CHAPTER II

AN OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature survey presented in this chapter pertains mainly to the tribes of Central India and special emphasis has been given to cover the literature on the economy of tribes, classification of tribal economy, the causes and consequences of transformation of the tribal economy, the resource base of the tribal economy such as forests and agriculture. The impact of the low levels of economy in the form of indebtedness and exploitation has also been covered. The available literature has been classified under certain broad themes and their sub themes which are given below:

Economy of Tribes

Theoretical Perspective

Mukherjee¹ opines that Economy and society should be studied in terms of the second and further order of relationship which describes what the tribals do with respect to production, consumption, and distribution of material goods and services. In this way society as a whole would come under our observation, analysis, deductions and inferences.

De and Bandyopadhyay² argues that the tribal economy should be studied in a historical perspective. Any blanket category like "the tribal economy" will not encompass all careful studies of different economies of different tribal people in different locational and regional contexts. For our analytical purposes, tribes may be conveniently defined as groups of people who use a common dialect and also observe certain common taboos but whose principal characteristic is that they have not been absorbed into the dominant culture of India, but which remains as social enclaves of under privilege within the national fabric. According to the author it is the last characteristic which is the most important distinguishing feature. It has been argued that there is no distinct tribal economy as different tribal groups practice different economies and more so the characteristics of the tribal

economy such as production based on community and the ownership based on community has broken down. Rather, they can be considered as the most under privilege and deprived section of the society.

Sachchidananda\(^3\) is of the opinion that the tribal economy can not be studied in isolation. It has to be studied in the regional perspective. Tribes can be described as peasant societies. There had been studies on economic dependence of tribes on forest, problems of hunting and gathering and pastoralism have been investigated, shifting cultivation in various parts of the country and the problems connected with it have been studied, agricultural technology and the problems of land among tribals have received attention. Some studies have been made of markets, indebtedness, tribal labour and migration. There has been some studies of impact of industrialization on the tribal also. However, a composite picture does not emerge from these studies, hence there is a need to depict tribal economy not as a static phenomenon but as one which is constantly changing through impact of market forces. It would be interesting to find out the extent of monetization, the result of land coming into the market, the relationship between shifting cultivation and the carrying capacity of land and the growth of unemployment in tribal areas. He further argues for a need to study the material culture in a new perspective showcasing the technological change. The question of land alienation has to be investigated- how some elites within the tribal community has emerged to exploit their own brethren.

Danda\(^4\) considers economy to be the reflection of the techno-cultural efficiency of a society at a particular point of time and at a particular ecological context. Any change either in the techno-cultural efficiency or ecology or both at a particular point of time brings about change in the economy of the society.

Roy\(^5\) tried to identify food gatherers from a different perspectives. He tried to identify food gatherers from the nutritional point of view and used calorific value of the food as a measure. The food consumed by a particular tribe has been divided into two categories: I) Food articles procured from the market and ii) Food collected from the forest. The


\(^4\) A.K.Danda, (1990): Tribal Economy in India, New Delhi: Inter India Publications

calorific values of the food items consumed from both these sources have been calculated separately and depending on the percentage of calorie intake from each of these sources, the food gathering community has been graded. Tribals getting more than 90 percent of total calories intake from the gathered foods is considered to be entirely food gathering community. However, the criteria chosen by the author to identify the food gatherers is not valid. A tribe is identified as a food gatherer on the basis of it’s food gathering activity for their sustenance irrespective of calorific value of the food collected by them.

Economic Activities of the Tribes: Case Studies

Roy⁶ in his pioneering work on Birhors mentions that the hunting of wild animals is the main subsistence activity of this tribe.

Prasad⁷ observed that majority of the Birhors are landless and live mainly by hunting and selling of ropes.

According to Adhikary⁸, Birhors pursue a number of occupations of which making of rope and rope made product is the primary one and hunting monkey, other wild games is the next important occupation.

Negi⁹ studied the economy of Himalayan Tribes and found that agriculture supplemented with horticulture is the primary occupation in all the three major ecological zones, viz. foothills, middle altitude area and the high altitude arid zones. In the high altitude zone, pastoralism is the major mode of economy. In the middle and lower altitude areas where there are thick forests, ample water and land the people took to cultivation on a large scale. Besides this livestock rearing is also one of major sources of income.

Mann¹⁰ made an attempt to present the economic system of the tribes inhabiting the state of Rajasthan and Gujarat. Some of the tribes such as Bhil, Mina and Dhadia, Garasia and Konkana, Dumla, Dhor. Koli, Kathodi, Varli and Sehriya; rabari, Bharwar and Charan has been taken as case studies to show the intra-tribal and inter tribal economic disparities.

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⁶ Sarat Chandra Roy (1925): The Birhors: A little Known Jungle Tribe Of Chotanagpur, Ranchi: Man of India Office.
⁷ N. Prasad (1961): Chapter on Birhor in Land and People of Tribal Bihar, Ranchi: Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Govt. of Bihar.
The study brings out the fact that the economic levels of the tribes differ and almost every family has more than one economic pursuit. Economic position of land-owning tribes is rather better than that of non-agricultural tribes. Among the major tribes, a particular class of insiders has come up.

Mishra\(^\text{11}\) identifies the following types of economic activities being practiced by the various tribal groups living in the South India: i) Food Collection, hunting and fishing; ii) Settled Agricultural; iii) Agrestic Serfs; iv) Service v) Pastoralist. The Service activity that he identifies is not the same as that of the tertiary sector. The service provided by the one tribal group to the other has considered to be the service activity, e.g., entertaining of one tribal group by another has been considered to be the service activity. It has also been pointed out that no tribal group practice a single economic activity rather each one of them practice a combination of many.

Negi\(^\text{12}\) studied the changing economic activities of the Rajis of Pithoragarh in the Kumaon Hills. The traditional occupation of the Rajis, for which they are most famous, was the making of wooden bowls. In addition, making of rope out of certain wild grasses and bark of trees and gathering was also a favourite traditional occupation among them. In the post-Independence period, they were sometimes engaged by government or by common villagers in the making of irrigation channels, a job at which their expertise is well recognized. But their economy has been transformed due to the large scale depletion of forest. Their traditional occupations no longer survive and consequently the only source of their livelihood is wage labour. They continue to be destitute in the extreme. They are a people who have neither land nor the expertise to cultivate land, wherever it has made available to them. Driven out of the forest they do not have enough means of subsistence. The jobs of unskilled labourer are not too many and they are only seasonal. The distress among them can be imagined from the fact that 18 percent of their entire reported population in Pithoragarh was wiped out by starvation alone.

\(^{11}\) P.K.Misra (1982); "Tribal economy in the Southern zone" in K.S.Singh (ed.), op.cit., pp. 82-94.
Sinha\(^\text{13}\) has studied the present day economic activities of hill Kharia of Purulia district. The Hill Kharias are traditionally hunters and gatherers but the large scale depletion of forests has forced them to engage themselves in locally available very low paid menial jobs. Presently they combine a variety of activities to procure food. Although hunting and gathering continue to provide some food items, agriculture wage labour has been another major source of their economy. They get employment as wage labour for only about 40 days in a year. In the remaining part of the year, starting from Nov-Dec. to Jan.-Feb., they rely mostly on collecting paddy from rat holes. Apart from agricultural labourer, the other source of income is selling handicrafts such as broomstick, fish traps and selling firewoods, 'Bidi' leaves, Sal leaves etc. to peasants. Describing the social relations between this tribe and other peasant castes, it has been stated that Hill Kharias have not been able to assimilate themselves with peasantry and they look peasants with an eye of suspicion and distrust and consider them as their exploiters.

Anandabhanu\(^\text{14}\) made a study of 'Cholanaickans' a seminomadic tribes inhabiting the Karulai and Chungathara ranges of Naumbur Valley of the Malappuram district. The methods and techniques for collecting food items from forest and the seasonality of the collection different food stuff and the minor forest produce has been studied. Sen, Saha and Mukherjee\(^\text{15}\) studied the role of women in tribal economy. It appears that women's role is predominantly in the sphere of labour among the tribes. The degree and role played by women varies from one tribe to other. There has been some role specialization between males and females in carrying out cultivation. For example, the women among the Santal, Ho, Oraon, Munda do the transplanting, weeding, reaping, husking etc., while the men plough, watch in the fields at night, thresh etc. On the other hand, among some of the tribal communities such as Birhors, role differentiation between male and female in the economy is not prominent. Both men and women join in processing, rope making, bartering in nearby village or in selling it in the weekly markets.

Classification of Tribal Economy

A number of scholars classified tribal economy, mentioned may be made here of Majumdar and Madan\textsuperscript{16}, Prasad\textsuperscript{17}, Das\textsuperscript{18}, Oraon\textsuperscript{19}, Bose\textsuperscript{20}, Vidyarthi\textsuperscript{21}. All these classification were completely based on modes of economy. The latest contribution to the classification scheme of the tribal economy is that of Danda\textsuperscript{22} and it may be considered as a scientific as this classification puts the economy of the tribes in a evolutionary framework though all the tribal groups might not have passed through the same stages of economy. He considers tribal economy as a reflection of the techno-cultural efficiency in exploring and adaptability to a particular ecological setting at a particular point of time. Hence any change either in the techno-cultural efficiency or the ecological setting or both will lead to transformation in the economy of the people. To arrive at a classification of the tribal economy, firstly he tries to narrate the distinguishing features of the tribal economy as opposed to the non-tribal economy, and concludes that in the present context of time there is a very thin line of divide between the two categories of economy since there is hardly any society in the world which is not exposed to the extraneous forces.

He studied five tribal groups of Madhya Pradesh to highlight the production and distribution mechanism of tribal economy. Market has been considered to be the largest single factor for the transformation of the tribal economy. In the analysis of forces of transformation, often no distinction is maintained between change and development since both contributed to the overall transferal process. When change is the outcome of both spontaneous and induced forces, development signifies fulfillment of defined objectives. In the context of tribal development, the perception was to take measures so as to integrate these people with the national mainstream. This policy has been critised on two accounts-Firstly, tribes in India are heterogeneous in social, political, economic and cultural terms. Secondly, that the mainstream of national life is composed of multiple parallel forces.

\textsuperscript{16} D.N. Majumdar and T.N. Madan (1956): \textit{An Introduction to Social Anthropology}
\textsuperscript{17} N.Prasad (1960): "Tribal People in Indian Society", \textit{Bulletin of the Bihar Tribal Research Institute}, vol. 2
\textsuperscript{18} N.Das (1963): "Tribes, Their Problems and Administration of Tribal Areas", \textit{Vanyajati}, vol. II
\textsuperscript{19}Kartik Oraon (1964): "Tribes and Tribalism in India", \textit{Journal of Social Research}, vol. 17
\textsuperscript{20} N.K. Bose (1968): "Competing Productive Systems in India", \textit{Man in India}, vol. 48
\textsuperscript{22} A.K. Danda, (1990): \textit{Tribal Economy in India}, New Delhi: Inter India Publications.
For any economic planning or developmental initiatives for the tribes of India, in view of their heterogeneity, a scientific classification of the people is a major requisite. On the basis of actual placement of the tribes in terms of their primary means of their livelihoods, a ten-fold classification emerges. The typologies when placed in an order of sequence of increasing techno-cultural efficiency, a picture of the steady process of progressive differentiation becomes apparent. The spectrum thus produced establishes a continuum between the conceptual polar ends of primordial non-differentiated character of economy and the market oriented institutionalized process of economy.

**Relationship between Tribes and Castes**

Mahapatra\(^\text{23}\) studied the relationship between different tribal groups and the castes and found that the relationship is exploitative in nature rather than symbiotic.

Rizvi\(^\text{24}\) studied the economic relationship of Hill Korwa tribe with the peasant castes such as 'Grihats', Mahatos in Surguja district and identified five kinds of relationship between them: Employer-employees: where the employer is the caste groups and tribes are employees, Trader and Consumer Relationship: where the trader is caste groups and the consumer is the tribes; Creditor-Debtor relationship: where the trader is caste groups and the consumer is the tribes; Tenant-Landlord relationship and Ceremonial economic relationships

**Economic Transformation of the Tribes and it's Impact**

While analyzing the process of economic transformation among the tribes, Singh\(^\text{25}\) writes that there is not one tribal system but many, that there is not one but several tribal economies. Not even a single tribe in India today subsists on a single techno-economy of production except a few isolated and small communities. Food gathering is now generally a subsidiary and, during the lean months, a primary source of food for most of the primitive tribes on the mainland. The major thrust of change has been from tribes in to peasants. We are in a position today to trace the process of transfer of technology from peasant to tribes in


the pre-colonial and colonial societies. By the end of 18th century communities of peasantised tribals had emerged in Assam, Rajasthan, middle India etc. the concept of private property in land came into existence during colonial period. The colonial system identified different categories of land, determined tribal's rights in land, fixed rent and thus grafted the concept of private property in land on to the tribal system. Transition to settled agriculture was also helped by the conservation of forest resources for commercial exploitation, which pushed the tribals off their land in reserved forests.

Since Independence this process of transformation has intensified. Pressure of tribal population on land has grown as the carrying capacity of land has diminished. There has been diffusion of improved agricultural technology by government agency. The technological innovations have brought about a change in social relationship. Hunting, foodgathering and shifting cultivation technologies were associated with the system of communal or collective ownership of land and use of labour. The system of terrace and wet cultivation are associated with the emerging trends of private ownership of land, increased use of inputs and labour, and the role of market. In the region of dry cultivation, at present, much of settled cultivation is at subsistence level and the majority of the tribal produce not a marketable surplus but 'marketed surplus' which they are forced to do to buy their necessities.

However, pockets of modernized agriculture farming are emerging among the Munda and Oraon of Chotanagpur, the Gonds and korkus of middle India, the Badagas and Mulu Kurumbas of the Nilgiris. Incidence of cash cropping has been reported from parts of tribal Gujarat, Rajasthan, Andhra, Orissa and Chotanagpur.

Yet tribals' transition to the peasant system is not yet complete, their dependence on forest as a source of food and earnings is in many ways as crucial as their dependence on land. Tribal areas in middle India have witnessed a rapid growth of urban population and industrialization. An immediate result of this has been the immigration into tribal areas of non-tribals in search of job. The demographic pattern has thus been disturbed and tribal population is declining. Another result has been the displacement of tribals from lands which have been acquired for setting up industries and construction projects. In the early phase of industrialization the tribals were given handsome compensation for land which they did not know how to use. They became nomads. The danger of displacement still haunts...
them. It has been suggested that those who have been displaced should be provided land along with assured employment or self-employment. Absorption into industrial culture of the indigenous people through training and education should be a part of industrial project and a charge on it as has been the experience of socialist countries.

*Impact of Industrialisation*

Banerjee\(^{26}\) wrote about transformation process among the tribal societies due to industrialization and urbanization. The study was carried out in the coal-mining complex in the Jharia-Ranigunge area on the border of West Bengal and Bihar and found that being not assertive, the Santals not only failed to secure various advantages but they were deprived of a comfortable footing in the industrial sector.

Das Gupta\(^{27}\) studied the impact of industrialization on the economic life of Ho, living in and around Jhinkpani cement factory and found that the factory has provided employment as unskilled labourers to the Hos from the neighbouring villages. However, most of the labourers maintain their ties with village and agriculture. Land is still considered the ultimate or long-term source of security, whereas factory job is viewed as the basis of temporary or short-term security and gain. He observed that while we can appreciate the comfortable agro-industrial existence of the Ho industrial workers, their general low level of commitment to factory work and lack of skill and education are disturbing in the general perspective of developing a committed industrial workforce in India.

Joshi\(^{28}\) finds that the industrialization of Bailadila region has produced a combination of both positive and negative impact on the tribes of the region. The study reveals that industrialization has attracted the tribes from the rural hinterland which in turn has helped in improving their economic condition and elevating the social status of their original families in the villages. Earning through work in the 'Industrial Complex' is more than earning from agriculture or any other traditional family occupation. The negative impact are water


pollution, increase in immoral traffic, discrimination of the tribals, interference in tribal life, further displacement of tribals, land alienation and increase in urban oriented crimes.

There has been attempts to study the impact of industrialization on the tribes. One of such studies, Vidyarthi\textsuperscript{29} studied the impact of Hatia Industrial Complex on the life and culture of the local tribals. He made a longitudinal study starting from the quite earlier stages of industrialization, and then, proceeding with the process of transforming peasants and hoarders, traders and craftsmen in to industrial employable and with their induction into the industrial production system. It intended to furnish a systematic statement of the specifically human problems arising in the early stages of industrialization and a conspectus of the inter-personal and cultural problems faced by incipient industrialism and also the formation of an industrially-oriented society.

The whole study has been divided into four stages: An established order in the tribal and peasant society preceding industrialization; Emergence of an industrial complex and the gradual disorganization of the old social order and system; Reorganization and orientation of the old system into a new system under the shed of a new society; Prevention of certain aspects of the old order

These four stages are related to each other and their analysis presents a longitudinal picture of the phases of industrialization in the simpler tribal belt of Ranchi. In general, the pre-industrial society on the ashes of which stands the present affluent industrial society was mainly characterized with natural landscape, folk and agricultural economy, social solidarity, group cooperation and co-partnership. The tribal tradition was conductive to religious orientation, and the society functioned on the principles of reciprocity and mutual obligations. The agricultural people when up-rooted had to face manifold problems. The first was regarding their alternate place for rehabilitation as well as an alternate occupation to earn their livelihood. They also faced a number of problems regarding the fixation of rate of compensation and then of its realization from the government and above all, the proper utilization of the money received from the compensation. Though these affected families were given reasonable compensation, they had to face numerous social problems, cultural crisis, economic disorganization and social disintegration. The problems of their

\textsuperscript{29}L.P.Vidyarthi (year not mentioned): Socio-Cultural Implications of Industrialisation in India.
rehabilitation were not tackled with adequate foresight and planning, and they continued to lead a life of cultural disequilibria.

Technology and Change

According to Singh\textsuperscript{30} the tribals have been natural conservationists who have not destroyed forests on their own; it is the commercial interests who have played a havoc with tribal environment, sometime in collusion with a few sections of the tribal people themselves who have been led astray. He brings a contrast between the indigenous technology being developed and adopted by the tribals for the reclamation of land and agricultural practices and the so called advanced technology being introduced by external agencies. The former would sustain the tribal population without having any adverse effects on the environment while the application of the later has led to large scale damage to environment. Though the introduction of new technology has helped a small section, the majority of the tribes face an ecological disaster. Their forests have been destroyed. The productivity of their soil has depleted with the erosion of top soil. Drought has ravaged tribal areas as never before. With the forest dwindling as a source of food they suffer more acutely in times of distress. Therefore there is need for rethinking the development strategy so as to help them recreate their environment, and build up their survival and prosperity on the conservation and development of their resources, which is possible through the adaptation of indigenous technology and traditional system of management. It should be possible to recreate their environment through the growth and rehabilitation of forests. Revival of the symbiotic relationship between the forest and tribes should be the cornerstone of development strategy. The regeneration of forests at the degraded lands should draw priority.

Response of Birhors to their Economic Transformation

Sarkar\(^{31}\) observed that the efforts made by the government to resettle and sedentise the nomadic Birhors have failed because they are mentally and psychologically not able to adopt themselves to this kind of occupation. They have long association with the forest and their social, cultural and economic attributes revolve around the forest. They find themselves in an alien condition after being detached from the forest. The author narrates the nature and kind of relationship that has been evolved between the nomadic tribes such as Birhor and forest. The entire socio-economic conditions are the reflection of this relationship. The socio-economic attributes have undergone change due to the large scale destruction of the forests.

In another article, the above author\(^{32}\) examines the problems beset with the resettlement and introduction of agriculture among the Birhors of Chotanagpur. The Birhors have a very long association with the forest and their entire socio-cultural and economic characteristics of their society has evolved out of this association. The 'Tandas' were their traditional and settlement and according to their view, these tandas provided them not only shelter but protection from the evil spirits. So when they are provided with houses built with bricks in the resettlement colonies, they are not psychologically satisfied to stay there. Similarly, their economic activities revolves around the forest. They used to gather food, hunt and collect creepers to make ropes which they used to barter or sell in the neighbourhood villages. But in the resettlement colonies they are discouraged to pursue these activities and in stead they have been encouraged to pursue agriculture which they are not in a position to adapt.

It is quite natural that some pertinent questions may crop up as to why the response of the Birhors to the overall sedentarized life that has been inflicted on them as a mode of the resettlement run in the negative direction. The nature of adaptation of the nomadic Birhors to the changing situation could not prove fruitful because of obvious reasons. It needs depth


oriented study into the situation. The eternal love and profound respect to the forest and its lustrous nature have moulded the birhor mentality in such a way that these people have developed a particular world view which is very different from their neighbours as well as the people who try to understand them for their resettlement and development. During the process of sedentarization of a nomadic group it is seen that it's psycho-biotic and socio-cultural environments are subject to change in an abrupt way which very naturally try to react with other factors of life which are not necessarily related with nomadism. Therefore, where sedentarization is "pressed upon nomadic people by external forces, can have detrimental consequences not only from the nomadic people themselves but for the larger societies of which they are a part."

**Indebtedness**

Gaitonde\(^{33}\) made an attempt to highlight the indebtedness among the tribal households in the rural areas on the basis of All India debt and Investment Survey (AIDIS), 1971-72 conducted by RBI. This survey was not conducted to yield estimates for tribal regions as such, all the regions where the concentration of the tribal population is very high have been taken into consideration to provide a general observation. It was found that 90 to 95 percent of the tribals were engaged in cultivation and most of them are marginal and small farmers. So far as the assets of the tribal households are concerned, on an average the value of assets of the tribal households was much lower than the states as a whole. Moreover, there is an inequality in distribution of assets within the tribal households. Taken into consideration the forms of loan taken by the tribals, it was revealed that it was generally in kind and the terms are informal. There was no institutional sector to provide loans to them. Most of them take loans to meet household expenditures rather than putting it on any productive work. Generally, the debt burden was heavy for the lowest asset group of less than Rs.\(500/\) per household in all tribal regions. Sanyal (1987) identified the problems of indebtedness and land alienation, bonded labour, displacement of tribals due to industrial activities, exploitation of forest contractors, exploitation through liquor consumption, problems of health, tribal health, shifting cultivation and tribal unrest.

The author gives a short description of problems that the tribals are facing in recent times but does not give any detail note about any of the problems. It would have been better if the author could elaborate upon any of the problems identified by him. He also does not mention about the mechanism, process and the degree of impact of these problems and their solution.

**Exploitation**

Baboo\(^{34}\) studied the economic exchanges among the tribes at the one hand and the tribes and the landlords on the other and found that the tribals are being exploited in terms of money when they sell their meager agricultural produce and the forest produce. They are being paid a lesser amount due to the prevalence of middle man in the exchange operation. In addition to this, the land owners of the village exploit them by paying them a very less wage. The average rate paid for daily labour for male and female is roughly Rs.4 and Rs.3 respectively, and it is paid mostly in kind, i.e. paddy.

**Forests and Tribes**

Childyal\(^{35}\) studied the symbiotic relationship between forest and the tribes and the impact of this relationship on their social fabric and livelihood. Forest is a resource to the tribe not merely in terms of fulfillment of basic needs and drives but also in regard to livelihood. It has been stated that cooperatives are existing in the tribal areas to give them a fair price of the minor forest products that they collect from forest but does not go further to probe whether the cooperatives are operational or not.

Misra and Mishra\(^{36}\) studied the change in the economy of five tribal groups living in Western Ghats, as a consequence of disturbance in their traditional sources of livelihood. *Jenu Kuruba* tribe was basically food gathering community. Their primary collection was honey. But as the forests have depleted, they have been exposed to a new economic environment. They are being employed by contractors to chop woods in the forest and being

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paid a very low wage. *Bitta Kuruba* tribe are cultivators. They also work as labourers in the forest in the lean agricultural periods. They supplement their income by basket making. Though the returns from the agriculture are not profitable, they make a living by selling baskets. *The Mullukurumba* were engaged in fishing and hunting but now they have to work hard as a wage labourer to earn a livelihood. *The Paniyan* lived in the forest, yet derived their sustenance by working as labourers to the people who cultivated land. *Kuruchia* lived mainly by settled cultivation and hunting. They are self-reliant.

Vidhya\(^\text{37}\) refutes the argument made by the conservationists that the tribals are responsible for deforestation and empathetically argues that the civilized non-tribals are to be blamed for it. The commercial exploitation of the forest coupled with the building of dams in Koraput district of Orissa has ousted thousands of tribals. The tribals use the forest as a mere means of sustenance. The planners are often biased and think about the benefit of non-tribals rather than the tribals. The planners suggest for commercial cropping instead of shifting cultivation being practiced by the tribes. The tribes prefer to grow food crops rather than the commercial crops. The conservation strategies should always incorporate the aspirations of the local people so as to make it effective. Bulu (1990) describes that the tribes of Chotanagpur have been pushed to the margins of the economy due to the depletion of forests and large scale mining and industrial activities. He is critical of the various development plans being launched by the government for the upliftment of the tribals, arguing that their culture and tradition has never taken into consideration while formulating such plans leading to the failure of plans.

**Agriculture**

Mahapatra\(^\text{38}\) observes that the agriculture being practiced by tribals hardly produce any surplus required for adopting modernization of agriculture. Modernization of agriculture is capital intensive requiring technological input and attitudinal change. Capital is needed to buy the inputs which generally comes either from the surplus produced in agriculture or credit provided by the government. As neither of these are available in the tribal areas, 


modernization of agriculture is a difficult task. Moreover, modernization of agriculture also demands a strict schedule of sowing, irrigation and harvesting but tribals hardly follow the schedule. Their customs, traditions, festivals hardly follow the schedule. Their customs traditions, festivals matter more to them than the scheduling of the crop. For example, if a festival coincides with the harvesting time of the crops, they enjoy the festivals first and then go for harvesting even if they have to make losses.

Nandy\(^{39}\) has studied the ownership patterns of the cultivable land, the average holding of the land per household and distribution of land by quality in Uparpowrah village of Singhbhum district. It has been reported that 80 per cent of the households are landowners and most of the households own land between 1-5 Bighas. There are four types of land according to quality: bohal, danga, badh and gora.

**Demographic and Social Characteristics**

Jaiswal studied the population, growth rate, sex ratio and workforce structure of the tribals and the general population of Madhya Pradesh in the spatial and temporal context. The birth rates, death rates and the infant mortality rate of the general population has also been studied.

Gupta and Danda\(^{40}\) in their edited book gives literacy rates of 50 selected tribes of India for the census years, 1961 and 1971. This data is supplemented by reports on the sampled field surveys conducted to find out the literacy rate of the selected tribes. It was reported that the literacy rate ranges in between 20-30 in some of the tribal groups while it is below 10 percent among the tribals having either pre-agricultural or non-agricultural economy and living in isolated villages having very restricted contact with other population around. While pronouncing the problems of tribal education, the editors write that a communication gap exists between the teacher and the taught, on the one hand and the text books and the students' mental preparations to receive anything from them on the other, specially at the primary stage. The economic considerations also sometimes make them disgruntled.

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Das\textsuperscript{41} studied the numerical strength of the various tribal groups, history of migration, the workforce structure, literacy status, social structure, religious composition. A brief note of the development plans have also been given but the impact of it has not been attempted.

In a study to find out the differentials between tribal and non-tribal females with respect to certain demographic characteristics, Pandey\textsuperscript{42} found that the literacy rate and fertility rate is strikingly lower among the tribals as compared to non-tribal females. However other characteristics such as sex ratio, nuptility, age at marriage, age-composition, acceptance of family planning, infant mortality rate does not show any difference.

\textbf{Integration of Tribes}

Chattopadhyay and De\textsuperscript{43} discarded the theory of integration of the tribes which envisages that integration means "meeting together of divergent cultures without loss of identity and individuality". He advocates for the de-tribalisation in which tribes are not considered as any distinct social identity rather the people who need help. The authors suggested government to adopt a new approach to tackle the problems of tribals on regional basis- small regions or large regions, depending on the presence of the problem, but not on the basis of language, religion or any such similar cultural criterion. They observed that there is a commonality between the problems of tribals and non-tribals and argues that the problems of the tribals are not different from non-tribals.