Chapter I

CONCEPT AND THEORY

Objective of the first chapter is to deal with vis-à-vis delineate concept and theory of tribe. Mainly three approach—Isolation, assimilation and integration—are discussed.

I

CONCEPT OF TRIBE

Concept vis-à-vis conceptualisation of tribe is a heuristic exercise. More and more study or investigation creates more and more problem on and about concept of tribe. From origin of the concept, regardless of societies, study of tribe probably accumulated enough space and resource and accentuated large scale debate among scholars.¹

Tribes in Africa, Australia and Indian, though look alike, each of them has its own distinctive feature and socio-cultural life. Due to this probably concept and conceptualisation of tribe always becomes difficult for scholars. Study of Bronislaw Malinowski of Trobriand Island, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown of Anadaman Island and E. E. Evans-Pritchard on

¹ From B. Malinowski, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, E.E Evans-Pritchard to many others.
Nuer and Dinka of Southern Sudan along with other classical social anthropologists provides stimulating insight as well as experience to scholars of tribal study.\(^2\)

Ethnography of primitive tribe became major part of investigation of scholars during early period. Religion and magic, family and kinship, economy, political institution, law and other institutions were also base of their study to strengthen concept, theory and method of anthropo-sociological enquiry.\(^3\)

Paradoxically Indian tribes are always centre of hot discussion especially in social anthropology and sociology. Colonial anthropologists initially defined concept of tribe adopting certain parameter and academic convenience. Later scholars from allied or divergent disciplines work on cross-cultural or transnational perspective of tribe exemplify heterogeneity among Indian tribes. Hence any attempt to define tribe in Indian context carries multiplicity of problems vis-à-vis great methodological significance\(^4\).

Tribes of and in India may not be always compared with native tribe of

\(^3\) Ibid, Pp. 44.
\(^4\) Ibid, Pp. 61.
Africa or aborigine of Australia. Though a great degree of commonality exists in term of their socio-economic condition, qualitative or major difference lies in term of their relationship with outside world. Discussion on Indian tribes needs to take into account wider socio-cultural space in which they are contextualised and contrasted with caste or non-tribes.\(^5\)

A tribe or generally tribes in India believe in blood relation between its members and other factors. They believe to descend from a common, real or mythical ancestor. They have their socio-cultural institution. Belief in supernatural power, magic, sorcery and witchcraft are integral aspect of tribal mechanical life. Tribal economy is mainly hunting, collecting and fishing or a combination of hunting, collecting with shifting cultivation. 400 tribes live in India with glaring contradiction-most vary at every level. Some of them still uphold and remain unknown, isolated and alienated, while other are different-undergone change.\(^6\)

Tribal study in India or study relating to multi-dimension of tribes in India started during late British period, particularly after 1930’s. From 1930 to 1950 British scholars only undertook such studies. Areas they studied are


\(^{6}\) Ibid,Pp.13
macro covering socio-cultural and political and economic life of tribe. Studies are intensive, formal, holistic and substantivist.\(^7\)

From 1950 to early 1970 Indian anthropology and sociology got influenced by British. Their concept, method and approach were followed by most Indian scholars. Subsequently American anthropologists, scholars from Africa and other regions also influenced/motivated Indian scholars. However till early 1970 Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown’s method became most popular method for Indian scholars.\(^8\) Accordingly G.S. Ghurye, D.N. Majumdar, Nirmal Kumar Bose, Surajit Singha, S.C. Dube, A.R. Desai B.K. Roy Barman, L.P Vidyarthi, Andre Beteille and other scholars’ contribution are noteworthy in field of tribal study in India\(^9\).

Further controversy arose among scholar, reformer and administrator to describe tribe in India. Risely, Lacey, Elwin, Grigson and others describe tribe as aborigine or aboriginal. Hutton calls them primitive tribe. G.S.Ghurye describes them so-called aborigine or backward Hindu. Some scholars describe them Adivasi and scholar like S.T Das designates them

\(^7\) www.sociologyguide.com.

\(^9\) Ibid. Pp.19
‘submerged humanity’.

G.S.Ghurye in his The Scheduled Tribes, discusses religion or occupation or racial feature prove inadequate when one attempts to distinguish tribe from non-tribe in India. According to him purest of tribal groups resisting accumulation or absorption, possess certain features which can be considered as common features if possessed by all tribal groups. They are as follows.

1. They live away from civilised world in most inaccessible part of both forest and hill
2. They belong either to one of three stocks-Negrito, Austroloid or Mongoloid
3. They speak same tribal dialect
4. They possess a primitive religion known as Animism in which worship of ghosts or spirit is the most important element
5. They follow primitive occupation such as gleaning, hunting and gathering of forest produce
6. They are largely carnivorous or flesh or meat eaters.

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7. They live either naked or semi-naked, using tree bark and leave for clothing.

8. They have nomadic habit and love for drink and dance.\textsuperscript{11}

\textit{F.G Bailey} views tribe and caste as continuum. He seeks to make distinction not in terms of totality of behaviour but in more limited way in relation to political economic system. Briefly Bailey's argument is that a caste society is hierarchical while a tribal society is segmentary and egalitarian. But in contemporary India both caste and tribe are being merged into a different system which is neither one nor other. Tribes in India are influenced by community around them. Major neighbouring community is Hindus. As a result from very early period there have been several points of contact between Hindus and tribal communities living within it. Nature and extent of contact of mutual participation and characteristics of revitalisation movement vary in different parts of India.\textsuperscript{12}

According to \textbf{Andre Beteille} defining tribe is difficult and definition should be based on empirical characteristic of a particular mode of human grouping found in different parts of world irrespective of condition of time.


and place. Conceptually a tribe can be defined as an ideal state, a self-contained unit which constitutes a society in itself. A tribe is a society has a common government and shares a common territory. This definition becomes incomplete if one considers empirical evidence of tribes having segmental political organisations among Nuer and Dinka. Therefore, ecological and political criteria are not sufficient to define tribe as a society.\(^\text{13}\)

Again he says for a textual definition of tribe anthropologists include linguistic, cultural, economic and kinship characteristics. Religious practice such as animism, totemism, and nature worship are criteria of defining tribes. Anthropologists try to segregate tribe from non-tribe on basis of their mode of production. Mode of production of tribe is hunting, gathering or primitive agriculture. Tribal economy is underdeveloped for lack of specialisation. Tribal economy is a non-monetised. Above criteria are not sufficient to define Indian tribe. Case of India is more complicated. Hardly any tribes exist as a separate society. They have all been absorbed, in varying degrees, into wider society in India. Moreover, no tribe in India has a complete separate political boundary. Only in NEFA, a certain amount of political separateness is found. Large tribe of Chhoto-Nagpur, Oraon and

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Santal are territorially dispersed. Linguistic boundary of tribe is also not clear in India. Bhils who constitute as one of the largest tribes have been using a dialect of Hindi for many years. Languages spoken by tribes of middle and south India have a close proximity with language of some communities there. Therefore, in India, ideal type of tribe in conception of anthropologists is rare. Hence in his views Indian tribes are in transition and one can’t have a readymade definition to use in empirical research.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{L.P.Vidyarthi and Binay Kumar Rai} views tribes of India live in forests, hills and isolated regions. They have been in continuous contact with their neighbours and live by farming and working in industries. Till today they retain their tradition and custom. They form socially distinct communities in contrast to their neighbours. It is these communities which have been designated tribes, and listed them in a schedule for special treatment. \textsuperscript{15}

\textbf{K.S Singh} views that tribals outside North-East are closely integrated with prevailing colonial system of economy and administration. Interaction of peasants and tribes led to the development of settled agriculture as primary mode of subsistence in pre-colonial period. This process accentuated in the

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, Pp.7-14
colonial period and help tribal peasants.  

Nirmal Kumar Bose talks about different aspects of tribal life in India. He analyses society, economy and culture of tribes in different parts of India including tribes of North East, Andaman and Nicobar Islands. He also enlightens different means of livelihood of tribes in India including their social organization, religion, art, music and dance. According to him, there are following thirteen tribal languages or dialects each of which is spoken by more than half a million Indian tribal persons such as Bhili, Santali, Gondi, Kuruk or Oraon, Mundari, Bodo, Ho, Khasi, Tripuri, Garo, Kui, Lusai or Mizo and Halvi. Moreover, there are primitive tribes like the tribes of Andaman and Nicobar Islands such as Andamanese, Jarawa, Onge, Sentenelese, Shompen and those on the main land, e.g., Agariya of Madhya Pradesh and Birhor of Bihar and Orissa, who have a very small population and their distinct dialect. Many tribes in India are bilingual but in home or within their social circle they speak their own language. Tribes retain their own marriage regulations and they marry within their restricted local groups. Tribes are guided by their own elders or political chiefs in their internal and external affairs. Tribes in India form socially distinct

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communities in contrast to their neighbours. He also points out that this
distinction is very difficult to find out as economic life between them and
their neighbouring peasants are almost similar. The difference which
clearly emerges is only their isolation and economic backwardness due to
which they have been placed under category of Schedule Tribes and their
number is 300 in all over India. Many tribes on main land of India live on
hunting, fishing or gathering but they are not exclusively depended upon
these. Aboriginal inhabitants of Andaman Islands entirely depend upon
hunting, fishing or gathering for their livelihood. They are isolated from
even their neighbouring tribes because of language and they do not have
trade relations with others. Tribes of North East India and some tribes in
Orissa and Madya Pradesh principally depend upon a simple form of
cultivation known as shifting cultivation which needs different conditions
of rainfall. Bose also mentions that tribal communities who practice a
simple form of production have been coming in continuous contact with
peasants and artisans having greater specialisation. Juang of Orissa, Gond
of Madhya Pradesh, Santal of Bihar and Bengal have largely given up their
attachment to more primitive form of production and they come within the
orbit of peasant civilization of Hindus and are now cultivators, agricultural
labourers and workers in some primary type of occupation. Due to their
social contact with non-tribes though tribes could change their occupation but in subsequent time particularly during British period tribes become victim of exploitation of money landers and traders of main land. Nirmal Kumar Bose also describes evolution of tribal life under specific historical conditions. Regarding social organisation of tribes he is of view that as a rule, most tribal families consist of husband, wife and children But among some tribes in Himalayas, one wife may have several husbands and same is the case of Todas of Nilgiri Hills. Among several tribes youth dormitory serves several purposes. Next to family comes clan in tribal society. Marriage is usually forbidden within a clan. Bose points out that tribal religion or animistic belief is characterised by presence of spirit or supernatural power. As a result of spread of Christianity and Buddhism Indian tribes started to convert into these religions. Some tribes have adopted Hinduism.¹⁷

**D.N Majumdar** presents a comprehensive study of polyandrous Khasa and brought out characteristics of tribal-Hindu continuum. He says tribe looks upon Hindu ritual as foreign and extra-religious even though indulging in it and in worship of God and Goddess where as in caste these are necessary

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part of religion. In caste individuals generally pursue their own definite occupation because functions are divided under caste system. In tribe individuals can indulge in different profession they prefer as there is no fixed relation between them and occupation.18

A.R. Desai is concerned with fundamental conceptual problem raised by sociologist and anthropologist in defining and conceptualising Indian tribes. He views tribal problem essentially as an economic-political one. Tribal problem should be approached keeping in view fundamental issue of establishment of a social order found on equality of opportunity and elimination of exploitation. To him, solution of tribal problems demands reconstruction of a new social order. New social order will protect both tribal and non-tribal population from exploitation and will also abolish exploitation. Desai questions nature of assimilation of tribals with non-tribals. Referring work of Haimendorf and Bose he points out aggressive absorption of tribe by Hindu society. Tribal assimilation or acculturation is based on colonial and capitalist matrix. He criticises superficial and uncoordinated nature of aids granted by successive governments in every plan period. Exploitative, competitive, profit-oriented forces of society

make tribes object of capitalist exploitation. To him, desperate, violent and militant struggles are being launched by tribal population in various areas. These revolts are directed against inhuman conditions to which they have been subjected even after independence.\textsuperscript{19}

Virginius Xaxa defines tribes as indigenous people. Tribes are primarily seen as a stage and type of society. They represent a society that lacks positive traits of modern society and thus constitutes a simple, illiterate and backward society. With change in these features on account of education, modern occupation, new technology, etc, tribe is no longer considered to be tribal. If transformation is in direction of caste society then it is described as having become caste society. If reference is peasant then it is posited as peasant society and if general direction of transformation is social differentiation, then it is described as differentiated or stratified, and thus ceases to be tribal society. In process it is forgotten that tribe besides being a stage and type of society is also a society alike and similar to any other kind of society. But it is precisely this that comes to be denied on account of changed situation. Tribes are not of same stage and type of

other societies. There is then something clumsy about use of term tribe in describing Indian social reality.  

Further ethnographic data establish that contact varied from semi-isolation to complete assimilation as well as numerous castes among Hindus emerged out of tribal stratum. Recent study of tribe of Himalayan western and middle India reveal some tribes are Hinduised as they are assimilated with different castes at different levels.  

THEORY OF TRIBE

There are three main approaches to study of tribes in India. These are Isolation approach of Verrier Elwin, Assimilation approach of G.S Ghurye and Integration approach of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Theory of Isolation

Verrier Elwin in his book, The Baiga (1939), advocates establishment of a sort of 'National Park' in a wild and largely inaccessible part of country under direct control of a tribal commissioner. Inside this area,  


administration should allow tribesmen to live their live with utmost possible happiness and freedom. Wide power would be given to old tribal council and authority of village headman would be established. Non-tribal settlings in this area would be required to take out license. No missionaries of any religion would be permitted to break up tribal life. Everything possible would be done for the progress of tribals within this area, provided the quality of tribal life would not be impaired. Tribal culture would not be destroyed and tribal freedom would be restored and maintained. Tribe’s contact with outsiders should be minimised. Economic development would be given high priority. Simple and need oriented education would be given to tribal people. Fishing and hunting would be freely permitted and dictatorship of subordinate officials within the area should be eradicated.22

Tribal population in India belongs to various stages of cultural development. Verrier Elwin in his book ‘The Aboriginals’(1943) divides Indian tribes into four classes according to their stage of cultural development. Class I is the purest of pure tribal groups comprising about two or three million persons. Elwin and a large section of missionary reformers and anthropologists grow lyrical over the robust, vibrant and

healthy life of this tribal group. According to Elwin, these highlanders do not merely exist like so many villagers, they really live. Their religion is characteristic and alive, their tribal organisation is un-impaired, their artistic and choreographic traditions are unbroken, and their mythology still vitalises healthy organisation of tribal life. Geographical conditions have largely protected them from debasing contacts of the plains. It is said that the hoot of the motor-horn would sound the knell of the aboriginal tribes. A section of this category of tribes has been experiencing contact with plain and consequently undergoing change. This group is coming under class II of Elwin’s classification. Though such group retain its tribal mode of living it may exhibit many contrasting characteristics with the first group. Instead of communal life this group lives a village life which has become individualistic. Their communal life and traditions are only preserved through their village dormitories. They do not share things with one another. Axe cultivation has ceased to be a way of life for them. Members of these tribes are more contaminated by life outside. They come in contact with groups living on periphery who live a more complex i.e. civilised life. Members of these tribes are less simple and less honest than members of tribes belonging to class I. Tribe belonging to class III constitutes the largest section of total tribal population, about four-fifth of it, i.e. nearly
twenty millions. Members of this class of tribal groups are in a peculiar state of transition. They bare tribal in name but have become as like as Hindus who belong to lower rung of Hindu society. One section of this class has got converted into Christianity. This group of tribes has been appreciably affected by external contacts. They have been exposed to influence of economic and socio-cultural forces of Hindu society. They have also subjected to missionary influences. But above all, they have been most adversely affected by the economic and political policies of the British which resulted in their being dragged into orbit of colonial-capitalist system in India. Members belonging to this category of tribal groups were uprooted from their mode of production in same way as were millions of cultivators and artisans living in the multitude of autarchic of villages of pre-British India from their self-sufficient, self-contained village community setting. During British period under impact of new economic and politico-administrative measures these tribesmen lost their moorings from their economy, social organization and cultural life. A large section of this population was reduced to status of bond slaves or agrestic serfs of money-lender, zamindar and contractor who emerged due to political and economic policy pursued by British. Another section was reduced to category of near to slave labourer working on plantation, mine, railway or
road construction or other enterprise. They were uprooted from their habitat and condemned to a wretched existence. A number of these tribes were branded as criminal tribes as their members could survive only by criminal means. They lost their land and occupation and had no alternative means to subsistence because of economic and political exploitation of British. Class IV tribals consists of old aristocracy of country, represented today by great Bhil and Naga Chieftains, Gond Rajas, a few Binshevar and Bhuyia landlords, korku noblemen, wealthy Santal and Uraon leaders and some highly cultured Mudas. They retain their own tribal names, clan and totem rules. They observe elements of tribal religion despite of adopting full Hindu faith and live in modern or even European style. According to Elwin, tribals of this class have won the battle of cultural contacts. It seems that they have acquired aristocratic traditions, economic stability, affluence, outside encouragement, a certain arrogance and self-confidence characteristic alike ancient families and modern enterprise. This class of tribals has secured benefit of civilisation without injury to themselves. Elwin observes, whole aboriginal problem is to how to enable tribesmen of the first and second classes to advance direct into the fourth class without having to suffer the despair and degradation of the third. For this purpose Elwin advocates policy of isolation. He feels it is important to give some
protection to tribal people in transition period during which they must learn to stand on their own feet and become strong enough to resist those who exploit them. In his book ‘A Philosophy of NEFA’ he advocates for development of tribes residing in remote areas of North-East Frontier and suggests for spending a great deal of money to eradicate their poverty, degradation and unhappiness.23

This approach is not followed for long term. Looking into perspective of third world, Indian strategy of tribal development, in spite of its limitations, is described as a unique experiment. Assimilation approach paved way for tribal people to mingle with neighbouring non-tribals. In India, process of assimilation takes place in different parts of the country resulting in gradual acceptance of Hindu culture by tribals. Advocates of this approach support a direct assimilation without waiting for a slow and long-drawn change.

Theory of Assimilation

Govind Sadashiv Ghurye in book ‘The Scheduled Tribes’ 1959 describes nature of assimilation of tribes in wider Hindu society. Like Elwin, Ghurye also divides tribes into three sections. First section is constituted of

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Rajgonds and others who have successfully fought the battle and are organised as members of fairly high status within Hindu society. Second category is large mass that has been partially Hinduised and has come to closer contact with Hindus and third, the hill sections, which has exhibited the greater power of resistance to the alien cultures that have passed upon their border.  

A large number of tribes in India, according to Ghurye, Santal, Munda, Oraon, Kond, Gond and Korku speak languages which either belong to Kherwari or Mundari group of languages or to Dravidian family, These languages are, more often than not, different from languages of plains people among whom tribals have larger social intercourse. Languages of latter in most cases belong to Indo-Aryan family. Many of these tribes, though they have preserved their tribal languages, can and do employ Indo-Aryan languages of surrounding people in their routine intercourse. Many of them thus are bi-lingual, having their own mother-tongue and having more or less acquired languages of neighbouring people. There are others, like Baigas, who have taken up Indo-Aryan tongue of the locality in place of their own language. Others like Bhils speak languages which are dialect

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of local languages. In all case language spoken by so-called aborigine were till recently not spoken tongue and no script of their own. Tribal solidarity, according to Ghurye, has been broken by two distinct agencies. One is Hinduism and its assimilative process and other is British policy. Hindu assimilation makes tribes not so absorbed rather weak and benumbed under feeling of brokenness. If section of tribes gets assimilated in Hindu fold they are ushered into an altogether strange social world. Hindu castes, at least many of them, have characteristics of tribal society as regards to management of internal affairs. Tribal sections on joining Hindu society develop an internal organisation of caste pattern, and thus have been regulating and controlling power within them. Many of tribes get smugly settled into Hindu fold. Moreover, Ghurye is of view that British rule particularly its revenue collection pattern; its central police system and judicial system have broken solidarity of tribal society in India.  

According to G.S Ghurye tribal people in India are backward Hindu differing only in degree from the other segment of Hindu society. Their backwardness is due to their imperfect assimilation into Hindu society. Tribes of India have slowly absorbed certain Hindu values and life style through contact with Hindus. Under Hindu influence tribes have given up

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25 Ibid, Pp. 32
liquor drinking, they received education and have changed their practices and habits and adopted Hinduism as their religion.\textsuperscript{26}

\textbf{Theory of Integration}

This theory is propounded by Jawaharlal Nehru in his manuscript discovery of India. Though his concept is mainly influenced and drawn from his \textit{panchsheel} principle, Neheru categorically rejected both isolation and assimilation approach of tribe. According to him isolation approach to treat tribal as \textit{‘museum specimen to be observed and written about’} signifies insult to them. Tribe cannot be left cut off from world as they are. Isolation is in any case is impossible at this stage of underdevelopment due to outsiders’ penetration. To him, assimilation approach of allowing tribes \textit{‘to be engulfed by masses of Indian humanity’} is also wrong. This would lead to loss of their virtuous social and cultural identity as well as there is possibility of capturing tribal land and forest by unscrupulous outsiders. Life of tribal will be in threat in such a position. Instead of these two approaches, Neheru favours policy of integrating tribal people in Indian society and to make them an integral part of Indian nation without hampering their distinct identity and culture. Policy of integration consists of two types of measures for tribal development. These are Protective

measure and Promotional measure. After independence Prime Minister Jawarharlal Neheru lays down a Panchsheel principle for tribal development in India. *Panchsheel* is five fundamental principles for tribal development in India. For ensuring overall development there should be proper communication, medical facility, education and better agriculture. These avenues of development should, however, be pursued within broad framework of following five fundamental principles.

1. People should develop a long line of their own genius and nothing should be imposed on them. Rather we should try to encourage in every way their own traditional art and culture.

2. Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.

3. We should try to train and built up a team of their own people to do work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will be needed in beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

4. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through their own social and cultural institution.

5. We should judge result, not by statistics of amount of money spent, but by quality of human character that is evolved.
Jawaharlal Neheru being Prime Minister notes and elaborates these points on a number of occasions and speaks on caution needed in developing tribal areas. He points out disastrous effect of ‘so-called European civilisation’ on tribal people of other parts of the world which has put to an end of their arts and crafts and simple way of living. Neheru declares that so-called Indian civilization may have a dangerous impact on life of tribals if it is not checked in proper way. In beginning of shaping government’s policy for tribal development Constitution of India under Article 46 directs states to promote special care on educational and economic interest of tribal people. Tribals should be provided social justice and should be protected from exploitation through special legislation. Governors of states in which tribal areas are situated are given special responsibility to protect tribal interests. Governor has power to modify central and state laws in their application to tribal areas, and to frame regulations for protection of tribals’ right to land and also to save them from exploitation of moneylenders. Applications of fundamental rights are amended for this purpose. Constitution also extends full political right to tribal people. In addition, it provides provision for reservation of seats in legislature and administrative services for Scheduled Tribes as in the case of Scheduled Castes. Constitution also provides for setting up of Tribal Advisory Councils in all states containing tribal areas to
advice on matters concerning welfare of tribals. A commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is appointed by President to investigate whether safeguard provided to them are being observed. Legislative as well as executive action is taken by state governments to prevent loss of tribal land to non-tribal people and to prevent exploitation of tribals by moneylenders. Central and state governments create special facilities and organize special programmes for welfare and development of tribal areas and tribal people including promotion of cottage and village industries and generation of employment among them. Large expenditures are undertaken and large sums set apart in plan for this purpose. Funding for tribal welfare significantly increased after 1971. Tribal policy of the Government of India, inspired by Jawaharlal Neheru is therefore more relevant to tribal people of North East India. Neheru says in October 1952 that all this North-East border area deserve special attention not only of government but of people of India.27

A reflection of this policy is in Sixth Schedule of constitution which applies only to tribal areas of Assam. Sixth Schedule offers a fair degree of self-government for tribal people by providing for autonomous districts and

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creation of district and regional councils which will exercise some of legislative and judicial functions within overall jurisdiction of Assam legislature and parliament. Objective of Sixth Schedule is to enable tribals to live according to their own way. Government of India also expresses its willingness to further amend constitutional provisions relating to tribal people if it is found necessary to do so with a view to promote further autonomy.  

Neheru’s and Elwin’s policies are implemented best of all in North-Eastern Frontier Agency or NEFA. It is created in 1948 out of border areas of Assam. NEFA is established as a Union Territory outside jurisdiction of Assam and placed under a special administration.

Former approach consists of land policy, forest policy and policy to protect tribal culture and tradition, while the latter is development and welfare programmes would be undertaken by government to make better tribal life. P.D Kulkarni states that policy of protection and development is

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28 Ibid, Pp.45.
undoubtedly same in itself, but it remains to be seen whether development is possible without upsetting harmony that exists in placid tribal life.\textsuperscript{30}

G.S Ghurye’s makes well-known analysis of Scheduled Tribe problem. His anthropological inclinations naturally brought tribes close to his heart. Inspired by the work of his students, Ghurye writes on grand theme of 'Integration of Tribals' in 1943 and it is essentially in reply to 'isolationist' approach of Verrier Elwin, which forms basis of British colonial policy. G.S Ghurye views that only solution to the problem is their progressive assimilation with the farmers and peasants of the adjoining districts. He has vision to conclude that the major problems of the tribals are never different from the problems of poor rural people in general.\textsuperscript{31}

In subsequent editions of the book 'The Scheduled Tribes', G.S Ghurye becomes critical of independent India's government policy which sows seeds of disintegration by its internally contradicting step of laying down integrationist approach in constitution and on other hand promoting fission by giving importance to idea of Scheduled Areas. Comprehensive study of Ghurye on problems of Indian tribes conducted 65 years ago lead to a great


\textsuperscript{31} http//:www.boloji.com
methodological contribution at present.\cite{G.S Ghurye, The Scheduled Tribes, Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd, Bombay, 1963, Pp.3, 9-23}

**Conclusion**

Concept and theory of tribe are very complex. Concepts used by early scholars denote simple aspect of tribe. Later other kinds of work on tribes signify divergent aspects. Irony is from anthropologist to sociologist and to scholars of other disciplines, concept of tribe is a perennial problem.

Again regarding major theories of tribe as of now only three theories are found and visible to wider extent. Though attempts are made at different levels to build up theory at every level, their significance or existence is yet to be felt. That is why probably isolation approach, assimilation approach and integration approach are now debated and contradicted. Hence though social anthropologists and other scholars generated much interest to conceptualise and define tribe and their socio-cultural aspects, both concept and theory of tribe till date remained most problematic and controversial.