes (A+B)	621.01
II	New Schemes	153.99
	Grand Total: I and II	775.00

Source: Planning Commission Report on Welfare of SC/ST and other BCs, Government of India, New Delhi.

Literacy status is one of the key indicators of socio-economic development and the relative employment opportunities largely depend on the level of education. At present 1017 ADW (Adi Dravidar Welfare) schools and 247 Tribal Residential Schools are run mainly for the benefits of these communities. Totally 223762 children were studying in AD (Adi Dravidar) schools and 38,656 children in Scheduled Tribes (27.89%) was less than the overall literacy level (62.66%). The difference in female literacy level (for SC 34.81% and for ST 20.23%) is still more pronounced. The pass percentage in X and XII standards in Adi Dravidar Welfare schools was 57% and 73% in 1997-98 and during 2000-01 it was 54% and 59% respectively. Special training was imparted through the Department of Teachers Education Research and Training (DTERT) to the teachers working in Adi Dravidar and Tribal schools by using modern methods of teaching and new techniques. Secondary grade teachers training programme was started since 1997-98 in 17 DTERT (Department of Teachers Education Research and Training) centres exclusively for Adi-draavidars and Tribals. So far, 850 students including 85 tribal students had undergone training and the first batch completed two years course in 1999. Besides sanction of regular educational concession, the other measures taken include strengthening of infrastructure facilities like construction of school building, additional classrooms, laboratory building, provision of lab equipment, computers, furniture and play material, upgradation of schools at all levels, opening of residential schools, construction of vocational training centres, provisions of basic amenities like toilets, drinking water etc.

In the field of economic development, financial assistance was offered to these communities from TAHDCO for undertaking economic activities viz., distribution of plough bulls, milch animals and starting of petty traders. During 1998-99, the scheme of free supply of tools and appliances was modified as 'Kalvi Kudumba Thittam'. Under this scheme, family as a unit of development was recognised and poor SC/ST family having a member with a degree or diploma holder was assisted for self-employment. Existing training institutions were strengthened. Several innovative training programmes in fashion technology, plastic processing, footwear technology, driver training etc., were also conducted and placement was tied up with reputed institutions. Special coaching facilities for the SC/ST candidates were extended through pre-examination centres to enable them to appear for civil service competitive examinations to get employment in State/Central Government offices and public sectors undertaking. Special short term coaching was given to SC/ST candidates through Directorate of Employment and Training to appear for professional course entrance examination under Centrally Sponsored Scheme on 50:50 basis. Coaching classes were conducted for 21 days in 29 centres for 1200 candidates per year in the State.

Regarding Housing, distribution of free house site pattas, construction of houses for poor Adi-draavidars and Tribals and provision of infrastructure facilities to SC/ST habitations were the prime priority areas in the Ninth Plan. Nearly 2.59 lakh house-site pattas were issued and 1.38 lakh houses were constructed. Supply of protected drinking water facilities was provided in 12387 SC/ST habitations. 25 community halls were constructed. Provision of burial ground and pathways to burial ground, drinking water facilities, electricity facilities, etc. were also implemented. Mobile dispensaries and medical camps were organised to attend to the

general and specific health problems of the tribal communities, since tribal habitations are located in isolated hill and forest areas. Direct programmes for the welfare and development of primitive tribes were launched through an iterated action plan incorporating supply of safe drinking water, food and nutrition security, health coverage, educational facilities, housing etc.

K) Tenth Five-Year Plan (2002-07):

An out lay of Rs. 1200 crores was provided for the Tenth Plan for the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, out of which an amount of Rs.1044.16 crores was provided for Scheduled Castes and 155.84 crores for Scheduled Tribes for both ongoing and new schemes. The major programmes wise details are indicated in the Table 3.18.

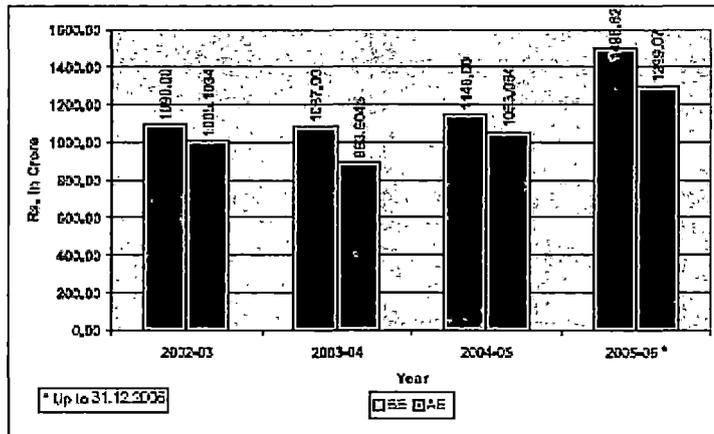
Table 3.18

Details of Major Programmes in Tenth Five- Year Plan Periods (Rs. In crores)				
Sl. No.	Programmes	On Going Schemes	New Schemes	Total
A	Scheduled Castes:	433.85	54.69	488.54
1	Education	5.94	51.75	57.69
2	Economic Development	364.36	96.45	460.81
3	Housing and other Schemes	37.12	-----	37.12
	Total: Scheduled Castes	841.27	202.89	1044.16
B	Scheduled Tribes:			
1	Education	28.58	62.90	91.48
2	Economic Development	0.40	1.82	2.22
3	Housing and other Schemes	0.00	3.23	3.23
4	Tribal Sub Plan	50.16	0.00	50.16
5	Hill Area Development Programme	8.75	0.00	8.75
	Total: Scheduled Tribes	87.89	67.95	155.84
	Grand Total: A and B	929.17	270.83	1200.00

Source: Planning Commission Report on Welfare of SC/ST and other BCs, Government of India, New Delhi.

The Planning Commission approved an allocation of Rs.1,754 crore for the Tenth Five Year Plan. In this, the allocation under the two major schemes i.e. Grants under SCA (State Channelising Agencies) to TSP (Tribal Sub Plan) and Article 275 (1) of the Constitution of India is not included. The budget estimates, revised estimates and expenditure for first four years of the 10th Five Year Plan are given in the Figure 3.10.

Figure 3.10 Budget provision and expenditure during first four years of the 10th Plan and provisional expenditure in the 5th up to 31.12.2006:



Source: Annual Report of 2006-07, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

The Tenth Five Plan continued with the schemes and programmes directed at the socio-economic development of the tribal population through an area based approach. Initiatives to arrest the incidence of land alienation through legislative mechanism were also explored during the Tenth Plan.⁶⁶

(a) Educational Development: The Departments of Elementary Education and Literacy and of Higher Education in States have provided special incentives to Scheduled Tribe students which include textbooks, uniform, abolition of tuition fee, and so on. Special focus is also accorded to Scheduled Tribe students under the District Primary Education Programme, Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya, and Midday Meal Programme. Navodaya Vidyalaya, National Talent Search Scheme. The Post-Matric Scholarship is in operation since 1944-45, and open to all Scheduled Tribe students whose parents annual income is up to 1 lakh, to facilitate students to pursue professional courses. An amount of 58.9 crore was utilized to benefit seven lakh Scheduled Tribe students in the Tenth Plan. The Scheme of establishing Ashram schools in Tribal Sub-Plan areas provides funds for construction of school buildings as well as hostels and staff quarters. Seventy-eight Ashram schools with a capacity of 9610 seats were supported at a cost of Rs 22.34 crore. The scheme of construction of hostels for Scheduled Tribe boys and girls provides for the construction of new hostel building as well as extension of the existing hostel buildings. An amount of Rs 57.84 crore was utilized for the construction of 120 hostels for 9884 students. The scheme of setting up educational

complexes is being implemented for promotion of education among tribal girls in 136 identified low literacy districts of the country. In the Tenth Plan, an amount of Rs 62 crore was allotted under the scheme to set up 76 complexes. A scheme for vocational training in tribal areas for developing the skills of tribal youth for a variety of jobs as well as self employment is also in operation.

(b) Economic Development: The National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (NSTFDC) was set up in 2001 with an authorised share capital of Rs 500 crore. The Corporation supports various income and employment generating activities through loans, marketing support, training, and so on. Special focus is accorded to Scheduled Tribe women beneficiaries under programmes such as the Adivasi Mahila Shashaktikaran Yojana, which facilitate income generating activities through women's self-help groups (SHGs). Under NSTFDC (National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation), 14.53 lakh Scheduled Tribes were benefited during the Tenth Plan. The State Scheduled Tribe Development Corporations (STDCs) which function as channelizing agencies in identifying eligible beneficiaries and extending financial and other assistance to them are also supported by NSTFDC (National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation. The STDCs (State Scheduled Tribe Development Corporations) were provided with funds to the tune of Rs 48.76 crore in the Tenth Plan. The Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Ltd (TRIFED) provides marketing assistance and remunerative prices to Scheduled Tribes for collection of minor forest produce (MFP), and surplus agricultural produce to protect them from exploitative private traders and middlemen. In the Tenth Plan, States were provided SCA (State Channelising Agencies) of Rs 2518.07 crore to strengthen their Tribal Sub Plans. Though the majority of the tribals are settled cultivators, their farming activity is generally uneconomical and non-viable due to lack of access to necessary agricultural inputs, specially assured irrigation. Therefore, a special provision of funds under grant-in-aid under Article 275(1) of the Constitution has been made for financing minor irrigation works.

(c) Restoration of Traditional Rights: The government took a major initiative in enacting the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 which was notified in the Gazette of India, extraordinarily, dated 2 January 2007. The Ministry has also framed the draft Rules for implementation of the provisions of the Act. The major rights that are granted under the Act inter alia are the right to cultivate forest land to the extent under occupation, (subject to a ceiling of 4 hectares); the right to own, collect, use and dispose of MFP (minor forest produce); rights inside forests which are traditional and customary, for example, grazing.

(d) Self Governance: Despite some protective measures and developmental efforts, the emerging tribal scenario characteristically continues to manifest:

- i. Increasing the tribal alienation on account of slipping economic resource like land, forest, common property resources;
- ii. Displacement and dispossession of life-support systems;

- iii. General apathy of official machinery;
- iv. Escalating atrocities, at times related to assertion of rights;
- v. Growing clout of market forces; and
- vi. Meagre advancement through planned development efforts.

The scenario calls for a major shift towards entrusting, enabling and empowering the tribal people to look after their own welfare and address issues of development through their own initiative. The extant constitutional-cum-legal-cum-policy framework has been enormously strengthened by the enactment of the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA), a charter of autonomous tribal governance, embodying rights in favour of tribal communities coupled with respect for their ethos.

(e) Protective Measures: Despite protective legislation, incidents of atrocities on members of Scheduled Tribes, including gang rape and murder, continue to take place in almost all parts of the country. During the period 2001 to 2005, the total recorded incidents of atrocities against Scheduled Tribes were 30128. Five states- Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, and Chhattisgarh- contributed 72% of the total incidents of crime against Scheduled Tribes.

(f) Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs): There are 75 identified Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) spread across 17 States/ UTs living in utmost destitute conditions. Some of them, in dire straits, also face the threat of extinction. In order to provide focused attention to the survival, protection and development of these PTGs (Primitive Tribal Groups) a special scheme launched in 1998-99 was implemented during the Tenth Plan to provide tribe specific services and support including, inter-alia, housing, land, agricultural inputs, cattle rearing, health, nutritional services and income generating programmes.

(g) Displacement, Rehabilitation, and Resettlement: Ancestral land, villages, habitations belonging to the tribal people have been made available for various development projects as tribal areas possess 60-70% of the natural resources of the country. In such case, though primary displacement appears small due to low population density, secondary displacement has been extensive, encompassing common property resources that provided supplemental livelihoods, particularly to those with low or no dependence on farming. Estimates of Scheduled Tribes displaced on account of acquisition over the past six decades vary between 8.5 and million (roughly about 40% of all oustees). The widespread secondary displacement in the zone of influence has neither been measured nor was provided for, calling for an accurate verification of actual displacement both in terms of persons and resource loss. Cash compensation for land having been the practice as per the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, oustees owning the little land, such as wage-labour artisans, have hardly figured in the relief and rehabilitation packages. As a result, some groups have continued to suffer successive, multiple displacement.

Land (both owned by community and individuals) is the most important source of livelihood for the tribal people for agriculture (settled and shifting cultivation), horticulture, floriculture,

forestry and animal husbandry. Several laws and regulations have been in place to prevent the alienation of tribal land private grabbing of such land. A Report of the Ministry of Rural Development reveals in March 2005.

- i. 3.75 lakhs cases of tribal land alienation have been registered covering 8.55 lakhs acres of land;
- ii. Out of the above, 1.62 lakhs cases have been disposed of in favour of tribals covering a total area of 4.47 lakhs acres.
- iii. 1.55 lakhs cases covering an area of 3.63 lakhs acres have been rejected by the courts on various grounds; and
- iv. 57521 cases involving 0.44 lakhs acres of land are pending in various courts of the country.

Despite the fair rate of disposal, the other related issues are: (i) the time taken in disposal, (ii) the number of alienations for which Scheduled Tribes found access to courts difficult, if not impossible and (iii) the physical possession of the land needed to be addressed comprehensively.

L) Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2007-2012):

The Eleventh Plan has made an attempt for a paradigm shift with respect to the overall empowerment of the tribal people, keeping the issues related to governance at the Centre. The operational imperatives of the Fifth Schedule, TSP 1976, PESA 1996, ; the desirability of a tribal-centric, tribal-participative and tribal-managed development process; and the need for a conscious departure from dependence on a largely under-effective official delivery system was to be kept in view during this shift.⁶⁷

(a) Self Governance: Article 243G of the constitution and PESA Act make it incumbent that State legislations endow power and authority on Panchayats in Scheduled Areas enabling them to function as institutions of self-governance, preparing and implementing schemes of economic development and social justice. The Act confers abundant powers on the four tiers-Gram Sabha, Gram Panchayat (extant since decades), Intermediate Panchayat (development block tier) and Zilla Panchayat (ZP, district tier)-which need to be given effect in real operational terms. The vision of self- governance should be made functional forthwith in keeping with the spirit of PESA.

The Gram Sabha and the three other hierarchical Panchayats would require infrastructure, personnel, and financial resources to carry out their tasks. Apart from other sources, the State Finance Commissions need to provide the necessary devolutions for Scheduled and Tribal Areas, as per Article 243(l) of the Constitution. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs should ensure direct flow of funds to the ZPs of the district in these areas, which should apportion them on an equitable basis to the three lower Panchayat bodies for various programmes.

The Fifth Schedule needs to be urgently operationalized. The Tribes Advisory Council (TAC) needs to be made proactive, functioning as an advisory body to the State Government in matters relating to Scheduled Tribes. Second, it should function as a tier in between the ZPs in Scheduled Areas and the State Government. Its jurisdiction should be expanded to cover all matters relating to tribes people, and not limited, as of now, those which are referred to it

by the Governor. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs is required to ensure regular and meaningful annual reports for the Governor as per para 3 of the Schedule. The Ministry should also examine the feasibility of insertion in the Fifth Schedule of a suitable provision to the effect that discretionary power may be exercised by the Governor on the advice of Tribal Advisory Council. Lastly, the Scheduled Areas and Tribal Sub Plan areas should be made co-terminus, enabling protective and legal measures to be available in all Tribal Sub- Plan areas. To the extent possible, demarcation of Scheduled Areas should be notified down to the village level and other settlements.

(b) Educational Development: The following measures were being taken to accelerate the educational progress among the tribal population during the Eleventh Plan:

- a. In the deficit areas, the requisite number of primary schools needs to be established. Specific norms for middle schools and high schools for tribal areas will be evolved and deficiencies made up. All schools should have proper school buildings, hostels, water, toilet facilities (particularly for the girls schools).
- b. Residential high schools for Scheduled Tribes boys and girls will be set up at suitable places. At the Gram Panchayat level, ensuring girl's hostels will be attached to the existing primary/elementary schools that do not have hostels, wherever it is feasible to do so.
- c. Textbooks in tribal languages, especially at the primary level, will be produced to enable better comprehension by Scheduled Tribe students in classes up to III. Side by side, adequate attention will be paid to the regional language so that children do not feel handicapped in higher classes.
- d. Efforts will be made to set up Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) in the Tribal Sub Plan areas. Other training centres will include community polytechnics, and undertaking rural/ community development activities in their proximity, through application of science and technology.
- e. Timely distribution of fellowships, scholarships, textbooks, uniforms and school bags to students.
- f. The ICDS/ Anganwadi schemes for tribal areas will be evaluated and shortcomings eliminated.
- g. A larger number of special coaching classes will be organised and the concerned institutions will be suitably aided to enable Scheduled Tribe students to compete in entry-level competitive examinations for professional courses.
- h. Adult education will be paid adequate attention.
- i. Steps will be taken to promote tribal languages, culture and heritage through adaption of pedagogical method, community participation in school management, and so on.
- j. There is a need to constitute a special committee composed of eminent sociologists, anthropologists, educationists, administrators, representatives of Scheduled Tribe communities, and so on, to comprehensively assess the problems of Scheduled Tribe education and make recommendations for implementation.

(c) Health: Efforts will be made to make available affordable and accountable primary health care facilities to Scheduled Tribes and bridge the yawning gap in rural health care services through a cadre of ASHA and sectoral convergence of all the related sectors. Periodic reviews will be conducted on the delivery system and functioning of the health care institutions under three broad heads to optimize service in the tribal areas:

- i. health infrastructure,
- ii. manpower and
- iii. facilities like medicines and equipment.

Action will be taken to make up the shortfall in the different categories of health institutions, liberalization of norms, addressing infrastructural deficiencies, application of quality standards and revitalization of Health Care Systems.

(d) Economic Sectors and Livelihood Opportunities: An overwhelming proportion of STs depend on cottage and small industries, and horticulture for their livelihood. Towards making the existing tribal livelihoods more productive, intensive efforts will be mounted to reconstitute, vitalize and expand the agricultural sector. Use of irrigation in agriculture with a preference for organic farming, will be a major step. Training centres will be opened to impart skills for diverse occupations to the tribals. Efforts will be made to promote horticulture, animal husbandry, dairy farming, sericulture, silviculture and cottage and small industry by extending the necessary technology and credit, marketing and entrepreneurial information, and training. TRIFED (Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Ltd) has to shoulder the task of marketing to ensure remunerative prices to Scheduled Tribes. Lending by agencies like the State Governments, NSTFDC (National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation) and TRIFED (Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Ltd) will be streamlined by better coordination at higher levels and efficient delivery at the field level. Large-Scale Multi Purpose Corporate Societies and such like cooperative institutions in tribal areas will be revived to make them representative, autonomous and professional.

(e) Tribal-Forest Interface: To enable the tribal primary producers, collectors and consumers to enter into transactions with primary cooperatives, the monopoly of corporations in certain items procured by them through contractors and middlemen will be replaced by alternative market mechanisms like minimum price support with institutional backing. It will be incumbent on the National-level organisations like TRIFED (Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Ltd) and NAFED (National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation) to play their due role in marketing of the tribal MFP. Technological support for value addition will be extended to the corporations as well as other institutional and private processors. Skills like culling, barking, tapping of gums, storage of sal seeds and preparation of tamarind extracts, needs to be upgraded through ITIs (Industrial Training Institutes) , TRIFED (Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Ltd), NSTDFC(National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation) and other training organizations.

As visualized under the National Forest Policy (NFP) Resolution (1988), tribal association with forestry will be maximized through tribal cooperatives and Self Help Groups of tribal women. Specific schemes for quality improvement, higher productivity and regeneration of MFP (Minor Forest Produce) species will be implemented to facilitate sustainability of this source of tribal livelihood. No outside labour will be engaged where tribal labour is available.

Inter-disciplinary scientific studies to develop feasible agronomic strategies to make shifting cultivation ecologically compatible and economically viable will be undertaken. Special protection will be extended to Jhumias. Rules under the Forest Rights Act, 2006 and PESA need to be framed expeditiously. Scheduled Tribe women will be recruited to the posts of forest guards, foresters and forest rangers, by suitably lowering the educational qualification, if required. Such forest guards and foresters will ensure safety of women venturing in the forest areas for their livelihood needs.

(f) Tribal Sub- Plan and Tribal Policy: Tribal Sub-Plan will be reformed to restore its dynamic character and make it an effective instrument for tribal development and once the National Tribal Policy was finalized, action was to be taken to follow up on it.

(g) Tribal Unrest and Socio-Political Movements: Lack of socio-economic development, physical and economic exploitation, land alienation and other problems have led to a situation in which 75 predominantly tribal districts are affected by violence. The situation could be remedied by taking the following steps.

- i. Prevention of exploitation of tribals through strict penal action against errant moneylenders, businessmen, traders, middlemen, government servants and other exploiters. Effective implementation of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989.
- ii. The practice of employment of contractors and middlemen by public sector organizations should be replaced by tribes-benefitting procedures.
- iii. Amendment of instruments like the Land Acquisition Act, 1894; Forest Act, 1927; Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980; Coal Bearing Areas (Acquisition and Development) Act, 1957; and National Mineral Policy, 1993 to eliminate iniquitous provisions ensuring protection of the interest of tribals.
- iv. Displacement should be avoided in the first place. If inescapable, it should be the minimum possible; land for land will be the general rule. All those displaced need to be identified and rehabilitated suitably.
- v. Land reforms should be implemented stringently.
- vi. The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 should be implemented by the States in letter and spirit.
- vii. Rigorous implementation of the provisions of laws combating land alienation and simultaneous stringent steps to restore the alienated land back to the people.

(h) Prevention of Land Alienation: Apart from rigorous implementation of laws for preventing alienation of tribal land and plugging loopholes in such laws, the following measures also need to be taken

- i. Updating and computerization of land records in tribal areas.
- ii. Separate fast-track courts in the Scheduled Areas to deal with cases of tribal land alienation.
- iii. Translation of anti-alienation laws into regional languages and, possibly, in tribal languages, for wide dissemination in tribal areas.
- iv. A law for urban agglomerates in Scheduled Areas on the analogy of PESA Act, 1996 needs to be considered for enactment.

(i) Rehabilitation and Resettlement: The government has recently approved the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy 2007, with the following objectives:

- i. Minimize displacement and promote non-displacing or least-displacement alternatives
- ii. Ensure adequate and expeditious rehabilitation with participation of the Project Affected Families (PAFs) through an independent authority
- iii. Create obligations on the State to protect the rights of weaker sections, particularly Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
- iv. Provide a better standard of living with sustainable income
- v. Integrate rehabilitation concerns into development planning and implementation.

Effective follow-up action will be taken to operationalize the policy.

(j) Infrastructure: Both the Fifth and Sixth Schedule Areas are considered backward, with poor infrastructure being a major handicap in improving the quality of life. The first proviso to Article 275(1) of the Constitution directs building infrastructure in such areas on par with that of the rest of the areas in the country by providing money from the Consolidated Fund of India. Focused strategies for infrastructure development in sectors like education, drinking water, PDS, health, minor irrigation, roads, housing, tele-communications and electrification will be pursued.

(k) Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs): The strategy will be different for the two distinct groups of Primitive Tribal Groups. The approach for heritage groups will place emphasis on conservation of the eco-system, lifestyle and traditional skills along with an economic component. In case of peripheral communities, the approach will be conservation of the eco-system, along with stress on economic programmes. For the purpose, the unique attributes of each group will determine specific treatment in planning and implementation. A National Plan of Action for tribe-specific comprehensive conservation-cum-development needs to be formulated and executed.

Periodic reviews need to be conducted on the functioning of health care institutions in the tribal areas under three broad heads: (i) health infrastructure, (ii) manpower and (iii) facilities like medicines and equipment. The NRHM seeks to strengthen the public health delivery system at all levels. The Department of Drinking Water Supply needs to cover all uncovered tribal areas before the end of the Plan period. Urban tribal pockets and other tribal habitations need to be covered with sanitary latrines equipped with minimum basic facilities. Many tribal areas receive adequate rainfall. Rainwater harvesting structures will be installed appropriately, particularly in schools and colleges. TPDS will be revamped to ensure its outreach actually extends to tribal areas. The system should convey to them foodstuffs of their choice like coarse cereals, pulses, edible oils, and so on. There is a need to ensure that the tribal villages are automatically electrified, taking recourse also to nonconventional sources of energy. Universal telecom voice coverage will be ensured in the tribal areas during

the Plan period. In 1975, guidelines to States/UTs were issued by the Centre for taking steps for discontinuation of commercial vending of liquor in tribal areas in pursuance of the Excise Policy, 1974. Although the States/UTs have accepted the guidelines, commercial vending of intoxicants continues in tribal areas and stringent measures are needed for its prevention.

(I) Data-based Planning:

The issues in tribal development are complex and often not understood very well. Each of the nearly 300 main tribal groups differs from each other in customs, practices, traditions, faith, and language. As such, uniformity in socio-economic development plans for all tribal groups and programmes is not appropriate. Vast quantities of data, generated at various geographical sites across the country, lie scattered, unanalysed and unused.

They need to be processed and stored meaningfully in a tribal data bank. The programmes and schedules of the 18 State Tribal Research Institutes (TRIs) in the country demand coordination and synergy. The issues of scheduling and de-scheduling of communities have assumed national importance and need to be appraised rationally and dispassionately. All these point to the need at the central level for a National Institute of Tribal Affairs (NITA) to deliberate on these matters as also on a whole range of other issues. NITA (National Institute of Tribal Affairs) will serve as a think tank to the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. Expeditious steps will be taken to set up NITA (National Institute of Tribal Affairs).

To conclude the World Bank country study on Poverty in India (1997) pointed out that, “an illiterate rural woman, a member of Scheduled Tribe or Caste a person who lives in landless household or is dependent on wage- earnings, all face a significantly higher than average risk of poverty”. The above situation tells about the status of tribal people living in our country. The tribes when compared to other people are facing more problems/difficulties. For this reason the government organisation are implementing various five –year plan for the welfare of tribes. The plans should be made useful or implemented for their self-development and enrichment. In doing so, five-year plans help the tribal people for their sustainable development. Therefore the travails of tribal development need to be understood properly. The programmes should be related to the specific needs of the tribal community. Also, tribal development programmes should be integrated with the ongoing rural development programmes meant for poverty alleviation. A pragmatic and holistic approach to tribal development alone can produce good results.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Census Report, Government of India, 2001,
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