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DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY PRIMITIVE TRIBAL GROUPS

Asoke Kumar Tigidi

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Papers presented in the Seminar Organised on 15th and 16th March, 1984 at Hyderabad by Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad.

Edited By:
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ANDHRA PRADESH HYDERABAD

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FOREWORD

Various Tribal Groups of our country are at different stages of of economy starting from food collection stage to settled agriculture. The most disadvantaged groups who are at food gathering, hunting and fishing stage are facing multifarious problems in modern times in their own habitats.

The question of tackling the problems of more backward communities has received the attention of various Commissions and study teams connected with *Tribal welfare. The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled* Tribes commission (1961) popularly known as the Dhebar Commission classified the Scheduled Tribes of our country into the following four different groups. (i) those that are living in the remotest corners and for that *reason are almost in a primitive stage, (ii) those in the 'Jhuming'* (shifting) Cultivation stage, (iii) those who have taken to regular agriculture and (iv) those who have already been assimilated. The study team on Tribal Development programmes (1969) (Shilu AO team) discerned marked *imbalanced development among the tribal communities*, a large number of tribal communities continuing to be extreamely backward, some of them still in the Primitive Food gathering stage. They reiterated the view of the Dhebar Commission that the 'Lowest Layer' needed the utmost consideration and should be made the special concern of the State Government. They suggested that State Governments and administrations of Union Territories should make an objective study of the extent to which each of the tribal communities living in their respective areas had benefitted from the tribal development programmes and select on the basis of such a study the really backward Communities needing special attention. Further, separate schemes for imparting education and economic uplift should be framed and treated as Central Schemes, including special provision in the plan for the purpose.

At the time of review of tribal development programmes on the eve of the Fifth five year plan, it was recognised that Special Programmes for the extremely backward tribal groups known as primitive groups, should be taken up on the basis of proper identification on the lines suggested by the Shilu AO Team. It was also envisaged that the Programmes would be financed entirely by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Detailed guide lines were issued for identification of Primitive Tribal Groups as a consequence of discussions held during a workshop on primitive tribal Communities in the Ministry of Home Affairs in January, 1975 and at the conference of Tribal Commissioners and State Chief Ministers in October, 1976. The important guidelines for identification of Primitive Tribal Groups are :

i) Pre-agricultural level of technology.

ii) Low level of literacy and,

iii) a stagnent or diminishing population.

During the Fifth Five Year Plan various State Governments have identified 52 communities as Primitive Tribal Groups till the end of 1979-80 and made attempts to study these communities for preparing programmes of development. In the case of Andhra Pradesh, Government of India have accepted three communities, namely, Chenchus of Ranga Reddy, Kurnool, Mahaboobnagar, Nalgonda, Prakasham and Guntur districts in the year 1975-76, Kolams of Adilabad and Konda Reddis of East Godavari, West Godavari and Khammam districts in the year 1980. In the year 1932-83 Government of India have also recognised the following Five communities as Primitive Tribal Groups.

1. Thoti 2. Khond 3. Porja 4. Gadaba and 5. Konda Savara

Comprehensive plans for accelerated development of Chenchus were formulated and a mini I.T.D.A , was established with head quarters at State capital as the population of this group is scattered in six districts. Later plans for other two communities namely Kolams and Konda Reddis were also formulated. While plans for the other five groups were being formulated, a Seminar on strategy for development of Primitive Tribal Groups was organised to get more insights into the nature of problems and various alternatives for promoting their development. Specialists were invited to represent four groups namely i) Academicians, ii) Policy makers, iii) Planners and iv) Field level executives closely associated with Primitive Tribal Groups. The Seminar was organised by our Institute on March 15th and 16th 1984 at Hyderabad and experts from different parts of our country participated. All the papers presented in the Seminar and the recommendations of the Seminar are included in this Volume.

I express my deep sense of gratitude to prof. C. Von Furer Haimendorf, Dr. B.D. Sharma, Dr. Bhupinder Singh, Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi, Dr. P.K. Bhowmick and other experts for their valuable contributions in the Seminar. I am also equally indebted to all participants of the Seminar.

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Development of Small Tribal Communities A Theoretical Frame

Dr. B. D. Sharma*

INTRODUCTION

Although Sociologists and Anthropologists have been interested in small communities, no special theory of economic development appears to have been evolved for these groups. The general development programmes, therefore, have been considered to be adequate to meet their situation as well, particularly because their problems are of smaller dimension. The developmental processes, however, have either by passed them or have had an indifferent impact. Other socio-economic forces, operating in the larger areas, have been influencing these groups with different results. In the long history of the Indian Nation, some of these groups got fully assimilated as a caste or a subcaste or as an identifiable distinct group in its expansive social structure. Some groups, however failed to adjust to the new contact with the larger society and a state of maladjustment or confrontation arose. In some cases, individuals got dispersed indistinguishably and the groups vanished some groups still continue to live in varying degree of isolation.

2. In this paper, a theoretical frame has been proposed for studying the problem of the development of small tribal communities. In the first instance the question is 'what is a small tribal community?' In terms of their size, tribal groups less than 15,000 strong are taken to be small. Even in this group a sub-class of 'dimunitive' communities has been identified whose strength is generally less than a thousand. All small groups are proposed to be classified according to their size, rate of growth, state of ecological equilibrium, isolation and confrontation with other groups.

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3. The analysis brings out the critical nature of the very instruments of change in these communities. The responsibility of taking some of the crucial decisions threatening their identity are also discussed. A cautious approach of 'incrementalism' is proposed for these groups.

4. Some of the issues arising in planning development of these groups have been discussed in two concrete situations, viz., a dimunitive group and a small tribal community in a resource rich unopened area. Two possible models are examined for a 'small' tribal community one with regional development approach and another with the people's development approach. Consequences of 'opening up' of the area and various paths' for achieving it are discussed in detail. It is found that the traditional road development approach is extremely expensive and does not benefit the people appreciably. The concepts of 'inaccessibility neutralization'., 'social service optimisation' and 'road development as an aid to economic development' are spelt out. It is found that in a sparcely populated area demographic constraint is extemely important and has to be one of the important variables in the developmental equations of these regions.

5. The study shows that the time perspective for the development of small tribal communities has to be longer. Initially 'first-aid' operation with a 'pause' to allow them to regain their confidence is necessary. In case of isolated communities, the target group has to be the next generation which can assimilate the benefits of new knowledge and yet is not alienated from its own society.

Social Dynamics in Smaller Groups

6. In any attempt for the development of tribal communities special attention to the smaller groups becomes inevitable if the possibility of extinction of any small group by confrontation or maladjustment is to be avoided. In the first instance, it will be necessary to identify the differences in the social dynamics of a small group and of a larger group so that the processes are clearly understood and valid policy conclusions can be derived.

7. A larger group is more amenable to change over a period of time for a variety of reasons, which can be broadly classified as external and internal. The number of possible contact points between the total social system and the relevant group is important in relation to

external influences. Although the total number of possible contact points, as a proportion of total population size of a group, decreases as the size of the group increases, the absolute number in the case of a large group as compared to a smaller one is larger. Once contact gets established at one or more points, the natural processes of acculturation, spread effect, etc., in its socio-economic structure begin imperceptibly. Internal processes are also influenced by the size of a group. Firstly, in a bigger community likelihood of spontaneous processes of change getting initiated is much higher. In a large group, social and economic differences are likely to exist between the various constituent sub-groups. These differences may arise because of the different physical conditions or the different external influences on the respective sub-groups. A larger group, therefore, has a more agreeable disposition towards behavioural variation. Any difference can be easily ascribed to difference in the sub-group structure. Each sub-group may continue to belong to a larger fraternity notwithstanding the local differences. In this context, change is accepted as a natural phenomenon. Intra-group interaction helps wider assimilation of change Secondly, a potential innovator-dissident has a greater chance of getting out of a disapproving sub-group yet remaining within the larger group. The above analysis is true for any human organization. Examples of such spontaneous changes in the big tribal communities are also quite numerous. A social movement in one section of, say the Gond community, is soon emulated by a distant sub-group belonging to the same ethnic group.

8. Finally, on the other hand, smaller the group, lesser is the possibility of accepting change as a natural phenomenon. The very existence of a small group depends on its extreme cohesiveness. Consequently, dissidence is severely punished. Small groups are Known to exit in extreme hostile circumstances in a state of continued confrontation. If they lose the nerve, they soon become extinct. But they continue tenaciously as a group by Keeping the change to the minimum or accepting the changes almost as a mutation when the whole community may accept a new behaviourous pattern within a short period.

Size of Small Groups

9. There is no agreed criteria for defining a small group in terms of its numerical strength. In India, the size of tribal Communities varies from as small as a few dozens strong to as large as a few millions. It appears that a certain minimum size is necessary to keep a

group going, or else its numerical strength begins to decline for various reasons and, in due course, it may get extinct. The groups below this minimum size could be termed as 'diminutive' groups. Similarly, above a certain size the groups become viable and can stand the socio-economic pressures from other groups. However, even big groups may be helpless before a highly organized group or institution as happened in the case of American Indians or Australian tribal communities. These are exceptional circumstances where size is not decisive in the survival game. Between the 'diminutive' groups and the large groups a distinct spectrum of intermediate groups can be identified who can be said to be in a state of unstable equilibrium. They may, under favourable circumstances, cross the upper critical limit but under adverse circumstances may join the category of 'diminutive'. This category may be termed as a 'small group'.

10. Thus, the size-range of the small groups may vary from, say, one thousand to fifteen thousand. The upper limit of fifteen thousand is being suggested as groups upto the size are noted to have declined in number under adverse situation. Groups of a size smaller than a thousand are known to have perished in comparatively short spans of time. These figures are conjectual and are in no way suggestive of a law. The classification of group according to size can be summarised as in the following table.

TABLE I

Classification of Tribal Groups by size

Area	Size
Diminutive Groups	Less than 1000
Small Groups	1000-15000
Normal Groups	More than 15000

Eco-system

11. Another aspect which needs a clear definition is the eco-system of the group. Every organism is a part of the total ecological system around it. In the early stages of biological development, an organism depends for its sustenance on a very small region in its immediate neighbourhood. Human groups progressively reduced this dependence on the immediate surrounding. A modern urban society draws its sustenance from a very large eco-system which may be as extensive as the nation or the whole world. The small tribal

communities, at pre-agricultural technology, still depend on a eco-system which is not very extensive. The relationship of the community and the eco-system in their case is direct in contrast to the indirect relationship of advanced urban communities. This distinction is not generally appreciated by planners who are themselves a part of the indirect relationshipmatrix. Certain programmes, which to a modern planner, may appear to be neutral or even beneficial to the local group may tend to disturb its delicate balance with disastrous consequences. For example, sound of explosions on the island inhabited by Onges led to the migration of pigs and men in opposite directions, thus seriously affecting the food supply of the group. If requirement of land area per head under different levels of technologies and in different conditions is not clearly understood, planning on those presumptions relevant to advanced agriculture communities may not be realistic and the group may be left with insufficient resources at its command, as appears to be the case with the Jarawas of A & Ni. Islands.

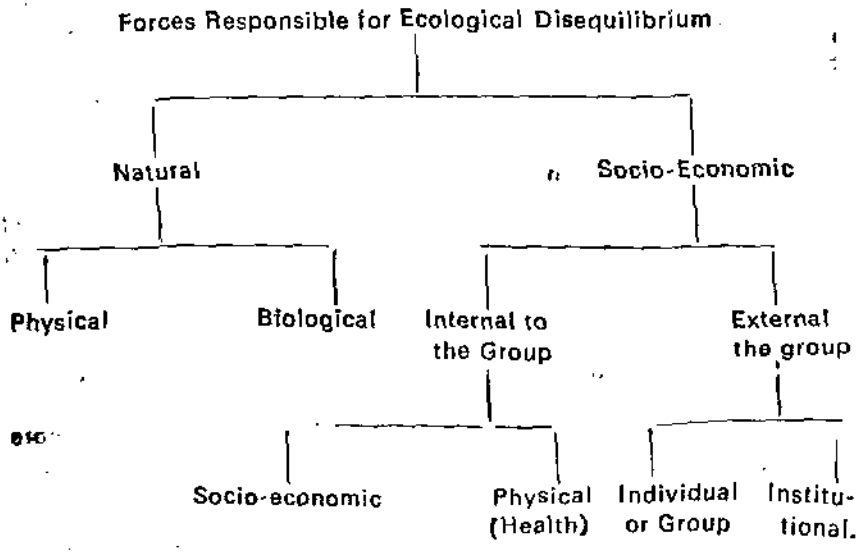
Ecological Equilibrium

12 In the beginning tribal communities are in a state of ecological equilibrium with their environ. The numbers are small and natural resources abundant. The level of technology is low. These communities initially sustain themselves as food gatherers and hunters. As the numbers grow, some primitive form of cultivation like, cultivation by burn and slush, is adopted. In the normal course of development, with the growth of population, eventually the group should take to settled cultivation and thus use natural resources more intensively. The stages beyond settled cultivation are well-known.

13. Some times, in the early stage of development itself ecological equilibrium may get disturbed for some reason. Firstly, the reasons may be purely internal. The group may be outgrowing the natural resource potential without any change in technology. Alternatively, some change in the group's life-style may be leading to either destruction or over-exploitation of resources, thus resulting in disequilibrium. In some cases, the reasons for the disequilibrium may be external. There may be a secular change in the environment which may have adversely affected the fauna and flora; or an epidemic may have dislocated the biological equilibrium. The above external factors are natural. There may be other forces which are man made. A stronger group may have intruded in the region in search of better lands. With a higher level of technology, it takes control of better

resources and the original group may recede and may have to subsist on poorer and scanty natural resources. Some external pressures may be institutional in origin. A new organisation may be set up in a backward region without honouring the unwritten rights of the local community. It may adversely affect the ecological equilibrium by over-exploitation of the resources. Also, the original group may be denied access to the existing resources by these institutions under the protective umbrella of the written law and they may use the resources for other purposes.

14. The forces responsible for ecological disequilibrium may be classified as in the diagram below :



Confrontation & Isolation

15. The intensity of contact of smaller groups with other groups varies considerably. On the one extreme, there are groups which retain their identity and way of life but they do not occupy a well defined area. They may be living on the margins of advanced groups as the Birhors in Bihar. These groups generally subsist on forests which might have been over-exploited. Thus, the ecological equilibrium might have got disturbed and the group may be in a stage of confrontation with other groups or institutions. On the other extreme, some groups may still be in isolation for various reasons.

For example, the groups may not have been disturbed so far accidentally as the Bondos of Orissa, or through force of circumstances as in some of the difficult hill regions in the North East, or as a result of an administrative decisions as in the hills of Abujhmar in Bastar. The undisturbed groups may be at different stages of ecological equilibrium.

16. Thus, the small tribal groups can be classified on the basis of four characteristics, viz., size, isolation, confrontation, ecological equilibrium. On the basis of available information some of these communities can be grouped as in the Annexure.

Stages in remedying ecological disequilibrium

17. In those cases, where the ecological equilibrium has been disturbed, the first step has naturally to be to identify the precise nature of the ecological imbalance. This analysis should help in evolving a suitable strategy. If the contributing factors for ecological imbalance in relation to community are both external and internal, attention will have to be given first to the external factors. The external factors are superimpositions on the community and the community is legitimately entitled to get relief from those forces, Perhaps these forces are also easier to handle compared to subtle inner processes. Therefore, the right strategy will be to tackle first the external factors and neutralise them.

18. All external factors are, however, not similar. Broadly, they can be of two varieties, viz.. institutional and individual. Those forces which are ascribable to an institutional source should be the easier to influence since personal interests are not involved. For example, if policy of the Forest Department or some other organization is responsible for the maladjustments, that policy could be changed after due consideration in the first instance. Where the confrontation is amongst various groups, the problem is more difficult. In this situation, the interests of other groups, whether acquired legitimately or otherwise, become a relevant factor. It is well known that compromises have to be found in these cases even when there are best intentions to help the affected groups. In this case, one cannot depend on individual action alone; institutional methods will be necessary for dealing effectively with the situation. For example, if there is large scale immigration and better lands are passing into the hands of the new groups, stringent laws will have to be enacted and their strict enforcement ensured.

19. while efforts are made to neutralise the external forces responsible for disturbing the ecological equilibrium, it will be necessary that first-aid operations are started to undo the damage which the group may have already sustained. A clear understanding of its health problems will be necessary - some group may have even reached almost a stage of non-recovery as the Great Andamanese. An all out effort on the health front will be necessary. The diet pattern of the group will have to be carefully studied as the disturbance of the ecological balance may have deprived them of certain essential ingradients of their traditional diet. The deficiencies, if any, will need to be corrected. These steps will help in rejuvinating the group physically.

20. Besides the physical aspects mentioned above, the small groups are likely to have been affected on the psychological plane. The very confidence of the group may have been shattered. If there is no confidence, material assistance is not likely to be of much advantage. Small communities have a feeling of being friendless in the new context, and, therefore, tend to become noncommunicative and inward-looking. Effective protective measures by a sympathetic band of workers may help in dispelling the group psychology of being all alone against tremendous adverse forces. External assistance however, cannot create self-confidence. A social therapy will need understanding of their perception of the socio-economic processes, their world view, the sources of their strength and their aspirations. A patronising attitude must be avoided. A small group, which is able to derive a reasonable sustenance from a limited ecological system, must be skilled. Lack of skill is comparatively a modern phenomenon and often a function of a specialised social and economic structure. Most of these groups, except those in complete isolation, have been in contact with advanced agricultural communities and have evolved their own adaptive strategies for facing the continued encounter. Their skills may not be of much relevance in the modern context and, therefore, may even escape the notice of planners who are used to a different frame. But this does not reduce the value of the skill per se. In the absence of proper appreciation, even rare skills may not be duly remunerated by other groups, for example, the skill in identification of herbs or taming of animals. In these cases, artificial equations could be corrected through state intervention. - What is more important, if their native skills are well recognised, the group will have a sense of pride and, thus, its confidence, in itself can be restored. The future developmental programmes could be planned on a well-understood skill-base and within the assimilative capacity of the community.

21. The time perspective in the process of directed change is one of the most important element. Ecological disequilibrium arises *generally because a community was not able to keep pace with the* changing environ, both physical and human. An obvious answer would be to stimulate faster pace of change in the community so that it can catchup with the rest of the society by freeing self from the dependence on a narrow ecological frame and by sharing a higher specialisation and a bigger ecological field with the rest of the community. This has to be the ultimate goal. But while planning for the initial phases of development, the fact of the 'loss of nerve' in many cases has to be fully taken into account. These communities are in the same position as an exhausted competitor in a race. They will require some time for restoration of their balance and for acquiring *inner strength which can enable them to go ahead with a renewed vigour.* It is on this account that the first stage of planned development has to be devoted to mend the shattered ecological equilibrium as best as possible. In this period a benevolent outside contact may help them in getting over the 'confrontation complex' and establish new communication channels. The steps for removing the causes of ecological disequilibrium have to be as swift as possible. The pace of other steps, however, should be slow, preferably even imperceptible. *A period of almost non-intervention, i.e. when no new changes are* induced and the community is allowed to have a look around in a non-hostile atmosphere, would seem to be called for as an essential element of the strategy. *It is at this stage that desirable agents of* change may be introduced. But they should operate in such a fashion that the community should be able to view the new changes as their own innovations, which in fact may be induced, for meeting the changing situation. A better perception of the new processes and forces by suitable educational programmes will influence their world view. A gradual process of change, which should always be within the commanding capacity of the group, will give them a sense of *adventure and enable them* in due course to quicken their pace to catchup with the rest of the community.

22. The stages in *development of a small community in a* State of ecological disequilibrium can, thus, be envisaged as follows.

Stage in Correcting Disequilibrium.

STAGE I - State of confrontation

STAGE II - (a) Countering External forces-Institutional.

(b) Institutionalising measure for countering Individual or group forces;

(c) Effective attention to problems of health; and

(d) Recognition of the native skills, restoration of self-confidence and citizen education.

PAUSE

STAGE III-(a) First-aid to the traditional economy:

(b) Breaking the communication barriers and Education; and

(c) Gradual upgradation of native skills and introduction of new elements in a longer time-prospective.

CONFRONTATION CEASES

STAGE IV - The group is free to share the experience of larger communities.

Big impact of instruments of development

23 One of the important features, which distinguishes the smaller tribal groups from larger communities in respect of planning development is, the comparative strength of the instrument of change itself. As in the nuclear physics the act of observation itself influences the state observed, so in the development dynamics of smaller groups the very elements introduced for initiating developmental processes may themself overwhelm the group and its socio-economic structure. This possibility is quite obvious in respect of 'diminutive' groups where the population is a few hundreds, but it is not clearly appreciated in respect of larger 'small' groups which may be dispersed in thinly populated areas. One of the important constraints on the size of the developmental programme and administrative machinary in general developmental programmes of larger communities is financial.

But in the case of 'diminutive' groups, because of their extremely small size, financial resources cannot be a constraint for their development. Consequently, the size of the developmental effort can be decided independently of any ficancial constraint. In this situation, many hard policy questions may arise in relation to the strategy for their development. In the case of larger small groups, also, particularly in sparcely populated areas, although financial resources may have to be kept in view but they cannot be an important constraint simply because of the almost microscopic size of investment compared to the national or regional developmental outlays. Size of the development effort thus, becomes practically an independent variable. It also determines the size of the administrative apparatus. Thus, the nature of a programme may become critical in the case of both *the 'diminutive' and the 'small' groups because the very presence of instruments of development in these areas is likely to create a big impact.*

24. It is neither possible, and also not necessary, to discuss separately the problems of each distinct category of tribal groups in which they have been classified in the preceeding paragraphs. We may, however, examine some of the special feature of the 'diminutive' groups and the 'small' groups with reference to specific communities which may bring into relief some of the essential features in the planning process.

Some 'Diminutive' Groups.

25. Take the case of 'diminutive' groups first. For a small tribal group numbering a few hundreds, the first crucial question is their very survival. From the emphirical evidence available, it appears that most of the 'diminutive' groups are not able to maintain themselves. Besides those cases, where assimilation in broader groups may be the main reason for the 'nil' growth rate, certain groups are known to be declining because of loss of ecological equilibrium. The well-known cases are Onges, Great Andamanese & Birhors. In the case of Great Andamanese, their area of command got encroached by *other groups, ecological* equilibrium was lost and their numbers dwindled as they failed to meet the new challenge. Similarly the Birhors are experiencing encroachment on their area of command. Onges are in a better position as they have remained comparatively isolated so for but some new developments have started encroaching on their command area. Although these general formulations are

wellknown, deeper analysis of their situation is not available. It has, therefore, to be ascertained as to why a group is not able to maintain itself. Health and food supply are two relevant aspects. Health problems, if any, will have to be tackled to begin with. To the extent, there is deficiency in their diet, it will have to be treated as a part of their health problem.

26. The second obvious question is their total economic situation. In view of their small size and no serious constraints of plan resources, a number of alternatives can be said to be available. For example, take the case of Onges. The total population is 118, their habitat is one island of about 300 Sq. miles. Natural resources are plentiful although external interference is now tending to disturb the equilibrium. One course could be that some adhoc assistance, may be ex gratia, could be made available initially. Or, the entire group could be employed on any modern activity which may be taken up in the island. In the meantime, perhaps the entire next generation could be put through a programme of residential school education. It has to be noted that education in our system, is at present alienating the younger generation from the professions of their parents, Particularly, in the traditional sector where physical labour is involved. Such education, in residential schools, in the case of these 'diminutive' groups may also have similar results particularly because their present living conditions are extremely difficult. If the child is not allowed to inculcate necessary habits and get used to rigors of life in the formative age and, on the contrary, is given a different environment in a residential institution, he will be unable to adjust to the group life as he grows. He may join the general national stream of educated groups and get assimilated in the larger society particularly if he is helped in getting a good job or in entering a new profession through special programmes. In this way individual members of the group will be helped economically but the group will get dissolved.

27. In the above case, the basic question is that who is to decide about the course of development? What is the concept of the group identity? Has 'group identity' an independent value? Why should alienation which may arise from an educational programme cause a concern for smaller groups only because similar alienation is also arising in bigger tribal groups other agriculture communities? It has to be clearly understood that in the case of larger communities this alienation is accepted as a normal stage in the process of

development. Conceptually, the group can be considered to be voluntarily taking a decision and accepting a new life style. A new leadership may be providing it the necessary sense of direction. However, there is an important difference. In the case of bigger groups, there is no possibility of a sudden structural change in the economic base. Therefore, group identity will remain unaffected for a sufficiently long time, say at least a few generations, notwithstanding the process of alienation of their education youth. The change, in their case, therefore, can be only gradual. In the case of very small groups, however, the change may have the character of a mutation for which the decision would have been taken by some one else. And, in the process the group may get dissolved, as in the above hypothetical case, in a single generation.

28 Similarly, many other alternative courses can be discussed. There are no unique answers to these basic questions. However, one thing is clear. No solution should be 'imposed' which may threaten the group identity all of a sudden. The best way, perhaps, will be to try a gradual process of development and not overwhelm them with a programme which has the effect of sudden change and dissolution of the group itself. In the case of those groups as may have reached a state of confrontation, a phase of 'first-aid' type assistance will have to be envisaged during which the group regains its confidence. Thereafter, suitable programmes of development could be taken up. Education will necessarily have to be an important element so that the communication barrier, if any, between this group and the rest of the community is broken. However, education must be adapted to their own environ with a view to avoid sudden appearance of the process of alienation and possibility of the very first generation educated group finding its traditional vocation uncongenial. On the economic side, the group could be assisted either in its traditional occupations or some other activity akin to the traditional occupations. Thus, the group can be helped in overcoming initially the hardships arising from an adverse economic situation and lack of communication. Special attention to the problem of its health would help it physically. When the group reaches stage of non-confrontation it will be in a position to share the fortunes of the rest of the community and partake in the normal developmental programme in the region. No directed change will be necessary thereafter and the group could take its own decision about its identity problem, if any.

29. General statements made above about the possible course of development for Onges have to be articulated in specific programmes. Here an important question arises because of the small size of the group. For example, will it be possible to carry all the necessary programmes to each habitat of Onges in the island? Cost is not a consideration But if approach is sectoral the size of the administrative structure itself will be too big. In this case, whatever may be the formal programme content, the most important element will be the influence of the numerous functionaires who may be inducted in the area. While the programme contents is planned, the human element will tend to become an autonomous force, unless effective planning is attempted even on that score. Therefore, the general administrative and planning processes will have to be reversed in the case of such groups. More appropriate course of action would be that having got a clear idea about the objectives and the pace of change, a suitable team of two or three workers could be chosen. The criterion for the selection of such a team should be a clear understanding of, or capacity for understanding, the goals and a sympathy for the group. In such an assignment there is no place for considerations like the level of individuals in the heirarchy, etc., No person, who may wish to take up such a challenge is too high for the assignment. The technical skill endowment of the team should depend on the programme design. Health, Education, Agriculture (or Forestry) appear to be the three important components But each member need not be a specialist except perhaps the medical man, who himself could be an educator and one who understands the eco-system. In brief, a motivated team, equipped with broad spectrums of advanced skills, has to be conceived as the primary agent of change in these communities, which will influence the process of change more by the very presence of its members rather than through formalised developmental programmes. In fact, this will very much resemble the process of acculturation initiated by torch bearers of new faiths all over the world throughout the human history. How this process is to be stimulated in the modern conditions, when other autonomous forces have become too strong, is the central question which will have to be answered while planning development of atleast the 'diminutive' groups.

Larger Small Groups

30. Some of the basic elements in the developmental process have been brought out in the above analysis with reference a 'diminutive' group of extremely small size. These elements will be equally

valid for larger primitive groups but may need some adaption in each case. However, there is one important difference. In the case of the extremely small groups discussed above, the validity of the analysis may generally be accepted without any reservation as the special features are so very obvious. But larger small groups, occupying sizeable geographical areas, give a first impression of being amenable to general developmental formulations like Tribal Development Block programme or area development programme. Even when special character of the area may be recognised, planning concepts and techniques developed for advanced areas are sought to be applied which may not answer the need of the special area. These aspects can be better appreciated with reference to a specific area andits problems.

31. Let us take a type situation of a 'sparcely populated resource rich region' which has not been generally opened up. Abujhmar in Bastar has a total population of about 13,000. The total geographical area is 1500 Sq. miles. There are good forests on the periphery. The topography is undulating, yet there are quite a few plain patches to support settled cultivation sufficient for the present population, even allowing for a substantial growth rate, for the present population, even allowing for a substantial growth rate, for the next few decades. There are some mineral deposits which in due course can be exploited. In some areas, the region is rich in bamboos which can support a paper or pulp factory. There are no roads and even bullock cart economy has not set in. The area can be considered to have good tourist potential. The main economic activity at present is food gathering, shifting cultivation and hunting with sprinkling of settled cultivation generally with hoe.

32. Abujhmar has been kept outside the ambit of normal administration since about 1930. Even before 1930 inaccessibility has kept this area almost untouched. After independence sporadic efforts have been made for development of this area as and when attention of administrators was attracted to this region either as a result of personal fascination or because of special problems. The programme of Tribal Development Blocks was started in this area in 1965. Thus, extension agency can be considered to have been given access to this region as a mattor of deliberate state policy. However, general tribal development block programme has been applied to this area as well. Therefore, except for a sizeable educational effort with ten ashram schools started in 1970 Not much

perceptible impact is visible. The benefit of medical facilities has generally not gone beyond the block headquarters In fact, the P.H.C. is in one corner of the Block and doctor has not been posted to it except for a few months. Even this doctor was posted at the fag end of his career and retired while on this post. A family planning complex has been built which is standing as a big question mark in a most sparcely populated area with rich resources where population is near static. Agricultural extension is confined to distribution of bullocks or giving vegetable seeds but no strategy as yet is available because the area is under shifting cultivation and there is little demand for settled cultivation. There was some effort to purchase and sell commodities through governments stores but implemention has not been very effective and the tribal continues to depend on the weekly markets around the area. There have been some efforts to help the people to bund the fields where paddy is grown but this is limited to a few villages on the periphery. Drinking water wells have been constructed in some areas but their use is limited as yet. In a way, the area can be said to be virgin, both for exploitation of its natural resources and in respect of developmental effort by the State.

33. In the first instance, it will be necessary to state *clearly* the developmental objectives for this area. There are two alternatives, viz.,

A– Regional Development (Development of Abujhmar Region); and

B– People's Development (Development of Abujhmarias).

In alternative 'A' the frame of reference will be provided by the natural endowent of the region in which the Abujhmarias will be but one element in the total resource matrix. In alternative 'B' i.e. People's Development, the point of reference is the present group in Abujhmar and the resource endowment is the supporting matrix for its development. We may examine the policy implications of the two approaches separately.

A-Regional Development

34. When we consider the regional develpment of this area, a number of alternatives can be suggested. The first obvious step appears to be to open up the area. There after, the choice is the

exploitation of potential in agriculture, forest, industry or tourism, the relative priority to each of these sectors and the appropriate mix of various programmes.

35. We may assume that financial resources are not a serious limiting factor. The first thing then we have to examine, is whether there are any other constraints in this area. With a view to determining the nature of developmental programmes, it may be noted that (a) the natural resources of the region have largely remained unutilised; (b) the level of technology of the people is primitive; (c) the people have a care-free disposition and not amenable to sustained and disciplines work; and (d) the total manpower locally available is, say, 5000 for the global economy of this whole area. It appears, therefore, that the "quality" and the size of the local labour force is an important constraint, if we prefer to recognise it as such.

36. The geographical area of Abujhmar is so big that its full development, even at the level of general non-mechanised agricultural technology alongwith, or even without a reasonable intensity of forest exploitation, will require a much larger man-power. The concept of area development, therefore, immediately posses an important demographic question for this area. What is the extent of migrant population which can be introduced in this region ? There are two extremes' possibilities. On the one hand, a decision could be taken that no immigration is to be allowed in this area except for the bare minimal administrative, extension and social services. On the other hand, the decision could be to develop the area, immigration can follow the developmental pattern and demography can be treated as mere corollary of the whole developmental process.

37. In area development the second alternative is generally accepted. The labour force is expected to respond to normal market forces. Therefore, in specific programmes, labour force appears in terms of its cost and, if large labour is to be imported, a higher cost is assumed. We, therefore, examine the case of development with unlimited labour supply. We have already assumed that there is no constraint of financial resources.

Regional Development with Unlimited Labour Supply

38. Now, when there are no constraints of manpower and financial resources, the central economic activity of Abujhmar will

be determined solely by its natural endowment. We have already seen that here the choice is very wide. It may be necessary to work-out cost benefit analysis in each case for a final choice. Here as we are interested in the impact of each developmental choice on the tribal economy, it is not necessary to go into those details. It is clear if mining and anciliary industry is chosen as the central economic activity of this region, development of a road-network establishment of mining and industrial complexes and supporting trade and commerce will have to be planned. The story of such a developmental process in the more backward areas is quite well known as it has been repeated at number of places in the last two decades. The inevitable endresult of such a developmental process so far appears to have been desertion of the original homes by the local tribals and those who are not able to escape, or those who are 'attracted' by the new activity, have been forced to occupy the sub-stratum of the new society. If the same process is allowed in Abujh-mar, which is comparatively even more backward than other regions which have had this experience, the results will be the same. The Abujhmarias will become an insignificant minority; most of them will prefer to recede into the backwoods and sustain in a comparatively poorer eco-system; and such of them as do not escape to the more inaccessible and marginal lands will occupy the substratum of the new socio-economic structure.

39 A valid question may be asked at this stage A lot of experience is now avaliable of development of backward regions with mining and heavy industry as the core sectors. Will it not be possible to learn from the past and avoid the adverse consequences? In the national context, a tribal group becoming a minority in an area, which at one time happened to be predominatly inhabited by it, is not something unthinkable; but a decisively low position of the original inhabitants in the new socio-economic structure should be a concern of every one. Can this 'degrading' of the original group to a abymal state not be avoided? It appears that the level of technology and skill requirements for an industrial centre and its hinterland are so different from the existing skills and way of life of the shifting cultivators of Abujhmar that there cannot be an easy transition in a short span of time of a decade or so. As major decisions for industry or mining development are not normally taken with such wide time-perspective the desirability of any heavy industry-based economy for this region has to be ruled out on sociological considerations unless

these considerations are consciously over-ruled and social disruption of Abujhmarias is treated, in the national arithmetic, a necessary price which the group must pay for national development.

40. We may consider some other alternatives within the traditional regional developmental frame. If agriculture and forestry are taken as the central economic activity, the picture may be somewhat as follows :

(a) Since the area is predominently agricultural, the bulk of the programmes will be in agriculture and allied sectors like horticulture, plantations and forestry. As the potential for these activities is high, each of them will create sizeable demand for regular labour. The traditional mode of seasonal work of Abujhmarias is at a much slower pace; and

(b) Minimal infra-structure will need to be developed for the programme in the agriculture and allied activities which include construction of roads, godowns and other facilities

41. The total labour requirement for the above programmes will far exceed the total labour force available in Abujhmar now, or in the near future. Necessary skills for some activities like construction are not available. Also the local population may not like sustained work even in forestry and allied sectors & may come forward for limited work only Thus, the total direct employment potential created as a result of new sector will far exceed the total 'useable' labour in this area. This will require large scale immigration. The total immigration will, however, depend on the phasing of developmental programmes. It may be noted here that primary population immigration will soon be followed by a secondary migration of relatives of primary migrants, fortune seekers, traders and other groups. This may give rise to a state of confrontation in an area which so far has been kept immunised from all outside influence. Perhaps, the original inhabitants of this area will soon be reduced to a minority. The available lands, which could not be put to use so far because of low technological base and lower pressure of population may be occupied by the new groups. As the capacity of the Abujhmaria to change in the short run is extremely limited and the technological skills of the two groups are widely different, the original group may tend to recede into the more inaccessible areas giving way to the new migrants in the regions which get opened up. With the new developmental inputs, agricultural

production in the area will go up : out- turn in forests will increase ; there will be considerable trade and transport activity ; and all indicators of development will show an upward trend. Yet, the original may be worse off. It may be said that the substantive developmental programmes in agricultural and allied sectors will strengthen the economy of Abujhmaria as well. But the gestation period of even such programmes, in terms of accrual of actual benefits to a primitive group, is rather long compared to the other influences which may arise because of the sudden high tempo of developmental activity directed from outside.

42. It appears, therefore, that any model of development which presumes an unlimited supply of manpower will, in the first phase, displace the local population to their great disadvantage. The balance may never be regained since other interests would have appeared on the scene with an equally valid claim which would get strengthened with passage of time. These alternatives, therefore, must be rejected for an area like Abujhmar in the first phase of its development.

43. We may now consider some possible models on the other extreme of the regional development frame, viz., Models with constant labour supply with marginal immigration of administrative and extension personnel.

Regional Development with constant labour supply

44. The choice of programmes in this case is comparatively limited. Even here with a view to clarify the basic issues involved, we assume that area development is the main objective and development of the people has be a corollary. A road-net work, therefore, assumes a very high priority. Even a moderate road programme for Abujhmar may itself require deployment of the total available man-power in the area for construction in the earlier phases and for the maintenance of the net-work subsequently. Thus, the area could be visualised a public works department 'camp' in which full time employment of the total population is maintaining the roads net-work, the level of road construction activity being limited by total available manpower. This is an extreme situation which is admittedly absurd. However, it brings into focus one important aspect of area development, viz., a single activity, in the area development frame, is

sufficient to keep the entire population engaged. Unless a comprehensive view is taken of the process of development, a single activity, howsoever important it may be, becomes meaningless from the angle of people's development. Often, road-development is over-stressed in area development programmes and the man-power constrain is not kept in view. The result generally is large scale migration and the programme hardly touches the problems of the people.

45. Let us take another model. Suppose exploitation of forest resources at optimal level is chosen to be the primary activity for this area. In this case, the entire population could be employed as wage-labour for exploitation of the forests and allied activities like maintenance of forest roads etc., Thus, in this model Abujhmar will become a forest 'estate', the intensity of exploitation of forest resources being determined by the total available manpower.

46. In what way does this single activity approach for Abujhmar differs from a 'single industry society of some of the new industrial or urban centres? If there is no objection to a 'steel colony' what is the harm in the possible 'PWD–camp' or 'Forest-estate' status for Abujhmar discussed above? A 'steel colony' or a 'single industry estate' generally grows with the voluntary association of individuals who themselves are a part of a larger socio-economic system which satisfies their other needs. There may be some sort of compulsion or regimentation (implicit) in that situation as well, but for all intents and purposes people join the new group from their own volution. Here we will not discuss the deeper sociological undercurrents against which the man is already rebelling. Two important aspects are clear, viz., individual's voluntary association and his participation in a larger system The difference in the case of smaller and backward societies is that the association is more of a compulsive nature because of the unequal strength of the local community and the modern organised system which operates in this area. Secondly, the new activity is concerned about one aspect of the community life and is unconcerned with the rest. The imposition of change at one point, without attention to the rest, creates disruption in the social system with unpredicable results. The community may disintegrate. Even otherwise a valid question may be asked whether we would be satisfied will sub-servient role of a whole community in an economic system where an abstract department or organisation is the overload and the community provides casual wage

labour according to its requirement. An individual enterprise, as a part of a larger system, cannot become an autonomous force and there are moderating influences. But when it is superimposed on a whole system the matrix changes. The extreme example is provided by plantation with indented labour. 'Forest estate' or 'PWD-camp' models will be a moderated version of these with many common features.

47. It is true that there has to be a central economic activity in a region and, in the case under discuss, it could be as well construction of forestry activity. But as soon as we think in terms of a central economic activity, the entire socio-economic system becomes relevant as it must be central to something bigger. The extreme area development concepts, when applied to these groups, use the tools designed for larger groups The analysis, therefore, becomes invalid. If the local social system is taken into account, the focus will automatically shift from the activity to the group and a modified programme would emerge.

48. It is, thus, clear that a programme of economic development even on forestry model is not likely to succeed in Abujhmar as the local population cannot be expected to change its traditional economic pursuits in a short period Whatever may be the presumptions in the original schemes, unless the development of the local population is kept as the central theme, the programmes tend to acquire an independent identity and may be pursued for their own sake. Goal displacement phenomenon is well known in social sciences. Thus, even forestry programmes may lead to large scale migration and its socio-economic consequences in relation to the Abujhmaria may remain undefined if the question is not posed in the early stage and answered in categorical terms. It will not be possible to discuss at length this model in the present paper. There are some cases like Chandrapur in Maharashtra which illustrate the strong possibility of intensive forest development adversely effecting the tribal communities, the original inhabitants of the region. In view of the crucial nature of forest economy to tribal development, this aspect may require detailed examination in an independent paper.

Demographic Constraints :

49. In view of the above analysis, a very important policy question about the change in demographic structure arises which has

to be answered in categorical terms. Who can take a decision about the demographic structure of an area which is extremely backward, which has been kept aloof in the past for various reasons and where the level of socio-economic development is extremely low and the community is not in a position to take an 'independent' view about the whole situation ? Who is to take the decision whether the area should be thrown open even at the risk of the group identity being threatened ? Perhaps, in the absence of articulate opinion of a group, which is likely to be irretrievably affected by the process of development designed by planners and administrators, whose values may be different, a policy of gradual change appears to be the only answer. The demographic structure of a primitive region must be one of the most important points on which a conscious policy decision at a very high level must be taken. If in the interest of regional development or national development a decision, threatening the very identity of the group, is to be taken, it must be in full face of the facts as they are and the likely course of events in the next few years. What is not pardonable is to initiate a process of change without examining all aspects of critical importance to the local community and when the implicit inevitable begins to unfold itself to say 'this is inevitable price for the development of the area'.

50 It is thus clear that demographic structure must be taken as one of the most important constraints while planning development of the small primitive communities.

The following aspects will, therefore, need to be noted in each case :

a) The total available manpower in the region;

b) The level of technology of the group and the possibility of its adaptation or upgradation in a given time period and

c) The permissible limit of introducing immigration in the area so that a state of confrontation does not arise and the immigrant group does not become dominant in the new socio-economic structure.

People's Development :

51. The analysis of regional development approach in the proceeding section makes it clear that this approach does not necessarily mean accrual of benefits of development to the community

living in a region, particularly when it is small and primitive. Demographic consideration must be kept in the forefront if the development of the group has a priority. Thus, the human element inevitably comes in to focus. But people's development cannot be conceived in isolation with the eco-system, including the environment in which they live, their effective command over resources and future potential, the resource endowment of the region, etc. have an inter-action with their socio-economic and cultural life and also provide a frame for their development. The new power of science and technology does make the choice of alternative courses of development available to planners very wide. However, the alternatives open to a primitive community, atleast to its contemporary generation, are comparatively limited and are circumscribed by its assimilative power.

52. In the case of primitive groups, therefore, we will have to start from the peoples' end. Here communication barriers are quite formidable; social systems differ; concept of a group life vary; the new is strange; preference is strong for being left alone The Jarawas of Andamans or the Bondos of orissa illustrate an extreme situation. We have discounted, in earlier sections, the case for a fast and forced change for those communities. But it must be acknowledged that the state of comparative isolation even in their case cannot last long. The choice, therefore, is between an orderly and planned action programme of change or leaving these groups to the mercy of wider socio-economic processes which are reaching all corners of the country with a torential force.

53. Before planning for development, the nature of various influence on the primitive community will need to be clearly understood. Change is associated with a variety of activities in different planes which may broadly include the following :

i)	Manipulation of physical environment of the group habitant.	Mining, forest exploitation, large scale dairying, Public Health programmes.
ii)	Influence on the economic activity of the group	Agricultural extension, crafts and cottage industries.
iii)	Superimposition of new institutions.	
a)	Political	Panchayats, elections.

b) Administrative	Revenue, Forest & Police administration.
c) Economic	Co-operative Societies, Marketing.
d) Social	Laws affecting social life and behaviour like marriage by capture.
e) Pseudo-social	Educational and Health Institutes.
iv) Interaction with other groups	a) traditional neighbours b) new migrants c) extension agency d) general administrative personnel e) traders, contractors, casual visitors, etc.
v) Induced social customs and personnel behaviour	Generally spread effect of mores of migrants, extension agency and of 'educated' tribal youth.

54. Each of the above elements interacts with the socio-economic life of the community. However, formal enumeration of these elements for a region will not be sufficient to assess the extent of their influence on and role in the on-going processes in the region. What is the degree of effective interaction in each case will be relevent for planning purposes. For example, forest regulations or land revenue system may have been formally extended to an area for a long period yet its effective coverage will start only when an implementing agency is introduced in a local area. Formally, Abujhmar is subject to the same land and forest laws as the rest of the State, though in practice they have not been extended. Thus, formal and actual situations differ widely. If the process of change is not planned, the pace of effective coverage in the wake of new development effort in different sectors may vary considerably. It is generally found that, unless consciously planned otherwise, regulatory activities of the State are first to appear on the scene and beneficial ones lag far behind. For example, as a result of conscious state policy the police, revenue and forest administrations were withdrawn from Abujhmar. Extension and education activities were promoted subsequently. On

the other hand, in the absence of a clear policy frame, the Bondo hills have a full-fledged police station for a longtime now while educational and extension coverage remains weak. A differential and unco-ordinated coverage by different elements unsettles the life of the local communities in an unpredictable fashion. In such a situation, vested interests of all varieties—institutional, group and individual tend to take advantage of the new situation.

55. With a view to develop the model of development for Abujhmar, its special characteristics may be noted, some of which are as follows :

a) The community is still in a state of ecological equilibrium. There are, however, some areas where the cycle of shifting cultivation have been reduced and there is moderate pressure of population;

b) As a result of conscious state policy, there is no confrontation in this area as yet. However, some pressure points are developing on the north-eastern corner from cultivators from the plains as also along the only forest type road cutting across Abujhmar in its northern fringe from communities raising cattle;

c) The rate of growth of population is almost nil. Little is known about the precise reason for this. Generally they enjoy a good health but wild animals and diseases seem to take a heavy toll of life.

56. In terms of natural resources and its command of the community, the noteworthy features are :

a) The whole territory is supposed to be 'owned' by the community, each village has a well demarcated area ;

b) there are rich forests particularly on the periphery. Some areas have got denuded yet each village has some forest under its command and also within its reach ;

c) In one region, there is good cattle wealth which gives them substantial additional income ;

d) There are vast stretches of plain land in the plateau with possible good irrigation potential; and

e) The total available manpower is about 3000; literacy is negligible; the people are used to an extensive form of agriculture.

57. With reference to the process of change associated with various activities noted in para 53 above, this area has been kept immune as an administrative measure. However some points are noteworthy.

a) There is contact with the neighbouring communities and induced change even in agricultural technology is evident in those areas which are experiencing moderate pressure of population;

b) Extension agency and ashram schools have introduced government functionaries in this area, some of whom are becoming the new contact points between the Abujhmaria and the outside world;

c) There is some reaction to the pressure from outside communities in the northern fringe; and

d) Forest on the outskirts of Abujhmar is providing the community in the border villages seasonal employment.

58 There is no conscious policy direction with reference to development of Abujhmar. The immunisation of the area through administrative tradition is fragile since it has no legal base. The fear of the unknown amongst the outsiders is gradually giving way with greater contact and the weakness of the local community will become a public knowledge with greater contact. The potentiality of the area will also be better known with the passage of time. Even Government may be tempted to exploit its potential. It appears, therefore, that this area is fast reaching a stage where it may face large scale changes and considerable pressure from institutions, groups and individuals.

59 The problem, therefore, is to tame the change-process. It will have two aspects, viz., (i) the dimensions of change may be regulated; and (ii) the recipient group may be prepared for the new change. These two aspects are not mutually exclusive and a number elements are common. However, it may be possible to deal with them separately.

Regulation of the dimensions of change

a) **Legal Frame :**

60. A change in the legal frame becomes an important compulsive force, particularly when the two sides are not evenly balanced. Already the local practice and the formal legal frame in Abujhmar are at variance. The normal administrative structure, therefore, can be extended to this area at the mere wish of the local administration. For example, if the Madhya Pradesh Land Revenue Code is implemented, the community, which considered itself to be the owner of a certain region, may be reduced to a group of small farmers. Similarly, the provisions of the Indian Forest Act can also be enforced making the community a tresspasser in its own traditional abode. It will, therefore, be necessary that administrative practice is consciously formalised which could have elements for change as may be thought best for this area in the context of the developmental programme for the next decade or two. The traditional panchayats at the village or pargana level may be brought into picture. There is no panchayat for the Abujhmar as a whole. One institution may be established drawing mainly on the traditional leadership.

b) **Economic Activity :**

61. We have already noted that there is good potential for settled cultivations, for horticulture as also for cattle rearing in some areas. In view of the sparceness of population, it will be necessary that extensive agricultural practices requiring comparatively smaller man-power are adopted in this area. Here we will have a clear departure from the strategy of intensive agriculture in the plains having higher density of population. This will mean that this area specialises in cattle rearing and horticulture. These are also nearest to their traditional economic activity and, therefore, can be said to be within the assimilative capacity of the local community. Shifting cultivation may co-exist for some time but as greater income accrues from horticulture and cattle rearing, there will be lesser dependence on shifting cultivation as the primary economy activity. A greater contact with the extension agency in regard to these two areas can be used for using the potential of settled cultivation on suitable lands. It may, therefore, be possible to slowly induce the community to meet its food requirements from settled cultivation and other needs from horticulture and cattle rearing.

Some of the minor forest produce, which at present is of economic value because of inaccessibility, can also be brought into the local economy through suitable policy of marketing. We will discuss this aspect in detail in a subsequent section.

62. We have noted earlier that there are some good plain stretches of land with potential for irrigation. These lands, even at the general peasant technology of Bastar region, will require considerable additional man-power. Here it can be considered whether a modern collective farm or co-operative farm with use of machinery will be feasible. The pace of development of such a farm economy, however, should depend on the pace with which the concerned village communities can be prepared to participate in it at semi-skilled levels with induction of minimum number in key positions from outside. Such a farm may not be an immediate feasibility but if it is planned to be established, say after five years it may be possible to train up local youth in the relevant activity who can shoulder the semi-skilled responsibility in this cooperative venture.

c) Regulation of In-migration

63. The economic activity likely to be generated in the programmes outlined above may require larger man-power than what is available in Abujhmar. It is quite clear that even now there is some con'act o the Abujhmarias with those in the plains. In fact, the Abujhmarias trace their origin to a number of villages in the plains of Bastar and Narainpur. Although Abujhmarias are an endogamous group, but there is no bar to inter-marriage with Gonds (and not Halbas) of Narainpur.

There is also a local practice that in case a person from outside Abujhmar wishes to settle in Abujhmar, the village community as a whole can take a decision and assign land to him. It, therefore, appears that the manpower deficiency in this area, to some extent, can be made good through selective in-migration of persons from the neighbourhood which may be in conformity with their present practice. Suitable rules can be made under the regulation suggested earlier. Here a word of caution may be necessary. Migration, which may start as a trickle, may assume large proportions upsetting the balance. After sometime local community may find itself helpless to stand the new pressures. Hence, it will be useful if an absolute limit to the number that can be allowed for in-migration under this proviso, may

be fixed so that the balance does not become unfavourable to the local community. In the next 10 years or so the total in-migration may be of the order of 20% of the total local population. This number can be easily assimilated by the original group. It may also provide the local community the benefit of greater contact with the outside world without, at the same time, blowing them off their feet.

d) **Modern Economic Activity**

64. The programmes of working of forests or taking up other modern activities will need to be planned with reference to its impact on the demographic structure of Abujhmar. In the context of the present socio-economic situation, any intensive economic activity appears to be ruled out for a decade or so. Even for taking up any such activity after 10 years, adequate preparation will have to be initiated right now. Therefore, a comprehensive assessment of resources may be made early to explore the possibilities, if any, of taking up modern activity in this area. If certain clear indications are available, an element of greater certainty in respect of such programmes may be ensured so that a longer term manpower planning can be taken up right from now.

65. This brings us to the second aspect of change, viz,, the preparation of the recipient group to the new change. The policy of non-ex ension of normal administration to Abujhmar and keeping it rather closed has helped in maintaining the status quo. But, on the other hand, the preparedness of the local community to enter a new stage of socio-economic development also remains more or less, the same as, say, some two or three decades back Thus, if a faster change is to come about through other compulsive forces, a good opportunity of making the transition even slower is lost. The developmental programme taken up in the last ten years have not been tailored to its special needs. Therefore, they have had a very limited and partial impact. So far as the preparedness of the local community is concerned, there has been a greater contact wtih an extension agency which did not carry with it the authority of regulating administration and, therefore, was not oppressive or unconcerned with the wishes of the local community.

66. While considering the planned action for preparing the people for the change, two items stand out, viz,, (a) communication,

and (b) education. In a way these two are also the necessary infrastructure, to varying degrees, for taking up the economic development programmes. There is one more distinguishing feature of these two inputs. While it may be possible to plan the change-process, to some extent both these elements tend to acquire an autonomous character and behave as independent variables having large impact on the local community, which may not be all in the desired direction. Therefore, when we are planning for the primitive group, a more careful analysis of these two aspects of development will be useful.

Recipient Group and Change

i) **Communications :**

67. Amongst the material inputs, communication has been considered critical even for the non-material inputs. The most important question, which is asked before taking up any developmental programme, including education, is the accessibility of an area. A minimum communication net work is considered essential. As the communication net-work and the level of development in the advanced regions appear to be co-related their 'cause and effect' relationship is taken to be established. Whether a similar net-work is necessary in the sparsely populated areas with a primitive economy, what is its economics whether any alternative strategy is also possible and similar other questions are not even examined. The usual arguments for the communication net-work are how else agricultural inputs, benefits of agricultural extension services, health and educational services, etc., can be reached to these areas. The relationship, on the face of it, appears to be so obvious that arguments become convincing Having once conceded a high priority, may, a pre-condition for any developmental effort, financial resources are made available on a liberal scale resulting in large capital investments in roads development programmes.

68. The possible impact of a big construction programme on a sparsely populated area has already been alluded to. Even if demographic considerations are ignored, there are certain economic questions which need to be answered. What is the total economic benefit which is likely to be generated by a roads programme, both to the area as also to the local community? If communication net work is essential infrastructure, it must support substantive economic activity and only then substantial outlay on it can be justified. Special

cases, as in the border hill areas, where the communication development is necessary on strategic consideration and similar other reasons, may be excluded being not relevant for the present discussion.

69. The economic benefit from a road-net-work may be immediate and/or in the long run and may be directly relatable to the local community and/or to the larger economy. Road construction itself generates employment and a substantial part of investment on it is in the form of wages. Even after the construction phase, a road net-work requires sizeable manpower for its maintenance. In sparsely populated areas even when there is low coverage, road-length per unit of population is very high. This is an important factor. But, on the other hand, accrual of benefit to the local community in this direct employment is not automatic and depends on a number of other factors in the local economy.

70. Even when direct employment is substantial it cannot be an end in itself. Road is essentially an infrastructure which must serve other needs and justify itself. Therefore, we may identify clearly the other socio-economic benefits with the development of this infra-structure. The most immediate benefit in this category can be in the marketing of agricultural and minor forest produce. What was uneconomical on account of a long lead to the market becomes economical since transportation cost get reduced. Thus, there is net addition to the 'Production' and there is a direct benefit to the community which gets fuller employment in a traditional activity without any structural change. Another immediate possibility is more intensive exploitation of the forest potential. Here the State also gets some benefit; the quantum of benefit to the local community will depend on the design of the working programme. On the one extreme, this working could be designed as a complementary activity within the tribal economy. On the other hand, the programme can also be drawn up independently, the tribal economy being left to adjust for itself. In such an approach; only marginal benefit can accrue to the local community.

71. The opening up of the area can also be viewed against the possibility of larger regional development. The available agricultural or mineral developmental potential may be sought to be exploited over a period of time providing employment opportunity locally, regionally or even nationally. In this case the road net-work becomes

a necessary economic investment, the returns to the community and to the region from this investment are spread over a period of time. The issues, however become much more complex. Other forces arising from the main economic activity will be far stronger than can be ascribed to a simple road-construction programme. All these elements put together will have considerable demographic implications in the case of sparsely populated areas. This is a high level policy question. We have earlier ruled out this choice in case of sparsely populated areas unless other considerations outweigh the local constraint. There is no reason for such an exception in Abujhmar.

72. As already suggested, for the sake of simplicity and clearly understanding the place of communication in local development, we may consider a closed economy with minimum implications on its demographic structure. In this case, the relevant questions are:

1. a) What is the production-mix of the local community?
   b) What are the potential activities which can become economical with the opening up of the area?
   c) How much extra benefit will accrue to the local community if the road net-work gets established?

2. a) What essential services depend on the development of road net-work?
   b) Whether an alternative strategy can be adopted to achieve the same results? If so, what is the comparative cost?

3. a) To what extent and what standard the road net-work is necessary on non-economic considerations?
   b) What is the total economic cost of non-economic goals?

73. Since the total investment on road-development in an undulating sparsely populated area is very high, all these aspects have been examined in detail in an independent paper 'Communication and Economic Development of Sparsely Populated Areas- A theoretical frame'. The case of Abujhmar has been used to illustrate the basic issues. The important conclusions are:

a) The total cost of road development is very high and therefore, the pace of opening up of the area will depend on the availability of resources;

b) The wage-earnings of the local community from road construction activity will be very limited compared to the total wage-employment likely to be created. The limiting factors are the seasonal nature of the labour surplus in the area and small population in the effective 'catchment area' of construction programme;

c) There is a dilemma of slow pace of road-construction with demographic constraints and fast pace of construction resulting in induced primary and secondary migration waves;

d) The economic benefits, other than the wage-labour to the local community, is comparatively small because of the small marketable surpluses is its production. The activisation of dormant resources is limited to a very narrow strip along the road network which has a comparatively small population. Thus, a very small proportion of the total population gets benefitted;

e) Static model for a dynamic situation results in conceptual confusion. In the absence of linkages in the time-dimension, programmes acquire autonomous character. Thus, agriculture extension may be planned presuming the area will be opened up, the only basis for such a presumption being a provision in the Plan for road construction. The problems of transition, which in these cases is unusually long, are not defined with the result that economic benefits are extremely limited during that period compared to the total investments in the area;

f) The geographical spread of economic benefits is very slow and the weakest groups, who are in the more in-accessible areas, may not get any substantial benefit even though total investments in the area may have been sizeable and over a long period. Thus, the weakest groups are the last in the queue;

g) As the general strategy for the advanced areas, where road network follows a higher level of economic activity, is applied to these areas, the fact that their special characteristics demand a distinctive solution receeds in the background. There is an attempt to rationalise the failure and to seek reasons in the sociological factors which are amenable to many possible interpretations; and

h) In the absence of a total plan perspective for the area, stronger vested interest take advantage of the new facility while the local community is hardly ready to meet rhe new challenge or the capitalise on the new economic potential.

74. Our analysis in the paper further shows that in the matter of road-development of these areas, the schemes envisaging quantum jump from a stage of 'no road' to 'class I' are neither beneficial to the area nor are they necessary in the larger national context. In fact, in the situation of overall resource constraint, it is highly wasteful and are usualy supported by vague generalisation. What is necessary is to telescope the process of road development, the level of road development and the economic activity moving in unison reinforcing each other. This calls for a higher planning input rather than larger investments.

75. The concepts of inaccessibility neutralisation and social service optimisation are developed in this paper. In this case,

a) The cost of inaccessibility neutralisation is considered as an alternative pattern of investment taking the road construction cost also into account.

b) The investment criterion are re-worked taking into account the total added cost of transport, etc., for the commodities produced; and

c) The benefit of social services is extended by suitable personnel policies and other measures rather than depending on road development. The additional cost is considered as an alternative investment choice.

76. In this alternative approach, the physical distance in Abujhmar can be neutralised through a scheme wherein all agricultural and minor forest produce is nationally purchased at the village of its origin and total transportation cost is borne by the State. Similarly, the items of daily use like salt are notionally sold at market price in the village and transportation is fully subsidised. With a total working population of about 3000, the total marketable surplus of agricultural and minor forest produce is not likely to be more than worth a few lakhs. If a similar cost is added for its transportation as head-load, the total subsidy will be just a fraction of even the maintenance cost of a road net-work. This subsidy will be in the form of wages for

bringing the goods to the nearest collection point. As the roads are not developed, therefore, the subsidy will directly go to the tribal as wages. Also, whereas the roads programme could activise a narrow strip on either side of the road, the benefit reducing in direct proportion to the distance from the road, the alternative approach benefits all; infact, longer the lead larger the employment opportunity. It has also to be contrasted with general transport subsidies which go towards the cost of petrol, maintenance of vehicles, etc., and get accrued to the modernised sector. The new subsidy will accrue to the traditional sector. The agricultural inputs, essential consumer commodities etc. could also be similarly subsidised. Thus, not only will the existing agricultural potential be fully activised not withstanding the distance but it will also benefit the tribal through wages for carrying the produce as head loads which he otherwise had also to carry for no return. The total cost of additional incentives to personnel and upgrading the posts, where necessary, for providing higher technical and managerial input will also add to a nominal figure.

77. The inaccessibility neutralisation model will have the following advantages :

a) the total investment is limited :

b) a dormant economy over a large area is activised in a short span of time ;

c) the benefit of additional investment largely accrues to the local community in the form of wages ;

d) the more inaccessible parts also come within the fold of new economic activity early enough;

e) There is a conscious effort to attend to different facets of socio-economic life of the local community. The social service and administrative frame-work also strengthen as the economy picks up; and

f) There are no built-in advantages in the model which can be exploited by other vested groups.

78. There is one important draw-back in this model. It is a steady-state model and does not provide for the future growth potential of the area. Thus, it is most suited in terms of input-output analysis at any one point of time. But the question is about the time

preference of total investment pattern. The various alternatives are examined in the model which include different combinations of

a) Inaccessibility neutralisation;
b) Social service optimisation;
c) Road development (quantum jump style); and
d) Step-by-step road development.

79. The combination of inaccessibility neutralisation, social service optimisation combined with the approach of step-by-step road development in that order is most beneficial to the local community. Thus,

a) The investment is spread over a larger period and, at any one point of time, over a larger geographical area. The additional labour requirement is limited and the accrual of wage-labour to the local community is maximised;

b) the economic benefits of the stage-by-stage road development is more evently spread and even and most remote areas may get benefit in shorter span of time;

c) The total investment in the early phases is not very high on road construction which enables the Plan to spare resources for other priority sectors ;

d) Each investment quantum being small is likely to be more easily assimilated by the local community; and

e) As the model is not very costly, it can be multiplied without seriously facing the financial constrains.

80. Having neutralised the inaccessibility factors, the road programme can take its own time and can be phased out keeping the contraints of demography, limits to assimilation and finances into consideration. It could be organically linked to and follow the general economic activity in the region.

ii) **Education**

81. The second important, or perhaps the most important, element in harnessing the process of change to the advantage of local community is education. The process of change has two sides, viz., (1) the programme content (instrument of change) and (2) the people (subject of change). We have seen in the preceeding section that the programme content should be so planned that all its elements

are in unison. The programme content has also to be so designed that it is within the comprehension of the people. The developmental programmes themselves are expected to gradually influence the assimilative capacity of the people. Therefore, programme content itself could be gradually upgraded with the passage of time. There are two limitations in this approach. Firstly, how can the programmes be always tailored, so as to suit the socio-psychological frame of the people. Secondly, how the programme should become acceptable to the community. Extension activity does not comprise only a physical programme but it is an educative process as well. Therefore, while the programmes aspect will need to be carefully designed, some educational process will also be a necessary counter-part. Here again, the limits of educational process have to be well defined. Even the educational element has to be within the easy comprehension of the local community.

82. Educational element will need to be viewed in two different contexts. Each development programme will define its own 'capsule' of educational effort. Each of these 'capsules' will have to be within the comprehension of an average Abujhmaria. But all these capsules put together may not be able to give him an unambiguous picture. Therefore, a broader frame will be necessary so that the picture which emerges is meaningful to him. The terms, 'easy comprehension', 'meaning', etc., cannot be taken to have fixed cannotation. The content of these terms will change with the passage of time. The change in the beginning in absolute terms, will be small, but, in relative terms, it will be very large because the base line, from which the process is being initiated, is very low. These small changes will have to be carefully taken note of, particularly because the extension agency, which is used to deal with matters of a different dimension, may not be able to appreciate the delicate balance in the primitive tribal situation. Therefore, extension education inputs will need a constant review and a well-designed feedback system.

83. Another important point may be noted at this stage. Interactions of a small group are not limited to certain well-defined programmed activities only. There is an important autonomous sector of inter actions whose influence may be decisive in some cases. The outside contact itself means bringing to these communities new ideas, new knowledge and new situations. New situations are very important. The group does not have any past experience to go by

and its context is entirely different. Its responses, therefore, are not 'rational.' The extension agency by its very presence initiates spread-effect. It is well-known that some information is easily assimilated while aspects completely alien are hard to grasp. Therefore, the community is to be consciously prepared to stand the challenges of the new contact; it should be enabled to understand the nature and processes in the larger society and should be provided the necessary and useful information. Thus, the world view of the group itself will need to be influenced delicately, but decisively.

84. Perhaps, in the case of small groups the concept of education itself should change. In the general national scene, a common cultural background is presumed and formal education builds upon a common base. Besides attempting to inculcate desirable social and personal attitudes, education aims at bringing a greater fund of knowledge within the reach of the individual and the community. However, an educational scheme, framed in one specific ontext may leave large gaps in a different context. This problem is being faced generally in the rural-urban context-an urban elite-oriented education being super-imposed on the multitude of rural masses. The disharmony becomes much larger in the case of backward tribal groups.

85. In Abujhmar, literacy is almost negligible. The local dialect is a variant of Gondi and has its special characteristics. It will be necessary that special syllabus both for general education and for the adolescent and adult age groups is prepared. The educational effort will have to be intensive so that in the next 5 years or so the level of literacy is atleast 10% and every adult has been brought within the net of citizen education. The local institution of youth dormatory which is the meeting point of all the youngmen every evening and the entire village community occassionally, can be effectively used for this purpose. It is not necessary that a school may be opened in every village but 'Shala Complexes' can be developed which have within their jurisdiction a specified number of villages and who may be given the responsibility of effectively implementing the citizen education and general education programme. It will need to be ensured that the educational programmes do not become stereotype and there is continuous inter-action amongst the educational programmes the developmental effort and the local millieu. Power Structure in the Transitional Phase.

86. Lastly, it will be necessary to consider as to how the whole process of change, which is proposed to be initiated, is under effective control of the local community. We have already discussed the two focets, viz., moderation of the programme content and preparing the local community for the change, which will help in this objective. But still the local community may find it self helpless when it is faced with the other organised groups including the developmental machinery itself. We have already suggested that a net-work of Panchayats drawing upon the traditional leadership may be formally recognised and established where necessary. We may note here that sense of justice in the traditional communities is quite well developed. Therefore, considerable authority can be vested in them without any hesitation. The local community gets perplexed when faced with abstract legal entitles and processes which have the authority of the State itself behind it. The various organisations and state departments are physical manifestations of this authority. In effect, an average tribal in the primitive groups finds himself isolated and all other elements including the petty trader, contractor, official hierarchy are on the other side of the line. A meaningful process of development can be initiated only with a confidence relationship developing the two sides. Such a relationship can be engendered if the administrative unit for this area has sympathy for the local community and is imbibed with the idealism for the new change. But that alone will not be adequate. The local community may be given the authority not only to regulate its own affairs including petty criminal offences and matters relating to land and property of its own members but also should have jurisdiction in certain specified matters in relation to all those including officials when they are within their local jurisdiction. The local Panchayats may be suitably helped in the exercise of this power by selected officers who may be specially empowered and the local Panchayat may serve as assessors or Jurors. This will help in imbibing self-confidence in the community vis-a-vis the more powerful elements.

Conclusions :

87. Thus, we have outlined the important stages in the development of Abujhmar in the context of its resource potential, human element, demographic constraint and sociological limitations. The traditional shifting cultivation could be slowly changed into plantation crops and horticulture. Certain areas can specialise in cattle breeding. Simultaneously the processes for the introduction of

settled cultivation can also be supported. There are certain areas, where co-operative farms with modern technology, requiring comparatively smaller manpower, can be planned. The training of local youth for all positions upto semi-skilled jobs may be undertaken in advance. The horticulture and plantation schemes need not necessarily be export oriented although marketing may be one of the considerations in formulation of the scheme. Thus, the community may graduate from food gathering stage to a stage where it begins to plant trees and tend them. This is the stage at which the traditional peasant community in India is located. The horticulture and cattle rearing will serve as the points of contact between traditional community and the modern organization which can be increasingly used for introducting new knowledge over a wider area of their economic activity.

88. Road construction, as an element in the development of Abujhmar, will need to be very carefully planned. Constructing a road net-work in the usual fashion will be very expensive and will not be in the interest of the local community. An alternative approach of 'inaccessibility neutralization', 'social service optimisation' and 'step-by-step road development' is suggested. The road net-work may follow the economic activity rather than preceding it. At every stage, the demographic constraint should be considered before initiating any economic activity including road programme which requires large manpower. With effective inaccessibility neutralization it will be possible to activise such of the dormant economic resources of the region' which are within the technological reach of the present generation of Abujhmarias. The cost of inaccessibility neutralization is negligible compared to investment in road construction. The benefit accruing to the local community will be substantial and evenly distributed in the region. A step-by-step road development programme could be simultaneously taken up. In the first stage of road development, jeepable roads open for a limited period would be adequate. Slowly, the accessibility of the region could be increased by making the jeepable roads open for a longer period and then throughout the year. At a subsequent stage, all-whether roads capable of carrying heavy trafic can be planned in the early course of two or three decades. The higher cost of transportation in the early phases, both as head loads and on jeeps, has to be viewed as an alternative investment choice for this area.

89. The intensive economic, educational and health development programmes for a period of 10 to 15 years in this area may create conditions where a larger dose of controlled immigration could be allowed for exploitation of its natural resources. During this period, there will be a better understanding about the course of development in these areas with the process of change; there will be greater inter-action between the local people and the outsiders; there will be a greater understanding of processes particularly through the directed programme of education and inter-action through active participation in the developmental process. It may be useful to devise suitable personnel policies for these areas so that the rigid patterns of the more advanced areas are not super-imposed without local community of the outside world. Therefore, in the various levels of administrative structure induction of the local groups will be the most useful link. In the decision making process, the local communities should be fully involved so that their perspective of the changing situations become clearer.

90. The ultimate demographic structure of such areas will depend on the intensity of local resources exploitation. Number of alternative paths of development are available. In the initial stages, the employment potential should mainly have local groups as its target. Slowly, those activities may be initiated which may induce immigration from the surrounding areas with whom tho local groups are already in contact and in whose considerations. What is important is a linkage with the local case there is no sharp dividing line. A selective programme of settled cultivation may be taken up where lands are settled to persons belonging to the neighbouring areas experiencing higher pressure of population. The ownership pattern and the procedure for induction will, however, have to be suitably designed so as to be in conformity with the traditional practice. This will help in strengthing the local community through induction of a group which is not a complete stranger. This may also help in spread effect of new agricultural technology.

91. The economic activities which require a completely different skill endowment should be the last to arrive. In the course of the next 25 years the demographic structure of this area may undergo considerable change but it will be necessary if the local communities are not reduced to a level of, say, less than 70% concentration compared to the presentlevel of about 96%. By this time, a new generation would have arrived, the literacy level in the area would be 100%, new linkages would have been developed with modern sectors of economy and the local groups will still be in a commanding position both politically and economically. The area at this stage will be in a position to take its own decisions. The next phase could be concerned with the problems of area development rather than concentrating on the small group with whom we start the programme of directed change.

ANNEXURE

S. No.	Name of the tribe	Location	Size	Degree of Isolation	Extent of confrontation	Degree of Ecological Equilibrium
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Abujhmaria	Abujhmar Bastar, M.P.	Small (13,000)	Near Full	Insignificant	Full
2.	Bondo	Koraput (Orissa)	Small (3,000)	Near Full	Insignificant	Full
3.	Onge	A & N Islands	Diminutive (112)	Full	Considerable	Near Full
4.	Great Andamanese	A & N Islands	Diminutive (24)	Partial	Protection	Nil
5.	Jarawas	A & N Islands	Diminutive (300)	Full	Nil	Full
6.	Sentinelese	A & N Islands	Diminutive (100)	Full	Nil	Full
7.	Hill Kharia	Singhbhum (Bihar)	Small (9,423)	Near Full	Significant	Little
8.	Paharia	Santhal, Parganas (Bihar)	Small (14,651)	Partial	Considerable	Partial
9.	Birhor	Santhal, Parganas (Bihar)	Small (3,464)	Little	Considerable	Little

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	Asur	Singhbhum (Bihar)	Small (7,026)	Little	Considerable	Little
11.	Chenchu	A. P.	Small (10,448)	Partial	Significant	Partial
12.	Jenu Kuruba	Karnataka	Small	Partial	Considerable	Partial
13.	Bharia	Chhinwada (M.P.)	Small (3,000)	Partial	Insignificant	Partial
14.	Hill Korbas	Raigarh-Sarguja (M.P.)	Small (4,000)	Little	Considerable	Little
15.	Baiga	Mandla (M.P.)	Small (3,000)	Partial	Significant	Partial
16.	Gadaba	Koraput (Orissa)	Small (5,000)	Partial	Significant	Partial
17.	Juang	Keonjhar (Orissa)	Small (6,000)	Near Full	Insignificant	Full

A KONDA SAVARA
Carrying the Fruits of his Labour To
Enrich the Plains Trader

Outlook for Primitive Tribal Groups
Keynote Address

Dr. BHUPINDER SINGH*

According to 1981 census, the total population of scheduled tribes in the country was over 5 crores (50 million). Detailed break-up of this population e.g. tribe-wise population is not available as yet. Hence, we have to depend on 1971 census figures. According to the 1971 census and the 1976 revision of the Scheduled List, the total scheduled tribe population in the country is about four crores, comprised of 250 big and small scheduled tribe communities. Nine major tribal groups account for about twenty million or two crores of them, comprised approximately of the Bhil (52 lakhs), Gond (48 lakhs), Santhal (36 lakhs), Oraon (17 lakhs), Meena (15 lakhs), Munda (12 lakhs), Khond (9 lakhs), Ho (5 lakhs) and Naga (5 lakhs). At the other end of the spectrum are small tribal groups, over 50 in number, the smallest being 28 Great Andamanese souls and the largest about two lakhs, the majority consisting of groups of a few thousands only. The total population of these groups does not exceed ten lakhs, and they are at various levels of cultural, social, economic and political development.

The Dhebar Commission noted in 1961 four different layers among tribals, the class at the base in an extremely underdeveloped stage. They felt that the lowest layer needed the most consideration at the hands of the government. In 1969, the Shilu Ao team in their report divided the scheduled tribe communities into three categories. According to the team, at one end were the tribes living in fastnesses of hills and jungles having little contact with the outside world, still in the hunting and food gathering stage, found in pockets of south and central India and the Andamans; at the other end were the freedom-loving politically-conscious tribals of the north-east who have reached the stage where they can rub shoulders with their most enlightened counter-parts among the advanced communities. In between, these were the communities of varying levels of development inhabiting the central Indian belt.

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Reference frame

Whether a framework is related to the position of a tribe in the evolutionary scale or based on economic backwardness, it defies any rigid fool-proof classification. Nevertheless, for working purposes, three criteria, i.e. pre-agricultural stage of economy, a low level of literacy and smallness of numbers, have been adopted for identification and 72 'primitive' tribal groups have been located. The tiniest is the great Andamanese, 25 strong, as mentioned earlier, and the most numerous the Baiga, 1.77 lakhs. However, we have not reached the end of the identification process and the attempt is continuing. The anxiety is that some remote, impoverished, ill-nourished groups should not be left out; yet, at the same time, the application of the three-indices formula should not result in the inclusion of otherwise undeserving groups. With such a kaleidoscopic variety among the scheduled tribes, it is not unlikely that the identifiction might go askew; hence, utmost circumspection seems called for.

While there is a predominant view that some among the scheduled tribe communities should be singled out for special care and protection, considering the plight of many of the scheduled tribe communities it is not easy to make a selection. In fact, barring a few acculturated tribal groups, most of the other groups require detailed attention. Nevertheless, there are certain less known communities living in remoter areas in greater isolation which call for close study. Such studies can be beneficial from many points of view. For example, the academicians may find the study of the Jarawa of Andaman and Nicobar Islands absorbing. While such studies have intrinsic value for an understanding of the subject-groups, priority needs to be attached to studies of those groups which live in rather impoverished resource, low-level nutritional, disease-infested, superstition-steeped conditions, to help them overcome these handicaps. With a view to identification of 'primitive' tribal groups, three criteria i.e. pre-agricultural (or primitive technological) stage of economy, low level of literacy and smallness of numbers, have been adopted and about 72 scheduled tribe communities have been located. The tiniest is the Great Andamanese, about 28 strong, and the most numerous the Baiga. The result of application of such broad criteria cannot be expected to lead to precise results. For instance, the Juang of Orissa and the Birhor of Bihar might come rightly within the ambit of the criteria framework, but certain other tribes like the Madia of Bastar district also qualify. The Abhuj-Mad zone wherein the Madias life is

relatively resource-rich region and the members of the tribe do not apparently suffer from mal-nutrition or wide-spread disease, though their conventional literacy level may be low. In fact, within their own milieu, the Madias have struck a fine balance with the eco-system; a measure of external non-interference could enable them to continue their harmonious life-style for decades to come. Further, a community recognised as scheduled might comprise of some more backward and some less backward component-groups From the contextual point of view, classification of the former groups in the 'primary' category might be justified; but the latter groups could be allowed to benefit from usual general programmes and schemes of tribal development. The question has been raised as to whether such dichotomisation of an otherwise homogeneous group is prudent since segmentation has been observed to encourage separatism, social tensions etc., in this context, the example of the Kolam of Andhra Pradesh in the matrix of the Raj Gond has been cited. Thus, the validity of the completeness of the present criteria and sometimes their contents are exposed to doubt.

To infuse a more scientific character into selection criteria, it has been suggested that a genetic element should be introduced. The instrument of blood groups, colour blindness and G-6-P-D have been suggested in this regard. Prima facie, the idea of identification of primary groups on such scientific base is attractive. However, a good deal of experimentation and observation have to be built up before their application.

Two other criteria which have been suggested are existence of non-monetised economy and paucity of contact with the outside world. These two factors also are appealling in the context of the primary groups. But barring some A & N islands tribal groups, one is hard put to detect scheduled tribe communities whose economy by now is not being drawn, either fully or partly, into the vortex of the general monetary economy. In so far as contact with the outside world is concerned, in the absence of objective parameters for the contact, the judgement may become controversial. In fact, the measurement of monetisation and external contacts may not be easy.

Notwithstanding the difficulties in the way of expansion of the present criteria, further thought has to be directed for evolution of a set capable of yielding more satisfactory results for identification of primary groups.

Four-fold typology

Relative to the syndrome of (a) results that application of the criteria may produce (b) natural resource endowment and (c) prevalent technology, four types of primitive tribal groups are discernible. The first is the hunter, food-gatherer category for whom natural resources have to be reckoned with reference to their peculiarly own economy and avocations. Examples of this class are the forest-dwelling Onge, Jarawa and Shompen of Andaman and Nicobar islands, the cave-dwelling Chola Naicken of Kerala, the forest-working Jenu Kuruba of Karnataka, the hunter Pardhi of Maharashtra, etc. While their present resource condition, technology and needs may be in equilibrium, putting an end to their isolation and the resultant in-rush of external forces are likely to and, in fact, have upset the delicate balance of their life-systems. Unless a careful and futuristically planned effort for resource and technology growth is made, these groups are likely to be in distress before long. In the second category can be placed those groups which have evolved further, say in agriculture and crafts, making use of the available natural endowments. Examples are the shifting cultivators who have graduated from the gathering stage, or the artisans basing their crafts on available raw materials. Acquisition of a higher degree of expertise by them in the respective fields compared to the first group is noticeable. Well-known examples of shifting cultivators in central India are the Khond and the Saora. Examples of artisan groups in Gujarat are the Kotwalia and the Kolgha. Injection of technological and capital inputs seems to be their need. In the third category would fall those particularly economically backward tribal groups which have been on the fringe of more advanced societies, who have watched others around them grow while themselves stagnating, e. g. the Baiga, Birhor and Toda. Some among them yearn for advancement, a few having lost heart in the race. Those with sparks of the urge in them have the promise. Contact with the neighbouring societies has infused some awareness and technology in them, but they are short of resources. Their need is for basic resources combined with liberal doses of technological and capital inputs. In the fourth and the last category are those tribal groups which, happily, live in resource-rich enviroment relative to their avocation, and reqire only imbibing of the right technology. Examples of this category are the Abhuj Maria of Bastar district in Madhya Pradesh and the Bondo in Koraput district of Orissa.

While the four-fold typology is useful, it should be understood that a tribe labelled as 'primitive' need not necessarily be an entirely compact, homogeneous unit but might be composed of graded components. For instance the Saora tribe can, from the socio-economic point of view, be regarded as comprised of three segments i.e. the Lanjia Saora, the Shudha Saora and the Christian Saora arranged in increasing order of modernisation. Some of the major groups also may have sub-groups e. g. the Bhill and the Khond. The four-fold typology may essentially appeal to planners and the economist, but might create a sense of unease in the minds of sociologists too familiar with the constraints inhabiting assimilation of capital and technology. While the aim of ushering a better era in the lives of these communities is not to be discounted, the need for a cautious and gradual change cannot be exaggerated.

There is another area in which careful thought should be directed. Should there be intervention at all in respect of primary tribal groups? A school of thought believes that paternalism and intervention breeding dependence are, in the long run, harmful to their interests. The proponents of this view would have their members given exposure to enable them to absorb external shocks and internalise the exogenous dimensions for inducing fitness for the strange, new world. But it is too easy to be misled by the question into the museum-piece theory. It should not be forgotten that we are here considering "primary" groups whose socio-cultural fabric is fragile, resting in the matrix of an economic base highly susceptible to external shocks. Hence, the aim should be not to expose an isolated community, living in a stage of delicate equilibrium to traumatic changes. Some degree of protection seems essential. Some observers have gone to the extent of prescribing blanket ban on importation into the habitat of such groups of personnel, goods and services from outside. A frequent suggestion in this context is that roads should not be laid to connect the habitats. Taking an over-view of the diverse cross-section of the tribal groups, it appears that an admixture of proportions of protection and exposure varying with reference to the circumstances of a particular primary group needs to be prescribed. A group like the Shompen of the A & N Islands will certainly need a full protective umbrella, whereas the vigorous Bonda of Orissa may be able to hold their own against some external influences. The protective cover may have to extend to selected fields like health, commercial transactions, administrative proceedures. It may have to be identified in individual cases of the primary groups.

The nature of protective cover calls for some reflection. The legal-administrative framework can constitute the instrument to be weilded for the protection. Indeed, for the generality of the scheduled tribes, extending undoubtedly to the primary groups, a body of legislation under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution has grown, particularly in the fields of land allienation, debt bondage, regulation of money-lending; new institutional framework like large-size multi-purpose co-operative societies (LAMPS) has also come into being. There is more legislation in the offing. Apart from legislation and institutional framework is the idea of demarcation of reserves for the free play of activities of a particular tribal group, unhindered by external instrusions. In this country, we have the example of the Jarawa reserve in the A & N Islands. However, this idea should not get clouded by motivations said to be behind reserves (e.g. Red Indian reserves) in some other countries. Nevertheless even reservationists will advise against its replication in the main-land for the reason that the main-land tribes exhibit a greater or lesser degree of acculturation. Another example which comes mind is that of the inner-line regulation of the north-east which has helped the tribal people, particularly of Arunachal Pradesh to frog-leap years, perhaps decades, into modernity. Transfixation of an inner-line, even in a district like Bastar in Madhya Pradesh needing a fair degree of protection, appears, prima facie, infeasible considering that human commerce has spread wide in it, particularly with the establishment of public sector projects like the Bailladalla iron ore. Indeed, it will be like putting the clock back. But there is a small core-region in the district, the Abhuj-Mad, inhabited by the Madia primary group calling for freedom from external exploitative forces. A cordon round such area for a certain length of time might enable conserve the resources and brace the members of the primary group to better face the external forces, if nurtured adequately during the interregnum. There might be more such primary groups in other States encysted in the interior and they should be identified for a similar trustment, should it be necessary. On the whole, the concept of reserve seems to be of little value in its application to the generality of primary scheduled tribe habitats. Nevertheless, even if we have reserves as well as legal-administrative and institutional ins ruments, the fact remains that ultimately it is the way that these instruments are weilded that matters. Notwithstanding their existence, they may lie unused, defeating the purpose and the will behind the legislation. On the contrary, effectively weilded,

they can become powerful instrument for protection and progress of the primary groups. It hinges on the personnel who handle them. To peer further, there can come a time when the society's conscience is aroused to a pitch, when the legislative and personnel sanctions become redundant.

Socio-political-dynamics

In the gigantic proportions of the country's planning process, a member of a primitive tribal group, being a microscopic entity, is apt to be totally overlooked. Before long, the current imperatives will perforce suck him into modernity. It is not only fair but also desirable that his own concept of progress and advancement is taken into account. Experience shows that members of a primitive tribal community act in common; vis-a-vis an outsider every one of them feels instinctively inhibited from taking a step on his own. Appreciating the democratic spirit in action, the administration should make use of traditional representative institutions. Some groups have traditional institutions and dealings with them should be established. Where they are absent, the question of formation of new representative Institutions should be thought of. Their own social dynamics should be respected and guided change channelised through their own institutions. The community should feel conscious control over its resources.

There has been a suggestion to dichotomise the primitive tribal groups into 'small' when the number is less than 15,000 and 'diminutive' when their number is less than a thousand. The total number of the members of a tribal group is significant for the reason that it indicates its demographic stability more than for anything else. It has been known that there are certain groups which have been showing a declining trend in their population, the best known example being that of the Onge The diminishing numbers or even a stationary level prognosticates ultimate obliteration. The first priority is to stablise the tribe and then create conditions for its growth. It can be done through a sustained study of the causes of the negative or zero growth-rate. At the same time, the political repercussions of a tiny, inarticulate group subsisting in a tumultuous polity of dominant contending groups, have to be fully reckoned. Unless bolstered through special attention and weightage, such groups may fade out. Empathetic decisions and action at the political level are equally important.

Planning strategy

Ideally, planning for the groups has to be done at the micro-level. The strategy set out in the national sixth plan prescribing the household as a unit is a happy augury. In no other sector is the compulsion for household planning and development so pressing as in respect of these primitive tribal groups. Again, ideally, planning and implementation should be carried out through local management, perhaps through traditional village councils and, in the absence of such pre-existing structure through newly-created bodies, with the aid of resources that may be made available to them. At the regional i. e. at the level of groups of villages, the statutory panchayats or traditional bodies, if any, may be involved both for planning and implementation. At the block level, the functions of the panchayat samiti have to be made real. Such multi-level micro-planning and implementation call for careful rationalisation and pre-determination of functions, responsibilities and resources **inter se** among the institutions concerned.

At the village level, the village councils or gaon Sabhas could, with their intimate knowledge, be entrusted with identification of the households as well as suitable schemes aimed at economic improvement of each family, e. g. increased production in agriculture animal husbandry, forestry, cottage and village industries etc. This might require injection of capital as well as technology; the component of necessary credit should become available through the instrument of Large-sized Adivasi Multi-Purpose Societies (LAMPS) (which should be adapted contextually) or commercial banks. The village plan should be expected to subsume, culturally speaking, even the 'hardcore' members of the community. Planning at the next tier by the traditional body or the statutory panchayat might have to be a blend of household and infrastructure development, the preponderant component still being the former. Infrastructure development should encompass marketing facilities, village communications, water supply, etc. Both in physical and financial terms, planning at block level has to strike a balanced orientation between household and area development. The sectors which would come into the picture for participant-development would be agriculture, horticulture, pisciculture, animal husbandry, forestry, cottage, village and small industries, etc. In the sphere of infrastructure, sectors like marketing, co-operatives, minor irrigation, rural communication, rural electrifica-

tion, primary, middle and high schools, health sub-centres and primary health centres, drinking water supply etc. would be relevant.

The plans should spell out in detail sector-wise programmes in time-resource perspective at each of the three tiers, namely the village council, the regional body (or panchayat) and the panchayat samiti. Without minimising the significance of the two higher tiers, it would appear that the village tier will become the most important for the groups under consideration. Consistent with flexibility in execution, a bare set of simple rules and procedure might regulate the working of these bodies. At the same time, keeping their capacity in view, it might be desirable to attach to each of them, personnel out of a common pool to guide them in regard to rules and procedures. The emerging pattern of relationship between the participants and the government servants should be one that is likely to stimulate the former in execution of the programme,

The groups mentioned hereinbefore would require different syndrome-oriented development models. Typologies, as reference frame, should in no way be deemed to inhibit the freedom of formulating agencies to devise models dictated by the attendent human and ecological considerations. In other words, empiricism should be valued and there should be no attempt to cast development modules in a strait-jacket; each project report should be unique. This is the essence of the matter.

There is one rider to be observed in the matter of syndrome perceptions. In the fourth category are tribes living in resource-rich environment and in other categories groups set in sparse or impoverished resource condition. Among the latter would be those benefit of income-generating basic assets like land, forest, milch animal etc. and could be dubbed poor. But it will be erroneous to treat all of them as belonging to the 'poor' stratum. The concepts of poverty and backwardness as well as connected issues need discriminating application. Some of these groups may be comparatively better placed, calling for a marriage of higher technology and the available natural endowment. On the other hand, groups which have paucity of natural resources stand in need of both income-generating assets and infusion of technology. The syndrome brings this out.

Prolonged habitation in the remote enclaves in which the groups have been encysted has been responsible for their insulation,

breeding in them not a little indifference, even apathy, towards advancement. Some change-agents, coming into contact with members of these groups, have commented on the lack in them of the urge for change. But chinks are observable in the shell of indifference. The juang wish to make use of medical facilities to be rid of ailments, perhaps arising out of malnutrition; the Bondo respond to the scheme of goat multiplication; the Birhor feel attracted towards land holding; the Kotwalia look forward to the arrangements made for supply of bamboo raw material, marketing arrangement for the finished products and primary education for their children; the Saora, sick of the manipulations of the intermediaries, would very much like to sell their minor forest produce through LAMPS or some such agency. These are examples of entry points enabling developmental access to these groups. Something tangible and effective could be presented to them in the fields they consider important and they would feel attracted. No planning exercise can profit more from any other aspect.

One area in which immediate initiative is necessary is the health sector. In instances like the primitive tribal groups of Andaman and Nicobar islands, it is an established fact, and in the case of a few others there are reasons to believe, that there has been a decline in their numbers over a period of time. This matter requires careful investigation to unravel causes of the decline and suggest steps for demographic stability. Malnutrition seems to be an obvious contributory cause. Incidence of diseases like tuberculosis, leprosy, yaws and malaria, might be the aggravating factor. Genetic abnormalities like sickle-cell anaemia have also been observed. Sustained interdisciplinary investigations, particularly those relating to nutritional, cytogenetical, immunological, biochemical and physiological aspects are necessary. At the central level, a number of institutions like the Indian Council of Medical Research, All India Institute of Medical Sciences, National Institute of Health and Family Planning have got interested in the problem. A concerted and coordinated scientific drive by expert bodies can lead us to reliable inferences and remedial action based thereon would be fruitful.

Reference has already been made to variations in the psychological, cultural, social, economic and political backgrounds of the tribal groups While, on the one hand, the diversity lends richness to the national mosaic, simultaneously it poses a challenge to the

planners, administrators and social scientists. Cultural constraints have sometimes impeded upgradation of technology. At the same time, rashness in introduction and undue insistence on adoption of improved technology are liable to offend their psychological, cultural and religious susceptibilities. Proper care has, therefore, to be observed to ensure that the pace of innovation is in step with their assimilative capacity and that the contents of development plans accord with their genius. This imposes an onerous responsibility, making it incumbent on the administration to be tuned sensitively to the groups, based on prior, intense soundings.

Administrative Structure

Two aspects deserve notice Firstly, the administrative structure to be created for each group should bear relevance to the group's milieu. The pre-existing political and social organisation should influence the kind of development structure envisaged. Paternalism has to be avoided but, in the present set of conditions, a minimal official developmental agency may have to be provided. The second desideratum is that the administrative apparatus should be composed of persons of dedication and sensitivity, capable of delicate induction of traditional societies into the modern era without creating human and ecological distortions. The transitional period for these communities is apt to be crucial and prolonged. There should be clarity on one point. The goals should be set forth in close consultation and deliberation with the representatives of these groups. The perspective view of the goals will help appreciate the gulf between the present stage of development of an individual community and such goals, enabling the transitional phase to be tempered and cushioned with a view to causing minimum dislocation in the life of the members of these communities. Unless a fine sensibility permeates the formulation of the project, there is the risk of dumping of irrelevant plans, vitiating the process **ab initio**.

There should also be insistence on the members of a group themselves undertaking implementation, following the formulation of the plans. But even in sectors where this is feasible, a certain amount of supervision and extension would be required, as for example in agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry and forestry sectors. There are some other sectors which would require wholesale intervention by Government e.g. major roads, irrigation projects,

industries etc. It might be preferable to initiate development processes among these communities by breaking the ground with entry-points in the first phase which may last upto a Plan period and then inducting them into the next more complex phase. However, the situation of each tribal community would require specific consideration, and prescriptions may vary. All this makes a heavy demand on the qualities of competence and sensitivity on the part of the members comprising the administrative apparatus. It has been suggested that, where viable, a separate administrative apparatus should be installed for each of the primitive tribal groups. It is doubtful whether without such an apparatus, these groups can be attended to. Even after creation of such a structure, if the posts contained therein are not occupied by individuals of the right aptitude and calibre, there is likely to be more harm than good. Not enough stress can be laid on this issue. Further, if a state has a number of tribal groups needing close attention, it might be worthwhile creating a post of Director of Primitive Tribal groups at the state headquarters; e.g. Bihar having a population of 1.69 lakhs of nine of these groups, M.P. with nearly five lakhs of five groups, Maharashtra whose three groups number slightly over two lakhs and Orissa where nine such groups account for 1.68 lakhs. Superficially, the separate elongated administrative structure from the field to the state headquarters might look wasteful. It is not really so inhuman terms and considering the resources we have already geared towards those sections of the Indian society which have already reached an advanced stage.

National perspective

The obligation the society owes to the primitive tribal groups has to be recognised. Since the fifth plan period, the Government of India have been fully subsidising programmes for their preservation and promotion implemented by the state governments. The outlay during the six years 1975-81 has been of the order of about 7 crores. Adequate funds have been provided for the sixth plan period. It has been felt that there should be a wholetime project officer with appropriate background to look after each of the tribal groups and that project reports for each should be prepared. According to available information, 33 project reports against 52 identified tribes have been received in the Ministry of Home Affairs. The measure of concern of the government in the matter can be gauged from the fact that the Planning Minister and Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission held

a meeting in October 1980 with representatives of state governments to consider the progress of the preparation of project reports and execution of the development programmes. Two broad conclusions which emerged at the meeting were that clear-cut objectives should be laid down in project reports with a 10-15 years perspective and that social, economic and cultural problems should be kept in view while formulating plans.

A Question of Terminology

There has been some discussion on the use of the term 'primitive' with reference to the tribal groups in view. We have come a long way from the early days when superciliousness was the fashion. 'Primitivism' has a derogatory tinge about it. It is doubtful whether a group which lives in a state of harmony with the eco-system can justifiably be called primitive; in fact, it has to be deemed community. There may be some other groups living in scanty resource regions and with the existing technology unable to register marked economic progress. But, even in their cases, it will be iniquitous to make proverty of resources and primitivism synonymous. Suggestions have been made to substitute 'primitive' with a word untainted with odium. A term linking the groups with original settlement in the country could be relevent, but 'aborigine' has come to acquire not exactly a pleasant flavour. 'Indigene' tribes might be more suitable, but lack of mobility has been characteristic of so many other tribes that it may be stretching its connotation too far to bring only the primitive groups only within its ambit. It is suggested that the word 'primary' which could be regarded as free of subjective value judgement be adopted, dropping the word 'primitive'. Essentially neutral in its implication, 'primary' has the added merit of connoting the tribal groups under consideration as the first order of basically evolved groups with reference to an ecosystem. It also highlights the need for helping them to graduate into further progressions.

Conclusion

The problem of the primitive tribal groups is not only a complex problem confronting today's polity but also is profoundly human in its nature. The urban classes in this country have been the fortunate recipients of the fruits of planned development during the past three decades, and the rural masses, in general, have been coming in for

some attention. The tribals have been more or less on the periphery; the primitive tribal groups under consideration have suffered from a total umbra. The vocal sections of the society have pressure groups for their advocacy, the tribals in general are in the process of acquiring articulation, but the primitive tribal groups have remained remote, mute and forsaken. There is a danger that these groups might perish altogether. If they do, we shall be answerable at the bar of history. It is a challenge to the society and it must be responded to with earnestness and vigour. The personnel required for taking up the gauntlet should be committed, competent and energetic; battalions of men and women of such breed are required. Voluntary organisations have to play a notable part. However, even at the risk of repetition, it needs to be observed that the first impulse for development and of original formulation should be made to issue from the communities themselves through the village councils or similar representative bodies. Then only can it become the authentic blue-print for progress. The most promising field will be the co-operative field, guided and directed into channels of activities they cherish.

An Experiment in Development of a Primitive Tribe in Orissa :

N. PATNAIK*

Section : I

THE BONDA DEVELOPMENT AGENCY :

Introduction :

The study of tribal societies, particularly of those which have gone under the name of primitive tribes has of late come to play an important part in the tasks of project formulation and development administration. The present paper deals about the Bondas, a primitive tribe found no where in the country except in the Malkangiri Subdivision of Koraput district, Orissa. In all about 5000 people comprising 1235 households the Bondas are distributed in 32 villages all situated within 130 sq. kms in a mountainous terrain which goes by the name of the tribe as the Bonda Hills. A resource rich area such as that of the Bonda country, which presents a density of 38 people per sq. ml. is endowed with sufficient potentialities to maintain five times the present density of population.

Some of the natural resources include rich forest produce, fertile valleys, perennial hill streams, the Machkunda river and the Chitra Konda reservoir Teeming with fish. These resources remained untapped but they are now being harnessed for the development of the Bonda Highlanders. A major portion of this isolated and hilly region is carved out to form a Micro Project called the Bonda Development Agency which is in operation from the beginning of the 5th Five Year Plan. The problems peculiar to this area are 1) the traditional slash-and-burn cultivation which is the main cause of extensive dessication of forests, 2) deficiency of food grains and resulting malnutrition and perpetual debt bondage, 3) wide spread illiteracy and 4) criminal and homicidal attitude of the Bondas.

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Since time beyond memory the Bondas remained confined to this isolated niche with very little contact with the outside world. Whenever they descended down hills on the weekly market days the main purpose for the majority of them was to raid the booths and loot the shops. Outsiders rarely, if ever, visited the Bonda country for fear of the Bondas. Moreover the inaccessibility and the malarious climate of the hilly terrain, thick forests and man eaters provided additional protection to the Bondas from external contact apart from their attitude of aggression and dreadful appearance. For these reasons it was not an easy affair to carry on any developmental programmes among them on a long term basis and therefore the Bondas continued to lead a savagery state of life which only served to enrich the tour notes and ethnographic of casual visitors such as curio hunters, explorers and anthropologists in the first and second quarter of the present century.

The Micro Project:

With the change in planning strategy which came about on the eve of the Vth Five Year Plan in the form of Tribal Sub-Plan attention was focussed towards the badly neglected areas of tribal concentration including the pockets of primitive tribes for bringing about an overall integrated development. The Bonda Development Agency which was referred to above is the product of this new strategy for tribal development and one among 12 such special projects which are in action in different tribal pockets within the larger areas of Integrated Tribal Development Agencies of the state of Orissa. A specially designed administrative machinery manned by a few committed specialists has been set up and various developmental programmes are being implemented under the guidance and Leadership of a Research Officer of the Tribal Research Institute who has been deputed to the Project as its Chief Executive. Three questions arise in mind at this stage. 1. How did he begin his work and what approach did he follow to achieve success in his work, 2. What sort of developmental programmes are being implemented in the area? and 3. How do people react to such programmes? The answers to the above questions are discussed briefly below :-

Considering the arduous nature of work and the risks involved, in the process of working in the area a person, who had a missionary zeal and was most willing to undertake such a difficult task and at

the same time was also skilled in techniques of extension and improved agricultural practices, was chosen as the Project leader for the Micro Project and given all freedom that was necessary for shaping and operating the project in a way that was befetting to the local conditions and to the needs of the people. One point which went in his favour was his determination to stay in the area for a long period of time and his skillful participation in day to day agricultural activities of the people. When the Bondas came to know that he has come not on a short visit as the Officers before him, used to but to stay with them as one among them and when proved himself through his words and actions that he has come to help them and not to harm them they looked upon him on one of their friends, and looked to his help in all matters and trusted him as one of their well wishers. The respect which he earned and the sympathy which he gained was not of any special type. It was rather of the same type which naturally flows from natural understanding and fellow felling between two human beings irrespective of their differences in physical appearances and cultural background. In the first week of his stay in the area he discovered that the Bondas are not so lead as what they are thought to be by the outsiders. The general idea about the Bonda character was that the Bondas have a bad temper, are aggressive and do not hesitate to commit murder with the slightest provocation. These are no doubt time and the majority of the Bondas exhibit such characters whenever occasion arises. But the Project leader has proved in his dealings with them that such situations can be completely set at naught through human relationship and sympathetic outlook.

Transformation Scene:

As a result of continuous efforts and imaginative approach many changes have been taking place in the Project area and the Bonda country does not look now like what it did a decade back. The most perceptible changes have occured in the fields of agriculture, horticulture cooperation and education and allied sectors of development. Sometimes the over enthusiasm of the project leader has landed him in trouble on certain occasions. For example, though the Bondos had known about fertilizer before the Micro Project was started, but they were not using it. They were only interested in the bag containing the fertiliser because it makes a good rain-coat for them. Therefore, what they did was that whenever they got a bag of fertiliser they used to wash the contents off the bag by dipping it in a hill stream,

make a round hole on the stitched side of the bag to allow the head in and cover the upper part of the body. But when the result demonstrations of the usefulness of the fertilizers were convincing the Bondas started applying fertilizer to their crop in an extensive manner without following proper dosage of application of such fertilizers. No explanation about dosage was meaningful to them. Whether are not a person needs a bagful of fertilizers, he demands for a full bag of this material. In many cases over dose will do more harm than good and the Project leader had to face the displeasure of such unyielding and unreasonable farming fellows. But in course of time the Project leader was able to over come such hindrances and the fertilizer is now most extensively used and in great demand in the area,

But in the case of goat rearing which failed in the area the Project leader faced a difference situation. The Government of Orissa has introduced a new programme called Economic Rehabilitation of Rural Poor (ERRP). As per this programme 10 poorest households are identified in each village and these families are helped through various developmental schemes to raise them up above the poverty line. Mostly the landless, disabled widows, and such other vulnerable people fall to this category and goat rearing is one of such schemes which are introduced among these people for their development.

The idea which guided the development personnel to think of the scheme of goat rearing to be feasible was that the poor people having no assets to fall back upon might take care of the goats supplied free to them and there by improve their lot. Guided by this idea the Project leader introduced goat rearing among the identified beneficiaries who fulfilled all criteria of selection and conditions of the programme. What the beneficiaries did with the goats which they got free from the project was that they exchanged such goats with the local Doms for cotton blankets, in almost all places. But in the area adjoining the Machkund river the Bondas gave away the goats to the Didayis, a neighbouring tribal community and got nets from them in return for catching fish from the river.

There are certain evil practices about which nothing can be done at present to ameliorate the condition. One of such practices is debt bondage which is prevalent among the Bondas In the case of other tribal communities living in South Orissa like the Kondhas and

the Saoras the Goti Sowkar is invariably a non-tribal and the Goti belongs to a tribal community. But in the case of the Bondas it is always an intra-tribe affair in that both the Goti Sowkar and the Goti belong to the Bonda tribe. There is not a single case to show a Bonda being bonded to a non Bonda Sowkar under the system of debt bondage. The custom prevalent among the Bondas is that if an unmarried girl is in debt bondage to a Bonda Sowkar the latter is entitled to get the bride price on the marriage of the former. In this case she becomes free from bondage only after she is married So long as she is unmarried she remains in debt bondage and no measures of debt redumption can ameliorate her condition However, considerable progress has been achieved in locating the Gotis and the Sowkars and in many cases both male and female Gotis have been made free from the system of bonded labour.

On the whole one significant point which emerges from this sketch of adoption process is that the aggressive attitude which was the core feature of the Bonda character is now being slowly replaced by an achievement motivation with its fare reaching advantages of change and development among the Bondas.

By way of illustrations some selected developmental programmes which are proposed to be implemented in the years to come are cited in the following sections to show the involvement of the Bondas. That is likely to take place in an ever increasing manner in the proc-esses of development and also the readiness with which the Project leader is equipped to forge ahead in his misscore for bringing about improvement in the living condition of the Bondas.

Section : II

STRATEGIES AND SOME SELECTED PROGRAMMES FOR DEVELOPMENT.

While aiming at the upliftment of this backward pocket, the stategy, broadly speaking, will lie in an integrated programme of allround development of the local people and their region as a whole. Thus, the integrated approach will have mainly three components, viz., (i) family oriented core programmes of economic development, (ii) Infrastructural development and social service support and

(iii) Ameliorative measures to reduce the criminal and violent activities of the Bondas. The approaches to the problems under some selected sectors have been spelt out below :–

Input assistance :

Priority should be given to remove the technological gap and improve the traditional method of slash and burn cultivation by the introduction of improved agricultural methods and supply of required inputs in the shape of improved seeds, fertilisers, pesticides and by introducting better techniques to increase soil fertility. Traditional crop in the podu land are to be gradually replaced by high yielding varieties of ragi, jawar, maize, blackgram, green gram, arhar, carhor and vegetables like runner beans, tomato, brinjal etc.,

In comparatively plain and settled lands the crop intensity has to be increased. During kharif season various high yielding crops may be introduced and in areas where irrigation is available during winter and summer, growing of suitable crops and vegetables can be taken up.

The long duration local paddy can be gradually replaced by short duration high yielding paddy so that the summer paddy, wheat and vegetables also can be possibly taken up. Further the broadcasting method of ragi cultivation may be gradually replaced by transplantation of ragi seedlings.

Crop demonstration :

The crop demonstration are important media to educate the farming families on improved agricultural practices. "Seeing is believing" is an effective instrument of induced change in primitive societies. Comparison is the essential ingredient in demonstrations and the farmers see and judge the results for themselves. Since these traditional cultivators are not aware of the better methods of cultivation with high yielding crops it is proposed to conduct a good number of demonstrations of various high yielding crops and vegetables in their fields. The agricultural practices to be demonstrated may be divided into such steps as preparation of seedbeds, methods and time of sowing and transplanting and time of watering and methods of application of fertiliser and other inputs.

Raising of community nursery :

It is seen that the local inhabitants do not bother for timely broadcasting, raising nurseries for cultivation of ragi and upland short duration paddy. Further, the wet paddy lands get washed away during the beginning of the monsoon due to heavy flood and for these contingencies the farmers do not keep paddy seedlings ready for another transplantation and gap filling operations. Again an important reason for the low productivity of paddy and ragi is the late transplanting of the dwarf varieties. The new high yielding varieties are very much sensitive to proper time of nursery sowing, transplanting and maturity. The programme of raising community nursery in the suitable sites which are representative of soil and the characteristic of the area and also in the agriculture-cum-horticulture demonstration farm at Dantipada for timely sowing and transplanting requires to be demonstrated.

Supply of plough bullocks :

A large section of the farming families are without required number of plough bullocks and therefore many of them owning land for settled cultivation are compelled to resort to shifting cultivation due to want of bullocks leaving their flat land fallow. Lacking sufficient number of bullocks the farming families use cows for draught purposes which invalidate them for multiplication of cattle population. Further the tigers and leopards living in the nearby jungles more often kill the cattle as a result of which sometimes the well-to-do-families also are ruined. It is therefore proposed to supply a pair of bullocks to needy farmers as early as possible. In exceptional cases the same beneficiary may be supplied once again if his bullocks die or are killed by the tiger which is beyond his control.

Plough Bullocks and Bullock Carts for the Agency :

There are individual farmers with small and uneconomic land holdings to justify for one pair of bullocks. In such cases one pair may cultivate the lands of a group of such marginal farmers if kept and maintained for common use. The Agency has been maintaining two pairs of plough bullocks and three pairs of plough buffaloes for common use. Experience shows that a good number of marginal farmers are able to derive benefit from this. On this basis it is proposed to purchase atleast 5 pairs of draught animals more for common use.

The Agency has already one bullock cart for lifting planting materials and other inputs from village to village. The neighbouring villagers utilise it for transporting cowdung, etc,, to the distant agricultural lands. It is therefore proposed to purchase another pair of bullock carts for the Agency to be utilized by the local people.

Supply of Agricultural Implements:

A set of small agricultural implements including a phowrah, pickaxe, crow-bar, fork, spade, handhoe etc , may be supplied to the individual households at a cost of about Rs. 120/-per family. In the past, since the funds were limited and there was heavy demand for such implements instead of giving a full set to limited families, more families were covered by supplying one or two items only. Those of them who had been supplied with one or two items only may be supplied other items now. It is also proposed to supply some improved agricultural implements like mould board plough, sprayer and duster, water can, bucket to a few selected progressive farmers and also to marginal farmers and in groups of three to four households.

Incentive for compost production:

The local inhabitants do not keep the cowdung and ashes in one place to be used as manure in their agricultural fields. They throw them here and there and made the village environment untidy. It is, therefore, proposed to assist the inhabitants to big compost pits and motivate them to keep the dung and ashes in pits for use as manure.

Green fencing and Trench fencing:

Generally the cattle are never herded from January onwards till the end of May and are allowed to graze free. This practice needs to be stopped gradually in their interest to take up winter, rabi and summer cultivation. Until they are motivated, it is proposed to assist the farmers to provide fencing around the rabi and summer crops. Wherever possible, green fencing and trench fencing should be introduced to provide permanent check to the destruction of crops by animals.

Plant/Crop protection:

(a) The project area has endemic pockets of different crop insects and pests. Due to the poverty of the farmers, effective control of the pest attacks in time of need becomes difficult. Besides, a

coordinated and unified effort is required to control the pest and individual effort will go waste. Therefore, effective control measures need be ensured so as to make investment made in agriculture sector pay assured returns.

(b) The herds of wild boars living in the nearby jungles damage the standing crops badly and as such the Individual farmers do not get any return from their labour. It is, therefore, proposed to purchase two guns and necessary bullets for the Agency to be handled by the Project staff to watch the fields on request.

Horticulture :

It is necessary to gradually wean the shifting cultivations from this pernicious method of cultivation and cover the denuded shifting lands with a canopy of various fruit bearing trees like jack fruit, mango, tamarind, cashew, etc., and other forest species of economic importance like bamboo, karanja and firewood species. In these proposed plantations, in the initial years, the farmers would be allowed and assisted to take up inter cropping and the usufruct right in these plantations has to be vested with the actual growers.

In the backwards and in suitable sites where irrigation can be provided, mixed orchards may be established by supplying quality planting materials, required fertiliser and other inputs and incentives to the beneficiary families.

In suitable sites under the shed of Jack fruit and Mango trees, various spice crops like black pepper, cardamon, ginger, turmeric and coffee may be grown. This would give good income.

A Horticulture-cum-Agriculture Demonstration Centre has been established earlier in a central place close to the Project headquarters with a view to carrying out various demonstrations, raising nurseries and training the local farmers on various developed methods of cultivation of high yielding crops, vegetables and orchards. This had to be further intensified. The centre has to be fenced, developed and maintained properly. A farm house has to be constructed to provide space for the plough bullocks, attendents and storage of godown etc.,

To assist the agriculture Officer in the field attendants have been appointed. These are to be continued and atleast two more such attendants may be appointed to execute various schemes in the field. Each of them should be kept in charge of three to four villages.

Gardeners Training :

It is proposed to train 10 tribal youths on various agricultural and horticultural operations. This training will be imparted by Agriculture Officer of the Agency. They may also be deputed to other farms at Semiliguda and Pottangi for a few days for wider experience in agricultural practices. During the period of their training they will be paid Rs. 6/- per day regularly for 10 months. In addition they will be paid to Rs. 50/- to meet their bus fare, and pocket expenses.

Land Development and Soil Conservation :

Land development and reclamation is an important item of development. As mentioned already, shifting cultivation is extensively practiced in the project area because of the non-availability of adequate flat lands for settled cultivation. To wean the people away from the harmful practices of shifting cultivation steps should be taken to encourage the people to take to settled cultivation by reclaiming and developing and terracing the foot-hills. While doing this there should be an integrated approach in which co-operation is needed of the forest department for the development of forests at hill-tops, of the horticulture department for the plantation of fruit-bearing trees in the intermediate slopes and of the agriculture and soil conservation departments for the development of terraces in the lower slopes and reclamation of lands in the valleys. Undulating up lands and other shrubber bearing lands belonging to individual households may be developed. Priority may be given to terrace the back yeards of the individual households where they can have kitchen garden and grow spices, chilly and zinger for own consumption as well as for sale. While taking up land development, reclamation and terracing works, the landless and marginal farmers may have precedence over others in gathering benefits from such developmental activities.

In the Project area, the beds of the streams have been converted to terraced paddy fields in which the water is allowed to flow throughout the year. During heavy rains the flood water washes away the bunds of the Paddy plots and deposits on them a thick layer of stones and pebbles transported from higher attitudes and causes serious damage to the standing crops. It is therefore proposed to develop sound drainage system, repair the bunds and reclaim such damaged paddy fields. At important points stone bunds and diversion

weirs of permanent nature may be constructed. Other soil conservation measures like contour bunding, gully control, water harfesting structures, plantation sisal, etc., are also suggested for checking heavysoil erosion at selected places.

Since the inhabitants are accustomed to the works of reclamation which they do almost every year for their own lands, they should be involved in this work and with people's participation which would be readily available for this work vast improvements can be achieved in this sector of development.

Animal Husbandry and Fishing :

The Bondas and the local inhabitants have an inherent aptitude for rearing cattle, goats, sheep and these animals thrive well in this region since enough grazing lands are available. Possession of cows gives a social status to the owner in addition to its economic importance being used as drought animals. Cows are given as bride price and marriages are not possible without it. These animals are used as sacrificial animals in various rituals. The Bondas take beaf, meat and pork. Feasts arranged on occasions of marriage are unthinkable without beaf and meat. They get extra income by selling their animals and by lending their bullocks or cows for drought purposes to other farmers on an annual rent about Rs. 60/- per head. Animals are given to co-villagers for utilising the community labour for various agricultural operations by individual farmers. Goats are bartered for winter clothes and dancing ornaments (anklets) and therefore the programme of goat rearing may be with held for some time.

The strategy concerning the development of Animal Husbandry should cover the programme of multiplication of cows, and pigs and upgradation of these animals through natural service by the supply of graded jersey bulls, and pigs. The local poultry birds should be upgraded by supply of improve cockrels.

A sizeable section of the population comprises either landless families and marginal farmers and alternative avenues of livelihood are much limited in the area. It is proposed to supply two heifers to every family and a pair of bullocks to needy farmers. It is also proposed to supply six units of milch animals to six individual families of Dantipada village and two units to the Ashram school students located close to the project headquarters.

In the Project area there are many perennial streams which are the main sources of water supply to irrigate the terraced fields laid out in the valleys. Since water is available in pools the duckery programme may be useful. It is therefore proposed to introduce duckery among some selected farmers with possibilities of expansion depending upon its success in the area

It is proposed to set up one Live stock Breeding Demonstration Centre attached to the Horticulture-cum-Agriculture Demonstration Centres already set up close to the Project headquarters. The idea is to demonstrate to the local inhabitants the feasibility of goat and sheep breeding and piggery in the area. The calves, kids and piglets from the centre can be distributed among the local inhabitants. Further in the same centre fodder development can also be demonstrated. This centre will serve as the venue for organizing training courses on animal husbandry for local people and also will creat employment opportunities for the enthusiastic Bonda youths in the management and marketing of animal products in the locality as well as in the neighbouring areas.

To make the Animal Husbandry programme a success, certain difficulties and problems have to be over come. The breeders may not have any cattle shed, and may be in difficulty in setting up such sheds. In this case necessary assistance may be provided for the construction of cattle sheds. The villagers do not know how to collect paddy and wheat straws from crop fields during the harvest time. Their habit is to burn the straws. In such a situation they may be persuaded and even assisted initially to collect the straw and store them for feeding the cattle in the period of scarcity.

During the period from January to May the Bondas don't bother to herd the animals including the goat and sheep. In this season they are set loose to graze without any harder watching them. A number of animals get stolen or killed or lost during this period. Moreover the stray cattle cause damage to the crops grown in the rabi season. It is therefore necessary to persuade people to change this practice in the interest of those farmers who have taken to vegetable growing and rabi cultivation.

The barter system is in vogue in the Bonda society. For example, goats are bartered for winter clothes. Another channel, through which a large number of the stock get diminished, is by killing the animals for meat to celebrate special social and ritual

occassions. The animal breeders among the Bondas may be approached with proposals to use the animals sparaingly without any detriment to the advancement of the programme.

Fishing :

The Machkund river flows in the south-eastern boarder of the Project area touching the village boundaries of Sindhiguda, Khalguda, Patraput and Tuseipada. After the construction of the Chitrakonda Reservoir, inhabitants of these villages have taken to fishing in the reservoir, as a subsidiary source of income and sell the fish at Onkadally daily market situated at a distance about 15 kms. For further improvement and higher return it is necessary to equip them with sufficient nets and boats and for these equipments, financial assistance need be given to them as loan with subsidy from the LAMPS. So far as the marketing aspect is concerned, there would be no problem. The fish caught daily can be collected at the sub-centre of the LAMPS situated at Patrapara and transported to Onkadally, Mudulipada and Khairput for sale.

Irrigation :

Traditionally irrigation in the project area is carried out mainly by channelising the running water of different perennial streams by providing cross bunds and raising the water level across the streams. Due to this advantage, the local farmers are able to cultivate a long duration local paddy by the method of transplantation. Seedlings are raised and transplanted by the end of April and harvested during December. But due to the heavy down pour in this area these traditional cross bunds get washed away requiring the poor farmers to provide for annual maintenance and repair. Here the Agency should come forward to assist the individual farmers.

In the project area there is much scope for going in for irrigation dug wells (both individual and community dug wells) since the water is available at a higher level (even within 10 feet depth at certain places). By now, 10 dug wells have been successfully sunk in the area and there is scope for digging about 100 more of such dug wells. Moreover, it may be pointed out that on account of large scale defo-restation in the area, the streams are gradually dried up and becomming seasonal only and in many places the river beds have been converted into terraced paddy fields. As a result of these changes the transplantation of paddy seedlings which has done in the month of March

are now taken up after the rains in the month of June and consequently the harvesting operations are delayed by one or two months causing hardship and inconvenience to the farmers This necessitates for providing more dug wells for irrigation purposes.

It is quite encouraging to note that there has been qualitative improvement in the agronomical practices of the local farmers where irrigation potentials have been created. The farmers under the ayacuts of various dug wells, cross bunds and diversion weirs have taken up double and in some places multiple cropping raising various crops and vegetables including high yielding varieties of paddy during khariff and wheat, potato, peas, and other vegetables in rabi season. If more irrigation facilities can be provided and water supplied free as an inducement, the farmers would certainly raise many crops and would be able to raise their income level considerably very soon.

Bee-Keeping

The Project area is congenial for apiary industry in the sense that there is considerable flora in this region. Apiary industry not only yields apiary honey but also helps pollination of agro-horticultural crops with consequent increase in yield to the extent raising from 5% to 20%. Thus, the benefits are both direct and indirect. The average yield from a bee colony is over 5 years. This may go up if the environmental condition in the area is favourable and the management of the bee colony is proper.

It is intended to get the services of one Instructor to train some Bonda youths in the management of bee keeping and take up this industry in a few compact group of villages by providing necessary inputs including bee boxes and accessories, and bee colonies. During the training, the Bonda youths would be paid Rs. 6/- per day for 30 days. The training should be imparted at Mudulipada Ashram School so that the tribal boys reading in the School also can be trained simultaneously. Some bee boxes should also be supplied to the Ashram School.

II. Infrastructure Development and Social Service Support:

For speeding up the socio-economic development, basic infrastructures like schools (both formal and non-formal), growth centres and communication net work, market and credit organisation, rural health centres and rural drinking water supply, rural electrification,

manpower resources and training will have to be planned in an integrated fashion keeping in view the special conditions of the Project area. Since there is no required infrastructure to fall back upon, it is proposed to take necessary steps for the development of various infrastructures which are spelt out below :

EDUCATION (INCLUDING FORMAL, NON-FORMAL AND CITIZEN)

In the Project area there are 8 single teacher Lower Primary Schools located in such villages as Andrahal, Bodbel, Domuripada, Bondapada, Patraput, Kirsanipada, Pindajanagar and Dantipada which are run by the Education Department and one Ashram School at Mudulipada which is run by the Harijan and Tribal Welfare Department. Residential accommodation for 160 boarders is available only in the Ashram School.

These conventional educational institutions in the Bonda hills sanctioned over last two decades have very marginal impact on the educational advancement of the Bondas. The literacy level has gone down from 2.1% in 1961 to 1.4% in 1971 (as per Census 1961 and 1971 respectively). This means that the level of literacy has decreased considerably in course of a decade and the local inhabitants continue to remain unaffected by the general literacy programme.

In view of the above, education as an infrastructure should be given the highest priority so that the Bondas must be enabled to appreciate the various developmental programmes and adopt them for their advancement at the quickest time possible.

The weakest points and problems concerning educational development lie in the conventional educational structure like the existing single teacher schools without school buildings and teachers, quarters, use of Oriya an alien language as the medium of instruction at the elementary stage of education and the usual type of school timings as are followed universally every where These practices should be dispensed with as quickly as possible. Ignoring the general norm of fixed pupil-teacher-ratio every village Primary School should be manned with atleast two teachers. School buildings and teachers, quarters should be constructed and the local dialect would be used as the medium of instruction atleast upto third standard. At least two pairs of dress, free text books and other reading and writing materials and free mid-day meals should be supplied to all the students. Schools timings and recreations should be suitably chalked out

in consonance with the seasonal calender of activities and in consultation with the people.

Further, since there is no linkage between the long term conventional literacy promoting educational programme and creation of necessary awareness amongst the people for promoting change in the short term, there should be a comprehensive non-formal and citizenship education programme aimed at providing with a frame of reference for perceiving clearly the intent and content of various protective measures and developmental programmes. Here, those elements of education will have to be picked up which would create awareness in and increase absorption capacity of the community for the developmental innovations.

It is proposed to set-up Non-Formal Education Centres by appointing husband-wife team to remain incharge of children's education, as well as adult literacy programme Moreover they would serve as catalytic agents of change and work in harmony with the community for its well-being. The choice of women workers for educating the small tribal children is indispensable. Since they alone, as experience suggests, can impart citizenship training and inform the virtues of cleanliness, evil effects of alcoholism, demerits of envy, irrational expenditure on social obligations and magic-religious practices. These lady workers can mobilise the village female folk to propagate vegetable growing and change in food habits and in dress pattern. In this malaria endemic area in which adequate medical facilities are lacking these lady workers can function as health educators as well and extend first aid in minor cases of injury, indigestion and stomach trouble, cough and cold, fever and headache etc. So far six such Non-formal Education Centres have been set up one each at Bandhuguda, Podeiguda, Kirsanipeda, Andkahal, Bodpada, Khalguda and it is proposed to open 10 more such centres covering some important villages such as Bandiguda, Mudulipada, Dantipada, Tulaguram, Bodbel, Dummripada, Bondapada, Kichapada, Gopurpada and Goyiguda.

There should be special recruitment for teachers. Suitable and willing candidates with a misionary zeal should be picked up and posted on a long term basis say, at least for five years and given necessary support and assistance to work effectively. If necessary in particular cases and prescribed minimum qualification should be

relaxed. Frequent transfer should be avoided. For better co-ordination in the entire educational efforts taking into consideration the special problems in Bondo hills, it is necessary that Primary schools which function now under the management of the Education Department are brought under the control of the Project Leader. Similarly for a very high and intimate degrees of supervision of the activities of the Ashram School the Project Leader of the Bonda Development Agency should be allowed to play an active part in the management of this school. Unless some such special devices are made to tackle the problems which are specific to the Bondo hills. The spread of education among Bondos and improvement in allied aspects will remain in wilderness.

HEALTH AND VILLAGE SANITATION:

The Project area is malaria endemic. According to the Blood slide examination report of the Khairput PHC during the year 1975-76, one third of the fever cases were malaria parasite positive cases. Since the local inhabitants are habituated to smoking and taking tobacco, many of them suffer from prolonged respiratory diseases like pharyngites and bronchitis. In the long run, pharyingitis leads to rhemmatoid arthritis. Many people suffer from night blindness and other difficiency diseases due to difficiency of Vit-A and protein. Moreover, lot of people suffer from skin diseases due to their dirty habits. Excessive addiction to alcoholic drinks is responsible for hepatitis and gastritis. Bodily injuries which are unavoidable in a hilly terrain such as that of the Bonda hills are most common. Criminal activities added considerably to the cases of injury and the wild animals also play their role in this respect. From the register of the Government Ayurvedic Dispensary at Mudilipada for the year 1982, it is found that more than one-third of the patients suffered from malaria. The disease-wise percentage of patients is given below:

1.	Malaria fever	35%
2.	Br. Asthma/Bronchitis/Ch. lung diseases, cough and cold.	14%
3.	Gastritis/Flatulence/Intestinal colic and hepatic disorders.	14%
4.	Scabies/Eczema/Ring worm and skin affections.	11%
5.	Lambage/Arthitis/Muscular pain and Traumatic disorders.	9%

6.	Abscess/Cut and Burn/Wound/Injury	7%
7.	Diarrhoea/Dysentry/Sprain	4%
8.	E.N.T. diseases	4%
9.	Others	2%

Until very recently, the inhabitants depended largely on their magico-religious methods of treatment and the severely wounded and injured persons were carried to Khairput and Mathili P.H.Cs for treatment.

In the Project area one Ayurvedic Dispensary has been established by the then T & R.W. Department since the year 1952-53. But for some reason or other the Dispensary was defunct quite for some time past. After the Bonda Development Agency started functioning the dispensary was revived by posting a qualified Ayurvedic Doctor and other staff. Medicines are being supplied to the Medical Officer from the Agency funds for distribution among the patients in addition to its normal receipts from the Health Department. The Medical Officer in addition to his normal pay is paid Rs. 100/ per month from the Agency as honorarium for his services rendered by going to different villages and attending to the patients and mobilising the villagers to be health conscious and to give up unclean habits. It is now observed that the Bondas are gradually becoming more health conscious and medical minded leaving their age-old magico-religious practices of treatment and seeking medical aid from the Ayurvedic and allopathic doctors.

Since the P.H.C. at Khairput is located at a distance of more than 13 Kms. and the Ayurvedic Dispensary is the only medical institution existing in the Project area, it is felt badly to strengthen it and make it well-furnished and well-equipped for providing better medical service to the community. Many Government employees are not willing to work in the Bonda hills because of lack of medical facilities. But the proposed improvements in the existing dispensary will certainly increase their confidence and they will be willing to accept the offer to come with their family and children and work in the area efficiently.

It may be mentioned that the quarters of the doctor and attendant and the dispensary building which were deserted and dilapidated have been repaired and are now occupied by the staff of the Agency. It is, therefore, of urgent necessary to provide for residential accommodation for the staff of the dispensary and construction of a six roomed dispensary building.

There are some herbal and medicinal plants available in the forests. It is proposed to establish one herbal garden in the existing Horticulture-cum-Agriculture Demonstration Centre at Mudulipada where various herbal and medicinal plants could be planted under the supervision of the Medical Officer, for the benefit of the Bondas.

Besides the Government Ayurvedic Dispensary there should be three A.N.M. sub-centres located at Mudilipada. Andrahal and Patraput to take care of the children and nursing mothers and to attend to the delivery cases in the inaccessible rural areas. Through these A.N.Ms various vacancies including Triple antigen etc should be distributed regularly. Since the area is full of malaria patients, there should be atleast two Surveilance Workers permanently stationed at Mudulipada and Andrahal for regular distribution of chloroquine tablets and taking blood slides for examination and all the village should be regularly sprayed with D.D.T. Health camps can be organised at different places in the Project area and the services of the health specialists can be utilised in such camps for the treatment of special diseases.

At present, the post-mortem centre for this area is attached to Malkangiri Sub-Divisional headquarters hospital. The family and the relatives of the person who is murdered are required to transport the dead body to the Malkangiri which is located at a distance of about 70 Kms. This distance is covered on foot and the carriage of the dead body involves huge expense on the part of the family concerned. Having no means at own source this situation invariably drives the family to indebtedness and bebtbondage in perpetuity. In view of this it is necessary that a post-mortem unit should be attached to the P.H.C. at Khairput enabling the Bondas to meet the legal requirements at less cost.

Development of Primitive Tribes - Planning Strategy and Implementation of Programmes

MISS K. DUTT*

At the time of formulation of TSPs during the Fifth Plan it was noted that among the tribal groups there are a number of tribes which still continue to be in pre-agricultural stage or practise shifting cultivation and are at subsistance level of economy either dependent on forests or poor lands It was further recognised that these tribal communities would need special attention. Many of these tribes are scattered all over the country and their socio-economic conditions differ. In most cases they are adversely affected by changes taking place around their habitat.

2. The criteria for identifying primitive tribes laid down were (i) tribes which still continue to depend on food-gathering, hunting or shifting cultivation; (ii) low literacy rate i.e ranging from 0 to 5 percent, and (iii) dwindling population because of special health problems and lastly (iv) as a group they are agricultural labourers.

3. On the basis of these criteria 14 States/UTs have now identified 72 tribes. The total population of these groups would be about 14 lakhs. The strategy for development for the primitive groups was spelt out and it was suggested to the State Governments that the developmental activities for these groups should firstly be conservation and recognising their skills, economic schemes formulated and suitable primary education imparted. Most important, there should be a whole time Project Officer with proper orientation to look after each of these tribes. For the development of these primitive groups the Centre set aside Rs. 10 crores in the Fifth Plan and Rs. 15 in the Sixth Plan, out of Special Central assistance on 100% basis under TSP. Detailed guidelines were issued to the States on preparation of project reports for the primitive groups. In many cases these project reports after examination were returned to the State Governments for revision. During Fifth Plan distribution of Central Funds to the

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States had to be adhoc due to lack of statistical data on population or literacy rates. It is only in the third year of the Sixth Plan a firm formula could be worked out for distribution of Central funds. The criteria for distribution now adopted being :

(a) 40 percent of the funds to be distributed on the basis of the numericals i.e. size of the Primitive Tribal communities,

(b) 40 percent of the funds to be distributed according to the strength of the population dependent on different occupations giving proportionate weightage to different occupations, namely (i) food gathering or hunting; (ii) Shifting cultivation; (iii) Sedentary cultivation and (iv) Others with weightage accorded in the ratio of 5 : 3 : 1 : 1.

(c) 10 percent to be distributed according to the number of primitive tribal communities in the State/UT (To accommodate establishment cost).

(d) 10 percent to be distributed in inverse proportion of the per capita Net Domestic Product with weightage to population of primitive tribal communities.

4 The Ministry of Home Affairs held special review of the progress of developmental programmes of primitive tribes in 1977. Similarly, the Planning Commission reviewed twice (in Oct. 1980 and Aprll 1981) the progress made by the States in this direction. During these reviews the main issues considered were :

(i) Slow progress in finalising the progress reports.

(ii) Problems hindering the implementation of the programmes due to :

(a) lack of suitable administrative structure :

(b) lack of suitable dedicated personnel to work among such groups ;

(c) Inadequate appreciation of the special problems of these groups ;

(d) Lack of statistical data and survey reports ;

(e) Low capacity of the groups to absorb inputs.

5. The State Governments face the problem of types of programmes required to be formulated for these groups. Some of the States prepared Projects which were schematic and could not be approved. Another problem faced was acute health condition of some of the tribes and the necessity of involving national level organisations. This happened to be the case of tribes in Andaman & Nicobar Islands and Tamilnadu. An added problem encourtered have been hostility of the tribes or their nomadism with the result that the contact with the groups have not been often possible or are infrequent. On the whole it has been difficult for the States to prepare developmental programmes for the primitive tribes. Inadequacy of data on these small groups for preparation of project reports was one of the factors which delayed formulation and implementation of the programmes. In view of this it was considered desirable to associate anthropologists in formulation of programmmes for these groups. A number of seminars have been held to discuss the problems of primitive tribes and ideas were pooled but translating these into programme, however, is yet to happen.

6. On formulation of project reports the prevalent criteria for gauging primitiveness of a tribe should not be taken as a rigid yardstick. Each of the tribe/sub-tribe need to be viewed separately and judged whether they can be categorised as primitive and on the basis of this the project report needs to be drawn-up. While formulating programmes it has to be kept in view that, existing norms for providing such infrastructure as schools / dispensaries/hospitals/roads/ drinking water supply etc., have to be relaxed so that the needs of these groups are fully met. A list of action-points were drawn-up while reviewing the progress of development of primitive tribes in the Planning Commission in 1981 (Appendix). Most of these action points are still relevant and are annexed with the paper. A few States like Gujarat have taken action and furnished information. Unless a comprehensive socio-economic programmes are formulated for these tribes, they may not be in a position to catch-up with the other tribal groups even in the Seventh Plan period.

7. In drawing up economic development programmes apart from keeping in view the occupational pattern of these groups the existing skills have to be examined and wherever possible measures taken to improve their technology which need not be very sophisticated and which will give them help in efficiently managing their

occupations in which they are engaged. Another aspect to be taken into account is that the primitive groups lack the urge and motivation for development. This has been a genuine problem area for which very careful scrutiny is necessary so as to see what are the actual needs the tribal families articulate and then make provision for it on priority basis, e.g. if a tribe want drinking water supply for their village the existing norm of water supply source may be relaxed. Similarly, if they are requesting for Ashram Schools in their area even if uneconomical should be established among them. These sort of programmes as well as economic assistance which have a lasting effect, will have a greater impact and motivate them for further developing their own lot.

8. Amongst these primitive tribes although it is easier to provide economic assistance as grants and subsidies particularly to those who are agricultural labourers, it will have to be kept in view that providing agricultural inputs do not push them into the arms of middle-men or field Officers who would exploit them. One of the departments which is closely connected with some of the primitive tribes is that of Forest Department. The co-operation of Forest Department is absolutely necessary for providing inputs for these tribals in collection and marketing of minor forest produce and forest labour.

9. The aspect of providing them with appropriate education needs careful thought. Many of these tribes speak dialect which are not understood even by other tribes surrounding their areas. There is need to study their dialects and assisting them in learning the major tribal dialect as well as regional language should be an important task. Special types of schools with competent trained teachers, preferably a tribal whom the primitive groups would accept, should be recruited and experimented with. Further, the syllabus fixed by the Education Department need not be followed **in toto**. The syllabus should be adopted in such a way that it has some relevance to their environment and which would gradually introduce the children to the outer world. Provision of simple illustrative books depicting their community life in their own dialect may be brought out and for which help of NCERT sought.

10. As noted earlier many of these tribals have health problems like sickle-cell anaemia, tuberculosis, malaria, leprosy, etc., which need to be tackled on a priority basis. The diet of these tribals has

to be examined and improvements introduced very gradually. Institutional health services should also be provided wherever necessary even if it means relaxing norms to certain extent. Periodical health check-up should also be considered essential.

11. So far as development of primitive tribes are concerned there is no dearth of funds which the Centre is providing However, unless programmes are formulated carefully and implemented properly no dent will be made in developing their lot. In this context recruitment of personnel to implement the programme becomes very important. The most important task, therefore, is to identify suitable Project Director who would have sympathy, understanding and patience to implement the programmes. Committed, dedicated personnel for motivating the primitive tribes through demonstrative effects is necessary.

12. The role of voluntary organisations in helping in implementation of developmental programmes in the field, should be explored. The voluntary workers can do a lot more than Government agencies if they have been in touch with a particular primitive tribe for a long time and have won the confidence of these people. However, it will be necessary for the Government to carefully monitor the work of voluntary organisations working amongst the primitive tribes and see that no programme or ideas which are not acceptable to the tribals are imposed on them. e. g. some of the voluntary organisations make a fetish of vegetarian food and banning alcoholic drinks, which the tribals are habituated to or need at certain times for rituals. Also it has been noted that the schools run by voluntary organisations in the tribal areas often do not allow meat or fish to be cooked. If the dietary habits of tribals include meat or fish, the children should be allowed to consume these items at least twice or thrice a week. This would also motivate the parents to send the children to school or hostels apart from giving them balanced diet.

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APPENDIX

PLANNING COMMISSION
(Backward Classes Division)

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Subject : Action-points arising out of the discussion of Primitive Tribes held in the Planning Commission on 29th April, 1981.

In the meeting held on 29-4-1981 in the planning Commission under the Chairmanship of Dr. M. S. Swaminathan, Member, Planning Commission, to consider the strategy for development of Primitive Tribes, the following action points emerged out of the discussions:

(1) The most important task would be to identify a suitable Project Director for the programmes for each primitive tribe. He should be sympathetic, understanding, patient and with drive and ability for co-ordination.

(2) The Project Director should prepare the detailed plan of operation after studying the customs, traditions, beliefs, etc., along with development potential and funds available. He should consult the tribal leaders, voluntary organisations, tribal research institutions, and the field Officers.

(3) Normally these tribes are governed by a strong traditional system of participative decision making through a body like a tribe council. If such a tradition exists or had existed, the tribal council should be revived. If there is no such tradition, even then it should be possible to constitute a tribal council in which every adult over 21 years of age; male or female; would be a member. The council would discuss the development plans of the tribe, assist in selection of beneficiaries and follow up implementation, etc., In case the membership becomes too large, one representative from each family may be taken. If a primitive tribe has been dispersed over different villages or different hamlets, suitable number of representatives from each hamlet or village may be taken as members decided in a full-scale meeting of the tribe for which a notice to all hamlets/villages should be given.

(4) Normally, there is a tribal leader who could be the contact person for the official machinery. If no such tribal leader exists or the practice has gone into disuse, such a person, with the consensus of the tribe, may be selected. If necessary, such tribal leader may be selected for each hamlet.

(5) The Project Director may be delegated necessary powers of financial and administrative control over all development Officers working in the area.

(6) There should be a Development Board of which the Divisional Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner (preferably the Divisional Commissioner) may be the chairman and the Project Director, the Member-Secretary. The other local heads of development departments may be members. Full powers for decisions with regard to the primitive tribe may be delegated to these Development Boards.

(7) The qualifications of the Officers of the development departments selected for the project should be specially designed to suit the requirements of working with the primitive tribes.

(8) In order to attract suitable Officers, incentives may be built into the scheme.

(9) It would be necessary initially to control entry into the areas inhabited by the primitive tribe as otherwise with the opening of the area, exploitation of the members of the tribe would begin, by the people flocking from the outside. This matter would be examined further by the Ministry of Home Affairs and suitable guidelines would be communicated by it to the States.

(10) In order to promote welfare of the tribe as a whole and to discourage development of income disparities within the members, individual contracts should be avoided. Contracts may be given to the tribal council or to the development board of the tribal council, which could be the executive committee of the council, so that the profits are shared by all members of the tribe. It may not be necessary to set up a separate co-operative structure as the tribal council can serve as the co-operative society.

(11) Education, both formal and non-formal is very essential for these tribes and yet the existing formal education may not be found intresting or relevant by them. It would be necessary to devise suitable sylabaii and curricula for the tribes. NCERT would be requested to examine this matter. In the mean time, the States may take up with the National Institute of Languages, Bangalore, for development of the language and script for each of the tribes.

(12) For beneficiary-oriented schemes, loans may be routed through the tribal council and their repayment in kind may be accepted.

(13) Each tribe has many taboos and prejudices. It would be better to respect them initially and gradually make the tribes shed them off as development progresses and tribals get enlightened through education and their exposure to new activities, etc., which enhances their absorption capability/capacity.

(14) There is virtually no agricultural research suitable for these areas/tribes as the crop varieties or the animal/breed species recommended are not suitable for their conditions. The traditional food of these tribes are minor millets with regard to which agricultural research needs strengthening Similarly, the exotic or cross-bred poultry or animals had not been successful in these areas and the research may be necessary for developing selected breeds which can survive on local food materials under local conditions.

(15) The Ministry of Home Affairs would organise training of Project Directors at a suitable institute like the National Institute of Rural Development or any of the tribal research institutes of excellence. The training of other Officers may be organised by each State at its tribal research institute or if such an institute has not been established in the State(s), Ministry of Home Affairs would provide necessary assistance for organising training for them by arranging faculty from other tribal research institutes or from other administrative institute for the training courses in that State.

(16) It will be necessary to establish one centre of excellence for research and development of primitive tribes and this may be set up in any one of the existing tribal or administrative training

institutes. Each State having primitive tribes may specifically assign the research and development of primitive tribes to the institute.

(17) Planning Commission has taken initiative to hold six-monthly meetings on primitive tribes. It would be necessary to hold similar meetings at State level also.

(18) Under health, special attention is necessary to control sickle-cell anaemia and malaria. Goitre, which is prevalent amongst some of the tribes can be controlled by supply of iodised salt. Also, fortified salt, experiments on which have been successfull, would soon be ready for commercial production and could be supplied in these areas.

(19) While subsidies for selected items may be necessary initially, the subsidy pattern should be so devised as to lead to self-reliance of the tribes over a given period.

(20) Voluntary organisations could play a major role in the development of primitive tribes. Selected projects could be promoted by providing assistance to them. In addition they could be associated fully with the planning process.

(21) Some films have already been made by the States on primitive tribes. It would be useful to promote more of them covering each tribe and different aspects of their life and development.

(22) The project reports of the primitive tribes in future should be worked out according to the strategy as discussed above. Regarding project reports already prepared, these would be examined in the light of the decisions taken in the present meeting and the States wanting to modify the reports could do so and send the revised reports.

THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES OF ANDHRA PRADESH

K MOHAN RAO*

The Andhra Pradesh State is the traditional home of 33 recognised tribal groups at different stages of development. It is observed that most advanced groups among Scheduled Tribes are able to utilise the concessions and privileges extended by Central and State Governments and some of the groups are left behind. Consequently there is much variation in socio-economic conditions among Scheduled tribes in Andhra Pradesh. These inequalities are conspicuous among tribes, living in plains as compared to the forest dwelling groups. Even hill tribes there are settled cultivators, shifting cultivators, food gatherers and hunters. In view of wide disparity in socio-economic conditions among scheduled tribes, Government of India evolved a new strategy to bestow special attention to the Primitive tribal groups who form the "bottom layer" among Scheduled tribes.

The most backward tribal groups who are identified as Primitive groups are at the pre-agricultural stage of economy, largely subsisting on food gathering and hunting. Further extremely under developed tribal groups who resort to shifting cultivation and whose literacy levels are very low are also identified as Primitive Tribal Groups. Out of 33 scheduled tribes of Andhra Pradesh, Government of India recognised 8 hill tribal groups as Primitive tribal groups at three different periods, (1) for the purpose of extending additional special Central Assistance to implement special schemes. This "Compensatory preference" is essential to bring isolated and primitive tribal groups on par with other advanced groups. The details of Primitive Tribal groups their chief places of habitation and population as per 1961 and 1971 census reports growth rate etc., are furnished in Table No. 1.

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(1) The Chenchu tribe was recognised as Primitive Tribal Group in 1975, the Kolams and Konda Reddis in 1980 and Konda Savaras, Gadabas, Khonds, Porja, and Tholis were recognised in the year 1983.

The Government of India recognised sub-groups of some of the main tribes but population figures of these really "Primitive" groups are not available in census reports. The population growth rate appears to be higher than the general growth rate of the State, and the Country due to sevaral contributing factors. Inter - state migrations of various groups from neighbouring states account for this abnormal growth rate. Further some of the groups do not actually belong to the actual tribe but returned under the main category in Census. For example one group namely Krishna Chenchus who are mainly nomadic mendicants distinct from primitive chenchus are enumerated under broad category of Chenchus and hence the higher growth rate. The original Chenchus are found only in forest areas of Mahabubnagar, Kurnool, Prakasham, Guntur, Nalgonda and Ranga Reddy districts but as per census reports of 1971 Chenchus are enumerated in all the districts of Andhra Pradesh. Therefore the growth rate shown in the table does not exactly reflect the real growth rate of primitive tribes.

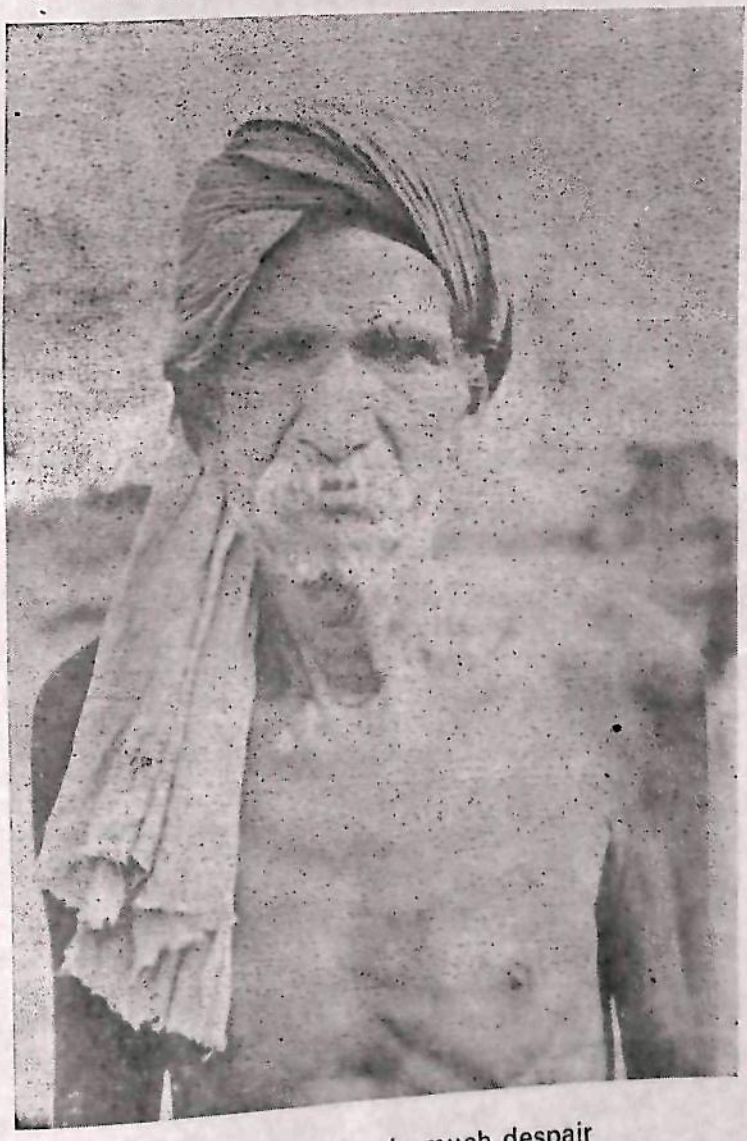
The Table-II indicate the literacy percentage of 8 primitive groups. It is paradoxical to note that percentage of their literacy had gone down from 3.89% in 1961 census to 2.99% in 1971 census reports. Out of the 8 groups six groups have their literacy rate even below the average literacy rate of Tribes of Andhra Pradesh (5.37) as per 1971 Census reports (2). This trend indicate massive efforts, required for starting educational Institutions in interior tribal areas where most of the primitive tribal groups are still found.

The Chenchus :

The Chenchus, the most backward among all the Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh, were recognised as primitive tribal Groups at the beginning of fifth five year plan. The scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (196') and the study team on Tribal Development programmes (1969) also recognised this tribe as an extremely under-developed community.

The Chenchus, a food gathering tribe, are predominantly found living in Nallamalai Hills. Nallamalai hills which are portion of Eastern Ghats are spread over Kurnool, Prakasham, and Mahabubnagar districts. Nallamalai and adjoining Yerramalai hills which

(2) The literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh increased from 5% in 1971 to 7.8% in 1981 Census reports.



A Chenchu Man in much despair
A Victim of Changing Ecology

belong to Archean age are the traditional habitat of Chenchus. These hills are endowed with rich flora and fauna and chenchus have been subsisting on food gathering and hunting of wild animals. The Chenchus are one of the ancient tribes of Andhra Pradesh. Manusmrithi (chapter-X 48) makes a mention of this tribe as "Chenchus" and treats them on par with Andhras. It can be presumed that the same tribe mentioned in the Manusmriti are the Chenchus of present day. *1 According to 1971 census the total population of Chenchus is 24, 178. They are predominantly found in forest and mountainous tracts of Guntur, Prakasam, Kurnool, Mahaboobnagar, Nalgonda and Ranga Reddy districts.

The Chenchus and Yanadis possess identical physical and social characteristics. Both the groups are black in complextion, medium in stature with wavy or curly hair. The clan names are identical and in several places marriages between Chenchus and Yanadis are socially permitted. But most of the Chenchus from forest areas claim that they are a distinct group.

The Chenchus are divided into the following endogamous subdivisions.

1. Adavi Chenchus (Forest dwellers).
2. Deva Chenchus (Temple servants).
3. Bonth Chenchus (who prepare Bamboo sticks).
4. Krishna Chenchus (Nomadic Mendicants).

Out of these four groups, only Adavi Chenchus and Deva Chenchus constituting 60% of the total Chenchus population are found in the project area of Integrated Tribal Development Agency while the two groups accounting for 40% of the total Chenchu population area spread over plain areas. Bonth types of Chenchus speak a dialect called "Bonthukor" and they call themselves as "Bontuk" in their own dialect. They are named after "Bonta" a piece made of old cloth and rags tied around the waist of women folk. They make household articles, ladders etc., with bamboo and eke out their livelihood. The Krishna Chenchus are also known as "Dasari Chenchus" and they mainly subsist on begging. The men-folk wear

*1 "The Chenchus A Scheduled Tribe of Andhra Pradesh" Census of India, 1961, Vol. 1 New Delhi, Monograph Series part V-B (iv), P. 1.

a tuft of peacock feathers on their head and produce sound by beating a round shaped bronze metal disk. They narrate stories connected with Lord Narsimha and Chenchu Lakshmi in their songs. The women-folk prepare mats out of date tree leaves and sell in the rural areas.

The social structure, clan organisation, customs and traditions of Adavi Chenchus and Deva Chenchus are identical and inter-group marriages are socially accepted. They collect varieties of roots, tubers, wild fruits, edible leaves and simply boil them with salt and consume. They are adept in honey collection from honey combs perched on the mountain claiffs and caves. Each clan among Chenchus settlement has demarcated areas for honey collection and they consider it as their traditional property. They collect the honey during nights. It is significant to note that in this arduous task of honey collection, the Chenchus choose only brothers-in-law and not own brothers in view of the existence of levirate system of marriage. They also collect minor forest produce items like Gum, tamarind, myrabolams, nuxvomica, honey-bewax, mohwa flowers, chiroji, soapnuts etc., and sell them to Girijan Co-operative Corporation or in local markets. The Chenchus claim Mallikarjuna, Lord of Srisailam as their patron God and also treat him as their Kith and Kin by calling him "Chenchu Mallayya." According to popular myths, on one occasion Lord Siva came down to Srisailam hills, fell in love with a Chenchu girl, married her and lived with her on hills. Panels and inscriptions found on compound walls of Srisailam temple depict the account of this mythology. They claim that Chenchu Lakshmi, consort of Lord Narasimha was also born in their community. The idols in the temple at Ahobilam and various rituals performed in Srisailam Temple testify the association of Chenchus with Lord Narasimha.

The important pilgrim centres like Srisailam, Mahanandi and Ahobilam of Kurnool district are situated in traditional habitat of chenchus and the Chenchus are assigned special roles in those temple rituals. They are also entitled to customary shares from temple revenues Further they used to get money by carrying old and inform pilgrims in "dolis' (swinging cot) and escorting the other pilgrims when transportation facilities were not developed. They were paid some amounts for their services. With the development of modern transport facilities the Chenchus have been gradually deprived of the traditional sources of income and some of them have even taken to begging at the temples.

The Chenchus habitat is significant not only from religious point of view but also from the archealogical and historical perspective. Mannanur is situated on the main road leading to Srisailam from Hyderabad and it is a focal point for Chenchus developmental activities. In the past, this village was known as Munulavuru (a habitat for saints). In course of time this Munulavuru came to be known as Mannanur. The Palaeolithic stone axes have been found in the fields situated in the Western parts of Mannanur.

Late G. Ahmed Khan, Census Commissioner of erstwhile Hyderabad State, in his paper presented at Indian Science Congress held at Bangalore on 6th January, 1932 described about a Monolith standing on an earthen mound at 80th mile on the main road from Hyderabad to Srisailam. The restwhile Nizam's penitentiary for political prisoners was located at Mannanur. The same building is presently converted into Tribal Welfare Hostel. Late Yousufuddin, the then District Collector of Mahabubnagar in the early part of 20th century got the jungles cleared and constructed a building at the highest point and named it as Farahabad.

The socio-economic conditions of Chenchus are at the bottom layar when compared to other tribal groups of Andhra Pradesh. Chenchus live in small conical shaped huts. The circular hut is pitched on elevated area measuring 10 to 12 feet in diameter and it is supported by a single central pole. The bamboo wattles are fixed along the periphery at the circular area of the hut. They share their residence along with goats and sheep. The goats, sheep and other cattle are tied inside the house for fear of thieves. Thus the houses become dirty and unclean. The health and hygienic conditions of the Chenchus are very poor. Several persons especially children suffer from scabies and other skin diseases. The nutritional standards are poor and they suffer from nutrition deficiency diseases.

The literacy rate among Chenchus is very low (6.50) when compared to other tribes of the State as well as to the nation. As the Chenchu settlements are scattered over wide area usually consisting of 5 to 10 houses the schools established in their settlements serve only a few. The children usually assist the parents in digging tubers and roots and collection of other items of minor forest produce.

The Chenchus who are most backward among Scheduled Tribes were identified as Primitive Tribal Groups during 1975-76 by Govern-

ment of India for promoting accelerated development. In pursuance of guidelines issued by Government of India, Integrated Tribal Development Agency for Chenchus was established at Hyderabad for promoting the welfare of Chenchus living in Mahaboobnagar, Nalgonda, Ranga Reddy, Kurnool, Prakasham and Guntur Districts. The project area covers 124 Chenchu villages with a total population of 24,000 as per current estimates. An amount of Rs. 90.00 lakhs was released from the inception till present day for taking up schemes exclusively for the development of chenchu families living in identified six districts. Out of total amount released Rs. 83.00 lakhs was spent and approximately 4,800 Chenchus families were benefitted. Separate Ashram schools are also started for Chenchu children.

The Chenchus who are food gatherers and hunters are taking up to cultivation and domestication of cattle due to incentives offered by the special schemes taken up for their development. The progress of developmental activities is significant in Ranga Reddy district The Government lands are assigned and permanent housing colonies are constructed Wherever Government lands are not available private lands are purchased and assigned to Chenchus and irrigation wells are provided. Gobar Gas plants are also established in one of the colonies and Chenchus are found cooking on Gobar Gas stoves in one of the Chenchu colonies in Vikarabad taluk. Similarly in other districts also Chenchus are provided with ploughs, bullocks, oil engines, irrigation wells and they are gradually adopting improved practices of cultivation.

Some of the Chenchus who were earlier resorting to highway robbery and thefts in Kurnool district are now being weaned from this anti-social activities by rehabilitating them in a colony situated near Nandyal of Kurnool district. Each Chenchu family was provided with a permanent house, and a poultry unit for livelihood. Thus the Chenchus who were once leading semi-nomadic life just on the subsistance level of economy are now gradually settled with permanent source of income. Recently "The Nagarjuna Sagar Srisailam sanctuary for protection of tigers" is introduced. Most of Chenchu villages in Mahaboobnagar, Kurnool and Prakasham districts are found in the core area of the project. All kinds of developmental activities by both Forest and Tribal Welfare Departments are stopped in the core area of the project as per Tiger project rules. The chenchus who were earlier

collecting minor forest produce like gum, adda leaves-1* chirongi-2* etc., are now not allowed to collect these produces freely from the core area Thus the Chenchus are taking formidable difficulties in eking out their livelihood. Chenchus are also afraid to go to interior forest for collection of minor forest produce as already few persons were killed by tigers. Some of the Plough bullocks distributed by Tribal Welfare Department were eaten by tigers when they went to forest for grazing.

The introduction of wild life sanctuary would have been proceeded by proper rehabilitation of Chenchus who are most backward and primitive tribal groups. The Chenchu families can be rehabilitated on the periphery of the project area by assigning the cultivable lands either Forest or Government waste lands or private lands. The Forest areas without any valuable trees could be earmarked for rehabilitation purpose. The Forest Department permitted Chenchus living at Bairluti, Nagaluti, Naraparedi Centre etc., to cultivate the forest lands. These lands can be assigned permanently to Chenchus. The Chenchus may also be permitted to collect Minor Forest produce from the forest even from the core area of the project.

In case forest lands or Government waste lands are not available, private lands can be purchased and assigned to them. Permanent houses have to be constructed. The programme of rehabilitation should be holistic and wisely planned.

In the approach paper to the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90), Planning Commission, Government of India, stressed the need for rehabilitation of tribal families replaced as a result of establishment of projects and schemes in tribal areas and suggested to equip those effected persons with skills and assets.

The Kolams :

Kolams are one of the Primitive Tribal Groups predominantly found in tribal areas of Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh and they number 26, 498 according to 1971 census reports. This is one of the most primitive tribes in Andhra Pradesh who could with-stand the onslaughts of the winds of change. Their habitats are found generally in the interior forest and mountainous tracts and they live in **exclusive settlements.** Kolams are also found in neighbouring

*1. BAUHINIAVAHLII
*2. BUCHANANIA LATIFOLIA

states of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. Their population in Maharashtra state is approximately double than their number in Andhra Pradesh, but in Madhya Pradesh their strength is only 351.

Kolams call themselves as 'Kolavar' among themselves. 'Kola' means a stick or bamboo in their dialect. As Kolams prepare baskets, wattles and winnowing fans from bamboos (Kola), and eke-out their livelihood, they might have been calling themselves as Kolavar. The suffix 'War' or 'Var' means people of that family or sect. Bamboos occupy an important place in their mundane and religious lives as well. The traditional madicine man 'Delak' among Kolams measures charmed stick before prescribing herbal medicines to diseased persons. They believe that as they prescribe medicines and also forecast events by measuring magic stick, they call themselves as 'Kolavar'.

They retained their complex social organisation, rich mythologies, legends, folk tales, distinct dialect through oral traditions. The Kolam dialect is akin to Telugu as Gondi is close to Tamil. The Kolami dialect is known as 'Kolavagotti' in their parlance. Gotti in their dialect means dialect or language. The Rajgonds usually call Kolams as Pujaris (priests). Kolams claim that they were the original inhabitants of the area and their ancestors were priests to Gonds. Kolams and Rajgonds enjoy equal social status and commensal relations are permitted. Gonds also call Kolams as 'Nayakur' as they manufacture baskets, winnowing fans, etc., The Telugu speaking people call them as 'Mannewarlu', meaning people living in the forest area. The term 'Kolam' is believed to have been given to them by outsiders, but they call themselves as Kolavar.

It is significant to note that four tribal groups viz., Gonds, Kolams, Pardhans, Thotis who have been maintaining symbiotic relations among themselves since times immemorial possess identical clan systems and associated practices. The Gonds occupy important position among these tribal groups as they belonged to ruling class in the past, while Pardhans and Thotis are traditional bards to Gonds. Kolams are considered as priests in view of their special skills in divination and the propitiation of local deities.

Prof. Haimendorf * described the special relationship of Gonds and Kolams as follows: "Despite the difference in language and gene-

* Prof. Christoph Von Furer Haimendorf 1979 : The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh, Page. 20.

A Kolam Woman in Gorgeous Jewellery

rally also in economic status, Kolams and Gonds considered themselves related communities. Kolams eat freely in the houses of Gonds and many Gonds parttake without hesitation the food of Kolams. Cases of inter-marriage between Gonds and Kolams are rare, and are considered irregular by both tribes. But the off-spring of such union experience no great difficulty in being accepted into one or the other community. Indeed Gond tradition tells that atleast one particular Kolam clan owes its origin to the change encounter of a legendary Gond Raja with a Kolam maid".

Mythological Origin :

Kolams trace their decent to Bhima and Hidimbi, the well known characters of the Mahabharata. While Hidimbi is protrayed as malevolent demon living in the forest in this epic, Kolams consider her as their patron goddess and call her 'Hidamala Devi'. Etymologically, the name "Edumula Devi" means goddess of two hills (irumala) or mountains Lord Bhima is their supreme deity (Perad eyyam) and he is known as "Bhimaiah" in their parlance. The name "Deyyam" is referred to all gods in Kolami dialect but in Telugu this term is referred to only devils. Kolams narrate the story of marriage of Lord Bhima with Hidamala Devi as follows : Lord Bhima during his exile in the forest area; came across Hidamala Devi. She tied her swing to two big trees on either side of path and began rocking the cradle. Hidamala Devi never allowed any man pass through the path except below her legs while she is rocking in the swing or else the man had to face her in the combat. While passing through the same way, Bhima refused to go under her legs and met her challenge to fight. Yet Hidamala Devi though defeated in combat, won his heart by her physical charms. They both married and were blessed with a son. Kolams call him as Ghatodasu (the Ghatodgaja of Mahabharata). In memory of this event Kolams still rehearsal the ancient ordeal prescribed by their mythological ancestor Hidamala Devi in modified form due to change of times. If any man commits rape, adultery or insults a woman, the entire village assemble and cause the accused to pass between the legs of aggrieved woman in public. If he passes under the legs of aggrieved woman, he would be exonerated, otherwise he had to pay heavy penalty fixed by elders. Kolams have been practising this age old custom from the days of their devine ancestor Himala Devi till present day in order to protect their women folk from the insults of men.

The Rajgonds and Kolams possess identical social structure. The four phratry (an Exogamous grouping of clans within a tribe) system of Gonds is also found in the Kolams. The details of the four phratries of Kolams and corresponding four phratry structure of Gonds are detailed below.

Gond Phratries: 1. Yeduwensaga (Seven divine ancestor group), 2 Sarwen saga (Six divine ancestor group), 3. Seewan saga (Five divine ancestor group) and 4 Nalwen saga (Four divine ancestor group).

Kolams Phratries: 1. Yedudayal ker, 2. Arudayal ker, 3. Idudayal ker and 4. Nalidayal ker.

In Gondi dialect "Wen" means divine and this term is very close to Telugu word "Velpu" which means God or Goddess. In Kolam dialect 'dayal' means divine but in Telugu it means 'devil' or malevolent divinity and Ker means clans or groups. They use the term "Kanda" which also denote clan. Each phratry is further divided into totemic clans.

Even though the phratry structure of Gonds and Kolams is identical, the composition of clans in each phratry are apparently different. As Gonds are most predominant group in these parts Kolams might have adopted Gond clan system. In this connection Prof. Christoph Von Furer Haimendorf in his recent monumental work. "The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh" observed as follows: "But among the Kolams these groupings are devoid of any mythological sanction and it is almost certain that they have been formed by the coordination of existing exogamous units with the Gond clan system, just as in Berar and parts of Kinwat the Kolams have adopted Marathi sect names and Teluguised Kolams have family names or surnames (intiperlu) like their Telugu neighbours". *

Marriage in Kolami is known as 'Pendli' like that of Telugu word of marriage. In olden days child marriages were celebrated but in medern times this custom is not in vogue. Kolams practise five ways of acquiring mates viz., marriage by negotiations, marrage by service, marriage by love and elopement, marriage be capture, marriage by intrusion. Cross-cousin marriages are encouraged but

* Christoph Von Furer Haimendorf : The Gonds of A P. Vikas publishing House Pvt., Ltd., 1979 Page - 19.

one cannot marry the daughter of one's own sister as practised in Telugu country.

Kolams practised slash and burn cultivation on hill slopes in the past with primitive hoe but due to extension of stringent forest conservancy laws they were forced to give up shifting cultivation and adopt to settled cultivation. Kolams are the only tribe in Adilabad district who resort to shifting cultivation and this type of cultivation is known as 'vegad' in Kolami dialect and Gonds call it as 'Padaka'. They cultivate jowar, black gram and cotton and Jowar is their staple food. Kolams are still following primitive methods of cultivation and they are not enthusiastic to adopt improved methods of cultivation and high yielding varieties of crops. Further literacy levels are appalingly low among Kolams when compared to other tribal groups. The percentage of literacy among Kolams according to 1971 census reports is only 1.30 whereas the literacy rate at the national level is 29.44% as per 1971 census reports. In view of their extreme poverty, primitive characteristics and low level of literacy Kolams are recognised as primitive tribal group and special schemes are being implemented for their development. An amount of Rs. 34.38 lakhs was alloted from 1980 till the year 1983-84 and special schemes are being implemented for development of Kolams. Separate Ashram schools are being started for the benefit of Kolam children in Adilabad district. Integrated Tribal Development Agency, Adilabad district has been spending funds from regular Integrated Tribal Develoment Agency, D.R.D.A., NREP., for the Kolam development in above Central Assistance.

The Konda Reddis:

The Konda Reddis are another important tribe living in East and West Godavari and Khammam districts. Their population in the State as per 1971 Census reports is 47,083. Konda Reddi are generally found inhabiting in the interior forest and hill areas and they largely subsist by shifting cultivation. Their mother tongue is Telugu only.

They resort to marriage by capture, negotiations, service and elopement in acquiring mates. They also practise polygynous and levirate type of marriages. Like other tribal groups they celebrate Bhudevi festival (Hunting festival) during summer. During this festival all men go out for hunting while woman folk stay in the village

and rock in bamboo firing by singing all kinds of romantic songs. During this festival only seed charming rituals are observed. They do not eat first fruits or food-grains unless they are ritually offered to their Gods. They eat Pork but not beef. On every festive or marriage occassions they cut pigs and Pork as their choicest diet They rear pigs also. Some of the Konda Reddis are developing matrimonial relations with Konda Kapus also. It is informed that Konda Kapus who are living in Rajavommangi Panchayat Samithi and Konda Reddis living in Addateegala are one and the same. These so called Konda Kapus are having matrimonial relations with Bagatas of Visakhapatnam district. Kapus living in plain areas in large number are settling in Agency areas and styling themselves as Konda Kapus with selfish motives. They are also entering into matrimonial relations with local tribals to establish their rights as genuine Scheduled Tribes in order to tap the benefits extended by Government. The Konda Reddis of scheduled areas and ordinary Reddis of plain areas are distinct, and different. Government of India recognised Konda Reddis as Primitive Tribal Groups in 1980 and special schemes are being implemented in East and West Godavari and Khammam district for their development. An amount of Rs. 44.84 lakhs are alloted for the development of Konda Reddis since 1980 till 1983-84 and 1078 families are assisted to cross the poverty line. They are largely taking up to horticultural programmes and gradually giving up shifting cultivation.

The Savaras:

Savaras are one of the important and ancient tribal groups living in the districts of Srikakulam and Vizianagaram. "The Aitaraya Brahmana of Rigveda makes the Savaras the descendants of sons of Viswamithra who were cursed to become impure by their father for an act of disobedience, while the Ramayana describes them as having emanated from the body of Vasistas' cow to fight against Viswamitra" (E. Thurston Vol. 6 page 305). Savaras are believed to be admixture of mongolian and Dravidian stock. Their population according to 1971 census reports is 81,227. Savaras generally live on hill tops or valleys in linear shaped rows of huts parallel to each other. This tribe is divided into following sub-divisions.

1. Sudda Savaras
2. Kapu Savaras
3. Lanjiya Savaras (Lombo Lanjiya or Arsi).

4 Dulia Savaras
5. Jadu Savaras
6. Parbat Savaras (Malia Savaras or Konda Savaras or Bheema Savaras).

The sub-groups mentioned at serial No. 1 and 2 are settled in plain areas and pursuing settled cultivation. They are sufficiently acculturated groups and Sudda Savaras (pure savaras) have completely became vegetarians, while Kapu Savaras gave up beef, the Savaras living in the interior hill areas eat beef. During investigation in Bhadragiri Panchayat Samithi area of Vizianagaram District, the Savaras stated that there are no sub-divisions among Savaras and same Savaras who settled in plain areas and who are sufficiently rich are claiming as Kapu Savaras or Sudda Savaras. The sub-divisions mentioned from serial No 3 to 6 are usually living in the hill areas and practising shifting cultivation. These four sub-divisions come under the term Konda Savaras or Hill Savaras. Savaras are ingenious in cultivating wet crops on hill slopes by diverting parennial water sources. They grow commercial crops like turmeric, Ginger, and varieties of bananas on the hill slopes and valleys.

Savaras speak a dialect and this dialect can be included in the Mundari linguistic family. With regard to acquiring mates they resort to capture, negotiation, love and elopement, service and all these methods are recognised by their society They also practise levirate type of marriage (Dandala Jumba). The medicine man or Shaman who is Known as Kudumboyi in Savara dialect plays significant role in magico-religious functions. E. Thurston while describing Savaras stated that they got only 12 numericals in their dialect (Vol.6 page 312). But it is not correct. They got numericals upto thousands in their own parlance. Savaras perform robust dance called **'Tramson'** to the accompaniment of blowing of trumpets and beating of drums. The Savaras living in the interior places follow scrupulously the age old customs and traditions. One of the significant customs related to sex is practised by Savaras even today. After birth of a child the husband generally obstains from sex relation with wife till the child is completely weaned. That is why the post-natal disease among tribals in general and Savaras in particular are absent and proper spacing is given from one child to another. Konda Savaras of Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts are recognised as Primitive Tribal Groups by Government of India for taking up special schemes for their development.

The Khonds :

The Khonds are found in the interior forest areas of Visakhapatnam district. They call themselves as "Kuvinga" or "Kui Dora" in their own dialect. They also style themselves as Samanthas. The dialect spoken by them is called "Kui" and this belongs to the Dravidian linguistic group. Their population according to 1971 census report is 34,375.

Khonds live in their exclusive settlements on hill slopes and valleys and mainly subsist by shifting cultivation. The hair style, dress and ornaments pattern of Khonds of Visakhapatnam district are distinct when compared to other tribal women. They put on a number of hair pins called "Kuppinge" in their braids. They acquire their mates by capture (Hasatonai, by negotiations (Kaza Pendili), by elopement (Horathathi), by service (Karjomi). "Ceremonial capture" is also socially accepted by way of acquiring mates. In this pattern whosoever catches the arm of an unmarried girl, that particular person has to marry her. They also practice levirate type of marriage. The Perjeni (Priestess) and Yejjuralu play very important role in magico-religious functions of Khonds.

The Khonds of Visakhapatnam district perform splendid peacock dance and this dance is known as 'Pirodhi' 'Yendu' in their own dialect. In this dance pattern the dancers decorate themselves with peacock feathers and perform dance to the melodious Music produced by bamboo flute. Even though, Khonds of Visakhapatnam district and Jatapus of Srikakulam and Vizianagaram are one and the same. Jatapus are advanced economically but Khonds are still at primitive stage of development. Therefore, Kutia Khonds and Dongria Khonds of Visakhapatnam district are recognised as Primitive Tribal Groups for promoting accelerated development. But Khonds are generally forgetting about their sub-divisions.

The Gadabas:

Gadadas are predominantly found in tribal areas of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam districts. The population according to 1971 census reports is 25,108. Gadabas speak their own dialect and this dialect is included by G A. Grigson in Munda linguistic family (Thurston Vol.2 page 243). But Gadabas of Srikakulam

Khond Woman in Traditional Attire

call themselves as Gutomi and some people living in tribal areas of Visakhapatnam call themselves as "Gitadim" in their own parlance. The Gadabas of Visakhapatnam district reported the following three main divisions.

1. Savara Gita (Palanquine bearers).
2. Luppu Gita (Basket makers).
3. Kollai Gita (Cultivators).

In some parts of tribal areas of Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts, the Gadabas are also known as Mudli. In former days some sections of Gadabas worked as Palanquine bearers to former Zamindars in tribal areas. In return to their services they were granted 'Inams'. Government of India recognised Bodo Gadabas, Gutob Gadabas as Primitive tribe but there are several subgroups as discussed in the preceeding pages and all these groups are Primitive in their ways of life. Few Gadaba sections living near plain areas are changing and they do not possess primitive characteristics.

The respective Integrated Tribal Development Agencies are identifying real Primitive Gadabas and implementing schemes under poverty line programme.

The Porja

Porjas are predominantly found in scheduled areas of Visakhapatnam district and they are sparsely settled in Srikakulam and East Godavari districts. This tribe is divided into the following endogamous sub-groups.

1. Parengi porja
2. Didoi Porja
3. Jhodia Porja
4. Gadaba Porja
5. Pangu Porja
6. Kollai Porja
7. Bonda porja

Few sections of Gadabas call themselves as Porjas. Most of the sub-divisions speak their own dialects. Each of the sub-divisions of Porja community are further divided into several exogamous clans such as Killo (tiger) Korra (sun), Samardi (bear), Onthala (Snake), Pangi (Kite) Gollori (Monkey) Kimudu (Bear). The family and marri-

age patterns of Porjas are identified with other tribal groups living in Araku and Jolaput region.

The traditional sacred friendship (MOITORJIBU OR GOTH BANDH BAR) is also prevalent among Porjas. These duminitive associations are formed irrespective of caste, creed and sex and these associations are continued from generation to generation. The main objective of this friendship is to promote the well being of each other. Some times the un-married boys and girls enter into this sacred friendship and they can marry if they belong to marriageable clans. Porjas especially Jhodia Porjas perform enchanting a folk dance called Jhodianat or Jellinat or Nandinat.

The Porjas largely subsist by shifting cultivation. In view of their extreme backwardness, low literacy rate, Government of India recognised Bondo Porja, Khond Porja, Parangi Porja as Primitive Tribal Groups. But these sub-divisions are not exhaustive. There are some sub-groups like Jhodia Porjas, Pengu Porjas who are extremely backward and primitive. These sub-divisions are not found in recognised groups. The Project Officer, Integrated Tribal Development Agency, Visakhapatnam has been identifying really Primitive Tribal Groups and implementing schemes under poverty line programmes.

The Thotis :

The Thotis are traditional bards to Raj Gonds and they are found in tribal areas of Adilabad district. They are very smallest group (1239 as per 1971 census) among the Primitive Tribal groups. They speak Gondi. Their society is also divided into four phratry divisions like Gonds. The traditional occupation of women-folk is tatooing but this occupation is slowly disappearing in modern times, as many Gond women are not taking to the tatooing designs on their bodies. The men as well as women-folk are not pursuing their occupations as their traditional patrons are not giving customary wages for their service. As most of them are landless they are taking to agriculture labour. In view of their extreme poverty and smallness of the Group, Government of India, recognised them as P.T.G., during the year 1983 and exclusive schemes are being implemented by ITDA., Utnoor for their development.

GOI., have been sanctioning approximately Rs. 55 lakhs for the development of these 8 recognised PTGs from 1983-84 on wards.

But this central assistance is not sufficient, to assist targetted number of groups to cross the poverty line. There are approximately 60,000 families belonging to various PTGs. In order to elevate 50% of these families from above the poverty line during the VI plan *period atleast an amount of Rs. 3 crores per annum is required.*

In addition to family oriented schemes under poverty line programme community oriented development schemes like Residential schools, Mobile medical Units etc., have to be taken up among PTGs who generally live in interior places.

TABLE-I

POPULATION OF PRIMITIVE TRIBES DURING 1961 AND 1971 CENSUS REPORTS

S.No.	Name of primitive tribe	Predominant places of habitation (Districts)	1961	1971	Difference	Growth Rate
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1.	Chenchu	Guntur, Prakasham, Kurnool, Mahabubnagar, Nalgonda, Ranga Reddy Districts.	17,609	24,178	6,569	3.73
2.	Gadaba*	Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam	21,840	25,108	3,268	1.50
3.	Konda Reddy	East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam	39,333	47,083	7,750	1.97
4.	Kolam	Adilabad	16,731	26,498	9,767	5.83
5.	Khond*	Visakhapatnam	21,754	34,375	12,621	5.80
6.	Porja*	Visakhapatnam	9,350	12,357	3,007	3.22
7.	Savara*	Srikakulam, Vizianagaram	68,185	81,227	13,042	1.91
8.	Thoti	Adilabad	546	1,785	1,239	22.69
		Total :	1,95,348	2,52,611	57,263	2.93

*The actual population figures for sub-groups belonging to Primitive Tribal Groups as recognised by Government of India are not available.

TABLE - II

LITERACY RATE OF PRIMITIVE TRIBAL GROUPS DURING 1961 AND 1971 CENSUS REPORTS

S.No.	Name of the primitive tribe.	Literates 1961	Literacy percentage of total persons 1961 Census.	Literates 1971	Literacy percentage to total persons 1971 Census
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1.	Chenchu	1,047	5.9	1,594	6.50
2.	Gadaba	551	2.5	862	3.40
3.	Konda Reddy	758	1.93	2,002	4.25
4.	Kolam	157	0 9	360	1.30
5.	Khonds	220	1.1	318	0.90
6.	Porja	170	1.8	295	2.40
7.	Savara	4,508	6.6	1,914	2.30
8.	Thoti	66	12.1	212	11.80
	To al :	7,477	3.83	7,557	2.99

Nutritional Status of Children of Two Primitive Societies in Bihar*

Professor L. P. Vidyarthi**

The future of any community or nation depends on the care giving to children. The Government of India has placed high priority on improving the health and nutrition of children, and national progr-ammes are being constantly improved and implemented. The present study on nutritional status of primitive tribal children introduces the applied aspect of the problem.

Man is basically biological animal and a **well-fed** and **well nourished** food are needed for his survival as well as for his good health. Well-fed connotes quantity or economic quality of food while, well-nourished implies receiving adequate nutrients for good health. The importance of nutrition begins from conception and continues till the end of life. However, the required intake of various nutrients - carbohydrate, protein, fat, vitamin, mineral varies in accordance with the person's age, sex and occupation to maintain the proper functioning of body.

With these accounts, therefore, an attempt is made to highlight the food habits as well as nutritional status of the children of two primitive tribes of Bihar namely the Birhor (hunters and food gathe-rers of Chotanagpur, South Bihar) and the Maler (shiftingcultivators of Santhal Pargana, Eastern Bihar).

Materials and Methods :

The food habits and nutritional status of the children of both sexes of these primitive tribal groups are studied in three age sets- Infancy (0-3 yrs), Early childhood (3-6 yrs) and Adolescent (6-14 yrs)

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*The paper is based on data collected for a large scale research project on Socialization Processes of Tribes of Bihar sponsored by Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, New Delhi and executed by the Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University under the author's directorship. Mr. Rajiv Agrawal is the research Supervisor and helped in preparing the draft.

The Birhor children are studied in Toomba, Birhoo, Shila, Lukum, and Nanoria villages of Hazaribagh district of Chotanagpur plateau while, the data for Maler children are collected from Androo, Baru - Gueti-Bera, Kala Jhar and Gram-Tasaria villages of Santhal pargana district of Bihar.

Quota sampling has been applied to select the sample units. Ten cases of each sex of children of three age-groups from each tribal group comprising 120 cases, have been interviewed.

Interview schedule and observation techniques provided an opportunity to understand the food habits, in depth.

Since the food items consumed by the children of both tribes, except weaning, are more or less identical to the adult members of the family, so the study of food habits of the tribal children determines the variations in quantity and frequency, only, according to their age.

The nutritional status of an infant has been infered by analysing the data regarding the frequency of breast feeding, process of weaning, etc. because the application of methods and techniques to calculate the amount of mother's milk sucked by an infant daily, seem to be unpracticable for an anthropologist.

The nutritional status of the children of both primitive tribal groups has been compared with the children of Kharia tribal community (settled agriculturists).

To calculate the amount of calorie and other nutrients intake per day, firstly, a list of the food items consumed by them is prepared to record the amount of calorie and other nutrients provided by 100 gms. of each food items.

The average age of the children of both age-groups (3-6 yrs and 6-14 yrs) in both tribal communities is calculated to determine the standard requirement as well as intake amount of calories and various nutrients. The aggregate amount of each food item consumed by the child almost daily is based on 10 days participatory quantities since the weighing of foods each and every time was impracticable.

Food Habits

The food habits of Birhor and Maler children are largely influenced by the ecological setting. Thus the seasonal variations in the food items and varieties are the resultant of availabilities in the forests and hills. At home, usually they consume **bhat** (boiled rice) and leafy green vegetables but when they get an opportunity to go to forest to rear the animals and to collect the fuel and edibles they start to consume different eatables like fruits etc. available in different seasons. A child of 3-6 years age-group of both communities gets meal 3-4 times a day while, an adolescent gets meal 2-3 times a day. The average consumption of cooked food is 300 grms. and 340 grms per day for the children of 3-6 years age group of Birhor and Maler community respectively.

The amount of cooked food-stuffs consume by the Birhor adolescent is 345 grms. per day while, a Maler adolescent consumes 460 gms. per day.

Rice, mahua, marwa, Kodo, different roots and shoots, green leafy vegetables, fruits and fowls are the main foodstuffs consumed by these children.

Nutritional Status of the Infants (0-3 yrs)

All the infants of Birhor and Maler communities are nourished by their mother's milk, crying of the infant is considered, in general, as a token of hunger, so a mother gives her milk to the infant, whenever he/she cries. Occasionally, goat's milk is provided to the infant because usually mother's milk is considered sufficient for the nourishment of the child. A child is fed on mother's milk upto 12 to 18 months, which is extended upto 2 to 3 years if the mother does not conceive during this period. To wean the child they provide solid food gradually. Usually, the artificial methods, alike, putting hot peppers or any other pungent on nipple, are not adopted by the lactating mothers of both communities. The process of weaning is normal in both communities. Normal weaning process means that a mother gives her child less and less milk over a fairly long period till she ends by giving him none at all. Alternatively she begins to give him other foods.

Hence the cultural techniques of infant care of these Primitive tribal societies-breast feeding with enough length, selfdemand feeding and normal weaning process-provide them a well balanced and

nutritive diet which keeps them happy and healthy may be recommended as favourable to healthy personality development.

Nutritional Status of 3-6 yrs. Children:
Sex and Calorie intake:

It is evident from table 1 that the calorie intake varies from 500-1600 cal/day for Birhor male children while, for Birhor female children it varies from 600-1500 cal/day. The average calorie consumption is higher among the male Birhor (1241 cal/day) in comparison to female children (997 cal/day). The calorie intake among the Maler female is higher (800 to 1500) while it varies between 1000 to 1400 among the male Maler. It is easy to predict that calorie intake per day is much less among Birhor (1119 cal/day) and Maler children (1192 cal/day) in comparison to Kharia children (1477 cal/day) which is even more than standard requirement ((1450 cal/day).

TABLE 1

THE SEXWISE DISTRIBUTION AND CALORIE CONSUMPTION AMONG THE CHILDREN (3-6 yrs)

Amount of Cal. consumed per day	Birhor			Maler			Kharia		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
400 – 500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
500 – 600	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
600 – 700	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
700 – 800	—	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
800 – 900	—	2	2	—	2	2	—	—	—
900 – 1000	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
1000 – 1100	—	1	1	4	—	4	—	—	—
1100 – 1200	1	—	1	1	1	2	1	—	1
1200 – 1300	1	—	1	2	3	5	—	—	—
1300 – 1400	2	—	2	3	2	5	—	1	1
1400 – 1500	3	3	6	—	2	2	3	7	10
1500 – 1600	1	—	1	—	—	—	3	2	5
1600 – 1700	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1700 – 1800	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3
TOTAL :	10	10	20	10	10	20	10	10	20
AVERAGE CALORIE INTAKE	1241	997	1119	1177	1207	1192	1532	1421	1477

Family size and Calorie intake :

Table 2 clearly indicates that the calorie intake of Birhor children is influenced by the number of members in their family while, on the other hand the calorie consumption seems not to be affected by the family size of Maler children.

TABLE 2

FAMILY SIZE AND CALORIE CONSUMPTION IN BIRHOR AND MALER CHILDREN (3-6 yrs).

Family Size	Birhor			Maler		
	Calorie consumption			Calorie consumption		
	>S.R.*	<S.R.		>S.R.*	<S.R.	
		<50%	>50%		<50%	>50%
3	1	—	1	—	—	—
4	2	5	—	—	6	—
5	—	8	1	1	8	—
6	—	2	—	—	5	—
TOTAL	3	15	2	—	—	—
		17		1	19	—
	20				19	
				20		

*Standard Requirement 1450 cal/day

Nutrients Intake :

The perusal of Table 3 reveals that the calorie intake of the Birhor and Maler children is approximately 23% and 18% less than the standard requirement (1450 cal/day) while it is 2% more among the Kharia children.

It can be observe that in Birhor children deficiency of carbohydrate, protein and iron is 21. 33% and 55. 87% and 31.54% and among Maler children it is 14. 73%, 34. 06% and 27. 99% of the respective standard requirement. Similarly the consumption of carotene is 371. 95 ug, Thaimine is 0.41 mg, Riboflavion is 0.19 mg and Vitamin-C is 2.21 mg. among the Birhor children while the Maler children consume 649.76 ug. carotene, 0.47 mg. Thaimine, 0.32 mg. Riboflavion and

9.47 mg. Vitamin C which is remarkably less than the respective standard reqirement. On the other hand the intake of various nutrients is much more among the Kharia children, which is almost equal to the respective standard requirement, in comparison to the children of both primitive tribal communities. Only, the intake of calcium is satisfactory among the children of both primitive societies.

Table - 3

DEFICIENCY OF VARIOUS NUTRIENTS AMONG THE CHILDREN OF 3-6 YRS.

Nutrients	*Standard* requirement per day	*Consumption/day* Birhor	Maler	Kharia
Energy (Cal.)-	1450	1119	1192	1477
Carbohydrate(gm.)-	253.75	119.62	216.38	257.85
Calcium (mg.)-	0.30	0.92	1.11	3.10
Iron (mg.)-	14.36	9.83	10.34	13.07
Carotene(mg)(Vit.-A)-	1696.72	371.95	649.76	1013.16
Thaimine(mg) B1 -	0.71	0.41	0.47	0.58
Riboflavion(mg) B2 -	0.81	0.19	0.32	0.51
Vitamin- C	28.18	2.21	9·47	13.04

Note: (1) Considering the food habits of the children of all the three tribal communities the requirement and consumption of fats and phospherous are not listed in the table because ingredients of their diet are enoughly rich in phospherous and fats.

(2) The minerals like-Magnesiam, copper and Iodine are not taken into consideration because they are needed only in small quantity, though they are essential nutrition.

Nutritional Status of 6-14 yrs. children :
Sex and Calorie intake:

Table 4 indicates that majority of the male Birhor adolescents (6 out of 10) consumes 1500-1900 cal/day while, the calorie intake ranges between 600-1000 cal/day for 7 out of 10 female adolescents. On the other hand the calorie intake among male and female Maler adolescents does not vary considerably (1400-2300 and 1200-2100

cal/day respectively). The average calorie consumption is considerably higher among the male Birhors (1360 cal/day) In comparison to female adolescents (1110 cal/day) while the sexual difference is not considerable among Maler children.

However, the adolescents of both primitive societies-Birhor (1235 cal/day) and Maler (1720 cal/day)-consume less amont of calories in comparison to their Kharia counterparts (2245 cal/day) as well as standard requirement (2100 cal/day).

TABLE-4

THE SEXWISE DISTRIBUTION AND CALORIE CONSUMPTION AMONG THE CHILDREN (6-14 yrs.)

Amount of Calorie intake per day	Birhor			Maler			Kharia		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
600 – 700	1	3	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
700 – 800	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
800 – 900	3	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
900 – 1000	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
1000 – 1100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1100 – 1200	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1200 – 1300	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—
1300 – 1400	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1400 – 1500	—	—	—	1	3	4	—	—	—
1500 – 1600	1	—	1	2	—	2	—	—	—
1600 – 1700	1	—	1	1	1	2	—	—	—
1700 – 1800	2	—	2	1	1	2	1	—	1
1800 – 1900	2	—	2	1	1	2	1	—	1
1900 – 2000	—	3	3	1	—	1	2	2	4
2000 – 2100	—	—	—	1	2	3	—	—	—
2100 – 2200	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	4	5
2200 – 2300	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	1
2300 – 2400	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2400 – 2500	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	3
2500 – 2600	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
2600 – 2700	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	4
TOTAL :	10	10	20	10	10	20	10	10	20
AVERAGE CALORIE INTAKE	1360	1110	1235	1820	1620	1720	2230	2260	2245

Family Size and Calorie intake

It is obvious from tables 5 that the proportion of malnourished Birhor adolescents increases as their family size increases while, among Maler adolescents their family size seems not to be affective in this respect.

Table - 5

FAMILY SIZE AND CALORIE CONSUMPTION IN BIRHOR AND MALER ADOLESCENT (6-14 YRS).

Family size	Birhor			Maler		
	Calorie consumption			Calorie consumption		
	>S.R.*	<S.R.		>S.R.	<S R.	
		<50%	>50%		<50%	>50%
3	—	—	1	—	3	—
4	—	4	3	2	12	—
5	—	3	6	—	3	—
6	—	2	1	—	—	—
		9	11		18	—
	—	20		2	18	
		20			20	

*Standard Requirement 2100 cal/day

Nutrients Intake:

It is predictable from table 6 that the calorie intake of Birhor and Maler adolescents is approximately 41% and 18% less than the standard requirement (2100 cal/day).

It is also easy to predict that the deficiency of carbohydrate is 35.61%, protein is 45.44% and Iron is 38.29% of the respective standard requirement for the Birhor adolescents while it is 18.69%, 26.58% and 28.79% respectively for Maler adolescents. The consumption of various vitamins namely, Carotene (868.44 ug.), Thaimine (0.35 mg.), Riboflavion (0.21 mg.) and Vitamin-C (5.78 mg) among the Birhor adolescents is less than the standard requirement (2569.79 ug , 1.04 mg., 1.31 mg. and 40.57 mg. respectively). Similarly,

the intake of Carotene (1437.57 mg.), Thaimine (0.87 mg.) Riboflavion (1.01 mg.) and Vitamin-C (15.41 mg.) among Maler adolescents is also considerably less than the respective standard requirement. While, the deficiency of various nutrients-carbohydrate (365.73 gm.), protein (50.24 gm), Iron (17.73 mg.), Carotene (2103.05 ug), Thaimine (1.01 mg.), Riboflavion (1 11 mg.) and Vitamin-C (19.74) – among their Kharia counterparts is negligible.

TABLE - 6

DEFICIENCY OF VARIOUS NUTRIENTS AMONG THE CHILDREN OF (6–14 yrs.)

Nutrients	Standard requirement per day	Birhor	Maler	Kharia
Energy (Cal) –	2100	1235	1720	2245
Carbohydrates (gm) –	370.60	238 56	301.24	365.73
Protein (gm) –	41.09	22.42	30.17	50.24
Calcium (mg) –	0.42	0 62	1.13	3.76
Iron (mg) –	20.63	12.73	14.69	17.73
Carotene(mg)(Vitamin-A)	2569.70	868.44	1437.57	2103.05
Thaimine (mg) B1	1.04	0.35	0.87	1.01
Riboflavion(mg) B2	1.31	0.21	1.01	1.11
Vitamin-C	40.57	5.78	15.41	19.74

Conclusion

Two primitive tribal communities of Bihar, under study, represent two different economic status. The Birhor people live in forests and depend on hunting and gathering for their subsistence and are largely governed by forest ecology for their food habits The Maler people live in forests and hills and shifting cultivation is their main source of livelihood. They also go to collect different edibles and fuel materials.

No special dietary pattern is followed for the young children of both communities as they are forced to adjust their food habits according to the availability in the forests and hills (for Maler only) of different seasons. The consumption of cooked food is 300 gm and

345 gm. a day in 3 or 4 stages for the Birhor and Maler children of 3–6 years age-group, respectively. The Birhor and Maler adolescents consume 345 gm. and 460 gm. cooked food, respectively during a day in 2 or 3 stages.

The nutritional standard of the children of both primitive societies, during their infancy, is mainly influenced by their cultural process of infant care, which are favourable to healthy development of personality.

But, the calorie consumption of children of 3–6 years and 6-14 years of both communities in considerably lower to the respective standard requirement, while, their Kharia counterparts intake adequate amount of calories. The calorie intake of the Birhor children of 3-6 years age-group is 23% less than that of standard requirement (1450 cal/day) while, for adolescents (6-14 years children) it is 41% less of the standard requirement (2100 cal/day). Similarly, the deficiency of calorie intake among Maler children increases with their age. It is less than 18% for 3-6 years children while, the deficiency of calorie intake is more than 18% for the children of 6-14 years. The influence of independent variable like sex and family size is considerable amodg the Birhor children of both age-groups while, it seems to be negligible for the Maler children of both age-groups.

The rate and amount of deficiency of various nutrients among the children oft wo primitive tribalgroups of Bihar indicate that they are suffering from severe malnutrition and it gets accelerated with age. Their food items do not provide them enough carbohydrate and protein. Even the minerals and vitamins, which are equired in very small quantity, are not consumed by them in accorpance to the required standard though they have enough opportunities to consume these nutrients which are essential to increase the resistance to infection as wall proper functioning and growth of the body.

So, the severe malnutrition among the children of two primitive societies of Bihar could be arrived due to their ecology which regulates their food habits and economic condition and unawareness of nutritional science. No doubt, the genetic factors play an important role in determining growth but, the impact of socio-economic as well as ecological conditions, health care, and nutrients intake on growth potential, which is remarkable, can not be ignored.

It is high time that the children of the primitive groups are .....early for their health care as well as for their formal and informal education. An adequate improvement in their process of socialisation, food habits and family life is bound to develop the children of the weakest section into healthy prosperous and integrated adults, who will further act as an effective agent of change in their respective societies.

Strategy For Development of Primitive Groups: A Case Study of the Lodhas of West Bengal:

Prof.— P.K. Bhowmick*

Primitivism persists side by side as an adjunct of modern society in some parts of the world even now due to various factors of isolation and unutilization of the resources by the crude technology which the so called primitives possess. In India, there are about 427 groups of people who are scheduled as tribes and it is a fact that they are not in equal stages of development. The most backward group has been recognised as 'Primitive tribal group' for the purpose of administration to implement effective welfare programmes for them. The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission headed by U.N. Dhebar (1961) examined the situation, categorising the tribals into four levels and recommended certain measures for the extremely underdeveloped primitive tribes, who constitute the lowest stratum. The Shilu Ao team also identified a good number of tribals as 'extremely backward'. According to them, 'the lowest layer' needs utmost attention. The State Plan (1980-84) envisages that:

> At the time of review of the tribal development programmes on the eve of the Fifth Plan, it was recognised that special programmes for the extremely backward tribal groups known as 'primitive groups' should be taken up on the basis of proper identification on the line suggested by the Shilu Ao Team.
>
> Certain categories as stated below were formulated for this.

These tribes must have-

i) Pre-agricultural level of technology,
ii) Low level of literacy and
iii) Stagnant or diminishing population.

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On this basis, 52 communities all over the country have been identified as primitive till the end of 1979-80 of which the Lodhas of West Bengal belongs to this group.

Lodha

The Lodhas of West Bengal, wrongly categorised as Lodha/Kheria as both these tribal groups in West Bengal assert themselves as 'Savara', as genetic term used for the forest dwelling, trapping and fowling people. Total number of the Lodhas are about 25,000 and they are concentrated in the rugged terrain of Bengal-Bihar-Orissa where forest has become reduced due to marathon axing of the people belonging to tribals as well as the so-called non-tribals including Forest Department people of the respective States. The name Lodha is possibly derived from the 'Ludhaka', i. e., fowlor. The concentration of the people is in the Western position of West Midnapore (25,000), in the adjoining district of Mayurbhanj, Orissa (2500) and in Singbhum, Bihar (800). Though the regions are politically separated, the Lodhas of the adjoining areas have easy access due to their ethnic identity. But, now-a-days the Lodhas can be distinguished culturally on the basis of their techno-eco-system-the more primitives never practise agriculture, as they live in forest abodes, while the others, who migrated to the eastern tract, are less dependent on forest which is fast thinning. The forest Lodhas are known as Jangli by the same group, i.e. the Lodhas living on the southern banks of the rivers Subarnarekha which is still full of forest tracts on the undulations. The forest enclaves practically allowed the Lodhas a physical isolation which in course of time widened the spirit of differentiation from that of the other groups. Besides the crude forest based technology of archaic type, the Lodhas are accredited with criminal propensities and thus the then British Government declared them as a Criminal Tribe. The criminality, as per Social Scientists' view is loss of livelihood due to territorial and economic displacement. The forest where they used to live became thinner due to other agricultural communities and the Lodhas in course of time were clamped into a narrow territory and had to alternative for living except to take to the path of criminality which cut a deep gorge and the people had to roll down helplessly. But, after independence, the revocation of the Criminal Tribe's Act was done (1953) and the people are now known as a de-notified community. Of course, certain ameliorative measures were taken by the

Government from that time, but these are valueless in their form and content in absence of the experience and knowledge of the Social Scientists who think and study the conditions and needs of the backward tribes.

III

The image profile of the Lodhas is tinged with sub-human monstrous projection alloyed with many unnatural speculations. They are as the people believe:–

> A brute heartless creatures, capable of doing all sorts of inhuman activities related crimes, murders and so on. They are expert thieves and can burgle all types of house, both in villages and towns, specially in Jhargram. They are robbers and can snatch the belongings of a poor passerby. In dacoity, murder and many other anti-social activities they have no equals. They live in their forest hide-outs and remain undetected by the police for months together, and can shift their habitations on any occasion and at any time they have no sense of belonging. They are heartless creatures and never speak the truth and are never dependable. If they be employed in the day, they commit burglary in the same house during the same night, or at least there will be stealing or loss of articles from the locality and so on.

This particular image profile of the Lodhas placed them beyond the general population of the society and in course of time an unfilling hiatus has been widened between the Lodhas and other sections of people. This sociologically fragmented them apart with entinicity. The Lodhas call the other tribals, i e. the Santal, Munda, Kora, Mahali etc , as 'Adivasi' while the other Hindu peasants as 'Bangali' whom they call from behind as Kankra. This differentiation in course of time brought mass Killing and riots with Lodhas and non-Lodha people and we have glaring evidences since 1961 to 1982 of which mass killing of the Lodhas in 1979 at patina, P.S. Nayagram of Midnapore district took a toll of about 19 souls in the broad daylight, though welfare measures continued and the C P I (M) dominated popular Left Front Ministry indulged in more mass participation to reconsider the condition of the havenots to which Lodhas also belong.

IV

Welfare activities among the Lodhas, after independence, and failures therein as well as other experiments on the part of the Government and Voluntary Organisations revealed many facts to the Administrators, Politicians, and the Social Scientists. Lodhas are basically pre-agricultual community, so to articulate them to the tune of agriculture life all of a sudden is sure to prove abortive. This, in-fact, happened. The land purchased and distributed to them were either mortgaged or sold out. The bullocks were sold as soon as those were acquired, so also were the other agricultural implements. Poultry and goats for rearing meant for rearing were consumed in times of need and the house-hold implements gifted to them for making a better life style, such as, spades, hoes, sickles, buckets, burricane lantorns, baskets, were immediately sold out at a throw-away price. Thus, they preferred to live without any earthly possessions. Such is their mental make-up; they have no sense of belonging and they do not want to have something due to lack of their ambition and aspiration. As a result, all the rehabilitation schemes have practically flopped, except in one or two cases in which the Voluntary Organisations struck to do something for the Lodhas. If all the schemes examined critically, then these will add up more instances of failure. There are some Ashram Schools (hostels) to accommodate Lodha children, but in many cases they have no urge to take advantage of these. Only in a few cases this is successful. A report from the Lodha Cell states that one Lodha is a graduate who is employed in the Lodha cell itself, 16 persons passed Madhyamik Examinations and some of them are engaged very recently as social workers. About 80 persons read upto class VIII level of which only 3 are girls. This is because the Lodhas have no aptitude for studies. The Ashram hostel is used by the Lodhas till their sons are able to do cattle herding **(bagali)** at the houses of the neighbourers. Besides, the stipend arrangement in the Ashram hostels or in any hostels are very interesting. These are being released after a period of six months or so. In the Lodha Ashram hostels, the amount of expenditure for reading and writing has been nil. Utensils supplied only once at the time of starting, as also garments and beddings, are rarely replaced. In the truest sense of the term they are allowed to stay in the hostel when nothing is provided to them. A Superintendent of the hostel gets Rs. 100/-; it has now been increased to some

extent. The monthly salary for a whole time cook was Rs.5o/-which has now been doubled. Besides, the authorities send the children back to their villages when the hostel runs short of fund and take them back when the money is received. In such cases, some of them return to the hostel and the absentees remain absent for the rest of the year. But in some cases, with sincere attempts, it could be ascertained that the children have more of less criminal bent of mind. In the hostels, they steal the belonging of other non-Lodha students. They sell out the garments, utensils etc., supplied to them to the outsiders, through their parents or relatives. This indicates the generation developed a peculiar parasitic mentality for years together and it is very difficult to overcome this propensity. Naturally balowadi or Pre-School socialization is needed for the Lodha children before they are brought to schools

It has been stated that almost all the Schemes of development for the Lodhas are flopping, except in one or two instances. One Dairy Scheme completely failed. It has been revealed that there are three important hindrances to the welfare of the Lodhas. These are;

(1) The Lodhas are themselves the obstacles, because they do not know how to utilise the benefits in as much as they developed a parasitic mentality; they are therefore, the problems.

(2) The second problem is the neighbours, who are in most cases receivers of the stolen properties and they do not want any kind of developmental work among the Lodhas. These neighbours belong to powerful political parties and as such, it is very difficult to fructify any welfare measure for them. They practically such the benefits of welfare either purchasing the government-gifted materials at a low price or instituting false cases against the Lodhas compelling them to sell out all their belongings. So, they are the major problem.

(3) The last problem is that in many cases sympathetic but ignorant government officers who, without experience, endorse the demands of the Lodhas, because they think or consider the Lodhas as a tribe of simple habits. Actually, the Lodhas are more schematic and cunning and they can go upto any limit for any material benefit for the time being.

With all these background, it is difficult to proceed successfully to do the welfare measures to be done for the Lodhas.

V

It is suggested that the Welfare Schemes for the Lodhas to be directed in the following manner:

(i) Long term, (ii) Short term and (iii) purely with a view to give relief, should be adopted.

In long-term project atleast a social worker will be placed in-charge where an Ashram hostel is functioning or the areas in which Ashram hostel is sanctioned. The social worker with a little training and orientation will be allowed to prepare individual family benefits, schemes in consultation with some experts, either in the Block or in the district level for which district authorities will provide all necessary experts. The area should be developed in this way. Even other tribal or caste groups may get a little benefit out of this developmental measures. Here, they (the non Lodhas) will be the custodian, rather monitors, of the schemes in collaboration with the Panchayat members. So, the local Non-Lodha Panchayat members along with a few Lodha beneficiaries along with the social worker should be trained just to understand the developments, its various measures and developmental infrastructures. In this way, one village will be developed slowly and it will percolate to the other villages. Thus, a cluster of villages will be developed under the direct supervision of the social workers. In this way, ethnic problems will be tackled along with the area development. That is to say that the Lodhas should not be allowed to enjoy the benefits alone. This will create hiatus, rivalry and thus there will be the chance of depriving the Lodhas in getting the benefits.

With regard to the Short-term benefit schemes, the silted tanks of the locality will be re-excavated as per demand of the beneficiaries with help and supervision accordingly. In all the cases, attempts should be made to bring one or two children from those areas to a good Ashram hostel in which they will be oriented with other children so that the world view can be extended amongst them.

Regarding the relief type of measures, something has to be done in many places for supplying drinking water, construction of huts and so on.

But in all the cases, attempts should be made to develop human resources-the human groups who will very meaningfully-understand

the available local resources and in course of time will know the technical know-how to utilise them properly and usefully. An attempt should be made to graft a section of the people to developmental activities through participation and involvement. Some tertiary sector projects leading to non-agricultural activities should be encouraged by which the people get chance to be mingled with other section of the people without violence. Ashram hostels be provided with agricultural facilities, poultry and dairy by which the youngsters will be in a position to articulate with the new technology, environment, and mentality to strengthen the social fabric embroided in a better way.

It is a happy sign that the present District Administration under the guidance of the existing District Magistrate is making such endeavours and if it is materialised properly, then a time will come within a short space of time when a few growth centres can be developed which will radiate sparks to the down-trodden villages which still remain under-developed. These developed centras will then come forward along with the Lodha Social Workers, who by now have been motivated at the instance of the Magistrate.

Rehabilitation of Primitive Tribal People

Dr S.P. GUPTA*

According to 1971 census and 1976 revision of scheduled list, the total scheduled Tribe population in the country is about four crores comprised of 250 big and small scheduled tribe communities. In Bihar, we have 30 scheduled tribes numbering about half a crore who are at various levels of cultural, social, economic and political development.

The Dhebar Commission noted in 1961 four different layers among the tribals, at the base a class in an extremely under developed stage. They felt that the lowest layer needed the most consideration at the hands of the Government. In 1969, the Shilu Ao Team in their report divided the scheduled tribes into three categories. According to the team, at one end were the tribes living in fastness of hills and jungles having little contact with the outside world, still in the hunting and food gathering stage, found in the pockets of South and Central India and Andaman Islands.

Now for identifying primitive tribes, three criteria, i.e. (i) Pre-agricultural stage of economy, (ii) a low level of literacy and (iii) smallness of numbers, have been adopted and 52 "Primitive" tribal groups have been located. The liniest of the groups is the Great Andamanese numbering 27, and the most numerous, the Baiga 1.77 lakhs.

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In Bihar the following tribal communities have been considered as primitive groups :-

S. No.	TRIBE	POPULATION (1971)	SIZE	%LITERACY, 71	AREA OF HABITATION	OCCUPATION.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1.	Birhor	3,464	Small	2.5	Hazaribagh & Ranchi distt.	Nomadic food gatherers.
2.	Birjia	3,628	Small	5.2	Ranchi & Palamau distt	Primitive Agriculturist.
3.	Asur	7,026	Small	5.4	Ranchi & Palamau distt.	Primitive Iron Smelters
4	Hill Kharia.	10,241	Medium	2.8	Singhbhum distt. (Dhalbhum Sub-Division.)	Nomadic food gatherers.
5.	Parhaiya	14,651	Medium	2.7	Palamau distt.	Shifting Cultivators.
6.	Korwa	18,717	Medium	2.9	Palamau distt.	Wage earners.
7.	Mal Paharia.	48,636	Big	3.8	Santal Parganas (Damin Area)	Shifting Cul.
8.	Sauria Paharia	59,047	Big	3.5	Santal Parganas (Damin Area)	Shifting Cul.

TOTAL : 165,410

In the beginning tribal communities were in a state of ecological equilibrium with their environ. They were small in number and natural forest resources abundant. These groups initially sustained themselves as food gatherers and hunters. Even today, the Birhors are largely nomadic with no fixed habitation. The Hill Kharias residing in Dhalbhum Sub-Divison of Singhbhum district are also mainly food gatherers and hunters and so also the Parahaiyas largely residing in Palamau district. As the numbers grew, some primitive form of cultivation was adopted. The Pahariyas in Santal Parganas District and Birjias in Ranchi District are mainly shifting cultivators. In the normal course of development with the growth of population, eventually the group should take to settled cultivation. But the primitive groups have rather fallen below the poverty line and hence the need of their rehabilitation.

Earlier few rehabilitation schemes were implemented for the Hill Kharias of Dhalbhum Sub-Division, Singhbhum District and Birhors of Ranchi and Hazaribagh District. But the schemes failed miserably because the land on which they were rehabilitated was poor with stones and stumps of roots of original trees. It was not reclaimed. After they were supplied with bullocks and agricultural implements, there was no followup activities either by the welfare Department or by the Agricultural Department. They did not know how to carry on agriculture and they disposed of the cattle either by sale or by exchange for inferior quality of bullocks, cows, calves or goats. The houses constructed for them were beyond their means to keep them in good repairs. The result was that most of the houses fell and the settlers fled to their original forest dwellings.

In fact rehabilitation planning for these groups has to be done at the micro level. The strategy setout in the national sixthplan prescribing the household as a unit is a happy angury. In no other sector is the compulsion for house hold planning so pressing as in respect of these primitive groups. Again planning and implementation should be carried out through local management may be through traditional village councils in the absence of any other structure., with the aid of resources that may be made available to them. At the Halka i.e. at the level of groups of villages, the statutory panchayats or traditional bodies, if any may be involved both for planning and implementation. At the block level, the two functions of the panchayat samiti have to

be made real. Such multi-level micro planning and implementation calls for a careful research and predetermination of functions responsibilities etc.,

For economic rehabilitation of these groups, the partnership concept between the forest authorities and the tribals should be evolved and they should be trained to participate in various activities like collection of minor forest produce (MFP), roots and tubers, leaves, flowers and fruits etc., felling, logging, aforestation, social forestry, cooperative management, processing etc., Minor Forest Produce, oil seeds, gums and resins are important raw materials for cottage and village industries. The bare minimum needs of these communities with regard to fuel, Fodder, agricultural implements, house construction, domestic furniture, fruits, flowers, edible roots and tubers medicinal herbs etc., have to be satisfied through human touch of the individual that will determine the quality of the programme and the future of the community. The policy makers and planners will have to be continually alert for further evolution of both the concept and the practice.

'On The Definition of Primitive Tribe'

DR.M. KODANDA RAO *

This paper examines the usage of the concept of 'tribe' in anthropological literature. The early anthropologists used it to refer to distinguish a type of society of social organisation from others and to a particular historical stage in social evolution which is primitive and traditional.

Generally the term tribe is used to refer to a system of social organisation having a common territory, a tradition of common descent, common language, common culture and a common name. However, these attributes do not help us to define tribe precisely and satisfactorily as these diacritica can be adopted or abandoned at will. The names of tribes were often used by outsiders and the native names, on the other hand, would simply mean 'man', 'hillman' or 'people'. The common descent of tribal members from the founding ancestor was more a fiction than real. It has been observed that linguistic, and tribal unity are not always the same things. Finally, it has been shown cultural that the existence of group sentiment and common ideology did not very often mean that this ethnic community was a tribe.

However, the idea that tribe as a type of social organisation is generally retained by most of the anthropologists. But they rejected the notion of tribe as a type of society, representing a historical stage in social evolution. Now it is well known that many of the present day hunter-gather societies do not represent the archaic past and a stage in the social evolution Levi-Strauss rightly calls this a 'false-archaism', refering to Amazonian tribes, because far from being the last representatives of the primitive stage of hunting and gathering economies, they are vestiges of very advanced agricultural societies who have been pushed back by other agricultural societies from the river banks toward forest hinterland where they completely lost their ability to farm.

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Similar conclusions can be made for hunter-gathering tribes of India who were constantly pushed back into the interior forests and hills by their superior neighbouring groups who made them to occupy the marginal lands. Sinha (1969) mentions the case of hunting and food gathering Birhor and Hill Kharia and says ; 'A little probing will indicate that in both these cases exclusive dependence on 'hunting and gathering' is a later phase of development and specialisation in response to the penetration of the cash-based economy into these areas and extensive deforestation which make the earlier pattern of primary dependence on shifting cultivation unteneable. Close scrutiny of the cultural patterns and processes among the tribes of the Indian mainland will indicate evidences of 'devolution' or secondary 'primitivization' among certain groups'. (164).

The concept of tribe is an empirical one and has taken on different meanings refering to a particular type of social and political organisation. For example, Honigman writing in 1964 observed that there is a general agreement on the characteristics of tribe as a type of social organisation, but he notes difficulties when the political characteristics of the tribe are discussed. He distinguishes three types of tribes by refering to their form of political organisation into (1) non-segmentary acephalous tribes (2) segmentary acephalous tribes and (3) the centralised tribes.

On the other hand, Sahlins (1968) classified primitive tribes into segmentary and chiefly tribes. These primitive tribes are placed together as 'two developments' of the same type of 'segmentary society', like two permtations of the segmentary social relations. The first permtation produces 'segmentary tribes proper' the second 'chiefdoms' wherein tribal culture anticipates statehood in its complexities.

Sahlin's usage of the concept of tribe includes a multitude of intermediary combinations of segmentary and chiefly tribes. This extreme diversity for him is the result of multiple structural variation imposed by the adaptation of neolithic economies to extremely diverse ecological niches, occupied by hunters and gatherers who were driven back into marginal ecological zones which were unsuitable for farming and cattle rearing. These ecological and eonomic diversity,

according to Sahlins, also explains the diversity of social relations encountered in the tribal societies and the kinship relations, in particular like, lineal, cognatic etc.

The first characteristic common to all tribal societies is the fact that all elementary social units are multi-familial groups which collectively exploit an area of common resources and form into residential units. He calls them primary segments. The second common element is the multifunction character of kinship relations organising these primary segments. By this he wants to show that kinship relations, apart from their patrilineal, matrilineal, bilineal or non-lineal characteristics, function simultaneously with economic relations, political relations, ideological relations etc., As Evans-Pritchard puts it they have the property of being 'functionally generalised'.

Thus Sahlins concludes that the different economic systems of tribal societies are so many variation of the same basic mode of production i.e, the 'familial mode of production'. This means that production and consumption are regulated, stimulated and limited by the needs and resources of familial groups which are structurally equivalent to each other i.e, economically, politically, and ideologically identical and equal. Each segment and each community is like another and does for itself what another does. It is a structure of degree of interest rather than conflict of interests

In this way he proceeds by abstracting the inner features of these primary social segments i.e. the exact nature of the kinship relations shaping these multi familial groups and what is isolated is more a characteristic of the 'general form' of a large number of primitive societies. The general form of social relations always depends on kinship relations and kinship relations always function hand in hand with political relations, economic relations and ideological systems. Thus the concept of tribal society covers a group of external features found in the functioning of many primitive societies (1) the segmentary character of elementary socioeconomic units (2) the real or apparent nature of kinship groups in these socio-economic units, and (3) the multifunctional nature of these kinship relations.

Godelier (1977) critisizes Sahlin's functional empiricism and the notion of 'lineage mode of production' to designate the mode of

production for most primitive societies with or without chiefdoms. He observed that structural differences between these societies are more important than the similarities.

In Indian context the term tribe has never been defined precisely and satisfactorily. The British census officers and administrators used the term tribe to refer to denote a bewildering variety of categories of social and cultural groups that were analogous nor comparable. Later after independence, academecians, policy makers and administrators used the term tribe in general to refer to a type of social organisation. Each tribe is individualised by a name, by a separate dialect, by a territory, by dress etc. Besides these indicators of external manifestations, the concept of tribe is also conditioned to cover a reality of secondary level, integrating the elementary and segmentary units into greater units, such as common descent and common ideology etc.

Such a definitions of tribe, nevertheless, fails to establish the cultural and social distinctions between a tribe and a caste. Caste and tribe represent two different categories which were opposite of each other and what we can establish is a range of variation between tribe and caste characteristics.

The most significant difference between tribal and caste society is based on the assumption that where as in the former the social life is organised on the principle of equality, in the latter it is based on the principle of hierarchy. Lineages and clans are the chief corporate units for land ownership, for defense, for economic production and consumption and are functionally heterogeneous and structurally homogeneous. Caste society, on the other hand, is structurally heterogeneous as Castes depend upon subordinate Castes, but are functionally homogeneous. The cultural homogeneity of the tribal society based on kinship ties, is an integrating principle and whereas, the cultural heterogenity based on inter-caste relations is the integrating principle for caste society. Similar differences can be drawn between tribe and caste for economic, political, religious and psychological factors (see Mandelbaum 1970 : 576-84).

However, it is our common experience that sometimes it is not possible for us to draw a clear cut line between the tribe and caste, following these contrasting characteristics of two extremes. But the

fact is that the spectrum of Indian groups called 'tribes' by the constitution or by popular usage which ranges from hunters, gatherers and shifting cultivators, are primitive and traditional and are outside of caste system. The search for indicators or characteristics is an unending academic enterprise but such an enterprise does not define the tribe but only explain the external factors involved in the social organisation of boundary maintenance among the tribes.

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The Neo-Tribal Agricultural Communities: Prospect and Retrospect

Dr. G.P. REDDY*

The present paper explores very briefly into the problems of adaptation to settled agriculture among the primitive tribal communities, both food gatherers and shifting cultivators.

Recently Government of India has identified 52 tribes of various regions of the country as the most primitive and economically backward tribal communities. These communities require special developmental programmes to suit their socio-cultural background so as to enable them to come out of their deteriorating economic condition. In Andhra Pradesh Chenchus and Savaras have been identified as the two most primitive and backward tribal communities. While Chenchu mainly inhabiting the Nallamalais (the extension of eastern ghats) is predominantly a food gathering community, Savara, inhabiting the eastern ghats of Srikukulam district is both a shifting cultivating and food gathering community.

If one examines the developmental programmes designed for the benefit of these communities from the time of the country's independence, one interesting fact clearly emerges. Many of these programmes are directed to persuade the food gathering and the shifting cultivator communities to take up settled cultivation through land colonisation schemes and land assignments. The land colonisation schemes for these tribes not only envisaged transition from food gathering, shifting cultivation to settled cultivation, but also displacement from their villages, sometimes even their native habitats. The food gathering communities under land colonisation programme, invariably have to leave behind their semi-nomadism and acquire the habit of sedantary life. Further it is a transition from food gathering to settled cultivation. While in the case of shifting cultivators, it is a transition from incipient agriculture to settled agriculture. In many

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of the cases of food gathering and shifting cultivators when forced to take up settled agriculture, the evidence is that they reacted most unfavourably and ultimately deserted the colonies. The repercussions of the failure and quite severe in a few cases. There are some indications that after taking to settled agriculture, they are neither able to exploit the forest resources on which they originally depended, nor are able to adopt themselves to the newly acquired livelihood pattern. A number of studies carried out in these communities have come to the conclusion that their situation further deteriorated when they took to settled agriculture. For the failure of land colonisation schemes among the primitive tribal communities, a number of examples can be cited from the State of Andhra Pradesh itself. For example, the land colonisation schemes started for shifting cultivators and food gatherers like the Savaras in Srikakulam district have failed (Raju, 1971, Raghav Rao, 1975). Nearly more than five land colonisation schemes started for Savaras in Seetampet Panchayat Samithi area of Srikakulam district have miserably failed. Even in the case of the food gathering community like the Chenchu, land colonisation scheme was tried at Byrluti, Nagaluti gudems of Atmakur taluk in kurnool district with disastrous results (G P. Reddy, 1979, Gopal Rao 1976). Not only in Andhra Pradesh, but also in other States the food gathering communities which were forced to take up agriculture, seems to have suffered with the same miserably fate; in certain cases perhaps even more. Take for instance the Rajis of Pithorgarh of Kumaon hills who have a nickname of "Invisible Traders", because of their practice of silent trade (Majumdar, 1973: 142)., have suffered a lot after taking to settled cultivation. A few families of Raji have been provided with constructed houses and also land for cultivation, but within a few months they abandoned the houses as well as the lands(Negi. Raha, Das, 1982: 142). According to Majumdar, Raji once a kind of rudimentary shifting cultivators (1973: 142) no longer practice shifting cultivation because of decrease in the forest area as well as restrictions placed on the utilisation of forest resources. The present status of Raji is that they are almost destitute, driven out of their original habitat and unable to adopt themselves to settled agriculture. It is even reported that a few Rajis (Nearly 14) died due to starvation a few years back (Dikshit, 1970 115). Same disastrous consequence seems to have fallen on the Lepchas of Darjeeling and Sikkim when they took to plough cultivat-

ion and terracing from food gathering and jhum cultivation. "The over all picture of the transformation of the Lepchas from the agricultural point of view is nothing but dismal. In fact the transition of the tribe from forest hunting and jhuming to peasant economy in course of a little more than a century seems to be yet incomplete. They have not yet developed a thirst for land as among other fellow peasants in the hills (Bagchi, 1982: 311). Again take the example of Jenukuruba living at the trijunction of Tamilnadu, Kerala and Karnataka in Western Ghats. It is a food gathering, community. Same typical colonisation schemes were started to induce Jenukurubas to take to sedantary life with settled agriculture. "As regards the programme of converting the Jenukuruba into regular farmers, it did not make any success for a variety of reasons" (Misra and Misra, 1982: 383).

One can go on giving example after example of tribal communities who have failed to adopt to settled agriculture even though they were introduced to it a long time back. The consequence of this failure seems to have led these communities into more and more economic deprivation. The present condition of most of these communities is that they are neither able to depend on their present habitat nor are able to adopt themselves to the new pattern of livelihood, i. e , settled cultivation which in most cases was thrust upon them. Denudation of the forest habitat of these tribal communities is so enormous and alarming that they are no more able to support themselves. Added to this the forest policy and the declaration of certain areas as game sanctuaries have been preventing them from exploiting fully the available resources. Further, the situation is made much more complicated because of the uncontrolled immigration of non-tribals into tribal areas and the consequent competition between the two for land and other resources.

What could be the real problems encountered by these food gathering and shifting cultivators in their attempt to take to settled agriculture? Considering the present miserable situation of these communities, there is every need at this present juncture to give some thought to this problem. Even the present programmes drawn up by the developmental agencies to ameliorate the conditions of these tribals include assignment of land for settled cultivation as one of the items. For instance according to the latest plan drawn up for the betterment

of the Chenchus, besides other programmes, assignment of land for settled cultivation is one of them. It is heartening to note that this plan does not stress agriculture alone as alternative source of livelihood for all the Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh. According to the plan "Adequate care was taken to include such of those schemes in the plan with which Chenchus are familiar and which can improve the economic conditions of the Chenchus" (Rao, 1983:8). However, in the case of Chenchus who is being assigned with land for settled cultivation, unless one understands the problems of adaptation and transition, and take suitable measures of correction, the effort is bound to bring no result at all.

The difficulties and problems encountered by these primitive communities in their transition to settled agriculture, perhaps can be categorised into socio-cultural, ecological and economic in nature. Writing about the socio-cultural problems of transition among Jenukurba, Misra and Misra say that they "were not oriented towards settled cultivation which obviously requires a different kind of value-orientation, a different organisation of work, a different knowledge of the management of the farm and ability to market the produce" (1982:383). When we examine briefly the efforts of the Government to include the Chenchus of Atmakur taluk of Kurnool district to take to agriculture around 1960s, socio-cultural barriers seems to have been predominant in wrecking the efforts. In fact this was not the first time in the case of Chenchus such an effort to induce them to take to agriculture was made. Haimendorf writing about one such effort among the Chenchus of Amarabad plateau of Mahboobnagar district says the "Attempts to introduce plough cultivation on the upper plateau, have failed almost completely, and even the village chenchus near Amarabad who started to cultivate with government help, some 30 years ago have not largely given it up and fallen back on coolie work for their subsistence" (1943:76).

There is no doubt that for the Chenchus of Atmakur taluk, from food gathering to settled cultivation was a very long jump. The first impediment definitely was, their absolute lack of knowledge in agricultural technology coupled with their rudimentary division of labour (Haimendorf-1943, G. P. Reddy, 1971 and 1979). The division of labour among them is so simple and adopted to their food gathering

economy that there is no wonder that they sent their women folk to plough the fields, when the land colonisation scheme was started. Further, land colonisation scheme required them to adopt to total sedantarisation leaving their semi-nomadic life. Added to this, their lack of management skill not only in the organisation of agricultural activities but also in maintaining and looking after the draught cattle contributed much in putting an end to the scheme. The chenchus felt that maintaining draught cattle given to them was beyond the physical, spatial and economic means. The result was that within a month or two of the distribution of the bullocks, some of them fell prey to predators, a few died of starvation and the rest were grabbed by the ryots of the surrounding villages against pittance.

Even the non-primitive communities, when they take to agriculture for the first time, are required to know and understand the intricate relationship between agricultural practices and the ecological and environmental conditions They acquire this knowledge thoroughly only after a few years of cultivation. This is much more so in the case of a community like the Chenchus who are food gatherers, No doubt the Chenchus have enormous fund of knowledge in ecological and environmental conditions of their habitat to carry out their food gathering activity successfully. But this knowledge they have cannot be effectively used in settled agriculture. It requires altogether a different knowledge which definitely is an herculean task for them to acquire within a short period.

Even shifting cultivators to adopt themselves to settled cultivation, have to face many difficulties, perhaps not so much socio-cultural, but ecological and economical. In the case of these people also environmental and ecological knowledge plays a mjaor role in their adoptation to settled agriculture. Though shifting cultivators are not so ignorant in understanding environmental conditions required for settled agriculture, yet they are required to understand more about the climatic conditions and seasonal variations in the environment to carry out settled agriculture successfully. The basic mistake the shifting cultivators who are trying to adopt to settled agriculture, usually commit is that they continue the same crops with the same methods

of cultivation in settled cultivation also; the result invariably is that their crops fail. The wild variety of seeds sown in shifting cultivation or Kondapodu though rain-fed, does not require much moisture. On the other hand the lands on which settled cultivation is practised are of different type and have more moisture retaining capacity and many times the rain water stagnates in the fields due to heavy and unseasonal rains. The lands alloted to the primitive tribal communities for settled cultivation, many times even lack proper drainage. Under these circumstances the traditional seeds sown in these lands will not be able to withstand the amount of rain water and the result is miserable failure of crops. Perhaps the large scale migration of Adilabad tribals during this year to Maharastra is mainly because of this reason. Further, in the case of the non-tribal communities who newly take to settled agriculture even if their first or second attempt at cultivation fail either due to short-comings in management, or lack of knowledge in ecological conditions or even due to natural calamities like drought and cyclone etc. most of them has staying capacity because they can always depend on other alternate occupations like agricultural and wage labour. On the other hand if settled cultivation of these tribal communities fail for one year they are finished and have to fall back upon their original habitat.

Bad demonstrative example set by the extension agencies is one of the crucial factors for some of these communities to get disheartened in settled agriculture and abandon it once and for all. Again the best example is the Chenchu experiment at Byruluti and Nagaluti of Atmakur taluk. When the Chenchus showed dis-interest in taking up cultivation, the officials incharge of the scheme took upon themselves the cultivation of the reclaimated land and cultivated it consecutively for 3 years and finally abandoned the effort once for all because in each one of these 3 years in-puts in agriculture for exceeded the out-put.

The economic reason and the avariciousness of the dominant tribes of the area and the ryots of the surrounding villages also play a critical role in shattering these programmes. The tribals not able to succeed in agriculture lose their lands to the non-tribals as well as to the dominant tribal elite of the area against small loans. In fact

the non-tribals and the advanced communities and their elite are always on the look out to alienate the lands of the primitive tribes.

Finally the irony of the situation is that even those tribal communities who were once primitive and were depending on shifting cultivation once (three to four decades back) and now turned into settled cultivators are in the verge of alienating their lands to non-tribals as well as to the dominant tribes and reverting back to food gathering activities and wage labour. This happens because of their excessive borrowing of cash from money-lenders and traders to meet their daily needs. Sometimes the community which has not yet fully adopted to settled agriculture suddenly jumps into cultivation of cash crops. Invariably the result is that they face food shortage when they need most and are forced to borrow foodgrains from traders at exorbitant rate of interest. This nullifies whatever the benefit that accrues due to the cultivation of cash crops. Further, such communities, incapable of managing cash crop cultivation and marketing the produce, plunge themselves further into indebtedness; ultimately resulting in land alienation. The best example of this kind comes from the tribal communities of Adilabad district. The Kolams and Gonds of Adilabad district who were once shifting cultivators now more or less have adopted to settled agriculture. But when they hastily took to the cultivation to cotton-crop, they started borrowing heavily and the result is that the land alienation cases increased by many folds, leading to unrest and rebellion (G.P. Reddy, 1983).

It looks that in certain tribal areas of the country particularly in the areas where these primitive communities inhabit assignment of land for settled cultivation in around their settlements or even nearby is totally ruled out. The land hunger among advanced and dominant tribal communities is so much that these communities have occupied every available inch of land suitable for settled cultivation, leaving no scope at all for the primitive communities. Take the example of Savaras of Seethampet area, the Savaras are occupying one ecological niche i. e., shifting cultivation and the dominant and politically elite Jathapus are occupying more productive niche i. e., land in the valleys for settled cultivation. Even if a few Savaras are

interested in settled cultivation, they cannot be provided with land because land suitable for such type of cultivation is not within their reach. They are not willing to settle down wherever land is provided because of various socio-cultural and economic reasons. Because of this, any attempt of land colonization for the benefit of these people is bound to fail.

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A Note on Genetic Disorders Among The Tribal Groups of Andhra Pradesh

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Andhra Pradesh has the largest concentration of scheduled tribe population in South India. The total tribal population, numbering about 1.7 millions in 32 aboriginal groups, constitutes about 3.8% of the total population of the State. These tribal groups differ in size, geographical distribution, primitiveness and cultural diversity. Among these groups, some tribes like Chenchu, Kolam and Konda Reddi have been identified as primitive groups, who are at preagricultural level of technology and who may be facing problems of survival on account of cultural contact with more civilized societies.

"The need for investigating these communities before they become extinct is therefore of our immediate attention. It must be also realised that their study is of interest not only for genetic reasons; pathology, epidemiology, sociology and a variety of other disciplines can benefit greatly from studies on disappearing primitive groups. It is also worth remembering that parallel studies in these disciplines essential for a thorough understanding of the genetic problems". (WHO Report, 1967).

More than 4,000 genetic disorders are known so for to us. Some of these are harmless, but many others are deleterious or harmful, manifesting in the form of diseases, of course, in selective conditions only. There is a great paucity of data on genetic disorders (so to say, still lesser amount of data on genetic diseases) among the tribal populations of Andhra Pradesh. Therefore an humble attempt is made on the incidence of three genetic disorders namely sickle cell haemoglobin, red cell enzyme Glucose-6-Phosphate dehydrogenase enzyme deficiency and colour blindness, on account of their availability in literature, as well as taking into account the author's own experience in the field. A very interesting picture emerges if we look into the distribution of these 3 traits among

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tribal populations, conditioned by the evolutionary force namely natural selection.'

SICKLE CELL TRAIT

The interest in the study of sickle cell trait has been stimulated on account of the probability that sickle cell trait individuals are more resistant than normal to malaria. Further, this condition is found to be more prevalent among tribal populations in different parts of India (Saha and Banerjee, 1973: and Sikumaran, 1978).

Genetic investigations carried out especially on the sickle cell trait are not so many from Andhra Pradesh populations. Since, Andhra Pradesh harbours a good number of tribal populations, some of which may be autochthonous and will be lost with no passage of time for genetic investigations in their pristine ecological conditions, the studies in this line should be encouraged. The present paper however makes an humble attempt to review the existing data on sickle cell trait among the tribal populations of Andhra Pradesh.

Table-1 shows that the data available on the tribes indicate that the Pardhans (Goud and Rao, 1979) exhibit a very high incidence of sickle cell trait, while the Chenchus of Kurnool district (Ramesh et al, 1980) record no incidence of the trait.

Sickle cell trait has been reported to be absent among the caste groups of Andhra Pradesh reported by Rao (cited from Goud and Rao, 1975). However, only one caste, a Scheduled Caste namely, Rellis from Visakhapatnam town record high incidence of the trait in two separately conducted studies 28.30% by Murty (1971) and 16.30% by Naidu and Mathew (1978).

It appears from the above discussion, the high incidence of sickle cell gene in the heterozygous condition is found among the tribals than in the caste groups on account of malarial endemicity in the tribal areas, which is responsible for the natural selection of this trait. It is already shown that the malarial parasite does not thrive in the red cells with the sickle cell haemoglobin Glucose-6-Phosphate Dehydrogenase (G6PD) deficiency.

In the similar lines, conclusions about the high incidence of another genetic disorder, i.e. Glucose-6-Phosphate dehydrogenase

(G6PD) deficiency which is a red cell enzyme deficiency among the tribal populations can be reached on account of malarial endemicity. However while the sickle cell haemoglobin is an autosomal character the G6PD deficiency is x-linked recessive character.

Table-2 presents the data on G 6 PD deficiency among the tribal populations of Andhra Pradesh. Here also not so many data are available from Andhra Pradesh. The lowest incidence (0%) of the trait is seen in Yanadis (Reddy and Mukherjee, 1980) and Koya Doras report the highest incidence of 12. 21% (Meera Khan, 1964). Here also the malarial hypothesis was applied by the workers, with the contention that the malarial parasite does not proliferate in the red blood cell with deficiency levels of G 6 PD enzyme, connected with glucose metabolism in the red cell. On the other hand, with regards to G 6 PD deficiency the caste populations do not present a total dismal picture unlike the sickle cell trait. Among the caste groups the trait ranges from 0% in Brahmins and Vysyas to 6. 25% in Madigas (Reddy and Mukherjee, 1980).

It appears, therefore, the higher incidence of G6PD deficiency among the tribals than in the castes along with the higher prevalance rates of sickle cell trait constitute to the survival of the tribal populations in their malarial environment in spite of the fact that the Hbs and Gd genes are deleterious in nature. However these two traits are apparently distributed in the tribals quite independently of each other. No definite conclusions are reached about their association in some of the studies attempted so far.

COLOUR BLINDNESS

The x-linked red-green colour blindness is widely used genetic market in the study of human variation. The two common subtypes of colour blindness are protanoid (red blindness), and deuteranoid (green blindness) forms.

The present paper reviews the data on colour blindness so far available in literature among the tribal populations of Andhra Pradesh. Table-3 represents the frequency of colour blindness among Andhra populations. The frequency of colour blindness ranges bet-

ween zero (Konda Kammaras, Jaikishan, 1973) to 6.80% also in Kondakammaras (A.U. Reports, 1977) of another series. It is interesting to note that the least and highest frequencies are found in the same tribe. Along with Konda Kammara (Jaikishan, 1973), the zero incidence is recorded by Jathapus(A.U. Reports, 1975), Konda Reddis (Dronam Raju and Meera Khan, 1963), Lambadis and Samanthas (A.U. Reports, 1979) and Pandava Nayakas (Dronam Raju and Meera Khan, 1963).

Coming to the non-tribal populations of Andhra Pradesh, the lowest frequency is zero recorded by Brahmins (Chandri Naidu, 1979) and Pathrulu (A.U.Reports, 1980). The highest frequency of 23.00% is recorded by Kshatriyas (Dronam Raju and Meera Khan, 1961) but the sample is too small.

The mean values of the frequency of colour blindness among tribals and non-tribals are 1.31% and 4.32% respectively which shows that the incidence of colour blindness is far less in case of tribals as compared to non-tribals.

Relaxation of Natural Selection:

According to Post (1962), it is expected that there will be high prevalance of colour blindness incidence among the populations belonging to pastoral-agricultural economies or settled habitat and low incidence rate in hunter and food gatherer groups due to the effect of relaxed selection. But Indian populations so far tested include mostly only 'pastoral or agricultural economies' or 'settled' or protected habitat groups. Practically very few of the "hunter-food gatherer" groups is represented. Virtually all the tribals practice agriculture and secondarily, hunting. Nevertheless, in order to study the selective mechanisms, the populations belonging to the "culturally advanced" society and the "primitive tribals" can be taken into account (Dutta, 1966).

Here if an attempt is made to test the validity of Post's hypothesis (1962) of relaxed selection against colour blindness, by categorizing the available data of Andhra Pradesh populations into 'advanced non-tribal' and 'primitive tribal series' by pooling the results of all the samples so far investigated, it appears that the

higher prevalence rates of the advanced non-tribals might have been caused by the effect of relaxed selection against colour blindness. This prevalence rate difference can be interpreted as evidence in support of Post's (1962) hypothesis of natural selection relaxation. It may be thought here that life would be handicapped with a condition like colour blindness in wild environment and the low prevalence among the tribals may for one reason, be due to the result of the high degree of selection pressure, whereas among the culturally advanced people, i.e. the advanced non-tribal series, the higher prevalence is due to the low degree of selection pressure. Therefore it can be contended here that absence or low incidence of colour blindness is a biologically advantage to the survival of the tribal populations in their wild environment and therefore Nature stamps its approval for the elimination of the trait from these populations.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The extent and nature of data on three genetic disorders among the tribes of Andhra Pradesh is reviewed here. There is an urgent need for collection of more data on the prevalence of these and other genetic disorders and particularly of genetic diseases among the tribals to well understand the course of evolution in view of their great relevance in the programmes of public health among the tribals and prophylactic measures should be attempted in the tribal areas. In this context special mention may be made on the need of recognition of wide prevalence of sickle cell trait as well as G-6-PD deficiency among the tribals. Administration of antimalarial drugs like primaquine which lead to hemolysis in G6 PD deficient individuals and thereby causing health hazards should be cautiously made. The medical and paramedical workers serving in tribal areas must be made aware of this fact.

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TABLE-19

DISTRIBUTION OF SICKLE-CELL TRAIT IN TRIBAL POPULATION OF ANDHRA PRADESH

Population	Number Tested	Phenotype Frequency (%) AA	AS	SS	Source
Konda Kammaras	204	71.08	28.43	0.49	Jaikishan et al, 1983.
Chenchu	62	100.00	0.00	0.00	Ramesh et al 1980
Chenchu	139	99.28	0.72	0.00	-do-
Jathapu	157	98.73	1.27	0.00	Rao, et al, 1978
Kolams	50	90.00	8.00	2.00	Ramesh-et al 1979.
Kolams	165	83.64	16.36	0.00	-do-
Koya Dora	547	92.14	7.86	0.00	Goud and Rao 1979.
Koya Dora	213	79.81	20.19	0.00	Babu, Veerraju and Naidu, 1980
Lambadi	154	97.36	2.64	0.00	Goud and Rao, 1979.
Naikpod	90	95.39	4.61	0.00	-do-
Pardhan	122	68.29	31.71	0.00	-do-
Raj Gond	197	88.16	11.34	0.00	-do-
Savaras	132	98.48	1.52	0.00	Rao et al., 1978.

TABLE-2

G6PD DEFICIENCY AMONG THE TRIBAL POPULATIONS OF ANDHRA PRADESH

Tribe	Number tested	G6PD Deficiency frequency.	Source
Koya Doras	365	3.56	Rao and Goud
Raj Gonds	197	2.54	-do-
Naikpods	86	1.16	-do-
Pardhans	101	0.00	-do-
Lambadis	154	1.30	-do-
Koya Doras	115	12.21	Meerakhan, 1964
Other tribals	90	3.3	-do-
Yanadis	50	0.00	Reddy and Mukherjee 1980.
Yerukulas	125	3.33	-do-
Sugalis	100	3.00	-do-

TABLE - 3

FREQUENCY OF COLOUR BLINDNESS IN TRIBAL POPULATION OF ANDHRA PRADESH

Population	Number	Percentage of colour blindness	Source
Konda Kammara	413	0.00	Jaikishan, 1982
Bagatha	114	0.88	Venkateswara Rao and Golla Reddy, 1973
Bagatha	260	1.15	Golla Reddi, 1973.
Bagatha	205	0.98	A.U. Reports, 1976.
Gadabas	192	0.81	A.U. Reports, 1976.
Gonds	138	0.72	A.U. Reports, 1979.
Jathapus	78	0.00	A.U. Reports, 1975.
Konda Kammara	103	6.80	A.U. Reports, 1977.
Konda Reddi	336	0.30	Veerraju, 1973.
Konda Reddi	61	0.00	Dronam Raju and Meerakhan, 1963.
Konda Reddi	170	2.86	A.U. Reports, 1971.
Koya	230	0.86	A.U. Reports, 1978.
Koya Dora	966	2.59	Dronam Raju and Meerakhan, 1963.
Koya Dora	216	1.87	A.U. Reports, 1971.
Koya Dora	75	1.33	A.U. Reports, 1977.
Koya Dora	505	0.79	Babu, 1981.
Lambadi	125	0.00	A.U. Reports, 1979.
Pandava Nayaka	24	0.00	Dronam Raju and Meerakhan 1963.
Samantha	250	0.00	A.U. Reports, 1979.
Sugali	51	1.96	Dronam Raju and Meerakhan, 1963.
Valmiki	130	3.85	Venkateswara Rao and Golla Reddi, 1973.
Valmiki	196	1.02	A.U. Reports, 1976,

Institutionalized Enchroachment on Man-Nature Relationship and Impact on Primitive Tribal Groups

Dr. V. N. V. K. SASTRY*

Many Central and State Governments sponsored projects are being taken up in tribal areas in the recent past. These projects sometimes became major irritants to the normal tribal life, especially in the case of food gathering and hunting primitive tribes because these programmes mainly aim at development of physical resources in that region or preservation of certain animal species etc., without any regard for the human populations living in the area of its operation. Sometimes, one gets an impression that the existence of man is forgotten while tampering with the nature around him with which he has been living in homeo-static integration since generations. Disturbance of this equilibrium without providing for a new equilibrium state results in dislocation of the tribal lives. A plea is made in the following pages for a new policy for treating tribal as partner in progress.

The initiation of development programmes in Central India belt comprising of Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh in the recent past has resulted in two types of encroachments into tribal life namely:- 1) enchroachment by non-tribal migrants and ii) encroachments by Government agencies and advanced tribal groups. The problem of non-tribal influx and its negative impact on tribal life is a well discussed topic and so repitition is avoided here. Some of the problems faced by tribals due to encroachments by Government agencies and by other powerful tribal groups are discussed here as solving these problems are not beyond the means of administrators.

Institutionalized Enchroachment :

The Primitive Tribal Groups living in the inaccessible forest areas are found to be facing problems mainly due to implementation

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of i) Major irrigation projects, ii) animal sanctuaries iii) forest operations and iv) mining and resources based industries. Some of the case studies pertaining to Andhra Pradesh have been reported here.

i) Irrigation Projects :

The major and medium irrigation schemes generally submerge tribal villages and lands to benefit some lands in the lower reaches. In case of Vengalaraya sagar project in Vizianagaram district in Andhra Pradesh now in progress, the total land likely to be submerged is 3219.90 acres covering 11 villages of which six are completely tribal villages. Majority of the 10,000 Hect. of ayacut to be created is in Bobbili Taluk and belonged to Non-tribals. A budget provision is also made to pay compensation to the persons whose lands, houses etc., have been submerged. The average amount paid per acre worked out to Rs. 2,500/-. Since most of the tribals did not own more than 3 acres, the average amount received worked out to Rs. 7,000/-. Interviews with tribals have revealed that they had spent the entire amount within one year as they did not have any other dependable occupation. Since the project is yet to be completed, the tribals can cultivate for three or four more years. Later on, they have go to agriculture labour. The tribals who were land-owners and subsisted for most part of the year with the produce from the lands will be mere agricultural labourers without guarantee for earning livelihood in near future. This could be avoided, if a conscious policy is taken to provide alternate stable occupations since the payment of compensation in cash would only put tribals in most disadvantageous position because of following reasons :

i) The land situated in scheduled area does not have a high sale value because sale of land does not take place normally between tribals and tribals, whereas any transfer between tribal and non-tribal is prohibited.

ii) Even when a sale between tribals occurs, the cash value is very small and this does not speak of real value of land which is capable of providing food grains for most part of the year.

A clearcut policy of rehabilitation under irrigation projects is needed at this stage because much more bigger problems is likely to showup when the Polavaram major irrigation project is takenup.

The preliminary project reports show that 233 villages covering 637.00 sq. kms are likely to be submerged in the taluks of Polavaram in West Godavari district, Rampachodavaram taluk in East Godavari District and Burgampahad and Bhadrachalam taluks in Khammam district (Govt. of A.P. 1982). A scrutiny of the list of villages coming under submersion shows that most of them are tribal villages and majority of the population (1,05,200) to be affected are Konda Reddis, a primitive tribal group depending on shifting cultivation and food-gathering.

One of the important suggestions given by the working group on Tribal Development during Sixth Five Year Plan is taking up a "scheme for rehabilitation of displaced tribals along with the requisite finance" (1980:133). This financial requirements should be fully met. The alternate land, either Government land or acquired from ayacut, should be provided and the "displaced communities are rehabilitated as communities". (1980:73). To ensure that this programme is fully incorporated, scrutiny by Commissioner, Tribal Welfare who can lend his expertise of his department to draw up suitable rehabilitation programmes be made compulsory.

ii) Animal Sanctuaries :

The spurt of animal sanctuaries in tribal areas in recent years, once again introduced with least regard for tribal life have actually disturbed the tribal life. The report of the Committee on Orientation of Forest Education in India, mentions about the need for tackling "with sympathy and respectful considerations of special and cultural milieu of tribals" (1983:1). From the tribals point of view the most problematic of the projects meant for saving the endangered species, is the "Project Tiger". By 1981, eleven reserves extending over an area of 15,800 Kms have been created in 10 States (1983:12).

In Andhra Pradesh, a "Tiger Sanctuary" was sanctioned in 1979-80 and located in the forest areas of Mahaboobnagar and Kurnool districts. (for details see Sastry: 1983). Rs. 46.00 lakhs was sanctioned for expenditure to be spread over four years. A "Task force" was also set up to review the progress of the scheme. The project covers contiguous areas covering 3560 Sq. Kms. of area (The Hindu : 1983) in which are included 73 habitations of Chenchus who have been identified as "Primitive Tribal Group" needing special attention in view

of the extreme backwardness, isolation, preagricultural stage of economy and illiteracy. As Chenchus of this area are still a food gathering tribe, they have to move over a large geographical area for gathering food and also to collect minor forest produce to sell in the weekly market to purchase salt, fish etc., They also attend to wage labour during forest operations by Forest Department in their vicinity. The 'Project Tiger' puts restrictions on their movements because no person is allowed to enter the core area and the tigers freely moved near tribal habitations as there was neither a trench nor barbed wire seperating the tiger project area from human habitations, schools etc., The more strange aspect of the scheme is that the rehabilitation measures did not start even after the starting of project. News about movement of tigers is sufficient to keep the tribal away from food gathering pursuit for atleast a week as they are scared. The ultimate result is that tribals on hearing about movement of tiger being often preferred go starved rather than attacked by tiger.

The basic contradiction in the approach of "Project Tiger" is the scant respect shown to the human population living the area over generations (i.e. Tribals) whose protection and welfare is a commitment on the part of another wing of same Government i.e. Ministry of Home Affairs,. The biased approach on the part of forest department led the tribals to believe that the animal is more important to Government than human beings It is high time that the rehabilitation project is started. In future, as suggested in the case of irrigation projects, the Commissioner, Tribal Development should be consulted where any new animal project is taken up in tribal area.

iii) Forest Management :

Eversince the Governments started considering that all the natural resources including forests belonged to the state, they began to increase their control over them. This has resulted in slow reduction in the command of tribals over the near nature since the "decision making recedes farther away from the field and special relationship of tribals with forests is not appreciated" (Sharma B D.). Whenever the external infringement was unbearable, the tribals revolted. This infringement has become more systematic since mid-nineteenth century when the state management of forests "made in-roads into the uses and benefits derived by tribals from forests" (Government of India: 1980.80). The National Forest Policy, 1952 recommended coverage of:

1/3 of the total land area under forests from the level of nearly 1/5 of area at that time. The Forest conservation Act, 1980 has almost put a blanket ban on deforestation. The commercial forestry and management of existing resources by forest department continues to done without consideration for man-nature relationship inspite of the fact that the problem is under discussion by several administrators, scholars, committees and commissions, and various recommendations are made. One can not say with confidence that even the present direction of the forestry programme is to make tribal a partner in progress. On the other, the management of nature leaving out the man who is the most important part of it is some times resulting in overnight pauparization. The undue control over forests by state has brought many miseries to Gonds and Kolams in Adilabad District (Haimendorf, 1945, 1945a, Sastry, 1976, 1979). The teak plantation work in Konda Reddi area in West Godavari District in Andhra Pradesh has completely dislocated the traditional tribal livelihood pursuits including shifting cultivation while the programme itself could not provide wage labour for more than six months in an year (Sastry:1983).

In view of these problems, the stress should be that in any activity taken up in tribal area, its possible effect on tribal life should be assessed well in advance and the plan of action should include the involvement of tribals at appropriate technological levels.

iv) Mining and Large Industries :

The abrupt juxtaposition of big industries with agroforest traditional culture in Central India tribal belt "has produced delerious results for tribals" (Government of India, 1980:92). These problems were discussed in detail by various scholars (for example Vidyardhi, 1968), Commissions, Committee and working Groups on Tribal Development. Suggestions of far reaching nature have also been made. What is now needed is a conscious policy, political will and administrative action to implement them.

To sum up, the primitive tribal groups till very recently lived in a state of homeo-static integration with nature. This relationship between nature and man was some times disturbed by internal factors such as drought, disease, floods, etc., and the society slowly reestablished the equilibrium in course of time. But when the equilibrium condition was disturbed by an outside agency, especially the Government as a part of the policy of protecting, developing and harnessing

the nature, the society has no traditional means to bring back the equilibrium condition. Then the State itself should provide for built in safeguards to local populations with due regards to traditional interaction of man with nature. Otherwise, the primitive tribal groups may perish or revolt depending on their capacity or incapacity to resist the infringement.

NEED FOR RESERVATIONS FOR PRIMITIVE TRIBAL GROUPS

Besides the above enchroachments by the Institutions the primitive tribal groups also at disadvantageous position with regards to their share in development benefits since the relatively advanced communities are cornering the benefits

After an analysis of the special programmes taken up by the Government since the inception of Multipurpose tribal development programmes in Second Five Year Plan, various Committees, Commissions, Scholars, Administrations etc., have felt that the benefits of development are being cornered by the vociferous groups among tribals. Studies conducted by some scholars (for example Sastry: 1983) have shown that road-side villages had better development scores than the interior tribal villages. To ensure that the growth, is spread uniformly over the area, the integrated development approach was accepted for implementation in areas of tribal concentration. In order that the backward tribal groups get special treatment, the Primitive Tribal Groups among them have been identified and special funds are being provided.

A general review of the development present situation of the Primitive Tribal Groups now shows that:- T.W. Dept is hardly Completed.

a) Special projects have been created by providing special funds for development.,

b) Special family oriented programmes have been formulated and action plans were drawn,

c) The programmes taken up are mostly with the special funds provided by Govt., of India and general development departments do not play any important role in the development of P.T.Gs.,

d) Eventhough most of the primitive tribal groups live in I.T.D.A. areas, the I.T.D.A. funds are spent on other tribal groups while the P.T.G. funds are spent on P.T.Gs., there by depriving the P.T.Gs., of their normal share of funds.

e) In view of their continued dependence on food-gathering, shifting agriculture etc., occupations, they need larger geographical areas for organizing their livelihood activities. But the infringement by Government organisations and private individuals in recent years on their ecology is curtailing their activities.

f) Since there is no special reservation in services, development benefits etc., for P.T.Gs, most of the opportunities are being availed by relatively advanced tribal groups,

g) In view of the inaccessibility of their habitations, hardly any development institutions were established in these areas.

The above situation calls for evolving of a new strategy with a strong bias in favour of primitive tribal groups. Since the sympathy alone is not sufficient, it is suggested that certain administrative actions as follows are to be taken:

1) All schemes like major irrigation, animal sanctuary etc., should be cleared only after the scrutiny by commissioner, Tribal welfare who can ensure that the tribals interests are protected. He may veto certain proposals which harm the interests of tribals and reasonable alternatives are not available.

2) Reservation of certain percentage of funds allotted to I.T.D.A for P.TGs, for determining the funds, special weightage for backwardness should be given,-gradation if necessary.

3) In programmes like health, the programme should start from P.T.G. areas and their special health programmes should be tackled. Integrated Mother and Child development programmes should be takenup on priority.

4) In most cases, the P.T.G inhabited areas could be carved out as pockets and they can be declared as kind of Reserves on the pattern of Andaman and Nicobar Islands Regulation, 1956. There can be a special plan within sub-plan for P.T G. areas and population.

5) In services, scholarships, admissions to Public Schools, Reputed Schools and Professional Colleges, there can be quota for P.T.Gs., within the S.T. quota.

6) Special schemes like Central Ashram Schools for P.T.Gs., can be started. Such Schools for Kolams in Adilabad District in Andhra Pradesh have already proved to be successful as the response for admissions was on an unprecedented scale.

7) Any scheme taken up in the P.T.G. inhabited area, should provide for their involvement at appropriate level or should provide for safeguarding their natural rights in those areas.

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A NOTE ON
The Issues Facing Administrators In Tribal Regions

P. SHARMA*

1. General

The process of development (as understood in terms of better services like roads, electricity, piped water etc., and a higher level of material culture) assumes the proportions of a myth in a society like ours. To question its ends or to seek to interrupt or redirect its progress is considered nothing short of sacrilegious. It is another matter that very few people who are part of the developmental process have a clear conceptualization of the goals of such development. Once begun, the process adopts a mementum of its own and hurtles along to its unknown destination.

The issues raised in this note represent the personal opinions of the author and are based on about ten months working experience in Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. Five of these months were spent in and around the Abhujmad region and most of the observations below relate to the experience of dealing with the Abhujmaria or Hill Maria tribe. The "opening up" of Abhujmad is only just beginning, which is why some amount of self-doubt and heart-searching on the part of the administrators involved in this process is urgent as much as it is imperative. Bastar district itself has numerous instances of unplanned "opening up" and the resultant large scale land alienation to migrant groups, impoverishment and psychological and emotional rootlessness. The issues discussed below are thus the outcome of an experience which is partly personal and partly historical.

2. "Development".

The kind of development we have chosen in this country may be called for purposes of simplicity a modified western model. There

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is a certain history of this kind of development in the non-tribal areas, which does not concern us here, but because of which it is there to stay. What we must question is whether the same model can be transplanted from scratch in a tribal area where there is no tradition of such development and where it cannot but be a form of cultural imperialism, howsoever unpalatable that sounds. I will take two examples here to illustrate this point:

(1) The appearance of pucca road is considered an indicator of development per se. Consider the impact of the building of a network of motorable roads in a region like Abhujmad as a first step of "opening up". The group which immediately benefits is the transient contractor who builds the road, the trader and the official who wants to make a quick acquisitive foray into the forest. The Marias at present have no agricultural surplus which needs to be marketed. There is not enough traffic to justify running a bus service. Yet it need not be assumed that roads must never be built in Abhujmad; it is important to be at least aware of all the consequences of building one.

(2) Electrification serves as another good example. Bringing electricity to a people who don't even use kerosene does not seem odd to whoever sets the targets, which then acquire a tyranny that asks only for absolute unquestioning compliance.

It must again be stressed here that these things are not evil in themselves. What is needed is a scale of priorities laying down what will follow what. The kind of quantum jump which is involved in telescoping the technology of millienia into a few years might create nothing more than bewilderment and outright fear in the tribal mind.

3. The Politics of Exchange

Not one person involved in developmental activity encountered by the present author in the course of the last one year felt he had anything to exchange with a tribal. He had only to give-whether it was a loan, or a sanction or even advice. "Take" meant only a chicken, some tribal artifact to decorate the living room, honey or the inebriating 'sulphi' juice of the sago palm. There is not a trace of self-doubt I have encountered in anyone about the superiority of the non-tribal lifestyle over that of the tribal. The problem arises because

willy-nilly these enviously self-assured people are also cultural ambassadors in the eyes of the tribal. And the culture they represent before the tribal is so vexingly cocky and confident that it cannot but excite fear and distrust. In Abhujmad where government machinery is still limited to schools, men must be sufficiently intoxicated to confront even as harmless (in our eyes at least) a person as a Block Development Officer.

The sensitive administrator is thus saddled with a situation in which the most well-intentioned of schemes end up as a great favour someone at a functional level doles out to one or more of a group of tribals. There is a critique of the life-style of the tribal inherent in the very nature of programmes which proceed on the assumption that what they seek to replace is not worth even a second look before it is swept away.

The education policy being followed in Abhujmad provides a good example of the assumed cultural superiority of developmental programmes. There are 65 primary schools spread in the 250 odd villages in the region. The medium of instruction is Hindi, which as far as the Maria children are concerned is as foreign as Swahili or Serbo-Croat. When primary education in the mother tongue is more or less a nationally accepted principle then why must not the Maria children have their first introduction to literacy via Gondi? To take this point a little further, the way the educational process unfolds for the Maria child, it is soon apparent that he/she must constantly be surmounting hurdles, the getting over of each of which brings them further away from the moorings where they first discovered themselves. After mastering a foreign language he is conditioned to wear different clothes. All that he learns in school makes him aware only of the low economic status of his tribe, their "primitiveness" and cultural "backwardness". His mind is thrown into confusion at the negation of tribal values he encounters in the world he slowly encounters through his text books. In the "civilized" world only sadhus and lunatics wear the loin cloth and only woman of low character uncover their breasts before strangers.

By the time he will emerge from school the educated Maria's confidence in his historical tradition will be in absolute disarray. Yet he will never belong fully to the world which showed him the limitations of society. He will be ill-equipped for jobs outside that

call for educated skills because others possess them in greater measure than him. Uprooted from his setting he will be condemned to function only as a quasi-member of the non-tribal world.

4. What is to be done?

It is not enough that we must anticipate these bleak scenaries. The challenge is how to avoid them. In this context the following suggestions are being made:

(1) Need-based planning. This must be done at as functional a level as possible and the scope for flexibility should be enormous. The best guides are the tribals themselves who are to be the beneficiaries of any developmental effort. Instead of planning from above about roads, water wells, electricity etc., let us plan from below, using clusters of villages as development units.

(2) Education for all its limitations still remains the only medium which has the potential of affecting the least painless transition of tribals into the modern age. But only a drastically reorganised pattern of education can achieve this ambitious goal. Change over to the mother tongue at the primary level a school year which suits the tribal agricultural year and a thoroughly revised curriculum could be beginnings in this direction.

(3) One area where the tribals are most receptive to change is the agricultural sector. In 1983-84 when the Integrated Rural Development Programme was first extended to Abhujmad about 1500 of the 4000 odd households came forward to accept loans to buy bullocks and level land. Shifting cultivation can be phased out in as little as 5 years if alongwith encouraging settled cultivation a horticultural programme can be begun, because the technology of banana and papaya cultivation is already available with the Marias.

(4) To support, in fact to ensure the success of these efforts, we must continue to practice "negative politics" in regions like Abhujmad. At present there is no revenue or forest jurisdiction in this area. This must be continued despite the temptation to exploit the forest and mineral resources available here. The arrival of government machinery must not coincide with the limiting or withdrawl of the rights the tribal has traditionally enjoyed over the forest.

All this only if we believe that perhaps there is something we have to learn before we set out to preach.

Great Andamanese - Programme For Development

K. MOHAN RAO *

ABSTRACT

Great Andamanese are one of the four Negrito tribe originally inhabiting South Andaman. Previously, Great Andamanese comprised of ten endogamous groups with an estimated population between 5, 000 and 8, 000. By the turn of the 20th Century their number was reduced to 625 (A.R.Radcliffe-Brown, 1906-8) due to ravages of contact with convict population from various parts of India settled in penal settlement since 1858 and consequent exposure to contageous and epidemic diseases like syphilis, measles, tuberculosis, flue etc.

By 1976 they numbered about 19 souls living scattered and leading a life of vice and misery in and around Portblair completely rooted out of their native moorings.

In order to save the group from total extinction and introduce them to group life and sedentary occupations, the nineteen Great Andamanese have been rehabilitated in a small Island called Strait Island of about 5 Sq. Km. area since 1976 by the Andaman and Nicobar administration. Since then their number increased to 28 and all the children born were sired by non-tribals. These 28 people are distributed into 9 house-holds at present. However, of these 9 house-holds only three have complete families with wife, husband and children. Only three women are in the reproductive age group.

The administration developed a well laid out colony for them with 8 semi pacca houses provided with modern facilities like electricity, internal roads, community hall, cooperative stores, dispensary with a compounder, Balwadi etc

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Coconut plantation was also developed on a twenty acre plot. Citrus plants, Mango, Jack and other fruit bearing trees were also raised. An iron smithy unit is also introduced. A Piggery unit with exotic pigs was introduced and wound up as it did not find favour with the tribals even though they are fond of pigs and Pork. A Cow unit introduced has been thriving well and multiplying. All these were created and multiplying. All these were created as community assets without individual ownership. Fishinglines, nets, baskets and boats were also provided to individual families.

The Coconut plantation is in a state of neglect as the tribals forgot their traditional concept of corporate ownership with the distruction of the cohesive elements of their traditional social system. The yorkshire pig unit was wound up as the tribals complained that they are not interested in white pigs as they are accustomed to black country pigs either domesticated or hunted in the local forests. These native pigs can thrive as domesticated ones and wild ones as well when driven to forests. Though the Cow unit is multiplying, milk yield is not upto expected level, since the tribals are neither accustomed to proper management nor imparted training in milk cattle management or dairying.

The dispensary is not serving the medical and health needs of the tribals to the expected level. The Compounder has no interest to serve the tribals and he tries to abscond from the Island at the earliest opportunity. Consequently the tribals are still suffering from scabbies, lung infections; T.B., and V.D., also.

In contrast to Onge, the Andamanese have been living amidst plains population for over a century and a quarter and in the process imbibed many features of the way of life of the plains people apart from their vices. Prior to their settlement in Starit Island, they were living individually in different parts of South Andaman. One man was working as an assistant to a blacksmith while another was in the Bush-Police. Some of them had very good experience of doing business with plains people by way of selling edible bird nests, hunted deer flesh, pork etc., even-though these transactions were not always to their advantage. They still maintain contact with portblair. Most of them made frequent trips to portblair in their boats to secure their daily requirements like cloth, iron for the arrows and even opium. One

man manufactured a boat and sold it to one customer in Portblair. Out of 9 grown up men and 8 women, 3 men and 2 women can read and write. Out of the 17 adult Andamanese except one who is too old to work and suffering from blood pressure, loss of eye-sight etc., the rest are capable of doing some work or the other. 4 of the adult males are already employed by the Samithi as Cow attendant, mali, helper to generator operator and ward boy in the dispensary. One Andamane woman is also an employee of the Samithi as Baby Sitter in Balwadi. Similarly, being a small group, each one of the other adult Andamanese can be fruitfully introduced to settled way of life and associated occupations like orchard growing plantation maintenance, piggery management, poultry management, blacksmithy and Carpentary, fishing etc,.

Recommendations :

As a first step in the direction the 9 Andamanese families could be given individual family plots of coconut trees and orchard plants instead of the present practice of leaving the plantation and orchard as communal assets. As carrollary to this action, the existing practice of giving monthly allowances to each family should be modified except in the case of aged and sickly persons suffering from chronic diseases that cannot be cured. Except those employed by the Samithi the rest may be given daily wages as per the work assigned to them in their family plots. For this purpose an agricultural assistant or Field Man could be stationed at Strait Island to supervise and guide the Andamanese for about 1 year by which time they are expected to maintain the plantations and orchards on their own. During our 2 visits to Strait Island we could contact 5 heads of families out of 9, the remaining could not be contacted as they were away on a fishing expedition. All of them expressed the desire to undertake agriculture and raising of poultry, besides growing citrus plants. For this purpose an agricultural farm of 5 acres may be started in Strait Island and interested Andamanese may be trained in Ploughing, sowing, harvesting and other agricultural operations besides maintenance of a pair of Plough bullocks. Necessary agricultural implements may be provided. However, citrus plant, orchards may be raised in one acre plots assigned to individual families for raising the plants.

2) Though the Andamanese are fond of Pork, wild pig is

almost extinct in Strait Island. Similar to the Onges of Little Andaman. Nicobaree pigs, about 200 in number may be brought and let loss in the forests, as they can thrive very well in the forests as is the case in Nicobar Islands. One or two piggery units may also be stationed for domestication purposes with interested Andamane families. The Programme may by extended to other families depending upon their favourable response.

3) The Cows of the present cowunit may be distributed to individual Andamanese families with a cow attendant looking after them. Necessary Veterinary coverage, through a visiting Veterinary Assistant Surgeon from Portblair, may be provided. If it becomes a felt need with other families, cows may be stationed with these families also. The cow attendant may also be given training in dairying in Portblair as he is showing keen interest in the maintenance of cows.

4) 9 Units of poultry with 10 birds each including a fowl may be stationed with the 9 families. The poultry birds may be brought from Nicobar Islands instead of bringing in exotic birds as the Nicobaree birds can withstand the rigours of tropical climate characterised by heavy rains and high humidity.

5) For fishing and turtle hunting the Andamanese were given nets, fishing lines, hooks, Nylon ropes, threads etc. However, the Andamanese are complaining that though enough fish is available, turtles are not available around the island. The fisheries Department may help by starting a turtle hatchery on an experimental basis so as to help replenish the sea around with turtle population. In the alternative, the feasibility of catching turtle elsewhere, where they are in plenty, and leaving them in the sea around the island in sufficient numbers may also be considered.

6) Education is another important programme that has not been given its due place. The present Andamanee baby sitter is neither having the necessary basic education nor training to teach children of pre-primary stage. Actually a creche-cum-Balwadi is to be organised with present Andamane woman continuing as Baby sitter while a properly trained teacher is posted by the Samithi, to teach the children in the Pre-primary stage. This can serve the children in the age group of 0–6 who are at present 10 in number. Those who have crossed the 6th year, hardly one or two in number at present, may be

sent to the proposed Ashram school for Onges at Little Andaman after convincing the Andamanee parents.

7) For a dwindling tribe medical and health care should be given the highest priority not only to protect the existing population but also to help them procreate. Similar to Onges, the interest shown between 1976-78 by the Medical and Health Department seem to be on the wane. As mentioned earlier a Compounder who is not interested in the work was posted to Strait Island. He is always trying to run away from his job at the earliest opportunity. The visits of the Doctor from Portblair hospital do not seem to be regular. If the boat Milale is under repairs the doctor may not be visiting them. Until V.D., and tuberculosis are completely eradicated within a reasonable period of time i.e., about one year, a resident doctor may be posted. During one of the visits, a Doctor accompanied the team to Strait Island. He was sitting at one place and asking those tribals who are having any ailment to come to him for treatment. Only a few of them approached him. This should not be the apprach to treat these primitive tribes. The Doctor should have subjected all the Andamanese in the Island to a thorough medical check-up and prescribed necessary medicines. The Compounder also can make visits to the 9 Andamanee houses daily and administer medicine as per the prescription of the doctor. Actually the Andamanese complained against the negligence of the Compounder in giving them medicines even when they approached him. Being a small group of 28 people only, it is not difficult for the Doctor or the Compounder to pay individual attention daily. Besides the general physician to be stationed and Compounder, a Gynaecologist and a child specialist may also visit the island once in a month to afford special treatment to the women and children.

8) Most of the Andamanee males developed skill in Carpentary and Blacksmithy. A small Blacksmithy unit established already is utilised by the Andamanese. They may be supplied Carpentary tool kits, after giving further training to improve the existing skill. Though this programme is included in the VI Plan proposals for 1981-82 no action has been taken so far to introduce the scheme.

9) Though Bee keeping also has been included as one of the programme during 1981-82, no action has been taken so far, to

introduce bee-hive boxes in the Strait Island. Each family may be given a bee-hive box with a bee-colony as per the programme.

Keeping in view, these differences in geo-ethnic and eco-systems between the Onges and the Great Andamanese, while not attempting any major shift in the present plantation oriented approach (as it is not advisable to completely reverse the on-going programmes and processes of implementation) certain modifications are suggested to the existing programme pattern as given below.

I. AGRICULTURE:

Recurring:

1. Salary of an Agricultural Assistant @ Rs. 800/- per month (consolidated) for 12 months : Rs. 9,600-00

Non-Recurring:

2. A pair of Plough Bullocks @ Rs. 3,000/- per pair. : Rs. 3,000-00

3. Agricultural implements:

   a) Plough : Rs. 500-00

   b) Spade, Crowbar, and other implements. : Rs. 300-00

   c) Land reclamation @ Rs. 500/- per acre for 5 acres. : Rs. 2,500-00

   d) Raising of citrus plants, 100 plants per acre 5 acres 500 plants, cost of plants @ Rs. 5/- for plant : Rs. 2,500-00

   (5 x 500)

: Rs. 18,400-00

II. STATIONING OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS & POULTRY:

4.	Letting lose 200 Nicobery pigs in forests around the Andamanese settlement @ Rs. 200/- per pig.	: Rs.	40,000-00
5.	Stationing of Nicobary piggery unit of 1 each with 2 Andamane families @ Rs. 200/-	: Rs.	400-00
6.	Stationing of Cow unit of 2 each with 2 Andamane families. The 2nd Cow is to be given after the first one becomes dry.	: Rs.	6,000-00
7.	Training to 2 Andamanese beneficiaries at the Dairy farm at Portblair for 3 months stipend @ Rs. 150/- per month for 3 months.	: Rs.	900-00
8.	Stationing of Niccbary poultry units of 10 each with each Andamane family of Strait Island. Cost of 9 units 9 x 10 = 90 birds. @ Rs. 20/- per bird and Rs. 200/- per unit	: Rs.	1,800-00
		: Rs.	49,100-00

III. EDUCATION:

9. Opening of Creche to accommodate 2 children.

NON-Recurring:

a) Two cradles @ Rs. 500/- each	: Rs.	1,000-00
b) Toys	: Rs.	100-00

Recurring:

a) Nappies (small bed sheets, clothes, etc.)	: Rs.	400-00
b) Salary of a S.G.B.T. teacher @ Rs. 800/- per month for 12 months.	: Rs.	9,600-00
c) Salary of Daya @ Rs. 150/- per month for 12 months.	: Rs.	1,800-00
d) Dress for Daya.	: Rs.	200-00
e) Training for Daya at Portblair for 3 months stipend @ Rs. 150/- per month for 3 months.	: Rs.	450-00
f) Milk and other solid foods.	: Rs.	2,000-00
	: Rs.	15,550-00

IV. HEALTH AND MEDICAL FACILITIES:

10.	Stationing of a Doctor for one year salary of Rs. 1,800/- per month (consolidated) for 12 months.	: Rs. 21,600-00
11.	*Cost of medicines	: Rs. 25,000-00
		: Rs. 46,600-00
I.	Agriculture	: Rs. 18,400-00
II.	Stationing of Domestic Animals and Poultry	: Rs. 49,100-00
III.	Education	: Rs. 15,550-00
IV.	Health and Medical facilities	: Rs. 46,600-00
	GRAND TOTAL	: Rs. 1,29,650-00

Plan for the Development of Onges of Little Andaman

—M.V. KRISHNA RAO*

ABSTRACT

Onge is one of the four Negrito tribe exclusively inhabiting the little Andaman Island. Similar to Great Andamanese Onges were also previously hostile to out siders. However unlike the perpetually hostile Jarawa and Sentinelese, the Onges have been befriended within a period of 20 years since their first contact with outsiders around 1867. But their contact with outsiders was sporadic and limited to occasional official visitor or foreign fishermen or merchants from Burma or China. It was from 1970 onwards that Onges started having constant contact with settlers who were introduced as part of rehabilitation policy of Government of India. Until then they were leading an almost undisturbed life having the whole of Little Andaman for their hunting and food gathering activity by which they were living as true children of nature adopted to the ecosystem of the Island. The area of the Island is 731 Sq.Kms.

Successive Census enumarations indicate that Onge population has declined from 672 (1901 Census Count) to 97 (1981 Census count). Today their number is 96. Sterility and malnutrition were ruled out as probable causes for the decline of Ongé population by genetisists and doctors. The main causes may be high incidence of venerial diseases, T.B. and lung infections resulting in high infant and adult mortality.

It was by the second year of 5th Five Year Plan that systematic planning and thinking for the development of Onges has taken a definite shape, the result being the establishment of the Andaman Adim Janjati Vikas Samithi on 1-4-1976. The Andaman Adim Janjati Vikas Samithi (AAJVS) was registered with the registrar of Joint Companies, District of Andamans on 25th March, 1976 with the following objectives.

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1) To protect the health and prevent the extinction of the primitive tribal groups, Great Andamanese, Onges, Shompens, Jarawas and Sentenalese inhabiting Andaman and Nicobar islands.

2) To promote the economic and social development of the said primitive tribal communities.

3) To take a comprehensive view of the problems of these tribal groups and to develop and promote tribal welfare programmes in pursuance of the national policy for their development.

4) To develop measures for co-ordination of Governmental, institutional and voluntary action for protection of their economic and social environments, essential for their survival and growth.

The samithi and Administration created the necesssary infrastructure as given below. 1) Created a Onge settlement with 26 semi-pacca independent houses built in two rows facing each other with large open space in between at Dugong Creek besides 6 similar houses at South Bay Onge settlement. The houses were built on wooden stilts of about 6 to 8 feet height on which one open room with a thatched roof and another closed room with G.C.I. sheet roofing and windows were constructed. Steps were also provided to the house on the stilts. Quarters were also built for social worker, Doctor, Generator operator, A.N.M etc. Buildings were also constructed for housing the electric generator, Hospital, community hall-cum-literacy centre.

2) Six wells were dug at different points to provide drinking water to the Dugong settlement inhabitants besides two wells at South Bay.

3) A small Jetty was constructed at Dugong Creek to facilitate the berthing of the small ship of the samithi.

4) A pig pen was constructed to house the Yorkshire pig unit which was subsequently wound up as the Onges, refused to accept the domesticated white pigs.

5) A cow unit with 4 cows and 2 Bulls is also stationed one calf and 4 she calves have been procreated by the unit at Dugong Creek.

6) An electric generator has been stationed at Dugong Creek to provide electricity to the Onge huts and to the Government Institutions and staff quarters. Each Onge hut is provided with two light points and the generator provides electricity between 6 P.M. and 10 P.M. The Onge huts at South Bay are not so far electrified.

7) A hospital is also established comprising dispensary, patients-ward with five beds and maternity facilities. The Doctor appointed earlier had left the place long time back and the Doctor incharge of dispensary at Hut Bay is kept incharge of the post. At present one A.N.M. is onduty, at Dugong Creek. No such facilities are created at South Bay settlement.

8) A big coconut plantation started earlier at Dugong Creek and another at South Bay have been thriving without the expected yields. The reasons for the poor yields are that their manitenance heavily depended upon Onge labour. Onges being still in the habit of going on long hunting and gathering expeditions into the forests, sometimes days together, neglect the plantation work inspite of paying daily wages. Though Onges relish the coconut water and cream, still they could not so far treat the plantation as their own.

9) Besides the food gathered by the Onge through their traditional methods of hunting and gathering, the administration also doles out ration to supplement their diet. The scale of ration per head per month is given below:

1.	Rice	5 Kg.
2.	Atta	9 Kg.
3.	Sugar	500 Grms.
4.	Amulmilk	500 Grms.
5.	Groundnut oil	500 Grms.
6.	Dalda	500 Grms
7.	Dall	500 Grms.
8.	Tamarind	100 Grms.
9.	Chilli powder	50 Grms.
10.	Haldi powder	50 Grms.
11.	Dhaniya powder	50 Grms.
12.	Tobacco leaves	500 Grms.
13.	Onions	500 Grms.

14.	Match Boxes	2 Nos.
15.	Candle (Medium size)	1 Pkt.
16.	Washing soap	1 No.
17.	Bathing soap	1 No.
18.	Salt	500 Grms.
19.	Kerosine	2 Ltrs.
20.	B.B.T.	500 Grms.

Half of the scale to be given to minors who are below 08 years.

Besides the above rations two sets of shirts and skirts for men and two sets of Lungi and Blouses for women are given free of cost to the Onges at Dugong Creek and South Bay. A provision store is also established on co-operative basis for selling daily requirements to the Onges of Dugong Creek. Minor Forest Produce like Dhup, Resin, Honey etc., besides coconuts collected from the plantation by individual Onges are also purchased at reasonable prices and the money deposited in their individual accounts against which the daily requirements are sold to individual Onges. To utilise this facility the South Bay Onges have to come to Dugong Creek.

10) Pradesh Council member and another old aged Onge are paid Rs. 350/- (By pradesh council) and Rs. 100/- (By AAJVS) as monthly honoraria.

11) Each Onge household is also given by AAJVS mugs, cooking vessels, eating plates, Drinking water tumblers and electric bulbs, 1 to 3 in numbers, free of cost. They are also given 'fishing lines, hooks, nylon threads, nets, turtle hunting barbed hooks and ropes.

12. One adult education-cum-Balwadi centre was also established but this is not functioning now as the teacher incharge of the centre had resigned about 8 months back.

Besides maintaining the above programmes, that were either started in V Five Year Plan or the 1st 3 years of VI Five Year Plan, the AAJVS also proposes the introduction of Bee-Keeping and training in carpentary during the VI Five Year Plan, to perpetuate the skill of Onges in Honey collection and canoe making by supplying them the Bee- hive boxes and carpentary tools after giving them adequate trainings in the two trades.

The AAJVS has formulated an ambitious programme touching various facets of Onges and other primitive tribal groups with an outlay of Rs. 109-005 lakhs for the VI plan period of 1980-81 to 1984-85. During the last 3 years of the VI plan an amount of Rs. 23.18 lakhs was spent out of a total outlay of Rs. 54.16 lakhs on all the primitive tribes, which works out to 42.8% of the outlay. The major items of outlay and the expenditure are on the running and maintenance of the ship M.V.Milale varying from 2 to 3 lakhs, providing housing facilities, rural development payments to social and medical workers, Samithi's establishment charges etc. The details of expenditure and outlay are given in Annexure I to III. The outlay and expenditure on various schemes for the past three years have been further categorised according to benefits accruing to Onges exclusively, Onges combined with Great Andamanese, all five primitive tribes including Onges and other Primitive tribal groups excluding Onges (Annexures IV to VI). The exercise is done with a view to arrive at the per capita and perfamily expenditure and outlay on the Onges by taking expenditure and outlay on schemes exclusively benefiting Onges (100%), 50% of the expenditure and outlay on schemes benefitting Onges and Great Andamanese and 20% of the expenditure and outlay on schemes benefitting 5 Primitive tribes. Percapita and per family expenditure and outlay of Onges thus arrived at is presented in Annexure VIII. The per capita expenditure and outlay per year worked out to Rs. 3,411 and Rs. 5,078 respectively, while the respective figures per family are Rs. 9,633 and Rs. 16,032. This shows the huge investment that is made on the Onges for their development.

Inspite of this huge expenditure the standard of living, the health condition, the educational standards attained seem to be not commensurate with the investment made as shown in the discussion in the previous pages and as summarised below:

1) The Onges still continue to be food gatherers, hunters and fishermen without exibiting the necessary interest and sense of owning the coconut plantation, cow unit and piggery unit (wound up).

2) The Onge's still suffer from skin diseases like Ringworm, Scabies etc., Incidence of T.B and Venerial diseases seem to be on the Increase.

3) Adult education and Balwadi Centres are not functioning.

The above situation seems to be a product of illconceived priorities adopted in programme formulation and execution. Though health and medical care has been given due priority, over emphasis seems to have been placed on coconut based plantation economy, electrification and provision of semi-pacca wooden houses built on stilts. In this connection the comment of B.D. Sharma is appropriate, (An approach to the development of Onges in Little Andaman, Journal of Social Research, Vol. XIX No. II). He said "If we closely examine these presumptions we will find that the only two grounds which can be reasonably accepted are 1) The expressed felt need of the people which by implication can be deemed to have arisen because of other conditions having altered and 2) A belief that the social services cannot be provided otherwise. In relation to other aspects there is neither a clear understanding about the present level of subsistence of this group nor is there a clear idea about the future course of their economic life".

In view of the modified strategy suggested by giving proper priority to domestication of animals, childcare, education facilities, the following modifications are suggested to the VI Plan programmes of A.A.J.V.S. for the benefit of Onges. (A summary of schemes of AAJVS are given in Annexure IX).

Stationing of Domestic Animals and Poultry

1. Letting lose 200 Nicobaree pigs in the forests around Onge settlement @ Rs. 200/- per pig.	: Rs.	40,000-00
2. Stationing of Nicobaree Piggery units of 5 each with 5 Onge families @ Rs. 200/- per pig and Rs. 1000/- per unit (if it becomes a felt need with other Onge families, the Programme may be extended to the remaining families).	: Rs.	1,500-00
3. Training of Onges to whom the piggery units are allotted with Nicobaree families near Hut Bay. Stipend @ Rs. 100/- per head per month for 3 months.	: Rs.	1,500-00
Note : Out of these 5 beneficiaries one beneficiary may be selected from Onge settlement at South Bay.		
4. The stationing of Cow unit of 2 each with 4 Onges families. The 2nd Cow is to be given after the first one becomes dry. cost of each Cow @ Rs. 1500/- for 8 cows of 4 Units.	: Rs.	12,000-00
5. Training to 4 Onge beneficiaries at the dairy farm at Port Blair for 3 months. Stipend @ Rs. 150/- for three months	: Rs.	1,800-00
Note : If it becomes a felt need of other Onge families, the benefit may be extended to the other families also in course of time One beneficiary may be selected from the Onge settlement of South Bay for training.		
6. Stationing of Nicobaree poultry units of 10 each with Onge families of South Bay and Dugong Creek (34 families and 34 units) @ Rs. 20/- per bird and Rs. 200/- per unit.	: Rs.	6,800-00
		67,100-00

Health and Medical facilities:

7.	Establishment of child care unit **Recurring** (Medical) ***Non-recurring*** : Building and equipment	: Rs 25,000-00 : Rs. 75,000-00
8.	Stationing of Lady doctor Salary of Rs. 1800/- per month consolidated for 12 months	: Rs. 21,600-00
		1,21,600-00

Education:

9.	Opening of creche to accommodate 10 children **Non-recurring.**	
	a) One small building	: Rs 10,000-00
	b) 10 Cradles @ Rs. 500/- each	: Rs. 5,000-00
	c) Toys	: Rs. 500-00
	d) Training for Daya at Port Blair for 3 months Stipend @ Rs. 150/- p m. for 3 months.	: Rs. 450-00
	Recurring:	
	a) Napies, small bed sheets, clothing, milk, food etc.	: Rs. 2,000-00
	b) Salary of Daya @ Rs. 150/- p.m. for 12 months	: Rs. 1,800-00
	c) Dress for Daya	: Rs. 200-00
10.	Opening of Ashram School for about 20 students.	
	Non-Recurring:	
	a) Building	: Rs. 50,000-00
	b) Furniture	: Rs. 10,000-00
	c) Utensils and other Kitchen equipment	: Rs. 1,000-00
	Recurring:	
	a) Food @ Rs. 100/- per student for 10 months	: Rs. 20,000-00
	b) Dresses @ Rs. 100/- per student 4 pairs of each.	: Rs. 2,000-00
	c) Study material @ Rs. 25/- per student	: Rs. 500-00
	d) Salary of S.G.B.T. Teacher @ Rs. 800/- p.m. for 12 months.	: Rs. 9,600-00
		1,13,050-00

IV. AGRICULTURE

Recurring

11)	Salary of the Horticultural Assistant @ Rs. 800/- per month (Consolidated) per year.	9,600-00

Non-Recurring

12)	A pair of plough Bullock @ Rs. 3000/- per pair.	3,000-00
13)	Agricultural implements	
a)	Plough	500-00
b)	Spade, crow bar and other implements	300-00
c)	Land reclamation @ Rs. 500/- per acre for 5 Acres.	2,500-00
d)	Raising of citrus plants 100 plants per acre 5 acres 5 x 100 plants @ Rs. 5/- for each plant.	2,500-00
		18,400-00

A B S T R A C T

I.	Stationing of Domestic Animals and poultry.	67,100-00
II.	Health and Medical facilities	1,21,600-00
III.	Education	1,13,050-00
IV.	Agriculture.	18,400-00
	Total :	3,20,150-00

ANNEXURE-I

Andaman Adim Janjati Vikas Samithi
Schemewise Outlay and Expenditure for the Year 1980-81

		Outlay	Expenditure
1.	Samiti's office establishment	0.408	31,175–16
2.	Social and Medical workers of A.A.J.V.S. at Dugong Creek.	0 694	34,070–00
3.	Electrification of Onges and Andamanese settlements.	1.387	9,973–50
4.	Maintenance of coconut plantation at Dugong Creek.	0.360	21,951–00
5.	Maintenance of coconut plantation at South Bay.	0.240	11,576–45
6.	Milch cattle for Great Andamanese Settlement.	0.186	5,478–60
7.	Education centre-cum-Balawadis at Dugong Creek and Strait Island	0.050	1,215–45
8	Contact with Jarwas and Sentinelese by Samiti's vessel MV 'Milale'.	0.130	3,574–35
9.	Running and Maintenance of MV 'Milale'	2 661	309,330–43
10.	Social Workers of A A.J.V S. at Strait Island.	0.134	3,485–60
11.	Coconut plantation at Strait Island	0.250	37,094–05
12	Providing Welfare Amenities to Andamanese & Shompens.	0.550	1,55 494–86
13.	Rural Development of onges settlement at Dugong Creek.	0.880	1,45,2 7–34
14.	Providing housing facilities to Primitive tribes.	—	—
15.	Unforeseen expenditure	0.500	2,126–20
Schemes on which no amount was spent			
16	Chartering vessel for establishing contact with Shompens.	1.000	
17.	Vessel for establishing contact with shompens and other primitive tribes of Andaman & Nicobar Islands.	25 000	—
18.	Increasing Friendly contact with Jarawas and Sentinelese.	0.150	—
	Grand Total ...	34,580	7,71,773-09

IV. AGRICULTURE

Recurring

11)	Salary of the Horticultural Assistant @ Rs. 800/- per month (Consolidated) per year.	9,600-00

Non-Recurring

12)	A pair of plough Bullock @ Rs. 3000/- per pair.	3,000-00
13)	Agricultural implements	
a)	Plough	500-00
b)	Spade, crow bar and other implements	300-00
c)	Land reclamation @ Rs. 500/- per acre for 5 Acres.	2,500-00
d)	Raising of citrus plants 100 plants per acre 5 acres 5 x 100 plants @ Rs. 5/- for each plant.	2,500-00
		18,400-00

A B S T R A C T

I.	Stationing of Domestic Animals and poultry.	67,100-00
II.	Health and Medical facilities	1,21,600-00
III.	Education	1,13,050-00
IV.	Agriculture	18,400-00
	Total :	3,20,150-00

ANNEXURE-I

Andaman Adim Janjati Vikas Samithi
Schemewise Outlay and Expenditure for the Year 1980-81

		Outlay	Expenditure
1.	Samiti's office establishment	0.408	31,175–16
2.	Social and Medical workers of A.A.J.V.S. at Dugong Creek.	0 694	34,070–00
3.	Electrification of Onges and Andamanese settlements.	1.387	9,973–50
4.	Maintenance of coconut plantation at Dugong Creek.	0.360	21,951–00
5.	Maintenance of coconut plantation at South Bay.	0.240	11,576–45
6.	Milch cattle for Great Andamanese Settlement.	0.186	5,478–60
7.	Education centre-cum-Balawadis at Dugong Creek and Strait Island	0.050	1,215–45
8	Contact with Jarwas and Sentinelese by Samiti's vessel MV 'Milale'.	0.130	3,574–35
9.	Running and Maintenance of MV 'Milale'	2 661	309,330–43
10.	Social Workers of A A.J.V S. at Strait Island.	0.134	3,485–60
11.	Coconut plantation at Strait Island	0.250	37,094–05
12	Providing Welfare Amenities to Andamarese & Shompens.	0.550	1,55 494–86
13.	Rural Development of onges settlement at Dugong Creek.	0.880	1,45,2·7–34
14.	Providing housing facilities to Primitive tribes.	—	—
15.	Unforeseen expenditure	0.500	2,126–20
Schemes on which no amount was spent			
16	Chartering vessel for establishing contact with Shompens.	1.000	
17.	Vessel for establishing contact with shompens and other primitive tribes of Andaman & Nicobar Islands.	25 000	—
18.	Increasing Friendly contact with Jarawas and Sentinelese.	0.150	—
	Grand Total ...	34,580	7,71,773-09

ANNEXURE-II

Andaman Adim Janjati Vikas Samithi
Schemewise Outlay and Expenditure for the year 1981–82

		Outlay	Expenditure
1.	Samiti's office establishment	0.442	31,256-05
2.	Social & Medical workers of AAJVS at Dugong Creek.	0.713	32,686-09
3.	Electrification of Onges and Andamanese settlements.	1.586	1,66,876-80
4.	Maintenance of coconut plantation at Dugong Creek.	0.400	33,103-00
5.	Maintenance of coconut plantation at Sonth Bay.	0.200	13,863-10
6.	Milch cattle for Great Andamanese Settlement.	0.202	10,496-27
7.	Education centre-cum-Balawadis at Dugong Creek and Strait Island.	0.076	5,492-75
8.	Contact with Jarawas and Sentinelese by Samiti's verssel MV 'Milale.'	0.210	8,177-05
9.	Running and Maintenance of MV 'Milale.'	2 956	1,97,276-74
10.	Social Workers of AAJVS at Strait Island.	0.149	3,933-33
11.	Coconut plantation at Strait Island	0.250	6,828-00
12.	Providing welfare Amenities to Andamarese & Shompens.	0.801	37,249-09
13.	Rural Development of Onges settlement at Dugong Creek.	1.015	86,115-39
14.	Providing housing facilities to Primitive tribes.	0.800	35,000-00
Schemes on which no amount was spent			
15.	Bee keeping.	0.045	—
16.	Training in carpentary.	0.210	—
	Total ...	10 055	6,68,353-66

ANNEXURE-III

Andaman Adim Janjati Vikas Sanithi
Schemewise Outlay and Expenditure for the year 1982-83

		Outlay	Expenditure
1.	Samiti's office establishment	0.454	35,072-18
2.	Social and Medical workers of A.A.J.V.S. at Dugong Creek.	0.740	41,056-45
3.	Electrification of Ongs and Andamanese settlements.	0.542	1,94,268-95
4.	Maintenance of coconut plantation at Dugong Creek.	0.400	36,692-00
5.	Maintenance of coconut plantation at South Bay.	0 200	14,415-00
6.	Milch cattle for Great Andamanese Settlement.	0.204	7,387-09
7.	Education centre-cum-Balwadi at Dugong Creek and Strait Island.	0.076	6,190-05
8.	Contact with Jarawas and Sentinelese by Sanitis verssel MV 'Milale'	0 210	11,434-94
9.	Running and Maintenance of MV 'Milale'.	2.985	2,98,781-83
10	Social Workers of A.A.J.V.S. at Strait Island.	0 154	22,117-95
11.	Coconut plantation at Strait Island	0.250	2,960-00
12.	Providing welfare Amenities to Andamanese & Shompens.	1.102	47,760-67
13.	Rural Development of Onges settlement at Dugong Creek.	1.150	1,24,673-20
14.	Providing housing facilities to Primitive tribes	0.800	35,000-00
Schemes on which no amount was spent			
15.	Bee keeping	0 045	—
16	Training in carpentary	0.210	—
	Total ...	9,522	8,77,810-31

Shompen and their Development

(ABSTRACT)

—Dr. V.N.V.K. SASTRY *

Shompen is on of the printive tribes of Andaman and Nicobar Islands inhabiting Great Nicobar Island, whose number is very small. As per 1981 Census the Shompen number 217.

Development of any primitive community is a difficult task. It becomes all the more complex when the community is faced with extinction. Development strategies suited to primitive communities have yet to take a concrete shape as all the development strategies so far evolved centre round settled communities whether peasant or industrialised. Therefore an entirely new ground has to be traversed now. It is only during the V plan that development of primitive tribes was first mooted and as a preliminary step. In this direction, Dr. B.D. Sharma (1975) suggested an approach according to which the programme should be as simple as possible and at the same time it should have a clear direction. It should be a development plan with accent on man-nature relationship and re-establishmknt of eco-system to be beneficial to the community. Generally such groups face the problem of encroachment by outside population resulting in inbalances in demand and supply of food resources and hostility between the local inhabitants and incoming population of settlers. Experience shows that the small groups always lose the battle. As Dr. B.D. Sharma pointed out, the small groups, "If they lose nerve, they soon become exinct" Therefore, in order to prepare a plan for small groups, it is necessary to understand the man-nature relationship, changes coming in the physical and social environment as a result of various other changes and finally the present status of the group in terms of economy, health etc.,

Settlement Pattern :

Shompen are found to live in small groups along fresh water sources like hill streams or rivers where the thick forests provide pandanus, fire-wood, betel leaves, arecanuts, wild bear etc., and the streams and rivers supply the fish etc.,

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To the casual visitor, a Shompen settlement appears in a picturesque setting amidst the greenery of the forest These small settlements of 5 to 10 huts or even less in number are proved to abondonment depending upon the availability of pandanus fruit in the trees. These temporary settlements are even abondoned when outsiders try to contact them. Size of the settlement is conditioned by the availability of fruit baring pandanus trees as pandanus is their staple food. The settlement is usually located either amids tho pandanus trees or a little away from the group of pandanus trees. Further, to afford protection from outsiders and heavy winds of the rainy season, the settlements are found tucked in valley formed by high-hills almost encircled by meandering streams which are usually bridged by a fallen tree trunk.

It was found by research scholars of Anthropological Survey of India that the Shompen movements are of three types namely:- 1) in search of Pandanus 2) In search or games and 3) for bartering the produce like honey procured by them. However, their movements are mostly restricted to dry season. In the rainy season, the low lying areas along the river banks are often inun dated and so Shompen have to settle at higher altitudes Eventhough they move from place to place, the information collected by this team raveels that they move within a radius of 5 to 10 Kms and they move only when the food resources are deploted. As such their nomadism can be attributed mainly to their quest for food. Their movement pattern also shows that they are coming into contact with outsiders mainly the Nicobarese for exchange of produce with goods.

Problems and Strategy of Development :

The small scale communities any where in the World suffer from economic backwardness, primitive technology and smallness of population. Their constant interaction with near nature and subsistance level of economy lakes nomadism as a necessary way of life. Generally the food gathering and hunting tribe require larger territory for their survival. But as the Shompen peregrinations are restricted to smaller area because of several factors, the resources for the livelihood are extremely limited, Added to this, when an outside force, say another powerful community or a Government agency starts controlling the resources without any regard to the existing interaction

of the community with near nature, there arises disequilibrium between human demand and availability of natural resources. This disequilibrium any where results is confrontation and the less assertive group, is the worst hit. The Nicobarese, an advanced group command most the resources outside the present interior forest habitat of Shompens. Added to this, as part of Government policy ex-servicemen from outside were brought and rehabilitated on the fringe of Shompen habitat, the separating line being the Galathia river. Consequently, besides the traditional hold of Nicobarese on the resources outside the forest area, a new force has been added in the shape of ex-servicemen who further cramped the movement of Shompen habitat thus adversely affecting the games which used to substantially contribute as a source of food for Shompens.

A more serious problem for Shompen is the very smallness of its population size. They herdly number 217 and they live in small groups wandering in certain traditionally defined areas.

Keeping in view the four features peculiar to Shompen. Situation i.e. 1) Lack of healthy rapport with Shompens, 2) Perigrination within a restricted area in search of food, 3) Small size of population, 4) Dwindling natural resources and 5) Exploitation from outside by Nicobarese settlers, a strategy has to be evolved The strategy should mainly aim at tackling the five problem areas mentioned above. Consequently a five fold development strategy is suggested.

1) To establish healthy rapport through systematic and careful contacts so as to win their confidence and motivate them favourably to the welfare programmes of administation. This contract situation is to be carefully nurtured by the Social worker and a Linguist and one team of Officers. This contact is frought with many complexities as the Shompen are very suspicious of outsider contact as evident from their practice of abondoning their settlements immediately after visit by ousiders.

2) To gradually introduce them to sedentary life of growing pandanus, their source of staple food in a suitable area so that staple food is available in a particular area and thus eliminating the need for moving about in search of food.

3) To help their population growth through medical and other family welfare programme.

4) To promote natural resources through human action and by protecting them from outside exploitation and

5) Declaring Shompen inhabited areas as a protected reserve.

Immediate Programme :

The strategy of Shompen development at this stage has to be simple and it should concentrate first on undoing the damages already sustained by community i.e what B.D Sharma called as "first-aid" operation'. Restoring ecological equilibrium has be made by reserving areas of their perigrination as Shompen areas and developing crops that are needed by them for their sustenance. Solving their health problems and arranging for supply of nutritious food in exchange of their produce are the first stage of operations. These have to be done by a team of social workers drawn from Medical & Health, Animal Husbanory and agriculture (Horticulturist) and a linguist to be appointed seperate. The project has to be run on the lines of "action project" where in the participant executive has to change the programmes and policies, whenever required basing on the knowledge of the impact of the programmes. Only when Shompen attain a sedentary life, other programmes. Only when like education, milch animals, etc., can be taken up.

Development Programmes :

As already mentioned, the first stage of development programmes proposed include only corrective steps and a few other steps in the direction of bringing them to settled life as described below.

1. Development of Food Resources :

The development of food resources are proposed to be taken up in four small pockets around which the Shompen are presently wandering. A horticulturist drawn from Agriculture Development will be kept incharge of the programme who identifies the suitable areas. Pandanus, Banana etc , will be grown to be in abundence taking into consideration the mortality rate of plants, low yields etc., of the trees.

Medical Care :

Most important and yet difficult is the provision of medical care to the Shompen. As they are nomadic people, it is necessary to have a mobile Medical Officer. The Officer has to first make friendship by taking gifts with him during the first few visits and attempt to treat skin diseases and injuries, It was informed to us that Shompen are not averse to applying ointments and they may be taught how to apply ointments. The treatment to skin diseases and injuries to some extent help in establishing rapport. However, it is not for the first-time Shompen are coming into contact with medical teams. Enthusiatic doctors like Dr. Tilak formerly of Yatrik project in Great Nicobar Island successfully made a contacts with Shompen by adopting the above approach. However, it all depends on the zeal, enthusiasm, ingenuinity and technical capabilities of the Medical Officer.

A suggestion to be considered at a later stage is involving the military in this programme. Since military establishments are likely to come here in a big way, the military could be requested to create a "Shompen Cell" with medical men and develop functionaries and adopt Shompen area for development.

3. Exchange of Shompen Produce :

The exchange rates fixed by Government of Andaman and Nicobar Islands for forest produce brought by Shompen are as follows:

a) Fish one Kg with items worth Rs 3/- to 4/-.
b) 100 lemons to items worth Rs. 10/-
c) One bottle of honey (nearly 750 ml.) to items worth Rs. 10/-.

The problem presently faced is that Nicobarese and others, taking advantage of their traditional contacts with Shompen, are exploiting them by giving very small amounts in cash or kind in exchange for honey, arecanuts, coconuts and other forest produce brought by Shompens. There is very need to contain this by organising a sale-cum-purchase Agency under the aegis of AAJVS with the social worker supported by an assistant for weighting etc., and the provisions will be transported by a canoe. The tour of Medical Officer by mechanized boat can also be coordinated with this programme,

when canoe need not be taken. Instead of expecting the Shompen to come for exchange, the sale-cum-purchasing agency should go to Shompen and supply goods in exchange of foest produce. The produce to be exchanged restricted to any particular item and the exchange rate should be regid. It can be open. The only aim is to supply food items which could off-set the food deficiancies especially during lean season. The food articles supplied should not have complicated cooking process before consumption. In case of Shompen, rice is said to be preferred to wheat flour as experienced in Onge settlement at Dugang Creek also where rice is preferred because of less cumbersome procedure involved in preparation of food.

Supply of Livestock :

Since Shompen were found to domesticate pigs, poultry, etc., it is necessary to supply them a small units of local animals and birds which can withstand the rigours of nature. Our intention at this stage is to supplement the food shortage rather than to increase production. It is also suggested that a census of pig population in the area has to be taken and if they are found to be in short supply, some pigs from other Nicobar Islands may be brought and left in the forest area of this island. The shompen can hunt them whenever they need. Similarly local poultry birds can also be left in sizeable numbers. The fishing equipment such as hooks, nets, traps etc., can be supplied. The canoes or boats can also be supplied to band leaders free of cost to facilitate fishing in large area.

A B S T R A C T

		Rs. in Lakhs
1. Development of food resources	... ...	2.32
2. Medical care	... ...	2.35
3. Exchange of Shompen produce	... ...	0.21
4. Supply of live-stock	... ...	1.91
TOTAL	... ...	6.79

Some Major Suggestions Emerging out of the Seminar on "Strategy for Development of Primitive Tribal Groups".

Recommendation No. 1 :

Planning and implementation process for the development Primitive Tribal Groups have passed through the formative period during the Fifth five year Plan. It attained certain concretisation during the Sixth Plan and it may be termed as constructive period at the thresh-hold of Seventh Plan. It is likely to attain the critical phase of evaluation, modification of the original phase as well as of intensification or acceleration of the entire implementation, training of the personnel for effective attainment of fragent as well as flow of adequate input to devise ways and means to 'level up' the primary group and bring them on par with other developed scheduled tribes and finally get them integrated with the rest of Indian society and culture.

Recommendation No. 2 :

In order to 'level up' the primary groups of our country, it is recommended that due priortty be given to ameliorate the conditions of these groups by coordinated effort of the policy makers, the public men, the social and medical scientists, welfare organisations working in the tribal pockets, the media men and above all the tribal leaders.

Recommendation No. 3 :

Each Tribal Research Institute be asked to organise a Seminar on the problems and issues of primary groups particularly of the respective region which should be attended by persons mentioned in item No. 3 and invite the selected persons of the primary group to participate the Seminar.

Recommendation No. 4 :

A National work-shop may be organised to discuss the findings of

these regional seminars to evolve a national policy and perspective for the development of these Primary Tribal Groups in the country.

Recommendation No. 5 :

There is an urgent need for arranging special training of the Officers, Field Workers, Medical Men, and Middle level social workers of Voluntary organisations, who are likely to be commissioned for the development of primary tribal groups. A suitable course contents considering the requirements of the respective groups of persons engaged in their development be framed and a manual on the model of Tribal Development and its Administration be prepared to assist the concerned Tribal Research Institutes to offer such training programmes.

Recommendation No. 6 :

No ready made prescriptions for ameliorating the conditions of the primary groups by recommended. The case studies presented in the Seminar bring out several facts to reflect heterogenity in their ecology, economy, socio-cultural organisation as well as general life style. It came out prominently in the discussion that each of the primary groups is characterised by a distinct "Nature-man-spirit complex" i.e., style of life which any planning and implementation process for them has to take into considera.ion.

Recommendation No. 7 :

There are certain primary groups which are being threatend with demographic extinction. Some suffer from completa isolation. The primary groups by and large are either preliterate or have the lowest literacy rate.

It is recommended that "Health programmes and the educational programmes suited to their ethos be given top priority. It is in this context study of genetic diseases be given priority.

Recommendation No. 8 :

It is also recommended that since these primary groups are fast changing or are facing extinction, the An.hropologists take up their cause on priority basis both for intensive research and action, as in the case of primary group, the issue is of "now or never."

Recommendation No. 9:

In addition to help from outside agencies, it was felt that the primary groups should equip themselves on the community basis to play their roles in the democratic process. It is tragic that inspite of all-round political awareness, they have by and large failed to exercise their franchise. Efforts be made that in the near future they may be able to come to the polls and enjoy the sanction of electing their leaders at local, regional and National levels.

Recommendation No. 10:

The emerging community based leadership should be protected from the exploitative leadership provided by the other dominating of the locality. Such key persons from the primary group be allowed to participate in the planning and implementation processes meant for their community.

Recommendation No. 11:

Development of primary groups should be accelerated and time perspective of the two decades is recommended for bringing them on par wtih other advanced tribal groups.

Recommendation No. 12:

Great care has to be taken to ensure that only deserving groups are declared as primary tribal groups, the list should not be enlarged.

Recommendation No. 13:

Legal safeguards should be provided to insulate the primary tribal groups from the exploitation by relatively advanced tribes as well as non-tribal groups. There must be a graded protection for the Primitive Tribal groups in matters of land holdings, education, service, and political reservations.

Recommendation No. 14:

While formulating programmes for their development the genius and the basic life pattern (ethos) of the individual primary tribal group should be preserved.

Recommendation No. 15 :

Rehabilitation of the primary tribal groups should be in-built in any major project taken up in the habitant of primary tribal groups. The displaced tribals should as far as possible be rehabilitated near their old habitant and in the same environment. The project should have the approval of Commissioner, Tribal Development also.

Recommendation No. 16 :

The expulsion of primary tribal groups from any part of their habitant which has been included within a wild-life sanctuary should be strongly opposed, both on humanitarian and environmental grounds. Tribals and animals have co-existed in such territories for centuries, if not millennia, without impinging, on each other, and relatively remote forest regions are often the only safe refuge areas for primary tribal groups.

Recommendation No. 17 :

The nationally recognised principle that primary education should be in the mother-tongue should be applied also to primary tribal groups speaking a language other than the dominion regional language. After children have been introduced to literacy in the mother-tongue and have grasped the practice of reading and writing, the regional language can be added to the curriculum.

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