ASSIMILATION & ACCOMMODATION OF
THE TRIBALS IN THE NON-TRIBAL MILIEU

The present chapter deals with the findings of the survey concerning my research work in different tribal pockets and villages in and around Durgapur. I have mixed with them very closely, some times even staying at their houses for this purpose.

It is an established fact that many tribals have been displaced from their hearth and homes following the erection of Durgapur Steel Plant and the making of Durgapur Urban Complex. Some tribal pockets had to be done away with to have this industrial plant established. But their tribal tradition still endures. Their tradition is not lost altogether.

The displaced tribals have
resettled somewhere within the 'Durgapur Notified Area'. Some have moved elsewhere when the forest area was turned into an industrial town. Simultaneously, many tribals from other states have settled down seeking employment here.

The most interesting feature is the co-existence of the tribals, local and non-local, coming from outside. They have been evidently trying to accommodate themselves to all the changing circumstances caused by the quick urbanization. Starting with small number of tribal employees, the Durgapur Steel Plant is now increasingly engaging them, to the tune of some hundreds, as Kulis, labourers, sweepers and in other class four jobs. Some of them, who were appointed at the very inception of the Plant, have been promoted to the next higher ranks. Ordinary unskilled labourers are now treated as skilled labour in consideration of their experience and skill. Some of them have, however, accepted employment either under contractors or in some other factories and
have been gradually accommodating themselves to the quickening pace of the changing environment.

Not only in employments, but also in all spheres of life—social, political and economic—they are trying to keep pace. We may discuss here, at some length, the various stages of their accommodation in the new ambience.

I (A) DURGAPUR STEEL PLANT & ASSIMILATION OF TRIBALS IN NON-TRIBALS

It has been already emphasized that the Durgapur Steel Plant has an impact on the life of tribals. Their role in the making of the plant, though apparently negligible, is not really insignificant. It was they who had been instrumental in clearing the dense forests and making it worthy of habitation. It is natural that some tribal pockets and villages were extirpated for the Durgapur Steel Plant and township as well as for other ancillary factories like the Alloy Steel Plant, Durgapur Project.
Limited and for the
the Regional Engineering College etc.

The tribal villages include 'Lagna'
Raghunathpur, Khilmath, Mahish Kapur, Jathgariah,
Parulia, Akarah Birbhanpur, Kamalpur, Khatgariah,
Chandana, Bhiringi, Pachrah, Kamsa, Mamipara,
Banagram, Megede, Dhanara, Sujara, Wadia which
are worth mentioning.

Of the villages, mentioned above, some
suffered partial ejectment and the rest now
exists as pockets. These villages include
Bhiringi, Dhunara, Banagram, Birbhanpur, Faridpur,
Jagurbandh, Kamalpur, Mejedihi, Mahishkapur,
Kururia, Parulia, Sajara and Waria. The number
of the villages, partially existing, is 13,
One thing is evident from this that their
entity is not lost even in the midst of the
abrupt changes followed by then accepting
employment in the factories. Besides, these
villages, especially Bhiringi, Mahiskapur,
Kolpur and Waria, are surrounded by the
localities of non-tribal communities. This is
constituting the mainstream of life an indication
in point to the tribal and non-tribal assimilation in Durgapur Steel Plant.

I would like to mention here that some villages developed with direct or indirect help rendered by the Durgapur Steel Plant. In them are included Amarai, Dhandabad, Gopinathpur, Mahiskapur, Parulia, Bhiringi, Faridpur, Jagurbandh, Nadiha, Pursa, Banagram, Gopalmath, Kamalpur, Narayanpur and Raturia. I have mentioned before that the villages mainly inhabited by Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which receive regular help from the Durgapur Steel Plant for public welfare conducted by the Durgapur Steel Plant. From the names of the villages mentioned above, it appears that, despite manifold inconveniences, the tribals of Durgapur have made some adjustments to this situation caused by industrialisation and have consequently settled down in and around the areas of Durgapur. In this assimilation process, Durgapur Steel Plant has played a prominent role. They have come to understand, gradually, that a well-planned industrialisation
under public sector is more a boon than a bane to the tribals whose primitive way of life is a history of privations and subsistence economy.

(B) TRIBAL LABOURS AND STEEL PLANT

It is the Damodar Valley Corporation that first appointed the tribals of Durgapur as daily wagers and made them industrial labourers. Some other factories like the Alloy Steel Plant (A.S.P.) and other Ancillary factories equally claim to have provided the tribals with employment.

From my thorough investigation and from my interview with a sizeable number of old tribals and non-tribals, I have come to learn that from the year 1957 when the preparatory work was started for the construction of Durgapur Steel Plant, the tribals of Durgapur had been associated with the factories. The process is still on.

From the verbal statements, it appears
that the work includes the clearing of jungles, construction of roads, and other spade-work necessary for the lay-out of a factory and for this work about 100 tribals were then appointed. Their daily wages ranged from Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 2/-.

Thereafter, the number of tribal labourers increased and within two years the total number of tribal labourers shot up to three hundred. Of them, 80% of the labourers belonged to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

In 1962, Dr. Rajendraprasad, the then President of India, inaugurated the production of the first phase. Long before that time, a part of the labourers joined the Durgapur Steel Plant. From then onward, the number of the tribal labourers is on the increase.

Apart from being engaged in Durgapur Steel Plant, the tribal labourers have also been working under Contractors of Thikadars and their number is, hopefully, on the increase, with an exception, however, of an intervening period of two years.
The table furnished here shows the increase of the number of tribal labourers. In 1975-76, the number of executive and non-executive tribals was 638 out of the employees totalling to 31,638. It is evident from this that the tribals, like other non-tribal people, have accepted the profession of daily wage labourers.

I had interviews more than one hundred tribals - men and women. When asked, whether they were interested in cultivation or in employment in the factories, 20% of them could not reply, 40% expressed their interest in agriculture and the rest for employment in the factories.

From this survey and from the fact of the increase of tribal labourers, we can fairly conclude that the tribals are left, with no choice but to join the profession of non-tribal men. Their land possession is also pitiable.

In the years between 1965 and 1975, the number of tribal wagers and labourers has increased, in many factories in Durgapur Notified Area Authority.
TABLE NO. I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Total No. of Tribals</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE NO. II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Total No. of Tribals</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data given above show that the number of tribal labourers in many industries and factories, and Durgapur Steel Plant, has also increased. The most interesting point to be noted in this connexion is that they are keen on having a life-style more comfortable than what they were used to. Unskilled labourers
are also trying to be skilled as it is more dividend-paying.

This suggests that the tribals are more keen on non-tribal life than on the traditional life of privations and subsistence economy. To be merged with the mainstream of life, it is a definite indication.

Besides, I met four tribals belonging to the executive rank in Durgapur Steel Plant. They were promote to Executive Officer from the rank of Clerk. Of them, three belong to the ORAN group of tribals. One is Assistant Manager (Personnel) of Durgapur Steel Plant, who was also deputed by the Durgapur Steel Plant to help me collect data regarding Durgapur Steel Plant. He can speak and write English fairly well and the young officer never looked like a tribal. His bright and ready-witted personality made me forget that he belonged to the tribal community.

I put questions to him and to others about the change of the way of life and I have
come to know from their replies that they are keen on coming closer to the people of the mainstream of life through the process of "Assimilation and Accommodation".

2. SOCIAL ASSIMILATION AND ACCOMMODATION

In the life of the tribals, the most important and notable characteristic is their culture or 'way of life'. They are, therefore, extremely sensitive to social assimilation and accommodation with the non-tribals, even if it is now a necessity. Even since Kawaharlal's "Tribal Panchsheela", the whole thrust of the tribal development in India is through the process of Integration in the mainstream of society. That is, a policy of live and let live is being followed today. Industrialization led them a few steps ahead in this respect.

2.(A) MARRIAGE AND SEX

Marriage and sex life is the most important part of the social life. In respect of matrimonial matters, the Santals believe in their traditional
method and customs and they observe, more or less, their traditional rituals. Even now, they cannot think of marriage with non-tribals. But side by side, it is also true that those customs are losing much of their rigour today. I have stated before that Santals of Durgapur did not take a bride or groom from the same clan. But now that is not so much rigid as before, and that old bride-price system is almost abolished. It exists in a nominal way and as a symbol. In the old tribal milieu, for want of money many tribal youths could not marry. There are hundred and one instances of it. The situation has, however, undergone changes in the wake of urbanisation and industrialization when the tribal youths have opportunities for employment and, consequently, of family life. Among the tribals, the usual practice is to give dowry to the party of the bride and it is known as bride-price. Today, this bride-price has become very nominal, say Rs. 3/- at the minimum or some cattle. Hopefully, this situation is going to wear out pretty soon.
Formerly, if any non-tribal would marry a tribal girl or boy, he would be killed by the tribals as punishment. Now this violent attitude has comparatively subsided, but within the Durgapur Notified Area it is retained as before. Stray instances are, however, not rare.

At Durgapur region, I have met a non-tribal worker of Alloy Steel Plant who has married a tribal girl and stays at the Ancillary Steel Plant (A.S.P.) Quarters with his tribal wife. He has a daughter, too. To me, they are not at all unhappy. The husband belongs to the Scheduled Caste group. The tribal girl has, of course, been excommunicated. From a talk with her, I came to know that she was on speaking terms with Santal girls of other villages.

There is another incident of this type. A tribal youth of Mahishkapur area married a non-tribal girl of that locality. I could not meet the couple but I had a talk with the members of the family of the non-tribal girl
and came to know that the youth had gone away to Haldia (West Bengal) to join appointment under contractors and they have link more or less with their family though the youths has never gone to his own house since he got married.

These instances and some others reveal that the tribals are getting closer to the mainstream and the non-tribals too, have now changed their attitude by mixing freely and closely with them.

2.(B) DRESS AND STYLE

It is interesting to note that the change of life pattern of the tribals has some impact on the change of their dress and style. This Sartorial change-over is one of the important indication of assimilation between tribals and non-tribals. Formerly, the characteristic of the tribals was to reject every thing of the non-tribals. At present, their outlook has been changed. The tribal girls and women put on dresses as that of non-tribal women and use
Modern tribal boys of Kora clan at At Amrai (Durgapur).

Tribal girls found singing Tagore Songs to the accompaniment of Beena - a musical string instrument.

Modern tribal boys of Kora clan at At Amrai (Durgapur).
cosmetics liberally. Instead of going nude or draping the body with small piece of cloth, young girls wear tailored garments. Among the boys, there is a growing tendency of wearing shoes. Formerly, the use of a stick among the tribals was an offence. To get rid of it, the offender had to undergo expiation. The situation has changed considerably and the question of expiation is no more there.

2.(C) FOOD

Change of food-habit among the tribals of Durgapur is the result of urbanization. Research have shown that sort of a change in mental outlook is followed by a change in food-habit. Today, the tribals of Durgapur are almost used to non-tribal food style. Urban fastfood has also attracted them considerably. So much, so, fast food shops are not slow in coming up in Durgapur Steel Plant area.

2.(D) RELIGION, RECREATION & INSTITUTION

Religion is one of the oldest devices to
unite men. It unites as well as separates men from each other. So also are recreation and pastimes which make people forget the mutual differences and draw one close to another. On these two issues, their outlook used to be very narrow but now it is quite liberal. At least, the tribal s of Durgapur in this respect have changed their attitude. They now attend religious festivals of the non-tribals and invite the non-tribals to their own religious festivals. Even in their community festivals and social functions, reciprocal attendance and co-operation are seen. In the three clubs within Durgapur Notified area there are tribal members. Through sports and games they are also coming closer to one another.

Besides, in 'Durgapur Mahila Samiti', 'Durgapur Employees' Co-operative', 'Nabarun Natya Samaj', 'Bhiringi Kirtan Samaj', 'Benachiti Durgapuja Committee', there are members belonging to the tribal community. This proves that there is already some accommodation there between tribals and non-tribals.
2.(E) NEIGHBOUR

In matters of accommodation and assimilation between tribals and non-tribals, the easiest and best way is to entertain mutual neighbouring feeling towards each other and reciprocal visits to each other houses. In this respect, the behaviour of the tribals and non-tribals of Durgapur Notified Area is very hopeful as most of the tribal pockets of Durgapur are either in the midst of non-tribal area or are adjacent to that. This indicates that tribals surely do not get mal-treatment from the non-tribals nor are they looked down upon. Had it been otherwise, the tribals would have stayed away from the non-tribals. It has seen that the tribals get help from the non-tribals in their troubles and difficulties.

I would like to refer to an incident in this context. At Gopalmath, on the seventh day of the month of June of 1980, a tribal boy got involved in an accident receiving serious burn injuries. Hearing it, the non-tribals came forward and immediately took the burnt boy to the
hospital by a car at their own cost and fortunately, the boy escaped death and gradually recovered from injuries.

On 27-12-1983, at the village of Dhandabad, a tribal young girl had labour pain. There was no women dais (experts in delivery cases) at that colony to help her. A local non-tribal youth who stayed with me during my survey immediately moved to Shaba Road and brought a woman (a relation of her), who knew midwifery and she did what was needed for the girl in labour pain.

On 1-1-1987, at Bhiringi tribal colony, two tribals fell ill with Cholera and the local non-tribal youths hospitalised them. In the families of many neighbours belonging to caste Hindu or Scheduled Caste group it has been seen that many tribal women and youth render free services by way of nursing ailing persons, looking after babies, and taking them to the school.

From this, it appears that mutual trust and
friendship have gone a long way in bridging the gulf between tribals and non-tribals. Another interesting feature is that some non-tribals have rented their houses in the tribal colony. At Bhiringi Vaisnava tribal colony, I have seen a non-tribal family residing in the house of a tribal. I saw a girl of 10 (named Kalpana Tudu) who was fair complexioned and this made me conclude hopefully, that there had been mixed marriages before. Urbanization at Durgapur has thus brought the tribals closer to non-tribals.

But, as yet, there is no reason to believe that the tribals have merged with non-tribals leaving totally their clanship and tribal tradition. The philosophy of "Integration" does not expect it either. Another interesting feature is that though some labour families of non-tribal group even attend the functions of the tribal families, they do not take food with them, but the tribals being invited by the non-tribals take food at their houses.

ROLE OF TRADE UNION AND POLITICAL PARTIES

In all countries, it has been seen that
without political consciousness a better life and better understanding can never be possible. Today, Durgapur is an important industrial city. The society here is composed mainly of workers of all ranks and labourers. Trade Union Organizations as well as political parties play the prominent role regarding social and political consciousness.

TRADE UNIONS

Trade Unions have great influence on the life of the people of Durgapur, an important industrial town in eastern India. Tribals, naturally, are not excluded from it. Trade Union is one of the important media for social relationship between tribals and non-tribals.

TABLE NO. III
DISTRIBUTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE LEADING TRADE UNIONS(DURGAPUR NOTIFIED AREA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Trade Unions</th>
<th>Total No. of members</th>
<th>Tribals</th>
<th>Non-Tribals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C.I.T.U.</td>
<td>15,725</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>15,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.N.T.U.C.</td>
<td>13,250</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>12,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.I.T.U.C.</td>
<td>10,105</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>9,725</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table shows that C.I.T.U. has the highest number of tribal members and A.I.T.U.C. and I.N.T.U.C. following successively in order. This indicates that the political party known as C.P.I.(M) (Communist Party of India - Marxist) has much influence singly on the tribals as C.I.T.U. is sponsored by C.P.I.(M). If we add the number of A.I.T.U.C. (sponsored by Communist Party of India) to it then it appears that in the Trade Union Movement Communists have greater influence on the scheduled tribes and tribals. Next comes the question of I.N.T.U.C. (sponsored by Congress(I)). But this does not prove that they are politically conscious. Of all the tribals and scheduled tribes working in the industries, every one is a member of some Trade Union in some way or other. This is the usual practice of the day. From my intimate interviews with some tribal members I have come to know that they became members by regularly paying subscriptions as directed by their 'Babus', but they are not either actively or passively, associated with the organizations, nor do they have preliminary
knowledge about Trade Unions. Moreover, many members do not even know the name of the particular Trade Union Organization, he belongs to. Of the tribal members, 60% are indifferent toward trade unions. Despite this, in the group of tribals, the tendency to join Trade Union is gradually on the increase and through it they are coming closer to the mainstream and other non-tribals of the lower strata. From their version, it is revealed that though they do not join the movement actively like others, still, as they say, that without any movement their rights cannot be established, nor can their demand be fulfilled.

In the well-furnished rooms of the Trade Unions at Durgapur, I have seen many tribals and non-tribals talking closely with one another. Unless told of, their tribal identity cannot be made out easily.

POLITICAL PARTIES

The tribals of Durgapur have naturally no
political consciousness like others of the day. Still it is mentionable that a small fraction of the totality of tribals are involved more or less in politics. The local political parties have played an important role in respect of the assimilation and accommodation of the tribals and non-tribals as in all the political parties there are tribal members though in negligible number and the parties especially the communities, make generally no discriminations between tribals and non-tribals and this inspires the tribals to mix with the non-tribals.

At Durgapur (Durgapur Notified Area), like the different trade unions, there are different political parties too. These are Congress, C.P.I.(M), C.P.I. At Kamalpur, there is Jharkhanda Party, but its influence on the tribals is quite negligible, though the party's main demand is to form a separate state for the tribals with some parts of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Chotonagpur.
REPERCUSSION ON THE TRIBALS AROUND THE VILLAGE

There has been a markedly mixed reaction in the Tribal Society and villages about tribal and non-tribal administration and accommodation. Some tribal people think that they are happy with tribal way of life and tradition. They believe that the changing of the tribal way of life will lead to the loss of tribal tradition and culture incurring the displeasure of 'Bonga' (Tribal Deity) and ultimately, their separate tribal entity will be effaced. This is no good to them.

I have questioned some 100 tribals of 10 villages and I give below their opinions in reply to my queries. I put my questions to different tribal individuals in the following way:

"I ask whether you want 'Assimilation and Accommodation' of the tribals in the non-tribal milieu and how do you want it."

As to the first part of my question some 30 tribals did not reply; 37 persons told me that they wanted it and the rest (33) replied in the negative.
As to the second part of my question
only 17 out of 37 tribals mentioned above could
not make the matter clear and only said that
things where were good for all tribals, must be
done in all respects. The rest 20 tribals who
gave different suggestions are mentioned below.

The suggestions are:

1) The non-tribals must give up hatred
towards the tribals.

2) The tribals must have equal opportunity
for employment and other facilities.

3) In the social functions of tribals and
non-tribals the tribals should be
equally invited.

4) There should be no marriage between a
tribal and a non-tribal.

5) Sports and games between tribals and
non-tribals should be increasingly
encouraged.

To the twenty tribals mentioned above, the
measures suggested by them, if adopted, will
bring the tribals and non-tribals closer to one
another and this is good for both the groups.

In this context, I would like to point out to the comment of a local tribal leader named Mahadev Tudu of 33 years of age and who originally hail from Purulia, Politically he is a active member of A.I.T.U.C. and C.P.I. What he meant today is this that 'Assimilation and Accommodation' of the Tribals in the non-tribal milieu must be encouraged but through a slow and natural process as the tribals are very sensitive.

The non-tribals have to take plans and projects as they are much superior to tribals. One should bear in mind that the reaction against this in the villages is not good. The tribals are very slow to understand it. For this, non-tribals have to come forward as they even now look upon them as almost an inferior species. At Durgapur, the non-tribals, however, behave with the tribals seemingly. But this assimilation should not be encouraged through matrimonial alliances as to the tribals, marriage stands even now for a symbol of traditional life. So, if any new thing
like this, is imposed upon them, they will take it as a step to obliterate their tribal entity. Literacy and political consciousness can only improve the condition for the better.

From my talk with Mr. Tudu and others, it is evident that the tribals are not dead against any change that might come upon them for their betterment. They are now fairly convinced of the bliss of industrialization as well as the change in their way of life. But all must be done through a slow process. It is also true, that a few tribals of rigidly conservative outlook are always keen on retaining their old traditional pattern of life—a life of chill privations and subsistence economy. But they are very insignificant in number.
1. The only Indoor Stadium of Durgapur after the Names of Sidhu & Kanu - the great tribal leaders of Santal Revolution (1856).

2. A view of paddy field near the Steel Plant.

3. A view of main gate opposite to the Administrative Buildings of the Steel Plant.
The present micro-study focuses on some basic problems concerning the tribals in general, and those of Durgapur in particular, under the impact of industrialisation following Durgapur Steel Plant. My close association with the tribals (in and around Durgapur) was an inducement for me to trace their psychological reactions and their societal developments in this transitional period. As authentic studies of this type are hardly to come by, the researcher had to depend on his own intensive field work in the area, often transcending the boundaries of the Durgapur Steel Plant area. Naturally,
tribal pockets in remote, outlying areas had not been neglected in the study.

The tribals of Durgapur mostly belong to the Santal group of tribals. Till the installation of the Steel Plant and the consequent emergence of Durgapur as a modern city, this group remained, more or less, isolated from the mainstream of society. Long isolation is to be accounted to the colonial policy of the British in respect of the tribal. They were not transhumans but a group settled in a particular habitat. Still, there had been some migration of Santals to the neighbouring areas over years. Following the primitive modes of agriculture and hunting in the jungles, they were made to do with their stagnant, subsistence economy prior to the induced changes in the wake of industrialization of the area.

Industrial economy made an inroad into the placid way of life to which the Santals had hitherto been accustomed. Changes came to be
reflected in all spheres of life - social structure, social organization, belief system, food habits, sanitary habits and so on.

Of course, social changes in their life was not due to the process of industrialization alone. A slow but steady process of change had been on in most of the tribal areas of eastern India since the first half of the last century. The Christian missionaries of different denominations and of different provenances were actively working among the tribals to proselytize them. A modicum of modernization of these people was the outcome of their efforts.

Besides these 'grass-root' social changes, following missionary activities, induced social changes were also effected with the erection of the different giant steel plants in the locality in the post-independence India. Of them, Durgapur Steel Plant is the third important Steel Plant in India.

In the pre-independence period, the tribals were branded as 'criminal tribes' in order to
isolate them from the mainstream of society. 'Manners: savage, custom none'—this was how they came to be summed up by the British colonialists. Ethnocentric and Euro-centric biases were uppermost in their perception of these peoples. They were taken as 'pre-logical' peoples, and not fit for being benefited by the fall-outs of industrialization. That most of the notions and perceptions of the colonialists were wrong had been proved by the economic developments in the post-independence India when tribals could be inducted to the modern machine economy. Industrialization has brought about a tremendous change in their life pattern. The giant industries required a vast area and, for their build up, the areas covered with jungles and forests usually inhabited by the tribals were chosen for the establishments of the plants displacing the tribals. The present metropolis of Durgapur has emerged out of such jungle terrains.

This, no doubt, portends an extinction the tribal peoples of the area. But, owing to
extra-ordinary resilience and class of life, the tribals, by and large, instead of being exterminated, have accommodated themselves with the new economic developments following the giant steel plants.

It is interesting to note in this context, that the tribals of Durgapur area were not altogether opposed to urbanization though a small fraction of them, mostly the elderly tribal people, liked to retain the old tradition of their familiar world, now gradually fading away. To set up a city, the tribals at the initial stage, were engaged in cutting the forests favourite to them. They never refused to cut their jungles nor did they run away from Durgapur. Rather, they participated in the spade work in the erection of the Durgapur Steel Plant. But things were not that smooth always.

It has been noticed that at the time of the erection of all Steel Plants of India at Ranchi, Bilai and Rourkella, the construction authorities had to face resistance from local
people including the tribals. In many places, the construction was delayed and in some places, the venue or the site of the factory itself was changed. In those cases, the intervention of the political leaders became necessary. In Rourkella, the Chief Minister of Orissa took up the case. Durgapur, in this respect is a peculiar exception. There are reasons for this, Durgapur had a previous promise for urbanization before industrialization. The tribals were not psychologically opposed to progress from the social standpoint. It is also worth mentioning in this context that owing to the scarcity of water, cultivation was not very easy and lucrative and thus circumstances compelled the tribals to welcome the urbanization. No resistance in an organized way was, however, made by the displaced tribals. They, without any protest or resistance, accepted it and got used to it. There was only a protest against this from the local Scheduled Castes and the upper class Hindus, but ultimately a settlement was made for the land annexed for the factory,
and this sobered and calmed them.

The tribals are by nature very simple and agreed to forego their hearths and homes, and agricultural land on the promise of compensatory arrangements. The authorities of the Durgapur Steel Plant and the Government of India realised the justifiability of their demands and it was decided that all tribals would be given five hundred rupees and five leathas of land each in general. Agricultural land was outside the urban complex. Those who sought employment were promised to be employed as far as possible according to their capacity and aptitude. Those who did not want land were given money proportionate to the value of land.

In respect of these talks some local leaders belonging to the high Hindu Castes played the significant role with the help of local tribal leaders.

One important thing is that most of the displaced ones were of Santal group of tribal
community but no inter-village organization to voice their demands was formed in an organized way. This kind of behaviour of the tribals is strange and in this context, Durgapur is unlike other steel cities in India.

This still remains an enigma to the researcher when he takes a hindlook into the different movements launched by the Santals right from the second half of the last century. To do away with the 'Dikus' had been their warcry.

The Government of India in the Fifth Five Year Plan evolved a new strategy for tribal welfare in general. The broad objectives of the tribal sub-plans are to remove the gap between the levels of development of tribal areas and other areas and to improve the quality of life of the tribal communities. The constitutional policy is, however, to draw them out from subsistence economy and put them into wider economic framework of the country through
Legislation and economic plans. The tribal
sub-plans envisaged total physical and financial
effort for integrated development of the tribal
areas. The concept of the sub-plan itself has
been kept flexible and has been adapted to the
local situation. The programme includes development
of agriculture and allied sectors, irrigation,
marketing, education, provision of seed, storage
etc., employment and the like. The most backward
groups among the tribals - still retaining some
primitive ways - have been given special attention
by separate plans for them.

But the plans for the welfare of the tribals,
though ambitious and bright in contents, are
difficult in being implemented. This makes the
tribal situation all the more disappointing.
Illiteracy of the tribals makes them an easy
prey of the exploiters who are always about. So
much so, since independence till date, the tribals
of West Bengal are yet to derive the benefits
of development plans as earmarked for them,
while other backward classes and the Scheduled
Castes could forge ahead to some extent.
For the tribals of Durgapur region who have been displaced, or who have lost their farm land owing to the erection of Durgapur Steel Plant, the Steel authorities have made compensatory arrangements. The nature of compensation includes provision for money and land and in some cases employment at the Plant according to capacity. Apart from these compensatory arrangements, the authority of Durgapur Steel Plant have undertaken some projects for the welfare of the tribals of the Durgapur region. All these have been discussed in the foregoing pages. The programme includes supply of drinking water, free education in the schools specially set up for the tribals and the reservation of seats in the plant for employment of the displaced tribals.

But owing to the predatory motives and actions of the contractors and people of their genre, tribals go unrecompensed and with no tangible benefits. Since, these tribals have not learnt the crafty idioms of their predators, they are unable to confront them in an organized
way. Being peace-loving by nature, they cannot 
wrangle out their legitimate dues either. The 
Trade unionists do not usually, take interest 
in them as they belong to a negligible group 
of minority in the factories and the Steel 
Plant. In the adjoining areas of the industrial 
city (of Durgapur) it has been found that the 
majority local tribals are deprived of the 
employment opportunities open to them. They do 
not know how to avail themselves of these 
opportunities through official formalities. 
This is primarily due to their ignorance and 
iliteracy.

There are schools and teachers appointed 
but almost no schooling takes place, officers 
are there to implement plans but the benefit 
they have out of it, is quite negligible. 
Investments are being made for development, but 
still they live in abject poverty almost as 
before.

My indepth interviews with a number of 
boys and girls reveals that they have read up 
to classes from IV to VIII but have failed to
complete the school final course for lack of opportunities. This is unfortunate as there is enough provision for special exclusive stipends for them over and above free secondary education facilities. The reason is not far to seek the tribal boys and girls are not quite in the know of what financial assistance is due to them. In that case, it becomes quite easy for the self-seeking predators to deprive these boys and girls of their legitimate dues. Also, they have hardly the benefit of planned development economy owing to the poor implementation of plans on the part of the Government employees entrusted with these projects. They usually do routine-bound duties quite apathetic to the desires and aspirations of the people of the "other culture".

The tale of their deprivation and exploitation is never-ending. The exploiters are all out to reap harvest through crafty measures, taking the best advantage of their unskilled simplicity, ignorance and illiteracy. For centuries past, this group of tribals
remained away from the main stream of economic activities. It is because of their long isolation that the economy of the regions they now live in, has been drained or disrupted for exploitive purposes. It is also evident that owing to abject penury most of them has been forced to distress sell their lands to non-tribal middlemen on a nominal price. All these have been dealt with in details, in a previous chapter of the present work.

But where do we go from here? Is there some way out of this imbroglio? The answer lies with the statutory authorities as well as voluntary and caritative organizations of the country. It is imperative to take vigorous steps to eliminate the exploitations of the tribals of Durgapur in various forms, to save the tribals of the industrial area from the exploiters who lend them money against highest securities, including land. The tribals should have much control over their means of production as far as possible. The structure of land tenure, credit and marketing agencies have
to be reorganized with an eye to the benefit of the tribals.

Efforts should also be made to a great extent, to open up new opportunities for gainful employment for the tribals. Their cases are to be considered by special cells on a priority basis.

Again, the policy to draw them from subsistence economy through plans and projects requires greater understanding and smoother emotional integration of the tribal communities with the mainstream of life as well as the liquidation of illiteracy as much as possible. It is interesting to note that now they are not against formal schooling. Literacy among them is having an upward trend. Many tribals have put their children to schools exclusively for them or to schools open to all. In the chapter dealing with the education of tribals, mention has been made of some tribals who have been appointed to high posts on completion of their higher education although the quantum is piteously poor. Hopefully, the spread of education will play a significant role in
removing the hiatus that now exists between tribals and non-tribals.

It transpired from the survey that most of the tribals of the Durgapur region understand and speak Bengali and Hindi quite well. This may be due to their association with the mainstream of people for a fairly long time. They may be taught in Bengali or Hindi as the medium of instruction according to the necessity. Language proves no problem for them and the development of their tribal dialect, though necessary, is not essential at this stage. The tribals are more conversant with Hindi or Bengali scripts than their script 'Alchiki' made up by the non-tribal social scientists and linguists.

Apart from incipient social changes, the erection of the steel plants has brought in induced social changes in the life of the tribals living in and around all industrial cities. My work is based mainly on the data based in Durgapur. The erection of Durgapur
Steel Plant has an abiding impact upon the tribal life of the region. The primary changes are not only in the occupational sphere in the form of the employment of the tribals in the plant or factories, but also in social relations, customs, values and beliefs. All these have been discussed in detail in the body of the dissertation. The educated and converted Christian tribals have already assimilated the new spirit of life, while the non-converted tribals have been trying to assimilate, gradually, while maintaining a link between tribal and urban style of life. But, it is evident enough that the life-styles of the tribal peoples have changed almost beyond recognition. They have come to realise that a return to the past, however, desirable, is no longer possible in this rapidly changing world. The young generation has welcomed the changes with some hope for brighter prospect while the conservative older generations want to go back to their familiar tribal-world - which is, in all probability, not possible.
Some Ethnologists and social scientists, however, feel that the growing tendency of integration of the tribals with the mainstream will ultimately result in the loss of their separate identity. To them, they should be allowed to carve out a niche of their own and should be encouraged to follow their traditions and patterns of life. But this is just one side of the coin. With the march of time and with the progress of civilization, life-style must undergo changes rapidly to keep pace with social settings and modern economy. We should today think of every thing in the light of totality. The tribals have every right to share the bliss of modern civilization and amenities of life.

The disappearance of the tribal world in its pristine form, is therefore, inevitable. The sooner their life of abject privations is over, the better for them. They should not be left in isolation, nor their life of hardship be belittled. They should be drawn into the mainstream of national development to raise their
standard of living through the spirit of assimilation and accommodation. Plans and projects in black and white will not be enough. They should be implemented within a humanistic reference frame. In this, much spade work is to be done to know the tribal world from within, "Participant observation" is not enough. Participatory living is what is desired. It is only then, we can fill the Holy Chalice with the rich wine of amity, peace and mutual understanding and try to make tribals live not in "Other Culture" but in culture, in general. Not only the right policy and programme but also right kind of leadership is absolutely necessary to achieve the desired result in this respect. The fact is that mere Government machinery cannot fulfil this humanitarian task which needs more love, selfless sacrifice than routine-bound official work without any motivation. From the national point of view, a feeling of oneness and one nation among all people should be strengthened. The increasingly growing evil spirit of secessionism will thus be checked by
strengthening and creating higher values and orientations.
Durgapur township as surrounded by this forest belt.

Photo By The Researcher
Kumares Chakrabarti
The following questionnaire are used in the field survey:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date...............</th>
<th>Time.............</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place...............</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial No.........</td>
<td>Sample No.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important...........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Name :
   (a) Age :
   (b) Sex :
   (c) Caste :

2. Address :

3. Occupation :

4. Educational Qualification :

5. Religion :
6. Has industrialisation been good?
   Good/Bad/Nothing.

7. Has industrialisation enhanced your income?
   Yes/No.

8. Do you want to work in factory?
   Yes/No.

9. What is the effect of industrialisation on women?
   Good/Bad/Nothing.

10. Do you want work in factory or in cultivation?
    Cultivation/Factory.
11. Has your family settled here?
   Permanently/Temporarily/Not decided.

12. Where did you live before coming here?
   (i) Village  (ii) Town
   (iii) Thana  (iv) District
   (v) State    (vi) Country

13. Your father's native place?
   (i) Village  (ii) Town
   (iii) Thana  (iv) District
   (v) State    (vi) Country

14. Your grandfather's native place?
   (i) Village  (ii) Town
   (iii) Thana  (iv) District
   (v) State    (vi) Country

15. Your own occupation before coming here?

16. Your father's occupation

17. Your grandfather's occupation

18. Do you feel that social prestige is gained by settling in Durgapur Urban area? Yes/No
Give reasons.

(1)
(2)
(3)

19. What attracted you/your family to this town? Mention them in order of preference.
   i) Shorter distance from village ( )
   ii) Having relations in town ( )
   iii) Having friends in town ( )
   iv) Opening of new offices/industries ( )
   v) Centre for missionary activities ( )
   vi) Comparatively cheap place ( )
   vii) Good communication from native place ( )
   viii) Educational centre ( )
   ix) Got appointment ( )
   x) Got transferred ( )

20. Did you first come here? Alone/With your wife & children/With other members.

21. If you came with a few other members, who were they? (Write relationship only, with age)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Reasons for accompanying</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. Did other members of the village or neighbouring villages or your caste group migrate with you?  

Yes/No/Co-villagers/Members of the same caste or tribe of same village/Neighbouring villagers/Members of the same caste or tribe of neighbouring villages.

23. If other family members, villagers or members of the caste group came later on, give the approximate dates on which they came.

24. Do you think your standard of living has improved after industrialization? Yes/No

25. Have you sold any of your immovable property after your immigration to Durgapur? Yes/No

If yes, state the reasons - Fancy price/ Difficult to manage/Repayment of old debt/ Investment in business/Marriage/Education of children/Financing purchase of urban property/Low income from the property/An unnecessary liability/Others (specify).
26. What do you feel about keeping connection with your village in case you have settled here permanently?

Necessity/Not necessary/Desirable/Not desirable/Others.

Specify Reasons:
(1)
(2)
(3)

27. How does your present social life compare with the social life of before Durgapur Steel Plant?

Similar/Better/Bad/
Difficult to distinguish.

28. If yes, what effect does it bring to your social life?

Similar/Better/Bad

Give reasons:
(1)
(2)
(3)

29. Have you purchased any kind of property at this place?

Yes/No

If yes, what are they?
(1)
30. What in your opinion, are the three most interesting and valuable aspects of this town life (Mention in decreasing order of Importance)?

(1)  
(2)  
(3)  

31. Do you have access to these aspects of this town life? Yes/No/Partly

32. If not, what do you lack to have access to these aspects?

Money/Education/Time/Inefficient administration/Others (specify)

33. What in your opinion, are the three most bad aspects of town life? (Mention in decreasing order of importance)

(1)  
(2)  
(3)  

34. Are you happy with your present life? Yes/No

Specify reasons:

(1)
35. If unhappy, what are the things which can make you happy?

(1)
(2)
(3)

36. Do you think that your life has changed considerably after industrialization?

Yes/No

(Please mention the importance changes in decreasing order of importance)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHANGES</th>
<th>REASONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.
2.
3.

37. Do you think these changes to be good or bad?

Good/Bad.

38. Do you have any kind of confusion in your mind about settling permanently at this place?

Yes/No
If yes, what are they?

(1)

(2)

(3)

39. If you are a displaced person, what help did you receive from Government/others help.

   Adequate/Inadequate.

   (1)

   (2)

   (3)

40. What were the common diseases in your native place?

   (a)

   (b)

   (c)

41. What treatment did you use for them -

   (a)

   (b)

   (c)

42. Do you continue the same treatment here?

   All/A few/Non/added new ones.
43. The food stuff obtained at your native place were superior/or inferior, similar to the food stuff you get here?

Superior/Inferior/Similar.

In what ways?

1. 
2. 
3. 

44. Can you suggest whether there is any change in your food habits in comparison to what you had at your native place?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Durgapur (Native place)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(village or town)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time

Main items of daily diet

Preparation

45. How do you feel about the changes in food habits?

(a) Satisfied (b) Dissatisfied (c) Not decided.

46. Do you have had an increase or decrease in the quantity of the consumption of following items at this place in comparison to your native place?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Durgapur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>Increase/Decrease/Constant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable</td>
<td>Increase/Decrease/Constant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td>Increase/Decrease/Constant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat (for non-vegetarian only)</td>
<td>Increase/Decrease/Constant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47. Do you notice any change in your family after the inception of industrialisation?  
   Yes/No

48. If so, what kind of change?

49. What sort of education do you want to impact to the members of your family?

50. Do you support the women education?  
   Yes/No

51. Do you support inter-caste marriage?  
   Yes/No

52. Do you support marriage with non-tribal?  
   Yes/No
53. Is family planning desirable?
   Yes/No

54. Do you support romantic marriage?
   Yes/No

55. Do you support dowry in marriage?
   Yes/No

56. Have you ever enjoyed sexual intercourse before marriage?
   Yes/No

57. Has the case of adultery increased in comparison to the past?
   Yes/No/No change

58. If increased, what are its causes?
   (1)
   (2)
   (3)

59. Has the case of divorce or separation gone up after industrialisation?
   Yes/No

60. If gone up, what are its causes?
   (1)
61. Tell about your leisure - recreation and pastime?

62. Are there any change in these spheres?
   Yes/No

63. Do you go to library?

64. Do you buy and read newspaper?
   Buy/Read/Neither buy nor read.

65. What sort of musical instrument do you use in festivals?
   - Names of the instruments.

66. Have you participated in any non-tribal festivals or social function?
   Yes/No

67. If so, what festival or function?

68. Has ever any non-tribal come to your family?
   Yes/No

69. Have you ever invited non-tribal?
   Yes/No

70. Have you any friend among non-tribal?
   Yes/No
71. Has industrialisation influenced in any way?
   Yes/No

72. If so, what influence did it put?

73. Have you changed your religion?
   Yes/No

74. If so, what religion have you accepted and why?

75. What sort of cosmetics or ornaments do you use?

76. Did you use it before?

77. Did your attire change after becoming Durgapur Steel Plant?

78. If so, what are the changes?

79. Do you take part in politics?

80. If so, why?

81. Are you a member of trade union?

82. If so, why?

83. Do you support the demand of separate Jharkhand State?
   Yes/No
84. Do you support modern medical treatment?
   Yes/No

85. Do you consider going to hospital is desirable for labour?
   Yes/No

FOR NON-TRIBAL ONLY

1. Name, Address, Occupation, Sex, Age.

2. What is your idea about local tribals?

3. Have you any complaint about them?

4. Have you participated in any tribal festival or function?

5. If so, what festival or function?

6. Have you invited any scheduled tribe in any festival or function in your family?

7. Did they attend it?