

## CHAPTER III

### TRIBAL POPULATION AND THEIR PROBLEMS – SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL – A GENERAL SURVEY

#### DEFINITION AND MEANING

There are numerous terms used to describe the tribes of India such as, *vanvasi*(forest dwellers) or *girijan* (hill people). However, *adivasi* carries with it the most relevant meaning of being the aboriginal inhabitants of a given region. It was in 1930s that the term *adivasis* was specifically coined for describing the aboriginal population of a particular area.

Tribal population is the indigenous population of India. Their socio-economic background is entrenched for ages. It goes without saying though that there are a multitude of tribes that reside in India. Though they can harp upon being clubbed under ‘tribes’ on a whole, there are nonetheless a plethora of tribal groups and denominations each bearing distinct individual characteristics of their own. The one thing however, that binds them together is their social structure born out of a culture that draws its influence from being indigenous, devoid of any external influences. The majority of tribes in India can still be regarded on a whole as being cocooned from the socio-economic upheavals that seem to influence the other strata of society. In the modern era though, quite a substantial part of the tribal population is in the process of integrating itself with contemporary society. The conflict between the age long social structures and values of the ever changing contemporary society is however extremely hard to bridge every tribal society. Thus, faces a challenge of enormous magnitude in trying to incorporate itself into a dynamic modern society, while trying its best to hold on to its long and deep seated roots.

While Ghurye contested the idea of ‘tribe’ as a separate category and viewed that ‘tribe’ should be looked into as a section of the larger Hindu society, Sinha (1982:13) observed that ‘it was the British scholars who felt that the tribes were outside the frame of varna-jati system. The tribes themselves presented a wide spectrum of relationship with the plough cultivations from complete isolation to close interaction. Sinha (1958:504-518) on the basis of his observations on the central and peninsular India viewed a ‘tribe’ ‘as a system of social relations as well as a state of mind and cultural tradition, both characterized basically by isolation and lack of stratification. He defined a set of characteristics of ‘tribe’ namely habitat, economy, social structure and ideological system. To him tribes have specific features like— isolation in ecology, economy, politics and other social relations— from other ethnic groups. They have a strong in-group

sentiment, homogeneous, devoid of social stratification and role of specialization other than by age, sex and kinship. Ideally no interaction with Great traditions of Indian civilization, they have a value system of equality, closeness of human, natural and supernatural world, lack of systematization of ideas, etc. He conceived 'tribe' in India in a classical evolutionary frame, where this section of population was constantly moving towards caste pole. It may be noted that while underling important features of 'tribe', Sinha consciously prefixed the term 'ideally' in the beginning of the sentence 'no interaction with Great traditions of Indian civilization'. This indicates that Sinha was well aware that the criteria of ecological isolation and absence of any kind of contacts with other populations were far from a reality in case of the population groups categorized as 'tribe' (1965:61).

The definition for tribal population in Indian society has always been contentious. S. C. Dube has laid down certain categories for recognition of divergent social groups as tribals:

- Firstly, a very long association with the land that they inhabit is of primary importance,
- Secondly, their abodes are generally in lands that are away from the mainstream population, primarily inhabiting isolated areas in forests and hills,
- Thirdly, lack of a well-documented history of their ancestors which need them to primary have a concept of their origin based on mythologies,
- Fourthly, being primarily secluded from the mainstream population they have very little wherewithal for their economic and technological advancement,
- Fifthly, they have socio-cultural traditions which are unique to their society and have little resemblance to the mainstream population, and,
- Lastly, the society at large is intrinsically immune to the hierarchical concept in the so-called modern societies. (150).

Going by their socio-economic-political standing the tribal population is described with adjectives like the 'marginal', 'exploited', 'most backward' 'subaltern', 'deprived' section of Indian society that is still waiting to be 'developed' and integrated into the 'mainstream'. Although not a homogenous and organized force tribal communities express their anger and frustration in sporadic protest movements asserting their rights for autonomy and even for independence. The state and organs of civil society, on the other hand, want more and more development for the tribal communities for the sake of 'peace', 'amity' and national integration.

In his book *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (Vol.II) H.H. Risley mentioned that the Munda is a large Dravidian tribe of Chotanagpur who spoke the Kolarian group of language, which was close to the Hos and Santals, The name Munda is of Sanskrit origin. (Risley,1891).The original homeland of the Mundas was in the Chottanagpur hill-plateau region of eastern India, which at present is included in the Jharkhand state of India. During the British colonial period large number of Mundas, Oraons and Santals were forcefully uprooted from their homeland to the tea gardens of Assam and North Bengal to work as labourers. Another section of these tribes were brought in by the local zamindars(the landowners) to the mangrove forest region of Sundarban in South Bengal. These tribal people cleared the forests and built up embankments and were settled as agriculturists in the different islands of Sundarban. The Sundarban is intersected by a complex network of tidal waterways, mudflats and small islands of salt-tolerant mangrove forests, and presents an excellent scenario of ongoing ecological process wherein the people struggle for their existence under harsh natural conditions with poverty. (Danda, 2007: 27- 45).

There is little doubt that the development efforts in the post-independence period have met only with partial success. The policy of protective discrimination in the form of reservation in education and jobs, the ITDP, the provision of devolution in the Fifth and Sixth Schedules have contributed to the creation of a neo-elite among the tribal population and to the creation of new internal divisions, while little has been done to free the large majority of the tribal population from the wretched condition.

In other words, Beteille considers the populations who remain outside the larger caste based Hindu society as isolated, irrespective of their nature of contacts with other population groups as could be seen in Arunachal Pradesh. In a later writing, Beteille (1992) clarified that ‘the concept of ‘tribe’ will be different where tribes and civilizations co-exist. In such situations, when anthropologists speak of tribes, they mean communities of people who have remained outside of the state and civilization, either out of choice or for necessity. That was the reason, it is supposed, for calling them ‘non-civilized’ but certainly not ‘uncivilized’. In India, they all stood more or less outside of Hindu civilization’(Srivastava and Chaudhury 2009: 72).

The biggest challenge for the modern generation of tribal population is to firmly establish their foot holds in professions quite contrary to the ways and means of earning livelihood for their forefathers. Another big hurdle is the problem of integrating with the modern non-tribal population, while trying to pursue and get footholds into professions quite new to them. Quite a majority of the tribal population however, still continues to engage in

profession like working in tea gardens, working as daily wage labourers in ploughing lands etc. the life for those choosing to indulge in these professions is ridden with problems of a different nature and magnitude.

In the areas of North Bengal and adjoining areas like Nepal there have instances where tribal groups have fought for the authorities over their rights of self- determination. The Nepali civil war is a prime example where the majority of guerrilla fighters were largely *adivasis*. Indian perspective has, though insignificant, parallels. The usage of the term *adivasis* is contentious in Indian context. There are views that suggest that the *adivasi*-non *adivasi* divide that has been created in Indian context is artificial. It is of significant importance to note that in north eastern part of India the term *adivasi* specifically applies to only the tribes involved in tea gardens, imported from central India during colonial times.

The Constitution of India, Article 366 (25) defines scheduled tribes as “such tribes or tribal community or part of or groups within such tribes or tribal community as are deemed under Article 342 to be the scheduled tribes for the purposes of this Constitution”. Article 342 has elaborately laid down procedures to be followed for specifications of scheduled tribes. Criteria’s for promulgation of a particular community are often based on attributes such as:

1. Geographical isolation- there by meaning that they leave their lives in closed, remote and inhospitable areas such as hills and forests,
2. Backwardness- that the livelihood of such communities is primarily dependent on primitive agriculture having a below per level of technology which contributes to their economic deprivation. The health and literacy levels thereby are also at an abysmal.
3. Distinctive traits in culture, language and religion- communities who have over a prolonged period of time evolved cultural, linguistics and religious characters which are unique to them. These communities thus have distinctive attributes to their cultural and linguistic attitudes.
4. Reluctance to get out of laid down social norms- communities having increased tendency of adhering to their own social, cultural and religious spheres, thereby actively shunning interactions with social groups having views contrary to their established norms.

The main purpose of the recognition of tribal and semi-tribal population under the Constitution is to bring such population at par with other sections of population and integrate them with the mainstream of national life. It, therefore, logically follows that the communities, which are considered to be such as would require special measures for being integrated and for being brought at par with other sections of populations for operational purposes be recognised as “Scheduled Tribes”.

Amongst all the scheduled tribes thus identified, there are certain tribal groups which were categorised as more backward communities amongst the tribal population. They were grouped under ‘primitive tribal groups’ (PTGs) by the Central Government of India in 1975. Today there are 75 tribal communities which have been identified as ‘primitive tribal groups’ spanning across different states of India. According to 2001 Census of India, tribal people constitute 8.2 per cent of nation’s population, thereby amounting to over 84 million people. It is noteworthy that in the north eastern states of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland, more than 90 per cent of the population is tribal.

The Commission for Scheduled Tribes in the report of 1952 has listed eight rich common factors that available in each tribal community. These are:

1. Tribal live away from the civilised world in the inaccessible parts lying in the forests and hills.
2. They belong to either one of the three stocks Negritos, Anstereloids and Mongofrid.
3. They speech the same tribal dialect.
4. They perform primitive religion known as “Animism” in which the worship of ghosts and spirits is most important element.
5. They follow primitive occupations such as gleaning, hunting and gathering of forest products.
6. They are largely carnivorous or flesh and meat larks.
7. The live either naked or semi naked using tree-barks and leaves for clothing and
8. They have nomadic habits and love for drink and dance. (pp.206)

Yet another substantial population of tribals lives in hilly areas of central India (Chattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh). This belt is bounded by Narmada River to the north and Godavari River to the south. Another substantial population of tribals resides in Jharkhand and West Bengal. Smaller numbers of tribal people also reside in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala and South India, in the western Indian states of Gujarat and Rajasthan and Union Territories of Lakshadweep and Andaman and Nikobar Island.

Indian Anthropological Society demarcates Konkan as the original home of Kurukh and Munda tribes. It is from here that they migrated to the northern parts of India. A Kurukh influence is very much prominent in the language of Konkan. Kurukh or Oroans are principally the tribals of Chotanagpur plateau. They are divided into many totemistic clans, residing mainly in Chatanagpur plateau, Raigarh, Sarguja, Jashpur District of Chattisgarh, Ranchi district of Jharkhand, Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal, Sundargarh district of Orissa and also in Bangladesh. Sizable number of Oroan population has migrated to north eastern part of India where they are predominantly employed in tea estates of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura.

Srivastava (2006) observes that there are debates on whether one should continue to use the word 'tribe', or should one think in terms of alternatives to this term. Because against the background of change, these communities may be called 'tribes in transition', or perhaps, the appellation 'tribe' may be dropped altogether for them. They may be simply called 'communities', with the word suffixed after their name (for instance, 'Santal community', 'Birhor community', 'Seharia community'). He further opines that in contemporary times the anthropologists say that the term 'tribe' has become as pejorative as were the terms like 'primitive', 'savage', 'rude', 'non-civilized', and several others of the same type, in the mid-twentieth century and subsequently, they went out of currency. But little disagreement exists with respect to the meaning of the Scheduled Tribes, which is a Constitutional term and there exists an all -India list of these communities that are entitled to a set of privileges under the policy of compensatory discrimination. In its well known People of India Project, the Anthropological Survey of India counted 4,635 communities in India, of which 461 were tribal. However, different sources give different numbers of communities classified as Scheduled Tribes. In a revised version of Nirmal Kumar Bose's *Tribal Life in India*, published in 2002, the list given is of 300 communities, while the Draft of the National Policy on Tribals, issued in February 2004, records 698 Scheduled Tribes. Today, when anthropologists use the word 'tribe' they mean:

1. The communities included in the list of the Scheduled Tribes;
2. The communities that were isolated at one time and later had their integration with the outside world, but have continued to call them tribe because of their vested interests, and;
3. The communities that still dwell in remotely situated forests and hills and are backward in terms of the indices of development, although they may not have yet found a place in the list of the Scheduled Tribes.

The traditional concepts of a tribal society were that they carry with them rituals, lifestyle and characteristics typical and inherent to them and that they maintain their originality owing to the fact that they have little interactions with other social structures. However, Srivastava (2006), based on his numerous experiences in fieldwork with the various tribal societies, perceives that this concept has gradually outlived itself during the course of last three to four decades. The present scenario is such that a majority of these tribes have adopted a much more modern outlook towards life. This very well explains the influx of these populations in large numbers in the national job scenario, both in private and public sectors in the recent past and the numbers continue to increase by the day. (Srivastava 2006).

There is this notion that the tribes are conservation and want to revive and glorify their past. This may be borne out of interpretation of cases where tribe persons crave for returning to their traditional methods of cultivation specially slash-and-burn. As in case a Baiga, he would trace back the roots of his poverty to the period when he was forced to abandon shifting cultivation. According to Srivastava (2006), a Baiga would tell you that he was able to grow as many as twelve crops in a year previously and that his misery began when he started ploughing the land which according to him amounted to “tearing the breasts of mother earth”. Similarly Choudhury (2006) observes that the Kondhs of Orissa attribute their miserable state to the fact that they have not been performing the human sacrificing since the British banned.

These statements may give the impression that the tribal people want to hang on to their traditional life style and that they are very much immune to changes. However, this is far from reality. The Baigas for example have been forced to give up shifting cultivation without being proper economic alternatives acceptable to them. Neither were they trained in the technology of plough cultivation nor were they apprised of the fact that shifting cultivation would not be able to support their growing population. If proper alternatives are offered and people understand them, realizing their efficacy there will be no reason for them to cling to their anachronistic ideology. (pp. 54-55)

Tribespersons who have come in contact with the outside world have aspirations pertaining to their education, health and employment very similar the middle class and upper middle class strata of the society. The process of modernization and globalization have brought a vision of a modern affluent life to their door steps. Because of their migration to different areas, making use of locally available opportunities, tribespersons have become internally differentiated. Having come in contact with the local population, many of the tribespersons have picked up the cultural trades of the local communities. In

this process, they have also lost many of their customs and practices. Thus, tradition does not bind them; what really binds them is the 'vision of good life'. (55-56)

But locally some tribespersons may attempt to revive some of their cultural and traditional practices which may not be detrimental to their acceptance of a modern life. For example, the Rebari Council expects their members to attend their meetings in their traditional costumes. However, they also expect them to educate their child, stop selling their women, take their sick to the dispensaries rather than to the local healer, observe the norms of physical cleanliness etc. The Rebaris want to progress, they are far from being conservative.

Thus, the tribes, Srivastava (2006) opines, are now internally differentiated, passing through different stages of acculturation and trans-acculturations. Therefore, it would be difficult to define them in purely cultural terms. Today, tribe is a cultural artifact to negotiate with the state its vision of good life.

The tribes, women and people of various down ridden so called lower caste have long been subjugated, and isolated from the main stream. It has of course to be admitted that there have been various measures taken by the government to rectify this mistake and bring the under privileged section of society into the main stream, there still remain a lot to be done in terms of giving it a social legitimacy towards equity of various castes and creed. Recent history is filled with instances where the downtrodden and socially marginalised forces have been given platform and sphere to voice their views, there still remains a lot that can be done as far as ground reality is concerned.

The perception of Jawaharlal Nehru in this regard totally advocated the holistic maintenance of characteristics typical to the tribal society. In this regard the first principle he enunciated was: 'people should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them.' during his visit in the 1950s to Bastar, which a predominantly a tribal area the tribal people were made to shun their traditional attire and come out in white saris and dhotis to greet him. This infuriated him so much that the local Congress leader was instructed to never attempt to interfere and influence the tribal way of life in any way. The Nehruvian policy on the indigenous communities in general and tribal populations in particular always sought to be based on and guided by this principle of his.

*Adivasiis* an umbrella term which describes a divergent set of ethnic and tribal groups who claim to be the aboriginal population of India. The so-called tea-tribes are in

principle brought in by the colonial British planters by the Chotanagpur plateau region. The tea-tribes basically being labourers live in villages inside tea estates. These estates are primarily located in interior and remote places, thereby rendering them vulnerable to backwardness and exploitation by tea planters.

The scheduled tribe groups were identified as more isolated from the wider community and who maintain a distinctive cultural identity have been categorised as “particularly vulnerable groups by the government at the centre. These hunting, food gathering and some agricultural communities have been identified as tribal groups requiring special programmes aimed at their sustainable development.

### **DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TRIBES IN INDIA**

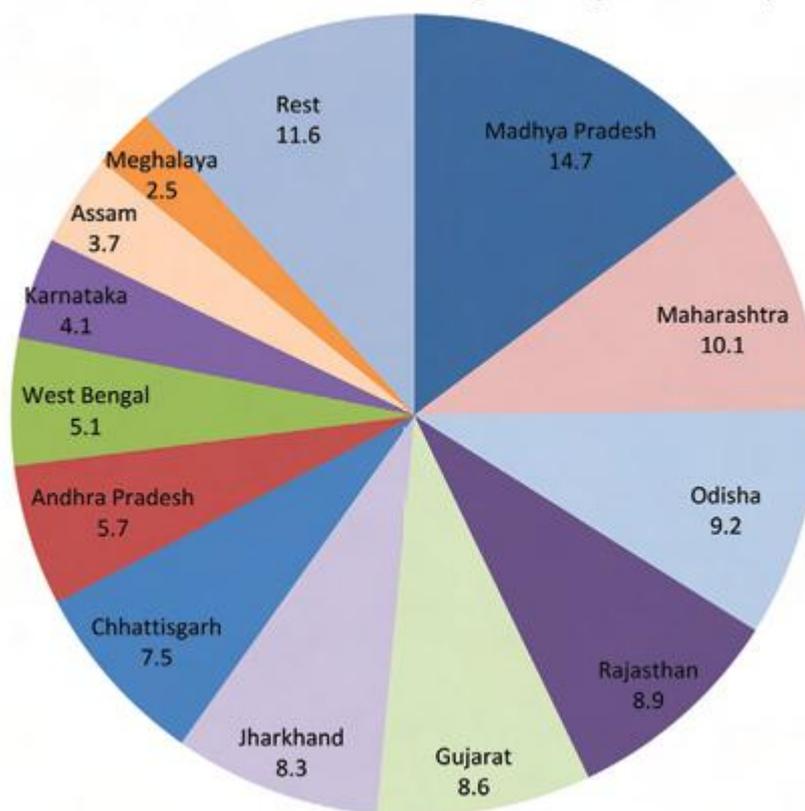
The tribal population of the country, as per 2011 census, is 10.43 crore, constituting 8.6% of the total population. 89.97% of them live in rural areas and 10.03% in urban areas. The decadal population growth of the tribal's from Census 2001 to 2011 has been 23.66% against the 17.69% of the entire population. The sex ratio for the overall population is 940 females per 1000 males and that of Scheduled Tribes 990 females per thousand males. The trend in ST population since Census 1961 is illustrated in Table 3.2 from 30.1 million in 1961, the ST population has increased to 104.3 million in 2011 (see Table 3.2).

Sex Ratio (number of Females per 1000 Males) is an important population characteristic that highlights the social attention provided to women. Though the sex ratio has been a matter of great concern for all population, the same has been good in case of tribal population. From Census 2001 to Census 2011 there has been an increase from 978 to 990 females per 1000 males. The State-wise Sex-Ratio among Scheduled Tribes by residence is compared for Census 2001 and 2011 in the below table. It is found that the Child sex ratio (CSR), population 0-6 age group of the total general and Scheduled Tribes population has been declining since Census 1991, 2001 and Census 2011. The CSR of the Scheduled Tribes is 957 in Census 2011. The State-wise CSR is also illustrated in Table 3.3.

**Table 3.1: Scheduled Tribe Population Census – 2011**

State	Population	Male	Female	Child (0-6)	Literacy	Sex Ratio
India	104,545,716	52,547,215	51,998,501	16.01%	58.95%	990
Madhya Pradesh	15,316,784	7,719,404	7,597,380	18.46%	50.55%	984
Orissa	9,590,756	4,727,732	4,863,024	15.86%	52.24%	1029
Maharashtra	10,510,213	5,315,025	5,195,188	14.78%	65.73%	977
Rajasthan	9,238,534	4,742,943	4,495,591	18.40%	52.80%	948
Chattishgarh	7,822,902	3,873,191	3,949,711	15.33%	59.09%	1020
Gujarat	8,917,174	4,501,389	4,415,785	15.85%	62.48%	981
Jharkhand	8,645,042	4,315,407	4,329,635	16.97%	57.13%	1003
Andhra Pradesh	5,918,073	2,969,362	2,948,711	13.03%	49.21%	993
West Bengal	5,296,953	2,649,974	2,646,979	13.17%	57.93%	999
Karnataka	4,248,987	2,134,754	2,114,233	13.19%	62.08%	990
Assam	3,884,371	1,957,005	1,927,366	14.12%	72.06%	985
Meghalaya	2,555,861	1,269,728	1,286,133	19.86%	74.53%	1013
Nagaland	1,710,973	866,027	844,946	14.86%	80.04%	976
Jammu & Kashmir	1,493,299	776,257	717,042	20.30%	50.56%	924
Tripura	1,166,813	588,327	578,486	15.03%	76.05%	983
Bihar	1,336,573	682,516	654,057	18.70%	51.08%	958
Manipur	1,167,422	588,279	579,143	13.21%	72.58%	984
Mizoram	1,036,115	516,294	519,821	15.50%	91.51%	1007
Tamil Nadu	794,697	401,068	393,629	13.08%	54.34%	981
Uttar Pradesh	1,134,273	581,083	553,190	18.21%	55.68%	952
Arunachal Pradesh	951,821	468,390	483,431	15.86%	64.58%	1032
Kerala	484,839	238,203	246,636	11.23%	75.81%	1035
Himachal Pradesh	392,126	196,118	196,008	12.22%	73.64%	999
Uttarakhand	29,903	148,669	143,234	11.84%	73.88%	963
Sikkim	206,360	105,261	101,099	10.62%	79.74%	960
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	178,564	88,844	89,720	16.01%	61.85%	1010
Goa	149,275	72,948	76,327	9.99%	79.14%	1046
Lakshadweep	61,120	30,515	30,605	11.54%	91.70%	1003
Andaman & NI	28,530	14,731	13,799	13.47%	75.58%	937
Daman & Diu	15,363	7,771	7,592	11.54%	78.79%	977

**G1.2: Distribution of Scheduled Tribe Population by States - 2011 (In %)**



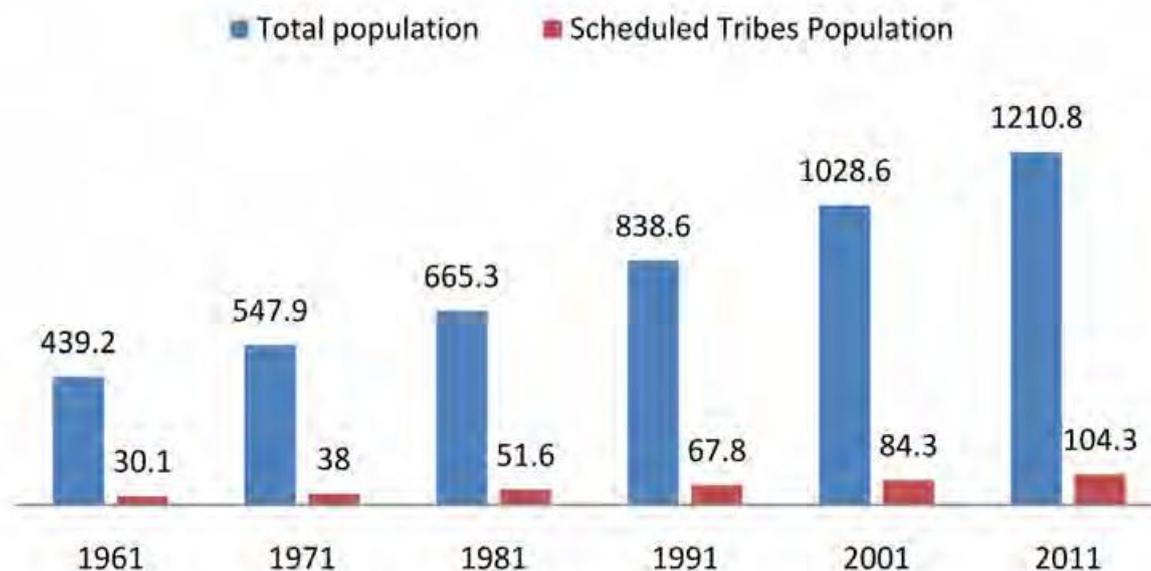
**Table 3.2: Trends in population of Scheduled Tribe Population**

Census year	Total Population (in million)	Scheduled Tribe Population (in million)	Proportion of STs population
1961	439.2	30.1	<b>6.9</b>
1971	547.9	38.0	<b>6.9</b>
1981#	665.3	51.6	<b>7.8</b>
1991@	838.6	67.8	<b>8.1</b>
2001\$	1028.6	84.3	<b>8.2</b>
<b>2011</b>	<b>1210.8</b>	<b>104.3</b>	<b>8.6</b>

Note: # Excludes Assam in 1981 @ Excludes Jammu & Kashmir in 1991 \$ The figures exclude Mao-Maram, Paomata and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati district of Manipur, census 2001.

The trend in ST population since Census 1961 is illustrated in Table (3.2). From 30.1 million in 1961, the Scheduled tribe population has risen to 104.3 million in 2011.

### G1.1: Trends in Scheduled Tribe population (Million)



**Table 3.3: State-wise Distribution of Tribal Population (in percentage) and Sex-Ratio**

State/Union Territory	Percentage of tribal pop. To total pop.	Sex Ratio
West Bengal	5.49	982
Jharkand	26.3	987
Jammu Kashmir	10.9	910
Himachal Pradesh	4.02	996
Uttar Pradesh	0.65	934
Rajasthan	12.56	944
Bihar	0.91	929
Sikkim	20.59	957
Arunachal Pradesh	64.2	1003
Nagaland	89.15	943
Uttaranchal	3.02	950
Manipur	34.2	980
Mizoram	94.5	984
Tripura	31.1	970
Meghalaya	85.9	1000
Assam	12.4	972
Orissa	22.1	1003
Chhattisgarh	31.8	1013
Madhya Pradesh	20.3	975
Gujarat	14.8	974

State/Union Territory	Percentage of tribal pop. To total pop.	Sex Ratio
Daman & Diu	8.85	947
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	62.2	1028
Maharashtra	8.85	973
Andhra Pradesh	6.59	972
Karnataka	6.55	972
Goa	0.04	893
Lakshadweep	94.5	1003
Kerala	11.4	1021
Tamil Nadu	1.04	980
Andaman & Nicobar Island	8.27	948

Source: Census of India, 2011

It can be seen from the above table that more than two-thirds of the Scheduled Tribe population is concentrated only in the seven States of the country, viz. Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Jharkhand and Chattisgarh. There is no ST population in three States i.e. Delhi, Punjab and Haryana and two Union Territories i.e. Puducherry and Chandigarh as no Scheduled Tribe is notified. Among States, Mizoram has the highest proportion of Scheduled Tribes (94.43) and Uttar Pradesh has the lowest proportion of Scheduled Tribes (0.57). (see Table 3.3). 17 States and 2 Union Territories has higher percentage of Scheduled Tribe population than country's average of 8.6%.

**Table 3.4: Tribes with more than 5 lakh of Population as per Census 2011**

Sl. No	Tribal name	Population	State of Habitation
1	<b>BHIL</b>	12689952	Tripura , Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra , Karnataka
2	<b>GOND</b>	10859422	Bihar, West Bengal, Jharkhand , Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka
3.	<b>SANTAL</b>	5838016	Bihar , Tripura , West Bengal, Orissa, Jharkhand
4	<b>MINA</b>	3800002	Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh
5	<b>NAIKDA etc.</b>	3344954	Karnataka, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Daman & Diu , Dadra & Nagar Haveli , Maharashtra , Goa
6	<b>ORAON</b>	3142145	Bihar , West Bengal, Jharkhand , Orissa , Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh , Maharashtra
7	<b>SUGALIS</b>	2077947	Andhra Pradesh

<b>Sl. No</b>	<b>Tribal name</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>State of Habitation</b>
8	<b>MUNDA</b>	1918218	Bihar, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh , Tripura, Orissa
9	<b>NAGA etc.</b>	1820965	Nagaland
10	<b>KHOND</b>	1397384	Bihar, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Orissa
11	<b>BORO etc.</b>	1352771	Assam
12	<b>KOLI MAHADEV</b>	1227562	Maharashtra
13	<b>KHASI etc.</b>	1138356	Mizoram , Meghalaya, Assam
14	<b>KOL</b>	991400	Orissa , Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh , Maharashtra
15	<b>VARLI</b>	974916	Gujarat, Daman & Diu, Dadra & Nagar Haveli , Maharashtra, Karnataka , Goa
16	<b>KOKNA</b>	926763	Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra , Karnataka
17	<b>KAWAR</b>	812770	Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh , Maharashtra
18	<b>HO</b>	806921	Bihar , West Bengal, Jharkhand, Orissa
19	<b>GUJJAR</b>	799344	Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh
20	<b>KORKU etc.</b>	774196	Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra
21	<b>BHUMIJ</b>	765909	West Bengal, Jharkhand, Orissa
22	<b>GARO</b>	725502	Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Assam, West Bengal, Tripura
23	<b>KOYA</b>	692435	Orissa , Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka
24	<b>ANY MIZO (LUSHAI) TRIBES etc.</b>	667764	Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Assam
25	<b>HALBA etc.</b>	639094	Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra
26	<b>DHARUA</b>	630469	Gujarat , Daman & Diu, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Goa
27	<b>DUBLA etc.</b>	627599	Gujarat , Daman & Diu, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Maharashtra , Goa
28	<b>MISING/MIRI</b>	587310	Assam , Arunachal Pradesh
29	<b>TRIPURI etc.</b>	543848	Tripura
30	<b>RATHAWA</b>	536135	Gujarat , Maharashtra, Karnataka
31	<b>SAHARIA etc.</b>	527015	Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh , Rajasthan

Source: Census of India, 2011

The above table (3.4) shows the lists of the Tribes with more than 5 lakh of population and their usual place of habitation (States) as per Census 2011. The table illustrates that the population of Bhil tribe is most followed by Gond and Santhalis.

The whole issue of tribal situation in India can be viewed from another very important as well as sensitive perspective: issues relating to exclusion from the main stream social structure. So far as the concept of 'main –stream' is concerned, one may not be fully wrong to suggest that such a concept is bound to create confusion as to what constitute the 'main-stream' elements. In a society which is marked by diversity and differences, such a formula is bound to be a mismatch. If the notion of main-stream concept is given importance, it may suggest that the very basis of diversity may be at stake.

During pre-independence period such a concept helped the foreign imperialist power to keep the country divided socially and continue their hegemony. This main-stream concept brought with it two important issues: 1. problem of assimilation and 2. Problems of exclusion. If one goes by the first one, it will mean that all streams of social formation will be submerged, losing their own identity. This may lead to what is known as identity crisis. Such a crisis is dangerous in the sense that it may lead to social disintegration. On the other hand, if a section of the society feels that it has been socially excluded, it may lead to indifference and a sense of non-participation in the social process. In both the cases, results are bound to be destructive in nature.

A brief reference to the circumstances in the post-independent period will show that at the dawn of the independence, the Indian society was fragmented, economy was shattered and political institution making process was very weak. The state was in its infancy and it was almost unable to provide leadership in the field of political cohesion. Society was exposed to social tension and communal riots were almost visible everywhere. So far as economy was concerned it was totally shattered as the Britishers had simply exploited the economy over about two centuries. In such a situation, it was quite natural for the makers of modern India to take up issues of nation-building and state-building. They could realize that the first and foremost thing that was needed was to place the Indian society on a solid foundation so that every segment of the society can feel that it is an integral part of the whole. In other words a sense of social inclusion, although not explicitly mentioned, guided the policy makers at that time. The result was an elaborate arrangement in the Constitution for the protection of all sections of the society. Even during the British-rule,

the Indian Statutory Commission (Simon-Commission), observed that the responsibility of the tribal tracts should be entrusted to the Centre. In its opinion, the reasons for such actions were:

1. The simple tribal communities needed protection from economic subjugation of their neighbours, freedom to pursue their traditional methods of livelihood and follow their ancestral customs and traditions.
2. It was the responsibility of the administration to assist the people suitably so as to enable them to manage their affairs in the changing situation. This vital task could not be left to the initiative of individuals or missionary societies.
3. The provincial governments could not be in a position to spare the funds required for achieving the above objectives from their revenues. It is interesting to note that the Simon Commission suggested that these tracts can be classified into, two categories, namely 'excluded and partially excluded areas.' Even in the Government of India Act (1935), made provisions for extensive powers of the Governments this can be summarized as follows:

1. No Act of the federal legislature or provincial legislature could apply to those areas except on the direction of the governor who was empowered to make such exceptions and modifications as he considered necessary.

2. The governor could make resolution for peace and good governance of the said areas. However, such regulations required ascent of the Governor General before they could come into effect.

**Table 3.5: Distribution of ST Population in the Country**

Sl. No.	Percentage of ST Population	No. of Districts/Villages
1.	Nil	-
2.	Less than 1%	173 Districts
3.	Between 1 to 5%	106 District
4.	Between 5 to 20%	124 District
5.	Between 21 to 35%	42 Districts
6.	Between 36 to 50%	23 Districts
7.	<b>50% and above</b>	<b>75 Districts</b>
8.	<b>30% or more</b>	<b>1,14,766 villages</b>
9.	<b>Exactly 100% saturation</b>	<b>20,597 villages</b>

Source: Census of India, 2011

The Constitutional frame adopted in India after independence has paid adequate attention to this aspect of tribal population. Fifth and Sixth Schedule of the Constitution make elaborate arrangement for the protection and well-being of the tribal population. The Fifth Schedule under Article 244 (A) begins with the title which is sufficient to indicate the Constitutional requirement. It is titled as Provisions as to the Administration and Control of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Article has been divided into two parts: Part A deals with the general features and Part B is concerned with 'Administration and control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes.' The Article makes provision for Tribes Advisory Council whose duty is 'to advice on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the State.'

In the same Scheduled, while Part C deals with Scheduled Areas, Part D specifies Amendment of the Schedule itself. It is important to note that in Part C dealing with Scheduled Areas, the Constitution has vested enormous powers in the hands of the President of India for the protection, enlargement or any other matter relating to Scheduled Areas. Following the Fifth Schedule, the Sixth Schedule under Article 244 (2) and 275 (1) makes detailed out lay relating to the provisions as to the administration of tribal areas in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. Viewed from this perspective, it has been observed that tribal affairs have been accepted as a national task above party or political considerations. These are to be the exclusive concern of the Government which has been empowered to handle the affairs because of the knowledge, understanding and experience of its members gained through their inter-actions with the people at large. The scheme under Fifth Schedule provided a detailed frame for this purpose. It has made fundamental rights contained in Article 15, 16 and 19. The frame would obviously share the benefit of the Preamble and the Provisions of the fundamental rights and the Directive Principles of the state policy which serve as the firm 'foundation' and the 'moving – spirit' of the national development process.

That the issues of tribal development in India has a special significance can be understood from a number of suggestion made by different scholars for an over all improvement of the position of the tribal population. One such suggestion demands the effective use of the Fifth Schedule. It has been observed that the tribals govern by the Sixth Schedule have done better than those governed by the Fifth Schedule. Secondly, it has been suggested that the tribal should have full control over natural resources such as land, water and

forest. It has further been observed that greater involvement of voluntary organizations in tribal development is a necessity because only governmental initiatives cannot be considered to be sufficient for the all-round development of the tribal population.

### STATUS OF EDUCATION AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBES

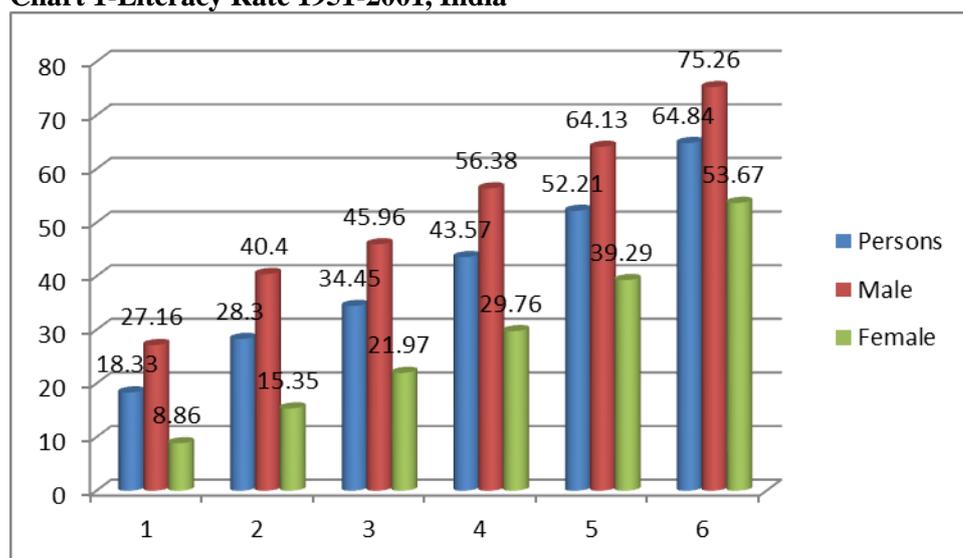
Literacy rate is defined as percentage of literates among the population aged seven years and above. Although literacy levels of STs have improved, the gap in literacy levels, both for tribal men and women has not declined significantly. In fact the gap increased between 1971 to 1991, falling thereafter, to a little above the 1971 level. The table below illustrates a comparison between the literacy rates of the total population and the STs, from Census 1961 to Census 2011.

**Table 3.6: Literacy Rate 1951-2001, India**

Census Year	Persons	Male	Female
1951	18.33	27.16	8.86
1961	28.30	40.40	15.35
1971	34.45	45.96	21.97
1981	43.57	56.38	29.76
1991	52.21	64.13	39.29
2001	64.84	75.26	53.67

Source: Census of India (1951-2001)

**Chart 1-Literacy Rate 1951-2001, India**



Literacy Scenario in India (as per 2001 Census) – literacy in India has made remarkable strides since independence. This has been further confirmed by the results of the Census

2001. The literacy rate has increased from 18.33% in 1951 to 64.84% in 2001. For male it was 27.16% in 1951 and for female it was 8.86% which increased to 75.26% for male and 53.67% for females in 2001 census year. This is despite the fact that during the major part of the last five decades there has been exponential growth of the population at nearly 2% per annum. (see Table 3.6).

**Table 3.7: Comparative Literacy Rates of STs and Total Population (in per cent)**

<b>Category/ Census Year</b>	<b>1961</b>	<b>1971</b>	<b>1981</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2011</b>
Total Population	28.3	34.45	43.57	52.21	64.84	<b>72.99</b>
Scheduled Tribes	8.53	11.30	16.35	29.60	47.10	<b>58.96</b>
<b>Gap</b>	<b>19.77</b>	<b>23.15</b>	<b>27.22</b>	<b>22.61</b>	<b>17.74</b>	<b>14.03</b>

Source: Census of India

For the Scheduled Tribe Population in India, the Literacy Rate increased from 8.53 percent in 1961 to 58.96 percent in 2011 for STs while the corresponding increase of the total population was from 28.30 percent in 1961 to 72.99 percent in 2011 (see Table 3.7). Literacy rate increased by 11.86 percentage points from 2001 to 2011 for STs and 8.15 percentage point for total population during the same period. LR has however, all along been lower both for males and females STs as compared to Total Population (Table 3.7). Male - female gap in literacy rate decreased from 24.41 percentage points in 2001 to 19.18 percentage points in 2011 for STs and for the total population, it declined from 21.59 percentage points in 2001 to 16.25 percentage points in 2011. For SCs, this gap decreased from 24.74 in 2001 to 18.71 in 2011. (see chart 3.1)

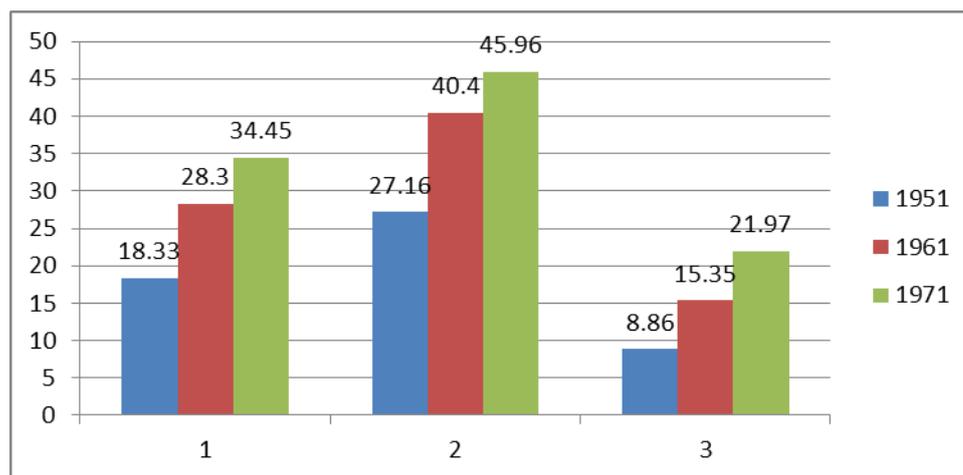
**Table 3.8: Scheduled Tribes Literates and Illiterates by Sex**

	<b>Persons</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>
Literates	18,503	11,686	6,817
Illiterates	35,151	15,212	19,939
Literaty Rate	42.1	53.0	31.1
Graduate	215	132	83

Source: Census of India, 2011

**Table 3.9: Female Literacy of STs and General Population (1971-2001)**

Category	1971	1991	2001
All communities	18.69	39.2	53.7
STs	4.85	18.2	34.8
Gap between STs and all communities	<b>13.84</b>	<b>21.0</b>	<b>18.9</b>

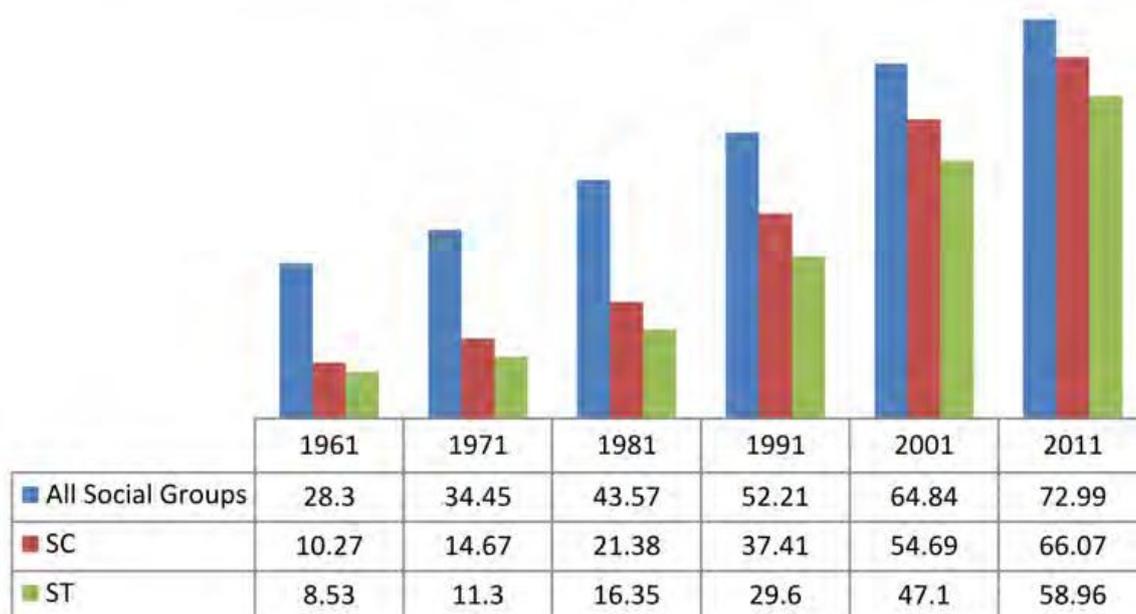
**Chart 2- Female Literacy of STs and General Population (1971-2001)****Table 3.10: States having ST literacy rates less than country's average for STs**

Sl. No.	State/UT	Literacy Rate
1	India	58.96
2	Andhra Pradesh	49.2
3	Madhya Pradesh	50.6
4	Jammu & Kashmir	50.6
5	Bihar	51.1
6	Orissa	52.2
7	Rajasthan	52.8
8	Tamil Nadu	54.3
9	Uttar Pradesh	55.7
10	Jharkhand	57.1
11	West Bengal	57.9

Source: Census of India, 2011

Among states, Mizoram and Lakshadweep have highest LR for STs, while the lowest LR was observed in Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. (Table 3.10). Gap in LR was highest in Tamil Nadu in 1991 and in 2001 and decreased only marginally (6.1 points) in 2011. (Table 3.10). Ten states having Literacy Rates less than country's average (58.96 %) for ST population in Census 2011 are indicated in table above (Table 3.10).

**G2.1: Comparative Literacy Rate of All Social Groups, SC and ST Population (1961-2011)**



**Table 3.11: Enrolment and Ratios (2001-2002)**

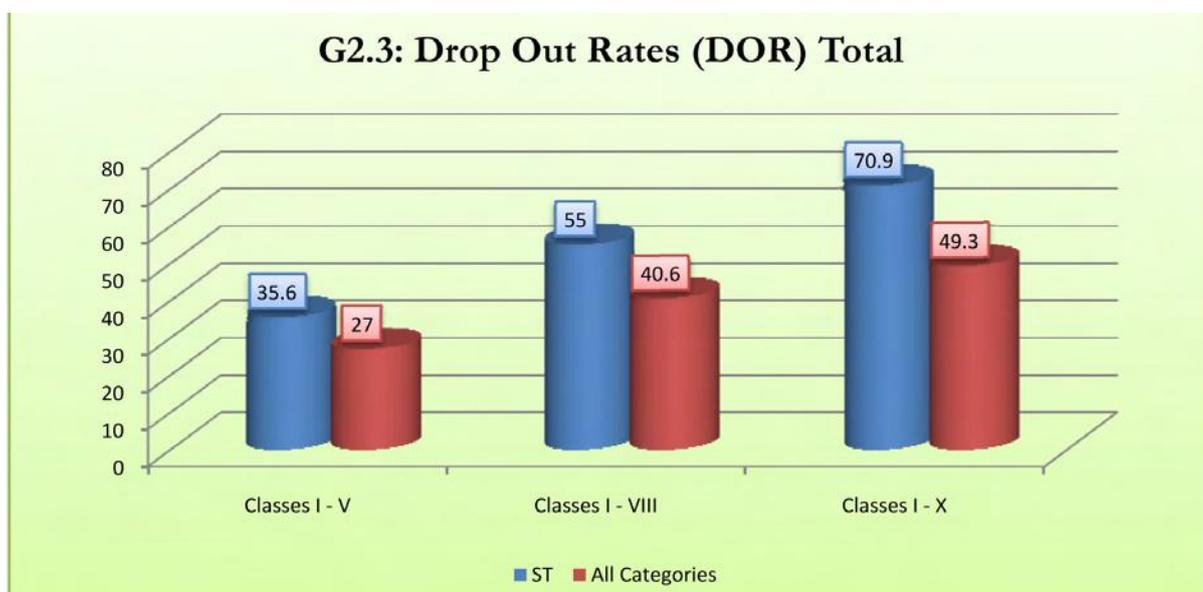
<b>Classes I-V</b>			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>ST</b>	<b>GAP</b>
Total	95.4	98.7	<b>-3.3</b>
Boys	97.5	104.8	<b>+7.3</b>
Girls	93.1	92.3	<b>-0.8</b>
<b>Classes VI-VIII</b>			
Total	61.0	48.2	<b>-12.8</b>
Boys	65.3	55.0	<b>-10.3</b>
Girls	56.2	40.8	<b>-15.4</b>
<b>Drop-out Ratio (Classes I-VIII)</b>			
Total	52.8	68.7	<b>+15.9</b>
Boys	52.3	66.9	<b>+14.6</b>
Girls	53.5	71.2	<b>+17.7</b>

Source: Census of India, 2001-2002

**Table 3.12: Dropout Rate of Tribal Boys and Girls**

Drop Out Rates (DoR) (in percent)							
Class	Boys		Girls		Total		
	ST	All	ST	All	ST	All	Gap
Classes I – V	37.2	28.7	33.9	25.1	35.6	27	8.6
Classes I – VIII	54.7	40.3	55.4	41	55	40.6	14.4
Classes I – X	70.6	50.4	71.3	47.9	70.9	49.3	21.6

Source: Statistics Of School Education 2010-2011



**Table 3.13: Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) - Total**

Classes	ST	All Categories
Classes I - V (6 - 10 Years)	137	116
Classes VI - VIII (11 - 13 Years)	88.9	85.5
Classes I - VIII (6 - 13 Years)	119.7	104.3
Classes IX - X (14 - 15 Years)	53.3	65
Classes I - X (6 - 15 Years)	106.8	96.2
Classes XI - XII (16 - 17 Years)	28.8	39.3
Classes IX - XII (14 - 17 Years)	41.5	52.1
Classes I - XII (6 - 17 Years)	94.8	86.5

Source: Statistics Of School Education 2010-2011

**Reasons for Dropping Out:**

The main reasons for the girls non-enrolment and dropping out from schools are social, economic and cultural. The government of India prepared a country Report in 1995 in which the following reasons are mentioned:

- 1) Boys are given preference over girls in education due to gender discrimination. This disparity is particularly marked in rural area and in urban when opportunity costs are high.
- 2) Girls are made to help in domestic activities earlier than boys. They are expected to look after the younger siblings, collect firewood or fuel and fodder, fetch water etc. in order to free the mother for productive activities they are also needed to shoulder domestic responsibilities.
- 3) When girls attain puberty fear for their safety bolt on the family name and conservative cultural norms make parents withdraw them from schools.
- 4) Early marriage ends schooling.
- 5) Parents are reluctant to spend on the education of their daughters because they will anyway be spending on her dowry.

The census data on literacy suggest that although there has been a steady increase in literacy rate, among tribes the gap in literacy rate between the STs, SCs, and ‘others’ has actually widened over the years. The gap in literacy rate between the STs Female and others females in 1961 was 13.43% but in 1991 the gap increased to 26.77 per cent. Similarly the gender gap among the STs has also increased over the years. Thus in 1961 among the tribes the gap was 5.38 but in 1991 the gap increased to 11.41 per cent.

**Table 3.14: Literacy for SCs and STs and Others**

Year		SC	ST	OTHERS
1961	TOTAL	10.27	8.54	27.86
	FEMALE	3.24	3.16	16.59
1971	TOTAL	14.67	11.30	33.80
	FEMALE	6.49	4.84	17.11
1981	TOTAL	21.38	16.35	41.22
	FEMALE	10.92	8.04	29.51
1991	TOTAL	37.41	29.60	57.40
	FEMALE	23.76	18.19	44.96
2001	TOTAL	-	47.10	65
	FEMALE	-	34.75	54

Source: Census Reports.

It may not be wise to suggest that all the tribal movements in the country are either anti-developmental or anti-national. Such a statement might fail to take into account the roots of such movement. Historically tribal population is closely linked up with land as the main source of livelihood. Any attempt to evict these people from land may create a sense of alienation. This may be the cause behind any movement either for forest protection or protest against displacement from the actual place of residence. In most of the cases the feeling of self-determination means the control of the local people over natural resources. It has been very correctly observed that the autonomy of the tribal demands is precisely around their life support system. Any attempt at disturbing this system may threaten their economy hold. What is generally seen is a process where vested interest stand in a way and influence the policy-makers to justify the non-recognition of tribal autonomy.

A peculiar conflictual situation arises from the conflict between the vested interest and tribal demand for autonomy. In most of the cases, the tribals themselves concentrate on autonomy by which they mean control over local economy and over their political life. In other words it is a conflict between localism vs. nationalism and if one accepts such a preposition, one might commit a mistake because in the ultimate analysis there cannot be any such conflict between these two because the whole process seeks to end in a total development. Moreover, such an artificial construction may clash with cultural tradition, economy, religious beliefs and techniques of production. It is very often said that the tribal social system is so unique in nature that they cannot be accommodated within the main-stream society. Such an idea emanates from the belief that main-stream social system is not only closed but also non accommodative in character. This is a wrong idea because integration cannot be seen as assimilation or absorption. Such an interpretation can create a situation not only of disbelief but disintegration.

There is a section of opinion which holds that the intervention of the formal legal system can solve such problems. But formal legal intervention has its own limitations. It can prescribe norms or even make arrangements for the implementations of such norms but it cannot make the society ready to accept such methods. This is a dilemma which provides social unrest, agitation, protest and a sense of deprivation leading to alienation.

Again it is held that the poverty stricken tribal population can be given relief through poverty alleviation programme by the state. The close identity between their communities and the natural resources needs to be re-established in some form since tribal identity as a group is closely linked to these natural resources. It is very correct to suggest that they have either lost their identity or are in the process of losing it because of the loss of control over the natural resources. In a world, such a vicious circle will ultimately destroy the very foundation of the society.

The whole issue relating to the state of tribal population in India can be examined from a broader perspective of national integration. Before going into the issue it should be stated at the outset that the process of transition of a multi-ethnic or plural society is always a very complex one. India has been experiencing such a segment of pluralism on social front right from the beginning. That has made the situation more complicated where national integration becomes a serious problem in the phase of casteism, communalism, linguism and regionalism. There is a section of opinion which tries to situate tribalism as a social force in this scheme. It has been very correctly observed, 'by and large the Indian tribes are on assimilationist society in as much as both the tribals and non-tribals accept the idea of assimilation of the former into the wider Indian community'. (Doshi: 462-76). Therefore national integration, its success or failure 'ought to be conceptualized and understood with a closer analysis of the social and political history of India.' (Ibid)

Again the issue relating to tribal population, their assertion and aspiration should be viewed as a long chain of socio-economic and political exploitations. The central problem of national integration in a new nation is precisely due to the conflict between primordiality (affiliation to tribal) and modernity. This is a situation where an individual considers himself to be very much rooted in traditionality while at the same time he becomes an integral part of the process of modernization. This becomes a paradoxical situation where it generates a conflictual situation for the individual. If he prefers to be within the primordial limits, he fails to adjust himself with the new social situation which is the result of modernizing process.

The post-independent tribal policy in India has been essentially an extension of the policy adopted by the British. It was a policy based on protectionism. There had been two views:

one for bringing the tribal community within the main-stream of social process and the other to keep the tribal population within the bounds of their own social set-up.

Right from independence till today various efforts have been made for the upliftment of the conditions of the tribal people in India. It may be recalled that Pandit Nehru, as a first Prime Minister of independent India had played a key role in the making and implementation of planning for various programmes relating to tribal development. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of modern India, took keen interest in the development of the hitherto deprived tribal communities in order to integrate them into the National mainstream. He outlined India's approach to tribal development in his foreword to Verrier Elwin's A Philosophy of NEFA in 1958. He wrote: 'Development in various ways has to be such as communication, medical facilities, education and better agriculture. These avenues of development should, however, be pursued within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles:

1. 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;
2. The tribal rights in land and forest should be respected;
3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of 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;
4. 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 social and cultural institutions; and,
5. We should judge results, not by statistics of the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.'

Scanning the Nehruvian Panchsheel of Tribal Development one can see that he was largely in favour of (a) continuation of the British policy of 'seclusion and partial seclusion' of the tribal areas, (b) upholding their rights to land and forest and to their traditional art and culture, (c) avoidance of over-administration and promotion of self-rule through capacity building, and (d) improvement of quality of life. Although such

prescriptions were primarily for the North-East India, the scope of the *Panchsheel* was logically extended to other areas of tribal concentration as well.

Pandit Nehru elaborated his perception of tribal development on a number of occasions, and also spoke on the caution needed in developing the tribal areas. Pointing to the disastrous effect of the 'so called European civilization' on tribal people in other parts of the world, putting to an end, their arts and crafts and their simple way of living, he declared that 'now to some extent, there is danger of the so called Indian civilization having this disastrous effect if we do not check and apply it in a proper way'.

Nehru's adviser on tribal affairs Verrier Elwin elaborated Nehruvian idea further. Elwin argued that in order to ensure tribal development it is essential that we 'get on with the job of ensuring that the tribal people have the same opportunities and the same freedoms that we enjoy ourselves'.(pp.35-36)

Elaborating the need for establishing an effective communication and mutual trust between the tribes and the outside world Elwin wrote:

'The first and most important thing is to make these areas accessible. Unless we can bring the tribal people into real touch with India as a whole, they are likely to remain suspicious of our intentions and unwilling to co-operate. We may give them hospitals and schools, co-operative societies and artificial insemination, veterinary centres, but they will, obviously, be useless if the tribal people do not come to them.' (pp. 37).

Elwin further said:

'The integration of the tribals with the non-tribal people of the plains is of fundamental importance, and to ensure this, the non-tribals need education as much as the tribals themselves'. (pp. 35).

In order to strike an effective understanding and mutual trust the non-tribal population, the dominant, the latter have to make an effort to understand the tribal people and the riddles of tribal life. An understanding of tribal culture and attitudes would enable the non-tribals and the functionaries engaged in the implementation of various tribal welfare schemes. An effective and spontaneous participation of the tribal population in the planning and development process would also help establishing the much needed communication with the outside world. It was in Elwin's prescription that the administrators and the outsiders coming in contact with the tribals should not treat the

latter as subjects to be dominated and exploited; rather they should treat them as equals and free of all stereotypes and stigma, free of ‘superior-inferior’ kind of complex.

A look into the successive five year plan will suggest that right from the beginning issues like communication, health, irrigation, education, supply of drinking water were given preference for the development of tribal areas. In the second plan, special multi-purpose tribal blocks were established for an integrated development of tribal people. In the third plan emphasis were placed on the working of different tribal blocks for meeting specific problems of tribal people. The same process continued since then where the main focus was on tribal welfare.

**Table 3.15: Plan Allocations for Tribal Development (1969-2002)**

Plan Period	Total outlay	Outlay for Tribal Affairs	% (col3 to 2)
Fourth Plan (1969-74)	15902	78.85	0.5
Fifth Plan (1974-79)	38853	1157.67	3.0
Sixth plan (1980-85)	97500	3640	3.7
Seventh Plan (1985-90)	180000	6745*	3.8
Eighth Plan (1992-97)	434100	22410*	5.2
Ninth Plan (1997-2002)	859200	32087*	3.7

\*Includes flow of TSP (Central + State), SCA to TSP and GIA under Article 275 (1).

Source: Planning Commission

But the main problem relating to tribal development centres around the issue of implementing these developmental programmes. It has been observed by many that due to lack of commitment on the part of the policy implementing agencies, no substantial progress has been made. As a result of this a feeling of discontent appears to have arising in some quarters of tribal population. In a good number of research works it has been suggested that even within the tribal communities, a new elite class has emerged who very often establish connections with political decision makers for extracting benefits from them. In fact this is an area where politics dominates over the process of developmental activities.

The whole issue of tribal situation in India can be viewed from three important perspective: language perspective, displacement and alienation perspective and national integration perspective. So far as language issue is concerned, the imposition of the

dominant language over other languages by the tribals creates a feeling of resistance and non-acceptance. This has happened in many parts of the country, more particularly in the North-Eastern region. In Orissa also, the tribal people have attached primary importance to the promotion of language and literature of their own and a good number of tribal associations have been formed for the protection of such language.

Another important area which creates discontent and dissatisfaction among the tribal population is the issue of development and its consequence, displacement and its consequence, displacement. This is a problematic area and a good number of studies have shown that in many parts of the country there are instances of resistance because development, in many cases leads to displacement of the local people. More over, there are issue like ecological balance which the local people maintain in their own ways. For the purpose of solving their problem a general as well as specific development policies should be adopted which will take into account issues like development, displacement and rehabilitation. It should be noted that development involves a process of participation by the people of whom development is meant. In any conflictual situation, the ultimate goal of development may find a secondary place which means no development at all.

A third dimension of national integration involves greater association of the tribal people in the development measures. Here besides governmental efforts, non-governmental and voluntary associations can do a lot. In place of development from below as it will broaden the base for people's association both in the policy making and policy implementation process.

This brings one to the issue of political socialization which enables the people of a particular community to consider themselves as essential part of socio-political process. The achievement of this world becomes necessary in case of tribal population sing any isolationistic policy may stand in the way of achieving the national role-national integration on a large scale.

A review of the health, education and income status of the tribal population in the post-independent India appears to be less than encouraging. The contributions of the tribals in India to the modern civilization have not yet been fully appreciated. The cultural heritage of India owes a great deal to the contribution of tribal population.