

# *Chapter 1*

## **Introduction**

### **1.1. Introduction**

The English term 'Tribe', which is derived from the Latin word '*tribus*' indicates a particular kind of social group in a traditional society consisting of linked families or communities sharing customs and beliefs. The Oxford Dictionary defines a tribe as "a group of people in a primitive or barbarous stage of development acknowledging the authority of a chief and usually regarding themselves as having a common ancestor".<sup>1</sup>

With the upsurge of nationalism in Europe, the term 'tribe' was used to denote a particular stage in the socio-political fruition of a community of people speaking a certain language within a specified territory. Clan, tribe, nation etc. came to denote in European phraseology successive stages in the liberal march towards nationhood.<sup>2</sup>

The British administrators brought this idea to India. H. H. Risley's book *The People of India* (1915) and his speculative comments on such terms as 'race', 'clan', 'tribe', 'nation', and 'people' etc. well illustrate the point. Risley was an important official of the Bengal bureaucracy. In this opinion "the tribe represents a collection or group of families, bearing a common name, which as a rule does not denote any specific occupation, generally claiming common descent from a mythical or historical ancestor and occasionally from an animal. In some regions, they are held together more as a result of blood relationship than by the tradition of kinship, usually speaking the same language and occupying a definite tract of country, which however may change with the course of time. A tribe is not necessarily endogenous, i.e., it is not an invariable rule that a man of a particular tribe must marry a woman of that tribe".<sup>3</sup>

According to Prof. Nihar Ranjan Roy the term 'Jana' was used in prehistoric India to denote people whom we call 'tribes'. The terms 'Jati' and 'Janah' are both derived in Sanskrit and Prakrit which we find from the root 'Jana', which means people in general. In Ancient Indian literature, we find references to 'Janas' or communities of people such as the Sabaras, the Kullutas, the Kolas, the Bhaillas, the Khasas, the Kinnars and many others whom we today know as tribes bearing virtually the same names.<sup>4</sup>

India has one of the major tribal concentrations in the world. The tribal world in India remained comparatively placid till the advent of the British. The colonial system bore harshly on the tribal societies who with a sensitivity formed out of isolation and relatively intact social mechanism of control, nauseated more often than not and far more aggressively than any other community counting Indian peasants.<sup>5</sup> Colonial rule differs basically from pre-modern forms of administration in one important respect. Whereas previously the principal object of conquest was to secure control over less powerful human groups; colonial conquest meant mastery of the ruler over natural resources as well.<sup>6</sup> The British tried to open up the entire country with the intention of ruling and exploiting effectively. They molded an extensive communication system including post and telegraph, roads and railways. This broke the isolation of the tribes. With the blowout of administration came the engineers, contractors and civil and military officials of all ranks. They coveted the lands of the tribals. Unaware of the existence of the monetary system, the tribals soon lost most of their land to these newcomers and were evicted from their traditional holding.<sup>7</sup>

As the colonial system disintegrated a debate advanced over the nature and function of anthropological research in the former colonies, and the extent of collaboration amongst anthropologists and colonial administrators.<sup>8</sup> Anthropology has been labeled on the one hand, as "a child of Imperialism"<sup>9</sup> and on the other hand, as "not a bastard of

imperialism but legitimate child of Enlightenment.”<sup>10</sup> No doubt, ethnography had its ancestries in the administration’s need to collect information. In this sense, anthropology may be said to have developed as a fragment of the colonial system. While some anthropologists turned out to be the apologists of the colonial rule; others were critical of the system. In India, both trends could be witnessed.<sup>11</sup>

Before the attainment of Independence, the boundless debate about the future of Indian tribes centered round the dual concepts of isolation and assimilation. The British government broadly followed the model of indirect rule in its colonies, dependencies and protectorates. Under this policy the territories predominantly populated by the tribes were demarcated and fetched under special provision.<sup>12</sup>

In early British writings on India, the term ‘caste’ was used as synonymous with tribe and later, for a extensive time not as synonymous but as if they were equivalent social groups.<sup>13</sup> The leaders of the Indian National Congress did not pay attention to the tribal delinquent for a long time, though the question of lower and depressed orders and the untouchables in the Hindu Society began to attract notice from about the 1880s.<sup>14</sup> Mahatma Gandhi showed as much concern for the Adivasis or Adimjatis for the Harijans.<sup>15</sup> His message, being preached in the procedure of the Bhakti movement, carried forward and deepened the procedure of Sanskritization which had started in the tribal world in the latter half of 19<sup>th</sup> century. The influential of sects like Sapha Hor, Tana Bhagats and Hari Baba movements were steeped in the Bhakti tradition.<sup>16</sup>

Erstwhile to the adoption of the Indian constitution, the tribal inhabitants of the country was variously categorized, as ‘aboriginals’, ‘adivasis’, ‘forest dwellers’, ‘hill tribes’, ‘primitive tribes’ etc. Up to 1919, they were referred to in administrative reports as ‘Depressed Classes’. The Indian Franchise Committee in 1919 conferred a distinct nomenclature to them. Thus, in the census report of 1931 they were classified as

‘Primitive Tribes’. In 1941 this was shortened ‘Tribes’ only. Many terms were used as almost synonymous with ‘Tribe’, ex, ‘Adivasi’ (Original Settlers), ‘Girijan’ (Hill dwellers), ‘Vanyajati’ (Forest Caste), ‘Adimjati’ (Primitive Caste), ‘Janajati’ (Folk Communities) and Anusuchit Janajati (Scheduled Tribe). In the recent past, anthropologists and others have coined of a new term, i.e., indigenous people which, to a large extent is similar to the term ‘native’ used all through the colonial period.<sup>17</sup>

An appropriate definition of the ‘Tribe’ is not specified in the Indian Constitution. Any community which is enumerated in the schedule of the Constitution as a tribe is known as a ‘Scheduled Tribe’ in India.<sup>18</sup>

The term ‘Scheduled Tribe’ was introduced in the constitution vide Article-342 (i), which states: The President may by public notification specify the tribes or tribal communities or part of or groups within the tribes or tribal communities or parts which shall for the purposes of this constitution, be deemed to be scheduled tribes.<sup>19</sup>

According to Article-366 (25), “Scheduled Tribes means such tribes or tribal communities or parts of groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed to be Scheduled Tribes for the purpose of this constitution.”<sup>20</sup>

The Constitution of India affords for a inclusive framework for the socio-economic development of Scheduled Tribes and for averting their mistreatment by other groups of society. A thorough and comprehensive review of the tribal problem was made on the eve of the Fifth Five Year Plan and the Tribal sub-Plan strategy revealed the obligation of a cohesive approach to the tribal complications was necessary in rappings of their geographic and demographic concentration.

So far tribals had been studied mainly by anthropologists as ethnological groupings. They adopted the term ‘tribe’ from ordinary usage. Like all such terms, it has a wide –tation. In general, it is applied to people who are considered primitive and live in

backward areas.<sup>21</sup> A tribe is a self-contained unit. It institutes a society in itself.<sup>22</sup> Given below are some ways in which anthropologists have defined the term.

Nadel says ‘Societies are made up of people; societies have boundaries, people either belonging to them or not and people belong to society in virtue of ruled under which they stand, and which impose on them regular, determinate map of acting towards and in regard to one another.’<sup>23</sup>

According to Dubey, “the tribe generally refers to territorial communities living in the relative isolation of hills and forests. The tribal way of life has developed in comparative isolation. Partly because they have avoided contact with the outer world, keeping with them and partly because limited world-view that this has brought about History and mythology are irreparable in their tradition. They have separate cultural identity and often possesses latent or manifest value attitude and motivational systems which are remarkably different from those of the other people”.<sup>24</sup>

D.G. Mandel Baum has defined the tribe as “The social unit larger than the local group with which the families of a local community almost always have a sense of belonging”.<sup>25</sup>

B.K. Roy Burman has tried to define the tribe under demographic parameters and has used demographic indicators for this purpose.<sup>26</sup>

According to D.N. Majumdar, “A tribe is a collection of families or group of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligations. A tribe is ordinarily an endogamous unit, is a political unit in the sense that the tribal society owns a political organization”.<sup>27</sup>

In the opinion of R.N.Mukherjee, “A tribe is that territorial human group which is bound together by commonness in respect to locality, language, social codes and economic pursuits.”<sup>28</sup>

According to Marshall Gordon, the term tribe typically designates a social group designedly organized by kin and duty and linked with a particular territory. Members of the tribe share the social solidity linked with the family, together with a logic of political sovereignty showed as members of a nation.<sup>29</sup>

Ralph Linton says, “In its simplest form the tribe is a group of people occupying a contiguous territory or territories and having a feeling of unity deriving from numerous similarities in culture, frequent contacts and a certain community of interests”.<sup>30</sup> To Lucy Mair, “a tribe is an independent political division of a population with a common culture”<sup>31</sup>. To G.W.B. Huntingford, “A tribe is a group united by a common name in which the members take pride by a common language, by a common territory, and by a feeling that all who do not share this name are outsiders, enemies in fact”.<sup>32</sup>

According to L.M. Lewis “tribal societies are small in scale, are restricted in the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal and political relations and possess a morality, a religious and world-view of corresponding dimensions. Characteristically, too, tribal languages are unwritten and hence, the extent of communications both in time and space is inevitably narrow. Tribal societies exhibit a remarkable economy of design and have a compactness and self-sufficiency lacking in modern society”.<sup>33</sup>

To conclude, tribe may be demarcated as a collection of people speaking a common language perceiving uniform rules of social organization and working collectively for common purpose such as, trade, agriculture or warfare. Other distinctive characteristics include a common name, a contiguous territory, a comparatively uniform culture or way of life, and a custom of common succession.

Since Independence several plans and programmes are implemented for overall development of the scheduled Tribes but the achievements so far made by them in the field of economy are not encouraging. If we desire to understand their present wretched condition, we should look back to the antique past and follow it up in a sequential order. This will unfold a long history of disorganization, deprivation and frustration. We are aware of the fact that the tribals had self-sufficient means of living before the British came. During the British period different guidelines and protocols were imposed on different forest areas. These gradually encroached upon the rights of the tribals and had an adversative effect on their economy. Previously, most of the tribals owned their land from which they derived economic sustenance. With the initiation of new land laws and the Zamindari system, the tribals were gradually uprooted from of their land. The process was hastened instanced with the approaching industrialization.

After Independence, the Government realized that the backwardness of the tribal people would, have an antagonistic effect on Indian society. Developmental strategies were therefore formulated with the aim of bringing the tribals closer to the mainstream society, so that they eventually became a part of it. Under Article 342 of the Indian Constitution, the President of India passed the Scheduled Tribes Order, 1950. It contained the names of seven tribal communities from West Bengal, – Santal, Oraon, Munda, Lepcha, Bhutia, Mech and Mru. According to the recommendation of the Backward Classes Commission, The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order Amendment Act, 1956 was passed. Consequently, besides the names of 7 tribal communities mentioned before, 12 other tribal communities were enlisted as Scheduled Tribes - Ho, Kora, Lodha, Kheria, Malpaharia, Bhumij, Chakma, Garo, Hajong, Moga, Mahali, Nagesia and Rabha. Later, in 1956, Scheduled Tribes (Modification) Order, 1956 was passed, and 22 other tribal communities got enlisted as scheduled tribes. Eventually, 41 tribal communities

came up as scheduled tribes in West Bengal. According to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order Amendment Act, 1976, the figure of tribal communities enlisted as ‘Scheduled Tribes’ were 38. After 2001 Census, Limbu and Tamang have been enlisted as Scheduled Tribes in 2003, thereby increasing the figure to 40 (Table 1.1).<sup>34</sup>

**Table 1.1 List of Scheduled Tribes**

1. Asur	21.Koewa
2. Baiga	22.Lepcha
3.Bedia, Bediya	23.Lodha, Kheria, Kharia
4.Bhumij	24.Lohara, Lohra
5.Bhutia, Sherpa, Toto, Dukpa, Kagatay, Tibetan, Yolmo	25.Magh
6.Birhor	26.Mahali
7.Birjia	27.Mahli
8.Chakma	28.Mal Paharia
9.Chero	29.Mech
10.Chik Barik	30.Mru
11.Garo	31.Munda
12.Gond	32.Nagesia
13.Gorait	33. Oraon
14.Hajang	34. Pahariya
15.Ho	35. Rabha
16.Karmali	36. Santal
17.Kharwar	37. Sauria Paharia
18.Khond	38. Savar
19.Kisan	39. Limbu
20. Kora	40. Tamang

In addition, a closer look into the geographical and cultural matrix of West Bengal shows that the colonial parameters for categorization and description of tribes on the basis of features such as primitive traits, discrete culture, backwardness, geographical isolation,

etc., have in maximum cases either served their purposes or have become redundant with the passage of time. These terminologies to some degree have now become outdated in view of the influence of the forces of modernization and change that have begun to appear in the life of the tribals after independence. The criterion of 'physical isolation' no longer holds good for the tribals of West Bengal as most of the tribal communities living in the state are not living in segregation from the rest of the population. Their habitations in most cases are interspersed with non-tribal communities. Due to this close living proximity of the tribals alongside the non-tribals, they did not develop in West Bengal tribal blocks with more than half of tribal population are required for the Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP).<sup>35</sup> The growing cultural interaction amongst the tribals and non-tribals and their remarkable progress particularly in the field of education and employment are further proof of their gratification of modern facilities. The total population of West Bengal, as per 2011 Census report is 9,12,76,115 out of which, the Scheduled Tribes population is 52,96,953 (5.8 Percent).

## **1.2. Review of Existing Literature**

Since Independence, there has been a steady growth in the existing works on the tribal population of India, both in the arrangement of monograph by individual authors also in papers contributed to various collections of essays.

*A Philosophy for NEFA* Varrier Elwin (1959) in his book shows how the North – East Frontier Agency (NEFA) also remains a source of curiosity. Bordering China, it has no unique geographical and cultural identity, which distinguishes it from the rest of India.<sup>36</sup>

Elwin's book *A New Deal for Tribal India* (1963) is not, however, intended in any way to supersede the full report of the Commission but rather to introduce it and to stress,

as a result of selection, the most imperative aspects in his opinion was a most significant step forward in India's attitude to awareness towards the tribal people.<sup>37</sup>

In assortment of essays *Jawaharlal Nehru, Tribes and Tribal Policy* (1989) K.S. Singh described the influence of Jawaharlal Nehru, in shaping tribal policy and development strategy during the early years of the Indian Republic. Basically, this was a continuation of the values the period of the Indian awakening and freedom struggle.<sup>38</sup>

In another of his edited books *Economics of the Tribes and their Transformation* (1982) Kumar Suresh Singh shows how tribal economy has been studied in our country either in isolation or as peripheral to the broader rational system. Specific problems of land alienation, indebtedness and influence of industrialization etc have attracted wide notice. The procedure of transformation has been demarcated as unilinear, from tribe into jati like- peasant and from peasant into labour.<sup>39</sup>

K. S. Singh's book *The Scheduled Tribes* (1994) published as portion of the People of India project, it persisted the result of a gigantic exercise brought forward by the Anthropological Survey of India. It is a store-house of evidence on the hundreds of communities, castes and tribes which exist in this country. These communities are accessible in an alphabetical order for easy orientation and the subjects enclosed in each case comprises of all aspects of culture and society, language, location, script, biological variation, education level and impression of development. This volume in the series is the foremost comprehensive and systematic account of India's 461 tribal communities, counting their 172 segments which are scattered throughout the country. This is also probably the most complete list of the Scheduled Tribes, a few among them were recognized for the first time in Arunachal Pradesh and Lakshadweep. The tribals inhabit mainly those hilly regions which are the repository of minerals and natural resources. They have been increasingly influenced by 'development' process, particularly education,

communication and health –care. Forms of private property have emerged. There is a shift from traditional occupations, many of which have declined to modern occupation, including government service, in which an increasingly huge number of tribes remain involved.<sup>40</sup>

Sukant K. Chaudhury & Soumendra Mohan Patnaik in their edited book *Indian Tribes and the Mainstream* (2008) posits an evaluation to the existing dichotomy amongst the mainstream of Indian society and the tribal philosophies. Here, an attempt has been made to discover the reason behind the existence this dichotomy and its socio-political forfeits. Through the micro and macro studies, the authors interrogate the use of traditional anthropological discourses on tribal societies. It also provided us the scope to apprehend tribals as mutually victims and apparatuses in the social and political course of nation – building.<sup>41</sup>

S. N. Chaudhary's book *Tribal Economy at Crossroads* (2010) deals with nature and dynamics of tribal economy in India, in connection to the intervention of civil society and various macro / micro factors.<sup>42</sup>

J. S. Bhandari and Subhadra Mitra Channa in their edited book *Tribes and Government Policies* (1997) discussed about the tribal people who subsisted a life of freedom and self- respect till the lands of their forefather and the abode of their spirits were assaulted both physically and ideologically by the forces of colonization and industrialization and the establishment of the post World War Nation States. These states, whether colonial or otherwise had to develop certain policies to handle the people who, most often on their own, refused to have anything to do with the state supremacy imposed on them. This book fetches altogether the opinions and analysis of a large number of eminent scholars on the subject of Government policies regarding the tribes. These intellectuals speak as tribals and non- tribals, and as policy makers and critiques of them.<sup>43</sup>

Devendra Thakur and D.N.Thakur in their edited book *Industrialisation in Tribal Areas* (1994) analyzing through industrialization in the tribal belts started in the pre-Independence era, it took a dynamic turn only in the post-Independent India when heavy industries like heavy engineering at Ranchi, iron and steel factories at Rourkela, Bhilai, Durgapur etc. were established in the tribal areas. In course of time, the tribal land which was free from environmental problems is full of industrial garbage and smoke. In spite of the fact that they get practically nothing as a return still they work as unskilled labourers and are freed from their age-long poverty and backwardness. Moreover, sometimes, they have to alienate from not only from their land, but they have also to become homeless. This studies the facts and figures of industrialization in the tribal belts. It starts with the review of tribal economy in the milieu of industrialization. The study further deals with large, small and cottage industries established in the backward regions of the tribal people. Together with this it presents the situation of industrial complexes in the tribal belts. Industrial planning was a remarkable portion of this work in the tribal areas.<sup>44</sup>

B.B.Chaudhuri and Arun Bandopadhyay in their edited book *Tribes, Forest and Social Formation in Indian History* (2004) analyzing a comprehensive social history of tribes and forests in India is hitherto to be written. The emergence of subaltern studies in the 1980s and ecological studies in the 1990s have brought about a need to approach the tribal delinquent from a new perspective. Thus, questions have been varied about the association amongst tribes and forests in India. To what extent were the tribes or communities subsiding in forests living apart from peasant society? How far were they practical in the use of forest resources? What impact did colonial rule have on ecology and how effectively have the matters associated to forest management and community rights been tackled in post-colonial years?<sup>45</sup>

H. C. Upadhyay in his edited book *Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes in India: A Socio- Economic Profile* (1991) describe that the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes live in poverty and are concentrated in low paying menial occupation. Their socio-economic status does not permit them to reach better standards in life through change of occupations new expectations have been raised by the changes they see round them. Part they cannot participate in this all- round change. This creates a tension among them.

The Indian Constitution provides reserved seat for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes in the political and economic field. After Independence, several schemes were lunched for the betterment of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. The Central and State Government are spending crores of rupees for their proper upliftment.<sup>46</sup>

Anil Kumar Singh in his edited book *Tribes and Tribal Life* (1993) describe the tribal communities have moved far since the initial contacts between them and “civilized” mankind. In India they were designated by the British soldier-historians as “the uncivilized races of the Empire” and the paths opened up by the Christian missionaries revealed that the so-called savages were than the complex machinations of the civilized man. However, it was the Christian Missionaries who brought the tribal communities into the light of advancement and progress through education, improved health consciousness and modern approach to life and livelihood. Today the literature on tribes and tribal peoples is a vast mirror that reflects the diversity of human nature and endeavour, its fascinating forms and varieties.<sup>47</sup>

Govinda Chandra Rath in his edited book *Tribal Development in India: The Contemporary Debate* (2006) described midst India’s ‘people at the periphery’ are its tribals. Development planning in India has endeavored to substitute their empowerment by concentrating on food security, health, education, employment and income generation. Fifty years of such planning, however, was unsuccessful to slender the gap amongst the

tribals and the rest of the population, and has instead strengthened the unequal exchange among the two. Overall, this volume offers a compact yet comprehensive outlook of the tribal experience of development in India. It will be useful to students of society, social anthropology, economics, political science and education, and to those interested in grassroots development in a context that is still by and large hidden from the public view.<sup>48</sup>

Kamal K Misra and G. Jayaprakasan in their edited book *Tribal Movements in India: Visions of Dr. K.S. Singh* (2012) describe Dr. K.S. Singh as an adaptable scholar apart from his existence as an administrator and a passionate expert of historical ethnography. In course of his long tenancy of investigations on tribal matters over four decades, Dr. Singh penned many essays on tribal movements, tribal peasant connections, tribal customary law, tribal economy and so on. Much to the disappointment of historians and anthropologists, he had implemented a combined methodology of historical research and anthropological field work in conveying his facts before the readers and decision makers. The existing volume offers an assortment of those momentous essays penned by Dr. Singh on tribal movements in India.<sup>49</sup>

Nirmal Kumar Bose's book *Tribal Life in India* (1971) discuss the various facets of tribal life in India. He scrutinizes society, economy and culture of the tribes living in diverse parts of India, including those of the North East and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In Bose's opinion there are thirteen tribal languages or dialects in India, each of which is spoken by more than half a million tribals, -viz. Bhili, Santali, Gondi, Kuruk or Oraon, Mundari, Bodo, Ho, Khasi, Tripuri, Garo, Kui, Lusai or Mizo and Halvi. Moreover, there are primeval tribes like those living in Andaman and Nicobar Islands, such as the Jarawa, Onge and Shompen besides the Indian mainland, e.g., the Agariya of Madhya Pradesh and Birhor of Bihar and Orissa, who are very small in number and have

their particular dialect. Several tribes in India are bilingual. At home and within their social circle they express in their own language but in their social relationship with members outside their own society, they follow the social practices of the dominant group.

Bose also describes the fruition of tribal life under specific historical conditions. The family is the elementary unit of tribal society. Generally, most tribal families consist of the husband, wife and children. But among some tribes in the Himalayas, one wife may have several husbands. The same is the case with the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills. Among several tribe's youth dormitory serves several purposes. Next to the family comes the clan in tribal society. Marriage is usually forbidden within a clan. Bose points out that tribal religion or animistic belief is characterized by presence of spirit or supernatural power. Through the spread of Christianity and Buddhism Indian tribes started to convert into these religions. Some tribes have adopted Hinduism.<sup>50</sup>

He shows how tribes are steered by their elders or political chiefs in all internal and external concerns. Tribes form socially discrete communities isolated from their neighbors. In recent times however it is very difficult to maintain this distinction as their economic activities are almost similar to those on their neighbors.

Tribes are generally characterized by economic backwardness. About 300 tribes have been positioned in the scheduled category. Many tribes in the mainland of India live by hunting, fishing or gathering forest products but they do not solely hang on these. Indigenous residents of the Andaman Islands completely depend upon hunting, fishing or gathering the possessions of the forest for their livelihood. They are secluded from even their neighboring tribes for the reason that the languages they use are different. Moreover, they do not have trade relations with others. The tribes of North East India and some tribes living in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh primarily hang on a modest form of cultivation recognized as shifting cultivation. Bose also remarks that tribal communities who exercise

a modest form of production have been coming in constant contact with peasants and artisans having more specialization. The Juangs of Orissa, the Gonds of Madhya Pradesh and the Santals of Bihar and Bengal have largely given up their attachment to more primitive forms of production and are now involved as cultivators, agricultural labourers and workers in some primary types of occupation. During British rule in India they became victims of exploitation of money lenders and traders from outside.

The approaches for tribal modernization in India have been criticized by B. K. Roy Burman in *Modernization among the Tribal People in India's Borders* (1973) <sup>51</sup> Even while living in close proximity to non-tribals they hardly share a common life with them. Tribals subsiding in urban areas are not in the opinion of integrating fully into the wider society round them. Many of them adopt the technology, skill of the modern world, but retain the feelings and emotions of the tribal world. They were not concerned about the circumstance that they formed a minority at the regional level. Before coming into interaction with the main stream of national life at the regional and national levels they were not concerned about the datum that they formed a minority at the regional level.

Dean Joros in *Socialisation of Politics* (1973) argues that a more complete evaluation of tribal welfare programmes may be ensured by analyzing the political socialization process. Induction of tribals into the political system and their integration into the mainstream of national life are in this opinion part and parcel of the same process. Tribal integration into social life is impossible without political socialization. Political socialization must precede the integration into national life.<sup>52</sup>

Yogendra Singh in his book *Indian Sociology* (1986) shows how the theoretical framework established by the British administrators turned ethnographers and anthropologists was influenced by the prevailing models in anthropology at that time.

Tribal communities were considered as isolates and the primeval complaint was defined as a state of Arcadian simplicity.<sup>53</sup>

Buddudeb Chaudhuri's tried to execute an integrated picture of the tribal situation in India at the 1990s in a compilation of essay *Tribal Transformation in India* (1992) in five volumes, published many Indian scholars contributed to it to grab the varying tribal situation and a whole diversity of subjects related to tribal economy, agronomy, politics, ethnicity, ecology, education, technology transfer, social political movements, religious faiths and rituals in an indigenized, yet more eloquent framework, with both analytical and remedial models.<sup>54</sup>

In the book *Tribal India* (2011) Nadeem Hasnain made a humble attempt to study the tribal life in India in all its dimensions. India has always been labeled as a 'melting pot' of races and cultures. For all the colourful and amazingly heterogeneous mosaic of human affairs that India is, there are fragment cases of intolerance, several harassments, violation of human rights and freedoms and outright exploitation. Tribal India Nadeem's opinion is the utmost glaring example of this exploitation, indifference and lack of appreciation for our divergent minority groups.<sup>55</sup>

After analyzing that tribal culture blooms best in the isolated highlands and forests of India. They in detail the psychological factors that influence the growth of tribal personality, L. P. Vidyarthi and B. K. Rai conclude in their book *The Tribal Culture of India* (1976). Among other major aspects discussed in the book mention may be made of the tribal village customs relating to matriliney and polyandry. The approaches, planning and programme for tribal development and the cultural changes taking place among the tribes of India, today have also been addressed in the book.<sup>56</sup>

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay is one of the foremost names in recent Indian social and cultural life, She attempts in *Tribalism in India* (1978) to interpret and depict the

varied aspects of Indian tribal life- its origins, customs and religion etc. for the assistance of the public. She drives home the point that, despite similarities in the belief and lifestyles of tribals and non- tribals, each tribal community has a strong sense of social distinction, which time has not eroded. The author's conclusions are grounded on her own personal experience with the tribals amongst whom she moved and with where she identified herself.<sup>57</sup>

Das's book on *the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes of West Bengal* (1978) focuses on certain salient points in the social and economic life of the scheduled communities. It is descriptive in nature.<sup>58</sup>

B.D. Sharma's (1984) book demonstrates that the concept of economic growth both in terms of its concepts and its application through techniques developed for advanced areas cannot be imposed on the simple socio-economic situation in backward areas and those decisions undertaken based on the conventional theory may generate processes favorable to the tribal economy. In other words, a strategy for development applicable to relatively progressive areas may be counterproductive if imposed on traditional economies. Consideration of the indigenous culture and tradition is unfortunately often lacking in the attitudes of planners faced with social systems different from their own.<sup>59</sup>

Alock Kumar has strived to analyse and infer the socio-cultural organisation and economic structure of the Mal-paharia tribe of the Santal-Parganas in Bihar in his book *Tribal Culture and Economy* (1986). His work is based on his inclusive field work. He examines the use to which land has been put to income expenditure pattern, size of the families etc. This book offers an intimate glimpse of the habits of the Mal-paharias with regard to their religious ceremonies and customs, their dress and music and means of livelihood like hunting and agricultural. Paying adequate attention to the facilities lacking

in their settlements in his opinion can hasten the absorption of the Mal-paharias into the mainstream of Indian life.<sup>60</sup>

Devendra Thakur in his book *Socio-Economic Development of Tribes in India* (1986) did an extravagant study about the Santhals in Bihar showing how they responded to the projects and programmes commenced throughout diverse developmental plans.<sup>61</sup>

Rural development acquired in the background of tribal welfare due to the datum that tribals survive in natural conditions. Removal of rural poverty is considered as one of the prime objectives of economic planning in India. Rural development point toward the economic advancement of the people along with their social welfare. Augmented involvement of the people in the rural development process, decentralization of authority, healthier execution of land reform and a greater admittance to credit and social inputs are the means of achieving this. Pradip Kumar Bhowmick, discussed issues in his book *Rural and Tribal Development Practices in India* (1994).<sup>62</sup>

Ashok Ranjan Basu and S.C. Nijhawan in their book *Tribal Development Administration in India* (1994) have highlighted the extremely complex socio-economic situation in the tribal areas of India. They were grossly neglected and therefore chronically backward during the pre-Independence period. They only received due important after Independence. The governors of the respective states were made responsible for tribal development. In this respect it should be remembered that devotion is required for equitable distribution of wealth, full utilization of manpower and better use of natural resources for tribal development .<sup>63</sup>

Prakash Chandra Mehta in his book *Tribal Development in 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (2000) presents an overall review of the tribal development measures adopted during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to him the government failed to provide them basic minimum needs for their subsistence. The initial phase of the century was governed by the British

government and the local rulers. They were not bothered about their needs and welfare. Hence, at that period they were exploited by the then rulers.<sup>64</sup>

A.R. Desai reviewed the tribal delinquent from a Marxist standpoint in his book *Rural sociology in India* (1978) He approached the tribal delinquent essentially from an economic and political angle. Our focus should instead be to establish a social order based on equality of opportunity and elimination of exploitation. Desai thinks, can only be possible if there is a new social order which protect the interests of both the tribals and non-tribals interests. Referring to the previous work of Haimendorf and N.K. Bose, he draws attention to the aggressive absorption of tribal culture by Hindu society. Tribal assimilation or acculturation considered colonial and capitalist matrix. Desai criticizes the superficial and uncoordinated nature of aids that have been granted by successive governments during each plan period. The exploitative, competitive, profit-oriented forces of society make tribes the object of capitalist exploitation even after independence. Tribal resistance further coverts to violent struggles.<sup>65</sup>

*Tribals in Transition* (1999) edited by S.N. Tripathy brings together eleven articles relating to various issues and problems of tribals together with the policy options before us. The workings of financial institutions and co-operatives in overcoming the tribal economic problems, the effect of development plans and poverty amelioration schemes, etc., have been specially discussed here at length using field data and secondary sources.<sup>66</sup>

N. K. Panda in *Policies, Programmes and Strategies for Tribal Development* (2006) has addressed the programmes existing for tribal development in the past and present and offered some valuable suggestions for improvement in this regard. On this basis case studies were conducted in a remote district of poverty ridden state of Orissa. The results of his field study reveal that, despite inputs in terms of money and material and

the so-called efforts and endeavors of public servants, there exists abysmal mismatch between the objectives and achievements. We are still far away from realizing our goals.<sup>67</sup>

The income changes of tribals, if any, due to the influence of special tribal development programmes has been the concern of a more recent study by Renu Jatana and Sweta Waldia in *Tribal Development Programmes* (2009).<sup>68</sup>

P.C. Jain in *Planned Development Among Tribals* (1999) mentions various debates that tribal policy in India has given rise to. He raises the question whether the tribals of our country if they reach the desired level of development which will enable to merge them into regional society, will be able to hold their cultural identity? What will happen to them if constitutional benefits are withdrawn and if the development is looked at with a relative perspective. Diverse tribal groups of the country are not at a smooth level of development. The Minas of Rajasthan have enjoyed a major portion of the aids of development. Bhils, the second largest groups in the state, lag far behind the Minas. They are yet to reach the level of development which the Minas have achieved.<sup>69</sup>

Globalisation has introduced a new factor in economic development since 1990s. P.C. Jain in *Globalisation and Tribal Economy* (2001) describe that lots of discussions were carried out centering globalization, liberalization and marketisation. But hardly any attention was given to tribal economy under these circumstances. The tribals, who are mainly restricted to hills and forests, are now pursued to be brought into the regional and national mainstream. Their sustenance economy initially interacted with the weekly markets, which were generally held in a gathering of several villages. The weekly market has now penetrated into the tribal hinterland too bringing about new demands, mostly which consequently create social and cultural changes.<sup>70</sup>

Amir Hasan in *Tribal Development in India* (1992) stressed that, though emphasis is laid on tribal development during the Five-year Plans, development measures have by

and large failed to promote the uplift of the tribal people according to their genius. Little determination has been taken to tackle the delinquent of exploitation of tribal people by various agencies working in tribal areas. Many state governments have willingly subordinated tribal interest to accommodate non-tribal vested interests specially in tribal areas enriched with natural resources. This has been possible because, even after all the planning, there is hardly any tribal policy and unanimity on the approach to be allotted to the tribal people.<sup>71</sup>

Yogmaya Verma in her book *Problems of Tribal India* (1986) attempted to assess the achievements and failures of community development programmes during the IV and V Five Year Plan periods with particular reference to Palamau, a backward district of Chhotanagpur Plateau. Efforts have been made to highlight the problems of tribal people and through a comparative study between tribal and non-tribal areas, various remedial measures have been suggested for the development of tribal areas. A deep study has been made in the bureaucratic apathy towards development programmes and the attitudes of the general masses to development particularly that of the tribal people, their suspicion of losing their identity due to development etc.<sup>72</sup>

P. K. Khare in his *Social Change of Indian Tribes: Impact of Planning and Economic Development* (1991) describes the effect of economic development on the socio-economic ailment of the tribals of India, with special reference to the Mundas.<sup>73</sup>

Shachi Arya's in his book *Tribal Activism Voices of Protest* (1998) describe with a difference, redefining the relationship between literature and life, it presents voices of protest in an eminently authentic manner. The novelty of the approach and the attempt lies in matching the social events and phenomena and their reflection in literature in a two-way manner, i.e., from literature to life and from life to literature. Although the focus in the book is on Mahasveta Devi's work which have for the first time brought the tribal protest

under main streams gaze, it seeks to push ahead the frontiers of exploration and evaluation. It is not incidental, therefore, that the book brings the fore such facts about tribal consciousness and action as were kept away from history books. The book offers not only the first full-scale study of Mahasveta Devi's works, but also of the tribal voices of protest not as a mere documentation of certain actions that took place during the course of the last two hundred and odd years, but one throbbing and pulsating with life, with larger than life portrayals of the fighting tribals of Middle India.<sup>74</sup>

D.D.Basu in the *Introduction to the Constitution of India* (1985) incorporates all leading decisions together with the Constitution Amendment Acts that have been past up to the 52<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>75</sup>

Two books published towards the termination of the 1980s pointed out that even though considerable debate in different quarters is going on the various aspects relating to Tribal Development in India, the provision of constitutional safeguards and introduction of planned programmes, the tribal problem required a new approach since many new contradictions had come into the surface. P. Ramaiah made a serious attempt to diagnose the problem from various aspects in his book *Issues in Tribal Development* (1988). He threw fresh light on the socio-economic conditions concerning the tribal areas, like land alienation, agriculture, forestry, cooperation and industrial development.<sup>76</sup>

H.C. Upadhyay's indicated in his book *Reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes* (1991) the positive steps that had been undertaken to recover the condition of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes by introducing reservation facilities through various constitutional safeguards. This has led to the formation of voluntary organizations to work for the upgradation of the weaker sections of society.<sup>77</sup>

Shyama Nand Singh in his book *Reservation Policy for Backward Classes* (1996) does well to remind us that there is no generally accepted and well propounded model that

we can follow to establish social justice and remove inequality in the social, economic and political system.<sup>78</sup>

B. Goswami enters into a detailed analysis of the conditional aspects of the problematic in his book *Constitutional safeguards for The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes* (2003). Reservation in government jobs and seats in legislatures, abolition of untouchability, discrimination on the caste, special grant of land tenures and forest rights, admission by quota to educational institutions etc. have been erected with this intention in view. The book has scanned all the measures made available to them. The author has fully thrown some suggestions for ensuring that the unity and integrity of the country is not disrupted in an overzealous attempt to ameliorate the lot of the downtrodden people.<sup>79</sup>

N. K. Behura & Nilakantha Panigrahi's book *Tribals and the Indian Constitution* (2006) is on similar lines. It combines an anthropological perception of tribal development along with a transitory account of tribal development programmes being executed in the country. A special study of the state of the vulnerability of tribal population in Orissa has been made in this connection with reference to issues like indebtedness, excise policy, land tenure system, role of welfare agencies etc., which are directly linked with the tribal people.<sup>80</sup>

Several social scientists have regretted that the general practice among scholars is to look at the tribal situation in India primarily from a political viewpoint restricts the view to touch the surface of the problem, leaving out the complexities. No serious and systematic study had been made a long time to see how the operation of the British Indian laws operated and particularly what affects the altering land system in Bengal after the introduction of the Permanent Settlement had on the tribals. The Permanent Settlement escorted in a new era in eastern India in which the Adivasis specially suffered. This led in

the long run to the crystallization of a discontent, which was basically economic in nature. But the influence of the changing land system was not confined to the economic sphere only. It affected sluggishly but assuredly the social structure, manners and customs, religion, etc. of the tribals in Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.<sup>81</sup>

Suchibrata Sen after his first book *The Santals of Jangal Mahals: An Agrarian History, 1793-1861* (1984) went on to examine the roots of alienation among the Santals of South-West Bengal in a subsequent work *The Santals: Crises of Identity and Integration* (1997). He examines the impact of the changing political conditions on the adivasis of the Jungal Mahals in attempts to situate the present day identity crisis among the communities in a historical perspective.<sup>82</sup>

Rajasri Basu in his book *Santals of West Bengal Ethnopsychology and Political Participation* (2000) explains the sub-national politics relating to ethnicity area gaining ground today in every part of the world. These are influencing the question of political participation of ethnic communities in the relevant polity. Ethno psychology thus becomes a very significant factor in the sphere of political participation. The volume attempts to find out the relation between ethno psychology and political participation in the context of one ethnic group, namely the Santals who are residing in West Bengal.<sup>83</sup>

Chittabrata Palit and Surendra Jha in *Situating Tribals in Indian History* (2009) described a lot of controversy over situating the tribals in modern Indian History. According to the Latin root, the word Tribal meant only a section of people with a distinct and autonomous culture of its own. In the Roman Empire, they were never regarded segregated from the main stream. But in colonial India the tribals who held fast to their self-directed cultural and would not conform to colonial requirements were considered wild and outside the pale of civilization and therefore accountable to be subjugated. To the imperialist anthropologist, it was a virgin field of enquiry to discover the tribals as

exclusivist people with unique features. They were to be treated as vanishing community. It was again a play of divide and rule against the mainstream society.<sup>84</sup>

Pradip Chattopadhyay in his book *Redefining Tribal Identity: The Changing Identity of the Santals in South- West Bengal* (2014) seeks to discover the evolution of Santhals ethnic identity, considering the changes that the Santhals have undergone in their mental and material world resulting from the influence of the forces of modernization – both during the colonial as well as the post- colonial periods. The major procedures of Santhal history, like the Santhal Hool (1885), the Jharkhand movements and Santhal participation in the Indian National Movement have been focused upon in this book to explore the changing notions of Santhal ethnic identity involving the twists and turns in the procedure of their identity assertion. The demand for the Constitutional recognition of the Santhali language, their distinct religions as well as for a territory of their own in the post-Independence period, are all part of their transformed mode of identity proclamation.<sup>85</sup>

Devendra Thakur in his book *Socio- Economic Development of Tribes in India* (1986) aims at demarcating not only the present situation of the Santhals in the light of general tribal development, but it also pacts with the important measures for improvement in their socio- economic conditions. Hence the Santhals of Bihar also have some important characteristics of their own which have been dealt with in course of the study of their economic condition and its consequent reaction upon their social life which is distinctly peculiar to that of any other community.<sup>86</sup>

Manmatha Kundu in his book *Tribal Education: New Perspective* (1994) did the first ever comprehensive study of tribal education in India. It considers five major sub- themes of tribal education- general problems and their solutions; non-tribal culture biases in education; tribal culture as positive educational resources; allegations of researches and

educational programmes abroad for tribal education in India and grounding of materials for tribal learners. Dr. Kundu's first-hand experiences with the tribals and their education in India and that of the gypsies of England and the American Indians of the U.S. provide new perspectives to the subject.<sup>87</sup>

In 1988 K.L. Bhowmick, M.K.Choudhuri, and K.K.Sarkar pointed out that among 31 lakhs of tribals living in West Bengal 27 lakhs were illiterate. Their findings were published in the book *Tribal Literacy in West Bengal: A Situational Analysis*. Their data showed that the percentage of illiteracy among tribal women was higher than among tribal men. This forced the West Bengal States Resource Centre for adult education to undertake a critical investigation of the tribal literacy situation in the state. The circumstance of sex difference in literacy achievement having more of tribal women as illiterates has critically been examined. The trends of tribal literacy development have statistically since there been interpreted both in the background of the tribal population of the state as a whole in those areas where tribals are relatively more concentrated.<sup>88</sup>

Nabakumar Duary in his book *Education in Tribal India—A Study of West Bengal* (2010) pacts with educational development midst the tribals in West Bengal, which is one of the vibrant concerns in modern India. The study was undertaken in four tribal communities, who belong to different traditional economic types, specifically, the Lodha-gatherer hunter, Mahali-bamboo artisan, Kora-earth worker and the Santal-settled agriculturist in a tribal populated area in Paschim Mednipur District of West Bengal. The studied people live in the similar ecology adoring almost the same educational facilities (at the primary level) and privilege in the pursuit of their education. The consequence of this empirical research work provides a comprehensive and reasonable picture on demography, ethnography, economy and different aspects of literacy among the tribal communities. Furthermore, the study identified numerous educational problems and suggested some

vital measures for the development of education among them. Readers will find different educational results in the light of environment and cultural background.<sup>89</sup>

Manibrata Bhattacharya in his book *Recent Trends in Acculturated Tribes of West Bengal* (1996) examines various kinds of socio- demographic issues, viz, education, food, health and nutrition, social structure and culture pattern of some selected acculturated tribes of West Bengal who live both in village and urban set- up. The work is mainly field oriented synthetic study on the tribal communities who are no more in 'primitive tribal stone age' economic stage. They have moved a long way. Their style of living has been experiencing various changes due to the influences of post-independence socio- political and economic factors. In fact, the current work has made a venture to an in-depth study of the Oraons of Midnapur town and the Kharias of a rehabilitated colony at Mukutmanipur, Bankura District.<sup>90</sup>

The Bulletin of the Cultural Research Institute, Calcutta published a number of essays during this time on the condition of the tribals in India. Thus, Sunil Kumar Basu in his article *Identity crises among the Tribals* (1992) focused upon the present-day problems of tribal identity and the factors behind repeated crises specific tribal communities where several confusions have. He revealed many controversies and disquieting perplexities involving from the period of foreign rule in this country. People who were entrusted to look after the fate of the tribal communities in the sphere of economic and social betterment failed to carry out their objective.<sup>91</sup>

The work on *Socio-Cultural Profile of Scheduled Tribes of West Bengal* (1992) by Ratna Gupta provides an overview of the Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal, particularly regard with their habitations in different geographical areas in the states as well as also their racial, linguistic and occupational characteristics. She describes the material cultures

of the different ethnic groups along with the changes that have been caused as a consequence of their contact with outside due to culture and ecological adaptation.<sup>92</sup>

In another essay under the title '*Position of Scheduled Tribes Communities in Relation to their Socio-Economic Achievements*' published in 1992 A.K.Das has categorized the tribal communities of West Bengal into different size groups based on their numerical strength. He concludes that through the smaller group of tribals, to have achieved a higher rate of literacy a comparison with the larger groups, in reality they are being pushed back socio-economic in today's competitive world.<sup>93</sup>

M.K. Chowdhuri in his article *Tribal Literacy from Planning Perspective* (1992) has identified several police stations in the state of West Bengal where tribals with low literacy level form an appreciable number of the total population. The data has been analysed on the basis of differences in the rate of literacy among the tribals on the basis of sex ratio.<sup>94</sup>

Debashis Debnath in his article *Role of the Tribes in Modern Panchayat System- A Micro-study in West Bengal* (1992) takes up the case of a local Panchayat under the Keshiary Assembly Constituency of Midnapore where are appreciable number of tribals act as functioning to show how various developmental programmes of the government are being instigated through the local panchayat bodies. The response is positive.<sup>95</sup>

Gopa Joshi while studying the tribal situation has paid particular attention to the forest laws of the British Raj and how they have been modified since Independence. She observes in her book *Forest Policy and the Tribal Development* (1989) that before 1865, forest dwellers were totally permitted to exploit the forest wealth. Then, on 3 August 1865, the British rulers, on the basis of the report of the then-superintendent of forests in Burma, delivered a memorandum providing guidelines restricting the rights of forest dwellers to preserve the forests. This was further modified in 1894. The only consideration of the

British was promotion of their own interest. Thus, for example, forests in Nagaland and the Terai were unscrupulously cut to meet the increasing demand of wood during the two World Wars. The National Forest Policy of the Government of India (1952) was according to some an extension of this policy since it prescribed that the claims of communities having near forests should not override the national interests, i.e. the forest dwellers cannot use the forest wealth at the cost of wider national interests. On the other hand, renunciation of forest land for agriculture should be allowed only in very incomparable and indispensable cases. The old policy of relinquishing even valuable forests for permanent cultivation has been discontinued and steps to use forest land for agricultural purposes were to be taken only after very serious consideration. To guarantee the balanced use of land, a detailed land capability survey was recommended. Conservation of wildlife is to be regularized and the tribals are to be weaned away from shifting cultivation.<sup>96</sup>

Ajit K. Singh, Gaya Pandey and Prabhat K. Singh in their book *Forest and Tribals in India* (1998) is a consequence of scholarly work done by the authors in the field analysis. This book is a passionate effort in exploring and stressing the relationship between forest and tribals. Their relationship is called as Vannputra (Forest son). The book attempts to extant the cultural pattern of tribals residing in Pat region of Chotanagpur in the Bihar State. The book covers a wide range of information on several aspects of forest and the tribals in Indian context.<sup>97</sup>

Anindita Majumdar's in his book *British Forest Policy and Tribal Community in Bengal* (2006) attempts to find the history of the British Forest Policy with particular reference to Bengal. The edifice of colonial forestry was built upon the commercial and imperial desires of the British Empire. The authors stresses on the overseas appropriation of forests in the name of conservation. The book highlights the subtle changes that were silently taking place in the second half of the nineteenth century in the forest zones of Bengal with

special emphasis on the districts of Bankura, Burdwan, east and west Midnapore and Purulia more specifically recognized as the “Jungle Mahals”. Quite interestingly as the book unfolds areas forest legislations came as late as the year 1948, thus exhibiting deviation from all India perspective as well as within Bengal. Meanwhile, it depicts the manner in which the forests were made an unfit homeland for tribals which was a colonial construct to usurp their customary rights over the forests. Thus, the sacred forest was wavering apart by vulgar commercialism. The tribal worldview of forest was profoundly altered and their protest and struggles gradually shade off to the mainstream movement.<sup>98</sup>

P. D. Tiwari and A.N. Sharma in their edited book *Tribal Ecosystem and Malnutrition in India* (1989) described the adjacent association between ecosystem and nutrition of people. The impact of ecosystem was best visualized in the food articles, especially in tribals areas. The extent of malnutrition among the tribals of India has urged for a systematic understanding and planning to overcome this delinquent and for the preservation of the ecosystem. This book is grounded on the proceedings of a national seminar on ‘Tribal Ecosystem and Malnutrition in India’. The papers based on empirical studies considering tribals throughout India reflects the physio, socio-economic and demographic aspects of tribals, changing ecosystem and dietary pattern, food system and nutrient intake, deficiency diseases and strategy for nutrition, planning and ecosystem conservation.<sup>99</sup>

P.K. Bhowmick in *The Lodhas of West Bengal* (1963) seems to suggest that they belonged to the Mundari group. Even now one occasionally comes across a song sung by very old man in a broken Mundari language. But their assimilation into the Hindu fold of Midnapore must have occurred centuries ago. Thus, they are indistinguishable, at least in language from elements of culture which are undoubtedly survivals from the past. He was able to pierce and observe the workings of Lodha society at its closest range. Although his

work is mainly an ethnographical account, as a social anthropologist he has tried to present a picture of the interlacing of diverse facets of the culture of the Lodha community like religion, family organization, social life and the leadership. In 1952 P. K. Bhowmick undertook an extensive field survey 31 Lodha villages, selected at random. The Lodhas of Midnapore with their specific problem are stated as a representative group. He spent most of his time in Lodha village, collecting materials for the monograph as well as working for the social upliftment not only of the Lodhas but also of the other communities living there.<sup>100</sup>

Even though numerous studies were done on tribal communities, hardly any work was addressed to overcome the issues of tribal health. Buddhadev Chaudhuri regrets this fact in his book *Tribal Health: Socio- Cultural Dimensions* (1986). He argues that the success of any tribal health programme is as much dependent on changes in human behavior as on careful consideration of the socio- cultural dimensions of health in tribal community. An interesting section on the modern practice of traditional medicine, particularly herbs is discussed in the conclusion of the book.<sup>101</sup>

Mitra and Mukherjee in his book *Some Abortifacient Plants used by the Tribal People of West Bengal* (2009) describe the physical or chemical substances, which induce abortions, are called abortifacient. The use of plants like *Abrus precatorious*, *Aerva lanata*, *Bombax ceiba*, *Cuscuta reflexa*, *Dendrophthoe falcata*, *Plumbago rosea* etc., is a very common practice among different tribal communities of West Bengal.<sup>102</sup> According to the situation and necessity, the tribal medicinal personals use abortifacient plants. S.N. Chaudhary in his book *Tribal Health and Nutrition* (2012) described that health and nutrition are two interrelated issues which have drawn the attention of scholars across the world. This book is a valuable contribution to the field of tribal health and nutrition.<sup>103</sup>

Ravi Shanker Prasad & Pramod Kumar Sinha in his book *Tribal Health and Medicines in India* (2012) describes that in the inland of western Himalaya, plants are the only source of medicine and well being. However, evidence on the uses of plants as traditional medicines is yet not familiarized from several inland of western Himalaya such as Chhota Bhangal. Due to remoteness and lack of recent health facilities there is high dependence on plants for medicine. Eventually, the area is undertaking swift conversion due to its recognition as an ideal paragliding site and is thus becoming more market oriented. These market economies have exhausted the traditional knowledge which is well observed in many parts of Himalaya.<sup>104</sup>

### **1.3. Need for the Study**

All round social progress in India will not be possible if the tribals remain backward. Keeping this in mind, both the central and the state Governments have implemented measures for tribal welfare. Even after several developmental policies and programmes started at Government level, the tribals are still far apart from the mainstream of society. The present thesis offers a historical overview of the measures that have been adopted all over the country in general and state of West Bengal in particular and indicates those aspects where the goals are yet to be achieved.

### **1.4. Objectives of the Study**

The proposed research work sets the following objectives for itself:

- 1) To study the evolution of Tribal Policy in India: Pre and Post- Independence.
- 2) To analyse the programmes for economic upliftment of Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal.
- 3) To analyse the programmes for educational advancement of Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal.

- 4) To analyse the programmes for the improvement of health status of Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal.
- 5) To find out the programmes for social security of the Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal.

### **1.5. Sources and Methodology**

To fulfill the stated objective both secondary and primary sources will be considered. The primary sources are legislative proceedings (Parliamentary and Assembly), administrative report and Government publications (ex. census, gazetteers etc.), Secondary sources are books and articles, bulletins, magazines, journals, etc.

### **1.6. Chaptalization**

The proposed work is sub-divided into seven chapters.

#### **Section I**

Chapter 1 Introduction

Chapter 2 Evolution of Tribal Policy in India: Pre and Post- Independence

#### **Section II**

#### **Measures for tribal advancement in West Bengal**

Chapter 3 Economy

Chapter 4 Education

Chapter 5 Health status

Chapter 6 Social security

Chapter 7 Summary and Conclusion