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Marathi translations of these articles will be published in 'Vidyapith' in due course.

DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBAL PEOPLE & ITS RELATION TO RESEARCH AND POLICY MAKING

Dr. Brij Raj Chauhan

The formulation of rational policies depends upon a proper collection and classification of the data crucial to the solution of pressing problems. Certain data happen to be gathered in the process of operating the policies at a given time. New set of data thus keep creeping up and throw fresh light upon the nature of policies. At times there occur revisions in the national goals and the policies dependent on such exigencies undergo a change. Again the growth of literature on certain aspects of a problem and for certain regions of the country get published in proportions far outnumbering the distribution of the specific groups. Consideration of tribal questions has till recently suffered from these gaps and it is now time that the data brought forward through the 1961 Census count be tabulated and classified in ways that could equip the policy-makers and their helpful critics with better intellectual tools. The purpose of this paper is to highlight some of these aspects.

Quantitatively speaking the number of the Scheduled Tribes in India is 29.88 million people. The Census of India paper No. 2 of 1960 lists 235 Scheduled Tribes in India. These figures need not be dismissed as just facts of no consequence or as figures that point out the gigantic nature of the distribution of the tribesmen. On

an average if the population of those tribes had been distributed evenly, each tribe would have accounted for about 127 thousand persons. Actually, however, the distribution is not even. The figures for different tribes in 1961 are not available yet, but Sri L. M. Shrikant mentioned for the 1951 Census count that only few tribes namely the Gond, the Santhal, the Bhil, and the Oraon exceeded one million people each. The problems of these tribes are bound to be different from those faced by such tribes as live in secluded valleys beyond which even their namesakes are not present. As one looks at the amount of literature produced on tribals of India, one feels that such a literature is not proportionate to the populations of these tribes. Thus the curious seems to have attracted more notice than the normal. In any visit to the tribal areas a person is confronted with the remark "you have not yet come to the interior". This concern for the "interior" on the part of the elite of small towns and large villages even in the Scheduled Areas is rather interesting. It reflects that even the local elite expects the visiting scholar only to go to the most ancient and secluded part of the area and believes that the search for such curious is probably what interests an investigator. I have found to my own surprise on such tours that on a few occasions we had

left the "interior" in between two points we had travelled. At each point we were told that we had not reached the interior, and on being asked in which direction did the interior lie, we were told from point 1 that it lay towards point 2; and at point 2 that it lay towards point 1. Then again one comes across the remark about the "real tribals". These too are as illusory as the mirage of the interior. If we go on searching for such interior realities, we shall have to take away the bulk of the Scheduled Tribes from our studies. Instead, then, let us see where the tribesmen are actually found and deal with them where they are available.

In terms of numerical distribution of the Scheduled Tribes, paper No. 1 of the Census of India 1961 indicates the state-wise distribution of 100 tribals in India. Such a distribution can be compared with the distribution of the general population of India percentage wise in various states. It is apparent from a look at those figures that half of the tribal population of India lives in the three states of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Bihar. Besides these three states, those having a greater share of the tribal population than the general population include Rajasthan, Gujarat, Assam and Nagaland. Tribal questions faced in those states would determine the manner in which the problems would require to be tackled. Of these states a few valleys in Assam and Nagaland, and a section of the tribesmen in Chhota Nagpur region, and a few pockets here and there would reveal excessive degree of isolation from the rest of the world. In most of the tribal regions of India,

the tribals have been interacting with and living in the company of others without claiming any exclusiveness of territory or population for themselves. As such the problems of such people would have to be studied at a different level. Solutions proposed for the relatively isolated groups may not apply to those areas.

The states of India with reference to the tribal content may be divided into two groups: (1) those where the tribal population is numerically insignificant and (2) where the tribal population is, numerically significant. The states in the first category lie in the Northern and the Southern parts of the country. Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, and Uttar Pradesh in the North and Madras, Mysore and Kerala in the South constitute 39.36 percent of the total population of India, but contain only 2.24 percent of the tribal population of the country. This fact brings to the fore the uneven distribution of the tribal people of India. Unlike the scheduled castes who are found mixed up with general population in almost all the towns and villages (of a reasonable size), the tribals are conspicuous by their absence or rare presence in nearly two fifths of the country.

In states where the tribesmen are actually living in substantial proportions, four regions may be demarcated: the North-Eastern, the Eastern, the Central and the Western.

1. The North Eastern Zone: The zone consists of the states of Assam and Nagaland and the union territory of Tripura. The general population of the zone is 3.05 percent of the Indian population but of the tribal population of India this

zone has 9.27 percent people. Steep valleys, heavy rainfall, and inaccessible forests have characterized this area. It has remained impenetrable for several government agencies, though not for the missionaries. Problems of these areas are of a special nature and solutions developed in this zone unless otherwise proved are not readily available for larger tribal groups of the more approachable areas.

2. The Eastern Zone: The zone may be said to consist of the States of West Bengal, Orissa, and Bihar. The percentage of the tribal population in this zone to the rest of India is 38.11. This zone is a fairly compact one, and is the most populous of all. In this zone, besides a few isolated pockets, the tribals have come into contact with mining and quarrying activities besides tea gardening, and acting as industrial labourers. Such contacts have been rather limited in Orissa.

3. The Central Zone: The zone comprises of the States of Madhya Pradesh and Andhra. It contains 26.78 per cent of the tribal population of India. The zone as a whole has been marked for the strength of the tribal groups even over other tribal groups. The Gond who constitute the bulk of this population have been known to have had a ruling or patron-like relations over others. This zone is full of mineral resources and of late the establishment of the Bhilai Steel Plants has provided a new look to the area around it.

4. The Western Zone: The zone may be said to consist of the States of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Mahara-

shtra. The tribal population of this zone is 24.97 percent of the tribal population of India. As in other zones, the tribal people of this zone also live mostly in the lively regions. In these areas, the tribals have been living with other people for a considerably long time.

Within the zones further efforts are needed for similar purposes. The tribal people have lived not merely in the forests but quite in a number of cases away from political capitals of the states concerned. Thus the concentration of the tribal people in border districts of M. P., Gujarat and Rajasthan raises quite a few problems. Even the state officials may have to cross their neighbouring states to reach such areas; and the remoteness from the political centre might convert the administrator into a marginal upon his administration. In some cases the officials of the Government of India find it easier to reach such areas than the state officials.

Concentrations differ in regard to the tribal people in different districts and tehsils within the states. The Govt. of India declared certain areas as the Scheduled Areas in different states. The proportion of the tribal people exceeds the non-tribal in such areas, but in most of the cases the population of tribes living in scheduled areas does not form the majority of the tribal population of the states concerned. In such cases the scheme for the scheduled areas with an area development approach tend to concentrate attention on these areas to the neglect of the larger section of the scattered tribals who have been given the dubious

nomenclature of the left-out tribals. In the non-scheduled areas schemes have to be worked out differently, and their problems may be nearer the approach needed for the scheduled castes.

It is time that the demographic factors relating to distribution of tribal people in various areas within the states and among the different states be given due consideration in understanding how the allocations of resources have been made in the past and how for other plans can now be made for the future. Of course, the demographic factor is not the only factor that decides policy issues, but the correspondence of efforts made by the state or planned by the state for the

tribal people can always be set against this factor. Whenever the divergence is discovered, it will necessitate at least an explanation of the role of other factors in the situation. At least in calling for such alternative explanations, the demographic factor provides the first checking point. It is for this reason that the distributional aspects of the tribal people of India have been presented here and it is hoped that the discussions on many policies may be centred on this base so that the majority does not remain in the danger of being neglected by the scholars and the administrators and the diversities be given due recognition in the over all set-up.

MODERN RESEARCH TECHNIQUES TO PROMOTE TRIBAL WELFARE

Dr. B. H. Mehta

Students of Anthropology in the Universities of India in the thirties had a deep interest in the struggle for Independence. Independence was not then achieved; but it was conceived as a promise of new life for the Indian masses. It was therefore natural for urban students to become interested in the sylvan and rural areas. After the end of the Bardoli peasants' struggle, Mahatma Gandhi had made an earnest plea to some University students to remain in the villages, and help to raise up the standards of living of the rural population.

As participants in the Bardoli programme, some young graduates from Bombay offered to live in the villages.

An ashram was established in the village of Sathvav in Surat District. A prolonged stay gave a clear insight into the ways of living of the Chodhra tribe. Such close contacts enabled students of Sociology to examine at close quarters the difference between the life and culture of the sylvan and rural populations.

Though Sociology and Anthropology have both advanced considerably in the last few decades, a basic and useful knowledge can still be obtained by studying the works of the old masters like Durkheim, Frazer, Mallinowski, Westermarck, Spencer and Gillan, Boaz, Tylor, R. R. Marett and many others. They give a deep insight into

social origins and the problems of primitive and early societies. In the early beginning of this century, the study of primitive cultures did not unduly emphasise the difference between physical and cultural anthropology.

An insight into the primitive races of India is obtained through the literature and studies of Sri Sarat Chandra Roy who is an inspiration for all University students of Anthropology in India. He was not a University academician, but a thinker and a scholar who was dedicated to the tribal population of Bihar. Field Anthropology attracted only few University students; but Gandhiji's approach to the problem of Adivasis was unique, being social as well as political. His approach was of course reformatory, and yet in his own non-violent way he contemplated a social revolution to emphasise the unity of all rural masses. Both Gandhiji and Sardar Patel took a general interest in the tribal problem. A deeper and active interest in the tribal population was taken by Thakkar Bapa who had an emotional attachment with the tribal people. His missionary zeal naturally evoked some co-operative response from at least a few University students.

Meanwhile, Independence and the efforts of Thakkar Bapa led to the constitutional provisions to protect and assist the welfare of India's earliest populations. This naturally created a vital role for programmes of research which had to be associated with the national goals of development, tribal welfare and national integration.

The Adimjati Sevak Sangh has functioned as a pioneering organisation

to find new approaches, methods and programmes to help more than fifty million population of India. Even though the population of the two hundred and odd Scheduled Tribes is much smaller than the entire tribal population, still the welfare of millions has to be achieved. The state governments soon realised their role to achieve tribal welfare on a mass scale, and Tribal Research Institutes were created in several states. When they had hardly commenced their activities, the Community Development Administration created their extensive programme in what are known as the Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks.

Anthropology has helped the proper understanding of the living conditions, problems and needs of the primitive and tribal population; but the new national approach to this problem emphasises the high priority that is given to economic development without which the real welfare of the masses can hardly be achieved. Sociology had made progress during the last thirty years to emphasise Social Change and Social Action. The old theories of human development and social evolution and progress have led to new concepts of social dynamism. The problems of Social Change are especially important when they affect primitive societies which have developed and are now emerging in a world dominated by science and industrialisation. Greater use can now be made of sociology, biology and psychology to determine social goals which can promote social health, eliminate social injustice and achieve comprehensive

social development in terms of the highest values of national culture.

It is but natural that Training Programmes should have received greater attention than Research in the initial stages of organisation and development. Most of the Tribal Research Institutes have developed training programmes for the benefit of their areas. The Community Development Administration has also developed a number of training programmes. Most of these programmes are of very short duration, and they do not involve any deep anthropological or sociological understanding of the highly complex tribal societies.

In 1955, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences undertook an intensive training programme for the benefit of tribal welfare officers of the various State Governments. Lack of literature and need of real practical experience of problems and needs of tribal areas led to the creation of a Research Cell on the top of the Satpura mountains, in the Chhindwara District of Madhya Pradesh. The officers who were under training require adequate information and knowledge relating to the origin, growth and problems of the tribal population in India. There is a need for Fundamental Social Research relating to the problems of tribal masses in order to achieve national integration, and prevent the emergence of problems involving tensions and breakdown of law and order in highly isolated and undeveloped tribal areas. Research is needed in the application of the Valley Section Theory in order to achieve an intensive economic development of the mountainous

and forest areas and the grasslands which are the homelands of most of the tribal people. Sociological Research is needed to promote programmes of social development in sylvan, rural and urban areas so that a balanced development of the whole country can take place. The Research Cell of the Tata Institute of Social Services found a good scope to study the differences between clan based and caste based societies.

Fundamental Social Research is needed in the fields of study dealing with Hindu religions, social organisation, language, and culture. The Research Cell of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences which is a new part of the Gondwana Centre's activities, has carried out continuous research activities during the last ten years. It has dealt with the vast Gond society of Central India which has evidently existed side by side with Kaularian tribes in the North.

A vast population lives on the highlands and in the forest regions of India, and they are isolated from the rest of the country. During the early centuries of history, contact with them was limited, and they have lived according to opportunities that came to them. Hardly any attempt was made to govern these territories and develop social services for the benefit of the people. The administration was confined to limited areas, and only a few functions were performed. A breakdown of law and order, the pioneering spirit of a few officers, and the desire to exploit the natural resources of mines and forests led the British Government to penetrate the sparsely

populated forest and highland regions of Central India.

Considerable research work based on historical political and economic objectives seems to have been undertaken under the leadership of men like Sir Richard Temple, Mr. R. V. Russell, Capt. Forsythe, Sir W. Grigson and others. The studies of Tribes and Castes and the highly informative Gazetteers seem to be only a part of a programme of investigation to differentiate undeveloped areas and strange cultures. Anthropologists and missionaries also went to these isolated areas, and some of them have carried out interesting research activities.

Now that India has defined political, administrative and developmental goals, a meaningful re-evaluation of the tribal problem with its social and economic implications is necessary. This should be undertaken on a national scale, as well as on a state basis. Not only individual tribes, but the larger cultural and probably racial groups should also be studied. The history of social integration seems to include preDravidian as well as Dravidian, Aryan and subsequent immigrating groups and cultures.

In this connection the late Shri Sarat Chandra Roy had pioneered a study of the Bihar and some Orissa tribes which, according to him, constituted a tribal society. The present consideration given to each so-called tribe is inadequate as well as erroneous in certain cases. Real welfare and development have to be achieved on the basis of large tribal societies along with

the economic development of the regions they inhabit.

The Gondwana Centre, which was originally the Department of Tribal Welfare of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, has been created to concentrate on the various Gond tribes of Central India. The Orissa Feudatory States contain perhaps the most primitive section of the Indian tribes. The Oroans have yet to be studied in greater detail. The Nagas and the tribes of Assam are of vital importance at the present day, and there is an indication of the presence of tribal societies there. The most severe detribalisation has taken place amongst the Bhils and other tribes of Gujarat and Maharashtra, and it is necessary to examine their origins, history and migrations to find out the nature of inter-tribal relations.

The aims of tribal welfare have developed out of the nation's deep interest in the welfare of the backward classes in general. The country aims to achieve the real economic welfare of the masses. This can hardly be achieved unless the people of the mountainous and forest regions themselves become active participants in a programme of scientific development of the undeveloped, and yet highly developable mountainous and forest regions which comprise 23% of the total land mass of the country.

The study of social dynamism is of vital importance in a country where international and national social forces are working at present accompanied by a rapid progress of science and technology. Urban areas have forged

ahead to achieve better standards of living; and rural areas have been given assistance by Community Development and Welfare Programme. Perhaps the most handicapped areas which have remained undeveloped and have not been able to promote the interests of the population residing in them are the isolated areas on the highlands; and forest areas, especially on the uplands. The single largest population on all the highlands of Central India contains numerous Gond tribes. They constitute a number of important tribes who inhabit at least five major states of India, and reveal that the entire and vast Central Indian regions between the Godavari river and the Vindhya mountains is of very great historical and cultural importance. Not so thickly populated, the vast region has immense potentialities for economic growth and development.

When the Department of Tribal Welfare of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences undertook a programme for the training of tribal welfare officers, the head-quarters of the field training programme was arranged not where most of the primitive sections of the Gond tribes lived; but where the Gonds had developed their feudal kingdom in comparative isolation. Though often in severe conflict with the Moghuls, the Marathas and the British, they had maintained their traditional institutions almost till 1947. The training programme has been completed; but during the course of nearly ten years a nucleus for a comprehensive study of the dynamics of Gond Society has been created and developed. The physical resources and equipments of

the old headquarters together with some financial assistance have been provided by the Sir D. J. Tata Trust to continue a programme which can serve the purpose of Research, Training and experimental promotion of welfare and development objectives.

The study of social dynamics include a deep study of social change and historical and developing patterns of Social Action, together with all available information about the social history of the people. A comprehensive study of development includes programmes of Research, Applied Research and Action Research.

When there is an extensive programme of research in which a number of institutions and social scientists take part, it is advisable to make a distinction between fundamental social research, surveys and investigations, applied research and action research. Fundamental social research relates to the study and evaluation on the basis of the entire tribal problem in its historical and development perspective, revealing landmarks of social change as well as possible goals of social development.

Surveys and investigations are primarily necessary to execute programmes of regional development, community development and social services and welfare in tribal areas. The Gondwana Centre selected the highland region of Tamil in the Satpura mountains of the Chhindwara District for systematic surveys and investigations. There was a preliminary survey of all the 187 villages. This was followed by more careful investigations into the socio-economic conditions of nearly

2000 families. The Community Development Administration also carried out surveys of the agricultural economy of nearly 1200 families. Major surveys related to problems of water supply and education.

Efforts of the Department of Tribal Welfare of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences were promoted to demonstrate the efficacy of the Valley Section Theory of Sir Patric Geddes. This is an example of Applied Research in which known principles and theories of Sociology are applied to developing situations involving regional development along with community development, social organisation and promotion of highland economy and development of forest regions.

Action Research relates to empirical goals which are to be achieved irrespective of principles and theories and the use of academic knowledge to achieve practical results in a short period of time at minimum costs, using the right type of personnel. Action Research activities are yet few in India, and the Gondwana Centre has developed Action Research in several important directions. These activities are adapted to conditions prevailing in highland areas where the majority of tribal groups live.

Farm Forestry, as it is known in Western countries, has been introduced on the Satpura mountains after taking into consideration the special conditions and the historical background of forestry and shifting cultivation in the area. The deforested areas can be carefully selected for afforestation and rehabilitation by planting trees which have commercial value or can add to

local food supply. The same land can also promote soil improvement. The ultimate aim is to promote what is called the climatic climax forest to replace the secondary shrub growth which has followed shifting cultivation. In a sense a programme of farm-forestry reverses the usual principle where forest covered land is cleared in order to promote agricultural cultivation. In Farm Forestry, agricultural economy contributes temporarily to family incomes, and meanwhile the forest is systematically developed according to the usual principles of plantation economy.

Another Action Research Programme of the Gondwana Centre has promoted a Demonstration Farm to demonstrate the efficacy of highland agriculture where the best use is made of altitude, soil, water and climatic advantages. Floriculture has been developed to specialise in the cultivation of gladioli, dahlias, roses, sunflowers and some other commercial flowers. Efforts are being made to cultivate flowers which can help a village oil extraction industry. Russian sunflowers, poppies and geraniums are likely to prove suitable for such purposes, and these oils normally fetch a good price.

An Action Research Programme deals with the organisation of an experimental artisan community which promotes local building construction and repairs, brick making and crafts involving carpentry, pottery, masonry etc. In tribal areas a lone craftsman can succeed less than such an organisation of craftsmen who can cater to a large area.

A comprehensive action research programme centres round experimental efforts to improve and re-organise the entire educational system prevailing on the highlands. Ten pre-primary schools commenced this programme in 1956. More than 1000 children have taken advantage of these pre-schools.

In 1963, a Child Study Centre was created to examine the special characteristics of child growth and development amongst children of highland communities. The common conditions which are related to traditional family life and the historical evolution of the clan system is studied in relation to the needs of child development in modern centres of village community life.

The educational programme in the first place experimented with a Leadership-cum-Vocational Training programme for three years, culminating in the creation of the Gondwana Centre High School. Its objective is leadership training with an occupational bias. It seeks to achieve human development in order to improve the quality aspect of the local population. All the economic activities mentioned above are centred around the High School which has a Farm, a Science Laboratory and various workshops. Moral instructions are based on the traditional religious life of the Gond, and all the boys participate in an intensive programme of physical education and recreation. As a Boarding

Institute, special care is given to the problem of nutrition of boys.

Thus the Gondwana Centre has purposefully developed a series of research activities and the entire programme is of an experimental character. Careful observation and study accompanies all these efforts in such a way that social change can be analysed and interpreted to promote new patterns of Social Action. The Centre has taken special notice of the continuous process of detribalisation; and therefore goals of social change were adopted to promote rapid development of the regional economy based on forestry, grassland economy and development of natural resources. Human development is primarily based on child care, family welfare, parental education, community organisation and an all round improvement of the educational institutions in a defined area. National integration is also promoted through the introduction of needed elements of acculturation, retaining the traditional cultural achievements of the Gonds based upon dancing, music, singing and folklore.

The Gondwana Centre has made special arrangements to assist tribal research programmes of any University, Institution and research agency; and it is keen to benefit from the research activities of other organisations in order to help the promotion of real tribal welfare.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION FOR TRIBAL PEOPLE IN INDIA

R. C. Uppal

The largest concentration of tribal people anywhere in the world, except Africa, is in India. The population of the scheduled tribes according to 1961 census is 3 crores which is 6.8 per cent of the total population of 44 crores. The largest concentration of scheduled tribes are in the States of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Assam, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. Out of the 3 crores of tribals in the country 97.4 per cent live in rural areas and 87.9% of the tribal people depend on agriculture. Only 8.5% of the tribal population is literate as against 24% in the country.

2. The tribals are living in abject poverty. The income per capita of the tribals in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat was Rs. 104.6, Rs. 103.6 and Rs. 101.6 respectively as against Rs. 330 for the country in 1960-61. The areas which are inhabited mostly by the tribal people are generally backward in regard to per capita income and education. The educational backwardness of the tribal is both the cause and effect of the economic backwardness of the people.

3. No planned effort was made before independence to expand education among the tribals and to ameliorate the economic condition of the tribal people. The Britishers had

adopted the policy of isolating the tribals. The few roads that were constructed were for security purposes and to enable contractors to exploit the forest produce. The welfare of the scheduled tribes had engaged the attention of the national leaders before independence. It was one of the points in the constructive programme of the Indian National Congress. Shri A. V. Thakkar and some workers of The Servants of India Society and Christian missionaries had done some pioneering work among the tribals.

4. It was, however, only with the attainment of Independence that India became fully conscious of her responsibilities toward them. The framers of the Constitution provided in Constitution for promotion of welfare of the backward communities. Article 46 of the Constitution laid down that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. These were limited in the first instance to a period of ten years, but these have since been extended by a further period of ten years. The Constitution also arranged for the provision of resources and provided the required institutional apparatus.

5. The planning which was initiated in the country soon after the

finalisation of the Constitution has 'proved a great boon'. The Scheduled Areas and The Scheduled Tribes Commission has observed that "without it there could never have been that detailed thinking about the physical needs of the people that we have seen in the last ten years." It was realised that the tribal people could not profit sufficiently from programmes of economic development which are undertaken from the point of view of the national economy as a whole, unless, they were quickly brought nearer equality with other sections of the population. Because of the economic and educational backwardness of the tribal, their absorption capacity of the opportunities from the developing economy is low. Special measures have, therefore, been taken during the five year plans for raising the living conditions of tribals, affording them increased opportunities for education and training and improving communications in areas in which they live in large numbers.

6. It was recommended in the Third Plan that "There has to be a positive policy, of assisting the tribal people, to develop their natural resources and to evolve a productive economic life wherein they will enjoy the fruits of their labour and will not be exploited by more organised economic forces from outside." Special measures for the welfare of the tribal people are intended to be supplementary to the benefits which these people derive from the general development programmes. The Planning Commission has repeatedly em-

phasised in its Report on the Third Plan the importance of ensuring that the backward classes get adequate benefits from the general programmes and that the special programmes to be financed from the plan provisions should not be used as a substitute for the measures necessary to enable these classes to get the due advantage from the general programme.

7. Equality of opportunity, one of the objectives of the Constitution and emphasised in the First Three Plans, can only be achieved through education. Educational activities, therefore, formed a major part of the work undertaken in the plans for the uplift of the tribal people. It is through the spread of education and consequent enlightenment and knowledge that the backward communities can take full advantage of the developing economy and break the chains that bind them to a backward place or to a low status.

8. In the First Plan, an expenditure of Rs. 17.36 crores was incurred on the welfare of the tribal people. Almost equal priority was given in the First Plan to education, economic development and communications, and expenditure ranging from Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 lakhs was incurred on these development heads. In the Second Plan, however, out of an outlay of Rs. 48.33 crores provided for tribal welfare, about Rs. 9 crores were provided for education as against Rs. 17 crores for economic development and Rs. 9 crores for communications and Rs. 13 crores for other programmes.

In the Third Plan, out of Rs. 60 crores provided for tribal welfare Rs. 14.5 crores are for educational development programmes. The provision provided in the Third Plan for education is almost equal to the provision provided in the First and Second Plans.

9. The educational statistics for the scheduled tribals are not available separately. This is lumped together with the scheduled castes and other back-

ward communities. Even the latest figures available are for the year 1959-60. Though these figures do not indicate the progress achieved in the expansion of educational facilities for the tribal people, these figures give rough idea of the progress made during the First two Plans in the expansion of educational facilities for the backward classes. This is indicated in the table below:

Number of students of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes classes in different types of institutions

Stage (1)	(Figures in lakhs)		1955-56	
	1950-51		1955-56	
	Total (2)	S.C., S.T. & other back- ward classes (3)	Total (4)	S.C., S.T. & other back- ward classes (5)
1. University, Arts, Science colleges	3.49	0.19	5.87	0.60
2. High/Higher Sec. Schools	31.59	4.19	47.14	9.71
3. Middle, Senior Basic Schools	20.72	3.68	38.13	8.99
4. Primary, Jr. Basic Schools	182.94	46.68	229.20	77.38
5. Vocational & Special education	16.45	2.04	18.44	5.61

Total (6)	S.C., S.T. & other back- ward classes (7)	% age increase (Total)		% age increase (S. C., S.T. & other backward classes)	
		1955-56 over 1950-51 (8)	1959-60 over 1955-56 (9)	1955-56 over 1950-51 (10)	1959-60 over 1955-56 (11)
1. 7.77	0.97	68	32	215	62
2. 67.62	15.19	50	44	132	56
3. 88.86	25.71	84	133	144	186
4. 259.22	104.71	25	13	66	35
5. 20.90	7.97	12	13	175	42

10. The educational facilities for the backward communities have expanded during the First Two Plans at a faster rate than in the country as a whole. In spite of this rapid expansion of educational facilities the tribals are still far behind in educational facilities when compared with the non-tribal people. This difference is more marked at the higher stages of education.

The Ministry of Education which collects the educational statistics from states and publishes them annually, have agreed to collect the separate figures for the education of scheduled tribes from the year 1964-65. When these figures would be available after a year or so it would be possible to review in detail the provision of the educational facilities and the achievements of the First Three Plans.

11. The causes of educational backwardness among the tribal people are as under:

- (i) Traditional apathy for education on account of social, environmental, conditional or occupational handicaps;
- (ii) Poverty and lack of means of a large number of people to educate their children;
- (iii) Lack of educational institutions in rural areas;
- (iv) Living in inaccessible areas and lack of proper communications;
- (v) Lack of residential hostel facilities in places where educational institutions are situated;
- (vi) Defective educational system which does not train students for

appropriate occupations and professions.

12. During the First Plan under the special programme for the development of tribal people 4,000 schools were established in tribal areas including 1,000 Ashram and Seva Ashram schools and about 650 Sanskar Kendras, Balwadis and community centres. Assistance was given to about 4,50,000 tribal students by way of scholarships, grants for books, hostels fees etc., 8644, scholarships were provided for post matric studies.

13. The main targets achieved in the Second Plan included the opening of 3187 schools, 398 hostels and award of scholarships, other concessions to about 3,00,000 tribal students and establishment of 43 Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks. During the Third Plan priority is given to the award of scholarships, stipends, establishment of hostels and opening of Ashram Schools. It is estimated that scholarships and stipends would be given to 12.25 lakh tribal students in the Third Plan. The scheme of Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks started in the Second Plan was expanded further in the Third Plan and 412 Tribal Development Blocks were started.

14. The Scheduled Areas and The Scheduled Tribes Commission while reviewing the progress achieved during the First Two Plans have observed that "this was a beginning which can justifiably be regarded as fairly good, and symbolic of what was to come." The Commission, however, mentioned that "while quantitatively there is progress well worth noting, we feel that qualita-

tive aspect requires attention." The education in the country has failed to make impact on the economic development of the country. "True Education," said Gandhiji, "is that which answers the vital needs of the nation." A number of Commissions and Committees set up to review the programmes implemented for the tribal welfare have pointed out the need for the orientation of educational programmes. One of the urgent needs for reorientation for education is that it should enable the youth to be usefully employed after the completion of education. While it will help in the expansion of education among the tribals as they will understand the importance of education, it will improve their economic condition also. Increasingly large number of scheduled tribes who have been given scholarships for education have pursued Arts, Science and Commerce Courses. At the post matric stage nearly 75 per cent of the scheduled tribe students took arts, science and commerce courses.

15. Under the Second Five Year Plan, five technical training institutes were established. These are located at Korba (Madhya Pradesh), Imphal (Manipur), Ranchi and Kumka

(Bihar), Takatpur (Orissa). The trades taught are those of turner, moulder, lineman, wireman, fitter, electrician, draftsman and blacksmith. The Scheduled Areas and the Scheduled Tribes Commission which reviewed this programme mentioned that "this is a great achievement" and the Commission suggested that "there should be a considerable expansion of this programme."

16. There are a large number of problems in the expansion and improvement of education imparted to the tribal people which have not been mentioned in this note. To study the problems of tribals, Tribal Research Institutes were established in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bengal during the Second Plan. During the Third Plan it has been planned to establish such institutions in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan. The results of the researches undertaken in these institutions are proving of great value to the administrators and planners in the country. It is hoped that gradually the problems faced at present in the economic, educational, and social advancement of tribes would be overcome and the tribals would soon be at par with non-tribals.

PROBLEM OF USE OF TRIBAL LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION

Dr. B. K. Roy Burman

Many of the tribal communities have distinct languages or dialects of their own and it is the declared policy of the Govt. of India, as well as of the various state govts., that as far as possible, primary education of the tribals would be imparted through their mother tongues. In fact Article 350 (A) of the Constitution has enjoined to provide adequate facilities for instruction in mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups.

Implementation of the above policy has rather been slow in most of the states for various reasons. A committee was appointed by one state govt. in 1956 to examine the various questions relating to tribal language. It was pointed out by the representatives of the tribals in the different parts of the state, that their children were suffering in the following manner due to the fact that primary education was not imparted through their mother tongue.

- (a) Comparatively poor enrolment of tribal students due to language difficulty.
- (b) Commencement of primary education of the tribal children at higher age, mainly because of the fact that they feel diffident to attend the school, before they attain at least some preliminary understanding of the regional language.

(c) Almost universal failure of tribal children to complete class I in one year because of the fact that even after they commence going to school, they take at least one year to be sufficiently acquainted with the regional language.

(d) High degree of absenteeism among the tribal children, because they find that the class lessons are unintelligible because of language difficulty.

(e) Frequent discontinuation of studies by the tribal students before completing the primary course.

(f) Frequent break with tribal society and culture in case of those who can complete their education.

On close examination, perhaps, it would be found that some of the above phenomena are not necessarily due to the fact that primary education is imparted through a medium other than mother tongue. Economic factors and social factors might also be equally responsible. But it is important that many tribals feel in the way indicated above. In the interest of creating a healthy democratic atmosphere, it is necessary that the questions relating to the tribal languages should be dealt with, with a sense of urgency.

Use of tribal language in the primary stage may take any of the following forms—

(a) All text-books including text-books of history, geography and arithmetic are to be written in the language of the tribe concerned and class teaching should also be through that language. The regional language may be introduced as a language subject from class III onwards.

(b) The text-books in the beginners' classes only are to be in the tribal language. The text books from class III onwards may be in regional language, but the class lessons are to be imparted through the tribal language even in case of those subjects, which may have text books in the regional language. On the other hand, during the examination, the students are to be allowed to answer the questions in the tribal language or the regional language, according to their option.

(c) Except for the text-books in the language subjects, other text-books are to be in the regional language and during examination, the answers are to be written in the regional language. But the class lessons are to be imparted through the tribal language.

(d) The text books are to be written in the regional language but the teacher should know the tribal language and should explain the contents of the text books in the tribal language.

The exact form which the policy of use of tribal language in primary education would take depends on several

factors, viz. numerical strength of the community and nature of its distribution, existence of separate script and written literature, extent of bilingualism and extent of borrowing from regional language and attitude of the tribal elites. How the position is affected by the above factors is briefly indicated below.

(a) Numerical strength of the community and nature of its distribution—If the tribe is a small one and if its population live interspersed with other population, it is obvious that it will not have viable number for recognition in the secondary stage. Hence in the primary stage its dialect should be used as a bridge language for switching over to the regional language. But if the tribe is a fairly big one and if there is a region where practically the entire population belongs to that tribe, an altogether different approach would be necessary. The tribes like the Khasis, Garos and Lushais of Assam belong to this category. Recognition is to be given to their language even in the secondary stage, in case of such tribes. Hence it is obvious that in the primary stage text-books in all the subjects should be in the tribal language. It is of course desirable that the official language of the state should also be taught as a language subject from class III onwards. The position is however a bit complicated in case of the very big tribes like the

Santals, the Gonds, the Bhils etc. Though they are the dominant communities in several areas, they generally live interspersed with the general population. Their level of literacy is also not high; they, therefore, cannot provide enough number of students in the secondary schools established in their areas. Economically and otherwise also they are very much dependent on the general population and hence there is a real necessity for them to master the regional language. It is obvious that in case of such tribes, their language should be used as a bridge language for switching over to the regional language. But even as bridge language, there would be some difference between the languages of these tribes and those of the very tiny tribes living mixed up with other population. In case of the very tiny tribes, the switch over should take place during the third year of the primary stage, whereas in case of the tribes like the Santals, the Gonds etc. the switch over may coincide with the completion of primary education. In fact in case of such tribes, their language should be taught as a language subject even in the secondary stage, provided that there are 40 or more students in the school.

(b) Existence of separate script and written literature— Some tribes, to wit, the Khamptis of N.E.-

F.A., the Bhutias of the Sub-Himalayan region, have separate scripts and written literature; but most of the tribes do not have separate scripts of their own. During the last few decades, a number of books have however been written in many of those languages, specially by the Christian Missionaries, either in Roman script or in the respective regional script. In the post independence period many books have also been written by the tribals themselves. But there has been hardly any uniform development in case of most of the tribal languages. For instance, Santali is written in Roman, Bengali, Devnagri and Oriya scripts. Two more scripts have also been innovated by some educated Santals. There are diverse emotional and socio-cultural factors associated with each of these scripts, and it has become very difficult to adopt any of them on a uniform basis. One major dilemma that the Santals face today is the conflict between regionalism vs tribalism. As already noted, the Santals are found in several states. There is an influential section among them, which think that it would be better for the community if the text books are written in the script of the respective region, because in that case they would be able to pick up the regional language also without much

effort, and this will be useful for practical purposes of life. On the other hand, there is an equally influential section, which thinks that the Santals in all the states should have a single script so that cultural unity of the tribe can be maintained. They however do not agree about the actual script to be selected on uniform basis. Some are in favour of Roman script and others are in favour of Dev-Nagri script. The new scripts innovated by a few educated Santals do not appear to have become much popular. A compromise formula has also been suggested by many: they suggest that in the primary stage the text books should be in the regional script; in the secondary stage the text books may be in any script, as in the secondary stage all students learn Dev-Nagri and Roman scripts in addition to regional script. The creative literatures may also be in any of the scripts according to the option of the author, as only those readers will be interested in creative literature who have gone upto the secondary stage.

The controversy has not yet been resolved; but this appears to have retarded to a certain extent the pace of preparation of text books and other literature in Santali language. As a result, in absence of text books of satisfactory quality, use of Santali language in pri-

mary stage has mainly been confined to imparting the class lessons through Santali language, whereas the text books are in the regional language. The problem discussed in some detail for the Santals, holds good in varying degrees in case of many other tribes.

(c) Extent of bi-lingualism and extent of borrowing from contact language: The adult male population of most of the tribal communities generally speak a second language, very frequently the regional language, in addition to their mother tongue. In several areas they speak the regional language even in their homes. For instance in the tea plantation areas of Assam and North Bengal frequently husband and wife speak the ancestral language among themselves, but they speak the regional language or Sadri (a corrupt admixture of Hindi and Mundari language with considerable borrowing from local language) with their children. In such cases it is desirable to differentiate between mother tongue and ancestral language or father tongue. Ancestral language is the language which is considered to be the mother tongue of the ancestors of a person in the father's line in case of patrilineal people and mother's line in case of matrilineal people. But as defined by U.N.-E.S.C.O. mother tongue is the

language which a person acquires in early years and which normally becomes his natural instrument of thought and communication. It is obvious that in the tea plantations, where the people belonging to Munda, Kharia and other tribes do not speak Mundari or Kharia etc. with their children, the mother tongue of the children is different from the ancestral tribal language. In such cases there is not much enthusiasm among the tribals to use language of the ancestors as medium of instruction; but some of them feel that it would be good if facilities are given for learning the ancestral tribal language, as an optional language subject.

- (d) Attitude of the tribal elites—In some cases the tribals themselves are unwilling to have text books in their mother tongue. For instance, a mention may be made

of Sadri language in tea-plantation areas. As already noted this is a corrupt admixture of many languages. There is a feeling among the tribals that if books are written for them in this pidgin language, they will be considered to be culturally low and degenerated by their brethren living in other areas. They are therefore opposed to have text books or written literature in Sadri, but on the other hand they very much desire that teachers in primary schools should know Sadri language so that they can explain the lessons, written in text books either in Hindi or regional language, through the medium of Sadri.

The above rapid survey of the problem of use of tribal languages in education shows that it is very difficult to adopt a uniform policy and procedure throughout India; specific measures are required to be devised in each specific context.

PROBLEMS OF TRIBAL ECONOMY

Dr. Sachchidananda

Economy is a comprehensive term. It affects our lives from the cradle to the grave. It has become specially important in view of the many welfare programmes put in operation in the tribal areas of our country. Indeed, it is in view of their low technological development and general economic backwardness that the tribes have become a special concern of the nation. Their standard of living is very low and

their per capita income is very much lower than that of others. Earlier anthropologists did not pay much attention to tribal economy as they were not so much concerned with planning, execution and evaluation of welfare programmes. They were content to describe the ethnology of the tribe and did not deal with the economic relations subsisting in different tribes. Analysis of tribal economy in modern eco-

nomie terms is comparatively recent. In post-independence India, great efforts have been made to improve the economy of the tribals but the success achieved has not been commensurate with the expenditure of money and human labour. One of the main reasons for this is the fact that tribal economy has been treated in isolation. It has been forgotten that economy is only a part of the social system and all our economic actions are set in a social frame-work. In many programmes of economic change a great many barriers, cultural, social and psychological, exist. They have to be understood and then carefully removed.

Of the thirty million tribals in India, a preponderant majority, i.e. 80% subsist by agriculture. The few tribes that subsist by hunting, foodgathering, cattle-herding or industry are very small in numbers. So the basis of tribal economy is land and agriculture. Land is not just a means of subsistence for the tribal. It is a spiritual bond which unites him with his ancestors. It has been noticed that as long as the tribal people are allowed to keep their land, they could also keep their independent outlook on life, their self reliance, their honesty and integrity. Once they are uprooted from their land they lose their independence and become hewers of wood and drawers of water for other people. The process of land alienation has been in progress for a long time. During the British rule in India, clever money lenders and zamindars with the help of an alien legal system succeeded in dispossessing many a tribal from the land of their forefathers. It was only in the present century that special laws were passed to check the

transfer of tribal lands to non-tribals. While the practice was checked, it was not entirely stopped and as late as 1960 the Dhebar Commission found many lapses in the working of these Acts. In recent times it has been found necessary to displace some tribals from their lands for establishing big industries. This has also caused a lot of discontent even though suitable compensation has been paid.

It is necessary that all states should take up as expeditiously as possible a survey of tribal areas in order to discover the amount of cultivable land available and the extent to which the tribal people have no established rights in the areas they cultivate. This should be followed by a sincere attempt to establish the tribal people in their rights to the land they have cultivated traditionally. Land Alienation Acts must be carefully reexamined in the light of the present situation. If necessary these Acts should be drastically amended to plug all the loopholes. There should be a general prohibition of all transfer by sale, mortgage, gift or lease under any kind of agreement or contract affecting the lands of the tribals. If the lands of tribals are acquired by industrial establishments, efforts should be made to compensate them with land for land and house for house. Any scheme of rehabilitation should not be undertaken without consultation of the tribal people concerned. Such rehabilitation colonies should be completed before the tribals are asked to vacate their traditional homes. While preparing the record of rights the approach of the officers should be human rather than legalistic as far as possible.

Besides restoration and preservation of land rights of the tribal communities, the

introduction of the scientific shifting cultivation and the improvement of agricultural practices for more and better production of food are the two other problems of tribal agriculture. In many parts of tribal India shifting cultivation known by different names is prevalent. Everyone agrees that shifting cultivation is not an ideal method but the total replacement of the system, if it is possible at all, must take a very long time. It is a mixed problem partly connected with the physical conditions of the land and partly with social customs, traditions and beliefs. Any hurried departure may cause complications. Some people have suggested conversion of shifting cultivation fields into terraced fields. Whenever hill slopes permit and the soil is sufficiently deep, this holds out immense possibilities of improvement but it involves a very large initial outlay. The other possible alternative is to regulate shifting cultivation on scientific lines so as to limit its disadvantages and to promote the fertility of the soil so that it can produce more food. The jhum cycle may be shortened to enable larger areas to be cultivated every year. While the land is allowed to recuperate its fertility, arhar pulse, cow-peas etc. can be grown. Efforts should be made to minimise soil erosion. Cutting of trees should be eliminated and in winter a rabi crop can be raised. Ultimately jhum lands too may be converted into stabilized permanent fields. The solution of this problem is not easy as many human factors are involved. Coercive legislation will create complications. Supposing that all shifting cultivators agree to give up the practice, it would be a great problem to settle them on permanent fields which are scarce.

Soil conservation is a very important aspect of the land problem of the tribals. A phased programme of conservation including contour bunding, gully plugging, terracing and field bunding should be prepared for every tribal development block. Subsidies should be given for soil conservation measures on individual as well as well as community holdings.

If intensive cultivation is to be pursued in tribal areas irrigation facilities must be made available in as large a measure as possible to the tribal people. The demand for more irrigation facilities is universal. In order to meet this, the state governments should fix targets for minor and medium irrigation work in tribal areas. Irrigation wells should be constructed on full subsidy basis.

There is considerable scope for development of horticulture and cash crops in the tribal areas. In Chotanagpur the cultivation of rainy season potatoes has given good dividends. Good variety cotton also holds a good promise for this area. A large number of tribals in Ranchi and Jamshedpur have taken to vegetable growing in a big way. Due to the efforts of the community development authorities tribals have also taken to production of peaches, papaya, cashew nuts etc. which bring them ready income. Tribals cannot derive full advantage from these measures unless transport and marketing facilities are provided and middlemen are eliminated.

Improved agricultural implements have been evolved for the plains areas. It is necessary that special attention be paid to the needs of the hill and the plateau keeping in view the hard soil and poor variety of draught animals available. Improvement in the breed of the cattle in

the tribal areas is necessary. Such breeds should be popularised as are not very expensive to maintain. As the tribals lead hand to mouth existence, they cannot afford expensive feed for their cattle. Moreover as there is no system of stall feeding it is impossible to check breeding with scrub bulls unless they are all castrated. As regards the introduction of better breed of poultry, it is suggested that a hybrid of native and white leg-horn and Rhode Island Red is more suitable than a pure breed white leg-horn or R.I.R. as the former have a better chance of survival. In areas near towns, poultry can add substantially to the income of the tribals.

The tribals had been traditionally denizens of the forest. In many areas forests have been cut but the tribals are nowhere far from the forests. They have reclaimed large areas from the forests for cultivation. Their gods reside on the hills and in the forests. They like being surrounded by forests. They depend upon the forests for their fuel, timber for house building and for grazing ground for their cattle. They gather forest produce like Kendu leaves for biri manufacture, Chironjee, bee' swax, honey and lac and sell them in the market. They get their medicinal herbs from the forest. In most areas tribals have been dissatisfied with forest administration. It is necessary that the rights of the tribals in forests should be respected and their legitimate needs and aspirations be met. In the exploitation of the forests Government should not admit any middlemen between themselves and the tribals. Fullest amenities should be given to the tribals in the forest villages. Forest departments should have a role in tribal

welfare programme. The management of the village forests should be handed over to the panchayats. Suitable areas for afforestation may be given over to these panchayats together with necessary technical guidance. Efforts should be made to give employment to the tribals all the year round. Active encouragement should be given to the forest labourers co-operative societies.

Andhra Pradesh Government is to be complimented for starting the Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation. This may be followed by other states with such modifications as circumstances may require with a view to consolidate and develop the economy of the tribal particularly in relation to purchase of minor forest produce, supply of requirements to the members, processing and grading of forest produce for the benefit of the tribals, discharge of prior debts and to act as an agent of government for procurement, supply and distribution of agricultural and other produce. The programme should cover all the tribal areas by primary co-operatives which should function as agents of the Central Institution.

One of the glaring facts of tribal economy is indebtedness. Although it is difficult to assess the total volume of debt in a community it is not difficult to find that the bulk of the tribal population is steeped in debt. It is also a major cause of their exploitation. The tribal is so much in debt to the money lender that he may stake his own life and the life of his family in his service for long periods of time. Many debts go on from generation to generation and the debtor's family is reduced to the position of bonded

labour.* The following figures will reveal the burden of debt in several areas :

Lahaul and Spiti (Punjab)—average debt per family Rs. 1000/- 70% families in debt.

Paderu Block (A.P.)—Total debt Rs. 108000

Adhaura Block (Bihar)—Total debt Rs. 400000

Borio Block (Bihar)— Total debt Rs. 212000

Alirajpur Block (M.P.)—average debt per family Rs. 400 to 500.

Kushalgarh Block (Rajasthan)—average debt per family Rs. 258.

Poor technology and low productivity lead the tribal to debt even for meeting his daily requirement of life such as seed, food, salt, clothing and so on and in order to fulfil such social obligations as marriage, festivals and death ceremonies. He continues to cling to the money-lender as the latter is ready to oblige him at all times even though, he charges exorbitant rates of interest. The personal human contact between the debtor and the creditor makes the tribal think of the money lender as a necessary evil. In many areas in Santal Parganas I found that the tribal is not interested in improving his agriculture as most of the produce is mortgaged in advance to the money-lender.

The problem has to be attacked on various fronts. Social legislation should be enacted to prevent the operation of money lenders in scheduled areas. The legislation should be strictly enforced. Liquidation of tribal debts of more than three years standing should be taken up.

* Various practices of this kind are known to exist. In Andhra Pradesh we have the Godhi and Vethi system. In Madhya Pradesh it is known as the Hali system while in Rajasthan it is called sagri system.

Debt conciliation proceedings may be started. All these measures would not produce results unless there is an effective system of giving credit to the tribal both for productive and unproductive purposes at short notice and without much red-tape. Social education should be effectively promoted in tribal areas to encourage thrift. The borrowing habit must be discouraged. Last but not the least, it is important to raise the income level of the tribals so that the need to borrow is not recurrent. It is necessary to break the vicious circle of backward agriculture, need to borrow and abject poverty. Government sponsored grain-golas and co-operative societies are as yet too few to meet this challenge and the management of both may have to be drastically altered to make them more useful than hitherto.

Among most of the tribes a strong social and community sense is evident. In their traditional economy a number of agricultural, hunting, fishing and other occupations were managed on co-operative lines. This feeling was probably born out of a regard for reciprocity and tends to be shattered with the growing impact of money economy in which most of the goods and services can be purchased. This leads to a growth of individualism which it is difficult to harness for co-operative societies of the modern kind. The co-operative movement has not made much headway in tribal areas. The workers who were entrusted with this task did not know of the corporate practices of the tribals and could not relate the formal programme to them. The rules and regulations are far too complicated for the non literate or poorly educated tribal. In some areas the

cooperatives have come under the control of the non-tribals and do not render as much help to him as desirable. Poor as they are, they find it difficult to pay the share capital. If the workers take pains their efforts may bear fruit, as in the Araku Block where co-operative societies had more than 2500 members and a share capital of about Rs. 15000. in 1959 They advanced loans to the tune of Rs. 47000 and the value of agricultural commodities marketed through them was nearly Rs. 29000/-.

It would be useful to prepare the people psychologically for the co-operative society before actually forming one. Care should be taken to see that crafty, rich or influential sections of the people do not dominate the societies. Service co-operative should be formed as soon as possible to serve the largest number of tribal people. The procedure for advance of loans should be simplified so that the tribals may not fall into the clutches of money-lenders. The sale and marketing of produce and supply of tribal peoples' requirements should be the main concern of co-operative societies. The state should help the co-operatives in tribal areas by contributing to the share capital, construction of godowns and provision of managerial staff wherever necessary. The minimum credit of a member should be fixed on his capacity to raise crops on the land rather than on the acreage of his holdings. The co-operatives can also act as grain banks where grain can be deposited and may be given out on loan to needy members. The grain golas in this way would be more useful and the shortcomings of the government grain gola can be done away with.

The problem of poverty and very low standard of living in tribal India owing to poor agricultural yield can be mitigated through the development of village

and cottage industries. Cottage industries can utilize and develop the creative faculties of the tribal people, provide gainful employment to them and offer an avenue for converting the raw materials into processed articles. There are a number of tribes which have special interest in certain kinds of crafts. The tribes of Assam and NEFA weave beautiful cloth on their looms which have a good market not only in the tribal areas but even outside. The Agaria of M.P. and the Asur of Bihar have got experience in iron smelting and smithy. The Mahili of Bihar make excellent bamboo and cane baskets. The Bihors have got special interest in rope making. Some tribes have got prejudice against certain occupations and these factors should be taken into consideration while locating such rural industries in tribal areas. Availability of raw materials locally, proper direction and large scale organisation are essential for the development of village industries. Consumer goods industries, processing industries and handicrafts and craft pieces can all be developed with guidance, technical assistance, training facilities and financial help. In many states, training cum production centres were opened, but a follow-up of the trainees show that a large number of trained personnel do not remain in those industries. This is probably due to lack of care in the selection of trainees and also lack of fore-thought in the location of these centres. In Lahaul and Spiti in the Punjab, production of woolen fabrics and in parts of Madhya Pradesh and Bihar processing of tobacco and biri manufacture can be taken up on a large scale. It would be helpful if the organisation of production and marketing

of these goods is done on co-operative basis.

In many tribal areas, fishing programme has been very successful. This can be managed through the village co-operative as the initial outlay is small and the dividend is very rich. Even if the fish is not marketed, it will add to the poor diet of the tribals in a substantial way.

One of the greatest stumbling blocks in the development of tribal economy is poor communications. Many times the produce of the tribal areas have to be disposed off at nominal prices as it is not possible to carry them to big markets where they might fetch better prices. Efforts are being made to develop communication in the tribal areas so that they may be well connected with towns, markets etc.

In India great stress is being laid on rapid industrialization in the successive five year plans. Priority is being given to basic industries and production of capital goods. Most of the areas in which raw materials for the basic industries are found are situated in tribal areas. These areas are being opened up for the exploitation of coal, iron, copper, mica, manganese, bauxite and other minerals. Gigantic steel plants, heavy engineering industries and numerous mining operations are in action. Thus industrialization has come to the tribal in a big way and it is rapidly transforming not only the person directly employed but also their dependents and other people. We have already referred to the displacement of the tribal from his hearth and home for the erection of the plant and of the surrounding township. A firmly settled villager becomes a refugee losing his kith and kin and the land and the gods he

worshipped. With due care and foresight the sufferings of a displaced person can be mitigated. A wise outlay of the compensation money, preference in employment and training facilities for skilled jobs in industry would help to keep the tribal on his feet. But all such Schemes must be carried out with the consent and active co-operation of the people for whom it is meant. The new pattern of Panchayati Raj will make this possible to a large extent. I may add here that social education must go hand in hand to make the changes lasting and effective. People must realise what they are working for. Only then the best results can be achieved.

It is however, doubtful whether it will be possible to arrest the tide of detribalization which comes in the train of industrialization. The values inherent in industrialization are in contrast to traditional tribal ethos. The tribals were living in comparative isolation in a more or less closed society. Their movement was limited. Their economic, social and political relationships were concentrated in a particular area. This concept of space has been drastically broadened. The traditional identity based on an image of insulated spaciousness has come into conflict with a new image of explosive global closeness. The improvement in the means of communications has led to wide spatial mobility. The value of time has dawned upon him. The introduction of money economy has transformed the traditional communal gods of the extended kinship groups to those of personal achievement and individual career. This has resulted in changing the structure of the family and the position of men and women in it. The newly achieved status in industry

affects the form and nature of leadership. A man who enters as a mere labourer by successive rises becomes a middle class man. Such social mobility is unknown in traditional tribal society. It leads to the creation of a self-conscious status group and ultimately to the growth of a class system which militates against the tribal norm of egalitarian society. Educational facilities in industrial zones lead to a fundamental shift in emphasis in theories of causation and lead to growth of consciousness about one's rights and privileges. The most fundamental change is the loss

of homogeneity. The anonymity in a labour settlement gives ample opportunity to the anti-social propensities of individual tribals.

I have only touched upon some of the important problems of tribal economy. Through the community development programme concerted effort is being made for an all round development of tribal economy. There is anxiety to raise their level of living as speedily as possible. As equal citizens of a great democracy they must enjoy the fruits of development.

SOCIO INDUSTRIAL REFORM

Gajanan Naik

Tribal Welfare has two main aspects viz. Social Reform and Industrial Progress. The industrial lethargy generally observed among the tribals is inherently due to their drink habit. In the forest areas, where the tribals usually stay, their villages are surrounded by palm trees. Traditionally the tribals indulge in consuming intoxicant toddy which they easily obtain by undertaking tapping of the palms. Due to the consumption of toddy, they have become saturated in lethargy and therefore, are reluctant to adopt seriously any industrial activity.

A programme for persuading the tribals and enthringing them to drop toddy consumption is the first step to be taken. In order to attract them to any industrial project, this has to be skilfully implemented without allowing their self respect to be wounded. Their tapping skill has to be harnessed to their economic well-being. Successful experimental schemes

in this behalf have been implemented in Chanda (Maharashtra), and Baroda (Gujarat). Both in Chanda and Baroda the tribals known as Madia and Rat'wa traditionally tap palmyrah palms for toddy drinking. The Maharashtra as well as the Gujarat State Khadi and Village Industries Boards organised Training cum Demonstration Centres for winning over the tribals from the drink habit and attract them to the palm gur industry. Similarly in Thana, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission's Central Training & Research Institute (B.T.G.S. Bhavan) organised a Training cum Production Centre for the tribals (Koli). Encouraging response has been experienced from the tribals in these three districts. The tribals attached to these centres have taken up the palm gur industry seriously. They are progressively improving both socially and economically as a result of their association with this industry.

The summary of the results so far obtained given in the tables below indicates the potential for introducing Socio Industrial Reform amongst the tribals both in the forest and other areas. The propagation of the palm gur industry amongst the tribals will not only save them from the unsocial drink habit but also bestow on them economic benefits subsequently.

The existence of the palm trees in the tribal villages provides ready raw material for enabling the tribals firstly to become self-sufficient in their needs of gur and sugar. They can have gur and sugar at a much lower cost, since palm juice and fuel is available practically free to them for mere collection, if of course, requisite technical instructions are imparted to them by some social welfare organisation or the Government agency like the Khadi and Village Industries Board. In course of time they may acquire adequate skill and speed needed for making their palm gur industry products attractive in the neighbouring urban areas. Ultimately this industry can provide them substantial economic return for raising their standard of living and thereby bring their status on par with the non-tribal citizens of the country both socially and economically. Well chalked out programme for the introduction and expansion of the palm gur industry in the tribal areas in the different states will have to be executed seriously and enthusiastically by the Social Service Institutes and State Government Agencies by making a joint endeavour.

The economic and social benefits accruing to the tribals from the palm gur industry have been proved beyond doubt in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Maharashtra as a result of the palm gur development activities conducted amongst the tribals during the last 15 years.

TABLE—I
Udhwa, Dist : Thana (Maharashtra)
(Training Cum Production)
Date Palm

(i) Period : January 1964 to May 1964.

Trainee	Neera Production (in Kgs.)	Wages Earned Rs. Ps.
1. Shri Babalya D. Nam	4,986	195.00
2. Shri Malji C. Nam	1,365	196.50
3. Shri Zipar R. Shanwar	3,317	216.00
4. Shri Pangal K. Dalvi	2,394	216.00
5. Shri Lasya Y. Dalvi	2,147	216.00
6. Shri Halya L. Katela	1,218	165.00

(ii) Period : November 1964 to May 1965.

1. Shri Ratan Navasu Padvi	5,097	327.32
2. Shri Lasya Y. Dalvi	3,964	325.65
3. Shri Sukrya Rama	3,848	327.32
4. Shri Babalya Kakadya	3,692	308.95
5. Shri Zipar Rupji	4,036	307.28
6. Shri Malji Chandru	2,943	302.27

TABLE—II
District : Baroda (Gujarat)
Palmyra Palm

Sr. No.	Name of the Centre	Average Monthly earnings Rs. Ps.	No. of tappers
1.	Tenaliya	20.00	10
2.	Khadkhad	18.00	1
		15.00	1
3.	Tejgarh	12.00	8
4.	Rangpur	30.00	(Dhananar Singh)
		15.00	5
5.	Zoj	15.00	5

CHANGE IN TRIBAL SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Dr. D. H. Koppur

In order to appreciate the changes that have taken place and their future patterns in tribal society and culture, it is necessary to know the ecological and geographical background of Gujarat which has given shelter to several tribes from times immemorial. Gujarat which lies in the western part of India between latitude 20.1–24.7N and longitude 68.4–74.4 E comprises of North Gujarat, South Gujarat and Saurashtra & Kutch. The annual rainfall is between 30-60 inches in South Gujarat, between 20-40 inches in North Gujarat and in Saurashtra it is less than 25 inches. Rainfall is very much less in Kutch. While the temperature remains low in the south, it is high in the north. Ninety percent of the land in the north is sandy or less fertile, while black soil belts are to be found in the south. Much of the land in Kutch is flat and barren.

Gujarat has a very long coastline of about eleven hundred miles which has no doubt facilitated migrations and movements of people. The forests are more or less evenly distributed. In the north are the forests of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha; in Saurashtra lies the Gir region; in the middle are the jungles of Panchmahals and in the south we have the forests of Dang, Dharampur and Bansda. The total forest area of Gujarat represents 4.8 percent as against the national average of 21.3 percent. The flat and plain region is interspersed with mountains and a net work of rivers.

Into this ecology and geography the tribes have brought a new colour and have added a new design.

The tribal habitat covers areas including Sabarkantha, Panchmahals and Baroda in the east; Surat, Bulsar and Broach in the south and Ahmedabad, Mehsana and Banaskantha in the north. The tribals are concentrated more in the south-eastern region viz. Panchmahals, Baroda, Broach, Surat, Bulsar and Dangs, while in the north-western region the tribal population is sparse and scattered. Among the most important tribes of Gujarat may be noted Bhil, Dhodia, Dhanka, Dubla, Chodhari, Gamit, Vasava, Kukana, Koli, Warli, Naika, Kolacha, Siddi, Rabari, Bharwad, Kathi, Charan, Maladhari, Rathwa, Vaghri etc. Bhils who were at one time considered turbulent constitute the largest aboriginal tribe with a total population of eight and a half lakh.

The Scheduled Areas in Gujarat cover 7,000 square miles with a total population of nearly ten lakh of aboriginal tribes. These areas are Dharampur, Bansda and Umbergaon Talukas in Bulsar District, Vyara, Songadh and parts of Mangrol Talukas in Surat District, Sagbara and Valia Mahals, Dediapada, Nandod and Jhaghadia Talukas in Broach, Chota Udaipur Taluka and the villages of Gad-Boriad Estate of Naswadi Taluka in Baroda District, Limkheda, Devghad-Baria and Sant Talukas and the villages in the old Sanjeli State included in the

Jhalod Taluka in Panchmahal District, Khedabrahma, Bhiloda and Meghraj Talukas and Vijyanagar Mahals in Sabarkantha District.

Gujarat has a rich variety of tribal life and culture. Of the total population of 2,06,33,350, the Scheduled Tribes account for 27,54,446 which means that out of every hundred 13 are Scheduled Tribes. The percentage of Scheduled tribes to the total population in the Dangs District is 83.35, in the Surat District 46.74, in the Panchmahals 40.47, in the Broach District 37.28, in the Baroda District 17.48, in the Sabarkantha District 10.44 and in Banaskantha, 5.1. In the Kutch it is about 3 percent and in Saurashtra it varies from less than half a percent to a little over 2 percent.

Culturally, the different tribes of Gujarat may be broadly classified as (i) purely primitive and (ii) acculturated tribal communities. Problems of the various tribes are in the main, problems of a crisis in culture, arising from isolation and stagnation in growth and sudden changes or lack of adjustment to changed socio-economic milieu. Tribal life in Gujarat thus reveals two distinct patterns of life. Firstly, there are those who live in the mountain region. Secondly, there are those who live in the main region. The influence of geography on these people is only too evident. People living in the forests and mountains have imbibed from the soil a sturdy character and love of freedom which distinguish them from their neighbours in the plain region. Not only the hills and forests imparted a hardihood but also supplied to them the means of defence which are lacking in the plains.

The tribals in the region have evolved a pattern of relationship with their environment and of the utilization of the natural resources, getting a bare subsistence and securing a material culture which they may call their own. Their's is a simple agricultural economy. One feature of their economic level is that the majority of them will have no surplus left with them after satisfying their bare needs. The technology employed in their economy is as backward as the people themselves.

The territorial sub-sections of the tribes form practically endogamous groups and these sub-sections are in their turn again subdivided into smaller exogamous groups, claiming descent from one common ancestor. The structure and organisation of their family reveals that it is patri-local and authority runs in the male line. It is also patrilineal and descent is traced through the father and the right to possession of the property also runs in the male line. It is generally a monogamous family. A husband, his wife and children compose the family. Sons after their marriage generally set up separate house-holds. However, on ceremonial occasions the different branches of the family meet to offer prayers and worship the family gods and ancestor-spirits. They have an irresistible sense of unity of their family and community. It is not unusual to find the prevalence of the joint family among them.

Their religion may be described as animistic. They are extremely religious without having a religion of their own. They generally believe in one god but venerate and worship many gods. While the principal beneficial gods are few, the maleficent gods who interfere with their

day-to-day life are many. The contribution of the tribal peoples to the material culture of India is no doubt small but they have something of their own in so far as their ways of living, modes and dress etc. are concerned. The compulsion of circumstances has left them with no alternative but to choose certain occupations and to use certain implements. They have no special craft of their own. Though circumstances have thrown them to serve their masters for life, their dependence has not completely wiped off their identity. Their dress and their ways of life are still a pointer to their striking peculiarities which they have maintained even today. It may be said that their whole mentality has expressed itself through these media.

Now into this tribal ecology which has sustained them throughout the ages has come the modern civilizing influence. Let us first note some of these civilizing agents which might well introduce a new way of life and culture for the tribals and then let us analyse some aspects of their society and culture on which the impact of modernism has felt. They been are : (1) the Constitution (2) courts of law (3) development blocks (4) Hindu missionaries (5) market place (6) fairs (7) transport and communication. There might be other agents which seek to change their way of life. Among such agents mention may be made of the Lady Wilson Museum at Dharampur which is a premier cultural institution in South Gujarat. The frequent visits of the tribals to the museum has not only given them a new and exciting experience but has also been an instrument in stimulating active life.

In the Directive Principles of State in the Constitution it has been stipulated

that the State shall promote the interests of the tribal people with special emphasis on their economic and educational aspects. In so promoting their interests the original texture of the innate characteristics and qualities of the tribals is to be preserved and blended in the national design. Several specific provisions have been incorporated into our Constitution to safe-guard the interests of this weaker section of society and their implementation is drawing them slowly within the orbit of the national development activities. The Constitution therefore, is the first charter of social and cultural change among the tribes.

Next comes the Courts of Law under whose jurisdiction the tribals have come. The courts have provided a forum for all types of contacts which bring about a change in their thought and outlook. The Development Block Staff keep frequent contacts with the tribals with the result that the impact of modernism is being felt at every stage of their life. Hindu missioneries like Viswanath Maharaj and others who have worked and are still working for the uplift of the tribals have helped and are helping them to assimilate into the Hindu way of life. Market places and fairs provide another source of constant contact and change. Transports and communications are spreading their net-work in the rural areas.

Let us examine some of the changes brought about in their society and culture. Efforts have been made by social reformers and workers to promote voluntary and organised social change. Dhodias, Dublas, Gamits and Dhankas have come under the influence of social reform movements. Among the reforms recommended may be noted the following:

abolition of child marriage, ceiling over marriage expenditure, standardisation of bride-price, inviting a brahmin to perform marriage ceremony, stopping of dancing, replacing of parjan by annual shraddha in which the rites are to be performed by a brahmin etc.

Among these tribes it is now an accepted practice to consult a brahmin for fixing the day of marriage, which is performed according to Hindu rites. Printed wedding invitations are sent by post replacing the old customs of 'gathan'. Under this system invitations used to be sent by circulating a string with as many knots on it indicating the number of days left for the marriage day. Satyanarayan katha is also performed a few days after marriage under the direction of a brahmin.

The Hindu custom of collecting the ashes and depositing them in the nearest river or a place of Hindu pilgrimage being followed to a greater extent. The practice of erecting a 'khatrun' or an image of the dead in the backyard of the house is slowly dying. Hinduised communities like Gamits, Dhodias and Dhankas have officially condemned the parjan ceremony as both wasteful and unnecessary. They have expressed their belief in the periodical shradha ceremony of the Hindus. In the written or printed constitutions of Dublas, Naikas, Gamits and Dhodias increasing restrictions are being imposed against the nature and frequency of such funeral dinners and customs on which they would otherwise have to incur a lot of expenditure.

In the matter of wearing apparels, particularly ornaments, considerable change is evidenced. The old custom of wearing the kaliganthi is now being re-

placed by a lighter and cheaper one called the mangalasutra as among Dhankas. Women prefer sparkling glass bangles and colourful saris. Turbans which at one time were the symbol of tribal dignity are fast disappearing and have been replaced by white caps. Such of the tribes who live in or around cities and towns are undergoing a rapid process of acculturation and it is possible to observe the manner in which culture change has affected their daily life.

Their tribal organisation as represented by their Panch is undergoing transformation at the hands of the younger generation. The authority of the Panch is open to question as the dissenting party can always threaten to go to a court of law. One sees a political awakening among such of the tribes as Dhodias, Dublas, Naikas, Gamits and Dhankas. As a result of the adult franchise and special reservation of seats for tribal population, certain political and social forces have been acting on them producing a restlessness. But they have also brought new visions and opportunities to their doors.

Looking back to the condition of the tribes before independence and now after eighteen years, one finds tremendous changes in the people. The tribal people, by and large, have realised that their socio-economic conditions have got to be improved and that they have to adopt to the ways of life of the country if they have to fulfil their obligations as true citizens.

From what is said above, it should not be supposed that the stage is well set for the future pattern of change and the integration of the tribals into the normal culture of the country. Far from it,

there is another side to the coin. It should be realised that more than half of the tribal population still lives in the vastness of the forests and the hills where in their isolation they have preserved their way of life and culture. Such of the tribals who live in or around cities and towns have no doubt come into contact with civilisation. Very few of them have really shown a remarkable sense of adaptability to the Hindu way of life. But the same thing cannot be said of the rest of them. Whatever progress they have made, whatever change they have betrayed in their way of life, it is superficial. It has not gone beneath their skin.

Despite the fact that civilisation is making its inroads into the tribal homes, they are still governed by the codes and conducts of tribal life. The spirit which animates them is still the spirit of their tribal gods and the ancestor-spirits though many of them are found to worship Hindu gods and observe Hindu festivals. It is this tribal milieu which supplies a design of life and fulfils the purpose of their living. Tribal solidarity is still maintained in the midst of change that is overtaking them. The bhagat still wields his magical wand both in the urban and rural areas. The tribals in the interior are not averse to change but they often lack the wherewithal to invite such a change and sustain it.

The contrast between the rural and urban tribes shows awful gaps between them. It is true that the urban tribals are more informed today than previously. However, improvements in food, dress etc. should not mean culture change. Urban life has created more wants without at the same time increasing their earning capacity. It is this fact which has added not only to their frustration and inferiority but has always kept them in a state of tension. Moreover, they have the irresistible temptation to pick up only harmful elements of modern civilisation. The tribals on the whole have still to cover a long way by way of social and psychological distance before they could be fully integrated.

It must be understood that the tribal culture is a delicate thing. The contact of civilization has generally had an adverse effect on tribal art and culture. The ultimate aim is to preserve, strengthen and develop all that is best in tribal society and culture. While the process of transition should not precipitate a cultural crisis, it should gradually unfold a new life in which they can adjust and thereby enable them to march in line with the generalality of the people. Their future patterns of change should be guided by scientific principles based on anthropological findings.

REVOLUTION IN THE ADIVASI SOCIAL LIFE

P. G. Shah

The Adivasis are not the original inhabitants of the Country but those which have been officially declared as such by the Government of India and include well recognised units. There were in 1961 Census about 3 crores of Adivasis, their total tribes are distributed in 572 units and represent about 6.80 per cent of the total population of India. In Gujarat there are 27.5 lakhs Adivasis divided into 29 tribes.

The largest concentration of these tribes in Gujarat is in the Dangs where the number represents 92 per cent of the population; and enumerate 49 per cent in Surat District, 41 per cent in Broach District, 34 per cent in Panchmahals, 21 per cent in Banaskantha and only 5 per cent in the sandy land of catch. Out of these, Bhils number 11.24 lacs, Dublas 3.34 lacs, Dhodia 2.76 lacs, Gamits 1.59 lacs, Naik-Naikas 1.08 lacs, There are denotified or nomadic tribes like Rabaris, Waghri, Padhar and Pardhi which require to be studied in a different manner. The Gujarat Research Society has arranged for the study of Bhils, Dublas, Naik-Naikdas, Dhankas and of Gamits and Waghri. I can say with considerable experience and confidence that great social changes have overcome and will further overcome the tribal population of Gujarat. I do not wish to reproduce what I have written in my books, but the main achievement owing to the influence of Gandhiji in stopping the making and drinking of liquor has made a great change; while the simple spinning wheel provides a useful means of earning a

small money daily even in remote areas.

Measures undertaken by the Government, specially those recommended by the Dhebar Commission in 1961, are sufficient but they require to be more thoroughly implemented with greater energy, thoroughness and sincerity by the lower staff. Crores of rupees that are spent on their welfare are often spent not on tribal schemes and projects, but gets often exhausted in paying for establishment and travelling allowance charges; unless greater care is taken to remove the difficulties that exist regarding poverty, ignorance, disease and food these simple people are likely to fall into the hands of further revolutionary movements like the Communists.

I suggest that the reports of the Governors, provided in our Constitution, and referred to at page 494 of the Dhebar Report should be submitted every year for each scheduled area in the province, should be prepared and dealt with greater thoroughness. This will show that the intentions of the Government are being implemented as keenly as possible within our means and with the limitations of the Adivasi population itself. But I am convinced by my familiarity with the tribal population of Gujarat, and description of life histories of their leaders which I have given in my books that the Adivasis can be brought into the same level as the non-tribal population of the area in which they live, as they possess adaptability and intelligence, and their laziness and dullness can be removed by closer and deeper contact.

DEVELOPMENT OF ADIVASIS THROUGH TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS

K. K. Kurup

Introduction of T. D. Blocks

The fact that tribal population needs special measures for its development has been recognised right from the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan. The opening of Special Multipurpose Blocks in Sukhsar, Khedbrhama and Nana Pondha in Gujarat State some 10 years ago bears testimony to this fact. However, it was obvious that the S.M.P. Blocks covered only a very insignificant percentage of the tribal population of the State and a great majority of them remained outside the S.M.P. Blocks. Speaking of the Gujarat State, with the exception of the Dangs, where, even though there was no S.M.P. Block the adivasis were entitled for receiving the special benefits available under the Special Multipurpose Block Programme, in other areas the adivasis were treated on par with others in extending the benefits of the community development programme. Needless to say this made the weaker sections remain where they were while the rich and the privileged became richer and more privileged. This was more or less the state of affairs throughout the country as revealed by the reports of various evaluation committees.

This revelation as well as the responsibility placed on the Union Government under articles 46 and 338 of the Constitution of India have necessitated the

adoption of special measures for the welfare of the tribals.

A committee headed by the late Dr. Verrier Elwin was appointed to advise the Government on measures needed for the welfare of the tribal people. This committee which submitted its report in 1960, had among other things, recommended the opening of Tribal Development Blocks in such areas where the tribal population is 60% and above. Towards the end of 1961, four Tribal Development Blocks were started in Gujarat. and within a period of 4 years onwards from then 53 T.D. Blocks in all have started functioning.

Pattern of Budget

Although the Tribal Development Block is sponsored by the Home Ministry, its implementation is closely co-ordinated with the Community Development Programme of the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, as the area now covered by the Tribal Development Block has hitherto been in a Community Development Block of the Community Ministry and has been getting grants from that Ministry (C. D. Ministry). It is, thus, a co-ordinated programme of the two Ministries at the Central level.

Depending on the stage in which the parent block was at the time of conversion into T. D. Block, the Tribal Development Block gets its schematic budget grant from the Community Deve-

lopment Ministry in addition to the allotment of Rs. 10 lakhs from the Home Ministry for the stage I period of 5 years and 5 lakhs for the stage II period of subsequent five years.

As most of the Tribal Development Blocks in Gujarat are formed out of N.E.S. or Community Development Blocks which had reached the fag end of stage I period or had entered stage two, none of the Tribal Development Blocks is getting the maximum grant of 12 lakhs from the Community Development Ministry for the first stage of 5 years. For the stage I period, the grant from the Community Development Ministry varies from Rs. 1 lakh to 7 lakhs. This is of course in addition to Rs. 10 lakhs from the Home Ministry. This is the budget pattern of the Tribal Development Block for the 1st stage of 5 years period.

The pattern of development under the the Tribal Development Programme is broadly classified under four heads viz :

1. Block Headquarters :

Which includes construction of office building, staff quarters, personnel, vehicles etc.

2. Economic Development :

Which covers Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Irrigation and Reclamation, Rural Arts, Crafts and Industries and also Co-operation.

3. Social Service :

All activities like Education, Social Education, Health and Rural Sanitation programmes come under this head.

4. Communications :

Due recognition is given to the importance of Communications in Tribal

areas by providing a separate head of development for it. Communications include construction of link roads, metalling and widening of existing roads and providing culverts, causeways etc.

The Home Ministry also lays down a pattern for incurring expenditure under these four heads of development. It is as under :—

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Block Headquarters | Rs. 2 lakhs |
| 2. Economic Development | Rs. 4.80 lakhs |
| | of which Rs. 1 lakh should be spent on Co-operation. |
| 3. Social Services | Rs. 1.20 lakhs |
| 4. Communications | Rs. 2 lakhs |

Economic Development is given the highest priority and emphasis and no diversion of funds from this head is allowed while minor adjustments in between other heads are permissible.

Planning and Survey

With the budget in hand, planning is of utmost importance. No one will dispute the fact that without proper and realistic planning, the money spent is money wasted. Of course when lot of money is spent, some superficial benefits may be visible but in several instances where sample survey had been carried out after a period of development for 5 years, the results were alarming in the sense that the core of the people had not been touched by the programme. This, at any cost, should be avoided in Tribal Development Blocks.

A preliminary survey is therefore quite essential before planning is undertaken in order to know what the area is like, what its resources are and what it lacks. This survey is of course being carried out in

all the Tribal Development Blocks. But the way in which it is being done is disappointing. There are instances where the Bench Mark Survey which is supposed to have been made in the first year of the Tribal Development Block has actually been carried out when the Block is more than half way through. This is because no special staff is appointed for the survey and there is also no full compliment of the block staff for the first two years to take up the survey. Bench Mark Survey, like evaluation, should be done by an independent agency in order to ensure that the survey is not tempered by any local interests.

It is to be anticipated that in adivasi area, development is almost blank, resources are meagre and the tract lacks everything except a potentially fertile people. The actual survey, however, can give us a clear and accurate picture of the existing situation.

Conditions are bound to vary from block to block depending on the geographical factors as well as the nature of tribes inhabiting each block. The variation in the conditions may also depend on the extent of the impact already made by the Community Development Programme before the conversion of the area into Tribal Development Block.

Taking into consideration all these factors, planning should be aimed at achieving the following broad objectives :

1. Coverage of the entire agricultural population with greater emphasis on the weaker sections and very small farmers.
2. Development of the resources like land, minor irrigation, marketing,

poultry, cattle etc. which will sustain the economic growth.

3. In forest area where agriculture is subordinated by forests, maximum opportunity for tribals to make forests as the fountain-head of their economy. For this there should be close liaison between Forest Department and Tribal Development Block which unfortunately does not exist at present.
4. Providing schooling facilities in the villages.
5. Providing medical facilities even in the remotest villages and combating malnutrition among the tribals.
6. Opening up the area to the outside world by developing road communications.
7. Improving the housing conditions of the landless and agricultural labourer class who live in hovels.

There may be other things also, but in tribal areas the above seven objectives are the most important. One may wonder why I did not mention about village industries in the seven objectives listed above. In tribal areas, there is no traditional village industry except perhaps bamboo-craft. My experience in tribal area of the last 14 years is that the tribals are really not enthusiastic of taking up any cottage industry or craft to better their earnings. They prefer to do unskilled manual work rather than specialising in some skilled work. There may be exceptions, but this is the general rule. Hence there is very little scope for village industries programme in tribal areas.

The Obstacles

It is easy to say all these things while planning in Tribal Development Blocks,

but before achieving these objectives we have to pass through a series of obstacles. Broadly speaking, these obstacles are economic, social, psychological and political.

The first and foremost hurdle is the extreme poverty of the tribals. With 13 years experience of the Community Development Programme, it is to be admitted that we have still not been able to completely overcome the snags in the programme, and even to-day, when confronted with the fact that people whom we aim at developing are incapable of offering the required response, we are left with no alternative but to leave them alone. I do not for a moment forget the fact that with regard to popular contribution, Government have made liberal relaxations of the rules and in certain cases even allowed to forgo the popular contribution altogether. This is greatly appreciated by the tribal population. But when incentives are provided to individuals for agricultural development, the poor cultivators with very small holdings are unable to take advantage of the same while the few well-to-do farmers who are able to invest something from their own resources grab such aid. This is why the poor has remained poor, if not poorer, while the rich grow richer.

One of the practical ways which I can visualise to remove this snag is to link subsidy with loan. By liquidating the influence of money lenders in the tribal areas, a vacuum has been created and this has to be effectively filled in. Many tribals require long term and middle term loans for agricultural development. Without extending the aid of loan, the offer of subsidy is meaningless to many poor adivasis. The Land

Mortgage Bank with its commercial mindedness and cumbersome procedures has not been able to come to the rescue of the average and sub-average adivasi farmer. The State Government should therefore meet this requirement as the Home Ministry's grant available for Tribal Development Block is non-loanable.

The peculiar tribal customs and practices as well as the social structure create many problems when new trends are introduced. For example, the incapability of an adivasi youth to separate from his wife temporarily for undergoing even a short training, away from his village to better his earnings, deprives him of the benefits in spite of our best intentions. Lack of mutual trust between the couple is the reason behind it. To educate the couple, we should bring to their knowledge instances of other couples who remain separated for short and even long spells but still had their happy matrimonial life.

Another obstacle is the sense of resignation which is generally found in the tribals. This is to be dealt with at the psychological level. An abundant measure of patience and the knowledge of the invisible barriers which make the tribals different from others are essential to tackle this difficulty.

The tribal training imparted to extension workers can do a lot of good to them in this respect particularly.

The ineffectiveness of the local institutions like the village panchayats and lack of able leadership in the village is yet another hurdle to surmount. In many of the tribal villages this is the state of affairs. Local initiative which is

very essential for area development is a rare commodity in Tribal Development Blocks. Work therefore suffers to a great extent with apparently nobody to blame. How to remedy this situation?

It is not that there is no capacity for leadership in these villages but the statutory leadership has been thrust upon men, who lack the qualities of leadership, simply on political considerations. Ultimately, the whole village has to suffer. In this matter, the officials can hardly

do anything. The local politicians and the leadership of the taluka should try to face this situation squarely, as in the panchayati raj it is their duty to see that no village is made to suffer on account of ineffective leadership.

There are also many other difficulties existing in adivasi area, but all these will have to be overcome as there is no other alternative for the economic and social development of the tribal people which is inseparable from the national economy.

AUTHORS

Chauhan, Brij Raj, Dr.

Reader in Sociology, Department of
Sociology, Agra University, Agra

Koppar, D. H., Dr.

Director, Lady Wilson Museum,
Dharampur, Dist. Bulsar

Kurup, K. K.

Block Development Officer,
Pardi T. D. Block
Pardi, Dist. Bulsar

Mehta, B. H., Dr.

Director, Gondwana Centre, Tata
Institute of Social Science, Patel
House, Versova via Andheri, Bom-
bay 58

Naik, Gajanan

Hon. Adviser, Palm-Gur Industry,
Khadi & Village Industry Commis-
sion, P.O. Dahanu, Dist. Thana

Roy Burman, B. K., Dr.

Special Officer, Handicrafts and
Social Studies; Registrar General,
Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of
India, New Delhi

Sachchidanand, Dr.

Director, Bihar Tribal Research Insti-
tute, P.O. Ranchi

Shah, P. G.

Vice-President, Gujarat Research
Society, 11th Road, Khar, Bombay 52

Uppal, R. C.

Research Officer, Education Divi-
sion, Planning Commission, New
Delhi

