CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Indigenous people the world over are estimated to be around 250 millions. In Bolivia, Guatemala and a few other countries they form a majority. However, in India and China they constitute a minority though they number millions. They are by and large none too sure of their resource rights, about their ability to organise themselves to protect their land or resource base and about their ability to adapt traditional resource management systems to meet modern needs. However, their survival to the present day demonstrates their ability to maintain the earth’s resources for centuries without destroying the ecological base.

The directive known as World Bank Operational Directive (WBOD) defined tribals as social groups with a social and cultural identity distinct from the dominant society that makes them vulnerable to being disadvantaged in the development process. The WBOD specifically mentioned that because of the varied and changing contexts in which indigenous peoples are found, no single definition can capture their diversity. It brought out that indigenous peoples are commonly among the poorest segments of a population, that they engage in economic activities that range from shifting agriculture in or near forests to wage-labour or even small scale market-oriented activities, and
that they can be identified in particular geographic areas by their varying characteristics.

Indigenous peoples are referred to as Adivasis — meaning literally "Original dwellers". They are increasingly becoming development refugees. There is a growing awareness of their vulnerability at all levels of government and non-government organisations. Their problems are attracting the attention of social activists and political revolutionaries. A clear understanding of their dynamic situation is a necessary prerequisite for any policy formulation.

Tribal people are those ethnic groups typically with stable low energy sustained-yield economic systems, as exemplified by hunter gatherers, shifting or semi-permanent farmers, herders or fishermen. "They exhibit varying degrees of characteristics, some of which are: geographically isolated or semi-isolated; unacculturated or only partially acculturated into the social norms of the dominant society; non-monetised or only partially monetised; production largely for subsistence, and independent of the national system; ethnically different from the national society; non-literate and without a written language; linguistically distinct from the wider society; identifying closely with one particular territory; having an economic lifestyle largely dependent on the public natural environment; possessing indigenous leadership but little or notional representation and few, if any political
rights as individuals or collectively, partly because they do not participate in the political process and; having loose tenure over their traditional lands, which for the most part is not accepted by the dominant society nor accommodated by its courts; and having weak enforcement capabilities against encroachers even when tribal areas have been delineated.

The basic approach to the problems of tribals has been one of 'integration' and development. The cardinal principles of the government policy have been protection and development. The protective aspect relates to the protection of the right of the tribal in land and forest, and the right to be safeguarded from usurious or exploitative elements. The developmental aspects relate to positive welfare schemes. Welfare Programmes for tribal people have to be based on respect and understanding of their culture and traditions and an appreciation of the social, psychological and economic problems with which they are faced. The Government treats the tribal society as a lumped one for all developmental purposes without enquiring into the nature of social and economic hierarchy in the tribal society. The recognition of class stratification among the tribal communities would enable the Government to sort out its areas of priority for development and to bridge the gap between tribals and non-tribals within a shorter period of time by adopting planning models in accordance with this class stratification. These issues of tribal
society and its dynamics have been analysed mostly by Anthropologists and Sociologists. However, Economists are also evincing interest in these issues of socio-economic transformation of tribal societies.

1.2 STUDIES ON TRIBAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

The purpose of this ILO work is to study the main social and economic aspects of the problem of indigenous peoples in independent countries and to indicate the aims, scope and results of the national and international action undertaken to integrate them into the economic life of each country and improve their living and working conditions.

A close examination of the facts at once shows that the problem differs widely in nature and effect from country to country. This is due both to historical and cultural factors and to geographical and economic conditions, which sometimes hinder and sometimes favour the attainment by indigenous peoples of a standard of living above mere subsistence. Nevertheless, there are the features of the problem common to all such peoples, even when their history shows that some of them differ from the others in that they have, in the past, experienced periods of great economic, social and cultural progress.

As a valuable complement to the efforts of the government concerned to solve their indigenous problems, the activities of international organisations are today reaching every corner of the earth.
Through joint international action available economic and human resources can best be brought to bear upon the solution of every aspect of the indigenous problem; that is why collaboration among the competent international organisations must be secured, for the results of the technical assistance project in the Andes will provide a valuable lesson for similar activities in other parts of the world. The unstinted cooperation of the other international organisations with the I.L.O., both in connection with this project and in the preparation of the present volume, represents a valuable contribution to the solution of the indigenous problem.

The magnitude of the subject and the shortage of reliable documentation regarding so-called indigenous groups are natural limitations to a study such as this. In spite of its shortcomings, which are freely admitted, it is hoped that the work will render useful service to all those who believe that the problem of indigenous peoples in independent countries can best be understood in an international context.

Desai examines various tribal and peasant uprisings and struggles that erupted over the past two hundred years, both against feudal overlords and colonialism, and also examines the responses of various emerging social and political organisations to such struggles. It also describes the responses of Gandhi, the Indian National Congress, the communist party as well as other groups and
parties to the upsurge of the peasantry.

This book fills a vital gap in the understanding of Indian society by highlighting systematically the numerous peasant and tribal revolts that have periodically erupted in rural India. It examines the nature of the internal organisations of these revolts, their causes, their limitations and potentials. It explodes the myth of the traditionally passive peasantry by demonstrating the vitalism of the peasants and tribals in opposing forces which have served to suppress them for centuries.

Chayanov's study of peasant farming has been the subject of careful and detailed investigation. This study has more than once led to sharp arguments and divergent currents of economic thought. One might think it would be impossible to find any other theme in Russian economic literature to which has been devoted such an immeasurable quantity of books and pamphlets with varied approaches to the problem and very different trends of thought.

Therefore, in coming forward with a new work on the peasant farm it is absolutely essential to orient oneself with regard to all theories that formerly existed and problems that have been posed, and to determine as strictly as possible one's tasks and method of work. If this is not done, it will be difficult to avoid unfortunate misunderstandings and quite incorrect interpretations of the results obtained.
The whole key to the problem is in the confrontation of these two hypotheses. They ought to accept either the concept of the fictive two-fold nature of the peasant, uniting in his person both worker and entrepreneur or the concept of the family farm, with work motivation analogous to that of the piece-rate system. No third possibility is offered.

They have chosen the second hypothesis that is less fictive and more simply explains all the phenomena observed. Moreover, a certain extension of the theoretical statement of the peasant farm problem has influenced their choice to a considerable extent.

The concept of the peasant farm as an entrepreneurial one in which the head of the farm hires himself as a worker is conceivable only in a capitalist, since it consists entirely of capitalist categories. The peasant farm as an organisational form, however, and at the moment, that is all that interests us is also completely conceivable in other systems of national economy, self feudal or peasant and artisan countries and, finally, purely natural economy i.e., economic systems in which the categories of hired labour and wages are logically, if not historically completely absent.

In accordance with this, if we wish to have a single organisational concept of the peasant labour farm independent of the economic system into which it enters we
ought inevitably to base our understanding of its organisational essence on family labour.

It is self-evident that for each system of the economy and even for each phase of its development the part played by peasant farms in the national economy, the interrelationship of these farms with other types of economic units and the interrelationships and struggle of the peasantry as a class with other coexisting classes, and, finally, the way in which they participate and share in the distribution of the national income will vary to a great extent, yet, the organizational shape of the basic cell, the peasant family labour farm, will remain the same, always changing in particular features and adapting to the circumstances surrounding the national economy, as long as the peasant farm exists as such, of course, and has not begun to be reconstructed into other organisational forms.

The author was hailed by some as peasantry's new Marx, a hero-inventor of a radically new political economy. He was attacked with equal heat by the defenders of the intellectual old regimes. For a time Chayanov was high fashion but even when the swing of academic attention moved to new names and "fads" many of his books questions, insights, and even terms like "self exploitation" have remained as fundamental points of reference to the contemporary social sciences.
Verrier Elwin, who had toured most of the special multipurpose tribal blocks in various parts of the country, has studied the problem and pointed out a few defects in the scheme both in its conception and execution. He sounded a note of warning that there was a danger of imposition of our own values on the aboriginals. For example, he found fault with the lay-out of the colonies. He observed most of the tribals are hill people and they would like to have their houses on the side of hills and do not usually arrange them in their villages in geometrical patterns.

Then again, even when the land allotted to the people is scattered, over a wide area, the houses are built close together in a colony. This is contrary to their custom, for the farmers naturally like to build their houses near their land. Elwin observed that some colonies have been built at considerable expense without apparently any thought or investigation as to whether there is any land available for cultivation in the neighbourhood.

The Report of the scheduled areas and scheduled tribes commission presents some useful statistics apart from discussion on the socio-cultural and economic problems of tribal people. This report is of practical significance for understanding the mind of the tribal people, their psychology, values and norms by the workers, and for making a sympathetic and humanitarian approach. Like the first one, this report also suggests that one should not only be concerned with spending the money and fulfilling the target
in terms of statistics, but should also aim at changing the attitudes of the people and thus evolving human characters. Its recommendation with regard to model budget appears to be practical and unique and should go a long way towards tribal development and welfare work.

Majumdar's remains an outstanding and valuable work on Himalayan Community. Majumdar undertook first field research in Jaunsar Bawar in 1937 under the inspiration and stimulation of Malinowski. He continued to work for the lost 22 years by making long and short visits almost every year. The three sets of villages, two representing the normal pattern of Jaunsar Bawar culture, and the third the highly acculturated sets of villages were carefully selected and all anthropological techniques were applied to study the various dimensions of the khasa culture. The book is divided into three parts. The first part based on literacy and historical documents, deals with the historical aspects of the field enquiry. The second part embodies the ethnographic details of the community and deals with social organisation kinship structure village organisation and leadership, economic activities and occupational specialisation, family economy, educational training and religion. In the third part, emphasising the applied aspects, Majumdar analyses the role of the community development programmes in bringing a change in the khasa culture.
Elwin's book, The Nagas in the 19th century also appeared as his posthumous publication. This book includes a collection on general geographic, and historical accounts on the Nagas. It also devotes a few chapters to describe each of the major Naga tribes. The concluding chapters give descriptive account of the cultural aspect of the Nagas such as, religion, customs, burial practices and economic activities. This volume would have been of greater value had it included some of the unpublished reports and tour diaries available in the government archives. This book in spite of this limitation, continues to be the most exhaustive single source of historical material on the Naga tribes and is of great significance in understanding the social change among the Nagas.

Aurora's study is based on an extensive and intensive field work in the region (Alirajpur) where the Bhilalas dominate numerically. This book does not focus on the ethnographic picture of the Bhilalas. Its focus is on a number of theoretical problems. The structure of the work reflects the theoretical pre-occupation. Data are presented in such a manner as to allow the theoretical model to emerge along with the richness of sociological facts.

The first chapter describes the local level of the community. The description is given in terms of the three aspects of life, most relevant at the Primary or local level of the community, namely, the territorial, the kinship and...
the economic. The next three chapters demonstrate the progressive emergence of the tribal community at the regional level through the extension of the political, economic and the cultural frontiers. The core of the regional culture is located in the urban centres within the region. In these chapters the effort is to demonstrate not only the existing networks of linkages between the central (town) and the peripheral (village) elements but also the processes of change at the village level as a result of the interactions between the two.

Fuch's 11 hopes that his present book fills a real need and will prove useful to students of Indian tribal life who want a concise, but comprehensive and reliable description of the tribal population in India (and Pakistan). In the first two chapters of the book the reader will realise how difficult it was to group the Indian tribes systematically. An arrangement of the tribes according to their standard of culture, occupation, racial origin proved impossible. The author finally decided to group them geographically. Even that could not be followed up too rigidly.

Another problem presented itself when the description of the individual tribes was attempted. It was found advisable to give first in each chapter a presentation of the general situation of the tribes in a region and then to point out the special features found in the individual tribes.
The reader may find that the author has often been harsh in his criticism of the treatment which the more civilised peoples of India have meted out to the aboriginal tribes. To counterbalance this criticism the author has included a final chapter in which he describes the various efforts of the Indian Government towards the economic and social uplift of the aboriginal tribes and their complete integration in the national life of India as fullfledged citizens with equal rights and opportunities.

It is quite natural that experts in the fields of Indian ethnology will find many gaps and mistakes in this first attempt at classification and scientific presentation of the Indian tribes. The author will be grateful if they are pointed out to him. In case there is a need for it, he will then make the necessary correction and fill the gaps left in this first attempt.

The occasional papers on tribal development of the Government of India review of the patterns of tribal development, adopted by the non-official and official agencies, from the second quarter of the current century to the late seventies. It is convinced of the fact that some weaknesses, in one form or the other, were identified at various levels. As such, time and again, adoption of new patterns was thought necessary. And more often necessity of change was agreed upon by programme planners, implementors and even social scientists. Faults in the ideology of various agencies were also pointed out many
times, some procedures, adopted by the voluntary organisations, totally in isolation of government procedures, were not appreciated. This was at times, claimed true and vice versa. But somehow no serious remedy could, in most of the situations, be suggested to evolve a common plan where things would have been best delivered to the tribals.

Srivastava\textsuperscript{13} discusses the shifting cultivation practiced on the hilly areas by tribal people. The cultivators shift their cultivation sites every year, or every second or third year, depending upon nature and availability of forest land. The author gives an account of the areas where shifting cultivation is practised and studies the characteristic features of this type of agriculture. He also examines the connection of shifting cultivation with peoples' social system and politico-religious organisation.

Bhowmick\textsuperscript{14} in a paper, presented the various welfare measures and development plans of the Government for the welfare of a denotified community namely the Lohra.

Vidyarthi\textsuperscript{15} has studied the impact of voluntary organisations functioning in the tribal belt of chotanagpur in general and a tribal block of Khijri in Ranchi in particular. The block deals with a small section of the problem of the "rural weak" and focuses its attention on the
role of only one voluntary organisation, Adimjati Seva Mandal in the betterment of their condition and in the generation of leadership to take up the Challenge of Backwardness.

Haixendorf, along with Mathur edited a book "Anthropology in the Development Process" in which internationally known social scientists contributed problem oriented papers. The contributors of the book have studied the grass roots of the problems of tribal as well as rural societies and suggested measures for their development.

B.D. Sharma discussed tribal economy in the context of regional development. He identified two stages in the opening up of such regions. Current regional theories are examined in the context of their special situation. Discontinuity in the skill spectrum is identified as a special feature of tribal economy. He pleaded that "The modern particularistic programmes which affect the basic socio-economic structure should be planned carefully ensuring adequate countervailing forces".

In 1967 B.K. Rai reported that the tribals in the context of their economy which is based on forest irrespective of their economic types. The problem of getting the basic facts of economic life in a small non-monetary or partial economy of the tribal people is of a specific nature. A comparative insight into the nature and functioning of the economic system or organisation of
tribals will present a true picture of their economic life which has a system of mutual dependence and the influence of social forces on their economic behaviour.

The study by P.Ramaiah dealing emphatically with various issues goes deep into the question of tribal development and makes a serious attempt to diagnose the problem from different dimensions. Although the solutions offered here may not totally solve the problem, they throw much light on various aspects relating to tribal development such as socio-economic conditions in tribal areas, land alienation, agriculture, forestry, cooperation and industrial development and provides altogether a new direction towards revolting the problem of tribal development.

This is the first published full-dress study on the production structure and consumption pattern of a hilly tribal village in North-East India. It is based on a respectable random sample of 74 families of Lungdai village with schedules filled in by faculty members who had intimate knowledge of the village and could easily reach it and the by lending it many features of a participation study.

The findings of the survey are rather comprehensive, but most striking of these is that with a contribution of only 22 per cent of aggregate sample household incomes, Jhum cultivation is neither a way of life in the village nor mainstay for the people. Farmers showed a clear tendency
towards settled farming and horticulture and plantation, especially coffee. Overall savings potential of families was low but with trading and salary groups it was as high as 27 and 18 per cent of incomes a large part of which could not be converted into assets. This, in fact, was found to be the most important desideration of the village. About 40 per cent of the population was found to be below poverty line in desperate need of rehabilitation on some kind of peasant or cooperative plantation as suggested by the terrain, the rock formation and soil conditions.

The monograph aims at partly closing the data gap to enable informed decision-making for the mammoth task of development management of the non-village semi-primitive economies in the hilly tracts of North-East India.

Sachidananda gives an account of the various tribes in different parts of the country practicing shifting cultivation, together with their culture, customs and environment. Attempts made by governments and other organisations to move the tribals away from shifting cultivation and the problems faced have also been discussed. A survey of five villages of the Wancho tribe in Tirap district, Arunachal Pradesh was undertaken to examine the political and cultural milieu around shifting cultivation. According to the author, shifting cultivation was not uneconomical where no other alternatives were available. The correct approach should be to recognise this practice as a way of life and adopt improvements within this approach. But
the alternative need not be agriculture alone! The opening up of the hill areas with transport facilities gives scope for a shift to horticulture and forestry. This would involve the sale of their products in the markets and purchase of their requirements of food. Examples can be seen among some of the Khasi villages in Meghalaya which have shifted to the cultivation of pineapples and bananas, in place of paddy.

According to Mohanty, such broad generalisations about the tribals and their economy run the risk of revealing too little about the actual tribal scenarios in varied geographic settings and specific objective situations. In reality, the tribal societies in the country present a mosaic of socio-economic and cultural diversities. At one end we have tribes who are hardly distinguishable from the non-tribals and are economically advanced, partly westernised and organisationally strong. At the other end, there are tribes, who are small in number, weak in organisation, poor in resources and poor in the style of using resources while some are completely dependent on nature and live on hunting and food gathering, other practise primitive agriculture and some others have made an entry into the threshold of modern agriculture.

In view of the above considerations, Mohanty was tempted to concentrate on Keonjhar, a backward district of Orissa, which not only has a high concentration of tribal population but also has a large variety of ethnic stock, including some of the most primitive ones, who are at
different levels of socio-economic development. In this study he has made an attempt to make a through scanning of the economic anatomy of this tribal region and throws light on some of the dimensions of development, which could not be visualised by the planners. The main focus of the study has been to highlight the impact of development on the economic status and quality of life of different segments of the population of the region and study their relative access to the process of development apart from formulating a suitable spatical development strategy for the future.

Doshi's\textsuperscript{23} study has grown out of the field work conducted among the Bhils of Western India comprising the contiguous area situated at the borders of Southern Rajasthan, eastern Gujarat and western Madhya Pradesh. The present work makes a departure from the tribal studies conducted on ethnic life of the people, the achievement of development and the massive social change witnessed among them. The relative opening of the tribal isolation in the hills and the forests, has brought about interactions among the tribals and the non-tribals in a bigger way. The tribals have migrated to plains and have taken to settled agriculture. The non-tribals have also entered the tribal encapulated areas for trading, money lending, mobilising political ideology and a variety of other purposes.

The protective discrimination resulted in a conspicuous tribal social stratification. The State as an agent of
implementing development programmes determines the direction of social change. The Government introduced agrarian modernization among the tribals. The application of high technology and irrigation presupposes the existence of larger landholdings, adequate irrigation facilities, sufficient capital and linking with the market.

In the context of the present day tribal development, he has argued that there is an intensive interplay between the tribal ethnicity, State and class. The State determines the tribal class structure. The Bhils fear that in the process of their integration, they are likely to lose their ethnic identity. He has applied secular approach to interpret tribal stratification.

Madhusudan has written with a view to fill the gap on the life style of tribals. Two key elements of tribal economy have been explored. (a) present quality of life of tribals and (b) mode of living habits and facilities for food, clothing, housing, recreation, education etc., available to the tribals. Though forming an important segment of our society, they remained away from the mainstream of developmental processes. Extension of various facilities regarding education, health, banking, transport and communication in the Five Year Plans eventually has helped tribes to fill the gap of socio-economic backwardness. This gave birth to tribal- subplan focussing due priority to the development of tribal areas.
The present study brings together the salient features of the tribal economy. Characteristics of underdevelopment due to peculiar feature of the topography, resource base, infrastructural facilities, technical education, agriculture, industry and tourism as well as their development under sub-plan era.

A study of their future affecting their economy, cannot be understood and appreciated fully by using the secondary data. To fill this gap, Lahaul-Spiti district of north-western tribal areas is studied in detail using 101 households data to bring out the tribal levels of living, consumption pattern and the dimensions of disparities.

The micro and macro approaches attempted in this book towards understanding the tribal economy and their quality of life would be of great interest to policy makers, administrators. These findings will also be helpful to the planners in evaluating the results of the past policies and formulating appropriate policy measures and programmes for socio-economic development of tribal people.

L.P.Vidyarthi25 and his associates have produced some valuable studies on the socio-cultural economic organisation of the tribes of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas of Bihar. They have tried to highlight the works which have already been done on the tribal societies of Bihar and have enumerated them in chronological order. They have made a preliminary attempt to look at the ethnographic data. They
have classified the tribes of Bihar into forest hunting type, plain agriculture type, simple artisan type and hill cultivation type. The second type consists of tribes like the Santals, the Mundas, the Oraons and Kols who are settled agriculturists and are predominantly dependent upon plough cultivation. They use the modern methods of agriculture and take sufficient help from the state to raise their agriculture output. Again they analyse how education seems to be meagre in the tribal belt because of lack of traditional incentives and heritage. The outstanding scholars present systematic analyses of the hill men's social-cultural religious-economic and political pattern.

Mazumdar in the thought provoking study "The Affairs of a Tribe - A Case Study in Tribal Dynamics" describes the baneful effects of culture contacts on the tribals of Bihar. He states that the process of transition is pretty rapid. Old mores and customs, tribal institutions and self-sufficiency of rural communities all have given way before a new consciousness had dawned on the youth of both the sexes, through contacts of the achievements of population domiciled in their midst.

But he conceives that even the darkest could have a silver lining when he says further, but there is a new hope and a new ambition surging in the mind of every man and women in tribal India, a desire to profit by the transfer of power, an unseemly haste in chasing whatever comes to the counter and pretend injured innocence in all matters that
partisan to the administrative initiative.

In the analysis of the growth and direction of tribal unrest Rangsit Gupta and Bulneri have given an insight into the tribal revolts over the past 300 years in the Chotanagpur division and the Santal paragons district. They accept the hypothesis from ethnicity to regionalism advanced by K.S.Singh. The accounts of events of tribal unrest are quite sketchy and it has several loose ends. Agrarian issues have not been specially focussed as central to the tribal uprisings. These are aimed at restoration of the autonomy of the Adivasis and their control over the forests.

Tribal movements today owe their origin to the reform movement started in the second decade of the present century under the banner of Unnati Samaj. In 1938 the Unnati Samaj was replaced by Adivasi Mahasabha which converted itself into Jharkand party in 1950, since early seventies there have been atleast four different Jharkhand parties in Bihar alone. The demand for a separate state of Jharkand is common to all these parties. All of them accept that they are exploited by outsiders who are mainly people from north Bihar.

The book provides an excellent overview of the relationship between tribal economy, State intervention and unrest. However, the role of tribal leadership has not been adequately analysed. Despite these minor points, the book
would prove to be a very useful addition to our understanding of the recent situations and factors of unrest among the tribes of Bihar.

Michael's 25 Tribal Unrest in Chotanagpur, Bihar, discusses in the perspective of awakening of indigenous people. The socio-political implications of tribal awakening have been examined. The negative aspects of tribal protests, and the violence with which it is repressed, is what comes in the newspapers. To find out the positive message that tribal people are trying to convey one must dig deeper and often read between the lines.

In the past such movements have been studied from the point of view of response to the process of modernisation penetrating deep into tribal homelands. They have been seen as skirmishes in a losing battle against more enterprising outsiders, migrating into tribal areas.

It is time to have a close look at one particular area, Chotanagpur, which comprises the six southern most districts of Bihar, plus the santhal parganas district and to analyse the positive content that tribal protest holds vis-a-vis modern society. The cultural awakening witnessed in the area, finds its significance, when related to the awakening that is taking place among indigenous people in other parts of the world.

N.G.Basu 29 has made a critical study of the forest regimes in general and a number of villages in Bihar and
West Bengal over a period extending from 1977 to 1984. The main focus of the book is on community forestry as an appropriate strategy in opposition to the concept of social forestry as developed in the west. Community forestry, the author underlines, is not a special technology, it is a process of socio-economic changes that requires continuous participation of the tribal community.

On the basis of the experience of various practical experiments conducted by non-governmental organisations which he has directed, the author has elaborated broad outlines of a scheme for development and nature of forest resources with the participation of tribal communities within the framework of the centrally formulated forest policy, the author recommends the association of the local community with the decision making and implementation process at the micro level. But he is aware of inherent contradictions involved in the working of his proposals. The tribal community, he says, is less keen to adapt to quick changes and is abound to be slow in application of "external technology and entrepreneurial skills". While the Government is keen on quicker pace of development in the interest of the developmental need of the nation.

The main objective of Tripathy's study is to investigate the impact of new technology in agriculture especially the use of high yielding varieties of seeds on the level of land productivity and the intensity and the level
of labour use in Ranchi district of Bihar.

Tripathy concluded that the adoption of new farm technology in the tribal region of Bihar is low and the availability of irrigation facility makes a fundamental difference in the crop pattern, cropping intensity and the adoption of new farm inputs. He found that in the region there is an inverse relationship between the farm size and productivity; per unit of labour is also high. Small farms use comparatively more labour per hectare in all crops because of surplus family labour, yet they have the largest volume of unemployment in the family. He suggests that irrigation facility is an important infrastructure for raising agricultural productivity and promoting rural development along with necessary inputs such as High Yielding Variety seeds, fertilizers and credit. But we would also like to add that the spread of extension services and other agencies of rural development to diffuse the knowledge of new farm technology and upgradation of human skills should also be emphasised as key factors in rural development.

A study of Tribal Economy in Gujarat was undertaken by Vimal Shah from All India Rural Debt and Investment Survey of RBI (1961-62) Shah selected a sample of 1120 rural households from 28 villages. The survey has very effectively brought out the fact that tribal economy in Gujarat continues to be stagnant from all points of view. There is very little diversification in occupations.
Agriculture continues to be the mainstay of the tribal population; very little investment is taking place to modernise it; very few inputs are provided to increase the productivity of land and many people mostly depend upon traditional agencies for their credit requirements which are mainly for meeting their household expenditure. All these are obviously characteristics of a subsistence economy. In their book Royappa and Grover show that poverty among scheduled groups is both more widespread and deep relative to that among the non-scheduled groups. Their relative poverty causes the members of the scheduled groups to participate in economic activity to a greater extent but alas, at relatively lower rates of remuneration. The labour market fails to compensate them for their total lack of intangible capital. The failure could be attributed to low education and ill-health due to poverty, on the one hand, and social discrimination, on the other. To eradicate the poverty of the scheduled groups the authors suggest:

1. improving their asset base;
2. imparting on the job training and functional literacy;
3. paying higher wages; and
4. improving medical and health facilities.

They argue that the employment schemes should give the scheduled groups greater continuity and security of employment so as to encourage their members to give up low wage paying employers and low income yielding traditional
occupations. According to the authors, the schemes currently in vogue neglect these aspects.

The fact that the poor are too heterogeneous to benefit from schemes addressed to all poor is recognised in most non-Marxist literature. Differentiation based on caste and tribal status adds a social dimension to economic poverty. The study of interaction between the social and economic forces making for poverty is both a socially relevant and theoretically challenging task. This book reflects the poverty of the aggregate data available in India to study systematically the problem of poverty among the scheduled castes and tribes.

Pradeep Kumar Bose in his paper questions the validity of observing stratification pattern among Indian tribes on the basis of caste hierarchy and instead recommends secular hierarchy or division on class basis. This is observed in the context of Gujarat tribes, transition being undergone by tribes under the influence of modernisation, justified class as a valid principle for studying Indian tribes. Tribal participation in modern political systems are shown in regional variations in occupations, use of modern machinery. Data were collected from seven districts of Gujarat through survey method and random sampling identifying four distinct classes, rich peasant, middle peasant, poor peasant and agricultural labourers.
Thakur's paper describes the transition of the tribal and hill economy of Himachal Pradesh from the traditional to modern economy, the dawn of the new era, the development strategy being followed for the spectacular progress and examines the factors responsible for the notable achievements and landmarks. The pertinent lessons for the development experience of Himachal Pradesh are also drawn for the consideration of the policy makers.

The paper presents the results and achievements of the implementation of various development programmes, welfare projects and policies and clearly shows as to how the location specific, need based, problem solving and production oriented research and development programmes as well as the optimum cropping systems and farming systems have enabled the tribal and other hill households to obtain high incomes. The study also shows the strategy behind this, rare achievements of the tribal and hill economy of State with several 'firsts' and 'niche' being exploited to scale new peaks and heights in production and income per unit of land of the tribal and hill people which are as high as in the plains. As such, Himachal Pradesh is called the State of the affluent tribesmen and modern hill people. The study calls for thinking like a tribal and like a hill itself with an integrated approach which implies sensitisation of development policies and programmes to tribal and hill
specificities to impart a tribal and hills perspective to
development of tribals and hills by the policy makers. A
few other pertinent lessons for the policy makers and
government are also imbibed and implied in the paper for
rapid development of the tribal and hill economy.

Balakrishnan's study was undertaken in the
mountainous terrain of the Nilgiris to analyse the present
resource utilisation and occupational diversity among the
kota tribes. Of the seven kotas villages, one village was
randomly selected and the data were collected from a sample
of 40 respondents in the village. Traditionally, the kotas
were village artisans skilled in carpentry, pottery and
blacksmithy. The cultivated area constituted 52.3 per cent
of the total area and 40 per cent of the land was fallow,
rainfed lands accounted for a high percentage of fallow
lands. Further, there is not much scope for providing
irrigation facilities and due to wild animal menace, monocropping of tea was followed.

The average family size was five and literacy
percentage was high. About 75 per cent of the households
were cultivators and 58.5 per cent of the households
maintained livestock. Out of the total households, 24.7 per
cent were agricultural labourers. In the non-farm sector, 13.5 per cent of the households were artisans and 33.5 per
cent of the households had their members employed
in government organisations or in the private sector.
Keeping in mind the attachment of tribes with their environment in which they are living, the following thrust areas for development are suggested: increasing land utilisation by expanding area under tea and introducing fodder crops with necessary institutional support by way of credit, training to farm family members on improved tea production and livestock management practices. The traditional artisans' skill of the kotas may be further developed by training in Industrial Training Institutes for employment in non-farm sector. The voluntary agencies may concentrate on economic upliftment of the kotas by constructing community cattle shed and sponsoring kotas for Industrial Training Institutes training.

The book by Swarup and Singh is based on a village study conducted in Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh. The objectives of the study are to examine the socio-economic conditions of such people who are backward economically as well as in their outlook and are located in remote and inaccessible area.

Agriculture continues to be the main occupation of the tribals. One cannot understand the rural communities who practise, depend on and constrain it. Hence, village studies, such as the one by Swarup and Singh are useful as they are designed to collect comprehensive area specific information to fill the data gaps. This study has
diagnosed and highlighted the problems of a tribal village located in a difficult hilly terrain and the authors have shown that there is a vast scope for the development of agro-pastoral economy of region having a large surplus labour force. But it would have been much better if all the suggestions and recommendations which are currently scattered throughout the book were put together in last chapter.

This is a pioneering book, a detailed survey of the problems of scheduled castes and tribes. It includes a comprehensive analysis of the socio-economic conditions of the downtrodden communities. This objective study of the conditions of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in Karnataka state in early 70s covered all the 19 districts of the state and is based on a stratified sample. The number of households covered for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes were 2583 in rural areas and 748 in urban areas. The study covered the various aspects of their social and economic conditions including demographic characteristics, caste and sub-caste composition, educational background, residential pattern, economic conditions, occupational structures and awareness of constitutional benefits, and the magnitude of untouchability.

The study has given a picture of the present conditions among the most deprived sections of the population. While examining the main problem emanating from economic and social
backwardness of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, it brings to light their everyday struggle. From times immemorial social inequality intervened with institutional legitimation reduced some people to accept their ascribed low status.

The constitutional provisions and policy formulations are intended to create conditions conducive for the establishment of equality between people. The study in a way is an evaluation of the schemes provided under the policy of protective discrimination enforced for over 35 years after Independence.

Nag 38 undertook field researches among the Baigas of Madhya Pradesh with a view to studying the tribal economy, he made an extensive field tour throughout the continuous areas of mandla, Bilaspur, Durg and Balaghat. The sample included 2192 individuals belonging to 350 families. He made an extensive tour to the dense forests, crossed streams, climbed up the hills and thus collected rich data on tribal economy. Nag tried to examine the tribal economy in the context of modern economic theories. Nag deals with almost all the important aspects of economic life of the Baiga and succeeds in presenting broad as well as the main trends of Baiga economic life.

Nag's work is of pioneering nature in more than one way. It is the first work of its type which describes the
tribal economy in detail and relates it to other aspects of life. It also presents the perspective of an economist to look at the tribal economy in India. He examines the Baiga economy as a dynamic, continuous process, and related it to modern development. Though the book seems to be a complete document the author with all humility feels the need for further research and longer field work.

Sakxena39 studied the tribal economy of the western hills in Madhya Pradesh extending from the Vindhyas to the Satpura mountains. This regional study by an economist covers five tribes, a random sampling of five hundred households spread over 65 villages.

The data collected from the 65 villages have been presented in several chapters on shifting cultivation, natural environment, land tenure, system of irrigation, rotation of crops and agricultural holdings are of special importance. The chapter on forest apart from examining the roles of forest in tribal economy, brings out the reactions of the tribals to the introduction of new forest policy. The roles of the moneylenders who are both lenders and traders have been carefully discussed. The factors of marketing means of communication and transport, the history of cooperative movements, and the causes of its failure have found adequate treatment. The author examines the different policies of the Government schemes and their achievements during the First and Second five year plans have carefully
mentioned. The author clearly points out that the tribal agriculturists who practise the settled cultivation are not very different from the non-tribal agriculturists of rural India as they share the same motives and problems. Presenting a comparative appraisal of the process of production, distribution, consumption of wealth, poverty, illiteracy and the faults of administration, the author establishes that the tribals of western Madhya Pradesh and the rural agriculturists of other parts are sailing in the same boat.

Saxena's analysis is a valuable contribution to the study of the economy of a tribal region, his statistical account of the tribal economy based on a sample survey of a region, inhabited 5 tribes gives a breadth of understanding helpful not only the social scientists but also to the administrators and social workers.

Sharma has tried to draw upon his experience in marketing of certain agricultural commodities during his tenure in Baster district of Madhya Pradesh. The problem has been conceptualised in terms of the special features of the tribal economy. The general presumptions which are made when marketing aspirations are organised in the tribal areas with reference to the better known situations of the more advanced economies, have been critically examined. It is clear from this analysis that marketing has to be treated as during the early phases of tribal development on a large
enough scale as to be a total administrative effort.

M.L.Patel\(^41\) reported on the tribals of Mandla district in Madhya Pradesh. He analysed the subsistence sector in agriculture and the validity of productivity theory of interest in tribal economy, interrelationship of economic tools and economic soundness of farm cooperatives and tribal development through area approach.

Jaganathpathy's\(^42\) article analyses classes and class relations in three villages of Orissa and considers the particular mode of production operative in them. The study covers a predominantly tribal village, a village characterised primarily by feudal relationships and a village mainly showing signs of capitalist development in agriculture. Though the classical feudal relations of the western variety are noticed, none of the villages has shown definite signs of capitalist development. Thus caste consciousness and practices continue because class practices have not yet become dominant at political level. The economically constituted class does not lead automatically to the self-conscious class.

Meena Radhakrishna's\(^43\) paper is to chart out the changes in the position of women belonging to a tribe of Madras Presidency, Yerukulas over a period of two centuries. The thrust of the paper is towards the description, with the help of this example, of the economic circumstances within
which the unit of social organisation (tribal community and family) is located and towards the argument that women's position within that unit changes according to the changing economic and historical phases of society.

In this case, a degree of autonomy in social and cultural life which was enjoyed by this community and which was reflected in a particular position of women was lost because of intervention by the British Indian administration in the early twentieth century.

Impact of industrialisation on the life of the tribals of West Bengal by Das and Banerjee published by the cultural Research Institute is a pioneering work in this respect. It describes in brief in the context of industrialisation human mobility and shifting occupations through three generations. It also emphasised the impact of industrialisation on social life, family clan and education, with more emphasis on psychological milieu. These are all related to the factory workers of tribal communities at Chittaranjan Locomotive works and Haringhata Milk Factory. In all these cases (600), the major tribal groups are the Santals and the next are the Mundas. Most of them are class IV workers, with a small percentage of class III staff.

This study is limited in its scope and as such some simple observations were made like more earnings from
agriculture, preference of younger generation towards industry along with contrasting hankering for land by the older generations, though they earn more and spend more in the new industrial environments. More generalisations were made in respect of social life like, growth of nuclear type of families, weakening of traditional leadership, incidence of marriage in the same plan, weakening of traditional religiosity on the one hand, widening of the world-view on the other. In respect of psychological aspects, the authors observed the oscillating mind of the tribal workers for land and money in factory. Rigid routine work is intervened by their agrarian 'goslow' habit and as such, loss in production results. They are also interested in forming labour union. They also noticed frequent absences and suggested some remedial measures by way of conclusion.

Raghavaiah with his intimate knowledge of south Indian tribes has published book "Tribal Revolts" in which he devotes a full chapter to unrest in Andhra Pradesh. In the course of his appraisal of the series of revolts that occurred in Andhra Pradesh between the years 1879 and 1968, he comments that owing to broken promises and frustration the tribals of Andhra Pradesh and other parts of India have arisen in revolts and movements. He goes on to describe at some length the four tribal revolts in Andhra Pradesh.

The first revolution by the Hill Reddies began in 1879. The second uprising of the Reddies took place in 1915-16.
Third and a large scale revolt took place in 1922-29 which was led by Sri Rama Raju and the last one was the revolt of 1969-70 which was popularly known as Naxalite revolt and was mostly confined to the parts of Srikakulam, the agency district of northern border with Orissa and all the coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh. It was interesting to note that while the earlier movements were led by the tribal themselves, the latest movement was led by the non-tribal recruits from colleges and professional intelligentsia. The Srikakulam rising has been throughout organised, controlled and financed by the Marxist Leninist extremist section of the community.

The study of Bopala Rao examines the Process of transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals and various factors influencing such transfer in Mondemkhal, a mixed village of tribes and castes, in the agency area of Parvathipuram taluk of former Srikakulam district. Data were collected by canvassing schedules and by holding prolonged interviews with the tribal elders and village officials. Land was been alienated by some people to finance agricultural operations. Cultivators require cash to buy cattle and seeds and to pay the agricultural wages. It is clear from the case studies, that taking of credit on land led to land alienation. Land has a tremendous prestige value in the rural context; that is why it could stand as a security both for borrowing and lending.
Haimendorf started his work in 1939. He toured extensively in the tribal areas of the State which were regarded as 'Kalapani of the State' and 'Death Traps'. He made a comprehensive study of the socio-economic conditions of the tribals inhabiting the hilly areas in Adilabad, Warangal, Khammam and Mahabubnagar. He recommended measures to be adopted by the State Government for the economic and cultural betterment of the tribal population. Thereupon the government adopted a definite and firm policy for the uplift of the tribal people by setting them on the land they were cultivating, protecting them from exploitation and freeing them from the clutches of moneylenders who were demanding exorbitant rates of interest for the money they lent to tribal people. This policy later came to be known as the 'New Deal'. W.B. Grigson, a civil servant of the Nizam's administration, called it so because that would herald a new era in the development of tribal areas in the State.

Haimendorf realised that the basic problem for the quicker development of the tribal areas was the land problem. Hence, he got land surveyed, allotted a minimum of five acres of land to each tribal family and patta rights were given to the tribal cultivators. This act instilled great confidence in the tribals.

P. Ramaiah studied the "Tribal economy of Koyas of Warangal District" inhabited in 102 tribal villages. The
twin problems facing the tribals are credit and marketing. Land problems of the tribals are examined. This is supposed to provide a basis to evolve a developmental plan for the tribal areas. He stated three important characteristics of a subsistence economy viz., (i) the level of production in the subsistence unit would only be limited by the internal demand for subsistence products rather than the supply of factors of production. (ii) absence of market dependence (iii) absence of material insecurity in tribal areas.

According to an official document of the Government of Andhra Pradesh\textsuperscript{49} though the strategy adopted up to the end of Third-Five-Year Plan resulted in improving the tribal economy and social services to a limited extent it was found that certain regions and groups in tribal areas continued to remain backward. Such imbalances were attributed mainly to the uneven distribution of social services and spread of economic benefits, besides differences in natural resource endowments and levels of group receptivity to development.

Another study of Ramamani\textsuperscript{50} presents a descriptive analysis of the main features of the "Tribal Economy" under the postulates of that the gap between tribals and non-tribals, notwithstanding the fact of introducing protective measures, creation of new agencies and extension of credit by the nationalised banks, and the tribal society is hierarchically organised. Area planning approach or target group oriented strategy should have their importance. In
Saethampet Block of Srikakulam District both approaches find a place. In the construction of check dams and improvement of communications, education and health area planning approach is adopted. The author pleads for the recognition of this latter fact in the formulation of policy.

PRESENT STUDY

The present study is undertaken in Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh with the following objectives and hypotheses.

OBJECTIVES

The specific objectives are (i) to describe the nature and characteristics of tribal economy in Chittoor district (ii) to analyse trends in occupational mobility (iii) to assess the asset pattern, sources of income and primitiveness of technology (iv) to estimate levels of living and deprivation among the sampling units.

HYPOTHESES

1. Tribal economy does not resemble that of a peasant economy but of a modern economy judged by any indicator.

2. There is no significant difference in occupational mobility of the samples across income groups and settlements.
3. There is no significant difference in the composition of assets and sources of income between income groups and settlements.

4. Incidence of poverty and deprivation are not significantly different across income groups and settlements.

SAMPLING DESIGN

The sampling design consists of three steps:

1. Selection of district

2. Selection of mandals

3. Selection of households.

The tribal population of Andhra Pradesh is 41.99 lakhs as per 1991 census constituting 5.93% of the state's population. There are 23 districts in the State of Andhra Pradesh. Chittoor district is at the southern most part and has been purposively selected because of considerations of proximity and familiarity. Scheduled tribes population of Chittoor district is 1.01 lakhs constitutes 3.11 per cent of the district's population. The next problem is related to the selection of mandals. There are 66 revenue mandals in the district. To give a due representation to the three principal tribal groups namely yanadi, yerukala, and sugali three mandals of their concentration have been identified.
They are Srikalahasti, Chandragiri and Piler.

Considering various aspects of study it was decided to survey 240 tribal households. A preliminary investigation was carried out to ascertain the number of tribal households of each mandal and were enlisted and 80 households have been randomly selected from each mandal.

DATA BASE

Primary data are collected from sample households through a structured schedule. Primary data pertaining to household composition, occupation, land holding, inputs, income and related issues are collected personally for the year 1990-91.

Besides collection of primary data through scientifically designed schedules secondary data have been collected from published reports of the Central and State governments, District Planning Office, and the Indian Bank, which is the lead bank of the district. Visits to the Girijan Co-operative Corporation and mandal level offices enabled me to fill the gaps in the time series data relating to the district and sample mandals and settlements.

UNITS OF ANALYSIS

Either individual or a household could be taken as a
unit of analysis. In the present study the latter has been preferred. A household consists of members of a family who partake of meals from the same kitchen. All members of the family share responsibility equally in the household affairs. However, since the size of a family varies from household to household, per capita estimates have also been used for meaningful interpretation.

INCOME OF TRIBAL HOUSEHOLDS

Income consists of wages (cash and kind) of members of a household working as casual or permanent workers in or outside agriculture or self-employed. The receipts in kind are converted into cash by using the prices of commodities in the local market. Farm business income is calculated by deducting cost and material and paid labour and sundry costs from the value of gross crop output.

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

Household assets consist of durable and other assets. Non-household assets meant for productive processes either in agriculture or hunting and allied activities. A major part of liabilities is loan (current and outstanding) taken for consumption and other purposes. Their value is taken as reported by the household.
INCOME CATEGORIES

We have formed three income categories of tribal households for cross category comparison. However, for delineating the income categories, no particular criterion is followed except that no cut-off points are used to make three categories. The three income categories of tribal households are:

First category: It concludes those households which have an annual income less than Rs.4000/-

Second category: It consists of households having income more than Rs.4000/- but less than Rs.8000/-

Third category: All the households having income above Rs.8000/- are included in this category.

TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES OF ANALYSIS

The data drawn from various sources are subjected to statistical treatment. Different statistical tools such as ratios, averages, correlation, S.D., ANOVA, Gini-coefficient are employed at appropriate contexts in the study. Maps, diagrams and graphs are presented to illuminate the facts and figures.

LIMITATIONS

The foremost limitations is with regard to the adequacy of sample size and the data base. We have to restrict the
size of the sample to 240 to keep the study within manageable limits. There has been a considerable problem in regard to collection of data from tribal households and its conversion into monetary terms. It has been a matter of great experience and learning to communicate with the tribal household. On an average one day has been spent with each sample household to ensure quality and reliability of data, which has been cross checked with the help of the local tribal leaders and elders. The present study is essentially cross sectional and not time-series. To the extent possible time-series analysis has been attempted in regard to selected variables only.

CHAPTER SCHEME

The thesis is organised into six chapters. The first chapter is on select review of literature and methodology. The tribal economy of India and Chittoor district are dealt with in the second and third chapters. Production, exchange and mobility patterns of sample households are explained in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter is devoted to analyse levels of living and deprivation. The last chapter incorporates summary and conclusions.

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