CHAPTER 3
NECESSITIES AND CHALLENGES OF RESERVATION IN CHHATTISGARH

3.0 Introduction

The creation of Chhattisgarh as a separate state took a long struggle. The main reason it was finally created was that the government wanted to secure both development and peace for the minorities who lived in the original state of Madhya Pradesh. After Madhya Pradesh was divided, and Chhattisgarh was created, various castes and groups including scheduled tribes were all transferred to the new state. The state was carved out of 30.49 per cent of the total land area and 26.6 per cent of the population of the undivided Madhya Pradesh; it has 20378 villages, and 96 tehsils and 146 janpad panchayats or blocks. Today, Chhattisgarh comprises of around 95 cities and towns out of the 465 from undivided Madhya Pradesh (See Table 3.1 for details).

It was the Madhya Pradesh government that took the institutional and legislative initiative for the creation of Chhattisgarh. On the 18th of March 1994, a resolution demanding a separate Chhattisgarh was tabled and unanimously approved by the legislative assembly. Both, the ruling Congress party as well as the opposition Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) supported the resolution. The election manifesto of the Congress as well as the BJP for the 1998 and the 1999 parliamentary elections, as well as the Madhya Pradesh assembly election of 1998 had included the demand for the creation of a separate state called Chhattisgarh (Kumar, 2002: 37-38). In 1998, the BJP led Union Government first drafted the bill for its creation, which was later sent to the Madhya Pradesh assembly for approval. It was unanimously approved in 1998 albeit certain modifications, but the union government did not survive and fresh elections had been declared. The new National Democratic Alliance government sent the redrafted 'Separate Chhattisgarh Bill' to the Madhya Pradesh Assembly, where it was once again unanimously approved and later tabled in the Lok Sabha. This bill for a separate
Chhattisgarh was passed in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, paving the way for the creation of a separate state. The President of India gave his consent to The Madhya Pradesh Reorganisation Act 2000 on 25th of August 2000, and the Government of India subsequently set 1st of November 2000 as the day on which the state of Madhya Pradesh was bifurcated into Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh (Bhargava and Bhatt, 2005: 19-23).

Table 3.1: Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe in Chhattisgarh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Residence</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Scheduled Castes</th>
<th>Scheduled Tribes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>11.60</td>
<td>31.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>50.27</td>
<td>11.58</td>
<td>31.38</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>49.72</td>
<td>11.63</td>
<td>32.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>79.90</td>
<td>11.40</td>
<td>37.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>49.90</td>
<td>11.42</td>
<td>37.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>50.09</td>
<td>11.39</td>
<td>37.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>20.09</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>51.76</td>
<td>12.20</td>
<td>8.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>48.23</td>
<td>12.63</td>
<td>8.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There was no one single factor behind the creation of Chhattisgarh; it was in fact an entire complex interplay of a combination of factors that paved the path for a separate state. The long-standing demand and movement for the creation of Uttarakhand and Jharkhand that led to the creation of those states, set the ground for the Chhattisgarh demand, making it a concurrent process. An important factor besides this was that there was clear acceptance, within Chhattisgarh and outside, that Chhattisgarh had evolved a
distinct socio-cultural and regional identity of its own. Given this and that there was a relatively high amount of deprivation in the region, most people felt that a separate state was needed for healthy development. In a democratic polity, the people’s demand has a high degree of legitimacy and weight, and was therefore one of the most important channels during the creation of Chhattisgarh.

3.1 Institutionalising the Identity of Chhattisgarh

The rebellions within the tribal communities deeply affected the political, social and economic discourse of Chhattisgarh. The issue of people’s rights over local resources became centre stage. It raised fundamental questions of identity, and of preserving a traditional culture and way of life. The evolution and formation of a formal Chhattisgarh identity coincided with the national movement, and was in this period that the process of crystallization of a Chhattisgarh identity was initiated and a distinct identity started emerging and taking shape. Pandit Sunderlal Sharma, Thakur Pyarelal Singh and Khub Chand Baghel were members of the Indian National Congress and some of the prominent leaders of the national movement in Chhattisgarh. The BJP and the Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha (likewise Jharkhand Mukti Morcha) initiated as well as participated in reform movements. These leaders also reiterated the fact that Chhattisgarh had an identity of its own and used this as a base to reform and encourage the formation of a Chhattisgarhi consciousness among the masses through literacy drives, cultural activities, and social reform programmes (Gajrani, 2004: 21).

The literature of the period also reflects this search for an identity. As early as 1901, M.R. Sapre from Pendra Road published a magazine called, ‘Chattisgarh Mitra’ which focused on the region. Khub Chand Baghel who was waging a struggle against unsociability wrote plays called ‘Jarnail Singh’ and ‘Unch Neech’ (Gajrani, 2004: 22).

During this period, leaders were also writing plays that focused on social issues in the context of Chhattisgarhi identity. Pt. Sundarlal Sharma wrote ‘Daan Lila’ and R.C. Deshmukh wrote ‘Naacha’ and ‘Gumbad’. Vaman Rao Deshmukh, an important
cooperative leader of the times was specifically writing about the identity of Chhattisgarh (Gajrani, 2004: 22).

Pandit Sundar Lala Sharma was one of the most prominent leaders of Central India, who fought against the caste system and worked continuously to improve the conditions of the SCs and STs. In 1917, he broke the forest laws in Sihawa with the support of the tribals. Three years later, in 1920, Pt. Sharma initiated the Nahar Satyagrah in Kandal village, Durg district (in Madhya Pradesh), against the tax on water. In 1925, he entered a temple with a group of Dalits (Gajrani, 2004, 22). Thakur Pyarelal Singh, also known as the father of the cooperative movement in Chhattisgarh, was a Gandhian with a reformatory zeal. He organised the first labour movement of Chhattisgarh in Rajnandgaon in 1920. This movement was started to demand a fixed number of working hours. Later in the same region, the second and the third labour movement of 1924 and 1925 were also organised under the leadership of Pyare Lal Singh (Gajrani 2004: 22).

By the time India gained Independence in 1947, the discourse on regional identity had changed its focus from social reform movements to the issue of exploitation of Chhattisgarh. Multiple channels to express this anger were used: the journal ‘Chhattisgarh Chhatisgarhion Ka’ (translated as Chhattisgarh belongs to the people of Chhattisgarh) was started by Khub Chand Baghel; ‘Chhattisgarh Atma Ki Pukar’ (translated the call of the Chhattisgarh’s soul) dealt with similar issues and looked into the significance of possessing a cultural identity and initiated a movement for establishing pride in Chhattisgarhi culture (Gajrani, 2004: 23).

In 1956, Chedi Lal Barrister with the support of Khub Chand Baghel organised the Chhattisgarh Mahasabha at Rajnandgaon. This meeting was attended by members of all parties and was supported by various caste groups and associations of Chhattisgarh. It is reported that the Mahasabha was attended by more than 50,000 people (Gajrani, 2004: 23). The Mahasabha passed a resolution stating that the ‘art and culture of Chhattisgarh should get a fair opportunity to grow’. A decision to launch the journal ‘Chhattisgarh’
was taken forward. The Mahasabha unanimously resolved to work towards solving the problems of the region as well as to struggle for the rights of Chhattisgarh.

The movement for consolidating the Chhattisgarh identity has continued through the decades. Various other political and non-political formations have, within the framework of their ideological positions and worldview, been working towards the formation of an identity for Chhattisgarh. Chhattisgarh Samaj, an organisation formed under the umbrella of the Proutist Sarva Samaj Samiti, has been working for the development of a political, social, and cultural consciousness of Chhattisgarh (Bhargava and Bhatt, 2005: 18-21).

Since the late sixties the Samaj has been publishing a weekly newspaper in Chhattisgarhi through which they have been working for the growth of the Chhattisgarhi language. Through the different wings of the Samaj, an attempt is being made to spread regional consciousness, which they believe will then translate into the development of Chhattisgarh. An entirely opposite non-party political formation struggling for the identity of Chhattisgarh is Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha or the CMM (Gajrani, 2004: 24).

This people movement started as a trade union movement and then moved on to link the exploitation of the region to the fact that its cultural identity had been suppressed. Gradually, the movement started focusing on the struggle of Chhattisgarh. On 19th December 1979, an attempt to link the tradition of struggle to the ethos of Chhattisgarh, the CMM then the CMSS, initiated the tradition of observing Shahid Vir Narain Singh's (freedom fighter) date of execution by the British as Martyr's Day, against the exploitative, oppressive, and hegemonic mainstream (Gajrani, 2004: 25-26).

The identity of Chhattisgarh has been created and evolved through a complex process. A combination of cultural, historical, social, economic and political factors have contributed to this process. The wide pluralities of cultures, traditions, histories and customs existing in the region have combined to form a unique mixture that has fed the development of Chhattisgarhi ethos. It is important to note that the Chhattisgarh identity
has been asserted in different forms and has become more pronounced in adverse circumstances manifesting itself, especially as protest against exploitation. Dr. H L Shukla distinguishes between self image and the image of the ‘other’ for a more holistic understanding of Chhattisgarh’s identity. It is imperative to synthesise and blend the two images to understand the priorities and challenges facing Chhattisgarh today. The identity of Chhattisgarh is an inclusive identity, despite the movement for Prathak Chhattisgarh (Bhargava and Bhatt, 2005: 17-23).

3.2 Social Structure and Configuration in Chhattisgarh

The social structure of Chhattisgarh comprises of various sections of the society. The population of Chhattisgarh is notable for its high Scheduled Tribe population, and in specific sections, Schedule Castes. Tribes constitute of at least 32.5 per cent, which is a significantly high percentage. In the few decades, the demographic profile of tribal dominated areas has undergone a change. This is a cause for concern as it represents large-scale intrusion of non tribals in tribal areas. This changing demographic profile is strongly evident in Bastar, where the proportion of tribals has decreased in the last few decades. The tribal areas of Chhattisgarh have witnessed several rebellions starting from 1774 onwards against the intrusion by outsiders, primarily the British, in the domain of traditional rights and the tribal way of life (Bhargava, 2005: 67-73).

Interestingly, since the 17th century, the social history of the non-tribal areas of Chhattisgarh has been marked by reform movements like the Satnam sect, Kabir Panthis, and the movements of share cropper and agricultural labour. Despite a presence of a high tribal population and religious reform movements, the region is also the domain of classic Hindu culture (although in some rituals the impact of tribal rituals can be identified), in which the cult of Ram assumes an essential and central role. The impact of this domination is evident, and has its manifestations in the growth of sectarian formations is contemporary politics (Bhargava and Bhatt, 2005: 49-52).
In India, the combined population of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes is 23.6 per cent of the total population, and for Madhya Pradesh, this figure rises to 37.1 per cent. The combined population of Scheduled Castes and Tribes in Chhattisgarh is significantly higher at 44.7 per cent and this is largely due to a high proportion of tribal population; scheduled castes do not constitute a very high proportion of the total population. It is critical to understand these sections of the deprived to understand the social history of Chhattisgarh, which has been deeply influenced and affected by religious reform movements (Bhargava and Bhatt, 2005: 27-38).

3.2.1 Tribes

Mostly, the population of STs is concentrated in the southern, northern and the north-eastern districts of Chhattisgarh. The highest concentration is in the erstwhile Bastar district. The new district of Dantewara has 79 per cent of tribals followed by Bastar (67 per cent), Jashpur (65 per cent), Surguja (57 per cent) and Kanker (56 per cent). The Gonds at 55.1 per cent form the largest proportion within the tribal population. They are distributed almost equally in the urban and rural areas. The Oraons, the Kawars, the Halbis, the Bharias or Bhumias, the Bhattaras and the Napesias also form a substantial portion of the tribal population. Thirty other scheduled tribes have a small population residing in various pockets across Chhattisgarh (Bhargava, 2005: 67-83).

The Gonds are concentrated in the hilly parts of southern Chhattisgarh but are also spread across most districts whereas the Baigas, Bharias, Korwas and Napesias occupy only specific pockets. The Bhattaras, Kolams and Rasjas largely live in Bastar and the Kamars in Raipur. The Halba tribe inhabits parts of Bastar, Raipur and Rajnandgaon. The Oraons live in Surguja and Raigarh districts (Mohanty, 2006: 83).

There are 9,500 villages, or 48 per cent of all inhabited villages, which have more than half their population belonging to tribal groups and 30 per cent of all inhabited villages consist of more than a three-fourth of their population from the schedule tribes. The districts of Raipur, Durg, and Janjgir Chhampa have less than 20 per cent tribes. There are a total of 42 tribes in Chhattisgarh, principal among them being the Gond tribe.
Besides, a large population of Kanwar, Brinjhwar, Bhaina, Bhatra, Oraon, Munda, Kamar, Halba, Baiga, Sanwra, Korwa, Bharia, Nageshia, Manghwar, Kharia and Dhanwar tribes are also found in the State (Mohanty, 2006: 84).

The location of the districts has been shown in the appendix section of the thesis. The growth of western education among tribals was tardy before independence. According to the 1931 Census, percentage of literacy among the tribals was as low as 0.7 per cent, compared to its general literacy rate of 8.3 per cent. The position of education among tribal women was still worse; their literacy rate in 1931 being 0.2 per cent as compared to the general female literacy of 2.3 per cent. While there is little reference to early education among the tribes of Madhya Pradesh, it is possible that one of the reasons for poor literacy is the inaccessibility and remoteness of the areas. There was a lack of interest shown by the British Government in India towards the socio-economic development of tribals, accounting for difficulties in promoting education among tribes. Verrier Elwin emphasised that for a tribal family, school is essentially a matter of economics and involves dislocation in the traditional pattern of division of labour, where girls stay at home to help their mothers and boys work in the field with their fathers (Elwin, 1963: 134-135).

It also appears that the role of various missionaries has been limited within the development of tribal education in Madhya Pradesh. In fact, literature available on the subject hardly mentions the contribution that missionaries may have made to education in tribal Madhya Pradesh. On the other hand, in states like Bihar and in the North East, early education in tribal pockets can largely be traced to the efforts of missionaries (German, Lutheran and Rome Catholic) in the late 19th century (Elwin, 1963: 47-51).

3.2.2 Composition of STs and SCs

The government of India has shown a keen interest in the all-round development of one the most backward communities, namely, the scheduled tribes of our society. In pursuance of this policy, a number of provisions have been inserted into the constitution of India. With a view to abolish all forms of discrimination and bring these groups at
par with others, the constitution directs that the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections, and in particular, the SCs and the STs, who will protect them from social injustice and exploitation (Art 45). Article 15 and 16 are also amended to lay down that nothing in these articles shall prevent the state from making special provisions for the advancement of any socially or educationally backward classes of citizens, or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Art. 15, iv and 16, v (Beteille1970: 67).

Chhattisgarh is generally perceived as a tribe-dominated state. Though this can be proven false in a statistical sense, it does reflect the significantly high proportion of tribes in the region. It also underscores a fundamentally important point that the tribes in Chhattisgarh have been able to retain their culture and traditional way of life despite all the pervasive influence of forces of modernity. While tribal people constitute 7.8 per cent and 23 per cent of the total population of India and Madhya Pradesh respectively, they constitute 32.5 per cent of the population of Chhattisgarh. According to the 1991 census the tribal population in the then districts of Chhattisgarh was Durg – 12.6 per cent, Raipur – 18.6 per cent, Rajnandgaon – 25.3 per cent, Bilaspur – 23.4 per cent, Surguja – 54.8 per cent, Raigarh – 45.5 per cent, Bastar – 67.7 per cent. The various tribes in the Chhattisgarh region are Gonds, Muria, Bhumja, Baiga, Kanars, Kawars, Halbas etc. A few of these tribes, particularly the Gonds, have been influenced by the Hindu tradition and have in turn influenced local practices in the Hindu tradition as well. Other tribes like the Kamars and the Baigas have largely been untouched by the mainstream and have retained more of their traditional culture and way of life (Census of India, 1991).

3.3 Necessities of Reservation in Chhattisgarh

Reservation in Chhattisgarh is based on the needs of the people who are underprivileged and deprived – the STs, SCs and the OBCs. Since independent India, Madhya Pradesh (prior to year 2000) is one of the most backward regions in the country. After the creation of a new state, Chhattisgarh, the demand for better opportunities intensified; however, the provisions exist through the means of constitutional norms for the
deprived sections of Indian society. Some people availed reservations and gained a lot; nonetheless the backward sections had little except government support.

Chhattisgarh, primarily due to its large tribal population, has historically not been a part of the mainstream and has therefore remained underdeveloped. Critical indicators for education and health have remained low. However, as stated above, the region was influenced by mainstream, traditional Hindu culture as the organising principle, despite the presence of a large percentage of Scheduled Castes and Tribes (Bhargava, 2005: 89).

This oppressive, hierarchical social and religious order was not accepted, and from the 17th century onwards, the social history of Chhattisgarh is marked by the process of questioning and protests in the form of a number of socio-religious reform movements. These movements established a tradition of protest and have played a critical role in creation of the identity of Chhattisgarh, Initiated by sects like the Satnam Panth, the Kabirpanthis and the Raedasis which spread over all over Chhattisgarh, the message of equality was carried ahead. Often, the spread of this movement was within the boundaries of Chhattisgarh, and these movements contributed indirectly towards creating a regional consciousness (Gajrani, 2004:12).

An illustrative case would be the Satnam Panth, which emerged as sectarian formation, primarily reconstituting a small number of SCs and STs by incorporating them as Satnamis. The Satnam Panths was an attempt to negotiate and cope with the cultural and economic processes in Chhattisgarh in the nineteenth century. It was a new sect, formed primarily amongst the poor of Chhattisgarh in the second decade of the nineteenth century and was led by Ghasidas, a humble farm worker. This community constituted a significant proportion, a little less than one sixth, of the total population of Chhattisgarh. They either owned land or were sharecroppers and farm workers. The new sect was given the name of Satnam and its followers were expected to believe only in the formless – Satnam or the true name. Gradually, the followers of this sect were given the name satnamis. Satnamis abstain from meat, liquor, tobacco, certain vegetables and red pulses. Satnam Panth rejected the deities and idols of the Hindu
The pantheon. The panth preaches a casteless order. Guru Ghasidas initiated a Guru parampara in the sect, which became hereditary. The main religious centers of the sect in Chattisgarh are Bhandar and Girod (Gajrani, 2004:12-13).

In the nineteenth century a new system of property rights and revenue collection, known as the malgujari settlement, was introduced in Chhattisgarh. The new system was implemented with the sole purpose of expropriation and exploitation of marginal farmers, sharecroppers and farm servants by the upper caste Malgujars. Satnam Panth and its followers responded to this exploitative system through various strategies. In several cases the Satnamis deserted villages or continued with the process of Lakhabatta or the periodic redistribution of land, despite the implementation of the new system. Their united challenge to the upper caste Malgujars over the issues of rent and loss of land in the last decade of the nineteenth century was a reflection of the solidarity of Satnamis. This form of protest and response to the new system or property rights and malgujari settlements was widespread among the Satnamis of Chhattisgarh (Gajrani, 2004: 13).

The primary concern of the Anglo Maratha politics in the nineteenth century was of expropriation and consolidation of power. Guru Ghasidas, the founder of the Satmani sect realised this. He believed that the politics of the Anglo-Marathas was deprived of morality. He worked towards uniting all downtrodden persons to morally oppose the immoral politics of the British. The people of Chhattisgarh realized the potential threat of the British and were terror struck by the exploitative nature of their policies. Despite this, they were unable to unite under one flag to oppose the British. It was at this juncture that Ghasidas made efforts to unite the people of Chhattisgarh through the ideology of equality and non-violence (Gajrani, 2004: 13-14).

Other sects emerged in response to the hierarchical social order and linked Chhattisgarh to other social reform movements in the country. However the regional specificities of these sects remained unaltered. Kabir Panthis for example, are largely recruited from STs and SCs and have a substantial presence in Chhattisgarh. The followers of this sect adhere to the teachings and principles of Kabir, the revolutionary social reformer saint
poet of the sixteenth century. The centre of Kabir Panth activities are monasteries which are placed in the charge of Mahants. In Chhattisgarh, Kabir Panthi monasteries are in Kudurmal, Kharsia, Champa, Hardi, Bangoli, Banni, Dhamdha, Panda, Tarai and Ratanpur. The Kabir Panth does not believe in caste hierarchies. However in contemporary times the Panth (ideas) has been divided along caste lines. The only time that they do not adhere to caste hierarchies is in the presence of the Chief Guru on the birth anniversary of Kabir. All who desire to become members of the Panth are required to renounce polytheism and to acknowledge their belief in only one god. The Kabir Panth of Chhattisgarh is descendents of Dharmadasa, one of the disciples of Kabir who established the Panth in Chhattisgarh. Therefore, the branch of the Kabir Panth in Chhattisgarh is also known as Dharmadasa or Bhai branch (Bhargava and Bhatt, 2005: 49-65). The Ramnami Panth is a small sect in Chattisgarh, with a membership primarily from the STs and SCs community. This sect propagates the cult of Rama among the STs and SCs and does not believe in Brahmins as a medium for worshipping god. Ramnamis are found chiefly on the southern side of the Mahanadi. This sect is easily distinguishable as they carry a flute and put peacock feathers around their caps. Ramnamis, as the name suggests, chant the name of Ram. They often get their bodies tattooed with the name of Ram.

The social and religious reformer Ramananda had a committed ST and SC following in Chhattisgarh. His name was Ravi Das or Rae Das. Gradually, the followers of Rae Das formed a separate sect and started calling themselves Rae Das Panthis or simply Raedasis. A striking similarity between all these sects is that the followers are drawn mostly from the ST and SC communities. Secondly, all these sects spread the message of equality, social harmony and upliftment of the weaker sections of the society. The most widespread and important rebellion was the Bhumkal rebellion of 1910 that spread to 46 of the 84 parganas of Bastar (Gajrani, 2004: 15).

The term Bhumkal is significant, as it refers to the social solidarity of the members of a clan that binds them to each other and to their specific Bhumor land. The basic reasons listed for the Bhumkal rebellion by historians clearly reaffirms the findings from earlier rebellions. It continued the tradition of tribal struggle for preserving and defending their
traditions and their way of life and for reasserting their traditional rights on forests, land and natural resources. One of the main reasons for the rebellion is given by Standan dispossession of traditional forests and land resources had been the most important cause of the Bhumkal rebellion (Bhargava and Bhatt, 2005: 19-23).

In 1908, the forests were first made into reserved forests and the contractors given rights to take timber and wood for railway sleepers. This is one of their main sources of livelihood. Leasing out of liquor monopolies also aggravated the situation, as the locally made country liquor was declared illegal. The introduction of education and schools was seen by the tribes as an attempt by the State to subvert their culture and therefore became a precipitating factor. Finally, the brutality and exploitation by the police, which included begar by the officials culminated in the Bhumkal rebellion (Gajrani, 2004:15-16).

The need of affirmative action is based on several other situations that the state is lacking in. The following are some of these factors.

### 3.3.1 Education and Need of Affirmative Action

The comparison of enrollment ratios of Scheduled Tribes, with the enrollment ratio of the general population, provides an important tool through which one can study the educational problems of tribes.

**Table 3.2: Enrollment Ratio of General Population and Scheduled Tribes at Classes I-V and VI-VIII in 1999 in Chhattisgarh**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Classes I-V (Age group 6-11 years)</th>
<th>Classes VI-VIII (Age group 11-14 years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General Population</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-85</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-90</td>
<td>75.6</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-95</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table 3.2 shows that there is a wide gap between the STs and the non-scheduled in terms of enrollment ratios at both the educational levels (i.e. Classes I-V and Classes VI-VIII). The gap between the tribes and non-tribes is much wider in terms of enrollment ratios as the level of classes VI-VIII. Though there has been a continuous improvement in enrollment ratios of scheduled tribes over the years, they still lag far behind the non-scheduled tribes.

There is no doubt about it that literacy is an important indicator of the educational situation of the scheduled tribes in Chhattisgarh, but it tells us only about the access to educational opportunities. If we want to examine further the disparity in educational opportunities between the tribals and non-tribals, we will have to study enrollment at different levels in educational institutions and in different courses – particularly at the higher levels of education which are directly or indirectly linked up with better job opportunities.

Two important things can be inferred. First of all, we find that within the non-professional as well as professional courses, when we move from the under-graduate stage to the post-graduate, there is a decrease in enrollment of scheduled tribes in Chhattisgarh which is well within the general trend found at an all India level. Secondly, when we make a comparison between non-professional and professional courses at under-graduate as well as post graduate levels in terms of enrollment of scheduled tribes, it is found that their representation in professional courses is very poor. Moreover, the minor representation of scheduled tribe students in professional courses diminishes their job opportunities, because professional courses provide a better chance for getting a good job and attaining a higher socio-economic status.

3.3.2 Socio-Economic Constraints

Socio-economic conditions of the family have an impact on the educability of children. As the tribal society in India is no longer homogenous, the spread of education has not been even among different strata. It is found that the children from the upper socio-economic status groups have been utilising the available educational opportunities more
than the middle and lower socio-economic status groups, for instance, the children of
the upper strata of the Gond society of Chhattisgarh Gonds farmers: big patels, 

zamindars and other well-to-do Gonds have been able to go to schools and got benefited
from the facilities like scholarships, hostel accommodation made available to them by
the government (Christopher and Haimendorf, 1985: 45).

In a tribal society that is economically backward, the size of the family also has an
impact on the educability of the children. This factor becomes crucial at the secondary
level of education. It does not matter at the primary level, as children are yet not fully
grown up to assist parents in agricultural work. So it’s not difficult for children to be
spared for the few hours that they need to be in school. But when the child enters
secondary school, it becomes problematic for parents to spare grown up children for
schools who can assist them in agricultural work. It is here that size of the family
becomes a determining factor in the educability of children. It has been seen that those
educated among Gonds tend to come from comparatively large sized families. Another
factor which has been constraining the spread of education among the tribe is the very
traditional and regressive attitudes of parents towards the education of the girl child.

3.3.3 Socio-cultural and Political Context of Tribal Communities

According to the census 2001, the population of ST in the country is 8.43 crore,
(84,326,240) constituting 8.2 per cent of the total population of the country. Out of this,
males are 4.26 crores and females 4.17 crores, accounting for 8.01 per cent and 8.40 per
cent of the total population of respective groups. The ST population varies among the
states. The main concentration of the tribal population is in Central India and in the
North-Eastern States. Nine states (Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Gujarat, 
Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal) account for
about four-fifths of the total tribal population of the country, but the tribal percentages
of these states’ population vary from about 5.5 to 31.8 per cent. On the other hand,
several smaller states, notably in the northeast of the country, have much higher
percentages (ranging from 64 to 95 per cent) but account for a small proportion of
tribals in the country as a whole (Development of Backward Areas, Report - 2001).

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There are 698 tribes (with many overlapping communities in more than one State) as notified under Article 342 of the Constitution of India, spread over different states and Union Territories of the country. Each one of the tribes is associated with a specific geographic area, some more dispersed than other. Most have their own language, which is generally different from the 'mainstream' language of the state in which they live. While some tribal communities have adopted a mainstream way of life, at one end of the spectrum are 75 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), who are characterized by:

- A pre-agriculture level of technology;
- A stagnant or declining population;
- Extremely low literacy; and
- A subsistence level of economy

Tribal people tend to live in two main types of situations: in 'mixed' (tribal and non-tribal) rural communities, within the reach of educational and other opportunities and resources, and in habitations that are small in size and located in relatively inaccessible hilly or forested areas of the country. Majority of these habitations have less than 200 people. The distribution of tribal people in these two types of settlement varies markedly by state, district, and even block, calling for different strategies to be used in different areas to provide elementary education to tribal children. Demographically, tribal habitations are small in size, scattered, and are sparsely populated. Because of this, most of these villages were bereft of basic infrastructural facilities like transport and communication. Formal education was also not available to these people and localities for a long time (Venkatesan, 1996: 17-32).

The literacy rate for the ST communities was only 29.6 per cent in 1991 as against the national average of 52.19 per cent. In 2001 this has improved to 47.1 per cent with female literacy improving from 18.2 to 34.8 (Census 2001). According to Census 2001, there were 12.56 million ST children aged 6-10, and 7.68 million ST children aged 11-14 years in March 2001 (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Report - 2001).
3.3.4 Policy Framework

The 86th constitutional amendment (2000) has made education a fundamental right, calling for the state to provide free and compulsory education to all children between 6 and 14 years. At the same time, Article 51 of the Constitution was amended to enjoin parents and guardians to provide education to their 6-14 year old children. Recognizing that STs count among the most deprived and marginalised sections of Indian society, a host of welfare and developmental measures have been initiated for their social and economic development. The tribal sub-plan approach came into existence as the main strategy for the welfare and development in the 5-Year Plans. Along with core economic sectors, elementary education has been accorded a priority in the tribal sub-plan approach. Elementary education is considered important, not only because of constitutional obligation, but as a crucial input for total development of tribal communities, particularly to build confidence among the tribes to deal with outsiders on equal terms (Tribal Development Plan, Government of Chhattisgarh: 2003).

A second important development in the policy towards education of tribes came with recommendations of the National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1986, which specified, among other things, the following:

- Priority will be accorded to opening primary schools in tribal areas,
- There is a need to develop curriculum and devise instructional material in tribal language at the initial stages with arrangements for gradually adopting to regional languages,
- Promising ST youths will be encouraged to take up teaching in tribal areas,
- Ashram schools/residential schools will be established on a large scale in tribal areas,
- Incentives schemes will be formulated for the STs, keeping in view their special needs and lifestyle
3.3.5 School System Constraints

The educational expansion also depends upon the internal structure of the school system. The gap which exists between the tribal social system and school affects the education adversely, particularly when the latter is not adapted to the local surroundings. The important educational lags which are having a direct bearing on the expansion of education in tribal areas are as follows (Tribal Development Plan, Government of Chhattisgarh: 2003).

It is the fact that unfavorable geographical conditions and low socio-economic level of the families act as constraints. Given this fact, even if the school does not evolve suitable mechanisms to retain the children, the wastage would be further accelerated. Thus in the schools in the tribal areas of Chhattisgarh, the rate of drop-out was very high. Impact of education among Gonds in Chhattisgarh is that few children attended school after 5th standard as compared to 4.9 per cent tribal students up to 5th standard.

- The medium of instruction, contact of education and background of teachers also affect the educability of the children. One of the major problems which tribal education faces is that they are not taught through their mother tongue. Thus, it becomes extremely difficult for the tribal students who are studying at the primary level to learn the regional language and simultaneously understand the lessons which are taught in the class through regional language.

- The contents of education are also not related to the tribe's socio-economic and cultural life and thus it is quite alien to them. That is why contents of books do not make any significant impact on the tribal students and the lessons become insipid for the students residing in different ecological conditions, having different economy and socio-cultural history of their own.

3.3.6 Education and Occupational Mobility

The structure of tribal economy in Chhattisgarh is predominantly agricultural which is operated with primitive tools and implements. As the agricultural industry of tribal Chhattisgarh is backward, they find it in the form of agricultural labour, forest labour,
road, and railway construction workers. There are other avenues of occupation such as manufacturing industries other than household, construction, trade and commerce, transport and storage and other activities taken together engage less than 10 per cent of the workers (Government of India, 1991-2001).

The poor involvement of tribal workers in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy denotes the backwardness of the tribal economy on the one hand and the insignificant role of modern methods of occupation in their economic life on the other.

The tribal areas of Chhattisgarh have been industrially very backward in the past. It was only during the last three or four decades that a number of heavy industries have come up. But the tribal families could hardly get any substantial economic advantage from the growth of heavy industries. By now, the hope of planners and administrators that the industrialisation of the tribal areas would help in improving the socio-economic status of the tribal community had belied to a large extent. Instead of improving their lot, the major industrial projects located in tribal areas of Chhattisgarh, have uprooted them from their houses (Bhargava, 2005: 85-87).

These industrial projects have failed to provide employment opportunities to all those who were uprooted. For instance, the large scale acquisition of land for Bhilai steel plant, Korba Thermal Power Station uprooted the tribal living in those areas as many of them who have not been rehabilitated on land, have gone for manual labour on construction sites (Kumar, 2001: 7-8).

This generated a new outlook to life, dominated by apprehension about employment after the completion of construction work. Moreover, the attitude of the project developers/public sector administration had been negative towards the tribals in terms of absorbing them in various industries.

They think that their responsibility to the tribals ended with the payment of the compensation for the acquisition of their land. It is true that their rehabilitation poses serious problems for the administration, which may divert the attention and resources of the project/public sector management from their own development.
However, some training programmes can be conducted for the uprooted tribals so that majority of them could be absorbed as skilled and semi-skilled workers in that industry. In this contest, we can also cite case studies from tribal Jharkhand. By and large, the modern industrialisation programmes in Chotanagpur have failed to improve the lot of the tribal people of the region. They have not been provided with skilled jobs in industrial establishments due to lack of requisite trainings and skills. Despite the great sacrifice which they had to make in terms of their means of subsistence and house for the industrial development, in turn, they neither got employment in the industries nor were some other alternative employment opportunities created for them. Hence, industrial development instead of improving the lot of the tribal people, led to deterioration in the employment condition of the tribal’s of Chotanagpur (Mann, 1996: 17-38).

The industrialization and accompanying regional socio-economic prosperity is not necessarily synonymous with tribal areas people. On the other hand, the industrial development has widened the gap between the mass of poor tribal’s and microscopic minority of elite on the one hand and affluent tribal’s and non-tribal’s on the other. It has been already referred to-the occupational mobility as the movement of individuals, families or groups from one occupation to another. We have followed this definition of occupational mobility for our purpose. We consider the phenomena of occupational mobility as a shift of tribal working force from traditional agricultural and allied occupations to modern occupations. In a particular society, people’s occupational mobility may be considered alone as the important indicator of their changing socio-economic structure. Occupational mobility is associated with income level, social status and personal satisfaction (Venkatesan, 1996: 23-34).

The change in the occupational structure of the scheduled tribes of Chhattisgarh during 1981-1991 indicates a positive transformation, there is fall of more than 2.4 per cent in the proportion of primary workers, on the one hand, whereas the percentage of secondary and tertiary workers have increased by 1.82 and 0.62 per cent, respectively on the other (Census of India: 1981,1991).

It is noteworthy that each category of secondary sector as well as mobility of scheduled tribes of Chhattisgarh during the period 1981-91. One of the plausible reasons for this
can be assigned to the relatively slow rate of industrialization of the tribal belts of Chhattisgarh unlike the tribal belts of Jharkhand.

Table: 3.3 Change in Occupational Structure of Scheduled Tribes workers in Chhattisgarh (including Madhya Pradesh)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Per cent of Workers 1981</th>
<th>Per cent of Workers 1991</th>
<th>Per cent Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultivators</td>
<td>62.18</td>
<td>60.83</td>
<td>-1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural laborers, livestock, Forestry</td>
<td>33.25</td>
<td>31.45</td>
<td>-1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting and allied activities</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Sector</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>94.5</td>
<td>-2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Industry</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other than household Industry</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Sector</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>1.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade and Commerce</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, Storage and Communication</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Services</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary Sector</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1981 and 1991
The job aspiration of the educated tribes gives an indication of the employment opportunities that are aspired for. Tribal students have high job aspirations and a majority of them have expressed a desire to seek new employment opportunities rather than continue with traditional occupations. In a study on students of Chhattisgarh, it was found that 83 per cent of school students and 92 per cent of college students did not want to enter traditional occupations (Venkatesan, 1996: 19-27).

A majority of tribal students, who wish to move away from traditional occupations, aspire for government services. For instance, 86 per cent of tribal school students and 63 per cent of college students have their first preference for government services. On the other hand, while 5 per cent of school students and 27 per cent of college students have their first preference for the private sector, only 9 per cent of school students and 30 per cent of college students have their first preference for self employment (Sachchidananda, 1974: 67).

The high aspiration for government services may be due to the fact that many tribal areas have only government jobs available. Besides, the constitution of India also provides some safeguards regarding their employment. In sociological parlance, these constitutional provisions which give the scheduled tribes some privileges with regard to their educational employment problems, are known as ‘positive discrimination’. Article 16 (4) provides for "reservation in appointment in favor of the backward class citizens who, in the opinion of the state, are adequately represented in the service" (Beteille Andre, 1970: 36). Article 335 stipulates that “the claims of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration while making appointments in the services, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency in administration” (Harit, 1996: 39-48).

In the services and posts under the control of the Union Government, 5 per cent vacancies were reserved for the members of scheduled tribes with regard to direct recruitment. Recently this has been raised from 5 per cent to 7 per cent (Government of India, MHRD Report - 2005).
3.4 Representation of STs, SCs and OBCs in Government Services

There are three educational trends that affect the occupational opportunities of Scheduled Tribes and their upward mobility. Firstly, it is the decreasing representation of tribal students at successively higher levels of education. Secondly, they cluster in and around liberal science degrees. And thirdly, that they get education in less prestigious institutions and perform poorly in examinations. Hence, their representation in prestigious and highly paid jobs is relatively poorer. Class I and Class II services usually require a relatively higher level of education; graduation degree as minimum. The minimum educational qualifications required for the class III jobs are lower. And the minimum educational qualifications required for the class IV services are the lowest (Government of India, Circular -2005).

If good education leads to occupational mobility, the number of educated tribals will increase in educational institutions and government services. If factors other than education play a prominent role in the employment of the scheduled tribes, than an increase in the number of educated tribes would not necessarily result in a proportionate increase in the number of those employed in services, particularly those that require certain minimum educational qualifications. There should also be some trend towards reaching parity with the non-tribals in terms of a proportionate representation of educated tribes in the various categories of jobs according to their representation in the total population.

Representation of SCs and STs in services has increased substantially during the last five decades. At the dawn of independence, representation of SCs/STs in services was very low. As per available information, representation of SCs in Groups A, B, C and D as in 1965 was 1.64 per cent, 2.820/0, 8.88 per cent and 17.75 per cent respectively which has increased to 11.9 per cent, 13.7 per cent, 16.4 per cent and 18.3 per cent respectively as in 2005. Likewise, representation of STs as in 1965 in Group A, B, C and D was 0.270/0, 0.34 per cent, 1.140/0 and 3.39 per cent respectively, which has increased to 4.3 per cent, 4.5 per cent, 6.5 per cent and 6.9 per cent respectively as in 2005. Total representation of SCs and STs was 3.17 per cent and 2.25 per cent.
respectively in 1965, which has increased 16.63 per cent and 6.43 per cent respectively in 2005.

**Table- 3.4 Group-wise Representation of SCs/STs (per cent)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>As on 1st January</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th>Group C</th>
<th>Group D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SCs</td>
<td>STs</td>
<td>SCs</td>
<td>STs</td>
<td>SCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>8.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>9.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>4.98</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>10.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>8.54</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>13.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>14.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>8.64</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>11.29</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>15.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>10.15</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>12.67</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>16.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*2004</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**2005</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* It does not include information in respect of one Ministry.

** It does not include information in respect of two Ministries.

*** Information given above is after excluding the safaikaramcharis.

Source: Reservation for STs/SCs and OBCs, Government of India, 2005
3.4.1 Reservation in Promotion

Reservation has been given in promotion by non-selection method to SCs and the STs in all groups of posts at the rate of 15 per cent and 7.5 per cent respectively. In case of promotion by selection, SCs and STs get reservation up to the lowest rung of Group 'A' at the same rates. There is no reservation when promotions by selection are made from a Group 'A' post to another Group 'A' post. However, when promotions by selection are made from a Group 'A' posts to another Group 'A' post carrying an ultimate salary of Rs. 18,300/- or less, the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe officers who are senior enough in the zone of consideration for promotion so as to be within the number of vacancies for which the select list is to be drawn up, are included in that list provided they are not considered unfit for promotion (Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Report -2001).

3.4.2 Special Recruitment Drives for SCs, STs and OBCs

In order to fill up the backlog vacancies reserved for SCs/STs, Special Recruitment Drives were conducted in 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1995 and 1996. Such drives could not be continued in view of the Supreme Court judgment in Indra Sawhney's case according to which number of vacancies filled by reservation in a year, including backlog reserved vacancies could not exceed 50 per cent of the total vacancies. However, the 81st Constitutional Amendment, a fresh Special Recruitment Drive for SCs, STs and OBCs has been launched to fill up the backlog reserved vacancies of these categories. Made in the year 2000 has enabled the government to launch special recruitment drive. A Special Recruitment Drive was launched in August 2004 for filling up the backlog reserved vacancies of SCs and STs in direct recruitment quota as well as promotion quota (Government of Chhattisgarh, 2004).

It is shown that the scheduled tribes are poorly represented in the various categories of Central government services. This is more so in the case of Class I and Class II which have a relatively higher socio-economic status when compared to class III and class IV services. In 1971 as well as in 1981, the percentage of tribals in Central government
services tends to increase as we move from class I to class IV jobs. However, in none of the categories of jobs, reserved quotas have been filled by the Scheduled Tribes. If we make a comparison of the two years, it further indicates that there has been no substantial increase in the employment of scheduled tribes in the various categories of jobs, during this period.

The Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (1965-66) points out that in view of the special efforts made by the government to promote education from primary to post-metric level there should be no shortage of candidates for non-technical posts. Even filling up of semi technical posts should not be difficult because seats are reserved for scheduled tribes in most technical institutions. However, in reality, the picture is different. It has been observed that when a post requiring technical qualifications is to be filled up, recruiting authorities as well as the employment exchanges often say that suitable scheduled tribe candidates with the required qualifications are not available (Chakraborti and Mukherjee, 1977: 58).

In Chhattisgarh, 18 per cent of vacancies in class I and II post and 20 per cent in Class III and class IV posts are reserved for members of Scheduled Tribes. However, the actual representation of Scheduled Tribes has been very low in all classes of posts. The following table shows the actual representation of Scheduled Tribe’s employees in various categories of services under the government of Chhattisgarh.

Besides, in none of the categories of jobs, reserved quotas have been filled by the scheduled tribe candidates. In this context, the Dhebar Commission has recommended that efforts should be made to absorb all the candidates having the required qualifications (Mann, 1996: 19-37).

The commissioner for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes has also recommended the setting up of special employment cells which would help in enforcing the policy of reservations for the tribals in the various categories of services (Reservation for STs/SCs and OBCs, Government of India, Circular- 2005).
3.4.3 Occupational Change and Mobility

The Gond, Abhuj Maria, Bhatra, Halbaa, Dhurva, Muria and BisonHom Maria are major tribes of Bastar in Chhattisgarh. At present, the Gond, Abhuj Maria, Bhatra, Halbaa, Dhurva, Muria and BisonHom Maria are basically an agricultural people, although they were hunters in the past. The poor condition of soil, small holdings of land and underdeveloped methods of agriculture have made cultivation alone, inadequate for subsistence throughout the year. Hence, they are forced to seek other subsidiary outraces of income. Such income comes from manual labour and agricultural labour.

In Chhattisgarh, tribal people are primarily agriculturists, although the labour economy has also made its appearance in this region. As forests are decreasing, many tribal workers have been forced to change the occupations and have now become labourers in railways and road construction. They migrated during April to May to September to October in search of manual labour in railway and road construction – particularly in a region around Nagda and Juuain and some adjoining parts of Gujarat and other states. It appears that the economy of tribal in this region is considerably dependent on labour economy. Thus it is found that the economy of the Gonds has shifted slowly from an agriculture and hunting economy to labour economy (Kamble, 1983: 123).

Majority of the Gonds also are cultivators. Their traditional system of cultivation (shifting cultivation) is known as Dhurva and Halbba in Chhattisgarh. Nowadays though plough cultivation is widely practiced, shifting cultivation is carried out in hill areas. A large section of Gonds is engaged in agriculture, on roads and in forests. The subsistence economy of Gonds is cultivation which is often supplemented by hunting, fishing and collecting. The Dhurva and the Gonds in terms of their occupations, we have come to the conclusion that majority of the working force form both the tribes are absorbed in the primary sector of the economy. Moreover, it also proves the assumption that the tribal occupation is not only determined by education but also factors other than education play their role (Christopher and Haimendorf, 1985: 97).
The shift of tribal people from the traditional occupations to modern occupations, which require certain minimum educational qualifications, is generally taken as an indication of occupational mobility. This can be shown through the presentation of data on change in occupational structure of the scheduled tribe workers in Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh during the period 1991-2001. The linkage of education occupational mobility can be shown by establishing the relationship between the literacy rate and the change in occupational patterns of scheduled tribes in both the states.

However, if one takes a look at the occupational pattern of Scheduled Tribes of both the states it gives more or less the same picture. This implies that the linkage between education and occupational mobility is not very strong. Further it is an indication of important influence of other factors than education on the pattern of occupational mobility (Mann, 1996: 17-21).

The change in the occupational structure of the predominantly tribal districts of Chhattisgarh during 1991-2001, indicated, a positive transformation; there was a fall of more than 1.13 per cent in Bastar and 0.53 per cent in Sarguja in the proportion of primary workers on the one hand, whereas the percentage of secondary and tertiary workers have increase by 0.59 per cent and 0.49 per cent in Bastar and 0.49 per cent and 0.06 per cent in Sarguja, respectively.

The detail of change in occupational structure of different categories of both districts are given in table IV and V. It is true that most of the categories of secondary as well as tertiary sector have recorded an increase in both the districts in 2001 as compared to 1991. However, the increase is only nominal. Thus it can be inferred from Table IV and V that the occupational pattern of scheduled tribes in Baster and Sarguja is not very different from the occupational pattern of the scheduled tribes of Chhattisgarh as a whole.
Table 3.5 Change in Occupational Pattern of the Scheduled Tribes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation per cent of workers</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>Per cent Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultivators</td>
<td>78.33</td>
<td>80.41</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural labourers, livestock, Forestry</td>
<td>18.87</td>
<td>15.54</td>
<td>-3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting and allied activities</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Sector</td>
<td>97.91</td>
<td>96.78</td>
<td>-1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Industry</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other than household Industry</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Sector</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade and Commerce</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, Storage and Communication</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Services</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary Sector</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1981 and 1991

Hence, the tribal economy is a uni-sectoral economy. In order to accelerate the economic development of the tribal areas it has to be diversified. The scheduled areas the secondary sector needs greater and specific attention along with the primary sector to bring about sustained growth of the tribal economy. If we are really interested in relieving the pressure on land in the tribal areas, and providing gainful employment to the surplus, then the one way out is development of the non agricultural sector. The Chhattisgarh state of tribal economy cannot be attributed to the sheer negligence of a particular trade or activity, but is the result of the cumulative effect of all depressed
activities. The remedy of the problems lies in all round development by exploiting local resources, introducing new trade and technique, suitable to their culture and traditions.

Job aspirations of educated tribes have been very high. There have been the constitutional provisions regarding job reservations for the Scheduled Tribes in all categories of government services. Even so, the representation of the scheduled tribes is very poor, particularly in the services having higher socio-economic status. Thus it can be said that mere educational growth is not a sufficient condition for occupational mobility. There is a need to study other factors besides educational qualifications, if we want to have a true picture of the problem of occupational mobility of the tribal people.

The need of tribal people is modest and could be easily satisfied within the traditional patterns of economy. Primitive type of agriculture is the main source of livelihood for most of the tribes in Chhattisgarh. The benefit of it is the wide prevalence of shifting cultivation. In spite of restrictions imposed by the state government, panda (local name for shifting cultivation) continues to be practiced in many forest ranges of Surguja, Bilaspur, Baster and Durg. The irrigation facilities are scanty. However, tribal areas of Chhattisgarh are rich in mineral resources, power sources and human potential. Raw materials for some agriculture based and most forest based industries abound in tribal areas (Qazi, 2007: 163-164).

3.5 Avenues of Employment

Broadly speaking, tribes have offered themselves in three kinds of jobs:

i) Agricultural labour
ii) Forest labour
iii) Mining and Quarrying.

Apart from a handful of independent agriculturists, a large portion of tribes work as farm labourers, particularly during the busy sowing and harvesting season. Forest department also employs labour for marking of trees in the forests. Besides, contractors
employ tribes as labour for felling the trees, to cut them into logs and transport them to the depots. Tribes are also employed as unskilled laborers for road construction works.

3.5.1 Participation in Non-agricultural Activities

Participation rates of non-agricultural scheduled tribe workers in rural areas are comparatively lower than those for the scheduled caste and residual population. This may be due to their different background. Scheduled Castes have mostly been living apart from the other sections of people, and scheduled tribes lead a life of isolation. Hence, the main source of livelihood of Scheduled Tribes had been either primitive type of farming, or working as agricultural laborers. Participation rates in non-agricultural professions of STs continue to be modest. Scheduled Tribes had highest participation rates of non-agricultural workers in the following districts (Singh, 1984: 15-16).

3.5.2 Urban Non-agricultural Participation

However, participation rates of Scheduled Tribe non-agricultural workers in urban areas are highly significant and need to be studied minutely. Following districts had a very high (above 60 per cent) participation rate of scheduled tribes (male and female) non agricultural workers: reasons of very high participation rates of non agricultural workers in urban areas can be accounted to large number of tribes seeking jobs in services sector. Non agricultural participation rates of scheduled tribes female workers in urban areas is high (above 30 per cent) in Raipur, Durg and it is less than 20 per cent in Surguja. The reasons are quite obvious (Singh, 1984: 18).

3.5.3 Occupational Distribution of STs by Industrial Classification

Extend and type of participation in the economic activity by a particular class can also be investigated by studying the distribution of workers in various occupations. With this end in view, an attempt has been made to study the percentage of workers in rural and urban areas in each of the nine categories of industrial classification of the basis of 2001 census data.
On the basis of 1991 census data, 52.3 per cent of the Chhattisgarh (including Madhya Pradesh) population was categorized as workers. This was higher than the all India proportion of 42.98 per cent. There have been considerable decrease in these proportion as unfolded by 1971 census data. However, this decline is mainly due to definitional change.

In contrast to rural areas of the districts, Scheduled Tribe workers representing other services in urban areas have been found out to be in large strength. Another feature observed is that in Surguja, Bilaspur and Durg districts, Scheduled Tribes female workers in other services have outstripped the male workers proportion.

Scheduled tribes have relatively high participation rates and thus dependency rate is also low. This is also indicative of the fact that Scheduled Tribes have meager resources and cannot afford to have too many dependents. Thus, participation in gainful activity among tribal people practically begins with the onset of adolescence (Development of Backward Arias, Annual Report- 2001).

3.6 Challenges to Reservation in Chhattisgarh

There are enormous challenges that persist in the state. The government policies, though created for the deprived sections of Chhattisgarh, however, are not in the reach of the needy, neither do they impact them. There are many constraints that have been highlighted below.

3.6.1 Low Literacy Rates among STs and SCs

Extent of literacy among the STs and STs is a significant aspect which needs to be studies so as to comprehend their problems in a proper perspective. As it is well known, a large majority of tribal population is illiterate and it is the main factor of their backwardness. They continue to hold fast their traditional outlook and tribal 'way to life' which inhabit abounding of traditionally and amenability to modernization.
Most of the tribes live in uplands or forests and even proper communication with them is impossible in certain periods of the year. Whatever level of literacy exists among them can reasonably be accounted to those (per cent), which put up in the urban areas. Therefore, analysis of literacy among scheduled tribes/scheduled castes pertains to their urban population in these districts.

Before investigating literacy among Scheduled Tribes/Scheduled Castes, an idea of the overall position of literacy in urban areas of the country and state is essential, against the literacy rate of 72 per cent in urban areas of India. Chhattisgarh represents 49.55 per cent literacy among its urban population. In 1991-2001, all India and Chhattisgarh percentage of literacy in urban areas were 46.97 per cent and 43.5 per cent respectively (Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, 2001).

Reservation policy was started in India with high objectives. This policy is very prominently important in a new tribal state like Chhattisgarh. The 'Chhattisgarh state' that provided the data on its university students is unspecified; but it clearly had SCs/STs reservation for its state colleges in 2005. In the state-year study, a total of 2,643 seats were available, with 2,054 seats open to the reservations policy; the remainder were payment seats not covered by the policy. The quotas were determined by the distribution of castes in the state: there was a 15 per cent reservation for the Scheduled Castes, an 18 per cent reservation for the Scheduled Tribes, and a 14 percent reservation for the Other Backward Castes (Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Report - 2001).

- Reservation for scheduled caste and scheduled tribes are 15 per cent and 18 per cent respectively. In case of vacant position the reservation is changeable among them.
- For other backward classes (except creamy layer) 14 per cent seats are reserved
- For son of freedom fighter and their son/ handicapped candidates 3 per cent aggregative seats are reserved
- For female candidates, 30 per cent of seats are reserved
As part of their effort to implement the Constitution, both state and central governments create specific schemes for implementation in tribal areas or in areas that have a high Dalit population. For example, the government provides for free or subsidised hostels for students of SCs and Adivasi communities so that they can avail of education facilities that may not be available in their localities (Mahapatra, 1996: 67-82).

In addition to providing certain facilities, the government also operates through laws to ensure that concrete steps are taken to end inequity in the system. One such law/policy is the reservation policy that today is both significant and highly contentious. The laws which reserve seats in education and government employment for SCs and Adivasis are based on an important argument: that in a society like ours, where for centuries sections of the population have been denied opportunities to learn and to work in order to develop new skills or vocations, a democratic government needs to step in and assist these sections (Bhargava, 2005: 85-87)

Governments across India have its own list of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes. The central government too has its list. Students applying to educational institutions and those applying for posts in the government are expected to furnish proof of their caste or tribe status, in the form of caste and tribe certificates. (Many government and educational institutions also ask for candidates to mention their caste/tribe status.) If either ST and SC or a certain tribe is on the government list, then a candidate from that caste or tribe can avail of the benefit of reservation. For admission to colleges, especially to institutes of professional education, such as medical colleges, governments define a set of ‘cut-off’ marks. This means that not all STs can qualify for admission, but only those who have done reasonably well and secured marks above the cut-off point. Chhattisgarh governments also offer special scholarships for these students (Harit, 1996: 39-45).

An independent study All India Survey of out of school children in the 6-13 years age group commissioned by Government of India in 2005 estimated the ST child population as 17.37 million, of this 1.66 million were out of school. Thus, the continued focus of SSA will be to bring in these remaining 1.66 million children in school and ensure that
they complete 8 years of education. The decreasing trends in children being out of school, indicates that it will not be difficult to narrow these gaps. The still persisting high drop out rates gap between overall and ST children (13 percent points) remain an issue of concern. Reduction of this gap remains a key focus area in.

The two main challenges in Chhattisgarh are education of tribal children, physical access to schooling at upper primary level, and diverse socio-cultural context. In 2001, there were 14 million tribal children enrolled in elementary school as against 20.24 million in the 6-14 years age group. Thus 6.24 million were still out of in 2001. The cohort drop out rates among tribal children was as high as 52.3 per cent for primary and 69.5 per cent for upper primary. For 20 per cent of the habitations at the primary stage and 33 per cent at the upper primary stage, access was still an issue in 2002.

Other challenges that need to be addressed are the high incidence of poverty in tribal areas, political marginalization, limited employment opportunities, social discrimination and human rights violations.

3.7 Tribal Development Programmes in Chhattisgarh

Among the social groups in India, STs have the highest proportion of the poor. While they account for only 8 per cent of the total population, they comprise 40 per cent of the displaced population. The Government of India has allocated significant amount of resources for tribal development, but the impact has been rather limited. The approach adopted has been more welfare oriented, and there has been less empowerment.

Chhattisgarh Tribal Development Programme

International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), a specialised agency of the United Nations, established mainly for assisting the developing countries in poverty alleviations has formulated an innovative ‘Jharkhand-Chhattisgarh Tribal Development Programme’ after in-depth study and discussion at various levels. This programme covers Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand, states with the highest proportion of tribal population in India. The target groups consist of all households in the hamlets,
habitations or villages in selected micro-watersheds in which the tribal, primitive tribal
groups (PTG) and scheduled caste population form not less than 50 per cent of the total
population and where most of the households live below the poverty line. Tribal and
non-tribal populations would both be part of the target group, but the tribal population
would represent the largest share. The programme would focus on the poorest and most
vulnerable including tribal women, youth and children, PTGs, hill cultivators,
scheduled castes, and landless, marginal and small farmers (Government of India,
2005).

3.7.1 Objectives

To develop and implement a replicable model that ensures household food security and
improves livelihood opportunities and overall quality of life of the tribal population
based on sustainable and equitable use of natural resources.

- Empower the grassroots tribal associations and users' groups including women
  and other marginal groups, so that they would become more capable of
  planning, implementing and managing their own development and in negotiating
  with relevant authorities to harness the necessary resources,
- Promote activities, which generate sustainable increase in production and
  productivity of land and water resources,
- Generate alternate sources of income outside of agriculture, particularly for the
  landless. Intervention in livelihoods improvement primarily through a watershed
  development based approach, incorporating elements of integrated agricultural
  development, livestock, dairy, fisheries and horticulture, as well as forestry
  based activities; and put strong focus on development of women and primitive
  tribal groups within the overall target group.

This programme would be implemented in two phases: (i) a pilot phase of about 3
years, covering about 120 villages in Chhattisgarh and (ii) a scaling up phase of
about 5 years, which will enhance the total coverage to 650 villages. The scope of
the scaling up phase would depend on the result of a mid-term review (MTR) and
progress made against agreed key milestones (Government of Chhattisgarh, 2005)

3.7.2 Implementation Strategy

Basic principles: Flexibility and responsiveness to demands of community.

The programme focuses on:

- Providing the concerned communities with the means of local decision-making and planning, in order to ensure that activities are responsive to the tribal’s perceptions of needs and priorities.
- Making communities more responsible for the management of their development in order to generate a greater sense of ownership of development interventions.
- Building of the indigenous wisdom, knowledge, capabilities and traditional values of these communities.
- Provide a choice of livelihood interventions in the farm and off-farm sectors to the community once it reaches a basic level of mobilisation and is ready for collective action.
- Provide strong facilitation through the project management unit (PMU) for linking the community on the one hand and resource and technical institutions, services, credit and other inputs on the other.

Programme Components

The programme has three main components:

1. Beneficiary empowerment and technical capacity building
2. Livelihood Systems Enhancement
   a. Land and Water management
   b. Production System Enhancement
      i. Community based Forest Management
ii. Livestock Production Improvement

iii. Aquaculture Promotion

iv. Rural Micro-finance

c. Nutrition and Health

3. Programme management and implementation

3.7.3 Programme Implementation

A Gram Sabha will be formed in every selected natural village, which in turn will form the project implementation committee (PIC) for preparation of plan for development activities in the village. The Gram Sabha will also form other technical committees like Watershed Committee, Community based Forest Management Committee, Village Credit Committee, etc for assisting in the implementation. Technical guidance and other assistance to these committees will be provided by the Line Departments, facilitating NGOs, etc. Thus, the tribal community through Gram Sabha would assess their development needs and plan and implement appropriate development activities (Panchayat and Rural Development Chhattisgarh, Report -2006).

The Tribal Development Society (TDS), Bilaspur, established as an autonomous institution under Chhattisgarh Registration Act, 1973 is responsible for the implementation of the project. The society has a Board of Directors with Secretary, Tribal Welfare Department, Raipur as its chairman. It has established District Programme Implementation Units (DPIUs) at Ambikapur and Patthalgaon. The District Programme Coordination Committee (DPCC) with Collector as its Chairman, will review and guide implementation at the district level. The State Level Co-ordination Committee (Empowered Committee) constituted with Chief Secretary, Govt of Chhattisgarh as it’s Chairman, would monitor the implementation and provide policy guidance.

The TDS would prepare its Annual Work Plan and Budget (AWPB) based on the Gram Sabha Resource Management Plan (GSRMP) etc. The state Govt would
provide funds to the TDS on the basis of AWPB for implementation of the
programme. IFAD funds would be released to the TDS by the government of India
through the government of Chhattisgarh. The TDS would provide funds to the
DPIUs based on the AWPB, which would further transfer these to PICs of Gram
Sabhas of the programme villages (Government of Chhattisgarh, 2006)

3.7.4 Programme Area

The programme would cover 270,000 rural poor people in selected blocks in three
districts in Chhattisgarh, Jashpur, Raigarh and Sarguja and equal number of districts
Nine and eight blocks respectively in Chhattisgarh have been identified for initiating
programme activities in the first three years. The target groups would comprise all
households in the selected villages, i.e. villages with tribal, Primitive Tribal Groups and
scheduled caste population of not less than 50 per cent of the total population where the
majority of the households live below the poverty line.

The programme is designed on the three main programme components – beneficiary
empowerment and capacity building, livelihood systems enhancement, and programme
management and implementation. The following are the sub-components within the
overall project design.

1. Planning and management capacity strengthening of villagers
2. Technical capacity building.
3. Land and water management.
4. Community based forest management.
5. Production system enhancement.
6. Health and nutrition services
7. Tribal development societies
8. District project implementation units. NGO support

A gradual and phased approach would be adopted to allow satisfactory empowerment of
Gram Sabhas and for building up grassroot institutions. Therefore, the programme
would be carried out in two phases – a pilot phase and a scaling up phase with a
reassessment and evaluation at the end of pilot phase and three years after the upscaling phase.

3.7.5 National Commission for Scheduled Tribes

On the 89th Amendment of the Constitution coming into force on 19 February 2004, the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes has been set up under Article 338(A) on the bifurcation of the erstwhile National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to oversee the implementation of various safeguards provided to Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution. The Commission comprises a Chairperson, a Vice-Chairperson and three full time Members (including one lady Member). The term of all the Members of the Commission is three years from the date of assumption of charge:

Functions

Constitution of India under Article 338(A) has assigned the following duties and functions to the Commission:

- To investigate and monitor all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution or under any other law for the time being in force or under any order of the Government and to evaluate the working of such safeguards;
- To inquire into specific complaints with respect to the deprivation of rights and safeguards of the Scheduled Tribes;
- To participate and advise in the planning process of socio-economic development of the Scheduled Tribes and to evaluate the progress of their development under the Union and any State;
- To present to the President, annually and at such other times as the Commission may deem fit, reports upon the working of those safeguards;
- To make in such reports, recommendations as to the measures that should be taken by the Union or any State for effective implementation of those safeguards;
and other measures for the protection, welfare and socio-economic development of the Scheduled Tribes, and

- To discharge such other functions in relation to the protection, welfare and development and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes as the President may, subject to the provisions of any law made by Parliament, by rule specify.

The Commission shall discharge the following other functions in relation to the protection, welfare and development and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes, namely:

Measures that need to be taken over conferring ownership rights in respect of minor forest produce;

- Measures to be taken to safeguard rights of the tribal communities over mineral resources, water resources, etc. as per law;
- Measures to be taken for the development of tribals and to work for more viable livelihood strategies;
- Measures to be taken to improve the efficacy of relief and rehabilitation measures for tribal groups displaced by development projects;
- Measures to be taken to prevent alienation of tribal people from land and to effectively rehabilitate such people in whose case alienation has already taken place;
- Measures to be taken to elicit maximum cooperation and involvement of tribal communities for protecting forests and undertaking social afforestation;
- Measures to be taken to ensure full implementation of the Provisions of Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (40 of 1996);
- Measures to be taken to reduce and ultimately eliminate the practice of shifting cultivation by tribals that lead to their continuous disempowerment and degradation of land and the environment.
Powers

While investigating the matters referred to in sub-clause (a) to inquire into any complaint referred to in sub-clause (b) of clause 5, the Commission have all the powers of a Civil Court trying a suit and in particular in respect of the following matters:

- Summoning and enforcing the attendance of any person from any part of India and examining him on oath.
- Requiring the discovery and production of any documents.
- Receiving evidence on affidavits.
- Requisitioning any public record or copy thereof from any court or office.
- Issuing summons/communications for the examination of witnesses and documents.
- Any other matter that President of India may by rule determine.

3.7.6 Consultation

In accordance with clause 9 of Article 338A of the Constitution, Union and every State Government shall consult the Commission on all major policy matters affecting Scheduled Tribes. (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2001)

Monitoring

The Commission while investigating matters relating to the safeguards provided under the Constitution monitors the implementation and working of safeguards which include:

- Acting upon Article 23 of the Constitution which prohibits traffic in human beings and forced labour, etc., in respect of STs
- Prohibition of child labour under Article 24, in respect of STs
- Educational safeguards under Article 15(4) for reservation of seats in educational institutions
• Economic safeguards under Article 244 and working of Fifth and Sixth Schedules and release of grants for raising the level of administration in tribal areas
• To safeguard the distinct language, script or culture under Article 29(i)
• Working of service safeguards provided under Articles 16(4), 16(4A), 16(4B) and 335 providing for adequate representation of Scheduled Tribes in appointments or posts
• Enforcement of various laws such as:
  I. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989
  II. Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976 (in respect of Scheduled Tribes)
  III. The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 (in respect of Scheduled Tribes)
  IV. State Acts and Regulations concerning alienation and restoration of land belonging to Scheduled Tribes
  V. Forest Conservation Act, 1980 (in respect of Scheduled Tribes)
  VI. The Panchayat (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996
  VII. Minimum Wages Act, 1948 (in respect of Scheduled Tribes)

The National Commission for Scheduled Tribes functions from its Headquarters at New Delhi and from the State Offices of the Commission located in six States

There are six state offices of the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes which work as ‘eyes and ears’ of the Commission. They keep a watch on the formulation of policy and issue of guidelines relating to the welfare of Scheduled Tribes in the States/UTs and keep the Commission’s Headquarters informed about the development periodically. Policy decisions taken by any State Government/UT Administration affecting the interests of the Scheduled Tribes are brought to the notice of the concerned authorities for necessary action (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2001).
To conclude, reservations are one of the most crucial methods for development and empowerment of the STs, SCs and other backward sections of the state of Chhattisgarh. As discussed above Chhattisgarh is the tribal state. The large section of tribal population is social and educationally backward. The incidence of poverty is very high and they do not have appropriate representation in the administration and legislative institutions. Affirmative action programmes and policy of reservation is essential for their development and empowerment. They should be encouraged to participate in the political process. To provide access to higher education, they should be given scholarships and other facilities. To increase the representation in their in the administrative services, a certain percentage of seat should be reserved for them.