CHAPTER II
CONCEPTS AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter an attempt is made to give a brief account of the concepts used in the study and certain empirical studies conducted on different aspects of the economic conditions viz., distribution of assets, income, and pattern of consumption and the level of poverty of the tribal population. With availability of vast published studies on the tribal community in India, the researcher has limited to highlight on the studies directly connected to the objectives of the present research work.

2.1. REVIEW OF THE CONCEPTS

In this section the concepts which are used to understand the economic conditions of the tribes have been defined precisely.

2.1.1. Household

A household was defined in one of the studies undertaken (NCAER, 1965) as a group of persons related by blood, marriage or adoption and who normally prepare meals in the same kitchen.
Batchelder (1971) defined a household as one comprising of all persons who occupy a housing unit, namely, a house, an apartment or other group of rooms or a room that constitutes separate living quarters.

The National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER, 1975) redefined household as a unit of all persons who are related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and are living in the same dwelling unit continuously for not less than six months during the reference period, sharing the same kitchen.

A similar view expressed by the Census Commission (1991), states that household is a group of persons who commonly live together and would take their meals from a common kitchen unless the exigencies of work prevented any of them from doing so. In this study the researcher used the NCAER definition of the household.

2.1.2. Level of Living

The concept of levels of living includes the scale of preferences and satisfaction of wants of individual members in a family as also the collective wants of groups and communities. Different classifications of the component levels of living have been proposed, some by the United Nations and the specialized agencies and some by others (Ganguli and Gupta, 1976). The main components recommended by the report of the committee on measurement of
standard of living are: (i) occupation, (ii) consumption, (iii) health, (iv) income, (v) education and (vi) human freedom. In this study the researcher had used all the above six components to define the levels of living.

2.1.3. Occupation

The definition of occupation used by the Government of Tamil Nadu (Report of the government of Tamil Nadu, 1976) was adopted in this study. All the households were classified on the basis of occupation. The head of the household's occupation was taken into consideration. The occupational distribution provides index of participation of the population in the economic activities. Primary occupation was taken as the one among the listed occupations, from which the household received maximum percentage of income.

According to which the study has identify the households in agricultural sector as primary sectors, the non-agricultural labourers who were engaged in industrial production has been categorised under manufacture sector and the labourers who were employed in the central and state government department other than industrial sector. The head of the household who were engaged in unorganized activity other than agricultural activity are classified under service sectors.
2.1.4. Education

The Census of India (1991) defined a person as literate if he/she read and wrote with understanding in any language even if he/she did not possess minimum education. A person who can read but cannot write is considered illiterate. Similarly, ability to sign one’s name is not adequate to qualify a person as person literate. In this study, education of the household members refers to the average number of years of schooling attained by the population.

2.1.5. Asset

Batchelder (1971), considered asset as physical properties like house, land, bonds, bank accounts, ornaments, etc.,

Sundaram (1995) defined asset as everything that the household owns and which has a money value. He further added that the assets of the households are those items from which he hopes to get an income or which he keeps to protect his interest.

2.1.6. Income

NCAER (1961) refers to the income of the household as the earning both in cash as kind that accrue to and are realised by members of the household during the reference period. Later, the Council redefined the household income as the total of earnings of all members in a household during an agricultural year. Sources of income are self-employment in family and non-farming business,
crafts and profession, agricultural wages, non-agricultural wages, salaries, interests, dividends on financial investment, rents from land and house property, pensions, regular contributions, imputed rental income of own labour put in for investment and asset creations in agricultural business and housing. Thus, the gross income and household income are synonymous.

The International Labour Organisation (1979), estimated the household income from salaries, wages and other related receipts from employer, net income from employment, business profit, income from personal investment, rents, interests, dividends, royalties and commission, periodic payment received regularly from all inheritance or trust fund, pension, amenities, scholarships, transfers and other cash.

Shapiro (1984), defined household income as income which includes current income of all members of the household from all sources. It consists of both farm and non-farm income.

In this study, household income considered as the total income, which includes net income of agriculture, after deducting all costs including own labour, self-employment income from own farm, share cropping income and wage from allied activities, non-farm income, self-employment income from business, salaries and services, net income from livestock and garden produce, sale of agricultural and non-agricultural assets, income from rent, interest on
loans, dividends and other transfer incomes. The sources of income are identified from following sources.

2.1.6.1. Farm Income

It includes net income in crop production and includes wage receipts by the household members in return for their supply of labour in agricultural sector.

2.1.6.2. Income From Livestock

It includes the net income from livestock products and returns from traded livestock (like cattle and poultry).

2.1.6.3. Income From Forest Produce

It includes the income from selling and collection of minor forest produces and imputed values for home consumption.

2.1.6.4. Income From Service Sector or Organised sector

The head of the household who is employed in service sector or organized sector drawing salaries for his labour.

2.1.6.5. Income From Unorganised Sector

The income, which is received by the household from the business, crafts and seasonal non-farm employment.

2.1.7. Income Distribution

The income distribution is the distribution of income across the entire occupation, which is a reflection of the level of individual’s welfare. A structure
of income owned by the occupational categories is called income distribution. Factors as of income and certain other earnings reach the ultimate recipients, persons or households and the amounts received by them give rise to size classes. Highly unequal structure of income, as characterized by concentration of major part of income in the hands of a few privileged occupational categories, is called skewed income distribution (World Bank, 2000).

2.1.8. Per Capita Income

Per Capita Income (PCI) is the ratio between the total income of the household and the size of the household.

2.1.9. Wage Rate

Agricultural wages are paid in different forms. Some workers are paid in cash or kind or both. The payment of wages in kind is one of the most important features of agricultural sector.

Monly (1969) defined wages, as the income of a man who relied entirely on his own labour, to provide for himself and for his family with a living.

Nayyar (1979), while studying income distribution in agriculture stated that wages of agricultural labourers are determined by productive labour and many other factors namely customs, habits, degree of dependency on land owner especially in the case of attached labourers etc.,
The remuneration received for one man-day was treated as wage rate per day for agricultural and non-agricultural workers. The wage received in kind was converted into money value, using local prices of the commodities and added with the money wage to find the wage rate.

2.1.10. Consumption Expenditure

Expenditure on food-grains, glossary, edible oils, meat, fish and non-food items such as clothing, fuel and miscellaneous items were said to constitute consumption expenditure.

The International Labour Organisation (1971), considers consumption expenditure as one which comprises all money expenditure incurred by the household and individual members on goods and services required for consumption including rent, sales tax, education, health, legal services and license fee for radio and television. It includes income tax and other direct taxes on gifts, savings, gambling and investment.

The consumption expenditure implies utilization of goods and services to satisfy the human desires and wants. The pattern of consumption varies from place to place and may be influenced by socio-economic and psychological considerations. But, for the purpose of this study, consumption expenditure implies all expenditure incurred by a household exclusively towards its non-productive domestic consumption, thus excluding all expenditure towards the
enterprise activities of the household, transfer of payment in kind, loans, advanced, charities, gifts and other payments in kind.

2.1.11. Inequality

Inequality may be defined as an unequal distribution of income, irrespective of what the income level or the corresponding state of deprivation of the people at the bottom end of income scale might be. This definition was used in this study and this was supported by (Sen, 1976a, 1976b, 1992), (Ahluwalia 1974, 1976a, 1976b) and (Anand and Kanbur, 1993).

2.1.12. Poverty

The definition of poverty is a subject of continual debate. Mark (1966) defined the people below poverty, as those who get a bare sustenance but are not able to obtain those necessities, which will permit them to maintain a state of physical efficiency. Appu (1977) states that the term poverty refers to a person's lack of command over adequate goods and services to satisfy his basic needs relating to food, clothing, housing, medicine and education. Yadav (1980) opined that a person is poor, if he is living in conditions of insufficiency of basic needs, namely, food, shelter and clothing. Poverty, is a situational syndrome in which the following are combined: under-consumption, malnutrition, precarious housing conditions, low educational levels, bad sanitary conditions, either unstable participation in the production systems or restriction to its mere primitive strata, attitudes of discouragement, little participation in the
mechanisms of social integration and possible adherence to a particular scale of
values different to some extent from those held by the rest of the society.
Sukhatme (1982), defined poverty as the condition of the people, who for want of
income, could not meet their minimum energy needs. Thimmaiah (1983) viewed
poverty as the inadequacy of income or a low level of consumption of either the
whole population or a part of the population. Varadarajan and Ayhyasamy (1983)
considered poverty as attributes of families that reflect deprivation, not only in
nutrition, but also in health, education, sanitation, clothing and opportunities for
women to acquire independent economic status.

Vasant Desai (1988) defines that the term poverty, in the absolute sense,
refers to a condition of acute physical want, starvation, malnutrition disease,
want of clothing, shelter, education and an almost total lack of medical care. The
intuitive understanding that poverty is a measure of deprivation belies the
complexity of determining formal criteria of a definition. Most poverty
definitions rely solely income for ranking welfare. Poverty is related to what a
society considers a decent standard of living (Sampat, 1990, Wooden, 1997).

Using monetary income or consumption to identify and measure poverty
has a long tradition. The (Rowntree Method, 1899) was used to conduct a survey,
covering nearly every working class family in york, to collect information on
earnings and expenditures. He then defined poverty as a level of total earnings,
insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for maintenance of merely
physical efficiency, including food, rent and other items. The same definition was used to estimate poverty by the (World Bank 1999).

The study group set up by the Planning Commission (1963) in 1962, came to the conclusion that the minimum consumption expenditure for a household of five persons would work out to Rs.20 per capita, per month at 1960-61 prices. Minhas (1974) estimated the per capita consumption expenditure per month and per head, for minimum food and non-food requirements in monetary terms, as Rs. 16.70. Bardhan (1973) and (Ahluwalia, 1977) estimated the minimum per capita consumer expenditure as Rs. 15 per month per head in rural areas at 1960-61 prices. Panikkar (1972) estimated that Rs.37.80 per capita consumption expenditure was needed to have reasonable food items at 1970-71 prices. Thakur (1985) fixed the per capita consumption per month of minimum food and non-food requirements in monetary terms, at Rs.77.61 and 52.93 respectively, at 1980-81 prices.

The Sixth Plan document (1978) defined the poverty line as the mid-point of the monthly per capita expenditure class having a daily caloric intake of 2,400 per person in rural areas. At 1979-80 prices, the mid-point was Rs.76 and poverty line was fixed as at an annual net income of Rs. 3,500 per annum from all sources at 1970-71 prices in an average family of five members. The Seventh Plan (1986) made an upward revision and a family having an annual income of Rs.6,400 or less, was considered to be below the poverty line.
In the Ninth Five Year Plan, Swarnajayanthi Gram Rozgar Yojana Progamme (1999) the poor families were identified on the basis of the annual household income of Rs. 11,460 for five members, i.e., the per capita (poverty line) income used in this programme was Rs.2,292. This poverty line income was adjusted to the average price level of the reference (current) period (2000) of the data collection was worked out as Rs.4160. This poverty line income was used in this study to classify the households into poor and non-poor after calculating the per capita household income for each household. It satisfied the basic needs with respect to nutrition, housing, clothing, education and health.

2.1.13. Morbidity

Morbidity in this study refers to the relative frequency of occurrence of a particular disease in a particular area. This definition was given by Encarata World English Dictionary (1999).

2.2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.2.1. Meaning And Definition of Tribe

The meaning of the word ‘tribe’ according to the Oxford Dictionary is “any primitive or barbarous people under a chief. In the Encyclopedia Britannica, the families or small communities that constitute a tribe are said to trace their descent from a common ancestor. Eminent scholars like (Rivers 1932), (Dube, 1967), and (Naik, 1968) relied upon the Western writers’ definition. They defined tribe as “an ethnic group, geographically isolated or
semi-isolated, identified with one particular territory and having common dialect, distinct social, economic and cultural traditions and practices."

The Constitution of India (1950) neither defines nor lays down any specific criteria for specifying the tribes. As per Article 366 (25) of the Constitution, the Scheduled Tribe means such tribes or tribal communities or parts or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of the constitution.

The concept of a tribe in anthropological literature was summarized by (Chaudhari 1992) as "a group, which lives in a common territory, has a common dialect, uniform social organization and possesses cultural homogeneity, has a common ancestor, political organization and religious pattern." However, he added that many tribal groups in India do not possess all these characteristics. Sharad Kulkarni (1994), in his article analysed the procedures laid down for drawing up lists of Scheduled Tribes. He complained that Government never fixed any specific criteria for considering a tribe as Scheduled Tribe. Parliament appointed committees from time to time, to fix the criteria, but this was to prolong the difficult task of laying down criteria and to include or exclude tribes not satisfying the criteria. He concluded that the game would go on in the present political atmosphere and no final decision would be taken.
Verma (1995) in his study defined a tribe as the highest political unit, comprising several districts, which in turn was composed of clans. It occupies a definite geographical area and exercised effective control over its people. Permanent settlement in a particular area gave geographical identity to a tribe. The territory under the domain of a tribe was generally named after it.

Singh (1997) remarked that, on the face of the definition, a tribe in India is essentially a political concept, its membership being administratively determined, with the objective of uplifting the backward communities to a new standard of life in consonance with the provision of the Indian Constitution. However, in the official and constitutional report, the term in vogue is still ‘tribe’ and the present study retained it.

Virginius Xaxa (1999), in his article, expressed concern over the definition of a tribe. Defining tribe has conceptual as well as empirical problems for the academician. But the tribals themselves to mean disposed and deprived people of a region adopted this term of administrative convenience. There is no claim to being the original inhabitants of that region, but a prior claim to the natural resources is asserted vis-à-vis the outsiders and the dominant castes. He argued that tribes were studied in relation to features and characteristics of the larger society. The focus was on how tribes were getting absorbed into the larger society, the so-called mainstream by becoming caste, peasant class and so on.
With such conceptualization, the identity of the tribal groups or community was indeed put at risk.

2.2.2. Distribution of Asset, Income And Consumption

2.2.2.1. Asset

D.S. Nag (1958) had first undertaken a scientific study of tribal economy in India. In which Nag made an extensive study on Baiga economy in the context of general economic theories laying emphasis on the sources of economy of the Baiga. He surveyed 350 Baiga families covering ryotwari and forest villages in Madhya Pradesh. He found that the average income per family was higher in the forest villages as compared to ryotwari villages. The income status in general was not high, as most of the families had only deficit budgets.

Saxena (1964) studied the economy of five tribal groups of Western Hills in Madhya Pradesh. He found that the economy of the tribals was subsistence type and generally their standard of living was below the level of subsistence.

A study of ‘Tribal Economy in Gujarat’ undertaken by (Vimal Shah 1967), was based on the All India Rural Debt and Investment Survey of RBI (1961-62) and the study undertaken by Gujarat state. Shah selected from both studies a sample of 1120 rural households selected from 28 villages. The survey has very effectively brought out that tribal economy in Gujarat still continues to be stagnant from all points of view. There is very little diversification in
occupation. Agriculture continues to be the mainstay of the tribal population; very little investment is taking place to modernize it; very few inputs are made to increase the productivity of land and many people mostly depend upon traditional agencies for their credit requirements, which are mainly for meeting their household expenditure. All these are obviously characteristics of a subsistence economy.

Roy Burman and Sharma (1970) conducted a study on asset structure of tribal people in Central and Western India. They found that in the tribal villages, the average holding size varied from one acre to eight acres, but in the majority of villages, it was found to be below five acres. The distribution of holdings among various size groups shows that the majority of households have holdings up to five acres, barring the tribal villages of Rajasthan and Gujarat, where their dispersal was also observed among holdings exceeding five acres.

Aram (1972) conducted a study on Nagaland tribes and stated that Naga society emerged from the traditional tribal farm and moved into the modern agro-industrial phase. Over a period of time, disparities have developed between different sections of the population in both rural and urban sectors. Some Naga tribals had become very rich, whereas, bulk of population was still on the old standard of living. As a result of it, gap was increasing among the tribals.
Dhir (1972) conducted a study on North-western tribes and result was different from others. He stated that the tribes of Western Himalayas lived in different environment surroundings from other tribes of India. He remarked that the tribes of Western Himalayas were economically better off than the tribes in the rest of the country.

Agro-Economic Research Centre (1973) conducted a comparative study of Tanjiangi Tribal colony and six tribal villages in Andhra Pradesh and found that 86.29 per cent of the sample households in Tanjiangi Tribal colony were cultivators as against 75.95 per cent in the six villages. There were 214 holdings with a total operated area of 1099.71 acres in the Tanjiangi colony as against 142 holding with 780.74 acres in the six villages. The per capita operated area among cultivator household was 0.99 acres in both the regions, which was inadequate and uneconomic for meeting out the basic requirements of the tribal farmers, because of the peculiar agro-climatic and geo-physical conditions of the area.

M.L. Patel (1974), was mainly concerned with the land problems of tribals. According to him during 17th and 18th centuries there were many tribal kingdoms in India. Gradually the expansions of the more advanced groups forced the tribals to retreat into the nearest hills and less fertile areas. During the British period, dispossession of tribal lands continued. A large number of tribals were reduced to agricultural labourers. This had made their economic condition
For generations tribals have continued to live on their subsistence agriculture and earned their living as serfs or bonded labourers.

Agro Economic Research Centre (1975) conducted an empirical investigation of eight tribal villages in the two blocks of Madhya Pradesh in Chhindwara district, with a view to study the problems and prospects of tribal farmers, as well as to investigate the functional gaps that had also been made to analyse specifically the characteristics of the tribal farmers in terms of resource structure, production pattern, employment and income. The results indicated that about 97 per cent of the workers among tribal farmers worked on their own farms. About 51 per cent of tribal workers and about six per cent of non-tribal workers belonging to all size of holdings worked as casual labourers.

Apte (1976) conducted a study of 15 villages in Kolaba district of Maharashtra in 1975-76 with a view to study the existing resources, pattern of employment earnings and institution in the sample area. He concluded that agricultural labour was the main occupation for primitive tribal groups. The sources of livelihood were income from forest produce and agricultural wages.

Shashi (1977) conducted an empirical investigation of 100 families in Bharmaur Teshil of Chamba district of Himachala Pradesh to study the occupational structure. He stated that the main occupation of the tribals was
agriculture, but they could be considered good agriculturists, the reason being the shortage of land and their migratory habits.

The study of (Gopala Rao 1978) examines the process of transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals and various factors influencing such transfer in Mondemkhal, a mixed village of tribes and castes, in the agency area of Parvathipuram Taluk of former Srikakulam district. Data were collected by canvassing schedules and by holding prolonged interviews with the tribal elders and village officials. Some people to finance agricultural operations have alienated land. Cultivators require cash to buy cattle and seeds and to pay the agricultural wages. It is clear from the case studies, that taking of credit on land led to land alienation. Land has a tremendous prestige value in the rural context, that is why it could stand as a security both for borrowing and lending.

Alok Kumar (1979) was using the per capita income as measurement of standard of living since it seemed to be an index of economic growth. According to him, it was a very useful variable to measure the well being of the people for a stipulated period. He measured the standard of living of malpaharias. He pointed out that about five per cent of tribals were enjoying good standard of living and nearly 65 per cent of people have less than the average per capita annual income, because of the differential asset structure.
Dr. Ramaiah (1981) studied the 'Tribal Economy' of Koyas of Warangal district for 102 tribal villages in 1981. The twin problems facing the tribals are credit and marketing. Land problems of the tribals are examined. This is supposed to provide a basis to evolve a developmental plan for the tribal areas.

As for as the benefits derived by the tribals from the protective laws and the development schemes concerned (Subba Reddy, 1988) notes that a more insidious aspects of the problem is the binami holdings held by the non-tribals. Many of the benefits of agricultural and horticultural extension programmes in the scheduled areas are thus being siphoned-off by the non-tribals. Not with standing the current legal restrictions over acquisition of property by non-tribals, the proportion of the population of non-tribals has been steadily increasing in the scheduled areas in the recent years. The author opines that if this process goes on unchecked, several areas may go out of the jurisdiction of Integrated Tribal Development Agency and may cease to be a part of the scheduled areas so that the tribes concerned will lose the benefits of protective laws and special scheme for their development.

The tribals in India are passing through a phase of economic change along with the rest of the country. Modern concepts and technology are penetrating their culture. The factors that are shaping the future of tribal economics are:
Education,
Exposure to urban market forces,
The co-operative movement,
Bank loans, etc.

Balagopal (1989) says that expropriation of the lands of the non-tribals, land holds and the rationalization of the state's monopoly over forest land and forest produce should go a long way towards solving the problems of the tribals and the non-tribal poor in the tribal areas of the East Godavari district where they carried out a study on "Pitting the Tribals against the Non-tribal Poor".

Kamala Seshadri (1993) had addressed these above said tribal life aspects. The author inquires the tribals in India living in the forests, hills and naturally isolated regions. He opens on these aspects that the foremost characteristics of a tribal economy is its close integration with the natural habitat contrary to popular belief, the tribes do not hinder natural resources, because their lifestyle has evolved through an optimization of materials that are available to them.

Resource constraints, absence of adequate irrigational facilities, ignorance of modern technology, poor cropping pattern and fertilizer input, etc, and also non-availability of agricultural incentives at times are crucial factors ineffective agricultural practices and low production among the tribal
communities. The land holding size of the tribals has also been declining due to various factors, primary being the increasing number of eligible inheritors of land in tribal households. Another important reason apart, is lack of enthusiasm by the implementing agencies in popularizing the modern technological inputs for better agricultural productivity. To overcome this worrying situation, the following measures were suggested by (Venkatesan 1993) to increase the agricultural production in TSP areas:

- Co-operative farming with the tribal participation involving their social system.
- Mixed farming involving various high yields varieties of crops.
- Land shaping and development in interior tribal areas.
- Identification or development of cropping pattern for sustainable cultivation in un-irrigated tribal holdings, and

Provision for minor irrigation facilities through construction of small check dams across the perennial streams or facilities for lift irrigation from these streams.

2.2.2.2. Income

Bhati and others (1972) conducted a study of 40 tribal and 25 non-tribal farms scattered over four tribal and two non-tribal villages of Nainital district, to study the levels of income and savings of the tribal and non-tribal farms. The average size of tribal and non-tribal farms was worked out to 11.97 and 10.61 acres respectively. They concluded that agricultural income constituted a minor
part of total household income on both types of farms. The disposable income was about three times higher on non-tribal farms than that of tribal farms. The tribal farms saved about 0.27 for every additional increase of one rupee in their disposable income, but in non-tribal it was 0.39. It was also suggested that marginal propensity to save on the non-tribal farm was about 50 per cent more than the tribal farms.

Jaganathpathy (1984) conducted an empirical investigation of 1047 sample tribal households in Gujarat. He concluded that in tribal groups income distribution among all the communities in the selected villages was quite uneven. But he added that per capita annual household income was roughly Rs.2,426 considered minimum requirement for subsistence.

Rayappa and Muthurayappa (1986) conducted a study in ten districts of Karnataka with a view to analyse the sources of household income among the scheduled groups. They stated that the scheduled groups in social structure are placed at the bottom. This made them to earn less, due to their social stratification. About 90 per cent of the household belonging to Scheduled Tribes earned less than Rs.50 per month. This happened mainly due to lower wages received by them for wage work as well as due to inadequate and inferior assets owned by them. The main sources of household income were wage work including agriculture and allied activities. The households with small holdings were better off than the landless agricultural labourers.
Basu (1987) conducted a study of Chotanagpur region of South Bihar, with a view to analyse the magnitude of per capita income of the tribals. He stated that South Bihar with a habitat of more than six million tribals is rich in mineral resources and forests. The averaged per day per capita income of the tribal family did not exceed one rupee and fifty paise. Facilities for pure drinking water and communicable roads in tribal areas are a far cry even today in Bihar. The levels of living of tribals were very low by any standard. Yet, a small group among them was emerging as the middle class, which was educated and was in contact with modern ways of living.

Hussain (1987) analysed the socio-economic inequalities caused by the development process among the tribals of Assam and concluded that the present socio-economic structure and pattern of development that we had adopted after independence had sharpened not only the caste, religious, linguistic and ethnic distinctions, but also increased the regional disparities and feelings of deprivation, negligence and insecurity among various ethnic tribal groups. Liberation of tribals from oppression, exploitation, under development and dependency, depended fundamentally on a radical transformation of the socio-economic structure, which at present permitted, inequality, exploitation and oppression.

Subah Singh and Mahabilesb Raj (1989) made a study on planning for tribal welfare. They opined that there was a greater disparity in the economic
standards of tribals living in the areas of their concentration, compared to the people in the surrounding areas. This disparity was mainly over the per capita income, productivity of agriculture, receptivity of modern techniques, size of land holdings, etc. In some tribal regions, unemployment was quite serious. The major problems experienced by the tribals were, exploitation by middlemen, procurement of minor forest produce by commercial forces, money-lending, land alienation, indebtedness, bondage and forest policies. These were mainly due to their illiteracy, ignorance and also isolation from the non-tribals.

A study was carried out by (Chakravarthy, 1989) to analyse the employment opportunities of the tribals under irrigated and rain fed agriculture including other agricultural and allied activities; to ascertain the magnitude of gross and disposable income that accrue to different categories of tribal households from different sources, and to examine the consumption pattern and marginal propensity to consume of the tribals under different income situations. The findings revealed that the level of employment per worker varied inversely with the farm size classes in both the irrigated and rain fed villages of the district. The difference in the level of employment and income between irrigated and rain fed sample farm showed that there was an urgent need to bring about a change in the outlook of the tribals towards economic contents of life through motivation and spread of education. And their marginal propensity to consume and consequently their saving aspect presents a sorry state of affairs, which calls for
initiating steps to boost up per capita income through provision of other employment and income generating assets.

T.S.Naidu (1999), had examined the extend of tribal education, the pattern of Income and expenditure and the impact of various tribal development and health programmes in the four states of South India. He had also formulated the strategies for the future development of the tribes. In his empirical study he found that the educational level is by and large low. The income pattern reveals that 54.21 per cent of the income was earned from agricultural wages, in which the majority (63.54 per cent) of their income is spent on the consumption of food. The study also reveals that even though there are many tribal development programs, it does not improved the living standard of the tribes, this is because of illiteracy and lack of awareness of the development schemes and programmes.

With the objective of evaluating the IRDP, (B.C. Metha and Pritam Joshi) studied whether the increase in income of the IRDP families is specific to them, an analysis of change in the total income of the families through an income shift matrix, the same also for the non-IRDP families, the decomposition of the income of families from different sources, the share of each sector in the total income of the families, the contribution of each sector to change in income, and the same to change in income.
The author found that the poverty eradication programme have had success in the region, although the disparity between the IRDP and non IRDP families persisted. As regards with the relative shift income, it was seen that 70 per cent of IRDP families moved up on the income scale in that they shifted to a position above the diagonal. Further the IRDP seems to have succeeded in raising contribution from asset formation. The conclusions of the study are, there has been substantial increase of 27.96 per cent in the income of the families covered under IRDP. The increase in income of the non-IRDP families was much less. This low contribution was due to the continuous drought conditions. The shift matrix showed that government programmes had helped in reducing the poverty gap by approximately 25 per cent. Both IRDP and non-IRDP families gained substantially, however the poorest of the poor have not significantly from the programme. Decomposition analysis showed that the major gains have been achieved because of increase in livestock and business income of IRDP families. There is however no clear pattern in the case of non-IRDP families. The IRDP families have gained more from asset transfer and also increase from wage employment. In contrast the non-IRDP families gained much more from general development activities, which raised productivity.

2.2.2.3. Consumption

Khosla (1984), On the basis of empirical investigation, concluded that staple food of 75 per cent of sample households in the tribal areas of Spiti was
coarse grains, mainly barley, which was indicative of rampant poverty and under-nutrition in the area. The diet of the majority of households was of a poor quality, which was further supported by the low consumption of protective foods like milk, meat, eggs, fruits, etc., Low levels of living of the sample households also got reflected in the meager possession of consumer durables.

Nayak and Prasad (1984) conducted a study of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of Karnataka, based on NSS data of 28th and 32nd round, with a view to examine the inequalities in the levels of living of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the Non-Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Tribes during 1973-74 and 1977-78. By using the Lorenz curve, they concluded that the inequalities in income and real consumption were relatively less within the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. They concluded that a well recognized hierarchy exists among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes both in terms of social and economic status.

Guleria (1986) conducted an empirical investigation to study the income inequalities in the tribal areas of Spiti. Out of the 113 sample households, 26 (23 per cent) were landless. Both marginal and small households accounted for 65.5 per cent of the total number of holdings and possessed 68.6 per cent area in the sample households. The Spiti area was also having unequal distribution of land holdings, thus reflecting income disparities.
Thakur (1986) conducted a study on Santhal tribes of Bihar and stated that the income of the general population was so little that there remains hardly any room for additional expenditure after meeting the basic needs. He remarked that there were some rigid social and cultural conventions which compelled even the poorest tribals to spend money on marriage, birth and death ceremonies. He further remarked that per capita expenditure on intoxicants was quite high among tribals, whereas, contrary to it, the non-tribals spent double the amount on education in comparison to tribals.

Swarap and Singh (1988) conducted an empirical investigation of 47 sample tribal households in Kinnur district, to analyse the socio-economic aspects of the area under study. They found that per capita quantity of cereals, pulses, edible oil and sugar consumed in the village was positively related to the size of holding. The food items accounted for 61 per cent of the family budget, and cereals alone accounted for 15 per cent. Non-food, which included clothing, footwear, fuel, light, education, medicines, social and religious functions, etc., accounted for 38.75 per cent of total household expenditure. Among the non-food items clothing and footwear was the major component accounting for 16.75 per cent of total expenditure. They further concluded that on an average, a person consumed 403 grams of cereals per day. The per capita per day consumption of vegetables had been worked out to 77 grams. The average availability of cereals in case of marginal farmers was 391 gms per capita per
day. They concluded that the consumption pattern of tribals was above the required level.

Sudan Madhu and Jairath (1991) study provides comprehensive information about the North Western Scheduled Tribes of India. Gaddis, Gujjars, Jads, Cenhas, Khanbas, Bhods, Budhis, Kinnauras, Kinnars, Lahaulas, Pangwalas, Swaglas, etc. They give an account that investigates consumption pattern, quality of food intake, clothing, shelter, health care, education, travel, communication and recreation. Economic regeneration of landless tribals through tribal co-operatives (1992) and the structure of tribal co-operatives in the predominantly tribal areas of Tamil Nadu in an another article (1990), which highlights the performance of tribal co-operatives and various integrated services for the economic transformation of tribal society. A separate section is devoted to policy implications. It also gives valuable suggestions to strengthen co-operative organizations in tribal communities. This work is useful to social scientists, anthropologists, government, policy makers and research organizations and those who are interested in tribal economic development.

A study by Dobhal (1989) shows that the total annual consumption expenditure per household at 1977-78 price level was worked out to Rs.6,217 or approximately Rs.518 per month. The expenditure on food items constituted 69.20 per cent, and the expenditure on non-food items 20.79 per cent. He made
an inference from the study, they were spending more for food items rather than non-food items.

Given low economic opportunities available for income, the existing differential wage rate acted as a major constraint on their income earning capabilities in Kerala. The discrimination affected the households where the head of the household was female. Such families were therefore poorer than their counterparts with a male head. This conclusion was arrived at by (Vergeese 1994) in his study.

2.2.2.4. Tribal Poverty

Ravallion (1992) study showed that the general standard of living was judged not by observation of its short run income, but by the size of food expenditure per capita. The behaviour of consumers becomes much easier to explain, including the observed chronic dissaving of the poorest sections of the people, classified in terms of per capita income or per capita total consumption expenditure.

Krishna Kumar’s (1993) paper was aimed at measuring not only the incidence of poverty but also the effectiveness of poverty alleviation programmes by choosing a better measure of poverty that is suited for such a purpose. It was necessitated because using the rate of change of head count ratio to evaluate the performance of poverty alleviation was biased against those states or regions that
are poorer to start with. Accordingly a new measure was arrived at by distinguishing different degrees of poverty for effective designing of different types of poverty alleviation programmes.

Sharma (1994) in his study found that the percentage of poor tribal households came to 32.06 per cent. The poorest amongst the poor came to 9.91 per cent. He concluded that the estimate of tribal poverty, so arrived with the help of ‘normative approach’ and Sen’s measure of poverty, was more accurate and reliable from the policy point of view.

Nipan’s (1994) study focused on poverty in India, specifically rural poverty. The paper attempts to analyse the factors influencing rural poverty in India both at the national and state level, apart from analyzing the trends in rural poverty in India over time and states. It was shown in this study that contrary to the findings of other researchers, not only were there distinct time trends were positive and the subsequent period. This study also confirmed strong negative association between agricultural performances and the incidence of rural poverty, and the positive association between inflation and rural poverty. In addition to trends in rural poverty at national and state level this study also analysed the casual factors behind rural poverty in India. Evidence showed that, both in respect of the head count ratio and the Sen’s Poverty Index. Further the rate of decline in rural poverty during the later period was much higher than the rate of
increase in rural poverty in the proceeding period for all India and most of the states.

The findings suggested that policies to accelerate agricultural growth, infrastructure and to give better access to subsidized food through the PDS along with measures to control inflation promise to be most effective in reducing rural poverty in India.

Mridul Saggar and Indiran Pan’s (1994) study employees inequality and poverty measures to consumption expenditure data for SCs and STs and other households in four Eastern states viz: Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal. Consumption-expenditure pattern is analysed to examine:

Inequality and poverty differences among SCs and STs and other households,

Rural-urban disparities and

Inter-state variations.

The study concluded that, the eastern region as a whole suffers form economic backwardness and this is seen evident from the low MPCE, which ranks below the all India levels. This is particularly true for the SCs and STs. The incidence of poverty is considerably higher than the all India figure. It was also found that the rural-urban division had been existing in rural-India with a lower areas as compared to urban areas. Further more the study showed the suffering by SCs and STs from higher poverty incidence and their lower
consumption standards than non-SC/ST households. The study confirmed the need to expedite development in eastern India through direct measures particularly those for employment generation and poverty eradication. While inequalities are low, poverty incidence is high. This makes a strong case for targeted intervention for SCs and STs may supplement the programmes targeted for SCs and STs.

Nadkarni (2002), in his article, presented the relationship between poverty, environment and development. It is quite complex and not amenable to easy generalization. He developed a vicious circle (poverty-environment-degradation-more poverty). In a country like India, the environment is a source of livelihood for many, particularly for the poor. Environmental degradation has tremendous human costs. It hits the poor most and directly too. He concluded that environmental degradation was the main reason for the poverty among tribals.

Meenakshi et al. (2000) presented a paper on poverty estimates for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at the state level and for rural and urban areas separately. Their findings indicated that poverty rates were uniformly higher for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities irrespective of the deprivation measure used.
Pramod Kumar O.B.(2001) in his study on the levels of living of Kurumba tribes of Nilgiris, he had analysed about the pattern of asset, income, consumption and the extent of inequalities. He had also measured the poverty level of these tribes. The findings reveals that the existence of inequalities was higher, about 56 per cent of the income are received from the farm employment. As such about 32.27 per cent of the kurumba tribes sample households are below the poverty line. It was also found from his study that about 90.20 per cent were indebted.