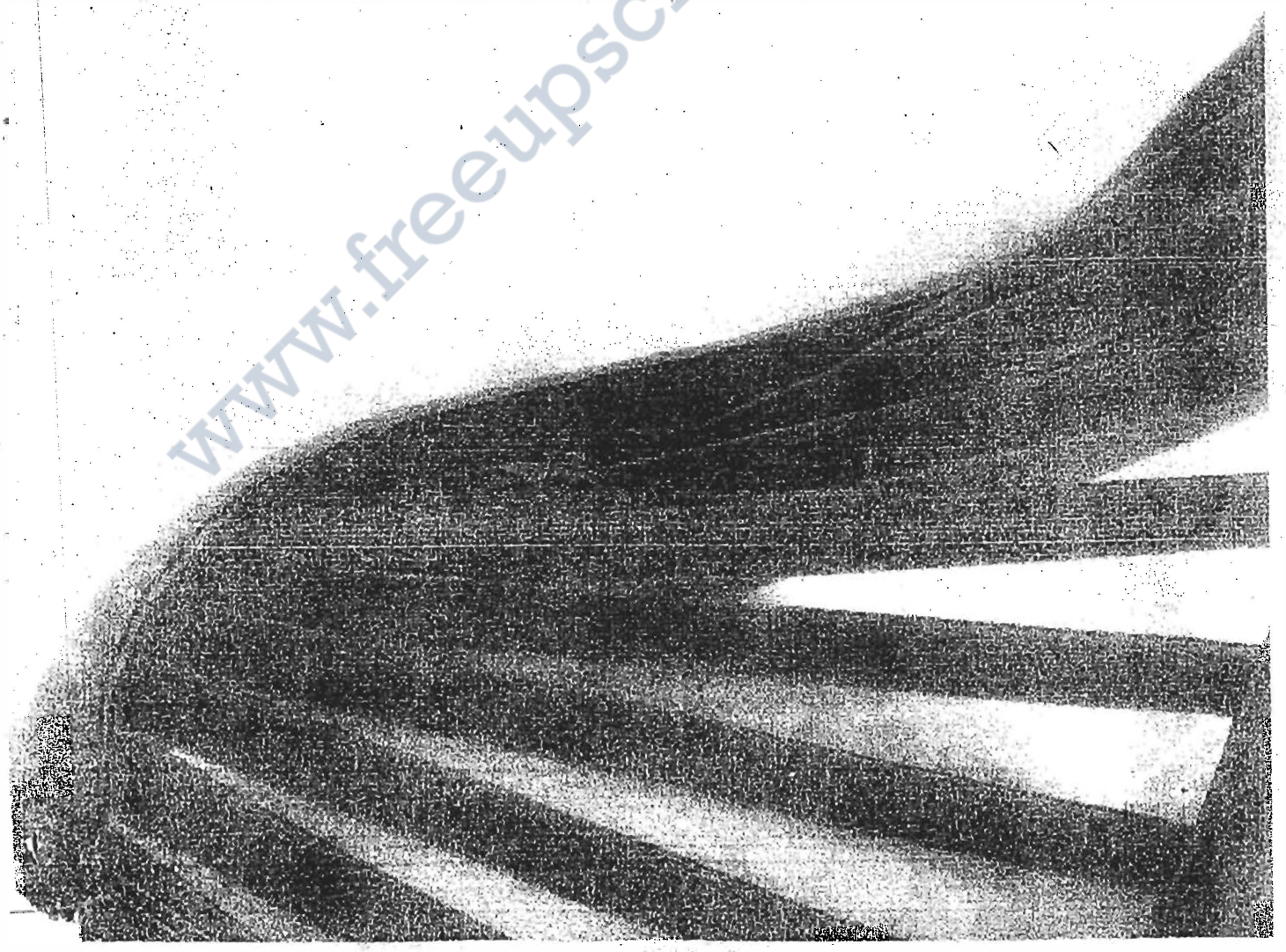
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Vol. 3

Anthropology for Civil Services EXamination

Socio-Cultural, Phy$i¢ 1 and Indianj\nthropblogy

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03

Anthropology for Civil Services Examination

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1.1 EVOLUTION OF INDIAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

Ever since the human beings have evolved, 99% of their existence on the earth is characterized by hunting and gathering. This implies that humans were living off the resources of nature before they started producing food, about 10000 years ago. This total dependence of human beings on nature during a major part of their existence had resulted in group-living.

There are many areas in the world today where certain populations still live as hunter-gatherers. The study of such simple societies in the present day by anthropologists has enormously helped the archeologists who try to reconstruct extinct Paleolithic cultures. Ethnographic research in the present primitive societies has provided useful insights into the lifestyles and living conditions of hunting/gathering societies. Reconstruction of extinct cultures requires a multidisciplinary approach and as such the study of stone tools, the technology used to manufacture them:1Ie f oral and fauna((animal) remains and art ap.d architecture provide us with meaningful insights into the economy and society of the prehistoric peoples.

Prehistoric - Paleolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic and Neolithic-Cha/eolithic

Paleolithic Cultures

Palaeolithic culture can be defined as the cultural debris recovered from the entire period of Pleistocene, i.e., approximately 3 million years to 10000. B.C. There is no concrete evidence as to when exactly the Pleistocene periodh a s begun::=fne Pleistocene'7'°'which precedes the Holocene,· the current geological period, is charact rized by major climatic fluctuations.

Once our sub-human ancestors had acquired the knowledge and skill to produce crude tools that often looked like stones shaped under the natural condition and chipped, we can say that the process of cultural development has started.

Man was in the form of a semi-erect, ape-like creature in more or less similar statistics of Australopithecus africanus.

The research in Palaeolithic cultunds more than a century old since Robert Brucefoot discovered f![t stone tool in 1863. The research corn:erning the stone cultures in' Itidia de elop d only after the Yal - Cambridge expedition in 1935 led by De Terra and Patterson.

The Palaeolithic in India, for quite some time, is considered to have only two divisions:

1) Early Stone Age or Lower Palaeolithic.

2) Middle Stone Age or Middle Palaeolithic.

The description of the stone ctilture.s'.will not hold· true for the Indian context This i mainly because, though the equivalents o f the Lower and Middle Pala olithic are discovered in major parts of the India, the cultures that followed have no evidences whatsoever in. this country; Many hypotheses have been made regarding the absence of some tools characteristic of the· Upper Palaeolithic; especially the ·ban .tools found in Europe.

Lower Paleolithic

Archaeological evidences for Lower Paleolithic were discovered from all over the country with some exceptions like· the Northern all ial corridor and Kerala. All these evidences were of stone tools and no human fossil evidence has been so far discovered. The Lwe·r Paleolithic tools were discovered in all sorts of geographical terrains like Plateaus, river terraces and ·even hilly slopes.

One characteristic feature· of Indian Lower Palaeolithic is that there is no uni(o·rmity in the time seql:!ence of Q. §.J:lL J!!! ence, .!ruli I! bower PalaeoHt k cannot be assigned a c, _?-11914gLc **sequence** nor **it can be considered as tage cha(acter .4l y=unJforrn.ity-fo cuh ti're:** - - -·JV◆◆"

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The data and information gathered on the Indian Lower Palaeolithlc is based on the study of following sites:

1. Soan valley in the Potwar plateau of North coast.
2. Sabarmati Valley, Nagri, Chittorgarh and Didwara in Western India.
3. Narsingpur and Hoshangabad in Narmada valley of M.P.
4. Singrawli basin of U.P.
5. Kubara and Kamarpada in Orissa, Sisunia Hills of Barkura in West Bengal.
6. Kurnool, Giddalur, Karempudu, Nagarjuna Konda and Chinglepet of the Peninsular India.

Amongst all these sites, Soan valley in the Potwar plateau has provided very important evidences of Lower Palaeolithic in India. Deterra and Patterson have excavated. the valley of Soan River, which is a triputary to - Later on: many resear hes have followed in this r gion. C 2!: pping o_?! i Q-. out of pebbl ere predominant along with a large number of hand\axes and also s_Oine flal.<es.

The Palaeolithic tools of the Soan Valley may be divided into four main phases.

'1) Pre-Soan
'2) Early Soan
3) .Late Soan
4J Evolved Soan.

The ·pre-Soan stratum has r.evealed numerous l1e vily_,,rolled an blonded p_ebbles of quartzite rock. A majority of the·se are split and are in a variety oTshapes Sirice thepresehceoTman an< h1s existence at such an early date is still not confirmed, the humanworkmanshipon these tools is doul>tf1;1l. There are many schools ofthought regarding the contours"oftn'ese'toois wlieth-erthese h vily rolled and blun1, pebbles are the result of certain,natural factors or the earliest manifestation ofthi:tnufrian workmanship, is"s'ilfa.n enigma. Tne·e.affy Soari· strata were resources of important tools, which 'to.tn_pris d mainly two types - cho pers a , J>Jlll.!&JJU>ls. The choppers and chOPP„i.g tools lff f i ! J .f! ½ing one sided in_ cho pe fifocffwo-sig gjpJ!t fhOpping t9ols7'lfei cff n cfio pers are **unifacial** while the chopping tools are bifrfdal:These ·tools were-used "essentially for chopping and cutting purp.o' es.

The fabrication of these tools -reveals an unsophisticated technology and. they were also very crude to look:at. Early Soan tools are fadnore neqtlJ1a6ric tecl ajlt l'igl'fr 2 Le to the too.ls of P! J.?,. !.1 ones. Moreover, in the Early Soan strata, t".nfl·1num.lte4t*ot flake- t.ools has ncreased and few blades ""e e alsn dis o_y,_ed, th.ough theif nil'iftETTr t) -- '. gh ateanfdh E.g ll Tft t t . of:t , p op le. fn a_,de to ls. <?i E!.¥.e cannot be compared to those of. ':::: E.:an llp per. Pal ?hth1c be -:'!.se the latter were m ne and other non-lithic (not stone) materials.

An Early Soan site C aunfra is characterized by the presence of hand axes, clec3:v.,rs ·and also cp.oppers made out of pebbl : tfaf1i es have added an elemenf-of"'linf to Indiafi· Palaeolithic 'f>ecause nowhere, in the W<irld choppe·r:c ppin?tools made. of peb l s. hand aX Sf!!l,4·.-de y rs Wen _Jound together.. In the Indian context;'witli''the excepffon"of Soan valley such a discovery has· never been made aga'firsome view this feature af-an indication ofco-existence of differ nt population :groups characterized by different tool technologies.

T e Western part of the Indian subcontinent has also provided important information on Palaeolithic Culture in India. Majority of excavations were carried o·ut in ""h" cind Raj $ han. Lmver Palaeolithic tools were found to a large extent in the Chambal valley... Human settlements. were discovered in ·an excavation carried out in Didwara near Jodhpur'. f'heYools mainly comprised of choppers. and chopping

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tools and large hand axes; but there were no evidences of cleavers. The presence of a majority of sites near the rivers in Gujarat reveals that-eriVi,r n..,m.JlJ _p l_qyJ !!.an important role in the choices our ancestors had for their settlements.

The Soan valley was characterized by glaciations punctuated by inter-glacials, whereas the Narmada valley was characterised by pluvials anf interpluvial. In order to do a comparative study, and in order to understand the influence 0I 'tlie climatic· co-;;ditio.s on human existence, Deterra shifted his area of interest from Soan to Narmada valley.

In the Narmada Valley, excavations were carried out in the region of Hoshangabad, near }!1g?-r. flc t .s t cleavers, choppe /c qpping tools and large hand axes characterized the tool industry of Narmada Valley. i mporta t r-i{il stone .in Indian archaeology is the' discovery of the skeletal remains of Homo erectus, which now is called the Narmada man. This is the only skeletal remain of the lower Palaeolithic in India. Bhimbetka and Adamg rvi." 'iso revealed Lower Palaeolithic sites, but were"oITater"cuTiural stages. PaTaeolithic siteswere also discovered in the Eastern part of the sub-continent, mainly along the Hill Rivers and slopes. In Orissa, two to three sites in the regions of Mayurganj, Hubara and Kumarpada are of archaeological significance. Lower Palaeolithic tools found if1""1r:t· pits were discove,red here. -Chopper/chopping tools form. a major. tJ -tif these tools but certain 1ianct'axes a i ,r --sfrrdia'flo 1c U n,;,.tool. tec olo· g y. e also found. Lower Palaeolithk'site{ we·re also discoveref "in Meghalaya and WestBengal (B _nkura ana Birbhun).

After the Soan Valley, Peninsular India forms another important source of information on the Lower Palaeolithic industry. Since these sites were discovered near Madras, the industry is called M,gs! n c ll\, t!Y,,(4t!ifAW J1 g!-<IJ);<,f'1, g). It was in 1938 that the first Lower Palaeolithic tools were discovered from N£,!:.,j.li,¼ ,.Y.. J! X-" £Ch!Qgle p,,et qJ§.Srtg: of Tamil Nadu. Though many tools similar in nature to those found in peninsular India were discovered from all over the country, they are still termed as the Madrasian industry. This region ·of the sub-continent is characterised by heavy tropical rainfall. Heavy hand axes and deavers are characteristic to l\1adrasian Industry. Tools like cleavers were di[f wr; 7b dy;·:.s "g&:Stf;'g}1 _ractice of hafdngthtrrt l◆◆b◆'rri,t>oo"r. ther ·W oden "fra'cie's. This fi is "'lec to inten·s -re earch..bec use if hatfing is sut>stail 1atea-wtifi' "'other evidences, the Madrasian Industry can prove itself to be the first i- --iest .In t nce 01 hafting from anywhere in the world. Andhra Pradesh can be called the "Treastfre'' ouse·--of t"ower f_ lae"t>lfthirin lndia""heca·use'·the--st es in N garjun K nda and Kareump\ictt'flrve'.:;y1elaedl rge deposits· of \ypicaf Ma'lrasian industry. tools. Pebbl;·tools were· also· found from tfie si'tes 1n M;;ilprabha, Ghatprabha and Tungabhadra in Karnataka, but these tools lacked the sophistication. of.Madrasianin.dustry.

Lower Palaeolithic cultures must have emerged from the earliest days of the Upper Pleistocene epoch. CHrt1atic c·onditions seem tff have ·hecivily influen,ced the choice of hurrian·settle e'n'ts: A majority of these stti'e-rrienis were fourid- ; i; iy rt; ; ; -th; · ; t / s ui-œ :-rhe avaiG'bil ty I" ra;; ater1als seems to be another]mportanf a 'cforTriffifo nd r g our aricestdrs'choice 9f,bahitat. Majority of the sites reveal that the lower, .Po.laeolithic II1an preferred: to, .li.Yt:! ear pebble deposits and forest peripherief and never high altitudes a·n l---·ctese·rorests-.

Middle Pa1eolithic

The culture phase that followed the Lower Palaeolithic is termed as Middle Palaeolithic. A clear line of demarcation between the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic could not be drawn because there is a_dearth of cle J,._ d. !finite stratig ap y betwe.nthe two phc1ses. Owing to this reason. the Middle Palaeolithic was not consider'edas-aiiTndependenrcufiura'fi5'nase1or-afolJgtime. Thetime.period during which the Middle Paleolithic cultural phase extended was around 1,00,0QO RC. to 36,000 ·B.C. This stage of the.·human evolution is dominated by the Neanderthal Man.

Middle Palaeolithic in India was recognised as an independent culturai phase only after- The excavations at ya :1;.,!!!. !-2 ;.9 .C !Jl ,A?..J!t!>.iYJ-1._A kal were a breakthrough in the recognition of Middle Palaeolithic. A majority of the Middle Palaeoifi:nic sites were discovered in the State of

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Maharashtra, especially in the river valleys of Godavari and its tributaries and these revealed a number of flake tools. Some important sites are sa, adh. !2 h\\' r, !t J.p, rc;lh.el! and .? E _: on In addition to these, West Bengal (Barkura-a-nd Purrlia) and Madhya Pradesh are other states that reported Middle Palaeolithic sites.

An important raw material formaking the tools of Lower Palae()Hthic _y..r,..as.,.,_Quar Lt --Jhe Lower Palaeolithic cores were made on Ja.sper.,an - chalcedony arid as the M icidh:Palaeolithic man s;itched his tool technology to flakes, he star'tecl smootltaruf1igftter material lik e fl!nt. Hence the resultant tools were smaller in size'"an'ct'lighter and were usea'?or' cufff g-pu poses.

The best represented Middle Palaeolithic regions were M.P. and Bundelkhand where this culture is revealed in its richest form. The cultural remains were discovered from the deposits of Narmada, Betwa, Shruti, Chembal and .9ther rivers. Scrapers, smaller hand axes cleavers and choppers were some of the stone tools discovered from these regions.

The slopes and cave shelters. in Bhimbetka of Vindhyachal in. M.P: revealed rich Middle Palaeolithic cultural r mains. Bhimbetka was Jirs.L.dl ¼ fL. nd studied ,by V.N. Mishra, an eminfJJtJ. n archaeol()gi_st. Around 500. caves ·domed with paintings were d'iscov'eretfnere': ;i"riche stsource or' rock pairi'ffr1gs'.in..the world. 'From the presence of fabrication debris reveal that the tools were made in the rock shelters; , - '"t! }IJ cieaver were made 0 ¡ i;? S !!: nd other tools f yeBow_quartzite. Belan valley, ne fal ıabad.in Uttar Pradesh, also y1e1a'ea a number of tools belongmg to this cultural pnase..

Middle Palc!.eolithic tools include scrapers, bores, points. hand axes, ·chopper-chopping. tools along with cle_avers and blades. Different assumpfioils have resltl d" ue to the djscovery of borers and scrapers in a> food gathei·ing cultural phase. H.b. Sankalia believes that these tools might have been used in the fabrication of other tools .rriade of wood, bone and antlers and the Indian soil conditions could not have retained.the fossils of such. tools. D,,. Penderi :- 01: nature, k owledge of fire and group hunting are other characteristics of the Indian Middle ITi:liti:: :, ,,,,,,,1": "!

·Upper Paleolithic

The cultur l phase that extended between 36000 B.C. to 9000 B.C. is onsidered the Upper Palaeolithic. Knowledge on Indian Upper Palaeolithic.is in.adequate and considered only as a technological entity. This culture period had a warmer climate and has shown the presence of fully·evolved humans - Homo sapien whose dQ.!!ltlJe!!.Q.J].Ied*fo the' disappeara ce of e fyiiddle 'Palaeolithic Neanderthal Man. These early forms of Homo iai Tens "were t rm ct:t'fo':?vfagno·rtaf 't thtf ·lte. m:E.t ow.:Wnere th ey were ;J t d ,Di tinctive human aces. both cul urallyaud,biologkally, were e_merging; There was a wide range of bone tool-techqolqgy ,harpoons and other fishing tools. Accord.ing to D.K Bhattacharya, m the 1JJ)i) rrat"aeolifllrccultui1iiphas tnere ' was ecisivfst rds organisini hu.rnafr:'group's,in:closeIY' ecilfns1i1itorganizaHon

The sites re ealing the Upper Palaeolithic culture a:re nJgunta.in,.Chitto. o(gistriS!.£f A.P., Bhi betka and Bagor in M P. and Belan valley of U.P. Blades characteristic to the Upp.er Palaeolithic phase are found in Reriig nta· and among them are scrapers, borers, points and small choppers. *A* site in Kurnool ciI r.h::t..of AJ> : as the fir5.t place where the bone tools were discover d. Around 90%' of tools in thi's'"sfi:e.were made of hon.es and' other'non·.:fithic m-aterials, like a Efa. whk h we're made into scrapers, chisels, borers, and barbs. The "Venus" - a female figure made into an artefact:, characteristic to European Upper· Palaeolithic, was also discovered in Belan vaUey, though a debatE(about its nature and ingenuity is still going on.

An important change in the tool technique in Upper Palaeolithic is the manufacture 9.LP-¥- HgJ: i!l g_ blacle'."flakes from a prepared core, a feature that·vita-s·'ıratri"setrTniafer ciiifiiraf phases>rhis change in the tooTt i ereTiects"tlTecfiange in the lifestyles of the then people.,

There is.no authentic explanation for the use of tools fabricated by the Palaeolithic man,·but for'the given clues by Patterson for those found in Soan xalley; they must have been used for cutting and chopping,

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digging and skinning. The various types of hand axes must have been used for digging edible roots, cutting, boring and piercing, c_hopping anct.,dearing and skinning purposes. Man was nak°ed and a huri-ter-· gaiKere"r. Evfd{tnces_rega"rding th physic.al features are nearly absent. The absence of the fossil skeletal remains may be assigned to the high acidity of Indian soil.

Mesolithic Culture

The transitional stage between Palaeolithic and Neolithic, between the periods 10000 B.C and 4000 B.C. is the Mesolithic cultural phase. The Mesolithic culture started as the pper Palwo Htb,Jc:, JtbA-- _,1[. Pleistocene age came to an end witftlfi'e Great Ice Ag· an-the·oriset of dry perio·d..A change in the life styles··nf"th'e people -whenever there-is"a ttassive·shifr tn·the environment·stands as a testimony to culture's adaptive capabilities. The Mesolithic period witnessed the emergence of new tools, called Mfctolith"sthatWere smaller in size and were finely made by pressure flaking.

The knowledge on the Indian Mesolithic is based on the excavation carried out in a few sites - Teni in .Tamil Nadu, Langhnaj in Gujarat, Bag A Raisthanl Birbhanpur in West Bengal, Bhimbetka and Ada_mgarh in M.P__ and Sarai-Nc1 ar iQJJ& These excavated sites reveal that during the Mesolithic Pnasrrliere-wasa total actaptation't Mi liths and h avy\ools such as hand axes were abs Of1bThere was a dominance of non-llthic ubst,mces Tilre Bone (shbulcter lJtaae Of Rh·mo in·Lan_ghnaj} *Oier* stone.in manufacturing_the tools.· ALEJE- afl,cl 12,! re,_lso_ o asi?paPi tJe_d. *A* sphencal-stone· , probably used as sling in hunting, is another important aspect of Indian Mesolithic.

The rock paintings of irzapur in U.P. and Bh!mbetka in M.I. reveal hunting an fishing. !th help of spears with numerous 6'trts:T 'rtG ly pori"h'1e b/"attaching nu rm.i's tficrofitns to71le'shaft..

One important feature of th Mesolithic cultural phase was the evidence of artificial construction that humans during this period got acquainted with. There is an evidence of man living in artificially erected structures as early as 8000 B.C. This feature shows the synchrony of Indian Mesolithic with. the European and African cultural phases. Sarai-N.ahar Rai is the-only site that dates back to 8000 B.C while Sagon to_ 5000 BC nd L, gi H J c..,:.

·A specially erected structure, probably obstruct wind in front of a cave mouth, was discovered m Bhimbetka. An evidence of people paving their living floor with the help of natural concrete from the riverbed was discovered from the site in Bagor.

The site in Adamgarh revealed the' presence of. numerous animal bones, an evidence of a pastoral · economy. But later researches and other data do not compiy·with such an economy amorigst"iffie cave dw-ellers. The information regarding this site is still incomplete.

The Microliths ranged fa their sizes from 1 to 8 cr1. The size of these tools point to the fact that these composite tools could hsive only,been usedwith haf.iliL Jn or bones an they cannqt : US:, , ¥·

It was_"in t (i7 t_a_F;Car!:X_irst disco e Microliths from the Vindhyan rock shelters,, Later on, there· were more discoveries by Cockborn and Carnac in the 19th century; Microliths from all over the country were discovered by Cannacte Todd, Hunter ancfGorden in the beginning of 19th century. A scientific and structural research in Indian Mesolithic was started only after H.D. Sankalia's excavations carried out at Langhnaj in -Gujarat in early 1940's. The sites in Mirzapur distrkt were excavated by Verma and the ex cavationfs·tr M:P:'Were car i;·d o t by U.. Joshi__d Khare.

. Numerous Microliths were excavated from the rnck shelters and caves in M.P. According to Sankalia, the complete range of Vindhyas from East and West holds the key to Indian M Q}ithic;,. In Bhimbetka and · Hoshangabad there were evidences of geometric Micrnliths.

An extensive and important site of Indian Mesolithk is Bagor on Kothari river in the Bhilwara district of Rajasthan (460013C). Rich collection of Mesolithic cultural remains was recovered from this site. This site ·· was discovered in 1967 by Misra. The settlements were characterized by stone-paved floors, rich

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industry and more substantial structures of the settlements. According to Agarwal, Bagor is considered as the ‹ est studied-iies lith!.£ _i.!e \!!!!t<i@• The main ·raw"·matedai)n "Mfrrolith industry was_ quartz ar. ı chert. The Microlith . i stry is geared towards hunting needs. Sometimes bone was ai;o· usea-in manufacturing the Microliths. The industry is characterised by perfection in symmetry of the tool and high craftsmanship.

Neolithic and Neolithic - Chalcolithic Culture.

Neolithic stage of culture is characterized byyoll)estic Q.Le!al}! Jm?.. n f!Ials. The term "Neolithic" was coined by Sir John Lubbock in his book "Prehistoric Times" in 1865. He used this term to denote an Age in which the stone-i -pl;; nts were n:ior.is'igUfully made more varied in form and often polished.

Gordon Childe defined Neolithic-Chalcolithic culture as a s.fil[:-s ffid ntfo.o,d,_producip_g _economy. Miles Burkitt stressed that the following characteristic traits should_b_ considered. to- represe"r1tlne··Neolithic Culture:

- P ., c f ag_ icultvre .
- -2!E J! - .!.l9.n.qf. mJm t
- Grinc! i ng and po i?hing of.stone tools, and also
- The manufacture of pottery

A recent·reinterpretation of what is considered Neolithic mentions that it should represent a culture of the -pre-metal .. §tage where ·the inhabitants had assured supply ()f food by_ cultivatio_n of cereals and d,21.!t,$..!i_<;_ io of animals an led asecfe'fita-tyT1re: ·"Ifo-wever, tnegtound / polished stone tools r_emain the ost essential cha.racteristics-'o(a}.J'eofiffirc culture.

Domestication of plants and animals led to

- The emergence of village communities based on sedentary life
- . The beginnings of agricultural tec nology and
- Greater control over nature by exploitation of natural resources.

The Neolithic cultures in the Indian sub-continent can be classifieq into the following geog aphical regions.

- Northwestern Region ---Including Afghanistan and Western. Pakistan
- Northern Region:-- Covering the Kashmir Valley
- Southeastern UP -Vindhyan outcrops in the districts of Allahabad, Mirzapur, Reva nd Sidhi - particularly the Belan Valley.
- _Mid-eastern Region - Northern Bihar
- ; Northeastern Region ..::·Covering Assam and adjacent sub-Himalayan region
- Central-eastern Region - Covering Chota Nagpur Plateau with extensions in Orissa and West Bengal
- Southern Region.., Covering the Peninsular India

Nort_hwestebl-Region

In was in this region comprising Afgha istan and Pakistan that we find the earliest evidence of the origin of wheat and barley cultivation. In northern Afghanistan caves occupied by hunters and gatherers have

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been discovered. These caves contained the bone remains of wild sheep, cattle and goat. By about 7000 BC sheep and goat were domesticated-.in Atghanistan. It is believed that the Central A ian region and its peripheries comprising the present day Punjab, Kashmir, West-Pakistan, Afghanistan and Soviet Republics of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan were the original places of wheat cultivation.

Archeological excavations have attested the beginning of agriculture and domestication of animals in Baluchistan (now in Pakistan). The Kachi PJ irrs_(g_ 13aluchi.$ cmhave several advantages that contributed to-fffe a ppearance of eariy farming e·conorriy-i J; ; "g[n.· Located between the barren ranges of inner Baluchistan, the small valleys consisting of fertile alluvium brought by the streams from the hills and perennial river systems make irrigation easy on stretches of land which had veg n.

The ancient site of Mehrgarh is located in this ecological setting, at about 150 KM from Qu.et a. Excavations at the sitenave 'r"evealed a long culturaCfifsfory for the region ranginrfrom-thtitp ;:"pott;ry Neolithic to the mature Harappan Periocr···te 'PfeoHthic levels at Mehrgai:h· have been classifiecrintc the"' early aceramic without-pot:"tery c "lhe·Yater ceramic phase. Two varieties of lJ rley and three varieties of wheat were cultivated mtlitsregion. c - r ?. seecttclphim anctdat t ·e;e ls found.

The earliest layers of the Neolithic (Phas. 1) in this region yielded bones of wild animals like gazelles, swamp d - • ..,.antelopes, sh p; goat and c°:t;t:re. But the top laye;s"(later phases) y 1elded bones of dtfmesticated caTIIe;sne p and goalbesides the bones,ofwild gazelles and pig etc. Thus, there is a clear cult evidenc<it"that···th'e··pr.ocess···orthe·· f omestication of sne·ep· ai d"goat was done locally. Here, the beginning of the pre,-pottery settlement phase has been fixed to about 6000 BC.

The subsistence pattern of the Neolithic period is characterized by a mixe economy based ·on a m f i a and do ;S.B£ tJ2!! 2!:, , j., s supplemente ?Y h nting.. The inhabitants lived in r s! rtg r houses of muct-bnclcs.- Some of tne structures were d1v1ded mto s all re compartments· a d used for stqrage. The tool kit included o!l e. SJ2,I\ ,....axe, t - nJY fiY. .Kt:ir_ding stones and si te.en mu_lers supplemented by abundant Mic oliths of typical blade industry. Some of the blades show sheen that is characf dstfC of flint used to cut the.grains.

On the basis of evidence from Mehrgarh it appears that Kachi plains may have been an independent eRicenter for cattle and sheep domestication and for cultivation of wheat and barley. · Period II at M ! represents the C!t lcolit i se (SOO O.RC.), from whkh cultivation of r t <?),nd gr is attested in addition to· the cultivation of wheat and baflgy. Probably the Harappans,,,.Jv!1eriteV!te knowledge of wheat, barl nd cotton cultivation from their early ancestor P;t M h_rgarh. The idea that farming and domesti tion or;;nimafs-spread form West A ia to the di ction of th Tirdian· subc.ontinent may thus have to be given up in the light of the evidence which Mehrgarh provides.

Village settlements .appeared in the Kashmir Valley by about 2500 BC. Excavations at Bul"Za_.? and Gufkra\ throw significant hght on the Neolithic culture of this region. The Neolithic stage of this region lfasbeen classified,into tWO phases_at Bui\lwm anq three at Gufkral. At the latter site.the eqrliest phase is <!;2,.CU!C, The Neol_ithic cult :·· fi< shm'.ffvalley is ch ratt ;iz';ct by :,_<,! gs -«.rith ll;m ,1 AArS· smeared with red-ochre as well as dwellings ii) t h J2n.en. The presence ·of a large number d',fH !9,,e _ ?<! "t to l g S, ---f : ,-,e: :onomy w s·pf Qj} nt.ly_ j) !i[.ec?_.?,1J Y-

At Gutkral,_ in P ase I ch rreci wild grains of .\ : n: - !!t• P ,w ;5,,and barl ere. fQ.und esides hones of wild animals such as cattle, sheep, goat,·reo deer and wolf. Phases II and HI are charactenzed by the presence of domesticated plants and animals. Other notable objects found from the later phases are long celts, stone points, and sophisticated bone tools Hke harpoons, arrowheads and perforated harvesters. oo·g burfals placed along some of the human burials have also b_een reported.. These findings indicate howaries'sentiaUy1ffffi'fi g-]. Jff§fmJI.ef iriy ·orPh li racfuafiy devefop. e.d.il)tQ.a "V ll s, - agricultural economy fi-i'"Phase i t

The Neolithic Culture of Burzahom displays affinities with Sarai Khol.a and Ghaligai of Swc1 • y n. pottery, bone and stone objects. Pit-dwellings and dog buri:iisare dlaracterlstics of.1ne Ngrtji Chinese Neolithic c lture. Contact witn pre-Harapans 1s also indicated by tliepottery found at Burzahom.

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The available C-14 dates from the two sites indicate a time range of 2500-1500 BC for the Neolithic culture of th", Kashmir Valley.

Belan Valley

The river Belan flows down from east to west along the edge of the Vindhyan plateau outcrop. It is a tributary oftfie ,Tons, which joins the Ganga near Allahabad. This region is the part of monsoon belt. The entire area is c = d with thick forestoitealt"ancr6amooo. The forests are the natural habitat for wild animals like Tiger, Nilgai, Chital etc. Thickly grown grasses including wild rice provide the veg!:!tal cover. The area was a favorite hunting ·ground of early Stcme Age people down to the Paleolithic period. Important sites of the Belan Valley that indicate transition from the food-gathering stag food producing stage are Chopani-Mando, Koldhihawa and Mahagara.

At Choani-Mando a three-phase sequence from Paleolithic to late Mesolithlf.2r Prnto-:Neolith!c period has been established by archeologists. Phase III (advanced Mesoiithic) haracterized by femFsedentary community life ariaspeciahzed }ranting-gathering economy. B ive tyP,e of hutments, comtnon hearths, unportable. anvils, geometric Microliths, large number of ring-stones and hand-impresseaepottery were found here. The.phase also yields· significant evidence of the p·resence of wild rice and bones of wild cattle,: h ep and goat.

The ·excavations at Koldihawa rnvealed a three-fold cultural sequence (Neolithic, Chalc6lithic and Iron Ag). Mahagara is a'.singfe5"cuitu're (Neolithic) site. The combined evidencefro; th b7ites i dfm"tes sedentary.life, domestication of rice and of cattle and sheep / goat. Other objects thrm&ring light on the life of peQple living in this ar a include. cord-impressed pottery, chalcedony blades, circular / oval floors littered with artifacts, a large cattle pen with hoof-marks of cattle etc.

The Neolithic culture of the Belan Valley shows a developed and advanced sedentary life with defined family units, standardi ation of pottery forms, portable size of food processing unit;h like querns and mullers, specialized tools like chisels, celts and adzes, cultivation of domesticated rice and domestication of cattle, sheep/goat and horse.

It has b en sugge ted that N h!.c,. '!i;me g J &ed as the 1arliest r community m In (6 th M1llenmum BC), although the suggest10n 1s not accepted b f all. The transition from gatheri_ng to farming_ec n my is also clea:IY._documented in th_is region. oweve,r, pot ery akes its appearance m the late MesohthJc / proto Neohth c phase at Chopm Manda (circa 9th-8th M1llenmum BC). (C?opni-Mando provides the earliest evidence -of he use of pottery in the world). this is indicative of pnmacy of manufacture of pottery over domest1cat1on of plants and animals.

Neolithic cultures of Bihar / Mid Ganga Valley

The lowercentral Garigetic Valley with aUits f\9ra and faunal resources was occupied by sedent ry village settlements much later. (2000 1600 · BC). Excavations in Chiand, Ghechar, Senuwar and Tat:,adib, etc., thrpw light on the life pattern of the Neolithic people of this. region. At Senuwar (Rohtas o· trict) the Neolithic farmers cultivated rice, barley, field pea; lentil and some millets. From this site, a variety of wheat and grass pea have also been.found from upper levels ofhabitatiQn. The Neolithic levels at Chir.and (Saran District) situated on·the left bank of the <;;anga revealed the s_tructural remai s of mud floors, pottery, Microliths, ground celts, bone fools and beads of semi-precious stones, besides terracotta human figurines. Both Chirand and Senuwar are known for their remarkable bone tools. The grains cultivated at. Chirand were wheat, barley, rice and lentil.

Neolithic-Chalcolithic people Senuwar also sta;rted cultivating gra s in addition to the crops raised by earlier people.

Eastern.India

Eastern Indian sites include the area comprising the hHls of Assam including north Cachar, the Garo and the Naga hills. Ecologically the area falls in the,monsoon zone with heavy rainfall.

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The Neolithic culture of this region is characterized by shouldered celts, small ground axes of rounded form and cord-impressed pottery, heavily tempered with quartz particles. Excavations at Deojali Hading in north Cachar hills have yielded all the objects noted above. These objects are extensively distributed in China and South East Asia with a long ancestry. Yet the affinity of Assam Neolithic traits with China or South East Asia has not been finally settled as there is a wide chronological gap. The Assam Neolithic culture phase has been tentatively dated around 2000 BC.

South India

The problem of transition from the stage of advanced hunting to that of food producing economy in South India has not yet been clearly established. The Neolithic settlements are found on the hilly and dry Deccan Plateau drained by the Bhima, Krishna, Tungabhadra and Kaveri Rivers. These settlements flourished particularly in those areas where the normal rainfall is below 25 cm per annum. Excavated sites, which throw light on the various aspects of the Neolithic culture, of South India are Sangankallu, Nagarjunakonda, Maski, Brahmagiri, Tekkalakota, Piklihal, Kupgal, Hallur, Palavoy, Hemmige and T. Narsipur.

South Indian Neolithic culture has been classified into three phases by archeologists. The earliest phases is represented at Sangankallu and Nagarjunakonda. The fainttraces of dwellings, crude handmade pale reddish brown pottery with slipped outer surface, blade tools of chert and ground stone tools found at Nagarjunakonda demonstrate that the people had only rudimentary knowledge of cultivation. Probably they did not domesticate animals. This phase can be dated to 2500 BC or earlier.

In Phase II, besides the continuation of the features of Phase I, the pottery is mainly of red ware fabric. However, Lapidary art and domestication of animals are the new features. In this phase the microliths are made of quartz crystals.

In Phase III at about 15.00 BC, grey ware pottery is predominant. The red ware and short blade industry of quartz-crystals of Phase II continued into this phase. Neolithic tools of various types are also found in this phase. These indicate greater practice of agriculture as food gathering and hunting assuming subsidiary role. Dwelling pits at Nagarjunakonda characterize the last two phases with roofs supported by wooden poles.

Ragi (Millet) was one of the earliest crops cultivated by the Neolithic farmers of South India. It is cultivated even today and forms an important source of food for the poor classes. It is also used as fodder for the cattle. It is generally believed that the domesticated Ragi came from East Africa. Other crops cultivated by the Neolithic farmers include wheat, horsegram and green gram. Date palm was also grown. Terracing seems to have been an important feature of the method of cultivation during this period. It was employed for roaking tiny fields for growing crops.

Animals seem to have been used for draught-war and ploughing fields. It is clear from the excavations at Nagarjunakonds that domesticatiotj ,qCpl nts preceded the domestication of animals; Domesticated animals like cattle, sheep and goat, buffalo, ass, fowl, swine ahd hqrse are also reported from.some sites. Sambar, deer,. spotted deer and gazelle were hunted and the peopl caught pond snails and tortoise for food.

Abundance of cattle and other kinds of food articles suggest sedentary agriculture and pastoral economy of the Neolithic people. On the basis bf C-14 dating, the Neolithic culture of south India has been placed between 2600 and 1000 BC.

Many mounds of ash are found in the vicinity of Neolithic sites like Utnur, Kodekal and Kupgal. Some bf them are also found in forests, remoter from any settlements. It has been suggested thatthese mounds-of sh were the sites of the Neolithic cattle pens. Form time to time the accumulated dung was burned - either by design a a part of some ritual or by accident Some of the mounds in remote areas may suggest seasonal migration to the forest grazing grounds by the people.

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Upper Central and Western Deccan

In the middle and the upper reaches of the Krishna and the Godavari and their tributaries, the Neolithic picture is somewhat different. In these regions, besides the ground stone tools made on black trap, a large number of parallel-sided blades and microliths of agate, chalcedony and carnelian were found along with grey ware ap.d Chalcolithic-type painted pottery. No clear-cut Neolithic phase has been recorded in this region. But the evidence from Chandoli on the Bhima, a tributary of Krishna and from Nevasa and Daimabad, sites on the Pravara, a tributary of the Godavari, suggests that Neolithic farmers in this region had moved into the Chalcolithic phase.

Further northwards in the Tapti and Narmada valleys of north Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat no clear-,.cut Neolithic phase was found. Only a small number of triangular axes with pointed butt-end of South Indian affiliation found at Eran in the Bina Valley and at Jokha in SotJth Gujarat are Neolithic finds form this region.

In the Chambal, the Banas and the Kali Sindh Valleys there is scarcely any evidence of the presence of ground stone tools. In spite of the fact that durin,g an earlier Mesolithi context domestication of animals _h_ad started, sedentary settlements started in this region only after topper-bronze implements became known.

Protohistoric- Indus. Valley Civilization: Pre-Harappan, Harappan and Post-Harappan Cultures

Indus Valley Civilization (IVC) was an ancient civiUzation in the Indian 'subcontinent that flourished around the Indus River basin. Primarily centered along the Indus River, the civilization encompassed most of what is now Pakista.n, mainly the provinces of Sindh, Punjab and ·Balochistan, as well as extending into modern day Indian states of Gujarat, Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan. Remains have been excavated from Afghanistan, Turkmenistan and Iran·, as well. The mat re phase of this civilization is technically known as the **Harappan Civilization,** after the first of its cities· to be unearthed: Harappa in Pakistan. Excavation of IVC sites has been ongoing since 1920, with important breakthroughs occurring as recently as 1999..The civilization is sometimes referred to as the Indus Ghaggar-Hakra civilization or the Indus-. Sarasvati civilization.

Discovery: The ruins of Harappa were first described in 1842 by Charles Masson in his *Narrative of Various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab;* where locals talked of an ancient city extending about _25 miles, but no archaeological interest Was attached to this. for nearly a century. In 1872-75 Alexander Cunningham published the first Harappan seal (with an erroneous identification as Brahmqetters). It was half a century later,in 1912, that more Harappan seals were dis,covered by J. Fleet, promptini an: excavation ·ca paign under Sir John Hubert Marshall in 1921...:22 and resul ing in the discovery of the hitherto unknown civilizatibn ·at Harappa by Sir Johq Marshall, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram SahnFand fl.fadho ,.SarupVats, and at Mohenjo-daro by Rakhal Das Ban£frjee," E. J. H. MacKay, aad Sir Jolm Marshalf:By 1931, much of Mohenjo-Daro had .been excavated but excavations continued, such· as that led by Sir ortimer .Wheeler, director of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1944. Among other archaeologists Who worked on IVC sites before the partition of the subcorit_i_nent in 1947 were Ahmad Hasan Dani, Brij Basi Lal, Nani Gopal Majumdar, and Sir Marc Aurel Stein. Following the Partition of India, the bul :of the a chaeologicaLfinds were inherited by Pakistan where most of the IVC was based, and excavattons from this time include those led by Sfr Mortimer Wheeler in 1949, archaeological adviser to the Gov;ernme t. of Pakistan. 'outposts of the Indus· Valley civilization were excavated a:, far west as Sutkagiinj)or in Baluchistan,,as .far north as at Shortugai on the Amudarya or Oxus River in currertt Afghanistan.·

Pe,dodization: The mature phase of the Harappan civilization lasted from c. 2600 to 1900 BCE. With the inclusion of the_ pre ecessor and·successor cultures-Early Harappan and Late Harappan, respectively-the entire Indus Valley Civilization may b(:! taken to have lasted from the 33rd to the 14th centuries BCE. Two terms are employed for the periodization of the IVC: Phases and Eras. Th Harappan, .Mature

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Harappan, and Late Harappan phases are also called the Regionalization, Integration, and Localization eras, respectively, with the Regionalization era reaching back to the Neolithic Mehrgarh II period.

The Indus Valley Tradition is divided into four eras, and each era can be divided into various phases. A phase is an archaeological unit possessing traits sufficiently characteristic to distinguish it from all other units similarly conceived. Each phase can be subdivided into interaction systems.

Date Range	Phase	Era
7000 - 5500 BC	Mehrgarh I (aceramic Neolithic)	Early Food Producing Era
5500:-3300	M hrgarh II-VI (ceramic Neolithic)	Regionalization Era 5500 - 2600
3300-2600	**Early Harappan -(Early Bronze Age)**	
3300-2800	Harappan 1 (Ravi Phase)	
2800-2600	Harappan 2 (Kot Diji Phase, Nausharo I, Mehrgarh VII)	
2600·1900	**Mature Harappan-(Indus Valley Civilization)**	Integration Era
2600-2450	Harappan 3A (Nausharo II)	
2450-2200	Harappan 3B	
2200-1900	Harappan 3C	
1900·1300	**Late Harappari {Cemetery H); Ochre Colored Pottery**	Localization Era
1900-1700	Harappan 4	
1700-1300	Harappan 5	
1300-300	Painted Gray Ware, Northern Black Polished Ware (Iron Age) Indo-Gangetic T:raclition	

Geographical Spread: The Indus ·valley Civilization .encompa$_Sed_.inost of Pakistan .extending. from Balochistan to Sindh, with an upward reach to. Punjab from east o Ohe Jhelum Rjver to Ru.par on .the upper S_µJlej; r cent1y, Indus sites have b.een· discovered in Pakistan's northwestern Frontier Province.,as · wen. Oilier WC-colonies can be found in Afghanistan w}lile smaller _isolated ·colonies,can.:b·e _found as far away as. Turkmenistan and in Gujarat J«)as:tal settle_ments extende·d from Sutkagan :Dhr- .in Westerµ. Baluchistan to LothaHn Gujarat An Indus Valley site.has been found.on the Oxus River at·ShortughaPn northern Afghanistan, in-the Gornal River. valley in northwestern Pakistan,:at Manda on the_Beas -River near Jammu, India, and at Alarngirpur on the Hindon River, only 28 km from lhi. Indus Vallf:Y si.tes have been found most often on rivers, but also on the ancient seacoast, for example, Balakot,·.and ·Qn_islands, for example, Dholavira.

Th re is evidence of dry riverbeds overlapping ith the Hakra channel in Paki tan and the .s aso#'al Ghaggar River in Ind a. Many Indus Valley (o_r Harappan)sit:es.have been discovered along the Ghaggar Hakra bi ds. Among them are: Rupar, Rakhigarhi, Sothi, l{alibangan, and Gailwariwala. According t Ī G. Shaffer and D. A. Lichtenstein, the Harappan Civilization "is a "ftisfon of the Bagor, Hakra, and ·xoti_"Dij. traditions or 'ethnic groups' in the Ghaggar-Hakra valley on the borders of Indi_a and Pakistan."

Origins of_IYC: There re several .theories as t the ori,gin o(the Indus Valley. ciyiJiza_tion. J'h : earli, t ·· **hypothesis was that** it **was all early form of a Vedic.tiVilization that would com·e o·.** domi ate. II!0St **of**

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5. **Tarkai Qila:** In the Bannu area, in the northwest frontier province the site of Tarkai Qila has also yielded evidence of fortification. Archaeologists have discovered large samples of grains which included many varieties of wheat and barley, lentils and field pea. Tools for harvesting have also been found. In the same area, at a site called Levan, a huge factory site for making stone tools was discovered. Most of the people used tools made of stone. That is why in some places where good quality stone was available tools would be made on a large scale and then sent to distant towns and villages. The people in Levan were making ground-stone axes, hammers, querns, etc. For this they were importing suitable rocks from the surrounding areas too. The presence of lapis lazuli and terracotta figurines indicafos links with Central Asia. At the site of Sarai Khola, which is located on the northern tip of western Punjab, another 'Early Harappan', settlement has been discovered. Here too th .people were using the pottery of Kot Dijian type.

6. **Punjab and Bahawalptir:** In western Punjab, Harappa is well known. During one of the excavations, habitations preceding the urban phase have been discovered. Unfortunately they have not been excavated as yet. The pottery found here seems to have similarities with the Kot Dijian ware. Scholars believe that these habitations represent th!;! 'Early Harappan' phase in Harappa. In the Bahawalpur area about 40 sites of the 'Early. Harappan' period have beenJoqtted in the dry bed of the Hakra River. Here too the Kot Dijian type of pottery characterizes the 'Early Harappan'. A comparative analysis of th'e:}settleinent pattern -of.these sites shows that in the 'Early Harappan' period itself a variety of habitations had come up. Whereas most of the sites were simple villages, some:ofthem were carrying out sp!:!dalized industrial a tivities. That is why we find that most of the sites averaged about five to six hectares in size; G manwala spreads over an area of 27.3 hectares - larger than the Harappan township of Kalibangan. These larger townships must have carried administrative and industrial activiti s apart from agricultural activities.

7. **Kalibangan:** The site: of Kalibangan in north Rajasthan has also yielded evidence of the 'Early Harappan' period. People lived in houses of mud bricks. The mud bricks had standard sizes They also had a rampart around the settlement. The pottery used by them was different in shape and design from that of other area s However, some of the pottery was similar to that of Kot Diji. A few varieties of potteri s like the 'offer.ing stand' continued to be u ed during the urban phase. A remarkable find was-that of a ploughed field surface. This proves that even at this stage the cultivators already knew about the plough. In more primitive situations the farmers either simply broad ast the seeds or used hoes for digging the fields. With pl_ough one can dig deeper using much less energy. That is why. it is conside ed an advanced tool of cultivation having potentialities of increasing the food production. In the .dry bed of Ghaggar, on the_ lridian site, several 'Early Harappan' settl ments have been found They seem to }ine the now extinct waterways of the region. Sites like Sothi Bara and Siswal have reported ceramic' styles similar to those or'Kalibangan. The exploitation of the Khetri copper mines in RJfiisthan might have beg n in the 'Early Harappa period itself.

Till now we have stressed _the similarities: found in the culturijl traditions -of diverse agri ultural comrnu.nities living in and around the Indus regions in the Early H1arappan period. Beginning with small agricultural settlements the areas of Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab and Rajasthan saw the emergence of distinct regi.onal traditions. However, the use .of similar kinds ofpotteries, representations of a horned deity and finds of-terracotta mother goddesses show the way to the .emergence of a unifying tradition. The p pple of Baluchista n had already established trading relations witb the towns of Persian Gulf and Cent;afAsia. T_hus, the 'Early Harappan' had the seeds many of the achievements of the Harappan civilization.

ThisJ - marizes the developments that took place over 3000_ years. Cultivators colonized the alluvial plains of the Indus during this period. These communities were using tools of copp_er, br nze and stone. They were using plough and wheeled transport for the greater productivity of labor. Also unlike in Iran, where sheep and_ goa_t rearing wa.s prevalent, the Indus people reared cattle. This gave them better possil;>ilitie_s of-ha_rr1essing animal power for transportation and possibly tultivatio n. At the same time a gradu!3l unification too took place in the pottery tradition. In the 'Early Harappan' period a particular kind of pottery first identified in. Kot Diji spread,, over almost the entire area of Baluchistan, .Punjab and

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Rajasthan. Terracotta mother goddesses or the motif of horned deity could be seen in Kot Diji or Kalibangan. Some of the communities surrounded themselves. with defensive walls. We do not know the purpose behind the construction:of these walls. lt could be defense against other communities or it could be simply a bund against flooding. All these developme ts were taking place in the context of a much larger network of relationships with the contemporary sites of Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia.

Harappan Culture

For a long time it was believed that Indians are stay at home people and our civilization was only of recent origin. But the excavation at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, which led to the discovery of Indus Valley Civilization, has set all these doubts at naught. It has now been established beyond all doubts that India possessed one of the advanced. Daya Ram Sahni and R.D. Banerjee discovered this unique and important civilization of the pre-historic times in India in 1921 and 1922. Further excavations were carried out along the Indus between Rupar at the foot of Simla hills and Sutkagendor, 300 miles close to Karachi, where similar remains were discovered. In recent years excavation at village Alamgirpur near Meerut and in Saurashtra have also revealed the_similar remains. All these discoveries point to the existence of an advanced civilization in pre-historic India, which is now popularly known ·as Indus Valley Civilization or Harappa Culture. Though this civilizatibri lS r rmed as Indus Civilization it covered even area beyond the Indus Valley It-extended from the upper Sutlej to the Gulf of Cambay in the South and from Makran coast ofth _A1abian Se in the west to the Jamum{;Gang s country in the east. Thus the Indus Civilization :vvas the largest ofthe early civilizations.

RaCe of Indus Civ1liz.atioi1: There has been much controversy amongst the historians regarding -the race to which the pea.pie of Indus Valley civilization belong d. Different scholars have tried to speculate, mainly on the basis of human skeletons and skulls found in the ruins, about their race. While some scholars are of the opinion that they were Aryans, this point is not acceptable to Sir Jo.hri Marshall. Marshall holds that this civilization was quite different froin the earlier Vedic civilization and that it was quite different from that of the Aryans. According to Gordon Childe, the people of Indus Valley were of Sumerian race. However he fails to give convincing and substantial proof in· support of this view. R.D. Banerjee has expressed the view that the peop.le of the Incius Valley Civilization were Dravidians. However; if we t ke the funeral customs of the people ·of Indus Valley, it would be difficult to accept this contention. On the basis of the finds discovered, Dr. Guha has expressed the view that the people belonged to a mixed race.

Thus we find ·that there is great difficulty in ascertaining the race t(? which the .people of Indus Valley civilization belonged. Most probably many races ·contributed to the evolution of Indus Valley culture and perhaps Aryans also formed ari important part of them. There is every reason· to believe that the Indus Valley culture was a synthesis of the Aryan and non Aryan cultures and its· authorship cannot be asfribed to anypartictJJar race. ·But one thing can be said with certainty that the Indus Valley civilization was of, very high order.·

Town Planning **and Archite·cture**

AU the Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization such as Mohenjodaro, Har ppa, Chanhudarn)Lohumjudaro etc., display the Temarkable skiU of the Indus Valley civilization in town planning and. sanitati6n. Of air the e cities, Mohenjodaro is better preserved' and its. excavation has revealed that city was built after' careful planning, as is clear from the streets, which though *vary* in width, yet intersect at right angle :- These streets thus divide the entire city into square or rectangular blocks, which are further· intersected by narrow lanes. Some of the streets are very long and wide. At least one street has been traced whkh is more tha.n half a mile long and at places over 30 feet wide All the roads are align d east to the wes a d nortft o south. The corners of the streets were roun.ded so that loads should not get dislodged.

The bricks used f r the pavements were comparatively of small size and were plain surfaced. L-s.haped · bricks were occasionally used f r corners. Mud mortar was universally used. The plaster of the .walls \Vas mainly of mud or gyps m. The d ty had a elaborate·drainage system, consisting of horiz? t l and vertica

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drains, street drains, soak pits, etc. The architecture of Mohenjodaro, though not quite artistic and beautiful, was quite utilitarian. The peoples v·: d b rnt bricks in building walls, pavements, bathrooms, drains, etc. Some sun-baked bricks were used for the foundation. The foundations were usually very deep. The buildings were generally erected on high platform to protect them against floods, which seem to have been quite common.

Dr. A.D. Pusalker has greatly admired the town planning of the Indus Valley people and says, "A visitor to the µins of Mohenjodaro is struck by the remarkable skill in town planning and sanitation displayed by the ahcients, and as an English writer has observed, feels himself surrounded by ruins of some present-day working town in Lancashire". He has divided the buildings unearthed into three categories: 1) Dwelling houses or residential buildings, 2) Larger buildings and 3) Public baths.

The. size of the Dwelling houses differed from one and another. The small houses consisted of minimum two rooms while the big ones had large number of rooms·and often could be mistaken for the palaces. Each house had a wall and drain that were connected with the main street drain. Vertical drainpipes sugg _?.t. that bathrooms were constructed in upper storeys also. The. presence. of the stairways also suggests that the houses used to be double::-storied. The entrances to the houses were placed in narrow by-ways and windows .were non-existent. The roofs were floored"by_placing reed matting of veins and coverfog the:m with.mud. Th size f the doors used in the houses varied.fr.om 3 feet and 4 inches to 7 feet and 10' inches.

In a. ciition to the d\<Velling :houses certain spacious and large buildings also existed. Some of these pos.sessed .large pillared halls about 80 ft. square. These buildfogs were probably tem.ples, municipal or ass llll:>ly halls._

Another Jmportant feature of the houses that deser_ves mention was that the people were very fond of baths. In·. every ·hoil e a special place was set" aside for a bathroom. The floor of the bathroom was watertight with a clear slope towards one corner. The water of the bathroom would pass to the latrine, whkh was generally situated, between bathroom and the outer wall of the house. People were probably in he:habit of ta ing bath daily. The love of the people for bath is further confirmed from the discovery of a p11,blic bath_ t Mohenjodaro.._This bath was 30_x 23 x 3 feet and was surrounded by veranda, galleries and rooms on all sides. It was constructed of the burnt britks and·was connected with a fine drainage system for filling nd emptying it. The swimming baths were filled with water from the wells, which were built of burnt bricks. With a view to keep the wells· neat and clean, steps .were_provided. In additio to the Great -Bath at Mohenjodaro, a bath has also been dis.covered at Harappa with measures 39x13x8 feet. The walls of this bath were. p:lastered with gypsum and lime· mortar. ·People used th_ese baths on religio_us OCGasicms as ·well as otherwise. Thus we find that the people of Indus Vailey civilization attached great significance to bath llke the Hindus.

Caref.µ_l study of the above features of toyvn planning viz. adequate water supply, efficient drainage system, and· existence of pucca houses sh·ows that the art of t9wnwlanning_ ancl.architecture was quite advanced. The presence of lampposts at intervals indicates that a system of street lighting als existed. In short we can agree with Dr. R.C. Majumdar and say that the ruins of he city of Mohenjo_daro" reveal that "on>this site a ·large, populous ·and ·flourishing town; whose· inhabitants freely- enjoyed, to a degree unknown elsewhere in 'the ancient world, ·not only the s'anitary conveniences·but also the luxuries and comforts of a highly developed municipal li e."

SOCjALLIFE

It ha.,-c;1lready_been observed that the people of Mohenjodaro were of cosmopolitan character. Evidently these people were attracted by the fertility and productivity of the area and came from diff rent parts of Asia.

F0<fd 'and o·rinks:· The people of the Ind4s:_·y ley were_·both vegetarian al}d non:-v_egetc1rian. They cultivated wheat, barley, ri e and bred, ca le sheep, and poultry for food. They were in the habit. of faking fruits and vegetables· and date was the most favourite fruit of the people. As regards the non-vegetarian

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food, they consumed beef, mutton, poultry, fish etc. This has been proved by the discovery of half-burnt bones, found in the houses, lanes and stre ts:

Domestication of Animals: The Indus Valley people domesticated various types of animals. The most common amongst them were the buffalo, sheep, goat, camel and cow. They worshipped the humped bull that has been-proved by the various seals. It is not fully known whether the people of Indus Valley knew about the horse. However, certain scholars have taken some bones recovered on the upper-most layer as bones of the horse, while the others have denied. The people also knew about wild animals like lion, rhinoceros, tiger, monkey, bear etc. In addition they also knew about animals like mongoose, squirrel, parrot, peacock, cat etc., which is obvious by the presence of large number of clay models or toys of these animals.

Dress and Ornaments: As regards the dresses no actual specimens of clothing have fallen into the hands of the excavators and we have to make conjectures about their dress from the various figures. Most probably-the people used both cotton and woollen clothes. The clothes were sewn as has been indicated by the discovery of needles. We can form an idea about the dress used by the people from the various sculptures of the age. It appears that the women used loincloth bound by a girdle. In fact there was very little difference between the dress of the'males and the females. Most of the people used lower garments· that resemble the modern dhoti along with the upper garments whkh was a type of a shawl:

The peupte of lndus Valley were great lovers offashion. Men kept various types of beards and Whiskers. . . The women were also very fashion conscious and bore fan-shaped hair dress. Various objects of head dressing like ivory combs and bronze mirrors have been discovered. The discovery of various toilet jars made of ivory, metal pottery and stone has led the scholars to the conclusion that the people were in the habit of using some form of powder. The authors of Vedic age have also observed: "small cockle shells containing a red ochre rouge, lumps of green earth. white face paint, and a black beauty substance show that ·the belles in ancient Sind attended to beauty and toilet culture. It is interesting to note that Chanudaro finds indicate use of lip-sticks."

Both men and women were in the habit of using ornaments. These ornaments were made of clay and· various metals like gold, silver, 'copper, bronze etc. Both· men and women used certain ornaments like necklcices, fillets, armlets, finger-rings and bangles. On the other hand, women used ornaments like girdles, nose studs, earrings and anklets alone.

Sports and. **Ga·mes:** The people had great· love for- ports and games nd a number, of eviqences are: · available to this effect :some of the prominent games of the time were dice playing. ThLs is in icated·by : the presence oflarge number of dices during the course of excavation. People were also fond of hunting.,,. The various seals on which men are shown as unting wild goats. and large antelopes with bows and arrows prove this fact People also were delighted in bird fighting. Fishing was used both as gaine as well.· as regular profession. The children had special love for clay modelling as is proved by the presence of large number of crude models of men and., women and animals, whistles, cattle· etc. But probably the greatest source of amusement for the pet>ple 'was music and dance. This is proved- by the figure of a bronze-dancing girl and terracotta figures.

Disposal of the Dead: FrQm the evidence we find thatthree methods were used for the-d1sposa1·ofthe dead -person. Firstly, the dead body was buried. Secondly, after burning the dead body the remains. of the dead body were buried under earth. Thirdly, the dead bodies were left for. the wild ani111als. Almost all the three methods have been discovered, but according to Sir John Marshall, the second method was the most popular.

Household Articles: A number of household articles have been unearthed at Mohenjodaro; These articles include cake moulds, dippers, breakers, bowls, dishes, gables, basins, pans, saucers, etc. These articles are made of stone, shell, ivory, metal etc. It is noteworthy that during this period copper and bronze replaced stone models for the manufact re· of hQusehold objects. In addition certain needles, sickles, knives, fishhooks and chisels have also beeii discovered.

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ECONOMIC LIFE

The various objects recovered at the site of Mohenjodaro suggest that it was a prosperous city. The people were fully acquainted with different types of agriculture. Implements like sickles have been discovered. The common agricultural products of the time were wheat, barley, vegetables, cotton etc. As the land of the Indus Valley was quite productive and had sufficient irrigation facilities, agriculture seems to have been the main stay of the people. In addition to this people domesticated animals for economic purposes. The main animals which were domesticated by the people of Indus Valley included cow, -bulls, buffaloes, sheep, goat, camel etc.

Industry: Mohenjodaro was a great industrial centre and a number of industries were practised here. But probably the most important of these industries. was weaving. This is proved by the discovery of a number of spindles and spinning wheels in the various houses of Indus Valley. This suggests that spinning of cotton and wool was quite common. In addition, the people of Indus Valley also knew the practice of dyeing. People also knew the art of using metals -like gold, silver, bronze, copper, tin, led etc. and they produced various articles with these metals. Pottery seems to have been an important industry during this period. The earthen pots of those -days, which have been d,is<1overed, now can be broadly classified ·into two categories - hand made a·nd wheel made. The discovery of number. of pottery kilns shows that the .pots·were burnt. People, produced a variety of pots, certain pots were meant for daily use and were pla-in·whffe:other pots were meant for the·preservation of valuables and were painted.

Trade an<l ·commerce: The ,c:ity of Mohenjodaro was a great trading centre and both internal and external trad .was carried.on from there. International trade was mainly carried on by the land routes 'in which _bull.ock-carts wer used. ·That the people of Mohenjodaro had trade relations with the people living in South India, Central India. and Northwestern India, is proved by the common use of precious and semi.::p{'.ecious stones. The trade with foreign countries was mainly carried through water routes. This has been proved by the representation of a boat on a seal. Trade was particularly -carried with countries of Western Asia. The chief articles sent to _the foreign countries were the clothes. The presence of certain objects of Indus Valley civilization· in Sumeria suggests that India had trade relations with that country also. Scholars have expressed the opinion that Mohenjodaro was economically prosperous city only because it was a. flourishing·centre of trade nd commerce.

Weights and· Masures: A large number of weights have been discovered from Mohenjodaro and Harappa. These weights differ a great deal in size. While-some of the weights are so heavy that they could not:be picked· up with hands and were used with the help of ropes, while the others were_ so small that it appears that they Were used ·exclusively by the jewellers. ·But the most common weight that was used by the people of Indus Valley is .cubical in shape. The people of Indus Valley also knew about the footage systein. It at1pears that tht 'State exercised strict ·control over weights and measures.

RELIGION

As r gards- the religion: of the Indus Valley people n(?thing ican:· be said with certainty because the excavations have not revealed :any temples, shrines, altars or cult objects. However, we can make some conj ctures about their religious -beliefs fr<;>mthe various seals and o_bjects 9'r sculptures.·These people had quite an advanced type of religious faith. At least one thing is quite clear that he iconic and aniconic cults,:J xisted side by side. The principal deity --f the people was Mother-Goddess, a prototype of the 'Pow. r. ·,(W:hictl later developed into. Shakti). A number of standing and semi-nude:female figure, wearing a girQle or. a band around her loins, with an elaborate headdress c1nd collar, have been discovered. Mackkry has suggested that ·some sort of 0ll or intense was burnt before this goddess to please her. Human sacrifices were offered to the Mother-Goddess as is proved by the seal. The animal sacrifices were quite common.

In .add_ition to the Mother-Goddess,· people worshipped a three-headed deity that can be recognised as a prototype·or historic Shiva. It has been ·suggested by certain scholars that the Aryans borrowed Shiva cult om the Indus Vallejrpeople. The cult ·of animal worship was also quite common. The animals were not ·only worshipped but were also regarded as·Vahana or vehicles of the gods, like bull was regarded as the

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vehicle of Lord Shiva. At Mohenjodaro we also get a number of evidences for animal, tree and image worship. Image worship was certain i f known to the people of Indus Valley as is indicated by the crossed-legged figure on a table. On this tablet devotees are shown kneeling to the right and left of the figure and a snake behind the figure.

Water played an important role in the religious beliefs of the people, as is evident from the presence of the Great Bath. Certain scholars have suggested that the Great Bath was a temple of the River God. Some scholars have even suggested that before performing any rituals people used to take a dip in the Great Bath for their purification.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

The people of the Indus Valley did not make uch progress in the field of the fine arts and crafts. The various tools, weapons, vessels, houses and public buildings that have been discovered lack artistic touch. We have also not come across any monumental sculpture in any of the remains. Although the people of Indus Valley could not produce works of art on a large scale, they displayed notable artistic achievement at least in seal engravings, especially those of animals. The various figurines and amulets also show their art at great height A few stone image Jopn.d at Harappa are specimens of an excellent finish and show a high degree of development in the art of the sculpture. But probably most outstanding artistic work produced by the 'Indus Valley people-is the bronze "dancing girl", as one writer has said: "She is nakedbut wears bracelets -- ight up to the shoulder. She is standing in a provocative posture with one-arm on her hip and one lanky leg half-bent. This young woman has an air of lively pertness quite unlike anything in the work of other ancient civilizations. It has been suggested that this dancing girl' is a representative of a class of temple dancers and prostitutes, such as existed in contemporary Middle Eastern civilization and were an important feature of later Hindu culture." Some of the important crafts that flourished during the Indus Valley civilization period were that of pottery, carpentry, masonry, blacksmith work, ivory work; stone cutting etc. These people also knew about spinning as is proved by the presence of large number of spindle wheels.

The Art of Writing and Script: The inscriptions on the seals discovered at Harappa and Mohenjodaro prove that the people of Indus Valley knew some sort of writing. Their script has been characterised as pictographic, each sign standing for a particular word or object It appears that the people wrote from left. According to Basham, "The Indus script may have been inspired by the earliest Sumerian script which probably antedates it slightly, but it bears little resemblance to any of the scripts of ancient Middle East".

Nothing can be said with certainty about the language or the script used by the Indus Valley people, because the script has not been deciphered. However, certain scholars regard this script as Sanskrit while other considers it as Dravidian. But R.B. Dikshit is of the view that the people of Indus Valley developed an independent script and was identical to the one used by the people in Egypt; Sumeria and other countries of West Asia. However, nothing can be said for certain about the script of the Indus Valley people except that it was pictographic.

The Indus Valley Civilization had made a very rich contribution to the Modern Hindu culture. In fact many of the features found in the Indus Valley Civilization have been adopted by Hinduism. Shiva as a deity is as popular With people today as it was during the time of the Indus Valley Civilization. Sfotilarly, the cult of Linga and Yoni was taken from Indus Valley people. The worship of trees and plants, animal worship and sacrifices, the concept of "Vaharia" - the vehicles of Gods, are alf adopted from Indus Valley Civilization. Therefore, we can conclude that there is an organic-relationship between the andertt culture of Indus Valley and Hinduism of today. thus, the religion of Indus Valley is a lineal progenitor of Hinduism.

Decline of Harappan Civilization.

Cities like Harappa, Mohenjodaro and Kalibangan experienced gradual decline iR_ur an pl nning an construction Houses made of old dilapidated bricks and hoddy construction encroached upon the roads and streets of the towns. Flimsy partitions sub-divided the courtyards of the houses. The Cities were fast

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turning into slums. A detailed study of the archi ectures of Mohenjodaro shows that many entry points to the 'Great Bath' were blocked. Sometimes later the 'Great Bath' and the 'Granary' fell into total disuse. At the same time the late levels (i.e. later habitations) at Mohenjodaro showed a distinct reduction in the number of sculptures, figurines, beads, bangles and inlay works. Towards the end, the city of Mohenjodaro shrank to a small settlement of three hectares from the original eighty-five hectares.

Before its abandonment Harappa seems to .have witnessed the arrival of a group of people about whom we know through their burial practices. They were using pottery which was different from those of the Harappans. Their culture is known as the 'Cemetery H' culture. Processes of decline were in evidence also in places like Kalibangan and Chanhudaro. We find that buildings associated with power and ideologies were .decaying and goods related to displays of prestige and splendor were becoming increasingly scarce. Later.on, cities like Harappa and Mohenjodaro were abandoned altogether.

A study of the settlement pattern of the Harappanand Late Harappan sites in the Bahawalpur area also indicates a trend of decay. Along the banks of the Hakra river the number of settlements came down to SO in the:Late Harappan period from 174 in the Mature Harappan period. What seems likely is _that in the last two-three hundred years ·of their life, the settleqients in the core region of the Harappan civilization were declining.- The population seems to have _.either perished or moved away to other areas. Whereas the number ·of sites in the triangle of Harappa, Bahawalpur and Mohenjodaro declined, the number of settlenients in the ·outlying-'areas of .Gujarat, East ·Punjab, Haryana and upper Doab increased. This indicates a phenomenal increase in the number of people in these areas. This sudden increase in the population of those regions. can be xplained by. the emigration of people from .tne core regions of Harappa.) n the outlying regfons of the Harappan civilization, i.e. the areas of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Punjab; people continue to live. But life had changed for them. Some of the important features associated with the Harappan civilization - writing, uniform weights, Harappan pottery and architectural style had disappeared.

The abandonment of the cities of the Indus is roughly dated to about 1800 RC. This date is supported by the· fact that the Mesopotamian literature stops referring to Meluhha by the end -of 1900 B.C. However, even now the chronology.of th_e end of Ha_rappan cities remains tentative. We do not as yet know whether the ·maj_or settlements were. abandoned at one· .and the same or at clWerent per ods. What is certain, however, is the fact the abandonment of the major cities and the de-urbanization of other settlements indicates the decline· of the Harappan civilization.

Theories of Decline

There is no agreement amongst the scholars on what probably caused the decline. of the Hatappan Culture. Some scholars, believing in a dramatic collapse of the civilization, have fooked for evidences of a calanifty .of· catastrophic proportions; which wiped out the urban communities. Some important speculations in this regard are discussed he e.

Floo4 and Earthquakes

Among the causes spelled.out for the d_edine of the Harappan civilization schola s have used the evidence o f .floodi 1g in_ Mohe_nodaro: It appears,from the _record of 1he principal e_xcavators. that in Mohenjodaro evidences of deep flooding separate·d various periods of occupation. This can be inferred from the fact that tlie_ houses and streets· qf Mohenjodaro were covered with silt clay and collapsed building material man./:thnes in its long his,tory. This silt ·clay seems .to have been left by the floodwaters that had subr ;rged the streets and houses. The people_ of Mphenjodaro again built up houses and streets on top of the-4 1.?ris. of the previous buiJdings, after the_floods had receded. This kind of catastrophic flooding and rebuilding on top· of the debris seems to have happened at least thrice. Silt deposits divided many occupation deposits. Thus, inany scholars believe that the evidences are indicative of abnormal floods in Mohenjodaro.. These floods led to the temporary desertion and reoccupation of the city throughout its history. Silt deposits show that these floods were Catastrophic 80 feet.above the present ground lev l, meaning that the floodwaters rose to such height in this area. The Harappans at Mohenjodaro tired

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themselves out, trying to overcome the recurring floods. A stage came when the impoverished Harappans could nQt take it any more and they sfmplyabandoned the settlement.

s Hypothesis

The theory of catastrophic flooding has been carried further by a famous hydrologist R.L. Raikes. He argued_ that such flooding which could drown buildings 30 feet above the ground level of the settlement could not be the result of normal flooding in the river Indus. He beli ves that the Harappan civilization declined because of catastrophic flooding causing prolonged submergence of the cities located on the bank of the river Indus. Geomorphologically speaking the Indus area is a disturbed seismic zone. Earthquakes might have raised the level of the flood plains of the lower Indus river. This uplift of the plain along an axis roughly at right angles to that of the river Indus blocked the passage of the river water to the,sea. This led to the ponding of the waters of the river Indus. A lake was formed in the area where cities of the Indus had once flourished. And thus, the.rising water levels of the river swallowed cities like Mohenjodaro.

It h s b_een pointed out those sites like Sutkagedor and Sutka-koh on the Makran Coast.and Balakot near Karachi ·were. seaports of the Harapp ns,f However, at present, they -are ·located far away· from the seacoas,t. This ·has happened bec use of .the upliftment of the land _on the sea-coast possibly caused by:. vioJeht tectonic. activity. These violent earthquakes, damming rivers and burning towns destroyed the Harapp_an civilization. This led to the disruption of the commercial life based on river and coastal communication..

This grand theory.of the ca astrophit fall of the Harappa·n civilization is not accepted by many scholars. H.T. Lambrickpoints out that the idea that a river would be dammed in such a manner even by tectonic uplifts is incorrect due to two reasons:

- Even if an earthquake artificially raised a bund down stream, the large volume of water from: the Indus would easily breach it. "In recent times in Sind, a swell of ground raised by the earthquake of_ 1819 was breached by the first flood it faced from one of the smaller streams of the Indus called Nara.
- Silt deposition would parallel the rising surface of water in the hypothetical lake. It would take place along the bottom of the former course of the river. Thus, the ·silt of Mohenjodaro might. not be "the· depositfon of a flood.

Another criticism of this theory is that it fails to explain the decline of the settlements outside the Indus system.

The Shifting Away of the Indus

Laqibr:icl< has offered his own explanation f o r the decline. He believes that changes in the.course'ofthe: river Indus could be the cause of the d struction of Mohenjodarn, The· Indus is an unstable river system which keeps shifting its bed. App·arJ·ht1y/ the river. Indus shifted about thirty miles away from Mohenjodaro. The people of the city and the surrounding food production villages des rted the area becaµse they wen starved of water.- This kind of thing -happened many times f[f] ·the history f Mohenjodaro. The silt observed in the city ·is actually the product o f wind action blowing i n l o t [s] of sand· and silt This,:combined with disintegrating mud, m·uct brick and baked brick structures, produced what has been mistaken for silt produced by fl ods.

This theory too cannot explain the dedine of the Harappan civilization-in totality. At best, it can explain the-desertion of Mohenjodaro. And i f the people of Mohenjodaro were familiar with those kirids of shifts in the river course why could not they themselves shift to some new settlenie.rit and establish another city like Mohehjodaro? Obviously, it:appears'thatsome o·the-r factors were at war

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Increased Aridity and Drying Up of the Ghaggar

D.P. Agarwal and Sood have introduced a new theory for the-decline *of* the Harappan civilization. They believe that the Harappan civilization declined because of the increasing aridity in this area and the drying up of the river Ghaggar-Hakra. Basing their conclusions on the studies conducted in the U.S.A., Australia and Rajasthan they have shown that there was an increase in the arid conditions by the middle of the second millennium B.C. In semi-arid regions like those of the Harappa, even a minor reduction in moi ture and water availability could spell disaster. It would 9-ffect agriculturarproduction, which in turn wou_d put the city economies under stress..

These scholars also discussed the problem of unstable river systems in western Rajasthan. As stated earlier the Ghaggar-Hakra area represented one of the core regions of the Harappan civilization. The Ghaggar was a mighty stream flowing through Punjab, Rajasthan and the Rann of Kutch before debouching into the sea. Rivers Sutlej and Yamuna used to be the tributaries of this river. Because of some tectonic disturbances, the Sutlej stream was captured by the Indus River and the Yamuna shifted east to join the Ganges. This kind of change in the river regime, which left the Ghaggar waterless, would hav'e''catastrophic implication for the townsdocated in this area. Afpparently, the ecological disturbances brought by the increased aridity cmd the shift in the drainage pattern led to the decline of the Harappan civilization.

Interesting th.ough this theory is, it has some problems. The theory about the onset of arid conditions has not.been" fully worked out and one needs mor information. Similarly, the drying up of the Ghaggar has· n o fbeen dated properly as yet.

Barbarian Invasions

Wheeler believed that the.Harappan civilization was destroyed by the Aryan invaders. It has been pointed out that in the late phases of 9ccupation at Mohenjodaro there are evidences of a massacre. Human skeletons have been found lying on the streets. The Rig Veda time and again refers to the fortresses of the Dasa$ and· Dasyus. The Vedic god Indra. is called 'Purandara' meaning 'the destroyer of forts'. The geographical area qf the habitation of the Rig Vedic Aryans included the Punjab and the Ghaggar-Hakra ·region. Since there are no remains oJ other cultural groups having forts in this-area in this historical phase, wheeler believed that it was the Harappan cities that were being described iri the Rig Veda. In fact, the Rig Veda mentions a place called Hariyupiya This place was located·on the bank of the river Ravi. The Aryans fought a battle here: The· name· of the place sounds very similar to that of Harappa. These evidences led Wheeler to conclude that it was the Aryan invaders who destroyed the cities of Harappa.

Attractive though this theory is, it is not a ceptable to. a host of scholars. They .point out that the pro {sjonal date for the decline ofthe Harappan civilization Is believed to be 1800 B.C. The Aryans on the other.(hand are beli ved to'have arrived here not·earlier _than a period around 1500 B.C. A the present state';of knowledge it is difficult to revise ¢ither of.the dates and $0, the· Harappans and the Aryans are unlikeiy to have met each other.. Also, neither Mohenjodaro no}\H rappa yielded any other _evidence of a military assault The evidence of the human bodies lying exposed in the streets is important. This however could have been caused by raids by bandits from the surrounding hilly tracts. In any case, the big cities were al eady in a st;ate of decay. rhis cannot be explained by the invasion hypothesis.

Ecolpgical Imbalance

Sch \ ts like Fairservis trie' to ex.plain th decay of the. Harappan civilization in terms of the problems of ecol?gy. He computed the population of the i-Iarapp fo cities and· worked out the food requirements of the town'smeh. He ·also computed· that the villagers in these areas consume abo.ut 80% of their produce leaving about 20% for the market If similar patterns of agriculture existed' in the past, a city like Mohenjodaro, :having a population of about 35 thousand, would require .very large number of villages ·producing food. According to Fairservis's calculation the -delicate e<;:ological balance of these semi-arid areas was being disturbed because the human and·cattle population in these areas was fast depleting the scanty forests, food and fuel resources. The. :ombined needs of the Harappan townsmen, peasants and

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pastoralists exceeded the limited production capacities of these areas. Thus, a growing population of men and animals confronted by scanty reso\irces wore out the landscape. With the forests and grass cover gradually disappearing, there were more floods and droughts. This depletion 'of the subsistence base caused strain on the entire economy of the civilization. There seems to have been a gradual movement away to areas which offered better subsistence possibilities. That is why the Harappan communities moved towards Gujarat and the eastern areas, away from the Indus.

Of all the theories discussed so far Fairservis's theory" seems to be the most plausible one. Probably the gradual deterioration in the town planning and the living standards was a reflection of the depleting subsistence base of the Harappans. This process of decline w;:is completed by the raids and attacks of the surrounding communities.

However, the theory of environme tal disaster also has some problems.

- The enduring fertility of soils of the Indian sub-continent over the subseq ent millennia disproves the hypothesis of soil exhaustion in this area.
- Also, the computation of the needs ofJhe Harappan population is based on scanty information and a lot more information would be ne, d d to make a calcula ion of the subsistence needs of the Harappans.

The emergence of the Hara.ppan civilization involved a delicate balance of relations between cities, towns and vill.:iges, rulers, peasants and ·nomads. It also means a fragile but important relationship with. the communities of the neighboring areas who-were in possession of minerals crucial for trade.-Sinillarly,_it meant maintenance of contact with the contemporary civilizations and cultures. Apart from this, we have to take into account the ecological factor of relationship with nature. Any breakdown in these chains. of relationships could lead to the decline of the cities.

Contribu ions of Harappan Culture to Indian Civilization

The cults of Pasupati (Siva) and of the mother goddess and phallic worship seem to have come dow_n to us from the Harappan tradition. Similarly, the cult of sacred places, rivers or trees and sacred anim_als show a distinct con,tinuity in the subsequent historic civilization of India. The ·evidence of fire worship and sacrifice- in Kalibangan. and Lothal is significant These .were the most significant elements- of the Vedk . religion. Could the Aryans have- learnt these practices from the Harappan priesthood? This hypothesis , would fequire more evidence ·but-it is. not unlikely Many aspects of domestic life like the house plans, disposition of water supply and attention to bathing survived in the settlements of the· subsequent periods. The traditional weight and currency system of Inqia, based on a ratio of sixteen as the 'unit, was. already pr _sentin_ the Harappan civilization. It mightw.ell·have been derived from them. The .technique of m i,-t1g potter swheel.in.modern India is similar to those used bytheHarappans. Bullock-carts and boats used in modem India were already pres.ent in the Harappan cities. As such we can say that many el rnents ofthe Harappan civilization survived J u to;, subsequent hi torical tradition.

Post or Later Harappan .Cultures

By the second ·millennium B.C.. several regional cultures sprang up in different_ parts of the· Indiari subcontinent .These were-non-urban non-Harappan and were characte"rized by-the use of stone and copper tools. Hence, these cultures are termed as Chalcolithic cultures.

In addition to other cultural material huge· caches of copper·and bro·nze objects were fo nd at excavated site dn parts of-Uttar Pradesh, Harya·ria,·Rajasthan, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Karnataka. As thes_e have be_en found in hoards.(about a thousand objects altogether from 85 sites) these sites were tho,ugn to represent a di inct Copp r H'.oard culture. At·Saipai (Etawah .Qistt)" a site in. ttar_ Pradesh, a c_op_r, h :}?.2.Q!l was found in ass ciation wit:l:i: pottery known as .Ochre Colored Pottery: C·OCP). houg s9my f tlie other Copper Hoard sit s h,:iye yj lded OCP, the copper objects are not found in d_iect_a_ss9_c tj(?_J) . . with OCP. As more than a hundred sites have yielded this characteri tic pottery ip- t e Ganga-Yarnuna ,·

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Doab, these sites are described as belonging to the OCP culture.

The OCP culture is succeeded by Black and Red Ware (BRW} and Painted Grey Ware {PGW) cultures, which are distinguished by diagnostic pottery types. In North India, there is a distinct concentration of Painted Grey Ware sites in Haryana and Upper Ganga Valley, of which 30 have been excavated. Iron makes its appearance in the Painted Grey Ware culture, and in the ensuing phase, known as the Northern Black Polished Ware (NBP) culture, its use becomes more widespread. Starting from the sixth century B.C. we al o see the beginnings of urbanization.

Ochre Colored Pottery Culture

A new pottery type was discovered in trial excavations conducted in 1950 at Bisauli (Badam district) and c!iIHI!' tar :µ (Blru2r...gJ§!!j,ct) in Uttar Pradesh, both of them being CopperHoartrs-ites. This -pottery is made of medium grained clay, under-fired and has a wash of ochre (which has a tendency to rub oft) ranging from orange to red. Hence, those sites associated with this ware are ascribed to Ochre Colored Pottery culture (OCP culture}. So far more than 100 sites which extend from Mayapur in Saharanpur distrtctto Saipai in .Etawah district (U.P.) have,been discovered.

Oehm Colored-Pottery sites are .generally located on riverbanks. These sites are small in size and the mounds have a low-height-at many of the sites (e.g. Bi"hadara.bad, Bisauli, Rajpur Parsu, Saipai). This indicates a:relatively shQrt duration ofthese settlements. The distance between.settlements varies from *5* km to 8 km. At some of .the OCP sites· (e g. Ambkhert Baheria·, Bahadarabad, Jhinjhana, Lal Qila, Atttrartjikbera, Saipai) excavations have· revealed ·no signs of regular habitation. At Hastinapura and Ahfchchatra there is a break· in occupation between the oc·P culture and the succeeding PGW culture, while at Atranjikhera the OCP settlements are succeeded by Black and Red Ware Pottery.

The material remains of QCP culture are mostly in the form of pottery These consist of jars (including storage jar$), bowls, ring-footed bowls, flasks, handled pots, miniature pots, basins spouts, etc. The other objects compl'ise terracotta bangles; beads of terracotta and carnelian; terracotta animal figurines and cart wheels with a central knob; stone querns and pestles; and bone points. A copper harpoon has beeri fotind in the OCP stratum ·at Saipai.

Not much evidence .is ·available regarding structures; From the evidence recorded at Lal Qila, which is sc nty,·it is known that floors were made of rammed earth. The structures consiste.d ofwattle and daub houses This· is suggested on the basis of burnt mud ·plaster and mud. clods with reed and bamboo impressions.

Archae_obotanical re ains recov red at Atranjikhera indicate that rice barleyand grain were grown. On the l:lpsis of similarity in pottery types some s·cholars believe that the OCP represented a degenerate,d form:o(thefate· Ha·rappan pottery.

On the basis of Thermoluminiscence .dates ob,tained from OCR. pptte-ry, the culture has bee11: ascribed to 200O:B.C. to 1500 B.C.

BI.J.ck and Red Ware Culture

Excayations at Atranjikhe.ra in the eariy 1960s revealed a distinct horizon, sandwiched·between OCP and · PGW)evels. This horizon ·has a characteristic pottery called Black and Red Ware (BRW). A similar strati$raphic sequence has been discovered in· the 1970s at Jodhpura and Noh in Rajasthan. But at Ahicta:chhatra; Hastinapura and Alarrigirpur; BRW is:found associated with PGW.

The haracte istic features of this pottery are the black c_olor inside and near the rif11 on outside, and red color, over the rest ofthe body. Inverted firing, it is believed, has produced this color combination. The p_ottery is mostly wheel turned, though some pots are also handmade. It is made offine clay and has a fine-fabric with-thin. walls. Black and Red Ware pot_tery with paintings has _also ·been found at sites in Rajasthan,.Madhya Pradesh,_.Bihar and West Bengal.

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The excavations at Atranjikhera have revealed fragments of stones, waste flakes, chips, cores of quartz, chalcedony, agate and carnelian; one bead each of carnelian, shell and copper; a copper ring; and a fragment of comb made of bone. No stone or metal tools have been found. Jodhpura has yielded a bdhe spike. From Noh shapeless piece of iron, a terracotta bead and a bone spike have been discovered.

The important feature of doab BRW (also of that at Noh) is its plain surface, devoid of any paintings. The BRW found at Gilund and Ahar (in Rajasthan), on the other hand, is painted in white on black surface.

There are also typological differences. The painted BRW from Ahar has pronounced carinated concave sides, and the fabric is coarse. The plain BRW of the doab has no carination, and the fabric is fine. The dish with featureless rim and concave sides present in large numbers in the BRW of the doab is absent at Ahar and Gilund. Bowls with spouts and c;lish-on-stand present at Ahar and Gilund have not been found in the doabsites.

Painted Grey Ware Culture

Since the first discovery of Painted Grey Ware (PGW) at Ahichchhatra in 1946, a huge number of sites have been brought to light in different part of north India. Out of these 30 sites have been excavated. Some of the well known excavated sites anfRupar (Punjab), Bhagwanpura (Haryana), Noh (Rajasthan) Alamgirpur, Ahichchhatra, Hastinapura, Atranjikhera; Jakhera and Mathura (all in Uttar Pradesh).

The concentration of PGW sites is in the Indo-Gangetic divide (Haryana), Sutlej basin and the upper Ganga plains. Settlements are located along riverbanks. The average distance from one site to the other is about 10 km. to 12 km, though in some cases it is also 5 km. The settlements at these sites are mostly small villages (1 to 4 hectares) with the exception of. Bhukari (Ambala district, Haryana} which is an extensive settlement covering 96,193 sq;m.

Pottery is wheal made out of fine clay and has a thin core: It has a smooth surface, grey to ash-grey in color. It is painted in black and sometimes in a deep chocolate color on the outer as well as inner surface. It has nearly 42 designs and the most common types are bowls and dishes.

The houses and other structures were of wattle and daub. This is indicated by the occurrence of patches of burnt earth, mud bricks, burnt bricks, mud platforms and mud plaster pieces, with reed and bamboo impressions in the excavations at Ahichchhatra, Hastinapura, Atranjikhera and Jakhera. Excavations at Bhagwanpura (Haryana) site revealed different structural phases. Postholes in the first phase indicate circular and rectangular huts. In the second phase, one house has 13 rooms with a corridor between the two sets of rooms. This house also has a courtyard.

A variety of objects made out of copper, iron, glass arid bone were found in excavations: These consist of axes chisels, hhooks and arrowheads. Spearheads are made only of iron. Among the agricultural implements, only a sickle and a hoe made of iron have been found at Jakhera. Iron objects are found at all the sites except Hastinapura, Atranjikhera alone has yielded 135 objects, a furnace, iron slag close to the surface, and a pair of tongs.

At Jodhpura there is evidence of two furnaces. It has been suggested that iron ore was procured from other regions. The people were fond of ornaments. Beads of terracotta, agate, jasper, carnelian, chalcedony, lapis lazuli, glass and bone have been found. Two glass bangles were found at Hastinapura and copper bangles have been found at Jakhera. Terracotta objects comprise human (male and female) and animal (bull and horse) figurines, discs, balls, potter's stamps, etc were also found.

Evidence of cultivated crops is available only at Hastinapura and Atranjikhera. At the former site, remains of only rice were found and the latter has yielded the remains of wheat and barley. Bones of horse, cattle, pig, goat and deer have been found at Hastinapura, Allahpura and Atranjikhera; These include both wild as well as domesticated animals

Beads made of a variety of semi-precious stones (like agate, jasper, carnelian, chalcedony; lapis lazuli) are found at different PGW sites in the doab. None of these stones, as raw material, are available in the doab;

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These items could have been.obtained by trade. Agate and chalcedony are found in Kashmir, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh whereas lapis lazuli is to be found in Badakshan province in Afgha"',stan. Thus, the people inhabiting the PGW sites must have obtained these stones through trade or exchange with these regions. Certain parallels in shape and size have been found between the PGW and potteries found in north-western India. Especially the Grey Ware found in association with iron seems to.indicate some links with the PGW cultures.

Northern Black Polished Ware Culture

Like the preceding cultures the Northern Black Polished Ware culture is identified by its distinctive pottery. This ware was first discovered at Taxila in 1930 and because of its black luster its discoverer then tcrok it as 'Greek Black Ware'. Since then nearly 1500 NBP sites have come to light. They expand from Taxila and Udgram in the north-west to Talmuk in east Bengal and Amravati (Andhra Pradesh) in the south. Out of these about 74 have been excavated.

On the basis of the kind of pottery frequency and associated objects it has been suggested that two phases can be"distinguished in the NBP Ware Culture:

Phas J: This phase is also referred to.as the pre-defense phase. This is characterized.by a predominance of NBP,:Ware and presence of shreds of BRW and PGW, though in meager qu rntities. In this phase there is an absence of punch mark d -c.oins and· burnt brick structures, which signify a higher level of development This phase is represented in Atranjikhera. Sravasti and Prahladpur.

Phas.e lI: Pottery specimens belonging to BRW and PGW are not found in this phase. _NBP Ware is of poor qucJ.lity (thicker in fabric) and is found in smaller numbers. A coarse grey ware comes into greater use. Punch marked coins and burnt bricks make their first appearance. This phase is represented in Hastinapura, Atranjikhera,;Sravasti II and Prahladpur.

From the excavations at Hastinapura. Atranjikhera· and Kausambi it becomes evident that during this period building activities began on a large scale and that citfos began to emerge. Excellent evidence of a settlement layout was discovered at Kausambi. Lanes and bylanes of brick flooring were found here. One road. which was originally l id in 600 BC was relaid several times and continued tQ. function till 300 *I\D.* Houses were made of burnt bricks, and use of tiinberin house construction is evidenced by the pqst-hole.s and sockets-for doorjambs. The roofs of houses were covered ·with tiles. The rooms were square as well as rectangular. All. this indicates a fairly planned building activity. This is further deinonstrate·d ·from excav:ations at Hastinapura that have revealed an elaborate drainage system; Some of the settlements were fortified with a mud. or brick wan and moats were constructed encircling the fortification. The fortification wall at Kausamb1 had gu rd rooms, towers and gates at regular intervals.

The m,ast characteristic feature of NBP Ware is its glossy surface. It is turned o n a fast wheel a_nd is made. o f wel --made clay. The core of the pottery in sqme cases _is as thin as 1.5mm. ln addition td the glossy black$tii:fa ce, the NBP Ware is also found i n golden, silver, white;'prnkish, steel blue, chocolate.and brown col.ors. :The _recovery of riveted pots.. (i.e. ma e by joining broken pieces) from some sites (e.g. Ro_par, Sorieptir) indicates how valuable the NBP Ware was. Thfs along with the prese ce of other pottery types leads us to assume that NBP was a lux4ry ware not accessible to everybody and suggests to us that the society was unequally divided. Though NBP ware is generally unpainted, some painted shreds to occur. Painti'.ng _is done using yellow and light vermilion colors. The common designs are simple bands, wavy lines)g?ts, concentric and intersecting circles, semi-circles, arches and loops.

Sever l kinds of tools, weapons, ornaments and other objects made of copper, iron, gold, ilver, stone, glass,,,and bone h ve been recovered· from NBP Ware sites. They reveal the technological progress achieved_ during this period which is further corroborated by early ·Buddhist texts, that mention a number of arts and _<;rafts. The Jatakq.s refer to _about 1 8 guilds, for instance,. those o f wo"rkers in wood, metal, stone, pr:ecious an semi-precious -stqnes; ivory textiles, etc. The_ copper: objects. found at many sites consist of chis,els, knives, borers, pins, needles; antimony rods, r els.and bangles.

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Iron objects not only preponderate but a,so exhibit a great variety in form when compared to the PGW period. The site of Kausambi alone has Yielded 1,115 iron objects f rom deposits dating between Ca.800 B.C. to 550 AD. These consist o f agricultural implements like hoes and sickles, and tools of craftsman such as axes, adzes, chisels and screw rods; Weapons like arrowheads, javelin heads and spearheads. And miscellaneous objects that include knives, handles of different kinds, hooks, na.il;S, rivets, fishplates, rings and miniature bells. Silver punch-marked coins have been found from the middle phase of NBP culture. These indicate a possible shift from barter system to a system of exchange of goods through metallic currency.

Archaeobotanical remains indicate that rice, wheat, barley, millet, pea and black gram were cultivated. And the animal remains found from some of the sites suggest dependence on cattle, sheep, goat, pig and fish. Presence of beads hailing from many different places suggest some form of trade. It has be.en suggested that trade links existed between Taxila, Hastinapura, Ahich hhatra, Sravasti and Kausarribi during Ca. 600 B.C. to 200 B.C. Such a *view* is strengthened by the references made in Buddhist texts to trade guilds, and the caravans of camels, horses, mules, oxen and buffalos. _Between the 6th and 3rd centuries B.C. there was trade between India and countries to the west. The main items of export were textiles, spices, and probably finished .gp,qds of iron and steel. From the Arthasastra (Book-II) it would appear that the state not only exercised· co'nt'rol over trade but also had - monopoly over industries like gold, copper, fron, lead,· tin, silv_er,· diamond; gems and precious stones..

CONTRIBi.JfION·oF TRIBAL CULTURES TO IND/AN CIVILIZATION

A study of the various stages. of Indian prehistory reveals the fact that the Indian tribal population has been participating in the dynamics of mainstream social and cultural evolution form the very beginnings. It is clear from· the archeological record that the aboriginal Indian population was predo·minantly tribal and they constituted the basic social matrix of this country. The nation further witnessed the migration of foreign· tribes into the mainland India from various parts of the world. Migration alone can account for _the awesome complexity in their racial types, as there is no paleontologkal record substantiating their evolution on the Indian soil.

The contributions of the Indian tribes in the evolution of India society a·re not to be underestimated. To quote Prof. KS. Singh, "The Indian 'trib_es have not lain 'torpid' on the fringe. of civilization but have responded to static and dynamic rhythms or'history. Their role is limited not merely to referehce·s to such of them as Saoras, Kiimaras and Kiratas in ancient texts; it is part of the process of the fusion of rates and cultures in the subcontinent, of the growth of Hinduism and its amorphous mass of myths and legends, magic and religion, traditions and customs. Tribal contents in Indian life may be compared to an iceberg in an ocean and these can be ide_ntified as much as th Aryan or the Dravidian"..

The origin of Indus Valley Civilization, its gradual expansion and growth.is the ingenious work of the Indian tribes. The subsequent invasion of the Aryan tribes and their amalgamation into Indian society and esta_blishment of the Rig Vedic and Late.r;Mf!Pkc Civilization,s is again a testimony to the fact'that the tribes· have been playing a proactive role in the gradual evolution and subsequent crystallization of the Indian society. Mention ·must-be made to the Later Vedic period that has witnessed two processes that display the interaction between Aboriginal and Aryan tribes. These are the Aryanization o'f Indian Tribes and Trib lization of Aryan **people.**

The historic epics of India - Ramayana and Mahabharata - mention Indian tribes such _as. Dravida,s, PuHna·s, Sabaras and Abhiras. In fact, the S baras or Saoras, as they are called today, find their"eaiTfest meri'ifo'n iri'tlie'·'Aitreya"'Brah ana. According to Verrier Elwin, "Sabari.who offered fruits to Ram ,:has becom -,,,s f the contributions that tribes can and will make to the life of India". The fam:ous di cip'f._ [> ¼rho gave away his th.um as da shina to his guru Drona.ch rya, is a member of h jl lPP.. .es·ent day M_unda and Nagatr _b ·clann to hav fo,!).ght,-along-w-1!.luh- - Kauravcls gamst the Panda s in the famous ·-Kuruksfiei131 war•....Rhfma n1arried aitribalJady:Hh:liitib ':),vhtfeventu.allY gave ,9Jr:tl{to.the·famous son of Bhimar[1]t b tQlka r A·meiidon is'iii tieuf:!in ry ing a Nag pri cess /·Ch1trangada.)n fact the accultu-ration«of-·'Naga tribes into the"-ffiainstream Indian -population is so

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complete that today we don't find any evidences of their culture. There is neither historical connection nor any cultural relationship the present day Nagas of Nagaland have with the ancient Naga tribe-. we are talking about. The influence of ancient Nagas on the Indian society can be felt in manx._places across the country and in its culture, architecture and festivals.

The a?l ilation of tribe J t LL gt n..- .<?£ ':JY continued for a long time. Even today the tij_ba f?.!½! _re is resplendent with anecdotes ai:id legepds_ from .1:IJ.Mu P)c0ike Ramayana and Mahabharata. In fact, the M undc1s consider themselves as Manoako, the descendents of Manu and the Gonds consider themselves as the. descendents. of R_c1yna. Ancient Ind.ian literature like Pc:1n hata tra, Kathasaritsagara, Vi?hnu Purana anc'Harsha Charita talk enormously of the Indian tribal p p.ulations.

Thus ··we may conclude by saying that the tribal populations in India have contributed enormously throughout the nation's prehistoric and historic development. The Indian civilization is enriched with the dynamic participation c:>°ftfloar population:· not" only from times· iriunemorial, but also for a long time to come. The aura of Indian diversity is further intensified by.the very presence of these ancient a,ud exotic inhabitants of this subcontinent

1.2 ealec,,anthropological ·Evidences fr.om India with special reference to Si.wiliks and Nar ada -Basin ·.

As.India was assuming its present geographical and biotic features, there evolved various species of apes wh ·se fo;sils are found in the Siwalik Hiils bordering the Himalayas. Dating from 15 to 7.5 rriya_, these fre the earurs.Lm :!Ilbe!_ -- --f our taxono'mfE··supe Hy Hie·-1th inoid to appe r in South Asia.. Their ·olutionaty·relationship to other extinct and contemporary ape species recovered in Europe, Africa and ··East Asia give them a significant place in the biological history of primates in general and the ancestry of humans in·particular. (Kenneth A.R. Kennedy) Scief!tists who st{!gJes. the.Siwali cipe fossils assig ed some of their species.to fanciful taxonomic·names ·taken··tr·oin"'i-i1 du mythology. T_hus, RamapitJ:i.e.¢ s) Siv9:pithecus, Brahmapithec·us and SugrivapJthecus cameto be.kn6Wrf"ÇOHectively as the Go Apes_ of: SJ.\i\Tliks,- tiurfnifthe-co-urs·e···op·ast cenhiry and a half this fossiT ec:C>r.c ·o1·Miot n hq_mLn..Qi!ls ha pg n: variously interpre ed, a m.ajor,. qu stion being. hE:!.. vo]utionary affinity of God Apes to the earliest memb rs,llf -r. o.Y' c) C?fil :r .mfiy. .the:_ii mlnidae.

Ramapithecus

Be'ii°eved to be· one of the earliest Hominid fossils from the.Siwalik Hills oflndia, Ramapithecus dates back to 'tl-ie; ume period be ween'j ;JQ;·.triy. . : It was discovered and christened as t J P.- - .:°.:P: bl' - lD - Lewi .Jn the year 1934. The·specimen was later analyzed. by Simons in the year 1964 Simons gave th ji:L name· Ramapithecus p njabicus to this find, which was for a long time. tho ght to pe. tl:w .highest evolvecL form in1:he Rominid--e ol t , e] ing o ;'a;p -,gr P..P.02:fioriitheciis .-'- .. .

The fqs ls·of Ramapithecus (primarily teeth and jaw) co.me from' t0o areas·: the Siwalik, Hills itj ln ia d Fort Ternaii)ri Kenya. Other specimens have been discoveted from Turkey; Hungarfana GJeece. The ' ecological sett.1rtg ()'fFo'rt Tern.an and the· Siwalik Hills f si i t .?.. !! - - o l - - - vfronment

The h9minid features of Rarriapithecus include re_duced and vertically implal} is. .. e.!!!LS .!l !J ,s, littl.e 6i\tlb d-iastema, flattened and thicltenam.eled premolars ana motarsthat appear to be adapte_<Lfor· heavy(4hewing ·anc(proc ssing of heavyfoodstuffs. ···Moreove'r, th ' placements -of chewfng.-m:uscles - itra.Ttate·:·an··ihcreased chewing ·pressure···broi ght fo bea·r· on 'the foodoeiii'f'e·aferi:. Thes·e ··reatures;·· s ttE:Ii fr::S{ff.f r t from-the-earif er Mfocene-fossils; indicate RamapitheCus direction. to hominid line - _pe_ - -t _f(r (HorriTjiT :·····-· ···

Ramapithecus· specimens very strongly suggest the exploitation of a new dietary_J..Q!!r - m.<:>s. i !Y. seeds. nuts an'!'._grasses ,.: that indL<: '..c!'. h.tft: ..?. y_frotn the softer Wresffnif.ts rriTvegetables. relied : P. A-. bf-apes -,.Ii1[!11 J :&."'.shift ·istather dearly cl s.ocfate-c:Lwtth"ie··dfn:iatic changes in the later. P. t!.. .<?L ····Miocene that led to an.iiic:'1ias.ehi-open gra slands and the decrease in th forest habitat of apes. there is

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a greater probability that this hominid form apparently was moving into a new ecological niche; it was beginning to exploit a more open ground environmel)t simil9r to that inhabited by later hominids: Ramapithecus is also the most likely candidate for the ancestry of later hominid because of its presenc<:!. inari area Where··tf1e next ·hominids .:·the Ai:istralopithecines·::navebeen"lo·uncC

The possible daptations that Ramapithecus made to openg_r91:1!}.QJ_i_yi11g.i!!.cl ge an inc_rE:!a ed. g_ _gr ,.,QL. hand and finger preparation of food, perhaps more fre-quent use of tools in such preparati E, a tenci !)SY tow"afds·-upftgfaposfiireah-d bipedal Iotomotion-formovetrteht Wit -a\vide .JfekrofvYsTo·n thrcnlgh-t e· tall· grass·es--on the· OP . JJ,lcli_11; P.<?s:s t>:Iflifrige.r perfods of gr·owth:and.: y fQitnient, ·and perhaps, everi 'a more" frequent inclus-ion of meat in the diet. . None of these adaptations can be clearly demonstrated because· of lack of fossil evidences,.but what we do know is that these adaptations were clearly present by the time the next phase of hominid evolution - the australopithecj.Qes - had begun. It is highly likely that, Ramapithecus had begun to evolve and acquirethose .hominid features that led to. the evolution of australopithecines.

There is a gtea.t de l f de at,e .s to th.e.exact Phylogene.tic posi io. of. a. ar. . ll :

Sivapithecus

Fragmentary fossil remains of Sivaplthecus·wer·e yielded from three sites in Italy dating to early Middle. --Miocene (16 14 Illya). Foilowing the docking of the Arabian plate'w1t·E fA <:.<:1 . u .. .1!1Ya, land, route.s became available for aniinal migration from Africa into Eurasia. It would thus seem, from these Turkish remains, that hominoids quickly too advantage of thk_route" and· reached Eurasia by '16 mya. · Most researchers would assign these remains to the genus Sivapithecus.

· Far more complete samples of Sivapithecus have been recovered·from Southern Asia, in the Si a,Jil< I-fill · of India c,1nd .Pakistan. Most dramatically, over the last 20 years, paleoanthropologists led by David . · !_b -o .H _rvar? lJni si X,have recovered numerous e. . llent specimens froqi__! . -.f.. - u f Pakis _n. Included in this superb Pakistani collection is a multitude of mandibles (15 in all, soine of which .. are-iie'arly intact), many postcranial remains, and a par ial:ct. i!;ll}l, in l clif!g. rp oi t·o(t f fBce. .,...

Sivapithecus from Turkey and Pakistan was probably 51.go_o_g:s..iz-g._b_o_mJ09jd, r , $f£!E_J.!!.size ·from 7Q J <}:,. lb. It probably inhabited a mostly arboreal nkhe, and· fts focorriotion .was "apelike", 'at least in.the.·sen e , that Sivapithecus most likely displayed some su·s e- sory abilitie (!>r ;t;i-; I nf :, .

Sivapithecus differs morphologically from its predecessors Proconsul and Dryopithecus in its dentitic\!1 and facial n tomy. Th front teeth, especially.the.uppercentr J!! . rs ?/ebft_ql!}teargge,whii.e e, c i hle is fairly good-sizect:· fH :f. L E.; - 1?. i J , ¢fsc repan i j ; !f among:$1k PI : s:-. i_!!dividuals, partly because so.!!1 - Q.C::.i . r J .m S. verall; bu also because there.was coil?iderable varfatiori (sexuafdimo"i:plffsm) within the same species. In diet ··like most other horninoid Sivapithecus was ·p obably_c1 fr.µiteater.

The most distinctiv_e aspect of Sivapithecus deJ,1tition is se,n in the back tooth. .:'.Y,.!Y.h !!! f_ar:e lc!f Jl-?.!_ g_r_mi. . IHL!hlc:.k .D.a_m le_d .Th -nr ! J_?_Wer premolar. is J ,-ggit .Y. fj_g.pJ_e_JILSlrnpg. _:Th.!L: thickness of the enamel cap has played a significant. roie·in recent Tnterpretations of Miocene .hominoid evolution. Among living hominoids, relative to *bo9y* size, humans haveby far the thickest ena l ca.-ps Gorillas and chilllpS, have thi11. .m mf.!l, but orangs could be described as--inoc(ira tefy-tfil ["'"thi.ck,- in fact veryitJ:ii k, n mel is also seen in e.arly :99.!.Jllnds As wenave"'"see· ini rt lin· PIT.2U?.!thec s,'their enamel thickness itself varies, bufc{ę tine. usually penetrates into .the cusp so that the enamel wears through during use. ·

Probably, the most characteristic anatomical aspects of Sivapfrhecus are seen in the face, especiall/the area immediately below the nose. Facial remains of Sivapith.ecus have concave profiles.and projecting.·· incisors (remarkably resembling the modern orang). In particular, the partial ·cranium distovered· in 1980 at the Potwar Plateau bears Striking similarities to the orangutan.· The published· description of this specimen had a tremendous impact on paleoanthropology. ·Biochemical evidence demonst ates the

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distinctiveness of the orang from the African apes and humans; here, then, was fossil evidence suggesting some indent Asian traces of the orang lineage.

It must be noted, however, that except for the Jace··,ind jaw, Sivapithecus is not like an orangutan. In fact, especially in the post-cranium (i.e., all the skeletal parts except the head) Sivapithecus is distinctively unlike an orangutan, or any other known hominoid, for that matter. In most respects, then, Sivapithecus could be described as highly derived.

Many;\ arlier fossil-based interpretations of Miocene evolutionary affinities had, of course, to be reevaluated. In the 1960s, Simons and David Pilbeam suggested a Middle Miocene fossil, the Ramapithecus, as the first hominid, known at that time mostly from India, with some bits from East Afri a.>.

New discoveries during 1970s and 1980s seriously questioned Ramapithecus as a definite hominid and todcJ.y it has been rejected .altggether. One primary advocate of this revised view is David Pilbeam, an initial arcf1itect·6 (di"e. eai-Yfe"i- widely accepted theory. Pilbeam, who has led the .highly successful paleoanthropological project at the Potwar Pl teau, has been swauyed by the new fossils recovered there and elsewhere. These more complete specimens are dentally-very similar to what had been called "Raniapithecus'.:Researchers now simply lump R. P,!- c- -!----!-pi_ll_t!Clls.

In s·uinmary, then; the foisil remains of Sivapithecus from India / Pakistan are the most clearly derived large_-ocHed horIJ,ino1ds· we have from the whole. Miocene. WhHe some forms like Proconsul are s·ee-inIliglf·quifiq'>rfffiltive and"otiiers--itke---ti"iyoptthe·cus ar cierived in directions quite unlike any living form, Sivapithecus has several derived features of the face, .U-!!:1..}--vol..i-2Qf:Uy it the ()raqgµJan. Th.:--P-J:atiq.µ_ qf.Jhe J\si,!Jl J rg- qqgjeq. .h.o.mtl'!<?.! Ji.- .fr.oil! h-- i.-\f_iqn $tock (leading ultimately to gorillas,.chiinps arid humans).thu:s_oJ µrr. c! at le_c1st.lZJP.y_q..

Narmada Man

The broken skull specimen of Homo erectus, first & only of its kind in India, was discovered by Dr. Arun Sonakia, Ex-Director, Palaeontology Division, Geological Survey of India, Central Region, Nagpur. This skull" was discovered on 5th December, 198.2 in the middle of the Narmada vaHey in Hathnora, Madhya Pradesh.

This fossil carries a double interest:

- It is the most ancient human remnant so far discovered in Indian subcontinent and
- _ Jt was discovered· ip, jt,y which allow a predse. deterrni? JiQJ:tQf tt stratlgraphic,pala_eontologkal (. and cultural cont t ll attributable to the'Micfdi'e"'P teQ'°e'(rp n.d ..5.0.0,0tl0:yga_rs ago) age in· . the geologic al time scale. J

The aterial is a part of the cranium which may be ascribed tiifertiale individual at the age of thirty's. The skull was studied by Arun Sonakia in 1982 and ·Marie-Antoinette de Lumley in .1984 based on morphological comparisons with similar fossils discovered in Europe· and Asia. The study revealed thp.t the Narmada Man was a Homo erectus i.e. archaic man.

An Inaian anthropologist, who surprised the world last year with his discovery of a five to seven lakh year c>.d human clavicle -(collar bone) fossil from Central Narmada Valley, now endeavours· to disprove the'Known theory of huma_n evolution by establishingthatNarrri.ada Man represented the crliest form of bomo> apieils.

·Dr" AnekRam Sankyan, from the Anthropological Survey of India has later said that the new knowledge had giveil'credence to'his belief that.Narmada Valley could have been the centre of human evolution. He said: the available evidence after the Narmada ·Man discovery points towards the possibility that the origin of African and European stone age cultures was the Narmada Valley.

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Sankhyan said that Narmada Man was djfferent frorri extinct African homo erectus as well as from the European Neanderthals and western arcl1akt,omo sapiens.

Sankhyan had created a sensation with his discovery of clavicle supposed to be that of a 25-30-year-old 4 ft 4" woman of stocky build belonging to the Stone Age near Hoshangabad in Central Narmada Valley basin. His findings were reported in the Journal of Human Evolution, which opened up new possibilities of human evolution apart from giving credence to the theory of parallel evolution.

"There is a great likelihood that modern man had in Narmada Man its closest resembling ancestor and there 1s likelihood that modern man had its origin here and migrated elsewhere from here," Dr. Sankhyan said.

Disputing the currently held view that African or European Neanderthal man was the origin of Narmada Man, Sankhyan says Narmada Man was different morphologically and ecologically. The Narmada hominid characterizes an archaic robust and stocky hominid in sharp contrast to the tall and well-built African or western homo-sapiens.

No hominid fossil clavicle has so far bee9,,reported from Asia except the one in Narmada Valley. It was sustained ·effort on the partof the tearri, for over a decade, as it conducted explorations during 1983 to· 199.2- ov·er 50·.sites bettA/e·en)ah lpllr ·and :puriasa, which:-led to· the ,discovery ·of the clavicle fossil. Over -7QO[1]Hithic artifacts anq .mritrr.iali 1n: f() SH -w re also recovered. The specimen was originally irii 1d ntified anatitet,'afterJ:;Ustaihed t si -rch, Wasrecognised as a hominid;

Narmada. Valley-,. with its central locatfonbetween the Asian; Afribril and European land masses could have been quite a suitable place for .early human origin and thereafter, for easy dispersaL across the continents of the old world. Earlier, the Indian and particularly• South Indian stone cultures were supposed to have been extensions of the African or European StoneAge culture. However, Dr Sankhyan decisiv.ely says that the- Narmada Man was the most appropriate anatomical, geographical and ecological ancestor ofmodern man;

Two evolutions, one in Africa and another in Asia in Narmada Valley, may have existed, he claimed while disputing the Chinese claims of a separate evolution. He said, Chinese Man{Peking man) was only three-lakh year 9lq; Tile Narmada Man could not have come from Africa as he was distinct iri features from·him. The African Man ad a small head an"ci was much nearer to an ape than modern i:nan. On the other hand, Narmada Man was pigymy-sized with large head arid was a much closer versi n of modern man, claims Dr Sankhyan.

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1.3 Ethno-archaeology in India

The Concept of Ethnoarcheology

Archaeolo g y iS the "past tense of cultural anthropology'\ Whereas cultural anthropologists will often base their conclusions on the experience of actually living within contemporary communities, archaeologists study,past societies primarily through their material remains - the buildings, tools and other artifacts that constitute what is known as the "material culture" lekover from former socie.ties.

Nevertheless, one of the most challenging tests for the archaeologist today is to know how to interpret mate ial culture in human t .r s/HmN·w-ere h ot§. _ used? Why are some dwellings ro·und and others sq -ie'('Here" "the methods of archaeology_ pd- j_hno_g!:fil)J}y_ q"-- - lap. Archaeoiogists in recent decades have developed Ethnoarcheology, where, like ethnogrnph_ers, they live among contemporary communities, -1:11_wjt the specific purpos of _tu:igers a 9-ing h<>\11/such societies use material culture - h_owthey"make thefr-: - -- -c(f 'apons; why they build t _eir.set!lements where they do, and so on.

Ethnqarcheolo g y can_ thus be defined as **the study of. contemporary cultures with a view to und i;-st:anqing the behavio-r.al relath:mships which underlie the production of material culture.**

Ethndarche·ology-today:remains as a major specialization iil modern a clm.eology. We now realize that we can only understand the archaeological record if :we understand.-iri"" mch greater detail how it came about, how it was formed. **Formation processes** -are now a major focCts of study. It is here that Ethnoarcheology has. come irrtci"'Its OWil. .ffiestudy of liv ng people and of their material culture undetta.ken \Vith "the ai,m_.Qf.irnpwvtng:2,llr under.standin -onffe-archaeologicai r"eco.rd. For instance, the study ·o(bufr e iypmctices among living'foin.ter·gatherers, undertaken by **LeVvis Binfo,rd** among the N namui(Eskin1o' rA1a'skti; liasgiven h1m_m.ari/new ide"as about the way the archaeoiogical record may havi(be'en "forme.d, allowi g him to r -evaluate the.bone remains of animals eaten by very early humans· elsewhefe in the world.

From its beginning, the New Archaeology placed great emphasis on explanation - in particular explaining how the archaeologicalrecor was formed,.and what excavated structures andartifacts mighJ mean in terms ofhuman behavior. tt caine 1:o·tie'i-e lized th rffiernosrercec1:ive"waYs o¥-; ddres ing such questions _would be to study the material culture and behavior of living societies. Ethnographic observation itself was. nothing new - anthropologists had studied the American Indians and Australian Aborigines since the 19th ·century. What was new was the archaeological focus; the new name Ethnoarcheolo g y, emphasized this. The work of **·Richard· Gould** among the Austrafurn Aborigines, Richai:4 Lee among the !Kung San of southern Africa, and **Lewis Binford** among the Nuna,n.tl!!!. Eskimo has established Ethnoarcheology as one of -the most significant recent developments in the whole discipline of anthropolo g y.

Ethnoarcheo logy i v?lves th': ~ o b?th !' Erei;. nt day uSe'a m :::_ f _ ti\'!:S:: J?uildi · and structures w1thm the hvmg societies m question, and the way these mater\ii"I thums become incorporated i-nto t:heafcfiaeolog1carrec'drd. It is thereTore an indirect approach to the understanding of any past society. There is nothing new in the idea of looking at living societies to help interpret the past In the 19th centurya"nctearly"2'.01f century, European- arcfiatfolcfgists· often·turned for inspiration to reseaiches done by ethnographers. ·Nevertheless, full-fledged Ethnoarcheology is a development really of only \f:1e last 0-3Qy _ars. The keydifference is that new 'it is archaeolo ists themselves, rather than ethnographers: h-o carry out the' resear'ch among-living societi s" ....' .

If used with care, evidence from Ethnoarcheology can shed light on both general and spec_i_fic.q:u - i9.r1 C<?ncernin_g technolo g y. At the· **general level,** Ethnoarçheofo g y and common-seri"selogethe'r suggest that pepple teD:d to use what yf:!r m ter_ial$J:lre.. easily and abundantly available for everyci_a,y, munda_n. asks, but will i vest time and effort !Illto tnakiJ;rn)II1pl !J! 11.ts_ they will use repe f 4.iy :, t ?rfYJ:tX9t111d_ With them. The aourna lce of a type of tooffo the archaeofogfca rec"c>rct is therefore not necessarily a guide to its intrinsic importance in the culture; the tool most frequently found may well have been quickly make,

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and discarded immediately. after use, w tl the rarer implement was kept and reused several times, before eventually being thrown away.

·At the specific level of perhapsJ, !lgJh Jl.£!!Q!!.,2[J?.!!E. i- ular It!f t, ethnography can often prove helpful. For example, large w inged p en ants (lf polished stone were found in sites of Tairona lndians of northern Colombia: dating to the 16th c turyAD:-Arcfiaeologists could only assume thatTnese· were decorative, ·and-had been hung on the chest However, it was subsequently learnt that the modern K ?gi lnd r i, 2 (the area, direct descendants of the Tairona, still use Sll h. o j. ct J!J R? ir§, ll P. !19, Jrqm the elbows, as rattles 6r tinkers, during dancing.

There are innumerable examples of this sort The important point is that the ig e 11 m ation o f tool forms through . ethnogr p hJc .ar1 !9gy . or Ethnoarcheology shot1ld be limited to cases where there Is **deinonstralile· continuity.** between archaeologkaf c'uiture and modern society, or at least to cultures withy similar subsistence ·-ievel and roughly the- same ecological background. Ethnoarchaeo1ogical **research / techniques Cati be employed-to understand rtot onli the technology but also sodal,political** and etonomit aspects of the past societies.

Old Archaeology, which· was purely ges"dfipfive, gave way to the emergence of New Archaeology by iri 9.·f!o a in.(: r e P; tsp e c: iY $- :: 9- n HX Y-: !§.m. · P.t a h;. In.ru-nretlve 4!H!IY is· and. (9 gJ£ - ·

-Jt - e: a 'ti ini r t q·i '.theoty ;a· ?-> r : 11 · We..c r(c ncl de. bY saying· that Ethnoarcheolog is th ".!'1 fiqifol.9gj l s:n :n festat10n of ·log1C9" deduct1ve reasonmg m archaeology and also the general discipline of **ahtht6p ology.**

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2. Demographic profile of India

Ethnic and Linguistic Elements in Indian Population and their Distribution

India is a vast peninsula with a total land area of about 33 million square kilometers and population exceeding a billion people. Its length from north to south is about 3,200_kilometers and breadth from east to west is nearly 3,000 kilometers: Because of its huge size, both in area and population, and also because of its ge·ographical position, India is generally referred to as a sub-continent.

India owes its name to the mighty river Sindhu (the Indus, which is now in Pakistan). The huge river, which ··carries an annual inflow twice that of the Nile and thrice the combined inflow of Tigris and Euphrates, was the most imposing feature of northwestern part of the Indian sub-continent. The early Aryan settlers in India were amazed at the sight of the huge river and called it Sindhu, meaning "a huge sheet of water". Sometimes it is used as a synonym for ocean. In 518 B.C., the Persian Emperor Darius conquer.ed the area around the river Sindhu and made it a "Satrapy" (capital) of his empire. The Persians pronounced "S" as "H" and hence Sindhu tMcame Hindu. Later tl)e· Greek invaders changed "Hindu" to India._· Sfoce ·then the foreigners have· referred to the entire country from the Himalayas to Kanayakumari as lnc:U ;;_The early people however called their country "Bharata Varsha", the country of Bharata and his pro·geny,· a famous: king· mentioned in the early Puranas. Bharata Varshais supposed_to be part of an island ·co·ntineht k_nown as Jambu Dvipa_ __19e Muslim invaders· called theco-tintry-ifinct. stan. The iti h rulers c ll d· the country lndi,tancfttfit sam'e"name··was·rtttainedwnef l ffœ o'lnfryw as·µartitfoned and be_came independent on 15th August 1947.

The diversity of India is unique. Being a huge country with a large population, India presents endless varieties of physical features and cultural patterns. It is only in India one can find people professing all the major religions of the world. In short India is "the epitome of the world". The impressive fact about India is its size and population. Many states of India like Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh are larger than countries of Europe like United Kingdom, France and West Germany. India is the second most populated country after China. ,l:EY.D.f.,- -g.!y_i_l:1 -?!1 t e., h is_an lndj n.

An.other unique feature about India is the extreme diversity of its physicc1l features: Only in India can one find the world's largest mountafns covered with snow tnrougfi"o'utYhe-y_ear: Tli Jffrt} ' yas-ort e : J?j?, fe of 5110\Y" is the source of mighty rivers like ·1ncfus'-Ganga···-a,·1d "Y.ain una.-These perenni"a"f rivers' irrigate extensive areasTntffeii"orfllfo-stfsfaTf lTienuge··popUfalion· ortlie ·cotintry. At the same time northern India contains arid zones and the Thar Desert of Rajasthan where nothing grows except a few shrl!QS.

AgainJt is·only in Iridia that one can encounter different types of climates_like. the polar "(Arctic), the temp€f#te and the tropical. The climate of Kashmir, which is cold even·in summer contrasts with that·of Kerala s climate that is hot and humid, evenJn.,mid-winter. The states of Northeast India afe noted for their heavy 'rainfall and. Cherapunji in MeghJiaya· held the world;,s highest record of "rainfa(l for a long. time. lts rainfall of about 500 inches a year contrasts with less than 3 inches of rain per year in some areas of Rajasthan like Jaisalmer and· Barmer.

India is also an ethnological museum. Majority of the people of India are descendants of immigrants from across.the world._People belonging to these different racial stocks have little in common either in physical appea_rance or food habits. The racial diversity is very perplexing as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said "In the North:W,est frontier province there is already the breath of Central Asia, and many a custom there, as in Kashm.lr; reminds one of the countries on the other side ·of the Himalayas. Pathan's popular dances are singula'Hy like Cossack dancing. Yet with all these differences there is no mistaking the impress of India and the Pathans"

Despite the above-mentioned-diversities India has never lost the ideal of unity. From times immemorial it found its noblest expression in the thoughts of its sages and poets. The entire country was referred by a common name "Bharata Varsha" and the people are referred to as "Bharata ·Santatih" (Descendents of Bharatha) to emphasize the oneness of the. couritry and its people. The fundamental unity was reiterated

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in the Vishnu Purana thus: "The country bounded by the Seas on the south and the Himalayas on the nor.th is called Bharatam. There live the pl"bg ny of Bharata".

Sir Herbert Risley admitted that, ''Beneath 'the manifold diversity of physical and social type, language, custom and religion, which strikes the observer in India, there can still be discerned a certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin. There is in fact, an Indian character, a general Indian personality, which we cannot resolve into its component elements".

India is a mosaic of numerous cultures. The people of India have been living under the highly heterogene,ous and diversified cultural complexities. The complexities of ethnic and racial strains in India can only be accounted by the migrations of people from different parts of the world. Migration can be the only reason because till date emergence of Homo sapiens on the Indian soil is debatable. Further, such a mass scale degree of variation c:;annot be accounted to parallel evolutionary processes.

His ory of India was a witness to these migrations. The early migrants to the country were isolated for quite some time because of India's unique geographical situation. The gigantic range of Himalayan Mountains in the north and oceans ori all the other sides literally made India an impenetrable geographical entity. Eventual disco.veries·tdf various passes in· the mountain regions and sea trade developments led to m.igra.tions rnto the subcorttineht

The e rlJest pfe sen e·of man in Indici d tes bctc to 400,000 mya, when the olde t Palaeolithic s.tone tools Wet <i sC9 \erj d.:' h pr.e.s nc ofh _rpan s ttlern ntsand dis.coveries of stone tools always near the river ·vaney:s sl10 rh:at the ear\1 man mig t d arong·the rivercoastsand settled down. ·rhe eventual mi_grants later'occupied the fertile areas of river regions and this led to the driving away of the earliest inhabitants to. forest regions and hilly ·areas. This is the reason why the -earliest settlers -· the Adivasis -·are now surviving in the hilly regions of the country.

The present situation of.ethnic diversities can also be accounted to the intermixing of various populations since the beginning. The result of these intermixing is that today· there is no pure ethnic or racial stock that can be identified except in some trjbal populations who have been living in' isolation for centuries and their isolation helped them to m intain such purity.

The archaeological evidences regarding Indian pre history was always stone tools and never were any skeletal remains discovered. Thfs drawback makes it difficult to.ascertain the racial strains of the original ha:.bitants r the earliest migrants· to·tne:country It is usu'ally ·considered that the.original settkrs of the country belonged fo the Negroid race. The Negritos of Indian sub-continent who constitute the arHest racial_elements belong to the Negroid stock found.in large n:umhers iri Afriq, Melanesi , Australia and its neighbouring islands. The Negrifo racial strains arefo nd among the Kadars, Irrulas and the .Plmiyans ·oc South India. The. morphological features reflected by the people of this racial element are short stature darkcoknir'ofskiri and woolly hai_r. The Negritos.o'f India resemble the Negritos of Melanesia ·

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ETHNIC ELEMENTS IN IND/AN POPULATION

Population of a place can be classified in numerous ways by taking into consideration any one ·aspect of its people like geographical distribution, language, religion, their complexity of social organisation etc. The most popular and widely accepted classification of the Indian population is their categorization based on physical and racial features. This categorization into physical or ethnic types is known as Racial or Ethnic Classification.

Indiap popul_ation reflect . a variety of ethnic elements due to inhabitancy by people of diverse ethnic affiliations. From time which history cannot remember, "People with various ethnic compositions came to this subcontinent and they subsequently mixed, blended and segregated". This feature resulted in a difficulty in presenting a definite picture regarding the ethnic composition of the people of India, which is more aggravated by the fact that evidences regarding these are also very scanty.

Sir Herbert Hope Risley undertook the first scientific racial classification of the people of India in 1901, which.is the result of his census operations in 1891. Later on Sir William Crook, 'Giuffrida Ruggeri, Alfred Cort _Haddon, Baron Egon Von Eickstadt, BS. Guha, James Hunt HuJton, Baron Von Furer Heimendorf, Dhire.n9,ranath Majumdar and S.S. Sarkar presented many ri w class fications. All these racial classifications. explained the physical features and ·ethnic compositions of ·both tdbal and non-tribal cprµ:po tion of Indian population.

SIR HERBERT RISLEY'S CLASSIFICATION

Sir Risley's classification was based on four characteristics, the measurements of which were taken in large sample of Indian population. These are...

1. Stature
2. Nasal Index
3. Cephalic Index
4. Orbito-Nasal Index

The data on these physical parameters enabled_ him to classify the Indian population into even major physicc1l types.

1. **The Turko-Iranian· Type:** Brahui, Baluch and the Pathans of Afghanistan, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province characterize this racial type. They are the results of fusion of Turki and P,r$ian elements in which the .Turki element predominates ,over the other. This group is: characterized by an above_average stature, fair complexion, occasionally grey but mostI:y dark eyes, broad he_ad, abundant facial hair and a no·e which is very long, pr9minent and moderately narrow.
2. **Tli'e Indo-Aryan Type:.** The people of this racial type occupy Punjab, Rajputana and Kasimir, which are 'il)habited by Rajputs, Khatris and Jats. They are characterized by tan stature, fair complexion, and dark eyes, abundant facial hair, and long head, narrow.and long nose. This type approaches closelyto Aryan elements in India.
3. **t[.Scytho-Dravidian Type:** This type, as the name implies, is the result of a fusion between the scthian ·and Dravidian Races. The best examples of this type are the Coorgs and the Marata . Brahmins. They are distributed.in the regions from Gujarat to Coorg. Among the higher social group, thifScythian element dominates the Dravidian elements, whereas in the lower groups, the reverse being true. The people of this type are characterised by broad head, medium stature, fair complexion, scanty facial hair and nose which is, though not conspicuously long but, moderately fine.
4. The **Aryo-Dravidian Type:** Uttar Pradesh (Agra and Oudh), parts of Rajputana, Bihar and Ceylon show the presep.ce of population belongjng to this type. The representation bf his type in the upper

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strata is by Hindustani Brahmins and in the lower strata by the Chamars. A probable intermixture between lndo-Aryans and Dravidian:,.Type in varying proportions might be the result of this type. Dravidian type predominates the higher' group and thJ lndo-Aryan predominates in the lower group. This type is characterized by the people showing a long head with a tendency to medium; nose always broader than fodo-Aryans but ranges from medium to broad and a below average stature.

5. **The Mongolo-Dravidian Type:** This type is found in lower Bengal and Orissa among the Bengali Brahmins and Kayasthas and also among the Muslims of East Bengal. This type resulted as a fusion between the Dravidian and Mongoloid elements, with the higher groups showing the strain of Indo-Aryans. The people of this type are characterised by a broad head, dark complexion, usually plentiful facial hair, medium stature and medium nose showing the tendency to broad.

6. **The Mongoloid Type:** The people of this type belong to Assam, Burma and Nepal, represented by'the Kanats of Lahoul, Kulu and Bodo of Assam. The ·people show the presence of broad head, dark complexion tending to yellowish tinge, no facial hair, of below average stature, of broad to medium nose, a characteristically flattened face and oblique eyelids.

7. **The Dravidian Type:** This type extenµsjfn;,m the Ceylon to the valley of Ganges and extending to the whole of Madras, Hyderabad, the ·central India and Chota Nagpur. The Santhals of Chota Nagpur and· Paniyans of South.India can be considered as .typical representatives of the· Dravidian -Types.They.are characterised by having a below average stature, a very dark complexion tending to black, abundant hair which shows a tendency to curl, dc1rk eyes, long head which does not appear to be flat and a very broad nose which at times is depressed at the root.

Criticism to Risley's Classification

Max Muller criticized this classification because of its flaw in nomenclature where Risley persisted in using the linguistic terms for dassification of physical aggregates.

Oth:ers criticised Risley's classification because 0f his huge assumptions when historical evidences are scanty and they were also arithmetical errors involved iri his classifications.

Risley described the -Iranian ty;e as the ro nd headed men of North We_stern Fron_tier Provinces when they are actually long headed. ·

B.N. Dutta criticised the Inda-Aryan classification stating that according to Risley·this group is present in Punjab, Rajaputana and the Kashmir valley, though many speakers of Aryan languages are widely distributed along the subcontinent and moreover some people of Kashmir Valley do resemble the peoples of Turko-Iranian types.

GUHA'S CLASSIFICATION

Dr. B.S. Guha classified. the Indian pop:ulation ;based on his, investigation during 1930-1933. Dr. Guha selected the regions of northwest Himalayas, lndo-Gangetic plain, Central India, Gujarat, Pe insular India, North-east India, Assam and Burma. Besides these, two other groups were selected. :of thes_e, one represents. 34 tribal people while the other the women of various regions.

The inferences wer·e based on 18 measurements taken on the cephalic and facial regions of 2511 individuals, besides the_observations m_ade n the ski colour, hair and eyes. Other aspects ccmsidered y Guha for his classification were the depths of nasal-notch, supra orbital development, epicanthicfo ld ·and also -the texture of hair..Based on the above data, he dassified tlH- lnd"ian populations into seven broad groups- Negrito, Proto-Austraidid, Mongoloid, Mediterranean, Western Brachycephals and the Nordic.

1. · The Negrito

The Negritos, according to Guha, constitute the earliest racial elements of India. The Neg it s of the Indian subcontinent belong to the Negroid stock found in large numbers· in Africa, Melanesia, AustraHa

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and its neighbouring islands. The Negrito racial strains are found among the tribes of the Rajmahal Hills, the Kadars, Irulas and the Paniyans cf South india. The features reflected by the people of this racial element are short stature, dark colour of skin, frizzy hair with k>hg or short spirals. The head is long, medium or broad and the lips are everted and thick. The Negritos of India resemble the Negritos of Melanesia. Many Anthropologists oppose the presence of this racial strain among the Indian population vehemently.

Z. The Proto-Australoid

This ,,racial element according to Guha forms the second oldest in the subcontinent The true representatives of this racial strain are the Bhils, Kols of Central and Western India, the Chenchus, the Kurumbas, the Badagas and Yeruvas of South India, the Oraons, the Santhals and the Mundas of Chota Nagpur region who were characterised by having long head, dark brown to nearly black skin, broad and flat nose with little depression at the root, short stature and wavy and curly hair.

3. T e Mongoloid:

Accor-ding to Guha, the Northeast region acted a's a gateway for-1the Mongoloids to enter India at different tim.e(,Pro,:ni_nent cheekbones with flat face; obliquely set eyes with epicanthic folds, scanty facial and bod5 a:irarethe characteristic features of_the Mongoloids.

The Mongoloids can be further divided into two groups - the Paleo-Mongoloid and the Tibeto:-Mongoloid.

A. **The Paleo-Mongoloid** is in turn divided into two sub-groups, the **Long Headed and Broad Headed** types.

i. The **Paleo-Mongoloid Long Headed Group** is. characterized by having the long to mediurh headed people with bulging occiput, short and flat face, medium nose, oblique eyes with Mongolian fold not always prominent The skin is brown to dark and the type is represented by some tribes of Burma frontier, Assam and the sub Himalayan regions.

ii. The **Paleo·Mongoloid Broad·Headed Group** is characterized by the people having a broad head, dark skin, medium nose and the eyes with prominent epicanthic fold, while the face is flat and short, their.hair being straight with a tendency to be wavy. The representatives of this type are the Lepchas ·of Calimpong, some Hill tribes of Chittagong such as Mughs, the Chakmas etc.

R The **Tihet·o Mongoloid _group** is characterised by broad head, long and flat .face, long to mediur[n]nose, tali-statureiand oblique eyeswith prominent epicanthic fold There is marked: a sence of facial and body hair, a d the Tibetans 0f Bhutan and Sikkim represent th,is group.

4. T.he Mediterranean

Thi group is further divided into three sub groups.

1. **The Paleo-Mediterranean type:** This g·roup is represe·nted by the Tamil Brahmins, the Nairs and the Telugu Brahmins of South India. The peopie ofthis group are characterised by long head with. high vault and bulbous forehead small and broad nos . dark complexion, medium stature, narrow. face ·and scanty hair both on face and the body.

2. **The Mediterranean type:** This type is represented by the Maratha ladies of lndore,· Namboodri Brahmins of Cochin, Brahmins of Allahabad and Bengal. The p ople of this type are characterised by long head and face, narrow nose, medium to tall stature, dark to olive complexion and._plenty facial and body hair.

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3. **The Oriental type:** The presence of long and convex nose is the only feature that makes this group different from the Mediterranean type. The Bania of Rajputana and Chettris of Punjab are tffe representatives of this group.

5. The West rn Brachycephals

This type further consists of three sub types.

A. **The Alpinoids:** The Bania of Gujarat, the Kathi of Kathiawar and the Kayasthas of Bengal are the representatives of this racial type, who are characterized by a broad head with a rounded occiput, round face, prominent nose, medium stature and light skin colour. There is an abundant body and facial hair growth.

B. **The Dinaric:** The people belonging to this group are characterized by possessing a broad head with a rounded occiput and a high vault, long and often convex nose, tall stature and slightly darker skin colour. While the Coorgs represent the pure type, the Bengali Brahmins and Kanarese Brahmin:s of Mysore show the features of this type. Orissa also shows people of this racial element.

C. **The Armenoid:** The' true representatives ofthis type are the Parsis. of Bombay. The Vaidyas and the Kayasthas of-Bengal al o sometimes show the features that are broad head, narrow and quiline nose with depressed tip, tawny white skin and short stature.

6. The Nordics .

Guha believes that these people entereq. India t:hfough North West from Central Asia; Turkey and settled in Punjab. People having a long head with arched forehead and a protruding occiput characterize this group llong with straight nose that is high bridged, long face and a reddish white complexion. The stature is moderate to tall with robust body built with either blue or grey eyes. This group is scattered all over India, especially in the North West regions. It is prominently seen among the Red Kaffirs, the Khalash of Rampur and Pathans of Bijapur.

Among many criticisms, Guha was vehemently opposed because of showing a foreign origin to many Indian races. He d1d not believe in evolution of many races in India. However, Gulia's classific<:ltion is widely accepted in understanding the ethnic elements in Indian population.

PHYSICAL TRAITS AND CASTE

Sir Herbert Risley has noted that "Caste has a racial basis and the social position of a caste stands in inverse ratio with the average nasal index of their menibers". This means that longer noses go wfrh-higher castes and broader noses go with lower castes. This dictum needs clarification; :as the metric measurements do not seem to substantiate 'this hypothesis. An interesting feature1:1$:- that the measuremen,ts taken by Risley himself do not support his statement.

ujj fS	**66.9.**
Sikh	**68.8'**
Khatri	**68.8**
Mochi	**70.0**
Arora	**71.2**
Rajput	**71.6**
Mina	**74.4**
Mina	**74.4**

According to Risley, Indo-Aryans were dolicocephaHc - leptorrhine and h ; 6 und the traditional Indo-Aryans to exist in North India. On this account, by examining nasal indices or-the tribes arid astes from Punjab and Rajputana, B.N. Dutta enumerated the figures according to their increasing order.

But according to Hindu social order, the serial order of these castes ought to be: Rajp.uts, Khatri, Jats, Mina, Chura. If Risley's -hypothesis is true we would finq Rajputs as having the lowest nasal index and Mina to be highest in the list. But it is not so. Gujjars a e topping the list and Rajputs are at the sixth position.

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THE PYGMOID-NEGRITO PROBLEM IN INDIA

One of the most complicated problems facing Indian ethnology is the association of the pygmc d elements within the Indian population. The problem of pygmoid identification is complicated.in the sense that all pronouncements on race formation in India among the Indian tribes and populations and their movements are rather weak, because fossil skeletal material of the Pre-Indus Valley levels from well stratified sites are almost absent. Another aspect to be explained under the so-called "Negrito Problem" is the or-igin of the pygmoid traits.

Characters: The Negritos are characterized by a very short stature. The term pygmoid is used when the stature in the males is around 1500 mm. The African pygmies are characterized by black frizzy hair. They have,qirty yellow skin .colour, brachycephalic head with a vertical forehead. Little or no brow ridges and short broad face, thick averted lips, wide nose with narrow root also characterize them.

Distribution: The pygmy population is found only in Congo, but the pygmoids are found in many parts of the 'V\[Orld like Malaya, Melanesia, Polynesia, Australia, New Guinea, Ceylon, India etc. Problem arises when \iifferent tribes show only one or two characters of pygrnoid type like among the Veddas of Ceylon and Sakai of Malaya, who have pygmoid stature, but in rest of the characters they are not pygmy. In India, Onge.f.o f Arida an Island are definite· pygmoid. The important tribes ·.like Kadars and Malars of Coini'pitore/Paniyan of Wyrtac:VKun.imbas andlrulas of Nilgiri Hills are .closely related to Pygmoids. It is possiole that they had a wide· di:Stributio ill' pr historic times in India ·and extended towards North and East, probably' occtipyfag whole o·f the Asian land mass.

As we trace the history of Negrito racial strain in India, we find that it was **De Quatrefages** who used the word "Negrito" in the context of Indian population for the first time 1n the year 1877. He assumed the Negrito as an indigenous eleme·nt in th [?ravidian and other populations in India and along the Southern slopes of Himalayas. Ball, as early as 1885, referred to the meaningless nature of evidence.relied on by De Quatrefages, viz., of curly.or woolly qair pre.sent in the Andamanese. The Negrito problem is an artificially created one. The real problem is to explain the pygmoid physical aggregate.

J.H. Iiutton has also given attention to the Negrito problem of India. . He has referred to the presence of woolly and f_rizzy hair_among th,f Angami Nagas of Manipurand Cathar hills. Hutton has given a number of evidences in support of the Melanesian physical and cultural traits.in the popula ion of India. He has suggested that the Negrito people may be responsible for the lntroducti n of.cults like_ the disposal of the dead by exposure and the separation of the skull, head hunting, the cult of the ficus tree etc in India. But the different authorities on Indian ethnography do n:ot accept such hypothesis.

According to S rkar if the above culturc;1l traits have come to India through the Melanesian people then they lnust have played a greater rol in the .cultural life of India. But. practically it is se n that the distribution of these types of cultural traits in India is limited. Majumdar is also of the ·opinipn that the exposure of the dead, the canoe cult and thet:megalithic cult nee_q not necessarily be Melanesian in origin and .the cultural parallels are not always due to the result of diffu's1011.

B.S. Guha has traced the Negrito element among the Kadars. On the. basis of his research.es among th.em, he found 16 individuals showing spiral or woolly hair out of a series of 157 Jndividuals. He concluded that it is not improbable that the-Negrito element among the Kadars was originally brachycephalic or at least :m,esocephalic, b.ut in its admixture with the iong headed Vedda like race,which form the dominant elem -t among the Kadars today, the head has become considerably elongated.

Fische,r postulated the mutation of the woolly hair from the wavy hair of the Veddas and there were at least :three such independent mutations in the Australoid strain according to him.

Skeletal remains: Authentic skeletal remains of the Negrito race have not yet been found in India, although Guha has cited two such instances. In his report, Guba supported Hutton's findings about the Negrito substratum in Assam with his own findings of a Negroid element in the Naga human relics. Guha and Basu found two racial types among the Naga human relics - Mongoloid and Australoid. The

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Australoid strain agrees with the Malenesian and Tasmanian skulls in the formation of lower forehead and nasal, showing undoubted Australoic:If:chcfracters. On the basis of this they opined that the Negroid element, as evealed in the Papuan and Tasinariian skulls,\ as fairly extensive at one time in India from the North East frontiers to the South Western extremities and that this element must have been driven into Oceania by later movements of people persisting only in a few isolated tracts to which these movements had not penetrated.

S.S. Sarkar s em to show frizzy hair as derived from Negro slaves imported into this country form 14th century onwards by either Muslim rulers or Portuguese.

Genetic Study ofthe Negrito elements: The detailed genetic marker studies assist in understanding the complexity of the Negrlto origin and affinities. If African origin is postulated, even if only for a small proportion of the population, then marker genes specifically restricted to black African populations·might yield a clue if found in India. Of the few such genes known, only two qualify of being ·among the Indian population, especially among the Kadars. One, the PGM was discovered in a black African but its distribution in Africa itself is unknown. In a study of South African Bantu it was not present, so that even **in** Africa, it is by no means ubiquitous. The abnormal haemoglobin HBs (Haemoglobin polymorphism due to Skkle Cell Trait) is wide spread 1n -bla'Ek African populatio11 and in many parts o f lnq_ia. Lehman and Huntsman have agreed for a·w1debelt through Saudi Arabia into India to account for the disfribution of HB . suggesting. that thf, gene may. have arisen in 5audi Arabia, -and spread into Africa and, .India til>s{ciuJntlyi However HBs appe rsto be relatively infrequent aniongtheKadars. ln contrast,_a specific black African allele, such a s the P fallele intheacid phosphatase system is not present in the Kadars nor i n any·other Indian population SO far tested. Its absence does not rule out possible African admixture.in the Kadars, but its presence would have made the argument for such admixture more convincing.

Origin ofNegrito elements: Fischer has shown three ways of pygmy formation.

1. Due to direct influence of environment like nutrition and other factors, retardation in growth takes . place. Such influences are neither racial rror hereditary but are only local i.l1odificatio s.
2. Through the long-standing process of selection, the taller hereditary lines out of a medium or tall population can be more and more reduced and lastly eliminated. Fisher is of the o·piniori that this_ process is involved in many of the pygmoids like the Vep.das. Such individuals constitute a·race.
3. Through mutation in normal populations· that are eventually selected and the non-:mutated populati ns subs·equently eliminated.

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LINGU/STICELEMENTS IN IND/AN POPULATION

The ethnic diversity characteristic to Indian subcontinent *is* -compounded by the existence uf different languages. It has been a long debate in assigning a basic linguistic division to this diversity.

G.A. Garrison conducted a linguistic survey in 1927, and he reported .179 languages and 554 dialects. These languages were classified into six families.

1. Austric Family
2. Karen Family
3. Man Family
4. Tibeto-Chinese Family
   - A.Tibeto-Burman
   - B.Siamese-Chinese
5. Dravidian Family
6. Inda-European Family
   - A.Iranian
   - B.Dardic
   - C.ln.do-Aryan

DISTRI UTION OF T!-IEUNGUISTIC FAMILIES

1. THE AUSTll.lC FAMILY

The speakers of these languages are Proto-Australoid and the Australoid types. This is considered to be the earliest.language spoken in India. The Austric family has two sub-families.

A. Austrauisian: Tnis language is prevalent in fl:1adagascar, Indonesia and Pacific slands, and is.not spoken in India.

B. **Austro-Asiatic:** This language is confined to the Indian context and is further sub-divided into two branches.

i. **Mon-Khmer:** It incluqes the Mon language of Burma and Khmer languag·. of ·the Inda-China. ·The ·I<h er language is spoken by .the Sakal and Clanang tribes of fodo-China, Nkobarese spoken by the Nicobarese people of the Nicobar Islands,-the Khasi la.nguage· spoken by the Khasi tribes of Ass m. This language is considered as the connecting link between the. Mon and the Munda branch.

ii. **Munda Branch:** It is the la gest of the· Austric family and includes 14 tribal languages. The principal Munda languages are Kerawari, which has a number of dialects among whith the best known are Santhali and Mundari. The other division ofthe Munda branch is Kur-uku. ,

The distribution of the Austric languages overlaps with the distribution of the Proto- Australoids ethnic elements.

2. Ki.\RENFAMILY

This i µguage is spoken by the Karen tribe of South Burma and parts of Thailand and is not sp.oken in the Indian mainland.

3. MAN FAMILY

This is spoken in China, Inda-China and people of Inda-Burmese border and not in mainland.India.

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4. TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY:

It is further:.dassified into **Tibeto-Burman** sub-family, which in turn has three branches.

A. **Tibeto-Himalayan:** The languages belonging to this group are Tibetan, Ladhaki, Balti, Purik and Lhoke, spoken by Gurung, Murni, Sanwar, Magar, Mewari and the Lepcha tribes.

8. **North Assam:** This language is spoken from West to East in Assam. The languages and the respective tribes have the same name -Aka, Urgkas or Hrusso, Dafla, Abar-Mir} and Mishni.

C. **Assam-Burmese:** This language is spoken in hills of Southern side of the Himalayas. The language is spoken in Naga Hills, Garo Hills and Thippara Hills of Assam. The language is also spoken in Manipur.

The Tibeto-Chinese family also includes **Siamese-Chinese** subfamily, which is represented by only one .group - Tai Shan or Shar, spoken in China or Burma.

5. DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

Besides the Munda, millions. of peopl wh·o. bel9ng-to Risley's Dravidian. thnic- group speak these languages. The Munda and the Ifravidian" la11gtiages show s·ome similarities and some of the Dravidian grdu'p:iliembers speakMtinda. The Dravidfan lahgu-age is wide spread in India. There are three schools bf thought regarding the origin of this langmige sorcre consi1er- an. it1digenous origin, while others think that they came from the North West to India; while still dthers consider an Australian origin. to this family of languages.

The Dravidian.language contains-a number of groups.

A **The Sout Dravidian group:** This group includes the major languages like Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada a_nd minor languages or dialects like Tulu, Kurgi or Erukula.

B. **The Central Dravidian group:** This includes Telugu and Gondi and dialects like Kui, Parji and Khond.

C. **The North Dravidian grot:ip:** This consists of Kurukh, Qraon and Malti.

Among the total population of Dravidfan .speakers, 96% accounts f s .Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. These Dravidian languages are less diverse than other l<Jnguages..

6. INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY

This group of languages are believed to have come from outside India.

A. **Iranian branch:** This is spoken,fr9 Perrsia to easfof Pamirs.

B. **Dardic or Pisacha branch:** This language influences the region that includes .Sindh,;Pakistan and Kashmir. This region is called as Dardisthan and is located in the southeast of Hindu Kush· · Mountains. Kashmir languages belong to this group.

C. **Indo-Aryan branch:** This branch has three sub;.branches.

a. **Outer sub-branch:** This has three groups.

i. Northwest group that includes west Punjabi and Sindhi.

ii. Southern group is Marathi.

iii. Eastern group that includes Oriya, Bihari, Bengali and Assamese.

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b. **Intermediate sub-branch:** This has intermediate groups that include eastern Hindi or Purviya languages.

c. **Inner sub-branch:** It has two important groups.

i. Central group that includes Western Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarati, Bhilli, Khandesi and Rajasthani.

ii. Pahari group that includes Pahari or Nepali, Central Pahari, Kumaoni and Ghadrwali. In the north Punjab Hills, Western Pahari is spoken, which includes Kuluhi, Jaunsari, Chameli, Sirmauri and Kivitholi.

The foregoing discussion on linguistic classification and distribution reveals the fact that there seems to be an overlap of linguistic elements in the Indian population. This situation may have risen owing to widespread migrations and resettlements of the population across the subcontinent Further another important feature of the linguistic diversity is that it does not overlap or coincide with racial classification or diversity..

/NDJAN;·popLILA7/ ON ~ FACTORS INFLUENCING ITS STRUCTURE AND GROWTH

The stuqy of human resources is vital from the purview of economic welfare and social ·development. It is particularly imQor D.-L!?.eca e h!:I.!}ln beings are not only instruments of production but also -c!il .. thems lv's. It is nece·ssary to know, in quantitative terns the numoer of people Hvmg ma country at a pari:Tcuiartime, the rat at which th y are growing9-r1ci, the compositi9n and distributjon of population.

1. THE THEORY OF DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION

The theory of "demographic transition" postulates a three-stage sequence of birth and death rate as typically associated with economic development.

First Stage of Demographic Transition: According to this theory, death rates are high in the first stage of an agrarian economy on account of poor diets, primitive sanitation and absence of effective medical aid. Birth rates are also high in this stage as a consequenc t widespread wevalence ofIlfiter e owledge about family planning techniques, arly age of,ma'rriage' as-a'"co'iisequence of de.e e: rooted· social beliefs and customs about ·the size of the family, attitu cliI@ren, etc. tvroreover, Il, a primit1ve society there· are economic advaqtages of a large family siz· ·. "Children contribute-at an early age -- anctare thetraillHonal so·urce of s.e_ll.rLt.t !n:., he old ageofpa en!§!_J.Jie prevafe"1lthigh death rates, esiJeciiilfflnlnlancy>imp"(y.thafsuc'fi.se.curity can be attained only when many children are·born ... In such a soci !)' the. tt!al rit ,9Lg,rnwJJ1 .RLR9JJ.}Jlatt i}}_Oj:_h.Ig inJ:. ig birJ:h,..r.ate._i .:b,a) c by high deat e.t ..! ! -- 'fhigh gr()w: bpte11i: Lbut. fl wa ligf Wt! t _ . f

Second Stage of Demographic Transition: ;-Rise in income leyels,, nables the people to improve their diet Efonomic development also bij_gs about all-round improvement including the impr veme t i transport·that makes the supply§(!QOd -.eiuEr A U tnese factors tend to r"ealrce·"d·a-tnYa·- -.Ih sm the secondstage, fiirth-raie"remains-high but death rate begins to dedine rapidlr, This accel r, , s -gn>.lY.!P oTpopulaticHCtligli" gfoWtli'pdtential.,of-the,,,Hrst-"·stig?Ts"i-e'ali'tea'lr fne·wgh actuaf gfowth inthe second stage. asa·consequence"cWdecHne· in·deatftrafe·.1ngn-6lrtn-rafe and faillng death rate con ribute to tfie growth o(the average $ize-o·fth Etfamily7fftlnsstage.

The Third Stage "Of Demographic Transition: EC?-_1!}!!:lll ..<l Y. lo.p.ment.furthe.r_,,<;h9: _& - - -e h. !:ef.tgLQ.C_ tl1 . p.omyJron1 an agrarian to cl p_artiQ,By _iqg strialized one. With the growth of industrialization, p.C>P.!!Lc!tio te_ds to sh{n:'iway fo·m rural areas to ards indust;jal and··c-o'in'inercjafcenters -qqwt1t-6'f·=· uJban pc>pu1ation, "with· t11·e i v 12p_fi!e· of conomic ·roles·fifr womei1-ouis1a·it'ttie"fioine;te---nct(-Ia· in-crease -the ·poss bn[iy 9 l i <Qnomic_ab Hty ,th t- in. be-tter 6e achievecrwith smau 1am1hes(. !1d tends. to· decrease· the ·e; - .1 adv.anta.ge bf- large fa.mily. brie-01' the features· T;cort:o:mf<:. ctex l - - -Ts· typTcaIIY fricreasiniurb i l l1zatfon ancf children are 'itsually''nicie··of a burden and 1ess ofan asset in a'ii'"-

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urban setting than in a rural."' The consc,iou,sness to maintain reasonable standard of living tends to reduce the size of family in an industrialized economy; since the death rate is already low, this is possible only if birth rate falls. Thus, the characteristics of the third stage are low birth rate, low. death ra e all family size and low growth rate of population. This is the stage of iricipient decline of population.

These three stages reveal the transformation of a primitive high birth and high death rate economy into a low birth and low death rate economy. When an economy shifts from the first stage to the second stage of transition, an imbalance is created in the economy as a result of falling death rate but demographic relatively stable birth rate. Historically it has been observed that death rate can. be controlled m1e>re ea,?ilY because the measures to reduce cteath.rate ·are exogenc;· s-in nat r ·anct hence readily acceptable to the people. But the reduc:t'ion ·of birth ate ca·n be broygbTabout by m.or.01,,,,, on endogenous factors-mzc c_llgin . c_i.al at ffii®. .. Dd. c:µstoms. R 1i ,?J!Q.,QQgffiq .. QP. L h ,, J. --?.f .:t. family, about m_ rrl , etc. tnis r quires a i:much)_onge ti e n. t J JIJ>J .c.L. tti.r<:it ,,Consequently, birth rate tends to fall after a time·lag. -the 'secon_d.·stage of demographic evolution has, therefore, been termed as the ;Stage of P.- It!il!!l .1.e IJlslon_)fhis stage is the most hazardous period for a developing'e'co ·;my -The decline in--- deatl hrte'ii(the s cond. stage, therefore, creates an imbalance that requires a period of transition for ent. hus the theory is rme·d·as···;,,th eo ryo· f·dem···:o·graphic t.ra.nsi.tion During e eriod of rai::isitio.n, the demographic factors get out of harmony. A new constellation of demograph ..S_p.1.L Jd···i···u t·e le>:.l'ght'about it which changes the character o(gh£! ty; birth a i:!i dg t h r:-?Jes -become Q l.apc d a a l c>wer levefois a. rcstilt Z.] :h grow [fcf ..QLP.iiriiila ti QJlfilfill Jl <;lLI! , ..--

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Basic Population Data

Census of India 2001 **IClndia, States & Union territori_eS)**

PopulaUon by sex and sex ratio

Population

State Code	*India/State/UT*	*Persons*	*Males*	*Females*	*Sex ratio*
	India	**1,028,610,328**	**532,156,772**	**496,453,556**	**933**
01	Jammu & Kashmir	10,143,700	5,360,926	4,782,774	892
02	Himachal Pradesh	6,077,900	3,087,940	2,989,960	968
03	Punjab	24,358,999	12,985,045	11,373,954	876
04	Chandigarh	900,635	506,938'	393,697	777
OS	Uttaranchal	8,489,349	4,325,924	4,163,425	962
06	H.aryana	21,144,564	11,363,953	9,780,611	861
07	Delhi	13,850,507	7,607,2,34	6,243,273.	821
08	Rc:!jasthan	56 507,188	29,420,011	27,087,177	921
09	Uttar Pradesh	166,197,921	87,565,369	78,632,552	898
10	Bihar	82 998,509	43,2_43,795	39,754,714	919
11	Sikkim	540,$51	288,484	252,367	875
12	ArunachalPradesh	1,097,968	579,941	518,027	893
13	Nagaland	1,990,036'	1,047,141	942,895	900
14	Manipur	2,166,788	1,095,634	1,071,154	978
15	Mizoram	888,573	459,109	429,464	935
16	Tripura	·3 199,203	1,642,225	1,556,978	948
17	Meghalaya	2,318,822	1,176,087	1,142,735	972
18	Assam	26,655,528	13,777,037	12,878,491	935
19	West Bengal	80,176,197	41,465,985	38,710,212	934
20	Jharkhand	. 26,945,829	13,885,037	13 060,792	941
21	Orissa	36,804,660	18,660,570	18,144,090	972
22	Chhattisgarh	20,833,803	10,474,218	10,359,585	989
23	Madhya Pradesh	60,348,023	31,443,652	28,904,3,71	919
24	Gujarat	50,671,017	26,385,577	24,285,440	920
25	D man&Diu	158,204	92,512	65,692	710
26	Dadra '& Nagai Haveli'	-220,490	121,li66	98,824	812
27	Mahara htra	96,878,627	?0,400,596	46,478,031	922
28	Andhra Pradesh	76,210,007	38,527,413	37,682,594	978
29	Karnataka	52,850,562	26,898,918	25,951,644	965
30	Goa	1,347,668	687,248	660,420	961
31	Lakshadweep	60,650	31,131	29;519	948
32	Kerala	31,841,374	15,468,614	16,372,760	1058
33	Tamil Nadu	62,405,679	'31,400,909	31,004,770	987
34	P6ndicherry	974,345	486,961	487,384	1001
35	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	356,152	192,972	163,180	846

Source: Primary Census Abstract: Censu_s of India 2001

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2. SIZES AND GROWTH RATE OF POPULATION IN INDIA

India today possesses about 2.4 per cent of the total land area of the world but she has to support about 16 per cent of the world population. At the beginning of this century India's population was 236 million and according to 2001 census, the population of India is 1,027 million. A study of the growth rate of India's population can be made from the Table 1.

TABLE 1. Growth of Population in India {1901-2001)

Census **Year**	Population {Millions)	Increase or decrease **(Millions}**	Percentage Increase or decrease
1891	236	-	-
1901	236	0.0	0.0
1911	252	+16	+5.7
1921	251	-1	-0.3
(1891-1921)	-	+15	+0.19
1931	279	+28.	+11.0
1941.	319	+40	+14.2
1951-	361	+42-	+13.3
[19.i1·1951)	-	+110	-tJ..2,2
19(h	439	+78	+21.5
1971	548	+109	+24.8
1981	683	+135	+24.7
(1951-1981)	-	+322	+2.14
1991	844	+161	+23.S
2001	1,027	+183	+21.3.

Compound annual growth rate of Population

1891-1921	0.19
1921-1951	1.22
1951-1981	2.15
1981-1991	2.11
1991-2001	1.93
Sources:Census of India 2001.	

A Study of growth rate of India's population falls into four phases:

1891-1921: Stagnant population

1921-1951: Steady growth

1951 1981: Rapid high growth

1981-2001: High growth with definite signs of slowing down

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During the first phase of 30 years (1891 to 1921), the population of India grew from 236 million in 1891 to 251 million in 1921 i.e., just by 15 million. The compound annual growth rat◦ was negligible i.e., 0.19 percent per annum for the period. The growth of population was held in check by the prevaL::nce ·of a high death rate against a high birth rate. Birth and death rates were more or less equal during this period. India was in the first stage of demographic transition in this perio marked by stagnant population.

During the second phase of 30 years (1921 to 1951), the population of India grew from 251 million in 1921 to 361 million in 1951 i.e., by 110 million. The compound growth rate of population was 1.22 percent per annum, which can be considered as moderate. The main reason for the increase in population growth rate was a decline in death from about 49 per thousand to 2.7 per thousand, but compared with this, there was a very small decrease in birth rate. The fall in death rate was largely due to the control of widespread epidemics like plague, small pox, cholera etc. that took a heavy tool of human lives. India had started its entry into the second phase of demographic transition durfng this period that marked a steady -but low growth rate of population.

During the third phase of 30 years (1951 to 1981), the population of India grew from 361 million in 1951 to 68 -\nillion in 1981. In other words, there 111as a record growth of population by 322 million in a period of 30 years. This gives a compound·annual growth rate of2.14 percent,-which is nearly double the growth rate qfthe previous phase. With the advent of plannin& he extension of hospitals and medical facilities were undertaken on a big scale and these measures of death. control resulted in a further and sharp decline of death rate, to a level of 15 per thousand but the birth rate fell very slowly from 40 to 37 per thousand during this period. As a conseq_uence, there was·a population explosion during this period.

During 1981 to 2001, India entered the fourth phase of high population growth with definite signs of slowing down. Total population increased from 683 million in 1981 to 1,027 million in 2001, indicating an increase of 50.4 per cent during the 20-year period. The annual average rate of growth of population during 1981-200.1 was of the order 2.05 per cent.

During 1981-91, the population of India grew from 683 million in 1981 to 844 million in 1991 - indicating an increase of 161 million during the period. The rate of growth slightly declined to 2.11 per cent during 19.81-91 decade. Subsequently, during the next decade (1991-2001), pop·uiation grew from 844 million to 1,027 million - an increase of 183 million. The annual average rate of growth registered a qecline to 1.93 per cent This is a welcome ·trend that should be strengthened.

TABLE"Z. Average Annual Birth and Death Rates in India

Decades	Births ·Per 1,000	Deaths per 1,000
1891-1900	45.8	44.4
1901.:u:910	48.1	42.6
1911-l920.	49.2	48.6
1921 i930	46.4	36.3
1931..:1'940	45.2	31.2
1941;;1950	-39.9	27.4
1951-1960·	40.0	18;0
1961-1970	41.2	19.2
1971-:'1980	37.2	15.0
1985-lj:'986	32.6	11.1
2000:,,,;	·2s.s	8.5

Sources: Census of India, 1971, Age and Life Tables and Census of India 1981, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Annual Report (2000:-01) and Economic Survey (2002-03).

Rate of growth of population is a function of birth rate and death rate. C nsequently variations in birth and death rates can provide an explanation of the acceleration of the population growth experienced in India. The birth and death rates for India are given in Table 2.

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Table 2 clearly reveals that the growth qJ_po,pulation was held in check by the high birth and high death rates prevalent in India ef o re 1921. B'iah :'rate during 1901-1921 fluctuated between 46 and 49 per thousand and.the death rate between 42 and 48. Co rrespondingly, the growth of populatio n was little o r negligible. But after 1921, a clear fall in death rate is no ticeable. Death rate, which sto o d at 48.6 per thousand in 1911-20, came down to 18.9 during 1961-70. As against it, the birth rate sho wed a slight decline. As a co nsequence o f the family planning drive, birth rate also registered a decline to 25.8 per thousand in 2000. Death rate has further fallen to a level o f 8.5 per thousand. Co nsequently, the gap between high birth and failing death rates widened with the passage of time and this was reflected in a highsurvival rate. Thus, the high growth rate of population can be explained in terms of a persistently high birth rate but a relatively fast declining death rate.

Prior to 1921, India was in the first stage o f demo graphic transitio n. But from 1921 o nwards it has ente-red into the seco nd stage of demo graphic transition in which the high growth po tential of the po pulatio n was realized as a high actual growth of po pulatio n. It is expected that sho rtly India will enter the third stage.

TAHLE 3. Birth and Death Rates (19? Jrfor 14 major States of India

State	Birth Rate	Death Rate	_IMR	Mean age at marriage (Females)
1. Kerala	18.0	6.4	14	22.3
2. Tamil Nadu.	19.3	8 0	52	20.2
3. Andhra Pradesh	21.7	8.2	66	17.8
4. Maharashtra	21.1	7.5	48	19.1
S. Karnataka	22.3	7.7	58	19.4
6. West Bengal	20.7	7.1	52	19.5
7. Punjab	21.S	7.4	53	20.3
8. Orissa	24.1	10.7	97	19.5
9. Gujarat	25.4	7.9	63	20.4
10. Haryana	26.8	7.7	68	19 2
11. Bihar	31.S	8.9	63	18.6
12. Madhya Pradesh	31.1	10.4	90	18.8
13. Rajasthan	31.1	8.4	81	18.4
14. Uttar Pradesh	32.8	10.5	84	19.3
All India	**26.1**	**8.9**	**70**	**19.4**

Sources: Planning Co mmission, Ninth Five Y ar Plan (1997- 2002), Office of the Registrar General, India.

State wise analysis o f data pertaining to birth and death rates reveals that Kerala, Tamil'Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Punjab, Haryana, Gt1Jaf. t a1:1d Assam·. hcwe achieved a birth rate below 30 ·per tho usand. In this sense, they have entered the third stage .o f demographic transitio n. Ironically, Haryana, which occupies a seco nd place in India in-terms o(per capita income, is also far behind in reducing birth. rate. As against it, Utter Pradesh a_nd Rajasth.an, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh have a very high birth rate in the range of 31-34 per thousand. Allthese·states are:stilHn the second stage of demographic transitio n; but taken together they account for 44 per cerit of the total' Indian population. Unless the fainiiy planning programs in these states make an impact, Ind.ia"as a whole will not be able to enter the third stage of demographic transition.

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BIRTHRATE

Fertility depends on (i) age at which females marry, {ii) duration of the period of fertile union, and (iii) the rapidity with which they build their families.

In India, mean age at marriage has been low as compared to other countries of the world. {Refer table 4). However, it has been slowly rising between 1891 and 1981. The passing of the Chiid Marriage Restraint Act (popularly known as Sharda Act) in 1929 did have some effect and child marriages declined.· This is evidenced by the fact that whereas 27 percent of girls below the age of 14 were married during 1891-190i' decade, only 6.6 percent in the age group 10-14 were married in 1991. This is a healthy development. Mean age at marriage for females was 13.7 years in 1921; it improved to 15.8 in 1961. During the last 30 years the mean age at marriage of females, improved to 19.4 years in 1994. As against it, mean age at marriage of males has improved to 23.3 years in 1994. Social awareness and spread of education can help raise the mean age at marriage ·in futu·re. Raising the age of marriage is, however, -likely to be more difficult because in many rural areas, there is a feeling of insecurity about an unmarried girl of-marriageable age. Mean age at marriage is highest among Christians, followed by Sikhs, Muslims and Hi_ndus. Among the Hindus, females of depressed castes hay the lowest mean age at marriage. Next in order are Brahrnins, Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas. It is· commdn khbwledge that higher age at marriage tend{to reduce fertility and this lowers birth rate.

With an increase· in the mean age at marriage arid theirripc:lct of .famHy planning prngrams, there is an over'."all decline in general fertility rate from ·111 PC:r thoiJsand. marri 4 women In 1988 to abo'ut 154 in 1993. It may also be noted that the decline is in all age g'to'ups though· it' is sharper in the age groups of 30 34 and above, as compared with age group 15-:19 There'is a strong need to reduce fertility rates in the lower age groups, more e_specially 15-29, 20-24 and.25-29, so that general fertility rate registers a sharp decline.

TABLE 4. Mean age at marriage in Selecte_? Countries

Country	Males	Females
Norway	28.0	**24.4**
East Germany	**27.4**	24.7
France	26.0	22.6-
Japan	25.8	2-3.0
India . [1921)	20.7	13.7
(1961)	21.6	15.8
(1971)	22.4	17.2
(1994)	23.3	19.4

TABLE 5. Age-Specific Fertility Rates in hiclia

Age Group (Years)	1988	1993	Percentage Decline
15-19	259.0	236.1·	8.84
20-24>	319.8	307.9	3.72
25-t9·. -	227.9	207.6	8.91
30-34'	138.5	121.3	12.41
35-39	81.2	65.7	19.09
40-44	38.9	31.8	18.25
TFR	5.4	4.9	9.26
GFR	170.7	153.7	9.96

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Fertility seems to have a strong correlatipn with the educational level of the mother. Average number of children born to a woman according to' ti-itc nsus of 1991 was 4.3. This figure for illiterates was 4.4, with those who were Ibiddle but below matric, itdecliiied to 3:8, but those who·got education up to matric but below graduate, it was 3.0 and those with a graduate degree and above, it was only 2.3. Fertility in every category was higher in rural areas than in urban areas.

TABLE 6: Number of Children Ever Born per Woman in the age group 45-49 (1991)

	Number of Children Born		
Educational Level	**Total**	**Rural**	**Urban**
llliterate	4.4	4.4	4.3
Literate below Middle	4.3	4.4	4.1
Middle Below Mattie	3.8	3.9	3.7
Matrict.but be ow graduate	3.0	3.1	2.9
Graduate and Above	2.3	2.6	2.2
Total	4.3	4.4	3.9

Sources: C:ensus qfirtdia Stage Profile p:i9i ; Inqi;.

According to Census :corrimissioner'(ZQ0I), there fs a positive correla"tfor' between population growth rate and the ·child ·poman in the age group o..6. hrlildia, the proportion of children in the age group 0-6 declined from 17.94 percent in 1991 to 15.42 percent in '2001. .A fall in the proportion of children in the age group 0-6 is indicative of a fall in -fertility. In Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Gujarat, the percentage· of population in the age group 0-6 is below the national average while in stat?s like Haryana, Meghalaya, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh, it is much higher than the national average.

TABLE 7. Percentage of the child population in the ag group 0-6 .to .total population in **selected states.**

State	**1991**	**2001**
Kerala	_13.19	11.48
TamilNadu	13.33	10.98
Andhra Pradesh	-16.49	12.77
l):arnataka	16.63	12.94
Gujarat	16.48	14.19
Maharashtra	·11.11	13.63
India	17.94	15.42
Haryana	18.98	15.46
Madhya Pradesh	19.94	17.58
R jasthan	20.13	18.51
Bihar	20.7.0	19.59
Jharkhand	20.17	17.82
Uttar Pradesh	20.38	16.35
Meghalaya	22.18	19.84

Source: Census of India Z000, India, Provisional Population Totals.

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DEATH RATE

In the advanced countries of the world, in the beginning of the 19th century, death rate ranged between 35-50 per thousand. It has now come down to 7-8 per thousand. This steep fall in death rate is the result of provision of better diet, pure drinking water, improved hospital facilities, better sanitation and last but not least, the control by wonder medicines of several epidemic and other diseases which took a heavy toll of human life. (Refer table 8)

During,Jhe 1891-1901 and 1911-21 decades, the growth of population was insignificant. This can be attributed to widespread famines and the influenza epidemic of 1918 that killed about a million persons. The death rate during this particular year rose to an astonishing figure of 63 per thousand, though in the preceding and succeeding years, it was 33 and 36 respectively.

Another important factor contributing to low death rate is the decline in infant mortality. The infant mortality rate which stood at 218 per thousand in 1916- 20 had come down in 1989 to 58 per thousand for urban areas and 98 per thousand for rural areas. For the country as a whole, it was 71 in 1997. The principc1.l causes of infant mortality are: malnu\ritJon, pneumonia, diarrhoea, and infectious and parasitic diseases. Infant mortality shows a tendency to increase when mateinity takes place repeatedly and in quicks.uccessfon. Ali-these causes are being remedied.

Bes_id s\h_is, mortality n10ng females of reproductive ages is also hig . It ranges between 300-400 .per 1,9_00. omen-pf ages 5-45. lnadequate.pre-nafal anq pO§ natalcare whkh is the result of poverty and absenc . of hospital facilities is largely responsible- for this With hnprovements hi diet, hospital and midwifery facilities, it is reasonable to expect that.infant and maternal mortalities will register a further decline.

Fevers. (including malaria) cholera, smallpo , plague, dysentery and diarrhea, respiratory diseases, etc., also account for a large number of deaths. 9ut ofthes , smallpox, plague and cholera have been, by nd large, eradicated. With the growth of medical facilities and improvement in living standards, it is hoped that crude death rate will decline considerably

Tr us, over the last s·decades, both birth and death rates have been declining, but the death rate declined at afaster. rate. Death rate.has already reached very low ebb and whatever the level of health facilities, it cam:iot faU below 7-8 per thousand. The future growth of India's population shall, therefore, be mainly depend nt onthe level of the birth rate.

TABLE 8. Cr de Birth and Death Rates for Selected Countries (2000)

Country	Birth Rate·	Death Rate	IMR
Germatiy	9	11	4
U.K	11.	11	6
U.S.A.	15	9	7
Canadar,	11	8	5
France	13	9	4
Australia	10	10	5
Japan	9	8	4
·china,'"/;„	15	7	32
India \,	25	9	69

Sourc i: World Development Indicators (2002).

For purposes ofcomparison, we present in Table 8 the birth, death and infant"rnorta1ity rates in selected countries.

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It may be noted that states that have_acgi ye death rates below a level of 8 per thousand are incidentally also the state_$ that are moving towards· a lbwer birth rate. The reason being that medical facilities in terms of hospitals, primary health care dispensaries have been established in them. Once the people are assured of the survival of their children, the chances of persuading them to go in for sterilization also improve. Moreover, the family planning staff can be more effective at the primary health centers in introducing couples to the use of contraceptives and discuss with them the effectiveness of the _yanous'·—c;ontraceptive devices as also to get feedback from them about the problems faced by the users. The co-efficient of correlation between death rate and birth rate was as high as +0.67 for the 14 states listed in tab1e 2.

Correlation coefficient between infant mortality rates and birth rate for 14 major states of India was +0.83. This underlines the fact that high infant mortality induces couples, more especially among the ·poor, to have larger family size. Consequently, birth rates a_re higher in states that have higher infant mortality rates. The analysis·underlines the need for enlargement of health facilities so as to reduce infant mortality rates and over-all death rates as a positive measure both of family planning and family welfare.

3. 'QUANTITATIVE POPULATION G.R<MV;TH DIFFERENTIALS IN'DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

Population growth rates are different in different parts of the world. Taking the world as a whole, the total population on this planet was 3,696 million in 1970; it rose to 4,426 millionJ.n 1980 and stood,at 6,055 m1lliorf in 2000. ·The annual compound tate of growth during 1980-90 was of the order of 1.7 percent ltshOws tha! the world as a whole was passing through a stage of high growth potential during 1980i90, but the· growth ·Tate started declining thereafter, and was of the order of 1.4 per cent during 1990-2000.

From Table 9 it is obvious that the low-income economies and the middle-income economies, which comprised about 85 per. cent of the world population, show a high growth potential. During 1980-90, the growth rate in low_income economies was relatively lower at 2.4 percent and that in middle income economics·was slightly lower 1,6 percent. This is explained by the fact that the death rates in low-income economies were higher, though birth rates were also high. Most of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America fall in the categories of low-income groups where poverty, poor health and malnutrition are widespread. As<against this situation, the middle income economies which were pc1ssing throughthe stage of popula\ion explosion.due to the prevalence of high birth rates and declinil}g rates during 1980-90 _ decade, experienced a decline of birth rates during 1980-95 and consequently, growth rate of population in middle income economies got further reduced from 1.6 per cent during 1980-90 to 1.2 per cent during 1990-2000.

TABLE 9. World Population Growth by Groups

Country Group	Population fillilhdns)		Percent of total		Average Annual Growth-Rate (%),'.	
	1980	2000	1980	1998	1980-90	19'90-2000
Low Income Economies	1384	2459	31.3	59.6'	2.4	2.0
Mid.die Income Economies	2217	"2693	50.0	25.4	1.2	1.6
High Income Economies	825	903	·rn.6	15.0	0.7	0.7
Total	4426	6055	100.0	100.0	1.4	1.7
India	687	1016	15.S	16.7	2.1	1.8
China	981	1261	22.2	20.8	1.5	1.1

Source: Compiled and computed from World Development Report (2002)

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As against them, the growth rate of popula'tion in high-income countries remained unaltered during 1980-no and 1990-2000 at 0.7 percent. Most of the coun ries of Europe, North America and Japan are included among them. In these regions, de-ath rates have fallen to the lowesLpossible levels and an improvement in public health measures will not reduce death rates. The high birth rates have also come down as a result of the impact of industrialization and urbanization.

China and India, which account for nearly ·3s percent of the world population, show a population growth of ab0:pJ 2 percent per annum during 1970-80. It may, however, be noted that in China, population growth, rate has declined to 1.1 per cent during 1990-2000, whereas in India, it is still quite high at 1.8. Efforts: at family planning have begun to yield some results and they need to be intensified, and more especiaily in middle-income countries.

4. THE, SEX COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

A disturbing revelation of the 1991 census is the decline in the ratio of females per 1,000 males. The sex ratio declined frorri 934 in 1981 to 929 in 1991. However, the over-all trend of sex ratio in the country sinee,1901 also shows a continuous tr nd towards a decline in sex q:itio, barring a marginal improvement in 198.LJn 2001, there is a slight improvement in the proportion·of females to 933.

TABii f:10 Sex Ratio in India

Year	F m les per -·1000:niale
1901	972
1911	964
1921.	955
1931	950
1941	945
1951	946
1961	941
1971	930
1981	934
1991	927
2001	933

Despite.-our. loud professions of the success of Mother and Child Health (MCH) Program during the previous decade· and the care of the girl child, the scenario as presented by the Census in'dicates the failur .P these programs.

Amorig the various_ states of India, Kerala alone shows a higher proportion of females, 1,058 per 1,000 males in 2001. [n Himachal Pradesh, there is a distinct improvements over 1981 level and the sex ratio has improved from 973 in 1981 to 996 in 1991 but there is a decline in 2001 to 970. The situation in TamilJNadu, Orissa and Karnataka has slightly deteriorated, but still the number of females per 1,000 inales,,.i sufficiently high judged by-all-India level of 933 females per 1,000 males..The states that are lowel;than·the national average areWest.Berigal, -Rajasthan, Bihar, Uttar. Pradesh; Punjab:and Haryana.. There}s a sharp deterioration of sex ratio in Bihar from 946 in 1981 to 921 in 2001. In Punjab, UP and Haryana, females account for 874 to 898 per 1,000 males.

There is no doubt that the female fetus has been proved to be biologically stronger than the male fetus. There is every likelihood of the women to live longer than men. This is evidenced by the fact that in the advanced western countries, the proportion of women in-total population is higher than that of males. In India, 108 females are born per 100 males, but the loss· of more females due to insufficient attention and

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among the poor, were 65 in the case of females as against 55 per thousand in the case of males, even in the state Punjab that has the highest per capita income. Regarding malnutrition, a study conducted by CARE (Co-oper tive for American Relief Everywhere) for preschool children in Punjab showed that 29 percent of male children suffered from severe malnutrition, but the proportion was as high as 71 percent in the case of females.

Besides this, high mortality rates among women in reproductive ages are also responsible for declining sex ratio. Death rate among women in the reproductive age group of 15-44 was about 30 percent higher than that of the males as revealed by National Sample. Survey Nearly 2/3rd of the pregnant women suffer from anemia, which is the direct consequence of malnutrition, more especially among urban poor. As a consequence, malnutrition anemia contributes to nearly 40 percent of the maternal deaths. Moreover, facilities of hospitalization for delivery, and pre-natal and post-natal care especially among female laborers are conspicuous by their absence. This also leads to more maternal - deaths that tilt the proportion of females adversely in total population.

It would be relevant to take up some sociological factors that have recently begun to play a very important role_ in dE!ternining the composition of the families. It was believed that as a result of the spread of education and improvement in the educational status of the population, our attitude towards dowry will undergo a change and. there would be a perceptible decline in dowry. But unfortunately, dowry sy tem has become much more intensified. Marriages are becoming much-more expensive even in middle class and lower middle -class. Obviously, this has resulted in a preference of male to female children. The recent legislation about Medi_cal Terrllination. of Ptegnancy as embodied in 1971 Act permits terminatfon ofpregnanc-ies if iflnvolves a risk to a woman's physical or mental health, where the pregnancy is a result of rape or failure of contraceptive device and causes great anguish to the woman. The legislation, therefore, permits co·nsiderable scope for carrying out abortions by distorting the provisions of law under one pretext or the other. The recent discovery of sex determination tests (amniocentesis) has made it possible to kill the female fetus before birth. *A* very large number of private nursing homes are coming up in various parts of the country; more so in the urban areas, especially big cities and metropolitan towns that conduct these tests. Our system of reporting being very weak, it is not possible to determine the exact influence of sex-determination tests in influencing female births, butthe directional change in favor of male births and destruction of female fetus is quite evident. Although female infanticide was considered to be irrelevant in Indian context in the post-independence period; but the sex- determination tests are a form of neo-female infanticide introduced in our society that has a bias against female births. Big advertisements on sex-determination tests pose a choice between-avoidance of birth of a aughter or. impending liability of dowry payment in the slogan: "Better pay Rs. 500 now than Rs. 5 lakhs later." Female infanticide prior to birth seems to be getting legalized in Indian society and this_ is bound to exercise an influence on the sex ratio moving against females.

The removal of poverty in the western countries has helped the females to overcome the biological disadvantages associated with the life of women, both at the time of puberty and at the time of reproduction. A better health standard oftherte'o i les, that is a consequence of the prevalen e of higher income levels, also provides them internal_resilience against disease. -Low levels of living are accompanied by low levels of education poor health, unhygienidiving conditions, etc. .

5. AGE COMPOSITION

The study of age cor:npo ition is helpful in determining the proportion- of the ·labor force in the total population. An estimate of the l_abor force in India Js made in the 1991 census report. The working age of the popuiation is· considered as 15-60.·on this basis, percentage distributioP. of India's. population is shown in Table 12.

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care to them after birth, a relatively higher proportion of deaths among females at the time of puberty due to functional derangement and a high death rate among women in the reproductive age bracket 11 - 19 on account of early marriage explains to a sufficient degree the fact that the biologically superior female is not in a position to maintain the trend of excess of females at birth on account of the prevalence of social and economic factors which work against it's species. As a consequence females per 1,000 males were only 933 at the time 0(2001 census in India, while in Russia, it was 1,140, in Japan 1,041 and in USA 1,029.

TABLE 11: Sex Ratio (females Per 1,000 Males) in major states of India arranged in descending order on the basis of1991 Census.

State	Sex Ratio				
	2001	1991	1981	1961	1931
Kerala	1058	1040	1032	1022	1022
Himachal Pradesh	970	996	973	938	897
Aridhra Pradesh	978	972	.975	981	987'
Tamil Nadu	986	972	977	992	1027
Orissa	972	972	981	1001	1067
Karnataka	964	**960**	963	959	965
. Maharashtra	922	936	937	936	947
. Gujarat	921	936	942	940	945
Madhya Pradesh :	920	932	941	953	973
-In. !la -(-	ht··	9 .7	.934·	11	1.r9?{f
Assam	932	925	910	869	874
West Bengal	934	917	911	878	890
Rajasthan	922	913	919	908	907
B.ihar	921	912	946	·994	994
Punjab	874	888	879	854	815
Uttar Pradesh	898.	882	885	909	904
Haryana	861	874	870	868	844

So.frrce: Census of India 200L

Ma Y explanations have been given about the masculine character of our population. The ritis.h Census Commissioners had been talking:about geographical and sociological factors li e climate, r ce, season of gestatiori, food habits, consanguineous marriages and polyandry as affecting sex ratio, but the· statistical· evidence could not support their reasoning.

P yerty - The main factor determining Sex Ratio: In fact, the explanation for a declining sex ratio lies in:xµe poverty of Indian people. In a country where even now nearly 37 percent of the p ulation lives b Jciw the.poverty line, high infant mortality, extremely poor or non-existent medical facilities, extreme y un: ygienic conditions of living and absence of pre-natal and post-natai ca.re, high death. rate ainorig women are all manifestations of the abjectly low level of living of the people. The preference for providing good food to the breadwinner is again the manifestation of the much sought after modkum of economic security that breadwinner provides. In the absence of old age social securi schen1es, the son is considered to be the insurance against old age. This also reinforces preference allotment of good diet and medical care in favor of males. Consequently, d_ifferential mortality rates among the females provide the most important explanation f r higher proportion of males to females. Infant mortality rates. especially

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TABLE 12. Percentage Distribution ofJu ifs_Populationby Age Groups (1911-1991)

Year	Age Group		
	0-14-	**15-60**	**>60**
1911	38.8	60.2	1.0
1921	39.2	59.6	1.2
1931	38.3	60.2	1.5
1961	41.0	53.3	5.7
1971	41.4	53.4	5.2
1981	39.7	54.1	6.2
1991	36.5	57.1	6.4

Sources: Census oflndia, 1991.

These figures indicate that the proportion of child population in the 0-14 age group was 36.S percent in 1991. This figure is lower than the figures of earlier three decades. The principal reason for a higher child population in India is the high birth rate<f,he recent decline in infant mortality has also added to our child population. A high proportion of childrert only reflect a large proportion of unproductive co sumers. TO reduce the percentage of non-productive consumers,· it is ·essential to bring down the birth rate. The decline.in child population in 1991 is a reflection of the decline in overall birth rate in India.

6. THE DENSITY OF POPULATION

The term density of population implies the average number of persons living per sq. km. From a small figure of 77 persons Jiving per sq. km. in 1901, the density of the population of India rose to 90 per sq. km. in 1931 signifying an increase of only 17 per cent, but ·during the next 30 years, density went up to 142 persons per sq. km indi atfog a sharp increase of about 58 per cent. But during 1961-81, density jumped to 216 per sq. km. in 1981 indicating an unprecedented increase of 52 per cent during the last 20 years. In 1991, the· density of population rose to.267 per sq. km. and was 324 per sq. km. in 2001. However, density of population is very unevenly distributed. Table 13 brings out the variation observed among the djfferent states of I_ndi;3. Kerala, West Bengal, Bihar, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh are some of the highly densely populated states, but Madhya Pradesh,· Rajasth n, Himachal Pradesh and Nagaland have a low **density of popuh1tion.**

Density· of population figures indicates the man-land ratio. Obvi_ously, India does not either rank ainong countries with a very high man-land ratio or among those with a very low man-land. ratio. Density of population- that can be supported in any country depends upon the availability of natural re$ources and the extent of the use of technology to exploit the resources. Tn other words,- natural _resources coupled with_ the degree of industrializat on determine, the extent to which a:higher_density of populatton- can be supported. For instance, Japan supportsa higher density (336 per sq. km.) at a higher st npard_ of Uvfog.: Then;1ain reason-for this is that Japan:ba industrialized herself whereas 68.per cent of the population of India draws its livelihood_ from agrkulture. Hpwever, th·e extreinely high standards of living in U.S.A are partly the result of a vefy favorable land.:man ratio and natural endowments.and partly due to the higber stage of economic development achieved. In short density of population cannot be "treated as an index either of the poverty or of the prosperity of a country.

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TABLE 13. Density of Population in lndia according to 2001 Census

State/Union Territory	Population in millions	Density per sq. km (1991)	Density per sq. km. (2001)
Delhi	13.8	6,352	9,294
Chandigarh	0.9	5,632	7,903
West Bengal	80.2	767	904
Kerala	31.8	749	819
Bihar	82.9	497	880
Jharkhand	26.9	274	338
Uttar Pradesh	166.0	548	689
Tamil Nadu	62.1	429	478
Punjab	24.3	403	482
Haryana	21.1	372	477
Assam	26.6	286	340
Maharashtra	96.7	257	314
Andhra Pradesh	75.7	242	275
J<a.r.nataka',	52.7	235	275
Gujarat	50.6	211	258
brissa	36.7	203	236
Madhya Pradesh	60.4	149	196
Chathisgarh	20.8	133	154
Raiasthan	56.5	129	165
Himachal Pradesh	61.0	93	**109**
Jammu & Kashmir	101.0;	77	**99**。
India	1,027.0	267	**324**
Sources: Census oflndia, 2001.			

TABLE 14. Relative Growth of Urban n_d Rural Populat on

Year	.Population in Millions			Percentage of Total Population		Percentage increase in the urban population. during the decade	Urban-Rural Ratio
	·Total	Rural	Urban	Rural·	.Urban		
1901	232.9	207.3	25.6	Jl9.0	**11.0**		.'1:8.1
19fl	246.0	220.4	25.6	89.6.	10.4	9.0	1:8.-6:
192r	244.3	216 6	27'.7	88.7	.1L3	*-8..25	-l-.-1-J}
f--1%1	–270.if	2 7 ff	33.0	87.8	12.2	**+19.1**	1:7 2
1941'	309.0	265.5	43.5	85.9	**14.1**	+32.1	1:6.1
1951	361.1	298.7	62.4	"82.7	17.3	+43.2	1:4.7
1961	439.2	360.3	78.9	82.0	18.0.	+25 3	**1:4.**
1971	548'.2	439- 1	109.1	80.1	19.9	+38.0	1:3.7
1981*;.'	685.2	525.7	159.5	76.7	23.3	+46.8.	1:3-.3
1991 **.	844 3	627.1	217.2	74.3.	25.7	+35.6	1:2.9
2001	1 027.0	742.0	285.0	7_22	27.8	+31.2	1:2.6

* Includes projected population of Assam
** Includes population projection fo Jammu & Kashmir.

Sources: Registrar General, India.

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EVALUATION OF IND/A'S POPULAPION f:'Ol/CY

India was one of the first developing countries to have started the family planning program. A sum of 2.15 crq_r:·· was allocated_ in the second plan for family planning programs. -In 1966, a new Department ·of Family Pfanning was""creafecf to give a natfonal administrative focus to the program. In the seventh·plan, a· sum of 3256 cn:_>re was allocat cJ tqJ h fa111UY.RJEnni,ng,pxo.gram.Jn the eig_hth plan, the outlay. for Health and Family· w;fr;· ;t;-i ids;t i.f tQ.Q,. tQr . Despite these efforts to-·curtai population growth, India's population continues to grow "at an alarming rate, exposing the inadequacies of the family planning program. Despite all the efforts and spending a whopping amount of money for the program so far, _India, which began its family planning program way back in 1951, lags.behind many developing countries like - Sri Lanka, Thailand and Indonesia, because of various reasons. The following account tries to analyze the reasons for the _poo.r.p rfor_ma ce ofl.p.q a in man girrn it? pop ation fr<:>t.

Historical Appraisal: While formulating the First Five Year Plan soon after Independence of the couritry, the newly appointed Planning Commission recognized that "Population policy is... essential to planning" arid that family planning is a step toward improvement in health, particularly that of mothers and children.

In the Second Five Year Plan, service delivery centers were increased· several fold but the approach essentially remained clinical. The program introduced cotnmunity· extension;,_ pproach during theThir,d Five Year Plan in order to:

1. Provide family planning services close to people's homes through a greatly expanded network of· Primary Health Centers (PHCs) and sub-centers; and
2. Conduct an intensive educational, motivation·a1 and communication campajgn to lift the taboo on free and open.discussi'o ofcHtfei-ent asp'e"cts:9rFcl"i:liTlfPh1nrtin ·· rogram-'(FPP};

Later the government too_ recourse to it ifl1 oo'und'" ancf "ta-rget' dri n &a· .a tiVities and w'1He _ f?Iffl-Pli:ltin :.theJpu' rJ_h fiv. ·¥:e.anf! ecifically laid <l'own-the orifet e-:oJ,F-ectudng the crtide)blrth rate_: from 39 per l,00.0..:p_qp_µl,atipn··fo ; p-.wiUlin ,n·ext.10 .to 12 years>:;fhe Planning Commission did not however realize the natu f eff·rts and't:h'e change ·in social ·outio.ok that were necessary to achieve the above mentioned objective, besides increasing Plan outlay.

Beginning in 1965, for several years the program emphasized the intrauterine device (IUD) as a contraceptive method. Although IUD had gained wide acceptance iil e eral parts of the world, yet it did not_meet with expe_ct d_s cce,s,s in India and was la - leaving the choice of'methodto;the coupl_e.;

National,Population Policy Sta enients: It was after trying various concepts and measures as suggested by foreign experts from time to time over a period _of almost 25 years, the Govetmpent of India recognized in 197_5-76 that to promote·: fahlily planning qt-a faster pace, it would havetoinvolve more directly other development de artm .!lt JitJh_(p '§gram, besiaes·the depart ent of Fam!!y]l;rtn! Jk lJ,.Qif at:tlie-Cent r-andTu the· states. ·Acompreliensfve ·f.faffonal Populatfon Po icy (Nl>P) was ·drawn ·up nd presented-to···Papifament by tlie'i-lealth Minister on April 16, 1976. Besides emphasizing the tmtial rol cl: fertj_lity_·c9ntrQi' in India's movement towards economic indepe:ndence atid social Iransformqtion, the: Policy state3 mtiie -Government has decided on a series of fundamental measures.u ·which, it is hoped will ... enable us to a_chieve the planned target ofredu_cing the birth rate from an estimated 35 pet 1;-000irt·the · beginning of the Fifth Plan· to 2Sperl OOO by the end of theSixth''; These measures included setting aside ej_Kht percenJ QLthe..._c:e.n_tral'. ssistance ! -ote·_ plans s tfi. !hUorJ.ainily.4>la.nning,. freezing representation in Central and State legislatures on the"'fias'is"of"i:he 1971 Census population for the·'.frext_ 25 years, raising the age at·marriage to 18 years for girls and 21 for boys, providing increased monetary· incentive to sterilization acceptors as compensation for loss of wages, and giving high priority to girl's education up to the middle level and to child nutrition.

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The policy was presented to the Parliament but it could not become an Act. As this was the period of "Emergency" in the country, i-nplementation of this policy was taken up by ah10.s ?H.Jh.e_ - ?.! .) earnest. Leaders of public opin10I1c-,ime··forwardto-help-th·e-government-to p-romotB the family planning movement. Development d·epartrnt:! s of t e "governments. st_rted sharing responsibiiitfes with the health ana family welf re infrastructure at a1(1eve'fsin- a ·mo-re effective manner. The impr ementatfon.oJ · the polfry basically focu £ed- on--ihe ste iliz tion program and'involved a certain degree o(compulsi; -- coerd§ -"The· country· was not preparecr o r sllth hafsfiiie ss arid; as a res·ult;'"fner'e was· a--chaiige··in 'lYoliticaJpower at the Center in March 1977 and subsequently, in many states in July 19_?L,

A more· comprehensive population statement made by the government in June 1977 treated family planni g as an integral part of the total welfare program but emphasizeq t at family pJ.e_n,!l! _!!g_ doQtio_n ___ would'b voluntq,CY;-.

Nevertheless, because of severe criticism of the FPP's coercive tactics during 1 76, the whole program fell into disrepute and acceptance rate declined sna rply: Tile gov e r'hnlentnas sirice·then tried to revitalize '< the program through strengtheningand expanding services through massive. countrywide informadon - nr0Hvati0n-,--and---educational ·camp-a1gn, farg'e, scale: in oi-veient or othe/ <levefopmenrde arfrnents and r,i : cT ;_·a ?: t_t - Ie\Te!::on 'ii?!!i\ j9 gfJ11.i t.P.i i 1 il,II1 11_katip i :::: · ·· · - - .

The NPP statement of June 1977 of Janata Party also remained merely a statement rather than a Bill or an Act. The only thing that became an Act was the raising of the minimum age at marriage of girls to 18 years and of boys to 21 years. Further, it seems the Central Government itself was not serious about its own "Population Policy" statement, and Planning Commission appointed a Working Group on Population Policy in 1979. This Working Group recommended adoption of a "long-term demographic goal" of reducing the Net Reproduction Rate (NRR) to one by 1996 for the country as a whole and by 2001 in all the states from the prevailing level of 1.67. The implications for this long-term goal were spelt out as follows:

1.. The average. size of the family would be reduced from 4.3 child_ren to 2.3 children;

2.. The birth rate per 1,000 po_pulation would be reduced from the level of.33 in 1978 to 21;

3. The death rate per 1,000 population would be reduced from about 14 in 1978 to nine and the infant mortality from 129 to 60 or less;

4. ·As against 22 percent of eligible couples protected with family planning in 1979-80, 60 pe cent w uld .be protected;

5. The population of India would be around 900 million by the turn of the century and will stabilize at 1,200 million bythe year 2050 AD.

As is c}ear fr.om the.1991 Census and othe't? related demographic al\9Jamily planning data, the above stated:;gpals are not attainable. under the present scenario except prob bly a E_rude qE: th ryrt lp;f nin and ari fofant mortality-rate below 60. The birth rate l].as changed only by three points from 33'.3 in 1978 fo 30.2 mi99o ----, ---

Wh re s. the Working Group on Population Policy made specific calculations and worked out family plann(&gtargets in terms of equivalent sterilization for each state. it is fairly cl ar that many of.the states, partic,µ'l_arly the Hindi speaking states, could not get out of the 1975-7 6 and 197 6-77 E'meq ency_ _r_c:1_w and _c'cirf rmaf(e··nnre pfogress;_)n -an ·effort to iinpfornent 5-teriHzation targets, the Central Government iiiicf "i) Jiartme: ror rimffy\Velfare-1zj-stiiiited 'i1efty prizes to be given f °nest performinfsfat:es the basisof target achievement ·:and couple protection rates. T}:lis whole ·scheme tesultect· HLffiE.& 8 .:QL pedor-mari e_/afa 6ri

From th-e viewpoint_ofpolicy, the adoption of the '].tional Hea.lth .sx·· . J}_!_ Y-Ji2!l1 __ggs_es ..of--- P._ _rHament was a signi cant step. Health _care programs Were restructured and reor.i :f.1: e4 Jc:>ward this p icy: -r,i_o_r.ity 1J"vas'giveli tq extension and expanslon of the rural health infr tr ture th.r gh·a network

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of Community Health Centers, PHCs and sub c .nters, on a liberalized population norm. Efforts were made to develop promotion and preventive servkes, along with curative facilities. High priority was given to the developmedt of primary health care loc"ated as· ddse 'fo· 'the· people··as poss.ible. A review of the t'!_ Jio.nal Heal-th Policy state ent hardly brings out anything which can be considered as "approved" Family Planning Program.

The review of the past SO years or so of policy making in this domain indicates that whert?.c:!. the government has been saying that continuing high population growth is one of the most serious problems ofthe:counfry, tlie country has not been able to evolve a meari.ingful popiilc!t(on po.Hey and implement it. TJltJ§La..s.Qf tqd y,J11dic:l ?es not hay a.!1 i:l2P 2.Y. !:! .P<?.P. J.i! ion..J!Q.l!fY ,<h Whenever the concerned minister made a statement, either in Parliament or outside or by other important public personalities regarding one ormore issues related with continued high population growth, it did not proceed further. There i .a.n urgent need for a national consensus on population policy followed by a multi-pronged drive to spread ine rriessage of pc.pulatron·co·rifrollo air ecdons off -socieflc-·-·-· ····· · · · - -

It wasonly in 1. 94 th.,a!. - mJnathgJl .E P E Eroup prepared the first true dr,aft population pq}\cy This is based on the following aspects:. .,

- Motivate target groups through media./
- LiH. ral supply of contraceptives.
- Provide financial and other incentives.
- P _co.uples...thrQ.YgJt5-tE:!riliza_tion, and other measures like IUD's, pills and condqms
- rovide adeq te)1e lth services and nutrition to 2 h rAnd .child

o.efects in the Conceptual Foundation

1. The population poHcy or the family planning progra of India is governed by the concept of retatdiL,i Jioqul ti9Q.,gro\1/th):This is expected to eventually bring pbO t ameliorntion ? J OY !t).', 1.!!14 r.-11iJfa:itii1i1 ansLJlliteracy. The prirnanto5Jecfiveislo'controrp·o·puiaH6i 'growth and limit the family size. Improvements in health, nutrition and educatio'ii .arifexp.'e ctedtoemerge a·s.spin-off benefits. rt{; defect of this approach is that it never looked· at famHy planning as fami!L .-s>Jl!!!Qrovement irt.the_9!-lality of li(. !!:! !£:"?::2£12.: oqg,mif ,q!\(;L,{1,emo,gti;iplliu,u tQr ·-·-·-·-· fueling popul g.Q.U_gm.w:tlLw,e.r . 9Att - e.g "·
2. 1_he family planning program was viewed in isolation of t e developmental prc>gram ; ,e p- _ft lly in,_th - social sector viz., educatfori'allffTieaTffi ..
3. The two most iinJ? I. _e_!}j:_£ -:i;E: o e !.t -P ?. le to have ! families: !· a,!.!.h .iuf ntJn.?,tt IJ.ty r?te and poverty.d __I) t r.e.ce ve adequate focus. T!ie grngram's impact could have b_E:n 91.ffe,r J:!.t.. ifthe 'po11cy:rnakers went into- the-causes-onhe high Tnfant mort 1ffy rate ant-fp·o _ty_and ..thefr ifnlctofaµTctjiopulaHori gfowtht hicffcoura fiive'1ecft6'deeper,compreh-ensivep"rogr_ .!?S·. I!!f nt mortalftjr-r t'te-(ltvHl) li liidla IS.a 1unction orttr.e reracy levet especially--fei!J:_ar ·Tfteracy level, • sociafstafiis oTwomen ··safe ·drinkfng .water,.sarifratfon···arlrl'-ffiiUtJmmuri.izati.on.sei:y1 - population-polfaytailec t o-ta-dcle-tfiese-Iiroble s-tha t have made a ·PJ;, fo.!!ll9 ..! ,P. S ". IMR Infant mortality rate fue]s·. population growthrbe use of unce inty; r egardinf{ :th.ld.', Sli""iyiva!.;Pqveey compels t),E:<rura households to have large famili S'. S. morfchH4reu;,tia:t1_ sl f · inthmoreJarm·hand an(l .also cfre: family in,come. In addition poverty has a direct bearingpn ' m-ater f! Lheajth,'mat rnal an'd'chiltl nutrition a·n,fhence on IMR
4. Given the generally low levels of rural and female literacy, poverty in rural· areas, poor socio-economic status of women and an environment without access to safe drinking water, poor or non-existent sanitation in- rural areas and inadequate outreach of health services, especially for providiqg immunization services, the family planning program of India driven by the·

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bureaucracy and based only on meeting physical targets for contraception or sterilization was doomed to fail, since the bure,rncracy driven, target-obsessed and isolationist program failed to address itself to the wiJ;; ontexfo'affaEt:ofs -Y.'-frh "p!aya_profund role in poph;aiiori growth. Fo"r _example,_Ke _fji·:;· b.i - f?s< tJ yfog_'.l f9:_p()Q .! fion_g owth _has th _Iqyv.e tJ .f pt ortalify rate of 1-7/100:0 ,while the p !i9» t Y. .r geJt:91/.lq_oo. The female literacy in Kerala is 87%:-:-o.ueto these tactors, tlie·s aJeii { Jg. rt rtfhcy:· t -ortzton the·other hand, states like U.P. and Rajasthan with low level of.ferti aie· literacy and high infantmortality rates have high fertility rates. For e.g.,.theWertiii,ty,r t - Ir b:◆d111·c(Rajastlhi◆are·S◆ ◆n◆1◆fte' pectiv◆lY: Female literacy, their socialstatus -rid pov rty$ en:i}oJ1ave a direct bearing on IMR. For e.g., t,he IMR(or -literate mothers was 75/1000 while "for:iiliter;ite mothers itwas 128/1000 in 1978. Though the data is old, it serves to demonstrate the link between female literacy, and IMR. [.!l !-- q ?._ted \Y._9men are more conscious of the· quality of life_fqr themselves and their offspring than theTr **nfiterate.counterparts, educatfon for women makes·fteasier** f 1:iridersfarid **contraception, better** ch!@ -: -a_!El{'TfIT[@.y n.(Jri.:_iliikrri:aI"_ h?".'·! !.} r _ivMa 9 -··better_-e ! h.J2r _fa:!11ilY members.

5 The family plannirtg program in Indta not only lackeq _dear appreciation of the variables discussed above but also suffered from another fundamental defect in its approach. Being a centralized bureaucratrt -program, it failed to address the socio-cultural factors_ involved in decisions regarding family size and hence in population growth. In a society with traditions of female seclusion, decisions on f mily size and spacing being taken by family members (especially. in-laws; often preva.iling e.ven over the -husbands), the universal desire for the male child and finaHy notions that conceptions divinely ordained, the famHy planning program called fo a rnore-imagiffative:"·flexm1€"a d"decentralizec appl'oath·· taking info-account -t:he sodo-cultural sensibilitie◆:o◆t◆e pe·og-re**this.wa"s** fiiridameiit:ally""absent. instead of being driven bythe center, a ·m re _·Je:c·entrajtze<i flexil>_lg approach where formulation of health policies by directly addressing the needs of women and through women's participation, so crucial tcf·the success of if -hQ!!faff e][i !!. t.h.i)iii :- :- ·-

6. Finally, the family planning program in India did not get the adequate thrust from th -- govemment. The belief that development is the best cou!rac ptive made g yr.,.plq,nners.., complacent "Deveiopment is the best-contra.ceptive" i:plies **that-farge** de-mographic shifts **wouta** nave -to be prececrecrEy substantialprogresnn·aevetopnient cif **econ·oinfes** and llence·th H-. renmw·aediiies·can **oniy"fo1rnw** but **n o"prece'de** a"**dec!le-fo** 'the'ec6b-bmrc· utility and s6'da1 secuficy\,alue of children. The demographic miracres·rii-·Hanglade·s1t;···ieeuya; ¯1ferala ·and.'Tam il Nad'tf'expose·tne ·madeqTiades of this notion. Bangladesh and Kenya have experienced steep ·ctrop_s·in fertility without any signif ant improvement in material conditions of their societies. So is the case with Tamil Nadu and Kerala in India. Indonesia and China have also demonstrated that high material.living standards are not a pre-cond_ition for a fall in the birth rate.

In add1,tion to these inadequacies in its conceptual foundations, tHe family planning program of.India also could_t:hot make a s rious impact due to several inadequacies of the program. These ate briefly summarized below:

Defects in the Program

1. l ,deq ades **in Coupfo _Prote<:tion:** The S yeJltlfpJan·· target ·of couple ·prqtectioff.r<;1tig (qP))?_f" .4:i1o/o,½'asnea:rlya taj11ed.{At:pn :el\t}he.:CtR:.is 4'89i ·w.liile)rts{jffie_stifre's 1t is·as)ijg -as··69% · whicl1-W.1')' the' target of the·8th plan **in.**iis'.termiiiai year. Butln ·spite o" achieving a good CPR, the birth rate cc{ptinues to be high due to several reasons. The proportion of women in the reproductive age grou_p hJlS been increasi g. The_reerns!IKt e...fuaq1<1lJ i:.o women :ha; :··finp.r.9y - .9!!!.?S_! q_1Jtm1:al !.;C. t :a}, ?.:.: !:!!! BJ!lJL .:deJl §.J E!tJ.t S i - 2 -- ?vj?.-.'!'idow remarrj;!ggJ:t.9lL.th --- increase. In addition, there are -certain problems within the CPR--nself. Around 75%> of h couJJ 1/s. protected are above 30 years with 4 or more children. - In fact, ffi¢·tr·R **for** the **rriostf¢fl Jfage**group:

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i.e., 15-29 is only around 16%. As a;oepnse,quence of all these, the family planning program has been only able o arrest the birth rate since 1980 but not reduce it.

2. **Deplorable conditions at Primary Health Care Centers and Family Welfare Camps:** J e f ilitie:5_ at family welfare camps and prin1a_ry h lth _car. centers are depJqr<!\Jl. mmi.c.ul ..rtJ. with resp_t to sted lization.. The equipment is Un-sterilized and. u·nhygienic, acting as. a deterrent to acc'eptors. There is inadequate cold ·stotage for vaccines and foadequate supply f vaccines -gains t tetanu·s and oiher·fo-fras"i ruciurap-robie"iris·Hkefrai1s·portfrig·vacdnes·an _o"fher-arugtlo··rar -flung-vii) ge; "'ffie Auxiliary Nurses andMidwives on whomth,e¥o·t erand Child Health (MCH) prdgiam depends; are. poorly trained, poorly paid and hence are:rtotrrit>tiva:ted;

3. **Female mas:** Till very recently, the focus of the family planning program was exclusively OJJ t e f male (sterilization,. IUD,. Oral pills)while condoms and vasectomy make up a small proportion of the pro.grarr:i.Jn fact, sterilization is the mainstay of the prggr.JTI., St_ riliza tion makes up.75%-·ofofrth ·control ethods adopted by women using .rnode.m·meth ds. Neariy. 85°; ·-of the contr ceptives-used : are for women.

4. **Nume'fical Target Approa_ch:** Thef 'rii.ily planning program's obsession with numbers led to fertility control being accorded the top priority. Better and broader reproductive health services, for women „<-in ,particular, empowered community organizations at the village level and lack of emphasis,:on female literacy have-already been pointed out as major conceptual weaknesses.

Due to the cumulative effect of faulty contep ttial. foundations arid inadequacies. in the family welfare programs, theimpact of population control has been dismal. T six most populous states viz., U.P., Bihar, WJ - pgal,,.M°.e ..,.M_ Mr:. s.h, I - ,rut A.P.with...6.0.%.9fJP:QLa P P!ll<!tjonllgy J?.. !},sgJf r gg:!t.!" =g J. s.-:; g :. i ,,2. .h I I ! - i J these states have not responded to farniiy pla_nning and d!:!velopment measures. Lack of -Q.Q., r- !_ 9m !'1-.!:! P- allyj _y.P : J_ ih_ar, lc:1ck <?.fla,9y qct<>_r to) nsertJ U I?'s ares.om s rigtis, ... problems in the e states. . . .

The regional impact of family planning prograrri can be seen in the impact of CPR hd Total Fertility Rate. Based on these two, the following zones can be delineated in India.

Zone-I: 117 districts acco nting for. 27% of India's population in U.P., Rajasthan: Madhya Pradesh have a low impact of family planriing program with high levels offertility.

Zone-II: 67 districts accounting for 16% of lndic1's_population "in Gujarat and Maharashtra have· virtually no impact of the family" planning program and hence high levels offertility.

Zoile-111: 110 districts accounting for 37_% of lriclia's population in" the southern states oflndia and Orissa, Maharashtra haveresponded to family planning program in terms of drop in fertility.

Zone-IV: 56 districts with 19% of Inq._11·tPOP1:dation in Bihar and U.P. have very low in:lpact f family planning program with high levels of fertility..

In the realm of family planning, the program with its ·tremendous success in Banglade;h has a lot_:o"r relevance for Jndia because of similarities in the socio-economic and ·derriographic profiles: !!LL , 'gl -ci sh, fertiliij{ J:hJiy.- 30: Q:b :n. F-§3 90 \fue to. a series of factors like massive cons"isterit support by the government, a verygood service delivery system i.e., a good supply side backed by a mix_c>f mass communications strategies, delivery of fema:le family. planning-services- to homes and clinicaJ·ba k- up. Bangladesh is dworld leader ill non,-forrnal eg*ation witll 2.P,OO hiY Ili:ng schools for·children who can attend afterJinishing their farm wo'rk Bangladesh hired nearly. 24,000 female workers, trained a9d equipped them to deliver services to couples at homes. As a ·result, Bangladesh is the only country amorg the 20 poorest countries of the world that could bring about this .demographic success.

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The Prospective Strategy

Taking note of the demographic situation in the country as it emerged from the 19° 1 census, the Department of Family Welfare at the Center formulated an "Action Plan" to impart requisite momentum to the Family Welfare Prngr..amtEWP). The main features of this Action Plan are:

1. ' ovin& th. 'l - itr and. utre ch of farnilx w Jf services in the field.
2. A. I, W package of compensation/incentive funds to be targeted to reduction in the actual birth r te, gIVIpg mo re flex'ibffifyto state govermnent/UTs Administration in managing the program,. rather than bei g based only on the figifres of steriiization, etc., furnishe·d by them.
3. Initiating innovative programs in the ur1:> n.slums for propagating family welfare activities;
4. Launching the / h Hq·Sur:v'iy,aT* 4 _fo?Mot:tierhoo'<i Project", aJming - 2J£!Y.. t_!: - ncl<?S boo t to the UniversaL m mi!rt!Z£1! .9- L P.E §m i nd contr.oLof lsg s:es. -Y:sJi:ig,g - h.s. ()f infr.i.ts and children, to initiate practices for safe motherhood for reducjng maternal mortality.
5. Adop ing a differential, s.t.rat gy.J9r_focu ing_atterttion.on9.0Jlistric.ts_of,.the,,.co.untry,.wherethe· <:rude ,bh: -th ,rate was-above.j9°t>er 1,000 as·of the 1981 Census estimate.
6. Improving the quality of existi_!lg contrac ptiV E !l -- ! !! !1 of nevV_.?.- !! - .etives •
7. : !mp ving the disttihufion O(..Q I.!@.CeQ! iVeS thrnugh expanS lQJ!.Q!..!h .- .fQ.P., f th':_ C, - cl tin scheme.
8. Increased involvement of voluntary ncies and non-governmental organjzatiQns,Jn the FWP througff procedqraCs1mpfific.atfonari"ct-rlefegatfo-n"aTpower .it - a:1f<iw.19--making the pr 9gn} J?. ?.P.fe·s-rrio ement
9. l,..J!Er , E_i_!!,f !:rnf.!!!9J!d <J µ(;c;1,UQ.tt.,u:u:!J::-grn.rmrnit.atioJ1.J.f!E!.' -- ng clf!,sen, r;alization of co_r_i:imunication ·S!F t gj J.o. take.fa.tQ.,acco.untth JQc::aJ .s.o,cio::- ultur.aLe.tho.s.
10. _.St engthening .the inter-sectoral coordination mec !!_ .!A .YLS. .!!l,!!lL J> a high level b qy_!Q.r. . h!? ,purpose at the Center and involvement of chief ministers, chief secretaries, and district collectors in· tfieimplemenfafic>n ot ttje·RQRJ-1l;lffl<iii}on.tr..0Ciiro.g'rams ::: ··"

SOME SµGGESTIONS.

1. ·· Community participation at the periphe a] level must be strengthened. For this, innovative ideas and successful past experiences must be considered.
2. : :For:,: community participation, teachers of all educational institutions must be ,given the responsibility for adopting one villag 'e;adi in and a'roun¢„ efiucational institutions and facilities; ihCentives an finances ·inust be provided to them.
3. E 9' t 4 ! £al college and· Nu tQ. Co!}ege _ffi!! t Q. J iVe_f!_ e„ responsibility top omote this progrc1m in .§. 1@.Q.gr.a phical.ar.earl-ike-a---GD-el0Gk-oi:,.even-a.district,
4. Since there has be n an inordinate delay in taking decisions regarding financial, policy and program m agement, a u.autonomous ·population Comm_ n ofln<! c!.. ho !q_ -t: tablished as a part of the • ealth ari .f: !IJ Plan .:_ !l},!E. !Y.:d §!i'? ! : p '. ·ie e .ta: rnahagement-experfiind have a""S'lts--rri bers -inte'rdisciplinary exp·erts.
5. ·-.:Indigenous as well as·private medical. practitioners ...!1st be suitably iny QLYQ in the promotio . this program.

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6. Tt ass media should be made to ,provide some space/time on a daily basis to disseminate messages ,on various aspects of F> in a culturally effective manner without publicizing the adverse aspects.

7. Since better infrastructural facilities have the best advantage for the promotion of FP, as seen in Kerala, it would not be wise to ignore this item in the .present policy. In fact, a PATH analysis of major determinants of performance of FP has confirmed this predominant position.

8. Better status of women facilitates early adoption of small family norm. This hypothesis has been empirically confirmed in several developing countries. Therefore, special non-formal and formal education to emancipate women should be given highest priority.

.Role of Anthropology

At a conference on Population Studies in Oshkosh, USA in 1973, an international group of anthropologists adopted a resolution regarding a position paper spelling out the specific ways in which anthropology can be helpful to the fertility reduction plans be prepared for presenting to the United Nations sponsored population conference convened at Bucharest, Romania in August 1974 to mark the World Population Year. The £ eliefs and cus to111s concerning. hufrianrerfroduction .have long beeri su l ts ofanrI-ixogo}og!ral researches, but these remained basically acactemk pursuits. It is only now that anthropologists are also ad ocating· the problem solving ca:pacity of theitdemographic research firidi,ng .

The scientific research in fertility cohtrolhas·undoubtedly made notable headway in past several years. Methods alr6ady developed, experimented, n comme·ndecl and currently in actm l use are almost foolproof. However, as the experience has shown, the availability of these facilities has not automatically been followed by their acceptance globally. In fact, some programs recommending these methods are reported to have met resistarice.. from the·very people for Whose benefit these were specially· devised.

Several international organizations have expressed concern about excessive population growth and are engaged in establishing family- planning- services on -an extended sca_le, the Qeople everxwhere must respond to those programs. This, 'fiowever,woullnot app M;b;tlnive" 7 fiy v'iTic ss p-ti;-n -As **Burton B nedict has noted:** "If **there is one thing Which experience with** family **planning has shown..., it** is that pg9e!_e re..2!9.! ipotiv ,ted ,.tqJJm .JhE;,irJal!liJJ. J P,.QJ1..lUi! Q,Jl .t ? _or even by the ease and availability of contraceptives, but by. a wl!_2 L ..ots.<iciaLfac.tocs.Jmp).!igj,J\g .9n·th_1:_ir pe_r, nal 1iV' ,4Jl,C;k changing over their life cycles".

Social Factors and Fertility: What these social. factors are that largely determine the family· size in different cultures? Development workers engaged in the-planning-and administration of family planning programs need· to understand and better their work in its socio-cultural context..

The available information on social aspects of. population growth or decl.ine in traditional ode ties is till veryJragmentary. Anthropologists havemot1devoted·muc\). attention to this subj.ect. Some data that _thy have gathered shows that the social factors. related to fertility work both ways: to l as well as to promote fertll!!Y, But it is factors promoting fertility that, on the whole, are more operatife than factors favoring fertility limitation.

The corporate kin groups, unilineal kin groups in particular, generate strong motives for high fertility. In societies where there is strong emphasis on the male line of descent, barrenness in women or·evert.the failure to pr:oduce a son may lead to the repudiatimt-of a wife The_ pressures on women to proctuce children do not cease after one·ottwo children, andthisis due to the high socialvalueof childrenand·the way the production of childr.enJ pilt,_ itc> t. ,p?l!t,ica.I, C.OJ!Q ic aJ!d o if1! Z?.l':1] ,9f.tp \ P ! tr- ·Q ne of the reasons for this is the hfgn fofant mortality rate in pri_initive and peasant societies. High infant mortality is not·only" the fact in such' societie's, but ·also the expectation. Due to the spread of _medical services in recent years, the facts have changed more quickly than the expectations.

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In most simple societies, the lines of kinship are the lines of political power, social prestige, and economic aggrandizement. The more children a man has, the more successful marriage alliances he can arrange, increasing his own power and influence by linking himself to men to greater power or to men who will be his supporters. The man with many children controls much wealth. In terms of economic production, more children mean an increased food supply and perhaps the production of surpluses for trade. Most of the world's religions place great emphasis on the production of children. In many societies fertility cults, often linking human fertility with that of natural products, abound. These and many similar practices and beliefs place a high value on children. In primitive and peasant societies, a man with few children is the man of rhinor influence and the childless man is virtually a social non-entity.

People in India's villages still want more, not less, children. In this androcentric culture they are particularly eager to have sons. In Se11aQUr, t:_l Jd_ _l 9,-1-1 sch ? fa T?. -e: ,?J?J .- - rrying _o er questions such as these... "What will happen to my lineage if I have no sons? If I have no sons, who will care for me in later Years? Daughters go off to other villages to live. I may be ill and feeble in old age. I want the security of sons".

Sons ark desired not only as some kind of fi.l JJEe during protract d illness, they are also important from aT:!igious viewpoint. The Hindu religion requires that a f!}an's· SQJlJDti.st,perfor9: c. rt . &t!, at his funeral so that he attains salvation Thus, son survivorship is so vital that the people do not feel satisfied with ju lone son. They seek ·safety in numbers.

Wqm_en in village India seem t9 have.even more compelling rea ons for desiring children, particularly so_ns. Reporting ori his study of another UP vilfage which he calls Madhopur•,orri ,f>P.!:: says: "Women are c r:i i! l)._e !_ e! "l;:, ::, a.fl .?ti lg._JJf 2LP.I on. Once marriage relations a e initiated, the most ferventnopes of ffie young woman· is that she proves her worth to her husband s family by producing a healthy male child. She knows very well that she will have little standing in her· husband's home until she ·bears him a son. Nothing is more frightening to her than the specter of barrenness. It is seldom that a young woman escapes emotional disturbance ·if she has not become pregnant within five years of marriage. On the other hand, we noted a number of cases of childless women who had constantly complained of chronic ill health or persecution by malignant spirits, wh_o miraculously recovered health, poise, and confidenc after giving birth to a son".

The birth of a son entitles a woman to respect and status and exempts her from much hard work. She and her baby are likely to be pampered for some time after parturition. Henceforth she is referred to through the name of their child; she becomes "the mother of so and so". The woman who bears no children receives markedly different treatment and lives n a different atmosphere. Among the low castes, where· divorc is permitted, barrenness usually terminates in divorce.

In a society where a ·woman's standing in social life. is entirely dependent on such considerations, it is very unl,kely that the family planning programs would make much headway "until Indian w9man have some_ ay nue of ac ieving status and security equivalent to the c,011,s,icteration they· now receive frol_ll demons rating fecundity and ability to bear sons'_'.

Pe.asant)\1otives for Large Families-: The people of India's villages generally tend to favor large families. Status.religion, and such factors supporting the demand for.more children are certainly very important. But far more important are some practical reasons that strongly motivate the people in favor of having a large family. Indeed, many people see some clear advantages in their families becoming larger and larger.

1. T'!!e,·!-: !! el· of life in agrariar \oci ties.. i _such that the problems of. underemployment and ov ;P.opulation do not come to. the surface. as ,_forcefully as they manifest themselves on urban metropolitan scene. Even in rural areas where mechanization is moving forward, the people still prefer ·to ·think in te_rm_s of large families. In an Indian village, a rather prosperous farmer who had p rchased three tractors, .installed pumping sets ori wells, and had ·adopted a host of other technological innovations was heard bemoaning the fact that he had no brothers and cousins. In the absence of support from close family people, it was not possible for him to expand and modernize his agricultural operations any further.

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2. It is usual for large village families .tC?:e9d some of their members away to work in cities. The people working in cities do not take their wives with them; they remain tied to the village where they periodically retifrn for no longer or shorter duration. These families also get regular remittances from the city. This flow of cash income to-the village enables families to buy new agricultural equipment, send their children to schools, and spend more money on marriages - things that give prestige. Small families obviously cannot seize on opportunities that the city offers and the villagers understand this very clearly. It is then easier for a large family to obtain loans locally. If certain amounts remain outstanding against a man, his brothers, sons, and other relations can be asked to clear the account. In village society the debt is regarded a family obligation.

3. As participants in the jajmani system - the network of hereditary work and exchange - larger families are again in a happier position.. If one member of the barber family is prevented by illness to visit certain jajmans on a particular day, his father, brother, or son can do the job on his behalf.- This is essentially an inter-family relationship. A smaller family with just one person would obviously be severely constrained in fulfil1ing its traditional obligations.

4. Another factor that contributes hnpoftantly to the desire for large families is the fact that the village life is ridden with strife - the famillst'n; the factionalism, and the political rivalries. As Luschinsky has observed, "Political emergencies also disruptsvillage life from time to tirrie. Irtdividu_als. or factions sometimes express their ill will towards one another by crop cutting, crop burning, or threats of.one kind or another. Disputes over land rights, loan,s, insubordination, etc., are not uncommon. ·No man trusts his good nature alone to keep him out of troubles. He wants the security of friends who will sand by him in times of need, and if he heads a large family with a number of sons, his wishe·s are more likely to be considered on the village political scene".

5. The new land reform laws, which set limit to the size of the agricultural land that a family can own, also have helped the large families. By "legally" partitioning the land among family members, ·they. have in actual fact been able to retain all their land. On the other hand;. it· is the smaller families which found to thefr dismay that after partitioning ·they were left with lands.in. eicess of their entitlement.

6. The extend_ed family system still prevalent in rural areas favors high fertility. In a nuclear family. consisting· of parents and their child/en, the responsibility to· support the family rests entirely on the principal provider who usually is the father. ·This system encourages late marriages for the reason that a man must settle in a job and have some assured source 0f income before taking on familial responsibilities. Even after marriage the- desire fm; children is not so great b cause they are often seen as an economic liability.. Such constraints in the case of extended family system do not op·erate. To quote Davis, "In the exte-nded family, the ·burden of marriage and of children does not fall upon-the parents, but upon the entire family group and is *so* diffused that the cost to any one person may be ,,,seen as relatively light. Further, the presence of numerous relatives means>that, the wife.Js. not ·particularly burdened with the care of the young children. It is possible for. both man nd the woman to marry at a very youthful age sirtce,ther.e is no requirement that they be economically self-sufficient before launching a family". Another practical reason for not caring to ·limitthe number.of children in the extended family system ·is that everybody .is jointly responsible for brining up' children, it is sometiines disadvantageous to a couple to have fewer children. This may not necessarily relieve them of responsibilities of caring for other children in the larger family. Those with fewer children of their own may be required to contribute to the maintenance of children of other parents.

Anthropologists·in Family Planning.Program: Steven Polgar does not think that population specialists are right in believing that people will invariably resist any family plamiing program and "that in orrt r to come to terms with the population problem, one should counteract an ingrained desire of families.to have a large number of children". Though generally not as important as the factors favoring high fertility, each society has ·some ideas· of what the desired family size should be. The villagers usually do not have: a strongly held belief regarding how many children they actuallfwant There is flexibility in their attit de concerning this matter and certainly local knowledge and beliefs favorable to fortility control:can be used in the family planning programs to great advantage. Burton B nedict, who was involved fo the· planning

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and administration of family planning program in Mauritius, says that "the experience in Mauritius shows that birth control depends on a great many more factors than the availability of easily used contraceptives. There must be an understanding of the social structure of the community. If family planning concerns intimate relations between men and women, it also concerns political and economic relations within the whole community. Family planning succeeds or fails in so far as people see their own individual life chances in terms of more or fewer children. These estimates vary not only between groups and individuals but can change for a given individqal over a course of his life. Governments can influence these,attitudes and estimates, but not without a thorough understanding of the social milieu in which they are embedded".

A stu.dy published by David G. Mendelbaum has shown how the government efforts to implement effectfve family planning in India could considerably profit from knowledge of the socio-cultural factors involved.

The number of anthropologists who have conducted demographic studies with policy implications is rathe .,small. Susan C. Scrimshaw's exposition of how socio-cultural factors impinge on the family plari ing ·programs deserves to be especially noted. She considers, the family planning program as consi 'ting of two parts: administration and content. Further she tlefines administration as "the way in whith faqiily' plahnfog service·s are delivered", and coriten·t as ltwh_at is delivered". According to her, the areas where knowledge of culture should prove useful to administration of the family planning services include: location of clinics, clinic hours,. clinic staff,. staff-patient interaction, communication, clinical procedures, ambience; and type of clin_ic. And the discussion on cultural factors relevant to the content of the family planning program is subsumed under the following heads: culture and side effects, m_ode of use, cost, communication, knowledge of methods, practice of methods, and attitudes.

As experience with the operation of family planning programs shows, clinics located close to the people right in their own village oJten fail to attract many visitors. People sometimes prefer to visit clinics in cities where they think nobody would see them going. This feeling about being seen visiting a clinic explains why family planning camps organized in villages with much fanfare do not always succeed. Such camps seem to be catering to men only, women being most left out. An anthropologist can help locate clinics in terms of their cultural cceptability. Mencher found in a Sou h Indian village that the clinic hours just did no_tsuit the convenience of the people for whom alone they were established. Only the staff found timings convenient enough. fA]!!ifi2[fil[g! Lr]iill,li:2K - :JoO:venient for [illegible] to the clinics can be helpful. In many climes there are no women physicians, and this deters women from visiting the clinics. The anthropologist can also help in suggesting the setting for a clinic, which in a particular culture, is likely to make the visitors feel most at ease.

What,t}le family planning program administrators have to offer the people must be presented to them in a way culturally familiar to them. On the basis of his study of a village in UP, India, John F. Marshal has made certai_n rewmmendations on how the existing network of communications could be erhployed to explain the family planning methods to the vdtkge peo'ple:'

Then, cultures vary with respect to acceptance and the use of family planning methods. In !India, iUD found greater acceptance among women of some districts. Anthropological research on attitudes of the people towards specific family planning programs, as Joan Mencher did in respect of a di trict in South 'India, ould provide useful insights to administrators.

Anthr6pologists are not the only people who are particularly knowledgeable about the significance of cultu ftl factors f ? the administration of farhily planning programs. Other social scientists - psychcHogists, sociologists and demographers - also frequently refer to these factors as of vital" h.:nportance to the operation of a family planning program. What then is the important and specific contribution Of anthropologists? Something that they alone can provide? In Susan C. Scrimshaw's words, the anthropologists' spe ial contribution consists of the following:

"The methodology of anthropology has some unique asp.ects. Anthropologists spend a rE:latively long time in a culture and develop a rapport basep on frequent dose contact They are in a position to learn

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more than an interviewer· in a syrvey;i nthropologists use a combination of techniques such as in s, conversations; Hfe histq·ri·s; \pattidpa!ion, and observation. The long term use of such techniques in a sing}e- nciety- makes in depthI afysis possible".

Anthropology traditionally has included the study of culture as a whole. While anthropologists working in large complex societies have often had to specialize, their training encourages them to take the cultural context into account. Cultural factors which may not appear important at first glance may turn out to have an unexpected influence later. Many stereotypes about culture and family planning exist which arrthropolo sts could hel_µ dispel.

The anthropological method is also helpful in conjunction with surveys. An anthropological study combined with a survey can help to illuminate and validate survey findings. It can identify areas here people consciously or unconsciously conceal truth. An anthropologist can also help with the design of survey questions.

To conclude,· controllirig population growth is not a technical problem alone. The human side of enterprise is alsq extremely important.... Morris Opler cautioned that "any population control plan that Me not take these cultural real!ti jnt'9 C£.¥!1.U!!.lti4lly, and does not respond to whatever changes occ r inth,em astimegoe$on is addfrigpsythological and cultural difficulti s to the ordip t:Y,,,.W.fh nical ·pr blems. tfrat.cbn(ro:n_Fa Y: 1 1rge.sca1e effdrt"';.th iop iafio "po!'icy··rra1friers' cf a;{\ 'rstrat<>r; vou1d be ifr1wise to··disregard th1s··warriing.

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Ranking of States and Union territories by population size: 1991 and 2001

Rankin 2001	States/ UT*	Population 2001	Percent to Total Population		Rankin 1991
			2001	1991	
1	Uttar Pradesh	166,052,859	16.17	15.60	1
2	Maharashtra	96,752,247	9.42	9.33	2
3	Bihar	82,878,796	8.07	7.62	5
4	West Bengal	80,221,171	7.81	8.04	3
5	Andhra Pradesh	75,727,541	7.37	7.86	4
6	Tamil Nadu	62,110,839	6.05	6.59	6
7	Madhya Pradesh	60,385,118	5.88	5.74	7
8	Rajasthan	56,473,122	S SO	5.20	9
9	Karnataka.	52,733,958	5.14	5.31	8
10	Gujarat	50;596,992	4.93	4.88	10
11	Orissa	36,706,920	3.57	3.74	11
12	Kerala	31,838,619	3.10	3.44	12
13	Jharkhand	26;909,428	2.62	2.58	14
14	Assc)m	26,638,407	2.59	2.64	13
15	Punjab	24,ZB9,296	2.37	2.40	15
16	Haryana	21,082,989	2.05	1.95	17
17	Chhatisgarh	20,795,956	2.03	2.08	16
18	Delhi*	13,782,976	1.34	1.11	18
19	Jammu & Kashmir	210,069,917	0.98	0.92,	19
20	Uttaranchal	8,479,562	0.83	0.84.	20
21	Himachal Pradesh	3 6;077;248	0.59	0.61	21
22	Tripura	3,191,168	0.31	0.33	22
23	Manipur	2,388,634	0.23	0.22	23
24	Meghalaya	2,306,069	0.22	0.21	24
25	Nagaland	1,988,636	0.19	0,14	2
26	Goa	1:343 998	qB	0.14	26
27	ArunachalPradesh	1,091,_117	0.11	0.10	27
28	Pondicherry *	973,829	0.09.	0.10	28
29	Chandigarh "	900,914	0.09	0.08	30
30	Mizoram	891,058	0.09	0.08	29
31	Sikkim	540,493	0.05	O;OS	31
32	Andaman & Nicobarlslands *	356,265	0.03	0.03	32
33	Dadra & Nagar Haveli*	220,451	0.02	0.02	33
34	Daman& Diu *	158,059	0.02	0.01	34
35	Lakshadweep *	60,595	0.01	0.01	35

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Basic Population Data

Census of India 2001 *(India, States & Union territories)*

Population in the age group 0-6 years by sex and sex ratio (0-6)

State Code	*India/State/Ut*	*Persons (0-6)*	*Males (0-6)*	*Females (0-6)*	*Sex ratio (0-6)*
	India@	163,819,614	84,999,203	78,820,411	927
01	Jammu & Kashmir	1,485,803	765,394	720,409	941
02	Himachal Pradesh	793,137	418,426	374,711	896
03	Punjab	3,171,829	1,763,801	1,408,028	798
04	Chandigarh	115,613	62,664	52,949	845
05	Uttaranchal	1,360,032	712,949	647,083	908
06	Haryana	3,335,537	1,833,655	1,501,882	819
07	Delhi	2,0f6,'8'49.	1,079,618	**937,231**	868
08	Rajasthan	10,651,00	5,579,6 6	5,071,386	909
09	Uttar P·i-adesh	31,624,628	16,509,033	15,115,595	916
10	Bihar	16,806,063	8;652,705	8,153,358	942
11	Sikkim	78J9.5	39,842	38,353	963
12	ArunachalPradesh	205,871	104,833	101,038	964
13	Nagaland	289,678	147,5'24	142,154	964
14	**Manipur@**	308,585	157,.682	150,903	957
15	**Mizoratn**	143,134	73,176	70,558	964
16	Tripura	436,446	222,002	**214,444**	966
17	Meghalaya	467,979	237,215	230,764	973'·
18	Assam	4,498,075	2,289,116	2,208,959	9.65:.
19	West Bengal	**11,414,222**	5,824,180	5,590,042	960
20	Jharkhand	4,956,827	2,522,036	**2,434;791**	965
21	Orissa	5,358,810	2,744,552	**2,614,258**	953
22	Chhattisgarh	3,554,916	**1,80,,413**	**1,754,503**	975
23	**Madhya Pradesh**	10,782,214	5,579,847	5,202,367	**932**
24	Gujarat	7,S32,404	4,0.00,1_48	3,532,256	883
25	Daman& Diu	20,578	10;685	9,893	926
26	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	40,199	20;308	**19,891**	979
27	Maharashtra	13;fr11,Hg	**7,l46;43<2**	6,524,694	913
28	Andhra Pradesh	**10,171,857**	5,187,321	**4,984,536**	961
29	Karnataka	**7,182,100**	3,690,958	**-3,491,142**	**946**
30	Goa	145,968	75,338	**70,630**	938
31	Lakshadweep	9,091	4,641	4,450	959
32	Kerala	3,79.3,146	1,935,027	1,858,119	960
33	Tamil Nadu	7,235,160	3,r?5,616	3,509,544	942
34	[>ondicheny .:	117,159	59,565	.57,594	967
35	**Andaman** & Nicobar Islands	**44,781**	22,885	21,896	957

Source: Primary Census.Abstract: Census of India 2001 Note: - Excludes Mao-Maram, Paomafaand Purul sub-divisions of Senapati distrkt of Manipur.

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Basic Population Data

Census oflndia 2001 *{India, State.r & Union territories)*

Total Population, Population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and their proportions to the total population

State Code	India/State/UT	Total Population	Population Scheduled Castes (SC) Population	Scheduled Tribes {ST) Population	Proportion ofSC population	Proportion ofST population
	India@	1,028,610,328	166,635,700	84,326,240	16.2	8.2
01	Jammu & Kashmir	10,143,700	770,155	1,105,979	7.6	10.9
02	Himachal Pradesh	6,077,900	1,502,170	244,587	24.7	4.0
03	Punjab	24,358,999	7,028,723	-	28.9	0.0
04	Chandigarh	900,635	157,597	-	17.5	0.0
05	Uttaran·chal	.8,489,349	1,517,186	256,,129	17.9	3.0
06	Haryana	„ : 114,564	4,091,lfO	-	19.3	0.0
<07	Delhi	. 13,aso,so7	2,343,255 ·	-	16.9	0.0
08	Rajasthan	s6:So7;raa · •·	•<J.6<i4,462 ·	7;097,706	17.2	12.6
09	**Uttar Pradesh**	166,1:.97,921 <	35;148,377	107,%3;	21.1	0.1
10	Bihar	82,9,98,509	13,048;608	758,351	15.7	0.9
11	Sikkim	540,851	27,165	111,405	5.0	20.6
12	ArunachalPradesh	1,097,968	6,188	705;158	0.6	64.2
13	Nagaland	1,990,036	-	1,774,026	0.0	89.1
14	**Manipur@**	2,166,788	60,037	741,141	2.8	**34.2**
15	Mizoram	888,573	272	839,310	0.0	94.S
16	Tripura	3,199,203	555,724	993,426 ·	17.4	31.1
17	Meghalaya	**2,318,822**	11,139	**1,992,862**	0.5	85.9
18	J\.ssim	26,6'55;52$'	·1,s25;949	3,308,570	6.9	**12.4**
19	West Bengal	80,176,197	18,452,555	4,406,794	23.0	5.5
20	Jharkhand	26,945,829	3,189,320	7,087,068	11.8	**26.3**
21	Orissa	36,804,660	6,0'82,063	8,145,081	16.5	**22.1**
22	Chhattisgarh	**20,833,803**	2,418,72	6,616,596	11.6	31.8
23	Madhya Pradesh	60,348,023	9 155,177	**12,233,474**	15.2	**20.3**
24	Gujarat	50,671,017	3,592,715	7,481,160	7.1	)14.8
25	Daman & Diu	158,204	4,838	13,Q??	3.1	8.8
26	Dadrc1 & N:agar HaveH	220,490	**4,104**	137,225	1.9	:62.2
27	Maharashtra·	96,f;l78,627	9,881,656	**8,577,276**	10.2	8.9
28	Andhra Pradesh	**76,210,007**	12,339,496	5,024,104	16.2	6.6
29	Karnataka	52,850,562	8,563,930	3,463,986	16.2	6.6
30	Goa	1,347,668	23,791	566	1.8	0.0
31	Laksh.ad:'}?eep	60,650:	-	57,321	0.0	**94.5**
32	K,erala;	31,841,374	**3,123,941**	364,189	9.8	1.1
33	**TamilNadu**	**62,405,679**	11,857,504	651,321	19.0	1.0
34	**Poridicperry**	**974,345**	157,771	-	16.2.	**0.0**
35	**Andaman & Nicobar** Islands	356,152	-	**29,4 9**	0.0.	**8.3**

Source: Primary Census Abstract: Census of India 20.01 Note: @ - Excludes Mao-Maram, Paomata and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati district of Manipur

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3.1 STRUCTURE AND NATUR'FOF TRADITIONAL INDIAN SOCIAL SYSTEM

From times immemorial, in the traditional Indian social system man has been considered a social being with reference to four factors that influence his life and conduct. They are...

1. DESA - The Place or region that constitutes the regional approach to the study of society.
2. KALA -Time, historical approach to the study of society.
3. SRAMA - Effort, a study of the society that considers nurture and development in the contemr?rary.environment
4. GUNA - Natural traits, which refers to the inherent psychobiological equipment of man.

The Hindu thinkers have accurately recognized the significance and the importance of place and time i.e., the geography and history in the activities and behaviour of man. However, it is not possible to visualize and anticipate all the probable variations of the locale and time that the human beings are likely to be confronted with during their lifetii;ne,ti=if\cl hence no generalizations have been attempted under such conditions. Hence, through generali atfons based on Desa and Kala have not been attempted, the Dharma of Sratna and Guna have been discussed in detail by the authors of Hindu treatises.

Any plan r scheme of the social organization, which aims at the best functioning of every hu.man being as a social unit, must account for two aspects:

1. Consider man as a social being with reference to his training and developfi?.ent in the natural and social environment, in oraer to enable-him'to fulfirthe"rinal aim of his-existe.nc·e·..
2. ·Understand and study man with reference to his social endowments, dispositions and attitudes.

The first of these 1s the problem undertaken in the scheme of the Asramas while the second is thought-out in the scheme of the Varnas.

The two organizations of Asramas and Varna refer to the problems of nurture. and· nature of man respectively, and they rightly serve as cornerstones of the Hindu theory. of ·soda!. ornen.i? !Lons: ..„„:Ihe scheme of Asramas as devised by the traditionai Indian philosophers is · iqµe- p;tribution to history of so.cial thought in the world.

This. philosophical approach to the study of so ial systems has tome under intense criticism from the French Schoo.I of Social Science led by Emile Durkhiem and Levy-Bruhh These writers have advocated the "Scientific" and. empirical approach to soci l sciences where the considerations of ultimate and h.igh vajues of.social life are excluded.

VARNA

Along with Asrama Dharma, which is formulated primarily with reference to the <rnnduct of'the. individual's life in tfie ·worla, another coordinate system called the Varna Dharma is formulated by ·the Hindu., with reference to the society in which he. lives. Tqese two Dhannas cqnc.ern the.mselves with the management and organisation of t}:Ie individual as well as the group or the society. These two together are termed as Varnasrama Vyavastha - the organisation of Varna and Asrama. They are to be viewed;:;md .practised .as .interrelated and inter-coordinated :parts. of a composite whole: The difference between the tWo·lies; in.the manner of approach and ,emphasis in.'the·orgartisation ofman's ·life and his activities in regard to the two kinds of Dharrnas. In the schemes of Asramas the:problern is approached frori1the.p.(i)int of view of the training or nurture'·of'the individual through spedfically provided environments at different stages of his life; on the other hand, in the Varna organisation, the problem is considered from the point of view of the larger group, qnd the individual's· position is defined in this group With reference to his innate nature, his dispositions ·and tendencies.

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Origin of Varna

As for the origin of the Varna scheme is concerned, the Vedic literature dealt with it in several articles. The oldest is the hymn of Purushasukta in Rig-veda. According to this, the Brahmana Varna represented the mouth of the Purusha - the universal man, the Kshatriya, his arms, the Vyshya his thighs and Sudra his feet. There is however a debate regarding the mention of the scheme earlier than Purushasuktha. This theory is popularly called the **Divine Theory.**

The Purushasuktha has been interpreted as having an allegorical significance behind it. The mouth of the Purusha from which the Brahmanas are created is the seat of speech; the Brahmanas therefore are created to be teachers and instructors of mankind. The arms are symbol of valour and strength; the Kshatriya's mission in this world is to carry weapons and protect the people. It is difficult to interpret the portion of the hymn that deals with the creation of the Vysyas from the thighs of Purusha. But the thigh may have been intended to represent the lower portion of the body, the portion that consumes food and therefore, the Vysya may be created to provide food to the people. The creation of Sudra from the foot symbolizes the fact that the Sudra is to be the "footman", the servant of other Varnas. The whole social organisation is conceived symbolically as a human being - the 'body social', we may say with its limbs representing the social classes based on the principle of division of labour.

During the Vedic period, the Varnas seem to have been open classes that were not watertight compartments, where the membership in the latter was determined by virtue of heredity alone. Social Status in the Varna system was based on individual traits and less upon descent. The Varnas gradually came to be distinguished from each other. Each Varna became more and more marked off and separated from the other. A gradual increase in the distinction between the different Varnas in terms of different privileges and rights is noticeable as we pass on from the Rigvedic literature to The Brahminit literature, namely the Samhitas, Upanishads and the Brahmanas. The Sudra, in the latter period, held the position of a slave and considered non-Aryan, away from the scheme of th Varna system.

During the period of Brahmanas and Samhitas, there seems to be no restriction regarding marriages between th Varnas with an exception of those with Sudras. Inter-Varna marriages might not have been exceptional but must have been quite frequent.

There is great deal of theorizing in the epic and the Dharma Sastra literature on the problem of origin and development of Varnas. According to the **Karma Theory,** the sage Bhrigu (in Mahabharatha) envisages that only the great Brahma first created a few Brahmanas. But later on the four divisions of mankind Were developed. The complexion i.e., Varna of the Brahmanas was white, that of Kshatriyas was red, that of Vysyas was yellow and that of Sudras was black. At first the whole world consisted of Brahmanas, who were all created equally. Later on, men have, on account of their acts (Karma), been divided into various.. Varna : The four Varnas have originated from one original class of Dwijas - the twice born. Those who. foundfexcessive pleasure in enjoyment .bepc!me_ possessed with the attributes of harshness and nger, eIldmyed With courage and unmindful of their own Dharma,,· tq,Qse. Dwijas· possessing te quahty of redness1became the Kshatriyas. Those who are unmindful of the duties laid down for tnem became endowed with both the qualities of redness ·and darkness and followed the occupation of cattle breeding and agriculture be.came Yysyas. Those who were given to untruth and injuring other creatures, possessed of cupidity, who indiscrfminately followed all sorts of occupation for they sustenance, with no purity of beha -?llr and who nursed th quality of darkness within.them became Sudras.

Mah aata: an 'Manusrriritihave also quoted the theory of the origin of the Varnas from ·various parts-. of th c e ator's body. These differential duties arid occupat:ions have· been assigned to'different Varnas in order to p'i·otect this whole universe.

According to Hert,ert·Risley, the Varna system in India was introduced by Aryans who have originated in Iran/ Persia **who_** already had a similar system in their society. Before their invasion of India, the Aryan society was divided into four social classes - Atharavans, Rathestars, Vastria and Hiuti, corresponding to the four Varnas

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The **Triguna** Theory maintains that Jhe;isocial classes have evolved from the inherent qualities, the gunas, of mankind. According to the Bhagavadgita, the four Varnas are divinely created on the basis of inherent qualities and allocation of work base_d on these qualities. (Karma based on Guna). Ancient Indian literature talks of three gunas of man-_ Sattva, Rajas and Tamas.

Guna	Varna	Qualities
Sattva	Brahmana	Noble thoughts and deeds, virtues of high qualities, moral goodness, wisdom and truth
Rajas	Kshatriya & Vaishya	Luxury, exuberance, high-living, indulgence, passion, pride and valor
Tamas	Shudra	Physical labor, lack of imagination, dullness, etc.

Philosophical literature says "Janmana Jayathe Sudhra" - i.e, everyone is born a Shudra. It is only based on one's qualities or Guna one may develop over a period of time, through socialization, can an individual be classified into any one of the four Varnas.

Classification ofDharmas with Ref / t to Varna-Scheme

The nine .duties -common to all the four Varnas are control of anger, speaking the truth, justice, fo"t.giyeness, b getting chPdren form o_n ;;.gwn wife, pure··cond ct, avoiding quarr 1,"upright ';;isn,,,,,,iiafu maInterui'nce ofone's depena """

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The division of Dharmas among the four Varnas is as follows:

1. **Brahmin:** Teaching, self-control and practice of penance.
2. **Kshatriya:** Study, making gifts, protecting the people and performing sacrifices.
3. **Vaishya:** Study, making gifts, celebrating sacrifices and acquiring wealth by fair means.
4. **Shudra:** -Created as servant of other three Varnas - never amass wealth, whatever he possesses belongs to his master, can pe form sacrifices but cannot recite some yedic mantras.

There are relaxations on the prescribed occupations and duties of the four Varnas in times·of adversities. Thus a Brahmana, who cannot maintain himself by means of the occupations specially prescribed for.him, may adopt the Kshatriya mode of life. If he still cannotsucceed, may adopt -the Vaishya. mo e of life:. Kshatriya can adopt the Vaishya mode· of living in case of .dire n e s.-. But every V_ar;na 11as C(:!,rtain reservation for the Varna other than its own. According to Manu, there are_ten sources of subsistence common to..an· in distress, th'ey are, mechanical. ·arts, work for wages, service, cattle rearin·g trade, agriculture, contentment, begging and money lending.

A different meaning to the principle 'dftHe Varna system based on one's karma is what -is suggested. It means· that if one is born in a lower Varna, then by.following the Dharma of his own Varn in this,birth; he may able to be born again iri a higher Varriiin the next birth;and one who ls born in a higherVatria must live up to the duties and obligations of his Varna if he does not wa t tobe degraded in the ne·xtbirth..

Conclusions

Though there is a cry for equality among the humanity, we cann6t-avoid the differences-between m ·naild mc1,tf in terms oLnatural abilities, c padties, -intelHgeilce and. c1ptitudes. In social affairs ·and social coinmunications, such individual differences are apt to give rise to the formation of social groups, e,ch of which consist of individuals who find themselves agreeable to each other because of general si111ilarify of tastes, vocations, likes and dislikes, social status and such other fac ors.

Social classes that are directed towards, or have developed into,. a rigid .stratification, based ·on ·ii concentration of power, authority, prestige-and economic and material rewards form th'e higher.classes.

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Yet, it should also be dear that criticisms, which are applicable to the social classes that have attained permanence and fixity purely on the basis of descent or family -Hrieage, cannot be applied to the Varna theory. For, it has to be specially noted that the Varna organization is so conceived that there could be no room for any Varna to consider itself to be superior over the other or to consider itself as being pla·ced in a position of greater or lesser advantage with reference to other. Each Varna is designed to occupy a particular position in the society, not with reference to any advantage or special rights, but with reference to its capabilities and likelihood to carry out a particular position and its social obligations. What may appear to be advantages or special privileges of a Varna are primarily intended only to secure the best possible environment and circumstances in order to enable that class to carry out its obligations to the best of its abilities.

The Varna scheme is intended to promote the social organization in terms of its seeking to build up and promote social equilibrium and solidarity through a special kind of economic organization. To conclude, it can be stated that the Varna theory might have been devised with a view to engaging the different types of human energies in different channels suitable to each of them, and all towards the one end of social organization, social stability, ultimately leading to social progress.

ASRAMAS ANDPURUSHARTHAS

Schqbling and self-discipline are two ·con_siderations for a Hindu -in the whole life of an individuaL To undf!rgo ·this· schooling,: he has to pass through four stages - the Asramas, the four ·grades, ofJ@Lqing. A proper understanding of the psycho-moral basis of the Asramas necessitates the study o(the theory of Purusharthas. ... -_..

Management and the conduct of affairs of the individual life in relation to the group in the Asramas, management, justification and its understanding are the main concerns of the ·Purusharthas. There are four Purnsharthas viz.

1. Dharma
2. Artha
3. Kama
4. Moksh_a

The e.four Purusharthas form a psycho "moral basis of the Asramas because the indtyig·ip1,„tt1.t£!i&!t the: Asr_ ,g J s rai11edJ n...tbe.,usfi.ll-PJL.t ,qlpJ!?K !lt„gL th YJl!. ht r t4 arid he has·t0·cl al W.i!tl-society' in a:f.9;>.f,Qgrite„witb:.thi trc:1.i.Qip..g. A proper outlook and a way for the. management of each of. the Asrarrias can be comprehended by a proper understanding of the meaning and plate·' hf the Purusharthas in the Asrama scheme. Morality, Wealth, Desires or Passion and: Salvation respectively are, the English translations of Dharma, Artha, Kama and Mbk ha. ·

The ,Word "Dharma"is derived from the Sanskrit root "-Ohri" mearii g "to hpld together or to preserve". Dharma is 3:.principle .for, maintaining the stability of a s ty Ac<>rding'to· the Mahabharata, D}:lanna is created for the well being of all the creation; it is created to 'ke.ep 'all the· creation free from any harm: It is 'the rinciple that is capable of preserving the ':lniverse.

"Artha" refers to all the m ans necessa_ty for acquiring wotJdlfp'rqsp rify like pow.er and wealth.

All tlj, desires in man for enjoymentand s tisfactidfi'·ofthe se·sei<'.>flife,'the S♦X drives are referred to as. "Kama". It also refers to the natural mental tendencies, ins!incts and de.sires of man- and his native Impulses. The totality of innate desires of manlike· the nee1s;hasicor p marymotives, urges and clrives are referred to as Kama. The moral, mat rial and· menfal resources, ·energies arid accessories· ofman are respectively referred to as Dhann_<:t.Art -anclK ma..

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"Moksha" refers to the appeal of the inne; man to the individual unaffected by the group. "It is perhaps too personal an outlook that defines the struggle and hope and justification within the individual for Moksha". Moksha is not to be···pursued exclusively and directly by an individual unless and until he has duly satisfied all his social obligations and debts. It is the ultimate goal of life - a supreme end. It is a means to attain a meaning and end of human existence.

Dharma stands on a higher level while Artha and Kama refer to two of the man's earthly belongings. *A* lower level is occupied by Kama and is said to be one of_the six enemies of man, collectively called Arishadvargas, (the other *five* are Krodha, Lobha, Moha, Mada and Matsarya). The material means of living (Artha) and the propagation of the species (Kama) are necessary for the manifestation or conduct of human life.

This necessitates a correct quality and quantity, the place and time of Artha and Kama, which is done by Dharma. A proper life can be lived *even* in terms of Artha and Kama by attending to Dharrna. Ini a proper coordinated and careful management of the Dharma, Artha and Kama lies the secret of a good humanity. The Purusharthas are concerned with both the individual and also the group. The kind of relationships between the individuals and the ,groygJis defined by the Purusharthas. Improper relationships are explained so that the individual practises their avoidance; Thus the Purusharthas control the individual and the gr_oup along with their interrelations;

The word "Asrarna" is originally derived_from the Sanskrit root "Srama" - to exert oneself. Literally · Asrama is a halting place. A halt or stop in the journey of life, for rest, in order to. prepare oneself for further journey is signified by an Asrama. They are the resting places during the journey on the way to final liberation (Moksha) - the final aim oflife.

Every individual has to train himself for the next stage of life; he has to exert himself in a circuit. This he does in the circuit provided by the Asramas. There are four Asramas:

1. Brah·macharyasrama
2. Grihastasrarna
3. Vanaprasthasrama
4. Sanyasasrama

The Brahmacharyasrama is that of a student The Grihastasrarna is ·that of a householder. The· Vanaprasthasrama is that.of a retired life ·in the forest abandoning.the home, preparatory. to complete renouncement of the worldly affafrs. The Sanyasasram is the life of complete renunciations of worldly rnl tions and attachment

The Concept ofRinas:

Every individual has to pass through these four.phases oflife one after the other and pursue each of these Asramas to obtain Moksha - the salvation. "After passing from Asrama to Asrama, and·after the sacrifices,,_ with senses under control, compreh nding and realising the limitations a11d futility o f iife, depending· upon alms. and offering, if one goes forth as a wandering medicant and dies·.thereafter, he becou1es blessed". This is how a person attains Moksha. However, before entering the last phase i.e., Sanyasas a.ma: e as to pass. through the. three prev ous phases. of life in _the proper order; besides he hasto sati?-fY:. himself that he has carried o u t the du ties a·d ()bHgations faid d'own foreach ofthese Asramas; :a d he has afso to see that he has duly given his dues in connection with. the social obligations-or debts. These <tebts are.referred to-as "Rinas". The three Rinas are....

1. The debt to Rish.is (Rishi-Rina)
2. The debt to Ancestors (Pitri-Rina)
3. The debt to Gods (Deva-Rina,)

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The debts to Rishis can be satisfied by studying the Vedas in accordance with the rules laid down for the study i.P., by passing through the Brahmacharyasrama.

The debt to ancestors can be satisfied by begetting sons in accordance with the ·Dharma i.e., by going through the Grihastrasrama.

The debt to Gods can be satisfied by offering sacrifices according to ones capacities, i.e., by performing the duties of Vanaprasthasrama.

Once ·these duties are carried out in all the three Asramas, the man's mind should concentrate exclusively towards attainment of Moksha. Moksha cannot be entitled to any individual if the above duties are not carried out in their respective Asramas.

Different authorities have prescribed different ages at which man is expected to enter the Brahmacharyasrama and Grihasthasrama. After the prescribed course of education is completed, the young man enters the Grishasthasrama; this is bound to be obviously in the maturity of the youth, when he has•completed all the requirements of B ahma.charyasrama, and is fit to marry.

A f ef c p aying his part as a membe·r· of Grihasth.asrama,·man retires from it, which happens when he starts becom,!ng old and sees the generation next to his offspring and now takes up a life in- the forest where he lives ,{simplest life by receiving alms, performing sacrifices and reading the sacred texts. After spending the third. part of his life, he may ·liv as an ascetic during the fourth part of his existence abandoning all attachment to worldly objects and relations

According to some scholars like Vatsayana, owing to uncertainty of human life, one should follow Purusharthas as and when ari opportunity comes to him, at any period of time in his life.

I. Brahmacharyasrama

Brahmacharyasrama concerns itself with the management of education as a social institution. The Upanayana sacrament is virtually regarded as the second birth of the young boy. Till the Upanayana is not conducted, every child is considered nature born and as such, as good as a Shudra. After Upanayana, he becomes a Dwija - a twice born and indeed, he is now born a second time as it were, born into new world of activities, duties, responsibilities, expectations and aspirations, for all of whic he has now to begin training and equipping himself.

There are different opinions regarding the age at which the ·pupil has to commence his studies. Some. authorities prescribed different ages at which. a student has to be initiated according to his Varna. Those who do not get initiated according to the ages prescribed looses his right of learning. The prescribed ages are:8 $6 years for a Brahmin, 11-12 years for a Kshatriya and 12-24.years for a Vaishya.

Once the Upanayana ceremony is performed,tqe boy learns his first lessons in simple Iiving'an,d gets his tra_ining irrespective of the position or statulof the family in which he is born. With reveren,ce, tije pupU. whoisJnitiated -h?d to- start begging alms for his teacher. -He is forbidden from accepting _an,yt in: X PfJ alms. Ther_e are also_ many r_ules laid down in the habits pertaining to the pupil's_ food;·li : a o -i t overeating, flesh, honey, stale sweet, beetle leaf etc. The dress habits of the students belo ghi'g t9_d_iff tertf Varnas also differ, which go according to the script;,_ The Brahmin student wekrs a hertip :rt l t /t: e Kshatriya wears a piece of silk cloth, while the Vysyas w ars a woollen cloth. Higher the:V:afri't:1 t9 P S the stri<i.ent belongs, less luxurious the piece ofg rment he wears.--ln.Brahmacharyasrania'th¢- t11d h s to keep',his tongue, arms and stomach unde control and dis ipline to attain his vow. Thus;>t9f-:. t '} . f > beinglrained in the habit of s1mple life, no matter to what family he belonged.

Getting up before the sunrise and offering prayers are other important rules o a Hfo'd :.:sttf rit_;pn;e_-: unique feature about the student's life is _that he has to teside in the ·premises of e_-he I - O.fQl._/C teacher. Since-childhood is considered the formative period of.lif , under this sy eri h_e.Y; µragp_ Y: h . o < live .with his teacher - Guru, often f r away from his nearest relations so tha't the Guru _hi e l b. hi0_.:: absolute mentor.

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Apart from the Vedas, many other SGi, p es are also stu ied by the student through his Guru and the latter's duty towards his pupil is to irftpat't to him whatever truth he knows. A very high reverence towards the teacher is expected from the student. Since the teacher charges no fee from the pupil for his labour, the moral influence of the teacher upon his pupil has an added weight. Thus an individual learns his Dharma in this Asrama.

After the student has completed the course of his studies, he leaves the place of his teacher and journeys back home. He is now to take a bath symbolising his washing off as it were of the Brahmacharya and now ready to enter the next Asrama - that of a Grihasta or the householder.

II. Gruhastasrama

The Grihastasrama i.e. the real· family life of a person, who has completed his course of the Brahmacharyasrama, starts with his marriage. As the man gets wedded, he is to prepare himself to undertake the activities connected with the household - Grihyam. Following the sacred treatises, the person now has to practice all those rites intende.d for the preservation and the continuity of his family or lineage. The Grihasta has to follow, ac.cording to regulations and the directions laid down by the texts,the domestic activities, the duties and five gteat sacrifices. Thes five sacrifices are intended to nullify the sins committed by the Grihasta and which he cannot but help committing at the five "slaughter-houses", which exisfain each home.

They ire:

1. The hearth
2 The grinding stone
3. The broom
4. The pestle and mortar and
5. The water vessel.

hile using these,. one would wiUingly or unwillingly destroy many creatures. These sacrifices are the moral obligations of the householder. They are...

1) Brahma Yagna: Which is offered.in the m·emory of distinguished and learned sages of the past

2) Pitri Yagna: Sacrifice to spirits or memory of ancestors (Sraaddha).

3) Deva Y gna: Sacrifice to the Gods (Homa).

4) Bhuta Yag a: Offerings to spirits that are.suppo ed to influ·ence.·the human beings (Bali).

5) ·Nri Yagnaor Manushya Yagnar-Hospitality towards the strangers and the guests in terms of'food and shelter, are to be performed in a spirit of sacrifice to man.

Performance of these five yagnas gives .permanent happiness. Discipline.of parting with things of worldly valu·e is sought to· be cultivated .at home. There· are. ceremonies and rituals for ·building house too..The home is a dwelling place n·ot only of living members· ·of the family; but alsq the- forefathers who have · passed away, and the _grand children who are yet to-arrive. In such a house, the Grihasta has to·satisfy the sages by studying and learning, worshipping the Gods, -remem.bering the ancestors, serving men by · offering· food and 'appifasing other living .creatures .Having satisfactotiiy fulfilled .them .according. to· Dharma; he fs to bequeath:every thingto his.·son, arid live without caring for any worldlfconcern. He has · to do'a!Ltheseactivities as a.matterofduties>By·fu1mlingthese obligations, he enhances his Dharrna,' which will stay with him even after his dea.th.

The living members of the family are the trustees of the ·home, which belongs· to the ancestors, :fa the interests ·or'the· future members of the family. All the property belongs to the home and is not individual.· The central idea·here·is the worship of the family (Kula) as aterp.ple of sacred tradition.·Ho.me is the-place· where the Dharmasastra, Arthasastra, and the Kamasastra are practised. It is the place where Dharmas

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and Karmas are thought out, practised and idealised. Agni that blesses, directs and inspires the Dharma and Karma of inmates witnesses every action and deed of Grihasta.The Grihasta is asked to live the life of non-attachment· in the family. Thus the spirit of selflessness, even while conducting the affairs of the world, restrains and dominates his thought and action.

For an individual, the "Samsara" is a temporary field of action and his life in Grihastasrama must be lived and directed only in terms of Dharma and Karma. To the extent to which the individual performs these, he prepares himself for the next stage of life and then the final goal, the Moksha.

III. Vanaprasthasrama

In the,:.Vanaprasthasrama the individual has to leave the shelter not only of the family and of the home, but ofthe village too; he must go to the forest and live there, all the while striving to bring under control his senses of enjoyment, in the following manner..

He has to eat vegetables and fruits only. He is not to touch sweet things or meat; he must never accept fruits.;or roots grown in the villages even when he is extremely hungry. Deer skin or bark of the trees has to be· used for dothing. No deliber te attempt to attain comforts as Jo be made by him and he should sleep on the floor and reside under.a tree. He should live without any attachment to the place where he_ happ _ps to reside.

Thefive tades ofsacrifices performed in the Grihastasrama are to be continued even in this Asrama and out of w atever he collects for eating has to be_offered to the guests who may visit him. Performance of penances, reading the sacred texts, to el vate his soul to higher levels has to be followed. He must devote himself heart and soul to his studies and meditation, at the same time, he has to lead a life of self-control and friendliness. In this manner, if an individual dies in the Vanaprastasrama, he is expected to attain Moksha by reaching the region of Brahma.

IV. Sanyasasrama

An entry into the last Asrama of Sanyasa is inevitable if an individual survives the-Vanaprastasrama, by casting off all the attachment with the world. According to .Manu, an .individual can enter this last Asrama even af er the completion of Grihastasrama ·some authorities even say that an 'individual can enter Sanya asrama after the Brahmacharyasrama itself.

An individual in this Asrama· shoulct" be free from everything, posses nothing, should not depend on anybody and move around all_ alone.- He should -not feel dispirited when he fails to procure any alms nor should he feel elated when he· gets some. He should not bother about life or death.. The individual in this AsraIlla can obtain Moksha by restraining himself from love and hatred within himself and by being harmifss to other living beings. All.the sins·of--a man who passes through this Asrama are 'IJ\Tashed away and thus attains the ultimate and the final goal of existence-· Moksha. I

Grihast:asrama is given the highest place of honour in the stb me"of Asramas. According to Indra, ''Acetism is attainable by leading the life of a householder upgn which the proper management of every thing-dep·ends. The life of householder itself is very superior and sacred and gives a scope for fulfilment of life's mission".

In tertn-s of Dvaipayana Vyasa "the highest Dharma as sanctioned by Sastras consists· in training through dutiestand living the full life of a householder. In this Asrama alone can the three Purusharthas Dharma, Artha\b.nd Kama exists together and can be used towards the end of Moksha. This mode of life is considered the very basis of ali the others. The other three Asramas derive from this Asrama - the means they live upon, the offerings they make to the departed men and the Gods and in short, their entire support".

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Significance and Position of the Pur,..usJ:i rthas as Envisaged in Asramas

In the Brahmacharyasrama, the dominating Purushartha is Dharma, which in all its ramifications and aspects has to be learned. Artha and Kama become the fields of personality in Grihasthasrama, of an individual who has already acquired the knowledge of Dharma. Dharma and Moksha become the main concern of life in Vanaprasthasrama, the prime position being that of Dharma. In Sanyasasrama, Moksa occupies supreme position and it is here that Dharma and Moksa are identified together. In fact, throughout the Asrama scheme and throughout life in every phase, Moksa always lurks as the ultimate aim, permitting sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly and defining the course of other three - Dharma, Artha and Kama.

According to Kautilya, "it is the duty of the king to see that his subjects abide by the rules made obligatory· for persons following each of the four Asramas". He asserts that the violation of the codes of behaviour for the Asrama as well as for the Varnas would lead to a confusion of the Varnas and Asramas and hence to chaotic state of the society such that the world would come to an end. On the other hand, if all people ·follow these regulations, the world would certainly progress. The Asramas and Varna schemes are thus conceived as means not merely towaqis the pest ends of social organisation, stability and equipoise, but also of social progress.

KARM.A AND REBIRTH

The Doctrine of Karma is reckoned as one of the most significant contributions of Indian philosophy. This doctrine was propottnded for the first time in the Upanishads; Its influence is seen in different aspects of Indian social system, the Indian philosophy, literature and culture. Almost all the aspects of Indian life have adopted the conception of Karma in s·ome form or the other. Although Buddhism and Jainism oppose the Vedic conventions and traditions from many points of view, and refuse to accepf the supremacy of Brahmins in the social system, yet they recognize the supremacy of the doctrine of ·Karma so far as ·material aspects of life are concerned. The doctrine of Karma manifests the practical uniformity in the multidimensional Hindu culture and society.

Philosophical Basis of the Doctrine of Karma

According to Hindu philosophy, attairim nt of salvation (Moksha) is the ultimate goal of human life. It comprises the supreme eternal value. The Buddhist philosophy has called this ultimate goal as Nirvana. The Mahanirvana Tantra observes... "That which leads to salvation is also productive of the fulfilment of dharma, artha and kama". Thus salvation comprises all the values of life.· Bhagwad Gita has i:nentiorn;!d three means for the attainment of salvation - Karma Marga, Gyana Marga and Bhakti Marga

The doctrine of Karma insists on individual responsibility towards good and bad results. It holds that· every attion has its own effect Man cannot av id the results of his actions - As we sow, so we reap?.Good actions bring good results, while evil r sults fi:om evil actions;

As the performance· of prescribed action produces merit (Punya), involvement in fqrbidden actions produce demerit (Papa). As pertinently remarked by Jadunath Sinha, "Merh and demerit are agencies which nurture in course of time and bear fruits either in this liCe or in future life. They are predisposing causes of happiness and misery. There is.no escape from the consequences of actions". Thus according to this doctrine our present is the direct outcome of our past deeds.

Meaning of Karma

The word "Karma" has been derived from its Sanskrit root "Kra"which implies all kinds of activities For example, Karma includes activities such as to sit, to stand, to laugh, to speak; to determine, to prohibit, giving charity etc. The word "Karma" has been used in Bhag:wad Gita in this general sense. According to Gita, the word Karma also lncludes life. and death. At occasions;. man has to choose either life or death According to Gita, man can attain salvation by performing his prescribed Karma. Karma in -this context represents duty. On the other hand, karma, according to philosophy of Yoga Vashistha, is the activity of

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"Manas". Karma generates the Karta and the Karta by its activity again produces Karma. Thus, the seed of Karma is to be sought in "Manas". Besides this, the following four-deserve special mention.

1. Karta, who does Karma through his activity.
2. Circumstance in which Karma is performed.
3. Inspiration for Karma.
4. Reaction or results produced by Katma.

Concept of Karmaphala - the result of action

While,on one hand the word Karma indicates the performance of some action, on the other hand it also indicates the action produced by the Karma. Secondly, according to Hindu philosophy, every Karma generates a definite result and that is why each man is a builder of his own fate. He gets the results according to his actions. According to Hindu philosophy, the main aim of man's life is to *remove* the effects of bad actions of earlier life and to attain salvation. Dr. P.N. Prabhu has also pointed out that according to Hinduviewpoint, the birth of each man takes place so that he may remove the effects of the bad actions of his earlierlife and enjoy the results of his good actions. Further, according to Hindu viewpoint, man should perform all such actions that are not harmful to his future life.

According to Hinduphilosophy, every Karma has a definite result and the present life of man is the result of Karmaphala of his earlier life. Similarly, his future life is based on the Karmaphal of his present life.

Karma and Rebirth

The tenets of Karma and rebirth are based on the theory of survival of the soul upon the death of the body. Soul is immortal and indestructible. When the body perishes, it enters in another body and thus goes on living. The 'Jiva' or soul, during the cycle of birth and rebirth, accumulates Karma. Action, good or bad, brings on its trial, reward and punishment and there is no escape from it. Thus, soul is inevitably tied to the wheel and helplessly allows over successive re-births, reaping the fruits of past Karma and perpetually sows more seeds of Karma and thus perpetuating its bondage.

Elements of Karma

There are many important elements of Karma.

1. **Definite Result:** By Karma we do not mean only physical action. It also includes mental, emotional and spiritual activities. Each action has a definite result and man gets this result either in this life or in his future life.

2. **Immortality:** Since each action has a definite result man can neither escape from the result of his action nor can he achieve the results without performing the action. Man cannot destroy the result of his action. Present life of man is the result of his earlier actions.

3. **Continuity:** The process of Karma is infinite or unlimited. The cycle of Karma is infinite. It is the cycle that goes on eternally and each man has to face the results of his actions. According to the doctrine of Karma Vipak; once the cycle starts, it goes on perpetually. Even when there is annihilation of the universe, the Karma continues to exist or survives in the form of seeds. Then there is again creation of the universe.

4. **Indestructibility of Karma:** According to the doctrine of Karma, the result is indestructible. Karmaphala influences the character, ideas and feelings of individual. It continues with him throughout his life. It even continues after death. One has to face the results of his actions of yesterday or tomorrow, this day after day. According to Mahabharatha, the Karmaphala does not end with the individual but sometimes his

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descendants have also to fac th . res lt of his actions. That is why if the results of his action do not come in his lifetime, then they influence his sons ar1d grand sons etc. In the practical life also it is the belief of the people that the bad actions of man influence his future generations.

5. **Immortality of the Soul:** The doctrine of karma accepts the immortality and indestructibility of soul. Soul is immortal. It is only the body that is subject to death or decay. Therefore, creature is born according to results of his actions. After leaving its body it attains a new body. ·This is called rebirth. This cycle of birth and rebirth moves on continuously till the attainment of salvation.

6. **Determination of life conditions:** The doctrine of Karma endeavours to clarify the present conditions and circumstances of life according to the result of the actions performed in the early life. The circumstances and conditions of each individual are different from other individuals. Some individuals are rich, some are poor, some are happy while others are leading miserable lives. All this is determined by the results ofactions performed by the individual in his earlier life. As the actions of each individual are not similar, similarly the conditions or circumstances of each individual are different from others.

7. **Supremacy of Karma.:** Karma determines the nature of life. Therefore, it is sometimes believed that the doctrint:! of Karma makes a mart fatalistic. Butthis conception is completely baseless., The. doctrine of Karma does not make.a man fatalistic but it rather implies tliatm n isthe:makerDf his 0Wn destiny. He can ch·ange his destiny by his actions. He can determine his future. 'rhis doctrine also clearly points o·unhat eacμ man gets adequate results for his actr8:ifs. There is no ·such action that may notproduce any result From this point of view, life is an opportunity for man toperfotrri actions. Thus, earth is his land.of duty. Wisdom is the director of these actions. It also provides an inspiration for good actions.

· Criticism to the Doc;trine of Karma

A majority of criticisms came from the Western Scholars.

1. According to MacDonnel, the doctrine of karma tells that man cannot be liberated from Karmaphala. Disinterested actions inspire man to be contended with present life because· the present life of maq. is the result of his actions done. in earlier. life. Moreover, this doctrine lays more emphasis on the life to come than the present life. Hence, it is· indirectly responsible for miriimizingthe importance ofpresehtlife. This is detrimental to the idea of social progress.

2. It is based on superstitions and is responsible for backwardness of India, both socially and economically.

\:k·'·- ·It supports and justifies caste system.Jt is responsible forminimizipg the eff cts of effic enqr-.and aptitude of. man. It is respon ible for inactivity and cowardice among the lgwer castes. The **doctrine supports the main.teitaffCE; Of'Socia} discrim.igati0).1 and adopts religion** for **its justifica ion;**

Jlmportance ofthe·ooctrine o(Karma:

From the sodal point of view, the doctrine of karma has its importance.

J.. **Jitspiration for good ctions:** The doctrine of karma inspires every person to perform good,act ons. An important con.ception of this doctrine is that man receives theresults acco.rdjng to his.acti{)ns As a esult of good actions, he achieves·goodlife 7onditions and· ad,lifeconcHtions in consequenceqfbad actions.. Besides, the doctrine of karma ais . teaches man not to b{i.na tive and leave everythi g to fate.

2. **Inspiration** to **attain moral life:** The doctrine of karma gives great significance to religion. Wh t is moral from the social point of view is th religion of the ,persons concerned. Therefore, the di regard · or the violation of religion is strictly prohibited according to this doctrine. Thus, wh"ile on the one

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hand, this doctrine preaches man not to become inactive, on the other hand, it also inspires him to attain moral life by presenti:r1 before him the fear of Karmaphala.

3. **Preaching of Wisdom:** According to this doctrine the root cause of all bad actions is illiteracy or lack of wisdom. Where there is a lack of wisdom, bad actions are bound to ensue. Where there is wisdom, there are bound to be good actions. Hence, this doctrine encourages man to understand his own self. A man can understand this own self when he acquires knowledge.

4. **Inspiration for welfare work:** This doctrine emphasizes on disinterested action. Disinterestedness means selfless actions. In other words, actions that are performed by man according to religion without hopi_ng its results are the disinterested actions. This conception of the doctrine of karma inspires everyone to renounce selfish actions. Persons working for the welfare of others are referred to as "Karma Yogis".

Through philosophical interpretations we can say that the doctrine of karma teaches every individual his Purusharthas and inculcates the sense of ·morality. It encourages every one to do and be good in the pres ntlife sothat a peaceful.and excellent life can be enjoted in the future. In short, the doctrine of karnia; by invoking the concept of rebirth, and convincing mci'r1d'fhis punarjanina; is ensuring a peaceful andJroly life for the· individual and the group in the present life.. Thus karma philosophy is not just a dodth1e; but also an effective means of social control. It contributes to a nonnative life ·pattern, and at the **sarrie timeto** 'grou$_p$ **cohesivet1e·ss.**

RINA

The concept of rinas is basic to the Indian social system. It reminds one's duty towards his world and the almighty. A man, in his pursuit to attain salvation - Moksha, must discharge his debts, otherwise which he may plu.nge into the mass of difficulties. Ri.nas are as important as the Purusharthas and are the part and parcel of an ind!vidual's social life in the Asrama Vyavastha.

The Satapatha Brahmana mentions four rinas. They are...

1. The Deva Rina or the debt to the Gods
2. Pitri Rina or the debt to the Ancestors
3. Rishrnina or the debt to the Seers
4. Manushya Rina or the debt to the· fellow beings

How Ner, theJirst three rinas arewidely accepted.

Oev{ Rina: °this social obligation can be d_lscharged by worshiping the d ities through_ thd performance **of** XaJna. **No** man **can att::iin moksha. with bUt repaying these rtna, ·1inJhe prescribed ·manne ,** i.e. **according** to Dfiarina, and no man can escape this rinas sin_ce he is b9rn with.,th _rilla into this worl,d. This is one way ofliberating oneself from the difficulties of the life. The concept ofRina is introduced by the rishis or the.saints to instil a serise of duty in man towards the gods.

Pi rt;;Rina: It _is of prime importance because parents look after a. child since his birth and make numer.ous..sacrific s to ensure his social and physical continuity. In fact, every individual owes his debt to his ahcestors due to the simple biological/act that he exi.sts due tothem. It is not easy to repay thepitri rina;.: According tQ the commentators .on Indian way of life, .one can repay his ancestral or paternal rina by doin·g r1n those works and cdfices for their children as has been done by his parents when he was born.

Rishi Rina: This is the social obligation to the teachers and seers as they impart knowledge and make a man capable ,of:dischatging his;duties in .the Asrama scheme. One can repay this rina by devoting orieself to the deep study ofthe Vedas and .obeying the ode and.conduct ofthe Brahinacharya Asrama. It has

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been asserted that without repaying ri lii rir_ia, none can attain moksha. (More on Rinas in the topic on Asramas)

3.2 CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA

From the times immemorial, India has been attracting people all over the world, who ranged form travellers to conquerors, who stayed back to study the Indian society and culture and went to their own countries carrying with them vivid descriptions of the Indian society and culture. These descriptions may have been exaggerated, but it shows the interest Indian society and culture have generated among the people worldwide. What struck most of these voyagers to India was th!..d 5.tiIJf!i ocj _IJ>.rJ1er, __ which was later termed as the "Caste System".-

Structure and Characteristics

·"Caste" may be definedas a s. ILf d- __ rn d __ g r o p J f Bers ns.}=J:l . 5 E - - L ndo,_K.!?.Y!J . r. d!! 11J n:t9-r.sl}Jp an a g Fl S§J:Yl] <.-mlt :: ..--ic1: : m'eti n e i , l ; - <.P. :! S r !: it_ <?-- <?fuiec,uliar **OCCUj>atlOn and IS USua1fy assoc1ated:w1tfi·:a"more or less d1stmct'f1tual Status In a h1erarch1calsystem..** iHrs'.b -; te ;;,among'othe_r· thr;g·s;·are ·govefiiea-fiy"fflrc-o'ncei,to f p-01luiC>n 'ind _p -rfty,}nl{ ge ·rally, '-i ifl'll Jn}}!J. ns al_i_ty, _ rs aroong$t one':sownsaste j

The ·term "C?ste" has bee:n derived frC>m the original Portuguese.word "Casta"/ mea ning a grqup,-With;;a £ftlt fi -d,,.r - ¼ r here tf .lJ¥··$j1U li if§ Thoughthe word "caste" has be n- de ived from a wo'rd/surprisin'gly tne concept o f caste sysrem·is uni<11e to··In:di f-'JO·l:fe·spetiijcftothe'Hindu society. The English word caste corresponds more or less losely t · hat is locally-k ow'n as tfie:liJJ: 1locart defiries caste as '_'merely families to whom various offices in the ritual are assigned by heredity".

Senai-t, a French scho)ar, defines caste as a "corporation, in theory at any rate rigorously hereditary, equipped with a certain traditional and independent organization, including a chief and-a coundl, meeting on occasions in assemblies of more or less plenary authority and joining together at certain festivals; _bound t ogether by common occupations, which relate particularly to marriage and to food and to questions of ceremonial pollution".

According to the Hindu tradition, the caste system owes its origin to the four varnas, which seem to have been ori"ginally the _four classes into which the Rig Vedic socie·ty was divided i.'e., the thre·e categories of the twice born the brahmins, the kshatriyas and the vaishyas anc;l a fourth category of the sud s, below Y(hQm WE;re th'e outcastes. The earlier studies show that it was the purity of the Aryan faith.that gave rise to'hi S t sy;te : ·" ----·-·,-·---- ""'-=-=···· ·-·"""- .,,---, - , -:--"',..... ,,-,-,

According_ to Bougie, caste,·arqse_fi: e..Jd .a., o.f..hgr_e.di.ti1,JY--- -Pg- _i_g}jii;J.tion; P_r.Qf i<J_s_ c_e>rn /the obligatory moJ! p_olJ q_Lfamilies - to perform them is not merely_a. right but.a d:uty imposec;l by birth UP-On them. The word "caste" makes \ts Jhink not only of hereditarily appointed work, but also 0f unequally divided rights i.e., hierarchy.. Caste is not only !!10J!2£2J.Y....ru!l.il! i ,<t.12!IYJ leg . Bybirth, cme - indiviC,ual is bound to pay heavy taxes while-:anotfier iscapes·them. Perso·nal'..status, according·to Bougie; is determined by the rank of the group to which one belongs to; 'hence in quality is als'e a product o f taste; system.

The -- pirit of caste reigns in a society i.e., differerit grou_ps of which the society is composed repel_·, ach otherrather than attract One caste tries to isolate itself, makes every effort to prevent its merrtbers·ffom - contracting alliances or even from entering into relations with neighbourfog groups. A man refuses to seek a wife outside his traditional circle; he will more over refuse any food not prepared by his feU?ws andreg rds the mere contact of "strangers" as impure_c1nd degraqlE,,& Thus, says that horr r: f misalliance, fear of impure contacts and repulsion For all those who are unrela ed,. are the charactens_t::ic signs of the spirit of caste.· He further emphasizes that the .spirit ·of caste -in India unites t e .three:.<_ : - tend ncies of _repulsion, hierarchy and hereditary specialization, which gives a complete definitionto tpe (caste system.

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The concept of the caste system, according to Berreman, is one that is t:omposed of ranked groups. Membership in a group is only through birth. The groups'are exhaustive, exclusive and d_iscrete i.e., every person is a member of such a group arictor only_ o.f!e; is clearfy""recon ized "by'others as a member of his separate group. Membership in h!s g_roup_infl nce _lllost of_hi ,roles and actiV.iti _s.

There is a high degree of role summation. No one should try QJ:,h,,, r,_g -- i J_l)_h Jjt A.rn ml:>.e_rship and any attempt by ind!_v.ictuat -t.<?.. !1ift themselves to a hi er group is str mgty dis_a_ppr<>X P·

Relative ranks affect almost all the social relations. Most interactions among the people of different groups:·involve considera_ti ns of superiQ.r.ity _an_d_Jnfer.to.ritr, and superior-ity···m ans greater pri iie· 's, precedence and a larger share of good things in life. Each group is a firm eiit1ty,.namect:-bounded, self aware1a:rld culturallY'"homogeneous: "Because fr1teraction between different groups is limited and that with'in ·a group is more intense, the members of a grnup te11d to share distinctive cultural characteristic. The caste system thus contributes to C!-3ltt.!r?J.P.t r l} :

The groups are interdependent. Each needs the services or goods provided by others, but they are held togeth,er ·Jess by""""agreement about mutual pe.eds anq purposes than by the coercion wielded by the superior groups. The inferior groups conform in their actions,and not necessarily in,tQeJJ.J,9£.,aS, about the reasons for the subservient behaviour:

Berreman notes· that a general concomitant of such a system is that the highe r grouys explain their superiodty in terms of a moral evaluation that shows they are intrinsically more worthy. They take a p ern !s 1st q ,_i2i iifi!K;lqf ;p e ple, considering them'to b e cJigUR fr e i;-; s le, iti,f§.l£ !?le of the·nner feelings and higher achievement The lower castes do not share these views but adjust to the superior.power fiy av;idini.coriflfci:;· by apathy and psychic withdrawal or by over-compliance. Other concomitants are the restrictions on the relations between people of different groups. Eating_and sftting together, marriage and sex relations are rigidly controlled or are forb,idden. The higher, privileged groups hoicffhafl:fii -sociaF·ordcr·IS stat1c/'the· lowe' "str1ve to. lmprov their status. Any system of marked stratifkatfmns·1i:selfa ·s-ouFEe·of mobilitymoflvation. Such-1? 9.!?}h!¥. .t_r,iy!!.1Jtis a const !'}t dynamic force in a caste system.

The principle functions of a caste system are to per12_etu_social and c !tt1rn_L_gjyersities J:.d tg_. _pforce and articulate them. Privilege_is_p..tQJ:,££,te through power. These functions are dysfunctional in the modern world, irrelevant to the human w TTa: ;;·aruisource·of unnecessary conmet an·d suffering.

Andre Betdele is_in a view that caste structure constitutes the basis of any traditional-society. In any socie'y , the rigidity and the complexity of caste structure is highly predominant The stratification resulted by the caste structure not only casted its shadow on the people who are divided because of it - caste·i ticins of unequal ritual status - but its influence is dominating the economic and political systems of the - pciety·as well.

BettieXtnotes that caste system is relatively easy to represent. ;Jt;,¢aQ be vie""".'ed as a system qf enduring gr mps,'.whose mutual relations are governed by certain broad principles. Castes as enduring groups· can_ be located. with relative ease since they are na_r.ne and have family, well defin_ed boundaries. The principles which govern the mutual relations are complex in nature.

In a ca'ste system, social precedence is determined less by the utility or the difficulty of the occupations, than·Jfyltheir relative purity and impurity. Each civilization has its_preferred manner of classifying occup fions. In Hindu civilization, it is above aH the· religious ideas that establish the rank of each group rathet:'than the economic values.

Though Indian caste society has often been depicted as a static social order, in t lUY..,Jh JJtJ?PJ _9J.,J 11dia have keptadjusting their _social syst m.s and at times ave--n'irde fundamental chang ! . .1?- - n;soc1al systems areusfawt1:h·s·omet1 xib1tfiy,Tfoniy·becatise··pe-opie iiave to cope with tfie·seaso Irmmd·ortne lifetyde. The biological stages of the human lifecycle induce a cycle of family development and the cyclicar pattern of the family growth, division and reconstitution in India.

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Another kind of repetitive change involves shifts in ranking. Such shifts typically begin when the lower groups become strong enough to challenge the superiors. They meet opposition and some are quelled, but others succeed in raising their rank; in doing so they revise the prevailing order of precedence although not the structure.

Yet another recurrent process in India has typically been started when the followers of a religious leader form a sect; at first they deny certain features of the existing system but in time they become reabsorbed into that system. Tribal groups also have frequently been absorbed into caste orders.

In addition to these recurrent changes, there have also been systemic changes. The earliest literary sources in India, the Vedas, reflect a system of relatively open classes in which people carried on a culture and society that were basically different from those of latter times, though the later forms were developed from the earlier ones. According to G.S. Ghurye, the Vedic period, which in his estimate ended about 600 BC, was succeeded by a period in which the trend towards a rigid caste structure has begun. During the next period, a number of features of "classic" caste society became crystallized. Then, about the tenth or the eleventh century, a system was developed that remained in operation with considerable consistency for about a thousand years. Within the past century, the people of India have been strongly affected by the worldwide tides of changes: There was a great extent of systemic change, brought by the technology.

Features of Caste System

The main features of caste system are

a. Socio-religious Hierarchy,

b. Endogamy,

c. Association with a **hereditary** occupation,

d. Restrictions on food and social intercourse,

e. Distinction in custom, dress and speech, and

f. Civil and religious disabilities and privileges enjoyed by different sections of the society.

The Hindu society is divided into segmental divisions of caste. Caste is an ascriptive membership is acquired by birth. The hereditary caste groups are arranged into a social and ritual hierarchy, with Brahmans at the top, next the Kshatriyas, then Vaishyas followed by the Shudras. In the social hierarchy the lowest rung of the caste society is of the untouchables who are ritualiy the most impure. Thus, the concept of hierarchy forms the crux of the caste society. Each caste is considered to be more pure or impure than the other in the ritual sense of the term. The very shadow of some castes was once considered polluting. For example, in Tamil Nadu, the Pallars and Paraiyars were considered so polluting that for centuries they were not allowed to enter the Hindu temples. Even their touch and sight were considered polluting and they were forced to live outside the village. Similarly, in Kerala, the Ezhavas and Pulayas were considered polluting and were not allowed to enter the temples. They were also not allowed to use the public roads and wells. They were forced to live outside the village. They were also not allowed to wear clothes above the waist. They were also not allowed to carry umbrellas. They were also not allowed to ride bicycles. They were also not allowed to wear shoes. They were also not allowed to carry weapons. They were also not allowed to ride horses. They were also not allowed to carry swords. They were also not allowed to carry guns. They were also not allowed to carry knives. They were also not allowed to carry sticks. They were also not allowed to carry bags. They were also not allowed to carry baskets. They were also not allowed to carry pots. They were also not allowed to carry pans. They were also not allowed to carry spoons. They were also not allowed to carry forks. They were also not allowed to carry plates. They were also not allowed to carry cups. They were also not allowed to carry glasses. They were also not allowed to carry bottles. They were also not allowed to carry jars. They were also not allowed to carry boxes. They were also not allowed to carry trunks. They were also not allowed to carry suitcases. They were also not allowed to carry briefcases. They were also not allowed to carry handbags. They were also not allowed to carry purses. They were also not allowed to carry wallets. They were also not allowed to carry money. They were also not allowed to carry coins. They were also not allowed to carry notes. They were also not allowed to carry cheques. They were also not allowed to carry credit cards. They were also not allowed to carry debit cards. They were also not allowed to carry ATM cards. They were also not allowed to carry passports. They were also not allowed to carry visas. They were also not allowed to carry tickets. They were also not allowed to carry boarding passes. They were also not allowed to carry luggage. They were also not allowed to carry baggage. They were also not allowed to carry suitcases. They were also not allowed to carry briefcases. They were also not allowed to carry handbags. They were also not allowed to carry purses. They were also not allowed to carry wallets. They were also not allowed to carry money. They were also not allowed to carry coins. They were also not allowed to carry notes. They were also not allowed to carry cheques. They were also not allowed to carry credit cards. They were also not allowed to carry debit cards. They were also not allowed to carry ATM cards. They were also not allowed to carry passports. They were also not allowed to carry visas. They were also not allowed to carry tickets. They were also not allowed to carry boarding passes. They were also not allowed to carry luggage. They were also not allowed to carry baggage.

In South India, even till the British period, certain parts of the town and cities were inaccessible to the untouchable castes.

Endogamy or marriage within one's own caste or sub-caste group is an essential feature of caste. It is one of the main reasons for the persistence of caste. People generally married within one's own caste group.

Traditionally, each caste was associated with an occupation. Jajmani system found in rural India enabled each caste to have a near monopoly over their hereditary occupation.

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Each caste was also ranked higher or lowernn the basis of the r}tual purity or pollution of their associated occupations. Thus, the C_hamar castes of north lnrlia were considered untouchables since their occupation involved use ofleather.

Each caste had its own caste council or panchayat where the grievances of its caste members were heard. These caste-councils headed, generally by the elder members of that caste, had the power to ?CCoJ.!l,MP-Wit atea member from his or her caste if they did not accept caste restrictions. Caste restrictions 3-te in marriage, commensality or inter-dining and general socialintercourse, as well.

These features constitute only a general outline of the caste system. However, owing to its complexity, the caste system is susceptible to and demonstrates regional variations, especially in three domains - its rJ:i,QI)?.DJ.P.s \"gh kinship, _occ1pation an? p? - r. We shall discuss these regional variations in the following pages.

Varna and Caste

The} ':Varna theqryfl Of.JQciety is not to be· confused with the "Jati system" of the Hindu society today, whkti1s·u ibed as "caste system". The castes (Jatis) -are lcharacterized by its members who. cannot haye matrimonial alliances with any but the me·mbers of their owri caste. In inany cases, there are fixea::occupations for different castes, a hierarchical gradation with the Brahmins on the top and it is birth and only birth which decides a man's connection with his caste. These features into which the original Varna scheme has come to be evolved characterize the caste system, or the jati'"system. The word "jati" originates from the Sanskrit word "jan" meaning "b f birth", while the word Varn'a frieans colour. Varna has nothing to do with the purely rarhlt'y lineage princi involved in the word ·„jtF:"E. S n rt, who viewed that "Yarna" and "Jatifl as distinct and "essential!X..i qep_ef!c! 11:t", though "by the relation of principles on fact that the _two institutions may have fused together later on".

In theory, the caste system is interlinke.d with the *'Varna'* model, which divides the Hindu society into four orders, viz., Brahinana, (Brahman,· traditionally, priest and scholar), Kshatriya (ruler and soldier), Vaishya (merchant) and Shudra (peasant, laborer and setvant). The first three castes are **'twice-born'** or *'dvija'* since the men from· these castes are entitled to don the sacred thread at the Vedic rite of *upanayana,* which the Shudras w re ·not ·allowed to yerform: The untot.ich-;:hle castes are outside the varri;fscfierile.

The term *'varna'* literally means· c and itwas originally sed to refer to the distinctionJ>,£! ;.,1z,x,g and *Dasa,* in ancient India. According to the RigNeda, it was not applied to any clas.ses, such as Brahman, Ksfiaffiyatetc: However, the classes that·existed at that time later came to be described· as *varna* and the original distinction ·between Arya and *Dasa* gave place to the distinction between Arya and Shudra (Ghti,rye 1950).

Th - caste. system is ıı_all'-India _P!!!n m3,.on' of which the rar ii!lOdE:L2r2vide5. _wacr - in; 1C¥,(al_ sche:irte 1-i other words,· the *varna* model only provides a frarliework within whi h the _innumerable. v ns. of-castes throughout India are found. According to M.N. Srinivas (1962) the varna?schemeis a ~~'hierarchy'~~ -in the -literal sense of the term because the criteria of rituai purity and pollution arC:: a the basis of this differ ntiation. Generally speaking the higher castes are also the better off classes, a_nd the low r castes· are generall/the lower classes. However, this association between caste 'arid _;dass: is· not · alwc;fy, true. A caste can· be ritually high but ranked lower in the ·local caste hierarchy because this: hie# rchy is determined by s:e9:!lar and other non- itu?l ,factors Uke econ<>mic, political, ectu . g pa1: statu s.: thus, one of the most riking featuresofcaste·;yst Irtha's.been the_vaguenessirith higl:a.rchx,; especially in the middle rungs.

According to the varna scheme there are only four categories. This scheme excludes the ti t? :ctiables and its number is same throughout India. But this is not true in reality since even dudn.g theV¢dic period, occupational groups existed which were not subsumed by varna, although one cam_1o_t b ;surewhether these groups can be called castes or not According to Ghurye, in each linguistic region;there areabout 200 caste groups that are further subqivided into· about 3,000 smaller units, each of which are

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endogamous and provides the area of·,eJfective social life for the individual. Therefore, one can say that the *Varna* scheme refers at the most only to th broad categories of th.e soci ty and not to the actual effecti e··uriifs(Srfnivas i 962). Srinivas-;tates that the V r --sd1 e has certainly distorted the picture of c'aste but ifha·s·a]so enabled ordinary men and women to understand and assess the general place of a caste.withi this fr mework throughout India. lt has provided a common social language, which holds .;eff in"aH 1iart--of India. This sense ·of familiarity, even when not based on real facts, leads to a sense of unity amongst the people (Srinivas 1962). It is the varnll frame whichremains more or lessconstant while castes vary from region to region. Va-rnamay includ diffe ent -castes and these caste·s···m-ay be furtfiersutr.:·mvraea·Tnio ·a·ffere nt SUb-castes.

Theories of Origin of Caste

Caste is an institution of highly complex origin. Its origin is so complex indeed that in its very nature it must be limited to a single area; and that, no doubt, is why it is only found in India. For although social institutions that resemble caste in one respect or another are not difficult to find elsewhere, and some of them undoubtedly have some association with caste in their ultimate origin, yet caste in its fullest sense, caste, as we know it in India, is an exdti's'ively Indian phenomenon. No comparable institution can be seen. elsewhere as anything like the· complexity, elaboration and rigidity of caste in India.

_Tcf'd.efihe a caste is harder than to ·give the· deriv'ation of the- term Caste. Herbert Risley defines it Js "a co:uiction of families or groups of famHiE:!S bearing a coi;nmon name; claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine; professing to.follow-the same hereditary calling; and regarded by those who ar competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community".

One of the earliest moorings of the_ origin of caste system is that it has originated from the yarr:i.e, l.:' .T -. Lat_er: on many theories have been put forth to explain the origin of this complex phenomenon.

The earliest European observers of the caste system were of the opinion that it is a result of artificia l creation, a devisefor the cl c! r_iirlest;_hqog_ f9r the permanent diyi ion ,and subjection of tht! m·a-s.ses., o t e h orict-c;;;te a single law giver: ··rlius acco'rcfnif h, ;Abbe-·bub'ais, caste ·system is an irfaigeni:>'us·cfe"v"ise ·ofthe ·s,rahman# i1nd is made by them and. for them. This theory is cdtidzed on the· basis that a deep rooted and pervasive social institution like the caste system cannot owe its origin t0 pure1y·admi 1strative measures:_ Ca . ficial entit ¥ ,but ?!1 otgani _P,Een9_m.. n,on:;,.

Nesfield in his "Brief View of the Caste System" has advocated the Occupational Theory of caste. -f-le · regards occupation as the exclusive basis of caste distinction and emphasizes the _fact _that artisans working in metals rank higher. than the basket makers· and. other primitive occupations that. do not . in_volve the use of metals. He regarded caste as the natural product of the society. In the creation of rhe . caste system religion had played no role at all. This theory has been criticized on the following,grounds.· . Th type of complexity involved in the aste system does not make it easy for its origin; by the virtue of - siJ:npleand superficial criterialike·th'e:"oMupations. Moreovt:;r. he scheme of occupational status given by - hini does net explain the _situations where in certain parts of-South· Ind.ia though agriculturists belong to. the lower castes they command respect, whereas iri the Northern part of the country, they· belong to'··' generally the ··upper castes. Moreover, if the origins of the caste system -were, as· Nesfield maintains/ totally independent of religion, they have undoubtedly received a religious sanction sin<:e.

q hhnann, in his "Das Altindische Volkstum" supports Nesfie d's theory in some measure: He.regards· Iri_dian society as organized originally into three natural groups. There are:

1. The priesthood
2. The nobility
3. The bourgeoisie

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These three groups are found in every civilized community. These groups represent the divisions of the people respectively concerned with the religious, politi,al and economic branches of life. According to Dahlmann, these groups correspond to the three twice born Varnas. He conceived that these groups later split up into smaller groups and communities, some based on relationship and others on community of occupations. Castes sprang not from the four Varnas but from the infinite number of groups of relatives into which these four Varnas are divided. Dahlmann says that there was a steady progress of development from classes to corporations and from corporations to castes. Agriculture was originally the prim Jactor in the economic life of"India; a rival developed in the form of trade and industry, and the printiple of division of labour became so· important that it b came regarded as the duty of the ruler to base his economic policy on the division of labour and distinction of occupations. On the basis of the old division by classes, corporations gradually arose and guilds of traders and hand-workers came into existence. Community of interest among persons following the same craft gave rise to a corporate prganization, and technical skill was passed on from father to son. Families of craftsmen thus arose, bound together by a community of interest that gave 'rise to a corporate organization and formed a guild. It is this guild that is really the basis of the caste system.

Sena:t{in his well-known work "Les CasteJ: dans l'Inde", seeks to account for the caste in an entirely differ nt way. Fie d es not maintain.that the caste system sprang dniy from primitive Aryan elements but re acos.them as most important in the creationof.caste system. He regards the Aryan invasion as having re i:i:rtedJ .: a ·mixed _tace with two o·r ers o(reser-vation·s about purity. One order based on purity of des·cent arif the other oh purity of occu'pation These .reservations led to the formation of new groups among which the priestly class alorie maintained a soiid feeling of esprit de corps, using its moral pow r' to estaQHsh the caste system. This led to the division into traditional four castes and the classes formed as a result of irregular unions were assigned lower social level. This theory is criticized as postulating non existent simplicity of the society during the time of Rig Veda. Dalhmann says, this period had no simple law and customs, but complex civilization with well developed custom and ritual.

Sir Herbert Risley in his book "The people of India" has relied mainly on theories of race and hypergamy ·10 explai_n the caste system. He regards the origin of caste system as primarily due to colour differences and to a system of hype_rgamy resulting there from. In order: to base caste on hyperga'my, Risley finds it ne_ce sary to presuppose a hypotheti.cal point.at which the tesul.t of intermarriage .between fair invaders aqd dark.aborigines provides enough women fo_r the socie.ty to close its ranks and become a caste. A. system of.hypergamy is no doubt explicable as result of the impact of colour prejudke on a caste system. It is still doubtful how hypergamy can give rise to caste system.

Prpf. N.K. Qutt dop · racial theory of origin· and attaches much more value to the account of caste in the Co e of ,Manu. Ghurye em.phasises in particul r the factor of priestly manipulation by BraI-u.nanas · attempting to maintai'n the purity of race. of Aryan· invaders. Racial exclusiveness and colour prejudice have ,been common enough in the· history of the world, but they have nowhere else led to such an instit tion <ls caste. Race and colour prej,udice have no doubt m de an important contribution to the devel9pment of the caste system and they"'.have played such a p a f in ,crystallizing this institution that it could,.-:not haye come _to.posterity. in its .pr:esent form·. without having been subjected to the reagent of racial prejudice and discrimination. .

Jbbets<m _laid great emphasis on the expfoitation of their'posit1on by the' Brahmana' caste which :he· suppp$'es to have degracied all occupations exc pt their own and that of their patrons of the ruling dc;1ss. He iplains caste as· arising from a .combination .of tribal, origins, JuIIctional guilds alIQ_ re!igfo .s mOI qpoHes.. These featurestribes, guilds.and.religious monopolies havecontributed to the.growth a_nq exte,1i ion ofthe caste system. They have also contributed to the consolidation and perpetuation of it But, one cannot consider these as the causes for the origin of the caste system. These are the features that are ,not unique to India but are also present in many societies. in many countries, whereas caste system is -p iqlle to Indian society only. There is nothing in these three, except priestly order which gives. rise to th t<:aste system.

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According to Hocart. the whole y t m of caste originated in ritual. He regards the four Varnas as a division of the people devised p imarily· for ritualistic purposes. They represent the four points of the compass as do the colours red, white, yellow and black. The functions or the occupations performed by the various castes are in fact the aspects of daily ritual.

Slater put forth a theory for the origin of the caste system that combines both functional and racial origins, in his work "Dravidian Elements in Indian Culture". He emphasizes the fact that caste is actually stronger in Southern than in Northern India, and suggests that caste arose in India before the Aryan. inv sion as a result of occupations becoming hereditary and marriages being arranged by parents within the society of the common craft because sexual maturity is early and trade secrets were thus preserved.· As a result of magic and religious ceremonies also, exclusive occupational groups were built up, marriage outsjde became contrary to practice. The Aryan invasion had the effect of strengthening a tendency to. associate difference of caste with a difference of colour and of strengthening also a tendency for castes to be placed in a scale of social precedence.

Linton draws attention to the probability that India formed at some time in its past, part of the Austronesian region in which ther . 4JdS been, since Palaeolithic times, a fundamental pattern of. organization on the basis of sm ll endog1mous groups. This pattern assumes various forms, but it is Iin ed With a predominant importance of kinship as the basis for organizing the reciprocal behaviour of the>grdup's me·mbers. fo such a system; it would be an easy matter for caste to develop in respons to fr quent invasions and to the emergence of an urban culture, as it would provide a flexible mechanism for encapsulating foreign elements and for developing guild systems to their logical conclusions.

All these theories of the caste system lat emphasis on the phenomenon rather than the causes of the system.· None of these theories explain the role played by the primitive conceptions like "mana" and soul-substance in. the formation of the caste system. Moreover the importance of understanding the interactions between the lndo-Aryan Varna system and pre Dravidian occupational class system is not highlighted.

Hutton in his Census Report has propounded the theory of Mana. He mentions that there are several places in India where every· village is a political unit and all its members g_enerally practice· a common occupation. 'In these areas occupation is the only ba e of social ·st_ratificat.ion. . Such conditions also prevailed in India.before the ·Aryans. Thus.Hutton ·comes to the conclusion that caste elements-existed in:' India before the Aryan invasion. When Ary"an settled down, they strengthened the-pre-existing division::· of the society by fixing their position at the top. Further, Hutton mentions that· caste restrictions developed on the account of Mana. All primitive people believe on· it and regard it as supernatural power. which possesses a faculty of doing both good and bad. · It is believed that this. power transmits through contact and social intercourse. Therefore, fear of Mana imposed restrictions *upon* all members regardi_ng food.;drfrrk and marriage.

Dominant Caste

M.N. Srinivas gave the ·concep_t of dominant caste. This ·concep_t is cniciarto the ·understanding. of rural. ' social life in most parts of India. A study of locally dominant castes and :their kirid of. dominance is - fS_ - -n, :i lS - :'1Jr -i.tne e ,t r- ·tj iw»·fff:f\{t ififage·. the settleme_nt of a.dispute at th level .of village or caste or to understand the pattern and analysis of Sanskritization among several castes man area.

M;N. Srinivas defined a Dominant.Caste in the f Uowing terms.."*A* caste may be setto be dominarttwhen it pr ponderates ,numerically-over the othercastes and also·wields:preponderan_t economicand;political power. A large and powerful· caste group can most easily dominate if its position in the local. caste·· hierarchy is not too low".

In his eventual publications, Srinivas has identified certain other criteria that he holds are alsoessent}aL: - for any caste to be "dominant.". These are the number of educat d persons hi" the castes an(l-th"e: occupations they are involved in. He calls this ctiterion "estern'·' because it is the western non traditional education that is the means_ of a quiring this dominance.

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A caste, if it enjoys-all the elements of domifianc-e, may be said to be dominant in a decisive way. But decisive dominance is not common. More frequently, the differen·1:-elements of dominance are distributed among-different· castes „in a village. Thus a caste that is rituallf-·supedor may be poor and lacking numerical strength, while a populous caste may be poor and ritually inferior.

But when a caste'.-efijoys one form of dominance, in course of time, it will be able to .::icquire the other forms of domi ance as well. Thus a caste, which is numerically strong and wealthy, will be able to move up in. the ritual:hierarchy if it Sansk"ritizes its ritual. and ·way of iife, and aiso loudly and persistently proclaims itseif to be what it wants to be. That means, the more forms of dominancethat a caste enjoys, the easietis it for ac:guiririgthe rest.

The l{i:ttt«?fte1 tiqri$;;(ca_ste maintains w,ith other castes is influeri<:ed by its numerical strength and this, according· to -M N. Srinivas, is one of the reasons why each mµlti caste village constitutes a unique h'.i "rar' lty.. No two villages are identical either in the number of astes epresented or in the numerical st ength ·and wealth of each resident caste. In fact, the s me.caste. may occupy different pos_itions in the n11gJ:1QQltfing. y@\ges?' There are also instances where the position of the caste is influenced by co1ns1.cte_r;J.tums such as the land owned by its .:members and the degree to which its way of life is Sanskritized andWesternized.

Whet?th'same caste occupies· aifferent positions in different villages; the segment of the caste that is occupyin·g a lower position ·will be· stimulated to move up in the local hierarchy. They will try to identify with people whom they regard as having higher positions than themselves.

With the. exception of the untouchables, when a caste is numerically strong, its members have the assurance that the other castes in the village will not be able to subject them to any insult or exploitation - consideratjons of power do prevail. The members of the non-dominant castes may be abused, underpaid for work, or their women a·re required to gratify the sexual desires of the. powerful men in. the dominant castes. The concentration of the members of a caste in to a ward - a feature of the village India, adds to their sense of security.

A patron following, adds M.N. Srinivas, can be made to yield a.member of non-dominant caste economic and other benefits.Patrons from the dominant c ste can secure a large number of followers than the patrons fr.om.the -non-dominant castes. The rural patrons are "vote banks" for the politicians during the_ elections as they-.are approached. for the votes. In r turn, the patrons expect favours. This existence of links between patrons ·and politidans establishes :a continuum between the rural and the urban forces, . making them responsive to each other. Disputes are referred to patrons for settlement, and where there is a dedsively dominant caste,·the biggest patrons usually come from that caste.

Tr ditl,onal councils can be divided into .caste,councils and village councils,. depending upon the.kind of· issue before the patrons. The caste council usually has jurisdiction over disputes among mtjmbers of a single:c:aste. In a dispute in which membersY,fdjfferent castes arei,nvolved, patrons from the concerneci._ castes a:nd a few patrons from dominant caste form the council: THe patrons of the dominant caste have jurisdiction over-all the castes living in the area. The untouchables are the only people who us:ually try or, make an effrt to ·settle their disputes among themselves.

The p. tr,on-client tie is of.crucial importance. in the settlement of disputes. It is so powerful that disputes are alWa:y ·-referred u·pwards from clients to patrons. ***As*** the patrons and clients frequently belong to differ'e)1(castes, there is no .strong sentiment that a dispute should be settled within the caste. "Disputes are m.cfr :easily settled locally·if··the patrons are powerful and·come-from a caste, which is decisively dominant,Where a caste .is dominant in a group of neighbouring villages, the influence of patron extends far beyond his own village.

The patrons of the dominant caste tend to support, if not create, local· structures f authority. In conson ance with this principle, they apply to the disputants the customs and rules that the latter recognize as binding, even when they are different from the_ customs and rules that are binding on the

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dominant caste. This respect for the mon1l ,code of every caste is one of the reasons, according to M.N. Srinivas, why the decisions of the council still continue to be r_espected.

Thus, the study of locally dominant caste is essential to ·the understanding of rural society in India. It is the numerical streng h, economic and political power, ritual status and western education and occupations that are the most important elements of dominance. Usually the different elements of dominance are distributed among different castes in a viHage. When a caste enjoys all the elements, it may be said to have decisive dominance.

Caste Mobility - Continuity and Change

Caste is by definition a dosed social system whose membership is acquired by virtue of birth. Rules of endogamy and restrictions on social intercourse between castes help to maintain the insularity of such· groups. From a purely *Brah manic* or Sanskritic view, it appears as ·if this system is rigid and closed. However, when we examine historical data ranging back to the Vedic period we find that in reality there existed a lot of fl il:>Hi ty. SQflli!-.I1LQb }_Cill£ £!L,_?,£_econorn!s ,-1l,_golitic g2w, ,r.,, ..a c mon : t e . 1:!i t ri 1;1,x st ;B gn1 2 ,that in 1nct1an history, the J1(.ta$,"}'.'l J ,t . .l ;St true R"sfiatf.Tyas (around 5th Century B.c.), and smce then all the so-called Kshatnyas have come mto 'fiemgoy'usurpation of power by the lower castes that acquired the Kshatriya role and social ·position. - Ca sys,te i, therefore a dv a :".E: !- .!Y.!!JL:.,,,ru: .,t :g : 7Of J l i ptlitY, jn rm .<?L}!-·!·a! S.[illegible]

Social mobility refers to the process by which individuals or groups move from one social status to another in the social hierarchy. Social mobility- can be ei_ther upward -or downward. Upward social mobility is one where the individual or group moves from-a lower status in the hierarchy to the upper: - Downward mobility is when a person or group moves from a higher status to a lower one in the hierarchy_• (the theory ofsocial mobility is discussed in the topic on Social Stratification in Paper 1). Caste has been considered· to be a closed system of stratification However, in reality no system can be absolutely closed; In fact, social m Hity''nas altvaJ s*'œe n'cha racfe r fzing the caste system:"whenwe"laTita'Efo'uCcaste an.f social mobility, we are essentially dealing with the processes of social change in Indian society. Sociologists and anthropologists observe that in spite of the dosed nature of caste system, there have- been changes in caste hierarchy and. its norms frorn "time to time. For example; the culturally ac_cepted(: practices-during the Vedic period of Hinduism became·a taboo in the periods that followed. Some of th·ese · practices ·were Vedic Hinduism was magico-animistic; Vedic Brahmans· drank soma (liquor); offered :- animal sacrifice and ate beef. These practices were prohibfted later but they continued amongst the lower:;_• castes (Singh 1973).

Caste mobility as a process of social and cultural change has been explained by Srinivas in his co_nceptof SafiSkritizatioh. ·-The wifesptead social and cultural process called Sanskritization -is a process :,whe're a· low Hindu taste changes its customs, _rites, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of h_igh and speeifitally twice-born castes This'has pav tl the way for mobility to·occu·r ,within the caste system.Wit:h' the-advent of the British, ·the opening up of frontiers by means of roads, and railway and economic"·· opportunities cutting across caste barriers increased· the process_of caste I_!iooility.

Besides Sanskritization, another major agent of social. change was· Westernization. Westernization indudes the influences, which swept' over India during the British rule, bringing in the ideologies *or*·· El,@riSIJl, !}, ta ,i !sm and- <?.S1:.o/-T_he new opp rtunitie_s in e? uc on,.e o .{ and -!,!X f;fe_},, m theory, caste-free and open to all. No one could be demed access by reason of b1rtn m a part1cular,,caste, ·· sect-or rel ion: ·Hov: cvc r, n6"s·otial'change can bring bout total thange'ofa society Therefore;·we find' that-·the social organization exemplified by the caste system has undergone several _changes andtyef :- continues to showcase both tradition and modernity.

Caste and Ritual Status: The· notions of hierarchical gradation ofcaste groups drawing legitimacy f Jli, religion and the concept of purity and pollution liave· changed ·with the passing of time. The:-·structu1ql' distance between various castes has heen defined in-terms of purity arid polhitfon. Correspo"i1dingfofbe-.-::_

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caste hierarchy are hierarchies in food, traditional caste occupation, and styles of life. Endogamy and social restraints regarding commensality and free interaction between different castes in the local caste hierarchy were clearly defined and ritualized. As Mshlm anjotJ\2.?fil.P.QJSS-- is. study of,tkKi,sh n Gh i, village iri!JJ:., the exchange of food and drink between different castes was patterned within the framework of thejajmani system. The pattern related to who will eat with whom, what kind of food will be served by whom, and so on. Thus, interaction between castes was highly ritualized prior to the impact .of Westernization. During the last few decades, as a result of the forces of moderr.ization, the ideology of cast, has become less pervasive in an individual's day-to-day life. Caste rituals have become increasingly . a personal affair, rather than public due to changed circumstances of living, forces of industrialization, and. urbanization. Place of residence and food habits are influenced more by an individual's workplace andtpccupation than by his or her caste or religion. In a city a person generally does not ask the caste of a cookwho serves in a restaurant A person who might be a Brahman by caste may work in a shoe factory, and so on. Harold Gould in his study of the *rickshawallahs* of Lucknow (1974) observed that the rickshaw-pullers whom he studied belonged to different castes. While working they interacted with each other without observing any caste restrictions. However,when these rickshawpullers went back to their homes in tlie evening they observed .all. the ritual practices of their caste Their kin belonged to their own caste and 'they married within their own caste. This 'exam-ple illustrates the point that lll workplace the caste norms are set aside but in personal family life the caste norms predominate In this sense, out of the two ma141Jearures of,ca te ·system idehtified by Max Weber (1948), namely, **commensality** and **connubium,** thecoinmensaHty aspect has disappeared but the corinubium, i.e. caste and kinship and m_arriage link, yet survives _in spite .of all_other changes. Connubium refers to the right and obligation of members of a category of men to choose their wives from a prescribed category of women. The two groups are said to have or maintain connubium. The ritual aspect of caste is confined to the personal sphere.

Caste and Economic Sphere: The ideology. of caste prescribed specific occupations for specific caste groups, ·which -had a specific place in the social hierarchy. The vocations of the upper castes w·ere considered to be the most prestigious while the occupations of the lower castes, especially the untouchables wer_e-considered to be polluting and defiling. The advent of the British.saw new economic opportunities flowing out, and-reaching the masses. The opening up of plantations, development of t wn s and cities faid the basis for economic development, which intruded into the functioning of the caste system. The gro th of oney economy enabled economic relations to be governed by market conditions as opposed to inherited status. Certain caste groups flourishing in the w,ake of new business opportunities invested their profits in land. Because of ·1and reforms like permanent settle ent introduced during the British·rule, land came into the market and thus ceased to be tied to caste.

The stability of œ1ste monopolies over land, which was enforced by family inheritance, came under attack. Ow.nership of land provided a yardstick by which the focal prestige system-was ·measureq. The low caste we·r: „thus able _t0 surmount the obstacles posed by tradition ·and began to •participate in the economic proqess. The breakdown of the .traditional eco·nomic-system and the,.emergence of lower c¥te :groups 'in·_ e<;0J}Pmic riva\ry rather than cooperation. undermined the Brah a dominanc _found· in Ta,_nlore, Tamn· Na :g This has been attributed to the changing village stru ture from a closed stationary sys ein to that of - a relatively open one; The closed system WdS_ characteristic of feudal ec.ohomy resulting irt.coo_peration between ranked castes in ways ordained by religious ideas. An open system is one which is governed by secular law under the influence of market econo:my.

Th Jajmani system:; which was a hereditarypatron-cli nt relationship, with the worker_ tradi onally tied to NS.master, lost .most of its insularity. Market economy, daily wages;"and hired labor steadily eroded the fonptio11ing of the traditionaljajmani syster1.

Th{ .traditional village system of economy underwent drastic changes with the._i tro9uction of mer_cantilism and has becc>me a part of larger and wider global economic 'systems. The stu1y 'of Bisi ara Village in Orissa- by RG. Bailey (1955) is an important _case in point Bisipara in Qrissa Y'i s d changes due to the ·coming of land ·into the market _as a result of certain economic fo.rc.es· setirt; moti?Jl. by the Bri_tish rule. Introduction of new transport and communication systems, mass media arid othe(economic reforms, 'comm'.erdalization of economy ,has taken place. A person participated as an individual in

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commercial economy. The village witn ssed a breakdown of the traditional economic organization in which there was division of labor and 'cth isidn of wealth according to caste. Bailey noted that the changed political atmosphere under· the British disturbed the traditional caste hierarchy and the power structure of the village. He wrote, "the ultimate seat of political power moved outside the village. At the same time, redistribution of wealth upset the political structure inside the village. Division of wealth no longer followed the same lines as caste division" (Bailey 1955). However, B iley also maintains that although there was an internal reshuffle of positions, the -caste system continued to order political relations between the groups concerned and to reflect ·their economic status. Thus, in this sense, in spite· of the tremendous changes that caste had undergone, it continued to exist.

Another important way in which we can see the continuity of caste is that when the new forces of socio-economic, political and educational changes came, it was the already powerful, wealthy upper castes, such as the Brahmans, Rajputs and the Vaishyas who benefited initially from these changes. The Brahman sections responded first to English education and therefore, benefited from political and administrative power. The same pattern is visible in the commercial sector too. The great business houses like Birlas, Dalmias, etc., belonged to the traditional commercial castes. In banking the castes like the Chettiars of South established themselves in the .Il}odern.,systems of banking and commerce that was an extension of their traditional occupation.

Caste,;md Political.Sphere: A system of social stratification such as the caste rests upon the unequal distribution of power between· status groups having definite positions in the prestige hierarchy. In any social strata the upper echelons face the problem of how to maintain their positions that they and their ancestors at one time achieved against the more socially disabled segments of the population. To maintain their position of superiority the higher strata must be able to control the mechanism of coercion. How was this possible? The political system of the pre-British India was characterized by clear terri orial changes marking off the territory of one chieftain or *Raja* from the territories of the other. These boundaries constituted effective barriers between people living under different chieftains. At the village level caste panchayats and caste councils functioned as the local governing bodies. Such a political system imposed severe limits on ·extension of caste ties. Here the cultural and political boundaries overlapped with each other. The British rule set the castes free from the territorial limitations inherent in the .Pre-British political system. It is widely held that civil and penal codes introduced by the British over the sub-continent of India in 1860 took away the power exercised by caste panchayats. The British had also introduced a new principle of justice wherein all men were equal before faw and that the nature of wtong is not affected by the caste of the per mn who is committing it and by ·the caste :of the person · against whom it is committed.

Wtih the advent of democracy and decentralized. politics in the form o f the three-tier Panchayati Raj system- saw politics .carried down to the grassroots level. Caste became a prominent variable in electoral politics>The demands of organized party ysteni. in politics have brought about a coalition of castes:Sub-castes.and s·ub-divisions in sub·castgican find an active field of engagement in village politics. The introduction. of democratic. decenfral1 atioh and universal suffrage protected the interests of the backward classes (which include the sched ed castes, scheduled tribes and other bac ard classes) in · education; employment and political life, against th·e dominance of the traditionally powerful castes:

The d9minant caste was a factor to reckon with in village India. Not all the dominant castes were ritually" superior. Dominance in a sense could be com_bined with land-ownership, political· power, numerical . strength, and so on. In some r gions of Western and Northern India one encounters dominant" p asan(castes ·combining land-ownership and political .powec The coming of market economy; the decline of the traditionareconomic systems (a good exantpte· is that of the decline of Brahman hegemony in Tarijore), caste-free occupations and mobilization of caste groups. have all resulted in the .decline. of the t d{tiopal political role of castes. Yet, we find that caste retains its political significance. This is vident, for ex·amp_le,,, · in the case of the political mobilization of caste groups in Madhopur, U.P. In this village, the ra_n. of. Noniyas, the· salt-makers and Chamars, thele ther-makers joined hands in opposing the lo,ally domintjnt_· upper caste Thakurs. Thakurs were the Rajput .landlords an<;! the trpd1tiqnal dispen ers of ju tice ,9f_ erstwhile masters of the lower caste :. of-this village. Thus, caste, hich ·was a dividing-factor, reshaped

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itself in the new circumstances to form a unifying factor.

It is very clear now that caste as a dynamic reality of Indian society has accomparued changes and in the process has continued to survive the onslaught of time. The characteristics of adaptability to forces of change have been a feature of the caste in the past and it continues to remain its main characteristic even today. This pattern of change therefore constitutes an element of continuity of this system. The changes introduced dttring the British period and post-independent India have witnessed the changing functions of caste and how it has continued to exist as a social institution unique to India.

The Future of Caste System

In o-rder to better appreciate whether caste system survives in the modern society, we need to look at · some fundamental changes taking place within the caste system. Apart from ideological changes, the caste system has also demonstrated changes in its organization, structure and functions.

TraQ.sition from Closed to Open Systems of Mobility

The_I dfan society has witnessed transitiorri froni closed systems qf social mobility to open systems. A clos d .system has been described as one in which elem.ents like caste, class and power are combined tOK J;. In oth, r. ords, this systfm is. based on "cumulative inequalities" where .higher caste impl_ies. highef .c,_ass and ccmse_que.ntly higher pow.er. An open system is one in which inequalities of caste,. class and power are dispersed. In this case a person can be of lower caste but can belong to upper class. This system .has ·more avenues for social mobility open for the lower castes and classes in terms of employment, education, economic enterprise, politics, etc.

The caste system as a closed system of stratification in pre-British India does not mean that there was no social mobility possible t that time. The change in the caste system today is due to the forces of mod_ernization s.et free by the British. Another force of change is our ·adoption of parliamentary democracy and giving us a constitution that seeks to secure tq all its citizens justice, liberty, equality and ·fra.ternity.

One of the major consequences of introducing parliamentary d mocracy was th?t every Indian adult abqve the-age of 18. (and since the Elections in 1989 voting age has been reduced to 18 years) has the rightto vote his ·qr her leader to power. Since, every individual vote counts, it is impe_rative for a leader to ge the allegiance of. the people. In this_ sense numerical power and caste identity has become very important

The mod·eril'political system, new market forces, dev·elopment of science and tecbnology has had several" repercussions Oil the traditi<>'nal caste structure. The association between elements of different kinds of· land-ownership, politkal po_wer and status based on caste is slowly giv"ing way to status achieved through eaILicaIuon, new occupations available due_l9 the opening up .of new economic opportu11ities, higher income and so on. In his study of *Caste, Clasi aand Power Changil)g hatterns·ofStratification* :[I *a* Tanjori: *Vi/lag ;* Andre Beteille (1%.6) wrote that earlier (i.e. in pre-British period) education wets -a vi.rtu.al · monopoly -ofthe Brahmans who dominated this area. But at the time of his study; the educational system had:become far more open, both in prin iple and in practi e. Many nbn-Brahmins and even untouchable boys ··attended the schools at Sripuram (the village studied by Beteille) and the adjacent town, of Thi Yc\liyur. Because'ofthis education the non-Brahmans and the Adi-Dravidas (the lowest castes) could -corrip -te on more· equal terms· with the· Brahmans for white-colfarjobs. It helped. them to· participate in the .R-*l tical affairs more .equally with the Brahmans.

Accofding to Beteille, in the towns and cities white-collar jobs were relatively cas e-ftee. Non-Brahmins from Sripuram coo.id work as clerks or accountants-in offices at Thiruvaiym: and:Tanjore.alongwiththe Brahmins. Within he village, land had come into the market due to several factors. This enabled the non-Brahmins ·an even a ·rew:Adi-Dravidas to ·buy it Thus, the productive organization ofthe vi.l}age tended to ·become free from the st:rucaire of caste (Beteille 1966). Beteille had come to the con·dusion that in a ·way.changes in the distribution of power we\, the most radical change in· the traditional social structure.

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He said that the traditional elites of Srip rqrn, comprising the Brahmin landowners, had lost its grip over the village and the new leaders of the· vil_iage depend for power on many factors in addition to caste. Organizations providing new bases o(power have come into existence. These organizations and institutions were at least formally free of caste. All these changes in effect altered, if not weakened, the role of caste in the political arena (Beteille 1966).

Caste and Modern Political Dynamics

Unlike the European experience, political democracy in India did not emerge as a natural development of ideas, values and technologies. In fact, the notion of political democracy was adopted by the national leaders to serve the people of India in the best way possible. Thus, the values and attitudes, which went with this form of polity, had to be inculcated in its people. The new political order believes in the ideology of universalism and in principle rejects the demands of caste. However, in practice it has accommodated a variety of interests, in addition to those of caste. Caste has, in fact, come to terms with the democratic political process. Political conflicts can almost be seen as conflicts between caste groups or caste alliances. The beginning of political consciousness on caste lines is evident in references made to caste *sabhas* or caste associations. The reason for t]Js 1dev_elopment can be seen in the fact that politics being a competitive enterprise, its purpose is the acquisition of power for realization of certain· goals. This is possible through identifying and manipulating the existing, as well as emerging alliances. Politics has drawh';,faste into its web for organizing support and in articulating the needs of the· masse·s. lrt"making · politics their sphere of activity, caste and kin groups attest their identity to strive for positions of power.

Different parties and movements mobilize various social status groups as resources for their political objectives. Thus, selection of political candidates on the basis of .caste is still a common practice in the electoral dynamics of India. Caste provided for organized party politics a ready-made system of segments, which could be used to marshal support. Liberal education, government patronage, and an expanding franchise have been major factors that have penetrated the caste system. Discontent nd exploitation prevailing within the cas e groups provided a basis for organizing caste factions and alliances. Thus modern politics found an. on-going vertical network of caste and made the structure of caste a political vehicle.

According to Rudolph and Rudolph (1967), caste has in its transformed state, .helped tile Indian masses (of which nearly 70_ percent live in the vilfa.ges) make a success of representative d·emocracy. It has fostered the growth of equality by making Indians less separate and more·alike. indians are becoming less separate in the sense that due to the· electoral system numerical strength i.e., the number of votes,· as. mentioned earlier, makes a lot of difference in power. Thus, it is in the interest of large majority of castes to come together to achievetheir political goals. In this.process, caste associations and caste federations are formed. Formation of caste federations refers to a grouping together of members 9f di.stinct endtigamqus groups _into a single oi;-ganization for common objectives. One· of the. most active caste feqer tion is the Kshatriya *Sabha* of Gujar t It dates from 1946 a11d includes several jat;-clusters of the region, notably the Rajputs, Bariyas'ariiNiHitls. It was not .qnly a caste community but was also a political community. The *Sabha* ,had .made use·,9f new avenues.of politics· and· promoted _Rajp t leaders. The ·federation welcomed *alljcitis* whoJollowe.d the Rajput modeUn th.eir life. style. Even the poor landless and. Muslim Rajputs (Rajputs who converted to Islam) were takeQ into their fold. The fo nder of the ***sabha*** believed that Kshatriyas were a 'class' and. _not.just a caste. OTo prove this point many of the rich,. aristocratic:: Rajputs would even go. to the extent of having a common meal with the .Bariyas and Bhils. W{th Iltirherical strength ther ·gained poHtical importance-and influen e (Kothari 1970)...

The relationship that caste bears to politics can;be best·understood· in· t:erms\of three type.s of political" mobilizations discussed by Rudolph and Rudolph (i967) that exemplify different phases_ of political· developme t in India. T.hese three.types of political mobilizations are vertical, horizontal and differentiaL

A **Vertical Mobilization:** This is a process in which political support is acquired by the traditional . notabi s, such as .th_e erstwhile Rajas, feudatory land ords, locally .dominant ca te elites and so on. This is possible in a society organized and in_tegrated along caste lines having mutual dependence.

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and where legitimacy of traditional authority still survives. Due to their traditional authority the notables are able to get the support of their dependents, socially inferior groups in the traditional manner where the local *Raja* or landlord used to protect and pr:omote the interests of his *'pmja'* i.e., the subjects and in return gained their loyalty and respect Rudolph and Rudolph maintain that vertical mobilization remains a viable strategy for dominant classes and castes until dependents, tenants, and clients become politicized enough to be mobilized by ideological appeals to class or community interests and sentiments.

it **Horizontal Mobilization:** This is a process in which popular political support is marshaled by class or community leaders and their specialized organizations. As the term horizontal indicates, the solidarity among classes and caste groups, as provided by the caste federations, introduces a new pattern of cleavage by challenging the vertical solidarities and structures of traditional societies. The major diff rence between this form of mobilization and vertical mobilization is,,that here the agent of mobilization is the political party rather than the local notable. Here political parties appeal to voters directly as individuals or indirectly through the organized groups to which they belong. Direct appeals to individual voters may emphasize ideology or issues, on the one hand, or community identifitatib'.n ,through caste, on th.e,other. This mobilization is possible o ly as long as internal differentiation has not developed and caste communities are by and large homogeneous, cohesive and their interests are _still diffuse _and varied.

,C. **Differential Mobilization:** This process takes place when the changes that caste has and is undergo_ing carries it beyond the traditional ascriptive definition. These changes include internal differentiation or fission, arid integration of several caste groups in caste federations and associations i.e. fusion which exp_ress the shared interests, symbols and norms of these castes. lt also brings out the caste from its village frontiers and hence does not remain rooted to the village social structure alone. We can explain the differential mobilization through the example of the Rajputs of Rajasthan. The Rajputs were the rulers, feudal lords, court retainers of princely states before Independence. At that time they formed an association called the Kshatriya *Mahasabha* which initially."represented all ranks within the community. In 1954 a new caste association was formed called the *Bhooswami Sangh.* This new association brought into open the conflict between the "small" Rajputs whose modest landholdings had to be supplemented by income fron1 service under .the princes and *.jagirdars.* These princes and *jagirdars,* however, had in most cases dismissed them from service with the advent of the land reforms after lndep'endence. T_hus, when ·the rich and powerful Rajputs ·refused to protect the interests of the "small" Rajputs, they formed the *Bhooswami Sangh.* This *sangh* took up, the task of protecting the interests. of the "small" Rajputs. Political parties, at this time, were quick to capitalize ·on _these class and ideological . differe ces ithin the Rajput community. This example illustrates ·the process of differentiation that occurs within the caste community and is used by the political parties.

Functions of Caste Associations

Cast ,assodatioils are·defined as "paracommunities which enable members of castes to pJrsue social mobility,· political p'ower, a d economic_adv.antage" (Rudolph and Rudolph 1967).. Caste associations resemble in many ways to the voluntary associations or interest groups found in industrially advanced societies. However, caste associations or paracomm_unities are distincfin many respects from voluntary ass·oi;fations; as well as from natural associations like caste out of which they have developed. The caste asso ;iations are more like the v luntary associations at the organizational level than the traditional caste stru ¥iires ; It, has offices.memb,ership; incipient bureaucr9tization and. legislative process that can be seen thrQµgll conferences, delegates, and r:esolutions. But, unlike the voluntary associations, caste associations are·' n'.a"racterized.by a 'shared sense of culture, characte.r and status>whfch gives it solidarity not found in vofo_nfary asso<;iations.

The functions of caste associations are diverse."lt serves the Indian society by both leveling the sacred and hfrcrr.chical c ste order and also rep)acing it. It initiates·and manages the efforts of the lower castes to become twice-born and achieve higher rituaJ rank and culture. This is clear from the case:of the Nadars of

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Tamii Nadu, a low caste of toddy_tap.peJS., who through the efforts of their association, the Nadar *Mahojana Sangarn* formed in 1910, acquit ed not only higher status but also a modern organization to serve their needs.

According to Kothari (1970: 115), some of the objectives of this association are

1. To promote the social, material and general welfare of the Nadars
2. To take practical measures for the social, moral, and intellectual advancement of the Nadars
3. To start schools and colleges for imparting western education to Nadar children and to help poor but deserving pupils belonging to the community with scholarships, books, fees, etc.
4. To encourage and promote commercial and industrial enterprise among the members of the community

These and several other objectives of this caste association and caste associations in general, reveal the significant contribution that these. organizations provided to their communities. We see that the paracommunities or caste assodations coritribute to fundamental structural and cultural change in Indian society by providing an adaptive institution in which both the traditional as well as modern features of society_canmeet and fuse.

In the 'final· analysis we see that caste is loosing the functions, norm.s, and structures it once had and acquiring new ones to suit the new demands arid emerging soci9-l conditions. It is today serving the i·itual and occupational goals of traditional society more as well as it is helping Indian society to transform itself from an ascriptive, hierarchical and closed system to one which is achievement oriented, relatively egalitarian and open (Rudolph and Rudolph 1967).

A small section of lnd.ian population comprising the educated elites, probably powerful but numerically insignificant, desires that caste system ought to go. For a vast majority of the Indian pop.ulation, especially the Hindus envisaging a social system without caste is impossible. Caste is part of their :social identity a·nd existence. The joint family and caste system provide the individual in our society some of the benefits, which a welfare state provides in the i!]dustrially advanced countries; Castes.rands for a certain a:rrtmint of. cultural homogeneity. However, it has its evil and exploitative side too, whkh .most of the castes; especially the upper castes, have not perceived completely. It is essential to. remember that n6thing effective can be achieved unless and until the people themselves are made to realize t}:le unjust nature of caste system. The principle of caste is so firmly entrenched in our political and sociaUife that everyone, .including the political leader,_appears to have accepted tacitly.

Th :_coming of modern means of.communication has increased the 'horizontal stretch of caste' Fctf:-:flgng ca te groups are able to interact and communicate with each other and find commonalties· and slfarea· interests to form clusters and this 11q,;;;.te!iVlted in the increaseof caste solidarity within 'a :region. :One effect of universal adult franchise is the strJngthening of caste consciousnes.s; PoUticalp°a ties are at pains to·select candidates who have a social base, usually drawn from the locaUy fiomfnarit caste grou.psY-lds obvious that the eradicatio·n of caste is a distant r ality, despite the lrtditatfons: to· the· contrary:.

As long as caste performs the functions of a welfare state in India and provides for the common bonds··of kinship ties, political groups and alliances, it can be assured of a continued existence in modern lndia 1t

.The Jajmani System

Tb carry on any civilization men must specialize their work in complex ways a·nd exchange their prddnc_ts .and services in a regular manner. That is, they are interdependent and they follow.a. characteristic order of interdependence.· This is scarcely a new revelation; but.in studying the people of India it is especially important to clarify the.actual as well as the purported in erdependerice.

The traditional specialisation of a villager follows the specialisation assigned to his jati, which covers

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preferred, permitted and forbidden occupations. The traditional modes of exchange are the counterparts of this specialisation; in village society they entail both contract and status relations. That is, they invo]ve a range of relationships along a scale from purely contractual, individual, impersonal, temporary, limited transactions at one end to broadly supportive, group-oriented, and long-term, multiple bonds at the other.

The broader, more durable relations are essentially those between a food-producing family and the families that supply them with goods and services; These are called "jajmarii" relations, the Hindi word for them as used in William Wiser's study of the subject (1936). While contractual exchanges have beconfo· increasingly important in almost all villages, usually displacing some of the jajmani arrangements, commercial transactions have been part of the traditional economy for many centuries. Villagers in the region of Totagadde in Western Mysore, for example, have been engaged in the production and export of a commercial crop, areca nuts, for at least six centuries. Local, regional, even overseas markets have existed throughout the course of Indian civilization; markets of a traditional kind are still important Moreover, certain traditional occupations were, in many places, on a contractual rathe)h n a jajmani basis. The weaver, Baii;ies observed, "is not entitled to a customary share of the harvest.-but is paid for what he 1akes and s{;lls". Finally, eyep, in jajmani relations there are some products or services that have to be contracted and paid for separa'tely.

Casn\rr· b ter transactions have long been fotegral elements of village economy. Yet th traditionaf jajmanitelations are more conspicuous in village life because they entail ritual matters and social support as well ·as co.nomic exchanges. The whole ofa ·local social order, the people and their paramount values, are involved in such jajmani links.

These links are between families rather than between jatis. Thus a family of farmers gets its metal to_ols from a particular family of the blacksmith jati and in return the blacksmith family gets a share of the farmer's crop at, harvest. ·The relationship is supposed to b - and often is - **durable, exclusive and multiple.** It is durable in that the link may be inherited on ·both sides. A blacksmith serves the same farmer family that his father and grnndfa.ther served, and the farmer family gets its tools and repairs from the descendants .of the blacksmith family whose men made tools for their forefathers. If one of the associated families dies out, another of its lineage may take its place in the relationship. 1f a blacksmith family has more sons than its clientele can support, some seek other associate in places where there is a shortage of smiths. Some take up other employment, often in farming, since men of any jati may work on the **land.**

Jajmani relations are exclusive in that. the farmer family is supposed to carry on such relations with only one blacksniith family, and those blacksmiths should make tools only for their own farmer families They· may:Ji,\9i·e, pine things for sale at a market as well, but they may not poach jajmani associatesfrom other. blacksm1ths. · -

JajmanUie are multiple in that more than cd,nomic exchang i ,involved. There is much .more to the:. ass cJ tion·than just the exchange of shaves for rice or sickles r8 wheat. The families·of villag officials or':· - viliage··servants; the watchman for. example, maintain jajmani relations with the whole village rather than witμ particular families. Each watchman family gets a contribution at harvest time from every farmer family's cq>p. The ·village officials _and servants may also have the tax-free use of village land. In.some pa ,i specially fo the Maharashtra region, the artisan and service families ma111tain jajmani relations with'tsegment:of the:village rather than with individual families. Such families there have rights to serve" all \.Vht>.Hve.in a pardcular section of the vHlage, or who cultivate a certain section of land.

In all J?jm.ani relations the right to provide goods or services to particular as ociates is vested in the fa ily, i11h rite through the .family or ·lineage, and enforced. by the Jatj. If one blacksmith family att nipts_ t take over .the farmer associates of another, then the injured blacksmiths appeal to the council of heir jati ,t: call off,the in.truders. And if the blacksmiths o'c a village believe that the.farmers are unfair to tliem, they may try to :have all blacksmiths of the locality boycott the farmers until they give rip their unfair practices.

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The term "jajmani" originally referrc5l N the lient, for '1vhom a Brahmin priest performed rituals, but it is generally used to refer to the patron or recipient of specialised services and the term "jajmani" refers to the whole relationship. The provider of goods or services is called by a variety of terms, "kamin", "parjan", ''pardhan". "Ba}utedar" is the Marathi word.

Specialized Jatis and Multiple Functions: A patron family must carry on jajmani relations with those whose s rvices are required for ritual purposes, especially concerning the family's pollution, and also with those whose services and products are materially useful. A family requires the services of a priest, often of a Brahmin jati, to maintain or restore the state of ritual purity suitable for its members. Even more, it must have the services of specialists of lower jatis to perform those necessary tasks that pollute tho e who do them - the washing of dirty clothes, the cutting. of hair, the delivery of the newborn,. the sweeping away of excreta, and similar defiling chores. All such tasks fall within the basic notion of pollution; all are ritually required in the traditional order.

The ritual specialists do not work for everyone in the village. Although washer men and barbers are not ranked among the higher jatis because their jati occupation involves work polluting to those who do it pro.fessionally, they will not ordinarily i-Yash t,he clothes or cut the hair of the lowest villagers. Evet1 they would be defiled and their jati status degraded by doing so.

This. is also true of a Brahmin jati of priests, whose services villagers see on a n entirely different pl?:nf::'. frorr1 ·tho·se rendered .by. the ritual specialists w:ho absorb pollution. They will not usually minister to families of the lowest jatis. Hence most Harijan families cannot get the .services of these ritual specialists and so some of them perform these tasks for their jati fellows. When low-rankfng families ·prosper, however, and are able to discard defiling practices, they try to get ritual specialists to serve them.

The other kind of jajmani workers is the artisans and the uciskilled laborers. Artisans generally exchange their" products with anyone in the village. They tend to be more independent of the patrons than are the labourers, because a laborer family usually has its jajmani relations with a single family of landowners or cultivators, while artisans deal with a number of patron families and so are not totally, bound to any one of them.

Eco omic exchange is only one facet of jajmani relations. A landowner family_ may have only otcasion_al transactions _with some of its associates, as with a goldsmith family in another village, but with others _ there is more frequent and many-sided interchange. *A* family of cultivators exp·ects help on.its ceremonfal. occasions.ftorirmost of the associated families. There is also an expectation of mutual personal support in' family emergencies orfac:tional quarrels. Sometimes the specialist families are pressured to support th jati of their. patrons when t11at whole jati. is embattled. Such reciprocal services are often formally· stipulated, especially for life-cycle .rites. In a village of Lucknow district, for example, _a marr'iage i cl.. fam.lly of Thakurs, the dominant landowners, involves the formal participation of families from ten of the fourteen jatis represented in the village.

Jajrna,ni associates are expected to be, and some are, broadly supportive of each other, w ,th the qua.Hty'of ready.help that close kinsmeri are expected to.show. Evenwhen a patron s jati is at·odds"witli a clie:nt's_ jati, .personal _relations between. the· two families may well remain friendly, even covertly supportye, despite the antagonism between their ·groups.. In personal em rgencies , as wh r f a farmer needs help . qukklyto save his crop, he is likely to call on his jajmani associates for help. And when a worker is in din nee_q.,.he expects his patron to do something to help him, whether by lo ns or "by supporting him {fpre. goy rnment officials or in the· village council. In factional contests each skl.e usually tries to rally its j a inani.assod ates.

Eriforceinent ofJajmani Relations - Coercion and Conserisus: The enforcing of.jajmani rules rests ith the jatis that are involved in an issue about them These rules Cail be flexibly"interpreted in various ways but certain minimum standards are m4intained at any given time in each jajmani relations. Thus a shift in service arrangements between a blacksmith and. a landowner famjly could. not .be done only by the families involved, but had to be approved by the ·elders of each jati ·group.. And when a blacksmith. usurp.ed clients from another blacksmi !J. f mily, their jati council punishes the offender.

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If the dominant landowners of a village betome convinced that one of their service or artisan groups is derelir:t in its obligations or threatens the power and status of the ·landovvners, the patron families are likely to bring collective pressure on them by withholding payment, by beating their men, or through any number of other means of harassment. The attacked jati-group may retaliate through a boycott, refu sing to provide their services until the landowners retrace or compromise. Si.1ch ciashes are apt to spread from one.village to others in the locality where jati felJows of the opposed groups live.

Collective action by either side has to overcome loyalties to jajmani associates in favour of the interests of the jab. Yet when jati fellows really become convinced that their jati status is in danger, jati solidarity prevails. Then the united strength of the landowners is usually greater than that which any artisan or serv!se jati can muster. Historically, however, some artisans have maintained their stand quite well.

Jatis whose men are mainly landless labourers have no such resources and can wage no such struggle. Some authors have taken the vast diff erential in power between the richest and highest in a village and the lowest and poorest as the central element in jajmani relations. It is the main reason for their scathing critiques of jajmani relations. Authors excoriate jajmani arrangements as the means by which the rich and powirfuJexploit the poor and coerce the w.orkei"s into sustaining,the power of those who have the upper hand,;and the higher rank.

OthffXstiidents of1ndian village life have replied to thes·e critiques, saying that there is consensus as vvell as ·coercion in jajmani relations, that jajmani exchanges bring solidarity and mutual benefits as well as conflict. and' exploitation. These observers not that artisans and service workers are not totally helpless aga'inst the landowners; all jatis seek to maximise their gains, all wield as much power as they can, all villagers want to avoid pollution insofar as they can, and some coercion and exploitation are inevitable in all societies. They argue that to condemn jajmani arrangements as brutally exploitative is too sweeping a generalisation.

Change and Continuity in- Jajmani Relations: The jajmani relationship has by now been_largely supplanted in many villages; although in relatively few has it completely disappeared. It has been supplanted mainly because more money is now used in village economy and because modern transport makes market tr nsactions more feasible._ Cash crops are usually not included in jajmani arrangements. A worker or artisan who is paid with a load of sugarcane can only try to sell it, and he prefers to get the money in the first place. Where food grains are raised f ᵒr sale, as in irrigated villages in Maharashtra, the cultivators who have money may prefer to pay for their shaves and pots with cash at a market centre. Many artisans and specialists have moved to market centres and towns and do their work there.

Moreover, .the power of a local dominant jati has been reduced in many places because their vUlage dependents can move away more easily than w·as formerly possible, can get some income from out:side the t:v(l;fage; arid ca:n better S(tmmon political help for their'c6mplaints; Wfrh less isolatfon arid reduc d conc tration of political power, the coerciy ele:rnent in jajmani relations has also been reduced.

Yet t1ie advantages of jajmani for economic st bility and secttrft./'1r still sufficiently great that many villag·rs want to continue with at least some such arrangements. The cultivator gains from /them in that he gets better credit and a more certain labour· supply than he u·sually can through cash transactiol).s. Artisans and service families work for him through the year without much pay and then are given a large· payinent at the time when the farmer can best· afford to do so, at harvest. At times of peak demarid for labcnir; a.farmer' is more likely to· get·help ·from jajmani associates than from those who can char e **whc:t·ver** the market will then bear. The workers, n their turn, get more assured employment, and a vari cy,of gifts and concessions, which together h1ay amount to more than money wages could buy in th(;! villagi,Jn recent_decades, when grain has regularly been scarce and the value_of the rupee whimsical, **pay 1ent ingrain is often preferred.**

In ·addition to- the economic benefits, the ritual services that jajmani ssociates provide are stiU in demand. Soni fa downers in villag¢ of Poona district keep up jajmanfrelations mainly so· that they may have-ritual·services·readily available, as when a washer man must cleanse polluted dothin:gafter a death, or when a messenger oflow jati must be s nt around to relatives with the news of a death; or when a

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goldsmith must purify the household,d:eitie . Presumably all such services can be obtained for hire but hired persons may not readily be available when needed nor can they be trusted to do their ritual work thoroughly if they do not have long-standing ties with the family served. Further, in viHages where factional struggles are common, a landowner likes to have dependable support from at least some in other jatis, and worker families like to have a patron's protection.

This is not to say that jajmani relations are on the increase, but rather that this mode of traditional interdependence still has its uses as is shown in three villages where jajmani relations have been studied, one in Mysore, one in Rajasthan, and one in Uttar Pradesh.

In the past, a greater part of village economy was probably carried on through jajmani arrangements, but it is not at all clear that a major part of production and distribution was so channelled. What is clear, however, is that jajmani relations were and to a degree still are important for the ritual and social order. .,The jajmani pattern, Gould concludes, "arises from a religious dichotomy between pure and impure whose implications work themselves out as a complex system of religious and economic relationships embracing, and indeed in large part defining the dimensions of a locality". Jajmani interchange, in this and many other villages, still provides a \q1 asure of economic credit and stability; even more, it helps to define the local social order by defining those who can secure ample ritual services.

Solut Qns **to** the **Problems** of **Interdependence:** All people who maintain a civilization must establish effective interdependence among specialist groups. Such relations should be reliable, enduring, and trustworthy, but·they sh uld also be flexible, manipulable, and adaptable. The two kinds of qualities militate against each other. If a relatfonsllip is easily beguh and readily terminated, it is not likely to be enduringly reliable. If it is endowed with an aura of durability, it cannot readily be adapted to changing circunistances.

India·n villages have traditionally included both kinds of interdependence in their social repertoire. Some relationships have been contracttial, limited, and flexible through the use of money, barter, and markets. The other relationships have been broad and durable. Villagers define kiJJShip relations as more broadly supportive and enduring than are most others and see jati as a unit whose members are or could be kinsmen. Jajmani relations provide for non-kinship interdependence in ways that nevertheless have some of the same qualities of reliability and end1:1rance. These relations are guided- and enforc d by villagers acting in their capacities as jati members, but the actual exchanges are made between villagers acting as members of their respective families.

Tribal peoples in India remained in smaller, less productive groups because, for one reason, they did not haveas·effective ways of relating to non-kinsmen. The solution that was developed in Ind an civili_zatfon remained in u.se for many centuries, until the impact of modern influences became felt.. One response to the Jnfluences was to shift more exchanges to contractual relations and so to amplify that.tradi i9 al side of economic activities. But villagers have been inclined to continue with at least s9me jajma hlike relations for the broader, more persortlaJ,anchsupportive ,bonds that many want to keep.

Tribe Caste Continuum

While working in the Latin American societies, Robert Redfield's attention was drawn to a number of cultural similarities in rural and urban· life. He found that it is difficult to draw a neat arid clean line .of demarcation between folk and urban communities. He explained that it.is.not always prudent to vie;V¥;two segments of a society as completely distinctive entities. Cultural traits ,should be viewed in terms of continimm or continua

A similar situation occurred in the Indian context Indian ethnographers were struggling with, the problem of discriminating between a tribe and a caste. The ethnographers with the census· officials confronted this problem for the first time in 19th century under the sup rvision of British administrators. Initially, they used the term "tribe" in a rather loose sense.: Later Hutton tookover the Censu_s operations and more academic rigor was applied. ·rhat is why· we see that the discussion on points of distinction between a tribe and a caste became an a<;ademic importance from 1931 onwards.

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If a group could be shown to be clearly Hinduistic in its religious beliefs and practices it was a caste. If it was animistic it had to be treated as a tribe. Economic, political and ecological conditions were of secondary importance while differentiating these two human aggregates.

Ethnographers, sociologists, social anthropologists, social workers and others have been struggling with the problem of developing a one-way definition to a tribe or a tribal society - a definition that should command total acceptance. Unfortunately these definitions have been either very broad and loose or very narrow and restricted.

Anci're Beteille enumerates certain commonly observed differences between tribes and castes.

1. The first is the relative isolation of the tribes as compared to the castes. This has two facets. First, the tribes are geographically isolated, being concentrated in areas that are more or less inaccessible. It also means that a tribe is a world within itself having few external social ties, where as a caste, by its very nature, is a part of a larger whole being linked by multifarious ties with other castes.
2. Second criterion is the language or a dtalect. The tribes speak a variety of dialects that can be shown to differ on a number of important cotmts from the major Indian languages. This c iterion is however arb_itrary.
3. Next is the religion. Even if we regard the contrast between animism and Hinduism as too crude, we might concede that there are numerous elements of religious beliefs and prnctices common to many tribes that do not find a place in what is confo1only accepted as Hinduism. But religion, unlike language, is a loose criterion, for what we encounter in a continuum is without sharp breaks between tribal and non-tribal groups and we must remain arbitrary because, in Hinduism, particularly in the low castes one is likely to find elements certainly and possibly with religious values which are thought to be typically tribal.

Among a vast crowd of scholars workirig in tribal India, F.G. Bailey stands- apart. His major concern was to create a definition. for certain characteristics of tribal society that are appropriate to Indian context. The probiem of explaining a tribe or a tribal society in other countries did not create many problems because the cultural proximity of the trib with any other tribe or segment of the.society did not assume the dimensions of great similarities. In his important paper "Tribe and Caste in India"> Bailey discriminated between tribe and caste in structural terms. He suggests that we sho_uld curbthe tendency to view tribe and caste distinctively; instead they are to be viewed as a continuum. Bailey argues that a caste society is organic and .hierarchical while a tribal society is segmentary_ and egalitarian; Thus he seeks to make the distinction not in terms of totality of the behaviours, but in a more limited way in relation to the politico-economicsystern.

According to G.S. Ghurye; tribes are backward: There are many tribes that_ resemple castes but with exce'ptions of the-tribes like the Andamanese,,.that were completely.isolated from ages, we tan see many of ttie features of a tribal society in a caste society. A distinction bin also be made between a caste and. a tribe on the basis of racial criteria. Bailey suggests that one should concentrate on a particular area and on particular tribe and its Hindu environment to know the anthropological meaning of caste and tribe. Secondly,the enquiry has to be narr.owed down by concentrating on a particular field of behaviour in the sel cted society, rather than on the totality of behaviour. One should neglect the assumption that tribal so {ety is in every respect lS different from the l-lindu society; there are no significant differences between castes societies and tribes.

Bdil y also_ distinguished between castes and tribes by tracing direct access to. land in the tribal comnmnities; Among the castes-there is an unequal access to land and in tribe. there is,a direct access. Occupational specialization occurs in the tribal societies as a result of their contact with the urban societies. Also, there is a. cultural contact between the tribes and the non-tribes resulting in cultural exch.ange and 'cult ral approximation. So it is easy to find caste Hke tribes and trib Uke _castes. Here the tribes adopt more non-tribal practices while the non-tribe adapt less to tribal practices. Bailey dearly. finds that both the caste and tribe are. bei.ng .transformed. Bailey declared, "Bo.th castes and s are

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·merging into a different system whis}1 i§Jte!lher one nor the other".

ailey says that even the most remote and isolated of the tribal groups in India have certain cultural traits, in common with the castes. Though Bailey confirms that in such a social scenario, where castes and tribes are ceasing to be such, according to the classical points of distinction, the practical value of his scheme is limited.

The following are some important points of distinctio_n between tribes and castes. Please note that even these differences are gradually ceasing to exist, thus making the concept of Tribe-Caste Continuum less relevant to the modern society - more so in today's context when vvesternization and urbanization of both the tribes and castes are providing them with an alternative paradigm for social mobility.

1. **Social Factors:** A major difference between a tribe and a caste is in the quality of their interpersonal relationships. In tribal society the relationships are kinship based. Agnatic bonds form the fundamental web while the affinal ties are of lesser significance. Lineage and clan tend to be chief corporate units for land, ownership, defence, economic functions etc. Castes, especially of the higher ranks, support inequality within t\1e society rather than rninimizing the dependency. Caste and tribe are similar units in that e,ach consitferecf by its members to be an endogamous entity composed of ritual eq_uals.

2. **Politkal factors:** In political" organisation, tribes do not tisually maintain strong and complex formations though they h·aveTarelyopted for faithful and-subservient subject-hood. The land-clan nexus ls the ·most important characteristic of tribal ·societies. Another difference lies in the mode of incorporating 11ew groups. While this process is quick in castes, it is very gradual among the tribes. Further, tribal societies are more segmentary. Each of the segments is visualised as an autonomous group. Caste societies are more organic.

3. **Economic factors:** The main economic difference between caste and tribe is related to economic values than to agricultural technology. Tribes are generally shifting cultivators and few others are · hunter gatherers. Tribes place little value on surpltis accumulaticri and the use of capital, as also on - marketing and trade.

4. **Rituals factors:** Because of the lack ·of access to scriptures, tribal tel.igion tends to be less systematized, less specialized and less elaborate. Yet, their beliefs and practices are directly influenced by scriptures of Hinduism. Ascetism is usually respected by tribesmen, but it is not elevated as the supreme path to good life after death.

5. **Psychological factors:** Tribal people take direct satisfaction in: pleasures -o f the senses, whether in food, drinks, sex, singing or dancing. The twice-born tend to be ambivalent' about such pleasures and surround them with elaborate rituals.

Though we have been successful_ill d,istiqguishing the tr\bes from t!1e. castes, it becoraes increasirrglji difficult in the years to come and this exercise, only arbitrary;

The impetus tQ the development of the concept of'Tribe-Caste Continuum in Indian context is the tribal population living in-various levels of absorption in the Hindu social structure and also their dff erent stages of culturar development Dr. ve·rrier Elwin divides Tribes into four·classes according to their stage qfj lturaldevelopment

Tije'Class"I is the "purest of the pure" tribal.groups c;on1prising abo.ut two_o·1· three mi1Hon persfm{''Dr. El in and a large section of missionary- reformers and anthropologists grOir\f lyrkal over the ro st;- brant and healthy life of these tribal groups. These are-th·e Highlanders who do not merely exist like so many villagers, but they really live. Their religion is characteristic and alive; their tribal organisation is unimpaired, their artistic and choreographic traditions are unbroken: their mythology ·still vitalizes the healthy organisation of tribal life. Geographical conditions ha_ve largely protected them from the- debasing. contacts· of the plains.

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However, a section of this category of t1%es has been experiencing "contact with the plains" and consequently has bee·• undergoing change. This group, **Class** IFof Dr. Elwin's classification, though retaining their tribal mode of living, has been exhibiting the following characteristics. in contrast to the first group.

1. Instead of communal life, this group lives a village life that has become individualistic. Their communal life and traditions are only preserved through their village dormitories;
2. .In contrast to the Class I tribes, the members of those of Class Il do not share things with one another;
3. Axe cultivation has ceased to be a way of life for them;
4. The members of these tribes are more contaminated by the outside life. They come in contact with the groups living in the periphery that live a more cqmplex civilized life.
5. The members of, these tribes according to Dr. Elwin are less simple and less honest than the members of the tribes belonging't'o Class I.

The trib s belonging to **_Class** Ill constitute the largest section of the total tribal population, about four, fifth·dfnt('Membets·of this class of tribal 'groups are in a peculiar state of transition According to some investigators, they are tx:ibes in name but have become °backward Hindus" constituting a sizable section of the :lower rung of the Hi dμ so:dety" or so e further constituting Christia.ns. They have been appreciably affected by external contacts.· They have been·exposed to the influences of economic and socio-cultural forces of Hinduism and have also been subjected to missionary influences. But, above all, they have been most adversely affected by the British economic and. political polides which resulted in dragging- them into the orbit of colonial capitalist system in India. The members belonging to this category of tribal groups \ivere uprooted from their tribal mode of production. Durinj5 the British period, um;ler the impact of new economic and new politico-administrative measures, these tribesmen lost their moorings from their tribal economy, tribal social organisation, tribal religion and tribal cultural life.

A la ge section of this population was reduced to the status of bond slaves or serfs of moneylenders, zamihdars- and contractors, who emerged in Indian society as a result of the. p·olitical and economic polides pursued by the British. They were uprooted from original habitats and have been living a pitiful existence.

The **Class IV** of the tribes (a very small minority) consists of the old .aristocrqcy of the cou try, repres nted today by great Bhil. and Naga chieftains, the Gond Rajas, a few Binghawar and Bhuyia landlords, Korld noblemen, wealt y Santhal and Oraon lead rs and some highly c ltured, undas. They retain!tW old Tribal names ·and their clan and tot m rules and observe elements of tribal religion, though · they ge, 1rally adopt the full mndu faith al\ llive in modem and even European style. Accotding tff_Qr. Elw'iri;Jhis dass of tribes have ·won the ba'ttle of culture confa -Jt. means that they have acquired, "aristt>ct tictraditions, .economic stability, affluence, outside encou--;a-gernent, a certain arrogahce and ·self confidence characteristic alike of ancient f milies and modern en erprise". This class of tribes has secured. the benefits of dvilization, without any injury to themselves.

The d _ssification of the tribes into various categories poses a significant is ue viz., what are t h e forces Which-:Co pel the tribes to come under the influence of non-tribal living at a higher stage of technological developll\ent?. ff- they come un er the_.influ nceof civjlize societies, how are their Illodes ?f lifo tnodifl dJAlso, what ar the forni.s·ofculturalcontacts between·civili ed.groups and tribal ·groups? It has:: been · talri'fed that the tribes are absorbed ·aggressively by the Hindu society. Studies of the history of the Indian civilization reveal how the growth and the expansion of _the Hindu society was a prolon,ged and complex process of assimilation, both forcible and peaceful. of the tribal _people into the Hindu Society. According to Prof. Haimendorf,_ b fore the i 9th century; .there was- more or less "frictionless coexistence betWeen tribal folks.and Hindu caste society in the truest sense,of the word". This statement unfolds a new field of inquiry - the Hindu mode of tribal absorption.

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THE HINDU MODE OF TRIBAL ABSOJIJ flON

In his thought provoking essay "The Hindu Mode of Tribal Absorption", Prof. Nirmal Kumar ·Bose has drawn the readers' attention to how tribal customs and rites are often modified in the process of social absorption. According to him, the caste system is not exactly as immutable as it is generally assumed to be. There are occasional fissions withl _Q!l .c: -t ,. as well as bsorption of tribal gro ps_ from outside into the pail of Hindu socia L9marffzatio1 . Many of the tribes which have reflected Hinduistic social aspects in tffen··c·uhure may not exactly be cailed Hindu castes, for they have retained their independent social rites which are not ruled by the Brahmins or other highe_r castes. But here perhaps we see the operation of a method by the means of which the Hindus absorbed tribal groups within their own system.

Since the ancient Indian times, there are proofs that lend support to the previous observation with regard to the caste system. From the work of Sir. R.G. Bhandarkar, we know that the worship of a particular form of the Sun-god (Mithra) was introduced l)y immigrants'"from akadwipa into India, Who .were known as the Magas. The cult, after introduction, became fused with Vedic ceremonies connected with the Sun, and the Magas were also given a place within Hindu society. They were the priests of the land from which they came, - ncl they were· consequently. r.e,g,1_,rd d as··Brabmins. It was stated that Sakadwipa was the land - Yatra Viprah Magakhyah - where twice-born men were known as Magas. The Brahmana Varna was thus enrkhed lJy the iIIclusion of a least one jati. or caste, which originally came from a land outside Ind,ia.. We - ao not know h n_i'mo.re weFe"16sorb-ed n a similar manner in the past within the Hindu society:

If we study Manu we f nd how several. tribes of foreign origin found refuge within the Sudra or fourth Varna once they became a part of Hindu society. Thus Manu has described a large number"of Jatis or castes as bf.L1:: . aflen (caITeaV atyg as they did not conform exactly to the codes set for the conduct of the orthodox Varnas. Thus we find Vr t:ya Bra manas, Waty Kshatriyas a11 .Y.r.acy _yq,t b ʏflS. *A* majority of th se people belong to tribes a,nd live OLttside °I"ndia. It Is· with th se people that the people of India came into contact.

It is therefore clear that the Hindu society had been assigning a certain.place for them within itself, _just as it has been doing so with regard to some Oraons and Mundas in our own time. It must be· remembered that it is not the only way in which the caste systei11 has been elaborated·. Many jatis have come into being th.rough differentiation of the occupation, by degradation from higher castes, and by intermarriage. But besides all these, it is absolute_ly certain that some jatis are undoubtedly f triba_tqi;Igjn, an(J thJ h .S been the result of a cpns ious."pf -;;-···:o(i-fr du s ie·cy- to dominate ave - (ab rb tribal groups within its economic and socialframework:)t inay be recalled in this coi1nedi6_11 thatsonie o(theuntouchable castes .hifve c·u1tura1 traits'wiiich-- t arh/sliow'fneir orrgtnai arhliatio ·\vith trib- forigin. - - . -

It is to be noted that the Hindus society, when absorbing.a e trib or while .crea'ting a lc;l.tUiy d E·: ! - ?!_ ·-£££ P!!l?- . al ays _-i!! !!! ? _r_ ! i !L 9 •g·uaranty .r-JU.OJlO:go!x.J a -- I; i: _lar· OC£ j2§!ttmtt<? c:h. s e.Y"It ,i _§l,_giy n l'f:!gion. The social legislators of ancient.India t_red to build_up_a s j l., 9rg 9J Bt\9P- RD.. Sh!l .;°, :1! ned·itary _ _mo QppqlJ Ji1 gJ1!W In the modern times the growing capitalism has completely upset the old productive organization· and hence we are witnessing t.he fast decay of the entire social system of. ancient India. But that apart; it appears that the success· of the _ monopolistic guild organization led to two very important results in Indian history. O,ne was that the poor tribal people easily came within th fql pfamo:r .successful productive organizatkni ·of the Hindus; and theseconawas:·matffiey·aiff 1'se m "revolt even when they WEfre·relegafeff"tb a 1awrf p@1tiolfW1thfrl Hindusoeiecy. We have to're.memberthat wltfihi. the entire ffameworkol the cast 'sy;tem}tli.ereiwas"it· b·roactcfassd'ivision into those who enjoyed privileges incommensurate ·with their services to society and another who were deprived of the privileges of education, legal or sodal equalit'j in spite of labouring hard all their lives anq.)n spite of belonging to a common social organization. The former may have1J .een the conquerors or the ruling class and the latter,_ the conquered. But still we fh;1d ffiatthe sti6)ugafecj

da:- : _.di . tiE?. r g .rev !!J> C_?,,ll ffi.!!2.lJ_ OCi.ety" SSUre • t? th.en: a £e;ta ,l} inim.u!1- 0n C

911g:;: ;; ;i:s ; ii%e :-!: ri@ !5!!!le fl l ::t;1: r

Hindus moreover exercised a policy of laissez fafre with regard to the social and religious practices of

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tribal peoples even vvhen they came within the fold Hinduism, and this cultural autonomy may partly have been responsible for keering the subjugated tribes satisfied,,and also for taking the edge off their discontent to a n:rtain extent. But even so, the Hindu law makers in the ancient times were clearly conscious of the fact that various jatis had come within their organization and it was necessary to teach them the Brahminical moral and Brahminical religious ceremonies in order to bring them closer to the r f ll iiiii1w.n:-

The Hindus hardly left any economic freedom to the jatis, but they left intact the original sot:ial and reli-io-us culture of the tribes in so far as that was possible. Their polfcy was iiot 'to eraci"icate the old beliefs and practices tvhere they vere not inconsistent with Brahminical moral ideas. But it was nevertheless necessary to do something in order to bring the tribal cultures in line with Brahminism. So they:"J:nade a rule that each caste, on becoming a part of Hindu society, was to e served by Brahmin priests during marriage, birth, initiation and funeral ceremonies. A close and living connection was thus established between 'the priestly class and the new recruits, and a means of direct infiltration of culture was thus successfully organized. The Brahmins modified the old culture where it vvent against their own ideas.and left the rest intact. They added to tribal ceremonies certain elements of their own, which were to be:performe_d qy the Brahmin priests- 011'.bfliif(gJ thelr-new clie11fa/

Oncff fribe came under the influence of the Brahminical people and was converted into a caste enjoying mofi·bi:,·o\y in a pa:i:kular ocupato-11: a:§_ff0,!!&_t d_ncy was et up within it to\ !!!Q.9. - i,tl.,C t : ---. ?re and .El?.s Jx.:5.2Rfor,mi t • h lli J3E.bJDJR\, J IYfIY.,Qf J Jfe. But the unfortunate part of 1t 1s that the Brahmiris very often put_a stop to such progress on the part of the subjugated peoples towards higher and higher standards of culture. Thus the cultural progress inevitableamong subjugated tribes was arn; ted in ancient India.

Cuh:ure, as we have already indicated, flows from a politically and economically dominant group -to a subservient one. ln social matters too, the former occupies a higher status in contrast to the latter. From this we may venture to suggest, with regard to current problems in our natiqnal life, that if we wish to set the so-called untouchable castes shoulder to shoulder with ourselves in .a democratically organised society, we should make sure of econo-mic reorganization first if we want to build the new social order on a permanent basis. The inertia of the present productive organisation will, once more, set the suppressed daises back in their old place and thus undo the good that has been achieved in the psychological field of social relationship.

The -concept of Tribe-Caste Continuum can also be understood at the level of Uriiversalization and Parochialization. Due tq this long process of cultural exchange, there is an increasing similarity between the.. b kamL.tb pstes. Even the socio-cultural processes of Sanskritization and 'westernization are respo'nsible for the p"resehce of tribe-like castes and caste-like tribes in Indian So_ciety.

3.3_ :s_?cred Complex and Nature,,Man .Spirit C mplex

Sacred Complex

Tribal communities, ·peasant and the urban centres are the three dimensions that together form a civilisation. Many students ot - t J1 |0 have considered these three dimensions to undersiand civill$.tjon. Civilization is a corriple-x of treatTraditions and Little Traditions. GreatTraditions are.usually:: obse_ry.ect in tfroarrsefrlhgs'-a:ii.aTffitterraffitrons·ffilribararid peasant cuftutef, ··

Somi - thropologists of Ranchi'universityhave tciken up the study of Indian civilization, vUlages and tribarc ltures. Out of these observqtions, they developed the oncept of$. t §lUllRJ.$Xes _t6 µri erstand tlig/jttt r . B J-ij e }Gf a. c:thct:Li l tr cilt:i?tl W]!.,f rc r e x t The·conc"ept. of sacred complex has been given explaJri" the role played by the s ! r: {9.Ltb.e -niJgri[!1 ge in the_int E t g!} 2,[,\h -_!!?.! g11 in the context of India;

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Indian civilization, according to RcLlJie.lqjsprthogenetic or Endogenous civilization - the one where Great Traditions originates from pre-existing folk nciJ!_ l- cultures. A question arises as to how the civilization, wlllch ae-1110nsfra"tes s o rrtumccfrrfpTexity of its cultures, hrings a common cultural cdnsdousness that would lead to similarities in the ethos of the people. Usually, same kind of religious practices- brfoi about a common value s:yst_em._ By and Large, the sacred plac:es and ·S cr l i-0<-kS r te ts helped in bringing some similarity and common cultural consciousness. These have been placed out as the unifying foci *of* "the civilization.

A Sacred complex includes a Sacred Geography, Sacred Performances and Sacred. Specialists. The masses, who represent various places of civilization to the sacred centres, mediate with all these three groups. The research of the Rc1nchi univer ity anthropologists started with a stuf!y on Gaya by L.P. Vidyarthi, umgh man_y _othe<c e- tfrsor" Ilgfon.Ti e-iur(hay-e _also_l? n studie_d. Jie considers the te·mp1es··51 sacred complexes as a dimension ohhe Indian civilization..

He divided the sacred complex of Gaya into three divisions aS stated above. All these three divisions of a pilgrim ce_ re refle5t_ l eyel of continuity between the Great-Tradition anQ_LililG_Traditi_on.

;The Sacred Specialists of Gaya IJl i _ i :- Ji tm . }! sfle and theyitfi. Q§,QtjJ:y ri°:\l§ elements to the rural population while officiating different rituals and practising certain performance·s. They play an important. an<1 deliberate ro e Jn l½ fJ. ijX -.: cert !J!. s :and- S;t11-ea rJJ.l.g - tai}1 qthe s. 1!1 .this vay-i;.the fll ? fica.t.o : f !a eXE:; tal<es)a_ce. q .altr hi : modification toll s any h P9e the soci ty itself. At the same time, there is a,49QU!R 9I d g 1a - er - o mation ·l fftal1- r-u).1 it Jm bt:i,;g n t2:1,e t: O S. Any modification or change here·''Is"·ltse_c fd ry ·f'ei1dr o 'tli ages hi the' society or in the hinterfanas. As a r ult "·cl generafdevefoiiments-Tn-the Irn;lian civilization, modifications and the transformations takes place, and various rnmmunitieS...fil1QW adius.tro ents according to changes in the soi;j ty. This is how the Sacr_ed Speciali;- h e-b ying _9_ a dynamic 7 spondTii.gto cnangesTff'tf{; society.

Now a question arises as how to view the combination of Great Tradition and Little Tradition. Vidyarthi classifies the specialists in Gaya·into Sanskritic. priests, Feudalistic priests and Folk priests. Sanskdtic priests are very orthodox and rigid to customs and practisei. Over a period. of time a number of priests develop a feudalistic character due to hereditary spedalizations and after sometime t_hey start getting large incomes and they appoint a set of disciples. The former _comes out only at the ?time ofi portant,; ritµa:J ; md own large hous·es, servants etc. He is li e- - feudal"a:ppqifiit tgt Jiarifsiahd"ertjoying:prog uce. Ali th·e pe ple who are not knowledgeable enough to ·appro di th 'p-;iests go to the local or Folk priests. He is a kind of a specialist who sells to rural masses. The.hierarchy and social structure of the society is thus reflected in this-g iE;! it·h!£X i; _!ly. Each one of them at h.eir ownJ Y 1J,P.JlH .n g_§Jh slie-ntele_cq:mJng. to_ them.

Even in the-Sacred Geography - the spread of sacred piaces, b th Great tradition and little tradition are in cpnHti:vJtYf.:111c;ts_<>ppi11a iqn. In the premises of the temple (Great Tradition) one cap observe Little Traditional ieontinuity 'iii terms of P-1 !.lti#pimal.and snqke worship Every person offer prayers to all of these deities without fail. This is th; kind ofcombination of Ge at"t raditibn and Little Tradition in Sacred Geography. This geographic } c<>mplexity caters to the needs of various ·1evels o.f piop_l . t11,1N epal- 1 J re .}i -:- :,. i PJi 2tJ i m. § !.. iiinfo t11e s'ame-'--e-emp1e - complex·' another -- _mp 1e or R<:1 arajeshwar is pr -9.!, ;ti. re animal- acrificesarifuffaeftaR'en:---,----"

Sacred performances are all those religious practises in terms ofAJ!,tt,l . H_ y n, Jap !!}: Y &n .RE;i.!?JJ\>,Q_:. etc. It also .includes_-flo_ral. offerings,· meditation ,and ,other:.exercises coupled.. with worship, ar! ti(_. tformances,·a 9ngm::A?nce.·T:l t:,Sac:red.perforlJ}auc_ s.;ar ,a!spme 11tJq(giffo ent classes of people. A combfoa'ffon of all th se things offei·ed to the deity tefle;cfs,41 _ 9._cialstructure.

In this way, a kind of _co_mprn!TIJs, cqntbirt.atl9ti nd ton ifyJ .: bserved at various levels of Sacred Complex. Different castes and religious sects show a combination .of various faiths and traditions and they tend to become compromised. The pilgrimage centres try to overcome the d v _rs,ity 9,t£iYH.iptj,on·· _lrr P. c;_gy _Q(J nmJige .1Jicfr on l barr ers, P, opfe overCO.IJl them and-icy to reach the sacred centres like Gaya.

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In a Sacred complex one can observe lq_q1J..regional,and civilisation complexities. Local complex includes the Gods and Godde $ the _local peop_l"! visit.. P.eoP,le who come to visit from far-Ciff places usually visit only the ;in-d.eiiy\ _the temple and cannqt underst md the ot}:l_.r'. syrr.i.bolism, _,..

Sacred complexes represent '!_ _t]_e s q-p !!ure 9.L.c! l- J:ion ,and also the _pJ1 es of dyH zation - orthodqx, semi-or_thodox and modern. Thus the sacred complexes have intricate and intimate int:efctependen"'ce/ooffi culturally and' sfructural_ly.

Nature Man Spirit Complex

The concept of Nature Man Spirit Complex (NMS Complex) was propounded by L. P. Vidyarthi in his book TheJ•4.aler: Nature-Man-Spirit Complex in a Hill Tribe, published in l2,§J. Vidyathi developed the concept/ as practical exigency of arranging the data in a way that will depict the soul of a tribal culture instead of just the skeleton. It is a methodological framework or a paradigm deployed for the analytical study o! Maler or the Souria Paharia (also called Maler) tribe in Rajmahal Hills of Bihar.

Vidhiarthi defined NMS as "a complex ariifng 'out of man's _do.se,:dnteraction with and dependence on. ---i _ hisbelt: f in t e:·supernatu_: l;.!!-. cr.: - _a- .P!,;_:_ - :-x- -:. :P.. .e-??.- ---:- c natl!re,· man·_ana: .sg1 1t'. re ; -ttJI .,F fers -- - ;. nv1ro _t man J O soc1et -- ! - l?J!lt to s.ehg1on.. Acc'ordi g JOvia tn1u lt!!!!:.tee components ·of the complex are \I2!t f?:! gJy- _n. -twi_ned and. sorhethiies fused\vith each ·other.

The NMS Complex highlights the intimate relationships that exist between the J:2_gJ£§1-l. s2.E and religious organizations in a tribal society. Most of the social conditions of life are influenced by religious and ecolo){ical,;conditions ;and· all the three try and maintain some f E!_gf E;Clill.Lib t.Hill.YY.'JJ!ff=,<;:l other. Any disturbai c in the intimate relationships between these three will cause h_r s ips to the people. In case of some tribal societies, the exigencies of social change and ensuing changes in the lifestyles of the people have resulted in easing the severity of thes ·· el;tionships between nature, m ;; ·; d spirit. However, the social and economic necess_itfos' i ave been tr'adTifonally directing. man to maintain the closest possilJ.k2!! g.!l .hJ,P_R-nd liaison with the f ce gf_ll t!lI _emt .YR J:JJa.tur:e. This relationship explains why man and his society are s bmissive to and dominated by the forces of both the supernatural world and physical environment.

A cultural ecological approach in anthropology, the concept of NM_S Complex marks a departure from trad Q. al presentation of anthropological ..works. in the for - _ f ,a .monograph. NMS ¸Complex of. VidhyJir:thi is a nevy_dirnen !Qn.,.t.Q,,,qg9Jy_J _arid presentation of data to enable a meaningful depiction of tribal.;Ffe ytles - as_ mentioned earlier, ·of·9rranging the data in a rp.eaningful way to depict the· "soul" instead of just the "bones" of Maler Culture.

One the basis of this methodology, Vidyarthi presented the data regarding the.Maler under three different heads -Nature, Man and Spirk

Na te: ;Vidyarthi analyzed the interaction that. e dsts between Maler and their natural environment He._ has emonstrated how· the ecology'°f thepfoce,the f?rests.a_11d surroundings, h,we _a ep _infl_u_ence on•. the: plhire· of.Maler. 'Th !i: ii6'ti LX --i t tfr 1··! ··!h f. fr .S - as .their tivefrhoods complete·· . depeodert on their ecology. Kh_aHu, i.e., shifting cultivation, collection of fruits, foe!, r E_ J!nd -.r.'lJ.al medicines - all activities are forest-based. Apart from being h nting: g ounds, the forests are major sources f raw materials. for their cottage industries, including th t1 b; u;· d for building· their houses. In a:ddi!ion, ro' ;;ts ii.ẽ ab9_9 <I?r i(, e l?i·_i_ t11 t,<!r!Y£-.M k!i'ifre. From womb to the tomb, the survivaf ofa Maler is thus, complet lydepen ent on the forest ecosystems.

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Man: In this context, Vidyarthi prnv.ic pt} ,1,11 indepth analysis of Maier's social organization, their social structure, nature of social relationships, lif -cycl s. social psychology and per.son.ality ti-aits. According to Vidyarthi, two essential / basic needs of a Maler include 11.Mnger for food and h _r_Jor, ex_:, He elaborates that the entire social organization and social systems_ are adapted towards ensuring_ the . fulfilment of these two needs of a Maler. He maintains that the various social and cultural practices like marriage, family, kinship, socialization, personality development are all in tune with and· in synchrony to the ay_ _ilab!}_i r_ t- att ral a_q nvironmental re our es. The kinship system i -9..!1:J - - - b_!_t !;ln i1!_t.9....J.h.g ----g .n r. Ji_qp§. C<1ny.. sy t rp is m½ri:o_\n to them Thus, the Maler restrict their social relationships and institutions to si_mplicity based on their environmental co ditions and simple needs.,_,

Spirit: This includes the analysis of the spirit and supernatural world of Maler. Vidyarthi says that the Maiers manifest ceaseless anxieties for survival in their environment, a feature essentially attributed to the spirits that dominate their life,· called Gossayins. There are both benevolent and malevolent Gossayings, essentially driving all the destinies of Maler. While the benevolent Gossayin take care of health, wealth, productio·n and· procre.atron: the malevolent ones are responsible for sickness, abortions, th_-and·- ;tm aC aii ities. Placati g th.e Gossayins in integral to Maier's i_ife as the for by and iarge control each and every.aspect of-the:latter's life. :Ritl,lals are the most imp{};rtannymbolic mechani ms tf,t achi ve ttles'fertd . Malets beii; ;'in the existence of one presiding Gossayin who acts as a bddge with otffer.-spidts and hence is held in highest este m. In fact, nothing moves in Maler's lJfe v.rithoutan ap !?Y l t . ?5- x!n-

Natut·e, Man- and Spirit:· Thus, there is an integral relationship that exists between these three phenomena. Nature and Spirit thus cast profound influence on the social ·structure, society and relationships between people. Vidyarthi says that these three interrelated forces .are in -constant interaction with each other - thus forming a complex the Nature'."Man-Spirit Complex. This cultura_l ecological approach highlights the importance of an holistic understanding of all the three together, since the existence of one in exclusion of the other is. inconceivable.

Significance of the Concept

1. The concept of NMS Complex is a *very* useful theoretical and ·methodological device for anthropologists in any holistic understanding of simple and primiti e sodeties like the tribes. Many scholars have deployed this· tool to understand tribal modes of life. Some significant research works-,include S.G. Morab's tudy of . RK. ·Sirtha's Nicobarese; AN. S@!,!.h (. studyof KoQ;Ya and· RJS- · s d- 9!.JiQg a. It has--e erg;d as'" - im_££Tta!-- - - r paradigm in anthropology, not1b11lS",}to"study the triqal:societies; but also rural and modern urban societies.

2. It as an important tool for an applied- anthropologist during the forrrtu adtm and imple meutation of various developmental programs. It is generally .observed that any, developmental program aimed at rehabit4taHrig-:Ut€"ti_ibeSaiin7my changes in theirHfe are soni, times subject d t_q;utright rejection by the Iibes. According to Vidyc1rthi, their resistance or f,ej ction. may be. !Q ed -n .terms of their· despair or anger : t.9i tgrbariceAn the eq1J.ilibrhlm:X fWie natu·i;e,,maQ nG·$pri . 'He ce, the con pt.oT t- - --- an sp;it' -;pl -- i - -i ind of"'c ution to the devel9p1r1 nt a J_n.:- ?E in all tl1 fr attemp to briµg ab.oui any rad!ca} chapg - i "'i:h "ij'f; Tthe tribal popul t on_in.I_ncH ,

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3. For rehabilitation planners, this contept-is a caution. It highlights the fact that the little traditions of a tribal population are not only capaHe of perpetuatintand sustaining themselves, but are also capable of outrightly rejecting the great traditions tt!rnut getting overawed by the latter. It essentiaHy highlights the "fallacy0Temrtl ve;;-e,, . n assump.ti; ·-tii;.iI b·e-en·-·iirovirwrong, many a time, in the history-0Frehabilitation ancidevelo_pment economics.

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3.4 Impact of _Buddhism, Jair1ism, Islam and Christianity on Indian Society

IMPACT OF BUDDHISM

Buddhism made valuable and lasting contributions in the field of religion, philosophy, literature and art. Its impact on Indian culture and civilization may be studied under the following heads.

1. **National Unity:** One of the biggest contributions of Buddhism to India in the political field was that it promoted a sense of national feeling amongst the Indians. It not only shattered the dominance of the caste system, which stood in the way of achieving thisunity, but ais·o-gave··a"·-a-eaHihfo·W·fo the doinmance of B'rahmffis·As·a· result; H1e linne-cessai-fi·ffes ai1-cf°ri"tuals s \,eff'-as--s-lipe-1·sffi:To11s-galTe: way to social and political understanding.. It was mainly due to this unity and social harmony that subsequently the Maury?S could found a powerful empire. E.B. Havell has highlighted this contribution of Buddhism thus, "In social and political sphere Buddhism has p1ayeif'the same rnle in cuTtivating a n·ationaLspjriiln-fndia;;hi, h--Chi-TsHanfffnid-:iff7IIfcenfii-ry}9} te-g1:·at -the:cli -e siffe·d' elemei1tsofSaxon Hierarchy". ;e,;/

2; **DestructiQn oflVlilitant Spirit:** Buddhism laid too much emphasis on the principle of Ahimsa, which gre#ly affected 11c11_aracter ofthe people. In course ftime people ctevelonei£J. - - P! ! :-:-- LoJen :.ar1d pegl St :?ag niil_tta:ry activities. It is weU known-thatAshoka, under the influence of Buddhism, g ve' } war n a'de ithispplicy ts> winJl1e 4ea· ofthe kiq:gsthrough love. This gave a serious set backtoth·e· military policy ofthe kings and the°polkyofthe terrifdrial l(J2ansi9._!!_ _e, g_ixen -up_ Ql:1!!.t°- this polky_ o(pe <;:e 11q non violence, th_e n1ili@SJ';s11irit of the armies as well as people was greatly tg.?.h .d-,a 1lg:1lre..}ccCtiW.Q.Jli>J q_ffe_r, Y e- - tl:!nfg P. ,.th JQf.<;!ign.iov;1ders and fell easy prey to them subs SIM Jitly.,?..,,·

3. **Contac with Outside World:** B <!, - -uni l2ijmJ;: JJg,LQJ1 an with the sup ort of kings like Ashokaand Kanishkg, it soon spre<l into J oreign countries like China, JaparC M·o tolia·, BLtnnaJava, mafra, Tibet anctCeylon a·1iffixercfsea:·:;p fe>urffiiimuenc-e i1 tfitrculhir'e-ai1d· dv1ffzat1.on ·ofthose countries. ·-AccorcH fo'J.rt. Sar1cat·';cf e'"tcr s reai f'o'f'Ifiid'dii'sr t' ffi foreign COlli1tdes, foreigners, consl ered India ,as holy place and h . source 'oftllejr religi()n. This contact with the 0t1tsl [wo,'i:l also promoted political an1· -;;f T rehitlohs°wfiKtfiese-co urifries.

4. Blow;to **the Ca te System:** Bliddhism began *as* a revolt - lgainst the social and religious malpractices prevailing in the Hindu religi 'ri. It naturaliy con eifine vanous socia1· evHs and.gave a fatal blow· to tfiFamninance-"oTcaste·sfsfumthat was the most outste:rnding evil. Buddhism insisted on the equality of manhood and attracted followers from all the castes· As a result, !h _rigg_ur .Q.fJhe caste y te_. broke down.

5. ·**simplification of Religion:** 'f.he grr9tc t contribution of Buddhism was the establishtnent of a simple religion which could be easily understood and followed oy the common people. In th se religion rites, rituals, yajnas and .caste had no Qlac;e According to K.M. Panikar, "to· the commOn man this· (Buddhlsm) was iluieed a newgosper There were no secretmantrcis, no expensive yagas or sacrifices and indeed no difficult doctrines as in theUpanishad : '-- -,

6. **Improvement of Moral Standard:** Buddhism attached great importance to the moral upliftm gt of man and directed the people to lead a moral life;· It insisted on virtues like charicy, puri!Y, se.lf-···sacrifice, truthfuln s_s,. control o.ver passions, nqn-injury fo'11v(ri'g-; e:;tur s in. nq7c't10:r'[et 'Though th -- ;tues were· not nev/ and 1-iac li ee'ii 'advotated' fiy the" lfp; i;hads also, yet fr_was Buddhism which put these virtues in a_ctg Jprn_c.tjt --andJhereby greatly rai e.4 he moral stan.?r_·(i,g.f the people._

7. **Effects on Brahmanical Religion:** Buddhist thought and ethics exercised a profound influence on the Brahmanical. religion. It exercised a humani irig effect on Brahmanism. The Brahmanical religion which was full of unnecessary rites and rituals was proving unpopular with the common people,

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because they could not undertake thes ;formalities. The ust:; of Sanskrit language was also proving quite difficult for the peo ple to understand its teacfiings. The popularity of the teachings of Buddha preached in the popular language of th people, made the Brahm ins realize. tl:i ?t they must. carry out necessary_ re! rms in their religion. _(!_!1s_eg_l ti,y'- 9n 1111be1:-or-i1 faith like Bhagyad ha_n!J., Snaivlsn1-to.6k shape:-These ·new.'to1 ms of Hindui,sm laid great emphasis o n Ahimsa and Bhakti ans:! were less do-ghfafi . -- —·

8. **Idol Worship:** It is believ_ed that Buddhism also introduced idol worship for the first time. According to the histo rians, the practice o f worshiping the images of go ds and goddesses did not initially exist in Hinduism. It was only during the reign o f l{ani$hka that idol worship wc1s first started 'when the people prepared'fi-ie"1dols of Lord Buddha: >TheSe si10lars· believe that Hinduisin borrowed idol worship fro m Buddh1sndt IS weU"Imown that during the Vedic period peo ple worshipped merely the symbols of various gods in o pen and idol worship did not exist. In fact the Aryan religion mainly c onsisted of sacrifices performed in the open: It was only after the spread o f Buddhism that ido l ·worship. beca'° ; poptl_lar. .P..OJl_e .r. _e_c[s,ti,p'o'- ill_yl_ic.)1 they placed. the iaois. or_Lo d . ,q_ftii_.,. cfus'loffcrwed°"·the example.and stanted_s;.Q.D$t! 1:!f!ng,JggmJ_ s..f.o.r.thefr_gods. Therefore, we can very we.iif i!fa3- }ct,oi wor_h1p arid erec 119lt 01plg wgr_e 1e'ga J QrD.!3 4 ld.ht .W.·

9. Literature: B.uddhismalso made valuable contributions to the field of literature.· A vast and varied natu e- r'literature was p.ro duced in the po pular language o f the people. The Tripitakas and Jatakas, ·the most impo rtant literary wo rks o f the Buddhists, are held in high ·esteem and have been translated into vario us foreign languages. Originally tl-iese works were writ en in Pali, the language of the masses. They are given the same honourable position by the Buddhists as given to the Vedas by the .BE t E- s. .Tl1 - g.rks are- fh wrical importaric·e-be_ :- ej elp usfri linkin°g"eaffh!story or ancient India. In addition to these wo rks, a numb.er o f Buddhist scho lars produced other literary wo fl<s:·--rhese included Amarakosha by Amar Singh, Sundarananda and Buddha Charita by Asva Ghosha etc. Asva. Ghosha is also cre.i::lfred·wm1·Two-aramas enfftled ,·itashfrapaia' an·ct-7sariputtra·· Anofl er ··Buddhist scholar Nagarjuna wrote an important book on 'Ayurveda'. The other important works produced by the Buddhist scho lars were Malindpanho, Mahavastu and Dirghanikaya.

10. **Education:** ·In the field o f educatio n Buddhism made amazing contributions. The Buddhist Sanghas and Viharas served as great centres o f educatiOI!, Students froh1 far off places, 1ndua111g·foreign countries, ·came here for educatio .. Nalanda, Taxila and Vikramshila, which gained reputations as gn at educatio nal centres, were actually Buddha Viharas. Nalanda particularly enjoyed great reputation as an educational centre. It may be no ted that these institutions did not impart . instructio ns Q.IDY.i.Ju. ligiQ!LR.Y.Lals.oJ.o. ..o.th.er.s_ulJ.j.e ts ..,

11. Developm, nt.of.Art: Thercontribution of Buddhism to the do main o f art, 'architecture and sculptl.1,;e was.also re arkable. No doubt these arts flourished even before the rise of Buddhism but!they w re ·mainly us,ed for the const ucti o n ofMa"nd'.:tpas, Yajnashalas, a t: etc. The Buddhists, for the f!fat -time, applied art to religious architecture. A number o f viharas iy r buUt fqr the monks all O!'.: [Jh - country. ·similarly - 1"largeiU mbero stuJia- ;ofst ; -'.'; ere raised o ver th;-·· ;fics-'of Bt«i'dha nd the Bodhi satvas ·rhe wffore··stOry o f Lo rd Buddha's life was express d in tones. Thestupa art atSancnfis·· weir.Known all over the -world for its_ gateway and· railings \'Vhich are "profusefyc-overed sculpture, depicting ·sc:"enesJrorn Buddha's life. Buddhists- were ·a1s·o· the first to· e·rect cave.temples. These nionuriie.nts·,were decorated with·ddU:arvings, which possessed a style o f their own. The cave temples of. Kanheri (Bom?a:y), Karle (Poo na) and Nasik are pe t spec rriens of Buddhist art Tq,e . Gandhara School ofArt Wa5':also--Ja:rgeiy the outcome· o f the·suddhist patronage. The artists belo nging to thiss..cho o l tri.ed to interptet the Indian subject and religio us co nceptio ns thro ugh the §E .B2,ma:n techniques.

Buddh_ist co ntributio n was not confined to architecture and sculpture alo ne. It also made valuable co ntributio n to the au o fpaintiJ)g: T - -; H .9.t!h s Y --- E, ! E ? W Rrich}y. decorate.d with beautifu.J - J;, The est specimens o f this art are found at Ajant, Bagh and Sag iriya (Ceylo), wh!ch are admired by artists form all o ver the world even today. Buddhist art was essent1alJy ,n. rty1! . }.e_1.1se

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feeling for nature and a vivid comprehension. of the unity of all life, human, animal and vegetable. It hacl spirituality more intended than made m{rnifest It displayed an evident' delight in life as felt by the people. Life in it had the continuity of a stream and space was reduced· to a convention. Kings, princes, courtiers, merchants, hunters, gods, goddesses, men, women, angel, fairies, animals, trees, creepers, !lovvcrs, all wer"e.spread across the surface of the stone and !use into a dignified cavalcade of life.

IMPACT OF JAINISM

The impact of Jainism can be discussed under the following heads.

1. **Philosophy:** Though the teachings of Jainism were greatly influenced by the Vedic philosophy, it developed a distinct philosophy of its own later. For example, "syadavada" was a new and original philosophy propounded by Jainism. This philosophy. is 1 ..v. in the sense th t. it a ms cJt the welfar_e".· of both individual as well as the community:·····,

2. **Principle of Ahimsa:** The principle of Ahimsa, though not entirely unknown to the Indians, was popularised by the Jains. In his teachings, Mahavira laid great emphasis on Ahimsa and opposed all types of yajnas and anil!lal sa.cdfices.' He insisted on non-injury, in speech, deed or a tion even to plants and. stones. It was mainly due tothe··fos:.1steiic"e·oi1:.the pril1-ciple of Ahimsa"'f.,y)a111s "that-the" ·vanous types ofsacrific,·. r.e gty p,µp..

:t **Caste:** Jainism also re.ndered great service to the Indian society by giving a rude shock to the caste system. Rigors of the caste system were greatly reduced during the 6th century B.C.

4. **Purification of Hindu Religion:.** The vehement attack on the perversions of Hinduism led the Hindu scholars and informers to devote attention towards the removal of the evils which had crept into its fold. They tried to get rid of the various evils with a view to regain the lost prestige for Hinduism.

5. **Greater Attention towards Public Utility:** Tpe teachings of Jainism not only insisted on Ahirnsa butalso laid stress on the greater .service to thecause··:of ific::ht'i'n'a"nt f :J f'f9lJ'<fyy 1 :-o.(l lfiJ rtL:.. opened a rihmber'"cjf_1firis; .cfsR °fa[s -- SCh6ols and otb_er.)n.iiifa :ucins 'fo public - !!ity _c:d !h r !JJ.. ·nave·g1ve·u·e1frouragement to the'·sp1ritorp"iiolic'utHTiy works.

6.· **Dampening of Military Spirit:** Jainism's emphasis on Ahimsa and peace led to the dampening of the military spirit of the Indian people. According to certain schol rs, it was due to this r 11..thaL a number of foreign invaders could gain easy victoriesovertfie7nclians-aiictestablished thefr ·controTover tfiis countiy .:

-7. **Literature:** Jainism has also rendered valuable contribution to the growth of vernacular lite:rature; While the -'·l_c!gh_ists . Ei. e- .r hmi11_ E: - -i. .X?.H - ? ..?. -r . .the) i!:l.S P! : -?. the language of the people. Most,.ofiJne·· Jain literature was written in PrakritL 'Large iiteratu e· was pfoaticea-·rtr-tne'·Vefifa.fii1ai- languages also. Fo-r exa'inpfe; M havfra' prea'ched j :; -i-5:.?, . !!CS-t called Ardha Magadhi so- that people. of !!1 -- reLrnJtld_ under,$ t £ d.. his teachir:igs. His teachings, which were subsequently compiledinto12 books under the·title Shiian'gas,'were also composed in this language. ,.Butthe most important contribution of -!he Jains t9.-lb£ U!J r.?Jl!Ut,.,lt.J.!L!}: Apabhramsa langua'ge. This langu-age· 11nKs tfie . _icaClangua t and Prakrit on the,. one fiand an<J modern vernacular on the other. The Jafns a1so i n luerH:ea t ne"K ah ft ese h t rature·intlfo s;uth. It -:°j/6e"rtotecrf1ere-ffi'it- ertain jain works.were also proctu·ced i'n Sz ski 7fliitngt{agetThe. literature produced 'in Sanskrit inchides not only· philosophical works l>Li'°F""liiso ub}tts like grammar, lexicography and mathematics. The prominent scholars of the Jain literature,Xwere Hemchandra, Hari Bhadra, Sidha Senay,·Pujya Pada -

8. **Architecture;** Besides religion and philosophy, Jainism. rendered great contribution to the · development of art and architecture. The Ja1n followers erected stupas iike Buddhists in honour t?f their saints. These stupas were built of stone and were decorated with gate-ways, stone-umbrellas, ··

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carved-pillars and huge statues. The·followers of Jainism. also built many famous *caves* such as Tiger cave of Udaigiri and Indira Sabha.of Eliora. These caves are exce1lent examples of architecttfre and sculpture of the period. The Jains also C0'.1structed cave-temples. One of the best cave-temples of the second century B.C. exists in Orissa and is popularly known as Hathigumpha caves. Temples of Gwalior, 57 feet high statue of Gometeshwar in Shravanbelogola, temples of Khujaraho and Mount Abu are other marvellous exa.mples of the high standards of Jain art and architecture.

IMPACT OF /SLAM

Religious Field: What was the impact of Islam in the religious field is a matter of great controversy. Charles Eliot in his book "Hinduism and Buddhism" propounded the thesis that Ramanuja and Shankara were greatly influenced by Islam. This view is supported by another prominent scholar Dr. Tara Chand who holds that the concept of the unity of God was a gift of I lam to lng ia. He says that the grea Shankaracharya who flourished during the later years of the eighth and early years of the ninth century A.D. was so much influenced by the Islamic theology as to have borrowed the theory of unity of God from his c<jnt ct with Muslims. This view is not acceptable to Prof. A.L. Srivastava; who poses a question that "if sft· nkaracharya really borrowed hist t1 io1y of monism (Ac;lvaita) from Islam, why did he faff to condellln and denounce image worship -which is a cardinal doctrine of Islamic ideology"? He further poiJ!_ 19,Ut- 'can it not be **said** that **.tWO different** people **inight** deveiop a similar line of thought, religious, secular, quite independently of each other? How very much can it be true of Shankaracharya's Advaita philosophy when ft is realised on all hands th t its gems are found. in our Shrutis and that \-vhat he preached was only the logical development of the truth embodied in the Vedas and Upanishads".

It is true that the upper class Hindus, both in the north and in the South, extended a very generous treatment to the Muslims and gave them complete freedom to corivert people to their religion. The Hindu leaders, 1;eformers and preachers openly advocated that Hinduism and Islam were two paths leading to the same destination. T.h.ey condemned the priestly rituals in both the religions and laid emphasis on devotion and piety.

Islam influenced the Hindu society in two ways. Firstly, the missio ary zDal of Islam which aimed at conversion of the maximum number of Hindus to Islam gave rise to conservation. The Hindu leaders thought that they could save their religion" and culture on ly by ada12tiqg.,m.Q,[S.,,Orj:hoqg2u utlo.o. Greater. emphasis was laid on ri id religious life as per S111riti. Strict rules w.exe laid ·down regarding diet, marrifge.mdgef.ifra(conciuct.·Seco.ndT; ; FI S§ 17 rifu ra·ic p 2 .: .: ?.·.! .!ounq!h fr. aljnto the Hinau society; The !!Eakti movem.11t-was to a large extent influenced. by Islam and the Hmdu reformers preached funda ental equality of all religions and the unity of God. fjs m ex n;ise , considerable influence on the Hindu socie!}' and the Sufi saints attracted the attention of the 1-lindus This c nt ;g1:;w doser dur.ing th- egim f Akbar. In s h **cansaY** thcrt the-Hindu **leaders** 'realisecit:hata. liberaf" treatment of the Sudras and the untouchables was essential in the interest of the Hindu

Soci friiVpa.ct: The coming of Islam to India also left a d en mar QP. tb.e sodal structure. Wlth a Yi w to meet the)nroads oflslam more effective!Y, the ttinctu leaders made caste system, more rigid anct laid greater empfiasis-onth vance .·of caste rule .. With a view to... ·tr the, Hindu sodetyl:ney _ca-!e Smrit_1s thus P Y. , ,t , » t9 foi:,_ - 15l 2_ .P ? ll „} „l ; 1 '!., @5} fiT- whq{: h 1; .Q nJorc1bly removed fro.!!1 . t.-_,Yolummous commentaries on the Smntls and N1bandhas. .(◆◆1t◆f.◆Wef=þ auced\vfiit a-◆◆W"t readjust the social ·relati? hie _Ecor<ling to the. d circumst.ances.

The:,:J:&f;or female infanticide, which was greatly condemned for many centuries, was also to a large extent the product of Islam. -!EQq):! g_gpJ 4. t AP!..C.ic. qf[!P ! in"ranticide ! h. a yi !<U ca_pe the risk of their virgiris losing chastity at the hands of the. Muslims. It is a matter of historical i formatiol! tfiaf n◆Jnyer◆ofHindttchiers··anCweH:to◆fo pe·sons wer .· pelf;d by the Muslim - d.ngl>J ?. !CJ. give thei.rdaugfilefs'!ffffiarJ:tage;foescape·arn : :-i·gn'omi i-; ·: -i. : dpractici g infanticide.

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The Pardah system was also the resdt;_(f the Muslim rule. This practice was unlrnm,vn in the previous p'edod·s ofli1sfo1:y and the women could move a out f'eely. With the arrival of the Muslims they were compelled to live in seclusion in their homes and rarely *moved* outside. Whenever they had to go out they went either i_f!_J:>aJq!1qui1)S._coverecl with curtains or used Pardah. According to Yasin Mohammad during this period kid11apping of Hindu women was considered to be an act of Jihad. The Hindu women took to pardah with a view t protect themselves against this Jihad.

Child marriage was also largely the re ult of the Muslim_ rnl in l:ndia. T e Muslim rulers and other high oft1cials quite ofte·n--kidnapped beautiful Hindu girls. Under the circumstances the Hindu parents thought it desirable to take to child marriage. It was emphasized that the proper age for the marriage of girls was sev..en and that marriage after the age of eleven or twelve was sinful.

The position of women in society g1 eatly deteriorated. They were denied the status of equ.?pty _wit „ e!?, which they earlier enjoyed. They were not allowed to participate freely in social functions and. ceremonies. Though they still enjoyed a position of respect they were rendered completely dependent on_ the men-folk. The women were expected to zealously safeguard their fidelity. To ensure this safety of. honour and chastity against the Muslill}S/·the customs of Jauhar (mass sati) and Sat became current throughout the country.

A1idt er evil, which fomu --its.way into Hindu society as a result of the impact of islam, was laver;,tr.No doubt the Indians even before the advent of Muslims knew slavery, but the Muslim rulers specially.· p_atroniz d t. Slavery was a common feature of the Muslim society and kee_E,g g_f.§J.9.-y_ ---cl:.-P ..<?1:!JX,.. f_?. !'?. ..'? !- J q c1s,x; b£LQL!?£. ill,o!} and,_s aJ·- The Sultans of Delhi as well as their nobles and Amirs kept slaves - both mafes and females. Usuaily the royal family maintained the largest number of slaves. It is said that Ala-ud-Din ljad 84,000 slay_e$ This strength rose to 2,00,000 under the reign of Firoz Tughlaq. It.may be noted that the Sultans·;;;-r;;t:;ined these slaves at the cost of the tate: i h HindLl fe'ucial lo ds and leaders also started observing the practice of slavery. The Rajput royal families offered women slaves in dowry.

The dress, food and social manners of the upper sections of Hindu society were also greatly influenced by Islamic culture. !s_an_.pd .§alw e,I, the popular dresses of north India, were introduced under the ·Islamic influence. Usually the dress fashions were introduced by the Muslim nobles and were copied by . the high class Hindus. The Hindu masses and the priestly classes by and large r mained immune from the impact of Muslims with rgc1 r. J<:>_JhJ ic:.dr;eSs,,Jo.o.d .„;1nd.sodaL.mann r.s.. T\le food habits of high class. Hindus alsounderwent'a change. They started consuming non-vegetarian di.shes like the. Muslims. _They also started following social manners and ceremonial aspects of the Muslims. t_[i;,i!f S_ of gambl(ng 3snq drinking which were pfeyalent in the Mu Um. oci ty_9fJl:1. _9-g were also adoptt:;d by the Hindus. Some of tiif xfsti "g-games ;nd r - -tion-l activities were .gi; a n -;h pe- . ncter the Impac 6r Musl.imslike hl.i:rtffrig, hawking and other garne·-

Economic Impact: Though the Muslin\;Tu'lers established 4eir supremacy in the political sphere the econo_Ty of the countix continued tg b g._Qm tll J:!)_ s. No doubt large jagirs were &iven tg_the Muslim Amirs but they depended for the cultivation of their lands on the Hindu peasants. Therefore the land system remained intact and there was hardly any change in the existing arrangement. The only changewas t h a formafly th·e·lands ·ca m·e under the control of the MvS:Ui:n.Ja.gir.d rs..

Iri,the sphere of trade and commerce Hindus continued to dominate. Muslims were essentfally milJtary acJye_pturers_,;yllo_wen;! pot conversant with the commercial practices ofti -;affndu-fNEdcfubTtpe iq'J?lf.Ffi i IJ. ers **heavily crushed the commercial** cia'sses,bat·,tli.e',Hindu B riiya_ continued to be 2n esse11tial fe_!t r --: ft e economk structt:1re in medieval tim_es.The Baniyas advapced nisinex, to,,Jatrners, <!rtisan . nd S. The Muslim-rulers though quite jealous of the dominant position of the Hindus-in the economic sphere had to depend on them. In other words we can.say that e_ven though the MusHms d r:1-U? poHtical an_c!q!!}i ! !:r. t_iy_e machinery, the Hindus continued to control .the economic life._

The coming of the Islam to India exercised economic impact in anothe way too. The Indian :overs:as commerce, which had virtually come Jo an end with the decline of the 'Ch-olas',-·was--re.vTvecr ·prof..

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Jadunath Sarkar has rightly said that the "restoration of touch with the outer world, the revival of Indian navy and sea-borne trade both of which had been lost since the decline of *the* Cholas was the direct outcome of the Muslim impact". Ind _t rge_ yi th foreign cou ntri e.s, particularly with the countries 9f___ tbe East, tremendously increased \-viii:h exercised profound influence on the economic condition of the p ople".

Impact on Culture: Though the initial impact of Islam on the Hindu culture was negligible and the Hindus paid no attention to the study of Persian and Arabic, in course of time they took to the study of Persiarf> lh terature. It is s;1id that the Hindus for the first time took to the study of Persian and Arabic during the regime of Sikandar LodhL Tlf 'real progress 1n the sphere of literary communicatio1i hetwe·en the two,:communitiestook place under the Tughlc1qs. During the times of **Firoz** r gll_l_aq _certain MuslTm scholaistendered certain Sanskrit rnm·a-nces fi1to.l-iin.dC--ar hot1gh the ·script iised by them ivas P rs.ian.Jt was oriiy under Akbar thafthe real synthesfr.hi.ttie fielcfoff\vo-literitt.11:es--to-ok-place.··Ho\.vever, so far the Hindu scholars did not produce any independent works in Persian. It was only during the times of Shah Jahan th t. i_I1_ –c_9l..ES .P!5!_duced independent works in Persian. the work of Chand a Bha11 _Brahman c·anhej toted.as an example offfifs'.·

Apart from the study of Per_sian literature, the Hindi culture also·felf the impact of Islam. §..•?..reg_IJ_g.Ltbe spread,,,of Bhakti Movement there was a tremend_o_ i11c se in the quantity of words l) JpdJ g iangua'g·es 1 h l impact of the· Musiim literature ·bn the=f 'ct'Tgetl'6lis·aiTture-Ts·'evfcfenffromthe presence of t'fielarg numnerofl'etsian, Jtra6Tcan·ctrurkTslrworas1nthelo1 ilure.

The intermingling of the Hindu and Muslim culfrtre gradually led to the- emergence of a new language Urdu, which was a sort of linguistic synthesis of Persian, Arabic, Turkish and languages of Sanskrit origin. In·course of time Urdu became the lingua franca of the people.

Impact on Fine Arts: Probably the deepest impact of.Islam was in the field of fine arts. The spirit of assi11Jilation and synthesis between the H ndu and Muslim cultures led to the evc,lution <2r !X2E.J:J - E hitecture and mu. . .!D b lfh.!h!U i ,§ic J.€!,,ill. IH-t. Yff, .J;.t J :E:. !- 9J - - -,! ti!2t h.?.D£L9.Y1W.m:l forrft.was"tnaC<:fflffe··persians.· As Dr. Tara Chand has said, "The craftsm;m·ship, the ornamental richness and·"'geberal c:iesfgnreinaiTed"largely Hindu, the arcaded form, plain dome , smooth-faced walls and spacious interiors were MusHm S\.lperimpositions". Dr. A.L.-Srivastava has also admitted the deep impact of Islam in the domain of fine arts and says that the Hindus did not disdain to borrow freely whatever appeared to them to be useful and bea:utiful and this trait is reflected- in the Hindu buildings erected during the second half of the sixtee_nth century and the whole of the seventeenth and· eighteenth centuries. Rajput rulers readily imitated the Mughal style of architecture and introduced it iri their palaces._Hindu temples could not remainimmune·from the.influence ofthe Mughal architectural forms.

Mu k:::tfi'-!the sphere of Music, the blendi£Kofthe Persianandlndian music-led to the emergenceof ne' formsU equawwalis, which became more_I u! ,'i:3)ending th lndianVeenaa.ila:tne franiap'tambura prouuce·u some or the musical instrument1'hke Sitar. Tablaisalso considered to be a Muslim mod1ffcat1 n1 of'IHnff musicarMi:l_d g.

Painting: The·arL f -P inting prevaiHng in the· c untry was also greatly infl enced by Ilam.- This influence was not only confined to the ideas but also to technique and form. The bl nding of the Persian and Rajput techniques of painting led to the emergence of a new school of µghal art. According to Pro[Jaduna{h}Sarkar, "The art of painting in Mughal age; though P·ersh1rtii1 gin W.S .actually the joint produce·bf Hindu and Persian.ideas and developed into,.two schools of painting known as Mughal arid Rajput·trtht!J 1 Ja.A. E R rJK\!l tDY'- - Y. ! ped'hl_gq: ?J H i1lt!! :.<:1-Xt2f p2_rtrait and mura,I_p_ - i-_&· Th --- Hindt Fainters adQp_E!4 b- _minuteness.o.Lthe..P...eI§.i - techniques and _rgg Y-J=. ..g:g f§._"dlng·works.

The Islamic influence was particularly felt in the art ·of layJ!lg_th ga d ns __,. T!}_g_Myg!rn!?.. - !J__Jp geometrically designe pl · wit}:l .'provision for artificfal rrigc!tign.Jn,.theshape,.,oLtanks,. basins. q11q. waferfalls ·Thispaftern·was followed in imc>sfaf tfie parts ofth c_ountry.

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IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY

The impact of the Christianity on Indian society can be best understood by analyzing the role played by the Christian Missi_onaries in India during .th 13ritish Raj.

The Charter Act of 1813 had allowed the missionaries their activities unhindered. The Act reversed the scales in favour of British missionaries already engaged in India Missionary societies used to establish their missions at various centres within and outside the British controlled territories. Though the main objective of these missions was spreading of Christianity, education was n1ajor curriculum to ·Chrf ti UiZf!.. the Tii'cffa_ :-···si;c·e··they ·,-vere co"ricerne"d witK soci:1 reqlifreine_ri_t, pj"eaching_througfi "the· rnod-l ·r_xongu se i-nti.aL - t teach_i . ?!)_li_-Y-·--- 1}1 gtLctl1 $$.nJia.l_ require.n1en!.J.Q_qg apt them to Christ n civHization. Therefore, it was the missions \hich helped in the growth of vernacular lan es aswell as Engfisn.-Besides, the female missionaries helped educating tfie women. Though the Governor General ETientrcfrough saw, "the···poHtkal rwri""of'E'ngffsfi-po·we'i··as tiiit ffiev tfa o'le consequence of the mission education of the Hinduism!" the Company Administration was obliged to bear with it, for whole of the_ European continent in that era was dominated by great reforms and liberal age. Secondly, the favourable response to the reforms !! trc;>!S9J?.Y tlYS-h g_gj§.f_g}:Q§!_c{th .f. !Jny.9.lved in the <>.ffi<:.l?URt Jf i inffiereifgfous affairs·..These factors helped the missionaries to expand their.activities and this is rightly ca1174 ss.:"tne-ageoTi m ssJon school".

·The figures of the mission education in 1834 are self indicative:

1. Anglo-vernacular schools and colleges for men - 91 with 18,401 students.
2. Vernacular schools for boys -1,099 with 38,661 students.
3. Boarding schools for boys - 67 schools with 1,788 students.
4. Day schools for girls - 285 with 8,91 students.

In comparison to 67,569 pupils in 1,474 institutions run.or aided by the Administration,the Protestant Missions were running 3A95 institutions (1,6-28 schools for boys and girls and 1,867 Sunday schools) and were imparting education to 1,25,231 students (64,043 in regular schools and 61,688 in Sunday schools). The. total· mission activity was more extensive. Therefore, .it can easily be. said that education to. the Indians was provided largely, not by the CorupJln.iXifmlnistration."but by the missions. Therefore, the cm.iseof the"E_Il ffsh"wc s*afso served mare by them than others. .. -;=v -·'>—h ` = - .-.- ... -·-, .

The -contact of the Indian Hindu tradition with the West was a different and radical sociological significance. ijistorically, it was a contact between a pre-modern and a inodernizing culturai system. By theltrne··the Western tradition could bear meaningfully upon the cultural, political and sodal>syst ms. of India, its own· structure had undergone radical internal metamorphoses; its ttaditionallJ.ierarchical and holistic·character had br9ken downritstval\}e structure was Jendered more open, liberal, egalitarian aJ1d. humanistic; and this tradition was imbuecf with a new fou d sense of confidence in the scientific and technological worldv Ji?.§Jill'.oil.ra.!J.2 f1!.! Q!, eguali!Y and.free42!!l Jll -ylue;:had-bmh ositi e.;.as well as negative reactions among the many Western intellectua Ts;-yet, the great historical importance that t att-fonn:maffoitof a new"e·ra:···ofcha.nge in the··Inctian·cultural tradition can. hardly be overe_mphasized.

The;. pd_e of the Western cultural impact on the. Indian tradition had distinctive features, in historical as· well, as substantive terms..HistoricaJly, the distinctiv·e element was in its·.gradual expansion through succ ssion and replacement of various forms of Western traditions differing in political and<_c\1J J!fal orientation and influence. The earliest contact, of which sociological consequences were marginal, was with the Portuguese. The Dutch and the French followed them. Neither the· Dutch uorthe F.:,n_ad Christianization as their main objective. The Dut ch were mainly interested fil£9 w m rs, Tb. J rench,had"'·--- political &2.ls, 1U:ftheir-_Influerice·was·rnargfna l:oiilythe-British inally· en:ie.rg Jvlomip J!t IJ9yY r; i., I !:.!he Western impact on Indfan cuiturehas t efore been primarily of the Briti b,. ..,

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The consolidation of the British power in (ncHa, which statted in early seventeenth century, was complete only towards the end of the nineteenth century. Behind this pdlitic'al power was the cultural tradition of the West. There were basic differences between this politico-cultural tradition and India.

The cultural traditions of the 19th century West, which overwhelmed the Indian scene, was in its ethos and structure fundamentally different from the traditional cultural patterns of Hinduism and Is]am. Its basic tenets were in contradiction with most of the essential attributes of the contemporary Indian tradition. The form of legal rationalism on which the Western tradition was based, recognized a conffactual individualistic relationship between man and society. In matters of legal justice and civil dgh'fs it encouraged the values of equality, equity and universalism and not those of s atus and hierarchy. In contrast with communal and familistic status allocation system of India, the Western tradition introduced new criteria for social stratification which were based on achievement and not ascription and allocated status only on individu.al performance and not on charismatic qualities. Together, these new orientations posed a serious challenge to the two cardinal attributes of the Indian tradition - those of hierarchy and holism.

The fntpact of Wes!ern culture continued unabated in almost qlJ he sphere of the social life. Some of the in5-ti l;ltion-a1 developments, wh.icf have directly been instruni nfal in the creation of modernization in India, are:

1. The.growth of UniVersalistic legal superstructure
2. Expansion of education
3. Urbanization and industri lization
4. Increased network of communication
5. Growth of nationalism and politicization of the society

(Please refer to the notes on impact of modernization on family, marriage and kinship in Paper I)

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4. Emergence and G_rowth 6t'Ahthropology-in India

The s udy_,2Lm.-tnj,HSt,,2£l?s been the SUBJ_c_s in l_di_frqn1.tin:t immemorial. In the ancient Indian context of history, the M 1msmriJi gives an e \.!HlY.:.'t, £lfj L.nfL. ttJtt;J1JJgL<1fJ,QJ!!lt9i.J:lliW?£,9,Ple of India. An elaborate account of Indian society and man can be found in Bfil[l na and J!.h ghpJ.e, - -.The Bhagawad Gita highlights the individual's character on the axis of self. Buddha's teachings_are part of the study of man. '.Ashoka's inscriptions are full of descriptions about man and the grarnn1aTofnTsso'cTa1 life.

In the medieval period the poets like Surdas, Tulsidas and Kabir made a penetrating study of man -and came up with substantive mat rial _aboutlI1e··socfalTife·hfgetre·ral and about the folk people of India in particular.

In the modern period, the study of man and his society became the subject matter of anthropology. The study of man in its totality got a scientific footing through it.

l dian anthropology has isto -y of W?. n urie, which began in 1774 L!; :. h- e- st b i 'hment of A. a_ti pg e-\Y pf I3 pgaI,-_wh i<;h m r ftlr.e 1entifj9;tra itiqn.Iq"IndJa for'"t}\ :·st4 y;l)f '_'n ature·and an'_'. 'Ifiecoihlfrff'inctepenct·ence in 1947 ga·ve it. a tremendous mom'entum an, within a sh'?!!..EJ?_a,., o J 9 d1,1d a half cteca<les, the usefuln - a d_s.tatY.:_--<?f. n .hr.2milqgyJ.n.t.h .-- £gf! ri1_i fi. J.#TIF : univer:sitie$ .and te-se rcITTnsntufes ·ancfin the develoQmental fieldsHke welfare of the SCs and STs have been recognized ancfan1iii·o-polog}: E EJPi ; i rit tlg,h-Q.lLQJl Qf,,tlt tlhfni rtfa;y''ctlmm'it;iii :x(t ,-i -t l natio n-i- level too Indian anthropOl(?gy has gained recognition - the pre ipents .j,p of the inter/natiʼnal of A nthropSlogt_o/·an a E t;r;'g.g"?f_m;'al Sciences [1973]' fS'"h §,&9JL\ 19?Qd 1a ·

The course of development of social anthropology needs to be studied in three phases: f.2 mf!ti y -- rigf:1, C..02. tr . }l J r- d and ll.3-J if,;f,,& MlJl ...- While we propose these three stages of development in anthropology inindia, it is not contemplated that one phase has completely been replaced by another. As a matter of fact there have been strikingly different rates of development of anthropological researches in different parts oflndia, and an acquaintance with _this fact needs to be emphasized, and a generaHzation. on an .all India level needs to be made. with the awareness of the regional distinctiveness and· delimitations. In order to clarify this point, it may be mentioned that though the formative period in Assam, Meghalaya and other north-eastern border areas started long ago, they have just emerged out of the constructive phase of descriptive ethnography. Similarly, in the contemporary social researches being conducted in different parts of India by various agencies and indiViduals on tribes and castes through the traditions of formative phase, theoretically sophisticated researches of the analytical period are also quite evident.

The Beginning: Formative Period (1774-1919): As already said it is to the Asiatic Society.·of Bengal that we owe the beginning of anthropologkal investigation. in India. Credit goes to_,, ,!!} IJj s :who established this Society in 1774, bec e }ts founder-president, defined its scope t .,,, t!J2l- n , man" in India and piloted a number·'ofresearches and publications on thesesU

S_ince·then, the British administrators, missionaries, travellers and a few otheranthropolo;gically-oriented individuals collected data on tribal and rural groups and wrote about their life and culture in the Journal__, Asia_tic Soc ety of Ben?_al..Jl ?- .·. I di n .. !!!. .1X-U ?2],,-: •nd la e in t?e Journal of .!., r.1:1 -.9.: S' Researcli Soc lefy (T9TSJ anctMan m. IndiaJ",!?1.1l,. Alorig with other h1stoncal, geographical mforma 10n, they aTsoc:oUecfim-eHmograpiifc 'dafa-and published a series of clistrict gazetteers, handbooks on tribes and castes, and then a number of monographs, especially on the tribes.of ·Assam. During the census, especially in 1931 and 1941, some· British and Indiairanthropologists were associated ·with collecting· a·nthropologic_al data on tribes and castes of different parts of India.

These scholarly-or ented sntish administrators posted i different Barts of Indi lik :3isle}', Oaltc;m· nd} b'Malley h i eastindfa Rusielfii:mit:Jdfe:Iriclia, thurs°t<>h iffscicith H1aia,· Crooks in.110'f.tlie?n'india; wrote. encyclopaedic inventories about the lives and cu(re o(the pe ple of respective. regions, and their importance can be judged from the fact that the Anthropological Survey of India has chalked out a plan to

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reprint some of them with suitable adclitioO d notes. In addition to *the* handbooks on the tribes and castes of different regions, general books on Indian ethnology were 'also published by administrators like Gampbell (1856), Latham (1859) and Risley (1891). Th _purpose.o.L.these volume was to acquaint government officials and private persons with classified tribes and c:astes in_India, with a view to ensuring effective colonial administration.

The above generalised \Vorks about the land and people of the region were followed by their efforts to prepare detailed accounts of specific tribes (and in some cases castes, i.e., The Chammars by Briggs, 1920) of the different regions. Among them, mention may be made of Lushai Kuki by Shakespeare (1912), Kha'sfa by Gurdon (1912), Lhora Naga by Mills (1917), Lakher by Pany (1932), Maria Gond by Grigson (193_8) and a few others who wrote competent monographs on specific tribes. Then a few missionaries like'Ifodding (1925), Hoffmann (1950) and several others in different parts of India were also attracted to ethnographic and linguistic researches. All these scholars were especially influenced by such early British anthropologists as 'River"s U906J, Seligmann (19li),. lfaddiffe Brown (1922) and Hutton (1913) wh :?'orked on the tr,ibes of India and published their monographs.

Early Indian· Anthropologists: The first Ihdian to come under their influence and to write exhaustive moii'ographs on the tribes in India was Roy, who published hii fitseepoch-making \vork on the Munda _trioet(- ?l J- _Thi was fo l?wed l 1e -< E - t?onographs on th ';[5rahh.-(?J;$:J,jhe Bkh,,gt,, ! F Oraon Reli ilt --u rc>:msf 19)1 Hıl{iBJ\lh·: § (.1_35) a -flle '<harf f f2;31Y) These works of Roy have Be irac knoWrfigf r by the British anthropologists of that time as competent studies, and Hutton in his presidentfafad<;ttess read. at the annual meeti.ng of the Iridian Anthropological Institute held in Calcutta on January 5, 1938, desc1 ibed Roy as "the Father of Indian· Ethriology". Roy, under the intellectual inspiration of British anthropologists and with financial encouragement of the then British Governor o(Bihar, Sir Edward Gait, did outstanding work for anthropological researches in Bihar. Next t,,B- hl3::P· J:liLQg_p,YQ!!§.!!. 90_!< i ?1,§ 9_1:1)he ngo Aryc111 a e which-evoked great il'1terest in the study of the cultural history of India.

Constructive Period (1920-1949): ·s·ocial anthropology in India definitely witnessed a phenomenal growth when it was included in the curriculum of the two important universities in Bombay (Sociology in 1919) and Calcutta (Anthropology in 1921). These two centres for sociologicaian'd"=-;·nthropological researches attracted academicians· and trained scholars to undertake significant. researches. V ry soon, obscure subjects like kiriship stu s, social orge:mi ation, etc., w re uridertaken by trained· scholars like Ghurye (1943, 1952, 1954), Chattopadhyay (1922, 1925) Srinivas (1942, 1946}, Majumdar (1937), Ka_rve (1940) and a few others.· Anthropologists like P.N. Mishra, L.K.A. Iyer, K.P. Chattopadhyay, T.C. Das, D.N. Majumdar in the· east and north India, and· G.S. Ghurye, lrawati Karve, L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and A. Aiyappan in the western and southern India provided the initial stimulus to organise scientific. an_th:r. pological ·researches by conducUng:fie_ld.expeditions,writing, books -and .articles and by traini g res a_rchers for anthropological studies on :ribal and rural culture.

A bi,!)eap forward came in 1938, when a Jbint se;sion of the Indfon Science Congress Association and the British- Association, on the occasio_n of the Silver Jubilee of the former body, reviewed th progress of anthropology in Iridia, and·eminent anthropologists from abroad deliberated with Indian anthropologists and· ·discussed plans for -future -anthropological researches in - India. During this period a few antJ:ir pologists· provided some theoretical lead in sociai anthropological researches. }1ujufl!cl r's_ Wt½, (19$Qfon ·the Changing Ho of Singhbhum, Srinivas's publication (J.942) pn Mar:r.iage,":ancLf.,gJJlJly_jn M°; · rNx-fiose's"-·onlHii <! -Meffiiia. o.fTrib fAhsorytici ·{f 11f i;;. ,1ht turning point i 14,in a tr iP.Q,IQ.gj{

Thih>the entry of Verrier Elwin and a series of his .problem-oriented publications on the tribes of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa like the Baiga (1939), the Agaria (1943), the Maria (1943), the Muria's Ghotul (1947) and then_ n the religion of the Savara of Orissa (1955) brought further recognition to the Indian anthropolo·gy. Furer-Haimendorfs publication on the tribes -of Hyderabad and other successive publications provided refined models to works in Indian anthropo_logy.

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Thus, Indian Anthropology, which was: h9r{l and'brought up under the predominant influence of British Anthropology, matured during the constructive phase on the lines of English Anthropology. During this · period, except a few studies b f Indian institutions like Caste, the tradition of tribal studies as the exclusive focus by the enlightened British scholars, administrators, missionaries and the then British and Indian anthropologists continued till the end of the forties of the last century. On the lines of Anthropology as taught at that time at Cambridge, Oxford and London, Indian Anthropology was characterised by **ethnological** and **monographic studies** witi1 **a** special **empliasrs· 0-n res·earches** ii"i kinship and **social** organisa iqn.,

Analytical Period (1950): After World War-II and especially after India's independence, there was a positive increase in the contacts of the American social anthropologists with India. Some American anthropologists like Morris Opler of Cornell University, Oscar Lewis of the University of Illinois, Davi Mandelbaum of the University of California, and many of their students came and stayed in India with their research teams and cr ated an atmosphere (1) for the systematic study of Indian village with a view to testing certain hypotheses, (ii) for refining some of the methodological f'ameworks developed elsewhere, and then (iii) to assist the Community Development Programs in the India·n villages.

Village and **Caste Studies:** The A1 1eric; ' scholars not only produced valuable, .theoretically-oriented wqr s .gn the Indian rural culture, but also inspired anthropologists, young and old, ·to take up s!m:ilar researches on Indian villages and the caste system. The beginning of this phase also coincided witiHthe publication of Srinivas's, "Religion. and Society Among the Coorgs of South India" (1952) which in itself i exemplary in as much as it makes a departure from the descriptive phase to the analytical one as well as from the tribal studies to non-tribal community studies and which also provides us with a dividing line to distinguish the constructive phase from the contemporary analytical phase. In addition to Srinivas's work, Iravati .-:r.ye's £!S.f.19],tsm ..!. .Jlind ı kinship $Y_m.,again marked a turning point in Indian social aiitnrop61o$_{gy}$" Besides, il1 the decade, Dube, Majumdar and a few other anthropologists and sociologists \Vere stimulated to take up theoretically sophisticated study of rural communities in India, and, in the real sense of the term, Indian anthropological researches became integrated with the world literature on ailthropology.

Action Research: The tribal and. rural community development programs of the Government of India. have further given a fillip. to the Indian social scientists to study and evaluate the process of .change in tribal and rural India. In such -developmental programs, the concepts of Action Anthropology, formulated · by x, for the first. time, partially ·repfaced the :principles of Applied Anthropology developed during the British colonial.administration. In some of the later writings of Majumdar, Dube; Elwin, Vidyarthi and Jay on tribal policy and programs, the influence of Action Anthropology in India has come to be established as an important discipline from theoretical, substantive and action points of view.

So iti Psychological Research: Under the same American influence, the study of culture and.-perso'ri lfry found ·a place in the Anthropological survey of India under the guidance of B.S. Guha, a former graduate from Harvard University. Two psy'choib- is"ts, Uma Choudhary and P.C. Ray of Anthropologkal Survey of India undertook field researches, especially among the tribals· with a view to esf bli_shing r dal differences, personality types and other socio-psychoiogical characteristics. The psycho cultural researches received further impetus when an American anthropologist Geei:al P. Steed (19SS)conducted a field research in a Hindu village in Gujarat and G.M. Carstairs (1957), a British psychiatrist, conducted field researches ·among the different communities of Rajasthan. The ·psycho-cultural researches in. g e· urii ersities like Ranchi and Allahabad received further impetus from the researches of the sodal psychologists of some of these·universities.

folklore Researches: The folklore researches, which were at the level of sp lection_of the tfi al folksongs and folktales to b induded in the monographs, received a systematic treatment with Verner Elwin under the influence of F. _Boas and Edward Tylor. With the passage of time the social elements. hidden in the folklore· were unearthed by a few: anthropologists-and also by several scholars *of* differerit literatures specially Bhojpuri, Assame e and Marathi in a number of publications bringing out the socia , historical and behavioural usage of folklore.

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Studies of Power Structure and Leadership: The attempt to analyse power structure and decision-making in Indian rural society is also of recent origin. Here again, credit goes to an American, Prof. Oscar Lewis, and his Indian collaborator who initiated the study of faction and leadership with their two volumes on north and south Indian villages respectively. These two much-talked-of volumes, published under the auspices of the Planning Commission, brought to light the varied roles of kin and caste-oriented factions in the decision-making in rural India. Moreover, these studies inspired a number of American, British and Indian scholars to take up the study of rural leadership in different parts of India, e.g., Dynamics of Tribal Leadership in Bihar (Vidyarthi, 1973).

In the field of tribal leadership, the most comprehensive study is of Vidyarthi who studied the pattern of tribal leadership in Bihar both in terms of diachronic and synchronic levels, sponsored by the ICCSR. This large-scale study highlights the dynamics to traditional, modern as well as transitional leadership among the tribes of various cultural types (Vidyarthi, 1973).

Anthropology of Religion: Another field of social anthropology which reflects the British and American influence, and which deserves special mention is religion. An objective study of primitive religion in India was initiated by Majumdar (1950) and his explanation of Bongaism in its final form in the "Affairs of a Tribe" falls in line with the modern anthropological trends in the study of religion (Gopala Sarana, 1961). The full-length study of a tribal religion, however, was published by Elwin (1955) on the Savara tribe of Orissa, for which he supports the concept of "spiritism" suggested earlier by Roy (1928) in his study of Oraon religion. The study of religion in the context of Indian villages was initiated by Srinivas (1952) who in his book "Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India" develops the concepts of Sanskritisation to explain the process of change in Hindu villages.

The focus of interest of cultural anthropologists in the study of religion is embodied in the preparation of two volumes, Aspects of Religion in Indian Society, edited by Vidyarthi (1961) and Religion in South Asia, edited by Edward B. Harper (1964). Both volumes include papers on different aspects of tribal and rural religion based on original investigation. The Majumdar memorial volume appropriately opens with an essay "Professor Majumdar and Anthropology of Religion" by Gopala Sarana (1961). Marriott (1961), Aiyappan (1961), Sharma (1961) and Srivastava (1961) contributed papers which throw light on some of the dominant distinctive characteristics of Indian religion and philosophy. The papers that follow are of more specific nature and the units of study are mostly limited to respective villages. Carstairs (1961) and Mathur (1961) descripe the complexes of religious beliefs and practices as studied by them in three typical villages of Rajasthan and a Malwa village in Madhya Pradesh respectively. Singh (1961) tells us about religion in a Sikh village while Vidyarthi (1961) describes the sacred complex of a tribal village. Then, there are papers that cover still smaller units for their study, though their theoretical implications are of wider consequences. Madan (1961), Atal (1961), Singh (1961), Chattopadhyay (1961), Sahay (1961), and Sinha (1961) analyse certain religious features like festivals, cults, deities of Indian villages in such a meaningful manner that they prove to be of great methodological significance. Thus Vidyarthi's volume, as has been observed by Bose (1961), "covers a wide range, from the way religion is practised by folk in different parts of India to an analysis of certain complex beliefs present among tribal people and which have become modified on account of contact with Hinduism".

Harper's volume (1964) originated from a Conference on Religion in South Asia held in August 1961. It consists of nine papers by Mandelbaum, Ames. Berreman, Kolenda, Opler, Gumperz, Beals, Yalman and Hitchcock. The publication brings to light the various approaches to the anthropological leads given by the respective authors and, in general it was bound to stimulate further researches in Indian religion. Another volume, Traditional India: Structure and Change: edited by Milton. Singer (1958), has also great relevance to the contemporary study of religious traditions in India. This volume, unlike the other two, includes papers dealing with both textual and contextual analyses of oral and recorded traditions. Though the theme of the book is to understand the image of "New India" in the light of her rich and deep-rooted heritage, almost all Papers have some bearing on religious traditions which obviously have been the common idioms of Indian history. The papers deal with the various dimensions of Indian civilisation and analyse some aspects of cultural media and cultural performances including religious ones. However, a few of these papers exclusively deal with some aspects of the religion of a specific community, e.g.,

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McCormack's paper deals with the me_l}J pLcommunication found among the Lingayat sect while a paper by Raghavan analys_es the methods of religious instruction in south India. There are also papers which deal with the religious aspects of specific Communities like Anavils of Gujarat by Naik, the Chamar of Senapur by Cohn, the Nayar by Gough, etc. A full-length study of the sacred city of Gaya as a dimension of Indian civilisation in the framework of Redfield's and Singer's theories has been attempted by Vidyarthi (1961). It is an aid to the understanding of religion.in India in terms of the great traditional life of the communities.

Many of the village monographs referred to earlier include material on religion, and its importance in village life is evident from all these studies. In one of the village studies, Senapur, Planalp (195 6) _lid extensive researches exclusively on the religious life and values for his doctoral degree of Cornell University and presented a full-length description of the religious life in a Hindu village.

Urban Studies: The researches of Robert__B .dfield, Milton_gnger, McKim Marri_cm of Chicago University in India gave further theoretical andmethodologicaTTeads in i na e/ sta'hding the folk and peasant communities in India as dimensions of Indian civilisation. The "Great" _and "Little" traditions of India are - beingreinterpreted, and their studies p qvide a new perspective to understanding Indian civilisation. It led to.the beginning ofan anthropdlogicat' approach to the study ofcivilisation by studying great and Little corn.munities of various dimensions. This was not all. The Indian anthropologists, primarily under the · influence of the Chicago School of Anthropology, started a study of traditional and moderri Eities, firstly, with a view to understanding them as dimensions of Indian civilisation and as also to analysing the folk-urban continuum. Studies of the process of urbanisation, industrialisation and city planning have also been undertaken by a few social scientists.

With Milton Singer's methodological study of Madras, Marriott's of Wai Town near Po na, Martin Oraon's of Jamshedpur, the study of cultural roles of cities attracted attention, and some anthropolugists with the finandal assistance orthe Planning Comri1ission took up city stttdies and, thus, broadened the scope of anthropology from isolated primitive tribal communities of rural, and then to urban and industrial centres; The study of Calcutta by Bose (1958), of Kanpur by Majumdar (1961), of Lucknow by MukMrjee and Singh (1961), and of Gaya and Ranchi by Vidyarthi (1961, 69) reflect the_· impetus that Indian a11-thropologis's have received from the Chicago anthropolpgists_as well as from the Plannin_g Commission in taking up the study of the cultural and economic roles of cities.

Lastly, under the American.influence the India universities have realised the need to integrate the various· · branches of anthropology for the purpose of training and· researches and now_ in all of them, there is an integration in the teaching of anthropology with, of course, a bias for specialisation in specific branches of -anthropology. Then, again need has been felt for collaborati-ort among the social_ scientists for a comprehensive understanding of the social and cultural phenomena of Indian communities, and in some - ofcffit}tecent researches and publications in the field of village and city studies, of religion and 'leader$hip and _of social change and planning, e,tc., these trends of interdisciplinary studies are; conspicuously reflected. With the recently constitufod'lntlian Council of,Social Sciences Research and currenteffortsof the· Ministry of Education to reorganise the Anthropologic l Survey of India this trend of irtterdisciplinary approach to social science research has further been strengthened and is likely to get further established in India._

On the applicatio:ri l vel, anthropology has come to be recognised in the fields of such new State pmgra:111S as .pianning, regional development, community development, democratic decentralisation, aqult educ tion, family planning, mass communication including radio and television, growth and nutrition, ··p u b h °iealth, etc ·In the field-of tribal v1elfare>it play : an activerole; Anthropology i1 lndia. today shows deep' concern with the social and cultural problems of the country.

From· this brief survey,· it is evident that anthropological research in India originated and developed under British influence arid the stimulation received from American and other countri s. While in the · study of kinship and marriage, British social anthropology still continues to provide meaningful models to · Indian scholars, the_ British functional approach to tribal and rural studies seems· to be getting

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supplemented by the American cultural ahd'·historical approach. Thanks to the increased interest in the study r[f] new and emerging India in the context of the traditionai;structure, such an approach has been greatly necessitated. Along with this f[r]eshness in social anthropological studies, the descriptive phase of tribal studies has also been replaced by an analytical study of different communities with an attempt to formulate terry:s and concepts, and to advance theories and methods fot a general understanding of society and cu ure iri India and elsewhere. The administrative anthropology of the colonial pattern is getting oriented to a ademic interests, and with this a new quest for interdisciplinary approach to understand the various dimensions of the complex Indian societies has become evident. Again, in the light\;f certain leads given by American scholars, there is more of "not work studies" and "part-whole" analyjes and less of "isolate studies", a trend which has led to emphasise the similarities (rather than diff¢.rences) among the various communities in India. Taken as a whole, social anthropology in India as, par(of world literature has made a satisfactory progress during the last two decades and it has been recognised by the universities and the Government as an important discipline in that it studies people at all levels of cultural development in their wholeness, with precision and empirical orientation.

The }ourney of lndia ·anthropology is still gn. It has gone much ahead under the i fluence of and 'ip coll .boration with, British and t en American anthropologists. L-A:nd, of course, they will continue to influihce, inari incr_eased ·ctegr'Ee, in expanding the scope of anth1:opology in India in future also. Science r.no batriers arid the scie'nc·e ofmanJn -India has to··still ·learn a· lot in the fields of theory and methods ofsdcial rese rch from other scientifically advanced countries ofthe world.

Nonetheless it does riot mean that social· a·nthropology in India shoul·d overlook what may be termed "Indianness" of its science And obviously it has not done so. It is because of this salient feature that Professor Kroeber has said that India .has listened to England, American and to herself. The result, we may_' say, h"lts been ·a synthetic. approach that rnay be "visualised in terms of our unique cultural milieu, value-attitude system an9- our heritage and historkaJ experiences. Then, we have had our own sets of social thinkers ,yho have given thought to the social problems from time to time and who have also given a direction to them. Arnong. such nunierous social thinkers mention may. be made, for example, of Mahatma Gandhi 0f1ose teachings and ideals, if looked at in terms ofsocfal sciences, seem to Jayaprakash Nar_aytn (1960),a the ·submerged part of an "iceberg" which ought to be explored. Besides, ancient heritages llke the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Srniriti, the Puranas·and epics, etc., are full of social facts and they need to he studied carefully to develop. "Indianness" in· the social anthropology. of India, which should be specially used in the study of cultural processes and civilisational history of India. The Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University, Ranchi, under the dynamic leadership of Vidyarthi has taken up a research program (1972) to study the Indian ivilisation through her Sacred Complex, and different Dha_rmas ·are being studied. It is an epoch-making occasion after independence to introduce "I ness" in anthropology in India.

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5.1 Village Studies in India

Significance of Village Studies in Irldia

Village occupies an important place in the social and cultural landscape of contemporary India. Notwithstanding India's significa11t industrialization over the last five or six decades, and a considerable increase in its urban population, a large majority of Indians continue to live in its more than five lakh viillages and remain dependent on agriculture, directly or indirectly. Accor i g to the 2001 Cens- is·;-i{1rai India accounted fo·r-:-nearly n–p·er ·cent of In<lia's total population, a fact that gave India its sobriquet "Gramavasfrif"Biia"railif';lr'ot'ii"timeTii rriemhria[-SfmHariy ·though the share of agriculture has corne d9wn fo around one-fourffi of the total national iricoi11e, nearly half of India'_s vVorking population is directly employed in the agricultural sector. Apart from it being an in1p· -rt ;;t -d Illo·g ap-hic and ·structural reality li.a..@S!erizingcontemporary Indra;··vmage"ilas·,-aisohee·ri·an·Imp-01:tant-·id gJ$gi_i; l.C.frgo,ry,_.·. category through whidi Indi"afias· often been imagined and imaged-Tn rn-dern tim-es. The village has been seen as ,ih ii".tiJJl tc:: 1gnfie i. i iii .'"ii}(in ff:a1tit(fili:f(; a pl7i e-wh re one could-see or observe the "real" IMia and: develop a'ii urfdersfa nat'ng oi'; p ⅞,a,)f6cal people organize their social relationships and belief systertis>As : ndre Bet ille writes/the village \iVaSJ).QlJ}lerely a place where:peo le lived; it had a d sign i?: if '. ¢ r t e ted'> ba ic yall c:s of,,f ma tiy]L -ti{)_Q.:,CB t Uk19 8 Q).J.!! !1!1l_tlo.n. Giih x,ris. 9*llte"" m qJdn_ Jt ng :e:Oll)tnll_IliJi - '\"- cultt r }·. yal11es.¼.'::e_S P.:P.2 .9 ·lQ._Q..e,__l} a p Le QLY-:h t .in..the t:tye t.ie_ hlM . :f: - t9 b ·kno n s he/'-t, p d !!W & 9cie! Y·

His:torital: Ba;tk llf h d:**ri'fVillag** Stu"die·;

Though one may find detailed references to village life in ancient and medieval times, it was during the British colonial rule that an image of the Indian village was constructed by the colonial administrators that was to have far reaching implications — ideological as well as political — for the way Indian society was to be imagined in the times to come. Along with the earlier writings of James Mill, Charles Metcalfe's notion of the Indian village community set the tone for much of the later writings on rural India. Metcalfe, in his celebrated remark stated that 'the Indian village communities were little republics, having nearly everything they wanted within themselves, and almost independent of foreign relations. They seemed to last where nothing else lasted. Dynasty after dynasty tumbled down; revolution succeeded revolution but the village community remained the same' (as in Cohn, 1987). Though not all colonial administrators shared Metcalfe's assessment of the Indian village, it nevertheless became the most popular and influential representation of India. The Indian village, in the colonial discourse, was a self-sufficient community with communal ownership of land and was marked by a functional integration of various occupational groups. Things as diverse as stagnation, simplicity and social harmony were attributed to the village which was taken to be the basic unit of Indian civilization. 'Each village was an inner world, a traditional community, self-sufficient in its economy, patriarchal in its governance, surrounded by an outer one of other hostile villages and despotic governments.' (Inden, 1990).

In many ways, even in the nationalist disc urse, the ide.a of village as a representative of uthentic. native Hfe was derived from the same kind of imagination. Though-Gandhi was careful enough n:ot to glorify the decaying village of, British India, he nevertheless celebrated the s6-called nd a_1!1.:.. of village life an image largely derived from colonial representations of the Indian village. The decadence of the village was seen as a result of colonial rule and therefore··village reconstruction was, along y rith political independence, an important process for recover of the lost self.

ln<the post-Independence· India aiso 'vHlage···has continued to····be· treatedas the·basi.c. ttnit of inqa n society. Among tue academic traditions, the study of village has perhaps been the most popular arriohg the sociologists and social anthropologists working on India.They carried-out a large number of stpdie, : focusing on the social and cultural life of the village in India. Mos't ofthes-estudie·swerep h lis neG"aurirg " the deciidesl:950s and· 1960s. tfie-se ''vHfii"gesfiidie ,;pfayec ardni'pohaiit·rolefogivfog·re·spectabilit}ftf tli iil' cfpliiie fqfsJfc{QJ9gyJI1}f} icfala throiiolo f i J @)

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Generally basing their accounts on first-hand fieldwork, carried out mostly in a single village, oda1 anthropologist focused on the structures of sodal relationship_ , institutional patterns beliefs and value sjste:ms -ofthernral people. The publication of these-·stu.dies a·lso markecfthe beginning o l a new phase lll the history ·orlndian sociaf scfen-Ees. They showed, for the first time, the relevance of a fieldwork based u riderstandfng of Indian society, o r what came to be known as "field·view" 9_fJhe..India, Q.t frg !U t _ t{l.11 domina11t "book-view" of India, which was developed by the Indologists and orientalists from classical Hindu scripfores.

After_the colonial administrators/ethnographers, it was the "young" discipline of social anthropology that took Up the study of Indian village during 1950s and 1960s in a big way. This new intere?t in the village sociaflife was a direct offshoot of the newly emerged interest in the study of the peasantry in the western acadeirric circles.

Emergence of the so called _''ne s_t_a ·- fo}lg ng,_ t! _()loni:z Ji n during the post war period had an Jgiii§r1iiiil'nfuience_J:>r:tre. iir.ch:pxioxiti . Jri !h -- 9.£.i Lgiili-ft .„!he mosfsignificanr-feature oftne·riewly emetged 'third_world' countries was the dependence of large proportions of their populations on a stagnant agrarian sector. Thus, apart from inqustrialization, on main agenda for the new political regim'es was the transformation·· of their "backward" and staghant agrarian economy. Though the sttat gies and priorities differed, ·modernization' and 'development' became common programs in most ofth 'Third World·countries.

Understanding the prevailing structures of agrarian relations and working out ways and means of transforming them were recognized as the most important priorities within development studies. It was in this context that the concept of 'peasantry' found currency in the discipline bf social anthropology. At a time when primitive tribes were either in the process of disappearing or had already disappeared, the "discovery" of the peasantry provided a new lease of life to the discipline of social anthropology.

The 'village community' was identified a the social foundation of the peasant economy in Asia. It is quite easy to see this connection between the Redfield's notion of 'peasant studies' and the Indian 'village studies·. The single most popular concept used by the anthropologists studying the Indian village was Robert J{edfield's notion of 'little c:on:i,munity'.

Among the first works ori the subject; *Village* ***India:*** *Studies in the Lit{:le* ***Community*** (edited by M. Marriot, 1955) was brought out under the direct supervision of Redfield. He even wrote a 'preface to this book. Having-found a relevant subject· matter in the village, sodal anthropologists (many of whom were either from the West or were Indian scholars trained in-the Western universities) initiated field studies in the early 1950s. During October 1951 and· May 1954 the ***Economic Weekly*** (which later became ***Eco-nomic and*** Polit{s_q,l_Weekly) published a number of short essays·providing brief accounts of inq.ividual villages that were)f.eh;g studied .by.differentanthropologists. These essays were later_ put together by M.N. Srinivas in the form of a. book with the title ***India's*** 'f(fllages. in 1955. As mentioned above Macki\n Mafriot's book *VillagJ!,Jndia* also appeared in the same yJ<lir.'foterestingly, \h:J irst volume of *Rural Profiles* by D.N. Majuindar also appea ed in 19S5. S.C. Dube also published his.'full-length study of a V;illage near Hyderabad, *Indian Village* in the same year.

There· s a virtual explosion of village studies in the .sixties and seventies. 'Although soc;ial ani:J\ro_pologists were the first in the field which they dominated throughout, scholar's fr'om other disd lfries - 1iolitical scie1_1ce, history, economics, and so on - were also attracted to it' (Beteille, 1996). Though tno t of the studies provided a more general account of social, economic and cultural life of the rurar;feople, so·me of the iaterstudies- also focused on specific aspects of the rural social structure, such as,-sttatification, kinship, or religion,

Si nificance bf a Vllage

The discovery of peasantry thus rejuvenated the discipline of social anthropology. In the emerging inteilectual and political environment during the post war period, anthropologists saw themselves playing an 1important role in providing au hentic and scientific account of the "traditional social order",

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the transformation of which had becorg, global concern. Many of the village monographs emerged directly from the projects carried-out' by sociologists and social anthropologists for development age'ncies. These included studies by Dube (1955), Majumdar (1958), and Lewis (1958). Lewis, wnb studied a village near Delhi writes: Our work was problem oriented from the start. Among the problems we studied intensively were what the villagers felt they needed in housing, in education, in health; land consolidation program; and the newly created government-sponsored panchayats (Lewis, 1958). Lewis was appointed by the Ford Foundation in India to work with the Program Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission to help in developing a scheme for the objective evaluation of the rural reconstruction program.

A typical anthropologist, unlike his/her economist cou'nterpart, saw the village 'in the context of.the cultural life lived by the people' and the way 'rural life was inter-locked and interdependent' which 'baffled social engineers as it could not be geared to planned economy. It was here that the economists needed the assistance of sociologists and anthropologists' ·(Majumdar, 1955). Though they were supposed to only assist the 'big brothers' economists in the planning process, the anthropologist viewed their perspective as being "superior". because 'they alone studied village community as a whole, and their knowledge and approach provided a.n indispensable background for the proper interpretation ofdat,fon any single aspect of rural life. Their approach provided a much-needed corrective to the partial approach o(\he economist, political sci_entist and social worker (Srinivas, 1955). ·

Anthropologists criticized economists and official planners' view because they tended 'to treat people like dough hi their hands. The fact .that people had resources of their own, physical, intellectual and moral;· arta that they couldti.se them to their advantage, was not recognized by those in power' (Srinivas, 1978)·. While economists used quantitative techniques and their method was "more scientific", the anthropological approach had its own advantages. Anthropological studies provided qualitative analysis: The method of anthropology required that its practitioners selected 'a small universe which could be studied intensively for a long period of time to analyze its intricate system of social relations' (Epstein, 1962). However, not all of them were directly involved with development programs. In fact IpOSt of them saw the relevance of their works ih professional terms. Taking a position against the dose involvement with official ag ncies, Srinivas argued that 'the anthropologist has intimate and first ha·nd knowledge of one or two societies and he can place hls understanding at the disposal of.the planner. He. may in some· cases even be abJe ro anticipate the kind of reception a Qarticular administrative measure may have.But. he cannot lay down policy bec.ause it is a result of certain decisions about right and wrong' (Srinivas,· 1960). Thus maintaining a "safe' distance from the political agencies was .seen to be necessaiy becau e·, .. unlike economics, social anthropology did not have a theoretical grounding that could help them become. applied sciences.

Th_e relevance of studying the village was viewed more in methodological terms. The village and 1$. ·hamlets re.presented "India in microcosm" {Hoebel n Hiebert, 1971}. For the anthropologist, they · ere invaluable observation-centers wher he/s}le could study in detail social processes · mdlproblems·to.be found. occurring in great parts ·of lndia\ Srinivas 19S5: 99):Villages were· supposedly flose to :pebple, their life, livelihood and culture and they were· 'a focal point of reference for individual prestige··and identification'. As 'an important administrative and. so ial unit, the village profoundly influenced the behavior pattern of its inhabitants'. Villages were supposed to have. been around for 'hundred·s of years', having 'survived years of wars, .making and breaking up of empires, famines floods and other natural is_ters'. This perceived 'historical continuity and stability Qf villages' strengthened the case for vil_ge st:µdies (Dasgupta_ 1978).

C_rtying-out viiiage ·studies during thi fifties and the s1xties was 2!so ·important because the Irtdian soeiety was changing very fast and the anthropologist needed to record details of the traditional soi:la} order before it was too late. Underscoring this urgency Srinivas wrote 'We have, at the most, another ten years in which to record facts about a type of society which is changing fundamentally and with. great rapidity' (Srinivas, 1955)

In addition to these reasons, other scholars have emphasized .on the following.

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Sir Henry Maine argued that the land w'as held in common by a group of peopl. which reflected _!!le importance of commr'l habitation which every anthropological enquiry strives to understand and analyse. - - - - - -

Majumdar believed that an Indian village is not merely a way of life, it is also a concept, a constellation of values and so long as our value system does not change, or changes slowly and not abruptly, the village will retain its identity, so as it has done till today.

Sachidananda opines, "in most parts of India, the village is not merely an administrative or a revenue unit, but'the basic unit of our social polity. It is enshrined in our tradition from times immemorial. The village community is a historical as well as a social factor. The inhabitancy of the village had intimate social, ecc{nomic, ritual and political relationships regulated by age old tradition_s and institutions".

India is a classic land of agricultur,e. Its long past history, its complex social organization and religious life, its varied cultural patterns can hence be· understood only if a proper study is made of the rise, growth, CfY$.JaBization and subsequent fossilization and break up of the self-sufficient village community, the prh1cipal pivot of the Indian societyonly,till recently.

Dut to historical reaso s, the Indian rural society has becom; a veritable mosaic of various types ofrural s<;ig.l_ies and hence revea,ls a. diversified cultural_ pattern. -The culture of the hunting and food gathering _ tribes, the culture .of the primitive hoe-agriculturists, further, all the varied cultures of peoples engaged in agrarian productio with the plough and ·the bullock, as also the_ modern cultur·e of a rural people influenced by new technical and economic forces - all these cultures *ate* juxtaposed in the contemporary rural India. Further, the Indian rural hu_manity is also being influenced by the ideological currents of the modern e_ra. Gori.sequently we find in the Indian rurc;ll world today, the persistence of primitive cults of magic .and animism, polytheism, pantheism of the ancient world, monotheism and other idealistic philosophic world outlooks inherited from the ancient medieval periods as also a. minor current of modern rationalist world view. This has· transformed it into a veritable museum of different and even conflicting cults and ideologies.

Indian Village as a Social System

Unlike th tribal communities, the Indian villages had a considerable degree of iversity. This diversity was both inte"rnal as well as external. The village was internally differentiated in diverse groupings and had a complex structure of social relationships·and institutional arrangements. There ·were also different kinds of y_iliages in different parts of the country. Even within a particular region ofthe country, not all villages were alike. The stereotypical image of the Indian village as a self-sufficient <;:ommunity was C!J,.l!tested by anthropological studies. Beteille, for exc1mple,argued 'at least as far back in time as Hying memory went, there was no reason- to believe that the .village was. fu lly elf-sufficient in the economic sphii-e (Beteille, 1996). S_imilarly Sriniyas_ too contested the colonial -notion of the Indian village being a co:t;;upletely self-sufficient republic. The \,illag , he argued, 'w s ciJ,Wys a part_of a wider entity (Sririivas, 19'60J.

Howe er, despite t is contention about the village having links with the..outc.ide world_and explicatin&·the diversities that marked the rural society of ndia, .it was the 'unity of the village that was underlined by ·m9. tanthropologis . The fact that the village interacted with the outside world did not mean it did not ha ' a design of:its own or could not be· stgdied as a-representative unit of Indian social life.,lYhil vi ges had· horizontal ties, it was the vertical ties within the village that .governed much of the life ?fan av 1 geperson m the vii -

Vill prnvide_d ·an important source _of identity to its resid nts. Different scholars placed different emphasis on how s1gmficant the_village _identity was when compared to other sourc·es of identification, such as those of caste, class or locality. Srinivas argued that individuals in his ·village had a s pse of identification with their village and an insult to one's village had to be avenged Uke an insult to on_eself, one's ife, or ·one's family· (Srinivas, 1976). Similarly, Dube argued that· though Indian villages varied greatly_in'· their internal structure and qrganization, in their ethos and world-view, and in the ll hfe-ways

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and thought-ways, on account of variety ,offactors, village communities all over the Indian sub-continent had a number of common features. The village settlement. as a unit of social organ.ization, represented a kind of solidarity which was different .from that of the kin, the caste, and the class. Each village was a distinct entity had some individual mores and usages, and possessed a corporate unity:· Different castes and communities inhabiting the village were integrated in its economic, social, and ritual pattern by ties of mutual and reciprocal obligations sanctioned and sustained by generally accepted conventions. Notwithstanding the existence of groups and factions inside the settlement, people of the village could and did, face the outside·world as an organized, compact whole (Dube,1960).•

It ;\%a W.H. Wiser who had initially, in his classic study of *The Hindu Jajmani System,* first published in 193(had· conceptualized the social relationships among caste groups in the Indian village in• the framework of 'reciprocity'. The framework of recip.rocity jmplied that though village social organization was hierarchical, it was the 'interdependence' among different caste groups that characterized the underlymg spmt of the Indian village. Reciprocity implied, explicitly or implicitly, an exchange of equal services and non-exploitative relafions. Mutual gratification was supposed to be the outcome of reciprocal exchange. Each serves the o her. Each in turn is master. Each in turn is servant (Wiser 1969r

Though the later studies were ·much more elaborate and contained long descriptions of different forms of so(ial inequalities and differences in the rural society, many of them continued to use the framework of rett)'.jtocity particularly while conceptualizing 'unity' of the village social life. However not eve"ry'One emphasized the ·unity of the village the way Srinivas and Dube or earlier Wiser did. Some of the anthro-pologists explicitly contested the unity thesis ·while others qualified their arguments by· xecogniztfig the conflicts within the village and the ties that villagers had with the outside world. For insti"nce, ·Paul Hiebert in his study of a south Indian village, although arf>uing that. the caste system provided a source of stabthty to the village, also underlined the fact that 'deep seated cleavages underlie the apparent umty of the village and fragmented it into numerous social groups' (Hiebert, 1971).: Similarly, Bete1lle had·argued that his study of village 'Sripuram as a whole constituted a·unit in a physical sense and, to a much lesser extent, if the social sense' (Beteille, 1996).

Among those who nearly rejected the idea of the communitarian unity were Lewis and Bailey. F.G. Bailey for example provided a radical critique of the 'unity-reciprocity' -thesis and offered an a.ternative perspective. Stressing on the coercive-aspects Of caste relations, he writes: .. those who find the caste system to tli'eir taste have exaggerated the harmony with. which the system works, by stressi g the degree of interdependence between the different castes. Interdependence mearis that everyone depends on everyone else: it means _reciprocity. From this it is easy to slip into ideas pfequality: because men are· equally dependent on one another, they are assumed to be equal fa other ways. Equality of rank is ·so manifestly false _whert applied to a caste system that the final step in the argumenfis seldom taken, arid ex;nosition rests upon a representation f mutual interdependence, and ·the .hint that, because one aste · cotild bring the system to a standstill by refusing to play its part, castes do not .in fact use this sanctiorrto ' **maintain their rights against the re? .lntf Q ,** of COUf$e, **the system is held together not** s d **mtich** by tieS Of.:· reciprocity, but by the concentration in one of its parts J'he-wstem works the way it does ·because}he · coercive sanctions are an m tfie hands of a dominant caste The:re is a tie of reciprocity, but it is not a sanction of which the dependent castes can make easy use (Bailey, 1960). However, this kind of a perspective did not become popular among the sociologists and anthropologists during 1950s· and 1960s.· They continued to work largely· within the 'unity-reciprocity' framework with varied degrees of ei;µ.phasis.

ViUage Snda] Structur.e

Th·e intellectual and h_istorical contexts in which social anthropologists worked largely guided the kinds'of research questions they identified for their studies. The tradition of studying tribal communities that emphasized a 'holistic' perspective also had its influence on the way village was visualized. Despite _their ry preoccupation with kinsh p,_r_eligion and ritual lif of the 'l ttle c<;>mm nities',_doc me fr internal structures and village social hfe ould not be completed without lookmg at the prevailmg soqal differences. Theoretically also the emphasis oh 'unity' did not mean absence of differences and soc1al

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inequality. Neither did it mean that these questions were not important for social anthropology. Though not all of them began their wnrk with a direct focus on understanding the structures of inequalities, almost every one of them offered detailed descriptions of the prevailing differences of caste, class and gender in the village social life. Being rich in empirical description, one can construct a p1ctureorffie social relations, which mayriot necessarily fit within the framework with whkh these studies were actually carried out.

The Caste System

Caste and hierarchy have long been seen as the di§tinctive and defining features of the Indian society. It was .during the colonial period that caste was, for the first time, theorized in modern sociological. ~~lan~~guage. The_ colonial administrators also gathered extensive ethnographic detail and wrote detailed accounts of the way systems of caste distinctions and hierarchies worked in different parts of the sub-contine_nt Social anthropology in the post-independence .India continued with a similar approach that saw caste as the most important and distinctive feature of Indian society. While caste was a concrete structu ethat guided social relationships in the Indian village, hierarchy was its ideology.

An individual in caste society lived in a hiera chical world. Not:.only were the people divided into higher or fow r .groups, .their food, their dresses, ornaments, customs and manners were all ranked in an order. of *hi rtuy.* ,Anthropologist invariably invoked the *varna* system of hierarchy which divided the Hindu society into five major categories. The first three, viz., Brahmins (the priests or men of learning),. Kshatriyas {rulers and warriors) and Vai$hyas (traders) were regarded as *dvijas* or the twice born. The fourth category was that of Shudras, composed of numerous occupational castes that were re_garded as relati_vely 'clean' and were not classed as "untouchables". In the fifth major category were pla ed all the "untouchable" castes. Hindus all.over India, according to Dube, accepted this classification.

The legjtimate occupations to be followed by people in these major categories *(varnas)* were defined by tradition<Within each category there were $everi;!l sub-groups (jati or castes), which could be arranged in a hierarchical order within them. In this general framework of the varna system, with considerable variations in different regions there were several socially autonomous castes, each fitting into one of the five major divisions but otherwise being practically independent in their socio-reiigious sphere of life (Dube 1955). Though the essence of caste lay in 'the arrangement of hereditary groups in a hierarchy', the popular impression derived from the idea of *varna* that arranged groups in an order_with Brahmins at the top and Harijans at the .bottom was right o·nly partly. The empirical studies pointed out that 'in ·fact only the two opposite ends ·of the hierarchy were relatively fixed; in between, and especiaily in the middle region, th re was considerable room for debate regarding mutual positioq' (Srinivas, 1994).

Caste divisions determined and decided all social relations. Most scholars saw caste as a closed system wheret?ijYffry into a social status was a function of heredity and individualachievement, personal quality'' or wealth had, according- to the strict traditional prescription, no say in determining· the spcial status' (Maju : ar, 1958). However, there were sbmi! who admitted thrt,P}r way caste operated at the local lev l , was :'radically different from that expressed in the varna scheme Mutual rank was un ertain and this stemmed from the fad: that mobility was possible in caste' Srinivas, 1976).

Dube identified six facto.rs t}J.at contributed towards the status differentiation in the village community. of Shamil'pet: re ligion and caste; landownership; wealth; position in government service and village ·orgatifsifrion; age;and distinctive personality traits (Dube, 1955). Attempts to claim a higher ritual status:, tllrough;,:what Srinivas: called Sanskritization, was not a simple process. It,couid not be achieved only,, throuGlf,ntuals and·Hfe'."style irriitatioh The group had to··also ·negotiate. it a t ·the· local··power ·structure . Similar[y;-stressing secular facto_rs, Dube pointed to the mannerin which_the caste panchayat f the lower or the mep.ial .castes work_ed as unions_to sec_ure their employment and strengthen their.bargam1ng po}Ver vis-a-:-vis the and owning dommant castes.

However, a large majority of them viewed caste system as working within th.e framework of Jajmani system and bound together·different castes living in the village or a cluster of villages in enduring and pervasive relationships;

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Land and Class

As is evident from the above discussion, the social anthropologists studying India duning the fifties and sixties generally worked in the framework of caste. The manner in which sodal science disciplines developed in India, class and land came to be seen as the concerns of economists. However, since anthropologists advocated a perspective that studied "small communities" in holistic terms, agriculture and the social relations ofproduction on land also found a place in the village monographs. While some of them directly focused on economic life as one of the central research questions, most saw it as an aspect of the caste and occupational structure of the village. Land relations to them reflected the same patterns of hi rarchy as those present in the caste system. 'There was a certain amount of overlap between the twin hierarchies of caste and .land. The richer landowners generally came from such high castes as Brahmins, and Lingayats while the Harijans contributed a substantial number of landless laborers. ·in contrast to the wealthier household, the poor one was almost invisible (Srinivas, 1976).

Some others underlined the primacy of land over all other factors in determining social hierarchy in the village. Comparing a Brahmin dominated village with a Jat dominated village, Lewis argued that 'While the landowners are generally o f highe n:ca te in Indian villages, it is their position as landowners, rather than taste membership *per se,* which gives them status and power' .(Lewis, 1958). However, despite such referenc s to the crucial significance o fland ownership in village social life, village studies did not explore the defails·of agrarian· social structures in dif erent regions of the ·country. Caste, family kinshfp-:atrd religion remained their primary focus.

Gender Differences

It is rather interesting to note that although 'gender' as a conceptual category had not yet been introduced in the soci al sciences when the social anthropologists were doing their field studies during 1950s and 1960s, village studies Were not completely "gender blind". Since the concept of gender and the accompanying theoretical issues had yet to be articulated, the social anthropologists did not look at man-woman ,relations in the manner in which it was to be conceptualized and studied later. Still, many of the village monographs provide detailed accounts of the patterns of social relations between men and women in the rural society of India. Some of these monographs even have separate chapters devoted to the subJett In the absence of a critical theoretical perspective, the village studies- constructed gender and patriarchy as a··natural social order'. Further, accounts of man-woman relations provided in these studies were largely based on the data collected from male informants. Most-of the. anthropologists themselves being males, it would have been difficult for them to be-able to meet and participate in :the "private" life of the village people. Some of them were quite aware of this lacuna in their fieldwork and ·have written about it in their reflections on their fieldwork experience:

Mostv.illage studies-looked at gender relations within the framework .of the household, and participation of Wp en in w o r k These""""studies highl. ghted the divisipn of labour witnin the family nd the o all dominance that men enjoyed in the::p·uoli sphere. om en, particularly among the upper castes, re confiljed within the four walls of the house. 'The soda! world of the worrian was synonymous with the household and kinship group while the men inhabited a more heterngenepus w·orld' (Sriniv s, 1976:137). Compared to men in the. Central Indian vil age studied by Mayer 'Women had less chance to meet people f om other parts of the village. The village well provided a meeting ph1ce for all women of non-Harijan castes, and.the opportunity for gossip. But there was a limit to'·the time thatbusy women could stand and talkwhile they drew theirwater and.afterwards they must-return home, where the occasions for:tcllkirig to p.eQple- outside their own household wereJimited to meeting.with other women ofthe street' (Mayer 19(>,Q)>Irr the -Telangana village also, Dube observed h at w oine i>Were• sedtided from the activities f,the public space. 'It was considered a mark of respectability in -women if-they- walked with- their- ey.es- downcast' (Dube, 1955). The rules of patriarchy were clearly laid out After caste. gender was the most important factor that governed the division of-labor in the vma·ge Masculine and feminine pursuits were clearly distinguished (Dube, 1955).

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Writing on similar lines about his village in the same region, Srinivas pointed out that the two sets of occupations were not only separated bttt also seen as unequal. 'H was the man who exercised control over thE!. 9omestic economy. He made the annual grain-payments at harvest to the members of the artisan and servicing castes who had worked for him during the year. The dominant 'male view' thought of women as being 'incapable of understanding what went on outside the domestic wall' (Srinivas, 1976:140-1).

Men also had a near complete control over women's sexuality. In the monogamous family, popular among most groups in India, 'a man could play around but not so a woman. A man's sense of private property in his wife's genital organs was as profound as in his ancestral land. Apd just as traditionally a wife l ed any 'right to land, she lacked an exclusive right to her husband's sexual prowess. Polygyny and concubinage were both evidence of her lack of such rights. Men and women were separate an unequal. Patriarchy and male dominance were legitimate norms. 'According to the traditional norms of the society a liusband is expected to be an authoritative figure whose will should always dominate the domestic scene. As the head of the household he should demand respect and obedfence from his wife and children. The wife should regard him as her 'master' and should 'serve him faithfully' (Dube, 1955).

Conclusions

T!t t tJJ.dies of Indian .villages carried out. by social anthropologists during the 1950s and 1960s were uri o.uht dly an··important landmark in the histor1 of Indian social sciences. Even though the primary ·focus of these studies was ori the social and .ritual life of the village people, there are enough references that can be useful pointers towards an understanding of the political and economic life in the rural society of India during the first two decades of independent india. More importantly, these· studies helped in contestfog_ the dominant stereotype of the Indian village made popular by the colonial administrators. The detailed descriptive accounts of village life constructed after prolonged field-works carried out, in mo t ca$es, entirely by the anthropologists themselves convincingly proved how Indian villages were not 'isolated communities'. Village studies showed that India's villages had been well integrated into the broader economy and society of the .region even before the colonial rule introduced new agrarian legislation. They also pointed to the regional differences in the way social village life was organised in different parts of the country.

Social anthropological studies also offered an. alternative to the dominant "book-view" of India co·nstructed by Indologists and orientalists from the Hindu scriptures. The "field view" presented in the village monographs not only contested the assumptions of Indology but also convinci gly showed with the help of empirical data as. to· how the idealized model of the varna system as theorized in Hindu scriptures. dfd not match with the concrete realities of village life. While caste was an important institution in the Indian village and most studies foregrounded caste differences over other differences, empirical studies showed that it was not a completely closed and rigidly defined system. Caste statuses weit \also not exclusively determined by one's position in·the ritual hierarchy and that there were many gr r·and contestable a_reas within the SY§„tem. It was from the _village studies that the 1concepts like sa §.kritisation, dominant caste, segmental structures, harmonic: and disharmonic systems evierged.

Ho-Wever, v llage studies· were also constrained by a number of factors. The method f participant" observation that was the main strength of these studies also imposed certain limitations on the fie-Jdworkers, which eventually proved critical in shaping the image they produced of the Indian village. Doing participant observation required a measure of acceptability of the field worker in the village tl;iat hezihe ·chose to study. In a differentiated social context, it was obviously easy to approach the village tht :ughthe dominantsect,ionst H wever,·thisch,.?ic _proved to.,be of more than just a strategic value. T.he aq'ire:ty o f the anthropo.logist t6 get ·acce·pted 1 .the villaiie a s a nierribe'r:of the· "communfry" made· tliefr acdounts o f the village life conservative in orientation. It also limited their access to the dominant groups in·the local society. They chose to avoid asking all those questions or approaching those subordinate groups, Which they thought, coµld offend the dominant interests in the village. The choices made by individual a11thropologists as regard to how they were going to negotiate their own relationship with the village sigl)ificantly influenced the kind of data they could gather about village life ·

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Unlike the "tribal communities", the ,c,onyeu,tional subject matter of social anthropology, Indian villages were not only internally differentiated much more than the tribes, they also had well articulated world views. Different sections of the village sodety had different perspectives on wiiat the village was. Though most of the anthropologists were aware oflhis, they did not do much to resolve this problem. On the contrary, most of them conscio usly chose to identify themselves with the dominant caste groups in the village, which apart from making their stay in the village relatively easy, limited their access to the world-view of the upper castes and made them suspect among the lower castes.

Apartfrom the method of participant observation and the anxiety about being accepted in rural society that made the anthropologists produce a conservative account of the rural social relations; the received theqretical perspectives and the professional traditions dominant within the disciplines of sociology.and social. anthropology during the time of village studies also had their influences on these scholars. Anthropologist during the decades of fifties and sixties generally focused oh the structures rather than changes. This preoccupation made them look for the sou·rces that reproduced social order in the village and to ignore conflict and the possible sources of social transformation.

Traditiona{_qr,d Changin _Patterns'df Settlement and' Inter-Caste Relations

IncHa':is a country of a_ncient .civilization that goes *back* to the· Indus Valley Civilization,- which flourished dufing the third .millennium B.C. Since then except for a brief interlude during the Rig-Vedic-period i{Cfrca 1soo.:1000 "B.C.) when the urban centers were overrun, rural and urban centers have co- existed. in India,

Rural Social Structure

·Rural and urban center..s...share some common facets of lifei T. y show interd...ependence especially in the sphe_re of economy, urban-ward migration,. and .townsmen or city dwellers', dependence on villages for various products .(e.g., food grains, milk, vegetables, raw materials for industry) and i!! asi ng dependence of viHagers on towns for manufactured goods and market. Despite· this interdependence between the two there are cercam d1stmctive features ihat eparate them from each other in terms of ·their size, demographic composition, cultural moorings, style of life, economy, employment and social relations.'

Rural peo_ple Hve in settled villages. Three main types of settlement patterns have been e>bserved in rural areas:

i) The most comrrio e is the nucleat d village f ℧nd all over the country. Here, the fields of the villagers surro und a tight cluster of houses. An outlying hamlet or several satellite hamlets are·also found to be attached to some villages in this case.

ii},S tondly, there are linear s ttlements in some ·parts of ·the country, e.g.. in Kerala, in .Konkan .a:)jdJn the delta. lands of Ben..gal. . In such settle!l}ents,. houses are strung out, each" surrounded by its·.own: com,p_ound. However, there is little to ph#ic1llly demarcate where one village ends and another·begins.

iii) The third type ofsettlement is si,mplyascattedilg ofhome teads or clusters of two or three· houses. In this case also physical demarcatIDn ofvillages is not clear; Such settlements are found in hill areas,·in.- the Himalayan foothills, in the h!g!llaru:ls of Gtijara_t and in theSatpura range of Maharashtra.

Fi-th.er., we fi.nd that.the size of village population is small.a d density.o{ pe>puiation.low incomp.a;t on, witl.}_owns and citie . India'is.righ_tly called,a country of.viHages._Ac:c.ordingtp 1981 Ce.nsus,.therey ere .402 '.:towns and·5;57 l 37 irihabited·.villc!ges .in the country.: By thfyear>1991 lhis numb·er.irrcreas.f!". tq 4§.?9towns and S,SO,1S1 _villages. AccordingJa-2001 c.ensus tl)ere are 5161 towns anct 6,38,36s:vnL ge5,_ (il)cludfog uninhabited villages) in :1 di *{Census _ofIndia_* (provisional), 2001). M·oreover,_as _per 2001 census figures about Ti. percent c;,tthe total populatio n live in villages. Further, **rural** life -is charaster z q by direct relationship of people to ·nature. i.e., land, animal. ·and plant iife. Agriculture fs their main. occupatio n. For example, in India agfic_ulture provide iivelihood to about 58 percent of the labor force.,

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Long enduring rural social institutions in ·India continue to be family, kinship, caste, class, and village. They have millennia old historical roots and structures. They ericompass the entire field of life: social, economic, political and cultural - of the rural people. The complexity of social norms and values, statuses and roles, rights and obligations is reflected in them.

Rural Family

Family is one of the most important social institutions that constitutes the rural society. It caters to needs anc!.0;performs functions, which are essential for the continuity, integration and change in the social system, such as, reproduction, production and socialization.

Bro Hly speaking there are two types of family: (a) nuclear family consisting of husband, wife and unm1irried children, and (b) joint or extended family comprising a few more kin than the nuclear type. Important dimensions of 'jointness' of family are cohabitation, commensality, coparcenary, generation depth (three), and fulfillment of obligation towards kin and sentimental aspect Coresidentiality or cohabitation means .that members of a family live under the same roof. Commensality implies that they eat t<>:gether i.e., have a common kitchen. ccwctr,cenary means that they have joint ownership of property. Furtl!.er, generation depth encompasses three generations or mote, i.e., grandfather, father and the son etc .:l'xlembers .of the family also have obligations toward their kin. Moreover, they have a sentimentaL attiettmenuo the ideal ofjoint-fq.mi}y-:-

Rural fa1mily works as the unit of economic, cultural, religious, and political activities. Collectivity of the family is emphasized in social life, and feelings of individualism and personal freedom ifre very limited. Marriage is considered an inter-familial matter rather than an inter-personal affair. It is governed by rules of inship.

Changes in the T ditio al Family

Traditional"joint a mily occupied a predominant position in rural areas in India. It was largely p-revalent among the landed gentry and priestly taste. But nuclear family also existed in lndfa. Lower caste families· whose main occupation was agricultural labor were mostly nuclear. However, they appreciated the ideal of.joint family. Various studies have been conducted to diagnose·the changes taking place in family in India with i_ncreasi g industrialization and. urbanization, changes in economy,. technology, .politics, education and law. in modern tim·es: There are two approaches. The first assumes that the family structure in India has undergone the process of unilinear change from the joint to nuclear form as in the West--

Secondly, LP.Desai (1964),. S.C. Dube (1955), T.N.Madan (1965), and others argue that it is necessary to observe family as a· process. They adopt developmental cycle approach to understand changes in the famfl.y1structure in India. _They advocate that the presence ofnuclear family households should be viewed. as.urits, wJ:lich will be growing into Jointfa:vi,!IJ s when the.sons g ow up and marry. T_he 'developmental cycle\approach implies that a family structure keeps expanding,i\\'ith birth and marriage, arid depleting,: with.:death_and partit on in a cyclical order during a period oftime·.

Fur_ther, empirical-studies show inter-regional and intra regional variations in the distribution of family types. This is evident from the study by Pauli:n.e Kolenda (1967) who has made· a comparative study of fa!!f structures in thirteen regions of In_dia on the basis_ of_32 publications. In Uttar Pradesb, among the:. Thak r.s of"Senapur, joint families constitute .74.4 percent and nuclear famil es only 25.5 percent; but unt .chableshave 34.percentjpintfarriilies .and. 6 per_c nt nuclearfalllilies In._th hill;rregion of the:, state :df Utfar Pradesh in Sirkarida' \rillage, wh re· mosf oftbe· population ·is that of Rajputs, the joint/ famifies comprise only 39 percent and there are 61 percent nuclear families. In Maharashtra, Badlapur village has 14 percent joint and 86 percent nuclear families. ln.Aridhra Pradesh in Shamirpet village the propottioli ofjoint families is·18.5 percent and that ofnuclear is 81.5 percent

Here, Kolend,a ha s made a few generaHzations. She observes tha between regions, the rural areas of the Gangetk plains have highe(proportion of joint. families than those in the Central India, Maharashtra,

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Andhra and Tamil Nadu. In the Gangetlcpia,Jns itself, joint families are more common among the Rajputs and nuclear families predominate among the lower castes. For further- etails on the joint and the nuclear fami1y refer to the relevant chapter in Volume 01. lthas been observed that with the changes in the larger society, the structure and function of joint family in India are undergoing a reconciliatory pattern of change. The traditional world-view of the joint family still prevails.

Kinship

Within the village, a group of families tracing descent from a common ancestor with knowledge of allthe links constitute a lineage; and the children of the same generation behave as brothers and sisters. They form a unit for celebrating major ritual events. Sometimes the word *Ku/* is used to describe these units. These bonds of families may go back to 3 to 7 generations. People do not marry within this group. Such families use a more generic term like being *"bhai-bandh"* of one another. Like lineages, even clans exist and they are also exogamous. The word *Gotra* may be used for them.

Adrian Mayer (1960) studied a village in Malwa and distinguished between the **kindred of cooperation** anq **kindred of recognition.** The first J ih s:e is the smallt:r unit, where cooperation is offered and taken without formalities. The second one !is a hirger unit that comes together on specific. occasions through information and invitation. These relations can be spread over several villages for each caste. This is why Mayer .studied them within a caste and its region, a point that we need to remember in order>to undersfan the spread of a caste/subcaste across villages and towns. This is also known as horizontal spread of the caste.

With regard to rules of marriage there are some differences between the n_orth and south India. Irawati Karve (1965) noted these differences. Later American anthropologist, David Mandelbaum, included them in his popular work on *Society in India* (1972). ·He reiterates the position "broadly put, in the South a family tries to strengthen existing kin ties through marriage, while in the North a family tends to affiliate with a separate set of people to whom it is not already linked". This is witnessed· in the prevalence of the rules oCvillage exogamy and 'gotra' exogamy in the North but notiri the.South. In the. North, nobody is permitted to marry in his/her own village. Marriage aliiances are concluded with the people from other villages belo_nging to similar caste. But no such proscriptions exist in the South. Further, ih the Nqrth one cannot marry within his/her own *gotra.*. On yie contrary, cross cousin marriage i.e., ll}arriage between the sh,ildren of brother and sister, is preferred in the South. Thus, there is a centrifugal. tendency in North .. India, i.e., the direction of marriage is outward or away from the group. In contrast fo South India we find a centripetal tendency in making marriage alliances and building kinship ties. In other words, marriages· take place inwardly or wit:hin the group.

Caste Structure

Pebple usually .marry within the caste or sub-caste; Members of a caste trace their origin from a comill' n ancestor historical, mythical ·or, ,div,ine The properties of that ancestor ·are w6rthy of being remembered by people; and these are ·well'known to such ati extent that a mere .mention pf that name is enough to recognize the group to which a person belongs.

Two important criteria (i) it is an ·endogamous grqup; (ii) it has a common ancestor.· As a part of this arrangement descendents of a common ancestor are divided into two groups, the smalier exogamous group,· and the wider endogam us group. The -first of these groups :knows the stages of the links; the sedmd treats it as given.

Th!:::re' are four other characteristics' of· caste as ideritifiJa: BY Ghuf :e:: dccupat:ion is in som_e V'{YS connected with caste, but.not to the ·extent pf prescribingJt·Hence Ghurye psed the phrase- laci(,of choice .regarding occupation. It ha been known for.Jn tance that agriculturists, soldiers and confectioners .have come from different castes. In some ways however, occupatfunal-connect10n is a T Y, reference for other groups to identify a person. Each caste has its own social rules regarding things it can take or not take, use or,not:use. These·relate to dress, o·rnamerits, and-even place for-living. In southern hitlia, the ecology of the !lllag r flects thesaste divisions; the status going.down-as one mbves from.the

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north-east to the south or south-west. For,example, in his study of a village in Tanjore district of Tamil Nadu, Beteille (1962) has shown that the Brahman live in an .a9raharam located in the north, non-Brahman somewhere in the middle, and at a distance to the south there is *cheri* or the colony for the lowest castes. Some of the activities of the castes relate to the wider social setting which is based on the principle of ascription, birth determining the membership of a person and the status of the group. Each group in certain ways represents a segment of the society, and regulates its affairs. This has been caUed · tfie segmental dIvIs10n of society. In case of the caste-based society as a whole, each group is assigned a partic:ular place on the social iadder. This arrangement reflects the hierarchy of castes, and in that sense other:::·'writers, like Kingsley Davis, say that the caste system represents the extreme degree of 'instfr_utionalized inequality' in the world.

Sub:,-caste

A sub-caste is considered a smaller unit within a ca te. In the village setting usually we find that there is only one sub-caste living there. A larger number of sub-castes indicate the late arrivals to a village. Thus for all -practical purposes a sub-caste represents the caste in the village. In the wider setting of a regjon, however, we find many sub-castes. One ex rrtple from Maharasht_rfl is ·of kumbhar .(potters). There are several groups among them; those who tap the clay, those who 'U:se the large wheel, those who use the sm lL:wheel. All the three are. endogamous groups. Should they be_ called castes or sub-castes? Ghurye favtft§ the second use, Karve the first one. Both agree that the groups are-endogamous; the difference of opinion is about origin. If one group broke· into three parts - sub-caste would be a proper usage, ai1d Ghurye thought that was .the way things happened. If the three groups had_iodepeoclent Q..rigin then they could be called castes - and that is how Kai-ve thought things had occurred. She points out that even linguistic differences exist among the groups and to the extent physical characteristics could help, they show a variation. In conclusion it can be said that sub".'caste is the smallest endog_amous group and it has some. mechanisms like b-nchayats to regulate the behavior of members in the traditional setting.1n a village, the difference between caste and sub-caste does not come to the surface but in a region, the aifference is visible.

Please refer to other topics on caste to gain a wider knowledge on the traditional aspects of the system. We shall now look at the changes that are taking.place in the caste system.

Changes in the Traditional Caste System

Studies by historians and sociologists, namely, Romila Thapar (1979), Burton Stein (1968), Ramkrishna Mukherjee (1957), A.R Desai (1987) and M.N. Srinivas (1969 and 1978) have-shown that Indian society was never static. The main traditional avenues of social mobility were Sanskritization, migration and religious conversion. Lower castes or tribes cou_ld move upward in the caste hierarchy through acqd'i§1tion of wealth and political power. They could consequently claim higher caste status along with Sanslfritizing their way oflife, i.e., emulating the life-style and customs of higher castes. - 1

Som important changes have taken place iri the caste system intrc/r lareas in the contemporary period due :ti>· the new forces ·of industrialization, urbanization; politicization, modern educatidn and legal system, land reforms, development programs and government policy of positive discrimination in favor of the lower castes.

Occ1,(1l' tional association of caste has marginally changed in rural areas. B ahmins may .-still ·work as pric. 1:5· In addition, they have taken to agriculture. Landowning dominant castes belonging to both upper an4,:r#irl:clle rung of caste hierarchy generally,\-VQ['.k as Sl,lpei:yisory farmers..Other non-landowning lower cast /including small and marginal peasants, work as wage laborers in agriculture. Artisan castes like carpehters and ironsmiths continue with their traditional occupations. However, migration to urban a.n as h<;ls enabled individuals. from all castes including u_ntouchables to ·enter int· ·non-traditional occupations in industry, trade and commerce, and services.

Further, inter-caste. 1t1arriage is almost non-existent in rural areas. Inter-caste restrictions onfood, drink and smoking continue but to a lesser degree because of the presence of tea stalls in villages whicn are

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patronized by nearly all castes. The hohJ,of ;untouchability has lessened. Distinction in dress has become ffior'e a matter of income thari caste affiliation. In traditional India, the upper castes were also upper classes but it is not absolutely true today because now new occupational opportunities to gain income have developed in villages. People migrate to cities and bring money back to their villages. This has changed the traditional social structure.

Caste has acquired an additional role of operating as interest groups and associations in politics with the introduction of representative parliamentary politics. This has been noted by M.N. Srinivas (1982), Rudolph and Rudolph (1967) and Paul Brass (1965). Various caste associations have been formed transcending sub-caste boundaries to articulate caste interests. Moreover, caste has also witnessed growth of intra-caste factions with differential support to political parties and· personal interest ofthe factional leaders. Thus, caste has undergone both the processes of fusion (merging of different castes)and fission (breaking up of a caste into parts) in the arena of politics.

There is a change in rural power structure in. the period since Independence, which has led to some changes in inter-caste relationship. The Brahmins have lost their traditional dominance in South India. Karn.ma and Reddi in Andhra, Lingayat·a d Okl<:aliga in Karnataka, and Ahir, Jat and Kurmi. in North India have emerged as the ne"Y dominant caste at local and regional levelsrhrou.gh acquisition of economic an .Political power. Some traditional Qackward castes e.g. Nadar, Vanniyar of Tamff Nadu and. Mah r:. of Maharashtra also have improved their social status.

In his. study of Srifm,;arri village in Tanjore district, Andre Beteille {1971) noticed th phenomenon of status incongruence Traditionally,·the upper castes owned land and monopolized political power in the village.. But now, due to various institutional changes, they have lost control in political affairs to intermediate castes without losing their land to any substantial extent

Thus, we find that caste has undergoneAdaptive changes. Its traditional basic features, i.e. connubial (matrimonial), commensal (eating together) and ritual, still prevail in rural areas. The core characteristics of the castes, which have affected the· social relations, are still operative. However the status quo of the intermediate and low castes has changed due to ·their acquiring politicat and/or economic power. High caste, high class and more power went together in the traditional village setting. This hegemony of the high castes has given way to differentiation of these statuses in some regions -in India (Beteme l 971 & 1986), so that now high caste does not necessarily occupy a higher-class position.or power;

Agra,:ian Relations in Indian Villages and Changes

The traditional agrarian relations in the caste system are discussed under the topic "JajmariLSystem". In .. the following paragraphs we shall be focusing. more on the changing agrarian relationships in a rural sociijI:,nstem.

K.L. Sharma·(1980) elaborates, "caste.,.i11corp r,ates the element ·of class and class has a ultural (caste):· style,.J1ence the two systems cannot be t easily separatecf.even analytically". In the mod rn .period;:the pritish land revenue system gave rise to a more orJess similar agrarian class sg:ucture in Villages in India. They were the three classes of the *landownm(zarnindars),* the tenants and the agritultural laborers. The landowners *(zamindars)* were tax gatherers and non-cultivating owners of.land. They belonged to the upper caste groups. The agricultural laborers were placed in a position of bondsmen and hereditarily attach· d laborers. They belonged to the lower caste gmups.

The i pact. of land reforms and I1J.ra} devetoPB t;;programs introdu d ,after independence has. b en ·sigri'ifkant Land reforms led to tlieeviction of smaller tenants n a large scale. But the intermed:i,te castes of peasants, e.g., the Ahir, Kurmi etc. in. Bihar and Uttar Pradesh benefited. Power of the feudal landed families started declining all over the country. The onset of the Green Revolution fo the 1960s l,etl· to the. emergence of commercially oriented landlords. Rich farmers belonghig· generally to upper ·· intermediate castes prospered. But the fortune of the poor peasantry and the agricultural laborers did not irfip"rove. This has led to acceJtuation of class conflicts and tensions. Agtarfan' unrest iri jndia has ,i,W become a common feature in various pat1 o the country. ·

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P.C. Joshi (1971) has summarized in the following manner the trends in the agrarian class structure and relationships. (i) It led to the decline of feudal and customary tyges of tenancies. It was replaced by a more exploitative and insecure lease arrangement. (ii) It gave rise to a new commercial based rich peasant class who were. part owners and part tenants. They had resource and enterprise to carry out c mmercial agriculture. (iii) It led to the decline of feudal landlord class and another class of commercial f mers emerged for whom agriculture was a busine s. They used the non-customary type of tenancy.

The process of social mobility has been seen in two direc ions. In his study of six villages in Rajasthan, K.L. Sharrna (1980) observed that in some villages, not only the agricultural laborers but q ite a few of the ex-landlords have slid down in class status, almost getting proletarianized. On the contrary, the neo-rich peasantry has emerged as the new rural bourgeoisie replacing the older landlords. Ramkrishna Muk:tforjee (1957) in his work *Dynamics of a Rural Society* dealt with the changes in the agrarian structure suggesting that a number of classes (categories) were reduced, and that small cultivators were becoming landless workers.

Further, Kotovsky (1964) has noted the process of increasing **proletarianization** of the peasantry in villag s.According to him, "with the agri':-1:!! re cl,evel(?ping along c, pitalist lines the process of ruination ""and jjroletariahization ·of the bulk of the· peasantry is growing mbre intensely all the time". This is sub$}.t. ·naated·by·tht d a ct that in the two decades between 1961 and 1981 the share of ultivators came, dtnv'fi''ffom 52.3 percent to 41.5_ percent while· during the same period the share of agricultural laborers increased from 17.2. percent to 25.2 percent of the total labor force. During the two decades the proportion· of peasants operatmg less than two hectare increased from 40 percent to 55 percent of the total. By the year 2001 the share of cultivators to the total work force further declined to 31.7 percent and the share of agricultural laborers became 26.7 percent (Census Report (provisional), 2001). The increase in proportion (and certainly numbers) of agricultural laborers has gone along with a general increase in wage laborers in the rura! economy.

The process of social mobility and tran formation in rural India has"been explained by sociologists by the ter.ms **embourgeoisement** and proletarianization. Embourgeoisement refers to the phenomenon of upward mobility of the intermediate class peasantty i.e., their emergence as new l ndlords. Proletarianization describes the process of downward mobility, i.e., depeasantisation of small and marginal peasants and a few landlords and their entry into the rank of the rural landless agricultural laborers.

Impqct of Globalization on Indian Villages

Economic globalization has achieved a status of a master .concept in social sciences, albeit an ambiguous one,.si11ce the turn of the century. Its impo'rtance derives from the profound consequences it has f r all the:fi; tions, consequences which are multifaceted bearing literally on all the aspects of social life In its-. esse"ti_ce; economic globalization represents Jhe sharp and continuing integratior of the wo:vld economy.· Glo IJzation inyoives the movement of people: goods, ideas a d in'fo;r'matiOii"ac oss"rtatiO!]al,, boundaries... It has:·been defined as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distanUocalities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by evenfs.'"occtirringmany miles_ away and: vice versa'. (Gid ,:ns ,1990: 64)

Aft JlfJndependence, the managers of the Indian economy took very cautious steps. They found the world: sharp_lf-:divided into two blocs: the one led by the.capitalist economies (the.US in particular) and other led· by tlfo,,<:ommunist economies, pr Illarily; !he then USSR T here -was a CC>l war b.etwee.n. these· MO blocs LesS.:-.-:(developed.economies had .tio option than to.j01n either of the. two an·d invite the.ire of the opposite.· bloc!·Especially those economies that were under the British Empire and Wou freedom in ,the near past faced a difficult choice. India chose to keep a safe distance from.both. the by inventing the idea of a. mixed economy. In doing so; India invited as much favor as suspicion from both the blocs._ -Sor:ne economists .hold the opinion .that the Indian economy was pro.-capital_ism in its core that wore the fa ade of a -socialistic economy... The :state-ma:nag d -economic·.endeavors· fa . gt, !J9!:ll! U9J1_J_n the· private sector, often at the cost of the pub!1c sector and resources, f>r'epanng for a smooth trans1t1on to

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open capitalism in future when the cond.iti-ons were ripe or such a transition.

The efficacy of economic management on socialistic pattern had led to serious malaise. Although we observe high growth rates of the Indian economy during the 1980's, much of this owes to very large amounts of foreign borrowing. Thus, the growth rates of 1980's were unsustainable, fuelled by a build up of external debt. Hence, India had no much alternative than to opening of its economy to the international market forces. The dawn of 1990's came with the great debacle of the USSR. This was an ideological disaster to the princ;iples of economic management in India and one of the decisive events that brought India under the gravitational force of the capitalist bloc.

The agriculture sector performed miserably in 1987-89. Following the assassination of Rajiv Gan hi, PV Narsirrtha Rao came to power in June 1991. At that time, India's condition on foreign exchange reserves was poor and precarious. India made a proposal for a loan of US$ 2.26 billion from the IMF. In view of the destitution that the country was in, it had no alternative than to succumb to the World Bank-IMF prescription in embarking on the so-called stabilization and structural adjustment programs as a precondition to loan. The World Bank was ready with its proposed 'Strategy for Trade Reform!. As a result, thus, India introduced the New;Etoi:io111ic, Poli y [NEP} in 19 1. The· NEP can be divided into two parts: the *stabilization programs* and the *structural adjustment and reform programs.* While the former part basic Jly aims at reducing macroeconomic imbalances (such as fiscal and current account deficits} by resttainirtg·aggregate demand, the latter essentially aims at increasing growth, by eliminating supply bottlenecks that hinder competitiveness, efficiency and dynamism to the economic system.

Globalization and Agriculture

The statistics of area under 12 major crops in India covers about 95 percent of area under cultivation. The· data indicate that. after globalization, the area under cultivation has increased. However, the area under f od. crops cls percent-to th . tot J area under Cll+tivation s .e<::ff.?ieq. More so, the area under coarse· (food) cro percen1ag;; fo1qtari" ea uiider cultivation (as well as the total area under food crops) has decreased. This trend indicates a shift of the Indian Agriculture to cash crops and in the food grain sector to the finer, IQR . As pointed out by Swaminathan (2002), such charigeshave affected the poorer section of the society adversely.

·With lndia's membership in. the WTO, Indian agricultural policies underw:ent signifcant changes; A cufture m--rm theliber policy rwme advocated by the IMF. The gradual abolition of input subsidies on fertilizers, irrigation, electricity and credit, removal of trade restrictions on agricultural commodities so that th-- domestic prices are not· out of tune with world prices, unifisation of prices so that the.current system of dual markets in food grains and other·agrictiltural commodities disappears, drastic curtailinent of food subsidy confining the Public D'istribution System only to·the deserviQg poor, removal ofall restrictions on the choice of wll,atto produce, ·'where to sell etc, freedom of operations for agri,tiusiness and so on, the ·1ngian agriculture. began ·a suming a new structure, fuarlH ·tlly in contrast ;With the pre-1990 one. The structural changes have been 'observed irt the land-use pattern for raising different crops. But fragmented small la_ndholdings and ·poverty among the farmers severely-limit the cultivation of crops ·for the-;tnarket The infrastructure for storage, transport, processing, grading and rating quality standards are underdeveloped. Farme s are ignorant of the sophistication of global markets, as their experience is limited-to prim-itive operations. The dem.andJor mo t of the Indian farmproducts is yery low on account of po.or quality and:quality cqntrol syste :Jh:erefore, with the poor prospects and scopidor the export of.-Iridfan.agricultural produce;·the exporters}) .ce difficult!eS both in th dqm stkanQ foreignII1ar ets J.qrjI1 ta.m:e,lndianfea is. a high-cost product;;-Vvher1 cheap:er tea comes_:into the market, the country's high.:.cost tea producers lose out Yet, export oriented agriculture is gradually reducing the .area of food cultivation, .as more and more land is being used for cash crop production. The growing costs of agricultural input,s and shriqkage qf the market for agricultural produce are- not only causing· problems for farmers, but are .also affecting· rural eitP!oyment seve r,ely, 1here 1s w1dE; spread migration of agricultural workers to other states:..and to cities. With these changes,_the a_gro-based industries have not been able to pick up momentum. so as to provide a thrust tc, the industrialization process.

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Globalization is an uneven process, with unequal distribution of benefits and losses, both across the countries and within a country across different income gro1!£S,

Globalization and Impact on Social Relations

ContelJ!porary globalization - and its handmaiden industrialization - fosters competition and with it an increase in individualism both lpcally and globally: With individualism there is a weakening of pre-exi ting forms of hierarchical relations. On the whole ther .is a general shaking free of group affilia ns and:group controls. When social roles become less strongly ascribed, with social positions being 'up for grabs', there is an mphasis on entrepreneuriality and its running mate, competition. This emerges in a societal focus on the md1v1duahst's dominant values - there is increased emphasis on the importance of social mobility, on fad, fashion and conspicuous coosum.ption. As a result, with a growth in individualism there is a greater incidence and acceptance of rule bending, short-termism, calculateq risk-takfog and tfie cultivation of ever shifting and ever more useful networks.

As;;:lndividualism -and its bye-products; entrepreneuriality- and competition - strengthen, they do so at the1expense ofaffiliation and obHgations to more traditional grpupings such as the extended family and to political com.munal and religious ·authorities. Where s hierarcb it institutions and groups offer the s rity ofmutualsupp_ort, continuity and the stability of tradition, Individualism lacks these benefits.

Glcib Ifa:at ioll nd il)dustric1lE,·m results in massive rural.:urban migrations. Relationships in cities - both in-the developed :'incfin the developing worlds • are essentially different from those in smaller scale traditional communities. The villages are characterized by relationships that are homogeneous, la ly based- on kinship, residence and wi!h ties based on simple divisions of labor. Their moral cohesion is often founded on shared religious sentiment. The massive move to cities, which is such a feature of globalization/industrialism, reduces the impact of these features: groups are weaker, relationships more heterogeneous and largely based on occupation and a more complex division of labor, while moral cohesion is more fragmented. Social mobility increases, new middle classe s emerge with new values of aspiration and ideas of ersonal responsibility while an industrial working class expands in the citi s.

For the majority, the 75%.who still live in villages, the effects of globalization are disastroQs. Half of the young me from India's villages had migrated to the city creatmg massive problems for the women and children who remained behind. Industrialization is draining 60 percent of the villages water supply whith is vital to their agriculture. Since politic l and economic power has shifted strongly to elites in the cities, rural concerns have little airing.

The emergence of individualism is accompanied by a shift in time perceptions. Hierarchies last longer than ·people - they continue beyond the life-span of individuals and in some respects exist out of time. Cul,iure? strongly biased to Hierarchy. therefore view ·the future in similar terms to the past and as a co.ntintJation of the presen!. During the With the growth of individualism, people not institutlons become the focal unit of social life.

lndi:tstrialization and mining activities, the later stages of 'free market' economies in·globalization adversely also impact the .ecologies of indigenous and rural people disrupting the economic bases of their habitats.

Tli: so.cial disruption attributable to globalization can be both dramatic and disturbing. On the whole we car, say.tliafthe village communities, endowed their nldec geoer::itions with authority and power. which W S'buttressed by their control Qfloca1iy derived ·resoun:es.·Butwhen yo.ung people obtain :resot1rces a ay from the*villages. th.ere is a shift in the community's ecauomic base. This leads to a reduction tn the aui:hority of the old, a lessening in deference and reseect paid to them and the creation of political af!d or1tanizational vacuums that are evident in a lack of responsibility for communal involvement Part of these ·•vacuums' is ev'ident too in those economic activities - even at local village levels - are increasingly in the hands of-multinational companies that are not locally accountable. The products of village based crafts n and women for instance, are increasingly being·superseded by imported manufactures and respect for their skills Is negated.

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Glqbalization then, also affects hou£€$old as their members become more privatized and less incorporated into the wider community. As competition and consumerism become more widespread, the traditional household, especially in its extended forms as institutions of micro-hierarchy, becomes eroded. Individuals tend to become more autonomous, to exhibit conflicting demands and needs and be less°able to depend on each other. Internal competition, which echoes the spread of individualism at wider levels of society, then has th effect of r pucing social bonds and obligations between different g erations within the same household. It loosens the ties and dependencies that link extended families:'" Insofar as these. typically provide the b ses of mutual support in cases of hardship, this function too is weakened.

Conclusion

Contemporary processes of globalization have determined a general erosion of hierarchy and a growth of Individualism and Fatalism. The emergence of individualism is the most evident In this sense, if we adopt Tonnies' sociological definitions there is a shift from *Gemeineshaft* to *Gesellschaft,* namely between a social organization based on a.communal sense of belonging and shared feelings to one characterizeaby selMnterest and instrumental,,,:beliavi<;rrfi S. a, result, hierarchical social relci ons,. based on regularized face-toTafe interactions, are:pro·gressively w eakened. Tfiis process has im_portant effects at tfie.levelsof .'° illH lty;·:"(rk a?_d.··household qg trol o(w o r k te.nds·to. es ape·. frollllth,_e:.cornumn{ty, w Mle ; ing pl*e tf':irC ·the - ,cfA S.- f:delocali !=;,d:_-*391tii1.ation J_o:rganj i tic>ns ·The ri_¢, in complexity iffiln orga.· t ,ti.Qns, a v.lii:s.ais# a ,in te sing gcc:,urre c:e ·?f deMi nt p it;viors i he·wor pla e. Finally, there is P?iv tization o(n d J#cliv. gufili tic.>,1'". lt.lii,r{th :ht>'li$ bhlth:..$jiu,¢,t,Mt, ; Where u_j1.1E}fill1.r ;of fomilies are drawn into competition and cj_mpetitive consumerism at the expense of wider fai:nlly onds.;.

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5.2 Linguistic and Religious M1ribrities: TheirIS9 ial, Political and Economic Status

Background

India is an assortment of religious, caste and linguistic groups. It is a unique country which is tolerant and yieJtijhg. These two features of the country have, to a large extent, caused a great deal of racial diversity and:-fo some extent fusion and synthesis. A natural outcome of it has been the emergence of minorities over.two thousand years. Some of these minorities migrated from abroad, but the large part of it emerged out of the majority in the country.

Till the Muslim invasion, which began towards the beginning of the second millennium, the concept of minority did not exist One religion prevailed all over the country, whatever it was at that time. Islam, as a forfe, arrived in India at about the end of the 12th century with the Muslim invader Mahmud of Ghazni. Bu_t:the later stream of invaders, mainly. Mughals from _Central Asia, decided to stay here as the land offei- d the .prospect of stability and luxury, - om pared to their qrigit)al arid deserts.

Ch 1 tic1 s,:now'z.j#per ent of the total population, came much later. Though one of.Christ's disciples, q as; as S up - t?_a e l d:1 t i in abou 7h year a r the_death· of Jesus, _the e·arliest Ch 1s,t1an 1 ur,10_ll, l?t?· lnd1a:· as by the Portug ese m .ab9utf6 i1W,.Q' J he rea[encouragement to Chrisi.i inity\vas.whefr thtd3ritish· arrived to set'thelr flag. They·extende"d whole-hearted patronage to the missionaries. Christ an_ity established itself as the second largest minority in India after Islam.

Sikhism, though an important and powerful minority, evolved within the country. It emerged as a shield to protect the society from the Muslim onslaughts. It was a strong reaction to the caste system. Buddhism, another indigenous minority, also was a reaction to the esoteric turn Hinduism was taking at that time. Though originated in India, it'has ;round eight lakh followers in the country. It has however, more followers fo Sri Lahka, China, Japan and Thailand.

Jews. arrived 200-300 years before Christ Zoroastrians, the smallest religious minority in the world (about 1_3000.0,·most of them in -India),·sought refuge -in India in the 7th Centuty when they were persec_uted in -Iran. Thus ...!QLI ..i,S:m, .aud_Co.n(R .i n{ ,,Jarg xµ ..?..i:1. - \t c Ilcl, there -- 1:?. r_eligfordn the world, which k no·t represented on the Indian soil. All these religions have established their rootsmariy nu dreffyeaisago, thereby making India an embodiment of world religions.

Me ning (IIId Nature of-the term "Minority"

In ·, f tontext :of India/many scholars narrowly use the term "minority" to refer to those who are not Hindu, a conception which implies tha ,s9'mehow the dominant core of Indian identity is Hinduism. How ver, it _is not just the religious groups who regard them elve as minorities in this coµntry. Cast , trih;i: -linguistic as well as religious groups can be self-defined as minorities for any one of a number of rea·soils:

1. They have a distinctive group identity·

J :-They regard themselves as socially and economically subordinate to other

':f:They believe that they sufferJrom ·discrimination, ·either. from others in the society or the- state itself.

According to Myron-Weiner, ***"A pt?ople who do not share what they regard as the central symbols ·of the society invariably view themselves as a minority".***

In the.context or"Indfa, th minority and majority status-is a matter of self-ascription. What is a majority fro pne perspective iS a' ino"rity from ·:nother. For example, Muslims are India's largest religious

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minority, but in Jammu and Kashmi -jtJs:. the Hindus who regard themselves as a minority. Bengal is and Tamil are not generally regarded as minorities, but members of these communities living outside their home state often regard themselves, and are regarded by their hosts, as members of a linguistic minority.

The Unities Nations Commission on Human Rights had defined minoritfes as below:

"Only th(Js c<Jmrrmnities other than the ruling national community can- IJe terrncl„ as minorities, wlia w.antto.ha,ve.a· languag.e, religion. cfr:r.qie_ d!ff ren{froin''tiui'_ianguage, religion .ancJ race of the naticm.al community_. It is essential for being recognized as minorities that they should be sufficient in'ii'iimber and their constituents should befaithful to the nation in which they live"'

All the nation-states are expected to grant equal legal and human rights to such minorities, and not to practice any sort of discrimination against them. A reflection of this philosophy can be found in the various constitutional provisions enacted to provide rights and protections to the minorities in India.

CATEGORIES OF MINORITIES IN INDIA

Broadly, in the ·context of Indian Cons'titlition, there are two categories of minorities - Linguistic and Religious.

UNG61'sr1c MINORITIES

India's problem in attaining national integration and ·political cohesion have been complicated by the existence of strong sub-national identities based along linguistic and cultural lines. The Constitutionof India recognizes twenty two major langu ges spoken by a large majority of the people and it is estimated that there are around 1652 other languages_ and dialects spoken in this country.

Linguistic and cultural identities are very strong among the regions that are far removed from the Hindi heartland of north India. Hindi, the popular language, was chosen in 1950 by the ·body that framed the Constitution of free India as the official language of the country; then, in 1965, after the Constitutioi1 haq been in force for 15 years, Hindi was to become the sole official language of the country. But there was strong cultural and_ practical opposition to- Hindi in the South, because Hindi is a north Indi_an language. To south_Iodl<!P the adoption of Hindi symboJized the cultural hegemony of theDravigJ. _Q_S.pu I:i pyth(?_: Aryan North. Preferring English, the_S,outh_lndia11s therefore resented the o rcec [imposition of Hindi, -As a i:!:. !,.2f_':.!?..!, § pp§ 1t:iori 'fo 'Hiri Ll . h. ;i_<?, h ,. l1e-go·v rrtmeni'ofindia_- : . } -!2f_ to an indefillit ... continuation of English as·the second official language of the country.

Since each of India's states has an official language, those who speak another language as their mother tongue regard themselves as belonging to a linguistic minority. In 19·71, for example, in 18 of India's 23 · states, along with Union territory of Delhi, 92.8 mi1lion people or 11 1 percent cif the .popu ation didfn;ot speak the regional language as their mother tongue.

The concerns of these linguistic minorities are quite different Urdu speakers, for example)have called:Jor the establishment of Urdu as an official second language' of the states in which they live. There are large Urdu speaking communities in U.P., Bihar, Maharashtra,.Andhra Pradesh and Karnafaka. In these states; an overwhelming majority of Muslims claims Urdu as its mother tongue;

Som " minorities _speaking unrecognized languages emanded statehoo_d. This .demand. is oft n mad _by thos linguistic grnups concentrated in a.particular region of a state, where the group has a strong se1se of its own distinctive identity. The· largest "stateless"dingu'istk rriinoriHes'are Horo, Nepa!i; Konka·L :1d Santhali etc.

Another set of linguistic minority group comprises those who speak an official language other than the ianguage of the state in which they live. These mfnorities· are. concentrated in Assam, Karnataka; Maharashtra; Punjab, Tamil_Nadu and West Bengal There are nearly 9 million Bengalis living ou ide of West Bengal and Tripura, 2 million Gtijaratis outside of Gujarat, 1.4 miliion -Malayalis. outside of Kerala,_ 3 million of Maharashtrians outside of MaJ1arashtra and Goa and 11.0 million Hindi speakers living outside·

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of the Hindi belt.

Since these minorities, unlike the speakers of other "local" languages, are not regarded as "sons of soil", they are often the target of politifal groups that demand preferences for "local" people in employment and in education.

LANGUAGES IN THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA-1991 Census

Languages	Percentage to the Total Population
Hindi	39.85
Bengali	8.22
Telugu	7.80
Marathi	7.38
Tamil	6.26
Urdu	.iS.13
Gujarati	4.81
K·nnada	3.87
:Malayalam	3.59
Orly	·..32
Ptitijal>i	2.76
Assamese	1.55
Sindhi	0.25
Nepali	0.25
Konkani	0.21
·Manipuri	.0:15.
Kashmiri	0.46 (1981)
.Sanskrit	0;01
Bodo	**0.14**
Dogri	0.25
Santhali	0.50
Maithili	2.60

RELI'(ft.O.US MINORITIES

Altho.4_ch Hinduism is the religion of the m Joiity of Indians (.$e1 }f!b!e J, there are importari,t religious. minoti_ties such as Muslims and Sikhs who have been able to pr sei¥e their group identities. in societies: such S that of India, minority religions provide each group with a focal point of identity: and social solidarity, and large areas of its culture are associated with· its religion; Religion and other aspec of cultural life such as language, art, literature and s_ocial institutions become intertwined and led· to the deve. 9pment of powerful group identities that often inhibit the development of a cohesive political co1najJft1ity or .a nation. Unlike .the Musli_ms and Sikhs, other religio s minorities such as· the Jain , J3udfl f ts,and ·christiaris .havr· sh0\\'P .little 0r no religious, fundcimentaHsm: and· have stay ctJn_ the. maif! eam ofindian sodety and Iri'dian politics.

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RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION OF THE P<:)PULATION - 200_1 Census

RELIGION	No. in millions	% of Total Population
Hindus	828	80.S
Muslims	138	13.4
Christians	24	2.3
Sikhs	19	1.9
Buddhists	8	0.8
fains	4.2	0.4
Others (includes tribal religions also)	6.6	0.6

MUSLIMS

According to the 2001 census, Muslims constituted 13.4 percent of the Indian population. The present d_ayMuslim population in India cons!s¼ IJ10 tly of smaller peasantry, landless laborers, and artisans ih the villages and lower middle class in the cities. At prese'nt, Muslims do not constitute a majority of the population· in any ·state of India except Jammu and Kashmir (67%). Of the 535 districts of India_foto which the country is divided for administrative purposes, there are only 3 districts (2 in West Bengaf nd 1 in Kerala) in which the Muslims forin a majority, outside of Jammu and Kashmir. Almost half of the Muslim population lives in the large states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West BengaL They are widely dispersed.

According to the 2001 census, Muslims constitute 24.7 percent qf Kerala, 25.2 percentof West Bengat 18.S percent of U.P., 16_S percent of Bihar and 12.2 ·percent ofKarnataka. In Assa.m, Muslims constituted 30.9 percent of its population. Elsewhere they represent less than 10 percent of the state population.

As per the 1991 census, M·uslims are concentrated in selected districts of these states, and as compared with Hindus and Sikhs, they are disproportionately urban. ·For example, Muslims are only 8.9% of Andhra Pradesh's population but they are concentrated in the Teleligana region of the state, with their largest concentration in Hyderabad where they form 26.4 percent of the district.·· They are a majority in Malapuram district in Kerala and they are numerous in Western portions of .P., especially in Rampur, Aligarh, Moradabad c1nd Bijnor districts. It is reported that 34 percent of.the Muslim population is urban and they are well concentrated in Hyderabad, Kanpur, Lucknow, Varanasi and Allahabad.

Many Muslims sought the creation of Palqstan as a Muslim natiori to escape f ·m the tyranny of Hindu majority. Even after the partition of British India on a religious basis, the Muslim population of India co11_stitutes the single most important, minority of. the country. Political ·leadership in India -; ner . independence· sought to lessen the a xiety of the: Muslim minority by creating a se ular state. The se_paratjon between religion and s.tate ¥Tas expected to r;ed,uce the Hindu-Muslim antagonism and leac:l to . the development of greater political and national integration.

As a minority, Muslims are.less cohesive. The Muslim of Kashmir have a strong Kashmir identity a·nd by and la.rge speak Kashmiri rather th n Urdu. The Muslims living in :Hindi speaking region mo_stly- speak Urdu. Bengali_ Muslims speakBengali .rather than Urd_u.

In post-independent India, Muslims have freely participated in the political process ofthe country. f:i1ey h ve: used their votes_ as. leyerage for: pqliti aLb i-gai, g; .$ ekirtg a ornmo<lat_ion r om the .majqtily。 community. Sectarian. hostility betweer.i Hindus and Muslims persist-<„· however, the .electoraL::and institutional mechanisms that have been created to reduce group conflict have had only limited ·success. Despite the fact that Muslims constitute the largest minority of the country, they ·form one of the depressed segments of Indian society. Nevertheless, they have displayed greater assertiveness as weHas group awareness in recent years. The orthodox and traditional· Muslim leaders have been_joiqed by the more educated _and younger members in seeking to mobilize the community in order both to preserve its identity and to acquire a greater share o fthe society's goods and services.

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SIKHS

An overwhelming majority'of the followers of Sikhism came from the fold of Hinduism. Sikhs and tlindus intermarried and celebrated each others' religious festivals. But the early part or" the 20th century witnessed the rise of numerous Sikh sectarian organizations that emphasized the distinct Sikh identity. Claiming Punjabi as their religious language and looking upon the Punjab as their homeland, the Sikhs have developed a very strong sub-national identity.

Sikh,s:constitute a majority of around 60% of Punjab. Of India's 13.1 million Sikhs, 2.8 million - more than one-'rifth - live in other parts of India, mostly in Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. In 1982, the Aka!J Dal, a moderate Sikh political party, launched a peaceful agitation in which they demanded certain religfous concessions. They also wanted greater political autonomy for the Sikh majority state of Punjab than had been granted by the Constitution of India. Soon, however, the militant Sikhs, led by a fundamentalist preacher, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, resorted to terrorism. The Sikh community felt alienated and sought the establishment of an independent sovereign Sikh state called Khalistan. The assassination of Indira Gandhi by two Sikh bodyguards on October 31, 1984, resulted in widespread Hindu retaliation against the Sikhs. In JtilJfil;'J,85, however, an ag eement was signed between Longowal an<f he P.M. Rajiv Gandhi. The events of the tecent history have :c'i·eated an unprecedented gulf between the ff indus and the Sikh , despite_ the close and cordial rela ions they had maintaine in the past.

CHRISTIANS

India's Christians are more numerous but less politically vocal than the Sikhs. The 2001 census reported 19 million Christians - 1.9 percent of the population. Christians are no doubt in a majority in the three tiny states of Nagaland (90%}, Mizoram (87%) and Meghalaya (70.3%) and have substantial presence in Kerala but weighted against the Hindus, they are miniscule. In Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, the community constitutes less than one percent of the population. But since these states are small and Christians lack cohesion of the Sikhs, neither plays the role that Punjab does for India's Sikhs. The Christians, by and large, are converts ·from tribes and the Christians of the north-east are culturally distinct from the Christians of the South. The organized Christian church in Kerala is a well-knit and soundly structured interest group, influential enough to have a say of its own in Kerala's politics and elections.

The. constituent assembly debated the. propriety of imre·gulated onversions and ·there were charges of missionaries enticing tribals through allurements. In 1954, the Madhya Pradesh government set up a committee under Justice B.S. Niyogi-to study Christian Missionary activity. The Niyogi report was harsh in its fodictment of missionaries. It accused them of promoting separatism and even creating a "state within a state". By 1968, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh _and Arunachal Pradesh enacted legistlations to regulate. conyfrsions. In 1979, Janata Party MP O.P. Tyagi tried to extend the legistlations nationwide. Although this'failed, it was around this time that the RSS. decided to work systematically among the tri):>als and fight the :Christian missionaries. In immediate pasf, India has witris,s<rd ,a steady and systematic attempt on, Chrfs,tians and their Missionari s. One of the ugliest expressiorts of such an attack is t e murder of Graham Staines along with his children in Orissa.

JAINS AND BUDDHISTS

JaiIW; (4.2 millions) are so closely associated wi.th Hindus that they are not usually regarded by the n selves or -by Hindus; as a religious minority. Also clos.ely associated with Hinduism are the Bu h.ists (6.6 million}. ManyBtiddhists.however regard themselves are.different f·om Hindus.

Miri()rity Status for Hindus

Professor Tahir Mehmood, cllairman of the National Commission For Minorities, that Hindus in Jammu and -Kashmir, Manipur; Mizoram, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Punjab be granted minority status, seems plausible ln principle but is unfortunate in i consequences Th!s move envisaged assumes that. minority status is a statistical phenomenon. Also, many people think of this constitutional

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provision in terms of some privilege.&;ato'rl;, His high time we realize that minority rights are meant to facilitate dynamic and healthy relationships between religious and linguistic minorities and the national mainstream. It is t0 enable· their creatiye participation in the mainstream. It is not a security measure, though it may result in better security. ·Minority status is not a privilege. The problem with minority status is that it is a concept of fear and security. It cannot but breed negativity ·and fear in those who are ironically, sought to be protected under its umbrella. That is why all minorities come, sooner or later, to. suffer from "minority complex".

Granting minority status to Hindus in some parts of our country will have the effect of further fragmenting the Hindu fold. Unlike the Christian and Muslim communities, the Hindus are not a homogeneous lot They are, on the contrary, a conglomerate of sects and groups reflecting the resplendent variety and exuberance of traditions. The temptat on of claiming minority privileges could make them split apart and become mutually competing. This could devastate the precarious unity that today exists in this context. Rather than turn the nation into a crowd of minorities, the- need of the hour is to foster a sense of unity and responsibility vis-a-vis the task of nation building.

PROVISIONS FOR THE PROTECTJdN OF MINORITIES UNDER THE IND/AN CONSTITUTION:

Th Ct>nstittiti n: is replete with provisions for the welfare **of** the minorities. Specific articles in this context are the following.

Article **15** - Prohibition of Discrimination on Grounds of Religion, Race, Caste, **Sex** or **Place** ·of Birth:

1; The state shall not discrimimite ag?i.11St,my fitiz:e.non gro1:1l1ds only of r,eHgion, race, caste,sex, place oTorrth'cfr·anfo:nn' ;

2. No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion,race, caste sex, place of birth or any of them, be subject to. any disability, liability, restriction or condition wit_h regard to

   a. Access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and place of public entertainment; or

   b. The use of wells, tanks, bathing gh ts, r()a s ahd places _of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of general public;

3. Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children;

4. Nothip.g in this article Or in clause {2) o fArticle 29 shall prevent the State• from making any spec-ial provision for the advancement of any ~~~~ arid educationally backward classes of1dtizens (?r for the scheduled castes.and schedi.ll d tribes.

Article 16 - Equality ofOpportunity in Matters of Public Employmen \

1. There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in ·matters relating_to employment or appointment to any office under the state;

2. No citizen shall; on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex descent _plate ofhirth,residence,or•1any oqh, m, .be ineligible for,·· or disc!iminated. against· in respect .of:a ny.employment· or office under he State;

3. Nothing in this Article shall prevent Parliame.nt from making any law prescribing in regard to a class or classes of employment or appointment to ari office under the Government o f or any local or other authority within a State or Union territory, any requirement as to residence within theState or Union territory prior to such empfoyment or appointment;

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4. Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favor of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the State is not adequately represented in the services under the State;

5. Nothing in this Article shall affect the operation of any law which provides that the incumbent of an office in connection with the affairs of any religious or denominational institution or any member of the governing body thereof shall be a person professing a particular religion or belonging to a particular denomination.

Article 25 - Freedom of Conscience and Free Profession, Practice and Propagation of Religion:

1. Subject to public order, morality and health, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion;

2. Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State form making any law;-

   a. Regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice;

   b. Providing for social welfare and reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.

Explariadon 1 - The wearing and carrying of kirparis shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion

Explanation 2 - In sub-clause (b) of Clause (2), the reference to Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jain, or Buddhist religion, and the reference to Hindu religious institutions shall be construed accordingly.

Article 26 - Freedom fo Manage Religious Affairs

Subject to public order, morality and health, every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right:

A. To establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes;

B. To manage its own affairs in matters of religion;

C. To own and acquire movable and immovable property; and

D. To administer such property in accordance with law.

Article 27 - Freedom as to Payment of taxes for Promotion of any particular Religion

No person shall be compelled to pay any taxes, the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination.

Article 28 - Freedom as to Attendance at Religious Instruction or Religious Worship in certain Educational Institutions

1. No religious instructions shall be provided in any educational institutions wholly maintained out of State funds

2. Nothing in clause (1) shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the State but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious instruction shall be imparted in such institutions

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3. No person attending any educatipnaUμ Jitution, recognized by the State or receiving aid out of State funds shall be recognized by the State o; receiving aid mh of State funs shall be required to take. part in any religious instruction that may be imparted in such institution or any premises attached thereto unless such person or, if such person is a minor, his guardian has given his consent thereto.

Article 29 - Protection of Interests of Minorities

1. Any section of the citizens residing in the territory qf India or nay part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same;

2. ' No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or ;, receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

Article 30 Right of Minorities to Establish and Administer Educational Institutions

1. All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer ed'ucational institutions of their choice;

2. In. making any law providing far tlie ompulsory acquisition of a.ny property of an educational institutionestablished and administered by a minority, referred to in clause (1), the State shall ensure : ;that the amount fixed by or detercm.ined imder such law for the acquisition· of. such as wou!d·:r:wt restrict or abrogate the right guaranteed under that clause

3. The State shalJ-not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.

Article 347 - Special _Provision Relating to Language Spoken by a-Section of the Population of a State

On a demand being made in thatbehc,1lf the Presidentmay; if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of State desire the use of any language sp_o_ken by them to be recognized by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognized throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify.

Article 50 - Language to be Used in.Representations for Red.ress of Grievances

Every person shall be entitled to-submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officer or authority of the Union or a State in any of the language used in the Union or in the ·state, as the case may be.

Article 350 A - Facilities for Instruction in Mother Tongue at Primary Stage

It shall be the endeavor of every State and of every local authority within the State to pr9,vide adequate fadlities for instructio in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education_ to children belonging:_to linguistic minority groups; and the President may _issue ·such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities.

Ai:ticle 350 B - Special Officer for Linguistic Minorities

1. There shall be a Special Officer for linguistic minoritfes to be appointed by the President;

2?-:,-Jt shau be the duty onhe special officer to 1nves igate an attetsrelatirig to the safeguard.s provided for linguistic minorities under this Constitution and report. to the President upon those matters at such intervals as the President may direct, a d the President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament, and sent to the Governments of States concerned.

These provisions in the Constitution of India constitute "rnagna carta" or "charter of-rights" for. the religious and linguistic minorities. They a ,e}ntended for the well being and all round development of the

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minority communities. The government at Che center, state and local levels are to comply with them in ·letter and spir:+. Any law made by them in contravention ofthese provisions can be challenged in the cottrse of law and declared ultravires of the constitution. The aggrieved minority individuals and organizations have approached the Supreme Court and various High Courts whenever any act against their interest has been passed by the legislatures and the judiciary has undone injustice done to them.

The government has. also constituted Minorities Commission who inter-alia ensures that the Constitutional provisions and the laws made by the governments for the welfare of the minority re properly implemented. The government takes necessary action on the findings of the Minorities Commission.

MtNbRITIES COMMISSION

The Minorities Commission was set up by the Government of India Resolution in 1978. The Resolution provides that the Commission shall consist of a Chairman and two other Members. However, subs,e'.quently its strertgth was increased from three to five. The Commission now consists of the ChaiFman and four other Members. The iRe%1ution also provides that the Officer appointed as Special Officer 1n terms· of Article .350-8 of the Constitution will functfolas' the Secretary of the Commission b:ut ha ;nifh en :giv n effect to. as,the ,proposed Co'i-1stitutional amendment to confer statutory status on tbe c;otrimissfori and.to merge tlie duties of the Spedal'Officer for Linguistic Minorities in India with those of the Commission, under a Constitutional provision, have riot yet materialized. Consequently, the Co mission h s been looking into specific grievances of the linguistic minorities apart from the provisions ofArticle 350 B ofthe Constitution.

Functions ofthe Commission

The Commission was established out of concern for secular traditions and to promote national integration. Effective enforcement and implementation of safeguards provided for religious and linguistic mi,µorities .in. the Constitutions, in the Central and State laws and in Governmental polides and adm,}n.istrative schemes, emmci ted from time ·to time.were intended so that feelings of inequality and discrimination prevalent amongst minorities, whether based on religion or language, are removed. The carry out these objectives, the Commission: was entrusted with the following functfons:

1. To .evaluate the wo,rking of the various safeguards provided in .the Constitµ.tio for the protection of minorities and in laws passed by the Union and State Governments;
2. To make recommendations with a view to ensuing effective implementation and enforc.ement of all the safeguards and the laws;
3. ,T_p, undertake. a review of the impkmentation of the policies pursued by the Union and State Government with respect to minorities;·
4. To lo.ok into specific complaints regarding deprivation ofrights a d safeguards of minoritie ;
5. ·To cqnduct studies, research and analyses on the question of avoidance of discrimination· against ·minorities;
6. :1r9 suggest appropriate legal and welfare measures in respect of any minorities to be undertaken by \t.lie Central orthe State Governments;
7. To'Serve as a national clearing·houseJor information in respectoft e conditions of minorities; and '·
8. .To make periodical reports at prescribed interval to the Government

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COMMISSIONER FOR I/NGU/STICMINORITIES

APticle 350 B of the Constitution provided for the office of the Special Officer for Linguistic Minoritiestin pursuance of the recommendations of States Reorganization Commission. Accordingly, it was created in July 1957. The office of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities (CLM) investigates all matters relating to safeguards provided for li_nguistic minorities under the Constitution as also those agreed to at the national level. It also-looks into the representations and complaints received from various institutions, bod_i s, and individuals belonging to linguistic minorities for redressing their grievances. It submits its report annually to the Government

At present the CLM consists of its Headquarters in Allahabad and the three Regional Offices at Kolkata, Chennai and Belgaum. The post of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has not been filled up regularly. The Deputy Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities is the overall administrative in charge.

The Deputy Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities also acts as the Deputy Secretary of the Minorities Commission. He is not responsible for. his work in the former capacity to-the Minorities Commission and reports directly to the President. Th iS·R?fit,ion is very anomalo.us and needs to be rectified either/by_ filling up the post of Commissipner or by transferring his fun-ctions to the M norities Commission. This will make the Commission wholly responsible for the interests of both religious and linguistic minor ties **inJlli4li.-** Thts amalgamation would also ens·ure economy and efficiency of their operations and.enable ii vestigations simultaneously.

STATUS OF-MINORITIES COMiVIISSi()N AND °THE NEEDTO STREAMLINE ITS OPERATIONS

The Minorities Commission suffers from certain weaknesses and shortcomings in· its organization and administrative setup and therefore is unable to discharge its functions to achieve its laudable _objectiv_e in an effici,ent and effectiv manner.

1. The Comrnission has not been granted constitutional status so far. The constitutional (forty sixth) Amendment Bill, 1978 was introduced in the Parliament to his effect but had failed to be carried through. Since then, no fresh constitutional amendment bill has been introduced on this subject Lack of constitutional status to the Co_mmission has hampered its working.
2. The Commission does not enjoy any statutory investigative powers. The government is under the impression that not only would all government agehdes reasonably and ·effectively will voluntarily give information whenever the comrriission· requires. But it. has not happened. The commission therefore needs to be equipped with adequate powers of enquiry under the Commission of Enquiry Act, 1952.
3. The· post of commissioner of linguistic minorities should be filled up or .his poy„ rs transferfed ·constitutionally to the Minorities C µim!ssion for removfog the existing anomaly and fulfilling the obligations of the two institutiohs:' -- ·; ;
4. Some state governments have appointed state minority cominissions to· 1ook fato the problems of religious and linguistic minorities in their respective jurisdiction_. It is desirable that every state should have similar institutions_. Arrangem.ents for coordination between the central and state commissions are imperative in this context.
5. Ttie references made by the state anct-central commissions are not attended to. promptly anct the ;t po_rts received from thern-are f ºund to be routine:,· perfunctory and sketchy. Some cases remain ·pending for years together.

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15 POINT PROGRAM ON MINORITY WELFARE

The 15-Point Program on Minority Welfare was formulated by Late Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi, consequent to the deliberations held by National Integration Council. It is intended to ensure fuller participation of the minorities in all aspects of national life. These points are list here.

Communal Harmony

1. The state governments are advised that in the areas which have been identified as communally sensitive and riot prone, district and police officials of the highest known efficiency, impartiality and secular record must be posted. In such areas and even elsewhere, the prevention of communal tension should be one of the primary duties of DM and SP. Their performances in this regard should be an important factor in determining their promotion prospects.
2. Good work done in this regard by district and police officials should be rewarded.
3. Severe action should be taken against all those who incite communal tensions or take part in violence.
4. >Special court or courts specifically ea'tmarked to try communal offences should be set up so that offenders are brought to book' speedily.

s;.JJiktims<of communal-r-iots,,should be given immediate re1ief and provided prompt and adequ te financial assistance- f o r their rehabilitation.

6. ·Radio and TV must also help in restoring confidence, communal harmony and peace in such affected areas.
7. It is unfort1.mate that certain sections of the press sometimes indulge in tendentious reporting and publication of objectionable and inflammatory material which may incite communal tension. It is hoped that editors, printers, publishers and other concerned will cooperate in finding a way to avoid publication of such material.

Recruitment to State and Central Services

8. In the recruitment of police personnel, state governments should be advis_ed to give special onsideration to minorities. For this- purpose, the composition of selection committees should be . representative.
9. The c ntral government should take similar action in the recruitment of personnel to the central . police fC>rces.
10. Large scale employment opportunities are provided by the railways, nationalized banks and public ·,sector enterprises. In these cases also the concerned _departments should ensure .that special ,consideration is given to recruitment from minority communities.
11. In many areas recruitment is done tht'bugh competitive examinations. Often minority groups have been handicapped in taking advantage of the educational syJt ein·to compete on equal erms in such ·examinations To help them overcome these handicaps, steps should be taken to encourage the ·starting of coaching· classes in minority educational institutions to train persons to compete successfully in these examinations.

1z;;i:fhe acquisition of technical skills by those minorities who are today lagging behind would also helpin ,-11;tional development Arqmgements .should be made to setup ITis and PoJ_ytechnics by government ;;,,fr,private. sector. agencies ;irt <predomimmtly, minority areas, t o enccruhge adniission in such .)tristitu. t.ions of adequate number of persons belonging to these communities.

Other Measures

13. In various development programs, i_ncluding the 20 point program, care should be taken to see that minorities secure a fair and adequate measure, the benefits flowing there from. In the various committees hich are setup to oversee the implementation of such· programs, members of those

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communities should be actively iQvob.1.et

14. Apart.from the general issues to which reference has been made, there are various local problems which develop into needless irritants to minorities. For instance, encroachment of Wakf properties and on grave yards has led to protests and grievances in some places. Suitable steps should be taken to deal with such problems on an expeditious and satisfactory basis.

15. Problems relating to minorities need to be attended to on a continuing basis of that apprehensions are allayed and ge·nuine grievances redressed. To facilitate this, a special cell will be created in _the Ministry of Home to deal with matters relating to minorities.

Implementing Machinery

The progress of the implementation of the program is monitored by the Minorities Cell in the Ministry of Welfare headed by an Additional Secretary. This cell obtains quarterly reports on progress of the implementation of all programs from state governments, union territories and central ministries and departments. The quarterly reports are analyzed and reviewed and the deficiency noticed in -the implementation of the program are hro.qghJ. to the notice of the authorities concerned through meetings, discussions and field visits etc.·

IJ,1 \COncerned. central ministries, departments-and-state.governments ,have .nominated ·nodaloffi.ce'ri:S,to coordinate the implementation of the activities connected with the program. All state and union territories, .with very few exceptions, have also set up Minorities Cells to oversee implementation of the program. A few state governments have also setup research units to take up random sample surveys to assess the benefits of development program reaching the minorities. Many states have also established State Minorities Financial Corporations to help promote economic development amongst them.

NA TiONAL MINORITIES DEVELOPMENT AND FINANCE CORPORA T/ON

The. Government has set up a National Minorities Development and Finance Corporation with an authorised share capital of Rs.500 crore. The Corporation would provide economic and developmental activities for the benefit of backward sections among the minorities, preference being given to occupational groups and women among minoriti s. The Government of India ,has raised the level of its cont.ribution from Rs. 125 crore to Rs.3O0 crore subject to pro-rata contribution from the State governments/UT Administrations towards the share capital of the Corpo_ration. Under State Channelising Agency program by 31 August 2004, -NMDFC has given financial assistance to 1,45,443_ beneficiaries spread over 24 States ancl 3 Union Territories with an amount of Rs.-551.05 crore. NGO program is being implementeq by NMDFC since 1998-99. Till 31 Augusf2004,a total disbursement to the tune of Rs.15.20 crore has been made under the micro financing scheme for 65,329 beneficiaries.

WAKFS

\IXkfs are a permanent dedication of movabl or immovable"properties for purposes recognised by.the M tslim Law as religious, pious or charitable. Apart from religious aspect, the Wakfs are also instruments of social and· economic upliftment ·Better management of these institutions and: fuller realisation of their objectives contribute to development and progress of the society. These relate to legislation to·strengtheri the effectiveness of the Wakf law ensuring early completion of survey of Wakf properties by the State Governments.

Tfi::E WAKFACT, 1995

Actministration of Central Legislation for Wakfs is the responsibility of the Ministry of Social justice\1nd Empowerment In order_to further strength n the administration ofWakfs, a fresh piece of legislation was passed by Parliament and enacted during 1995. This. is known as the Wakf Act, 1995. With its enforcement in the country from 1 January 1995 the earlier Central Laws on Wakf, namely, the Wakf Act, 1954 and the Wakf (Amendment} Act, 1984, stand repealed. The new Wakf Act, 1995 extends to the whole of the country except the State of Janmm and Kashmir. It envisages a decentralised set-up and also

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provides for democratisation of the Wak Boards. While Mutawali (Manager) of each individual Wakf retains· his autonomy in the di<:harge of his responsibilities, g·rreral superintendence of all Wakfs in a state vests in the Wakf Board, set up by each State Government which has to ensure that the Wakfs are properly maintained and administered and that their income is duly appointed to objectives for which such Wakfs were created. Overall supervision of the Wakf Boards vests in the concerned State government, which apart· from appointing members of the Board and its Chief Executive Officer (Secretary), also receives. the annual budget of the Board and appoints auditors for auditing its accounts. It also· has powers to issue ·directions to- the· Board and, in certain cases, supersede it. The Central gove.rninent has powers to coordinate the functions of the Central Wakf Council and the State Wakf Boa ds in so far as these relate to secular activities of the Wakfs. The Central Government. is advised 011 matters relating to administration of Wakf and working of Wakf Boards in the country by a statutory body known as Central Wakf Council which is headed by the Union Minister in charge of the subject of Wakf. It was constituted on 26 Jun·e 1997 and again on _1st May 2003 with 19 members under the provision of the Wakf Act, 1995. The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment released a grant- in-aid of Rs 158 lakh during the financial year 2003-04 to the Central Wakf Council for the development of the Ur a:n Wal<f Properties under Non-}?lan.Fp.,r the year 2004-05, the budget estimate for this scheme-is also Rs)'70 lakh. The Central Wakf COUfiC:H further advances the load t9 the Wakf Properties as. recommended byJl.ie.State Wakf Boards. The Centrai Wakf Council also runs some Educational Schemes like scholarship to\jib6r::students; Tech,nicalf, Ptofe-ssionaf Diploma Courses, grantfor tT.Is and.financial ·assistance for Vocational Training .Centres and-others.

DURGAH KUWAJA SAHEB

The internationally famous Wakf, namely, Durgah of Hazarat Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti at Ajmer is governed by the Durgah Khwaja Saheb Act, 1955. This endowment is managed by a Centrally appointed committee known as Durga Committee which·is assisted by an officer known as *Nazim.* The Committee has its own funds and, among other.things,Jooks after the welfare of devotees visiting the Durgah. It runs two dispensarie and has constructed a multi-storied guesthouse complex to provide accommodation at economical rates to pilgrims. Up to October 2001 an amount of Rs 10.07 crore was .received by way of donations, contributions a d rent from Durgah Guest House. The Durgah Co mittee approvect··,(budget of Rs 2.02 crore towards expend(tu e on U:pkeep and maintenance of Durgah Sha if during 2001-02.

MAULANA AZAD EDUCATION FOUNDATION

Maulana Azad Education Foundation has been set up as a society with the objective of promoting education amongst the educationally backward se·ctions of the sotlety minorities in particular and others in gen·eraL The Gov rnment is giving grants-in-aid to the· Founda_tion for. building up a 'Corpus Fund' for finag i g its different activities.-Presently,the Foundatio. h a corpus fund of Rs 70.0lcrore. Since its inception, the Foundation has sanctioned grant- in-aid amounting to Rs 68.99 crore to 520 NGOs/Lotal Bodi¢s all over the country. During the ye. r 2003-04, the Foundation has sanctioned grant-in-aid of Rs 3,8(90,00f for 46 NGOs/Local Bodies.

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5.3 Indigenous and Exogenous ,.Processes of Social Change in India

"To €hange" is the norm of the universe and as a corollary the caste system is not 'n exception. Thus, caste system is a phenomenon under change and this change is. r:ri._nifested byJhe moPiJi.ty that occurs within it This mobiiity takes different forms and the extent of mobility var.ies from tim_e to time. .

Mobility in sociological parlance refers to the movement of individu.aLor .oLa-se.ctian. of a caste or th caste-as·a'wliole afong the hierarchical ranking. Mobffi:y can be classified into upward and downward rifobility. Upward mobility is the type of mobility that involves an improvement in the caste status of a group. Downward mobility is the kind of mobility that involves a decline in the caste status of a group. Mobility can also be classified into inter-caste mobility and intra-caste mobility: Inter-caste mobility involves the movement by caste or a section of caste from its 1, resent caste posfdon to the position of another caste. When mobility. involves movement by a sub-caste or section. of it to another sub-caste, then it is called intra-caste mobility.

The system of ranking in caste hierarchy is multi-dimensional. Ca te 5.nt rr.i)s a. religi<;rnsly ordained system bas:ed: n the idea of purity ari :p0Jlut o.r14fhus, one aspecf of !f i:t ! fJ!YJ $.tli:e'. ritua.L:dlme.niion whereby differen!..:f. - 1?!. . placed <in the rankln.{£ orcteron..fli basis-of-!}leir [_@tJV!! 1:mrity.PqiQ,U!ttto.n- **Aifother dimension of caste .hierarchjns··the'<lfstribution ,of wealth espedaliy the ownership.of Jat1d.** Among the non-land owning castes, the nature of the occupation associated with the caste· has a bearing on caste status. Next, access to political power constitutes one mqre ·dimension of the ranking of caste in the hierarchy. Qf fate, one more dimension has come to be associated with cas.te_hierarchy - access to modern education and modern occupation. When all these dimensions overlap Andre Bettiele has described the situation as a case of cumulative inequali .?nd on the other hand, if these dimensions_exis t separately, it is called as d_ispersed .equality

Now for caste to acqui're mobility, it is essential that it must change its position along one or more of these dimensions. Normally a group improves its position along econ.omic or political dimensions i.e., either acquires ·wealth or political power· and then tries to consolidate a higher position for itself in the hierarchy by trying to change its ritu l status.

Mobility in the caste system is explained by the concepts of Sanskritization and Westernization.

SANSKRIT/ZA TION

T e!!ll 1!7kri izatfol1' Js min 9 l?i,,!v'l..N- Srinivas to describe th process of cultural mobility fa.the. traditional social structure of India. According to Srinivas, Sanskritization is;the process·by-whichg "low'.' Hindu caste or tribal or other group changes its customs, d tuals, ideology and way of life to that of a high_ aiH:l1n particular a "twice-born" (Dwija) caste.

In· Sanskritization it is often the twice·"hol'q?castes which a e localiy doininant that provid the model or reference groups for emulation _to the others. The loW'r caste or the tril: JJE aitn '!tf 21 .f9]llf,!.J.1.g the status of the dominant caste. M.N. Srinivas called this processasSanskritizatio'n because Sanskritic Hino.li m governstlie"·cuffiireand life style of the twice-born c ste to exte t.· However, l§_Jl.,Qtr.- necessary that the lower caste should emulate only the religiousaspects of the uppe.r ca_st ,..M.P.n::,gft_eJ1- the sec lar··asp.ects tke the··corlspYcucius·sryreof corr umptioli"and1fving orth up·p;r·cast;; -h··· such as betel c wing, wearing of ?.ld' rii,f¥ fi : a p.(j,o.tb,i:far_1_11s or dres -r ¥t £ e,1 @.a2§•.,

Ir.iJfally, instead of the term Sansl{ritization, M.N. Srinivas.usedJheter_m:'Hrahminization'' to describeth,is pr?cess f social obility. In h s study of the : orgs in Mysore:.. e found tha the low<: t s, in. or.4. ri o raise their status m the.caste hierarchy, adopted·some customs of the Brahmms 2E.fi.ga'l.e.np...some .0Lthe1r own. For instance, the).' gave, .iip non-vegetariaJ!_f oQ(L,£.@S.Umption ·Of liquor and. animal sacrifices to,their deities-·:·Tfiey o iiti te,f the Brafiiiifns"fn matt ers 'of dress, food a·d ritu.iii{'By aoiii·so,wiihhi. i generation cff-··two, they claimed higher position"sT;-ffi.eliiera e Later on, he replaced the term Brahminization with Sanskritization when he discovered that the process which motivated the· 1ower

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castes to imitate the customs of the Brahmins in Mysore was the specific case of a general tendency among the lower castes to imitate the c•{ltural ways "ofhightfr castes; in many cases these higher castes were non-Brahmins like Kshatriyas and Vaishyas in various parts of the country.

The twice-born caste, which acts as a model for emulation, also varies from time to time. According to Srinivas, during the first 30 years of 20th century the census reports shovved that -t<:1:triyas happt!11eq JQ 9e the popular modenor··em @y\loilawea-hyJfrah.ri!} .- - :_y_fitiias·. fh-e study off\· , ar1c1 R.&: Scnfol'rreve-aJflliafTorrn."erly in Gujarat b_qth_ Collies and Patidars used to emulate the Rajput style. But -with" cnarigirig social situation··an:ct° values, they now ide-ntify_more. ith the Vaishya model; the m·a{ re·a-son_bei_n_g the success· of v ishyas in acquiring wealth through-busi_'.e.§i s .

Attempts at Sanskritization have been made by the numerous Harijan jatis also. The Chamar leather workers in northern lndiahave given up working in some activities like etrieving dead "anfrnafs"for the.ir jaJmans: Tfi dvteenas of Baris wara d1strkt, who-were ··u- tif° tiy-l-s-sified, as Bhiirtribe have ln-a big way.taken ·to--the icfo.ption· or"Rajput n;m- s and-c>the eiements ofRaJp_ut Hfe sfrl.e . .

No_rmally the adoption of Sanskritic lif. style i.e., Sanskritization, whkh_haue.e..n.._termeq as :fil!,te emulation" by O.M.Lynch, is preceded by certain preconditions in the lower caste. These include a ~~mi1,mmum of economic and political power anaa frot too inferior a ritual status. Sanskr ti tion ha _l?, siI9te.s ulln c'ase- 0TmTcfi1Terung castes,·espectallyfftfie gap 6etween tlieprese·n t sta.tus _and_ the-aspi,r Q. sfatus is·not too large On the other hand, in case of casfe wl'ose"placeTs very ·low ui·:t:he'hie·r-ard-iy' like . Hanjans·;santlcritftation has not bee'ri helpful. Only in rare cases could Harijans i"mprove the status by Sanskritizing themselves. This rare success was disclosed when William Rowe discovered hov.r a Sudra ca te _caHe_d No iy s of - na LYillage, _ i,P. 4-. C> :e· nofoITix I Q!l9iiil JJib. f Wa d : -l Q- ffle"gaps6etween their social $tatus_and the aspired status was very large, came out with flying col µ,r _in acqu1rinlfthe1ra:spfred::sta§'s' c>f ;-Ksli !Ji J ji:E:-1;:]I:L1!.Q.19.!!gff:J R ng · it ! -!_s.. Eifi- - ve:: a ()P te e·e.1ofci isn1,]iaor.Jlleft. the C!t!d_v"tht!!a4 a!}d .!5ept_th ei br!q s)n es!.ui_p_n, all indications of Sanskritization. Similarly Pocock has described the successful advancement in caste rung of Kanvis, - traditional peasant-caste· ofCiifaraffo·'ffie··stat· ;- ·r Patidars

Although Sanskritization was the principle idiom of social mobility till the recent decades, it is, at itsl:>est, a very slo e thod for a caste tor{iise •tss tus..· 'ormally"'ff stre fcfies over 2 fo'3• gerierati-tris. this" was beca~seM tM prev fenceof llfgli""cieg"i·ee··ofco·n,ervati e "iclea:,«t1fe"e'co omy was :relatively statff frfcf pop7tlad- -mov'ement;·· re-:ffmi t:e. 'thff"iiiade-1t ·an culf f r lower "c"iste·to-quickiy ·acquir ;conomrc- an'c polffical:poWer:"ot;·Jiavm j onc q uireci tt,··fo shed··Jt traditionai marks oHneri rttt;_

However, it was during the British rule when the process of Sanskritization gathered momentum when the backward classes, including the Harijan·s, were released from the grip of many of the obstad s hiri'derihg this process These include improvements in transport and cohi.munications, greater mobility i_;-a_di l -: E g -f- e Y: - c gi -SQre _Qf !!tE:r o/_c1 - i- - !.:1.o g t ?w - t = a -:: - J_gon,:gf c, uf -1!$ Lp+rpef es e t!t n evy rts g!.1 -E ;2_t. e ogms th: ngh ts qf thf,!. UP.per ca:ste's'"lcftne exclusive use of particular symbols ofsl?itus. Added to tfus, the detenmal census prbviaeatfieni''\vTthopportunit:ies tci'";ep c "their"traditionariiaiiie's With new and high-;ounding ones. Caste associations wen formed throughout the country and th s.g_J1o t only put forward th .5 {!?: J9 higher social status, but also urged their members to abandon many of the .Pr tices -<::c::> s!. r L g 4 mg by the.!!Im .r _cast.e.

Th6ti.gh the new courts established by the:British introduced the principle of equality before law, and by da :soren1oved one set"t:>frnstric tions againstchange in the social life of Harijans, however they did. not automatically enable Harijans to exercise their civil rights. Various kinds of sanctions were applied to keep them in the inferior position, large sectiori of them were and still are economically dependent on the upper castes, whom they dared not to offend by pressing for their legal claims to equality. *A* Harijan t 3 n-t Q.L g.r.L l!! t U Q.QM.L X. h-2.Y -q r._e_ ?.-!! , e,Y -. c!.•t qy J _2_f_hi. -. ,! E-. - -? - J: E. r m.2 J. occasio s_!!_l_y find himself deprived of his sou.re_ C>(liy lihood. . . /

t_:

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Apart from moral and economic pres u,1te) physical violence is another threat. It is a very effective dete_t-ent, particularly in a village. It i?..ot_ 1:1nn·o!1.t?.YI1-now. ó r.Hdrij"ns to be beaten by caste Hindus forattempting"fo exercise 'thefr civil rights. . -

Where attempts at Sanskritization fail, the consequence often is a feeling of deep resentment among the Harijans and Adivasis against the upper caste, especially among the younger generations of Harijans, who tiave been exposed to the idea of secularism and derri9cracy. In some places s cial movements of a fairly organised nature have nourished it. In Tamil Nadu, a "Self Respect Movement" challenged the traditional social: and ritual order and sought to emancipate the· lower castes from the domination of Brahmins:-It P'!yd_ an impoftant role in the creation of'a new climate among the backward classes/i 'ci7idtnt the Harijans.

Though the process of Sanskritization has led to hostile relations which were even violent between a low rung and the other castes, at the instance where Sanskritization succeeded, it has led to the integration of backward classes with the forward ca.st e§. besides motivating·the· downtrodden tctfrnprov·e-thefrsodal., s&Tiisan,r1:fiewaiofl1le:.

WES.TERNIZATION

Weit rnization refers to the changes- brought about as a conse.q.u.ence of contacts with the Wes m culture, particularly with the British. M.N. Srinivas, who has coined the term, defines Westernization in terms of the change in lndial:--.?_c:_i_:h<l.': to t . - p o_f British_rule)nI!)ftia., ..

According to him, various caste groups, particularly the upper castes, adopted the cultural style of the British. Besides cultural imitation, lot has been absorbed from the fields of western science, technology, education, ideology and values. The values of humanitarianism c:md.,rationalism are basic to the concept of Westernization. Westei;nization though began only after the estabt'tshment of the British,rule, it became an important avenue of social mobility for the high-ranking Sanskritic castes.

According to Srinivas, the process of Westernization takes place through three levels namely primary, secondary and tertiary. The primary level refers to those people who came directly into con.tact with the British. The seco\1dary includes those who were directly benefited by those who ere at the primary level and at the tertiary level are the people who were remotely benefited by the process of WJsternizatibn. Its spread had been uneven and unequal among different sections qf Indian society.

Though Westernization has ushered a new tradition of modern zation, it has certainly posed the pro leni of conflict between the indigenous tradition and the Western tradition on Indian soil. A Synthesis between the two has occurred, particularly in regard to the _elite section of Indian society, and 'it is the prC> ., of Westernization, which *is* responsible for one of the causes of intergenerational;disaffiliatio pr generation gap that is prevailing today.

During the initial stages, the Wes&rn iMpJct was peripheral and localized, as it remained restrict d amongst the middle class people in .the cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Educatioqal:institutions were also centred in these three cities. English education has a two-fold impact: 1) lncolcation of the. Western vaiues and the ideas among the educated people and_ 2) The rise of social and ·cultural reformation movements. Education was confined· to the upper and middle-class urban p ople. It was this Westernized elite who provided leadership to India's freedom struggle. The rural poor people could J'l0t benefit from Westernization under the British rule.

·PtofYoginder Singh believes that'Westeini atiori has created the foliowing deveiopments,

1. Expansion of education
2. Urbanization and Industrialization
3. Increased network of communication
4. Growth of nationalism

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According to Prof. KL. Sarma, the !=!l;ments of Westernization that contributed to modernization throughout the 'country are judi iary, la ·co•1rts, legislations· (for prohibiting the child marr_iag, i fanticid , sati etc.), law commissio11s ind several other· iegal-1nnovations reladng'fo rules ·of marriage, faWfily; div :rce - tc. ..

M.N. Srinivas opines that increasing Westernization does not retard the process of Sanskritization; pg h_ go on simultaneously_ - - o s<> ten ¡ th increase in Westernization <:celerates _the process of sari krfrfiatfon.-·Fo·r Tns.tance, the postal facilities, ranways, buses and newspaper, media ·which are the fi-uffs('b(Wester1:1_.} p -: 91!_} ia,··. reffdet more ..or·ganized religious pilgriri1ages, meetings, castes soHcta"rffy etc.:·which are possi le :fiOW, more.than it was possible in the past. , '. . '

After;;independence, the leaders of the backward classes made demands for the benefits for western education. In fact, the demand for educational consciousness was major -plank in the backward class movement. The packward classes have been trying consistently to narrow the gaps in western education between themselves and forward classes. Karnataka State off r¢ _a stri. Jµ_g_f!X,c;implt:! y..,!) _e rap d strides havebeen taken in this directi?n btthe tw? 'pop-ular"backw:ar'c castes, the Lingayats .a 11 V9 l(aling?_; Tho"rtgh the fe.vef olTfteracf ana·educ¥tfo:11· m9ng theba W 4 ·ca tes Ts fow'eve ---t -day, when this le el is 'co1nparedwitfi:'--tiieir literacj/teveEtattf1e--f1iiie or'inciepencfenie, th·e progress made by them appears tetrtirka:ble: ---

M.N. Snnivas equates W¢sterniz tion with the ·British impact on India, but this approach was too narrow sin_ce after independence the irtipad of Russian and American versions of modernisation on India has been considerable.

(More on these models of social mobility and social change in the topic on Village Studies}

Modernization

Modernisation, as a concept, represents ideologies and values of the industrial, capitalist and democratic societies of the Western Europe and the North America. The opposite of modernized structure is agrarian, traditional, custom- based, technologically and economically backward social structures of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As pointed out by Daniel Lerner (1964) modernization is represented by literacy, political participation, urbanization, occupational mobility and empathy. The other characteristics of modernization are free market, industrialization, modern technology, democratic state and modern education. There are five major dimensions of modernization i.e. technological, economic, political, social and psychological. Along with their components, they can be presented as follows:

Modernization				
titn Qlogical	**Economic**	**Political**	**Social**	**Psychoh>gical**
• Iri.anim_ate {o·urces of energy • Modern •machines - • -Nivr ,;t chnology °?·'>-	• Mar:ket •• Capital • Co modity • Consumerism	p Freedom • Individualism • ·oemocracy • Political participation	•, Mobility • Occupational differentiation • Universalism • Specificity • Urban-_ industrial. culture • Literacy and modern education	• Cosmopolitan mind • Achievement orientation • Empathy

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Modernization is a social transform tion,·1which is evolutionary, gradual and linear. It can also be achieved through revolutionary, planned and intensiv process S.:_.

In this process of social trans.formation, soci_!I_l.Q:V-.fl.Q!!} _t!'ie traditional to. mo_d_r!1 _soc_ic1l structure. Scholars also point out that human societies are becoII1ing IJ!()fe)lJt qiore_glqb }i t:!gJn_th-e w.ak of fast spread'ofiii o 'rmaf bn' and-communication technology, i dustrial· development, phy i.c?:tcommunkation networKs and so on.

The .Indian villages is a traditional society characterized by agriculture, villages, small scale undeveloped technology, customs and simple social structure. In tradition l societies, there is said to be harmony in social relations and in social institutions. There is consistency between institutions, the accepted norms and.:patterns of behavior. The mechanism of the social control operates through customs, folkways and mores. There tends to be a close correspondence between expectations and achievements in traditional societies.

The modern society is characterized by industry, cities, and heavy technology, rule of law, democracy and complex social structure. The intr(?cipc i m of new social relations, new social roles as a result of transformation-from the traditional so'det, to modern society tends to make earlier behavior-ineffective to achieve new goals set as a result of the movement This results in tensions and frustrations. To meet the·cuanges, new patterns of behavior emerge. The old established order changes and there is confusion. The changes in the varioµs cultural items (e.g..·acceptance of technology) would mean acceptante of scientifc attitude to .life, being punctual at the 'place of work, :new forms of social. organization such as trade unions that are different frorrt,traditional values. It takes time· for people to adjust to the e·merging-situations in the phase of transition when the 'old' is not fully rejected and the 'new' is not fully accepted

In the pre-modernization phase, the people develop their own way of life, sodal relations, norms, values, productive system and consumption patt rns. With the process of transformation, people are required to adjust themselves to the new requirements. In the transformation phase,· they find difficulties in moving away from the age old habits.

India attained her independence by following the path of struggles-sometimes by revolutionary methods (for example the revolts of 1857 and 1942) arid by and large though by peaceftil·means yet determined resistance to colonialism. India, being ari ancient civilization, is characterized by certain· traditional· institutions like caste:}dint family and untouchability..lndian-society is moving from the traditional social structure to the modern one. Apart from the age old traditional institutions; now, there are certain- new structures based on constitutional provisions such as a modern State, parliamentary democracy and organizations for the planned development of society.

Iii-:tll ·'.,post-independence period, concerted effort has been:made through the. constitutionalprnvisfq s for· social transformation and planned development, elimination of untouchability and creation of ,{{ust and ·equal society in India. Despit_e tfl:l;!pe; ef:forts, even today, in several parts of'India, uhtouchability is practiced in one pr the other form:··

Certa_in social problems ·are directly linked with social transformation. The pr ces:S of rapid ·economic development and industrialization are· bound to take place in modern· society. They are the indicators ·of modernization but at the same time, they generate problems of regional· imbalance, pollution and ·ecological degradation slums linked with violence; crime and delinquency. De:tnocracyis suppose4to· provide equal opportunities to all citize.ns It believes, in legal and political equality. It is suppose : to increase human· digniy . But unfortunately, elections':-an :essential part of·demo(:racy:-have ·encouraged regionalism, communalism and _casteisni in India. Affluence and leisure are the indicators of a mo em society. At the same time, they are creating problems of loneliness, alcoholism and· drug addiction in highly industrialized societies as well as in· the rich section of rural Indian ·society.

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Agricultural Modernization

Apart from widespread agrarian reforms ,.mdertaken after independence, agricultural modernization included certain other institutional reforms, initiated by Government of India to effectively transform rural economic systems. Indian government, which committed itself to a democratic system, introduced several schemes for the welfare of rural poor, particularly the landless laborers and non-farm workers. Government also invested heavily on the modernization of agriculture. Several irrigation schemes were tak n up and improved seed and farming technology were introduced.

The.thrust of the government to change village ec nomy was based on a technological perspective which was· best reflected in the Green Revolution experiment in Indian Agriculture. India adopted modernization of agriculture by improving technology and other inputs. The Punjab-Haryana Western U.P experience of dramatic growth in agricultural production· and rural incomes is often cited as evidence of the validity of the perspective. Such experiments have shown very encouraging results in these states and part of Andhra. The country today is in a position to produce more than 170 million tons of food grai:11s.

Ho.;vever, some experts are skeptical about this 'technologicaFthVust' of agricultural growth. For instance, aQ<fut th.c: Punjab-Haryana success story, G. Parthasarthy, an agricultural economist, observes: "It faiJ:s to no'".: th-- uriiqµe' cit:C.UP1Stances particularly the substantiai public ·investments in irrigation in Punjab agriculture, .·the relatively fatg·e- size of holdings and relatively" low demographic pressures, etc. Technology spreads in high. resource areas and on richer farms by utking the resou.rce of the poor areas and of the poor people." It is also worth notirig that the higher productivity and more income to big ·landlords· do not· necessarily bring better rewards to the farm laborers whose share in the increase is negligible as compared to the gains of landlords. High- technology cultivation reduces the intensity of labor absorption. Equally relevant is the fact that for attaining some kind of equity in the distribution of productive resources Indian government needs to allocate more and more funds for the backward regions where the condition of margin .1 farmers and farm laborers. is patbetic. Overall, the present trends of development in agriculture show a highly unequal distribution of resources with its benefits mainly going to so·me regions only. The rural or are the critical manifestation of this growing imbalance. Several experts have brought out the fact that iri _the early years of agricultural growth, in few prosperous zones like Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, wages in real terms had declined over a period of time. Though the situation shows a positive change in the eighties when th.e real wages increased steadily, the quantum of increase particularly in backward agricultural zones is less than satisfactory.

Equally disturbing is the fact that- due to more and more privatization of land, the common property resources (bachat _land, grazh1g grounds, forest land, etc.)-which rriainly· used to benefit the poor rural famflies-have been diminishing fast. This has deprived them of free access to fuel .and grazing grounds for tlieir cattle.

Artisans and Modernization

The artisans. formed the base of village and urban economy in India during the pre-colonial and early-colonial periods; All m·einbers of an· artisan family were usually involved in production with specific division of labor for males, females and children. Numerous lower caste families have traditionally been eng ging in various crafts and agriculture-related non-farin activities. The main among them were those ofy :r:penter, blacksmith, potter:," weaver, leather worker and basket maker. In addition to these, non farm la §r rs •'used to perform jobs r quiring special s ms spr ad Jn :various regions of the country-deµ@jdiiig on. the availability of partkuiar raw IJ:1aterials or· natil e of cultivation. All these skills rnd activities Were limited to the extent of either manufacturing articles to meet the local requirements or to provide technical services to the local· population. The artisans' products usually remained out of the modern market economy confining to the poor village co sumers. Most of them worked at subsistence level of economy and usually did subsidiary jobs to supplement their earnings. Indeed the jajmani system formed the ·backbone of the rural society of that period It gave them substantial socio economic security in daily life.

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In spite of many odds, village artisans,- and. craftsmen enjoyed a reasonably good social status in the society. However, the socio-economic condition of these artisans and craftsmen deteriorated.sharply with the introduction of British rule in India. BE=cause of the impo t-oriented British Policy these artisans and craftsmen lost their traditional.market. Many of them also lost these traditional avenues of employment This displaced labor force was 'in search of alternative employment. They were extremely insecure in the rural economy. Many of them joined either the army of the agricultural laborers or migrated to the urban areas for the mainstay of their livelihood. Only those who remained in their old occupation tasted the pains ofinsecurity, exploitation and alienation in the society.

The post-Independence period changed the situation further. The growth of urbanization as a manifestation of the linkages between society and modern technology resulted in the weakening of traditional bonds of society. Equally significant was the creation of new opportunities in non-farm occupations. Many of the traditional artisans and craftsmen either migrated to ·urbari areas for improving their incomes, or shifted from their traditional occupations to non farm employment. This further weakened the traditional 'jajmani' system and caste linkages of occupations. Due to the sharp increase in rural population, it is considered neces ary to relieve agriculture from the pressure of e cess labor. This would check decline in the land man ratids and. thereby increase labor productivity in agriculture. It is also being realized that urt>ari areas cannot absorb the growing migratory rural labor force due to the ever gfb ing ni1 ber ofjob se:ekers in both formal and informal sectors. °Therefore, it becomes ess, : tia) to promote non:- agritulturalemployment in rural areas. Several studies show a slow but ·steady increase in the proportion of non-farm laborers in the total rural workforce.

All these situations have time and again resuited in rural unrest and politicization of rural problems. More information on niodemization and impact of industrialization can be found in the relevant topic in this volume.

-,nterplay of Little ·and Great Traditions

Cultures of a majority of tribalsocieties can be viewed as s because they have their own m3 l,ly adjus e _ and in .::,de.P !.!qE;.,I,U l· and tpey are autonomous because they do not require another syste for ·tfieir contmuect functioning. The culture of. a peasant comrrrnnity, on the other, h.and, is not autonomous. Itis an aspect orthe dimension of the civilization of which it is a .part As a peasant society is a .half society, so. the peasa,nt culture is a half-culture. Hence, a peasailt culture cannot be fully understood from what goes on in the_ minds of the villagers alone. Moreoyer ther is a long course of interaction between peasant community and centres ofdvilization.

George. M. Foster, with his experie ces in LatinA erican countries, wrote that there is one very clear and oh. iou ,, stinction between truly primitive societies and p as nt societies (folk societi s). Tli pe. . ant communities, over hundred of years, have had constant contact with the centres of intellectual thought and development This kind of a situation.demands a new approach of investigation to 'understand the peasant cultures. It was during this tim that Robert Redfield came out with the concepts of Great Tradition and the Little Traditions. They are also termed as High Culture and Low Culture, Folk Culture and-Classic Culture or Popular and Learned Traditions.

Redfield uses the term "Great Tradition" fot the·culture of those reflective fewina civHization and "Little Tra diti<>n" for- the culture of largily -;reflective rpan . In order t -understanoJh;se'-c'o'ncepts:fi; tly, an appri'Gai'o1\iri"evoTutT6 iiaryv1ew"otffie"structu e ftri'°dltio'i-i'shas to be made.

The Grc;t Tradition is cuhivated inschoo!sgr t e .t }APJgs;the Little Tradition \work ,itself out_ !lQ.i,ggps its JLgQ!Q K!!1 h- _}! , 2L Yt ,J!l!.t ,Ef i_iCffi tr.Y111 z c m - !IT!t t'lfrea "1raaff ion J i S?.nscifiR !Y cultivated and th t of the "Little people" is for the most part taken for granted and not submitt J, t,tq,a n y scrutiny or -z;;;w fotrefitremenfancl'Tmprov"erti nr---,

The Great and the Little :Traditions are indepe derit and have long aff cted each other and continued to do so. They can be thought as two currents of thought and action, distingui"shable, yet ever flowing into

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and out of each other. However these two traditions are not distinguishable in very isolated tribes or bands.

Milton Singer and McKim Marriot utilized these concepts of Redfield and have conducted some studies on social changes in India. As was stated above, there is a continuous flow of these two traditions into one another. These notions of the continuous dynamic interaction.between the Great tradition and the little tradition have further been made clear through the eminent work of MEJSL - Qt in an Uttar Pradesh vi!,lage, Kish,all G E12i. Marr! tf<ilJJl <?Yt \JY{tlt twp pro_<;t=g;?. c: lleQ. lJ.ntv r§ Jtz ticm,. ·m.g .P.a rn=bJ],i, ion. The Great Tradition of Robert Redfield is corollary to the Universalization of Marriot and Little Tradition to that of Parochialisation.

Universalization refers to the process involving a movement in the Little Tradition to become a part of Great Tradition. Parochialisation is the downward devolution of Great traditional elements and their integration with little traditional elements - a process of localization. The interaction between great and little traditions is_through these processes of Universalization and Parochialisation.

The social structure of Great Tradition includes all those persisting and important arrangements of roles and statuses appearing in such corporate'' groups such as castes, :sects or in teachers, reciters, ritual leaders of one kind or the other. The social structure of Little Tradition consists of its own role int mbel).ts such a·s folk artists, medicine7''!len,'t'ellers of riddles, proverbs and ·stories, poets and dancers etc.

The growth of culture follows ·a two-stage model. The first one is Qt_ ?- - - !£ J::yolution and the second is HeJerogenetic d,ev lopment_ or the development with the help of encounters with the other cultures or civiliiatfcini cticinges.in cultural systems occur through the interaction between the Orthogenetic and Heterogenetic processes. The pattern of change is generally from Ortl}qg n .tict() Heterogenetic forms of differentiation. It is assumed that all the civilizations start from a p;'im.iry or Orthogenetic level of cultural organization arid, iri course of time are, diversified through internal growth and also more importantly, through contact with other civil zations - .a heterogenetic process. The direction .of this change presumably is from folk or peasant culture to urban culture and social organ zation. In the final stages however thi . results into a global, universalized patterrJ of culture, especially through increased cross-cultural contacts amongst civilizations. (Prof. Yogendra Singh).

·According to Yogendra ·singh, the concepts of Universalization an(l Parochialisation also describe the process of ·culture' change as implied·. by Sanskritization; especially more so with the case of Uiiiversaiization:. '"'Parochi 'uzation however refers to an inverted. form of Sanskritization or de-Sanskritlzation .. The concept of Sanskr,itization anc;l Westernization cannot offer the possibility for a comparative study unlike· Great Tradition and Little Tradition because the former is culture specific.

As :a t ady_ stated; the Great and Little Tr9-ditions interact through the processes of Univer1alisation and Parochialisation.

UNIVERSALIZATION

By definition, an indigenou civilization is a one whose Great Traditioi:i originates by "Universalization", or carrying forward of materials which are already present in the Little Traditions which it encompasses. Suoh n ·indigenous Great Tradition has-a kind of authority in systematization of what-is already there'.· Th 4f'rocess of Universalization occurs without subsequent secondary transformation of its contents and witho, t heterogenetic criticism ofthe Little Tradition and lacks authcn:-ity.to supplant the prototypes that are tlie sources of its own sacredness.

Materials suggestive of such process of upward Universalization are reported by Marriot from Kishan Garhi village. The festival of charm tying can supply an i·llustration. An all Indian festival coincides and blends in:t Kishan Garhi with the festival known regionally as Saluno, a festival which marks the end of that. annual fortnight dudng which most young wives return for a visit to their parents and siblings. On Saluno day, many husbands arrive at their wives' villages, ready to carry them off again to their. villages of

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marriage. But, before going with thei(Ihusbc1nds, the wives as well as their unmarried village sisters express their concern for _and devotion to their brothers by placing young shoots of barley, the locally sacred grain, on the heads and ears .of their brothers. Since brothers should not accept anything from their sisters as a free gift, they reciprocate with small coins.

On the same day, the ceremonies of charm tying are also held. The Brahmin domestic priests of this village will go to each patron and tie upon his wrist a charm in the form of a polychrome thread. Each priest utters a vernacular blessing and is rewarded by his patron with cash, for it is thought impious to accept anything as a free gift from a priest.

The parallels between the familial festivals of Saluno and the great traditional festival of Raksha Bandhan are obvious. There is a likelihood of charm tying having its roots in some such little-traditional festivals of Saluno through a process of primary transformation. A further secondary transformation of the festival ·of charm tying is also beginning to be evident in Kishan Garhi for, the thread charms of the priests are now factory made and are in more attractive forms. A few sisters in Kishan Garhi have taken to tying these heterogenetic charms of priestly type onto their brothers' wrist.

PAROCHIALIZATIO N

If th,eJhdigenous origfo q.nd connections of the. Great Tradition limits. its authority. to uproot any:Httle traditi h the e·ssenti lly imlearned and non-literate nature of the Little Tradition also obstructs the direct transmission "dr spread of elements :downward from Great Tradition to Little Tradition. Downward spread too is likely to be characteriz d by transformations.

The festival of "cow-nourisher"·worship as it is celebrated in Kishan Garhi exemplifies some of the kinds of limits upon, and changes that take place during, the course of a downward transmission of the cultural contents from Great Tradition to Little Tradition. Villagers today know at least two stories to explain: these festiyals. Both. of them evidently derived from the Bhagavata Purana, which comprise the_ biography of Krishna, having been popularized among the villagers by a succession .of vernacular renderings, among which one of the latest is 19th century Hiridi version entitled" Prem Saga_ra".

The story from ·-this Great Traditional book, which· more generally tries to explain: the cow-nourisher worship, concerns Krishna's adventures with his cowherd companions at the hill named· Gobardhan, which klocated about 40 miles from Kishan Garhi. In this story, Krishna directs the cowherds of Braj to worship the hill that is near, rather than such great but distinct Gods as-Indra. The cowherds c9mply with Krishna's directions. In anger, Indra sen s violent rainstorms to destroy the cowherds and their kin; Krishna ho ever lifts up the hill to provide them shelter and all are saved. At the act al hill of Gobardhan in Mathura district an annual function of circumambulation and worship is still enacted.

By the time that this Great Traditionalstory has reached ritual enactment in Kishan Garhi, it has takef f on a cruder form and accumulated a Il!-\peJK of homely details, which have no evident 1t1stificati611 in Sanskritic myth. "Villagers seem to have\aken the story's parochial moral to heart. "Cow Nourisher" (Go+ Vardhan) has become, by a village etymology, Cow Dung Wealth" (Gobar + Ohan). The sa red hill of the Purana has become in each household yard a literal pile of dung...."

To refer to the kind of transformation of the cultural contents, which is apparent in this festival.- the downward_ devolution. of Great Traditional elements and their integration .with- the Little ·Traditional elements, a term is needed. For this movement, which is reverse .of''Univcrsalization", MarriotsuggE! ted thetenn_ "ParochiaHzation". Paro hia_lization is a process ofiocaUzation, a process of limitation'uponthe scope of intelligibility, a process of deprivation of-litera.ry form, a process·,of reduction to less systematic and less reflective dimensions. It constitutes the characteristic creative work of little communitiesWfthin India's indigenous civilization.

Parochialization results in Great tradition when the elements of the Great· Tradition, in order to perpetuate themselves, go downward and mix with the elements ·of Little Tradition. D spite their limited

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range, the rural or Folk Traditions would sho_w a change in their ultural patterns by assimilating Great Tradition's elements, without their original cultural elements completely l0osing their identity.

Conception of rationality is less_ important in Parochialization and a rational .explanation is near to impossible for this cultural process. Generation to generation the Little Traditional elements are followed though they are less rational. The process of Parochialization gives importance to views, experiences and beliefs of a small group or population. Tradition is taken away from the original form because of the di :tortion of cultural elements.

Pq11chayati Raj and Social Change

History tells us that Local Self-government, as a system, has existed in India since long. Its form may vary, but its spirit has always been a part of our socio-cultural ethos. In the medieval times, it was seen in the 'Gram Sabha' functioning through its executive committee viz Panchayat, a village body able to govern and sustain a small community of people. During the British Raj, it became the instrument of the ruling elit_e, intended to project the interests of the British Government. After independence, it was in 1959 that thit Panchayati Raj system took its present ·sltc,ipe. The enthusiasm, generated by t_his new mantle of local seJf governance, however, did not last long. Conflicting interests at various levels eclipsed the concepfas w Jl_ as _its pr ctice. After decades of deb te, the Constitutional (73rd Amendment) "Act, 1992 took up tpe ta k:of rejuvenating this system. The institution of Panchayati Raj is now recognized as an important mechan.ism for etentralization of power and materiaHz ng people's participation in development activities. It has been given special emphasis after the Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992 which made th- details of the transfer of power to the panchaya a part of the most basic document of this nation_ -The *Constitution* o f *India.*

73 rd Amendment to the Constitutionoflndia Salient Features

Local bodies - Panchayats came under Part IX of the Constitution after 43 years of India becoming a republic. Parliament passed the 73rd Amendment to the C_onstitution in December 1992 and it became part IX of the Constitution on 24 April and 1 June 1993"respectively.

1. · Panchayats will be "institutions of self-government" .
2. Basic Units of Democratic System - Gram Sabhas (villages) comprising all the adult members registered as voters.
3. There will be Three tier system of panchayats at village, interm diate block/taluk.and district levels. Smaller states with population below 2 million will have only two tiers
4. Seats at all levels in the three tiers to be fiiied by direct election
5. Seats reserved for Scheduled Castes. €-SGsJ.and chairpersons oK the Paiichayats· at all levels also shall be reserved for SCs and STs in proportion to their populati.hrl. t
6. One-third of the total number of seats reserved for, women. One-third of the seats reserved for SCs and _STs also reserved for women. One-third offices of chairpersons at all levels reserved for women.
7. Uniform five year term and elections to constitute new bodies to be completed before the expiry of the term. In the event of dissolution, elections compulsorily within six months.
8. Independent Election Commission· 1n each. State for: superintendence, direction and control of the ·electoral rolls.
9. Panchayats to prepare plans for economic development and social justice in respect of 29 subjects listed in 11th Schedule. 74th Amendment provides for a District Planning Committee to consolidat the plans prepared by panchayats and Municipalities.

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10. Funds: Grants from state governments,, revenue of certain taxes, collect and retain the revenue it raises, Central Government programs and Grants.

11. In each State a Finance Commission to determine the principles on the basis of which adequate financial resources would be ensured for panchayats.

Panchayats (Village Councils) are defined as an "institution of self-government" (Part IX Article 243 (c) & f(e) of the Constitution of India).

Article 243 expresses the intention that while framing laws, the state legislatures should endow the panchayats and municipalities with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to fuAction as institution of self-government.

Although the Constitution has not elaborated the concept of 'self-government' it would mean:

a. Government by the people - a government that is democratically elected by the people.

b. Autonomous - it is ernpow<rr µt9- function without any outside interference.

c. Powers and· authorizy to· take decisions independently within the boundary of the 'specific functions .devolved upon it.

d. Autonomy, **the** focal body should enjoy is a matter of judgment as well as policy.

e. Autonomy should be as complete as possible and should not get reduced to a situation whe_re local bodies enjoy only such 'power' and 'authority' as may eriable. them to function merely as agents of the state government

f. Respective· state legislatures. are expected to adopt their individual policies in this regard based upon their own judgment of practical situation.·

What Part IX of the Constitution intends to bring about is 'devolution' type of d mocratic decentralization and not the •deconc ntration' or 'delegation' type of administrative decentralization under which the superior decision-making body retains various controls; including the power of withdrawing the authority given to a lower body for adrr1foistrative convenience.

11th Schedule of the Constitution of India

29 subjects are suggested for transfer to Panchayats .

1. Agriculture, including agricultural extension
2. Land improvement, implementation of land reforms, land consolidation and soil conservation ..
3. , M.inor irrigation, water management anci°watershed de.velopment
4. . Animal h1Jsbandry, dairying and poultry
5. Fisheries
6. '(Sodal forestry and farm forestry
7.)<,Mil1or forest produce
8. Khadi, village and cottage industries
9. Small scale industries, including food processing industries
10. **Rural** housing
11. Drinking Water

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12. Fuel and fodder
13. Roads, culverts, bridges, ferries, waterways and other means of cori1munication
14. Rural electrification, including distribution of electricity
15. Non-conventional energy sources
16. Poverty alleviation program
17. :Education including primary and secondary schools
18. 'lechnical training and vocational education
19. Adult and non-formal education
20. Libraries
21. :Cultural activities
22. ·Marketand Fairs
23. Ifealthand Sanitation, including hospitals, primary heaith centres and dispensaries
24. Family welfare
25. Women and child development
26. Social welfare, including welfare of the handicapped and mentally retarded
27. Welfare of the weake·r secti ns, and in particular of the Sch duled Castes and Schedul d Tribes
28. Public distribution system
29. Maintenance of community assets

Implications and Social Impact

1. Increased participation of hitherto excluded sections of the population {tribals, lower castes, etc.)
2. Women's involvement in public life through elections, opening up a brave new world of women
3. Develpping the thinking that democracy at the grass roots. level is a necessary condition for ·srrengthening democracy at the·state and natfonal level
4. :Popularization of the concepts of decehtrci\ized· planning and pt!ople's participation 'in development
5. Thousands of elected i:n mbers are getting training in local governance, democracy and development . resulting in informed, politically proactive polity
6. Local bodies are working as nurseries for future leaders
7. J _nlightened people showing concerns on corruption and use of public funds-
8. 'tf9luritary sector'fdvil ·sodety ·co'rriing :t the· foi'e •for: shengthenirig· PRis locarhodies· arid foe ! -n'dernoc:racy. .
9. Demystification of governance.
10. New,. innovative ideas of people's participation, combating corruption eg. Social audit, people's plan campaign, ombudsman, ***fan Sunwai*** (public hearing) etc.

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11. Involvement of people in their vill,;1g:{;_.d velopment planning
12. Resources Mobilization, cash, kind or labor[o r local development
13. Increasing the sense of responsibility in people for managing their affairs
14. Administration nearer to people for good governance

Analysis

The basic strengths of the present local self government through Panchayati Raj include the stability and continuity of the system which is now empowered by Constitutional sanctity. The provisions for timely elections, representation of women and other weaker sections is an added advantage. It has provided a systemic framework for the four "Fs" of planned and.systematic social change - functions, functionaries, funds and freedom.

The social change perceived to be ushered by Panchayati Raj can only be possible if the following weaknesses are addressed.

1; Disparities and stratification systems based on class, caste and gender
2. Lack of political will to make the provisions work
3. . Politicization of rural-issues and social life
4. Lack of awareness amongst the rural populations on rules, rights and responsibilities
5. Lack of public awareness and vigilance
6. Influence of dom"inant castes and other village elite, including contractors, landlords etc. in the working of PR institutions
7. Lack of.orientation amongst the government officials to work along with local bodies
8. Multiplicity:of parallel organizations and government departments, hindering autonomy PR bodies.

Media and Socia/. Change

The media can be a major force for improving the quality of government in develo_ping and transitional countries - which is criticanf opportunities for the poor.and disadvantaged· are also to improve. To fulfill this role the media need room to maneuver - tight government re_gulation an'd censorship produce medfa "Yl:iJh are ineffective and lacking in credibility. Too Httle regulati(?n, on the _other hand ·may l ad ,t\?,te domination of commercial media ruled y advertising, to ·the detriment ·of serious coptent and o'f the interests of those without purchasingY:poiver - Le. th·e _pogr., Wh_at is needed re _policies that im,pose responsibilities as well as freedoms on the commercial sector, and that clarify and facilitate the role qf the public service media. Effective media also need good management, and good professional arid technical. skills. ·Media have crucial role in social change - good governa_nce, hurria-u rights and elimina iori· of poverty.

What is Media

The; term "media·· in a broader sense includes radio, television;. vi<:ieo,:film, newspapers, rnaga'.?i_nes, p mphlets, posters, internet,· email and telephones.· This tenn also implies other communia tion strategies like dance, drama, music, puppetry, meetings of all sorts and other participative techniques:like Participative Rural Appraisal etc. But here we shall restrict the term to television, radio and press.

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Role of Media

In any planned social change media occupies a strategic role bec use it can m ke a real difference to the lives of the poor, disadvantaged people and weaker sections. ·This is possible by

- Making people more aware of their rights
- Making people more aware of the political issues _and stimulating participation and debate amongst them
- Drawing attention to institutional failings - corruption, inefficiency, nepotism etc. - which are detrimental to common good
- Creating pressure for increased ·government performance, for exampl in service delivery or human rights

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides that: **'Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression;:<i-t1'is right includes freedom to hold opinions without interfe_rence and to seek, receive and impart information through any -media regardless of** .fronfi rs/ -.

'Th:ose" e ast likely- fo· enjoy their human rights ·are the 'J'.ibor the u·neducated; women, and members of r ligious, ethnic or caste minorities. Rural people in partictJlar are likely to have difficulty enjoying their right ofaccess to the·media.

The success of media as a change agent depends on number of factors.

1. How pluralistic is media ownership, rtd how in ependeht are the media from national and foreign governmei;its, political parties and multinational corporations?
2. How representative are the medfa of different opinions and how accessible are they to different sections of society, including poor and· vulnerable ·groups and political parties?
3. How effective, re the media and other independ nt bodies in inve tigating government and powerful corporatior:is?
4. How far does media· reporting of public and political' events remain within acceptable bounds of accuracy arid balance?.
5. How free are journalists from.restrictive laws, harassment ani:I intimidation?
6. {How free are private.citizens from intrusion and harassment by themediaJ
7. ;i\Nbat measures; if any, are being ta ketfto remedy publiclf i i:ttified problei;ns in this field, and what):aegree_of-political priority and-public support do _they have?"..:
8. How comprehensive and effective are legi lation and freedom of info mation provisions in giving the legislature, citizens and the media p.Ccess to·government information?

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6.1 Tribal Situation in fndia ·I

BIOGENETIC VARIABILITY OF TRIBES IN IND/A

DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF THE TRIBES

Aft_er the partition of the country in 1947, the tribal population,· as determined by the Constitutional Order 1950, was reduced from 2.47 crore in 1941 to about 1.79- crore. As per the Census report of 1951, the tribal population was about 1.91 crore, which was 5.36% of the total population of the country. In 1961, the total tribal population rose to 2.99 crore which constitutid 6.87% of the total population. In 1971, their strength rose to 3.8 crore, i.e., 6.94% of the total population. In 1981,; the total tribal population was 5.38 crore which worked out to 7.85% of the total general populatiqn of.about 68 crore. In 1991, the population of tribal population was at 6.7 crore, which is about 8.08% of the tofal popu ation. According to the iQ0i-census;lhe total Schedule Tribe population stood at 8.4 crore, i.e.- bCJ.ut RZ.°/4 pf the total population ohndia.'

About 350 tribes speaking more than 100 languages and dialects have been specified as the Scheduled Tribes in 21 states and 4 Union Territories. The states where the Scheduled Tribes have been specified are Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Orissa, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

The Union Territories are Lakshadweep, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Daman & Diu.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Both the geography of India and trib<;1l demography permit a regional grouping and a zonal classification_ of the tribal people:: hf;ij:as demarcated three tribal zones in India

ZONE1	This zone includes the Northern and North-Eastern areas in the mount .in valleys and eastern frontiers of India.
ZONE2	The Central Indian belt which occupies the older hills a:nd plat_eaus along the dividing line between Peninsular India and the Indo-G.angetic Plains. This zone also includes the hills and the converging line of.the Western Ghats.
ZONE3	This includ s the peninsular India.

The rthern and North-Eastern Zone·n s,%is its 2l!!Ro·sts·SJII!l&jr.ith _west and ! Lush t lfil! - " Mishmi Tract in the gcS.l;,The areas of eastern Jammu and Kashmir, :Himachal Prade ar:arare r of 'Utt ; aesh ifurth Eastem region fall in t his tribal.zone.

The· Central o Middle Zone includes West Bengal, Bihar, Southern Uttar Pradesh,. M dhya ·P:tades.h, Orissa, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Mahar.ashtra. It is the !:lg _of:!i ll t ethfe Ujbal ·zories. \

The third zone i.e., the Southern Zone includes Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. ·The tTiba! .communities of Ai1daman and Nicobar Islands·are 'also the constituents of this zone.

However, L JJ. Vidyarthi has given a new classification in orporating all the earlier classifications and"the_ geographical, ecological, social,- economic, administrative, ethnic and racial factors. This is a fourfold geographical classification along with one distinct sub-region of the-isla ds. These are:

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1. **HIMALAYAN REGION:** It has three sub'-re_gions.

   1. The North Eastern Himalayan Region: This sub-region includes the states of Assam, Meghc.1laya, Arunacfia11'raaesI("Nagafa"iiff,"Man1p"ITT, Mizoram and Tripura.

   2. The Central Himalayan Region: This sub-region includes the state of Uttar Pradesh

   3. The North Western Himalayan Region: This sub-region includes the states of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu Kashmir

   More than on th r.1 of tE! _regJ9.ri.· pC>p _li?':1 !s :p<1:de of tribes that is almost one"'.eighth of the tribal In.d.ia.

2. **MIDDLE INDIA REGION:** This region includes the states of Bihar, West Bengal, 0rissa, and Madhya Pradesh with more than 2 crore of tribal people, i.e., 55 percent of tiJ... ,..tQ.!ill tribes in the country.

3. ·**WESTERN INDIA REGION:** It includes Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa, and Dadra and Nagar ,:Haveli with about one crore triba!.Jjopulat i:rn.

4. : SO),tTH **-INUIA REGION:** It ctimprises ·Andhra Pradesh, Tamil. Nadu, Karnataka; and Kerala with a · :1ffi agre· tribal population i.e., ·1.66% of the region, constituting one-sixteenth of the tribes of the

5. **ISLAND REGI( )N:** The islands of Andaman and Nicobar in the Bay of Bengal and Lakshadweep in the Arabian Sea with.54._ % rJbal RQQUlatio titute a distinct sub-region.

RACIAL CLASSIFICATION

According to Guha, the tribal people of India can be grouped into three major categories..

1. **THE PROTO-AUSTRALQIDS:** This group is characterized by dark, skin color, sunken nose and lower forehead. Examples for this type include the Munda thEtOra n,tlie'tt:,-the Gond, the · Qnd etc.

2. **THE MONGOLOIDS:** Tribal people of the Himalayan region, especially of Qr!. Himalaya -rne under this category.

3. **THE NEGRITO:** The Kadars of Kerala and the Andarrianis of the Andaman Island come under this stock.

LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

Looking at the linguistic map of India a d .the languages found among the tribes, we note that the D fl<f_n) nguage family is in use in the &Avidian region· in· fpqth India and a few pock ts in. i l . lildi.3.'1:n:-_CJ!ote,n_agpur a n d North .Western bo'rder near Baluchis tan. Another language faniily, '.IAu tto7 '15B :, fuui'i'J"I ' (e°rtain·poclrets'·1n tlie"·N'ortn."Eastern- Him·a.layan region in Meghalaya, in 'Nicobar I.fnds and extensively in Middle India and adjoining Western India. The third language which is traced 011 ·th map and is prevalent all along the Himalayan Region is :_:'1JJieto th.J11 ¢ (fThe Inclo-European lang age is found in the remaining major parts of India.

Bro !Y/ the languages_ spoke \ yt trib s, o(India fallJ11_to 6 ur ITiain lingui tic families...

1. **A:USTRO-ASIATICFAMILY:**

   . a) Mon-Khmer Branch: Khasi'and Nicobari

   b) Munda Branch: Santhali, Karwari, Ho, Munda, Gondi, Kharia, Savara; Khond, Gadaba etc.

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2 TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY!

a. Siamese-Chinese Sub-family: Tai group - Khampti, Phakial, etc.

b. Tibeto.,Burman sub-family:

I. Tibeto-Himalayan Branch - Bhotia of Darjeeling.

II. Western sub-group of Himalayan Group - Chamba,

III. Lahauli, Sv,rangH, Kanauri etc.

IV. Himalayan Group - Rong or Lepcha, Toto, etc.

V. Arunachal Branch - Aka or Hrusso, Abot, Miri, Dafla, Mishmi, etc.

VI. Assam-Burmese Branch:

a) Bara or B,odo r up - plains Kachari, Dimasa, .Garo, Tripura etc.

b) Naga Group which includes-

1.The· Naga sub-group, Angami Ao, Serna, Reng a, etc.

2 Naga·Bodo su.b--group- Kachcha Naga, Kabtii Naga, etc.

1. Kachin Group - Sirtgpho.

2. Kuki-Chin Group - Manipuri, Thado, Sokte, Ralte, Lushai, etc.

3. **DRAVIDIAN FAMiLY:** Which includes the Korawa, Yerukala, Yarava, Badaga, Todo, Kota, Kurukh or Oraon, Malto or Maler, Kui Kam;lhj or i<hondi.

4. **INDO EUROPEAN FAMILY:** Hajong, Bhili, etc.

SOC/0-ECONOMit CHARACTERSTICS OF TRiBAL i'DPULA T/ONS IN. /NOIA

SOCIALORGANIZATION

The e are five.factors that constitute the essence of soci i,',orgariiiatitin. ·They ar :

1. **Natural** Env fonm,ent: The Natural enviro"t\meht is cdnceived as thelfasis fof any _sodal organisation. .„.All the socfoties depend on it f ° r their.basic needs such.asfoog, fuel, shelte·r etc -Forthe-:efforts ofJhc ·society to procure these basic needs, social life should be well 9rganized. ·

2/·. PQpUlation: It is the popula i_?n" lii h prov e th J:. ma erial f o r a weUorganized-society. T t J. . so because the population is composed Of relationships among pe9ple ·c_onstitutmg).t ·Tfie etlimc composition, the sex ratio ofpopuratTon,.aruias'necrs lltrewfse 'wiITiil1.1l n1eJ fie· odaflire·-or a group to a velygreatextenf —

3. Human Being: The most important of all the aspects oL os! UiJ t.fl.1 <:@llii!!}. Ll!g. It is the action :of'tlie 'inclivjgti:a.twluclfis":fespi,ffs{f'1d.for the:patterns-an(Fway :or·tir e -in a·sodety .Ht is the collective ·action oHh1 human _bei !is w,hichin'rad gives rise:.t a soci ij.

4. **Material Technology:** Social life is inseparably linked with material technology; It is this technology which helps man materializes to the maximum his.pn:!conceived ·ideas. It is this·material_tec.hno Q ·which deddeswhether a society is advanced or backward.'

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5. **Social Environment:** Social environment is a factor of paramount importance. An organized social life 0ccurs against a background of many elements of soGial environment like social interaction, social order, its design, cooperation, economic construction, etc.

The social organization of tribes involves methods of grouping and grading people for effectively carrying out various activities necessary for existence. The tribal populations of India reveal a typical situation. They form a small community of their own. Their relationships are direct and intimate.

In 19.53, T.C Das has suggested that the tribal organizations reveal seven types of social organizations. They are:

1. Family- Local Group - Tribe
2. Family- Moiety - Tribe
3. Family - Clan - Tribe
4. Family- Clan - Phratry - Tribe;
5. Family- Clan - Phratry - Moiety - Tribe
6. 'Fainily- Clan - Sub-tribe -Tribe
7. Family- Sub-clan - Clan -Tribe

In 1971, .S.C. Dube suggested that in India the tribal design consists of family, clan, phratry and finally a tribe.

However, we should consider the fact that not all tribes have a similar arrangement of social organization. The constituent matrices of social design, whkh make up a tribe from an individual level, may differ from tribe to tribe, ccording to the way in·which the Cribe in question has evolved. But at the same tim·e, a majority of tribes in India fall into the minimum category of "Individual - Family- Clan -Tribe".

A COMMON NAME

A number·of tribes are sometimes known or called by their neighbouring people and outsiders by a common name. This generic name is used in a broad sense to include many other types of tribal ·communities inhabiting a common territory. For example, the communities living on the hills might be geogra_phicaHy grouped and known·by a:common .term by.the plains' dwellers: ..t 1Urlr. nf . b i/ iq tofJ e _ii"Ol;(p. ig!tt. hav): e .r._ O,Wi'j ingj"i t i - nu.c ffur al.l d1" 1OD - he ame' - lm· ,;d.u Jp th :'. (me geog i.pl1,1 al tiJ t o roq j;:- l}eyJey). p.! o -.c_ · ri _culttir l- af 1?'fi 1 - _pparf1 tl_i':Jq k··· tlie same. They share many cultural and social customs with their cohorts. Even marital ties among the meo b er tribes, though very rare, are foun,di

Thisiphenbmenon of grouping of tribes.designated by a commotriame is a common featur'' in the North-Eastern Himalayan region. The expression "Naga0isa C0ffiffi0n term't? den?te the Nagaland peo'ple. In Arunachal Prades , the people li'ving in thei\bor_ Hiff - t k.n·o\Vllby theiname:'J\lJ(e; This iricludes tribes lik the

FAtL Y

Amp11g the lndian tribes, rnostiy allthe four:Ps te. - Patrilocal,Patr1archal;: PcitrHineal cmd Patrinymic, and alUtie four Ms, Le., Matrilocal, Matriarchal, Matrilineal and Matrinymic, are found.

In·the North:Western Himalayas, the fan;iilie . f.Sll .fo!ilg£ _1_Ga ud{ .i!n£.,o.f.tb J ,g_ ali of tarin ny ,nd KasJ mir.ancLHimachal Pradesh are patrilineaL Joint fa111iiies can also be found. Bu_t n6wadays breaking **up of ◁ joint family into a m1clear: famiiyi yisible and is on the increase even amongst the tribal** populations. Lil K.has ·of Uttar.Pra.cl shp c-t1se poiYar(clcy.arid·are of the patriline.al type]'he Thar follow the rule of patriliny bu.. pg itio_[!.pfwomen is strong amongst them and it is they o om.mand

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the family. In North Eastern Him ıaya_ J hg,Garos and the. Khasis are rpc1trilineal people. All the members get the mothe7hood a d claim descent from a cornmon female ancestor. 11 the M1kirs, children belong to the father's clan and the sons inherit the property. They are generaıly monogamous but-persons in power can adopt poıygamy. The_ Mizos are patriarcfoff and_it_is a customary aw_ that the younge son --!1h. ·its the property. The Dasama Kacharis foliow the rule of paraılel descent, i.e., son descends orl"tfie father's·· u:r;-e and daughters on the mother's ıine.

Within the Middle Indian tribes, we can see that the roots of patriıiny are deep. The major:- tribes like the Santkal, Munda, Oraon, Ho, Gond, Bhil, Kol, Kharia, Bhumij are all patrilocal, patrilineal, patriarchal, patrinymic and are monogamous in general with nucıear families. 'fhe extend e d famiıies are significantly present among them. The powerf e!:5Jl1S""of e_ Ho. can_marry more th;n:u;>.n,<;e . The minor tribes like the Birhor, Korwa, Pahariya - - ve aH the Ps with nuclear and monogamous family.

In Western India, the tribaıfa mily which is patriarchal in nature sweeps over the area. The Bhils, the most -populous tribe, foliow more or less complete Hindu law of succession and inheritance through their ·fathers.The family among the Minas, Mahadev Kolis, Varlis, Thakurs, Kothodis, Koli Mathars, Koli Dhors, Dublas, Gamits, etc., is pitriarchal in hara,cter.

In South India, the tribes of both patriarchal and·matriatchal family forms are in great number. Most of •the:Kerala tribes had the sqme form of family but now the patrilineal rule is foilm,ved. Tue Kl,i,ri. hsh! - ; Kundu Vadians and Malayaurs are still Il latrili eal. The Kadars, Irulas, Puıiyans show an inter!J1b ure 9f dinatriarcJ1y,· The Nicobarese are patriarcKar···

Monogamous family with a nucıear structure is the main feature of the Indian tribes. But the major tribes hope, as their economy demanded or permitted, to have a good number of joint as weıı as exte nded families. ·

Please refer the c?apter on Marriage for different ways of acquiring mates in tribal societies in India.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The pofitical life of the tribes of India reflects a paradoxicaı situation in which democracy and monarchy co-exists. Eve!:l hea ·?f a_co munity at '=- : ; -.}! £1 "-YiJ.Lc!g_,"·'},,-- !: OfY j RE:e.E ıly **honoured, obeyed** ana **accepted as the head** PLtne:gro\le.ms **office ıs hered1tqry. The supreme and. final** authority is in the hands of a singie person..)'he Nagas of N<?r!_l- ast t!LII! @Y.-. :?-hy-: hi ftainship. hl: entire population of a specific area, mqstly connneato'a-villa_ ora small_teu.itory.,cis. kiilff .aJo.gef.Ii :rJn ·kinship, religion, natural social instinct, or. eco 2 rp.! qr - Qi;;il . f.ti ities. Every -tribal individual has a share in·the political ties of the village and the region. The tribal leader governs the community only g: c „ 1.he·is backed by:the majority-or the whole of the group.;J'h! M- !\d s of h:gJ g_pp\:el ct_thefr/: li') he small wandering bands of the Birhors_ of Bihar- la:y·daim to.· distinct·tefritories, arid_us recognize the bond of a common homeland and are governed by a headmen. The .for.est dwe11 [$_like **Juangs** of Orissa are also governed by a' combination of secular and r ligious heads. The forest hunti g types like Chenchus of Andhra, P ; f; -i;ave·--a-. le d r for ·eve·ry local group, who. **fui }qni-asrthe sp-okesman-ı -clealing** frn the o'iitsfaers: rnitDaaar-elders in Cochin arso-aci in "th -sam manner. Among th1!-Mal P rn:tatalfoi"or MalarP-afiaafifms--of Kerala the political control lies in the hands of a headman and a council of elders.

The tribes have clearly demarcated territorial boundaries. As a rule, the tribes -living in small groups are ·united by kinship, marriage and frequent individual contact, and with them it is diffici.1ıt to distinguish· ·'political affairs from domestic affairs.

·The tribal political associations are of various kinds and· incorporate individuals, elders, families, a clan group, a village, and a tribal territory. Still ·they are mi ro political ·in nature..- The simple tribal · communities of India have their ownpolitical influences, which may spreadquite beyond the confines of the small territory. There are political assoeiations based on clan ()f Hneage, political associations based on the village as unit-a'ndp fidcafassocfat16ns i ase'ffcfril er' t9ry.

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The'tribal village works actively as a politieal unit. This mechanism functions through its officers who are kno\.Vn by different designations among the various tribes under,Teview. In the minor tribes like the Birhor, Juang, etc., the ordering of the social, political and ritual relations of the village is in the hands of one man. The Malers and the_ Kamars have Manjhi and Biga as their respective heads. But among major tribes like the Santhal, Bhil, Munda etc., v.v,e find a diff rentiation of function and a-µthority vested in two heacrinen eacfr"w1th .thei --own fields_ of interest ·ana· prescribed duties. A prJm.ary Qi_fferenti ti.911_ of ruuctTonspTits· viWage-a'frairsfotO: secular anct sacred spheres of activity with one headman responsible.for ea'c:htr.Among some tribes, this differe1ftfarion i's"t\1rther emphasized by the appointment of assistants to help'.'f ch headman in the discharge of his duties.

Most·of the tribes have a judicial machinery to deal with disputes, breaches of pe_ace and social offences at the village level, usually a village council or assembly of elders known as Panchayat Some settlements like the Hill Kharia are so small that they do not have any organizations at the village level. Among the Malers, tfie·coumc1r of elders of the village is presided over by the Majhi and the Gorait acts as the public prosecutor. Among the Mundas, Santhals, Hos, Oraons, Bhils, etc., each village has a Panchayat. Sexual offe,r,i,es among them are dealt by thei clan elders. In villages having only one clan, the clan elders coincide with the village elders. In a village consisting of many cla,ns, the population of several villages would be organized into clan units for purposes of trial of sex al off nces .

The village community has some social control over its people. Among all the tribes there are a number of negatiye sanctions that follow misconduct or misdemeanour. Some actions evoke public disapproval in many tribes like· the Santhal, Munda, Ho, Gond, etc. While neglect of famil_l,_,_,, uties , d ,!>19JL,of dependents, intermar iage within the village even when the parties belong to different clans, and refusal to entertain guests: give rise to gene'rarsocial di approval; such actions as repudiation of debt, adultery, theft,' w11ful 'destruction of othei people's ·prope.rty and witchcraft and sorcery, not only evoke social d1sapprovafbufattr·a'ct p;u"rrislimentb;/villagttaiitho:dties.

Another type of the political association is the territory in which the tribal political affairs go farther. to from a group of villages or a territorial group and *in* some cases the tribe as a whole. Ex. Kumars, Gonds, HO, Maler etc.

The evidence called for while deciding a criminal case is of two kinds, either oath ·or ordeal. The oath and ordeal serve as a means of voluntary submission of the accused to law. It is obeyed mainly because of the fear of anger of the Supreme Being. The punishment or award, generally a fine in cash or in kind, or both, depending upon the seriousness of the crime, is embodied in the tribal law itself. This fine is generally utilized for giving of a communal feast or a:5 an offering to the supernatural powers to appease them.

The characteristics- of primitive law and justice are given in the chapter on Political Anthropology, Paper 0l;"i;V,&ilime 01.-

Theitraditional political field of tribes is. ts.mfined to the institutipn_s like the COUJ!Cil of illage elders, vill ge headman, and village Panchayat and.so on. All these fhstitulions constituting a sing,le person or a gr<;>Up of persons have interrelated, cr'oss-cutting fields where one surpasses the other !varying from situation to situation. These institutions are mainly of five kinds.

1. **The Council of Eiders,** a temporary body of selected villagers, generally coincides with clan elders to ·!?0? into cases brought before them. Ex.:_!i!!fil!S, Lushais, Tharus, Kamars, Saoras, Koli Mahadevs, konda Reddis, etc.

2. **,[: e Village Headman,** a hereditary post and.subjec·t to villagers' opinion if and ·when required. :Ex. ·'"Tankhul Nagl!_s, Purums, Khasas, Munda, Santhal etc.

3. **The Village Panchayat,** a body of the panc.hs headed by the village Headman. The panchs are elected by the villagers directly. Ex. Ao Nagas, .Khasa, Mundas, Oraons, Hos and Kharias.

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4. **The Union of Villages,** a regiona:l Panchayat headed by the regional head. Ex. The Pargana Panchayat among the Santhals, Mundas, Oraons, Kharia, etc.

5. **The Tribal Chief,** a hereditary post of supreme judicial authority at the tribal level. Ex. Khasi, Lushai, Konyak etc.

Tribal Leaders: The tribal life is an interwoven network of its different facets. As in social, economic, cultural, ritual and development spheres, a tribal community does not stand alone all by itself, so in the ream of politics too, it forges a close relationship among the tribal people This clearly reveals a need for a variety of tribal leaders to meet the diverse requirements of all dimensions of a tribal life. A typological analysis of the tribal leaders is given hereunder.

On the basis of social position leaders have been classified as:

1. **Formal Leaders:** These are such tribal or non-tribal individuals who hold position in the formal hierarchy or organization, or hold some kind of formal designation and enjoy the privilege of leadership because of thefr position;)'.hese leaders include the traditional and institutional religious leaders.

2. **Informal Leaders:** These are those who .are not associated with any type of formal hierarchy or organizadon nor hold any kirid of forrtial designation and yet have influence over the people or 'people come to them as they possess some leadership qualities. This category may also include such persons as those who might have held some position in a formal organization or held some designation, but are now leading a retired peaceful life.

3. **Exploiter Leaders:** These are those leaders who had once been exploiters of the tribes or are still so in some measure, like the ex-landlords and Mahajans or Money-lenders. These leaders, because of their privileged position, were in a position to win the following of the tribes. Though the Mahajans and landlords are said to have exploited the tribes for a long time; they have also been helpful to them in times of dire needs and guided them in many matters.

Depending on the function they perform, the tribal leaders can be classfi ed into Traditional and Modern leaders.

1. **Traditional Leaders:** These are those who have been operating in the traditional social structure, standing for the old traditional values and institutions arid satisfying various traditional needs of the tradition-oriented tribal society. There are mostly associated with the villc1.ge institutions.

2. **Modern Leaders:** Th.ese are those leaders who operate in the new social structure in free lndfa. associated with the newly introduced associations, institutions or.,organizations, who tahd.for:rtew innovation and ideas in their society. The.y thus satisfy the needs of the modern social S)fstem.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

According to L.P. Vidyarthi, tribal India is practically by religion a Hindu. It is well known that Hfnduism is a product of inany cultures. Every kind of religious act, from the sacrifice of the *Vedic* Aryans to the rituals of primitive people, can be observed in the main body of Hindu religion. The statistical treatment of religion in the Census of India presents a very clear pictu_re of the religions of tribal India, The tribal ha ,e reported altogether 59. re.ligions in which they believe Only one and a half lakh tribes, wh.kh constitute hanUy, half a per"cent of the tribes, haye t;ither an in:definfre: h,elief uchave not stated their religion.- Ariiiie_tenth majority or 'the tribes are Hindu (89.40%)by religion and a small fraction of them, thafis, 5.53% profess Christianity. And a very negligible percentage. believes in Buddhism (0.89%):'Isfarn (0.21%), Jainism, Sikhism, and Zoroastrianism (all three together. 0.34%). Abo(lt 4.19% of the tribes claim to have a distinct tribal or Adiv sr religion of their:- own; n mberirig all togeth1fr 52 and a half of these tribal religions are named after the respective tribes.

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The region-wise distribution suggests th'qt Hindus are found in all the four regions excepting the isle portion of South India, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Laksh-adweep, which are far from the mainland. Almost ninety-nine percent of the tribes of Western India (Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra), South India (Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu) and middle India (Madhya Pradesh) are IQ nds. In Orissa, West Bengal and Kerala States, the strength of Hindu tribes is more than 90 percent Tribes in most parts of western and central regions, including Bihar and parts of Tripura in the· north eastern Himalayan regi on have also embraced Hinduism. <; j tians are found among the tciJL JIL8. m M '.ghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram area of north eastern Himalaya and constitute slightly less th,fn fifty per cent of the tribal population of the region. In south India, particularly in Kerala, they are 4.75% of the tribal population whereas in Andaman and Nicobar Islands 74.31% of th f!9t?..J!_r:e Christians and are scarcely scattered in rest of the country. Buddhists among the tribes are concentrated in·some-parts of Assam, Tripura, West Bengal and Himachal Prade5-Jl. Muslims are there in the tribes of La. k s adweep, Hirii fr:lfal Prad"e"sh, West.Bengal and Maffarashfra: - -

Na ture of Beliefs in Supernatural Powers:

1.<'Aniri1ifrt1:)F61Iowed by Santhal,Murtcfa; draC'n} Birhor, Chenchu, Korwas, Mikirs, Bhills etc.

ZJ :f tfu. 1 -03 JFoll 'w' cf r 'J:I6tf4.#qcffi aWr

i ; hifa V t M undas, Ho, Malers, Santhals, B{ Pt /r.9 - oya k.

4. iliote-fui;;ut Hos Mundas, Orcions; 3 h fffa and c,;1tl"s1etc .

5. wa,-glcT,Jras ':J<:ijqrj'dsfl<qrwa ,.Kc1 c1rs}paniyans, Khasas, Nagas.

fr An:qestqt.\¾t:)r hip: :N gas;:MJzo.s;;,fylalers ,-Tharus, Gadabas, Garos, Karja, Maria Gonds, Karriar, Buills, Todas Saoras etc. . - - - - - -

7. Polytheism:· Follow(;!d by·Mmglas Sc:1.oi-a, etc.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Amongst the tribes of India we can find more or less all the economic activities that are found elsewhere in the world. Details about individual production system are discussed in the chapter on Economic Anthropology in Paper 1. Here the classification and important tribes practicing a ·particular economic activity is discussed.

1. **Hunting and Food Gathering:** This means of economic production is disappearing in India today as a consequence of increase in transport and communicatiqri and also· because of access to new and fiadvanced technologies. Very few tribes in India are still dependent on this type of e<;ollomic activjty today. The people dependent on tqi ,JYpe of production usually_ earn their livelrhood through :-collection of minor forest produces like honey, fruits a_ud edible roots. They also hunt animals,·for ,Jood. Important tribes depending on this system arethe· Kadc.1r, P n, l l and Kuru; ba of eral, Chenchu and Yanadi of Andhra Pradesh, the Birhor and Kharia of-Bihar, Kamar, Baigc1 and AbhuJmana of Madhya Pradesh, Koya and Kon·ta-reddi of Tamil Nadu and R:atkan of Maha t . in the Andaman Island, the tribes of Onge and Jan,va,- p_ractice .hu ti g.and_g tb; ip oduction.

2.-;;; hifti g Cultivation: Also called as Slash"_and Burn agriculture, it is practiced in the hilly areas of North Ea-st, .Orissa,--Madhya Prades_h Biliaf. ai'i'ct'i:O:-sofn"etex ntin_9tl)E!r p rts of th e counti';. Shi il1g : ultivation, is known· as jhuni among t :th :fribes' of:As 1ril;-:rv{ gh mya, trlP.:!'.Miz?T E1 and 'fj\runachal Pradesh. It is known by the name of Bewar or""Dahya in thetribes of Madhya Pradesh and Poduif Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. In Nor'ffiorissa, tli'isl:ype of cultivation is known as Koman or Bringar fome major tribes in India who practice shifting cultivation are Lohta Angami Naga, Khasi and Kuki of North East, Asura of Bihar, Saora and Juang of brissa, Baiga and God of Madhya Pradesh and Korwa of Uttar Pradesh.

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3. **Pastoralism:** Tribes who are pastgrp).. in their economy usually lead a sedenta,ry _fe, unlike theii- hunting and gathering counterparts.. Even though there is a seasonal- migration:c>f the tribes following this type of economic activity, especially amongst the highlanders who migrate during seV; re winters, we can more or less say that most of the pastoral tribes in India lead a settled life The most important example of pastoral tribe in India is the Toda _of N_ilgiri Hills of TaJllil. adu. The Todas exchange the rmlk. and milk products of their buffaloes with other people _in_ e.x h.c! g _fqr ot er necessitie•soflife. Other exampie-s-aretiie·"t'. i1]firs·0Tifonachal Pradesh; Bhotic of Uttaranchal. The former are cattle breeders while the latter also breed yak for their wool.

4. **Agriculture:** The tribes who have adopted settled agriculture are the Mizos of M.! oram and Apatanis_ o(Arunachal Pradesh. Both the tribes cultivate rice_which happens to be their staple food. Where the topography does not permit cultivation on plainT; ds, they practice !errace cultiv t on. Other tribes who practice agriculture are the anth l, 0..:!9 n and Ji. _.?f Bihar and Bengal, T .r,1umd K.qr - tQI.Uttar Pradesh, Gond, Bhil and Bilala of Madhya Pradesh, Saora of Orissc1 and Badaga of Tamil Nadu.

s; **Artisan Activities:** None of the tribes live completely by artisan activities but most of them take itas their s on f ..Q -I_l, !gn. In factiri,pst of the tribes in India have one or the other expertise'.ih llandicrafts. Saoras of Orissa are famous for their metal works, weaving and pottery. Korwas and g·rias .w ll - „ : " theirjrcm work pro. - t_9._9.Ji,:The g l i.S,,, 1ekn wn Pfr theTf. Jorn fibre tissties. of , anifil' ls:··„."TltcftJ!]:'.:.m1i.tre faJJllt.Yre, ho 5._ <:> J . - i,lsr., _b l< t,'. ·-u f al ;i rl}m nts and ropes. and mats. T e Iruh s are known for their bamboo tnats and baskets. The : f6f,t rriit,Naf!E;.Ar .- Jfi i. !1 JJ S l)1f lif. 1.g.f fii. i!: tt ·_·Mqsl'·orth,e-IriJ>es_ o·t,Nortlf·E· ·st_ !¼e expert we. Y. r .PfJ;lqth. The M_arias and Muria Gonds of Chattisg r l:1 are known for.the famed Bc:1!itar 'E!l.t al)c,i gys ?f c1ai a :n1 r 1nlsare a mous 10 their cotton produc;ts. ,··\"-.

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6.2 Probl.ems of Tribal Communities.

The tribal populatiorr of India, from times unknown, has been living in isolation. They have developed their own mechanisms of survival and distinctive patterns of social, economic, political and cultural organizations. Owing. to urb, f!!?- ti<m ,UJg in.4 $tr i E !JQ 9f I g.tc1,, h government, both before and after independenCe·,---has heen compelled to break this isolation. This abrupt juxtaposition between the modern and western industrial society with the primitive small-scale society has led to numerous problems for the tribes.

Along with these, the developmental policies of the government have been responsible for the displac ment of the tri6es:·'f1ie Toresf"i0Hy..has beeri dTrectiy·responsiole fo'rthe displacement ofnot o'ii{y'tli'e tribal e:co"riomybut also the tribal conceptio·ri ·ofman::natiire·r·elatfonship. 111 addition, along" with'' theTr16al areas, tfie·rurarcifeasofffie· riaff<in a"resufferingirorriSodo:cuitu'rala-nd'economic disturbances due to the ongoing tides of urbanization and industrialization

Iand Alienation

Land- is he.main s y of the t_ribes and.mpre than 900 of them are dependent on agriculture and allied act,iv&tf 'T;beir_ ec(?nomy is:primarily agro-based. Land.is the only tangiblg £!sset Q.f.9- tribal family. J..rLbes:·· Jle.Y, м !!:. !!!- !I<rl=l a a rnent lg la g Y. 'Yith te.: P.. niniMR-.,QL!h'. !!: .b- l X - ?_,tlle rib.ell lc1nd is being aliena ea to the .J]()n- ·ttib s: A.ccord_ing:fo · he..i9s1 census, there is a sharp decrease in the) percenTagi(oftrioalruffivators-:-'lfnas come down from 68:18% in 1961 to 54.43 in 1981. Consequently, a large number of tribal cultivators have been rendered landJess laborers. The agricultural laborers have increased froin 19.71% in 1961 to 32.67% in l 981 Decrease in the number of cultivators and increase in the landless laborers is_ indic?tive Qf.J.b.e_ disturbingtreildoJ-far@:]l1enatfoii-·tli'e- foddence···-orTana· alienatfrm varies from State to State. According to the Sample Survey conducted by the Department of Rural Development in 1988, about 30 to 55% of the tribal households have been affected by land alienation. It also shows that about 80%·ofland was alienated to the non-tribes.

Another tendency highlighted by the Survey was that in certain areas, altJJoMmJhe..trtbes_ are_ the !Jffjs;j l -- FS ofthe nd, then_gn-tibes hav J>_efotne its virtual owners.,T e gtpJik!!!l Y !Y, te_ i!,1.. -!. L E -?.f: !- esh - _abadand Kisanganj Tehsils of Kota Disfrictin_ I§asthan and Nilgi _Q}_strict of Tamil_t{ 9u. In these areas lands belonging to Scheduled Tribes are under unauthorized.Q!,:_ Etion ofth - non-tri?es. Si ilar pr ctices also prevaH in severa,lother places. The Government of Kerala has. !l ted "_T:!! J{ mi# Sd1 -i[ribes (Reslriclio·ri ·.0ll ti:a;g§f r, of ,lan,ct a- a }9 en_lli.d.f: dsJ t_t-; 1_975. frh s be ri',i)f ib.Unto.Jo'r.ce.wiih.effectJio m, 1:1.1982 b[(.a.n:5tJJ.C<lW n. b rougltin'fanuary 198 As ' 'resuit; fa.1 e areas of the tribal land alienated to the non-tribes pri /t lanuary'T§s2·have nofbe·en restorellfothe· tdb, s.

In J-\n:-ra _Pradesh, the _S_tt. Gove,rnment. as issued a regulationJn_own as ;A..rihf..tnitl,s11,$#1 :"f._:/ ·Are·as\t - d 'Transfer·Regulati_on,) 959"· Under Section 3 of"tfie\ibove Regulation, any,, transfer of im o able 'p.roperty he.ld hy a tribal shall be absolutely null and void unless such transfer is made in favor ofa person who is a member ofa -Scheduled Tribe or a Society registered under the Andhra Pradesh· Co-operative Society's Act which is solely composed of members of Scheduled Tribes. Where the transfer. of immovable properties is made in contravention of the -above provisions, the competent officer may on applic tion and even suo moto decree eviction against any person in possession of such property. The Go'ver(iment of Andhni Pradesh, however, vide their GO Ms No. 129-:-Social Welfare dated 12th August;· 1919··i>i-cterect that·an the non-tribes who are·in·'occu·p r 1nds;in.t11e ·sctrci i;ct A-;miif q·:s.-:a.:cies ·----- .of.e:-§r.'_ o,- ac --.t !Y:i I ---}hau1c -not"he·ivicteff-rrnaer :ilie··iifo\,isio·nsofne An !?.: _Er..9 $. h .Scheduled Areas_L nd.Trarisfer Regula'tion -I959.The-Higli'courfoTAncthff P raaesfi]i"a i'.'st'ruckdown.the ... ·s·ara·Goveri merit or aeY vrne·thefr ordercfiitec i i' 9.19 s-1:·—– : - -·-- ___.,_ ·.

In order tcuieaLw.ith.th.e._P-rn.l?l m ofland alienation to the non-tribes, laws have een e11a ted inall the_ States. Des2ite -Jarid-alienation l,;s· the tribal land continues to be alienated to--the nc!o.: tribes this.t:'rend - bears· te"stfmony-to'tifo"·app're'heiisfa"ns ofthe"'fivo'Sub- Committees - heC n;t-it - -t A se bly, viz., the

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Sub-Committee on North East Frontier (Assam) Jriba.l nd Excluct d,At: as and the Sub-Committee on Excluded and rt_iifiy--i:C;I ded Areas. The first Committee had obse d that "as the tribal people stroulcfhave the lafgest i:icsslble measures of protection for their land, t>.rnvisLo,ns hould be _mad_e fo_r the. control of migration into t h * areas for agricuftural or non-ag.ricultur l_pufR()__e?.'. 'fl}e Sub Committee.on Excluae·d ·ancfPa-rdafiy Excluded Areas (other-than-Ass:am). has stressed that "in view of the increased pressure on land every where, alienation of any kind of tribal land even to other tribes, may have to be prohibited or severely restricted in different stages of advancement". The _observations and recommendations of both the Sub-Committees of the Constituent Assembly have been incorporated in the provisions of the Fifth and the Sixth Schedules of the Constitution.

Under_ the Fifth _Scl1edule, th Governor of a_Stat having Scheduled areas has b en vested with special RQW ri:.: f" aking ,r gµlations for prot_ection of the tribal interests in land. In thG -i-th_ }:l-_ci1:1,If the District A\=1.fonorr1ou$ Council. h.as..also been _givcm powers of protection of the)µterests. of the· tribes fo 1aria · ·

Historical Perspective of the Problem

In ancient periq_cl_c1 !P... \'\' -Ld. -ifi L f l}_t_h trrJtQr_y_a_n.d V:!} _g y· --i _J): - JoJ:he_geo.graphicaLai:ea under its occupation and control. Tµe community sub .! ed on foo.9:_g_terfr1.g and· hunting in· the ·arE:ff undcfr;:fos command. Even now several tribal groups follow such practice As the pressure_o_ri -popfrlation- , gi'l!W1n'rcttlre-people acquired new skills of agriculture, tribes cleared the forests and brought land' under cult!y tio,n-The individual tr:U?_a,.! consJ£! r q _i111elf th owner of the land he occupied by virtueofliTs t d tiorial association and_his persona efforts in making it cultivable.

In the past, an average tribal family had a fair size of land-holding which supported it even with primitive methods of cultivation. It is not so .now. The increasing pressure of population on land, particularly from the advanced section of society, has forced the tribes to leave their land. Till the first half of the present century lienation of land did not create a serious problem for the tribes as even by then the forests were still plentiful. The need for additional land was met by clearing. of the forests.

The tribal areas remained for a long time outside the land management system· because of their inaccessibility. Tribal communities dev loped their own traditional system.of land manage[lJent. The land ownership among the tribes broadly feii under three categories namely, (i) .community land, (ii) land belonging to clans· and (iii) individual holdings. The British had introduced three mai systems of la d revenues in the territories an.nexed by them viz., Zamin.dari, Mahalwari and Ryotwari, Some of the tribal areas were also covered by these systems. However, the policy of treating the tribal areas as Excluded or Partially Excluded·areas helped to preserve the traditional land management system. Many of the tribal areas were parts of the Indian Princely States. These states had no_uniform land tenure system. Some, continued with the traditional managemen_t-system, others developed thei own systemanc,lther , re_ states which adopted some of the new SY;Stems prevalent in British India 1

The system of maintaining land records afso va·ried considerably. In some states the- ti;;ibal a_reas:werf! covered' by regular settlement op rations, in some rough records were prepared qn the basis of individual estimates ·without detailed survey and in some_ others, a system. of_revenue. based on the. number of ploughs or family units- was introduced as a criterion for determining the quantum -of land utilized. Nevertheless, ·the tribes continued to clear the forestland for agriculture -and there was a conslderable-divergence between the records maintained by the _authority and the actual holdings. I:nJhe. abse ce:of a regular land settle_ment system or up to date record of l,and tights, the tribes were auhe ' mercy,:of the petty revenue officers, Forest Departments :and th_e landlords..

One sigriificant consequence of the unsatisfactory state ofland records was that the tribal was not legally recognized as an own r of the land he cultivated arid he could simply occupy jt t(ll a superior ,daim ·got enforced. Since the new legal system gradually superseded th"e traditional system, the tribaf as an individual was unable to stand the continuing.·pressure of ,outsiders. Th_e·,extent of land ownership actually recorded in favor of the tribal cultivators in a settlemellt operation d pendeq largely on the knowledge or sensitivity of the officer rewonsible for operation of the tribal land owning system.

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With the introduction of commercial orientation of land as a resource, there was a substantial increase in the pressure on tribal land. ,Opening of the tribal areas in the wake of developmental processes and setting up of various irrigation, power, industrial and mining projects, brought in the problem of land alienation. Due to illiteracy and poverty, the tribes could not take advantage of the legal i·emedies. Grabbing of the tribal land coupled with their exploitation by zamindars, contractors and middlemen caused widespread unrest among the tribes which manifested in a_series of tribal revolts during the 19th Century. Consequently, the, British introduced a series of protective measures. These were (1} reco.gnition'of community ownership of land in some cases, and **(ii}** adoption of suitable land laws and regufations, particularly, for the Agency areas and Excluded and Partially Excluded areas which prohibited transfer of land from the tribes to the non-tribes. In some cases, as in Se.nthal Parganas, transfer could be made only in favor of a person who already held land in the village, which prevented a possibility of migrants acquiring land. hi some princely States like Bastar and Agency areas, the migrants, particularly the officials, were prohi_bited from acquiring land in the tribal areas. In areas where considerable tribal lands had already been alienated to the non-tribes, right of preemption was introduced so that the process could be reversed even though partially.

In -the·. post-Independence period he reorg1anization of the Stites, qnd scheduling of the areas had far--rea.Ghing implications_ ori the tribal land. Many predominantly tribal areas. which had remained outside. the ,$,tjj.ed\lle{d.ar as did not get he _benefit of protective land-laws-for quite. sometime. With the opening,," up of the tribal areas particularly for development activities ihe pressure of migrant population on them increased. Apart frorn -alienation of the tribal land to the non-tribes, its acquisition for various public and private purposes has also been allowed.

The problem of land alienation in the states has been of varying degrees. Various studies conducted have indicated that land alienation affected about 30 to 55% of the tribal households. The incidents of land alienation is more in are s which are rich in mineral and other natural resources and where there are possibilities-of iµcreased agricuitural production.

Causes and Methods of Land Alienation

A sizeable area of the tribal -land has .been alienated on account of the indebtedness, lacunae in the land laws and its acquisition for public purposes by the Government arid other institutions. Some of the other factors are encroachment and forcible eviction of the tribes from their land. The general methods of alienation have· been .through sale, mortgage, lease .benami trai,sfers, collusive decrees and fraudulent methods of "land grabbing. Ther·e have been many cases where the land has been taken in lieu of the money loaned, Such land transfers have been effected in the form of mortgage, share cropping, marriage with a tribal woman, in the name of a tribal farm servant, adQption of a non.;tribal by a ribal etc. In many case Jhe tribes have not only been dispossessed of thefr land but they are forced to work as agricultural labo rs on,,their own land.. In some other cases the non-tribes created fictitious documents or manipulated the sale-deeds to show that l:!)e sale took place prior to protective_ provisions' of the land law l>ecame operative. Cases have also b'een noticed where -s.trLd,!=Ures such as houses, fa tories were built on a part of the tribal land to circumvent the provisions of the land laws.

Apart from. alienation of land to privat persons, substantial tribal _land has .been acquired by the Government for various developmental projects such as setting up of major as well as medium irrigation, po\l\f ; .industrial.and other· projects. Studies have indicated that the payment of compensation· and;-reh b.ilitation has been far from· satisfactory where the Government has acquired the land. for public purp 'ses There .have been -lar,ge nuqiber.ofca$es\.yhere the tribes ave nofreceived any compensation "follqy;ing acquisition of land by the ·Goveriunent ven."in case where comp nsati n was g1veri, a large i portion of tlre same was frittered away by the recipients instead of investing it for productive purposes.

Due to increasing pres ure of population coupled with alienation of land, the size of land-holdings in tribal_ areas has been r uced in va.rying degrees from place to place. Though the overall size of a tribc;tl ·holding m y be either qual or slightly larger than the· national average, the average incom from such a holding is very small. This is mainly because the lands.left with the tribes are mostly infertile and cannot

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be put to remunerative cultivation,. Ap)ysis of the census data in respect of occupational-classification shows that the tribal communities l1ave been gradually loosing land in most states. It has resulted in the fall in the number of tribai cultivators and rise in the number of agricultural laborers as well as other categories of workers. The 1981 census shows a marginal increase in the number of tribal cultivators in some states. It may be due to fragmentation or sub-division of holding$ rather than declining trend of and alienation. In some states, there has been a phenomenal increase in the number of "other workers". This is accounted for by a large number of cultivators displaced from their land for various reasons but largely due to acquisition of their land for public projects. In some of the advanced areas particularly near th municipal towns, urban conglomerations, big development projects etc. the tribes have been rendered almost completely landless. The analysis also indicates migration of the tribal laborers to other areas due to the depletion of land resource base and the lack of employment opportunities in their own areas.

Deficiencies in Laws & Remedial Measures

Land alienation has been caused either due to inadequate legal provisions or lack of implementation of the existing legal provisions. Some of the inadequacies noticed in various land laws are as follows:

1. In some states legal provi ions'ar{ pplicable only tp Scheduled Tribes living in Scheduled Areas or Notified Areas and do not apply to the tribes living outside thE! e areas; In Maharashtra and Biharthe laws are applicable to Scheduled Areas and in Assam to the tribal belts ortly and not to other ar east\

2. The re is a wide disparity in the application of limitation period. In states like Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and Tripura a general limitation petiod of 12 **years** is allowed in cases of alienation of the tribal land. It is found inadequate and may be increased to 50 years as is done in some states like Orissa.

3. Absence of provision for initiating suo moto action by the administrative authorities for de.tection and restoration of the alienated land without waiting for the tribal owner to take initiative in the matter is also responsible for slow detect on f such cases. Provision for suo moto action exists in some states like Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh.

4. For the purposes of land alienation the law of evidence may be suitably amended to give primacy to oral evidence over the documentary evidence.

S. In Scheduled Areas it should be the responsibility of the non-tribes to prove that the land had been acquired in accordance with the provisions of the law as in Madhya -Pradesh, Orissa and Andhra. Pradesh.

6. The term "transfer" should be compre ensive as to includ illegal and:ben sfers ofland.

7. No tribal should be aUovJed to transfer, surrender or abandon ownership or interest in his iinmoJ ble property in favor of a non-tril:ia1 S„ue;h a provision already exists in the states of Madhya.Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat.

8. The state laws. should be reviewed to restrict the judicial intervention at the High Courts level. There shoul be a pr(?vision in order to curtail the period of litigation that no stay order could be brought by a hi_gher court against the order of a lower court restoring:the.Jandto tribalholders. The number of appeals should be restricted to one only The jurisdiction of Civil Courts over the tribal land should be barred, where it has not already been so done.

9. The state laws have no provision tcfdeal with case ofo.ccupatiollcithe **tribal** landthrough deteit,_ nd force. Such cases are generally dealt with under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code which4s:a time taking process. Executive courts maybe set up on the pattern of provisions made iu the Bonded Labor Abolition. Act, 19.76 and empowered to try su.chcases.Purtitive provisions should be made for dealing with those found **uilty.** Provisio_n m y also be nia4e for summary eviction of those who have taken possession **of** tribal land. Repeated offend'ers may b booked urider preventive detention laws...

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10. The state laws do not prescribe any tim'.e limit within which the order of the competent authority to restore the land to the tribes should be enforc d. Many ordersthus remain unexecuted for a long time and it defeats the purpose for which they were issued. Specific time limit not exceeding 3 months may be fixed for restoration of land to the t ibes. The responsibility of the execution of such orders may be specifically assigned to the District Collector or to any other specified officer.

11. Some states do not have clear provisions in their laws to deal with cases where pucca and substantial structures have been erected on the alienated land prior to their restoration to the tribal owners. The loophole provides further opportunities to the transferee to move other criminal and civil courts for· preventing demolition of structures. In order to prevent such unnecessary litigation, laws should be e_pacted which would provide demolition of such structures if they are not substantial or for taking ·th'em over by the Government or, nominal compensation to be fixed by the court if they are substantial. No separate order for demolition would be necessary and no court should entertain proceedings on this ground.

12. P. some states laws pertaining to protection of tribal land from alienation are conflicting and ntradictory. The norJ.-tribes have taken ad-vantage of the la.CU!l,a to validate their claims to the tribal) 4. Si!, h in.co gruo'-:{s ·provi_si·ns. a e often allowe to prevail by courts also. It may, therefore, be $:p, c:ificaliy provided by each .state that the protectionist· p'rovisions relating to tribal interest in land wt>uld prevail over any provision to the contrary in any other law in force.

·13. In tribal areas, in case of dispute about ownership of land between a tribal and a non: tribal, it should ·a1ways be presumed that the.land belongs to the tribal unless proved otherwise. The proof should be provided by the non-tribal. In such cases the law should provide for summary disposal of cases by mobile courts and the action to restore land should follow immediately after the issue of the order. In ·case of appeai or revision being filed, the disputed land, until disposal of the case, should remain in possession of the Go ernment who would be competent to lease it out to the tribal. No stay order should be passed by any higher court against the restoration of land to the tribal owner.

14. No provision exists at present to regulate transfer ofland from tribes to tribes. In order to protect the interest of the poor tribes it is necessary to have some provisions to regulate intra-tribal transfer of land also.

15. The_ protective proyisions have been relaxed in respect of tribal lands mortgagei to Scheduled Banks and :financial institutions. This has been done with a view _to· extend credit facilities to the tribal landowners for developme11t purp.oses. In the ·event of _non-payment of a loan advanced to a·tribal landowner, the financial institution has the powe·r to dispose of his land to realize the dues. Thus the tribal land is ultimately alienated in many cases to the non-tribes. It is, therefore, necessary to make ·p11pvisions (or restricting transfer of such lan·d to the tribes only. In case no tribal comes forward to buy such land, the Government may pµx<;l!as the land and allot it to the landless tribes. J

16. J}' $pite provisions against transfer of tribal land to the ihoil-tribes, the r gistering·, authorities' co'ntinue tn register documents of transfer of such land without verification of the lanct record. In order to ensure that the protective provisions pertaining_ to alienation of tribal land are not violated, ·Indian Registration Act needs to, be amended -to provide for verification of the land records by the ~ **authority in the State before registering any land transfer QQCUment.**

17. Many states have provided for transfer of tribal land to the non"'.'.tribes with the per.mission of the LOlltector. This power is-often.ext:rdsed by subordinate·officers.-011 behalf of the Collector, and it·h3.s been mi:sm;ect by both to legitimize tribal land alienatio.n. Therefore, no authority should be permitted· to authorize transfer of the tribal land.to the non-tribes. In ca e of distress sale of the tribal land, the Governm nt_ should purchase it at fair_price and distribute it among the landless tribe$. There is such provision in West Bengal.

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18. There is no provIs10n in the state\ aws that empower State Government to remove doubts and difficulties in the implementation of the protectjye laws. General provisions may be made empowering the states.to issue guidelines for implementation of the protective provisions.

19. There is no provision for a state being made a compulsory.party in all proceedings involving tribal land in any state laws. The tribal due to poverty is not able to fight long-drawn litigation. In such cases the State should be made a compulsory party so that the Government pleader could defend the tribal interest This is the most effective way of defending tribal interests and should be provided in all the state laws.

20. Protective provisions should be made where they do not already exist, as for example, in Tamil Nadu. In case of Karnataka, the protective land laws apply only to the land assigned by the State Government to the land.:.}ess tribes. It should be extended to cover all tribal lands. In case of Kerala though the protective law was enacted in 1975, it has been made applicable from 1982 only. This has adversely affected the tribal interest. It should he made effective from the date of enactment.

21. In Scheduled Areas right of pre-empJjqn should be given to the tribes to purchase the land of a f on-tribal if the latter wishes to dispose it and restriction be placed on persons from outside the district fr_oni acquiring such land. Provisions for· Government purchasing such land for distribution may be made:

Adfuiiiistrative and Socio Economic Measures

The tribal community and its traditional institutions like triba·l panchayats exercise an enormous social and moral authority over its members and these should be effectively involved for protection of the tribal interests in land. This is significant because even the powers conferred on some officers to initiate suo inoto action have not led to the detection of all the cases oftribal land alienation or their restoration. The tribal organizations and institutions therefore may be assigned the responsibility of:

- Entertaining the complaints of alienation of the tribal land;
- Making suo moto enquires_ into the complaints;
- Settling (lisputes·by mobilizing community pressure or through courts.

Massive programs may be taken up for:

- Creating awareness among the tribal masses about the protectionists provisions and methods·of seeking legal relief;
- . Training of educated youths who would help the affected tribal-masses in obtaining restoratio:n,;of their land;
- Mobilizing the tribal· communiy and its institutions for detection of alienated land and its restoration;
- Creating consciousness among the tribal masses of their exploitation, encouraging them to organize themselves <i,nto pressure groups,: who could assert their rights, provide evidentiary support in court cases, keep the enforcement machinery alert and the· non-tribal transfelfees under check; and
- Reor anization of the. traditional tribal .-institiiti lis· in.to development institutions for cr dit, extension etc.
- Survey, settlement and updating of the land retords to be co pleted within ·a tiJ.Ueframe.
- Special Courts with summary procedures should be set up for disposal of land alienation cases.

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A Central model law to provide protection· to tribal interest in land should be enacted by the Government of India. The aggrieved tribal party should be allowed to 1:!ek redressal of its grievances either under the State law or the proposed central law. Steps should also be taken for plugging the loopholes in the existing land laws so as to prevent further land alienation. The problem of land alienation is closely linked with lack of credit facilities. It has been observed that most of the tribal land has passed out of tribal hands due to indebtedness. Unless the tribes are provided easy credit and loan facilities, their lands will continue to be lost to the non-tribes. Effective protection for the tribal land calls for viable alternative to priv<:1te money-lenders. Protective land laws coupled with easy availability or" loan facility through Gov: rnment financial institutions would effectively protect the tribal interests in land.

Pott,crty and Indebtedness

The indebtedness among the tribes .is a symptom of economic, malaise. At the household level it is indicative of poverty, of an imbalance between income and minimum consumption requirements as well as lack of resources for carrying on gainful activity and unemployment Although there is no scientific data,1,to assess the exact magnitude of the ,problem of indebtedness, it is roughly estimated that about 85% of. t e tribal families are affect d by irid btedness. AccordingJtp a sample survey of the Planning Coillm.ission, the inddence_.of in ebtedness am(?pg t_he tribes halfincreased from 14.47% in 1975-76. to 33·?"4f%',fo.1982-83. On an averageihe debt liability per househ()ld also infreased·from Rs. 419 in-1975-76 "to Rs: 819 in 1982 83. The tribes borrow money from both -the organized or institutional sources r presented by. banks. and co-operative societies and the unorganized sources represented by pr_ivate m6ney-lenders, shbp eepers, friends and relatives. As far a's the unorganized sources are concerned, more than 72% of the tribes were indebt_ed to private money-lenders and the remaining met their credit nd consumer requirements from.shopkeepers, friends and other sources. However, the study indicates the inten·sity of the malaise and does not reflect the e act extent of indebtedness which may be much more.

Causes o ffodebtedness

The origin of the problem may be traced back to the t me of introduction of money economy in the tribal areas by the. outsider non-tribes who penetrated into those areas during the British days. Money economy g_radually substituted barter system. The simple tribal could not fathom the evil designs. of the ·sahukar (money-lender) who not only disturbed his economy·but also snatched away the smile front his innocent face. Indebtedness among the tribes may be attributed to the following reasons:

1. . Abject poverty,
2. Joopholes in the existing money-lending laws,
3. Lack of/awareness about sources of institutioria) finance and existing legal protection,
4. :l ability to follow complicated procedures to obtain loan .,lid ,consumer credit. from,, institutional 'sources,
5. Indifferent attitude of Government and bank officials,
6. J{Jffivate Illoney-lenders' willingness to advance money to the t ibes ithout apy security. The money-Je_nders repose full trust in the 'word of mouth' of the tribes,
7. J lJsence of 'alternative cr dit fadlity h a s ,compeHed·.the .tribes. to compromise. their fate with the)! oney-lenders and accept indebtedness asahnost an inescapable aspect of their existence,
8. Lackofsupply ofessential commodities and agriculture inputs at fair price and
9. Lack of employment opportunities.

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Historically speaking, the sub-comi;nittee;m1 Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas (other than Assam), had gone into the details of this problem and were convinced about the need for prevention of exploitation by money-lenders: It observE=d, "We conside'r it necessary that in the Scheduled Areas money-lenders should not be permitted at all and. that at any rate they should be allowed to operate under license and stringent control only." The framers of the Constitution taking note·of the gravity of the problem had made special provisions under the Fifth Schedule of the co·nstitution which empower the Governor of a State having Scheduled Areas to make regulations, inter alia, to regulate the business·of money_lending.

Legislations

Most of the States and Union Territories having tribal population have enacted laws to regulate the business of money-lending and debt relief. These laws are for general application and Scheduled Tribes are covered by those suo moto. Some of the regulations specifical1y provide protection against exploitation of Scheduled Tribes by money-lenders,

General Deficiencies

·De.$pit le,&i;5:lations to· protect the interests of the tribes. against the money-lenders, the former continue. tQ:,be: : :xpio'ite by the latter. There is no adequate machinery. for the enforcement. of the Acts>a'1d ftegu_latibns ·:Even·the licenses for the regulation of the business of money-lending either in the Scheduled A:reas of: lsewhere have not-been issued. The money-lenders continue ·to exploit the tribes_by charging ekorbitahtrat s of interest This ·has resulted in the malpractice of bonded labor and also in alienation of·· tribal land.,

Ai:>art from non enforcement aspect, the laws suffer from many deficiencies and loopholes. For instance, hi Bihar, not :orily there is no machinery for effective implementation of the provisions of the Bihar_ Mon y- Lenders Act, but the Act itself is deficient. Only those money-lenders whose business involves loans of more than.Rs 500/- require rE:?gistration. Similarly, in other states also, the implementation of the laws is virtuall.}'rioh existent and the money-lenders continue to exploit the tribes.

Mere enacti;nentdf laws-will not solve the problem unless alternative credit facility is provided for long term, me iurri t rrri·ard s ort term loans and procedures are simplified f ? ensuring speedy'paymentof. loarts or credits · L'ar15e Are.a· Multi-Purpose Co-operative Societies (LAMPS), Primary Agriculture. Co" operative Socfefies (PACS}and .Co- bperative banks, etc. are supposed to meet loan and othenredH and consumer requfrements· of the tribes. Howeyer, due to financial constraints and lack of administrative **will,** these instituticm haye fail_ed to serve the purpose. They are ineffecthte .in dealing. with the ·vested interests and the p<iwerfulforces ofexploitatlonth tthrive cttthe cost qf the poor tribes,

Urider tlre prevailing situatfon, there is also little hop ofi nding any alternative to the money-lendef br regulating his business. This is a ser'ious cpa!Jenge to the survival of the tribes and to their e'conotny.

Remedial Measures

t The State G_overnments should make effective use of protective provisions in the Fifth Schedule to protect the tribes against exploitati n by the money-lenders.

2. ··Existing laws need to be reviewed and steps shquld be taken-to:remove the loopholes therein.

3. ·The LAMPS, Co-operative Socie,ties a11d PAC srioufcl be.str, ngthened. **They** should be made viableto ··)me-et the loan and consumer· credit requiremerits<ofthe tribes. Jn sbme states like Andhra Prades)l ·:,and· Gujarat these organizations function quite 'effectively 'and they should be strengthened in otner states. These institutions, in·order to recover the loans given to-the tribes, should arrange to purchase heir produce at fair price.

4. The Reserve Bank of India should examine the amendments of the Rules and Regulatio s for . providing necessary support to Co-operative Societies and local banks in the tribal arei;\s against

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nominal rate of interest and sufficient provisions of funds should be made to meet the requirements of the tribes.

5. The Nationalized lead banks should also examine ways and means of advancing money to the tribes for all those purposes for which money-lenders advance money to them.

6. All essential commodities should be made available to the tribes in their hamlets / villages through giobile fair price shops.

7. Efforts should be made to explore avenues of providing gainful self-employment to the tribes by training them in selected skills. Agencies/ dealerships should also be reserved for them in the tribal jeas. Payment of earnest money or liberal loan may be provided by financial institutions.

8. The money-lending laws should be effectively enforced and deterrent punishment meted out to the defaulters.

9. A\Hloans by private moneylenders irrespective of the quantity and period should be scrapped. S. ringentaction should be taken against unauthorized bus,in ss of money lending.

10;)\dministrativ machinery should be geared for detectipn of cases involving unauthorized money ;{';l 'nding. Sulllmary procedure should be evolved for speedy disposal of such cases.

Lo Literacy_and Po_or Educati°'na/Facilities

In the past education was one of the main considerations for hierarchical classification in Hindu society. Lack of it is largely responsible for the exploitation and pitiable plight of the tribes. Education is the key catalyst_ to the development of human resources. For the tribes, education is the pivot on which their success depends. Education disseminates knowledge. Knowledge gives inner strength, which is very essential for the tribes for attaining freedom from exploitation and poverty. Due to ignorance arising out of il1iteracy; the tribes have not been able to take advantage of new economic opportunities. Opening of the tribal areas in the wake of developmental process have.brought in juxtaposition two distinct value systems, one based on tradition and. ignorance and the other on technology and innovations. Ha_rmonious syn hronization of the two systems is essential for development of tribal people. Jn this process, education has to play a key role. The most important aspect of education in the tribal areas is that of informing the community of the new innovations in science and technology _as well as the developments in the economic.and political fields. Educa.tion must be meaningful to the people.

The. tribal areas are rich in natural resources. A number of projects, both major and medium viz., irrigcJtion, energy generation and industrial, have been set upin" the tribal areas. The tribes, due to lack of edttlation and requisite skill, are not able to:take advantage of the new economic opp_ortunities which have .been grabbed by the out iders mig,ratipg into the tribal areas. It not only. deprives them of the opportunity in the new ventures. but also 'alienates them frog:ntbeir resource base, i.e., the. land and subj;cts them to exploitation by the middlemen and contracto s i'h forestry operations and also by the morieylenders.

Recognizing the importance of education, the framers of the Constitution have made specific provisions in ArticJe 15 (4) and 46 for promoting education among the Scheduled Tribes. Article 15 (4) is an exception to;',t fundamental right of the people of equal treatment irrespective of religion, caste, race or sex grc1hfed under Artide 15(1) It mpowers the State to make any special provision for advancement of any soc;t IIy' or educationally backward 'class' of citizens: or:for the: Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. Artftfk46 contain directive to the State Governments to promote.with a special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Edtication is a State and Central subject and the basic responsibility of promoting educatioi1 has been cast upon_ the State Governm.ents. The Union Government is responsible for co-ordination of facilities and

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determination of standards in respect pf,high r education, research, scientific and technical education. The main efforts in the central sector to help the Scheduled Tribes pertain to installation of post-matric scholarships, setting up of boys and girls hostels and coaching centers for competitive examinations. Special central assistance is provided for this program by the Ministry of Welfare. The Ministry of Education, which is responsible for the educational development in the country as a whole, has also been making special efforts for the educational development of the Scheduled Castes and s·cheduled Tribes. Some of the important facilities provided by the Ministry of Education include 7 ½ percent reservations of seats for Scheduled Tribes and another 15 percent for Scheduled Castes in all Central Universities, Indian Institutes of Technology, Regional Engineering Colleges, medical colleges, and Central Schools · In the· newly started Navodaya Schools due weightage is given to the students belonging to Scheduled Tribes. The educational institutions have been instructed· to relax the norms for students seeking admission to the reserved seats for various courses. Some of the activities taken up by the Ministry of Education for promoting education among the Scheduled Tribes are provision of scholarships, research, fellowships, reservation of seats in hostels and research and training facilities for improving their educational levels. Priority is also given in the areas predominantly inha ited by Scheduled Castes ·and Scheduled Tribes for opening centers. 9f _non-formal education and adult education. In the states, Departments of Education, Tripal Welfare 'antl Social Welfare implement the education programs for St:Qed_ided Tribes and operate the facilities of scholarships, hostels and ashram schools etc..

A cording to the 2001 census, the lit racy rate amongst the tribes of India is 29.60% as agains(the rtafionalaverage of 64.84%. Although literacy among the tribes has increased over the years, it is still far .Jj low the general level. The position of female literacy is really a matter of concern. The rate of literacy variesfrom state to state. In some states like Mizoram and Nagaland, the literacy rates are high, which is mainly due to the. efforts of the missionaries in inculcating interest for education among the tribes. In· o er states like An.dhra Pradesh and Rajasthan the literacy is low. Female literacy indicates a yawning_ gap in the states. On th one hand, Mizoram has as high as 51.12. per cent and on the other Rajasthan has a rockbottom.of.1.19 percent

Main Causes of Slow Progress In Literacy

1. **Poverty ·of f rents:** For the poverty-ridden parents, education of their children is a luxury which they can h rdly afford. The children assist their parents in earning their livelihood. Grown-up childreii als())ook a er the_ycmnger ones when,the parents go out for work either as cultivators or as' Iaborets Absetice of child care centers, creches, Balwadis etc., in· the remote tribal areas, also has to· share the:btame for depriving the children of the poor ·parents of the facifity of education.

2. **Content of Education:** The ·cµrriculutn of edµcation for the tribes has to be carefully evolved. It'has .Jo· take inf Ce>nsideration the socio-cultural milieu of the Scheduled Tribes. Presently the general '.} ¢ontents of ducation have been extended to the tribal areas which in many cases are not relevant, particularly at the primary stage.

3• **.Jnadequate Educational Institutions and supporting Services:** The ·ribal areas suffer frqrn .inadequacy of educatfonal institutions, boarding arid lodging facilities. Even where centers have been opened, about 40 percent of them are without buildings. The .supporting services, such as the incentives in terms of schoiarships, book banks, midday meals etc., are *very* insignificant and .generally do not attract the children.

4. **·:;Absenteeism: In** the tribal areas the problem of absenteeism of the teachers is one of the important ·:;factors affecting the education _They, generally remai11: bsent:for days ·together due to absence:' f ···supervision over them and _also due to lack of dedicatioi:i to the cause of education of the tribes. Th,e children and also the parents cannot afford to waste their time and generally opt to drop out.from the schools.

5. **Medium of Instruction:** For the tribes the edium of instruction in the schools is a diffict1lt problem.. Even after so many years of Independence we have Jot.been able to provide the tribes' ·education in their mother tongue. The tribal chil 1ren· are not generally abl to f llow the lessons given to them in

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the language which is totally strangeto,them. The tribes undoubtedly form distinct linguistic groups and are entitled to the facility of instruction in their moth.er tongue at the primary school stage. Constitution specifically provides for facilities for instruction in mother tongues to children belonging to minority groups. The President has also been vested with powers of issuing directives to any state for this purpose.

6. **Education Policy:** So far there is no clear educational policy for the tribal areas. In spite of the rt;!co.nunendations of various Committees and Commissions, a uniform education policy in the tribal ateas-bas not been evolved. This is mainly because in some tribal ar as, education is under the control Of Education Department and i'n some under the Social Welfare Department. Lack of administrative pqlicy regarding the educational institutions in tribal areas adversely affects the education of the tribes.

Suggestions

The c.ontent of education should take in the aspirations of the tribal people. The choice of subjects at the primlry level should be job-oriented. Th reihQuld.also be proper arrangements for .vocational education. The _curricula should keep :in view the traditional local skills and/erafts. The tribes should also be taught elem. ntary c.ivics to familiarize .theni. with their rights .and duties. In short th education should empli'£$tze''the ba ic understandingoft e history.of the country, its .economic and political institutions whi h generally affect the gay to clay'functions and channels for redressal of grievances.

Due prfor.ify should. b giveh f r dpehing of educational institutions in the tribal areas a:nd construction of school b_uildings should be undertaken under the norm.al funds of education as well as under the National Rural Employment Program. tn th se areas mc>re and ihore residential facilities like hostels should be provided' to all those who walk more than 4kms to atte.nd the schools. The curricula should take into consideration the socio cultural milieu of the tribes. The medium of instruction should also be in the tribal languages _at least up to the primary level. For the middle level children the medium of instruction should be in"the regional or the state language.

The teachers should be selected from the tribes themselves even by relaxing the educational qualifications, in case suffident numbers 9f qualifiedteachers are not available. The non-tribal teachers who k.now the tribal languages may be selected. Steps shouid be taken for setting up of more and more Ba!wad.i , creches and chjl care centers .in th t ibal areas.. Suitable' ·nutrition. prqgranis should also be 'cafried' on in such' centres 'which would not oriiy provide nutritious fo.od' to the tribal children but also cre.ate among them awareness about healthy and balanced diet A system of effective supervision over· the primary school teachers is essential. They should-be placed under the control of the local panchayats wherever. necessary. There should be effective participation of the tribes as also of voluntary agencies in the l,l ,_m:?ment of hostels

Nonf:>rm l and vocational education centi: s are very successful and should be ble to provide academic educ tion as well as vocational training to· meet the needs of varii6us industrial arid other projects setup in tli : tribal areas. Industrial Training Institutes. should take into consideration the triba(needs. Post training care shou.ld Isa be, the.part of the training program.

Education should not provide bookish knowledge alone; it should also create interest for better life. The trib ::,e.quipped with knowledge will not only be able to protect themselves from exploitation but wiU alsq'. e able to take advantage of the various deveiopinent programs. The tribes have inherent talent for spoi : i:h ir talent .in ,this fieid sp.ould _be·h ,mes.$eQ . T,h ,J:!dUcation'plays a key role in the development of t}i¥::trn-,es and therefore as laid down in the Dlrective.-Principles of State Policy it should·be promoted witfi'.'special care'.

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Unemployment and Underempfoyment

Substantial sections of the tribal population. earn their livelihood as laborers mainly engaged in unorganized sector. The term laborers includes among others, migrants and bonded laborers. According to the census data, there is a sharp increase in agricultural laborers from 19.71% in 1961 to 32.67% in 1981. A similar trend is found among other workers where the percentage increased from 9.64% in 1961 to 11.84% in 1981. The State Governments have enacted labor laws including the Minimum Wages Act for protection of the interest of the laborers. But they are not strictly enforced. It is necessary to ensure effective enforcement of the labor laws as far as the tribal laborers are concerned particularly about the payment of the minimum wages.

Bonded Labor

The system of debt bondage in India has a long history and the malady has gone deep into the society. The system is the result of indebtedness, which has been prevailing for a long time among certain economically exploited, and weaker sections of the society. The system originated from the uneven social structure characterized by feudal and sewi-feudal conditions. The existence of bonded labor systendn one form or the other has been noticed in 11 states, viz., Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajit'st an; ·Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and ·Uttar Pradesh. Varyi!}g · ·estiili re·s have·been made about the number ·6f bonded laborers. Gandhi Pea.ce Foundation, which ;Nici conduttt:!d a stfrvey in·1978.:79 in the ten states, of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, R jasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh have estimated the number of bonded.laborers at 26.17 lakhs. The survey was based on a random sample drawn from a total of 4,50,190 villages in the aforesaid ten states. According- to the survey· conducted by National Sanipie . Survey Organization, the number ofbonded laborers in the country was estimated to be about 3 54 lakhs. However, according to the Government sources, the·total number of bonded iaborers identified by the end of Mai-ch 1988 was about 2.36 lakhs. Of these, 2.02 lakhs have been rehabilitated. According to an. estimate of the Program Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission, about 83% of th totcll number of ponded laborers belonged to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Such laborers are more in the states with feudal background. In. Rajasthan; 86.7% of the total bonded laborers belong to S heduled Tribes, 'followed by Madhya Pr desh thcl.t has 71%, Orissa 65.8% and Tamil·Naqu 45%.

:.Article 23 of the Constitutio prohibits slavery, traffic in human beings and forced labor. This expressioff has wide implications and includes not only prohibition of slavery but also traffic in huinan beings for'. immoral and other purposes. With. the enactment of the Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act, 1976, tll¢ bonded labor system has been abolished in the country. The Act stipulated release of all the bonded laborers and simultaneous iiquidat1on of their debts.

Section 13 of the Act provides for vigilance Committees at the District and sub-divisional level to'ensute proper implementation of the provisions of the. Act particularly relating to identific tion .and rehabilitation of freed bonded labore.rs. Under the Act, identification and release of bonded labore s from debts is the direct responsibility of the concerned State ·Governments. The District Magisti:ates of all the' districts in the ·country have been vested with necessary powers for the purpose. At' the Central level,_the Ministry of Labor. monitors this scheme. It advises the State. Governments, frcfrn time .to time, t<fcoridu.ct . periodic surveys through their existing agenciEfs for identification and release of the bondedfaborers.

With·aview to supplement the efforts of the State Govern ents, a Centrally Sponsored Scheme _has b - launc ci.by the Ministry of LaborJn 1978"'.79 underwh,khthe tate Govei-nITientsare provided Central Financial Assistance on matching· grant basis'(S0:50ffor 'rehabiHtationof bonded.laborers. The patterI];i.bf assistance under this scheme is of three kinds, viz.,_land'based,· non-:-land based and skill/craft based. The land-based scheme comprises (i) allotment of land, (ii} provision of backup service and facifities such as ploughs, bullocks, seeds, fertilizers and o_ther inputs. The non-land based schemes comprise supply of productive asse.ts such as milch animals, other animal husbandry components, and linkage with mark t The skill/craft-based scheme involves identification of skills/crafts, ·supply of raw materials, working capital and linkage with market for sale of finished products. A sum of about Rs. 27.40 crore D-as been

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released to the· State Governments as centraf ·share of assistance under the Centrally Sponsored Scheme for the rehabilitation of bonded laborers since the inception of'the sc eme in 1978-79 till 1987-88. In order. to ensure rehabilitation of the bonded laborers on a permanent basis Centrally Sponsored programs are linked with anti- poverty programs such as Integrated Rural Development Projects, National Rural Employment Program, etc. During the Seventh Five Year Plan, a provision of Rs. 15 crores has been made as a Central share of the assistance.

Although the program has been under implementation for over a decade, the desired results have· not bee'rf, achieved due to various weaknesses in the administrative system. To ensure permanent rehabilitation of the bonded laborers it is necessary to formulate need-based schemes. The programs also need to he continuously monitored at various levels.

Migrant Tribal Labor

Connected with traffic in human beings is the Problem of the migrant tribal labor. This has assumed ser.ious proportions. Several factors like 'erosion of the resource base, alienation of land, restrictions on rights over .forest produce and lack. of emplpyment opportuniti s in the areas of their domicile have force.d· the tribes to seek jobs outside the region especially 'in the enterprises employing. unskilled labor rs.like brick kilns; agriculture and excavation work In the wake of development activities a large nqnfper-:.of industrial;: mining, irrigation, power and other projects are coming up in the tribal areas but the tril::>es-have not been benefited by the new opportunities mainly because of the lack of reqi.iired skills, training and other wherewithal to participate in the new ven_tures. Their inability to face the socioeconomic aild cultural impact of the process of the industrialization has also been partly responsible for. their migration to other areas ·Besides, _large-scale displacement of the tribes from their lands has forcedthemto- migrate to other areas in search of employment.

The migrant tribal laborers in their off-season generally move out in search of employment to the rich agricultural areas like Punjab, Haryana, West Bengal, and Uttar Pradesh etc. They are also recruited by the contractors and their agents from the areas of their domicile with the promise of high wages, better working conditions and employment opportunities. But in the process they are badly exploited by their employers and even the public_ functionaries coming in contact with them. They are not paid even the minimum wages and are -asked to work against.their wiil even though they are hot physically fit due to illness or other reasons. They get physically assaulted if they make any attempt,to.escape or show any slackness in work or protest. against their working conditions. Women laborers are exploited sexually. They along with their men-folk are maltreated and forced to work in inhuman conditions and kept in bondage. In agriculture, the big farmers use migrant laborers riot merely for field deployment but also for depressing the wage$ in the labor m·arket and thus reducing the bargaining power of the local workers. The/local workers are deprived of their share in job opportunities and the migrant workers are un'fl rpaid.-This kind of exploitation has been generally noticed in brick kilns and irrigation works where labc{rers are-hired from far-off places and brought to the work centers.

The,:simplicity and innocence of.the tribes has been the ·main factor for their exploitation.';The guileless. tribes take for granted the false promises of the shrewd and cunning contractors, their agents, the middleman and other recruiting agencies. Because of extreme poverty even the females including young .girls are· forced.to migrate to far of f places for seeking employment and face the -life as it goes'. They tol pite exploitation because they have no choice but to face the situation in which they are placed.

Generally, at the time of recruitinent,. thefaborers are given some advance that is later on adjusted to th¢Jlwages. Once_ the laborers reach the place of workthe employers treat _them as they like. They a e ma:a1e to work for long hours in unhygienic conditions. There are no medical facilities, creches or child-care centers. The laborers put up with the exploitation partly because of the lack of awareness about legal provisions.and partly because. they are terrorized by-the employers and their agents. Their Jives are in danger iLthey complain against their. working conditions and exploitation to the adm_inistration. Wl)eneve.r. they had· compiained _to -the· dministration, the results have been· very disappointing. The officials ·were generally found in collusi n wi.th the contractors· and the employers. Instead of initiating

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any action against the employers, ,the ·laborers were subjected to harassment. The migrant women laborers are afraid to report about their exploitation because of the fear of losing employment as well as social stigma.

The Government of India has passed the Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979. The Central Rules, 1980 have also been enacted for effective implementation· of the Act. Some State Governments are yet to frame their rules to carry out the provisions of the Act. The-Act imposes certain obligations on the contractors regarding employment of the interstate migrant laborers. It has, however, been observed that the enforcement of the Act has not brought about the desired results. The laborers are not paid even the minimum wages and are forced to work under unhealthy conditions. There are many loopholes in the Act that had to be plugged for achieving better results.

Shortcomings in the Law

There. are many shortcomings in the Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 for which the interests of the migrant laborers are not fully protec eq. The Act becomes applicable only if the number.of laborers employed· is five or more. It is -applicable only to those laborers who are recruited through· contractors. ·and tn.i_qdlemen and does"'not apply to ·such laborers who are recruited by the employer directly. The.:Act only-,:--eg lates the working conditions of the laborers and does not provide for imptoving· thei:r· wo'rking-d:niditions. There is no adequate provisionfor such laborers who are employed intheir·homestates. Even the Central Government does not have the power of intervention or protection. The Act does not provid. ·for· inspection of the establishments· of contractors and their documents. Therefore, a Central law.'fot proted:io'n of the interests of migratory tribal labor is very necessary. However the law can solve··tfe· problem to a limited extent only. Intensive efforts should also be made to create awareness among the laborers about the protective legal measures.

PROBLEMS OF HEALTH AND HYGIENE IN TRIBAL POPULATIONS

The tribes of India face a great deal of.hardship in medical treatment although they have their own indigenous. meqiq?l systems and some of the tribes are facing the. problem of de·popuJation due to ser.Jo s medical and hygie_ne problems. Keeping,a close track of health and hygiene among the tribal populations has become a very serious problem in Indian context This problem is especially. critical in the contextof Hunting and gathering tribes of India.

There. has· bee_n considerable expansion of medical and **public health facilities: du'ring:'Fiv1fYear** Pa ;· He_alth Centres are being.opened with qualifieddoc:tors. But still much mortfh sJo b,e done inthis fi ld·. The sa_e is.,Fhe case wi h drinking Water fa iUties Transport a1,1d communkatiortshav beenJack:il}K_- n. the'.tfihal areas.A smaffbeginningwas lllade-in' the First.Fi.Ve Year ,Plan and a sqin.of Rs. 4.12 cro,re was spent 6ver the construction of about 4,00Q l.{ms of rqads. In subsequent'plc\ns,thisamount was gradually increased. But the problems of tribes irltd(efe areas are onlymargirially solved.

The hunting gathering tribes are very primitive and are inc)r tribes and hence calfecl Ptimltive Tribi .. Groups or.PTG..Usually these smaller groups get assimilatedJnto larger gro ps hut ome t>t'themretain their identity and live in varying degrees of isolation. Many of them are_either nomadic or serrii-nomad-ic in nature. Hence it becomes generally difficult fo irnple"roent any.development progtams among i hese tribes.

Most :ofthese primitive tribal groups depend on nature. This.reduces:the command area of the grqup. Command area is the area needed by the-groupto undertake_econ nnic activities. Due to the forestpol_i y, the economic survival becomes difficult, especially for .the isol ted groups.

Ifthe population is less then 5,000, the tribe.ls treated :as a·minor'tribe. It is believed that 350 suchgroups exist in India today. The concentration of the group also shows a varying characteristic. Gonds present'in M.P. are around 13,000 inpopulation and a.re spread over, 1S do· Sq. Miles. This shows anext:remely:low

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population density. The population of the hl ndr tribes is coming down gradually and some of the tribes who are threatened by this are Great Andamanese, Jorwa, Onge, Sentilese, seen in Andaman Islands.

As per the census of various decades, their population is coming down due to the scarcity of the food, malnutrition and diseases. All these indicate the backwardness of these tribes. The scarcity of food is accountable to the forest policy and a total dependence on nature. Other examples of these primitive tribal groups are Hill Kharia and Birhor in Bihar, Chola Nayakans in Kerala, Bondos in Orissa, Chenchus in AndlJr,a Pradesh and Jenkurba in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. This situation can be accounted for by many reasons.

1. Confrontation of these tribes with the British administration in the colonial period.
2. Japanese bombardment of the Andaman Islands in World War-IL
3. Low birth rate which is associated with communities having no assumed supply of food.
4. Tl} addiction of the tribes to various narcotics like alcohol, ganja, opium etc., whose excessive use lea'ds to impotency.
5. S xual exploitation -of the tribes by other groups that lead to venereal diseases, which are responsible, -r'o} sterflity ·-T,hisis n.iore soTifthe case of those tribes who are in a·close contact with other non-tribar·· areas espedally; the -market places.
6. Various other diseases like· measles and small pox are-infected from other non-tribes.. The tribes are usually resistant to the_diseases prevalent in their own area and are usually lacking the immunity mechanism to other diseases.
7. In the communities like Khasis and Todas there is a widespread· malnutrition due to the encroachment of the area that is affecting the food supply. Moreover these ·Communities are polyandrous, which is affecting the fertility and leading to low fertility and sterility resulting in low birth_ rate. These tribes also practice female infanticide.
8. Restriction of the area which is commanded by these tribes can be considered as the main reason for the k?w.po ulati_on;'especially in the case of shifting cultivators.

A small group is always trampled over by the larger groups and the government feels that the special progra s should be implemented for these smaller tribes as the existing tribal development programs cater: only· to· the larger tribal .groups. The semi-nomadic and nomadic groups should have special progr_f!lin . The polici s and the programs should keep in mind the traditional way of.life nd the culture .of the _n;jnor tribes·sliould-not be disturbed.- ·since the minor tribes are at various.stages of development certaitf'approaches and the implementations o(the progratns have become difficult; a problem more aggravated by the nomadknature ofthe trih $. i,The measures to be taken up by the authoritJs ·are:..

1. There has to be a survey of all the minor tribes to identify th economic needs of the group:s.
2. To identify the specfal needs like the low population density of these tribes.
3. According to the needs and the priorities of the groups, social services have to be undertaken.
4. S_.ifting. cultivation has to be changed to settled cultivation by settling of orchids and other J ! nta,ti_cmsby_ sellingthese produces in the: market
5. Nfamily-cantered approach should be_followed and the expenditure should be calculated on the basis of nuinber of the families have td be undertaken.
6. :c9rrec;tipri of.the ecolugkal eq ilibrium.
7. ·Countering the· exterriallorces or the groups hi the cotnmunity.

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8. The health problem has to be concentrate'd upon.

9. The native skills of the people have to be improved. Gradually new skills have to be introduced.

10. Education and communication facilities have to be provided to these communities.

The Government has given three criteria to identify the primitive tribal groups.

1. Pre-agricultural level of the technology - shifting cultivation, pastoralists and hunting and food gathering tribes.
2. Low level of literacy.
3. Either stagnation of the population or diminishing of population.

Right from the Sixth plan, special projects were started for the minor tribes. For the primitive tribal groups, the whole of the expenditure comes from the centre and is administered by the state. Health and public hygiene facilities are being provi?r,?· }?athogenic mapping has to be undertaken to understandthe distribution of the diseases among these groups. The resource base for these tribes are being provided by th .; - parision of the forests, animals, birds, raw materials for arts and crafts and all these are to res or!=!d by-special departments like the forest departments. There should. be a totaLban on sale and purchas :i0f la d where the primitive Tribal groups reside.

If these measures are not considered, there would be a depopulation of the tribes in India.

6.3 Development Projects, Forest Policy, Urbanization & Industrialization

Development Projects, their Impact on Tribal Displacement and Rehabilitation

Development projects necessitate displacement of the tribes. The criticism, targeted both at the governments and the international development agencies, holds them a<;£P .Lefo_£ r U<L!. trfbal populations displaced and also for the damage iflflicted on theenvironment ,Admittedly, s ch projects"giveri e to a set of complex economic;-- s -cfar ;r ; ,Tronment problems which need to-:be addressed with care. Still, the resettlement issue has often not received the attention ft deserves. It would be unwise now to disregard this criticism.

The number of projects· that entail the acquisition of land, which already is quite large,js expected_to go up further. Land is the basic requirement for construction of dams, canals, railways, highways, ai ports, - fac;,!ories; new town and other developmental works. Owing to r.apid popul_a'tion growtfi, the. u111phc;ibiJe;d area'.s. suitable for the purpose -are becoming more and career. The·· oniy o_ption open to ithe·· developmental agencies is to acquireJr_il{ V^{a}p ds o r private lands in populated areas.

The ,tribes who thus lose lands for developmental purposes end. up as refugees of, a kind - .the * s. And their number ends to be large. For _example, the Narmada Sardar Sarnvar cfam in India has displaced about 70,000 trib C:ll :!1d non-tribal people.

The Effects of Displacement: The tribal people displaced ·by development projects simply_must m<>_ve else here to start life anew. They have no choice in the ,matter. There is a strong element of compul ,i n in displacement, as it affects entire coininunities. It evicts theJiterate·and illiterate, ffie'weattK'iia <ilig, _skilieci and unskilled, the poor and wealthy, ·healthy and crippled' alike: Jt'distupts fong„e$tablished_sJigJAt netwo_rks, and with them the s9c.i. J \lPPQft tm through_Y/.Q f.P Jh veQ1:ypupg,the w, p bor anct oiiier at-risk members of th;"'co iii 'irrty are sus lifa1{Jvheth; ·th y- ;;· pa6teofm'ovliig\)r riot, they all must go.

All of a sudden, the tribal people living happily find themselves literally· thrown out on the streets.· For those forced to resettle at new locations, displacement is -indeed -an unmitigated_ disaster. As S.C. Varma has noted· "N _!_rau!!1.5.1.1-. f!1f_e. .P<:1i?(>(ot a family .!han, to _gt a place- where it has - PEe>ot _qJmm

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lived for generations and to move to a place-where it may be a total stranger. And nothing could be more irksome than being asked to switch over to an avocation which'the family has not practised before."

Things become further intolerable when those in authority fail to show du.e consideration to affected people. "The trauma is greater when displacement is attended by lac .of'Iriform.a-dortuncertainty, long waiting, niggardly compen_s. tiPnr social_ dislocati_9U..E.JJ,d cultural. sh fk that accompanies any Diaspora wh n cohesi;e· rural· and particularly-tn6aCco'inmunitiesaresc tered and resettled away from their kin hJp and linguistic groups. Anthropological studies have shown that forced resettlef!I :z:it tends to be asso,tr ated w th i ,c e sed psychological and socio cultural stress a:nd also· he.igh't ried orbidtty a moFtafftirates.

Howtyer, nowhere are the effects of displacement more disastrous than in the case of the tribal people whose very survival is already at stake. They happen to be amongst the most under privileged, and even after decades of development still remain outside the pale of any form of visible change in their condition. Deeply attached to their ancestral surroundings, they just cannot think of moving out For tribal corriIJ1unities the land traditionally occupied typically plays an important and significant role in their lives-:,Land and the use thereof go beyon'dhhe.'mere economic.rotle assigne_d to it by non-tribal societies Land-:representsa continued linkage with the origin, the preserit and the future of tribal peoples.

Theifl.tibaLpeople are firm in their belief that once they leave their hills,·woods and streams, they will not only lose their homes and_livelihood but also the way they have lived since times ,mmemorial. Their community: lffe, customs, tn1diJions, festivals, rituals,. beliefs, songs and dances, language, social organisation, in short, their cuJttire, wni allblit vanish in the new setdhg.

Among the tribal people the concept of individual land owning is largely unknown. The·areas where they live are believed to be owned by the entire community. Moreover, since rights over the resources of their habitat on which they have sub served all along are customary rather then legai, the tribal people are often denied compensation. With their _support base gone, wherever they move they·fa ce an lincertai future.

Dilemmas f Development: While disruption d e to displacement is community wide, it is the poor who bear its brunt most of all. The dislocation to their life - social, economic and cultural - is totaL ig , th 1Le9§.t §jgris, they are·compelled to move in search of livelihood to·unknown. places. On arrival in **towns and cities, they soor discover that even for unskilled jobs the queues ahead of them ars!** distressingly long.

On the ·other hand>the affluent groups do not lose so completely. They are in a better position to adjust to change. In fact,· they prefer to resettle themselves with resources of their own rather then endure goverr,,ilmental administradori· of their lives. For them uprooting is.certainly less traumatic.

Again;dn sharing benefits from developm nt,: the·poor lag behind the rich. The rich are·qliick to·seize opportunities which ·open up with the inauguration of the development projects·. The new jobs go up to th9srt\.vho have the requisite skills, but their la:ck aniong the poor is common. Even if unskilled jobs come their way 'in indu try ne 'Ftf fflon o an occupation different from what they had traditionally been pursuing back in their villages is not·easy to make.

Since tis the poor who lose most from displacement, there are some critics of such development.projects· who iee them as kind of a conspiracy to promote the interests of the· rich at the expense of the poor. The way- he •develop_ment has·,,101:ked •oyeLthe years,. maki'ii'i'"ffie r'ich rfcfle7° and the-poor poorer·,cis .thtL evid,q:ce they adduce ir support of their· c ntention. Further, they argue that it is only becaustt deveicrpmenthelps the ri<;h that the immense economic, social, cultural costs borne by the displaced poor are dismissed as inevitable. For the. same reason, .the environmentally harmful technologies, the dependence on non-renewable resources, and·even the possibilities for tragic calamities.are also seen as acceptable risks.

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Obviously, the above view is an extreme'dn"e.,Development is not undertaken to provide opportunities to any particular group. It seeks to promote wider national interests for the benefits of all. No doubt those who consider the present manner of developrrienfas· iniquitous *have* a point. Their concern for the poor is entirely laudable. But many who see nothing good coming out of development, and have amassed data pointing to its detrimental effects on the lives of the poor only paint a one-sided picture.

In many parts of the Third world degrading poverty is pervasive. Can governments in this context legitimately abandon their development plans simply because things did not always go well in the past? Projects, which cause displacement, are basic to development and poverty alleviation. Without irrigation works, it is impossible to meet the demand of growing populations for fooa; without hydropower the programs of industrial growth will come to a halt; without transportation and such basic amenities as housing, water, etc. the frves 1n cities just cannot *move* on. If, for some reasons the poorer groups suffered in the process far more than others, the mitigatory measures can be..incorgorated in ongoing and future plans to improve performance. The solut i , throwing up hands in despair and giving up the effort

Projects to promote development ofwat ttnineral and other resources will continue to impinge on tribal life. But under compulsions of p"romoting development at a rapid pace this cannot be prevented and need ribal people are not made victims but become partners in development re. That tribal homelands have been ravaged in the past without thought to their sensibilities or welfare does not mean that this must inevitably happen, but that it must not be allowed to happen again. This is po sible. To suggest that the tribal people can be cocooned in their pristine state and kept away from devel pment is to treat them as unequal citizens. But they can surely be shi Jqed fromeconomic trauma and culture shock and enabled to develop in a manner and at a pace that avoids social injury. They too want change and improvement without loss of identity.

The fact also needs to be faced that the process of development affects differe.nt groups differently. Some sta.nJl .,.tn gi;lin, whH_e ot er lose. This seems to be a perennial dilemma_ in development. But in some ways it- hould still be possible to· I!!!,on! : _ !!:,!I.l! JJ;F.?f.: 9. As Toye concludes, the "develop ent policy is all about the dile mas of6alancmg t'he gains of one group against the losses of others''. Simply because. certain human costs are involved in development is no valid· argument f r giving it up.. The question to consider should be: How best to reduce the human costs, so as to make resettlement as. painless as possible".

Resettlement: In the past resettlement rarely worked well. Many failures of these efforts are traceable to administrative_ weaknesses. T J WJ)&ll£ £,tjli_ e hCl'l J.l t t! ¡j!!ent tq y;. responsibility · and· tended to dump the job on local authorities. Then, local authorities, on whose. sltcfW'd'lr the · responsibility f r .resettlement fell, usually. Jacked the tapadty the_ ope with .511-chaJfonges. Their view of the people living in areas of project op·eratloris as oostacles to land acquisiticfo ho· must be got out of the "YY a_,>qu,l_ ly, as possible with :payment of nominal co'mpensat:ion'-if **necessary, further complicated matters,**

By arid J r.g _xesettlement has remained out of the project preparation, appraisal, monitoring and : supervisory processes. The emphasis mostly has ·been on ·engineering. finance and such other components. The process of development entailed.some social .cosfso(disorganfation, dislbcatiorfand .rehabilitation, but in view of the ·overall good to the society, the£e\v renegtig problerri :of submergence, dislocation, rehabili_tation and resettlementw re seldom considered as issues.

Res¢ttlemen plads, where deveioped, were purely a£.!J.i9 .-They were not based on a y detailed planni.:l)g studies ·indicating the number to be resettled and the ;cost of resettlement .Often, the plans underestimated the number of people to be resettled. The numbers were based on mere guesswork. ·1n _several projects the estimates indicated. for populations in.need of resettlement were later found to be much lower than actual numbers. Hastily drawn·. up, these plans without budgets,. time tables; institutional muscle, or legal base were of little avaii in aiding resettlement

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Examples of underfinanced resettlementrplans are not uncommon. Anticipating funding shortage, the project authorities anxious to see that the project got approval, deliberately indicated their requirements for funas on the lower side. When it came to making payments for compensation such .plans naturally fell short of their goals.

A major flaw of these plans was that they did not give adequate consideration to people related factors. The affected._pe _ple - settlers as well as hosts - were usually l£[.L.!lM!...O.L.2!. ,.!lQ1.1llt,<;.Q!l. t9., .r ttl, H .:.. O - .n, a t even share with the people information about the project that was going to change the wtid1i pattern of their existence.

In the past, resettlement has often been considered synonymous with compensation p_aid in cash for the prop_ rty lost This scarcely helped in resettlement in the true sense of the term.

1. The,compensation in cash was payable only to those who·had lost their lands, houses or other immovable property. In villages it is only a h ndfu ofaffl en_tJ?S_Q who own such property. A majority of people who were forced to move have thus re'!lai d un o,mp !1.s_ated.
2. The quantum of compensation has ort·many occasions bren ,ai;9itrary and c E !}}}!:t t!!? !(!£. ,n,t,[or families to re-establish themselves in.new places. On arbitrariness of the people displaced by a dam in ,r.:{orth,lndia, it.Was recently argued: "The compens tion was undervalued since their stone structure ·-Jf8uses were considered to be inferior to brick houses though in reality they often are stronger and ·1ast o t generations".
3. The long time-taken to mak _payn1 1,1Cca : . -§i ririgu JJ2.t:aJ. J to the people who have already lost their belongings. but must struggle to re-establish themselves sooner rather than later. It was recently noted: "Compe_nsation payments are sometimes sev rely delayed which obviously devalues the compensation award". Sometimes payment is nia.de in installments which forces people to stay back in makeshift structures, delaying their move to relocation sites.
4. Lurking in the vidnity all the time·are qua,r vendors, P':.!!XJ!.ij9 J: . and others ready to sell their wares .through all m mner of en,tts£m .nt, ai ratrieaispfaceapeople, especially the tribal people, with ll!_tje)ffi.E;!'ll:E£ g ca often lose it on such purchases in no time. In the excitement they forget that the ash i meqnsWsustain· them in future. Experience indicates that people tend to spend their monetary windfall on various·· types_o!,"" g! g !! .,,!,, _n<j!! £ , Ca_sh wards do not necessarily restore productivity and well being of the displaced populations.

People Oriented Approaches to Resettle. ent: For quite some time now, planners have been aware that a ca Y, ,£d -r$},qch rt!il be n·ece:ssary to.address thecomplex:resettlement issues. The. first step Jn formulating a policy were taken by the World Bank in the beginning of the 1980s, Counties facing -pro61- i:ns·of development. related resettlenie t :have· also since initiated the process. .1ri India, the States prov:ide in their laws for payment of CO PyJl ation to development-displaced populations in/cashas well !!· Provision is·also inade o r aw rds by the ribunals occa;s'ionally set up to deal wlt h -Spe' ffit projeh problems. The formal establishment of a national policy on resettlement is currentlyia subject of discussion in India.

As the W<;>rld Bank has devoted considerable-attention to these issues, a discussion of the Bank policy on res Jtlement would be appropriate. In 1980 the Bank issued for its·staff a statement outlining a policy to guid :.-·operatfons in this.sensitive and·a.7mc1iifi area with the.aim of.protecting the·interests of population ' displ ced, by development projects. ·This was .for the first_ time that any major development agency institihed a·policy to deal specifically with the :probl m_of involuntary resettlement For a long time the Ba_nl< remained the onlfI i rnational deVe\ m ia,g -wTtlr'aresettlem'enf po1_cy.

The policy has undergone several revisions. Lessons learnt from the application of policy have provided the basis. for these changes. A new, strengthened version of the policy document appeared in This too has undergone some revision lately, and an update<;l operati.onal directive came into effect i 92Q .,,·-

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Grou'nded largely in anthropological rese·arch findings and other social science knowledge, the policy was formulated by a Bank staff group. The polky guicielines that have emerged re lec anthrnpological and sociological thinking. This is evident frcfm the \va:y" the process of involuntary resetifen{e.nt is visualized. Astfieguide!li-{e·;---; e it, the very nature of involuntary resettlem - -tgiv'es dse to special social and technical problems, which are to a great extent different from, and usually more severe than, those encountered in cases of voluntary resettlement A feeling of J?O\:-'erlessn ?- ans u tt<?.!1, _!,-_of.tn engendered in those who are relocat d „L §p cially wh.ri ellll re·co_m inhies' are uprooted fro_m farriHlar surroun'dings:-·'"rctt'fiee'xtent.th.ai·p-;e:existing community groups are disperse·d to - ew locations, social cohesciid s weakened; and"the potenffafgroup'acticfri "{s'dirninished.. .

The policy recognizes that in any involuntary resettlement situation the human suffering is inevitable. As its very first requirement, the policy therefore states that involuntary resettlement must be avoided wherever possible. When it is unavoidable, it must be minimized. To encourage exploration of alternative solutions, the bank guidelines require the project preparation teams "to examine, in case of all large construction projects, and determine at the ti e of identification and apprai_sal, whether people mus_t be displaced, and, if displacement is unavoiuable, to reduce it to a minimum compatible with the purpose of the project''

The:,bask approach is to treat resettle111entas a.develo pment question. The emphasis is on prqyfq.ing re eft:Tea7peopfe'Wiffi"new tfrct1reff'gr'eco; T«; pportunities. The policy is that thefamilies affected· by a bank-financed project should share in benefits from the project and as a re?.Y.J. b -be!t r gff t an.before. The idea simply is that sine'"invofuiitary·· -sett:t tnerlt "a ismattes-existing pro_ductio·n .syst fns; a r-resettlement prog ams must at tfie sametime" oe"aevelonmen t pr6grams... "fhe._bank "stresses that rese'i:Uementoperatio·rif'sliould not only return resetti po pul ti ns to"theidormer living standards, but also that, whenever possible, they shoul i111p_rove peop_l · wel!a: . in environm ntapy§,ll,$._tajr1aple ..\.Vays.

Projects have_ been designed and appraised in the past that made no provision for !.! e. 01 Subsequently w en it was disc9.y [Q. tbatxes.eUle.)Jlent_.wsis._ .nece$. ary „ ,th.e lc1ck _of resources for the purpose only compffdffe·a-·"'tfe implementation of otherwise sound projects. In order to prevent the recurrence· of·such·cas·e·s, tne· Barik guidelines ins'ist thaCtlie costs of resettlement be included in the **overall-project *costs*.**

As the resettlement planning decisions impinge on the lives of the displaced groups, agencies concerned a_re enjoined to encourage community participation in planning and implementing resettleIll J}JS. A related recommencfat1oltconcerns"tlieTnvofvemenrofl a . . ro e @, ig,2:.. ! .i.ri.i.. iicii - Being closer to the people, they are undou6tealy fo.a better position to articulate r,; ,.li EiJl J1,d:5 „a,nd defend their rights.

Effed:s\ofthe resettler's induction on the host p6pulation in the receiving areas are .often not giveQ id e consideration in the planning process. i}.suddenincrease ofpopulation in receiving area,s can ·up eJ the existin,g man-land ratio, leading to redlttiorf"iil the availab{lity of natural resources for hosts as \IVell as. re.settlers on a sustainable basis. The economic, social and cultural integration ofthe settlets with the ho.st population cannot _be achieved through administrative decrees, b t a planning process :that takes foto_ accounts the develop.ment needs ofboth the groups can certainly help accelerate it.

The Bank policy regards as of particular importance the welfare and development of the indig 11ous groupi.ethnic minorities and·pastoralists \vhose rights. to the land.and other resources acquired opthe **profe,Gtnlay be no more than usufructary or customary._ Even without legal title, these adversely affected** groups;are to he eli ; .- J 11 .?,Il!P, s_a!i0_}! 1 asresettlement.

Learning from Experience: hen resettlement plan is not adequate, dev. lopment projects that ou'i ht to be seen by populations as beneficial instead become rallying po"ints for opposition to government plans. Against the backdrop of imilar other experiences elsewhete, the importance of careful preparation of plans for resettlement is coming to be n.creasingly recognized. Resettlement performa11ce has also lately begun to_improve as a result Experience indicates, however, that some operations have been more successful than others. This me2ns thaJ further improvements in performance are possible provided

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those involved in the planning and management of resettlement become willing to use in their operations the new approaches to resettlement. As ohe observer recently remarked, even the best planned progi"ams carry with them risks for the people who must move but the approaches suggested by adequate rese h, pc.. !- and r.5-- ::: -- E., , , - , ;s re : t bli - - ?g 1eate con. ide n e'

Development of Forest Policy and Tribes

Then:Us a symbiotic relationship between the tribes and forests. Forests are closely associated with the tribaL economy and culture. They depend on forests for food, fuel, wood, housing material, herbal medt ines and fodder for cattle and material for agricultural implements. Their culture is also influenced by fo_t-s ts. They worship many trees.

In the past, the tribes enjoyed considerable freedom in the use of forest resources. They were virtually lords of forests. With the introduction of State management of the forests, particularly since the close of 19th century, the relationship between the...riS s and tneforestsnas·1mdergone considerable change. The first pational policy on forests was formulated in 18_94. It introduced State control over forests in public inter st which resulted in the urtailment ofTigiits arid privileges Qf the tribes over the forest resources. The ·:Policy also envisaged clearing of forests wTcrurnt any comrrie'nstirate efforts on their regeneration thfoygJLpl_a,ntatfon programs. The exact impact o(the policy was .not realized .during the pre-.,: .lridep ndeti e PeriocLas the fores·ts were .in plenty then. It was only after the Independence that the" damage .caused :by the ,clearing of forests was. realized ;and efforts were made-for their economic development Acc_ordihgly, a for .?li .! .:J' - <:!:22J![? and it recognized six vital needs:

1.. Evolttti9n of a syste of balanced and co_mplementa fand use,

2. Checking:of soil erosion,

3. Establishment oftree iands,

4. Creation of small woods for grazing and collecting wood for agricultural implements and fuel purposes.

5. Supply of timber for national needs, and

6. R aliza tion of maximum annual-revenue.

The riew forest pOlicy as a depart re from the old policy of 1894 in the following aspects-h ! .!: pf considerable significance to the tribes:

1. Withdrawal of concessions on the release of forest land for cultiv tion,

2. · E _blishm ent ofvi e f : !ti£>r me g t:ie forest based needs of the villagers, J .

3. Bf'lnging the private forests undecthe..Stat-e- ntrol,

4. ·Wit d awa1ofracil ty,ofrr :JiI JillY!J!! fore :.nd nr-_duction of.g_ni i1:wLe. and

5. Making efforts to wean away the tribes from thetraditional practice ofshifting cultivation.

Asa/ sult of the new P<?licy, the to.bes who considered themselves the masters of the forests became ; their · bjects. They were placed under the con.trol ofthe ForestDepartl!lcnt Thetraditional rights of the ttibes; ere teducedto"mere-conce'ssic ns....

The hew policy classified the forests into four categories:

1. · The protected forests which are to be preserved forphyskal and climatic conditio s

2·. The national fo rests f o r meeting the needs.or defense, communication, industri '-- tc.,

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3. The village forests for providing fuel. timber, grazing and agricultural requirements, and

4. The re_:_1. dsfor p- EYt_io_n of environment of the country.

However, the functional classification of forests could not be adopted because of their multiple uses. The e Q. .<! ..fQ.f.l_ !!! . -9.BJ.! regulatory, p9li9Eg and re_venue earning aspects of the policy. The latter resulted in the over exploitation offne...fore The"implementationofllie-pof1cy· in'pract"ice further accentuated the difficulties of the tribes. The curtailmen.t gf.Jb _righ.ts,.aqgconcessions of the tribes very often resulted in conflicts between them and th'el t .ff2J!lf. .rs.

In the enthusiasm to increase the forest area, the Forest Department claimed the treeless land as for -tland. For instance, in Spiti the entire uncultivated area of about 800 square kilomet;r , withharctly 800 trees, 3.§l;>_n qec<;t .?.?_ _fo:r.s ! _a. Similarly;·in Rajasthari: Gi.t1arat and Maharashtra large areas olland with hardly any trees have b·een declared as forest areas. Such areas were traditionally un_der the occupation of the tribes,_They have been dedarect-·encroaclle.rs in the absence·""of'tfi'e··· ecord o"f land 11:1 ancr[ar] _be·in }j a -;- . ?Y:t : ?t 5:fQf. ,ffe rt : _:m.tn'! -]S : ! !lr,_e- t_1twJ-i. -9_n

The emphasis in the new policy on colie'di rl of maximum revenue from the forest re o-urces has led to the involvement of the corffrac:tors iYFVatfous- forestry operations. The damage, caused by ·them in -connivafrce w1fi the foresTpefsonnel have not only devastated the·fores.ts. but have also caused ntroll d-_e?(pi Tt;ti i°i ofihe t:Flb s,-·the .tribes being ig -; tthe laW are tompietely left at t:lie met r 6rtttact f? h :tiit!1 ; . 1!1s.· t_ :! · ·-r?f,·P- §.a e!L_r :: : : :: -.:---- - w. '- --,-

The tribes who had been tr diti n- Uy. rec:og111zed as prntectors f f its:;; \o branded as Its destroyers. They are:alleged to d;;troy (ortimberan<l oth i -fot st:pfodhce Sucficnarg es"a·re fain agaTnst them by the contractors to malign them. The tribes have no means oftransport, and canpot carry away the timber 9r any other major forest produce out of the foresC'rfiey:c nontycarry fuel wood and other items of minor forest·p-roduce on their heads. More often than not; the crafty coiitra.ctors use . t -!?.Etlli _g_J e,Jrees. The tribes in fact do no.!£y - e .t !!li I? -- [s-andthe con.tractors wi_th the connivance of the forest personnelreap the real benefits.

Mlnor Forest Produce

Minor forest produce provides subst:ahtiat'sustenance to the tribes. ln the' arlier·days it primarily met the}E_J!ers?}}. 1.EE;,!l. !L J!M;tits. Hut ·gradti lly oirle it forjijfp_!,2'"°d u }] -1: l „ e; _- trade in them develo d and brought cc1sh income to the tribes. The Forest Departm llt wa:s give'ffth control of the tracfe. It started the practice-of ass"igni g collection of mintfr forest produceto the traders· on payment of a lump sum or royalty based. on the quantity conected. Y-h- 1rc1rs ·gen.era1,y entrust the collection ofthe forest produce to the tribes who are paid at the ra:tes· fi:,led by t'1e:trad¢rs, or by.the f or st Department The collection charges are generally very low and the· Statl als.cg ts very little revenue. Many malpractices have crept into'tJ1e; a'ifffn'orcterf<rcfo away witf :? se, s e ;items·of th7 : 1nbr : -forest· produce have been nationalized in some states. The states have a'cquire ·monopoly.rights to purchase the nationalized .items. Tneyafso"'·1xect'th i;Q ices. However, the: al:io· ; i z tio 1} f mh1odorest produce has not improved the situation substantially. Under the law only the State ·can purchase the nationalized commodities. Collection of rninor forest produce is done-through hr e a_gencies, namely, {i) contractors, (ii) co-operatives, ·and (iii) GovernmentDepartinental agencytl-iowever:-fo·most cases the colfection is done through'·agents. They are appointed bythe·stit and are::generallyprivate contract fS, Appointrnent of such agents solves the problem of qua!ity of-collectio:n ai'uHts h° dling/stOrage ---di_sposal, et;:. which otherwisewould be the responsibility of the. forest.Departirient'I'he·: fategetsthe-dirfereric eof the collection charges and the final sale price. This has become a main s01.irce offorest· revenue huUt is at the expense of the tribes. The trib s ar !m!JY <! L111 et pric of the items as the increased price would amount to narrowing the margin of the profit of the state. This arra·ugenient precludes the primary objective of removing-the .middleman and passing. on the m_aximum:benefit to the .Primary collector.

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Major constraints that account for low col1ection of MFP are

1. In_ equate or ?r·· tion at the grass roots level
2. Inadequate road communication
3. Lack of storage facilitie
4. Lack of processing units
5. , Short period of collection,
6. . . Financial constraints
7. Lack of technique of collecti(?n
8. Lack of knowledge Il the ec momic use of many it ms
9. :? Presence of intermediaries who have, np interest in the. d velopment of the tribes or the minor for·e. produce. .

Natitihal **Level Marketing Org,tnizatioi1for** Forest **Produce (TR!FED)**

Both minor forest produce and si r lµs ag icultural produce are imp .r t activities of the 1 [$." e M lthEur;p e_wl . PPetati\ty gt i$t1g${ £AMRS) and **the** Tribal D 'vefopmettt Co-operative Corporations (TDCCs). About 2400 LAl\1tS.a11d42 TQ(:;Cs are func.tioning in the country. However, they have been facing a number ofdifficulties "iri the·marketing ofminor forest produce and surplus agric11ltural produce of the tribal .area "":7'.fneorth major ·a:rm ·uffes· .s··co$petf --Y.f: stJJJI t and the market forces. Keeping in view the various aspects, the Government.of India established il1 Au_&1s 7 a Tribal Co-operatiye_ arket.ing Development Fe eration oflndi:a .!:!,.rni dJ,TRIFED) **as a** Natj_ t, y_e_! AP ,, ?,-

mar !.!mK m .!h. stat f_1:1;!n T f_r.s.t, pr,oduc.e.,and.J>Jh.E:.i:. tl! 11:o ce. \,\dl l}e.of the· t te.Federat10 and t t'::g}{port and rk t.Kg id.e.:,the state would be looked after by the t.BJ:.EJiQ; It is difficult to sa how far th se o.rganizations would succeed in facing the com.petitionfrom the vested interest.

There are about 5,000 forest vni2ges in the country. inhabited by aboiiUY!!!..£!:.!bal families. These villages have not received the benefits of development prograrris. Their Inhabitants are employed as **fore.st fab re s. by the ·t0f £St** DQ £tp ent **either directly** or **through the contractors at rates which are** mu j,ess tfian· the min Il) ,.s. They have not been given rights over the forest lands which have been.,u roccupati n for a ion g· im. . Ihey are gene ally cte!1le ai£p 2.f.m>nP.i ...roduce.
The Umon Mm1stry of Agriculture hacl adv1setl \Jle State Governments to.confer long-term heritable and inali pable rights to the forest dwellers ·over the·lands under theirit}!c:iitional use. Butthe res{1onse of the State'tiovernments so far has not been adequate.

Tri1:Jl Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Limited (TRIFED)

The **"fribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Limi.ted** (TRlFED) was es p}ished, in·August **1987.** byt!iethen Mi.ni$try of Welfa;re,Gover,nment oflndia,. under t.he *Mu/tiState* Coo t.aiive *Societies* Acti'984 {which has **no'w** bee'nreplaced **by** the Multi-State *CooperativeSocietiesAct;* 2002r··

TRlFE.D was established with the basic mandate of bringing about the socio-econoj:ii F. -e,_vIQILQ!J+t of tribals· of the country by institutionalizing the tradeoTM1norForesf Pocfuce '{ d Surplus Agriculture Produce (S.APJ colfectec17clittivafect byiliem: :because trib ls are he-avily·d pendent on these

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natural products for their livelihood.. ,;But:in many cases they did not use to g .r.E:? -r.at_i_v pr_icf due to middle-men and unscrupulous traders exploiting the naivete of Tribals.

TRIFED was expected to help tribals by ensuring purchase of their products and that too by' paying th m remunerative prices. Further TRIFED was required to- provid ng SUJID.Ort to.e, it ffir. . j Development Cooperative Corpor_ti9ns, State Forest Development Corporations and other State level Agencies-engaged inprocuren ent'of7uch products from tribals.

The total procurement of both MFP and AP since inception till June 2902 stood at Rs. 877 crore. TRIFED was expected to perfo_!"m the_MfP9per-l "as a we_lfare actiyity and not as a coll_l dal activity. Thus TRIFED was expected totrade in MFP irrespective orthe-commercial-priide·iice··o(purchasing goods at-cheaper rates and resorting to purchase and saliton1y1ci"'maxnnizeprofh._ ':"---„---„

As a consequence TRIFED suffered cumulative loss of Rs. 92.62 crore till 31.3.2003, resulting in the erosion ofa large part of the equity share tapital provided by the Central Government

The Ministry of Tribal Affairs used to compensate TRIFED forthe losses sustained by it in MFP operatio11s by:w ?L : .-<:id under the Ceritf£1isettor Scheme of '§!1£!!!;!ZJ!.?JZL 2.l!J!f!J{ From 9·90 91;· 0 2Q.06 07, tne t"entra:11'.;overnment had extended a total amount of Rs.51.40 crore under the *'Price Support scfh we.'*

'N,ew:Roadmap<ofTRIFED·•·.

Ih .the light of the changes in its objective, tRiFED has, fort:rie first -titri drawn a con1prehensive Road· fyt_a.pJor.it:s activitjes during}lit!J.{th:PJa11 period (2007-12). TRJFED would now rnncentrate on tJJ (9, r, follow ng activities only durihg these five years:

a. R ! !,, rli !!MJt Y-- lP-P., -n.t ¢-tivity

b. tvJ!t,M :keti D_e el Q ,!J.ti !ivity

c. o l)) ining, Ski.JI JlR;gr dation and Capa_i_X- -llild_ing of}J s ans and MFP

d. Research & Development/IPR Activity

Broad Categories of Tribal Products being·rnarketed by:TRIFE

-A g neral iistof items being sold at these shops/outlets are asunder :

- Tribal Textiles
- Tribal Jewellery
- Gift & Novelties
- Tribal Paintings
- TeJTacotta & Stone Pottery
- Natural & Organic Food Products
- Metal Craft··
- Cane-& Bamboo

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Shifting Cultivation

Shifting Cultivation, commonly caned J ro. 2.r..P clμ, prevalent in humid areas where forests are cleared fully o r partially and the biomas Is burn_t. The cultivation is taken up for limited period and then Jhum lan_d_ is·ahana n , , fo..f. }!9 :ror_·a . o pie of years_'_\fer1 blfff to'.re ain its fe.rtHity. The process is repe'ated'after' i period ofJe"'::x rs. The shifting cultivators are mostly 'frlhes o(tli'e'"tiilLr g_!,2,llS. About 6.4 lakh families are involveo m the practice of Jhum cultivation over n approximate area of one million hectare,s every year. The total area affected by this practice is about_.(ive million hectc;tres in 15 state5._of the country. Shifting cultivation is practiced ·primarily in all the J;,h)-rth Eastern states, namely,''Assain, Arunachal [illegible], Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. It is practiced pari:iaHy'-fn Andhra Pradesh, Bihar Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Kerala, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Sikkim.

Shifting cultivation was the main system of the cultivation in the past on hilly terrains with sparse population. In ecent years, due to increase in population and limited avaihili"flfttoflancrfor agriculture, the Jhu_m cycle has come down to 11 from the old cycle ofJ_Q t !. ,X rs._ With the increasing **pressure of _population on land, the** Jhun;1 **cy le is likely to** Sh,QJ1 !1,JlU::tper, **which would lead to** unavailability of sufficient ti!rt for: oiJ tQ. tE! μp rate 'its fertmti: With the accelerated decline in soil fert1htÿy1ēl̄cl pet unit of land· is becoming pr s- 1vely lower•

Jhum cultivation is a primitive: and .uneconomic activity and is not capable of supporting even a reasonable standard of l i shifting""cuitiva"t"ors-:or Jhumias live a life of less than subsistence level. Jhum cultivation causes dEt!. iQ.{l.!!l!! and. lo „Q(,.§QU. the problem of sqJJ., E?_s_! -- .i :fu q a!l alar i_ntLe:.!?P2E!Jon and floods have becoml:! an artnual feature. In the Brahmaputra valley alone the anhuC:11 loss.has been estimated to bee more than Rs.300 crores. The shifting cultivation has not only beco1;:., 22: but is a wastef U:1£! yity from e<:9.lop ,;{qf l., l}iL,!:£, J2. l 8L} jew. The problem need_s serious attention.. The program for -controlling shifting cultivation attempts to provide an alternative soun;:e. of liv liho_9. to Jhumias, improve their socioeconomic condition and to restore ecoiogical baian2;7;the"hiif;?e ;:··' .

A strategy has been evolved to deal with the problem. This was a result of careful consideration of reports and Tecommendations of various Committees and -Commissions, namely, the Na!!2 L.£2IDID! §l9XtJ>.n Ag -.il..22-6), Working Group on Tribal Development during the Sixth plan (October 1980), the' National committee on the Developme_nt of B ckwa;d Areas (1981), Ministry of Hm:he Affairs' Committee on Forests and Tribes in In.ma (1'"91f2J, Research THighlignts on Shifting Cultivation and its Alternatives of ICAR Research Comple?C, for North Eastern Hill. Region, ·Shillong (1982) the .Ta J!2IS£,.J),Jl, ,llfting Cul !2 .W,&;l!l.q,i ..,LQ.. tg,pm:.-1 8J), Working Group on Development· of Scheduled Tribes during the Sev nth Five Year Plan of Ministry of Home Affairs (December, 1984), the Fifth Meeting of the Board on Shiftini,C,ultivation held at Kohima on 13th February, 1985 and the Open House seminar to wean away· shiftrrif ultivators h,eld at Aizwal on 4th and 5th August, 1986. The strategy for controJ of shifting cu tiv_a lon involves an l &r ram'.of .T . an r ! !. .R!;l.,! - ;!L} !ld. for settlement o,f Jhum1a,s ,under regular ?.-gL.}.!},ture, annna\ anary, hort1cultyr;¢ and forestry. The problems of Jhum controFprogram aretfireefold

1. Rehabilitation of Jhumia families
2. .,< evelopment of their econom,y
3. Yrn,acion Of **advance** teChnO}Ogy **and** Capital **inVeStment,** , .

All the#_pro rams are capital intensive. The Task Force on shifting cultivation (1983) has estimated th t taking' a perspective of fifteen years, a package of measures for rehabilitation of a Jhumia family would require an investment of Rs. 30 000/- per family on an average in addition to the fund allocated under oth r programs of the State and Central Government. On the basis of 1983 price norm, it would require an investment of about Rs. 3,000 crores per annum to settle 50,000 Jhurn"t flam.'fhes Keeping in view the resource constraints, it woulcrbe auftficult task to tackle this problerr::'fliesetectlon of package measures

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and priority areas has to be done very ;earefttHy. The measures have to be both long term and short term. A beginning has been made by the Ministry Of Agriculture on a small scale by earmarking an amount of Rs. 15 .crores during 1988-89 as centrafass1sfanc·e-tonTrie..sfate-s··orAricfhra Pra<lesh,-Arunadial · Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Megf1alaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Orissa and Tripura. About 27,000 families are to be rehabilitated unde·r various schemes. Rehabilitation of shifting cultivators· would have to be closely monitored by the administrative agencies and there should be a periodical review of the progress at various levels.

Forest **Policy of 1988**

Over the years, the forests in the country have suffered serious depletion. The situation has been reviewed. In order to provide protection and development to the forests, the old forest policy has been revised_ in 1988. The new forest policy which was adopted on December 7, 1988, takes into consideration the symbiotic relationship between the tribal people and forests. It envisages that all the agencies resppnsible for forest management including the Forest Development Corporations should associate the tr[t r Lpe,ople closely in the protect on, regeneration an?" devetp,P,EJ. JJ!,9JJQf-\ ts as well as in providing gainfurem ployffii:!ntttrtn'ltp opltf'Iivitig iifl:tnd:,around the_f r.ests. The policy also concedes that lif of the t ibes- "aiid other pocrr-p'e"dp'l '-ttw rrT&.i! f nd-«near ro·r;s1s revolved around Jcn: s,ts. The tights. and· Concessions eiifoyeo-by" tne"in -should be fuliy protected. Thei'?ctomesticr7'fuirerri' nts of fuel ,wood f9gder, minor forest produc and timber should be the first charge on forest produce. The new foresr po}Jcy; if frripleniented sincerely, would protect t e tribal interest and also the forests.

Scheduled Tribes {Recogiiition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005

The rights of the forest dwelling_Scheduled Tribes (FDSTs}who are inhabiting the forests for generat!ons ahd are in occupation of forest land have not·been adequately recognized so far resulting in historical injustice to these forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes who are integral to the very survival and sustainability of the forest ecosystem.

Background/ Impetus

1. **Scheduled ·Tribes are living in forests_ for generations and- are integral** to **very survival and sustain hility of forests:** It is well known that the forest dwelling sch duled tribes,· from times immemorial, are residing in their habitat for generations and there exists a spatial relationship. between the forest dwelling scheduled tribes and the biological resources in India. They.are. integral ·_to the very survival and sustainability of the forest ·ecosystems,.induding wildlife._ fa fact, the tribal· people are inseparable with the ecosystem, including wildlife, and cannot survive in isolcttion.

2. . J-I<! **Recognition of their rights d.uring the process of.consolidation of.forests:.** Thetra J_tjonal · rights of FQSts on forest .lands were, however, ·not adequately _recognize·d and recorded in the consolidation. of state forests: d_gr pg tq fOlonial and independent India though Indian For_est Act 1927 had provided for the determlnation of rights. However, the reservation proces ·es fqr cr _ating forest areas coupled With historical -factors preval_ent a t that time in respect of excluded and partially excluded areas and emphasis on production forestry somehow leftthe bona fide interests of the tribal community unrecognized arid recorded.· The problems of these communities w re ·further compounded after passing of the Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980· whe:n even th development acrivities in their .habitations were termed as non-forestry activities. They. still do not even:have a homestead and as such address oftheir o"\Vn.They are peoplewithoutidentities.

3. **ermanent threat of-eviction** from **their own land:** The non-recognition of.the rights ofthe::FDSTs over land ·who hav_e been living in forests since .time_immemorial has been attracttng pµblic afrention since pre-independent India. · Due to non recogni_tion of forest rights· of FpSTs; who have·been very deeply rooted in the forest_a as for ages, have ome to:b · rroneoµ ly looked upon as encrc;>achers of forest lands and the threat of ev ction consistently looms la.rge in t eir psyche.. Insecurity of tenure and fear of eviction from.these landswhere they·have lived andthr-fved for generations are p rhaps

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the biggest reasons why tribal communities feel emotionally as well as physically alienated from forests and forest lands. All these factors have resulted in historical injustice to them.

4. Non-Conferment of ownership rights over MFP in terms of Provisions of PESA, 1996: Inadequate implementation of the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996, by non-transfer of control/ownership over the natural resources, including the Minor Forest Products to the local communities and by non-extension of PESA Act to the entire scheduled ax; as, including forest areas, have further compounded their miseries. Although the provisions of PE'.SA Act gives the rights of ownership of MFP to the respective local communities, the collection and trade of most of the high value MFP is largely monopolized by the Corporations of the Forest D: partment of the States and poor FDSTs are just employed by the contractors only as wage earners.

5. **Fruits of Development Schemes denied:** The condition of the FDSTs traditionally living in their habitat in symbiotic relationship with the ecosystem is further becoming far more precarious and vulnerable due to displacement threats in view of ever increasing demand for conservation of forests ompne hand, and tardy implementation of developmental activities for welfare of FDSTs on the other,. wfi'ich is mainly due to non-avaHability'qfdear cut title of lan9 in their favor. The poor FDSTs living in .forestlands for ages could take benefits even under vario:i's s hemes of the Government such as "lqdira Awas Yojana".

6 Existing Legislative/ Polky Frame of the Ministry ofEnvironment and Forests: The Government has been taking a·consistent v·iew on this-central theme ·of integrating FDSTs living in and around forests into every aspect of managing forests. All policy statements, including the Forest Policy, 1988, circulars arid guidelines. issued by the Ministry of Environment and Forests have been espousing the cause of tribal communities and emphasizing the need for putting these communities at the centre of any conservation measures. Relevant excepts from some of the important policies of MOEF are...

e. The Forest Policy, 1988 stresses that forests are a first charge to the tribal communities and their domestic and livelihood needs are paramount and superior to any other commercial needs

f. The National Forest Policy of 1988, while recognizing the symbiotic relationship between tribal people and forests, also safeguards the customers rights and interests of the tribal people and forest dwellers on forest lands

g. The same policy provided for the associat on of tribal people closely in the protection, regeneration and development of forests with a view to provide gainful employment to the peo{>le **living·in** and around the forest, with spec al attention to...

h,:•J;R.eplacement of contractors by tribal cooperatives

i. Protection, regeneration and optirqum collection o f MFP along with institutional arrangements for the marketing of such produ e

j. "Development of forest villages on par with revenue villages and family oriented schemes for improving the status o the tribal beneficiaries

k. Undertaking integrated area development programs to meet the needs of the tribal econ my, but the fact remains that· most of the high value MFP are monopolized by the State Forest J orporations and the tribats are just employed as dailywagers.

l. In order t fulfill the commitments as enshrin d i th :National Forest Policy, 1988, the Central Government in the Ministry of Environmentand Forests had issue six circulars for settlement of disputed claims. As per these circulars; the pre-1980. ·encroachments on forest lands were considered eligible for regularization provided the State Governments had evolved ce.rtain eligibility criteria in accordance with the local needs and conditions and ·had taken a decision to regularize such encroachments but coul not implementtheir decision either wholly or pa·rtly due to enactment of the Forest Act 1980

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m. The Draft National Environment4 dlfcy 2004 states that "give legal recognition to the traditional rights of forest dwelling tribes. This would -remedy a ,s, rious historical injustice, secure their livelihoods, reduce possibilities of conflict with the Forest Departments, and provide long-term incentives to the tribal to conserve the forests".

It is in this backdrop that the historical rights of the FDSTs had not been recognized despite all the legislative and policy framework of the Ministry of Environment and Forests, a decision was taken that the- Ministry of Tribal Affairs would take steps to formulate a comprehensive Central Legislation to redress the historical injustice done to the tribal community and for clear assertion of their legal rights on land.

Actordingly, a Technical Support Group (TSG) comprising the representatives of the Ministries concerned and some reputed experts having rich experience and deep association with the cause of environmental protection and welfare of trial people was constituted, under the Chairpersonship of Secretary, Tribal Affairs to formulate the Scheduled-Tribes and Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill.

Afe·r a series of meetings and delibe atism la draft Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest R!ghts}s:m, 20,0,5 was formulated by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs and circulated amongst the ministries concerned .for'their commen t s.

Maih Featifres.ofthe.Draft Bill

Qlij .ctive:· The obfective o f the Bill is fo undo the historical_ injustice- ·by- rec:6gnizing and -vesting the fore.st ights and occupation of forest land to forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes who have been residing tt{er f r generations and who are integral to the very survival aQd sustainability ofthe forest eco-system, in,.cluding wildlife, but whose rights could not be recorded.

The Rights ofthe Forest Dwelling Tribes: The bill in Section 4 seeks to recognize and vest Forest Rights to FDSTs wh re they are scheduled. These rjghts include...

1. To hold and live ·in the forest land under the individual or common occupation for habitation or for selfcultivation for livelihood by a member or members of a f(?rest dwelling Scheduled Tfibe;
2. Right of access to, use or dispose of MFP;
3. Other righ t s of uses. or entitlements such as grazing (both settled and transhumant) and traditional seasonal resource access o f nomadic or pastoralist communities;
4. Right of habita and habitation for primitive tribal group and pre-agrlcultutal communities
5. To be exercised for bonafide livelihood needs and not for exclusive commercfal purposes;
6. · Not to exceed 2.Sha per nuclear'Utnily;ohhe FD.ST;
7. To be heritable but not alienable or transferable;
8. To include the responsibility of protection, conservation and r generation.of forests;
9. _·Tobe registered jointly in the name of the husband and wife when it is in respectofland where a, tie ·?is vested or recognized;

10/.To include traditional and customary rights.

The Bill further provides that no FDST shall .be evicted or removed .from forest land under tiieir occupation till the recognition and verification procedure is _complete.

The.Duties._ofF rest Right H lders_includexesponsipility,ofoot.carrying o t any activity that adversely affects the wild life, forests and biod.iv rsity.

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The **Authorities** and their functions include Gram Sabhas, Sub Divisional Level Committees, District Level Committees having forest, tribal welfare and revenue officials as members.

Offences under the Act: Detailed provisions for penalty for contravention of the provisi.ons of the Act and also the offences by Government authorities have been provided. A simple imprisonment up to 30 days with or without a fine of Rs. 5000/- has been considered appropriate and in addition, the Bill provides for de-recognition of forest rights if the offence is committed-more than once.

The N9_dal **Agency** shall be the Ministry of Tribal Affairs or any other officer or authority authorized by the Government of India in this behalf to implement the provisions of the act.

Analy$iS of the Draft Bill:

A closer look at the Bill reveals that it has provided for a number of checks and balances ...

1. Recognition of Forest Rights of only the FDSTs, where they are scheduled; there is no distribution of land involved at all and the Bill will not cover the entire 8.2% of the ST population. Only tribes scheduled for the area living the forestsiwill benefit A tribalrfrom an outside area / state will not benefit The Bill in actual terrris will only benefit the tribal pop\liation on "as is where is basis". Only octupatiqns as per the ground situation existing for generations are being given legal recognition so asto avoicfday to day harassment by the officials.

2. Recognition of the occupations existing prior to cutoffdate and maximum up to 2.5 ha land o_nly is proposed, which in fact restricts land grabbing by elites even within the tribal communities.

3. All rights would be heritable but inalienable or non-transferable.

4. The use of the forest rights has been restricted to the subsistence-and livelihood needs alone.

5. The commercial use of any kind has been specifically excluded.

6. A cutoff date of 25th October, 1980 has been provided by the Bill. It is only a one time exercise to recognize the age old occupations as per the ground situation intended to put an end to so-called issue of encroachment forever. .There is no question of abetment of fresh encroachment.

7. It has been provided that the forest right holder shall not indulge in any activity that adversely affec_ts ,the wild life, forest and the biodiversity in the-local areas.

8. The involvement of democratic institutions like Gram Sabhas is in tune with the provisions of PESA .Act, 1996 and ai_ms at empowering the local communities in management of their natural resources.

9. Specific provisions have also been made in, that the rights so recognized would include the responsibility of protection, conservation and regeneration of forests.

10. The.re -is--no move to convert forest lands into agricultural holdings. The vesting of rights would-be done on "as is where is basis" and definitely no clearing of forests or felling of trees would be permitted.

Condtfding Remarks

The J>£Po,fdn w layv to re,cognize and, protect the rights o f trib l people living infore ls an import nL;:. step i 'th_(?r.!ght direction. In much•ofthe mainstream media-today.the concerns of: e_nvironmentaHstsi, and th: so:ca.Ue "nature lovers" are shown to be opposed to th9se of people who live in and around forest areas, whether it be in terms of p_rotecting animal wild ife or'presenring tree-cover._

Typically, iris theJocal communities who are.blamed for deforestation or for the ·destruction of natural habitats, despite 'tlie o enyh:elming. evidence of the: 'negative .role played. by commercial ··16gging and. mining interests. ·But this is_really a major misrepresentation, since.the iocal co·mmuhities whO live in ·and around forests are usually those who are mo,st concerned with preserving them. And where there has

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been more evidence of devastation, it•has '}-nore often than not been the result of a nexus between business interests and local officialdom and politicians.

The problem is that even those who are officially in charge of dealing with these issues, say, for example, the Forest Department, are not adequately informed of the ground realities with respect to what is forest and what is not The official data on forest cover in India is in a state of utter confusion, which actually dates from the colonial period. At independence, 26 million hectares of land was declared as forests, but wit ?ut any proper survey. Now the forestland is estimated to be as much as 78 million hectares, again without proper survey, partly because in 1952 all wastelands were also declared to be forests.

Within all this supposedly forest area, there were substantial swathes of land which were actually being cultivated even then, and continue to be cultivated today. This included not just areas of shifting cultivation, but also perennially cultivated tracts. Some forests were no more than patches of trees situated within the cultivated area of villages. There was some ongoing survey work, but it was very unsatisfactory because it was haphazard, had no mechanisms for cross-checking and was completely non-transparent

These contradictions w re made *even* \nore acute in 1980 when the. Forest Conservation Act stopp d even the limited and inadequate official surveys. The current official description. ,of the extent f encroachment is therefore, based-en extremely problematic and unsubstantiated guesstimates.

According: to the Forest Survey of India, in 2001 the total forest cover of the country was only 67.53 millio·n hectares, and this even· includes plantations, groves, and so on.. Eve'n if all this forest cover.·is inside state for sts, which it is not, at least 12 percent of the land·classified as state.forests has no forest at all. In some states, the percentage is remarkably high. In Himachal Pradesh; for exarµple, 61 percent of the area that is described as state forest has no forest cover, while in Rajasthan the percentage is 49.

This is largely because wastelands are being classified as forests, but it also reflects the inadequate nature of the data collection. Even official data show that 83% of the forest blocks in undivided Madhya Pradesh were never surveyed. Indeed, the .confusion is such that, for India as a whole, the area under non-fore?t cover'is seven times larger than the areas under so-called encroachment.

What all this means, of course, is that the ·traditional land rights of many people who have fot generations, lived and tilled the land in some of these official forest areas are not being recognized. These are mostly. tribal groups, but also include some non"tribal communities. The absence of proper surveys even in the. past makes it ·easier to declare such people to qe encroachers *even* when they have been traditionally involved in cultivation in these areas.

Legal judgments have not helped to reduce the confusion: the Supreme Court stayed the regula.rization of land and· stopped recognition of pre-1980 settlers who were thereby. classified. as encroachers. Worse still, in May 2002 the government mi ilJ tr(PJ,;eted a Supreme Court ruling to issue a directive to all State. Governments to evict encroachers from aU forests immediately. A massive eviction drive ensued, which targf!ted forest communjties. rather th.an the commercial and mafia· interests which have actuallyJed·'fo . the destruction of forests. This has led to huge dislocation and suffering among ·already impoverished people. Lakhs of families have been rendered homeless and there were many recorded cases of excessive violence. There have been civil disobedience movements across the tribal India.

The-\Scheduled Tries-and Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Rights) Bill, 2005 is extremely important not only}or providingjustice to forest dti1ellers b talso f o r consrvi11,g the f rests themselves. .There aret\vo: criti ally important aspects of this Bill: it recognizes· comniunitfes' ·rights and it also democratizes We system of forest conservation. Both are important .to maintain the· health of forests and forest communities. pssentially all that the proposed law requires is that the Forest Department updates i land records to recognize what already exists on the grou d. At the same time, -it also_ requires forest ·rights: holders to refrain from any activity that would adversely.affei;t the forest and the biodiversity in the local area, and also enjoins the local community to stop any activity·which adversely affects wildlife, forest$ and biodiversity.

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_/Impact of Urbanization and Industrialization on Tribal Populations

Urbanization is a process of social and cultural change in which the\ribal and the rural India is gradually changing towards ur,!?. !!,,f. UJ: rs. This is because of the planned change induced by the five-year plans of the country. Urbanization in tribal India has a social diiffeHsion caused by the problems of culture con;act with the tribes who were living in remote areas surrounded by the forest or at the top of i:h-h-iils. ··But **aftef"-fnaepe61ence_ it** \-YclS **c!. ?ired constitutionally that the tribes should be brought into the mainstream** of the country. Various developmentafmeasures taken for the upliftment of tribal India caused more problems than benefiting the target groups. This does not mean that urbanization is not at all required in the tribal areas, but it is required with planning and anthropolo ical insight and strategie?. The overall impact-of urbanization is"" cleaify vfsible rn't'f e trffjaCsect r ..It h -changed the pattern of living of the trip_ inthe country.

All those forces, external or internal, "Yhich broke the isolation of the tribal and the village communities and helped to bring over a change, however slight, in the traditional social order paved way for urbanization and industrializc1tion. For, industrialization does not merely refer to the use of large and complicated machinery, and urbanization c,loes not only mean_ that a great concentration of the human bei-gs· in small areas,_ they both· require filh .£t s-_?_:e't_?,.2,mic tJR.--iRs hu,11 .fir ,mw coriflict;with the traditional social order (M.N. Srinivas).

The isolation µ tween dfferent areas, .both rural and tribal, was brq!s J} dow11 b,xJ'µ onstructiohs Cfthe ro_, §fa dth; deveiopme t or communicatioiL k ni101swdvn: anfcrY Y,, 1 ; wi; 1 tr ctucel ctil'rtug tfi rfti_sh perioct a'.ncrfoan measures". were take 7c;71rnµ:;;; tli1;"°pTitl e! b r.. t _ s. yVefil, J» education was introduc<:!d and many customs were abolished. These measures had a profound effect on tlfe"sott l'life of the .people. The establishment of the British rule in India meant that every village or other area, hO\,yever remote, became a pa:rt of the widest political community. This was soon followed by the extension of the economic network, which spread over the whole world including India. The cotton famii-fe'ancf'f" -- 1t11 ;,-1--'°ulS ; de the B itish manufacturers have wisdom of an alternate supply of cotton in India. ·The de_velopment of cotton as a cash.crop effected the peasantry in several parts of the country. It brought money to the villages and tied up the fortunes of peasantry with events happening 580(miles away, and over which they have no control. -An expanding economy brings money to mQ_fe groups and occasionally to the groups which are very low in the social hierarchy. When the groups low'fo caste hierarchy Sanskritise their way of life, certain amount of disturbance occur·s in the_so,i.a.l.s-stem.

The pol}tico-_econ_o iSJ9. released during· the Britis_h brought ;bout e t r 1! !!1 the caste 5-ysteriC'Ifthere is a stimulating urbanization and in'fflistrfalization of the t_ribal and rural areas, extra age_ncies play a very crucial_ role. Urbaniz.at_ion has hrought a c : e in i}. ,.!!,!: Je of the peo le an_d which .1.o led to a Change m th'.:JPB.th mts and the <!Jg , 1ID ;l;ha?m have cffso occurred m their teligious':beliefs, worldvie\iV's, ethos etc. The. process of urbanizatfon fias made them tolerant towards otl)er ifgf ns. nre: ri bi i pedpl1 in _urbqn .\areas are. no longer interested in their 'traditions to""be m?ifritaf d: .Living together has _incuJcated·tol rn.ILce for othe,ecp;_· .and they are extendi11,g a helping handt6the fo llowers of other sects·everi'm matters ofconstruction of sacred places.

Urbaniz tion has also greatly influenced their ecology. The eIA 2£Xfil£..!1!,. tJern and oc_supation paf! p in tribal India have also undergone change owing to urbani_zillon. Instead of lf?ditional empl?yment e.,,d occue!tipnal pattern they preferred to work in offices, factorie workshops etc. The traditional craftsrne like ciitp]. §7f <!.!?.!e.f. !Iliths.J.tave **left their traditionaloccupation'.and'are working in governmNE: nd** privat :off ces andfac ories that have_n thingJQ,qp:\v:ithiheir'.tracHtionalskills: Most of them have even 10-snt lirt adfrfon·arcap·aEIHHes comµi;I httirbanizatton has a de'i:;rr·e t impad on the lifestyle reHgion,. politica'i:-socialana·economicfile_ intribal India.

It is· evident that the Central Indian TribaLbelt-standing cross the ·stat s of Bihar, West· Bengal, Orissa,. M.P_. A_P. has een bur_geoing _in·:°. :?One of intense indu stria.I an min i ng activities in th.e .r cent dec ade._ Many mdustnes 'and a cham of mmmg cpmplexes hav .m,1de considerable appearances and iIDJ?}!S!. .!! t,r-ib_al A hoary agro- :, - ?. l .lture has be_:. Eon! nted '_" th- - ".1o_e-n. s- '. ticated life.

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industrial culture. This abrupt juxtapos.ition has produced deleterious results for the tribes. There has been a large-scale alienation of tribal land for the publieicmd .RriVate enter.prise,s. Having lost the basic resources·;tne-friffes··and "rur·a1 ·mass·es· h'ave- ··o"rbe - -- blrt ·';; ; ·;;·· - : lternqtjye source .Q[liv lihpod. The first generation has found it nearly impossible to imbibe the skills-a[{d culture of the industrial e. It is obvious that the shock impulses generated on acco"tint of the iffipos.ition of'tne m6dern ind -stry have been beyond the b 9rntion cap lfJtY q f the tribal and rural communities. In fact for the first generation, it has been an unmitigated disaster in as much--as it ha$i'rneantnear1y ·a-wholesale destruction.

The .expectation that the industrialization of tribal areas and rural areas would help in improving.the. economic conditions of the tribal communities has proved to be largely ill so ry. Major industrial projects located in tribal territories, far from generating employment for the tribes, have operated to their detriment by uprooting them from their living and offerin&. them no satisfactory alternativetcrtJi1'ir traditwn-a1m'effiocfs:fhe·at:Hiuc e·ot 1iro}ed: s oftii:ial;t fia -bee that their r sponsibility- to the· td6·;; and rur froll? ended with the payment of the compensation for the land acquired from them. The meagre cost compensation is soon flitterectaway" on ctrinl<s" ·an,r user products, and destitution is the price th poor tribes'have to pay for the establish men . oraminaustryin1ne·areas inhabit hem.

Furt er, n.2. E.e£.. l5-J2LC?_Y..LcJ,tt the tribes and. rural folk in the n 'v:' r. -Of s 9 ..t. E .!P of th. projects. They are left to construct'anf 'i nf al:fff 'ffi'e dirty·sfuo s on the outskirts. These areas are without any'c !c .!!t !.\ U Jjke teR. - . r.g rpeg _gj ,llQ. l..P.I:c ln<Jg J!tC.

Industri.alization has. disturbed the ,of tU ,al.,il .I - There is a :problem o t adjustment for the tribes. The tribes are accustomed to seasonal or· agricultural labour, btit owing to··· inaffseri ation, they have to !:'!rk,aL ili ,year. 1 1Jroken tne 19]ltf J!X. l ste!!1. prevalentin rural India. Nuclear fa,milJes are now predominant Traditional authority of the elders in the famiiy'has'-be n considerably weak d. The industrialized tribes and...'ruraf"""'fofK'afe'"'aoandoning traEitional norms and practices. Tribes and villagers are generally advancing towa.rds Jnte s?.EM i the g ---a}s· t:r·eo'ple· but.at th.e same time they are r p i .!Y..J.QQ. i ng t !f tra <;l !!P!:l.?LS.9Ei.Q.. Jt., ral ch ..IeEter,ts.ric -In the traditional agrar!a :- 2.P..9JTIY t .family was functioning more or les - !1,1,!!t.PJ labour, however, in the faclo'r1es--ffTs· the individual who.is-\vantecr··From"tne-inein5er nfp of a close **so-dety "a.tribal i.ndividual is··rnducecr·to 'acccfrnmo aal:e·himseff1n a urilversal pattern of cosmopolitan·.** society without education, equipment ·and resources. There is a crisis of identity. lndustrializati n has bred new drin.,kini habits, prostitution, feuds, unionism, unemployment, migration and loss of agricultural. land in tribal and village Indfa.···

The question whetherindustrialization planned for tribal and rur l areas. should not con enci w1t11.th·e.-, human sacrifice involved· acquires significance. Should not th interests of the men and women be afegu! ded therefore?

It is dear that we cannot keep: in check the advancing· tide of industrialization .. Never;th_€:1 ss, :v,„'.a·n· oftfn:. h ri?ors of new .alien lima\e The ! 1w. 2 .,,.P!.. fote a- to,.P ,r : £- .f ,in rndustnahzat1on or as an alternative to ake gainful hvmg. But no step sliOula15e ·taken wliicn w-puld. l .Y> he des ituq .Il.2f.J!!e§Ses. No e!. 1 [2ill], JJE: ed w}! hut a P }. " !- . alYs s ' ··-f ! j **of local** COIII_IIlm!iti $. **.Qased. on study of all related aspects** like the present so.tfo.::e o om1c stat } .:rYlturat profilea· i' anthropology· perspedive·developm nt by a1nnter-afod jjii ar/ iproach:

We shall exa ine some specific consequences of.both.Urbanization and Industrialization in greater d tail.

IMPACT OF INDUSTRIAUZ.AnO TJ

The social relations found in the modern industrial society are very complex !HL ?!!"i compared to the simple and straightforward social relations found in the ancient societies. Inoustrialization has affected the society in every.respect The aspects.of industrializatiorta·re intimately related with scientific processes. Therefore, the attitudes of the members of industrial society become scientific. People· accept and demand rational explanati ; for ever y pheriotnenon. Reason; and not faith touchstone .of

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every action and belief in the industrial society. The freedom of thought and individualism are the cornerstones of the industrial societx.

Impact on Marriage: The institutions of marriage and family have undergone change as a result of structural processes initiated by industrialization. Traditionally the Indian society has recognized marriage to be a S£!3.9J.!!§1it1:!.UQn and in the modern industrial society it was reduced to the past, marriage was considered to be a rm..Q!;_ t and !. li _na!Jle 9!1.t - -i_cp_ ld 1:1?. - rr! P <:\. at will.. But now, under the impact of industrialization, divorce and marriage go side by side.

With th impact of industrialization, the age at which marriage is contracted has increased. MoreQ_Yr, the aim of.marriage in lndia is no longer spiritual and hence many young men and women7'iihig towns prefer to live .:single. The institution of marriage has been reduced to a mere device qf satisfyipg_9ne.'..?. , 1J;;ll need and because thisbiological need can also·be satisfi 'ci'oul:of wedlock, m;i'rriage is no more important.

Since frn;lustria1iza.tion has now provided many platforms on which a man and woman can meet, interact, and exchange ideas and opinions, the traaitionafpractice of the family elders selecting the spouse for their younger generations is gradually loosing its"significance.

The_ i!J'4'µstrial oci ty perpetuate the philosophy of Individualis . ·Due to his feature, there are more C \I}S ;P l8P.-<l t!i l!a : than_ cop Ji:r iJ\£ijje'tween the husband and the wife. This resul_ted in an increase in the rate of divorcern1fie institution of marriage.

Impact on ,F mily: Indust_rialization has beeri responsible for a change in the functions of the family.. Nuin_erous functions which were hitherto handled by the family are now taken up by other secondary institu_tions in the society. Traditionally, the family used to be a centre oL_!l!l!b. rt !:!EJL nd 9J1 ,a!J&D of children. But in an industrialized society, the family is not required to fulfil these role . ·Even the traditional importance accorded to the.family kitchen is lost in the modern industriaHzed society.

The traditional and ideal family system of India, the Joint Family, Js also subjected to change. As a consequence .of industrialization, the joint familx setup is breaking down and is being replaced by the modern nuclear family. For details, refer to the chapter on joint family.

Industrialization results in the increase of standard of living. Obviously, it is always not tenable to maintain such a standard in a big·ramuy.'ife'nceindtrectly,ihclustrialization has been responsible for the families to be smaller compared .to the traditional gaiety associated with a big family. The prevalence -of the .?.. 2..t!:J1£2 !.!!! s has also been responsible for the pre ,al Jlf. <?X, m,]l!e..JJ!. -

Industrialization has been responsibl¢ for the changing status of women in the society. Earlier, from both the economic and social points of view, woman was traditionally a subject of man. She enjoyed no indep fl ence at all. Industrialization had a profound irnpact on all these spheres of the traditional status ?f woirien. It makes the woman more- i w !1..i? and this resrMJ ;- l!L.dLE;!,' s d" ! 1q9 pe, ?ence also. They are me;.t. 5U.til .Jl .dl W1,JL 1 . in the decision ma:k1 g process. More_6R' r,a woman today is assE;?rting her independence by defying the traditional laws of the s9ciety.

The traditional family is now disintegrating, as a consequence of industrialization, due to the increased spirit of individualism. This disintegration is also·because of the continuous co!}fJj J: n<l _tensi9ns in the **hou.sehpl . between different membei:-s constjtuting it.**

The t itional Indian f ily used to ouri th (WCi,P] !!!L l ;. J..l E:Jtls. The elders were ac orded- respect an3 tfie indiviaual als. were integrated 1ith the farrait:al, gg_als. But as- a consequence or ffictustrfai1zaHoi1;tiiesetracTitionanirn1nar-goalswere"als'o·sub)ecte<l, to change.

Impact on Caste System: Industrialization has also brought in a considerable change in the field_ of social stratification in India. In the traditional Indian society social stratification was based on. the principle of ascriptive ·sta s, i.e., birth,- c:Io'sely guarded 1:>y_th PI1'1. ple_s_ of Purity and Pollut on; which is popularly -ste system. -·In1lus'trrafization bri W dhriens'fonstowciaTstratification,·which now n the prindples like occupation, education and income.

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Industrialization has thus resulted in the; Hsintegration of the traditional caste system in the country. It led to·lhe collapse of the traditio9al caste-based structure of the society. The caste-based criterion of the social classiffcaf on has· cha ged. In the rriodern ·1r1dustri iized society, it is the class and, not the caste which fixes the social s.ta.tus oith.e.jngjyj_dual.

The traditional social structure has been responsible for the dominance of certain privileged castes. Even this traditional hold of certain castes on the· Indian society has gradually reduced as a consequence to industrialization. At the same time, the lower castes, who were hitherto occupying the status positions which made them deprived of all the social and economic developments, were raised in their positions in the society, as a result of economic and social independence the process of industrialization has provided fu

Apart from this, the traditional division of labour, which was based on the concept of purity and pollution and· hereditary specialization, has also been changed by the impact of iridustrialization. This led to the abolition ruthecaste·b"aseafunctions.

As a result oflndustrialization, the speF\re,-ofuntouchability is relaxing its grip upon the thought rind imagination of people of India.. Industrialization compels people to work together irrespective of their cast \backgrounds or affiliations. In fact,, industrialization has indirectly been· responsible· for the .prevalence ·of inter-caste marriages.

_;·hnpacto **Religion:** Ind strialization .perpetuates the spirits of rationalism and scepticism in mankind. .,.For material progress,, supersUticm·s ar a',py_rdle. The process of industrfalizatiou helpS'the: sprea4 and di seminat10rfofscfen:ti"ficlciiow,mig '·a 1fp ;ctical reality..This philosophy subverts religious orthodoxy and' superstitic ns.

As a result of industria_lizatiori, the outlook of the general masses in re.spect of religion has become broad. As a consequence of industrialization, the persons of different faiths. .come together and get an opportunity of knowing and understanding.each other. This results in dispelling wrong notions· about other faiths ·and an appreciation of basic unity fall faiths. Therefore, as a result of.industrialization; there is a development of religious tolerance. Industrialization, on a broader scale of religious tolerance, leads to the constitution of secular states as against the earliertlieocratic states..

Impact on Moral Aspects of People: Inchlstri hZcition brings about a change in·the moral aspects of the. general masses. It results in the development o(rational· and ·materialistic outlook, in jvi_dualism, · permissiveness in sex, increase in crirtttrs· mtllc1os!;. :li ".of traditilonal social control mechanisms.

IMPACT OF URBANIZATION

The/rural and tribal societies are necessarily dependent on agriculture: and allied activities. ·But:as:a resul of increased contact with the urban centres, this means of livelihood is forsaken l}y many in,the 1ure; or gtt cp,rospe.ctsjn, industr:y.

Then, on th·e.oilier hand, there is an influx ofurban communities in the rural market The rural folk accept the new products likeh:„?. 1!:mer dur les o·r I t.§ YJugJI'!!. s.

Ur anization ecessarily involves th , ement o\ 1!!.a r-poe. - !!? to urban c n ers. hese migr3. ts brmg back with them n .eL9lJ!{e, !:!!!!!.1! „and- £ !?· Thesemtroduced mfluences of urbamsm affe_<;t the majority of th rural population and the tribal folk.. The entire· social structure .of the -rural comfounity suffers .a -:Change. Economk<. lations/n i hbourh.opd's, .universality' of human actions, brotherhood doctrines are thrown "open' fo the gullible masses.,As such ne\v classes and status. functiQJlS are derived in"the' social life. Heredita,ry' lec1,c,l r hJR.giv.es way to ra ional leader§J!!P, based o le ality and authority *as* well as on voting cnoice:· ,_. ,., -,. -. .

New forms of mass media like 3:.di ,T.tY,d1ew_!Bap, ,% ma , etc. are available to the ruaJJql who are influenced by these to a_great'extent 'Individualism creepsin gradually replacing the age old collective

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consciousness. Religion is less primitive, rrfo e-rational. There is no more an inhibition of personality building.

The social consequences of Urbanization are discussed in detail hereunder.

1. ·**Decli11:e in Social Sympathy:** The first consequence in overcrowding and increasing population is the decline i fellow feeling and.sympathy.
2. **L)'. of Social Co t.ro}:** With the decline in the fellowteeling, sympathy and concern for others, there is also a decline. in social control. there is a decline in the control of the family and caste on the be: aviour of the individual: Apart from this, there is a decline in the control of religion on man due to th.fever increasing philosophy of materialism.
3. Ch,fo$_g$e in **the Status ofthe Women:** This is because of the social and economic independence ·women acquire as a result of change.
4. · **Cha_nges in the Institution of Marriage** '.lnd. **Family:** This is due to the reasons already elucidated :.ea.fUer.. .
5. ;Slf ri6flty :<>f **Male** Ratit),$_h$ i **th'e'··Population:** This is due to the male dominance in the field of
6. **co·fu etdat.zat,ion·o{Efrtethilnmeut:The** lamily has lost its function of being a place for rec eation 'incf titlrtai'rtfu iit"i·
7. ·**Scardty** <>fLiving **Accommodation:** Due to the ever increasing urban areas and its population.
8. **-0-ev lopinentofSlum :** A direct consequence of the scarcity of living accommodation.
9. **Cha ge.i,n m·oral values:** Due tQ the same f6rces generated by the process of industrialization.
10. ·Breakd\1 noffointfamily: Due to increc1se in migtation from rural and tribal areas to cities.
11. **Increase in the In.c.idence of·Crime:** Urban centers perpetuate the manhood that is unquestionably brutalized; women dishonored and childhood ·poisoned at every source.
12. **Corruptitin, Conflict and Competition:.Due** to. imbalances in supply and demand.

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7.1 Problems of Exploitation .:iind Deprivation & Constitutional Sa eguards

Problems of Exploitation and Deprivation of SCs, STs and OBCs

Who are the Shudras and when and what brought the condition of degradation to them? The V.edic l terature,. hJ.fp m i_nly..includesJ_e yed s. the Brahm, s, the Ar yak 1l ! '?lq r l!Efill! hads.,-d.o: n --P..--i-e.!1XY..iEe ce ...th!tt "Shudra.Cas isteqin the early p eriog. The Rig Veda only refe.rs to the three Castes of Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya in the Aryan community. It seems that the "caste of S u ras" was c)?.yJh) 'i:ia.nslifthe-closmiii, ·a tif gV d.§1. However, there.are scholars like Apte and Dutt who contend that the class of Shudras was known from the t me of. Rig Veda. The non mention of the word Shudra does not argue for its non existence. In the Brahmanas however we firid a repeated reference to Shudras along with Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaish s forming the integral part of the Inda-Aryan society. the texts ofthe r hmanas assi l1;,!?,.,!J . . h, EL m i)Jh J.9. tp9. i iQJ} a13d mention them as the. p opleoutsiti-e ttrefoTa .of --Bral:im.inical: sacrificial religion.. This is perhaps be .se they \iVere racially c1nd cultµp lly diffe.rent from the. A!:l gs and opposecfthem as far as their reli&.iq wa ·_c<;?·-µc r d/·_Atc rdi g·tq; IJfl?le, they·not only om>osed the gods of Aryans but also did. ot perf m sacrit'.ict!s and g ve ncfglffsl'it tn prtests. The te.rms and epithets used by the Aryans for.the Da a re "A v:a ta ;- : :}tn ::1 - j ra.va a·{-h1t ,: m,a ters··ofsocial Efivile$es . ,md .tgi<>US, eforef li'e. S!l s.fer. .\g11<eri .Yf.r.1.l w .s t t TheY, could ·neith_er: rfor .crifi,ces,..n.pr Y,J).a$\ ey.. 'r.(t1t tr-i_p e9._ a]: eSei ; UQQ9Jy ahdiliiEUte Crfature .¥1h?s to·uch ta;used != feQl mal iif! Y?i J!'..H ,;i·s· .t9. t1 ihaJ·9nty· tn ·-0 tr,t e- rders·w:t: r Apg !-e.d J n:! ! :Y ttfs ?:g f ! as re}tgfous an'd rittialistic· life··was: ctmcernecL :.The Sliudr i \vas systematically ,dehafred frotnfoll wingthe: religtqu: :.P. #\i:i¢ i··pt 7 -=-7·· ::- :·· .

This does not mean that the Shudras were treated suntouchables. This is evident from the fact that even ca.rpenter's touch·ar·o a S;d. imput,ity. ir the y jria which. needed sprinkling ofwater to purify it.. The carpenters were surelynot ntotichaqles. The idea ofuntouchabili.ty ofthe Shudras perhaps developed in the . u.tra P.e.riod. Wh .t und tlie,s qµ.c iiLty.ls;J.hg)!Ptiq, c.(.g llution f!! . - !!.t ?.9 L .an. m iQ J i Q!!: Refetri.tjg to, the not.ion ofpurity.;>q e : a efore"BO.O.B.C. we find 0 e .i ,.9.L .: on. l p uri!}'. a1m?st f!Jn t1edgect a b¢en opetc1tiv 1n·re1 tion to: noton1ythe despi ed and degraded groue or pe<>ple calle1fTwnarto.9fas but also "ilie,forff:tfi.,·:or4 r:.,P:f th:W"sq i zy;··· ffe:':'Sliucfras:,::Amlidkar·. has: howev r, ni'ahftairied that while. the impllr a.Sa ·aass :cam•if.ito"'e fst n'c(! aY"the time of the. Dharma uti:as, the untouch.ables ca01e·into beiqgimuchlat t:tlian:4(Q.AJ). ·A1'i1h d!<r hasJurth r qid: If anthropology is a science which can.be ·ciependedupon,todef·errnineth ace of the p ople,therithe·resultobtained by the ·application of anthropomet ry fo•the various itrata ··of·>Hindti. societ y disprove. that the uritouthables beJ9lig ··to. a Tace differ.e.n.t front tq -Aryc:.lr , net the. Drav.idians.... The Brahmins nd the. untouchables· belong to the a e race.Hutton' o inio"ri IS that,.th' ohgi of the positfo1(0Hh· exterior castes.is partiy racial, partly r ligious, and partly a matter of social custom.

The economic condition 'of the Shuciras,. a1$0 reveals the lqw. positi o n t hatt hey occupied ih the hierarchy of society. Th s of Shudras possessing cattle and wealth were !.Y_!afe. Mo . !lJ - --- :: :, ·· s landless laborers .on fainls and as domestic s.ervants. One Sutra mentions "Shudras have to earn their subsistence only by serving the higher va"rna:s .

·The Hindu:literature emphasizes ori:salvation.through ·devotion to a deity. The idea of Karma al)d Dharm E rn.£.QP.Y: Ul n-Uqe2Iqgi fOf keep m gj9wer caste. n'!;r. :: .!. "Yf J- I .h .!. h Y;;.ffilgh, .- Jlt(_r in :this life b.u by observing the dharma they could: get benefit in their next birth.. The onu ;,:.of respbrtsihiiiiy:;;;, th fure; on the i .divid fin"c i i ot ·ori··: !¢ fy "fhe' ei:nphasis· :<>tiindividuai salvation gafftne···individual an importan -thitwas"cibsent tri re'fife and ther.efre's·erved to keep hii:n. quiescent and passive ·But·this exp1anatioi fo'f karma·ts.not·acceptable to. lq_w E_- !. .g gu ps \iVD<>, w4il .support,i g_ the'"filifforrof rebirth, do riot acc Q.!.J.h tth Y,.:Y.i e born low because of misdemeanours in the pr yi us, birth.

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All this discussion points out to several facts!

1. The Shudras were non Aryans and the term Shudra was not understood in ttn! sense of varna;
2. Their status - religious, social and economic - was low since early times, maybe from first century BL;
3. I_ !IX.P. riods they .were notun.touc;habJes.

4t The problem of the origin of the Shudras remains a mystery and an unsolved riddle in the social history oflrtdia….

s/· The idea of purity - wheth r _o ccupc1tional or cer-<mJal_ - was the very soul of the_ idea and p·ra·cdce·ofl ntouchabilicy since the Brahmani<:: pe r iq g gnwards (Second centmyft,D.)

-The term "Scheduled Caste" was coined by the-Simon Commission in 1,935 which came to be used for the peoBlj:!,descri_be untou ha les. ording to Amb:dkc1 ,jn Indi t h Y.-W! now n a- .ri>H&& mE:11'.fr :·.·q t-Eas :!'.. !J! .B iti$hdesc ioe } hem as. deire_si flas.E; r .. In 1931 census, they w e cJ. $jfi,E! s2¢ t : Jor stes:: rvt:a atma. G nd · t desig ated ·th ese·t1asses r .Iir.r JJs- he children of

·to ?!- - F-th i.f.: 0- =d tipn(t.°' p : raJ11: r. tli 1i4_Mtrof- e 's_r.s ' - thred inequality. The framers of the IQdJf!O <:;ol\stitutio.nalso .c1dopt dthe t rm coined b_ySirri .m,mission .

The Simon Commission prescribed thirteen tests f r"Including a caste in the Schedulecl list Some of these wen :_

- Whether caste in question pollutes high castes by their touch or proximity
- Whether caste in question is deni d entry into temnles.
- Whether caste-in _question is de ied the us,: of _? lic p!a e -li e. schools, wells, etc.
- Whe_ther the caste in question.can be - enretl hyBJ'.ahJTI.ips S:.p,urohits
- Whether caste in question can be served by tailors, barbers, washertnen, etc.
- \'.Vhether caste in question is one from whose hands a caste ttiridu <;an take wat r -
- Whether in ordinary social intercourse, a well educated member of the caste in question will be treated·asan equal by a high.caste.man..... .
- Whether caste in question is merel , "depressed" on account of its own ignor nce, illiteracy or poverty and but for that would be sti:bJect to no social dis b!ity.
- ·Whether caste in question is "dep"ressed" on account of the occupation followed and whether but for that question, it would be subject to no social disability.

The total number of SCs in 1935 was estimated as 227 with a population of 50.1 million; In 1981;:their popu,lation increased to 104.75 million, which is further increased to 106.23 in 1991. The SCs comprised 15.i?i ;.- of the country's total population in 1981 btit in 1991, this perceritag increased to 16.73'. ·Acco'tfding to the 2001 census, the Schedule Caste population constituted arouhdi:16.,2.o/oJof the total popm fion.

o M% ! , m .a ri
f rs. Almos ll-person en ga ed n J9b l; e. s e:pm _sca!.e!1ging and tannm bel - "'th,e SC! In terms_ of occupation, ·42.2% fall in the category o(_Y,f _Qf th se, _5) 8;% ;ire \Vork i Qg ;;t·-J.r wqr r_ L ?:.1?..o/' . -. X .c.7. 9.%.9. .Jishermen, ..6.8% as tod y- Q.ers, 4.6% as washe nnen.1 3.7% as scavengers, 1.3% as artisans, 0.9%as cobbl ,ff, and 1.3% in other petty activiti_es.

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About two thirds of the bonded labor)sJrom the 5Cs. Literacy among the SCs is extremely low. It was onlytiA'o/o"ir 1981 as against the all India average of 41.3%. Most of them live below the poverty line and are the victims of social arid economic exploitation. In tneory-'untouchabHity .migh 'have been abolished but in practice, these people contin eto·b;-the ubjects'ofct1sfr m naffo h:

Restrictions were put on the. Shudras ever since the time of the Brahmanas, that is, the Later Vedic age. They were no""r-a1loWecriffth1n1an··w11ehfa sacrH1ce Was·heitfg"offerea.·'Tfie-vesselsusecfo:y·.'castes ·ne Khati, Lahar and even Dhabi. for..cookini"meals cOt1l{ :b.t.µ.ie }y·, ll rs,aftfr :<:Je Fi iflem ·but the vessels use'd'Iiytn,tthandafo.s·could"nothe used b}! others. Kautilya in the Maurya period regarded. the Shucfras··s9)9 tfiaf cB\.g.s e.# ct"avo . iding hf: m. ·In the'M'usli'm penoctJ.\i fCf !t.ii7:.tfo ns ;,r ·-®YQ§ d -ri. thi_J'_nto i;h f pJif DIK J lii) I' dr '- MYsore; r : - hat"t"ff y co_ld - .!! t r- h s tie sa eEilie sunset lest their shadows maypoHute the upper caste ,,,,,C'.rC'. Even in the secona quarter of the 20th century··duriilg .1;he:LH1 :::e ,i P-i:,j:fie ir_:· µi11<f. }. pi s .w s-. fqr9iclc!e.11._Th ; ;·;resep'arate ·a·rm1ffrig"' water wells §t=!t1 Tin-the villages. f err ng - .l.Q$lL P ,H;x_w .t.w.J?J '< at -Gancth1 wrote iff1"93'3'·· -. that temple en ls··cfncr··splfifi.fal' act that woura·"·coiisfffiite 'th'e message of 'ffie"ffeeaom "l.ii""l f e'l"" Untouchables an reffiem1natffie'···arenoroutcastesl1ciore'God: Buf a" eatTateFnewrofe"ffiatthey h thete')njile'"siimild'.t;.-,,;;pen,;; to •H;rij ll; until caSte Hrndu opinio itriPe f ' ih 0pe}ling. He said thaT1t"is riot a question of H rijanfa serting' tlief(rf.g f''of lerrfpJ .e tW ?jtjt Js Jlie.. bounded duty of everycastelffrif ft fo's i1 §at, iP f!!1gJ pr)for.ffan -Refet ring to ostracizing HarUans_ becau ofthetr'tfcciipation"'of"scave'nging.-Mahatma spoke ofhei;eftitfil:Y P.'i1H9!ta !1 !.E t ll!,, not at]':ideal pr tife He said that as an ideal, -it is obviou·sly incompatible with the- c;leinocraJ.iC: efhos....Q.L mode'rn"socl . H wever, he also referred to the limits of occupatibnal mobility Reacting to this view, Ambedkar caustically commented in 1948: Why appeal to the pride and vanity of human beings in order to accept voluntarily what on a rational basis he would resent as a cruel discrimination against him? What is the use of telling the scavenger that even a Brnhrnin is prepared to do scavenging, when it is clear that even if a Brahmin did scavenging, he would never be subject to the disabilities ·of one who is born scavenger.

It is a fact,JhaUnJrulia La..m n gets a low or l.iigh stat_us more because of his birth than bec:a_µ? -o(Jlis, _:i·hi .f.<?!. \ PP_ !!!!g o. -PE!? cl d v. iiitofthr ay_ ier tjII!, .l!£,\ - m. and to' t-11 th -th'at, scavenging is a noble profession and they should not be ashamed of it is indeed a cruel jok on the -!{ (iiii;:,c·-""-·"·"

Some of the prohibitions against the lower castes were:

+ That they s all not wear ornaments of gold and silver
+ That the males shall not be allowed to wear clothes below their knee or above the hiRS
• That they shaU not be allowed to have their I:!,m.r cr.9.J?.I?Fd
+ That they shall notuse otp.er tn 'ke rthen ware vessels in.their homes
+ That their women shall nofbe· allowed to ust!!2.,'« I§J?.L ,a{ll:,q_f'Llle..$..te
+ That men shall-not use umbrellas for protection against the sun and rain, nor· shall the)'wecl_R., sandals.

D.N. Maju dar summarized• the position of the. depressed castes !n 1940s by malint:atr11nJtll1aJ: JJigse 7ast'esare _,QeJ?.re. ! -in.alL·states;:tll Tsa e caste inaYJ,e q' p - i Jii on area I10t suffer. frimi"ny"soci l in-rpoli aL 1 hiHfy fo'iii.i,Hier:In- fridhy - Pradesh, the same caste has different social. ri , f[iJ}. · Y IJin. 4h1 ent9J !r ts. 1'!}] iab1i!!£ t . u§re . t!t ,9- J?.[!!j§ fA !2; :: numerically small or on the declim! here they are numeri ally strong. Where_!_l)_ _.£. - tf! _ ar all of tile i rn d; m yro - whose occupation is consldereCfdegrading. \;{here the higher castes_are not urt,1erqus and the J)f Sk(t castes form the bulltof'population: uurdegree ofcet non-Obs'e rvect'Ts7ery'srrnill, and often

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we find few disabilities attached to the inferior castes. A caste may be depressed but individual members ofihe-caste·wlifffi ive s·ucceeded'fn lit'e cind who· are wealthy-···anctidwn prop.erty, have been cidrnitted to a I r C>dcll tatus, nd: - yen have wive }ror:n the Rajputs or the like.

The fact - th?.t tue att itude of the people towards the untouchables has not changed evt:!n tog y. wfi re·ver efforts have bee made.bythe organs orthe state and sfate supported non-official ag ncies_ 'i g im pleineni the welfare pro ram·s--and·: cJopfc;1m Uorat.ive· me·asures, ·1:here tias oeen ·social· sabotage side_. by sid_e by the·dark forces of the. society. For example:· 'some· schools ad.in1tting tile mem6ers ofscs· segnigate"the'rn-iri° separate benches ff1ci'iie'corner of the same class. Sometime back, a circular was issued by the head of one gov·ernment department in a state that on October_2, a common lunch be organized f r the SCs and oth r staff of the department The lunch was no doubt organized but the upper caste employees told the SC employees that since it was a special occasion, they would like to feed them first and serve them. After the SC employees had their lunch, they were politely told to take rest and the remaining staff will serve themselves. In another state, the _SCs and the caste Hindu students were living· in the same hostel_ but they were segregated in different rooms.

It is because of such attitudes that it is said that unless given special attention for a certain period and raised to what may be called the normal level of socio economic development, they will not be able to take advantage of the general facilities available to the nation. Gandhi was also of the opinion that unless and until we treat the Harijan as our own brother, we cannot treat humanity as one brotherhood. The whole movement for the removal of untouchability is a movement for the establishment of universal brotherhood and nothing less.

There are-abotitl000 Hindu: lower castes 'registered in In:dia. Many of their names are synonymous. Some ofthe castes number several million members each. Since the 19S0's a tendency was observed of a decrease in the ratio of the scheduled castes in the popt1laUon as a whole. However, by beginning of the eighties the situation changed. This was refected in the census figures of the population. In 1951 the scheduled- castes constituted 15.3%, in 1961 - 14.7%, in 1971 - 14.6%, and ih 1981 - 15.8% of the population;

More th n 85% of the scneduled caste households owning land possess the tiniest or small plots of land, Many from among the scheduled castes continue to work in their traditional caste· occupation. According to the data collected by Indian scholars 40 million people belonged to such castes.· Of these almost 20.5 million were leather workers, 4.7 million weavers, 3 million fisher folk, 2.5 million were engaged in collecting palm sap or in pig-breeding, 2 million were.basket weavers, 1.7 million were launderers, dyers and printers. In a number of regions the majority. of those employed iri the above mentioneti trades were exclusively from the scheduled castes. Besides, 1.4 million persons continued their ancestral caste occupP.tiori connected with the deaning of streets, yards and-toilets.·

Accof:ding to data provided by the lndi !k.Co1:1ncil of Social ·science Research (ICSSR} in 34 o - L10 vi!! g ?J!U !l.i<:!.rnt.wh.ere.,,;;l smx .Y. was conducted, .r ! of untpuchability were observed a - gJ1 scheduled cas.t s.It is important to note that under any conditions the caste-o'ornTiiaffn_g.iii··a- gfven region (the largest and strongest "clean" but definitely a higher caste on the sodal and economic level). strictly sees to it that the·caste hierarchy is not disturbed. T u. ifl..9.Es!. L!, U:e!2, J - -u-. P-- g c;1- J C.., ,t m ust raise· Ltsel[a least a little "..!1 !g - r.' Jh?.!! c }}91h. I .!J.D.t«;>_µ,!rnb.l.{{o,r t e ·learJ'.' mn. clu?J<:as '. T 1 onei:of the., reasons for the fact that at the bottom of the caste hierarchy we observe a s1:1!:>Jle c as -'– ame· - hti tio.n, - cl "r fio·w1ng·Jrorii 1his ·c·aste discrfo11naHa-u:···campetrHoit a d---ri afrf.between cas es aimihg at rising a'Httle higher thari :Othersor_holdingon tolhefroldtfr:posidon hut notwanting to be th , lowliesfoHheJow:

The practice of untouchability persists in one form or another in a number of regions of the country, which is explained by the fact that it is precisely the scheduled castes that represent the poorest sections of the population. This is confirmed by the.1985 report of the L.N. Mishra, Institute of Economi {ico wth, regarding the work of the Bihar Corporation for the'Pevelopment of the Scheduled Castes. The report says that more than 95% of the Harijans - Bihar State live below the poverty line. The majority of them

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remain untouchables as before and suff r from traditional restrictions. The reports of the Commissioner for Schedul d Castes have repeatedly,. ,rilphasised that it has stil.l not been possible to overcome the segregation of the scheduled castes that are forced to liv separately from the caste Hindus.

It is not only in Bihar that social discrimination against the scheduled castes persists in some form or the other. A similar situation prevails even in those states where Harijans had been actively involved in the struggle for improving their conditions during the national freedom movement and where they have registered notable successes in achieving equal rights in the years since Independence. Social discrimination on a caste basis still leads to inter-caste clashes. The Harijan discontent sometimes flows into the traditional channels, when their demonstration occurs under the slogans of struggle against upper caste violence.

On another occasion the press wrote a great deal about the efforts of a small group of Harijans who were trying to enter a I-Jindu temple situated near Trivandrum, the capital city of Kerala State. The Harijans marched 300 kilometres to mobilise public opiriionTn their favour. The Brahmin priests finally allowed them int;ilie t niple, but the Harijans had to give a written assurance that they were "genuine followers of Hinduism".

In 1966, the .{!g xe.mmenL aRRQ.l!!!gf!_,,:: £Q!11}!!. ?lQI! J!!!der the ·Chairmanship o. N_R Mal!1 c .Y1s- Presi ¢rit of e c!.i.t.S.ex.]f ang!i to rep -! ?n -h RU1\tii of ·this"s §l t:fn-,frs.report ·to the c; mral Goverrimeril ~ Ont Customary ghtto cavenmg1the Mall<ani Commission noted that thJs,.typ, _9.f WP.rk s still widely erevalent. .5v,ef.i s 1C2.u,!x by· ce "'-- s,: s. T1! ,,, . E t h . .Y"eepers arid scavenger . ,,.!!!e!.I1J.¥.J!2M }l,..Jh J2, .§.i_ ;.Qf " eI!Ye!t.P?.n , ct.}Jh.i,Q!Lhs!§,J!-9.,J!?.S ,. ,S r s and··is done on a -: _dit EXJ> i - .. mllgr -Q.tJ;,. .,&jQ!!§. 9Lt!u ,,<;9,,y i.x Iq}ti,, ,- C?.!pmis Ion's view, the hereditary right to tn. occupat! - -U!-hatigis is i n,<,,, .t <- .2t!nu E f tJ:le !r i <! tja t il! g' sy: jrl of rajrnanr The hereditary rights of the Bhangis provided for tlieir traditional territorial division to serve the houses of high· caste Hindus. .Ihe..J;..9,..mmi .§.i.9..!.l J !L l 2Z1 } 9 demanded again that "a stage by stage program . everywher in. h- ...f9JJ!!lJJYJQf eq p g_the_inhuman practice ofrollectfortof night soil be worked out" *SO* t h a 6 f tnE iiiT<dle of the ighties·:thisevil prac·uce could.be done away with:

In its report for l 982 the Special Cell for the Protection of Civil Rights under the MiD,istry of Home Affairs, which oversees 'the realisation of Governme11t decisions relating to the sched.uled castes noted that the communities engaged in scavenging are ranked at the bottom of our social hierarchy. Thus, this problem and its solution have a very .high. relevance to the untouchability situation and the objectives of the protection of Civil Righ_ts Act.

The condition of Harijan women ·merits special attention. In first place they do heavy physical work like ·their men, and unlike caste Hindu women. Especially degrading is the position of women from families of· agricultural workers who have fallen into bondage. In 1981, they mimbered more than two.million.--The money lender is as a rule also the owner-of the land on which.such a family works. Not infrequently he is the arbiter riot only of the labour of his;<;I.ebtor, but master als<> of the body of·his wife and daughters.

Sexual exploitation of the scheduled caste women takes other forms too. The traditioqal institution of devadasis,·which was banned by:the State Governments of Karnataka,Maharashtra·and Tamil Nadu after India attained Independence, still continues, and as the Report of the Committee on the·. condition of women in India says, it is still found in the states of Andhra Pradesh; Orissa and Tamil Nadu·. Moreover in certain parts of the country, ·like in Uttar Pradesh, where the devadasi· institution did not exisebefore, wonieri. were serving in temples and maintaining their families by prostitution. Women fr()m, the scheduled castes have begun to work quite frequently ·as:domeslic:sei"'{ nts-in high caste Hindu hQ:mes in recent years. The scheduied castes, more than the others, are forced 1' -use the labour of their children to supplement the family income. In recent years the exploitation of child labour has grown in India. A large. number of children are engaged in the service spheres of motor vehicles servicing, eating establishments, shops, markets and so on, but they are especially numerous in agriculture.

On the whole, the socio-econo!ill¢=m:.o.!tl ms_fa b>:«the .Hari;an .R-e:IJ10f, 1111merous al!q {} gree1t intensity than those faced by the rest of the population. ThisJ _yiyicUy,shown by the effect that there 15

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noticeably higher indebtedness among them than a·mong other sections of the population which in turn l ds'.tf1ern into i fbo dage: According to data provided bfthe·Mahatrna Gandhi Peace Foundatior arid th-e i.Jational Institute of Labour (1971), which studied 1,000 villages in 295 districts of JO Indian states, of the 2.2 million bonded labourers discovered there, 66% were from the scheduled castes and 16.3% from the scheduled tribes. More than half the debts were incurred to meet the essential needs of everyday necessities, mainly food, and one third was incurred to meet expenses in connection with marriages and funerals. It is noteworthy that 85% of the creditors belonged to high caste Hindus.

The option of· laws meant to protect the rights of the scheduled castes, the realisation of socio-economic measures in their interests and the atmosphere of support to the lawful demands of the Harij_a,hs that was created as the result of the work done by the government bodies, democratic orgari1sations and the progressive press are leading to a further enhancement of l?oth the economic and political life of the scheduled castes.

In the Five-year Plans of the country it was underlined that the main task of the a_ll embracing struggle with ;,eoverty and the mobilisation of latent energy for creating a more dynamic and egalitarian society will ¢ achieved only on the condition that 'the\scheduled castes,and tribes are directly benefited. It is felt that, ,(e schedule_d castes "cannot and_ in the future will nof be" able, to automatically get the share assigp'.ed t them in the programs of development because **of** reasons which are quite obvious to those who \i e awqre of the. Indian social structure and· stratification, who know the social system and the progresses that are ·occurring, uriless si1edal str:esi i$ ltcJ O!L e)r,> fkrquricLgevelopment and the means and facilities assigned to them by the Plaris are cdnsciousifmade available to.them.

At present_ cases of social discrimination -in public transport, in organs of local self-government, schools and post offices i.e., where this is not conriect_ed with the traditional village communityrelations are quite rare.

The Economic and Political Weekly emphasised that the difficult material condition of the Harijans was due not so .much to their religious status as to their economic dependertce on the Kulas. The Harijans going over to Islam was a result of the clash between the dominating middle class which constituted the chief social base of the rich and middle peasantry on the one hand, and the scheduled castes exploited by them, who labour on their fields as agricultu"ral workers, on the other.

The new approach to the problem of 1-iarijans at the Central level did not, however, lead to any notable steps· forward. on· an average less than 1% of the budget allocations were set apart for development of the Scheduled Castes from 1951 to 1980, in spite of the fact that they constituted 22% of the country's population. But even these modest funds were not fully utilised. Altogether an amount of **3,400** million rupe; jvas spent in.t 30 years for-the de.velopment of the Scheduled Castes, or a little more than one rupee per c plta. Up to 1974 less than 0.5% of the budget expenditure fell to the share of the Scheduled Castes, who.constituted 14.7% of the population - ip P;?ise per person annually.

The .2Qt,point progra was introdl!ced when an emergency had been proclaimed.in the ountrYi and in the absence of the necessary infrastructure. (Persons emancipated from bonded l bour we-re frequently left · without any means of subsist nce). All the sam , the 20-point program yielde.(.i some results.. About 430,000 Harijan families became owners of plots of land up to an acre. By 1979 the Scheduled castes had retei.y. d 13.3% of the lands taken away. by the Government as surplus under the Land c·eiiing Act

'fhe,Jl pd.ed_1 JJ,,o [A .£ ctH .. J..?J .,P.!?.., .;d for punish - up o t.r e Yf:ar . 11LP is n e'! a.- a p_J.!>__.Rs3,0.0.0-/:!c-tO.-:anyoneitcyingNto, hi-nder1ne::emaJ fuaticm'of workers.held in ho dage. by him. **Anot@r no less important step was** the **Protectio_n_ qfCivil Ri_ghts.** Act,- which·w **"a'"'ccinHiitiaHoil** hd exp·ans o-m1rth·e'former·Untouchgbi ify"Offences·Act, 1955.

The Centre's ·help for the· development of the. scheduled castes in 198o'-81 amounting to a thousand million rupees was provided for reaHsing; through _a component plan, accelerate.d development of these castes. The objective was set to raise·**50%** of the Harijans "above the poverty line".

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In January, 1982 a new 0-point prpg,ram.w,as adopted withi_n the fr?me work of the Sixth Five Year Plan. The prograIT}spoke-;fcompleti-ng the _g r mei·orms,puµi g.th_e Minimum Wage Law for agricultural rs!_ !<>. ff ctJ_ o.y) - fn-½i g_water·1:o---aJI:tile'vff ges, affofme·nfof'(jfofs''for-hulldfng hous_ir% improving the living conditions of the slu_lTl-::dwellers, emancipating bonded labour, and so on. The programnea:ffirfrieutfie-dfre-cfiv'e'p"rh:idpies of the Constitt_ior:i_of_I,r:1_g_i_§tfgc1rding th respon?i_qi_li!J of the state'ief-e.ns-u-r-i-ng-the·econoffiiEand ·ciilforal d·eveio-pm-ent of the scheduled castes and protecting them from1njusfic:e·anc allTorms.ofexpfoitatiori.

The.nature of the participation of the scheduled castes in social life has undergone a change as a restil of the realisation of democratic transformations during the years since the attainment of Indian Inde,pendence and as a consequence of the special measures taken to improve their condition. Frnm a passive object of socio-economic and political exploitation they are gradually becoming an active subject of political struggle.

Although the awakening of the lower castes is taking place basically within the caste framework, these traditional barriers are gradually breaking down in the course of class battles and the unification of the poor in agricultural workers' uni_ons.i: nq the demands to review the working relationships irt the agrarian sector on.an economic basis, to strictly observe the minimum wages law, carry out land reforms, and_:i:q on, demands that are put forth by agricultural workers, primarily those belonging to the lo'Ner· cast"es especially in the South of the country, are--ess-entially class demands. These demarids are bas1t lly different from the narrow caste demands of the earlier movements of the untouchables.

Constitutional Safeguards fo ; Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

Earlier Policies towards Tribes: Fifteenth of August 1947 heralded a rosy dawn over India. It stirred _fresh hopes and brought new promises to all people including the tribes. Indeed those who took over the reigns of power from the hands of the alie rulers and undertook to shape the destiny of India displayed a lot of concern for the fate and future of the tribal people. Therefore, when they sat down to frame the Constitution of India they wanted to know the exact policies towards tribes and the actual levels of development of tribes, and then a policy that was best suited to all tribes in India.

The Constitutionmakers reviewed the-existing policies towards tribes and the sdcio-economic levels of the tribes and came to the following conclusions:

1. The then existing policy of segregation could not be appreciated as it was thought that the keeping of the tribes into Excluded and Partially excluded areas has always led them to stagnation from the point of view of progress.

.2 What exactly was a tribe could not be known because the alien rulers left no information ·-regarding which groups ·actually comprise the tribes of India. Under the circumstances;:·no _distinction could be made·b, tW: ,en,the tribes and non-tribes. 1

3 The policy of assimilation could not be accepted, fo r it would destroy the tribal cul tires of India.

The makers of the Constitution of India were however conscious of the fact that due to.historical reasons, including the policy of segregation followeµ by the_ British rulers, certain amount of mental :barriers had come,,into existence between the tribal and non-tribal populations .in several parts of India; It req1Aif. d a d e f t and phase_d approach _to remove these barriers. They also recognized that unless- the s_9dal, eccfoomic, cultural and political conditions of life .ofthe tribes .ivere improved-so as to _bring- them at_-par with.the res·t of the nation, the -tribes would remair\ weak-links in the social and cultural frame of free India:

Designing the new Policy towards Scheduled Castes _and Tribes: Although the Constitution makers recognized that the SCs and SJ' _sh uld be improved at par with th r st_o(fii'tnation,theywer pu zJ cJ_,, over''tii"e-queitlon a t-how to ring the"iritial people'at par w1th the rest of the IndiaQ --Th Y-",ctec.iq d

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that these peo Ql.?. hou1 9 qe integrated vviththe main stream Indian society without damaging their distinctiV.' s o-cult r;i ; tity: Therefore "theydesigned the p- iicy of development and" integ"ration... -

When India's Constitution was framed in 1950, the Constitution makers took great care to liberally include articles and schedules purporting to proyide the design of the policy of development and integration with respect to the SCs and STs of India. The articles and schedules of the Constitution clearly £.] . eci -a i! c qp41h - ;ai; - her: economic gulf between the tri al groups and the rest of the. Inutans and that the SCs and STs at the same ti;eJTioulcC6e fo tegratecf W l('tlle rest dnfi 'fii'µJ)1s s'odally/economically, culturally and politically wftfioutdestroying what is disfindlfgoodTri-thefr sodefy, economy, tultUre arid polity.

For th purpose of identifying the STs and SCs, the makers of Constitution avoided the problem of defining them in India by pragmatic expedience of laying down to the Constitution that the STs and SCs are what the President of India by notification lists and. places under a schedule, hence they must be known as Scheduled Tribes / Scheduled Castes and that the President or'India may issue a subsequent notification modifying the list of Scheduled J.ribes after it was approved by Indian Parliament by law. Thus it. !. LJf L..wh. J tqe J. r nt !J ndfa. 'ryi I .!!tJ X,P.2!Ifs!£ i9!l £. C2 !:. ngJn l!,!,<J .$in JbgJis.t."o1 Schechiled Tribes / Scheduled Castes and thereafter what the Parliament of India by law includes or excim;i· s from ffre"sa1'ctTisf,

The makers of Constitution also delineated the salient features of the policy of development and integration towards SCs and STs in. the form of the broad features of the Directive Principle of State Policy. The salient features of the policy are...

1. Special responsibility of the State to bring aH rottnd advancement of the tribes;
2. Promotion of the educational and economic interests and protection from injustice and all forms of exploitation;
3. Reservation in services;
4. Reservation of seats in Parliament and State Legislat_ures;
5. Appoint111eut_qf S,pgc:J l Officer to investigate all atters relating to the safeguards provided for the trib s an(!
6. Specification.ofthe.areas :where the tribes are chiefly concentrated aSSdi duled'Ar i .- fld.Tribal Areas.

Every" .itate in the Indian Union was even assured of finances to meet the costs of such schemes of development as m y be undertaken for th P.urposes of promoting the welfare of the Schedl,l.led Tribes and Scliedul d Castes in that state or raising,iHe level of administration of the Scheduled Areas therein to that dfithe administration of the rest of the areas of that state. Iri attbrdance with the salient 'features of e - e?.!!f¥.,.. :i ygrnL fil 911[;QS,;,,- res,e.tvations. .j ,mL PE9.. ect_on ere woven ,iftt;··· th t t· --oTT : , - Constitution. Some of them were· originally for! .!:LY. .?E :)he ma ers ortlie ·cons fttition ·slij>iilated t tt_e - .P - f a ming ..fo a.hu i:-sorit :: w .-.... th t t eaft r'" hey '!! u · : iig)i e i . -f.y: All that guld be needed for_them will be a few effective follow up_pfograms. However, as a matter of caut1oifFf wai n d uae'd'In the salf ·ri:"l atu s-or'e poficy ·tiia't.ai"tlie·:expiraticrn··onhe te"ri ye ir-pifrfo<l; ; 1 J ;; ,i;;;of Jr =: :e t fe i !!laCfe- i e 3ciffTniSft at iOn Of t .

In 1960, a decade after the promulgation of the Constitution, the President appointed a Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission under the ChairmanshiJ!. of U.N. Dhebq. This Commissio11, after making a sui-vey··of the development :fih ttfbe·s nc inte'watio Tt lie-tr1 with ttieres-t o(tlie 'iiidian society,· recommended extension of the continuance of the special safeguards until. 26th Ja11 11ary, 1970. Se - , i .!L9.f.thi ontin.t!aifiifJJii ip; dil sal gii jJ sj P-J &) s· :f . ry; 1 8Q. Third extension of the continuance is given up to 26th January, 1990 and is continuing till date.

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CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS·

Types of Safeguards: The various special provisions made in the Constitution of India with regard to the t-r-ibal population are known as the Constitutional Safeguards. These safeguards may be classified into three broad types: protective safeguards, political safeguards and developmental safeguards.

The **protective safeguards** are meant for protecting the tribal populations with regard to education, employment, economy, social injustice, forced labor an-d administration of specified areas.

The **political safeguards** are concerned with re rY..eJion 0L.sec1ts Jor.!rH: e in ParHafTle,!}t_ and State Legislatures, appointment of a Minister in-charge of Tribal Welfare in certain states where the tribes are in iderable numbers"and specia1"1frovisiohsin. resp'ect'otNagaland, Assam and Mar.i pur.

The **developmental safeguards** are meant for promoting the educational and economic interests of the tribal peoples, for providing free legal aid to the tribal peoples and for giving grants from Central Government to the States for welfare of the tribal peoples and raising the level of administration of Scheduled Areas.

All these safeguards for promoting and safeguarding the interests of the persons belonging to the tribes are written into the Constitution by P1eans of specific Articles.

Protective Safeguards:

I. Articles 15, 15(4) and 29 are concerned with educational s feguards:

Article 15. is under the Chapter on Fundamental Rights. It assures all .citizens of India that no discrimination will be permitted on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. It specifies that n citizen shall, on these grounds or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to:

- Access to shops, public-restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment; or
- The use of wells, tanks, bathing gha . roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds dedicated to the use of the general public.

This Article acguires signiflcance because the tribal people have been in the past discriminated against- 11 grounds or'religipn, race and place· of birth.

Article 15, Clause (4) empowers the State to make any special-provision· for tl.ie adya11cem t2L Q>,'._ sTocianY and educati9naUJ-JJ £!s. i:. .--: :: ?t citizens or for the Sch, -1=1l,4 ..f , ?."'=l.mtflte;.Sche u-led rlbes.

Artide 29 states that an,y section,,o tiz J,!!," w r. ry of E1 ,le2 P-YJ !-t!:: ?JO!J:},Rl distirict language, script or culture of its own shaU hav }he r t ,s ., ry lV! .!!!$J pr,qtects the ctittural ana educatiOI§i tigliis oldie mTnoritie·s.J!Ji }li: n also asg\!ir §- £Cial sig ificance when aW! fo1lietrTLJalpeopiewfio"constituteone of the importarit cu1tu mino rities oflnctia:-- -"" ,----- -- --- -

II. Articles 16, 16(4), 320(4) and 335 are-concerned with saf guards for emplhyment:

Article 16 provides for equality of opportunities for all citizens in ·matters relating to employm f:i:t or appointment to any office underthe State J(furtherprovides thatno citizen-shall, on grounds a ly of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any.of their, ·be eligible for, ordiscrimih' ted against. in respect of any employment or office nder "the State. This article assures equality of opportunity to all citizens including the.tribes in matters.of employment with government .

Article 16 Clause (4) lays d6wn that the State· shall have--the .power to make any provision for the reservation ofappohitments of p·osts.in favour of any backward class citizens wh.ich, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the service· under the State. The Scheduled "Castes and the

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Scheduled Tribes constitute the most important<:ategories ofbackward classes ofcitizens for the purpose of these safeguard ..

Article 320 Clause 4 lays down, inter alia, that consultation with the Union Public Service Commission or the State Public Service Commission is not necessary as regards the manner of giving effect to service safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

Article.335 states that the claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be take_ into co_r:t icier ti.Pn;:conststently w(th.ih£.m?ipJenance of emcfency:or adminisfrat - J!l t:hemakfiig Of appointments, t9 s.eryices an.d pos in .<;onn. o.n. with the·affairs of tlie Union or of a State. It assures that th sdi -du.led Castes and Tribes will be given - peciai attention, while filling iri posts in the service.

III. Articles **17** and **25** are concerned **with** the social safeguards:

Article 17 relates· to abolition of untouchability and its practice in any form. t emphasize("!h9,t „ -.enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability is an offense punishable in accordan.c.e with **la-:"fF** _____——— ·.-, ""—· —· .

Artid·ZS relates to freedom of cqrtscience, . 1:1C.LPr !!£ jfil9..RrnR m ttqn_ E!. E. ! : H -Y. er Jt s!Y.S; the Suite has the power to enf t - .c3:!1X- !i qgJ_ W..JJ.f m k ...any lci;w_p vh:IJ.ng' fpr. SQ(;icilJNJ l(ar,e,..and reform or the tfifowin_g·_ P., J. ɪQJ L QL rnUgiQP.. Howt:!VE:!r, it says, the _Stat h s h- :power to: enforc J!.UY exisantrraw "or..make· any 1 J?.f,<?.Y!.g!n,g.Jgr.. 9Olɪii.c{u ı Ugio:ıis ::insti.tu.tions.::o.f.P_\lbJicd! r!:!£ T :tC>-an cl es·andsecffons of Hindus. Thus this Article gives the right of freedom of religion to all including the tribarpeople oflri'd fa.

IV.Article 19 is concerned with the e_conomic safeguards:

Article 19 protects certain rights of all citizens of the country. Clause (1) of this Article grants freedom of speech, expression, residence, a.„.cquisition and disposal of property, practice of profession, free association and free movement. Clause (5) of this Article, however, states that these rights shall not effect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevents the State from making any law conferred by the Clause (1), either in the ip:t rests of the general public or for.the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe. This provisfori prevents the lands of a tribal from passing into the hands of a non-tribal in the Scheduled Areas arid also exercises control over operation of money-lenders in those Areas.

***V.* Article-23 is concerned with the abolition of forced labor:**

Articli,P prohibits. traf c in human beings and_ forced labor and any contravention of this provision is. an offence punishable &i accordance with law. How.ever, the State has the power to impose compulsory service for public purposes and in imposing such service the State shall not make any discrimination on grounds,only·of religion, race, caste or class or any of them. Th,u tqis Article illegalizes traffic,,in human beings!sanct· forced- labor, ev ils that non-tribal people have encouraged and imposed upon ;the tribal peoples.

VI. Article 46 is concerned with the· protection from social injustice and all {orms of exploitation:

Articl;'Jl6 lays down that the ?tate shall promote with special car the education Umd economic intei:-est qfJhe:, eaker_ ctions otthe_ peQp'f d,J11 p ft"f,c lifr -of.t <;hJ; cJ:yJ_ g_@tes an . th e Scheduiea-Ynoes;·---: a_d_ sl]' altprotect then1 frotn soc_i<;1lini ·5tke a11d·au forms ofe'xploitation.-

Vil. Articles 244 and 339 are concerned wJth the.administration of Schedule_d and Tribal Areas

Article 244 states that the provisions of the Fifth Schedule -shall apply to the ad.minis ra!_\9n .a.mL(.Q D:1r.QL of the S d, Areas, and_§ lleq Jed, Tribe inanj S tf: .9 fr\f1an ¾5e„m, whil JheJfr visions of the S !!, **- he H!** - hall app)' to tli _adrninistratjon of the Tribal Areas in!!! e ofAss ID. The Governor of each State hav ng Scheduled Areas -is required to submit to the President an Aniii.iarl'("e'port regarding the

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administration of the Scheduled Area{ih that State. Each such State has a Tribes Advisory Council, lf the President so directs, a state having Scheduled Tribes but not Scheduled Areas therein, may al;o have a Tribes Advisory Council. The Governor may by public notificiltion p.irec.t _t.trnt _r1y _particular Act of Parliament or of the State Legi;la-ture sha If not apply to a Sch duled Arec1 or a_ny p t Qereof in the State subject to such except.ions a11d modifications as he may specify in the r1o ification and any such din tion can be given with retrospective effect The Governor _may make regulations for the peace and good government of a Scheduled Area. Such regulations may particularly;

1. Prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area;
2. . Regulate the allotment of land to the members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area,
3. Regulate the carrying on of business as moneylender by persons who lend money to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area.

In making such regulations, the Governor may repeal or amend any Act of Parliament or of the State Legislature or any existing law whi 1 for the time being applicable to the area in question. All such regulations have to receive the Presictent's'assent before they can become effective. The Tribes Advisory Council has to be corisulted before such a regulation is made by the Governor.

Relevance of the Fifth arid Sixth Schedules of the Constitution and their Implementation:

Article 342 of the Indian Constitution reads:

1. The President may with respect to- any state or Union Territory, and where it. is a state, after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification, s ,,. -!rl!L r tribat 9J!!.!11U i_!ies. or parts f or g oups within tribes_2r.!ri!?, l _coip._!!1:t:inities which shall for. the purpose of this, Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that state or Union Territory, as the case maybe....
2. Parliament may, by law include or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes specified in a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent 11otification.

Under Article 342, the President may by public notificat_ion .-specify, the tribe or tribal C01!1.UUmities *or* parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which.shall be de med to be Scheduled Tribes for purpq e of the Constitution. In exercise. of the said powers, t e President issued the -Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 which has been amended from thne to time. By virtue of clause (2) Parliament passed in 1976, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled.Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act,-19,7_6.·

Art:}.le 244 of the Constitution concerns. itself with the administration of Scheduled - r anq_JJtbiL - Ar·eas. This article reads:

1... The provisions of the Fifth Schedule shall apply to the administra_ticm and control of the Scheduled ·Areas and Sched l d Tribes in any·state otfiertfiantfie"states"of'Assa'°m,"""Megfi:ifaya,7f"rfpµrJ7:anl MiZO - ·:· ;· -· J:i
2. The provisions of the Sixth. Schedule shall apply- to the administration of tribal areas in th s !e_s_ of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura anµ Mizoram.

Schedul d Tribes means su h tribes or ·tribal communities or-parts of or -gro ps wi-th in such tribes:or tribal communities as are illustrated tn the Scheduled Tribes Order under Ar-tide 34:2, ·Scheduled Areas mean such areas as the President may by order declare to be Scheduled Areas.

The Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Constittitiori of India should be read with the Article 244 (1) and 244 (2) respectively.

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THE FIFTH SCHEDULE

The Fifth Schedule of the Constitution is concerned with the administration and control of Scheduled Areas and S.£te. J Iribes in states other tha IU.,}1 le J.! r illlil -11: L J f 2! · According to the provisions therein, the Governor of each state having Scheduled Areas shall annually, or whenever so required by the President, make a,_nm_2ftJ9.1h. _f!r sic;lgntrgg'=u:d,i.ng th _c:1d.m!_nis_tr,a.tJqn of the_ <;.htd2!Jed Areas, il}.Jhatstate an.d the executive .power of the. U)1ion shall extend to the giving of directions to the state· as to the adminisfration of the said areas.

This prpvision in the Fifth Schedule thus ensures a direct control of the Union and Pres,ident over the admintstr_ }_QI.L9(thiirX _?C .re.aS:§wf1iii2" ii : 11·rn)lj m iJ1 '1il l' f s'are··facing wi"th ··the-i reiative isolation for lqng_ perio. s of ti :rr1ighth Y- con:vlp.ced..Jh Jr,a,m rs.9.Lq•fr Const1tutfo? to have ·a.,direcT-"· c nti'ofover· these"areas· to ensure iinhinderep dey l I?HH t •.Vl(Jfare a·nd protection. The·GovernoTTs made'" respo sible. to. the President, regardil)g . ll, matt!:!rS pertainlng to the ·adrnlrtistratiQJl '.'.'Of:the ': Sch·eali1ea Areas an"cCTribe,s.

According to this Schedule, '!!:! rx. Q9Jlnt\1 12 !L!? .£ tBli.lJ h)I. t P . tat: .- Y.L1K Scheduled Tribes: _consisting of_ ?! mo -! Q.}:J},£m 2L h2. - .§ _lli;.e!]X: ,m ?.Y..k •Jn.r:e .fQµJ:,th§.. h Jl _Q the repre_ta Y - -9Ube Sth euule.dXrib.esJn..the L gj_sJP !iY ,8 gmblY, l tlt ,State.,

It iJ the ·duty ofthe ·Tribes Advisory Council to advice on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement ofthe Scheduled Tribes in the State as may be referred to them by the .Governo"r. The Governor is entrusted with the power of making rules and prescribing regulations regarding the number of members ofthe Council, the conduct of its meetings and procedure in general.

Thus the Fi.fth Schedule provides an effective mechanism to accommodate the tribal interests and points of view regarding the di.rec:tion they choose for development and also for redressing the.ir grievances. This provides for bridging a gulf between the government and the tribes with reference to communication, especially in the context of tribal planning and development programs. This ensures an effective mechanism to accommodate the age-old adage of bottom top approach in planning which would ensure success in the majority of the development measures.

The ·Fifth schedule also entrusts the Governor with a power to direct that.any Act made by the parliament or Le islature of the state not to· apply to a Schedule Area or any part thereof in the.state. This entrusts with. the Governor a power to make regulations for the peace and good government of any area in a state which i a Scheduled area. Thus, the. Fifth schedule ensures a greater element oftlexibility hen the laws are implemented in. the Tribal areas owing to their level of development, relative isolation and socio cultut l background.

The i(h Schedule also entrusts with the Go e or the power to regulate the Transfer of tribapand, thus reduci?g to a considerable extent the age-ovr ptoblem of land aliep _ti?namong the tribal communities. Moreoyer, the Governor is also entrusted with a power to regulatJtRe 'anotme"nt of land, the carrying of. bus,iness ofthe moneylenders etc.

The Fifth Schedule has specifically mentioned more a flexible procedure for amending this Schedule SO as not tq deem any change in these provisions as a part of the Amendment for the purposes of Article 368.

Thus/the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution provides a better mechanism to administer the tribal people. it givis 'an element of flexibility, a sense of greater. respons'ibiitty and attaching. importance to tribal admitjj tration and deveiopment.

THE SIXTH SCHEDULE

The Sixth Schedule of the .Constitution relates to the provisions as to the administration of Tribal areas in t e states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura anq Mizoram.

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Like the Fifth Schedule, even the S\xtp Sc edule of the Constitution provides for a 1nechanism of decentralized power and administrative structures for effective administration of the tribal areas. It provides for Autonomous District Councils and Autonomous Regional Councils constituted by the regulations of the Governor. The Governor has been entrusted with the power to regulate the composition, delimitation of territorial constituencies and other matters relating to the elections and conduct of business of these councils.

The Sixth Schedule gives the power to the District and Regional councils to make laws pertaining to...

1. The allotment, occupation or use, or the setting apart of land other than any land which is a reserved forest for the purposes of agriculture or grazing or for residential or other non-agricultural purposes or for any other purpose likely to promote the interests of the inhabitants of any village or town;
2. The management of forest not being a reserved forest;
3. The use of any canal or water cour:-se for the purpose of agriculture;
4; The regulation of the practice of jhutn or-any other forms of shifting cultivation;
5.. The establishment of village or town committees or councils and their powers;
6. Any ot er matter relating to village or town ad.ministration, including village or town police and public health and sanitation;
7. The appoi tmentor succession of chiefs or Headmen;
8. Inheritance of property;
9. Marriage and divorce; and
10. Social customs

Thus, the Constitution has realized. the importance of ackno:wledging the socio-economfc and cultural background of these very isolated anq primitive tribes of the North East and_ has hence.provided for an element of flexibility and decentrafization. regarding any laws applicable to. and effecting their social institutions.

Apart from the decentralization of the legislative powers, the Constitution, through the provisions of the Sixth Schedule, has also ensured a· decentralization of judicial processes .giving these ·powers to .the District and Regional Councils the power of courts for the tdal o f suits and ·cases· between the. parties, all of.whom belong to the Scheduled Tribes within such areas. This provision thus respects the importance of accommodating the traditional tribal justice to ensure its continuance effectjvely. Moreover,·the G<:>.vernor has the power to confer .the,,,pow,ets through the Civil .and Criminal Proc dure Codes f °these councils.

In the ..reas of financial administration, the Councils have been entrusted with the power to collect taxes: licensing fee and royalties with respect to the extraction of the minerals and other industrial activities:Jn the areas of their jurisdiction This. ensures a more effective mechanism to protect the tribal interests .in their ecosystems and their traditional relationships established through .culture o the !'}ature s11.rrounding them. This gives them a greater element of autonomy and a sense of pride in owning;:their t aditional r ghts of land.

Thus the Sixth Schedule has given a greater impetus to the field of tribal administration in this country to identify, respect and accommodate the tribal social, cultural and economicbackgrounds.

In summary, the Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Constitution have· given more legitimacy to the: anthropologists' policy of {solation by giving them an opporturiity to develop in their own direction. They.

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also ensure a greater control of the Centre over the States' policy towards tribal development They indirectly help in slowly bringing the tribes to the mainstream of the country.

The Implementation: Articles 244 and 244(A) under part X of the constitution provide for Administration of Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas. Under the Constitution, the terms Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas have definite connotations. The Scheduled Areas are governed by the provisions contained in the Fifth Schedule. These may also be called the Fifth Scheduled Areas. The Tribal Areas are governed by the provisfons of the Sixth Schedule.

SCHEDULED AREAS

As per para 6 of the Part "C" of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution, the expression 'Scheduled Areas' means such areas as the President may, by order, declare to be Scheduled Areas. The President may make changes in the Schedufod Areas after consultation with the Governor of a State. The Parliament has been empowered to make any amendment in the Schedule. However, any such law making amendment of the Schedule for the purpose of Article 368 shall not be deemed to be an amendment of the Constitution for the purpose of Article 368.

Historical Background: The history of the Scheduled Areas inay be traced back to "The Scheduled Districts Act, 1874" which provided for the appointment of superintendence, collection of public revenue and matters relating to justice, police and generally for the administration within the Scheduled Districts. It also provided for the extension of any regulation in force in any part of British India with such special restrictions and modifications as were deemed fit These wide powers of legislation by simple executive order were executed by the Executive. Under the Government of India Act, 1919, the Tribal Areas covered under the Scheduled District Act were removed from the purview of legislature. These areas were declared as Wholly Excluded Areas and Partially Excluded Areas on the basis of Exclusion. But the limit of exclusion differed in extent and degree. Under the Government of India Act 1935 these areas were declared as "Excluded Areas" and "Partially Excluded Areas". Section 91 of the Act made specific provisions in respect of these areas.

The Government of India Act, 1935 provided that no act of Federal Legislature or the Provincial Legislature would apply to these areas except on the direction of the Governor. The Governor was also empowered to make regulations for peace and good Government of these areas. However, all such regulations required the assent of the Governor General. "Reservation of seats" for tribal areas was also made in the local legislatures of Madras, Bombay, Bihar, Central Provinces, Assam and Orissa.

The Constituent Assembly paid special attention to the tribal situation and appointed two Sub-committees, one on the North East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas and the other on Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas (other than Assam) to report on the problems of the tribal people and the areas. The Subcommittee on the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas (other than Assam), while analyzing the tribal situation, observed that it is necessary to provide that laws of the Provincial Legislatures which are likely to be passed on the needs of the majority of the population should not apply automatically, in certain areas if not generally, at least on certain specified subjects was fully recognized. The implementation of the suggestion would involve notification of the areas and it was intended that these areas should be known as scheduled areas — Dr. K. Hafiz Modi, Chairman Constituent Drafting Committee observed that the "Scheduled Areas" was another name for the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas.

The Sub-Committee also expressed that "in respect of certain subjects, laws passed by the Provincial Legislatures should not be applied to the Scheduled Areas if the Tribes Agent Council does not consider them suitable for those areas". Thus it provided for a mechanism for scrutiny of legislations with respect to Scheduled Areas. The Fifth Schedule empowers the Governor to decide as to which matters are to be referred to the Tribes Advisory Council for its advice. This has substantially weakened the role of the Tribal Council.

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Objectives: The Scheduled Areas have-heen constituted with the following two clear objectives:

1. To assist the tri.bes in E:,njoying their existing rights without any hindrance by others through summary process.

2. To develop the Scheduled Areas and protect and promote the intere·sts· of the Scheduled Tribes.

Administration of the Scheduled Areas: Since the Independence, the President has issued two orders i.e., i) The Scheduled Areas (Part A States) Order, 1950, and ii) The Scheduled Areas (Part B States) Ord.er 1950, (as amended). These orders. declared certain tribal areas as Scheduled Areas in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh.

The main features of the Fifth Schedule are:

1. Special Legislative Powers of the Governor.
2. Governor's Report to the President
3. Tribes Advisory Council.

-1. **SPECIAL LEGISLATIVE POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR:**

The Governor of a State having Scheduled Areas has been vested with special powers of legislation in two ways:

a) Legislation by notification.

b) Legislation by regulation·

Legislation by **Notification:** The Governor of a State having El! Q- S a -! E ,,E psible fDLde fjgj,r1g Vlhether an Act of Parliament or of the Stat Legislature is suitable or unsuitable for.Sch le<:I.' fireas unaer···aausits·orfi-ie Scherluie:" th.it'Governor rnay:"b/ pii6Ifc no.tii cation, direct that any"Kcfof Parliament ofof the State Legislature shall not apply to a Scheduled Area or any part thereof in the State or apply theretQ subject to such exceptions and modifications as he may sp cify in the notification. !! -, fifuh d rmodifythe a Ja . 2 ition pplka le automatically -unless specifically res icted in whole -or part bY,.:a;no,tificat!.Q.ILQY-·-·th.!::y Governor. In cettain cases, an Act of Parliament or State· Legislature _could adversely affect the tribal in.teresl In order to rectify suth an act of omission or commission, the Governor has been empowered to give retrospective effect to a notification: The notification ·can be ·issued by the Governor Without-any. reference either to the Tribes Advisory Council orto the President

".::Legislation by **Regulation:** The Governor has·been empowered to make regulation fot peace and' good government of Scheduled Areas. Such;\,r g'}lations may in particular...·

1. Prohibit or restrict_Jh!! transfer of Scheduled ,Area land· by or among members Qf tlle Schctfoled. llib;s,
2. R_egulate the al.lotment of Scheduled Area land to m - rn.Qftji _"S.£!t s-Jµl Tribes,
3. Regulate the rrying on of busi es 9(money:-lenders by persons'w_q _I--: money to member{§ft ScheauledTnbes in such chedulecfAreai ·

·The regulation making power of the Governor for_peace and good government of the Scheduled M s is. comprehensive but specific mention of the above three situations shows the concern of the framers of the Con.stitution to protect the interests of the tribes in Ia:nd·arid against exploitation by money-lenders.

The regulation making power of the Governor is subject to the· following .two lirnitations mentioned in sub. paras 4 and 5 of para S ·of e Fifth Schedule:

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1. Such regulation should be made on the previous consultation of the Advisory Council.

2. Regulations should be submitted to toe .Presiqent and shall not have effect until given an assent by hiITl.

The Governor is the Executive Head of a State. He is bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers which has been provided under Article 163 for his advice. Either in this article or in any other provision of the Constitution there is no mention of Governor's discretion for exercising powers granted to him u g- r.:J.he. fifth_ Scl:i_f;<;l_l.Of JI.le _<;:OTT_stffut.ioii: There· is_' lso· n· 'p- o;i;ion o" y i.nitiauve· fo·r th·e Gc,vernor for exercise of his powers mentioned in the Schedule. Even for scrutiny o{the legislations enacted by Hi'e' Pa-;:ffamerifor"bfthe Staff Cegfsratures the Governor has to depend on his Council of Ministers an l.t.h. concerned administrative departments.

2. GOVERNOR'S REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT:

The Union Government has been made responsible for providing guidance for the administration of the Scheduled Areas; Para.3 of the FifthSchegu1 J x. .do n mcha11is m of keeping the u nior1 G.?vernment informed of the. situation in trlbaCi1-e"as:· lf fovide; th t th- "-c;q;ei-nor· of each-State "navirlJi scheduled Are" s.-tfierein sfiafrannua ly, or whenever so required by the President, make a report to_the President reg f:9:ing· the administration of the S_cheduled Areas in that State The submission of the Report by the Governor is irit nct°ed -to enable the Union Government to ·decide how best it can discharge its responsibility towards the tribes. On its basis the Union Government may issue directives to the State for better administration of the Scheduled Areas.

These reports are generally not submitted in time. Various Committees and Commissions and Working Groups which went into the problems of Scheduled Tribes, particularly the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commi.ssion (Dhebar Commission, 1961) and the Shilu Ao Study Team (1969) and the Working Group on Development of Scheduled Tribes during the 7th P-lan (1984) have observed that the Departmental Reports are prepared mostly in .a mechanical way as a routine chore. As a result their main purpo e has_beeh defeated.

The preparation of the reports gives an invaluable opportunity to the Governmen to assess the progress made for the development of Scheduled ireas and Welfare of Scheduled Tribes, for which they can have plenty of material available from various sources including views expressed by Tri_be Advisory Council, Com:missioner for Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes, tribal members of the legislatures, non-official members, etc. A proper use of all this material should be made so as to secure a co-ordinated picture for presentation to the- Presi4ent.

Howe.ver the mater.ial available has not been p"roperly utilized. The r ports submitted by the Governors lackuniformity both in style and contents. Although the Fifth Schedule provides for issue of directives to. theSti e:_Governments regarding the forrn. t nd contents of the report, no directive has bJen issued so far,"J:'his has eroded the importance of the Governor's reports."

3. TRIBES ADVISORY COUNCIL:

Th Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Sub-Committee ·of the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly which had gone· into the tribal situation had recommended the setting up of Tribes Advisory Councils''to keep the· State Governments in their respective states· constantly in·touch with the needs of ther.:aboriginal tracts and to exercise sped l supervisory functions ,over the working of development scherpes :The recommendations of the Sub-Committee' have been suitably incorporated in the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution. Clause 4 of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution provides for Tribes Advisory Council in each State having Scheduled Areas. Besides, if the President so directs, it may also be established in States which do·not have Scheduled Areas. The councils.have been established in all the 8 · states of Andhra\J>radesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan anc Oiissa which have Scheduled Areas. In addition, Tribes Advisory co·uncils have also been established in two states which do not have Scheduled Are s, namely, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal.

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Composition: The Tribes Advisory C,ouf\cikconsists of not more than 20 members. Of these, three-fourth should be the representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State. In case, the number of representatives of.the Scheduled Tribes in the·Assembly of the state is less than the number of seats in the Tribes Advisory Council, the remaining seats shall be filled by other members of the Tribes in the State. The Council should consist of persons who have sufficient knowledge of tribal problems and represent all shades of opinions.

Governors are required to make rules prescribing the mode of appointment of members to the Council and its working, etc. In most of the states rules have been framed but adequate provisions regarding appbintment of suitable persons, etc. need to be incorporated. In all States, these Councils are headed by the Chief Ministers. It has definite advantages. The Councils are expected to meet at least twice a year. However, it has been observed that the meetings are not held regularly.

Functions of the Advisory Council: Para.4 of the Fifth Schedule provides that it shall be the duty of the Tribes Advisory Council to advice on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Sch.eduled Tribes in the State as-may be referred to them by the Governor. It is also provided that no Regulation shall be made by the Goy.erqor unless he has consulted the Tribes Advisory Council., these powers have not been put in practice. The State Governments appear to have given a literal interpretation to thi, provision and have confined the functions of the Cou cils only to the questions refer ed to_t_qem. Th1fTribes Advisory CounGils have not been specifically consulted before enacting legislations affecting tribal intere t, :pa icularly relating to land and money-lending.· It has been argued that the representatives of the legislatures coming from Scheduled Areas have sufficient _opportunity to express their views in tlie legislatures on matters affecting tribes when the subject comes up for discussion. Had it been so, there was no need of a TribesAdvisory.Council or other safeguards. In order to make the <;_ouncil effective, it should be made obligatory to refer all matters pertaining to welfare and development of Scheduled Tribes to it. The position may be clarified to all concerned States, if necessary by issuing a directive. The Tribes Advisory Council .was .intended to be a channel of discussion about the stages in which the general laws and rules sh_ould be applied to the Tribal Areas. Some of the lc3yvs which provide special. safeguards· to the tribes regarding the land tenure, debt redemption and restraints on money-lending were enacted before the commencement of the Constitutiori.. These laws ·suffer from many loopholes and drawbacks and it is very necessary to review- them in consultation with the Tribes Advisory Councils.

The mechanism of Tribes Advisory Council provided in the Constitution is very vital. It should be. effectively involved, apart from the legislative process, in policy making, planning and supervision of the· development schemes, as well as in effective administration of the Scheduled Areas.

TI,AL AREAS.

The)ixth Schedule applies to Tr.ibalAreas within the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizor;am and TriJhra.. The Tribal Areas have been defined '.tfndii.r the Sixth Sch dule and cover those areas only _which are specified in that Schedule. The Pprliament, may by law make changes in the areas··included iri'. this Schedule.

The provisions of the Sixth Schedule have been extended to Tripura since July, 1986 by Parliam nt The Act prnvides for the establishment o_f an autonomous district' comprising tehsils and villages whictare . predominantly tribal. They have been- given·. the powers me:ntioned in the.-scheme of District .Coll Cils un rthe **Sixth** Schedule. In Tripura, there is no provision of autonomous regions.

Main Features of the Tribal Areas:

1. Tribal Areas enjoy full autonomy in respect of matters falling within their jurisdiction. These areas may be called States within a State.
2. It provides to the tribes power of seJf.:.manage_ment through autonomous districts and autonomous· regions.

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3. The writ of the Parliament or the State Legislature does not run automatically unless the Acts in whole or part are specifically extended to the Tribal Areas by"Notification of the Governor.

Autonomous Districts and Autonomous Regions: There are nine autonomous districts in Tribal Areas of four States viz., two in Assam, three in Meghalaya, three in Mizoram and one in Tripura. Initially autonomous districts of Meghalaya and Mizoram were parts of undivided Assam. Each district has been specified as autonomous district for the purpose of the Sixth Schedule. Normally, an autonomous djstrict represents a particular Scheduled Tribe. In case there are more than one Scheduled Tribe in an autonomous district, the Governor may, by a notification, divide the area or areas inhabited by them into autonomous regions also if so notified. In case of Tripura, the situation is different. One autonomous district has been constituted which covers tribal majority areas extending over three revenue districts and covers several tribes. The Governor ·has power to increase/ decrease or make any alteration in the area of autonomous districts or regions.

Constitution of District Councils and Regional Councils: Each autonomous district has a District Council_ for its administration. *A* District Council consists of not more than 30 members. Of these, not more than· 4 ·members are nominated by the Governor and the rest are elected on the basis of the adult suffbig¢ · The·mstrict Council consis.ts of territorial constituencles 'and each of_them is a single member constlr,l,iency?I'ti<!'Governor may'fix the totai number o"f the:members of the Council. He may prescribe the nuinhe'l·orvaterLHe hiay res'erve an.the constitu.endes for the tribes and debar the non-tribes from cofr ¢-stjdif-t e::·;e\'ectitms· in such areas._ ·Th$_{B}$ >Assam Sub:.Co tnittee ·of the Constituent Assembly rec:io"inmended ·m fthe ifon-trihes; thotigf'resident perrrianent.ly in the hills, should be debarred from contesting 'the -election to the Provincial Legislature from the Hill constituencies. This has been done to protectthe:' nterest.df the tribes as the non-tribes by their greater financial strength can win the elections in the predominantly tribal constituencies by buying the vote .

Framing ·of Rules In exerdse of powers confetred by sub-p ragraph 6 of the paragraph 2 of the Sixth Schedule .of the Constitution, the Governor may make rules for the Constitution of the District Councils and ·Regional Councils. The rules may provide for the composition of District / Regional Councils, appointment of office for purpose of delimitation of the territorial Constituencies, procedure for delimitation, terms ·of office of members, qualifications / disqualification of IT1embers, election of members, settlement of disputes and election petitions, formation of executive committee ofthe District Council, summoning ofthe Council, election ofthe Chairman, Chief Executive and Mein.hers of the District Council, sittings of the Council, etc.

Incorporation of the District/Regional Councils: Each District Council and each Regional Council shall be a body corporate by the name of the respe tive district or region.

Adniinbtration. of Autonomous Districts / Regions:. The administration of the autonomous Districts/Re ions shall be vested in the. Co f}lsiWhich shall have. only such powers with respect to the areas,,µnder·the authority of the autonom01.ts District/Regiol}ial ¾ouncils .as may· be specified by the. Goverrfor. The Governo_r shall appoint a Chief Executiv_e Counsellor and such members as; Executive Counsellors as may be necessary from ·among the members ofthe Council. They will look·after such subjects ·as are allotted to them Executive Council is like a Cabinet for the autonomous district. It lays down policy and.ensures its execution.

Powets'of **the: Distrkt Council; and ·Regional Councils to"Make Laws;** District Councils and Regional Counc)ls ·shall .have the powers in respect of all areas unc:\er their respective jurisdiction to make laws with .i: spect to th following subjects:

a) The allotment, occupation or use ofland, otherthan any land ·which is a reserve forest;

b). The management of any forest not being a reserve forest;

c) use of any"dnai _or·water course for the pur$_{p}$os of agriculture;

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d) The regulation of the practic,iof}hum or other form of shifting cultivation;

e) The establishment of village or town committees or councils and their boards;

t) Any other matter relating to village or town administration including village or town police and public health and sanitation.

g) Appointment or succession of Chiefs or Headmen;

h) The inheritance of property;

i) Marriage and divorce and

j) Social customs.

All laws, so made, shall be submitted forthwith to the Governor and until assented to by him, shall have ho effect.

Administration of Justice i **Autonohidu.s Districts .and Autonomous Regions:** The autonomous District Councils/RegionalCo'ttncils in respect of areas under their control may constitute village councils or·'cfitirts for the trial-of st1its and cases ,between the parties belonging to Scheduled Tribes withimtheir re5.ecfV'.e.:·a.r(;lS. OtQ'e r th m Sµ! -or.cas,es_relatiQg. **to _o'rfences** .with qeath, ·imprisonment **for** life or impli Biupentfo_r:a:terni:9f·n9t,Jes thfn. 5 years under .the Indian Penc1l Code or any other law in force. Such. pow_ers shaIJ be:exep:ise.d t9 the ¢xdusion of any Court in.the State. Th Di tri¢t Cottncil/Regional Council may appoint sititable persons to be members of such village councils or presiding officers of other c01irts as also stich officers as'may'be' necessary for the administratiQn of justice. Such courts shall also exerdse powers of a·court of appeal in respect of suits and cases triable by village council or court. No other.court except High CoU:rtahd the Supr·eme Court shall have jurisdiction over such suits or cases. The High Court shall have jurisdiction over such suits and cases as ·may be specified by the Governor.

The Regional· Council or the District Council may, with p'revious approval of the Governor, make rules regulatihg:-

a) _ Const tution of illage·councils and courts and the powers to beexerdsed by the ;

b) Procedure to be followed;

c) Enforcement of decisions and orders of such councils and courts;

d) All other.ancillary matters considered.necessary for the purpose of dispensation of justice.

Th tiovernor may also confer specific powers for the trial ofsuits or cases arising out of any law irFfdtce in,an autonomous district or regio,l,l, .(RP,Jhe trial of offences· with death, iin:prisonnfont for life-or imprisonment for a term of not less tha1fS years under the Indian.Penal Code' or any other,,law in force.··

Powers of **the** District Councils to. Est blish **Pdmary Schools** etc: The"histrict tcmricil may est blish, construct and m nage primary schools, dispensaries, ma_rke , cattle. ponds,Jerries fisheries, roa:ds, roc1d· . transport and water-ways in the district. It may 'also ·make regulations; with the prior approval of.the Governor, for the regulation and control the.reof. In particular it may, prescribe the langu-age _and.the mariner in which the Primary education shall be imparted in t h e primary. schools in the districf:;'.The Go\i:ernor' may -also .wi1:h' the ·approval· ·of a.· Dlstrict.. Cound(entrust:-,entirely, ·conditionally' or unconditionally to that Council or to its officers the functions in r latiori to agriculture, animal husbarrciry,·. community projects, cooperative sodeties, social welfare, vUlage planning or any other matter to which the executive power of the State extends.

Responsibility· of Governor: The Governor enjoys ·unique position s-a-vis ·autonomous· districts. Broaqly speaking his position may be equated to that of the .Pr¢sident's· in relation to States. He is not required to send any report to the President regarding administration of the Tribal Areas.

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District and Regional Funds: Each District and Regional Council shall have its own fund. Alhmoneys received shall be credited to that fund. The Governor may make rules for the management of the fund. The accounts of the District/Regional Council shall be kept in such form as the Comptroller and Au'ditor General of India may, with prior approval of the President, prescribe. He may also prescribe the mode of auditing of such funds and the reports shall be submitted to the Governor who shall ask them to lay it before the respective Councils.

Power to Assess and Collect Land Revenue and to Impose Taxes: The District and Regional Councils shall have the power to assess and collect revenue in respect of lands under their control in accordance with the principles followed by the Government of the State. The Councils shall also have powers to levy and collect taxes on lands and buildings and tools on persons residing within the area under their controL The Councils shall have power to levy and collect all or any of the following taxes within their jurisdiction:

a) Tax on professions, trades, callings and employments,

b) Taxes on animals, vehicles and boats,

c) Ta es on the entries of goods into a market for sale therein and tolls on passengers and goods .carried in ferdes,

dJ Taxes for maintenance of schools, dispensaries and roads. The Councils may make regulation ror the·1evy and·conection of taxes and an such regulations shan be submitted f rtliwith to tlie Governor and until ass·ented to by him, shall have no effect

Issue of.Licenses or Leas.es for the- purpose of prospecting·o F or extraction .of minerals: Such share or royalties accruing each year from licenses or leases for the purpose of prospecting for, or the extractions. of minerals granted by the Government of the State in respect of any area within an autonomous district as may be agreed upon between the Government of the State and the District Council of such district shall be made over to that District Council.

Power to make regulations for control of money-lending and trading by **non-tribes:** The District Council may make regulations for the regulation _and control of money-lending or trading within the district by_persons other than Scheduled Tribes resident in the district In particular, such regulations may:

1. Prescribe that no one except the holder of a license shall carry on business of money-lender;
2. Prescribe the maximum rate of interest which may be charged by a money-lender;
3. P q;vide f r maintenance of accounts by money-:-lenders and for inspection of such accounts by officers ajipointed for the purpose by the Distrkt Council;
4. P escribe that no non-tribes shall carry: on wholesale or tetaJtbusiness in- any commo lity except under.a license issued for the purpose by the District Council.

All the regulations maqe on the subject are to be passed by a majority of not less than three-:-fourths of the total membership of the District Council in order to be Vc!-lid. All such regulations shaH be submitted forth wideiJ;o the Governor and until assented to by him shall have no effect

Publk_ation oflaws, rules an<I regulations under the Sixth S.chedule: AH laws,. rules and regulations mad, \:under. this Schedule by a District Council or.a RegioriaLCouncil shall be published forthwith in the· Official·Gazetteofthe,State and hall on suchpublication have the force oflaw.

Appointment of Commission to enquire into and report on the· administration ·of Autonomous Districts/AutonoJDous Regions: The Governor may, at-any time, appoint a Commission on any matter spe_cif.ied by .him relating to administration of autonomous districts/regions in -the State. l particular, such· omniissions may· enquire ·i_nto·and· report from time to time on administration of autonomous districts/regions generally and in particular.on··

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1. The provision of educational and medical facilities and communication in the districts and regions;
2. The need for any new or special legislation;
3. The administration of the laws, rules and regulations made by the-District/Regional Councils.

The report of such Commission with recommendations of the Governor shall be laid before the legislature of the State by the Minister concerned indicating the action proposed to be taken thereon.

Annulment or Suspension of Acts or Resolutions of District/ Regional Councils: The Governor is empowered to annul or suspend any Act or Resolution of District/Regional Councils, if he thinks that it is likely to endanger the safety of India or likely to be prejudicial to public order.

Dissolution of a District or a Regional Council: The Governor may, on the recommendation of a Commission appointed by public notification, order the dissolution of a District or a Regional Council and direct fresh general elections for the reconstitution of the Council. The Constitution provides that no such action shall be taken by the Governor without giving the District or Regional Council an opportunity of placing its views before the Legislature of the State. In case of dissolution, he may assume himself all or any of the functions or powers vested in the District or the Regional Council, for a period of six months which may be extended by a period not exceeding six months on each occasion.

Every such order with reasons therefore shall be laid before the Legislature of the State and shall cease to operate at the expiry of thirty days from the date on which the State Legislature first sits after issue of the orders unless approved by the Legislature before expiry of that period.

Exclusion of Areas from Autonomous Districts for Forming Constituencies in Districts: For the purppse of elections to the Legislative Assembly of Assam or Meghalaya etc., the Governor may by order declare that any area within the autonomous district shall not form part of any constituency to fill a seat in the Assembly reserved for any such district but shall form part of a constituency to fill a seat in the Assembly not so reserved.

The mechanism of the Sixth Schedule ensures effective participation of the tribes in administration of their affairs. Extension of the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to more tribal majority areas particularly, in the middle tribal belt will create more confidence among them and give them a sense of participation. As already mentioned, while the Fifth Schedule is paternalistic, the Sixth Schedule is participative. It reflects a phase of development and provides good ground for training in administration.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN FIFTH SCHEDULE AND SIXTH SCHEDULE:

The Fifth Schedule applies to the Scheduled Areas which have been specified in eight states and the Sixth Schedule applies to Tribal Areas which have been specified in four states. Under the Fifth Schedule, laws passed by Parliament or by the State Legislature apply automatically to Scheduled Areas unless the Governor declares it otherwise in respect of law or part therkof. Under the Sixth Schedule, the position is quite different. The law made by Parliament or State Legislature for Tribal Areas shall not apply unless the Governor extends that law to such areas. In one case, it applies unless excluded and in the other, it does not apply unless extended.

The Fifth Schedule confers substantial powers on the Governor which in practice are exercisable with the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers. He can make laws by Notification or by Regulation. The Governor may exclude the application of an act of Parliament or State Act in a Scheduled Area or may direct that it will be applicable subject to such expansion or modification as may be specified in this Notification. But so long as the Governor does not make any such Notification the general Acts of Parliament or of the State Legislature shall apply to the areas referred to in the Fifth Schedule. The Governor has been vested with Regulation making powers for peace and good government and in particular, for prohibiting or restricting the transfer of land by or among the members of the Scheduled Tribes, regulating the allotment of land and carrying on the business of money-lending in Scheduled Areas. This power of the Governor exteuds to all the entries in the three lists i.e. the Union List, the State

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List and the Concurrent List of the Seventh Schedule. Only restriction to the exercise of the power is that Regulation must be made after prior consultation with the Tribe Advisory Council and assented to by the President.

The Sixth Schedule envisages a special administrative mechanism of self-government to the tribes inhabiting the tribal areas. The laws made-by the Parlfament or State Legislature do not run automatically in these areas unless applied by a Notification of the Governor. The laws are either made by the District Councils:or are applied by them.

The administration of justice is achieved by District and Regional Councils through their own agencies. The jurisdiction of the High Court_and the Supreme Court over the District and Regional Councils is not barred.the power of the High Court to entertain suits or cases of tribal areas is subjected to regulation by an order of the Governor.

The District and Regional Councils have their own funds. They enjoy power of taxation and establishment of certain local institutions and run primary schools, dispensaries etc. They have complete autonomy so far as th:eir powers and jurisdiction are conce_rne,d. The veto is, how ver, exercised by the Governor who can .annulor revoke their Acts or resolutions or dissolve them and take over their administration.

In shdff· while the Fifth Schedule fs patern Hstic,. the Sixth Schedule is participative. Its mechanism· ensures at1tonorriy and effective pai;tfcipaifon oftribes_ i·i the administration. of their own affairs. In the case of the Fifth Schedul , althouglhhe Governor h:as be nvested witJJ. certain powers for.ensuring their protection and better admiriistraticin, there is no mechanism by whkh these provisions can be made operational. The exercise of powers under the Fifth Schedule has been left to the Governor or, in practice, to the State Government

SPECIAL PROVISIONS WITH RESPECT TO TRIBAL AREAS AND HILL AREAS IN NAGALAND1 ASSAM AND MANIPUR:

The Constitution contains special provisions under Articles 371-A, 371-B and 371-C with respect to the State of Nagaland. Tribal Areas of Assam, as specified in Part-I of the Table appended to paragraph 20 of the Si th Scheduie and the State of.Manipur J:'.espectively.

Article 371(A) - Nagaland: As per provisions of Article 371(A), no Act of Parliament in· respect of the following matters. shall apply to the State of Nagaland unless allowed by a special resolution of the Na ala d Assembly . The matters are:

1. Religious or social" practices of Nagas;
2. Naga;customary law and procedure;
3. ·administration of civil and cri inal justice)involving decisions according to Naga c stomarr law;· and
4. O_wiiership and transfer of land and· its resources.

The Governor has a special responsibili_ty for law and order in the State of Nagaland. He has Regulation making power for peace, progress and good government of the Tuensag-district No Act-of the Legislature of Nagajand shall apply to this· district unless the Governor, on the recommendation of the Regional-. Counc:H; specifically extends it by.a public notification.

Article; ,71(8) - **Assam:** The Presidenbnay provide for the Constitution and f a nctions.of a committee of the: Legislative Assembly of the State_ consisting of members of that Assembly elected from the tribal areas· as specified in the Sixth Sche4ule arid-such other members of that.Assembly as.may be specified in the order. This Committee has been provided to look after the nterests of Tribal Area at the tate Level.

L\rticle 371(qi':" · Manipur: Article -37"1(C) provides for the Constitution and functions of a Committee through a Pr ldential Order. The Committee shaff consist of members of the Legislative Assembly elected from Hill'Areas of the State. The Go.vernor has- been required_ to make annual report to the

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President regarding the administratioh ofthe Hill Areas in the State of Manipur. The Union Executive has been empowered to issue directions to the State as to the administration of the said areas.

Constitutional Safeguards and Welfare of Other Backward Classes in India

The term "Backward Classes" include Scheduled Tribes (STs), Scheduled Castes (SCs), Denotified Tribes and Other Backward Classes (OBCs). These classes of Indian population have labored under different and distinct disadvantages in the Indian social system. They have suffered from social and ·economic disabilities and have come to be known as Backward Classes. The SCs and STs are identified as a result of different .lists revised and issued under the Scheduled -Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists Modif'cation Order, 1956 whereas the Denotified Tribes are defined under the Criminal Tribes Act, 1924. However, a precise definition of "Other Backward Classes" has eluded so far. It has been fully realized that special arrangements would have to be made for them in order to bring them to a position of equality with other citizens. The Constitution of India therefore provides protection and safeguards for SCs, STs and OBCs either specifically or by- way of promoting general rights of citizens with an object of promoting their educational and economic interests ancl qfremoving certain special disabilities they were subject to.

The relevant legal provisions are embodied in Part XVI of the Constitution of India, which is entitled "Sp. cJal Provisions relating _to certain classes". _From these.provisions .it is. evident that .in 19!50}he makers of the. Constitutiqn visualized the need. to make special provisions-only-for the SCs, STs, Anglo-Indian Community and Socic:1.lly and Ed·ucationally backward classes.

For these special categories of persons, the Constitution has provided f ? different level and types of · concessions. The SCs and STs, under Articles 330 and 332, seats in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas were required to be reserved on the basis of their population. It was envisaged that these reservations of seats would be available for a period of 10 years only .With subsequent amendments to the Constitution, this period has been extended from time to tome and these ·provisions are still in force.

For the Anglo-Indian community, the facility of reservation of seats in the Lok Sabha was also provided to the extent of two seats by nomination by the President, in case he found that his community did not have enough representatioi:i. A similar provision was also made for the rep_resentation of Anglo-Indians to the Vidhan Sabhas. There is no provision in ·Part XVI for reservation of seats in legislatures for socially and educationally backward classes.

The other category of special provision under Part XVI relates to appointment to services and posts in connection with the _affairs-of the Union or of a state of the SCs and STs and the Anglo-Indian community: For the Anglo-Indians, Article 336 provides reservation in ·the Railways, Customs, Postal and Telegraph services of the Union Government on the same basis as they were ·available to them immediately before August 15 1947. -These reservations however, however, were to be available for a period of two yearsiby 10 percent and it was also envisaged,tllc:!t there should be no reservation for them from' the year 1990 onwards. For the SCs and STs howevei-;Wi-dcle 335 of the Constitution provides that consistent with the maintenance of efficiency of the administration, the clalms. of the members other SCs -and STs shall .be taken into consideration in the making of appointment to· services arid posts in connection with the affa_frs of the Union ·or of the·States. In other words, unlike in a case of Anglo-In_dians, there was no fix¢d quota for the SCs ·and· STs. Secondly, there was no cutoff period of two years or ten years in the niatter recruitment of SCs and 'STs to the services.and posts. Thirdly,the reservation for Anglo-Indians was::to he enforced, irrespective of the effects of it on the efficiency ofadministration, but in the case of the:SCs'and *STs*, their claims for recruitment to public services had to be consistent with. the requirement of the mai. tenance of efficiency of administration. Lastly;·while the A°riglo-Indians couid compete on merit -nd yet enjoy their quota there was no such facility envisaged for the ,SCs and STs. Yet another--spedal ·provision made available for Anglo-Indians byway of added fatility,wasfor educational grants. It may be noted that the Constitution does not make provision for any such facility urider·PartXIV for the SCs and Sts or for socially and e ucationally bacl(ward classes.

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As regards the socially educationally backwprd classes, now popularly called OBCs, the only special provision for them is under Article 340 of Part XIV of the Constitution which is extracted below:

Article 340 -Appointment of a Commission to Investigate the Conditions of Backward Classes:

1. The President may by order appoint a Commission consisting of such persons as he thinks fit to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India and the difficulties under which they labor and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the Union or any state to remove such difficulties and to improve their condition as to the grants that should be made for the purpose by the Union or any state and the conditions subject to which such grants should be made and the order appointing such Commission shall define the procedure to be followed by the Commission.

2. The Commission so appointed shall investigate the matters referred to them and present to the President a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper.

3. The President shall caus.e a copy ofthe report *so* pr:esented together with a memorandum explaining the action taken thereon to be laid before ·each House of Parliament

The·President of India had·accordingly appointed a Backward Classes Commission headed ·by Mr. Kaka Saheb Kalekar in January i 953 ·under. rticle 340 ofthe :Constitution of India to determine the criteria for treating· ariy·sectfons· of the people, other than the SCs and STs, as socially and educationally backward; and iri accordance wit the criteria thus determined, to prepare a list of such classes. The report of the Cornin ssion submitted in t arch, 1955.disclosed considerable divergence of opinion among its members, bufthe majority recommended that the basic criterion for identification of the "Other Backward Classes" sho.uid.he their low sod.al position in the traditional caste hierarchy of Hindu society and accordingly prepared a list of almos·t 2700 communities, and estimated that 930 of them would alone account for nearly a third of the country's population. The Commission also considered women as a class to be ba kward. While placing the report of the Commission before Parliament in September 1956, the Governm_ent of India observed thatif the bulk of the country's millions were to be regarded as coming wi hin th.e categocy of backward classes,_ no useful purpose would be served by separate enumeration of such classes. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was of the view: *"It is basically wrong to label a,ny section of the people as backward, even if they were so when 90 percent of the people in the country were -backward and poor. It is, therefore, clear that the classes to be specified should be distinctly and palpably more backward socially and educationally than the genera! run of the population".* Governm.ent also endorsed the view expressed by. the Chairman of the· Commission that acceptance of caste as a criterion of backwardness was not a cort ct approach and that the remedies suggested on the basis of caste would be worse than the evil of ·bac vardness itself. The Report was rightly shelved by P t Nehru as such an approach was bound to lead to compartmentalization ofsociety.

The> Gove.rnment after finding the controversial recomfueh'c.l tions of the Kalekar ,'c mmission unfcceptable,. decided to undertake further studies to arrive at objective nd workable criteria for identifying other backward classes. The Deputy Registrar General of Census was asked to·conduct a pilot study of occupations which could be considered backward. But his effort did not yield any useful result bec<,1.use he found it impossible to draw up ·any precise and ·complete iist of occupations, the members of wlii: h q:mld ·be treated as socially and educationally backward. The Government of India elicited the view ofthe state governments on t e issue. One state·adV'ocated identification of backward areas rather tha, backward ·classes. The Planning ·Coriuriission acc pted this concept later on. Some states favored adciption of economic backwardness as a criterion, while others stuck to their existing caste based lists of OBCs. The Central government was, however, under no legal compulsion to draw up an all .India list of socially_ and educationally backward classes and that even if such a list.were to be drawn up, the.state governments were free to have their own lists. It was also felt that any further _exercise.in stratification of the population .into special groups an_d classes would only further foster existing divisive ·tendencies, and run counter to eh national objective of establishing an egalitarian society. The Government of India,

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therefore, informed the state goverhmehts fo 1961 that they had "after careful consideration, decided not to draw up any all-India list of backward classes (other than the existing list of SCs and STs) and while the State government had the discretion to choose their own criteria for defining backwardness, it would be better to apply economic tests than to go by caste".

WELFARE SERVICES

During the first three Five Year Plans, the Central Government had made a provision for Rs. 1.62 crores (First Plan), Rs. 5.02 Crores (Second Plan) and Rs. 6.00 Crores (Third Plan) for the welfare of OBCs and almost all the schemes implemented were in the field of education. Till the end of Third Five Year Plan, an annual financial provision of Rs. 40 Lakhs used to be made in the Central Sector for post-matric scholarships awarded from merit cum means basis. .Form the Fourth Plan, the scheme had been transferred to the state sector. For the Fifth Year Plan, the total financial outlay for all States was Rs. 17.25 Crores; of which more than 2/3rd had been on educational program, mostly for pre-matric scholarships and provisions of hostels. Economic development schemes, on which· the expenditure was a little over Rs. 3 Crores, included financial assistance in the form of loans and grants to artisans and industrial cooperatives; to agrkulturists for irrigation weJls and purchase of buBocks and implements.

Besides such special assistance earmarked in the backward classes sector of the Central and various other state· plans, the OBCs had derived benefits during the Fifth :Plan from the special rural area programs such as Programs for Rural Development mostly in the agric.ultural sector; Minimum Needs Program; Drought Prone Areas ·Progra.m; .Small Farmers D veioprnent Agencies; Marginal Farmers and .Agricultural Laborers Projects; Food for Work Program; Rural Employment Projects; Milk Production Program; Rural Electrification Program; Provision of Hmise sites for Landless Persons; and liquidation of bonded labor and rural debt which were directed towards raising substantially the per capita monthly consumption of the lowest 30 percent of rural population. In the Sixth Five Year Plan also much greater emphasis had been laid on the improvement of conditions of te families which were below poverty line..

There is no voluntary organ.ization working at the national level, which caters exclusively to the OBCs. Voluntary organizations existing at the State, local and caste -leve_l are fina cially assisted by the State governments. The government of India however affords annual grants to the Servants o(-In ia Society, Pune, which assists some OBCs besides SCs and STs In Maharashtra, to the. Indian Red·Cross Society to opetate·in 'Backward Regions and other NGOs.

No plan allocations are now being made by the· Central Government for the welfare of OBCs. The·_ Programs for their welfare are launched.by the respective state governments or UnionTerritories but the quantum of funds provided by them for the purpose is very. meager. For instance, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Jammu- and Kashmir spent only 2 4 percent, 0.2 percent and 0.4.6 percent respectively of their annual budget of recent years on schemes specifically-pr pared forthe OBCs.

MANDAL COMMISSION

It was left to the Janata Government to disturb the hornet's.nest in 1978.by again raking :UP tl1e issue by. the appointment'of the Second Backward Class s Commission headed by Mr. B.P Manda!. T e _Mndal_ , Commission was to determine the crfreria for defining the socially and educationally backward classes. It was to recommend necessary measures for the advancem nt of the, backward classes so identified. Jn Pai\ilcular, it was required to examine the desirabi_lity.or otherwise. ofmaking provision for-reservation_of. app9intments/posts in .favor of these classes who· otherwise do not find adequate representation in the PU.bJic services.

The Commission applied 11 indicators groups as social (4), educational (3) and economic (4) for identification of the socially and educatio_nally backward classes; It was guided by the thesis that social and educational backwardness would be directlylinked with low status of certain castes in respect ofthe Hindus, in the· case of those belonging -to occupational _groups such as dhobi, teli, jheemar, nai, gujar, · kumhar,· lohar, darji and badhai, could be deemed as socially and· educationally backward. ·Of the total

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pop.ulation of India 52 percent belong to these classes. These are other than the SCs and STs who make 22.5 per cent of the total.

The recommendations of the Mandal Commission can be summarized as follows:

1. Twenty seven percent of the posts in public services should be reserved for OBCs. They do make 52 percent of the total population yet the reservation quota for them cannot exceed this limit. This is becaus.e accor ing to the, law as interpreted by the Supreme Court of India, the total quantum of reservations under Articles 15(4) and 16 of Constitution should be below 50 percent and as at present, 22.5 percent of the government jobs are already reserved for the SCs and STs on pro-rata basis of their share in the population.

2. Welfare programs specially meant for OBCs should be financed by the Government of India in the same manner and to the same extent already done in the case of SCs and STs.

3. Raaical land reforms should be brought about in States to free small land holders from their heavy dependence on rich peasa,.q s for their subsistence.

4. OBCs should be encouraged and helped to set up small scale industries.

5. Special :-educaUonal s hemes, With emphasis. on vocational training, should be started for OBCs; they should also be given special coaching in technical and professio_nal institutions to enable _them to compete with the students from the open quota.

The Cominission has submitted its report to the GcJVernment on Decem_ber 31, 1980. It was presented to both t]i.e houses of the parliament on April 30, 1982. Even since then there has been a continuous and persi$te demand for an outright acceptance of its recommendations without any further scrutiny. But no government however .favorably inclined could accept an additional 27 percent representation in serves to over 3000 castes thus making a total of 52 percent including the already existing reservation for SCs a_nd STs. That is why the "then Congress government even though keen to exploit this populist measure, had to .refer the report to a Committee of Secretaries who found it full of ·infirmities and inconsistencies'fraught with adverse consequences for the social fabric of the country. Most of the Chief Ministers also expressed thei'r views against this out and out caste based approach to backwardness and felt' that in varying'and different conditions· from state to state, and since most of the states have already evolved _apolicy of providing reservations to backward clas?es, there as no need of a Central Scheme and the matter be left to the states.

The then Prime Minister Mr. V.P. Singh announced, all of a sudden, the acceptance of the Mandal Report on J\gust 7, 1990 in the Parliament. This drastic move has upset people from many walks of life, inch:itifag-students, academics, journalists,etc.- The stude11:t community.that had been seriously hit by the implernentation of the Report had launchp,d Cl massive movement throughout the country ,and initially brou_ght the government to a point ·of collap.se. The c!nger nd mguish manifested itself. in protests; rallie ,.violence, clashes and even self-immolation in an unprecedented manner.

A CriUque of the Report

1. The Commissi9n seems to have been carried away by its enthusiasm in inviting castes to come forward with such a claim. Otherwise, how is it that between the Kalekar Commission and; 1978 ·over 1000 castes. have gone "backward", increasing the number from 2700 to over -3700? . The Mandal Commission violates the constitutional provision prohibiting. any discrimination based on caste or religion in recruitment to services and goes against the sp_ecialprovisions for SCs and STs.

2. The Mandal-Commission, by recommending 27% representation for BCs has exceeded the 50 percent ·Hmit laid down by _Supreme Court, including representation o r-SCs and STs. And what a farce ofspedal representation if 70% of the population is clubbed as "backward" and keeping floodgates open for nipre and·more castes competing for "backwardness". Why not

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defined the "forward" classes, which would be easier, provide special representation to them and leave the rest to backward classes?

3. The Manda} Commission recommendations open the floodgates of special representation to Muslims, Jains, Buddhists, Christians and so on, leading to disintegration rather than harmony in the society.

4. The Commission has disregarded the observations of the Supreme Court. that "social backwardness is a result of poverty to a large extent. Caste and poverty both are relevant to backwardness but neither caste nor· poverty alone could be a determining factor. · To illustrate, .how cold a barber by caste sets up a modern haircutting saloon or a tailor with cutting. edge technology or a dhobi starting a modern laundry be considered "backward"?

S. In fact, changes have taken place by abolition of Zamindar, Jagardari and other land reforms as well as liberal loans for self-employed resulting in upper mobility so as to remove all vestiges of "backwardness". Even though this process is not yet complete, we shall allow this to take a quick forward di ection rather than reverse the order by creating vested interest in backwardness, just-to obtain a *few* thousand government jobs.

6. A pernicious result of the Manda} Commission recommendations is to create multiple leaderships in 4,o'oo ca testo :serve the. political ends of the part.ies serving as vote gatherers and agents - ba.ckWard class elite appropriating all concessions to them and in the process exploiting their Own community.

The Mandal Commission Report was challenged in the Supreme Court of India on the following grounds. The Caste-data used by the· Ma.ndal Commission are based on the census report of 1931. Since then, nothing short of a qua_litative change has occurred in the Indian scenarios but Mandal takes no account of it. The Commission has erroneously thought thafit was its duty under Article 340 of the Constitution to recommend job reservation for the backward classes. The Manda} Commission virtually rewrites the Constitution by providing preference to the 3,743 backward castes by reducing the status of forward castes as of second class citizens. - Casteism whkh the Cons_titution emphatically intended to end was revived by the_report and:ide·ais were buried.by it The Commissio.n has ignored certain· principles laiq down by the apex court that effici.ency of administration should be borne in mind when reservations were made and unreasonable, excessive ·or extravagant reservation was a fraud on the Constitution. There had never been more fl grarit disregard of these ·prin.tiples.

The Mandal Commission Report is casually andha.stilyprepared document which. is re:plete witll errors of aU inds. In ord r to give itself a veneer of rationality and objectivity, the ManQal Com.mission, so tight to imn rt to itfre.port a research base, but.even a superficial reading woulddisprove the claim.

WELFARE OF DENOTIFIED COMMUNITIES IN INDIA

Deriotified Communities consist of several groups which may broadly be classifi ed into nomadic groups and settled commu_nities. The nomadic group includes gypsy like _p·eople, while the settle·d and the semi-settled groups· trace their descent from irregular fighting clans, who were uprooted· from their original homes on account of invasions or political upheavals in the distant past. Before settle <!nt in coloni s, th@used to make a living ou,t of hunting, s11ake _charming, selling medicinalherbs and other goods.:The inn<:1te spirit of adventure coupled with extreme poverty, lack of openi gs for better economic conditions a:nq also. other psychological factors led them to take to criminal practices which later became a tradition nd a part of their heritage.

:u nder the Criminal Tribes Act, 1924, these groups which numbered about 127 and whose population was 2f.64 lakhs in 1951, were dubbed as criminal tribes. Thus, when a child was born of these fribes, he was . idered to be criminal from the -very beginning and on his attainin:g .the. •age of majority, he was ; a,. .romatically registered criminal, even though he might. ·have been totally innoc·ent These people were k ptin col_onies, sometimes fenced wit'. : arbed wire and under strict vigilance of the police. Quite often,

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they were made scapegoats for undetected· cr'i'mes. In these settlements, the registered persons were interned for a prescribed period during which they were taught 'agriculture or certain hancHcrafts. The movement of these settlers was restricted within that area. Thus, these notified groups had to wear a dark cloak of notoriety around them. This deprived them of all channels of.employment

After independence, the national government realized the injustice of dubbing the whole community as criminal without exception. Apart from being repugnant to the fundamental principles ofjurisprudence, it was socially unjustifiable and nationally wasteful to maintain a whole community, generation after generation, in bondage. The government therefore appointed a Criminal Tribes Enquiry Committee in 1949 and on its recommendation repealed the Criminal Tribes Act with effect from August 31, 1952 and the rest ictions imposed on those people were withdrawn.

The Backward Classes Commission 1955 had inter-alia recommended that:

1. The nomenclature of these classes may be changed from "criminal" to "Denotified Communities"
2. These communities may be divided .into,Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes for getting the benefits available to the categories concerned
3. These coinmunitiesimay be· distributed in small groups in towns and villages where they will ultimatelycome into the contact with other people and will eventu lly be assimilated in society
4. Norm l instruction together with b sic educ tion followed by vocational' and technical educaqon at secondary level should be given to them.
5. 'The children of the criminal groups should be removed from their parents on attaining the age of seven and should be put in suita k hostels.

Afterthe legal withdrawal of the limitations and restrictions in 1952, the first problem was to wean them away. from the criminal tendencies, particularly the younger generation and remove the stigma attached to them and secon9-ly to put before them opening to useful occupations which would make it possible for them_ to live honorably. The total allotment under the First Five Year Plan both at the centre and states for these communities and other backward da ses was Rs. 3.5 crores.· By the end of this plan period; about 17 '$ettiemeilts and 30' colonies had been s tup; more than 36000 families had_ received assistance for agricultural development; 113 cooperatives had been: organized and 337 industrial ·centers were setup-f o r ·their benefit The Second ·Plan .made an allocation of Rs. 3.12 crores for the welfare of these communities. The major schemes were housing and educational development Apart from agriculture and cottage industry, another possibility of leading a life ofhonest means tan be by getting employed in government. services, private firms,·. factories .etc. But :ven though the Act has been repealed an,d theoretil: lly tliefe is no bat\o getting employment, yet the stigma attached to those beionging to these communities does not make it easy to secure,th }m employment

ln view of the small results achieved thus far, their needs should be tu died in each area a d programs could be draw up on the basis of the following suggestions of the Study Team· setup by the Cbmmittee on Plan Projects:

1. The need for a combined .co·rrectional and welfare approach for -the rehabilitation of -Denotified ' /scommunities which should be supported by a program of social education;
2. ,Formulation of special economic programs which keep in view the character of the population, in particular, their adventurous spirit and tr ditional skills;
3. Organization of industrial and other cooperatives;
4. Provision of opportunities fo_r employment i n the public services supported by way of ad9itional training and orientation facilities; and

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5. Where the Denotified tribes 'constitute a sizeable pop_ulation, cadres of trained workers, who are familiar with their social and cultural background and can work closely with them, should be built up.

The objective of assimilation, emphasized by the Third Plan should guide the program of rehabilitation and development from the very start and progressive and forward-looking elements among the Denotified tribes themselves should be assisted and encouraged to play an increasing part in this effort.

In.-pursuance of these observations and recommendations and in view of the urgency of early re: abilitation of the Denotified tribes, all the schemes were implemented under the centrally sponsored programs. Economic development and social progress of these communities were given due emphasi?for which around four hundred lakhs was made available. In the Fourth Plan, all the schemes were continued with an allocation of around four fifty lakhs.

The pattern of implementation of schemes was again changed in the Fifth Plan. period when all the welfare schemes for the Denotified tribes were transferred .to the state plan sector. These schemes have continued to be implemented in the 6.th/ nd 7 th Plans by the respective state governments. The scherrtes include educational programs in the form of granting of scholarships and stipends to eligible students, tuJUon arid e:>camiriatfon fees, provision .of mid-da:y _meals .and establishment of Ashram Scpo.ols, r€id.e11tial:' -SAPQJ$<. 119- hOsJels; -,fqgf-iims: f(?f economic develop ent, rehabilitation, colonization, assistance for; gdcUihfre :;irg o:rgal\ia.rion, q(cooperativesocieties; Miscellaneous ·schemes like setting up of coi:nmuniry,wiifare centers,:ba{Wadis, digging of drink(ng_ ater weUs etc.

Much more could:ha\ie been-done for the welfare of the De.notified tribes, had there been a statutory prnvision for thE!ir W lfareas there has been for 'the protectiori and promotion of interests_ of scheduled castes_ and tribes_ in the various articles of our Constitution. The Denotified tribes are entitled to certain benefits and concf!ssions urider 'the general provision of Article 41 of the Constitution of India which stipulates the promotion'of educational and economic interests of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other wea er sections. It is desirable that the v<;1-rious safeguards, concession ahd benefits available to the scheduled·castes and tribes should be extended to them also.under the statutory provisions to be .made by the _Parliament through an amendment of the constitution..

There is al o: the·:··need to i:dentify, thei; compl x problems which vary· from s· ate to stat due to their habitation, eq>lqgy; traditlohs and cultural ethos; and to find their reme_dies especially of thefr, rehabilitaUon in vocations _suited to their genius and to wean them away from their Crimin.al tendencie particularly the children. This can be achieved to a great extent by f rmulating comprehensive an4 ·integrated plans to provide them land _and the financial facilities in the form of loans/subsidies for agriculture,· agro;;based cottage industries, housing, education etc. Voluntary organizations have bi:!en playing appreciable. role in their rehabilitation and welfa e. They need". to-be involved in larger measure to ·complement the government efforts. in };1.meliorating the lot of the Denotified tribes /with a view: to integrating them in the mainstream of the Indian society and enabling them to live as respectable citizens of-the country.

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7.2 Social Change and Contemporary Tribal Societies

Impact of Modern Democratic Institutions, Development Programs and Welfare Measures on Tribal and Weaker Sections

It is believed that the Scheduled Castes and Tribes have registered little progress .in the last five to six decades. There has been a quality of ritualistic formalism about many welfare and development schemes formulated for these people. The financial incentives and educational reservations have bestowed little real benefit to these castes. The quality of education has been described as unrelated to their lifestyle. No efforts:·have been made to induct them into the new ethos of learning and to inculcate in them the verbal and non-verbal skills that are a precondition to an academic success. The dropout rate at the school and college/university levels has assumed alarming p_roportions. At the university/college level, the teachers complain that the Scheduled Caste (and Scheduled Tribe) students are seen only when their scholarship ch ques. are received from the Social Welfare Department. They mostly remain absent from the classrooms. Though thefr percentage of attendance remains very. low, yet they appear in examinations only· because of the policy of the :unive-rsity administration to withdraw the percentage ·of compulsory attE!1id n eAithe last·monient.Thatthe'quality oftheir education is poor is evident in their performanc at the'entrari5etests· fqr p ofessio akourses. Anexample shows that-in 1989 in Madhya Pradesh, so few Scp.eHuled-'Caste aiid Scheduled Ttioe stud.en.ts qualified at the entrance tests for professional colleges that the minimum ,eligibility marlts forthem· had'su cessively to be fowered: For engineering studies, the ·studerits o unres:erved quo a had to have at least 50 pe·r cent marks; for the Scheduled Castes, the pre 'cribed Ill°triimum was 3$·per cent. Eventuaily, the Scheduled Caste students with 15 per cent marks had to be admitted·. .

The tribal people have not been in continuous and complete isolation. Contacts are there between them and. their non-tribal neighbours.. Modern forces have been actively moulding their life. As culture is dynamic; the tribes hav faced and are facing changes. Nevertheless the tribes have retained the principal elements of their ways ofHfe, though these are modified to a greater or lesser extent.

The factors responsible for the transformation ofthe tribal sodeties are both traditional and modern. The tradidonal process, characterized by the: impact· of certain traditions of the. major neighbouring .comniuriities on the tribal group, has long been in operation and has -Jed to the resultant con epts like Hindufaatkm, Sanskritization, Tribe _Caste continuum, Revitalization movements etc.

The. modern processes include such factors like Christianity, Urbanization and i.ndustrialization. Tribal devel9pme_gt schemes, democratic set up of the nation, modernization in education, communication, and admin. tratfon and the like are ofrecent origin. These are ·directly or indirectly working as the external factors which p.o not merge as a result ofJh p.irect and normal cont ct of the tribal people with the non-tribaJ:pe.ople of the areas.

The·,implementation of various types of development, welfare and community development schemes .meant for the tribal areas have brought about certain economic and social changes in the tribal communities. During the pre-independence period it was the policy of the British government to let the tribes:Jive in isolation and maintain their status quo. However, after independence, in 1947, the. national lead rs:undertook the ·programs of tribal welfare.on a top priority basis and the policies and programs of the n, Hon are reflected in the Constitutional provision specially in the Articles 46, 275 and 339 which put speda[10]emi>hasis on the promotion of. tribal· welfare and safeguard the interest of the STs and the Schethiled areas.

Further, in view of the Constitutional provisions, the general democratic upsurge, and the zeal of the national leaders for social service, the official-and non-official organizations undertook the programs for tribal welfare frolfl ti e to time.

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Also during the Five Year plans an ,attempt has been made for bringing about a comprehensive and integrated change in the social, economic, political and cultural life of the tribal people. But the overall result of this great effort has not been as encouraging as expected. Rather it is disappointing. Various evaluation reports and a few competent analytical studies of the tribal development works are available. These by and large record the targets of development and speak of the reasons of failure attributing it mainly to:

1. Socio-cultural factors hindering the acceptance of an innovation, and
2. Lack of personnel or right motivation and correct attitude to work in the tribal areas.

T.he above is not meant to criticize but rather make statement of fact. It cannot be denied that the welfare measures undertaken during the Five Year Plans in the tribal areas are well intentioned. They aim at an all round development to creating conditions in which they can contribute their best to the total growth of the country. Adequate resources have all been invested for their economic growth and for removing the stagnation of the tribal areas. And in fact development schemes have been able to break the stagnation of the closed tribal society-to s9m,e extent and have been able to introduce innovations and new ideas to the tribal communities. But, as ·already stated the change .in the tribal way of life is not so di tinctly felt, the isolated andrelatively more backward tribal communities have been less affected than ffif:acculturated and some_ hat advanced communities.

In the sphere of economic development, the terrace cultivation has to some extent rep.laced the shifting cultivation a ongthe Nagas, ·Kukis; :Khasis and the Garos. They have been able to take quick advantage of the development schemes during post independence _period as there existed awareness among them owing to the spread of education-and awareness through the Christian missionaries. The Maler of Bihar; the Porojas of Orissa, however, could no_t take such an advantage, as they lacked preparedness and continued_ to remain isolated even during the contemporary times. Similarly, the tribes which have been influenced by their Hindu neighbours, like the Ora9n, Santhal, Munda, Bhil and Gond, took advantage of the community development programs- and accepted the use of improved seeds, fertilizers, introduction of cash crops etc.,· only to. some extent. However, the health program along with the introduction of modern medicines is becoming popular in the less isolated villages nowadays.

Through the introduction of Panchayat Raj the traditional Panchayats have suffered a setback but a compromise benyeen the traditional and. statutory Panchayats in the tribal areas has taken place, . especially in the 1-Hmalayan region and in certain parts of the middle and western India; In some tribal. areas, however, the statutory Panchayats are refused to _be accepted as the .traditional_ Pa_nchayats as they ·have their own stronghold.

h11_the sphere of modern democratic experi.rilents, the periodical elections to elect representatives/or pa'tliament and the state legislatures and village Panchayats have created a new awareness among 'the tribal voters regarding their political rights;.power'aligmnents and fun.ctional roies of the1.leaders.. To -the· simple and the semi isolated tribes, the tr ditional sacred and secular village headmen,, and of late tne Christian religious priests, were the only persons known-as leaders to help them in decisicm making.With the foI_'mation of the Indian Republic, however . the tribal voters, some of them fo inacc_essible areas, are being approached by leaders of various types, and exposed -to their views, promises and aspirations. With va1.1ous Constitutional safeguards f ? the STs and the general democratic upsurge, the· tribal areas are g Ung politically energized. A new set ofWestern educated; urban-br·ed and seculari ed type of tribal le ders is fast replacing the age-old :charismatic, rural-bred a·nd tradition-oriented leadership. These n:t.dern leaders of various levels and types are spearheading the social, economic and. political chapge arid during the last two decades, they have been greatly instrumental in accelerating the pace of transformation in the tribal areas. Still these tribes politically behave in their traditional style, that is with kin feeling, village feeling and regional feeling and the new democratic experiments have given more -- impetus to these feelings. In, generai, the tribal development schemes and the modern democratic experiments have brokenthe stagnation. In fact, they have accelerated the transformation.

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Unlike the problem of development in the rui:al areas of the country, that of the development of scheduled tribes and the tribal areas is not merely one of higher productivity, increased incomes and raised levels of consumption. It bears emphasis that the tribal areas have remained secluded from other areas and sections of society for long centuries. Almost every one of the tribal communities, as a result, evolved its own distinctive ecosystem, culture and individuality. By and large, the general concept of development in the post-independent India, may not accord with their idea system. On the contrary, it's not unlikely that the new Western and industrial cult1:1res sought to be introduced into the tribal areas might strike discordant notes in the harmony achieved by the tribal people through a fine balance of the various forces at work"

The exhortation of the late Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, that the tribal people should be enabled to advance along the lines of their own genius, has therefore a strong relevance even today. It would have been befitting if each of the schedule tribe community were to deliberate over and deciqe the course of its development. The decision might have been taken in the light of its cultural background, the present level of development and the projected needs. But since some of the scheduled tribe c;ommunities lack adequate articulation, the communication gap acts as a barrier to concretising the riglit ty,peof blue print for develop ent

Diff f)n.g' adfon for developme·nt till the tribal people make clear their choice of the path of the destiny, may .{St be a reasffile course, ror some inaction at this stage might widen the existing disparity between th . non:--tribal ancl tribal sectio_n· The option left is that development plans should be forged with the ciegreE:!_, of, ssodation o(the. tribal repr sentatives, ta ing into cons_ideration, their naturar resource enqo,-.vr:nent, the occupational pattern, the aptitude and skills and the general psyche of the peop.le.

The Dhebar Commission ·of 1.961 observed, "Throughout the whole of tribal India, every substantial village ha some kind of machinery for settlement of social and religious disputes". They felt that the tribal councils have ·great potentialities. These represent the cooperative and communal temperament of th·e people having· been established in history and traditions and supported by social and religious sanctions. They recommended that the councils should be used not only to maintain the fusion of the tribal institution but also to further progress of the development thro·ughout the tribal area. Statutory Panchayats might exist along side the tribal councils and the latter may be given various aspects of development

The: study team on· tribal developrrient programs headed by P. Shilu Ao drew· attention to the small response of tribes inPanchayats (representation)-and commented that the reasori for the unsatisfactory response of the tribal was that "the new setup does not confirm to their customs and traditions and is looked upon by them as both alien and incongruous".

The -_rk'.ihg group appointed by the Government of India to advice on the pp roach, strategy and priodties in respect of programs for protection. and ·development during the 6th plan made tl\e following. **important recommendations:**

1. ; Representation of the tribes in the Panchayat Raj bodies should not be less than their roportion in ·the population. The position of the Chairman and other important offi.ce bearers should be reserved in their favour.

2. A-The traditional tribal Panchayats at the village level may be recognized as a part of the sy tem. They should have under their jurisdiction all matters of the village including the new development functions.. They may-be allowed to evolve their own methods of working.

3. In the Grama Panchayats covering a group of villages, half the members may be inducted from the traditional village Panchayat, the remaining half being elected. The functions of Graina Panchayats in tribal areas may be wider and cover some of the functions of the traditional Panchayat as well.

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The various committees and groups have recommended obligatory reservation for tribes in the decentralized democratic setup in the context of inadequate representation of tribes and feeble articulation of their views in these bodies. Most important in this context of ill response in the development programs by the tribes emphasizes the fact that the programs should be formulated in such a way that they would not in any way obstruct or cause any inconvenience to the people it proposes to serve, keeping in view, their traditions, cultural and other important aspects what are considered as aspects of utmost importance to them.

The context of Industrialization and other development programs

During the last four decades and particularly during the Plan periods, there has been an acceleration of mining and manufacturing industries. Forest resources have been gradually exploited, leading eventually to deforestation, in the hilly and forested belts of tribal India. Most of these industries came to be established in or around tribal areas because they were rich in mineral and other resources. Close to these industries grew small towns housing mainly the industrial workers.

As the exploitation of mineral and forest resources was chiefly confined to Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, there was a rapid increase of urban population in these states. Demographer Bose (1962: 26) writes that with a concentration of industries in these states, there was a relative shift of urban population from Indo- Gangetic plain to the hilly and plateau areas which offered new industrial and natural resources.

It was not only industrialization that was responsible for the migration promoted by 'pull', 'push', or 'forced' factors of tribals from their homesteads but also other economic institutions. In certain states like Assam and of South India, tea, coffee and rubber estates were formed. The tribals were dispossessed of their land, and were made to work as plantation laborers (Jain 1988). Out-migration from Chotanagpur plateau and other neighboring regions occurred phenomenally to these estates. The tribes were forcibly migrated to other countries, like the Kol who were sent to Mauritius as laborers. Kondha of Orissa were taken to Mesopotamia to serve in World War I. A large number of Bhil were recruited for military service (Pathy 1986).

Industrialization in the tribal areas offered new jobs. But the tribals, unskilled in initial stages, could only get the jobs at the lower rungs. At one time owners of land were now depressed into the class of industrial proletariat. This happened because of a number of factors. Firstly, their land had been usurped by the non- tribal *Zamindars* in many areas, and they were looking for some alternatives.

Secondly, installation of big industrial and developmental projects in tribal zones required the displacement of the native population, often to unknown areas (Vidyarthi 1968, Fernandes 1998). In these cases of uprooting local tribals and non-tribals were equally affected, but as the tribals outnumbered the non- tribals in these areas, they suffered the maximum. Finally, as a result of over-exploitation of forest resources by the outsiders, the tribal economics, which is to a large extent were forest-based, dwindled. Thus, a combination of local impoverishment and availability of new opportunities sent these tribals to seek jobs in heavy industries, tea plantations, construction sites, etc.

These tribals now-turned laborers have changed a lot. The traditional dresses have been replaced by those that came with modernity. Their occupational structure has changed, and it has important implications. A sense of mobility is gradually instilled in the community. Mobility becomes inter-generational as the children of tribal workers aspire to do better in life than their parents, by taking hold of opportunities offered by modernity.

In this process, some of the traditional institutions weaken. For example, in his study of tribals working in Bokaro Steel Plant, Vidyarthi (1968), says that their village institutions like the *'jajmani* system', the cycle of festivals and rituals, the caste-affiliations etc., have completely been disintegrated, and all round depression and despair seems to have affected the life of the uprooted villages.

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This, however, does not mean that there is also a subsequent decline in the feeling of oneness amongst the tribals in a new set-up. Industrialization has fostered a new sense of solidarity between the co-workers. Once there already exist ethnic and social ties between the tribals, the relations in the industry cement them further. Trade unions on the lines of tribal-workers crystallize (Bhowmik 1982). The feeling of ethnicity becomes strong and they begin exerting pressure on the state and the centre.

7.3 Ethnicity, Ethnic Conflicts and Political Developments

Concept of Ethnicity

The word ethnicity comes from the root word ethnic, which loosely means race. An ethnic community does not strictly have a racial connotation. A community can be distinct from others in many ways: their racial stock or origin being one of them. A community may distinguish itself from others by way of a particular or distinctive culture, language, religion or a combination of all these. Because of this distinctive aspect the ethnic communities often come in conflict with other communities with whom they come in contact.

Definition of Ethnicity

The definition of concept in any field of social science is usually difficult. And a term such as ethnicity is loaded with meanings, values and prejudices and therefore, is even more difficult to define. Ethnicity pertains to the word ethnic that is a distinction of mankind based on race. Ethnicity has now lost the original connotation. "It is now employed in a broader sense to signify self-consciousness of a group of people united, or closely related, by shared experience such as language, religious belief, common heritage, etc. While race usually denotes the attributes of a group, ethnic identity typifies creative response of a group who consider themselves marginalized in society" (Barun De and Sunanjan Das, 1992). Barth and Benedict Anderson feel that boundary is an important criterion for self-definition by ethnic group, to separate themselves from 'others'.

Social Psychology of Ethnicity

William Graham Sumner observed that people have their own group as the center of their lives, and rate all other groups with reference to their own. He called this tendency of individuals to cling to their clan ethnocentrism. It is a generalized prejudice.

Why do human beings slip so easily into ethnic prejudice? Human beings have a natural tendency to form generalizations, concepts and categories. Their categories are close to their first-hand experiences. They also categorize basing on hearsay, fantasy and emotions. This process of social categorization leads to the formation of an "in-group" and "out-group". All groups develop a way of living with characteristic codes and beliefs. Therefore, the formation of ethnic attitude is functionally related to becoming a group member. According to the social categorization theories given by H. Tajfel (1981) as well as J.C. Turner (1982), every social group attempts to achieve an identity in contradiction to the "out-group". Identity can be broadly characterized as the process by which an individual is bound to his/her social group and by which he/she realizes his/her social self. In the context of the Indian political identity, such a formulation has several implications. The emotional fervor associated with linguistic issues can perhaps be viewed in the context of this definition of social identity structure of the different language groups in the country.

The normative character of ethnic prejudices involve far more than the fact that members of a majority or minority group share attitudes. Each member is expected to hold such attitudes and various kinds of pressures are brought on those who fail to conform to it. A sense of identity is a very natural human tendency but when an ethnic identity is consolidated and used as a reference point for mobilization to share in the power structure, the mobilization becomes far more effective.

While ethnic attributes are categorization for the purpose of classification, which is a static formulation,

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ethnicity is a dynamic process, whereby a group of people or community regroups itself as an adaptive strategy in response to specific demands of the situations.

Ethnicity – Perspectives

Ethnicity has given new forms and meanings with changing process such a imperialism and modernity. Consequently ethnicity has become an important field of study for social scientist. There are varieties of assumptions regarding ethnicity.

There are some scholars who see the ethnic problem in terms of assimilation and integration; wherein an ethnic group is absorbed into the mainstream group or a dominant ethnic group: an assimilation of this kind in effect is homogenization to create a nation state. To diffuse tension and to protect the dominated group it is also suggested to co-opt the marginalized group.

There are social scientists who see ethnicity as a natural bond between people, immutable or primordial (Geertz 1963). Thus they see the formation of political identity as stemming from this primordial loyalty.

There are still others who essentially see no difference between class interest and ethnic interest. They argue that ethnicity is another alternative avenue for mobility (Berge 1976), loyalty that goes in the way of mobilization.

The conception that ethnicity is culturally pre-determined with its primordial loyalties and sentiments are largely discounted among social scientists. By and large scholars agree that an ethnic group is essential a social group when it is mobilized for collective action in pursuit of the interest of the group.

Writing on the politics of ethnicity in India and Pakistan, Hamza Alavi feels that the boundaries of ethnic categories are not 'objectively' pre-given, for whenever there is change of interest or situation, realignment has occurred as is evident from experiences. A so-called objective criterion like religion can be abandoned in favor of another like region or language. Alavi further states that the ethnic community, therefore, is not simply a politically mobilized condition of a pre-existing set of people, described as an ethnic category. The ethnic categorization itself is dependent in some way in the very emergence of the community. Experience shows that both ethnic category and ethnic community are simultaneously constituted in a single movement.

Writing about ethnicity and nation-building in Sri Lanka, Urmila Phadnis says that ethnic identity is a significant but not a sufficient requisite for evoking ethnicity. It is the mobilization and manipulation of group identity and interest by the leadership that leads to ethnicity. Ethnicity is used as an ideology and also as a device to wrest greater concessions and shares in the power structure.

Dipankar Gupta also argues that the manifestation of ethnicity in Indian politics is not so much an outcome of popular grass-root passions as it is a creation of vested political interests. He applies the notion of 'conspiracy' to ethnic politics in India to draw attention to the deliberate and calculated manner in which such politics is fashioned. He justifies his approach by asking the question as to, why from a variety of ethnic identities that abound in one society only certain ethnic dyads are politically activated and that too very selectively at certain points of time.

K.S. Singh and Sandra Wallman (1988) feel that ethnicity is being increasingly used to denote people with a distinctive set of bio-cultural and biosocial characteristics. Ethnic differences are recognition of contrast between them and us. In their opinion ethnicity is an excellent tool for identification of the aspirations of a community for delineating its boundary, and for preserving its identity. These are some perspectives or approaches to study ethnicity.

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Characteristics of Ethnicity

Following are some of the characteristics of ethnicity.

1. Ethnicity relates to ascriptive identities like caste, language religion, region etc.
2. Inequality in terms of sharing power between two ethnic groups results into conflict. Ethnicity is socially mobilized and territorially confined. It has numerically sufficient population, and is a pool of symbols depicting distinctiveness. It has a reference group in relation to which/whom a sense of relative deprivation (real or imagined) is aggregated
3. Being left out of the developmental process or even being a victim of uneven development, ethnicity causes ethnic movements.
4. Ethnicity is manifested in Indian politics not merely due to grass root discontent but is also a creation of vested political interest.
5. Ethnic groups that use ethnicity to make demands in the political arena for alteration in their status, in their economic well-being, etc. are engaged very often in a form of interest group politics.

Ethnic Conflicts and Political Developments

Before we try to understand the role of ethnicity and political developments, it is important to stress that whatever the difference between ethnic groups, the focus of their interaction finally boils down to the centrality of politics of who gets what, when and how? As already stated the focus of interests of an ethnic group is to get some benefits for itself. The group often uses ethnic criterion like religion, language or caste to mobilize itself to give identity to itself which separates it from other group or groups. Thus, delineation of boundary of an ethnic group of community is an important aspect of ethnicity markers. But exactly which one will get projected at a specific point of time would usually depend on where or how the person draws the boundary. Since delineation of the nature of boundary rests on the conditions existing at a given moment, the whole exercise becomes a response to the specific conditions. This adds fluidity to the situation and makes the identity projection a dynamic phenomenon. The nature of identity shifts along with changing circumstances and calls for change in boundary or a change in identification. The seeming singularity of identity, by and large, conveys a notion only. In reality, plurality of identities appears much more widespread than it ordinarily appears to be.

Manifest and Latent Identities

With plurality of identities, it is important to appreciate that all the identities of individuals or groups cannot be noticeable at a time. In fact, among various identities only one becomes manifest or apparent at a given point of time and the rest of the identities remain subsurface or latent. It may be repeated here that exactly which type of identity becomes manifest at a specific hour would depend on the nature of the immediate boundary delineation. It is, thus, through the interplay of latent and manifest identities that ethnicity expresses itself in a dynamic process. In general, whether an individual would identify himself/herself as a Hindu Rajput or a Bihari would depend, by and large on the existing conditions and felt needs of a given moment. A person ordinarily exercises his/her in order to work out what response it would be most appropriate at the given situation and acts accordingly. Thus, he/she contributes to the overall dynamics of the process.

India as we know has cultural economic and social heterogeneity. The complex ethnic plurality of our nation is a known fact. The ethnic groups vary in sise, culture, consciousness of group identity etc. and very often-clear boundaries can be demarcated between group. The system on the whole is highly segmented and heterogeneous. In such a system what are the ways in which these groups have incorporated into a nation state?

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Ethnicity Vs Nationality

There is a general notion that narrow loyalties are expression of retrogression or prejudice. This originates from the concern for broader identity and lack of appreciation of the fact that plurality of identity is a reality. In fact, emergence of ethnicity all around primarily on cultural counts has put the boundary of any nation-state under severe stress. Implicitly assuming the political boundary as something very sacred, the quest for larger identity is usually emphasized. No doubt, this serves some immediate political purpose. But at the same time, this emphasis on a large identity like nation ignores the reality of plural identities and their possible interplay and thus reverts back to the nation where religion, language etc. become static categories of ethnic attributes.

Geographically, Indian Sub-continent has facilitated the existence of numerous groups belonging to various racial stocks, speaking different languages and having different patterns of culture. Centuries of living together has not removed these differences. At the same time, the different groups moved in unison in the political, economic and social spheres. The different groups were united by a common historical destiny which created a psychological unity. Though diverse practices were allowed, Hinduism retained a pan-Indian quality.

Language too played its role in uniting the diverse elements: Sanskrit in ancient India provided the bridge between various pluralities, while Urdu, English and Hindi sought to do the same in later times. Thus, there existed a pan-Indian culture as well as various diverse, regional, local and ethnic culture what we may call as great and little traditions respectively.

Politically and administratively, India came under one umbrella under the centralized rule of Ashoka's Kalinga Empire. Later the strong centralized monarchy under the Moghals created a pan-Indian sentiment. At the same time, several political powers, small identities had emerged in India. These were like the kingdoms of Marathas in Maharashtra, Sikhs in the most of Punjab in the North-West and in Bengal in the East. These territorial identities were not always well defined.

By the time of the British took over the reign of India, the change was enormous. With the British came the printing press, new system of education, new means and modes of communication and transportation and ideas of secular state, fraternity and liberty. Years of discontent with the British rule and its policies resulted in the first indigenous revolt in 1857. "The failure of the movement of 1857 to drive British out of India led to rethinking amongst educated Indians about alternative ways and means of getting rid of foreign domination. They commented that new education, science and technology had to be accepted in order to forge a new Indian national identity. If Indians could strive as a single entity, task would be easily and quickly accomplished. Thus, in the second half of the 19th century, organizations with the prefix 'Indian' began to appear" (Gopal, 1992). The growth of national feeling was facilitated by infrastructural facilities and conditions such as printing press, new means of communication and transportation, etc. as mentioned above. This growing consciousness was implicit in the growth of such pan-Indian organization like British Indian Association and later the Indian National Congress in 1885.

Indian nationalism reached maturity and became the uppermost concern, though there were occasions when ethnicity and plural identities were in conflict with nationalism. The latter, very often, appeared as integral part of Indian nationalism. Although secular ideas of nationalism were on the rise the question of regional identities were not dead and buried, rather, they were just relegated to the background. Thus, we not only had pan-Indian organizations like Indian National Congress, there were organizations at the regional level like the Justice Party with its undertones of ethnic chauvinism in the Madras Presidency. However, "Secular nationalism, in the face of foreign rule kept ethnic and caste identities under control. It did not subdue them, but made compromises".

Once the freedom was won all the subdued forces surfaced again in the independent democratic India. Political power came to be the key to economic prosperity and enhanced social status. Henceforth, conscious attempts have been made by vested interests to whip up ethnic identity and invariably all political parties have made compromises with ethnic demand. Thus, we can see that the articulation of ethnicity or ethnic movements has closely been related to the power structure, the democratic process

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and initiation of socio-economic development.

Regionalism and Demand for Autonomy

A careful observation will reveal that ethnic movements are generally the expressions of deprivation and disparities in sharing of privileges. The Jharkhand Movement, for example, was a movement essentially to fight the exploitation of tribes by non-tribes not only in terms of natural resources but in terms of subjugation of their culture.

The state is essentially accommodative of some of the ethnic demands. This has diffused the ethnic tension and conflicts in the country. And in some sense this enhanced the mobility and bargaining power of the ethnic group.

The post-Independent India has seen a lot of changes. We have made some new strides in development activity. Amidst this, there have emerged new classes and groups which have asserted for their separate identity and have enabled them to claim a larger share in the fruits of development. They have also realized that in a federal political structure like ours, which has a strong central state. the best way of carving out more power is to capture power at the state level.

Soon after Independence the most powerful manifestation of ethnicity in India was the demand for creation of state or province on linguistic basis. The State Reorganisation Committee was formed in 1956 and boundaries of the states were redrawn on the linguistic basis. This forming of linguistic states was a manifestation of ethnic identity. This process reinforced the regional and linguistic identity and ethnicity. Thus, the demand for separate state on various accounts like ethnicity, language, etc. soon became a part of the political scenario. Various political parties were formed at the state level which were, by and large, identified with ethnic elements.

Jharkhand Movement – A Case Study

The tribal belt of Central India comprising the portion of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa has seen the rise of the Jharkhand Movement, which agitated for the formation of a separate state for tribals and which they succeed in achieving. The Jharkhand Movement is a good example of politics of ethnicity. The movement drew its sustenance mainly from the growing discontent among tribals on account of their land alienation, exploitation and political neglect of their problems at the national level. The Jagirdari system in the 18th century turned tribals into tenants and the non-tribals exploited them shamelessly. In the wake of this development there were a series of tribal uprisings between 1789-1900 A.D. The Christian Missionaries entered the area during the middle of the 19th century. They made available for the tribals the facilities of education and helped increase employment opportunities and economic improvement. A few educated tribal Christians organized Chhota Nagpur Unnati Samaj (CNUS) in 1928 for the tribal upliftment.

The turning point came when a separate province of Orissa was carved out of Bihar in 1936, The Chhota Nagpur Unnati Samaj and its new incarnation Adibasi Sabha in 1938, emerged as the dominant political party under the leadership of Jaipal Singh, a British educated tribal of the area and this party demanded, for the first time, a separate tribal province. The principal arguments given for the demands of separate state were: The area was characterized by a large concentration of the tribals. Their mental make-up, language culture and values are totally different from those of non-tribals. Also, the tribals felt that the welfare and developmental works both provided and carried out for them are pittances in comparison to the mineral wealth and forest resources exploited from the region. The tribals had a strong fear of losing their identity as they were in minority surrounded by the non-tribals. The tribals were marginalized at all levels. This had generated tremendous frustration among them. This harsh reality had provided the ground for effective propaganda that had facilitated the growth of an internal solidarity and out-group antagonism. There was an antipathy among them towards the non-tribals or Dikus. Interestingly, the definition of Dikus has changed with changing context. Originally Dikus were Zamindars and their non-tribal employees. Later non-tribals of upper castes background were identified as such. At present, the people from North Bihar are branded as Dikus.

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Northeast – A Case Study

With their distinct histories, geographical location and diverse ethnic composition, almost all the states of North-East India have been beset with the problems of ethnicity, They all have witnessed insurgency, ethnic conflicts and riots and autonomy movements in varying degrees at different point of times in the post-Independence period. These movements have generally taken violent forms. Even as the elements of the insurgency are present in almost all the states of North East, it took the most strident form in Nagaland and Mizoram. There are forces in most of the states of Northeast India which believe that they are not Indians; their territories have been merged with India forcibly without their consent. They would prefer to have their own sovereign nation-states.

The insurgent groups in Nagaland for example did not accept the Indian Constitution, its VI schedule meant for the Northeast, boycotted the first general election held in 1952 in the country, and declared to have set up their own sovereign state in exile - the Federal Republic of Nagaland. Over a period of time, new insurgent groups have emerged in almost all states of the region. Supported by the foreign countries, especially the neighbors, these have setup an umbrella organization under the leadership of the NSCN (National Socialist Council of Nagaland). They question the sovereignty of the Indian state and the concept of the nation-state. The areas of Assam that are inhabited by the Khasis, Jaintias and Garos had witnessed the movement for an autonomous state in the 1960s. It resulted in the formation of a separate state of Meghalaya in 1972. In Assam, there are agitations for the creation of the autonomous states like Bodoland and Karbi Anglong, etc. The target in the insurgency is the sovereignty of the state - police, army and other institutions; the autonomy movements do not just question the sovereignty of the state, but their attack is also diverted against the state agencies. The insurgency and the autonomy movements often result in ethnic riots, especially between the tribals and non-tribals or between one and the other tribe. All these developments ultimately get linked to the state policies regarding the Northeast region.

There are mainly two perspectives that analyze the issue of ethnicity and nation building in the context of the North-East India. The first is the modernization/development/"nation-state building" perspective. The second is the "federation-building" perspective. The former views the problems as the outcome of the following: the process of "nation-building" in the face of the conflict between the modern and tradition; the process of modernization and transition (democratization); conflict between the modem and traditional leadership; and the inability of the system to fulfill the aspirations of the new generation. The scholars who have used this perspective are S K Chaube, V B Singh, B G Verghese and Myron Wiener.

The second perspective is basically a critique of the first one. This perspective is available largely in the writings of the scholars who hail from the Northeastern region. The prominent representatives of this perspective are Sanjib Baruah, Sajal Nag, Udyan Sharma, Hiren Guhain, Sanjay Hazarika and M P Bezbaruah. In fact, Urrnila Phadnis is of the opinion that the main leadership in the entire South Asia followed the notion of nationhood as per the considerations of the dominant groups and ignored the minority constituents of the society. The scholars who adhere to this perspective argue that the problems in the Northeast are the result of the "nation-state building" perspective of the mainstream national level leadership. They further argue that in their quest of the "nation-state building" the dominant groups of the country represented by the central government and the mainstream leadership ignored the "periphery", the smaller nationalities of the North-East; have acted as a "step mother" to them; shown arrogant attitude; paid less attention to the human rights violation in the North-East than other parts of the country. These factors have resulted in the insurgency problem in the Northeast. This perspective is well articulated in the suggestion of Sanjib Baruah that the mainstream leadership of the country should replace their "nation-state building" approach in favor of "genuine federation-building" in order to retrieve the situation.

Response of the State

The Indian constitution has recognized the ethnic diversities and ensured that these diversities may not be obliterated. At the same time, the constitution has also felt that ethnicity should not stand in the way of political, social, economic and cultural progress of people in the country. Provisions such as universal

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adult franchise granted to the people irrespective of their caste, race, language etc. granted to the people secular participation in various social and economic activities. The state has also turned to be reformist and has intervened to promote the lot of weaker sections and minorities.

"The most important of such demands came from religion and linguistic groups the resultant fear of dismemberment of the nation, appears to have made such demands totally unacceptable to the government. Whereas, demand for linguistic reorganization of the State have been considered despite initial reluctance. Further, a policy of accommodation is clearly visible on the official, language issue. Brass (1978) lists down four rules that regulate the attitude of government towards ethnic demands.

1. All demands short of secession will be allowed full expression, but secessionist demand will be suppressed, if necessary, by armed forces.
2. Regional demands based on language and culture will be accommodated but those demands based on religious differences will not be accepted.
3. An ethnic demand will be accepted only when it achieves broad popular support in the region.
4. The views of other groups involved in the dispute are essential for problem solving.

Tribalism and Pseudo-Tribalism

The word "tribalism" frequently refers to the possession of a strong cultural or ethnic identity that separates oneself as a member of one group from the members of another. (Refer William Graham Sumner's concept of In-Groups and Out-Groups). This phenomenon is related to the concept of tribal society in that it is a precondition for members of a tribe to possess a strong feeling of identity for a true tribal society to form.

While ethnocentrism is one of only a very small handful of human cultural universals, the term "tribalism" has become nearly synonymous with it. Many tribes refer to themselves with their language's word for "people," while referring to other, neighboring tribes with various epithets. For example, the term "Inuit" translates as "people," but they were known to the Ojibwe by a name translating roughly as "eaters of raw meat." This fact is often cited as evidence that tribal peoples saw only the members of their own tribe as "people," and denigrated all others as something less. In fact, this is a tenuous conclusion to draw from the evidence. Many languages refined their identification as "the true people," or "the real people," suggesting that there were other people, who were simply inferior. In this is an evidence of ethnocentrism, a universal cultural characteristic found in all societies.

Tribalism has a very adaptive effect in human evolution. Humans are social animals, and ill-equipped to live on their own. Tribalism and ethnocentrism help to keep individuals committed to the group, even when personal relations may fray. This keeps individuals from wandering off. Thus, ethnocentric individuals would have a higher survival rate -- or at least, with their higher commitment to the group, more opportunities to breed. A more significant vector may be that groups with a strong sense of unity and identity can benefit from kin selection behaviour such as common property and shared resources.

"Pseudotribalism" is the word that connotes a false sense of "tribalism". Even though a sense of strong ethnocentrism prevails amongst them, most of the ethno-political movements are organized 'multi-tribal' activities which are politically motivated. Jharkhand movement is a case in point. The nature of tribal movements reveals the fact that the concept of 'tribalism' is not as strong as it was, once upon a time. The basis of tribal movements is not common interests among the members of the movement, but conflicting interests with other dominating groups. The basis of group loyalty is not common cultural consciousness but a common economic and political agenda. (More on this in the topic on ethno-political movement).

Thus, Pseudo-tribalism has a force is responsible for atleast a temporary suspension of differences between different tribes, mobilizing people based on economic and political agenda and creating a sense of "solidarity" amongst different tribal groups, at least temporarily.

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Unrest Among Tribal Communities

Tribe is a colonial concept, introduced in the 19th century, by colonial authorities and ethnographers to describe all communities of India. In the latter half of the same century, the concept of tribe was narrowed down to the primitive groups as distinct from castes. It was under the Government of India Act of 1935 and the Constitution of India that the nomenclature of the Scheduled Tribe fully emerged. The Constitution of India does not define a tribe. The notion of the Scheduled Tribe has two aspects. It is administratively determined *inter alia* by the criteria of backwardness and remoteness – people living in forests and on hills. They are also called *adivasis* – the natives. The tribals like many other social groups have launched social and political movements for the reddressal of their grievances. Most of the regions except the Southern pockets, the North–western region and the islands have witnessed several agitations of the tribals during the colonial and post – colonial periods. During the pre-colonial period tribals rose against the regional power of the Marathas or Rajputs. They resisted against the zamindars and non-tribal administrators. During the colonial period they struggled against the British rule for their autonomy. Birsa Munda revolt in Central India is best-known example of this. There were also politico-religious movements resisting against the non-tribal cultural authority through religious ideas.

Tribe in India today subsists on a single techno-economy of production. Most of them subsist on a combination of five modes or even more, of subsistence. The primitive technology, namely, hunting, food gathering and shifting and terrace cultivation is confined to the heavy monsoon zone covered by the tropical forests in the north-east, parts of eastern and central regions, the Nilgiris and the Andaman Islands. Pastoral economy, which constitutes about 10 per cent of the tribal economy, survives in the high altitude of the sub-Himalayan regions, the arid zones of Gujarat and Rajasthan, and in a small pocket in the Nilgiris. More than three quarter of tribal workers are engaged in the primary sector of economy, of which a majority are cultivators followed by agricultural laborers. A large number of them are engaged in livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting etc., and as workers in construction sector, mining and quarrying. Though barter is reported among tribal communities on a significant scale compared to the non-tribals, almost the entire tribal economy today is in the vortex of market forces. There has been a marked shift among the tribal communities from the traditional to the new occupations. For instance, a number of communities practicing hunting and gathering has declined as forests have disappeared and wildlife has diminished.

Ecological degradation has severely curtailed the related traditional occupations of the tribal communities. However, there is a rise in horticulture terrace cultivation settled cultivation, animal husbandry, sericulture and bee keeping. The tribes are moving away from their traditional occupations and settling down as peasants and that they have taken up new vocations to augment their income and raise productivity. We also find evidence of diversification in the tribal economy. There is a sharp rise in the number of tribals employed in government and private services, self-employment, etc. Many of the traditional crafts have disappeared and spinning, in particular, have suffered. Related activities such as weaving, dyeing and printing have similarly suffered. Skin and hide work, etc. have undergone changes; stone carving has declined. But the number of tribals employed in mining and masonry has gone up steeply which suggests a new mobility. The tribals are also craftsmen. Carving and body tattooing consist of the forms of arts and crafts prevailing among the tribal people. Wall painting and drawing have emerged as other major forms of art in recent years. In fact there has been a significant revival of these forms of art on a commercial scale among the Warlis, Rabaris, Rathawas and others. Basketry involves the largest number of tribes, followed by those engaged in weaving, embroidery and pottery.

The impact of development processes, particularly education, has created a new stratum of entrepreneurs/businessmen, teachers, administrators, engineers/doctors and members of defense services among the tribals. Development process has also created division in tribal society. Disparities have increased. With the loss of control over resources and growth of population, demographic growth rate has been higher among tribes than the national average, poverty among the tribals has also increased manifold. Barring a few tribes or a few sections among them, the tribals remain among the most backward and poorest sections of our populations.

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PRE-COLONIAL MOVEMENTS

In the pre-colonial period some of the tribes founded states in the territories extending from the northeast, through middle India to western and southern India. Where they did not found states, they were accommodated within regional political system, retaining a great deal of autonomy and freedom. Elsewhere the tribes were reported to be in disturbed conditions on the eve of the colonial role. For example, in western India the tribes such as Gonds, Vills and Kolis were reportedly in a disturbed state. The tribals often rose against regional powers such as the Marathas, Rajputs etc. The Mughals had put down the Kolis and the Marathas had dealt with the Bhils and Gonds, with a heavy hand. All this radically changed during the colonial period that witnessed the first major assault on tribal autonomy and tribal's control over their resources such as land, forest, minerals, etc. Colonialism also witnessed the dismantling of pre-colonial political structures built up by the tribals or those that accommodated them. Therefore, tribals rebelled more often and organized movements and protests on a larger scale than any other community during the colonial period.

The First Phase (1795-1860)

The rise and establishment of the British rule saw the beginning of the first phase (1795-1860) of the tribal uprisings that may be described as primary resistance movements. The Santhal insurrection (1855-56) represented a transitional phase marked by the agrarian resistance and revivalism. In the Northeast the sub-phases of tribal rebellions could be similarly demarcated. The Garos and Hajongs who submitted to the British rule to escape the tyranny of their zamindars, came under the influence of the Pagal Panthi. Their chief, Tipu who became the leader of the oppressed peasantry, founded a kingdom and was arrested. The Khasis were engaged in acts of depredations in the plains they raided from 1787 to 1825. The Singphos, Mishmis, Lushais, Khamptis and Daflas raided plains and killed people. The Khasis opposed the construction of the road, and the confederation of Khasi chiefs resisted the British attempt at the occupation of their country, led by Tirot Singh. The British sent out expeditions to punish the Lusahis, Mishmis etc. In middle India, this phase ended with the revolt of Maniram Dewan and Saranga Raja of Assam in 1857.

The Second Phase (1860-1920)

The second phase (1860-1920) coincided with the onset of the intensive period of colonialism, which saw a much deeper penetration of merchant capital, a higher incidence of rent, etc., into tribal and peasant economies. It intensified the exploitation of the tribes. As a result of this, there were not only a larger number of movements, represented by such evocative native terms as *mulkui larai, fituri, meli, ulgulan* and *bhumakal,* involving many tribes but also a far more complex type of movement, which represented a curious mix of agrarian, religious and political issues. The Bhakti movement, with its tenets of monotheism, vegetarianism, cleanliness, abstention from liquor, etc., was introduced by mendicants (gossains), artisans and peasants moving into tribal areas. Christianity also arrived and under its impact a new tribal middle classes emerged, which was educated, conscious and self- respecting. Both Christianity and

Bhakti movement contributed in this phase to the rise of millenarian movements. The tribal movements demonstrated, in varying degrees, tribal resistance against the assaults on their system and their attempt to prop up its moldering edifices. They were followed by the socio-religious or revitalization movements, viz, the Kherwar movement among the Santals (1871-80), the *Sardar revivalist* movement among the Mundas and Oraons (1881-90), the Tana *bhagat* and Haribaba movements in Chotanagpur, the *bhagat* movement in Madhya Pradesh and Bhil revivalism, which were expressive of the tribals urge to create a new order. These two lines of the movement, through the length and breadth of the sub-continent, revealed striking similarities and a basic unity of response to almost the same complex of challenging forces.

The movement led by Birsa Munda (1874-1901) is the best known of the socio-political movements of this phase because the movement sought to establish Munda raj and independence. In its socio-religious aspects, it was like any other bhagat movement, with the difference that it was also influenced by

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Christianity, and it used both Hindu and Christian idioms to create the Munda ideology and worldview. The rebels attacked police stations and officials, churches and missionaries. Though there was an undercurrent of hostility against the dikus (outsiders), there was no overt attack on them except in a couple of controversial cases. The uprising was quelled, but its lessons were acknowledged in the passing of the Chotanagpur tenancy act. It sought to protect the Munda land system, prohibit transfer of tribal land recognise tribal right to reclaim land and create a new administrative unit. Their revolt forced the Mewar durbar to sign a 21-point agreement.

The Third Phase (1920-1947)

In the third phase from 1920 to 1947 we see three trends in tribal movements. The first trend is the impact of the freedom struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi who mobilized some of the major tribal groups in the national movement and reconstruction program. The movements centering on land and forest and revival and reform of tribal society represent the second trend. The third trend is reflected by the rise of movements seeking autonomy, statehood, separation and independence led by the tribal middle class.

We may describe in brief three movements, the Tanabhagat movement among the Oraons, the Haribaba movement among the Hos and allied tribes, and the Rajmohini movement among the Gonds. To the Hindu peasantry steeped in the medieval bhakti tradition, the Mahatma appeared like a bhakti preacher, and to the tribals like a bhagat.

The best known of bhagat movements was the Tanabhagat movement that started in the manner of a nativistic movement. While the tribes accepted the nationalist program and joined the mainstream of the national movement, they resisted against their economic and cultural exploitation. Swaraj meant not only freedom from British rule, but also freedom from the oppression of the dikus, moneylenders, zamindars and feudal-overlords. In the princely states where tribals were more backward, the Praja Mandals launched movements against the feudal order by mobilizing the tribals. The tribes who responded particularly to these movements were the Bhils, Gonds, Kharwars, Mundas and Khonds. Most of them had a notion of property, private or communal, in land, which had been threatened by the colonial system and feudal exploitation. The agrarian issues, which excited them, were the demands for begar or veth (compulsory labor without payment) rasal or magan (free supply of provisions for visiting officers), and exactions other than rent (abwabs).

Two nativistic movements sought to revive the pure and pristine elements of tribal culture. The Seng Khasi, a socio-cultural organization of the Khasis had been established as early as 1889 to preserve the Khasi way of life. Through its platform the non-Christian Khasis have tried to strengthen the ancient system of clan relationship, which was disturbed by the large-scale conversion of the Khasis to Christianity. The second - the Zeliangrong movement - started as a religio-cultural movement under Jadunang. It assumed a political overtone and became the only movement to have established linkages with the national freedom struggle. Under Gaidinliu it remained strongly nationalistic, promoted tribal solidarity and demanded creation of a separate administrative unit for the Zeliangrong people to be formed out of the territories inhabited by the constituent tribes in the contiguous regions of Manipur, Assam and Nagaland, to which these states did not agree.

POST-COLONIAL MOVEMENTS

The post-colonial period witnessed intensification of the exploitation of resources of the land of the tribals and their marginalization and pauperization, despite progress in education and employment, representation in politics and share in power, and affluence of a section of tribal middle class. Therefore, this period witnessed the rise of a larger number of movements centered on the issues of identity, equality, empowerment, self-rule, etc. Tribal movements may broadly be classified into:

1. **Political Movements:** Movements for autonomy, independence, state formation, and self-rule.

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2. **Agrarian and Forest-based Movements:** Movements for control over resources, such as land and forest or the movements directed against land alienation and displacement and against restrictions in forest and for forest conservation.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

There have been attempts at articulation of the aspirations for political autonomy among the Gonds and Bhils during the period that followed independence. The Raj Gond leaders such as Raja Naresh Singh demanded the formation of a separate state for the adivasis to be carved out of the tribal areas of Chattisgarh and contiguous districts of Rewa region and Vidarbha, in a memorandum submitted before the States Reorganization Commission. On 19 May 1963 Narain Singh Ukey, President of the Gondwana Adivasi Seva Mandal reiterated the demand for the formation of the Gondwana state, consisting of the Gond and other tribal regions of the Chattisgarh and contiguous districts of Vidarbha in Maharshtra.

It was in Chotanagpur - Santal Pargana region of Bihar that the movement for political autonomy and formation of a state really developed further. The Adivasi Mahasabha was wound up and merged with a new regional party, the Jharkhand Party, in 1949. Behind it were the experiences of the failure of the militant movements and of the framing of the Constitution of India. The Jharkhand Party was thrown open, at least, in principle, to all residents Chotanagpur. There was thus a transition from ethnicity to regionalism as the formative factor in the movement. The period from 1952 to 1957 was in many ways the peak period for the Jharkhand movement and party, which had emerged as the major party in the Chotanagpur-Santal Paragana region. The second general elections in 1957 had seen it extend its influence to Orissa, where it captured five seats and held the balance of power in the state politics that was plagued by instability. It displayed remarkable unity, laid down the law in the tribal region, could mobilize thousands of people and take out mammoth processions at short notice. The decline of the party began in the early 1960s. The reasons for its decline were the following: involvement of the tribals in the process of development; rivalry between the advanced Christian tribals and backward non-Christian tribals arising out of competition on education, employment and control on the resources for development; and, shift in the support of the non-Christian tribals from Jharkhand to the Congress and Jana Sangh. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha emerged as a major political force in the industrial and mining belt of Chotanagpur and in state politics after the 1980 general elections. It sought to broad base the separatist movement by including within its ambit the peasant and working classes. The Jharkhand is described by its ideologues as an internal colony that is being exploited by outsiders. Even though the region accounts for 28 percent of minerals, it avails itself of only 15 percent of the state's budget for development. The development process itself is exploitative of the local inhabitants and outsiders have moved in to seize all opportunities of employment. Through many vicissitudes that affected Jharkhand movement, the groundswell of support for a separate state continued and even intensified, bringing within its sweep major political parties. They started by setting up the regional structures in the 1980s. The then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared in 1980 that Chhotanagpur was a culturally distinct area. This was translated into an autonomous political authority in the early 1990s. In 1988, Bhartiya Janata Party committed itself to the formation of Vananchal State in terms of regional backwardness. Thus the two important players who were long opposed to Jharkhand reversed their roles. All Left parties barring the CPI (M) supported the demand for a separate state in 1980s while highlighting land and forest issues, nationality, class and ethnic question, generally ignored by major parties. Thus while on the one side, the Jharkhand State was steadily growing and this was translated into electoral gains for the pro-state parties, particularly the BJP in the 1990s. The Committee on Jharkhand Matters recommended setting up of an autonomous authority. The Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council (JAAC) came into existence in 1993, but it fell short of the expectations of the people who demanded nothing short of a full state. In the two general elections held in 1995 and 1996 the all India parties advocating a separate state swept the polls. Jharkhand state became a reality on 15 November 2000, substantially fulfilling the objective of a Jharkhand state set by the Jharkhand Party in 1950 and dream of a tribal raj held out by Birsa Munda, about one hundred year ago.

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Political Movements in the Northeast

Tribal movements in the Northeast stand in a category by themselves because of the region's unique geopolitical situation and historical background. Political processes in the North-Eastern hills picked up on the eve of transfer of power when a considerable number of tribals and a substantial section of their elite among the Khashis, Mizos, Garos and even a section among the Nagas agreed to participate in the constitutional system of India. Old tribes assumed new names, small tribes merged with larger tribes, and the tribes combined to form a new ethnic-cum-territorial identity. While the processes up to the formation of the autonomous councils or the state were almost common to all tribes, there were differences on the question of their relationship with the nation-state. A section of the Nagas chose the path of insurgency, followed by the Mizos, the Meiteis, and the Tripuris. Other sections of the same tribes later preferred integration. For example, in Nagaland the Angami, the Ao and the Sema who had played the major role in the beginning of Naga insurgency opted for sedate regional politics. The centre of gravity shifted from the area dominated by these tribes to the areas inhabited by the Konyak and Lotha and now to the international border. The Hemis, and the Konyaks and Tangkhuls now dominate the insurgency. In fact there has been a reaction among these minor tribes against the domination by the Hemis, and the Konyaks and Tangkhuls. There is also a demand for the formation of the remote and underdeveloped Mon and Tuensang districts into a union territory.

The Naga Movement

The Naga movement is the oldest ongoing movement for autonomy or independence. The origin of the present Naga movement could be traced to the formation of a Naga club in the year 1918 at Kohima with a branch at Mokokchung, which consisted mainly of the members of emerging Naga elites, including government officials who came from the administrative centers of Kohima and Mokokchung educated in Christian educational institutions, and a few leading headmen of the neighboring villages. The club discussed social and administrative problems involving all the tribes of the Naga Hills. The Naga Club submitted memorandum to the Simon Commission in 1929. It prayed for keeping the hills outside the scheme of reforms and for continuing the direct British administration of the hills. In April 1945 the District Tribal Council, which united the individual tribal councils, was formed in the Naga Hills at the initiative of the then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills District. The nomenclature of this Council was changed to Naga National Council (NNC) in 1946. The Japanese fought their last battle during World War II at Kohima, the headquarters of the Naga Hills District. The constitution of the Naga National Council as the political forum of the Naga tribes could be considered the beginning of the modern phase of the Naga movement. It gave a sense of political unity to the Naga tribes and it had embodied the concept of Naga nationhood.

In 1946, the British Government proposed a scheme to carve out a Trust Territory comprising the Naga Hills, the then NEFA area and a part of Burma, as a 'Crown Colony' under control from London. The educated Nagas in the NNC quickly opposed this idea of British colonisation, like the Indian National Congress, and declared that the British must quit Naga Hills when they quit India. The objectives of the NNC have developed through many phases from autonomy to independence. Under the 9-point agreement reached between the NNC and the Government of India — represented by the late Sir Akbar Hyderi, the then Governor of Assam on 27-29 June 1947, there were provisions for protection from land alienation, creation of administrative autonomy and a special responsibility of the Government of India for their implementation.

The Naga movement from 1947 to 1954 in the Naga Hills remained peaceful and constitutional. Towards the end of 1949, the Naga National Council changed its goals favoring Independence outside India Union. In 1954, the Naga announced the formation of the Hongkin Government that is the 'People's Sovereign Republic of Free Nagaland'. Violence broke out in 1954 and there were many incidents involving the Indian army and rebels. In July 1960, a 16-point agreement was reached between Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and a Naga delegation. On 1 August 1960, Prime Minister Nehru announced in Parliament the decision of the Government to make 'Nagaland' the 16th state of the Indian Union. By this time a new group of Naga leaders had emerged in Nagaland, who formed the Nagaland Nationalist

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Organization (NNO). Mainly those leaders who had been instrumental in bringing about statehood for Nagaland formed the NNO. In the same way, there emerged the Democratic Party of Nagaland, which was formed by those who differed from the NNO leadership and harbored sympathy for the secessionist underground group. However, the militant section of the Naga movement remained underground for more than a decade between 1954 and 1964. Till 1968, several rounds of talks were held between the underground leaders. Another landmark was the signing of the Shillong Accord, on 11 November 1975 under the terms of which the underground Naga accepted the Indian Constitution, the deposited their arms and government of India in turn released Naga political prisoners and promised their rehabilitation. However, while there has been no resumption of insurgency and more and more underground leaders have come over ground, renouncing violence. Nagaland has generally remained an oasis of peace and stability in the troubled northeast; Phizo himself and the hostiles have repudiated the Accord. The hostiles stood divided into three camps (i): the pro-Phizo Federal Party, (ii) the group led by Mown Angami who became Vice-President of the underground Naga national Council and who condemned the Federal party of its reconciliation with New Delhi and denounced the insurgents for betraying Christianity and (iii) the insurgents imbued with Moists ideology led by a Tanghkul Naga, T. Muivah and Isak Swu who have established the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). There were incidence of shootouts, cross fire, murderous attacks, and indeterminate killings between pro-Phizo and Muivah-Isak factions on the Indo-Burma borders.

Behind the permutations and combination of Naga politics one sees the changing equations among various tribes. The Angami, Ao and Sema who played the major role in the beginning of Naga insurgency have opted for sedate regional politics. The centre of gravity has shifted from the area dominated by these tribes and by the Konyak and Lotha to the international border. The insurgency is now dominated by the Hemis, and the Konyaks and Tanghuls loyal to pro-Phizo party have been killing the Angami, Khomengan and Chakesang. In fact there has been a reaction among these tribes against the dominance of the advanced tribes such as the Ao, Angami, Chakesang and Lotha.

Meanwhile, the Nagaland politics have moved between the mainstream and regional poles. The Nagaland National Organization ran the government from 1964 to 1975. In 1976 it merged with the Indian National Congress to gain a national identity. The Nagas in the mean time have emerged as the most dynamic and progressive people in the northeast who developed village development boards as the catalysts of rural development and also raised a Naga regiment that fought at Kargil. And yet, the final solution to the Naga problem is not yet in sight, though negotiations often take place between the government of India and insurgent group to find a solution.

AGRARIAN AND FOREST-BASED MOVEMENTS

In the post-colonial era the pattern of alienation of tribal resources such as land shows a marked change. Tribals are being displaced not only by non-tribals but also by the state and other organizations that require land for development. They are now pitted not only against other people but also against the state that they see as the major instrument for displacing them from their land.

The tribals are asking not only for restoration of the land that they lost by invoking the provision of the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Area Land Transfer Regulations, 1959, which come into force in 1963, but also the transfer of ownership and delivery of possession in regard to the land allotted to them. Of late, CPI (ML) of the People's War Group (PWG) has organized them. In February 1981 there was an unusual spurt of forced harvesting on lands taken away from them by non-tribals, raiding of houses of moneylenders and decamping with mortgaged valuables. The traditional system of communication was revived to organize the tribals. Signals were exchanged by beating the drum. The Gond durbar held on 6 February 1981 at Keslapur declared that the problems of the tribals had come to a boiling point. The Gonds also prevented the demarcation of land for afforestation. They had earlier reacted strongly to the scheduling of the Lumbadars, a community of traders and moneylenders, as a tribe in 1977, because the Lumbadars always exploited the tribals and their status as a tribe helped them to legitimize their illegal possession of the Gonds' land. On 20 April 1981 a conference was planned by CPI(ML) at Indervalli. The meeting was banned and the tribals were persuaded not to assemble there. However, they took out a procession that

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came into conflict with a police force. About 15 tribals lost their lives.

Characteristics of Tribal Revolts

The leadership of the tribal movements has mainly emerged from themselves. While the leadership of the first phase emerged from the upper crust of tribal society, that of the second rose from the lowest rung of it. The Santal brothers were landless - Birsa Munda was a ryot or a parja (crop-sharer) and Govind Giri was a hali. The leadership of the third phase and post-colonial periods was provided by the members of the upcoming tribal middle class, both in middle India and in the Northeast. They were educated people who included priests, catechists, teachers, public servants, rural leaders and professionals who spoke largely in secular idioms. The leadership for social reform movements was provided by the outsiders such as the Gandhian workers, of the Parja Mandal agitation by outsiders like Motilal Tejawat and of some tribal uprisings such as the Nagesia by even "Baniyas".

The goals of the movement ranged from the restoration of the pre-colonial polity, service tenure (Chuar), and land (Sardar) and right in forest to expulsion of outsiders, end of taxation, social reform, political independence, or establishment of the tribal raj or participation in constitutional and democratic political apparatus, formation of tribal states, gaining equality and end of exploitation.

The social and ethnic composition of the movements ranged from the movement led by a single tribe to a confederacy of tribes and the castes sub-ordinate to the tribes such as the artisans and service groups. Most of the movements were limited to a tribe but such movements in the first phase such as Kol and Santhal insurrections encompassed many tribal and non-tribal groups. In the third and post-colonial period broad based political parties emerged among the tribes, both in North-East and in middle India. The all India tribal platforms gradually emerged in 1960s.

All tribal movements were limited in scale but they had an immediate impact on policy of the state. In the short run the authorities responded by taking immediate measures to address the tribal concerns, divisive measures to protect their resources, facilitate access to the officials etc. In the long term the colonial policy built up a framework to institutionalize the isolation for tribals, a combination of elements of direct and indirect rule in princely states, in the North-East etc., a mix of legal and administrative measures to protect land against alienation to non-tribals, and protect customary rights in forest. There was, however, to be no development of any kind – the missionaries were left free to manage education and health services. It was left to the Gandhian workers and Congress ministries which assumed office in late 1930s to institute inquires into tribals' poverty, indebtedness and backwardness and put in place the first slew of welfare measures.

The results of the uprisings were thus not uniform for whole of tribal India. While in British India they achieved a non-regulation administrative system for tribes and special agrarian laws to protect tribal land, little was done for them in princely states. However, the political agent did intervene to uphold status quo rather than promote change. This ambivalence was typical of the colonial system.

Summary of Important Reasons for Tribal Unrest

Inadequate Implementation of Constitutional Safeguards: The Constitution envisages a comprehensive and well-designed scheme of action for tribal protection and development. The Governor of a State having Scheduled Areas has been given regulation-making power for development of Scheduled Tribes and good administration of Scheduled Areas in consultation with the Tribes Advisory Council. He is required to keep the President informed of the tribal situation in the State by submitting annual report. In order to protect the tribal interest, the Governor has been given power to exclude the application of any law or part thereof made by the Parliament or the State Legislature. These vast powers vested in the Governor by the Fifth Scheduled are limited by Article 163 which says that the Governor will be aided and advised by the Council of Ministers in the exercise of his powers. According to judicial opinion, the Governor is bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers in the exercise of powers granted to him under the Fifth Schedule. Thus, it is the responsibility of the State Government to make effective use of the provisions in the Fifth Schedule.

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The Union Executive has been vested with vast powers of giving directions under Para 3 of the Fifth Schedule and Article 339(2) for preparation and execution of schemes of tribal development and for good administration of Scheduled Areas. Financial provision has been made under first proviso to Article 275(1) to meet the cost of such schemes out of the Consolidated Fund of India. So far no directive has been issued by the Union Government to any of the State Governments. The Union Government's persuasive approach with the State Governments regarding the measures to be taken for the protection and development of the tribes has not been very effective. The provisions contained in the Fifth Schedule have virtually remained non-operational. Land continues to pass out of the tribes to non-tribes. Money-lenders continue to exploit them by charging exorbitant rates of interest. Prescribed minimum wages are yet to be enforced in tribal areas. Condition of migrant tribal labour particularly women continues to be vulnerable.

The Special Central Assistance is released to the State Governments in a ritual way without any area-specific or people-specific schemes. In fact, it is critical gap filler in the planned efforts of State Governments and should be utilised for schemes which are undertaken by the State Governments with the prior approval of the Union Government.

The Tribal Sub-Plan strategy launched in 17 States and 2 Union Territories since the Fifth Five Year Plan as a new "package deal" for integrated development of tribal areas with specific focus on development of tribal communities has not been a success because of lack of orientation of the administrative machinery.

The economic assistance given to family oriented programs is inadequate to lift a family above poverty line. No scientific data has been collected about the extent of impact of the programs.

In recruitment of services and posts under the government of India and the States, the Scheduled tribes are still under represented. Their representation in Central Government posts and services is below 2% in Group `A' and `B' and below 5% in Group C & D, as against 7 1/2% prescribed for each of these categories.

In the wake of development process, their has been heavy influx of outsiders in the tribal areas who have not only grabbed most of the resulting job opportunities but also settled down in those areas and have increased pressure among others, on the land resources. The power of imposing restrictions on the movement or settlement of outsiders in tribal areas as envisaged in Clause 5 of Article 19 of the Constitution has never been exercised. As a result, the tribal population in certain tribal majority areas has been reduced to minority. This trend is conspicuous in industrial areas where the tribes face a serious challenge to their existence in general and to their culture in particular.

Denial of Participating in Development Process: There has been no effective participation of the tribes in decision making and developmental process affecting them and administration of their own affairs. The policies and programs have been formulated without consulting them. It has resulted in fixation of wrong priorities and failure in achieving the desired results. This is one of the important causes of the discontentment among tribes. Participation of tribes in both formulation and implementation of policies and programs affecting them is imperative to ensure that interests of these people are properly safeguarded.

Various consultative agencies in the states with a large number of tribal representatives on them such as State Legislature Committees, District and Project Level Committees, Tribes Advisory Councils in all the eight states with Scheduled Areas and two non-Scheduled Area states of West Bengal and Tamil Nadu are not very effective.

Effective participation of the tribes in their affairs may be brought about by (1) instituting procedures to ensure regular consultation between the Government agency and the representatives of the tribes, (2) supervising the activities of the Government agency by a consultative body comprising elected / nominated representatives of the tribes, (3) inducting the tribes as officials at various levels of the Government, (4) setting up of bodies with elected/nominated tribal representatives within legislative and executive branches of the Government with guaranteed participation in development process and

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examination of issues which affect their interests and (5) guaranteed representation in Panchayat Raj institutions in proportion to tribal population.

The introduction of elective Panchayat Raj system in the tribal areas has replaced the traditional tribal institutions and it has generally resulted in annexing the positions of power by influential and powerful non-tribes. The law establishing the Panchayat Raj institutions generally provide for unit area representation on population basis like wards / villages at the base. The expectation that this mode would ensure satisfactory tribal representation in the Panchayats in tribal majority areas is blind in the absence of specific legislative stipulation in most of the States that only tribal candidates must be fielded. There is also no provision that Panchayat Raj bodies in tribal majority areas should be headed by the tribes at all levels.

Nominated bodies including Regional Autonomous Development Authorities, Project Implementation / Advisory Committees are also handicapped by the absence of statutory reservation in favour of the tribes. For instance, in Bihar, 3 Regional Autonomous Development Authorities, namely (i) North Chotanagpur, (ii) South Chotanagpur and (iii) Santhal Parganas Autonomous Development Authorities have been established by law for ensuring effective implementation of programs in tribal areas. The Act which set up the Regional Autonomous Development Authorities does not stipulate that the Chairmen or Vice Chairmen or majority members of these bodies shall be nominated from among the Scheduled Tribes. As a result, key positions in many of the nominated bodies and elected bodies under Panchyat Raj namely, Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samiti, Taluka Mandal, Gram Panchayat are captured by the influential non-tribes.

Some of the states have amended their laws to provide for reservation in favour of Scheduled Tribes both in the Panchayat Raj Institutions and nominated bodies. In Andhra Pradesh, six percent of the total number of the offices of Presidents of Mandal Parishads, Chairmen of Zilla Praja Parishads have been reserved for Scheduled Tribes. This is in proportion to their population in the state.

The co-operative laws/bye-laws should be amended and if necessary, new laws should be enacted to ensure fair representation and effective participation of the Scheduled Tribes on the Board of Management of co-operatives, particularly in the Tribal Sub-Plan Areas.

Lack of Accountability: Absence of any specific provision of legislation regarding the administration of the affairs of the Scheduled Tribes in the Constitution is one of the major shortcomings. The legislative powers of the Parliament and State legislatures are defined under Articles 245, 246 and 248. None of the three lists i.e., the Union list, State list and Concurrent list includes in it the tribal affairs exclusively. Therefore, the State legislature has no power to make any laws in respect of tribes. Only the Parliament in exercise of its residual powers under Article 248(1) read with entry 57 in the list of the Seventh Schedule can legislate on the affairs of the Scheduled Tribes.

At present, there is no provision to assign the responsibility for the failure to achieve the targets set by the Union and the State Government. Statutory provisions should be introduced for assigning responsibility for such failures and for taking punitive actions against those responsible for failure.

There are a number of agencies to oversee the implementation of tribal welfare programs and schemes. At the Government of India level, there are at least five agencies, viz., Welfare Ministry, Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Secretary in Cabinet Secretariat and Planning Commissions. Besides, according to the Allocation of Business Rules, 1961, as amended, the development and administration of tribal affairs is spread over a number of Ministries and departments. Each Central Ministry is a nodal Ministry for implementation of its schemes and programs concerning the welfare of Scheduled Tribes. Such multiplicity of agencies divides the responsibility and divided responsibility is often nobody's responsibility. Only one Department under the Ministry of Home Affairs should be made responsible for the Tribal Welfare Development Programs. Similarly in the states, one nodal Department should be made responsible for policy, planning and overall co-ordination of the implementation of the tribal welfare programs. It should exercise effective control over the financial outlays earmarked for the tribal development. Any mechanism required for redressal of

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grievances should also be evolved under this Department. The Seventh Schedule of the Constitution should be amended to incorporate clauses clearly defining the functional responsibility of the Union and the State Governments. Similarly, laws may be enacted for defining the responsibility of various departments and sectors. Separate administrative apparatus must be evolved for execution of the programs.

Lack of Tribal Leadership: Leadership vacuum has adversely affected tribal development. Vested interests have not allowed tribal leadership to emerge. This factor is one of the important causes of discontentment among the tribes.

Displacement without Adequate Rehabilitation: In the wake of developmental process, a large chunk of fertile tribal land has been acquired by Government for industrial, irrigation, power, mining and other projects in lieu of meagre compensation which the tribes frittered away in no time.

The tribes are thus deprived of the agricultural land which was the main source of their livelihood. But they did not get the benefits of the development projects. Only the non-tribes were benefited as of availability of irrigation facilities and power as well as job opportunities.

The displaced persons were hit hard by the withdrawal of provision in February 1986, which provided employment to one member of each displaced family in the project constructed on their land. Had the Government acquired alternative land for rehabilitation of the displaced tribes, their culture and community living would have been preserved. For the centrally sponsored schemes, the concerned Central Ministries and Departments should allocate funds under a separate budget sub-head of tribal areas. The funds should meet the entire outlay of the schemes.

The unrestricted influx of outsiders into tribal areas also reduced the tribes to minority. For instance the tribal population in the districts of Ranchi, Singhbhum and Santhal Parganas has sharply decreased from 70.02%, 58.41% and 50.56% respectively as per 1941 Census, to 56.41%, 44.08% and 36.79% as per 1981 Census. Such trend which is also manifest in many other tribal areas poses a serious challenge to their very existence.

Land Alienation: Despite protective land laws, the tribal land continues to be alienated to non-tribes for private purposes. This is mainly due to loopholes in the existing laws. The extent of land alienation varies from state to state, but is more intense in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh.

Exploitation in Forestry Operations: The traditional symbiotic relationship between tribes and forests has been completely shattered due to drastic policy changes. Their traditional forestry rights have been reduced to mere concessions. Due to incomplete survey and settlement operations and records of rights, lands traditionally held and cultivated by the tribes have been claimed as forest lands under the new forest policy. Consequently, a large number of tribes occupying forest lands have been turned into encroachers on their own lands. The traditional protectors of the forests have been branded as the destroyers of the forests.

The tribes are not paid fair price of the minor forest produce by the agents and middlemen. They are not involved in various forestry operations. Collection and transportation activities are handled by the contractors. In many states royalty has also been levied on various items of minor forest produce, which reduces the income accrued to the tribes from the fair price of the minor forest produce. The tribes could be involved in a number of forestry operations but that is not encouraged. The existing arrangements in most of the states are biased in favour of contractors and middlemen.

Socio-Cultural Factors: The Scheduled Tribes are distinct ethnic groups without any stigma of untouchability or hierarchical inferiority. Some Indian writers, however, have presented a much distorted account of their social status. They have not only denied an independent social status to the tribes but have described them as "Backward Hindus". This amounts to assimilation of tribes into dominant Hindu society. Such approach will lead to extinction of tribal culture, religious beliefs,

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traditions and life style and obliterate all distinctions between castes and tribes. The tribes are very much agitated over such approach. They are fully aware of the plight of the untouchables even though untouchability has been abolished and would not like to become as one of them.

The tribes are integral part of Indian civilisation and possess a very rich cultural heritage. It has stood acid test of time. The first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru while addressing a conference in 1952, had said, "I am not at all sure which way of living is better, ours or theirs. But in some ways, I am quite certain theirs is better. A great deal of things could be learnt from their culture". Pt. Nehru was opposed to imposition of anything on the tribes. In one of the five fundamental principles, generally called "Tribal Panchsheel", he mentioned, "Tribal people should develop along the lines of their genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture".

The national government has, undoubtedly, the primary responsibility of protection and development of tribes but too much of paternalism is dangerous and becomes counter-productive. It presumes that the tribes are incapable of expressing opinion about their own interest; that they are incapable of safeguarding their own interest; that they cannot identify their needs and that they are incapable of managing their own affairs. In brief, it presumes that the tribes have no administrative capability and the best course of their survival and development is to follow the policies decided by others for them.

The remedy to Prevent Tribal Movements: Objective of justice, social, economic and political can be realised by unfettered participation of tribes in power. Denial of participation means denial of justice. In fact, democracy means people's participation in power in all spheres and at all levels. There is need for careful review of the situation. Loopholes in various existing laws have to be plugged. However, enacting a law alone is not a solution of the problem. Appropriate steps have to be taken for its effective enforcement. Administrative procedures should be simplified. There should be no intermediaries or middlemen between tribes and the Government. Loan and credit facilities should be made available on easy terms and concessional rates of interest so as to reduce dependence of tribes on private money-lenders. Measures for their economic upliftment should be formulated keeping in view their needs.

In order to ensure development of tribes, it is necessary to eliminate their exploitation. This can be achieved if the tribes are ensured participation in decision making process and implementation of programs. For this purpose it is essential to extend the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution to all the Fifth Schedule areas as well as other tribal majority areas already identified within or outside the Tribal Sub-Plan. This experiment has already proved very successful in North-Eastern States. The funds for the proposed Sixth Schedule Areas should be earmarked separately and released directly by the Union Government to such areas so as to avoid delay by respective State Governments in timely release of funds.

Extension of the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to Tribal Sub-Plan areas will go a long way in eliminating exploitation of tribes in land, forest, labour, mining, money-lending etc. and would ensure their balanced development in social, cultural, economic, educational and political spheres. It would also ensure effective participation of the tribes in the management of their affairs. Since the tribal Councils function under the overall control of the State Government, streamlining the administration of the tribal areas should not be a problem. Such a step will assuage tribal sentiments and create an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding. The tribes have been and are integral part of India. They have to be trusted. There is need of closer understanding of their ethos. Tribes are simple and honest people. They are conscious that whatever be the demand of change, the cultural foundations of tribal society must be safeguarded. They are averse to any kind of imposition. They may be poor, but they are persons of dignity and self-respect. There is a need of change in approach and attitude towards the tribes. Instead of working for them, we should work with them.

The most militant outbreaks, during the colonial period, were those of tribal communities, which revolted more often and far more violently then any other community including peasants in India. The main causes for these tribal revolts are not very far to seek. Firstly, there was great deal of resentment among

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the tribal people against the penetration of their areas by outsiders from the plains, such as money lenders, traders, land-grabbers, contractors etc. This resentment was one of the main causes for the revolt of the Santhals in 1855-56. Secondly, the tribal people also resented the tension of British rule to their areas, since the British and its accompanying commercialization strengthened the already present tendencies towards penetration of tribal areas by outsiders from the plains. These outsiders from the plains, in turn, acted as instruments of the British in bringing the tribal people within the influence and control of colonial economy and exploitation. Moreover, the British legal conceptions of absolute private property eroded traditions of joint ownership (like the "Khuntakatti" tenure in Chota Nagpur) and sharpened tensions within tribal society. Thirdly, the activities of Christian missionaries in many tribal areas (particularly in Bihar and Assam hills), though brought education and some promise of social ascent, often provoked an interesting variety of reactions that included hostility as well as attempts to use some Christian tenets in anti-foreign ways. A good example of this is the revolt of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur in 1899-1900 under the leadership of Bisra Munda, who claimed to be a prophet with miraculous helping powers; Fourth cause was the resentment of the tribes against the tightening of control by the colonial state over forest zones for revenue purposes from the 1870 onwards. Shifting cultivation, which required no plough animals and therefore was often essential for the survival of the poorest in rural society, was banned or restricted in the "reserved" forests from 1867 onwards, and attempts were made to monopolize forest wealth through curbs on use of timber and grazing facilities. Some examples of tribal revolts in which this cause played a significant role are the revolts of the Thadoe Kukis of Manipur in 1917, of the Oraons of Chota Nagpur in 1914, of the Chenchus of the Nallamalai hills in A.P., etc.

Social Change among Tribes during Colonial and Post Independent India

The tribal societies have been by and large isolated from the mainstream Indian society for almost centuries. Powerful forces of social and cultural change have been introduced for the first time during the Colonial rule in India when, for the first time, every part of the sub-continent has come under the umbrella of a single political and administrative rule.

Establishment of British rule in India has resulted in introduction of new social legislations, modern administrative machinery and urbanization and industrialization of the Indian society. The most significant factor that contributed to social change amongst the tribal societies is the breakdown of their geographical isolation by construction of roads and railways through the tribal areas. This breakdown of isolation has ensured a steady stream of migration into and out of tribal villages and an enhanced participation of non-tribal people and their cultures in the tribal societies.

As a consequence of this changed scenario, radical changes have occurred in the cultures of tribal people of India. Their traditional social organization, social and cultural value systems, their primitive economic activities were all transformed as a result of the British rule. The traditional authority structures and social control mechanisms gradually lost their hold over the people and modern and secular agencies of social control and modern authority structures started replacing them. Land, which hitherto was considered a ceremonial holding, now became a saleable commodity and private property replaced the notion of communal property. The initiation of commercial economy, consumerism and market exchanges have changed the traditional modes of production, distribution and consumption patterns. The concept of profit has now become the "leitmotif" of ever economic transaction. It was during this time that the processes of peasantization and depeasantization operated simultaneously. Most of tribes, after loosing their traditional rights over their lands, have to migrate to new areas to either work as agricultural laborers or industrial workers.

On the cultural front, the tribal societies have started assimilating into the Hindu social order through the process of Sanskritization. Conversion of the tribes into Christianity was a common process, as the missionaries have been receiving some form of support from the colonial rulers. The role played by the missionaries in modernizing the tribal societies is enormous. The missionaries imposed a puritanical ethic on the permissive tribal societies. Details of the impact of Christianity are discussed in the following pages.

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The social change amongst the tribal communities, as a consequence of colonial rule, has resulted in many tribal movements. Tribal movements were characterized by strong anti-colonial sentiments and often were violent. (Refer to the topic on Tribal Movements for more details). In most parts of India, tribal movements developed religious and political overtones and were aimed at revitalizing their fast disappearing cultures and values. The tribal movements brought about politicization of tribal cause as they largely coincided with national politics and the then burgeoning nationalism as a part of ongoing freedom struggle.

We can conclude by saying that the colonial administration has had a deep impact on the tribal life and has catalyzed social change amongst the tribal societies. Social change during the colonial rule was manifold, touching every aspect of tribal life, including economic, political, religious and cultural. The processes of modernization have been discussed in detail in the preceding chapter.

8.1 Impact of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity on Tribal Societies

In spite of the relative isolation of tribal societies in India, they have been by and large in contact with the mainstream Indian society for a long time. As has been discussed in the earlier chapter, the tribal societies have been involved in cultural exchange and approximation with the mainstream Indian society. As a result, some of the major religions of this country like Hinduism, Christianity, etc. have made inroads into tribal cultures and have had an impact on tribal life.

An overwhelming majority of tribal societies in India have been maintaining exclusivity and are practicing their traditional beliefs and practices. However, we can witness a great amount of overlap between Hinduism and tribal religions in almost all the parts of India. More than 95% of the tribes in the states of Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Gujarat in the West, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu in the South and Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal in the East are by and large Hindus. Approximately 5% of the tribes are Christians and are predominantly concentrated in the states of North East like Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram. Christian tribal populations are also scattered in the states of Kerala, Bihar, M.P. and Orissa. Only around 0.2% of the entire tribal population of India subscribe to either Islam or Buddism. Some examples of Muslim tribes include the Siddi of Gujarat, Gujars of the North West Himalayas, Bakrewal of Jammu and Kashmir, some segment of Bhills, Kotis and Dhankasi of Rajasthan and the entire population of Lakshdweep Islands. Buddhist tribes include the Bhutias, Lepchas, Chakmas and Nagas of North East Himalayas and some tribes of Arunachal and Ladakh.

With the exception of completely isolated tribes, almost all the tribes in India exhibit the influence of Hinduism on their cultures. The breakdown of isolation of the tribes with the establishment of British rule has ensured a continuous contact with the Hindu mainstream Indian society and the tribal cultures. However, in spite of culture contact, the tribes have been able to maintain their traditional ethos to some extent.

A majority of the Hindu neighbors of tribes are predominantly represented by peasantry. Hence, one of the greatest impacts of Hinduism is the peasantization of the tribal folk. The tribes, as a result of culture contact, have not only leant the art of cultivation from their Hindu neighbors, but also adopted local Hindu practices during the process. Hinduization of tribes is not a modern phenomenon as can be seen from the fact that their involvement with the Hindu populations has been repeatedly mentioned in the epics and other traditional texts of Hindu religion.

The adoption of Hindu belief systems has been a smooth process without any missionary activity on the part of Hindus. Hinduization of the tribes has been smooth also for the fact that the Hindu religion seems to be quite compatible to the existing tribal practices and belief systems and does not require any complete over-hauling of their existing cultures, a prerequisite in case of Islam and Christianity. A tribe can, even after adoption of Hinduism, still continue with its traditional beliefs and values and may, at the same time, adopt new ones, including some practices and deities. Some tribes like the Gonds, Bhills and

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Bhumji in Central India have become sufficiently Hinduized and as described as Hindus, even though they do not maintain (in some cases, do not like to maintain) contact with upper caste Hindus.

There are also some tribes who are completely Hinduized, in the sense that they have adopted even the caste system, especially of the Scheduled Castes, yet maintaining some traditional forms of tribal culture. One can see an assimilation of religion and magic and the concept of Gotra is more totemic than vedic, as seen in the caste Hindus. This group represents the centre of tribe-caste continuum, a concept we have discussed earlier in this paper.

Most of the ethnographic studies conducted in India reveal that the tribes across the country have smoothly assimilated into Hinduism and have been accommodated at different levels of the caste system. The Bhumji, Munda and the Gonds of Central India have by and large assimilated the Rajput culture. The Tharu and the Khasa have assimilated and accepted as Kshatriya. In fact, Kshatriyization seems to be the most popular model of Sankritization for the Indian tribes.

As a consequence of this adoption of Hinduism, the changes introduced in the tribal societies are vast and varied. Like for example, apart from the introduction of Hindu customs, dogmas, rituals and belief systems, values like non-vegetarianism, giving up of human and animal sacrifices are also adopted. Along with the transformation, in some tribes came the problems of social disabilities which have been haunting the Hindu caste society anyway. Hindu philosophies like caste system and karma theory have also been gradually adopted by the tribal societies. In fact, the tribal societies started believing that the origin of tribe is from the caste system.

Hinduism's adoption has resulted in the replacement of simple tribal rituals by highly complicated and cumbersome rituals which now demanded a lot of expenditure and services of a priest. Impact of Hinduism can also be seen in the increase in frequency of child marriages, decline in the significance of youth dormitories and a decrease in the permissiveness of tribal women. Another significant influence Hinduism had on the tribal societies is the decline in the practice of bride wealth or bride price and an increase in the systems of dowry. Introduction of money economy has also coincided with this practice where cash transactions have come to play an important role in marital alliances.

By and large we can say that wherever Hinduism was freely adopted, according to the tribe's own genius, it has given rise to a unique cultural system which is a result of an amalgamation wherein the culture is neither uniquely Hindu nor completely tribal. Like for example, the Rajvanshi of Bengal, though have adopted the Hindu social system, have not completely given away their traditional social order. They have adopted the gotra or the clan system but still practice their customary clan endogamy, which is unseen amongst the Hindus. The Lambadas of South India take the services of a Brahmin priest for their ritual needs like marriage etc.

Compared to Hinduism, the impact of Islam and Buddhism are very insignificant. When it comes to Islam and Christianity, the two religions are governed by fixed dogmas and they both require a complete rejection of many of the tribal beliefs and practices, which the tribal people very reluctantly give away. Hinduism being more flexible, the tribes could easily adopt its beliefs and practices, though it is only partial and suited to their preference systems.

Relatively very few tribal societies have come under the influence of Buddhism. These include the Bhutias, Lepchas, Chakmas and the Nagas of the North East, and few tribal communities of Arunachal and some populations in the Ladhak region of Jammu and Kashmir.

A significant feature, noteworthy in this context, is that none of the tribal communities have adopted this religion completely. The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, especially those inhabiting the western regions like the high hills Kamang and Subansiri and Siang districts follow Mahayana or Tibetan Buddhism, while the Khamti, inhabiting the foothills of Lohit district follow Hinayana version of Buddhism. Most of the tribes who have adopted Buddhism continue to follow the social life of their traditional community and participate in traditional rituals. These tribes in some way maintain continuity with their past. Those who have taken to Buddhism maintain a gompa – a sacred place where images of Buddha and sacred books

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are kept. A sacred specialist called a Lama is attached to a gompa. According to Haimendorf, the tribal people who are attracted by Buddhism, unlike the Christian converts, do not opt out of the social life of their community and continue to participate in the traditional tribal rituals. For example, the there are tribal groups who combine their adherence to Mahayana Buddhism with the communal worship of tribal deities whose cult lies in the hands of priests entirely distinct from the lamas in-charge of the gompa. Among the Monpas, elements of ancient Bon religion coexist with the dominant Buddhist faith. The adoption of Buddhism could not cut through their traditional beliefs and practices and Buddhism could not penetrate their society, especially in the realms of ethics and social organization, as the latter are too deeply embedded to be easily given up by the tribal people.

Islam could not penetrate the tribal societies mainly because of its highly dogmatic stand and lack of patronage from Muslim rulers as they were not missionaries like their Christian counterparts and they have always had political objectives. The spread of Islam was hence largely left to the sufi saints and other preachers to spread it. The Siddis of Gujarat, a section of Gujjars of north-western Himalayan region and sections of the Bhils, Dhankasi and the Kotis of Rajasthan have, to some extent, embraced Islam. Gaddi and Bakriwal of Jammu and Kashmir, which are small pastoral communities, have come under the influence of the sufi saints mainly because of the latter's benign attitudes. The only place where people have completely converted to Islam is Lakshadweep. But the influence of Islam amongst the tribal populations in India still remains less than one percent.

There are seven Muslim tribal communities in Lakshadweep – Koya, Malmi, Melacheri, Manikfan, Thakrufan, Thakru and Reveri. The society which was hitherto based on matrilineal ideology has reportedly shown a decline in this ideology as a result of impact of Islam which is a religion that upheld the patrilineal norms and male authority. The life cycle rituals amongst these groups have come under the influence of Islam. For example, the puberty rites for the girls have been given up and the father has come to assume new responsibilities as opposed to the maternal uncle. Amongst the tribal groups, Islamic personal laws prevail and old rituals are fast disappearing while cross cousin marriages have now become preferential.

In most of the tribes who have come under the influence of Islam, even though the Islamic Great Traditions are paramount, tribal little traditions are still popular. According to Prof. Yogendra Singh, Islamization connotes increased tendency among the converts towards new identity formation based on an increase in orthodox Islamic principles in cultural life. It also results in the conscious rejection of any syncretism, which has thus far existed in the tribal religions owing to their historical relationship with Hinduism. Orthodox organizations like Tableeghi-Jamaat have been in the forefront to remove the pre-Muslim cultural elements from tribal culture in order to maintain Islamic purity. Islam has mainly developed in the tribal societies owing to its egalitarian social structure and is because of this that it was able to make inroads into tribal societies in spite of its highly dogmatic nature.

Christianity owes its origin and spread to the establishment of the British rule under whose sponsorship a number of missionary organizations have mushroomed almost across the length and breadth of the country. Hectic missionary activities were seen in the areas of North East and parts of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal. The Missions were basically involved in propagation of Christianity and were at the same involved in social service activities, especially in the domains of education and healthcare.

One of the most positive influences of Christianity on the tribal folk is that it has given them a new confidence to tackle new world and a sense of self respect. But at the same time Christianity has added to the complexities of their socio-cultural existence. It has also been responsible for stratification within the tribal societies, like for example, the Khasis of Meghalaya have been divided into Christian and non-Christian groups. Growing acrimony between these groups has resulted in social tensions and often led to the minority group to migrate to urban areas. The Oraon society which was egalitarian has now bee divided on the basis of different denominations of Christianity.

When a trial community adopts Hinduism, the change is always gradual and never sudden. However, adoption of Christianity results in abrupt and sudden changes in the lifestyles and it calls for radical

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departures from their pre-existing cultures. Many of their traditional beliefs and practices were denigrated and were discarded. Christianity is a religion that by and large encourages right to personal and private property, patriarchal family and doing away with a number of traditional tribal institutions.

In most of the cases, adoption of Christianity was a reaction or a revolt of the tribal groups to their ruthless exploitation by Hindu landlords, traders and money-lenders. A case in point is the Kol rebellion and the spread of Christianity in the Chotanagpur region. Christianity is also the first channel of westernization for the tribal people and their regions. Impact of westernization has been dealt in detail in the concerned chapter.

The North Eastern region has witnessed the most radical transformation as a consequence of spread of Christianity. The Missionaries introduced western education and English language has seen considerable promotion. Christianity has replaced the tribal magico-religious belief systems. Christianity has also been responsible for monogamous marriages, spread of orphanages, reduced the incidence of child marriages and discouraged divorces.

To conclude, we can say that the competition that exists in the propagation of religions in the tribal areas has resulted in promoting new forms of communalism. The tribal people should be allowed to maintain their cultural autonomy and should be treated as equal partners in the nation building process. The recent happenings in India and the ugly expressions of communalism are testimony to the fact that tribal people are now being made partners in this ugly war of religious fundamentalism.

8.3 Tribe and Nation-State: A Comparative Study of Tribal Communities in India and other Countries

TRIBE AND NATION STATE

Traditionally, a nation-state is a specific form of state, which exists to provide a sovereign territory for a particular nation, and which derives its legitimacy from that function. The state is a political and geopolitical entity; the nation is a cultural and/or ethnic entity. The term "nation-state" implies that they geographically coincide, and this distinguishes the nation-state from the other types of state, which historically preceded it. If successfully implemented, this implies that the citizens share a common language, culture, and values — which was not the case in many historical states. A world of nation-states also implements the claim to self-determination and autonomy for every nation, a central theme of the ideology of nationalism. (More on this in Paper 1, Ethnicity and Nation States)

In some cases, the geographic boundaries of an ethnic population and a political state largely coincide. In these cases, there is little immigration or emigration, few members of ethnic minorities, and few members of the "home" ethnicity living in other countries.

Portugal is seen as one of the best examples of a nation-state. Although surrounded by other lands and people, the Portuguese nation has been the same for almost 900 years. Since its foundation, in 1143, Portugal remained as a single nation living in a single country. Ethnically, Portuguese people are related to Celts, Romans, Berbers and Moors. During its long colonial Empire, Portugal received a lot of African "blood". Nowadays, Portugal is a very singular country that is still seen as a nation-state.

Iceland is often seen as a strong example of a nation-state. Although the inhabitants are ethnically related to other Scandinavian groups, the national culture and language are found only in Iceland. There are no cross-border minorities — the nearest land is too far away.

Japan is also traditionally seen as a good example of a nation-state, although it includes minorities of the ethnically distinct Ryūkyū peoples in the south, Koreans, Chinese and Filipinos, and on the northern island of Hokkaidō, the indigenous Ainu minority; see also Japanese Demographics and Ethnic issues in Japan.

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Both Iceland and Japan are island nations. Portugal, curiously, is not an island and is surrounded by other historic nations in Europe.

The notion of a "national identity" also extends to countries that host multiple ethnic or language groups. For example, Switzerland is constitutionally a confederation of cantons, and has four official languages, but it has also a 'Swiss' national identity, a national history, and a classic national hero, Wilhelm Tell.

Many historical conflicts have arisen where political boundaries do not correspond with ethnic or cultural boundaries. For example, the Hatay Province was transferred to Turkey from Syria after the majority-Turk population complained of mistreatment. The traditional homeland of the Kurdish people extends between northern Iraq and eastern Turkey, and western Iran. Some of its inhabitants call for the creation of an independent Kurdistan, citing mistreatment by the Turkish and Iraqi governments. An armed conflict between the Kurdistan Workers Party and the Turkish government over this issue has been ongoing since 1984.

Belgium is a classic example of a disputed nation-state. The state was formed by secession from the United Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1830, and the Flemish population in the north speaks Dutch. The Flemish identity is also ethnic and cultural, and there is a strong separatist movement. The Walloon identity is linguistic (Francophone) and regionalist. There is also a unitary Belgian nationalism, several versions of a Greater Netherlands ideal, and a German-speaking region annexed from Prussia in 1920, and re-annexed by Germany in 1940–1944.

China covers a large geographic area, and uses the concept of "Zhonghua minzu" — "a Chinese people" — although it also officially recognizes the majority Han ethnic group, and no fewer than 55 national minorities.

Where part of the national group lives in a neighboring nation-state, it is usually called a national minority. In some cases states have reciprocal national minorities, for instance the Slovaks in Hungary and the Magyars (ethnic Hungarians) in Slovakia.

National minorities should not be confused with a national Diaspora, which is typically located far from the national border. Most modern Diasporas result from economic migration, for example the Irish diaspora.

The possession of dependent territories does influence the status of a nation-state. A state with large colonial possessions is obviously inhabited by many ethnic groups, and is not a mono-ethnic state. However, in most cases, the colonies were not considered an integral part of the motherland, and were separately administered. Some European nation-states have dependent territories in Europe. Denmark contains virtually all-ethnic Danes and has relatively few foreign nationals within it. However, it exercises sovereignty over the Faroe Islands and Greenland.

Minorities, Tribes and Nation States

(Note that tribes and minorities are interchangeably used)

The most obvious deviation from the ideal of 'one nation, one state', is the presence of minorities, especially ethnic minorities, which are clearly not members of the majority nation. The nationalist definition of a nation is always exclusive: no nation has open membership. In most cases, there is a clear idea that surrounding nations are different, and that includes members of those nations who live on the 'wrong side' of the border. Historical examples of groups, who are specifically singled out as outsiders, are the Roma and Jews in Europe.

Negative responses to minorities within the nation-state have ranged from state-enforced cultural assimilation, to expulsion, persecution, violence, and extermination. The assimilation policies are usually state-enforced, but violence against minorities is not always state-initiated: it can occur in the form of mob violence such as lynching or pogroms. Nation-states are responsible for some of the worst historical

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examples of violence against minorities—that is, minorities that were not considered part of the nation.

However, many nation-states do accept specific minorities as being in some way part of the nation, and the term national minority is often used in this sense. The Sorbs in Germany are an example: for centuries they have lived in German-speaking states, surrounded by a much larger ethnic German population, and they have no other historical territory. They are now generally considered to be part of the German nation, and are accepted as such by the Federal Republic of Germany, which constitutionally guarantees their cultural rights. Of the thousands of ethnic and cultural minorities in nation-states across the world, only a few have this level of acceptance and protection.

Multiculturalism is an official policy in many states, establishing the ideal of peaceful existence among multiple ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups. Many nations have laws protecting minority rights. India is a classic example.

The spread of European Colonization, modernization of economies, implementation of community development programs and increased transport and communication infrastructure connecting all the people and the emergence of modern nation-states and introduction of uniform administrative structures has resulted in greater and active interactions between the tribes and non-tribe populations. As a consequence, the tribal groups are no more identified as "primitive groups" but as another ethnic groups living in the larger population of a nation.

Many nations in the world have maintained a policy of "non-interference" with their tribal populations and have always ensured the autonomy of tribal areas in the overall politico-administrative structures in the modern nation-states. Its only the proactive industrialization and economic development of the nations that warranted governments to make 'in-roads' into tribal areas, a process that unleashed a number of challenges for the nation-states vis-à-vis the tribal groups. In this context, we have discussed the issues of tribal welfare and administration and in this chapter we shall examine the approach adopted by other nations.

CHINA

In 1990, the population of China was 1,133,682,501 persons, of whom 1,042,482,187 belonged to the Han nationality, the people generally referred to as Chinese. The remainder were divided among some fifty-five "minority nationalities" that are recognized officially by the state, at least 749,341 persons claiming membership in ethnic groups not yet accorded official recognition, and 3,421 naturalized foreigners. The recognized minorities range in size from the 15,489,630 Zhuang to the 2,312 Lhoba; at least eighteen groups have populations over 1,000,000.

There are fifty-six recognized minzu, meaning "nation," "nationality," "ethnic group," or "people." All but the Han are referred to as "shaoshu minzu." The criteria for identifying these groups are unevenly applied and guided in part by political considerations. The term implies legal equality together with subordination to the higher state authority that governs Han and minorities alike. It is worth noting that the term minzuxue, often translated as "ethnology," refers only to the study of China's minority peoples.

Since 1949, a number of areas have been designated as autonomous regions wherein the minorities are guaranteed, within limits, the rights to express and develop their local cultures and representation in the political arena. There are five large autonomous regions (Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Guangxi Zhuang, Ningxia Hui, Xinjiang Uigur), each named after the predominant minority group. These regions contain multiple nationalities, the Han now being the largest group in all but Tibet. In addition, by 1985 there were thirty autonomous prefectures and seventy-two autonomous counties, or "banners," often of mixed ethnicity and sometimes listing two or three minority groups in their official name. Under continuing pressure to grant minorities greater autonomy and representation, the government organized minzuxiang (minority townships) in the 1980s for areas of mixed settlement outside of the larger autonomous units. These townships incorporate Han and minority villages under one administration at the lowest level of government. Minority representatives are thus guaranteed seats at various administrative levels from the township up through the county and prefecture, and there are reserved seats for minority

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representatives in the provincial and national peoples' congresses. The State Nationalities Affairs Commission, directly under the State Council, also includes minority representatives, as do provincial and prefectural branches.

Within the autonomous units the state sets some policies. For example, the government has prohibited landlordism, slavery, child marriages, forced marriages, elaborate festivals, and what the state regards as harmful facets of religion and traditional medicine everywhere in China since the early days of the Revolution. The state also controls population transfers: minority people cannot opt to resettle in the autonomous region of ethnic choice, and the authorities even discourage travel across county boundaries. Most minorities are not yet affected by the one-child policy of recent years, although the government encourages them to practice family planning. Also, for registration purposes, most minority people must select a Chinese name for their children and follow the Chinese model of the paternal surname. Aside from these constraints, the minorities are free to use their own languages, follow culturally valued styles of housing, dress, and diet, practice customs that are not in direct violation of national laws, develop and perform their traditional arts, and practice their own religions.

One could argue that since 1949 some of the earlier differences between local cultures or nationalities have weakened or disappeared. This occurrence is a result of a number of factors: the spread of Mandarin as the language of the schools and media; the uniform political and social ideology promoted via the Communist party, the Youth League, the Women's Federation, the Peasants Association, and the Peoples Liberation Army; nationwide participation in a series of political campaigns; state control of the news and entertainment media; and the uniformity of socioeconomic organization between 1950 and the early 1980s. Furthermore, the suppression of some local religious practices and the development of secularized, state-revised festivals and state guidelines for betrothals, weddings, and funerals have all contributed to the blurring of the differences between regional Han cultures, and they have also had their effect on the practices of the minorities.

Over recent decades, population movements have also played a part. Han families from diverse regions have been resettled in large numbers in newly developing areas such as the northeastern provinces, Xinjiang, and Inner Mongolia, whereas some minority communities have been relocated closer to Han areas of settlement. During the Cultural Revolution years this process was accelerated by the transfer of at least 12 million young Han urbanites to rural villages and state farms, some of these in areas primarily inhabited by the ethnic minorities. Many of these transfers have become permanent. Since the 1980s there has been population movement from the countryside into established urban areas, both by assignment and voluntarily, heavy immigration into the new Special Economic Zones and Development Zones, and a flow into underpopulated areas that hold promise of economic opportunity.

Despite these unifying trends, there are also signs of intensification of ethnic awareness and sentiment among the minorities. Some of the official classifications have taken on new meaning. This development is clearly evident in the 1990 census, which reports a large jump in the number of individuals or communities claiming minority status. Some groups have had a dramatic rise in population since the 1982 census, most markedly the Manchu, Tujia, She, Gelao, Xibe, Hezhen, Mulam, and those claiming Russian nationality. There is increased demand for school texts and other publications in minority languages (including tongues formerly classed as "dialects"), with recognized standardized romanizations or reformed versions of earlier traditional writing systems. With these come demands for separate schools at the primary level, and the recognition of additional autonomous counties or townships in areas with large minority populations. Among many groups there is revival, elaboration, or even invention of local dress and other visible markers of ethnic difference. There is also increased production of local craft items (or items with a minority "feel" to them) for a wider market, as well as a revitalization of local festivals. Some of these changes relate to the growing international and internal tourist market, as at the Dai Water-Splashing Festival in Xishuangbanna, the Miao Dragon Boat Festival in eastern Guizhou, or the tourist souvenirs and entertainment provided by the Sani (Yi) at the Stone Forest near Kunming. Among the Hui and other Islamic groups, religion has been revitalized and is tolerated by the state because of its desire to maintain and increase good foreign relations with Islamic countries. Buddhism among the Dai and Christianity among the Miao, Yi, Lisu, Lahu—and, of course, the Han themselves—are tolerated for

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similar reasons.

The state allows and in some ways even encourages the upsurge of ethnic expression, as long as it does not move toward separatism. China takes pride in describing itself as a multinational country. Minority themes figure strongly in contemporary Chinese painting and graphics, and television frequently airs travelogues and commentaries about the minorities and performances by song-and-dance ensembles whose material is drawn in large part from the minority cultures. Books about the strange customs of the shaoshu minzu find a wide market; occasionally, they also spark protests by the minorities.

RUSSIA

The main indigenous populations of Russia are from the North. The Russian North, extends across a distance of 6000 km from the Finnish and Norwegian boundary through the Urals and Siberia to the Bering Strait and the Pacific Ocean. It covers vast areas of taiga (boreal forests), tundra (treeless swamps and pasture lands), and polar deserts. The north-south extension of this belt widens from about 1000 km in Europe to about 3000 km in central Siberia and the Russian Far East.

Approximately 20 million people live in this land, mainly concentrated in towns and settlements along the rivers and in the industrial centres. Only about 180,000 of them belong to approximately 30 small-numbered, aboriginal groups - the indigenous peoples of the North. Their majority live in small villages close to their subsistence areas, where they pursue traditional occupations like reindeer-herding, hunting and fishing. But the reality these people face today is anything but an idyllic carryover from the past.

Since the colonization of the North, large expanses have gradually been converted into areas for alien settlement, transportation routes, industry, forestry, mining and oil production, and have been devastated by pollution, irresponsibly managed oil and mineral prospecting, and military activity.

In tandem with the environmental disaster went the social decay of the indigenous societies since the early Soviet era, with collectivisation of subsistence activities, forced relocations, spiritual oppression, and destruction of traditional social patterns and values. The result was the well-known minority syndrome marked by loss of ethnic identity, unemployment, alcoholism, diseases, etc.

The recent socio-economic crises of Russia which came along with the transition to a market economy, has led to a break-down of most of the supply and transportation system in remote areas of the North. Having been incorporated into the alien Soviet economic system, made dependent on modern infrastructure and product distribution, the people now find themselves left alone without supplies, medical care, rising mortality, and the economic means and sufficient legal expertise to deal with the situation. The desperate road back to the old ways of life has tempted many, but is often hampered by the degradation or destruction of the natural environment.

Against this horrendous background, the cultural survival of these small ethnic groups may seem almost impossible. But they fight tenaciously, showing an unbelievable endurance, and their case has already wor ground in many national and international forums.

Like everywhere on earth, the Russian North has been subject to migration of peoples all through human history. Until ca. 2000 years ago, the North was dominated by ancient Siberian tribes whose cultural relations are poorly known. Pressure from the extension of southerly adjacent peoples gradually drove these tribes to the north, at the same time as they mingled with - and were partly assimilated into - the newcomers.

One group of descendants of these ancient Siberian tribes is comprised of the Yupik (eastern Eskimo branch) and Aleuts, who mostly migrated to Alaska and form a common culture group with other North American peoples. In Russia, less than 2000 Yupik live in villages at the Bering Strait, and some 700 Aleuts on the Komandorsk Islands and in Kamchatka.

The largest of the Proto-Siberian language groups is the Palaeo-Asiatic group, represented by the

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Chukchi, Koryaks and Itelmens. On the arrival of the Russians, these peoples inhabited most of Chukotka, Kamchatka and the areas around the northern Sea of Okhotsk. They are today concentrated to the Chukotkan and Koryak autonomous areas in the far north-east. With population numbers of 15,000 (Chukchi) and 9000 (Koryaks) these peoples belong to the larger ethnic groups. The Itelmens (2500) were once also wide-spread across Kamchatka. They are now restricted to a small land strip at the south-western coast. Large parts of their former population are mingled with Russian immigrants, speaking the Russian language, but have developed a distinctive local culture. These people call themselves Kamchadals and claim the official status of an indigenous people that they had lost in 1927. Their number is about 9000.

The Yukagirs, another Proto-Siberian group, once inhabited huge parts of north-eastern Siberia between the Lena mouth and the Bering Strait. The remaining 1000 people are mainly restricted to the Kolyma area in north-eastern Yakutia. The Chuvans (1300) at the upper Anadyr River are originally a Yukagir tribe that has adopted the Chukchi language, and assimilated partly into Chukchi, and partly into Russian culture. Isolated linguistic remains of an ancient Siberian population are also represented by the Nivkhi (4600) at the Amur mouth and on northern Sakhalin, and the Kets (1100) of the middle Yenisey River valley.

The white man's conquest of the Russian North, Siberia and the Far East does not stand far behind the atrocities known from other parts of the world. The tsarist intention was to subject the entire northern part of Asia to its rule because of the expected rich natural resources. Peoples were rendered tribute-payers. They were forced to pay a tax, yasak, in exchange for the promise of protection by the Tsarist Empire. Yasak consisted mostly of furs. The often very high tax requirements changed the occupational pattern of many ethnic groups and endangered their subsistence.

The Tsar's order read that the native peoples should be treated respectfully and accommodatingly, while military actions should only be applied against armed revolts. But the local governors and taxmen had their own laws, if any. Historians report continual pillaging and violent encroachment resulting in the extermination of entire nations. A usual procedure to make the native peoples pay yasak was to take hostages, often respected elders. It was also usual to abduct, or buy, and enslave women and children. Tax raids could escalate into pillage and sometimes murder raids. Many times, the entire subsistence basis of a local indigenous group was destroyed, and they died of cold or hunger. In places, the oppression continued into the 19th century.

Towards the end of the 17th century, most of Siberia to the Pacific coast was subject to Russian control. When Russian economies became worse, politicians decided to subdue the last resisting and opposing peoples, the Chukchi and Yukagirs, by military force. The Yukagirs were reduced to approximately half their population. During the smallpox epidemics of the 18th century and subsequent disasters, another 80% of the remaining population disappeared.

In areas of massive Russian settlement, the indigenous population was subject to russification with respect to language, economy, and social organisation. During the 19th century, large areas on both sides of the Trans-Siberian Railway were cleared of native population. Southern Siberia was affected most profoundly, and from there areas along the main waterways. But in other places, the opposite might happen. The most striking example is the yakutisation of Russian settlers in Yakutiya, where the native population had a strong social network that was not easily broken.

The official Russian policy towards the indigenous peoples in the 19th century was not always bad. Considerations of humanity and concern for the exploited natives led to attempts to control the situation by means of various (rather ineffective) laws forbidding slavery, limiting the exaction of tribute, prohibiting the sale of liquor and, as late as 1912, forbidding Russian traders to enter certain native territories. Still, the major trend of the development continued: loss of land, economic decline, dissolution of subsistence patterns, disintegration of the social framework.

During the post-revolutionary Civil War that lasted from 1917 to 1924 (locally in the Far East), the Soviet administration replaced the tsarist governmental system. Passive victims of warfare between the two

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Russian factions, the indigenous population slid into a dispute between two competing political lines: one intended to secure a development according to each people's own cultural premises, while the other - the Stalinist line - aimed at the complete elimination of ethnic differences and the integration of all national groups into a common Soviet society. The Stalinist line won towards the end of the 1920s.

The administrative subdivision of Russia into national areas and districts was meant to reflect the ethnic composition of the respective territories. This was originally supposed to guarantee the influence of the individual peoples on local development, which was never realised. In contrast, the strict application of the class law turned the social pattern of the indigenous population upside down. Their natural leaders, wealthy reindeer owners and shamans, for instance, were regarded as exploiters and excluded from political positions, while the young, elected "working class" people often neither felt competent nor were expected by their fellow-tribesmen to make decisions on their own.

In the 1920s, there was a variety of initiatives to compensate for economic loss suffered by the indigenous population during the Civil War, such as economic support bills, tax exemption for minorities, erection of support centres, etc. But during the 1930s, under the dictatorship of Stalin, most of the economic and social structure that might still have been intact was destroyed. The large-scale industrialisation of the Soviet Union needed the resources of the North. The state firms imported their own workers who stood outside the local authorities' jurisdiction. Natives whose subsistence was destroyed became dependent on service functions for the foreign industry or sought refuge in more hostile mountain and tundra areas.

Traditional reindeer herding, hunting and fishing occupations were forcefully transformed into collective farms, kolkhozes, all across the Soviet Union. Local uprisings were put down and punished hard, for instance, in the Nenets and Taymyr areas in 1930-32. A number of national areas were dissolved, and the North was divided between various ministries. No controlling agency existed that could survey the continuous colonisation and exploitation of the land and the fate of its native inhabitants.

In 1941 th Russia was drawn into World War II. Many indigenous individuals had to fight at the fronts. The lack of young men for domestic occupations especially affected the vulnerable, small indigenous societies. Excessive numbers of domestic animals had to be slaughtered, and river mouths were depleted of fish in the fight against hunger. The thousands of men returning from the front had changed their social attitudes and thus accelerated cultural assimilation. European immigration to Siberia increased.

In the 1950s and 1960s, a large-scale campaign was pursued to lead the peoples into the "modern socialist civilization", by forced relocation into urban or semi-urban areas. The enforcement consisted in depriving rural areas of hospitals, schools and shops. Nomads were officially declared primitive human beings and were urged to settle. But there was not sufficient work in the new settlements to replace the lost traditional occupations. The consequences for many were further loss of economic ability and social structure, rising criminal rates and abuse of alcohol. In 1980, the ethnically based administrative areas were ceased, the word "minorities" was removed from law texts, and the local administrative bodies lost all but consulting functions.

The educational policies of Soviet Russia towards the indigenous peoples had been changing radically. The school system was renewed and underwent an important development in the 1920s. Linguists developed alphabets for all language groups, with special letters based on the Latin alphabet. Illiteracy dropped markedly. In 1937, Stalin forced the application of the Cyrillic alphabet for all languages, and linguists that had worked on customised alphabets were imprisoned as public enemies. A policy started that was aimed at wiping out all ethnic identity. After 1957, teachers were even punished for speaking anything but Russian to the pupils outside the mother tongue lessons.

The boarding-school system - originally meant to give nomad children the opportunity of a higher education - had a destructive influence on the minority cultures when extended to primary school level. Children were growing up far from their parents and returned at an age of 16-17 as almost complete strangers with often weakened ties to their ethnic origin and language, and almost without practical skills for the traditional occupations. As a result, the system favoured assimilation into the Russian society. The

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decrease in people using or understanding their native language is enormous. Today, the elder generation - above the age of 50 - carries on the language.

It would, however, be wrong to neglect positive developments during the Soviet era. One important example is that the role of women in the society achieved benefits, as many taboos were broken. Other examples were the improvement of health care, reduction of infant mortality, etc.

Environmental disaster

Until ca. 1930, industrial development and large-scale extraction of natural resources by the colonialists were largely confined to the area adjacent to the Trans-Siberian Railway. From 1930, large industrial projects were started in the North that caused severe, though local, environmental damage: intensive forestry in the Igarka area (lower Yenisey), nickel mining at Norilsk (Yenisey mouth), and gold mining in Yakutiya. The major impacts in the far North started in the mid-1950s, especially the chopping down of forests for timber over great expanses. Vast hunting grounds were destroyed. Large amounts of timber were left to rot. The Soviet Far East lost more than 30% of its forests.

The oil and gas boom started in the mid-1960s. The largest oil deposits were in the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Area. Enormous forest areas were razed and the land was devastated by careless tracked-vehicle driving; rivers and bogs were polluted, and large areas became worthless for any sort of primary subsistence. In addition to the devastation of nature, the alien workers abused the indigenous population through pillage, theft, killing of reindeer, and destruction of sacred sites, even robbery, rape, murder and burning of homes. The exploitation of the Yamal Peninsula was carried out quickly, though experts had not agreed on its profitability.

Both areas suffered immense loss of land and water resources. Railways and pipelines cut off reindeer migration routes. In the Khanty-Mansiyskiy and the Yamalo-Nenetskiy Avt. Okrug together, 110,000 km2 of reindeer pastures, 28 economically valuable rivers, 177 km2 of spawning areas and feeding fields were destroyed. Similar encroachments were made in the Far East in 1970-87, where reindeer herds decreased by 30-40%.

A significant impact of a different kind is nuclear pollution. From the atmospherical atomic bomb testing in Novaya Zemlya in the 1960s, large areas suffered radioactive contamination. In addition, nuclear explosions were often used for civil purposes like mining, attemps to divert rivers, and seismic sounding, some of which resulted in local radioactive fallout. High rates of related diseases are known from, for instance, Chukotka, northern Yakutiya, Kolguyev Island, and the Kola Peninsula. The tuberculosis rate - high throughout the North - is locally close to 100%. Other lung diseases are common, while infant mortality is quickly rising.

Political reorganization

With the beginning of the Perestroika policy, movements against the disastrous situation for the Northern indigenous peoples started with an increasing frequency. In 1986, Koryaks succeeded in preventing a village liquidation in Kamchatka. Other examples of successful protests followed, like the fight of the Udege people in the Bikin Valley (Primorye) against the cutting of timber by foreign companies in the early 1990s. A large amount of regional associations developed which were supposed to defend indigenous interests.

In 1989, an expert meeting on minority problems achieved agreement on the necessity of severe changes in the Soviet minority policy. The experts pronounced that the best way to secure the future of the Northern minorities would be the establishment of ethnic territories with self-determination, cessation of the former policy of forced relocation, replacement of large-scale development programs by locally adjusted small-scale projects, etc.

An important initiative by the minorities themselves was the formation of the embracing "First Congress of the Small Peoples of the North" in Moscow, March 1990. It resulted in the establishment of the "Russian

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Association of Indigenous Minorities of the North, Siberia and the Far East" (RAIPON), under the first elected president, Vladimir Sangi (Nivkh), who was later replaced by Yeremey Aypin (Khant) and then by Sergey Kharyuchi (Nenets). The association became the official representation of the Northern indigenous people towards Russian authorities and government. International institution building programs, initiated by ICC (Inuit Circumpolar Conference) Canada in 1995, helped to develop the organisation into a significant political tool which today spearheads the peoples' struggle for survival.

In 1998, RAIPON - together with the other embracing Arctic indigenous peoples' organisations, Saami Council, ICC and Aleut International Association - was accepted as a permanent participant in the newly established (1996) Arctic Council. The main goal of this council is international co-ordination of development in the Arctic, with the pronounced participation of her indigenous populations.

Environment, health, legal issues and economy are today on the agenda of the indigenous associations. RAIPON and associated organizations are working hard towards the Russian authorities concerning the emplacement of a satisfactory legal basis for indigenous rights. So-called ethnic communities are formed, where the native population executes a sort of self-determination in terms of traditional subsistence. Environmental violations have been brought to trial. Health-related development projects are initiated. Native communities are trying to go back to their traditional social clan structure and to revive the old ways of life in order to survive the present socio-economic crisis. The newly developed consciousness among the people, that their future is in their own hands, was nothing but a rhetoric phrase just a little more than a decade ago.

Enormous progress has been made during the past decade, but much more is still to be done. One of the main obstacles is the lack of financial means - not only for the associations, but also at an individual level. In many rural areas, there is shortage of basic things like food, equipment and firewood. The need for continuous support from the outside is fundamental.

The way the indigenous peoples of Russia have chosen is the one of partnership - with their neighbors, with the authorities - and at the global level. They are increasingly accepted as equal partners in the process of sustainable development in international fora. Progress at the domestic level is still very slow due to the reactionary behaviour of many local officials. But they fight with endurance.

United States of America

Native Americans in the United States are the indigenous peoples from the regions of North America now encompassed by the continental United States, including parts of Alaska. They comprise a large number of distinct tribes, states, and ethnic groups, many of which are still enduring as political communities. There is a wide range of terms used, and some controversy surrounding their use: they are variously known as American Indians, Indians, Amerindians, Amerinds, or Indigenous, Aboriginal or Original Americans.

The European colonization of the Americas nearly obliterated the populations and cultures of the Native Americans. During the 16th through 19th centuries, their populations were ravaged by conflicts with European explorers and colonists, disease, displacement, enslavement, internal warfare as well as high rate of intermarriage. Scholars now believe that, among the various contributing factors, epidemic disease was the overwhelming cause of the population decline of the American natives.

The first Native American group encountered by Christopher Columbus in 1492, were the Island Arawaks (more properly called the Taino) of Boriquen (Puerto Rico), the (Quisqueya) of the Dominican Republic, the Cubanacan (Cuba). It is said that of the 250 thousand to 1 million Island Arawaks, only about 500 survived by the year 1550, and the group was considered extinct before 1650. Yet DNA studies show that the genetic contribution of the Taino to that region continues, and the mitochondrial DNA studies of the Taino are said to show relationships to the Northern Indigenous Nations, such as Inuit (Eskimo) and others

European settlers brought diseases against which the Native Americans had no natural immunity. Chicken pox and measles, though common and rarely fatal among Europeans, often proved deadly to

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Native Americans. Smallpox, always a terrible disease, proved particularly deadly to Native American populations. Epidemics often immediately followed European exploration, sometimes destroying entire villages. While precise figures are difficult to arrive at, some historians estimate that up to 80% of some Native populations died due to European diseases.

In 1617-1619 smallpox wiped out 90% of the Massachusetts Bay Indians. As it had done elsewhere, the virus wiped out entire population groups of Native Americans. It reached Lake Ontario in 1636, and the lands of the Iroquois by 1679, killing millions. During the 1770's, smallpox killed at least 30% of the West Coast Native Americans.

During the American Revolutionary War, the newly proclaimed United States competed with the British for the allegiance of Native American nations east of the Mississippi River. Most Native Americans who joined the struggle sided with the British, hoping to use the war to halt further colonial expansion onto Native American land. Many native communities were divided over which side to support in the war. For the Iroquois Confederacy, the American Revolution resulted in civil war. Cherokees split into a neutral (or pro-American) faction and the anti-American Chickamaugas, led by Dragging Canoe.

Frontier warfare during the American Revolution was particularly brutal, and settlers and native tribes committed numerous atrocities. Noncombatants suffered greatly during the war, and villages and food supplies were frequently destroyed during military expeditions. The largest of these expeditions was the Sullivan Expedition of 1779, which destroyed more than 40 Iroquois villages in order to neutralize Iroquois raids in upstate New York. The expedition failed to have the desired effect: Native American activity became even more determined.

The British made peace with the Americans in the Treaty of Paris (1783), and had ceded a vast amount of Native American territory to the United States without informing the Native Americans. The United States initially treated the Native Americans who had fought with the British as a conquered people who had lost their land. When this proved impossible to enforce, the policy was abandoned. The United States was eager to expand, and the national government initially sought to do so only by purchasing Native American land in treaties. The states and settlers were frequently at odds with this policy.

In the nineteenth century, the incessant Westward expansion of the United States incrementally compelled large numbers of Native Americans to resettle further west, often by force, almost always reluctantly. Under President Andrew Jackson, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which authorized the President to conduct treaties to exchange Native American land east of the Mississippi River for lands west of the river. As many as 100,000 Native Americans eventually relocated in the West as a result of this Indian Removal policy. In theory, relocation was supposed to be voluntary (and many Native Americans did remain in the East), but in practice great pressure was put on Native American leaders to sign removal treaties. Arguably the most egregious violation of the stated intention of the removal policy was the Treaty of New Echota, which was signed by a dissident faction of Cherokees, but not the elected leadership. The treaty was brutally enforced by President Andrew Jackson, which resulted in the deaths of an estimated four thousand Cherokees on the Trail of Tears.

The explicit policy of Indian Removal forced or coerced the relocation of major Native American groups in both the Southeast and the Northeast United States, resulting directly and indirectly in the deaths of tens of thousands. The subsequent process of assimilations was no less devastating to Native American peoples. Tribes were generally located to reservations on which they could more easily be separated from traditional life and pushed into European-American society. Some Southern states additionally enacted laws in the 19th century forbidding non-Indian settlement on Indian lands, intending to prevent sympathetic white missionaries from aiding the scattered Indian resistance.

At one point, President Jackson told people to kill as many bison as possible in order to cut out the Plains Indian's main source of food. Later in time there were fewer than 500 bison left in the Great Plains.

Conflicts, generally known as "Indian Wars", broke out between U.S. forces and many different tribes. U.S. government authorities entered numerous treaties during this period, but later abrogated many for

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various reasons. Well-known military engagements include the Native American victory at the Battle of Little Bighorn in 1876 and the massacre of Native Americans at Wounded Knee in 1890. This, together with the near-extinction of the American Bison that many tribes had lived on, set about the downturn of Prairie Culture that had developed around the use of the horse for hunting, travel and trading.

American policy toward Native Americans has been an evolving process. In the late nineteenth century, reformers, in efforts to "civilize" or otherwise assimilate Indians (as opposed to relegating them to reservations), adapted the practice of educating native children in Indian Boarding Schools. These schools, which were primarily run by Christian missionaries, often proved traumatic to Native American children, who were forbidden to speak their native languages, taught Christianity instead of their native religions and in numerous other ways forced to abandon their various Native American identities and adopt European-American culture. There are also many documented cases of sexual, physical and mental abuses occurring at these schools.

The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 gave United States citizenship to Native Americans, in part because of an interest by many to see them merged with the American mainstream, and also because of the heroic service of many Native American veterans in World War I.

There are 561 federally recognized tribal governments in the United States. These tribes possess the right to form their own government, to enforce laws (both civil and criminal), to tax, to establish membership, to license and regulate activities, to zone and to exclude persons from tribal territories. Limitations on tribal powers of self-government include the same limitations applicable to states; for example, neither tribes nor states have the power to make war, engage in foreign relations, or coin money (this includes paper currency).

According to 2003 United States Census Bureau estimates, a little over one third of the 2,786,652 Native Americans in the United States live in three states: California at 413,382, Arizona at 294,137 and Oklahoma at 279,559.

As of 2000, the largest tribes in the U.S. by population were Navajo, Cherokee, Choctaw, Sioux, Chippewa, Apache, Lumbee, Blackfeet, Iroquois, and Pueblo. In 2000, eight of ten Americans with Native American ancestry were of mixed blood. It is estimated that by 2100 that figure will rise to nine out of ten. In addition, there are a number of tribes that are recognized by individual states, but not by the federal government. The rights and benefits associated with state recognition vary from state to state.

Some tribal nations have been unable to establish their heritage and obtain federal recognition. The Muwekma Ohlone of the San Francisco bay area are pursuing litigation in the federal court system to establish recognition. Many of the smaller eastern tribes have been trying to gain official recognition of their tribal status. The recognition confers some benefits, including the right to label arts and crafts as Native American and permission to apply for grants that are specifically reserved for Native Americans. But gaining recognition as a tribe is extremely difficult; to be established as a tribal group, members have to submit extensive genealogical proof of tribal descent.

Military defeat, cultural pressure, confinement on reservations, forced cultural assimilation, outlawing of native languages and culture, termination policies of the 1950s and 1960s and earlier, slavery, and poverty have had deleterious effects on Native Americans' mental and physical health. Contemporary health problems suffered disproportionately include alcoholism, heart disease, diabetes.

As recently as the 1970s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was still actively pursuing a policy of "assimilation", dating at least to the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. The goal of assimilation — plainly stated early on — was to eliminate the reservations and steer Native Americans into mainstream U.S. culture. In July 2000 the Washington state Republican Party adopted a resolution of termination for tribal governments. As of 2004, there are still claims of theft of Native American land for the coal and uranium it contains.

In the state of Virginia, Native Americans face a unique problem. Virginia has no federally recognized tribes, largely due to Walter Ashby Plecker. In 1912, Plecker became the first registrar of the state's

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Bureau of Vital Statistics, serving until 1946. Plecker believed that the state's Native Americans had been "mongrelized" with its African American population. A law passed by the state's General Assembly recognized only two races, "white" and "colored". Plecker pressured local governments into reclassifying all Native Americans in the state as "colored", leading to the destruction of records on the state's Native American community.

In order to receive federal recognition and the benefits it confers, tribes must prove their continuous existence since 1900. The federal government has so far refused to bend on this bureaucratic requirement. A bill currently before U.S. Congress to ease this requirement has been favorably reported out of a key Senate committee, being supported by both of Virginia's senators, George Allen and John Warner, but faces opposition in the House from Representative Virgil Goode, who has expressed concerns that federal recognition could open the door to gambling in the state.[38]

In the early 21st century, Native American communities remain an enduring fixture on the United States landscape, in the American economy, and in the lives of Native Americans. Communities have consistently formed governments that administer services like firefighting, natural resource management, and law enforcement. Most Native American communities have established court systems to adjudicate matters related to local ordinances, and most also look to various forms of moral and social authority vested in traditional affiliations within the community. To address the housing needs of Native Americans, Congress passed the Native American Housing and Self Determination Act (NAHASDA) in 1996. This legislation replaced public housing, and other 1937 Housing Act programs directed towards Indian Housing Authorities, with a block grant program directed towards Tribes.

Gambling has become a leading industry. Casinos operated by many Native American governments in the United States are creating a stream of gambling revenue that some communities are beginning to use as leverage to build diversified economies. Native American communities have waged and prevailed in legal battles to assure recognition of rights to self-determination and to use of natural resources. Some of those rights, known as treaty rights are enumerated in early treaties signed with the young United States government. Tribal sovereignty has become a cornerstone of American jurisprudence, and at least on the surface, in national legislative policies. Although many Native American tribes have casinos, they are a source of conflict. Most tribes, especially small ones such as the Winnemem Wintu of Redding, California, feel that casinos and their proceeds destroy culture from the inside out. These tribes refuse to participate in the gaming industry.

On May 19, 2005, the Massachusetts legislature finally repealed a disused 330 year-old law that barred Native Americans from entering Boston.

Africa

The indigenous peoples of Africa are those peoples from the African region whose way of life, attachment or claims to particular lands, and social and political standing in relation to other more dominant groups have resulted in their substantial marginalization within modern African states. This marginalization, combined with the desire to recognize and protect both their collective and human rights, and to maintain the continuity of their individual cultures has led many of these peoples to seek identification as indigenous peoples, in the contemporary global sense of the term.

In the post-colonial period, the concept of specific indigenous peoples within the African continent has gained wider acceptance, although not without controversy. The highly-diverse and numerous ethnic groups which comprise most modern, independent African states contain within them various peoples whose situation, cultures and pastoralist or hunter-gatherer lifestyles are generally marginalised and set apart from the dominant political and economic structures of the nation. Since the late 20th century these peoples have increasingly sought recognition of their rights as distinct indigenous peoples, in both national and international contexts.

Although the vast majority of African peoples can be considered to be "indigenous" in the sense that they have originated from that continent and nowhere else, in practice identity as an "indigenous people" as

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per the term's modern application is more restrictive, and certainly not every African ethnic group claims identification under these terms. Groups and communities who do claim this recognition are those who by a variety of historical and environmental circumstances have been placed outside of the dominant state systems, and whose traditional practices and land claims often come into conflict with the objectives and policies promulgated by governments, companies and surrounding dominant societies.

Given the extensive and complicated history of human migration within Africa, being the "first peoples in a land" is not a necessary pre-condition for acceptance as an indigenous people. Rather, indigenous identity relates more to a set of characteristics and practices than priority of arrival. For example, several populations of nomadic peoples such as the Tuareg of the Sahara and Sahel regions now inhabit areas in which they arrived comparatively recently; their claim to indigenous status (endorsed by the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights) is based on their marginalisation as nomadic peoples in states and territories dominated by sedentary agricultural peoples.

The Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordinating Committee (IPACC) is one of the main trans-national network organizations recognised as a representative of African indigenous peoples in dialogues with governments and bodies such as the UN. IPACC identifies several key characteristics associated with indigenous claims in Africa:

- Political and economic marginalization rooted in colonialism;
- De facto discrimination based often on the dominance of agricultural peoples in the State system (e.g. lack of access to education and health care by hunters and herders);
- The particularities of culture, identity, economy and territoriality that link hunting and herding peoples to their home environments in deserts and forests (e.g. nomadism, diet, knowledge systems);
- Some indigenous peoples, such as the San and Pygmy peoples are physically distinct, which makes them subject to specific forms of discrimination.

With respect to concerns expressed that identifying some groups and not others as indigenous is in itself discriminatory, IPACC states that it:

* "...recognizes that all Africans should enjoy equal rights and respect. All of Africa's diversity is to be valued. Particular communities, due to historical and environmental circumstances, have found themselves outside the state-system and underrepresented in governance...This is not to deny other Africans their status; it is to emphasize that affirmative recognition is necessary for hunter-gatherers and herding peoples to ensure their survival."

At an African inter-governmental level, the examination of indigenous rights and concerns is pursued by a sub-commission established under the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), sponsored by the African Union (AU) (successor body to the Organization of African Unity (OAU)). In late 2003 the 53 signatory states of the ACHPR adopted the Report of the African Commission's Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Communities and its recommendations. This report says in part (p. 62):

* ...Certain marginalized groups are discriminated in particular ways because of their particular culture, mode of production and marginalized position within the state[; a] form of discrimination that other groups within the state do not suffer from. The call of these marginalized groups to protection of their rights is a legitimate call to alleviate this particular form of discrimination.

The adoption of this report at least notionally subscribed the signatories to the concepts and aims of furthering the identity and rights of African indigenous peoples. The extent to which individual states are mobilizing to put these recommendations into practice varies enormously, however, and most indigenous groups continue to agitate for improvements in the areas of land rights, use of natural resources, protection of environment and culture, political recognition and freedom from discrimination.

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African Nationalism is a nationalist political movement for one unified Africa, or the less significant objective of the acknowledgment of African tribes by instituting their own states, as well as the safeguarding of their indigenous customs. Establishments, which championed the cause, included the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society in the Gold Coast (founded 1897), the African National Congress in South Africa (1912) and the National Congress of West Africa (1920).

Africa is a vast continent, amounting to nearly 30,000,000 square kilometers; indeed, it is as large as the USA, Europe, India and China all put together. Its diverse population is fast closing in on 1,000,000,000, with Berbers and other traditionally nomadic peoples, Arabs (who live in the North)and Bantu in the central and southern regions not to mention some smaller groups, helping to make up this massive number. There are about 8,000,000 Europeans and Asians. Ninety per cent of the population lives off agriculture- although there are a few areas that have been industrialized, most obviously in South Africa, which may be said to be the only properly-industrialized African state.

Africa's boundaries enclose hundreds of tribes, most of which have different languages, religions -- there are, among many others, the Muslims, Christians and animists --, traditions, economies, clothing, hut-construction, farming methods and means of livelihood (settled, nomadic, pastoral or agricultural). In Nigeria, the largest country in the continent, there are some 100 tribes, 248, all three of the religions mentioned above (in parenthesis) and individual economies. There is no doubt that one of Africa's most patent characteristics is its diversity -- which accounts for its extreme volatility.

Not so long ago, Africa was known as the "Dark Continent". This was because of its size, its deserts, its tropical climate, it unnavigable rivers, its lack of harbours and the hue of its people. There was also the problem of tropical illnesses such as malaria, yellow fever and sleeping sicknesses, all of which acted as deterrents to European exploration. It definitely lived up well to its other title, the "Terra incognito".

In the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, however, German, French and British explorers made their respective ways deep into the previously-undiscovered interior, where they discovered Central African lakes the Niger, Nile and Congo. The memoirs of great explorers such as Stanley and Livingstone gradually brought Africa into the spotlight.

When the liberated slaves and other progenies of the Afro-American populace commenced their homecoming to the African continent, principally in the western part, many overseas-directed churches were deserted by a large amount of Africans, and, in their stead, self-sufficient and -governing churches of the Africans' own were set up. These often involved themselves in the battle against colonialism.

Between World War I and World War II, a strident howl for self-determination resonated deafeningly from the gorges of numerous mutinous groups in a growing number of African countries. By the time of World War II, almost every nation in Africa had his own pro-autonomy factions, and there were even a number of organizations which spread their weight over whole expanses of the continent. The National Congress of British West Africa was one such organization. The Atlantic Charter, from 1941, and the critical approach to colonialism by the USSR and USA] served only to fortify this expanding dogma.

In the years following World War II, African nationalism found itself significantly stirred by men like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Nelson Mandela of South Africa.

The political, social and economic journeys of newly independent African states were (and are still) slow and arduous ones. There were some gains, however, such as control over their own affairs; there were also a few gains for the ordinary African, who now had more access to information and was free from European enslavement. On the whole, though, the difficulties and challenges outweighed the benefits, especially politically and economically. Many African leaders found it incredibly difficult to cope, and their nations soon became one-party affairs.

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9.1 Tribal Administration

History of Administration of Tribal Areas

Pre-Independence Period: It was during the beginning of 19th century that the British government came in contact with the tribals for the first time. Their policy of administration was the isolation of tribals from general mass of the people. The separation of the tribal areas from purview of normal administration was the foremost policy of the British Raj. Prior to isolation, the tribals were over exploited by the non-tribals and now, because of this policy of segregation, very few people were allowed to enter the tribal areas. In fact, these people were not welcomed by the tribals.

An important part of the policy concerning tribal administration during British period was a deliberate attempt by the government not to increase any communication with tribal areas. Only a few roads were constructed for security purposes and for forest contractors. This isolation in fact eventually crystallized to a sense of separatist movements among tribals, especially those of North East India.

The National field considered this isolation as another instance of wicked conspiracy of new separatist minority - a policy of divide and rule. In an area-wise isolation started by Government of India Act 1870, few areas were identified as scheduled tracts like for example, Assam, Kumaon, Gharwal etc. In 1874, the Scheduled District Act gave effect to Government of India Act 1870. In the year 1919 certain districts were identified as "Backward tracts". This Act was based on the reforms suggested by Montague and Chelmsford.

In the Government of India Act, 1935, under sections 91 and 92, two areas were created - Excluded and Partially Excluded. The list of areas under each of these two categories was embodied in the Government of India order, 1936. There is a difference between the administrations of these two areas. In the excluded areas, the governor owns the discretion in tribal management and in partially excluded areas he seeks the advice of the council of ministers. The expenditure pertaining to excluded areas is non-votable, whereas the reverse being true for partially excluded areas. Any discussion on an excluded area in the legislature needs a prior permission from the Governor. In 1939, Elwin sought a national park for tribals to reduce contact with non-tribals to a minimum.

Development Efforts since Independence: Various planned efforts have been made since independence for economic development of the tribals. The first attempt was made in 1954 when 43 special multipurpose development projects, each with an additional outlay of Rs.27 lakhs for five years, were started to supplement the Community Development Programs which aimed at comprehensive development of rural areas. Since these projects were in the areas which comprised sparsely populated hill and forest regions, with poor communication and limited institutional infrastructure, they called for greater investment and personal attention by extension workers. The efforts, therefore, did not achieve the desired success.

The situation was reviewed in 1956 by Elwin Committee which recommended a cautious approach in the introduction of multiplicity of schemes in tribal areas. On review, the projects were substituted by a less intensive model of tribal development blocks in 1957. The area for a tribal development block was confined to an area of 150 to 200 sq. miles and a population of about 25000. The blocks were supposed to work for tribal population under intensive development program. They were to concentrate on four main activities, viz., economic development, education, health and communication and were to have specific targets.

The tribal development programs were subjected to comprehensive review by the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, generally called Dhebar Commission, in April 1960 and it submitted its report in October 1961. The Commission noted that the pace of development in the tribal areas was slow. Investment and other protective measures were also inadequate and needed urgent attention of the Government. It called for comprehensive legislation to cover all tribals living within the Scheduled Areas and outside, and a simple administrative system for tribal areas. It recommended a scheme of tribal

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development blocks for all areas with more than 50 per cent tribal population.

The recommendations of the Commission were accepted and the block approach was continued. By the end of Third Five Year Plan, the scheme was implemented in abut 500 blocks covering abut 40 percent of the total tribal population. It precluded a large section of the tribal population from the development programs. The tribal situation, so far as protective measures and developmental programs are concerned, remained almost unchanged. In 1969, a Committee under the Chairmanship of Shilu Ao was appointed to review the tribal development programs. It observed that most of the recommendations of the Dhebar Commission had remained unimplemented and urged that they should be implemented without any further delay. It disapproved the block approach as inadequate. The block was too small to function effectively as a basic unit of planning and implementation. It pointed out that the main problems of the tribals related to indebtedness, land alienation, economic backwardness and inadequacy of communication and suggested that those should be tackled on priority basis by formulating a comprehensive program of development.

During the Fourth Plan, six tribal development agencies were started as pilot schemes in four states, viz., two in Madhya Pradesh, two in Orissa and one each in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. Subsequently, two more agencies were started in Orissa by the end of the Fourth Plan. Each agency covered a group of blocks and was expected to take up various programs and protective measures on integrated basis by pooling up the resources. In the Fourth Plan, about Rs.44 crores were allotted to these agencies. The allocations were in addition to the normal outlays. In actual practice, however, the agency approach practically remained an agricultural development program and failed to achieve the desired results. This approach was not extended to other areas and the blocks continued to be the unit of development.

TRIBAL SUB-PLAN

The tribal situation was again reviewed on the eve of the Fifth Five Year Plan by a task force on "Development of Tribal Areas" constituted by the Planning Commission. It opined that the deficiencies and shortcomings pointed out by the earlier Commissions and Committees had generally remained unattended. It observed that one of the important factors for the failure of the development programs is that the Scheduled Tribes and tribal areas have been looked upon as a "welfare" problem as distinguished from "development" problem. The welfare of Scheduled Tribes has continued to depend on small outlays under the backward classes sector and not on general sector outlays. The administrative structure in tribal areas lacks simplicity. It is beyond the comprehension of the Tribals and therefore it does not evoke any response from them. Such a structure of administration may not therefore be suitable for carrying out integrated development of tribal areas. The Task Force recommended that to ensure balanced socio-economic development of the tribal areas, a policy of integrated development would be necessary for the Fifth and subsequent Plans. Therefore a Tribal Sub-Plan strategy was evolved in 1974-75. This strategy emphasized area development with a focus on improving the quality of life of the tribal communities. Its immediate objectives were elimination of exploitation in all forms, speeding up the process of social and economic development, building up inner strength of people and improving their organizational capabilities. It observed that any developmental activity for benefiting the tribal population will not succeed unless exploitation in various forms is prevented. For protecting the tribals from exploitation, it recommended integrated credit-cum-marketing service, marketing of agricultural and minor forest produce, supply of inputs and essential consumer commodities, credit for production purposes, consumption of social needs, redemption of past debts through legislative and executive measures and adoption of suitable measures for dealing with resultant liability. It also emphasized that the programs for prevention of land alienation, restoration of land already alienated, termination of practices like bonded labour, solution of the problems created in the zones of influence of modern industrialized areas and review of excise and forest policies needed special attention.

For development of tribal economy the Tribal Sub-Plan strategy recommended giving high priority to agriculture, land reforms, irrigation, improved methods of cultivation and completion of land records; special attention to *vulnerable* groups like shifting cultivators and forest villagers; generation of employment opportunities for better utilization of available manpower through programs in the fields of

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horticulture, animal husbandry and allied occupations; development of cottage industries based on the local raw materials so that the proportion of semi-processed and processed goods is maximized in the export mix of the region and development of basic infrastructure including legal, institutional and physical aspects for speeding up the socio-economic development.

While preparing the Tribal Sub-Plan, which aimed at area development with a focus on tribal families, a thorough review of tribal problems was made, this included:

1. Identification and demarcation of areas of tribal concentration;
2. Identification of socio-cultural barriers and promoters of change in development;
3. Assessment of potentialities, special problems and felt-needs of the tribal areas;
4. Assessment of the resources available for the Sub-Plan;
5. Formulation of sectoral programs and
6. Devising suitable administrative set-up.

Areas of Tribal Sub-Plan:

The Tribal Sub-Plan approach has been applied to certain identified areas in 17 States and two Union Territories. These are Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Orissa, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Andaman & Nicobar Islands and Daman & Diu. This approach has not been applied to four tribal majority states of Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Nagaland and two Union Territories of Lakshadweep and Dadra and Nagar Haveli as their entire plans are directed towards the development and welfare of the tribal population.

The main components of the Tribal Sub-Plan strategy are Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs), Pockets and Primitive Tribal Group Projects. For implementation of Tribal Sub-Plan strategy, 191 Integrated Tribal Development Projects have been carved out in the aforesaid States and Union Territories. Each ITDP comprises blocks /Taluks/ Tehsils or even whole district with 50 per cent or more tribal population. In delineating the project areas, the main factors viz., predominance of tribal population, contiguity of area and administrative viability have been kept in view. In certain States like West Bengal, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, where concentration of tribal population is not in contiguous belts, a flexible approach has been adopted in delineating ITDP areas. About 285 Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) pockets have also been carved out in 9 states, covering about 50 lakh tribal populations. These areas comprise smaller pockets of tribal concentration having minimum total population of 10000 with Scheduled Tribe population of 50 per cent or more. In these areas, the emphasis is on family development by taking up family-oriented income generating programs. By the end of the Sixth Plan, the Tribal Sub-Plan approach covered about 75 per cent of the total tribal population in the seventeen States and two Union Territories to which it was applicable.

It was later decided to extend the benefits of Tribal Sub-Plan strategy to the remaining 25 per cent dispersed tribal population in various states. Thus, 100 per cent tribal population has been brought within the fold of Tribal Sub-Plan. Economic assistance to families living below the poverty line is also being continued during the 7th Plan. During the Sixth Plan about 39 lakh tribal families were economically assisted against the target of about 28 lakh families. During the 7th Plan, the target of providing economic assistance has been fixed at 41.56 lakh families. During the first four years of the Seventh Plan, about 42.58 lakh families have already been assisted. The quantum of assistance varies from program to program and is not sufficient enough to raise the family above the poverty line.

Keeping in view the precarious condition of certain tribal communities and groups who are still in the primitive stages of economy and need special care both at the planning and implementation of program stages, 74 primitive tribes have been identified in 14 States and Union Territories. They constitute about

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13 lakhs of the tribal population. For these groups, special Micro Projects have been formulated.

Financial Resources and Outlays:

The Tribal Sub-Plan is being financed through the resources drawn from:

1. Flow of funds from State Plan outlays;
2. sectoral outlays in the Central Ministries for tribal areas;
3. Special Central Assistance allocation for tribal areas; and
4. Institutional finance mainly from banks.

Flow of funds from the State Plan to the Sub-Plan form the resource base for the tribal development programs and the outlays from other sources are supplementary. The quantum of the outlays in the State Plan for the purpose is arrived at keeping in view:

i) The total population,

ii) The geographical area,

iii) The comparative level of development, and

iv) The state of social services.

The State Plan outlays comprise a divisible and a non-divisible portion. Those investments whose benefits do not confine to any specific region constitute the non-divisible portion. Quantification and utilization of resources should be reviewed to ensure accrual of due benefit to the tribal region. For the disbursement of funds within the divisible portion a weightage should be given to the tribal areas on the basis of their level of social and economic development. The institutional finance should take into consideration the total ceiling for the State and special problems, if any, in inducing its flow to the tribal region. The likely flow of benefits from each program to the tribal areas should be quantified. The special central assistance for the Tribal Sub-Plan should attempt to supplement the total resources which can be mobilized by the State Plans, Central Ministries and the financing institutions.

After introduction of Sub-Plan strategy there has been substantial increase in flow of funds to Tribal Sub-Plan areas. But most of the funds have remained notional and as a result commensurate benefits could not accrue to tribal areas and tribal communities. For instance, investments made on major and medium irrigation, power, industrial and other projects merely on location basis accounted for about 50-60 per cent of the Tribal Sub-Plan. It has been shown as an investment under Tribal Sub-Plan but the proportionate benefits have not accrued to the tribals. In fact, such projects have benefited mainly the non-tribals. In individual sectors the flow of funds from State Plan to Tribal Sub-Plan has also been notional. Even in divisible sectors, allocation has been made on sectoral basis for the State as a whole and not for individual Integrated Tribal Development Projects. It has rendered the monitoring of physical benefits to Scheduled Tribes virtually impractical.

Special Central Assistance Funds have not been utilized as gap filler against specific schemes to supplement the efforts of the State Governments. The disaggregation of these funds is made sector-wise and not ITDP-wise by the State Departments of Planning and Finance. The Project Officer of the ITDP does not exercise any control over such funds. Thus it becomes difficult to monitor its utilization in the family oriented schemes.

Centrally Sponsored Schemes:

Division of responsibility between the Union and State governments is an important aspect of the centrally sponsored schemes in the development of the Scheduled Tribes. Each Central Ministry and Department is a nodal ministry or department concerning its sector. In the Ministry of Welfare there are

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some schemes common to both Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, such as award of post-matric scholarships, coaching and allied facilities like pre-examination training centres and educational facilities like book banks, etc. A separate provision for Scheduled Tribes has also been made under three schemes namely, girls hostels, research and training and aid to voluntary organizations. The construction of boys' hostels has also been taken up under the centrally sponsored schemes since 1988-89.

Critical Appraisal of Tribal Sub-Plan:

The Tribal Sub-Plan strategy is in operation since the Fifth Five Year Plan, but it has not been able to bring about any perceptible improvement in the situation in tribal areas. It has remained a mere conglomeration of sectoral schemes under the State Plan. The general schemes and programs under the State Plan have been applied to tribal areas some of which do not cater to the needs and aspirations of the local people. The sectoral flow of funds for the Trial Sub Plan has not been able to solve the problem of imbalance in the investments in tribal areas. In the absence of area specific programs, it is difficult to identify the physical achievements of investments. The basic information about the infrastructure development relating to health, education, drinking water, sanitation, communication, agriculture productivity, horticulture, industries etc. in respect of all tribal areas has not yet been tabulated. Such information is basic to a planned strategy for development of the tribal areas within a time frame.

Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs) were devised as a viable administrative units for accelerating the balanced development of the tribal areas. Each ITDP is headed by a senior officer but he has hardly any role to play either as an agent of development or as a co-ordinator. There is no uniformity in administrative pattern so far as Tribal Sub-Plan areas are concerned. In some states the ITDP is a subordinate organization to District Rural Development Agency (DRDA). In some states no distinct ITDP administrative set up has been evolved. The Union Government i.e., the Ministry of Home Affairs and how the Ministry of Welfare has adopted a persuasive approach for execution of the Tribal Sub-Plan strategy to achieve the desired results.

In order to ensure rapid development of the tribal areas and to improve the quality of life of the Scheduled Tribes the following suggestions merit consideration:

1. Instead of Tribal Sub-Plan, a separate plan for the tribal areas in each state (already identified as ITDPs, MADA, etc.) should be formulated. It would amount to delinking of the Tribal Sub-Plan from the States Plan and may be termed as Tribal Area Plan.

2. Separate allocation of funds should be made for the Tribal Plans. This could be done by the Planning Commission itself at the time of annual allocation of funds, keeping in view the population, geographical area and backwardness, and need not be left to the discretion of respective State Governments as under the existing system. On the basis of the allocation of funds, area specific and people specific Tribal Plans may be formulated.

3. In each ITDP, single line administration has to be introduced for execution of the schemes and programs. At the State level Tribal Welfare Department should be made a nodal Department for implementation and coordination of ITDP schemes and programs.

4. For the Centrally Sponsored Schemes the concerned Central Ministries or Departments should allocate funds under a separate budget sub-head of tribal areas. The funds should meet the entire outlay of the schemes. The schemes have to be carefully identified keeping in view the local needs to the tribals. In order to ensure strict enforcement of policy and programs in respect of tribal areas, it should be clearly laid down as a policy that the Planning Commission should not approve the Plan of the Ministry concerned unless and until specific provision for the development of Scheduled Tribes has been made. Annual Central Plan for tribal areas may also be formulated by pooling up resources which may incorporate the schemes sponsored by various Ministries and Departments. The Ministry of Welfare which is the nodal Ministry for policy, planning and coordination of all tribal matters may be assigned the task of formulating the Central Tribal Area Plan. It would enable it to have a total view of the efforts made by various Ministries and Departments. The progress of implementation and

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achievements of all the centrally sponsored schemes may be annually reviewed by the Planning Commission. There should also be a separate monitoring cell in each Ministry and Department.

The tribals have been treated as mere receivers of the benefits and they have not been involved either in the decision making process or in formulation or implementation of the plans and programs. As the problems of the tribals are unique, it is essential that they are actively involved in planning as well as in the implementation of the programs. Effective participation of the tribals in decision making would not only bring about successful implementation of the programs but also create confidence among them in the policies of the Government. Such an approach would make the planned efforts of the Government more meaningful.

ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

Till 1964, Ministry of Home was the overall in-charge of work pertaining to tribal welfare. In 1964, this was taken over by a new department called the Department of Social Security. The recommendation of separate department within the Home Ministry for Welfare was made by the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes. This department of social security was also taking care of tribal welfare.

Under Article 339 of the constitution, the president appointed a Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission. This commission recommended a separate department in the Ministry of Home Affairs, exclusively for tribal welfare. This recommendation was made with a view to accelerate the tempo of tribal development in India. The dubbing of tribal welfare with that of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes was not realistic. The problems of Scheduled castes are because of the pernicious social system of caste and backwardness created by it. Whereas, the problems of Scheduled Tribes is because of the condition created by geography. Hence, an altogether different approach is needed.

In 1964, the Department of Social Security was transferred to the Ministry of Law. In 1966, this department was reorganized and called Department of Social Welfare. A later development is the creation of a full fledged Directorate of Tribal Welfare under the Ministry of Home. For quite some time, the planning and implementation of the welfare measures of this department were taken care of by the commissioner for SC's and ST's. Later, this job was transferred to the newly created Directorate for Tribal Welfare. This office had a Director General at the center with five Zonal Officers with a Zonal Director as its head. This was done to ensure a rapid implementation of the welfare measures.

The office of the commissioner for SCs and STs has a special significance because it acts as a link between the constitution and the governments, both state and union, on one hand and on the other, it is the medium through which the Union Government and the Parliament are kept informed of the programs and implementation regarding SCs and STs. Apart from the Ministry of Social Welfare, other Ministries like Home, Education, Food and Agriculture and also the Planning Commission at the Central level are evolved in the tribal administration.

At the State level, the Ministry of Tribal Welfare is created in some States. The Governor is an overall in-charge to oversee the development programs. The District Collector, the Project Officer of ITDA and Social Welfare Officers and Village Panchayats are involved in tribal development in India. Various ministries and in fact the whole structure of tribal administration is assisted by various Tribal Research Institutes in tribal planning.

PROGRAMS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

The Ministry of Tribal Affairs was constituted in October 1999 to provide more focused attention towards development of Scheduled Tribes. Carved out of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs is the nodal Ministry for overall policy, planning and coordination of programs and schemes for the development of Scheduled, Tribes.

A majority of Scheduled Tribes continues to live below the poverty line have poor literacy rates, suffer

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from malnutrition and disease and is vulnerable to displacement. In general, populations in remote and low-density areas do not have adequate access to affordable health care services, coupled with high infant, child, and maternal mortality. In other words, they remain one of the major under-served population groups in the coverage of reproductive and child health services.

A plethora of campaigns to promote education over since Independence have failed to close the disparity in the literacy rate among Scheduled Tribes hovering around 29 per cent as against the national rate of 52 per cent (1991 Census). The ST female literacy rate is only 18 per cent compared to the national female literacy rate of 39 per cent. Alienation from the society, lack of adequate infrastructure like schools, hostels and teachers, abject poverty and apathy towards irrelevant curriculum have stood in the way of tribes people getting formal education.

Proportion and number of tribal people in the states vary greatly. While some of the States have as high as 95 per cent of its population as tribal (Mizoram),there is none in Punjab, Haryana and UT of Chandigarh. Under Tribal Sub-plan, the tribal areas in the country have been delineated. There are now 194 integrated tribal development projects/agencies (ITDPs/ITDAs) in the country in which lives more than 50 per cent of the total ST population of the country. During the Sixth Plan, pockets outside ITDP areas, having a total population of 10,000 with at least 5,000 scheduled tribes were covered under the Tribal Sub-Plan under Modified Area Development Approach (MADA). So far, 252 MADA pockets have been identified in the country. In addition, 79 clusters with a total population of 5,000 having 50 per cent scheduled tribes have been identified. There are 50 districts in the country where tribal people constitute 20 per cent or more of the total population.

The tribal people of India, who come under the category of 'Scheduled Tribes' (STs) in terms of the provisions of the Constitution of India, number 8.43 crore--constituting 8.2 per cent of the population of the country (Census 2001).

Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas: Scheduled Tribes live in contiguous areas unlike other communities. It is, therefore, much simpler to have an area-approach for development activities and also regulatory provisions to protect their interests. In order to protect the interests of Scheduled Tribes with regard to land alienation and other social factors, provisions of "Fifth Schedule" and "Sixth Schedule" have been enshrined in the Constitution.

The Fifth Schedule under Article 244(1) of Constitution defines "Scheduled Areas" as such areas as the President may by Order declare to be Scheduled Areas after consultation with the Governor of the State.

The Sixth Schedule under Article 244 (2) of the Constitution relates to those areas in the States of Assam, Mehalaya, Tripura and Mizoram which are declared as "Tribal Areas" and provides for District Councils and/or Regional Councils for such Areas. These Councils have been conferred with wide ranging legislative, judicial and executive powers.

The Fifth Schedule Areas: The criteria for declaring any area as a "Scheduled Area" under the Fifth Schedule are: (a) Preponderance of tribal population, (b) Compactness and reasonable size of the area, (c) A viable administrative entity such Welfare as a district, block or taluk, and (d) Economic backwardness of the area as compared to neighboring areas.

The specification of "Scheduled Areas" in relation to a State is by a notified Order of the President, after consultation with the State Governments concerned. The same applies for altering, increasing, decreasing, incorporating new areas, or rescinding any Orders relating to "Scheduled Areas".

The advantages of Scheduled Areas are that: (a) The Governor of a state, which has Scheduled Areas, is empowered to make regulations in respect of the following: (1) Prohibit or restrict transfer of land from tribal people; (2) Regulate the business of money lending to the members of Scheduled Tribes. In making any such regulation, the Governor may repeal or amend any Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State, which is applicable to the area in question. (b) The Governor may be public notification direct that any particular Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State, shall not apply to a Scheduled Area or

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any part thereof in the State or shall apply to such area subject to such exceptions and modifications as he may specify. (c) The Governor of a State having Scheduled Areas therein, shall annually, or whenever so required by the President of India, make a report to the President regarding the administration of he Scheduled Areas in that State and the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to the State as to the administration of the said area. (d) Tribes Advisory Council (TAC) shall be established in States having Scheduled Areas. The role of TAC is to advise the State Government on matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the State as may be referred to it by the Governor. The TAC will consist of not more than twenty members of whom about 3/4 are from ST-MLAs. (The TAC may also be established in any State having Scheduled Tribes but not Scheduled Areas on the direction of the President of India. (e) The Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA), vide which the provisions of Panchayats, contained in Part IX of the Constitution, were extended to Scheduled Areas, also contain special provisions for the benefit of Scheduled Tribes.

The Sixth Schedule - Tribal Areas: The Sixth Schedule under Article 244 of the Constitution identifies Autonomous districts in the Tribal Areas in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. It also makes provisions for recognition of Autonomous Regions within these Autonomous Districts. These have been specified in Parts I, II, IIA & III of the table appended to paragraph 20 of the Sixth Schedule. In other words, areas where provisions of Sixth Schedule are applicable are known as Tribal Areas. The State-wise details of Tribal Areas are as under:

Part I	Assam	1. The North Cachar Hills District 2. The Karbi-Anglong District 3. The Bodo Land Territorial Area Districts
Part II	Meghalaya	1. Khasi Hills District 2. Jaintia Hills District 3. The Garo Hills District
Part II A	Tripura	Tripura Tribal Area District
Part III	Mizoram	1. The Chakma District 2. The Mara District 3. The Lai District

The administration of Autonomous Districts and Autonomous Regions is done through District Councils/Regional Councils. These Councils are elected bodies and have powers of legislation, administration of justice apart from executive, developmental and financial responsibilities. The District or Regional Councils are empowered to make rules with the approval of the Governor with regard to matters like establishment, construction or management of primary schools, dispensaries, markets, cattle ponds, ferries, fisheries, roads, road transport and water-ways in the district.

The Autonomous Councils of the North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong have been granted additional powers to make laws with respect to other matters like secondary education, agriculture, social security and social insurance, public health and sanitation, minor irrigation, etc.

The Councils have also been conferred powers under the Civil Procedure Code and Criminal Procedure Code for trial of certain suits and offences, as also the powers of a revenue authority for their area for collection of revenue and taxes and other powers for the regulation and management of natural resources.

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PROCEDURE FOR DECLARATION AS ST

The term "Scheduled Tribes" is defined in the Constitution of India under Article 366(25) as "such tribes or tribal communities or parts of groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this Constitution". Article 342 prescribes the procedure to be followed in the matter of specification of Scheduled Tribes.

In terms of Article 342(1), the President may, with respect to any State or Union Territory, and where it is State, after consultation with the Governor thereof, notify tribes or tribal communities or parts thereof as Scheduled Tribes. This confers on the tribe or part of it a Constitutional status invoking the safeguards provided for in the Constitution, to these communities in their respective States/UTs.

Thus, in terms of Article 342(1), only those communities who have been declared as such by the President through an initial public notification will be considered as Scheduled Tribes. Any further amendment in the list is to be done through an Act of Parliament [Article 342(2)]. Parliament may, by law, include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes, any tribe or tribal community or parts of thereof.

It is also worth noting that the above Article also provides for listing of Scheduled Tribes State-wise/Union Territory-wise and not on an all-India basis. Thus the list of Scheduled Tribes is State-specific. In other words, a community declared as Scheduled Tribe in one State need not be so in another State.

SCHEDULING AND DE-SCHEDULING OF TRIBES

Thus, the first specification of Scheduled Tribes in relation to a particular State/ Union Territory is by a notified order of the President, after consultation with the State Governments concerned. The above Article also provides for listing of Scheduled Tribes State-wise/UT-wise and not on an all-India basis. The orders can be modified subsequently only through an Act of Parliament.

The criteria generally adopted for specification of a community as a Scheduled Tribe are: (1) indications of primitive traits; (b) distinctive culture; (c) shyness of contact with the community at large; (d) geographical isolation i.e. backwardness.

These are not spelt out in the Constitution but have become well established.They take into account the definitions in the 1931 Census, the reports of the first Backward Classes Commission (Kalelkar) 1955, the Advisory Committee on Revision of SC/ ST lists (Lokur Committee) 1965 and the Joint Committee of Parliament on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Bill, 1967 (Chanda Committee) 1969.

There are over 600 tribes (with many of them overlapping in more than one State) as notified under Article 342 of the Constitution of India, spread over different States and Union Territories of the country. It is worth noting that no community has been specified as a Scheduled tribe in relation to the States of Haryana and Punjab and the Union Territories of Chandigarh, Delhi and Pondicherry.

ASCERTAINING THE ST STATUS OF AN INDIVIDUAL

General

Where a person claims to belong to a Scheduled tribe by birth, it should be verified: (a) that the person and his parents actually belong to the community claimed; (b) that the community is included in the Presidential Order specifying the Scheduled Tribes in relation to the concerned State; (c) that the person belongs to that State and the area within that State in respect of which the community has been scheduled; (d) he may profess any religion; (e) that he or his parents/grandparents, etc., should be permanent resident of the State/UT on the date of notification of the Presidential Order applicable in his case; (f) a person who is temporarily away from his permanent place of residence at the time of the notification of the Presidential Order--applicable in his case, say for example to earn a living or seek education, etc. can also be regarded as a Scheduled Tribe, if his tribe has been specified in that order in

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relation to his home State/Union Territory; (g) but he cannot be treated as such in relation to the place of his temporary residence notwithstanding the fact that the name of his tribe has been scheduled in respect of that State where he is temporarily settled, in any Presidential Order; (h) in the case of persons born after the date of notification of the relevant Presidential

Order, the place of residence for the purpose of acquiring Scheduled Tribe status, is the place of permanent abode of their parents at the time of the notification of the Presidential Order under which they claim to belong to such a tribe. This does not apply to the STs of the Lakhadweep Islands for whom there is a requirement of being born in the U.T. in order to be eligible for ST status.

Scheduled Tribe claims on migration

1. Where a person migrates from the portion of the State in which his/her community is scheduled, to another part of the same State in respect of which his/her community is not scheduled, the person will continue to be deemed to be a member of the Scheduled Tribe, in relation to that State
2. Where a person migrates from one State to another, he can claim to belong to a Scheduled Tribe only in relation to the State to which he originally belonged and not in respect of the State to which he has migrated.

Schedule Tribe Claims Through Marriages

The guiding principle is that no person who is not a Scheduled Tribe by birth will be deemed to be a member of Scheduled Tribe merely because he or she has married a person belonging to a Scheduled Tribe. Similarly a person who is a member of a Scheduled Tribe will continue to be a member of that Scheduled Tribe, even after his or her marriage with a person who does not belong to a Scheduled Tribe.

Issue of Scheduled Tribe Certificates

The candidates belonging to Scheduled Tribes may get Scheduled Tribe certificates, in the prescribed form, from any one of the following authorities: (1) District Magistrate/Additional District Magistrate/Collector/Deputy Commissioner/ Additional Deputy Commissioner/Deputy Collector/1st Class Stipendiary Magistrate/City Magistrate/Sub Divisional Magistrate/Taluka Magistrate/Executive Magistrate/Extra Assistant Commissioner [not below the rank of 1st Class Stipendiary Magistrate]. (2) Chief Presidency Magistrate/Additional Chief Presidency Magistrate/Presidency Magistrate. (3) Revenue Officers not below the rank of Tehsildar. (4) Sub-Divisional Officer of the Area where the candidate and/or his family normally resides. (5) Administrator/Secretary to the Administrator/ Development Officer [Lakshadweep Islands].

Punishments for officials issuing Scheduled Tribes Certificates without proper verification

Action is to be taken under the relevant provisions of the Indian Penal Code if any official is found to have issued a Scheduled tribe certificate carelessly and without proper verification. This will be in addition to other action to which they are liable under the appropriate disciplinary rules applicable to them.

Procedure for inclusion in or exclusion from the list of Scheduled Tribes

In June 1999, the Government approved modalities for deciding claims for inclusion in, or exclusion from, the lists of Scheduled Tribes. According to these approved guidelines, only those claims that have been agreed to by the concerned State Government, the Registrar General of India and the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will be taken up for consideration. Whenever representations are received in the Ministry for inclusion of any community in the list of Scheduled Tribes of a State/UT, the Ministry forwards that representation to the concerned State Government/UT Administration for recommendation as required under Article 342 of the Constitution. If the concerned State Government recommends the proposal, then the same is sent to the Registrar General of India (RGI). If RGI is satisfied with recommendation of the State Government and recommends the proposal to the Central Government, the Government refers the proposal to the National Commission for Scheduled

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Tribes for their recommendation. If the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes also recommends the case, the matter is processed for the decision of the cabinet after consulting the concerned. administrative Ministries. Thereafter the matter is put up before the Parliament in the form of a Bill to amend the Presidential Order.

GENERAL STATISTICS

According to the 2001 Census, the population of Scheduled tribes in the country was 8.43 crore - i.e., constituting 8.2 per cent of the total population of the country.

The Tribal communities live in about 15 per cent of the country's area, in varying ecological and geo-climatic conditions, plains, forests, hills and inaccessible areas. Tribal groups are at different stages of social, economic and educational development. They have their presence in the States and Union Territories except Haryana, Punjab, Chandigarh, Delhi and Pondicherry. The predominant tribal-populated States of the country (i.e., those with tribal population of more than 50 per cent of the total population of the State are: Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Union territories of Dadra & Nagar Haveli and Lakshadweep. If a comparison is made amongst ST population alone, more than half the ST population of the country is concentrated in the States of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Jharkhand and Gujarat. The largest number of tribes (i.e. 62) is in the State of Orissa. The next major concentration is in the North-Eastern States.

Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs): While some tribal communities have adopted a mainstream way of life at one of the spectrum, there are 75 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) in 17 States and Union Territories of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, who are characterized by: (a) a pre-agriculture level of technology, (b) a stagnant or declining population, (c) extremely low literacy, and (d) a subsistence level of economy. Their total population as per the 1991 census was about 24.12 lakh. Most of these groups are small in number, have attained various levels of social and economic progress and generally live in remote habitat, with poor administrative and infrastructure back up.

Population Profile: Many indicators in respect of Scheduled Tribes like their demography, sex-ratio, education, livelihood profile, health profile have been compiled periodically through the Census operations or by the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) or the Central Statistical Organization (CSO). The population of Scheduled Tribes has been on the increase since 1961. The census reveals that the tribal population had grown at the rate of 24.45 per cent during the period 1991-2001. The decadal population growth between the Census Year 1981 to 1991 in respect of the tribal population had been higher (31.64 per cent) than that for the overall population (23.51 per cent). However during census years 1991 to 2001 it had been 24.45 per cent against the growth rate of 22.66 per cent for the entire population.

As compared to the sex ratio for the overall population (933 females per 1000 male), the sex ratio among Scheduled Tribes is more favorable, at 978 females per 1,000 males (2001 census).

Literacy: The literacy rate for overall population has increased from 52.2 per cent to 65.38 per cent between 1991 to 2001. In case of Scheduled Tribes the increase in literacy has been from 29.62 per cent to 47.10 per cent. The literacy rate among tribals (47.10 per cent) is however far below the overall literacy in the country (64.8 per cent). The female literacy rate among tribals during the period 1991 to 2001 increased from 18.2 per cent to 34.8 per cent which is lower by approximately 20 per cent as compared to literacy rate of the females of the general population. However, the significant point is the increase in the total as well as the female literacy among tribals. These disparities are compounded by higher dropout rates in formal education, resulting in a disproportionately low representation in higher education.

Job profile: According to the 1991 Census figures, 42.02 per cent of the ST population was main workers, of whom 54.50 per cent were cultivators and 36.09 per cent agricultural laborers. Thus, about 82 per cent of the main workers from these

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Indicators of Backwardness: Not surprisingly, the cumulative effect has been that the proportion of Scheduled Tribes below the poverty line is substantially higher than the national average. A majority of Scheduled Tribes continues to live below the poverty line, have poor literacy rates, suffer from malnutrition and diseases and are vulnerable to displacement.

The Central Government and the State Governments have been implementing schemes/programs for the upliftment of STs like reservation in Services, Tribal Sub-Plans, Central Schemes, Centrally Sponsored Schemes, etc. However, a lot more is required to be done to achieve the desired development goals for STs.

DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS : 2001 CENSUS

S. No.	India/State	Total population	ST Population	Percentage of STs to total population in the State
1	Mizoram	888,573	839,310	94.5
2	Lakshadweep	60,650	57,321	94.5
3	Nagaland	1,990,036	1,774,026	89.1
4	Meghalaya	2,318,822	1,992,862	85.9
5	Arunachal Pradesh	1,097,968	705,158	64.2
6	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	220,490	137,225	62.2
7	Manipur	2,166,788	741,141	34.2
8	Chhattisgarh	20,833,803	6,616,596	31.8
9	Tripura	3,199,203	993,426	31.1
10	Jharkhand	26,945,829	7,087,068	26.3
11	Orissa	36,804,660	8,145,081	22.1
12	Sikkim	540,851	111,405	20.6
13	Madhya Pradesh	60,348,023	12,233,474	20.3
14	Gujarat	50,671,017	7,481,160	14.8
15	Rajasthan	56,507,188	7,097,706	12.6
16	Assam	26,655,528	3,308,570	12.4
17	J&K	10,143,700	1,105,979	10.9
18	Maharashtra	96,878,627	8,577,276	8.9
19	Daman and Diu	158,204	13,997	8.8
20	Andaman and Nicobar	356,152	29,469	8.3
21	Andhra Pradesh	76,210,007	5,024,104	6.6
22	Karnataka	52,850,562	3,463,986	6.6
23	West Bengal	80,176,197	4,406,794	5.5
24	Himachal Pradesh	6,077,900	244,587	4.0
25	Uttarakhand	8,489,349	256,129	3.0
26	Kerala	31,841,374	364,189	1.1
27	Tamil Nadu	62,405,679	651,321	1.0
28	Bihar	82,998,509	758,351	0.9
29	Uttar Pradesh	166,197,921	107,963	0.1
30	Goa	1,347,668	566	0
31	Haryana	21,144,564	0	0
32	Punjab	24,358,999	0	0
33	Chandigarh	900,635	0	0
34	Delhi	13,850,507	0	0
35	Pondicherry	974,345	0	0
	India	**1,028,610,328**	**84,326,240**	**8.2**

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SPECIAL CENTRAL ASSISTANCE

The innovative strategy of the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) for STs was launched during 1974. This special strategy was expected to ensure that all the general development sectors, both at he Central and State levels, earmark funds for STs in proportion to their population so that adequate benefits from all the concerned sectors flow to this disadvantaged group. In support of this special strategy the Government of India has also been extending Special Central Assistance (SCA) to the States and the UTs, as an additive to fill up the gaps, especially in the family based income-generating programs. As a result, there has been a substantial increase in the flow of funds for the development of STs besides enlargement of the share of benefits for STs under all the development programs.

Special Central Assistance is provided by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs to 21 Tribal Sub-Plan State Governments and two U.T. Administrations including North Eastern States of Assam, Manipur and Tripura. However, from 2003-04 the Ministry of Home Affairs is releasing the funds under SCA to TSP meant for the UTs. The SCA is to be utilized in conjunction with the TSP flow with a view to meeting the gaps, which are not otherwise taken care of by the State Plan. The objective and scope of SCA to TSP which was originally meant for filling up of the critical gaps in the family-based income-generation activities of the TSP, will now be expanded to cover the employment-cum-income generation activities and the infrastructure incidental thereto which may not only be family-based, but also run by the Self-Help Groups (SHGs)/Community. The ultimate objective of extending SCA to TSP is to boost the demand based income-generation programs and thus raise the economic and social status of tribals in sectors of agriculture, horticulture, land reforms, watershed development/soil and moisture conservation, animal husbandry, ecology and environment, development of forests/forest villages, development of entrepreneurship and SSI and tribal women. During 2003-04 an amount of Rs. 461.30 crore was released to the States/UTs.

GRANTS UNDER ARTICLE 275 (1)

The Constitution of India provides for assured special financial assistance under its Article 275 (1) for promoting the welfare of STs and for raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas to that of the rest of the State. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs releases grants to 21 Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) and four Tribal majority States under First Proviso to Article 275 (1) of the Constitution to meet the cost of such projects for Tribal Development as may be undertaken by the State Government with the approval of Government of India, for raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas therein to that of the rest of the State. Funds are now being released against specific infrastructure projects like roads, bridges, solar electrification, construction of school, hostel building, irrigation facilities, etc. During 2003-04, Rs 252.70 crores has been provided to the States for infrastructure projects.

Since 1997-98, a part of funds under Article 275(1) of the Constitution is also released for setting up "Eklavya Model Residential Schools" to provide quality education to the tribal students. This will enable the tribal children to avail of the facility of reservation in higher and professional educational courses as well as in higher levels of jobs in the Government and Public Sector undertakings. An amount of Rs. 15.41 crore has been provided to the State Government for setting up of Eklavya Model Residential Schools during 2003-04.

SCHEME FOR PRIMITIVE TRIBAL GROUPS

Based on the pre-agricultural level of technology, low level of literacy, declining or stagnant population, 75 tribal communities in 15 States/UTs, have been identified and categorized as Primitive Tribal Groups. A Central Sector Scheme has been introduced for all-round development of these groups from 1998-99 under which financial assistance is made available to Integrated Tribal Development Projects, Tribal Research Institutes and Non-Governmental Organizations for undertaking projects/activities not covered by any of the existing schemes. Financial assistance to the tune of Rs 16.13 crore has been sanctioned under the scheme during 2003-04.

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TRIBAL RESEARCH INSTITUTES

There are fifteen Tribal Research Institutes (TR1s) one each in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura and Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The Ministry funded the establishment of the Tribal Research Institute at Port Blair, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, during 2002-03. These Institutes provide planning inputs to the State Governments, conduct research and evaluation studies, collect data, is involved in codifying of customary law and conduct training, seminars and workshops. Some of these Institutes also house museums for exhibiting tribal artifacts. During 2003-04, Rs. 2.53 crore was released to the State Governments/UT Administrations to support these Institutes.

HOSTELS FOR ST GIRLS AND BOYS

Tribal children are deprived of education as the hamlets and villages they reside in do not have such facilities. The Girls' hostels scheme was started -in the Third Five Year Plan with the aim of providing residential facilities to tribal girls in pursuit of education away from home. Central assistance of 50 per cent cost of construction to the States and 100 per cent to the Union Territories is provided under the scheme. The Boys' Hostels scheme was started in 1989-90 under the same pattern as the Girls' Hostels. During 2003- 04, an amount of Rs. 18.15 crore was released for construction of 298 boys' and 171 girls' hostels.

ASHRAM SCHOOLS IN TSP AREAS

This Centrally-sponsored scheme was started in 1990-91 to provide central assistance to the States and Union Territories on 50 per cent and 100 per cent basis respectively. During 2003-04, Rs. 6.47 crore was sanctioned and released for construction of 315 Ashram schools under the scheme.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING TO PROMOTE ENTREPRENEURSHIP

This scheme under the Central Sector, introduced in 1992-93, aims at developing the skills of the tribal youth in order to gain employment/self employment opportunities. The scheme envisages setting up of vocational training centres (VTCs). During 2003-04, an amount of Rs. 5.18 crore was released for 50 vocational training centres run by Non-Governmental Organizations and 150 vocational training centres run by State Governments.

EDUCATION OF GIRLS IN LOW LITERACY POCKETS

This Scheme was launched in 1993-94 with the objective of raising the literacy level of tribal females in 48 identified tribal districts in eight States with female literacy below two per cent. This scheme was revised in July 1998 and now covers 136 districts having female literacy of less than 10 per cent in 14 States. The scheme envisages setting up of residential educational complex as from first to fifth standard. The scheme is implemented through the voluntary organizations and State Governments/UTs. During 2003-04, an amount of Rs 5.73 crore was released for 183 complexes.

VILLAGE GRAIN BANK SCHEME

A Central Sector Scheme of Grain Banks in tribal villages was launched in 1996-97. The scheme was started on a pilot basis in selected areas out of the areas identified by CPC for preventive measures against deaths of children in remote and backward tribal areas by providing a safeguard against fall in nutritional standards of Scheduled Tribes living in remote rural areas. The Ministry releases the funds through the Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India (TRIFED), which is the channelising agency under the scheme. An amount of Rs 1.07 crore was released during 2003-04 under the scheme. Since inception, 1,483 Grain Banks have been set up in the country. The existing Village Grain Bank is being revised with a broader coverage of endemic drought prone areas and tribal areas.

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GRANTS-IN-AID TO VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

The Ministry gives grant-in-aid to voluntary organizations working for the welfare of the scheduled tribes for projects like residential schools, hostels, medical units, computer training units, shorthand and typing training unit, balwadis/creches (in areas not covered by the ICDS program), Libraries and audio-visual units. The grant is generally restricted to 90 per cent of the approved total cost of the project -and the balance 10 per cent is borne by the grantee organizations. During 2003-04, an amount of Rs 26.46 crore was released to 288 NG0s for implementation of approximately 900 projects.

POST-MATRIC SCHOLARSHIPS

The scheme was introduced in 1944 for providing financial assistance to SC/ ST students pursuing post-rnatriculation recognized courses including professional, technical as well as non-professional and non-technical courses. The scheme is implemented by State Governments and UT administrations which receive 100 per cent financial assistance over and above the committed liability. Rs 64.30 crore were released during 2003-04 benefiting an estimated 27 lakh ST students so far.

OTHER EDUCATIONAL SCHEMES

The Ministry of Tribal Affairs is also the implementing agency in respect of National Overseas Scholarship for higher studies abroad, book bank, coaching and allied areas and upgradation of merit for the benefit of ST students.

GRANT-IN-AID FOR MINOR FOREST PRODUCE OPERATIONS

This central Sector Scheme makes cent per cent grants available to the State Tribal Development Cooperative Corporations (STDCCs), Forest Development Corporations (FDCs), and Minor Forest Product (Trading and Development) Federations (MFPTDFS) for taking up minor forest produce (MFP) operations, a mainstay in tribal economy. Under this scheme grants can be utilized by the States for (i) strengthening the share capital base of STDCCs for increasing the volume of procurement of MFPS; (ii) construction of scientific warehouses; (iii) establishing process industries for value addition to MFP items; and (iv) research and development activities by the Corporations. An amount of Rs 4.50 crore was released to different State Corporations during 2003-04.

AUTONOMOUS ORGANISATIONS

TRIBAL COOPERATIVE MARKETING DEVELOPMENT FEDERATION OF INDIA LIMITED

Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Limited (TRIFED) was set-up by the Government of India in 1987, with the Prime objective of providing marketing assistance and remunerative Prices to ST Communities for their minor forest produce and surplus agricultural produce and to wean them away from exploitative private traders and middlemen. The federation is a national level cooperative apex body.

NATIONAL SCHEDULED TRIBES FINANCE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

The Government of India set up the National Scheduled Tribes Finance Development Corporation (NSTFDC) in April 2001 by bifurcating the National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Financial Development Corporation. NSTFDC is a Government of India undertaking with an authorized share capital of Rs 500 crore.

The Corporation extends financial assistance to Scheduled Tribes at concessional rate for income generating schemes costing up to 10 lakh per unit, provides grants for skill development program for STs and fill the critical gaps by providing backward and forward linkages for activities undertaken by the target group. Members of the Scheduled Tribes whose annual family income does not exceed double the poverty-line income limit, are eligible for financial assistance in the fields of agriculture and allied activities, manufacturing and service sector activities.

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A new scheme *Adivasi Mahila Sashaktikaran Yojana* has been introduced from the year 2002-03. Scheduled Tribe women below the poverty line are to be assisted for small economic activities to augment their income with a loan of up to Rs 50,000 at an interest rate of four per cent annum. This scheme is expected to benefit a large number of ST families living below the poverty line.

MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS

The Ministry of Tribal Affairs has taken some key initiatives since its creation in 1999. A National Commission for Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes was set-up as per provisions of Article 330 (1) of the Constitution of India to report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States. This has been set-up after a gap of 40 years (Dhebar Commission, the first one, was set-up in 1961).

A separate National Commission for the Scheduled Tribes has been set- up with five Members by bifurcating the erstwhile joint National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Scheduled Areas have been notified for the newly created States of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh with its new boundaries.

Due to implementation of the provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA Act), STs have been politically empowered in the nine major States-Andhra Pradesh, jharlzhand, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Mahrashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan and Himachal Fradesh. It implies that a total of 2,40,000 seats have been reserved for the Scheduled Tribes in the three tier Panchayati Raj Institutions (PR1s). At present 2,22,600 tribals have been elected.

With the objective of exhibiting the contribution of great tribal leader Birsa Munda, the Ministry produced a feature film 'Abua Birsa", which was premiered in the presence of the former Prime Minister.

Nearly 200 documentaries on various tribes of the country have been produced or are under production. Every Friday at 9.30 A.M., one documentary is telecast in a program on DD-1 titled "Janjatiya Darpan".

Increased allocation of funds for various schemes/programs for tribal development from Rs. 692.75 crore in 1999-2000 to Rs 810 crore in 2000-0l., Rs 1,040 crore in 2001-02, Rs 1,090 crore in 2002-03 and Rs 1,087 crore in 2003- 04, representing an increase of about 56.91 per cent over the year 1999-2000. Releases during the current year were more than 99 per cent of the RE. The Budget allocation for 2004-05 is Rs 1,146 crore.

A new Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (NSTFDC) was set up with an authorized share capital of Rs 500 crore, as an apex institution for financing economically viable projects for Scheduled Tribes. Since its inception on 10 April 2001, loans to the tune of Rs 60.24 crore in 2001-02, and Rs 98.98 crore in 2002-03 were released to tribal enterprises. Besides, financial assistance of Rs three crore was sanctioned to TRIFED for providing marketing support to Minor Forest Produce (MFP) and Surplus Agricultural Produce (SAP) that is expected to benefit 2,90,430 STS. The Corporation disbursed Rs 27.50 crore, during the year 2001-02 and Rs 42.16 crore during the year 2002-03. The amount disbursed during 2003-04 was Rs 35.72 crore. Further, Rs 2.65 lakh was released as grants during this period for imparting training to the target group in the State of Orissa.

A new scheme titled *"Adivasi' Mahila Sashaktikaran Yojana'* was launched through NSTFDC for extending financial assistance up to Rs 50,000 to the eligible Scheduled Tribe women at a more subsidized interest rate, a maximum up to four per cent.

The Parliament passed the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment) Act, 2002. This Act provides for inclusion/exclusion/modification of 270 communities in the lists of Schedules Tribes. Revision on such a scale has been undertaken after more than 25 years.

The Ministry adopted a project approach for funding projects under Article 275(1) of the Constitution for selecting schemes based on more integrated and holistic planning.

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Allocation for grants under Article 275(1) of the Constitution increased from Rs 200 crore to Rs 300 crore.

Funds were provided to State Governments for construction and improvement of about 1,900 km of roads in tribal areas, 250 staff quarters for schools, 312 school and hostel buildings, 2,100 class rooms, 126 community centres, and also for drinking water facility, rural electrification, culverts/causeways, rural irrigation projects and astro-turf grounds.

Released grants for construction of 88 Eklavya Model Residential Schools, thereby creating 36,960 seats from Class VI to XII for imparting quality education to ST students and at the same time providing employment for around 1,230 teachers.

Provided Post-Matric Scholarships for pursuing Post-Matriculation courses including professional, technical and non-professional non-technical courses benefiting more than 27 lakh students about 5.5 lakh students per annum). The scheme has been revised and rates of scholarship have been increased from 1 April 2003

Sanctioned construction of 298 boys' and 171 girls' hostels having 18,471 and 20,010 seats respectively and created employment for around 2,345 persons.

The ministry has sanctioned construction of 315 Ashram Schools having 24,300 seats and employment opportunities for 3,150 persons in the last four years.

For promoting education among tribal girls exclusively in 74 districts having female literacy rate below 10 per cent as per 1991 census, 183 Educational Complexes have been set up. In these complexes over 20,000 girls are enrolled annually. These educational complexes provide employment to approximately 915 teaching and same number of non-teaching personnel.

Increase in the level of Special Central Assistance (SCA) to the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) from Rs 400 crore in the year 1999-2000 to Rs 500 crore in the year 2001-02 and to Rs 500 crore in the year 2W2-03 and Rs 497 crore in the year 2003-04, represent an increase of 24.25 per cent over the year 1999-2000.

Provided special assistance to the tune of Rs .163.36 crore for the development of infrastructure in the three newly created States of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttaranchal.

A new Scheme titled "Exchange of Visits by Tribals" was launched for providing wider exposure and experience sharing to the tribals by visits to the more developed areas of the country.

As many as 225 NG0s were extended financial assistance worth Rs 17.84 crore by the Ministry during 1999-00. During 2000-01, the number of NG0s funded and amount of funds released to 275 NG0s and Rs 23.86 crore. During 2001-02, the amount of funds released was Rs 28,976 crore to 155 NC;OS. During 2002-03, 392 NG0s were funded and funds amounting to Rs 30.38 crore were released. During 2003-04, Rs 26.46 crore grant was released to 288 NG0s. To bring transparency in sanction of projects to non governmental organizations, the Ministry has constituted a Project Screening Committee with members drawn from other Ministries and also from leading personalities actively involved in the field of social welfare. The committee is empowered to recommend deserving proposals for consideration of sanction.

The number of projects under the scheme being implemented through NG0s has increased to more than 900 from 306 projects sanctioned during 1999-2000. Through the NCO run projects of the Ministry. (a) Over 0.25 lakh tribal students are availing the benefits of free education from 106 Residential School, 56 Non-Residential School and 95 hostels annually. Approximately 1,115 teaching and over 2,000 non-teaching personnel are employed in such schools and hostels. (b) Over 1,000 tribal students are receiving computer education through Computer Training Centres. These Computer Centres are providing employment to approximately 90 computer trained personnel and 90 other supporting staff. (c) 50 Vocational Training Centres (VTCS) have been set up through NG0s to train approximately 5,000 tribals in various trades having local employment potential. These VTCs provide employment to approximately 300 training personnel of different trades and 200 supporting staff. This is in addition to 150 VTCs

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sanctioned to the State Governments, which provide training to 9,000 ST youths, and provides employment to 15,000 people. (d) More than 25,000 tribal patients are **being** treated through 28 hospitals and 90 mobile dispensaries set up with the grants of the Ministry annually. These hospitals and mobile dispensaries are providing employment to approximately 250 doctors, 1,000 para medical personnel and approximately 750 other supporting staff. (e) Besides the above, approximately 1.5 lakh tribes are availing the benefits of other progranunes like mobile library, typing and shorthand training centres, rural night schools, training in agriculture and allied subjects, etc., and in running these programs approximately 1,000 personnel are engaged.

In order to secure higher earnings and generate employment opportunity to the tribals, the tribal Cooperative Marketing and Development Federation of India (TRIFED) procures and markets minor forest produce and surplus agriculture produce. Procurements of goods worth Rs 76.67 crore in 1999-2000, Rs 83.40 crore in 2000-01, Rs 41.04 crore in 2001-02 and Rs 25.03 crore in 2002- 03 was made in tribal areas.

An informative and detailed, bilingual website of the Ministry was launched on 21 August 2002.

Financial assistance of Rs seven crore was provided for protection and conservation of archaeologically important sites of martyrdom of tribal leaders.

The Ministry has also tied-up with bilateral and multilateral agencies for international cooperation in the field of tribal development. A few projects are under implementation.

The Government is according priority for the development of Scheduled Tribes. As announced by the former Prime Minister on Independence Day, 2003, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs will launch new Developmental and welfare initiatives for the Scheduled Tribes. These will include construction of hostels for boys and girls in all districts, which have a significant tribal population; measures to promote tribal culture; steps to honour legendary tribal leaders and construction of an Adivasi Bhawan in New Delhi.

APPROACHES TO TRIBAL WELFARE AND DEVELOPMENT

The term tribal welfare has been used to cover an all round development of the tribals as a weaker section of the Indian population. They are in a subsistent stage. Their comparative isolation living in and around forest and hill areas, their simple economy and limited world views have placed them in a state of death. The country is fully aware of the responsibilities and central and state governments are working to improve the economic, social, political and other conditions of the tribal population. A number of humanitarian agencies are also at work and different social and religious movements have done a great deal in the direction of tribal welfare.

There are mainly five approaches which have been employed so far for the welfare of the tribals in India. These are the political approach, administrative approach, religious approach with special reference to missionaries, voluntary approach and anthropological approach.

POLITICAL APPROACH

The political approach for the tribal welfare may be understood in the context of the pre and post-Independent periods. The colonial rule created excluded and partially excluded areas and gave separate political representation to the tribes. Nationalists opposed these measures as a part of diabolic conspiracy to a new separatism. This policy of exclusion has been much criticized for its negative character.

After Independence, the constitution has given to the tribes, a number of safeguards considering them to be the weaker sections of the population. In the first instance, a period of 10 years was given to achieve the goal, but as the problem was too complicated to be solved in a single decade, it has persisted through decades.

The tribal people are politically democratic in nature. Their leaders respect each of their fellow men. They have also received a share of about 7% in the Indian republic through the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas.

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Only a tribal can stand for election to these seats. With the emergence of such new tribal leaders, no doubt the tribal issues are getting politicized but it is hoped that with enlightened tribal leadership, the solution to the problem of poverty will be accelerated in a peaceful democratic way.

The Republic of India has accepted the British policy of the exclusion in a modified form. The partial exclusion of largely tribal areas followed by special welfare measures offers not only negative approach but also initiates an imposed program of change to bring them into the main stream of the Indian population, where as the most desirable course would be to work for the integration of the tribals in the regional and national setting and for avoiding the creation of separatist minority with vested interest.

Various all India tribal conferences organized by the Government or actively supported by it are indirectly creating new solidarity in tribal India. Over and above, in the context of present day separatist trends, the possible implications of such development will have to be closely watched and analyzed. The division of the whole North-Eastern India into different full pledged states like Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Tripura and Arunachal has to be viewed not only from the point of view of tribal interest but also against the wider canvas of regional and national life.

ADMINISTRATIVE APPROACH

The administrative approach is closely followed by the political approach. The Government of India has constituted vast administrative machinery for tribal welfare. The present structure of the administrative setup for tribal welfare has evolved through interactions among the national leaders, social workers, tribal elders and applied anthropologists. The President of India is primarily responsible and has been given powers to safeguard the interest of these communities and he has appointed the Director General for Backward Classes at national level with special duties of investigations into all matters related to safeguards given to the tribal people. The Director General with the help of Regional Directors virtually handles funds and controls all the tribal welfare activities. He submits his report annually detailing all that has been observed by his personnel and through his Regional Directors.

At the state level, the Governor has been made responsible and on his behalf, the Chief Minister and the welfare minister are in-charge of the special schemes to be implemented in the tribal areas. Yet, it never means that the general developmental works are dropped. In fact they take their own course. In some major concentrated tribal areas, the state has an Independent tribal welfare minister. The welfare minister is advised by two bodies, The Tribal Advisory Council and The Tribal Research Institute in framing the policies and programs for the tribal welfare. A Deputy Director for backward classes is posted by the Centre who acts as a liaison between the national and the state levels. There is a direct control of Parliament on the welfare activities which are looked after by the Parliamentary committees on the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. From time to time the Government has constituted different commissions to assess and analyze the welfare work.

By an analysis of the tribal Administration in India, it is clear that there is a need to make the tribal development administration better adapted to the environment of the tribal culture. The goals have to be clarified in accordance with the national development and not only communicated through training programs or supervision of field staff but also made part of their value patterns. Integration can be developed only through building up a spirit of team work as well as a high level of work through democratic leadership on the part of the administrator and restructuring the basic pattern of tribal administration.

RELIGIOUS APPROACH

The religious approach to tribal development is attempted by different religious agencies like the Christian missionaries, Ramakrishna mission, the Arya Samaj and other local institutions. At the same time, conversion of tribals to a new faith like Christianity has also taken place. This conversion activity has formed in-groups among the tribals. The missionaries of various denominations have been active in different parts of tribal India, especially in tribal Bihar, Eastern Madhya Pradesh, North Orissa, in middle India and Meghalaya, Nagaland and Mizoram in North-Eastern Himalaya.

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Beginning in the middle of late 19th century and early 20th century, the Christian missionaries have been active in tribal India. Though they have been primarily interested in evangelization, the welfare works - educational, economic, hygienic work and social welfare called "work of mercy", have invariably followed for both types of work, spiritual and material. The missionaries did realize the importance in understanding the tribal culture and language. These they considered essential for communicating with them effectively.

Missionaries' welfare activities have been viewed by different persons in different ways. Mahatma Gandhi stated that what the Christian missionaries did does not show spirituality though he recommended the Christian missionaries to associate themselves with reform work among the lower classes of the people; he wanted them to do so without any conversion. Elwin comments that the missionaries are anxious to see the primitive civilized, their "inferior" social customs and ideas eliminated and their identity assimilated into the church. According to M.N. Srinivas, the opening of schools, hospitals and other welfare agencies by the missionaries in areas where the Harijans and Tribals live appears to the Hindu as only baits in the trap of conversion. The linking up of humanitarianism with proselytization has rendered the missionaries suspect. Even very liberal, westernized Hindus feel this way.

Thus if the conversion of tribes to a new faith adds to their social solidarity without alienating them from the majority of neighbouring communities and equips them better for participation in the modern life, it cannot reasonably be opposed. But if it destabilizes and disintegrate these communities without offering them any alternative satisfaction, the approach can hardly said to be offering any meaningful solution to the tribal development.

VOLUNTARY AGENCIES APPROACH

Under the Voluntary Agencies approach, social workers, social welfare agencies, social movement agencies, social reformers etc., are working to uplift the weaker sections of our societies in their own ways.

When India became independent in 1947 and the attention of the government to tribal welfare activities increased, the social workers found the political and administrative set up very favourable. They found their own colleagues and party men at the helm of governmental affairs. The government therefore, sought all cooperation from the social workers in framing tribal policies and delegated their power to social workers in the execution of the welfare schemes among the tribals. In this way, as a matter of fact, the social workers assumed the role of both semi-officials and scientists. They began making recommendations to the government on tribal matters and also setting substantial grants from the government fund for helping the tribals, and later on they held administrative posts for tribal welfare schemes.

Social work agencies at state level also existed and these institutions were given grants to run schools, hostels, dispensaries etc. The state level agencies are mostly affiliated to All India agencies, especially, the fore most like the Bharatiya Adimajati Sewak Sangh started in 1948 under the presidentship of late Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Voluntary social service organizations have done considerable humanitarian work in the tribal areas, but, often their idealism and spirit of service have not been matched with their understanding of the tribal organization, values and problems. They some times went into the tribal areas with an omnibus solution to the tribal problems as they understood them, while in reality, the problems for different tribal groups and even for a section of one tribe were often different. There motives were probably laudable in their own cultural frame of reference, but not so against the tribal scheme of values. They failed to realize that their well intentioned "reforms" may be injurious to the tribes in terms of their socio-cultural life.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH

A section of politicians and social workers have taken some sadistic pleasure in maligning anthropologists and in criticizing them for conspiring to put the tribes in a veritable zoo, so as to be able

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to practice their blessed service undisturbed. But this section of critiques have obviously fighting non-existent ghosts. The fact of matter is that there is not one anthropological approach, there are anthropological approaches. Instead of offering an omnibus solution to tribal problems, the anthropologists have been thinking of possible solutions.

Many people criticize the anthropologists for their theory of "Isolationism" and attribute this only to academic interests of the anthropologist. They consider "separatism" and "isolationism" to be dangerous theories as they strike at the root of national solidarity.

The importance of the knowledge of anthropology for efficient administration was perhaps realized as early as 1807, when the court of directors of the East India Company made a formal decision that such knowledge would be of great use in the future administration of the country.

Anthropological knowledge in the changed situation of the country as a welfare state is of great importance. By and large anthropologists believe in the ultimate integration of the tribes into the mainstream of the Indian life. Many controversies took place in the early 30s to 50s about the contributions of anthropology to the tribals. The anthropologist stand regarding the tribal problems continued to be condemned at the administrative level. The temporary isolation of the tribals by Verrier Elwin faced a number of criticisms. His idea of a "National Park" and isolation was taken to be the anthropological approach to the tribal problem. Due to this, the anthropologists were labelled as "Isolationists" and "revivalists" by the social workers.

After independence in 1949, some anthropologist came out with several papers and addresses dealing with the importance of applied anthropology in the tribal welfare programs. They made an evaluation of anthropological approach and came out with the theory of "Planned Acculturation" and few other anthropologists highlighted the various problems of the Adivasis and suggested ways and means to ameliorate their economic and social conditions. A vast organization of anthropological researches is available to help and guide the welfare work. There are many tribal research institutes and others which are engaged in conducting researches on the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

The anthropologists have generally suggested the following:

1. Understanding the tribal organization and values through sustained scientific studies.
2. Identifying the problems of tribes of different levels of technological, economic and cultural development.
3. Identifying the integrating forces in tribal life.
4. Identifying the areas of minimum and maximum resistance to innovations in their culture.
5. Recognizing the vital linkages in their cultural fabric.
6. Orienting the administrators to tribal life and culture in all aspects considered above, and giving them special training for the task they have to undertake among the tribes.
7. Cautious formalization of welfare plans with a view to accommodate tribal needs with regional and national interests.
8. Careful watch on the trends set in motion by these measures with a view to eliminating elements that destroy the social solidarity of the tribes and kill their zest for life.

If the welfare projects are implemented with understanding and causation, the first effective step against primitiveness would have been taken. There is much in tribal life that can be preserved without reducing the tribals to the position of museum places and without barring their logical development, and there is no doubt that this could be done with imaginative planning and a carefully designed strategy of implementation.

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NEEDED APPROACHES

The Integrated Approach: Tribal administration in India is already along this approach to some extent. But to make this approach a real success, all the political, administrative, religious and social workers should combine well and work in harmony with anthropological approaches. Anthropologists should be allowed to work as experts. Anthropologists are to be made responsible for the execution of development programs or those involved should seek guidance through them.

This approach is suggested because the welfare activities in many areas are looked upon by the general tribal population with great suspicion. The tribal leaders particularly have been critical of social workers in whom they found political competitors. With the emergence of new tribal consciousness, tribal political parties, Government and social workers are becoming conscious of their expected paternalistic attitude to tribals. These people now half heartedly are taking the applied anthropologists and tribal leaders into close contact in the planning and implementation of tribal welfare schemes. The Government fully realized the utility of an integrated approach, a work relationship between scientists and administration.

Area Development Approach: Development works in tribal areas can be carried on in an area basis. This will cover areas of major tribal concentration as well as tribal pockets.

The broad frame work for the purpose may cover

1. Micro-area
2. Meso-area
3. Macro-area
4. Tribal pockets

This approach is meant for smooth and all purposive development in various programs.

Macro-area should consist of a block area with special reference to few villages and a population of 10,000 for specified period and in due course the whole area can be covered. Meso-area is to be limited to a sub-division with special attention to few blocks and a population of 5 lakhs for specified period of time and with a ultimate aim to cover the whole sub-division. The Micro area can be a block and the tribal pockets are the ones which have scattered and little number of tribal population.

Single Line Administration: Administration given to tribes should be in a single line. One administrator say, an area development commissioner, for the area should be held responsible for the whole development work of the region. This will also suit the tribals because they know who to approach. The area development commissioner with help of an anthropologist as a co-administrator should co-ordinate all the affairs of region.

Small District Approach: To ensure good results of the inputs and easily approachable administration, small districts have to be carved out of big districts. This will ensure fuller development of the area.

Separate Tribal Development Programs: Tribal development should not be tagged with Scheduled Castes as both have distinct ecology, concentration and socio-economic life. Along with all these, the concept of "welfare" is to be replaced by concept of development. There is an increasing necessity of ending the bonded labor and other exploitations by non-tribals, restore land to tribals, free them from indebtedness and ensure speedy implementation of development schemes. These measures reduce the economic dependency which is a single most important barrier for the approaching tribal development.

COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Article 338 of the Constitution provides for a Special Officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be appointed by the President. It is the duty of this officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution and report

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to the President on the working of those safeguards at such intervals as the President may direct. The President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament.

The Government of India appointed a Special Officer on 14th November, 1950 and he was designed as Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Commissioner has been assigned the responsibility of investigating all matters relating to the safeguards. He has to keep the Union Government and the Parliament informed of the progress in the implementation of the safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the schemes for their welfare. The Commissioner has to maintain contacts with the tribal people and State Governments examine their programs and guide them in framing and execution of their schemes.

Commissioner's Report:

It is the duty of the Commissioner not only to investigate matters relating to safeguards but also to report on their working. Unlike the Governor's Report which is to be submitted to the President annually or whenever so required by the President, the Constitution does not prescribe any time limit for the submission of report to the President by the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Government of India has not issued any instructions or guidelines to the Commissioner regarding the periodicity, contents or format of the report. It has been left to the discretion of the Commissioner to decide on the pattern and the contents of his report. The report is generally to be submitted annually. But there is a delay in the submission of report. At times the reports for several years are placed before the Parliament together. With such delay typicality of the issues is lost. There is hardly any follow up action taken on the report.

The report describes in general the achievements and deficiencies in the administration of the Scheduled Areas, and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. There is no state-wise assessment of the working of the safeguards and the implementation of welfare programs.

The Commissioner's report is dealt with in a routine way. No directions are being issued on the report. The efforts made by the Commissioner to draw the attention towards the shortcomings in the administration of tribal areas and implementation of welfare schemes are accepted by the Union Government as a routine criticism. The report of the Commissioner should be given as much importance as is given to the reports of the Estimates Committee and Public Accounts Committee. The recommendations of these Committees are generally accepted by the Government and if they are not, the Government gives explanations to the Committees which reconsider their opinions. If difference of opinion persists, the matter can be raised in the respective legislatures.

The Commissioner has supporting staff including Special Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners. However, difficulties have been experienced in seeking cooperation of State Governments, Central Ministries and Departments. So far, the Commissioner has depended on the persuasive approach for collection of information. This has invariably resulted in delay in completion of investigation. In order to ensure effective functioning of the Commissioner, the States and the Union Ministries should provide the information in time. They should also furnish report on actions taken on various deficiencies pointed out in the report and also take steps for implementation of the welfare measures.

Since the problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are totally different, the Dhebar Commission had recommended appointment of separate Commissioners for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. But instead of accepting this recommendation the office of Commissioner has been strengthened from time to time. In the beginning the Commissioner was supported by the Assistant Commissioner. Later a post of Deputy Commissioner was created. Recently two Special Commissioners have been added to the strength of the staff. The strengthening of the office of the Commissioner has not made it effective. Instead separate Commissioners should be appointed for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes Commission needs to be vested with the powers of enquiry under the Commission of Enquiry Act.

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Preparation of a combined report on the distinct problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has not achieved the desired objective. At least the report should be prepared in two parts so that the magnitude of problems of these communities could be clearly highlighted.

The Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was created with a Chairman and four members in July, 1978 by a resolution of the Government of India. This has now been reorganized and the strength has been raised from five to twelve including the Chairman who is appointed for a fixed term of three years. The Commission is of a national level advisory body on broad issues, policy and development.

Besides, a senior officer of the level of Secretary to Government of India has been also appointed in the Cabinet Secretariat to look after the interests of these communities. The reservation and personnel problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are looked after by the Ministry of Personnel. Thus, there are five agencies viz., Commissioner, Commission, Officer on Special Duty in Cabinet Secretariat, Ministry of Welfare and Ministry of Personnel to look after the interests of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Multiplicity of agencies at the Centre has created more confusion than ensuring united efforts for the welfare and development of the Scheduled Tribes and Castes. The interest of these communities would be better served if the Ministry of Welfare is made responsible for all administrative, personnel, welfare and development matters. As the problems of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes are different two separate Commissioners may be appointed for them. They should be given statutory powers for collection of information and investigation into matters, and suitable provisions may be made for implementation of the recommendations of their reports.

AN ANALYTICAL REVIEW OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

The tribal situation in the country poses peculiar problems of development, not encountered in other areas. The peculiarities can be broadly summed up as geographical, demographic, socio-cultural and exploitative. Shyness of contact with the community at large has been the most distinguishing feature of the tribal population which follows from geographical isolation of the vast majority of the tribal population in the country. Demographically speaking, there are some 250 scheduled tribe communities with several subgroups speaking some 100 languages/dialects. Most of these tribes constitute separate socio-cultural groups having distinct customs, traditions, marriage, kinship and property inheritance systems living largely in agricultural and pre-agricultural level of technology. The tribes contain a good section consisting of food-gatherers, hunters, forest-land cultivators, shifting cultivators and minor forest produce collectors. Their geographical isolation and impoverished economy made them subject of abominably restrictive and uncharitably exploitative economic and trade practices of non-tribals living in or entering into the tribal areas.

Early Experiments:

As a strategy of comprehensive development of the rural areas in the country, a program of community development was launched in 1952 in the First Five Year Plan. The entire country was covered by community development blocks which applied equally to the tribal areas. But it became clear that the tribal areas needed special treatment and hence the existing efforts were sought to be strengthened in 1954 by launching a few special multipurpose tribal development projects covering a few blocks.

The purpose of launching the special multipurpose projects was to evolve a more satisfying concept of tribal development to be made applicable to the tribal areas in the country in general. A review of this program pointed to the need of constituting tribal development blocks with an area of about 150 to 200 sq. miles and with population coverage of about 25,000. Tribal Development Blocks multiplied and about 40 per cent of the tribal population in the country were covered by 500 such blocks by the end of the Third Five Year Plan.

The community development block approach and the tribal development block approach had some common aspects. Both were multi sectoral in approach and both were mainly developmental in outlook lacking in specific administrative perspective and organisation to take care of the special needs of the tribal population. Both neglected the protective aspects of the tribal's requirement. On account of the

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reason that members of the general community were far advanced, educationally and economically, compared to the tribal community, advantages offered in these approaches were taken advantage of in a much greater measure by the former than by the latter. While in general terms education and economic prosperity made progress, the gap between the general community and the tribal community became wider than before. To an extent, there was advancement in both the non-tribal and tribal fronts; but the relative advancement of the one was greater than similar advancement of the other community. While the TD block approach was an improvement over the general block development approach in that it attempted to focus attention on tribal areas, the focus was diffused so far as specific problems of tribal population and groups was concerned.

Dhebar Commission and Shilu Ao Committee:

Important observations were made by the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (Dhebar Commission) 1961, and the Shilu Ao Committee, 1969 on planning, implementation and administration of programs for tribal development. They took the view that mere area development was counter - productive which may as well act as a beacon beam to the more advanced communities to creep into the tribal areas for purposes of self aggrandizement. A firm protective base and a depth vision into the administration and infrastructure inadequacies were called for, particularly to handle the problems of land alienation, indebtedness and educational backwardness.

Target Group Approach and the TDA Experiment:

During the Fourth Five Year Plan an approach to develop specific target groups and areas like small farmers, marginal farmers, agricultural laborers, drought prone areas, etc., was conceived. This approach took a particular section of the population, occupational category or a specific problem area for development through strategies appropriate to the end. The general block development approach was not to be abandoned but was to have the special approach superimposed on it in the interest of the target groups/areas. The tribal development sector was considered to be another fit arena for adoption of this approach.

Accordingly, the idea of special tribal development agencies was conceived and eight such agencies were operationalized in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. A mini administrative frame with a Project Director at the head was provided to each agency with the stipulation that the agencies pay attention to problem areas specifically relevant o the tribal populations. Programs in agriculture and allied sectors which concerned the tribal section vitally, social services and development of arterial roads to improve communications were brought within the scope of activity of these agencies with a marginal orientation towards steps designed to counter the exploitative endeavours of the anti-social elements. The tribal development blocks were too small to work as effective units for planning and implementation. This deficiency was sought to be removed by making the tribal development agencies as big as sub-divisions.

The pilot experiment with the tribal development agencies was not a cent percent success as the agencies confined themselves, in practice, mostly to agricultural programs and development of arterial roads; but they provided valuable insight into deficiencies in planning and administration, both organizational and financial. They suggested that mere grounding of a special administrative frame was not enough unless a coordinated approach to the tribal programs at a sufficiently high level is taken and methodologies are devised to ensure flow of funds into several sectors, both regulatory and developmental, concerning tribals and not merely to a few specified sectors under a fragmented sectoral approach.

The Tribal Sub-Plan Approach:

A comprehensive view of tribal problems was taken at the beginning of the Fifth Plan. Besides the Task Force on Development of Tribal Areas 1972, the Planning Commission constituted during the same year a Working Group on Personnel Policy for the Tribal Areas under the chairmanship of Shri. R.N. Haldipur. Several other groups and teams were to go into problems of tribal areas cooperatives, rural indebtedness, land alienation, excise policy, etc. The result of these deliberations was the birth of a new strategy of

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tribal sub-plan within the broad framework of the state and the Central plans.

The long term objectives of the Tribal Sub-Plan approach were to narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribal and other areas while improving the quality of life of the tribal communities. In brief, the approach envisaged tackling the tribal problems by categorizing them under three identifiable areas and groups:

1. In regions of substantial tribal concentration, an area development approach is to be combined with a focus on the tribal population and their problems;

2. In smaller areas of dispersed tribal population where the scheduled tribes live merged with the general population, a modified area approach on account of the truncated nature of the habitat but with similar focus on the tribes would be called for; and

3. Certain extremely backward and smaller trial groups living generally in pre-agricultural level of technology in inaccessible areas and facing the problem of their very survival would be treated as a special category both within the areas of tribal concentration and outside and special group-oriented programs would be formulated for them.

These three categories were brought respectively under Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP), Modified Area Development Approach (MADA), Pockets and Primitive Tribe Projects.

The new tribal sub-plan strategy consisted of a twin approach of area development and problem solving. The strategy intended to achieve a balance between economic development, infrastructure and educational advancement and anti-exploitative protective measures. At the same time, it also visualised progressive obliteration of the disparity between the scheduled tribes and the rest of the community over a period of time with a view to put the tribal population in the mainstream of national life at par with the others. These objectives naturally required diverse measures; identification of bottlenecks and barriers working against forces of development and agencies working as promoters of change. They required assessment of felt needs and existing human potentialities on which further development would be planned. Sighing of resource for the purpose and formulation of well thought out sectoral plans under a comprehensive and unified purpose of tribal development acquired considerable importance in this background. And to translate all the above mentioned into reality was required the right type of administrative inputs and an administrative set up that performed. Selection of the right type of personnel having the necessary empathy and understanding of tribal problems was also considered to be of prime importance.

It was felt that a purposive administrative system in the tribal areas should have operational units which have adequate administrative and financial delegation to take decisions with efficacy and dispatch, in the light of the felt needs of the people whom it served. As programs of development implemented by individual development departments of the state were liable to miss the tribal perspective in their general thrust on the sectoral development front, the senor field executive of the tribal area administrative unit was designed to be a coordinating officer. The post of the Project Administrator/Project Officer was fashioned in this light. To inform people's participation and ensure the guiding touch of the Collector, the key development arbitrator of the Indian Administration hierarchy, the District Collector was made the Chairman of the Implementation and Review Committee at the Project level with local MPs, MLAs, besides other district officials as members.

As a part of new orientation to ensure resource mobilization for meeting the requirements of tribal sub-plan, the state plan outlay, sectoral outlays of the Central ministries and institutional finance were specifically identified as the source of finance for implementation of programs by the tribal area administration. In addition, a new scheme of special central assistance to be administered by the Ministry of Home Affairs in the interest of tribal area programs was instituted as an additive to state plan efforts. The tribal administration at the state and Central levels were to ensure flow of all these funds to the project areas for investment in eligible schemes. Financial discipline and non-divertibility of tribal sub-plan funds were sought to be achieved by prescribing separate budget heads for tribal sub-plan

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provisions under the respective functional demands of the concerned sectoral departments or by bringing all budgetary provisions for tribal area development in all sectors under a unified demand with suitable minor heads, to be controlled by the Tribal Development Department of the state. Suitable mode for exhibition of these amounts separately in their respective budgets was also to be adopted by the Central ministries. The stipulation to isolate the non-divisible component of the Plan outlay and to earmark a substantial portion of the divisible component as to ensure, vis-a-vis the total state plan, a financial flow proportionate to the percentage of scheduled tribe population in the state was designed to further bolster up the new approach.

The impact of the new arrangement will be clear from the fact that state plan outlay for tribal development programs rose form Rs. 900 crores during the Fifth Plan to Rs. 3,550 crores during the Sixth Plan and the total investment form 1,182 crores to about 5550 crores. The Central ministries' investment was around Rs. 700 crores during the five year period of the Sixth Plan as against an average annual investment of about Rs. 75 Crores in the preceding years. Investment from institutional sources rose to about Rs. 800 crores during Sixth Plan as against Rs. 150 crores during its preceding plan.

Monitoring and Evaluation:

As the scope and content of tribal development programs increased, the need for adequate monitoring and evaluation to obtain a regular feedback from the field to a view to suitably reorienting programs and policies was keenly felt. A Working group on the subject appointed by Ministry of Home Affairs in 1978 recommended a three tier monitoring at block, ITDP and state levels with overall monitoring at the level of Ministry of Home Affairs. Monitoring cells, both at the state level and at the level of Central ministries, have been opened. Evaluation studies both holistic and covering specific areas/programs have been taken up by field organizations under the states, the tribal research institutes, national level autonomous organizations and professional bodies. The recent most development in the sphere has been to take recourse to concurrent monitoring cum evaluation in the beneficiary oriented programs. It has been widely diagnosed that the cost of setting up of a countrywide full-fledged monitoring cum evaluation. Organisation would be prohibitive and this new device, if implemented in its true spirit, is likely to meet the needs of tribal area administration amply.

Legislative Backup:

The brief outline of conscious effort to rationalize and reorient the administrative system in the country to suit the requirements of tribals who constitute, educationally and economically, the most backward section of the country's population confirms a general appreciation of the special provisions enshrined in the Indian Constitution in Articles 436, 275, the Fifth Schedule and several other articles. States having tribal population enacted regulatory and protective legislations on land alienation, money lending, rights to forest growth, excise and several other spheres of exploitation, besides the central law on bonded labour abolition, to arm the administrative organisation with the much needed legislative support.

Shortcoming:

Innovation in administrative procedures and system however, seldom yields visible results in the short run. Time required for percolation is generally quite considerable in the Indian context where both the depth and expanse of the administration cover are large and complicated. Naturally, there are not a few shortcomings still persisting. These mainly relate to coordination, linkage, involvement of beneficiaries and organizational inadequacy in certain spheres.

1. **Coordination:** The project administrators at the ITDP level were envisioned to be a coordinator of all activities in the project area. Programs of rural development in the tribal area under integrated rural development, national rural employment, rural labourer's employment guarantee program, etc., were to be subsumed within the ITDP program with the project administrator acting as the coordinator at that level. This was also intended to apply to all other programs taken up in the tribal areas by various sectoral departments. All this was visualised in the interest of a unified and integrated approach to tribal development. In the historical context in which the developmental administration

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in the country grew at the district level, it has not yet been found convenient by the states to put the project administrator in sole coordinating charge of all items of developmental administration within his jurisdiction. Such a step has in some quarters been considered to be detrimental to effective hierarchical control with likely adverse repercussion on enforcement of departmental responsibility. There is an element of fallacy in this argument; but yet the general administrative consciousness of the country has to recognise it before the idea can be implemented in an acceptable form.

2. **Inter Linkage:** Largely following from the co-ordinational aspect is the one relating to linkage of programs, so very desirable for alleviation of poverty amongst the tribes. Placed at the lowest rung of the economic order, they need not one but a package of schemes, suiting their habitat, occupational pattern and genius, to life them above the morass of poverty. IN such a background, not merely forward and backward linkages in terms of credit, marketing, etc., but also horizontal linkage as between different anti-poverty schemes administered by different sectoral departments are necessary. To bring several types of schemes simultaneously at the door of a single tribal family, who may be in need of it, a suitable administrative approach with organizational procedures and prescriptions oriented towards such an inter-linkage is necessary. In an understandable exuberance of enthusiasm for welfare of the tribes, a few states like Bihar and Assam have established separate autonomous authorities for tribal regions. Tripura and Manipur have statutory district councils for tribal and hill areas, besides other such councils in specified tribal areas under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. Here, as under the autonomous tribal development authorities, the respective organizations exist largely apart from the ITDP project administration and convenient meeting points for them will have to be identified.

3. **Beneficiary Involvement:** The beneficiaries of a welfare administration should not be made mere recipient and onlookers while the government acts as a gigantic dispenser of schemes. This is particularly germane to the tribal situation where socio-cultural isolation from the general community is considerable in some cases. No doubt, there are at present quite a few institutions, like the Panchayat Raj institutions, the autonomous tribal development authorities, the project implementation committees at the projects level and the tribes advisory councils in the scheduled area states for their association. But there is a case for improving active participation, particularly at the project formulation stage, as distinguished from formal participation. The projects for the tribal area units of administration have been mostly formulated by official agencies with minimal consultation with tribal representatives. The concept of planning form below has far greater relevance in the context of the tribal community whose socio-cultural and economic background differ form the general community. In this background, while the earlier project reports formulated have served as good guide documents for practical implementation, there is a case for perfecting and institutionalizing a three tier system of beneficiary consultation at block, ITDP and district levels to make the tribal project reports more need based, more reflective of the local aspirations and apt in the ecological environment of a particular tribe or its sub group. Not less strong is a case for involving the traditional tribal functionaries and offices in project formulation and implementation, particularly in areas where age-old socio cultural and economic institutions of the tribes till continue to hold good sway. Instances which could be cited include the Manki-Munda system in Singhbum and the Pradhans and Parganaits of the Santhal Parganas. The Panchayat Raj, Cooperative and protective legislations could profitably be amended to secure their representation to an adequate degree.

4. **Strengthening Organisation:** Inadequacy of organizational framework in certain geographical areas inhabited by the scheduled tribes as also in certain vital developmental spheres needs serious attention. Till the end of the Sixth Plan, a minimum administrative setup for all the identified primitive tribal groups in the country could not be grounded in all the states. A suitable mechanism of development for a vast mass of tribal forest villagers and shifting cultivators has yet to be perfected. While modality for meeting the protective and developmental needs of several categories of vulnerable tribal groups, including those living in areas of industrial influence, has to be worked out, designing a suitable administrative organisation for rehabilitation of a vast mass of tribal population - who have been ousted and displaced following implementation of a large number of irrigation, power,

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mining and industries projects in the resource rich tribal areas of the country - is an urgent need of the present day. Evolving suitable technology acceptable to tribal communities and commissioning an administrative formulation capable of taking a holistic view of the need for improving the degrading tribal area environment and ecology are also important present day challenges.

The country has advanced pretty far since pre-independence days in moulding and fashioning a suitable administration for the scheduled tribes and the tribal areas. It may not be futuristic to hope that the rest of the problems nagging the country will be duly taken note of in its strategy for tribal development.

Primitive Tribal Groups

The Concept of Primitive Tribal Groups

The Government of India lists certain communities in the country as Scheduled Tribes in exercise of powers conferred by clause (1) of Article 342 of the Constitution of India. The Notification of Scheduled Tribes communities are State specific. The identification of Scheduled Tribes is done on the basis of following characteristics:-

1. Primitive traits;
2. Distinctive culture;
3. Geographical isolation;
4. Shyness of contact with the community at large; and
5. Backwardness.

However, not all these communities are at the same level of development. In fact, there are certain communities that are at a much lower level of development even as compared to the other Scheduled Tribe communities. It was also observed that in the matter of devolution of funds for the development of STs, the major share was taken by those communities who are more assertive and in a better position in demanding such benefits. As a consequence, the marginalized STs were left out of the process of development.

In order to ensure the development of these communities, certain groups were identified for the first time in 1975-76 and thereafter in 1993, who are regarded as the poorest of poor amongst the STs and were called Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). The criteria fixed for identification of such PTGs are:

1) Pre-agricultural level of technology;
2) Very low level of literacy; and
3) Declining or stagnant population.

Based on the above-mentioned criteria, 75 tribal communities were identified as PTGs spread over what are now 17 States *and one UT. (See* the tables at the end of the topic). Although the Tribal Sub Plan concept and the Special Central Assistance to the State Governments have been in operation since the Fifth Five Year Plan, it was felt that these funds were not reaching the Primitive Tribal Group (PTGs) in proportion to their requirements and as such not much development had taken place in respect of these communities.

Although there was progress as per Human Development Indices in the conditions of the STs, yet the benefits were not percolating to the Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), who lived in not only far flung regions but in remote and inaccessible areas and in small numbers. Therefore, in 1998-99, a Special Central Sector Scheme was introduced with the approval of the Planning Commission and Ministry of Finance with the objective to cover those items/activities which, though very crucial for the survival, protection and development of PTGs, are not specifically catered to by any existing schemes, State or

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Central or by guidelines governing the utilization of funds under Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub-Plan and Article 275(1) of the Constitution. Such items/activities cannot be exhaustively identified at the Central level as they may differ from State to State and even within a state, and from project to project. However, funds under the scheme could be used for helping the beneficiaries of the project to cope with extremely adverse pressures, which threaten their survival and protect them from various forms of exploitation, thereby bringing them to a stage when they can demand and receive specific assets and services.

Although the Tribal Sub Plan concept and Special Central Assistance to State Governments for the socio-economic development of the Scheduled Tribes have been in operation since the Fifth Five Year Plan, the benefits of these schemes are not percolating to the Primitive Tribal Groups to the desired extent. A special Central Sector Scheme was introduced in 1998-99 with the approval of the Planning Commission and Ministry of Finance with the objective to cover those items/activities not already covered specifically by any existing schemes. This scheme should be implemented in the right earnest so as to give a boost to the development of PTGs and bring them to the stage from where they can demand and receive the services.

Identification and Rehabilitation of PTGs

The State Governments submit proposals for identification of PTGs in accordance with the prescribed criteria. The proposals of the State Governments/UT Administration are examined in the Ministry of Tribal Welfare in consultation with Planning Commission. If a community, on examination fulfils the prescribed criteria, then that community is identified as PTG. According to the 1981 Census, the population of PTGs is 20.43 lakh and as per the 1991 Census it is 24.13 lakh. PTGs have been identified since 1975-76. The last PTG was identified in the year 1993-94. No PTG has been identified based on figures of 1991 census.

The GOI has requested the State Governments with PTG populations to conduct special surveys to ascertain the socio-economic status of the PTGs like population, literacy levels etc. This exercise is undertaken with an idea to get realistic data to enable the GOI to formulate special programs in the Five Year Plans for overall development of these vulnerable groups. Even though special programs for PTGs have been in place since the Fifth Five Year Plan, there has never been a case where a particular tribe has been removed from the PTG list, which is brought on par with other ST population of the country. The PTGs are in various levels of economic development including pre-agricultural level, stagnation of population and low literacy. Efforts are however in place to bring these groups out of their primitive levels of existence. Even though some PTGs have attained a reasonably high standard of life while still retaining their cultural identities, no State Government has, however, suggested the deletion of their names from the PTG list. As no separate targets are set for PTGs, there are no statistics available to ascertain how many PTGs are actually benefitting from the GOI programs.

There are no special action plans made by the Central Government to rehabilitate the PTGs in their own habitat. It would be beneficial for them if such action plan spells out programs like construction of houses and reclamation and development of lands for PTGs for their rehabilitation and development. The Central Government does not make any adequate assessments of the specific needs of the PTGs as their development is taken care of by the various State Governments and NGOs. Though the Central Government has developed a specialized questionnaire to assess the socioeconomic status of the PTGs and asked the States to complete the same, as no time frame has been fixed, most of the State Governments have not submitted any such data till date. The Central Government should persuade the regional governments to complete the task of collecting socioeconomic data from PTGs to enable the former to come out with adequate programs and funding. The Tribal Welfare ministry, unfortunately has no authentic data available on PTGs.

This situation highlights the lackadaisical attitude of the ministries towards the development of PTGs and their commitment to bring them on par with other ST population of the country.

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Funding for Development of PTGs

Though the Union Government releases funds to the various States for tribal welfare and development under the Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub Plan, no separate fund allocation is done for the special needs of PTGs. The State Governments are left to decide on how they want to utilize the funds, based on their assessed needs.

During the year 1998-99, a separate Central Assistance Scheme with 100% funding to state governments and NGOs for development of PTGs was initiated. The schemes for PTG now provide funds only for the PTG, and not other STs. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs reviews the programs for the development of PTGs with the State Secretaries and concerned NGOs annually through meetings. In addition, State Governments have been asked to give the reports on utilization of funds through prescribed formats. Senior officers of the Ministry also make on the spot visits to monitor implementation of programs for the development of primitive tribes. According to the existing Central Sector Schemes, States/UT have to allocate requisite funds from the Central and Centrally Sponsored and State Plan Schemes for their socio-economic development. The funds provided under the Central Sector Scheme would be utilized only for those items and activities that, though very crucial for the survival, protection and development of PTGs, are not specifically covered under the existing schemes, for the development of PTGs. Excepting the Central Sector Scheme for development of PTGs, the States and UT have not been indicating the separate allocation from the Central and Centrally Sponsored and State Plan Schemes allocated for the development of PTGs.

Administrative and Legal Support

No specific legal and administrative support exists at the national level for the protection and development of the PTGs. However, certain States like Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra have established special agencies at micro level for their development.

The most important input for the programs of Primitive Group is a sensitive group of personnel who are dedicated to the job. The designating of a Project Administrator of the ITDP to look after the program in addition to his normal duties will not do. For each PTG, an officer of suitable rank may be appointed who should be selected with great care and the main criteria should be the sensitivity of the person, his ability to identify himself with the tribals and their problems and a sense of commitment for the development of poor tribals.

Most of the PTGs living in inaccessible hilly and forest area are not aware of Central protective measures such as SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 and Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955. State Governments should undertake special awareness programs amongst these groups and sensitize them about their rights and privileges and also disseminate information about the various laws meant to protecting their rights and ensure socioeconomic development.

Moreover, there is a growing concern amongst various sections that the cultural heritage of the PTGs are getting eroded in the name of development. State Tribal Research Institutes and other Government agencies like department of culture should ensure that the cultural heritage of these primitive groups is preserved and disseminated. They should also ensure that in the name of modernization PTGs should not lose their traditional livelihood resources.

Land Alienation

Due to impact of industrialization and displacement of tribals due to major projects, the traditional rights of the tribals which consist of access to forest and community property resources for hunting, fodder for cattle, gathering non-timber minor forest produce such as honey, gum, medicinal plants etc. from which Adivasis derive food and cash income etc. are eroded. Under Land Acquisition Acts of States, tribal lands are acquired for public purpose, which affects the rights of tribal people in their original habitation.

According to the information from Planning Commission, 85.40 lakh tribal persons including PTGs have

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been displaced from 1951 to 1990. According to the Report of the Steering Groups on Empowerment of STs for the Tenth Five Year Plan, as many as 213 lakh people including tribals have been displaced due to various development projects since 1951 - 1990. About 21.20 lakh ST persons have been rehabilitated from 1951-1990 according to the Planning Commission.

Respective State Governments are adopting various measures for the displaced STs including the PTGs by providing proper rehabilitation packages like housing, land for agriculture, irrigation, drinking water, electrification, education and various other developmental activities under beneficiary oriented programs.

Since most of the PTGs are shifting cultivators, special welfare schemes need to be taken up my ministry of agriculture etc., to ensure proper rehabilitation of these vulnerable groups under the special programs like Watershed Development Project in Shifting Cultivation Areas.

Special Assistance to ITDPs, Tribal Research Centers and NGOs for PTG Welfare

Central Sector Scheme for PTG is one of the most flexible schemes since under it any activity for the benefit of the PTGs can be covered which are not specifically covered under any of the other schemes. State Governments and NGOs can implement the scheme. For this purpose, the State Governments or NGOs have to submit a proposal which is considered by a Selection Committee with representatives of the Planning Commission, the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Integrated Finance Division, Ministry of Tribal Affairs to approve the specific proposals and recommend allocating funds for the development of the PTGs. The funds are thereafter non-divertible and have to be necessarily spent for the development of the identified PTGs as proposed by them.

The following are the details of the various programs implemented by ITDPs, Tribal Research Institutes (TRIs) and NGOs

ITDPs	TRIs	NGOs
1. Training program 2. Health care program 3. Income generation programs 4. Safe drinking water 5. Awareness generation program 6. Village resource development works 7. Forest Development works on useful sharing basis 8. Minor irrigation 9. Plantation of Medicinal Plants 10. Watershed approach 11. Human and Industrial development 12. Promotion of Self Help Groups 13. Soil Conservation 14. Education 15. Establishment of Green Houses 16. Community Centre	MAA BADI – Children of age group 5-10 years are provided with midday meal, free uniforms, education and are motivated to adopt health and sanitation.	1. Training programs 2. Establishment of Self Help Groups 3. Health programs 4. Education awareness programs 5. Income generation programs 6. Repairing of old houses special coaching 7. Educational awareness seminars 8. Kitchen garden programs 9. Village sanitation program 10. Agro demonstration farming 11. Health culture plantation 12. Legal aid camp 13. Women's reproductive health 14. Safe drinking water 15. Pre school education for girls

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Monitoring is being undertaken by the Ministry through quarterly progress reports from the States/NGOs who are implementing the programs for the development of PTGs. The quarterly progress reports provide information regarding financial and physical achievements.

The Tribal Welfare Ministry provides financial assistance to State Governments and voluntary agencies under Central Sector Scheme for formation of Self Help Groups of PTGs and generation of awareness among them so that they may gain knowledge about Government programs and schemes and availing benefits under the scheme.

The degree of participation of PTGs in the activities/programs is low on account of rigidity of social and cultural values prevailing among them, low level of education and their settlements being isolated and lacking accessibility. Further State machineries are not making adequate efforts for their development. However, it has been noticed that where schemes specifically are being implemented by committed NGOs, they are coming forward in large number to avail the benefits of the scheme.

Health

Emphasis has been given on health and education in addition to economic generation programs under the Central Sector Scheme for development of PTGs. Under it 13 Mobile Dispensaries have been sanctioned in 6 States to provide facilities for health care of PTGs. State Governments/UT Administration are also providing health care facilities in the hilly and inaccessible tribal areas including the area inhabited by 75 PTGs. According to the information received from Planning Commission, 3258 Primary Health Centers and 20355 Health Sub-Centers are functioning in the tribal areas. The identified PTGs are also availing the health care facilities from these medical institutions.

The Ministry of Health and Family Welfare have launched a new scheme entitled "Medical Care for Remote and Marginalized Tribal and Nomadic Communities" during IXth Five Year Plan. An outlay of Rs.10.00 crore was provided under the IXth Plan Period for the scheme. The Scheme has been merged with the Indian Council of Medical Research from the Xth Plan. Necessary plan provision for launching the scheme was provided from 1998-99 onwards. Under the scheme, following projects have been taken by ICMR:

1. Prevention & Control of Hepatitis 'B' infection among Primitive Tribes of Andaman & Nicobar Islands
2. Intervention for hereditary common hemolytic disorders among major tribals of Sundergarh District
3. Intervention program for Cholera and Intestinal Parasitism, Vitamin A deficiency disorders among some Primitive Tribal population of Orissa.
4. Intervention Program for Nutritional Anaemia and Hemoglobinopathies amongst Primitive Tribal population of India.

In addition, a number of projects are underway by various governments and UT administrations to monitor and evaluate the health status of PTGs.

It is strongly recommend that adequate number of Mobile Dispensaries, Primary Health Centers, Sub-Centers, and Community Health Centers etc. that may exclusively cater to the PTGs should be set up in the areas of their habitation. It is desired that Project Directors of ITDPs should conduct health surveys among the PTGs regularly and ensure that medicines and other life saving drugs are made available on demand.

Education

According to 1991 Census the rate of literacy among the tribal communities was 29.60%. Female literacy was 18.10%. Among the PTGs, the average literacy rate is estimated at 10%.

Since introduction of new Central Sector Scheme for the development of PTGs, emphasis has been given on education in addition to other activities. However under State plan and centrally sponsored schemes,

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State Governments and UT Administration have set up residential schools, hostels and ashram schools for imparting education. According to 1991 Census, 134 Districts in the country had less than 10% literacy among the STs women. Many of the PTGs are found in these Districts. Considering the importance of the role of women in tribal society, a Central Sector Scheme of Educational Complex in low literacy pockets is working in the States/UT. The extent of assistance under the scheme is 100% to the institutions/organizations set up by Government, which are autonomous bodies under a statute or as a society under the Societies Registration Act, 1860. In addition, NGOs working in the tribal area could also avail the benefit of the scheme.

In addition to important central and centrally sponsored schemes like educational complexes in low literacy pocket, boys and girls hostels, grants to NGOs etc. the Department of Education, Government of India through the State Governments have been implementing various incentive schemes to check the dropout rates among the STs especially the PTGs. The Tenth Five Year Plan has emphasized the development of education among the Scheduled tribes, especially the PTGs.

As regards the number of schools, hostels, ashram schools, residential schools etc. set up for imparting education to the PTGs, since 1998-99 under the Central Sector Scheme for development of PTGs, funds have been sanctioned for setting up of 7 hostels and 2 primary schools as education is one of the priorities for development of PTGs.

As these groups have primitive traits, a distinctive culture etc. they are not exposed to the modern environment due to their habitation in remote and hilly areas. The modern educational facilities have not reached them due to their strong cultural values and beliefs and as such, it requires lot of persuasion to make them accept services under the schemes and programs of the Government/NGOs. However, Governments are making efforts through awareness generation programs to provide them educational facilities at their doorstep.

(Figures in actual)

States/UTs.	Name of P.T.G.	Population			
		1961	1971	1981	1991
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
West Bengal	68.Birhor	-	-	658	855
	69.Lodha	-	45906	53718	68095
	70.Toto	-	-	675	-
	Total	-	45906	55051	68950
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	71.Great Andamanese	-	-	42	32
	72.Jarawa	-	-	31	89
	73.Onge	-	-	97	101
	74.Sentinelest	-	-	-	24
	75.Shom Pen	71	212	223	131
	Total	71	212	393	377
All India	Grand Total	773704	1403174	2042767	2412664

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PRIMITIVE TRIBAL GROUPS AND THEIR POPULATION IN INDIA FROM 1961 TO 1991

(Figures in actual)

States/UTs.	Name of P.T.G.	Population			
		1961	1971	1981	1991
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Andhra Pradesh	1.Chenchu	17609	24178	28434	40869
	2.Bodo Gadaba	21840	25108	27732	33127
	3.Gutob Gadaba				
	4.Dongria Khond	21754	34382	39408	66629
	5.Kultia Khond				
	6.Kolam	16731	26498	21842	41254
	7.Konda Reddi	35439	42777	54685	76391
	8.Kondasavara		28189		
	9.Bondo Porja				
	10.Khond Porja	9350	12347	16479	24154
	11.Parengi Porja				
	12.Thoti	546	1785	1388	3654
	Total	123269	195264	189968	286078
Bihar(Including Jharakhand)	13.Asur	5819	7026	7783	9623
	14.Birhor	2438	3461	4377	8083
	15.Birjia	4029	3628	4057	6191
	16.Hill Kharia	108983	127002	141771	151634
	17.Korwa	21162	18717	219940	24871
	18.Mal Paharia	45423	48636	79322	86790
	19.Parhaiya	12268	14651	24012	30421
	20.Sauria Paharia	55605	59047	39269	48761
	21.Savar	1561	3548	3014	4264
	Total	257289	285719	325545	370638
Gujarat	22.Kolgha	-	29464	62232	82679
	23.Kathodi	-	2939	2546	4773
	24.Kotwalia	-	12902	17759	19569
	25.Padhar	-	4758	10587	15896
	26.Siddi	-	4482	5429	6336
	Total	-	54545	98553	129253
Karnataka	27.Jenu Kuruba	3623	6656	34747	29371
	28.Koraga	6382	7620	15146	16322
	Total	10005	14276	49893	45693
Kerala	29.Cholanaikayan	-	306	234	-
	30.Kadar	-	1120	1503	2021
	31.Kattunayakan	-	5565	8803	12155
	32.Koraga	-	1200	1098	1651
	33.Kurumba	-	1319	1283	1820
	Total	-	9510	12921	17647

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(Figures in actual)

States/UTs.	Name of P.T.G.	Population			
		1961	1971	1981	1991
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Madhya Prades	34.Abujh Maria	11115	13000	15500	-
(including Chhattisagarh)	35.Baiga	-	6194	248949	317549
	36.Bharia	-	1589	1614	-
	37.Birhor	513	738	561	2206
	38.Hill Korwa	23605	67000	19041	-
	39.Kamar	-	13600	17517	20565
	40.Sahariya	174320	207174	281816	332748
	Total	209551	309295	564998	673068
Maharashtra	41.Katkari/Kathodi	-	146785	174602	202203
	42.Kolam	-	56061	118073	147843
	42.Maria Gond	-	53400	66750	-
	Total	-	256246	359425	350046
Manipur	44.Maram Naga	-	5123	6544	9592
Orissa	45.Chuktia Bhunjia	-	-	-	-
	46.Birhor	-	248	142	825
	47.Bondo	-	3870	5895	7315
	48.Didayi	-	3055	1978	5471
	49.Dongria Khond	-	2676	6067	-
	50.Juang	-	3181	30876	35665
	51.Kharia	-	1259	1259	-
	52.Kutia Khond	-	3016	4735	-
	53.Lanjia Saura	-	4233	8421	-
	54.Lodha	-	1598	5100	7458
	55.Mankirdia	-	133	1005	1491
	56.Paudi Bhuyan	-	4424	8872	-
	57.Saura	-	2845	2917	-
	Total	-	30528	77267	58225
Rajasthan	58.Saharia	23125	26796	40945	59810
Tamil Nadu	59.Irular	79835	89025	105757	138827
	60.Kattunayakan	6459	5042	26383	42761
	61.Kota	833	1188	604	752
	62.Korumba	1174	2754	4354	4768
	63.Paniyan	4779	6093	6393	7124
	64.Toda	714	930	875	1100
	Total	93794	105032	144366	195332
Tripura	65.Riang	56579	64722	84004	111606
Uttar Prades	66.Buksa	-	-	31807	34621
(including Uttaranchal)	67.Raji	-	-	1087	1728
	Total	-	-	32894	36349

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ROLE OF NGOs IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

Democracy allows scope for the individual to undertake action in a national society, independent of the state. The "private action, that is to say, action not under the direction of any authority wielding power of the State, therefore, is called voluntary action". The organisations involved in voluntary action are thus the Non-Governmental Organisations.

On voluntary action for the public purposes, Lord Beveridge has observed as follows: "A voluntary organisation, properly speaking, is an organisation which, whether its workers are paid or unpaid, is initiated and governed by its own members without external control".

Definitions given by Mary Moris and Modeline Roof are also similar. Modeline Roof emphasises in addition that these non-governmental organisations should depend, in part at least, upon funding support from voluntary sources. On motivation for voluntary work, Mary Morris observes, "To lead a full life, most people need more than they can find in their work or home. They need to live as members of groups doing things for themselves and their fellow members or for the benefit of others outside the group. The urge to act in groups is fundamental to man".

Thus, voluntary action is a form of organising activities supporting, strengthening and helping to develop work to meet all types of legitimate needs of individuals and groups in a society.

Non-governmental organisations are supposed to be potentially superior to official agencies in three respects: 1) their workers can be more sincerely devoted to the task of reducing the sufferings of the poor than government staff; 2) they can have a better rapport with the rural poor than government employees; and 3) since they are not bound by rigid bureaucratic rules and procedures, they can operate with greater flexibility, they can read just their activities quickly and continuously as they learn from experience. We can add two more points; 1) Non-governmental organisations efforts are more economical than the government departments; and 2) they can motivate more public participation in development efforts than the government departments.

Voluntary Action for Development of Scheduled Tribes in Pre-Independence Period:

Voluntary action has a long tradition in India. The great forests of India have, for thousands of years, attracted men who desired to retire from the world and devote themselves to spiritual thinking. They were, we are told, kind and gentle to the animals and we may be sure that they were equally kind and gentle to the ancestors of the tribal people of today amongst whom they lived. In fact, when societies of the world were ripen with tribes and groups, India had her Manu, Yagnavalkya, Kautilya and Vyasa. Their approach to social problems was undoubtedly different. They thought of social security on a decentralised basis. The time, however, was not yet ripe for an organised system of education and health services.

Coming to the British period, we find that they isolated the Scheduled Tribes to keep them away from the national movement. Development of the Scheduled Tribes, to enable them to take advantage of the technological order of the modern civilisation, was never a matter of concern for the colonial administration. During that time it was the exclusive burden of the non-official agencies to look after the welfare of the economically, socially and politically backward tribal communities. Among the tribal communities, mention may be made of the humanitarian missionaries of various denominations. The missionaries were the pioneers in education. They opened the first hospital in the tribal areas. Some of them set a shining example by their care of leppers. Their devotion and self-sacrifice in the remotest hills and forests are cited even today as examples of ideal social workers.

Undoubtedly, the missionaries led the way in certain matters which all workers, official and non-official, would do well to follow. In many cases, by the translations of the Bible they first gave form to the tribal dialects, by the mastery of which they gained much influence on them. Secondly, once they went to a place they usually stayed there for a very long time and some of them actually took vows never to return to their own land. Thirdly, they were always accessible and friendly. They were among the first to inspire

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the tribal people with the idea of progress and to awaken them to a sense of their rights.

Historically speaking, the American missionaries started schools in Naga villages as early as 1830. They also taught villagers the technique of cultivating tea. Coming to Chotanagpur (Bihar), we find that the advent of Christianity dates back to 1845 when four Lutheran missionaries sent by one father J.E. Gossner of Berlin reached Ranchi. Between 1895 and 1914 the Lutheren Church expanded considerably and alongwith the conversion work, they opened High Schools for both the boys and girls. Dispensaries were also opened at Ranchi, which rendered great service to the Christian as well as the non-christian public.

The Roman Catholic Missionaries are comparatively latecomers to Ranchi and the first organised mass conversion began with the advent of Fr.Constant Lievens in 1885. In the beginning, Christian Missionaries confined their activities to purely evangelical work but they got little success. It was, therefore, realised later that the only way to attract the tribals was to defend their interests, especially regarding their rights of land tenure and land services. After the missionaries took a few cases at Ranchi and won them, they established their reputation. S.C.Roy has rightly pointed out that in addition to helping the tribal peasants against the land grabbing devices of the non-tribal landlords, the Christian missionaries also provided them shield against the exploitation by the moneylenders. The initial credit goes to a prominent Catholic Missionary, Father Hoffman, for taking concrete steps to establish Chotanagpur Catholic Mission Cooperative Society in 1909. It had Central Cooperative Bank at Ranchi but it converted the whole of Chotanagpur, into several circles in different mission stations, which were again sub-divided into several units as working centres.

The Christian missionaries also took active interest in spreading education among the tribals and improving their health and living conditions. In the tribal belts of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and other parts of India also, they carried on humanitarian activities on a considerable scale.

When the freedom struggle, launched by the national leaders, became stronger, they realised their concern for involving the tribals in their efforts in order to integrate them in the mainstream of the national life.

Under the impact of the Gandhian age - a very prominent member of the Servants of India Society, late Thakkar Bapa laid the foundation of another service agency. Like other pioneering projects, this also had a small beginning. He established in 1921, an Ashram at Mirakhedi in Panchmahal district and the Bhil Seva Mandal at Dohad in Gujarat - then a part of the old Bombay Presidency. By single-minded devotion and hard work, he established 21 institutions in various parts of the country, three each in Andhra and what is now the Madhya Pradesh, two each in Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh, and one each in Kerala, Madras and Rajasthan. There was magic in his personality. He could create workers, attract workers and hold on to the workers - which is the secret of retaining the workers. Dhebar rightly opined that the history of a quarter of a century of dogged endeavour on the part of this singularly quiet and dedicated yet principled personality is a romance of social work in India.

Activities of Thakkar Bapa and his band, prior to Independence, were mostly concentrated in the field of education and in some places in the field of public health. A noteworthy beginning was also made in the field of cooperation in Bombay Presidency.

The first fruitful effort for voluntary action was made in the tribal belt of Bihar with the establishment of a service centre named Seva Kendra in the year 1940. The immediate incentive for improving the socio-economic conditions of the tribes of Chotanagpur is linked with the holding of the All-India Congress at Ramgarh, 28 miles from Ranchi in 1939. The important national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. ajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel and many others, who met in the tribal setting, were deeply impressed to undertake the cause of development of the primitive and backward communities not only of Bihar but also of the whole country. As a part of the program of freedom fight, it was emphasised to take up the cause of the socio-economic development of tribals. Dr. Rajendra Prasad and his young collaborator Sri Narayanjee immediately started the work in Chotanagpur. In the thick tribal belt at Gumla at a distance of 40 miles southwest of Ranchi, they started a centre named Seva Kendra. Originally, they mobilised persons to take lessons in literacy in the night and to work in the Khadi

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Production Centre. In order to run these two programs, financial help was made available from the savings of the Reception Committee of Ramgarh Congress.

In Madhya Pradesh, the Adibasi Seva Mandal was registered in 1945-46. At present, its head office, situated at Maharajpur in the Mandla district and from the very inception it has laid a great emphasis on the spread of education among the tribals. In addition to the educational programs, the organisation was managing one agricultural farm, three cooperative societies, one mobile dispensary, one Lok Karya Kshetra, and one Panchayat Raj Prashikshan Kendra.

Voluntary action, thus, in the beginning was motivated by religious consideration, people used to serve fellowmen in order to please God and acquire "punya". Voluntary action also took place outside the religious channels, especially during calamities like floods and famines. This system of mitigating problem of indigency by the particular norms of mutuality of obligations (as manifested through individual philanthropy and religious charity) had been continuing in India right through the 18th century. The growth of residential institutions, as instruments of organised and sustained care, is a 19th century phenomenon in the field of voluntary action in India.

Policy on Voluntary Action in Post-Independence Period:

It was only after 1947 that non-governmental organisations had anything to do with the government. The government, on its part, not only started operating some programs of social welfare directly but also started a program of financial assistance to non-governmental organisations. In the 1st five year plan, a provision of Rs.4 crores was made for assistance to non-governmental organisations as these were found to be capable of "dealing with social problems for which the state cannot provide in sufficient measures" (First Five-Year Plan).

In 1953, the Central Social Welfare Board was created with an allocation of 40 million rupees for grants-in-aid to non-governmental organisations. This was a pioneering institutional arrangement for mobilising voluntary effort by the government. In 1954, welfare advisory boards were created in states. With this, the concept of mobilising voluntary effort was decentralised and further decentralisation took place in the community development and panchayati raj institutions.

Even before the government had come into the picture, the Andhra Mahila Sabha, first in Madras and later in Hyderabad, demonstrated the immense potentialities for mobilising voluntary effort through the zeal, devotion and sincerity of thousands of workers who were not at all career minded but dedicated to service.

In the 3rd Five Year Plan, importance of the role of non-governmental organisations for the successful implementation of our plans was reiterated as follows:

For a developing country that cherishes its democratic value, the people's part in the attainment of these objectives is of supreme importance. The peaceful struggle for freedom and tradition of constructive work associated with it had marked out for the people a decisive role in the tasks of planned development initiated 10 years ago. It is evident, however, that the possibilities of full involvement of the people in the processes of change and growth are not being realised to a sufficient degree.

Discussing people's participation on an ideological level, the plan document found it necessary to give it a concrete shape and observed: In the activities in which official agencies are engaged, there is a large sphere in which the cooperation of the people can be sought and secured to achieve a degree of success which would otherwise not be possible. These tasks should be identified precisely and the obligations and responsibilities of the people in relation there to made known clearly. The concept of public cooperation is related in its wider aspect to the much larger sphere of voluntary action in which the initiative and organisational responsibility rest completely with the people and their leaders. So vast are the unsatisfied needs of the people that all the investments in the public and private sectors together can, at this stage, only make a limited provision for them.

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Thus, government, in the first two decades after Independence, adopted policy of working with voluntary organisations for promoting welfare of the people. The government also initiated the services provided by non-governmental organisations so that the programs undertaken by the government should be effectively supplemented. The grants-in-aid programs were evolved for providing certain measure of stability to non-governmental organisations for maintaining certain functional level of organisational and financial efficiency. It is, therefore, not at all amazing that non-governmental organisations have, over the years, expanded in terms of absolute number as well as the number of services covered by them, of course, with the financial assistance provided by the government. This made the situation somewhat complex. While in some fields certain services are being rendered by official agencies, in some other fields the same services are rendered by non-governmental organisations. Even in the same field, both official and non-official agencies have been found to be working. This raised the problems of uniform financial reporting and accounting by non-governmental organisations, and creation of a central intelligence service to keep track of funds received and spent by them. The other problem was regarding coordination of work done by non-governmental organisations and the work done by the government and the local authorities. Related closely to the latter is the need for coordination amongst the voluntary organisation themselves.

Keeping these problems in view, Renuka Ray Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes recommended in 1959 that coordination councils should be set up at the district, state and national level. About a decade later, in the year 1967, another study team wondered as to where the non-governmental organisations stood and what was their role in relation to the state (or the government)? An attempt was also made to trace the ideological or conceptual basis of government funding of non-governmental organisations, failing which, it was observed that the prevailing situation does not give any clear-cut picture "whether the state wants these (voluntary) agencies to act as an assistant or helper to the government in its plan efforts, or as a catalyst to bring about changes in society by strengthening voluntary action".

Taking a broad review of the efforts during the earlier plan periods, the Sixth Plan observed:

During the last three decades social welfare services have grown both in volume and in ranges and the outlays have also increased..... The administrative machinery has also expanded and there is a better awareness of the developmental concept of social welfare..... A large number of non-governmental organisations are now being assisted to undertake social welfare programs in different parts of the country. In spite of these achievements, certain deficiencies in the programs, planning and implementation need to be remedied in order that effectiveness of social welfare schemes can be enhanced. There has been a tendency to depend on schematic patterns in the implementation of the schemes by Government or non-governmental organisations leaving little room for flexibility or ability to respond to the requirements and variations in local situations.

A study has been made about the unevenness of the growth of non-governmental organisations in different parts of the country. The study has come to the conclusion that:

1. In so far as the grants-in-aid programs are concerned, the Central funds have flowed more to the areas already having strong administrative machinery and infrastructure for utilisation of funds and the remote and backward areas have been left out more or less untouched.

2. Another lacuna that has been identified is the non-materialisation of the linkage of social welfare programs with economic programs. Many economic development projects have been launched, particularly in rural areas, without proper consideration of the social impact or the social service, and needs of women and children.

3. Monitoring of program performance of even important schemes continue to be in terms of financial achievements rather than physical performance related to the objectives of these schemes.

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Voluntary Action for Development of Scheduled Tribes in Post-Independence Period:

After Independence, several such organisations have been formed in the tribal areas in different states that are working for the tribal development with the financial assistance of the government and public donations. Among these organisations, the most important is Bhartiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, which was set up in 1948 on the initiative of Thakkar Bapa and was registered in 1949. Its objectives were: The development of the tribal communities in India, socially economically, culturally and educationally, with a view to enable them to take their legitimate place in national life of the country as equal citizens.

Dhebar report has rightly opined that it had played a small part in helping government shape its tribal welfare policy at the stage of preparation of the Constitution and thereafter the plans of development. Dhebar report mentions that apex institution had behind it, as affiliated or recognised institutions, 62 bodies; 10 in Maharashtra; 9 in Madhya Pradesh; 6 each in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa; 5 in Assam, 4 each in Gujarat and Madras; 3 in Kerala; 2 each in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh; and 1 each in Mysore, West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh. Two are directly run by it - one in Assam and one in Manipur.

Work done by various Christian Missions has already been discussed. The Ramakrishna Missions are also doing commendable work, which we intend to discuss later on. The Central Social Welfare Board had also done good work in the Community Development Blocks in the fifties. Other important non-official agencies, covering tribal welfare in their programs, are:

1. The Servants of India Society,
2. Sarv Seva Sangh,
3. Gandhi Smarak Nidhi,
4. Kasturba Smarak Nidhi,
5. The Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay,
6. The Indian Council of Child Welfare, Chhindwara and
7. Bharatiya Lok Kala Mandir, Udaipur.

The non-official agencies, including the missionary societies concentrated on education, provision of medical facilities, and, in western India, on Forest labourers' Cooperative Societies till sixties. Various non-governmental organisations in recent years are playing a significant role in advancing the social and economic progress of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes. Some of these agencies are working on all-India basis with grants from the Central Government while a few others, whose activities are confined to one or two states, are assisted by the respective state governments.

SOME IMPORTANT NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE FIELD

Let us now briefly discuss the role played by some of the important non-governmental organisations in this regard since independence.

Bhartiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh: The Bhartiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh, founded by late Sri Thakkar Bappa, undertakes works for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes through its central office in New Delhi as well as through its affiliated branches in various states. During 1979-80, Government of India reviewed the scheme of 'Life Membership' and agreed to give grant-in-aid of Rs.6.42 lakh for scheme. Under this scheme, a cadre of 56 Life Members (20 senior, 12 junior and 24 volunteers) was evolved in the organisation, in addition to 13 life members already borne on the Sangh's Cadre. The life members were reported to have been posted in the remote tribal areas located in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Nagaland, Orissa, Rajastan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. During 1980-81, these life members have made very significant contribution towards the welfare of tribals by living in their environments, surveying their areas of abode and activities, to have first-hand knowledge about the

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problems of the tribals and to find out remedial solutions to these problems. These life members work in close collaboration with the district authorities and are well aware about the day-to-day instructions of the government. They keep themselves up-to-date in the sphere of their activities.

In addition, during 1980-81, the Sangh continued their schemes of Training Centre at Rupa (Arunachal Pradesh). Concentrated efforts were made to cultivate the sentiments of national and emotional integration amongst the local tribals through various welfare programs. At Jhalod (Gujarat) the Sangh is running Gujarat Tribal Women's Training Centre to train women workers to undertake and implement child welfare programs and to do extensive work amongst rural and tribal women. At Srikakulam (Andhra Pradesh), the Sangh is maintaining a Tribal Kanya Ashram School, where tribal girls from Srikakulam district and its interior areas come for studies up to college stage.

Nagaland Gandhi Ashram, Chuchugimlong (Nagaland): Nagaland Gandhi Ashram, Chuchugimlong was established in 1955. The first activity taken up by the Ashram was a small medical aid centre. In 1977, a multipurpose medical relief camp was organised. Encouraged with the success, the Gandhi Ashram, in October 1979 started a Health Centre. Later on, a health service scheme on the lines of health insurance was designed. Under the provisions of the scheme, patients desirous to have treatment at the centre, have to pay a nominal fee of Rs.6 per patient per year. After the payment, a patient is entitled to OPD facilities at the centre throughout the year. Till March 1980 a total number of 224 members were registered under the scheme. Almost all the members belonged to the Scheduled Tribes of the State. A total number of 2,700 patients were provided medicines till the end of the upliftment of rural inhabitants of Nagaland and Chuchugimlong in particular. Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has rightly opined that judging from the success which the Ashram had achieved, it was desirable that the influence of good work started by Sri Natwar Thakkar and his Ashram should be extended and more and more such Gandhi Ashrams should be started in Nagaland and its surrounding regions.

Ramakrishna Mission Ashram, Puri: Taking the cue from Sri Ramakrishna's message "To serve Jiva is to serve Shiva", Swami Vivekananda, after his return from the West, formed on May 1, 1897 an association -- `Ramakrishna Mission' which was got registered on May 4, 1909 under the Societies' Registration Act-XXI of 1860. It has 139 branch centres all over the world with the headquarters at Belur (near Calcutta), which are engaged in worship of God in man through various activities - relief and rehabilitation, medical services, educational work, work in rural and tribal areas, etc.

Ramakrishna Mission Ashram, Puri is conducting a Student's Home for the students belonging to Scheduled Castes / Tribes. During 1979-80 the total strength of the Students' Home stood at 65 out of whom 13 belonged to Scheduled Castes, 46 to Scheduled Tribes and the remaining 6 to the economically backward and other backward classes.

The Ashram under the "Type-Writing Training Scheme", imparted training to a group of 15 trainees under the guidance of a part-time instructor. Special coaching was also given to the students regularly with the help of the teachers appointed for the purpose. In addition, two other projects of Dairy and Bakery were also taken up. The dairy farm maintained by the Ashram provided practical demonstration in cattle rearing to the students and also provided milk to inmates. The Bakery imparted training to students in making biscuits, etc.

Ramakrishna Mission Ashram, Ranchi: The Ramakrishna Mission Ashram, Ranchi is running Divyayan (meaning the Divine Way) which was started in 1969 with three-fold objectives: economic, social and spiritual. Divyayan concept is one of total approach for the rehabilitation of man and the endeavour is to work at the grassroots level. With a humble beginning, it has now grown into a fullfledged training institute with a poultry (about 6,000 birds), a diary (about 45 cattle heads), a 3-storyed hostel, a workshop with modern equipment and machinery with a separate carpentary section, a mobilise audio-visual unit with film projectors, slide projectors, films, slides, VCR, TV, etc., and demonstration farms of nine acres at the centre plus 144 acres in the villages of Getalsud and Mahespur (P.S.Angara, District Ranchi) about 35 km. away from the centre, being developed for demonstration, seed multiplication research, social forestry etc.

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In all, 3,776 farmers have been trained under on-campus program (till 1987) and 11,877 under off-campus programs, most of whom belong to backward communities of Chotanagpur. Impressed with the success achieved by Divyan in imparting skill-oriented training to the grassroots level farmers, Indian Council of Agricultural Research has recognised it as a Krishi Vigyan Kendra since 1977.

Ramakrishna Mission Ashram, Cherrapunji: The Government of India assisted the Ashram for maintenance of technical, middle, primary and J.B. Schools for uplift of the tribals living in remote areas of Meghalaya. Under the scheme, the Ashram maintained 46 schools. During 1980-81, there were more than 3,000 students on the rolls of these schools. Under the Dairy and Poultry Farming scheme started during the year 1980-81 for the first time, the Ashram is imparting training in modern dairy and poultry farming to the tribal youth. It also enables the inmates of Cherra and Shohbar Students' Hostels to get fresh milk and eggs that are very difficult to procure from the local market.

ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN PLANNING, IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION:

Non-governmental organisations can play a useful role in planning, implementation and evaluation of various development plans, which has been endorsed by various commissions. To begin with, Dhebar Commission opined as early as in 1961:

The raison d'être for successful functioning of a participating democracy is direct, active and purposeful participation of the people at all levels, in planning and implementation of welfare activities. This principle can be best served by assigning an important role to non-official organisations. It is necessary in any democratic framework that a measure of the constructive activity of the nation should be done under non-official auspices.

Sivaraman Committee, in its report on the role of non-governmental organisations, opines that non-governmental organisations, which are engaged in social and developmental work, especially in rural areas, can be profitably involved in planning and/or implementation of the integrated rural development program. The committee has recommended that, to begin with, non-governmental organisations may be involved in planning an implementation of about 100 block plans. It has further recommended that a high-powered committee should be set up at the centre which would select non-governmental organisations and the areas where they will work in cases where comprehensive block planning and/or implementation is to be undertaken by the non-governmental organisations. Coordination committees are also to be set up at the state level for selecting non-governmental organisations and the area of operation in case where part of the block plan is involved. It is understood that recommendations of the committee are under the consideration of the government.

It is, thus, clear that non-governmental organisations could be used to plan the program on the basis of real local needs and resources at the village and block level and be entrusted with execution of programs, which is urgently required for Harijan and Tribal Development. Thus, for instance, the Dantwala working group on block level planning calls attention to the fact that at the village level, the unemployed or underemployed prefer to remain so, if employment is offered to them in locations far away from their houses (this is more true about the Scheduled Tribes). This is the kind of situation which a voluntary agency takes into account in both planning employment programs and executing them in the village(s) concerned. Similar gaps exist in Training of Rural Youth for Self-employment (TRYSEM) program and in recently started RLEGP, which through non-governmental organisations; can be set right, to an extent.

A study of the history of Harijan and Tribal development indicates that these two communities are mere passive spectators of the drama of development. However, development cannot be achieved unless beneficiaries themselves become conscious of their own rights, of the conditions and the circumstances which made them socially and economically disadvantaged and have an urge to alter the situation with proper understanding of the correlations of social-economic forces. The non-governmental organisations can make them active participants in the change process.

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Group action and exogenous support is essential in IRDP for making correct selection of beneficiaries, choice of investment, getting the loans sanctioned in time and in making a reasonable income by overcoming the unfavourable market forces. A dedicated voluntary organisation could educate conscientise and prepare the ground for collective action of the beneficiaries by making suitable intervention at all these points.

Non-governmental organisations at national, state or levels down, could be asked to do evaluation of programs. According to studies made by some research institutions and even some official agencies, only 10 per cent of the Rs.500 crore funds allocated to the program in the three years 1980-81 to 1982-83, actually reached the poor families for whom it was intended.

Under these conditions, non-governmental organisations can help in monitoring IRDP programs executed by government functionaries to ensure that the benefits reach the beneficiary for whom they are intended to the maximum extent possible.

Thus, there cannot be two opinions on active role of non-governmental organisations. It has many advantages; the plans are conceived and formulated on the basis of the felt-needs of the people, there is sizable saving in expenditure; implementation becomes easier; and finally people's aspirations are largely met. Dhebar has rightly said that they can also become the training-ground of social service workers on a mass scale.

NEW TRENDS FOR NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

No doubt non-governmental organisations are doing appreciable work for Harijan and Tribal Development, yet there are still certain areas of Tribal Development where even greater involvement of these is needed. They are as follows:

1. Ignorance about tribal customs and traditions about land holdings in certain areas has resulted in wrong recording in surveys by settlement authorities resulting in transfer of title of their land. It is giving rise to tribal discontent. Voluntary organisation should take this matter in their hand.

2. Estimation places the total number of bonded labour, both tribal and non-tribal, in the country at about 32 lakh. Attempts were made to identify tribal bonded labourers during the first four years of the Sixth Five-year Plan. In the large tribal states of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, identification was noticeably poor. It would be of interest, therefore, to see the contribution of non-governmental organisations in identification of bonded-labour. The Program Evaluation Organisations study included this aspect.

3. The `bottle' has acted as an important conduit through which the wily forces of exploitation have long been entering tribal areas. Sanskar Kendras to be an the tribals from drinking on the pattern organised in the State of Gujarat should be introduced in the tribal areas in good number through non-governmental organisations, who may be assisted cent per cent by special central assistance.

4. There are 72 primitive tribal groups in the country with an estimated population of 14 lakh. There is a need to carry out ecological study of each one of these primitive tribes highlighting their pattern of distribution in space, adaptive process in their social organisation, economic activities, their world-view vis-a-vis physical and social environment, social organisation of labour, time budgeting, etc. Each of these aspects requires to be studied in detail for preparing a blueprint for their future. There has been an emphasis, since the Fifth Plan period, on preparation of a project report for each of these groups relative to its situation. Nevertheless, there has been considerable neglect in this regard. Apart from continued misery of conditions in which they live, risk of extinction of some of these tribes is not unreal. The extremely onerous and delicate dimensions of the problem of primitive tribal groups inclines us to the belief that public and non-governmental organisations should share the responsibility of the care and nursing of primitive tribal groups along with governmental agencies. The non-governmental organisations should come forward to accept the challenge in this regard.

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5. It has been estimated by the Task Force on Shifting Cultivation, set up by the Ministry of Agriculture that approximately 9.95 million hectares in the tribal and hilly areas of the country are under shifting cultivation. The problem cannot be lightly brushed aside as over six lakh tribal families depend on this source for their living. This problem could be tackled easily if the non-governmental organisations adopt a program of educating the shifting cultivators on advantages of settled cultivation, which should be taken up along with implementation of the settlement/resettlement schemes.

6. There is a concentration of industrial and mining activity in the tribal belt of the country. The abrupt juxtaposition has produced traumatic results for the tribals. Instead of having benefited from the new ferment, the tribals have suffered loss of land and forest. Some of the cottage, village and small industries commonly in operation in the tribal areas, which need encouragement, include: a) forest-based small industries, and b) mineral-based cottage and village industries, weaving, sericulture and others. Arrangements for marketing could be done through various non-governmental organisations.

7. Various studies have revealed that developmental efforts have not reached tribal women. The tribal women should be encouraged to set up `Mahila Mandals' and `Mahila Samitis' and such organisations should be taken into confidence during planning and implementation of their welfare/development programs. On an experimental basis, reputed voluntary women's organisations will have to be identified and entrusted with selected programs.

AN EVALUATION OF THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

When we try to evaluate the role of non-governmental organisations, we are faced with a lot of controversies about their performance. There are two diametrically opposed views about them. For example, Mohit Sen views, "It is wrong and even harmful to rely on non-governmental organisations even partially for the implementation of plan projects, especially directed at poor millions". Kamal Narayan Kabra opines, "Like so many false alternatives being propagated to so many genuine issues, the officially recognised, financed and co-opted non-governmental organisations will prove another anarchonism and false alternative". On the other hand, we have a long list of politicians, academics and social workers who have lauded their role for development of the weaker sections. For example, the Prime Minister's directive to Chief Ministers in October 1982 to involve non-governmental organisations in development by forming consultative Groups and the current move by the government to set up a National Council of Rural Non-governmental Organisations are all signs of change for better in the official attitude towards non-governmental organisations. Planning Commission members, C.H. Hanumantha Rao, and Raj Krishna and social workers like Mahasveta Devi and many others have made a fulsome praise in favour of non-governmental organisations. No doubt, there are good and bad non-governmental organisations. For example, we may visit Narendrapur in Calcutta and Coimbatore, amongst others, doing silent work of training, with echo around, under Ramakrishna Mission. Nilokheri, situated on the National Highway, 150 kilometers north of Delhi, with its rural-cum-urban township and the quest therein soon after 1947 for a "road to new India" is another example of voluntary action by many a volunteer totally committed to the cause and supported strongly by Nehru despite opposition from within government and without. What SEWA has done in Ahmedabad is something that a government agency has not have been able to do. What the Tagore Society for Rural development is doing in 27 villages in five islands of the Sunderban area in West Bengal is an unlikely proposition for a bureaucratic and hierarchical state agency. The examples, but a few, cited in the foregoing, are illustrative of what can follow when the `cause is honest', and there is integrity, inspiration and fire from within.

We have another example too. S.K. Dey has mentioned about some of the activities of Sarva Seva Sangh. He writes: It was decided to have a pilot project under the Sangh in the backward district of Koraput in Orissa, where eight tribal blocks had already been covered by `Gram Dan' to `Block Dan'. One of the Blocks was taken under the unfettered charge of the Sangh with full resources, but staff appointed exclusively by them. A year passed. The entire resources had been spent out. All that happened was that the Block Development Officer selected and appointed exclusively by them out of their own youth group, had established as Ashram for himself immeasurably better fitted and equipped than Gandhiji's own at

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Sevagram....A vital young Adibashi girl of rare beauty found her place to look after the Ashram and its occupant....There came also a big store house for jungle produce with hardly 5 per cent of space occupied. When the doings were reported to the Sangh, the young man was removed. The joint program also came virtually to an end.

The works of the foreign Christian Missions are also not an unmixed evil. One may see a village, which at one time worked and lived as a single unit, now split into a Christian hamlet and a Non-Christian hamlet. Dhebar report mentions about a village where no fewer then five Missions were carrying on propaganda, opening separate schools and teaching different forms of Christianity.

These days, government is facing some difficulties from foreign non-governmental organisations, particularly in scheduled areas. It would be desirable to subject the foreign assistance received by such organisations to strict check before permitting its utilisation in tribal area program. Chief Editor of Yojana has also opined, "Mysterious, they say, are the ways of the unseen band that backs them". We should be careful not to encourage development rackets in the name of people's participation and involvement of non-governmental organisations.

CONCLUSION

After assessing the role of non-governmental organisations for Tribal and Harijan development, we come to the conclusion that they have come to stay. The United Nations Children's Fund report opines, "All over the world, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), both national and international, are active partners of communities and governments in their efforts to protect the health and normal growth of their children.... World-wide, it has been estimated that more than 3,000 international NGOs are at work, and they mobilise more than 2.3 billion every year for assistance to the developing world". A devoted governmental agency can certainly do the work of development to some extent, but if it had the support of the non-governmental organisations, it could do the job much better. We have seen from experience during the last three decades that `Rashtra Shakti' or government action by itself could not achieve much unless `Lok Shakti' or `Jan Shakti' supported it.

The State's agency bureaucracy would require sensitisation, which could come through very largely, if it were made to work along with non-governmental organisations. Beyond doubt, the experience all over the world is that non-officials could communicate to people with greater understanding and conviction than officials.

There are people who charge that there has been misuse of funds by non-governmental organisations. There is some truth in it. But the amount misused is likely to be much smaller in the aggregate than the vast amounts wasted by government agencies.

With the adoption of new strategies for the economic and educational development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes during the Sixth Plan, it has now become more important to involve voluntary organisations fully in this gigantic task. Non-governmental organisations are now gradually coming forward to take up various developmental programs for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The decision has to be taken about the type of programs to be entrusted to such organisations during the Seventh Plan so that there may be a clear-cut demarcation of areas of operation between the programs undertaken by the State Governments and those entrusted to the non-governmental organisations to avoid duplication.

It cannot be denied that the entire backward rural areas of the country cannot be covered by the non-governmental organisations. But at the same time, it has also to be accepted that the government organisations could not reach these areas completely. There is, thus, no other alternative to this government-voluntary agency partnership for the crusade against poverty.

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9.2 ROLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN TRIBAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

There is a growing importance in the present day to understand the cultural factors in the field of technological change and rural community development in many underdeveloped and developing nations of the world. Even a very small community development program and technological or economic innovations have latent cultural and social dimensions that need careful consideration if the success of these programs is to be assured.

The agencies involved in community development programs today are no longer approaching an underdeveloped community with a naive assumption that it will enthusiastically adopt superior tools and techniques when they are placed within its reach. Today these agencies are laying considerable emphasis on adapting modern techniques to the culture and values of the community in which the program has to operate.

The cultural factors confront every step of the development projects and programs of technical assistance. Cultural predispositions, attitudes and social organization of the community govern the acceptance of the developmental programs and also the media through which these programs and programrs endeavour to communicate.

These cultural factors include a variety of complex cultural beliefs, simple habits and accepted social practices, intricate patterns of values and attitudes and also the social structure. The range and effect of these cultural factors on the community development projects are highly influential in its success.

First, the habits and the tastes of the people determine the initial response of the community to a large number of innovations and programs promoted by the community development programs. For example, an improved variety of wheat may not be accepted by the community because of its flat taste. It may not be accepted also because of the difficulties the women experienced in using the new flour to make the conventional type of unfermented bread. The superiority of the new seed in respect to its proportionately higher yield, disease-and rain resisting qualities and better marketability, may be generally accepted, but when it comes to making a choice on grounds of taste, flavour, and digestibility, the preference would unmistakably be for traditional variety.

The force of habit also influences the attitude towards programs in areas other than food production. The construction of the public latrines in one of the projects in western district of Uttar Pradesh was initially welcomed as a progressive measure in the direction of urbanization, but their use was practically abandoned after a few weeks as they were not agreeable to the habits and aesthetic sense of the people. Similarly the construction of wells as a part of community development programs may not be welcomed due to the reasons of the change in the posture and motions in drawing the water and also because of the necessity of waiting for one's turn to draw water from the well.

When it comes to established practices, neither appeal on scientific grounds nor logic can easily persuade the village people to give up their traditional life ways. It would be apt to illustrate one of the failures of the community development programs due to the above reason. As a part of the rural sanitation program the village level workers got compost pits dug outside the settlements in a number of project villages. In this they had, on the whole, understanding cooperation from the people; both for aesthetic reasons and for reasons of public health, villagers thought it desirable to have pits for the deposit of manure and refuse outside the village, and cooperated willingly with the project authorities in digging them. The local village councils passed resolutions making it obligatory for the villagers to use these pits. Depositing refuse in the village was to be punished by the councils with fines. However, most of these pits remained unused. Cultural factors explain the failure on the part of the people to use these pits.

Traditionally it is the work of women to clean the house and cattle shed and deposit refuse and dung in one corner of the house compound or in an open space near the house. While women of even the highest castes can do this kind of work at their homes, but higher castes are not expected to be seen carrying loads from their houses all the way to compost pits on the outskirts of the village. Men could not do so,

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because culturally such a task is defined as "women's work". As very few families could afford to engage servants for this work, the traditional practice continues.

Cultural factors governing traditional work patterns determine the nature of public participation in many sectors of development activity. The government's efforts to mobilize local manpower in village reconstruction and development have received wide publicity. Shramdan, or the gift of free, voluntary labour by the people, is viewed as an effective instrument of securing the people's cooperation in constructive activities. Observation and analysis of these Shramdan drives in community development projects forcefully bring to our attention how the established work patterns of a community can defeat the very essence of such movements. In the villages under the development project, the upper caste groups traditionally assume supervisory roles, leaving the actual hard work to the poor lower caste groups. It was usual for the influential men in the village to use pressure on the lower castes to make them undertake the hard work in all communal undertakings of the village such as repairs to roads, cleaning of wells and construction of public buildings. The shramdan drives, inaugurated with great fanfare and considerable speech making, were in practice reduced to the traditional work patterns; the rich and influential upper caste people contribute their labour in the form of supervision, advise and encouragement, the lower castes did all the work. As no payment was made to them for the work, the low caste labourers naturally resented it. Another related factor may also be mentioned here. While in some other parts of India, women with the exception of those from high castes, join work teams engaged in community undertakings, because of their traditional seclusion in this area they cannot participate in such work.

The established social practices of the community affect the educational programs of the community development projects. The value of education is recognized and projects in this field get considerable verbal support from the people, but practical difficulties become apparent once these projects get started. The idea of an adult education sounds good but few adults want to adopt the role of school going child and enrol in these classes. The few who do join these classes also eventually give up because of the general amusement their position arouses. It must be remembered in this context, the community development projects are dealing with a population which is very sensitive concerning matters of honour and unwilling to risk any ridicule. A daughter-in-law is customarily not expected to leave the house frequently until she attains a comparatively responsible status within the family by becoming the mother of two or three children. When she is young, her role as "daughter-in-law" prevents her from joining these classes and when she has children her "adult" role coupled with responsibilities of the household prevents her from taking the advantage from them.

The ideal of ownership and management of farms by the family or close kin is so firmly established in the community that innovations seeking even slight modifications in the pattern are resisted by the people. The programs for planting community orchards sponsored by the community development projects, was largely a failure in India because no one thought of it as a serious and worthwhile investment. The impersonal nature of the ownership and the local traditions with respect to ownership aspects of the society, these programs are a general failure.

Resistance can be expected when program of change touch the sensitive area of belief. For example, the Government has been actively promoting programs of introducing better methods of cattle breeding, but with little success. The agriculturists recognize the importance of good cattle and invest large amounts of money in buying pedigree animals. But locally they cannot do much to change the methods of cattle breeding because of the presence in the villages of a large number of bulls. The government distributes a number of pedigree bulls in the area, but they are not much help because no effective ways can be devised to dispose the local bulls. Being the mount of Lord Shiva, a bull is regarded as sacred. Because of their sacred character, interference with their freedom is regarded as sin and plans to sterilize them are viewed as unthinkable by most villagers. The artificial insemination centers opened by the government have also suffered because of these problems.

Traditional practices rooted in beliefs can be obstacles to the acceptance of a wide range of programs in the fields of rural health and hygiene and practices connected with maternity and child care. The views of

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the people and the culture about the concepts of health, diseases and illness, determine their response to the various health programs. For example, not withstanding compulsory vaccination, small pox or measles are considered as "sacred" disease. Because the people regard smallpox as the visitation of the mother goddess, villagers give more attention to the performances of the prescribed rituals and worship than to the proper isolation and care of the patient. In addition to this, certain types of diseases are attributed to supernatural forces and powers. Popular beliefs embodied in prevalent theories of disease and treatment not only determine the response of the villagers to the promoters and practitioners of modern medicine and their methods of diagnosis and treatment, but are of vital significance for the success of the programs of preventive medicine and immunization. Adoption of modern practices in maternity and childcare are also governed by some deep seated beliefs of the people.

There is a complex interplay of factors, affecting the programs directed towards the change, in the area of social structure. In this sphere it is necessary to take account of

1. Social segmentation and social stratification
2. Role differentiation in terms of age and sex
3. Types and levels of leadership
4. Vital factors of group dynamics and factionalism

The division of the society into castes, with their associated norms and expected standards of behaviour and overt stresses and tensions in inter-group relations, posed a number of important problems to the planners and development workers. The development workers at the cutting edge level are always posed with problems which force them to dilemma. Questions like with what particular group should they identify themselves in the village? Whose norms and standards of behaviour should they adopt, always confuse them.

If the development worker identifies himself with upper income and status groups and accepts their norms, he wins a certain measure of support from these influential groups. But at the same time it alienates the underprivileged groups and the promoters of change. The lower caste members look at the extension workers with suspicion and distrust and complain the government in planning to make the rich to get richer and thereby directly contributing to further economic deterioration of the lower levels.

If the workers associate themselves with the lower caste and underprivileged groups, they meet with coldness and even hostility from groups on the higher levels of the social hierarchy. Even the caste of the extension officer adversely affects his acceptance and also the success of the development programs. His behaviour is closely watched and any distortion from the traditional norms arouse interest and comment in the society.

The community development programs are also influenced by the role differentiations in terms of sex as well as kinship status and general socio religious status. Age in traditional India is the most important determinant of leadership. Age and experience are considered as necessary attributes of positions of leadership and influence. As a consequence of this norm, measures initiated by the project always need the blessings and support of the more tradition bound elders. Projects initiated and run by the younger age groups are viewed as temporary developments of minor significance and are rarely taken seriously by the community. This seriously affects the selection of the local agents of change and initiation of projects with long range effects.

An understanding of the levels of leadership and of the specific roles of different types of leaders is vital for the development programs. In the rural areas, certain types of persons having urban contacts, especially contacts with administration and political leaders, occupy a strategic position. Yet it would be a mistake to single them out as local agents of change to the exclusion of other levels of leadership. It is always the elite and individuals occupying existing positions of power, especially in elective offices which are looked upon by the common village people as a link between them and the urban world of

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administrators, politicians and businessmen and consequently they come to have a somewhat specialized role in village affairs. For the reasons of local prestige, the elite group identifies itself more with the officials and with city ways than with the villagers and traditional way of life. Because of this attitude they alienate the more traditionally minded villagers who do not accept their leadership. For the effective penetration to the grassroots, the promoters of change will have to find out the key individuals who function as decision makers.

Village factionalism often puzzles development workers and failure on their part to understand the group dynamics in the rural communities under their charge, often leads to the ultimate failure of their desirable and technically sound projects. By narrowing down their search for "village leaders" to function as the local agents of change and community development to the rural elite, the extension agents and development workers indirectly worked to restrict the appeal and benefits of their efforts to certain sections of the village populations only. As another outcome of this policy, in some villages of the development block certain sections of this favoured group developed some vested interests and tended to block those aspects of community development activities that appeared to them to be helpful to their rivals and antagonists in village affairs.

In the area of attitudes, values, worldview and social relations we come to grips with cultural determinants that shape the course of development projects and decide their outcome most powerfully.

In respect to attitudes, it is necessary to consider the village people's view of change.

1. Do they consider it necessary and desirable?
2. Do the people trust the promoters of change?
3. Do they have any misgivings about the promoters' motivation?
4. Does the community regard the individual development projects as useful and beneficial?
5. Do they find methods devised for their adoption by the community acceptable?

There is expectancy of change among significant sections of village people, although there is general uncertainty about its nature and outcome. However, regarding the promoters of change and their motivations, there are considerable misgivings. Very few people have grasped the national significance of the development plans. Some people read hidden political motives in these plans. To a large number of people this activity is nothing more than a passing fancy of the government to ensure success in the next elections.

The common view regarding the development workers is that they work to justify their salary, not for any motivation. The relations between the common village people and government officials are characterized by considerable distance, reserve and distrust. The people have little share in determining the development projects or in executing them, nor do they have too much of an opportunity of learning to do so.

Values play a major role in determining the people's attitude towards programs offered to them by the community development projects. The village people's code of family is dominated by ethics like working for the prosperity, well-being, good name and enhancement of prestige of the family. Programs contributing towards the material prosperity of the household are therefore taken up without much resistance. Several items of the agricultural extension programs have been accepted on the basis of their possible economic rewards. Education is regarded important in the rural communities and hence construction of schools gets appreciable support from the villagers.

The planner and promoters of development programs have to take the account of a number of other manifestations of culture. In the first place, it is not enough to look for the immediate cultural consequence of an innovation in one aspect of life; its extension into other spheres is equally important. Then its secondary and tertiary effects cannot be ignored. The vital cultural linkages existing between

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different aspects of life almost immediately carry the effects of an innovation to spheres other than the one in which the change was introduced.

It is also essential to watch the extreme selectivity and differential acceptance of the items of change offered by the development projects at different levels of the community. Closely allied to this factor is the tendency in cultures to reinterpret the preferred innovations in terms of the dominant themes and existing needs of the society. Usually there are selective trends in the acceptance of projects seeking to bring about modifications and changes in the society.

In the conclusion it may be said that in devising action programs of community development, especially in their educational aspects, it is necessary to keep in mind the cultural factors that vitally influence their acceptance or rejection by the people. Many programs are rejected not because the people are traditionally minded, conservative or "primitive" but because the innovations in all their ramifications do not fit into the total cultural setting of the community. A balanced and critical evaluation of the motivations and mechanism of the change in these societies, together with the analysis of the cultural determinants of acceptance and rejection, can provide fruitful insights towards better planning and execution of developmental programs.

When India attained independence, the climate was not propitious for anthropology. Anthropologists were held suspect because of their identification with the policy of exclusion and partial exclusion of tribes, which, according to nationalist opinion, was the manifestation of the imperialist policy, of divide and rule.

Those involved in tribal welfare were conscious of the need to understand tribal life and its problems in order to be able to formulate meaningful programs for their development and implement these programs effectively. For this, the Anthropological Survey of India came up.

In the first 27 years of independence, anthropology as a discipline has grown widely with 17 University Departments of anthropology, a dozen Tribal Research Institutes, a number of research organizations. Anthropology has gradually found some place in agricultural, medical and engineering fields. The discipline, once encased in the Tribal shell, and devoted almost exclusively to monographic tribal studies, began exploring new frontiers. Now the anthropologists have focussed their attention to rural studies, urban problems, and other sociological problems in India.

According to S.C. Dube, while planners and administrators must share the primary responsibility for the formulation and implementation of rural development projects, social scientist could give them invaluable help in the areas of social organizations, human relations, culture and values touched by the plan.

In this context, the role of the social scientist, especially the anthropologist, must essentially be viewed as that of an analyst and not that of a therapist. Dube sounds a necessary warning about the dangers in over selling anthropology and in making high sounding and impossible claims for them as science of "human engineering". But he rightly emphasizes the very useful role this discipline can play as important subsidiary to planners and administrators.

In the context of C.D., the role of anthropology is emphasized because of the following sociological assumptions the community development movement has:

1. Individuals, sections, groups and strata forming the village community have a large number of common interests, sufficiently strong to bind them together.
2. The interests of the various groups and classes within the village are both sufficiently alike and common to create general enthusiasm as well as a feeling of development for all.
3. The interests of the different sections of the community are not irreconcilably conflicting.
4. The state is a super class, impartial, non-partisan association and that the major policies of the

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government are of such a nature that they do not further sharpen the inequalities between the existing social groups.

5. People's initiative and enthusiasm and active participation are possible in the extant village communities because they have common interests.

It is only an anthropologist who can critically enquire as to whether these assumptions about the village communities in India and Indian State and its governmental policies are valid or not.

In the context of tribal development, we can say that anthropologists can help to identify the problems with tribal experience and point out the ways in which change can be introduced with least disruption of their culture and traditions. Whereas anthropologists have contributed to a greater extent on a majority of aspects, both in tribal and rural societies, they have not given considerable contribution to leadership studies. They have studied this problem from a limited angle. They have not found out the role of Panchayats, and who are the Panchayat leaders. However, the importance of understanding the community as a whole, its general cultural patterns and its social, economic and political structure is felt. This latter point is emphasizing the relevance of anthropology in development and policy.

In the context of methodology of the anthropologists, certain points have to be taken into consideration. Their attachment to foreign conceptual models and research tools has been pathetic. They have tended to work in areas that are at renowned centers of learning abroad, adopting their conceptual framework and methodological apparatus without any serious consideration of their Indian context. Of course, they do not have to reject a conceptual framework or a research technique only because it is "foreign", but they have to ensure, at the same time, that their attachment to it does not obscure from their view the problems that really need to be investigated, and that it does not circumscribe their thinking on the subject and compel them to use tools of doubtful utility.

In any scientific endeavour, the researchers should not be dogmatic to use only his own concepts and methods, but they must guard against their minds being conditioned in a manner that distracts them from issues of national relevance and inhibits the evolution of methods appropriate to the Indian setting. The methodological development will give sufficient means to the anthropologists to show their utility in different social program.

The following points can be borne in mind for future course of action, especially in different applied fields.

1. The anthropologists should not be too rigid from the angle of his discipline. In the world today, the problems to be investigated matter much more than the disciplinary labels under which research is conducted. These problems are best investigated through interdisciplinary perspectives and research procedures.

2. One of the basic weaknesses is that they are not asking the right questions. This emanates partly from their dependence on foreign models and partly from their tendency to initiate the fashion of the day. Before plunging into research they should clarify themselves sufficiently that the subject taken up is the real problem of the society.

3. On the basis of the micro studies they should go for macro generalization and not micro generalization, which leads the researcher into wrong solution and proposition.

4. There is a lot of demand for the autonomy of academic pursuits. One could certainly do so if one did not expect any support from public funds, but once public funds are introduced the principle of social accountability becomes operative. It is certain that barren academic exercise is not the purpose of social sciences; for it has to be socially relevant and useful. The esoteric cult attitude has led anthropology to its present predicament in India. On the one hand anthropologists lament their neglect in the policy-making processes of the country, on the other, in response to every significant question they demand time and money for more research. This offers little comfort to planners.

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When money is eventually found for further research there are no policy oriented analyses and propositions.

5. There is a regrettable absence of meaningful social criticism. Some intellectuals maintain a posture of permanent dissent; others appear to be perpetually angry. Dissent and anger have their utility, but they are not the only functions of the intellectual. It is not enough for a social scientist to proclaim that everything is going wrong. For that is easy and does not require any social science vision. Social science research has to pin point the areas in which things are not happening the way they should and it must seek to explore why and how that is so. Hopefully, it should be able to suggest what can be done to improve the situation.

6. The institution should be developed on the basis of problem solving. The institution like Anthropological Survey of India has not made the impact that was expected of. The other tribal research organizations are still going on finding out the primitive way of life of the tribals not the problems concerning the tribal population in India.

Indian anthropology must be relevant and committed anthropology. It should be relevant in the sense of taking account of critical problems and of nation building and economic research with vigour and determination to enlarge the vision of the policy maker in regard to issues and problems that need to be attended with a sense of urgency.

If anthropology has to adopt and play such a role it will also have to take steps to ensure its inner growth by enlarging and sharpening its analytical and explanatory capabilities.

The most important problem before our country toady is that of transforming a capitalist agrarian structure into a modern industrial one. In doing so, this anthropology can indicate hopefully, the means by which the ills of imbalances and disharmonies that have permitted the existence of poverty in the midst of plenty.

Anthropological research will have to relate itself to the diverse problems of poverty, in their widest ramifications and in depth. They shall have to concentrate attention on the weaker sections of the population, especially on the STs and SCs, whose welfare and development are a constitutional obligation of the Government. The SCs and STs are by no means the only weaker sections of this country. There are many others who are equally poor and exploited and who do not even have the protection that has been accorded to the two segments mentioned above. What about them? They also have to rise above subhuman levels of existence. Do we have any studies on their problems? Even after 48 years of independence these poorer sections are far below the mainstream of the Indian society.

To conclude, what we are suggesting is a relevant anthropology, which concerns itself with the major challenges facing Indian society today and involves itself in shaping the future with rapid economic growth. As Gunnar Myrdal has opined "the socially irrelevant social science was existing and will not exist simply, it will fade away in the course of time".

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9.3 Contributions of Anthropology to the Understanding of Regionalism, Communalism and Ethnic and Political Movements

Regionalism

Regionalism in the context of Indian Society is simply the lack of a commonality of ideals and aspirations, of shared emotional bonds and values. It is the anti-thesis of nationalism i.e. a feeling of nation against communalism, linguistism, regionalism and other disintegrative forces. In this perspective, nationalism is not seen as a force for the good of all nor is there a positive valuation to the idea of nationalism.

Regionalism in India is rooted in the structure of its society and geography. The factors within the structure of Indian society and geography, which have aided the development of regionalism, can be analyzed at different levels. A brief analysis is attempted below.

Human Diversity: India is characterized by a plurality of people divided in terms of caste, religion, race and class. The plural society of India is organized into a hierarchical social order comprising of groups and individuals with unequal status with somewhat varied backgrounds. People are therefore grouped into primordial categories based on religion, language, caste etc. This kind of grouping helps the people within a group to exploit the group ties to get the largest share of whatever resources available that are available in the country. Besides, the material benefits accruing out of groupings into primordial categories, the individuals within a particular group derive some form of common identity and emotional security. Thus, there is supposed to be a feeling of oneness within the group, however narrowly it may be defined. In addition, even within the apparently large homogeneous groups, there is clear stratification. For e.g., the Hindus are a majority in India constituting around 82% of the population but the scheduled castes enumerated as Hindus, do not share the Hindu identity in the true sense of the term. National integration in India is generally seen in terms of the problems and aspirations of the minority groups but there is no agreed definition of the term minority. Even within the Hindu society, it is difficult to designate precisely a caste or community as a majority or a minority. The Parsis and Jains are very small minorities but they enjoy certain economic and social privileges, which even caste Hindus, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, and Muslims do not. Minorities therefore, cannot be defined in terms of numbers since communities are differentiated socially, economically and politically. In fact, it is these differences, which are causes for the violence and conflict in the village community. Thus, even a particular religion cannot be a vehicle for fostering brotherhood among its believers. Hence, in a multi-religious, multi-caste and multi-lingual society like India, it is not possible to formulate common values for people of all religions, especially because of the fact that the majority community tends to overshadow other religions. Thus, multiplicity of religions and the hierarchy of organization on the basis of religion and caste is a material factor in the Indian society for the development of regionalism.

Language, a product of religion and ethnicity is a major factor for the growth of the regional sentiment. In a multi-lingual society like India, linguistic diversity in terms of regional and national languages and dialects tends to divide the country into areas, sub-areas and sub-sub-areas. The peculiar problem of language in India is that even national languages are regional in scope. Language is a sensitive issue since it is a source of identity and a means of expressing one's ideas. Accepting Hindi as a national language is perceived as suppression of Dravidian and other languages or, is seen as the cultural hegemony of Hindi speakers of the North. The growth of regional sentiment based on language and culture is clearly seen in the formation of regional parties like the D.M.K., T.D.P., Shiv Sena, whose declared aim is to protect the regional culture and, who attempts to establish the supremacy of regional

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cultures over national values. Formation of new states has even been demanded on the basis of such cultural and ethnic identities as for example, the demand for Bodoland in the Northeast.

Economic Roots of Regionalism: The growth and development of regional sentiment is clearly related to the scare resources in context of growing numbers, a situation which makes people to resort to primordial group identities to corner more benefits. A major factor for the growth of the regional sentiment is the level of economic development achieved in different regions. The demand for Jharkhand is the manifestation of economic underdevelopment of the tribal tract of Santhal Paraganas and Chotanagpur region of Bihar. The tribals constitute only 30% of the population and the remaining 70% are non-tribals locally called Dikkus. This tribal region accounts for nearly 70% of the revenue of Bihar because of its mineral wealth. However, the tribal region is itself underdeveloped with poor power supply, poor infrastructure and inadequate education of the tribals. The region contributing nearly 70 % to Bihar's treasury gets only 10% of funds for development and even this is misused. The funds for the tribal sub-plan are misused. Thus, the tribals feel that they are being exploited and are hence demanding a separate Jharkhand State carved out of the region. On the contrary, the separatist and even secessionist movement in Punjab is because of the overdevelopment of the region. The result is that the dominantly Sikh population of Punjab is reluctant to share the prosperity with other regions of the country. Thus, inadequate development and exploitation of tribals are at the root of development of regional sentiment as manifest in Gorkhaland, Bodoland, and the `foreigners' problem in Assam.

Social Roots: The growth of regional sentiment has to do with the so-called "identity-crisis", being faced by some communities. Identity crises is a feeling of alienness in a particular society. However, identity crisis is a inequity between people. Thus, a feeling of inferiority, smallness and repression creeps into some communities because of poor economic condition, backwardness of education and other spheres while at the same time, other communities may have a feeling of being dominant on several counts such as numerical strength, economic standing or political power. Thus, the feeling of alienness leads to the growth of a strong regional sentiment and can manifest in "sons of soil" movement in Telangana region of A.P., Assam, Bengal and Karnataka. A good example of conflict due to identity crisis is that of killing of Marwaris in Bolangir district of Orissa by champions of sons of soil.

Political and Administrative Factors: The political and administrative trends have also contributed to the growth of division in the society. Political parties and politicians divide the society and mobilise the people by appealing to pre-modern units like caste and religion for narrow political purposes. For e.g. the B.J.P. is seeking to enlarge its space by embarking upon consolidation of Hindus. In India, the election results are determined to a lesser or greater extent by mobilising people on caste and communal lines. Sectarian, religious, communal leaders influence the voting pattern. A good example in the recent past is the call given by Imam Bukhari, the religious head of Muslims in India to vote for the Janata Dal in the 1990 elections. There is a leadership crisis and clear or absence of enlightened leadership; leaders articulate economic and social problems as cultural and religious problems to consolidate their parties that further divide the country. Administrative problems like boundary disputes, riparian disputes, and language policies lend strength to regional forces.

Geographic Roots: In a small way, geographic features of India have fostered the growth of regional sentiment. The inaccessibility of the northeast, its hilly terrain has made economic development of the region a little difficult. Even though blessed with abundant waters of the Brahmaputra, the region cannot harness it for developmental activity because of geographic limitation; consequently, the economic development has been relatively slowed down. In addition, the shelter afforded by the region with its hilly terrain has led to the preservation of the regional ethnicity for a long period of time. As a result,

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isolated from mainstream India the region has come to have its own regional personality and hence the development of a strong regional sentiment. Similarly, the underdevelopment of Kashmir is partly because of its geographic setting. Thus, a peculiar feature of Indian society is the territorial grouping of certain ethnic groups leading to regionalism.

Historical Factors: The colonial policy of dividing the people is yet another contributory factor for the continued division of Indian society. The British, in order to consolidate their imperial hold, were able to create cleavages between Hindus and Muslims by exaggerating the linguistic, regional, cultural and historical differences. The British sowed the seed of unequal development of the two communities leading to disintegration of the subcontinent. The division of the country in 1947 was not the end of the problem as the two communities have been at loggerheads from time to time even at the slightest provocation on either side. Ahmedabad, Bhiwandi, Ranchi, Aligarh, Meerut, Surat, Ahmedabad are a testimony to this continued acrimony. In addition to their policy of divide and rule, the colonial government followed the "policy of isolation". This policy involves the isolation of some parts of the sub-continent either to maintain the cultural identity of the area or for a special governance of the area because of the primitive level of the people's thinking. This policy eventually led to a feeling of being neglected and later on developed into numerous revitalization movements, especially in the tribal population, with sub-nationalistic overtones.

Communalism

Communalism or communal ideology consists of three basic elements or stages, one following the other. First, it is the belief that people who follow the same religion have common secular interests, i.e., common political, economic social and cultural interests. This is the bedrock of communal ideology.

The second element of communal ideology rests on the notion that in a multi-religious society like India, the secular interests, i.e., the social, cultural, economic and political interests of the followers of one religion are dissimilar and divergent from the interests of the followers of another religion.

The third stage of communalism is reached when interests of the followers of the different religions or different `communities' are seen to be mutually incompatible, antagonistic and hostile. Thus, the communalists asserts that Hindus and Muslims or Hindus and Sikhs `cannot' have common secular interests, and that their secular interests are bound to be opposed to each other. Communal violence is a conjunctural consequence of communal ideology. Similarly, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian communalisms are not very different from each other; they are varieties of the same communal ideology.

Growth of communalism in India is a relatively recent development. Communalism emerged as a consequence of the emergence of modern politics, which marked a sharp break with the politics of medieval or pre-1857 period. Traditionally, Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs constituted three important religious communities in India. All throughout the Indian history the average members of Hindu and Muslim or Hindu and Sikh community have lived as good neighbours and maintained cordial relations. Although, in case of Hindus and Muslims there did exist restrictions on commensality and inter-marriage. But such restrictions did not come in the way for co-operation for common economic, political or social objectives.

However, the situation started changing after 1857. The defeat of the Mutineers and the establishment of British rule throughout India after 1857 was a disastrous blow to the position of Muslims in the country. They fell from the privileged status of ruling class and rapidly sank into poverty and backwardness. The deliberate British policy of discriminating against the Muslims hastened their decline. On the other hand,

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the growth of education and the new opportunities in bureaucracy, trade and commerce benefited the Hindus who took the modern education and were preferred by the British in government employment while the Muslims were deliberately excluded. The exclusion of the Muslims was due to two reasons:

1. Muslims were rather slow to take modern education because of the strong hold of Islamic tradition.
2. There was a policy of systematic suppression of the Indian Muslims by the British because of the deep distrust which had grown against Muslims due their role in the 1857 uprising.

The inevitable result of this deprivation was that a deep sense of frustration and strong resentment against the British filled the minds of Indian Muslims. Further, the artisans and craftsmen in the urban areas, majority of whom happened to be Muslims, were ruined by the trade policies of the British.

However, towards the end of the 19th century, the policy of the British towards the Muslims changed. Fearing the rising tide of Indian nationalism, especially after the formation of Indian National Congress, the British adopted the policy of organizing Muslim communalism as a counter-weight to Indian nationalism. Thus, the further growth of Hindu and Muslim communalism was to a large extent the result of the deliberate policy of `Divide and Rule' followed by the British. As Mahatma Gandhi declared at the Second Round Table Conference, the problem of communalism was `co-evil with the British advent'.

Mr. Beck, the first principal of Sir Sayyid's `MAO` college played an important role in creating a sense of distrust and fear of Hindu majority in the minds of Muslim leaders. He was also instrumental in the establishment of `Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association' in 1893 with himself as one of the Secretaries. The association aimed at protection and promotion of the political rights of the Muslim community. The partition of Bengal in 1905 was another step towards creating a divide among India on communal lines.

Later on, when Constitutional Reforms were introduced in 1909 the then Viceroy Lord Minto encouraged some of the Muslim leaders to demand separate electorates and in his correspondence with the Secretary of State, Lord Morley, the Viceroy repeatedly insisted that separate electorates would alone satisfy Muslim interests. Thus, the second stage of communalism, whereby different religious communities view their secular interest as mutually exclusive, was reached by the time separate electorates were awarded by the Morley-Minto Reforms. In the words of Ashok Mehta and Achyut Patwardhan, `the communal and separatist tendencies were sedulously cultivated and adroitly exploited to insure the safety of the British Raj. Other factors, which contributed to the rise of separatism, include absence of an educated middle class among the Muslims with modern secular outlook.

Further, the attitude and policies of some of the Indian nationalist leaders also contributed to the rising tide of communalism. The extremist leaders like Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Lajpat Rai - were not only great patriots, they were also staunch Hindus and in order to mobilise the Indian masses to fight against the British they often appealed to the Hindus religious symbols, e.g., revival of Ganesh worship by Tilak, and reinterpretation of the Indian history in a religiously biased manner as can be seen in the glorification of Shivaji vis-a-vis Aurangzeb. The `Shudhi' movement launched by Arya Samaj with which Lala Lajpat Rai was closely associated, also antagonised the Muslims. Thus, inadvertently some of the nationalist leaders contributed to the widening communal divide. Further, the spread of education to well-off peasants and small landlords extended the boundaries of job seeking middle class to rural areas. The newly educated rural youth could not be sustained by land as agriculture was totally stagnant because of the colonial impact. They flocked to the towns and cities for openings in government jobs through the system of communal reservations and nominations. Thus, communalism was also an

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expression of the interest and aspirations of the middle class in a social situation in which opportunities for them were grossly inadequate. The main appeal of the communalism and its main social base also lay among the middle classes. It is however, important to note that quite a large number of middle class individuals remained on the whole, free of communalism even as late as 1930s. This is true of all, whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh.

Some other factors also contributed to the growth of communalism, e.g., in Bengal, due to historical reasons, it happened that the peasantry was predominantly Muslim while the landlords were mainly Hindus. Due to the cultural backwardness of the peasantry it was not difficult for the communalists to misrepresent any real economic conflict between Muslim tenants and Hindu landlords as a communal conflict and subsequently even convert it into a communal conflict. Similarly, conflict between money-lenders who were often Hindus and Muslim debtors were sometimes mis-represented as oppression of the Muslims by the Hindus and give a communal turn by the communalists. Although, Gandhi made an attempt to unite the two communities by adopting the cause of the `Khilafat' movement but later, abrupt withdrawal of non-cooperation movement by him after the violence of `Chauri-Chaura' disenchanted the Muslims. Thus, clashes took place in various parts of the country after the withdrawal of non-cooperation movement.

During this period, number of communal organisations had come into existence among Hindus and Muslims like for e.g., the first session of All India Hindu Mahasabha was held in 1915 while All India Muslim League had already been founded in 1907 under the leadership of Zamindars, ex-bureaucrats, and upper class Muslims like Agha Khan, the Nawab of Dhaka and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. The Hindu as well as Muslim communalists tried to create the psychological fear among Hindus and Muslims - the fear of being deprived, surpassed, threatened, and even exterminated. Thus, Hindu Mahasabha talked of its objectives as `maintenance, protection and promotion of Hindu race, Hindu culture and Hindu civilisation for the advancement of `Hindu Rashtra', and Arya Samaj launched the `Sanghathana' and `Shudhi' movement among the Hindus. This was retaliated by `Tanzeem' and `Tabligh' movement among the Muslims.

Communalism remained restrained and moderate phenomena till 1937 when it increasingly started assuming a virulent and extremist form. The election of 1937 showed that majority of both Hindu and Muslim masses were non-communal and did not extend their support to either Hindu Mahasabha or the Muslim League. Failure to secure mass support by the communalists drove them to extremist positions. This was partly to prompt the Congress programme of a massive campaign among the Muslim masses, known as Muslim Mass Contact Programme. Thus, Jinnah openly advocated the need for creation of Pakistan `to save Islam from complete annihilation in this country'. The Muslim communalists launched a vicious campaign against the nationalist Muslims and the Congress. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and other Nationalist Muslims were branded as show-boys of Congress and Traitors to Islam and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was held responsible by Jinnah for emasculation of the martial Pathans.

On the Hindu side, V.D.Savarkar and M.S.Golwarkar fanned the communal fire. The bitter harvest of this campaign of fear and hatred carried on by both the Hindu and Muslim communalists was reaped by the people in Calcutta, killings of August 1946, in which over 5,000 people lost their lives within 5 days, in the butchery of Hindus in Noakhali in Bengal and of Muslims in Bihar, the carnage of partition riots and the assassination of Gandhiji by a communal fanatic.

Even after independence, the virus of communalism did not die and the post-independence developments of last 45 years have shown that the problem of communalism continues to remain in India and is growing day by day. In fact, the instances of communal riots in Meerut, Delhi, Moradabad, Aligarh,

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Ahmedabad, Bombay, Hyderabad and numerous other places are far too many to be counted and described. The new face of communalism is showing itself in the growth of separatist movement among the Sikhs leading to continuing terrorist violence over last 10 years in Punjab and along with religious communalism, caste based communalism is also becoming a recurrent feature of Indian society. Recent riots in Vijayawada, Tamil Nadu etc., are a pointer to this new trend.

The reason for continuation of communalism after independence and its new manifestations can be traced to the nature of Indian policy, economy and society. Functioning of a modern democratic political system in a traditional society divided among caste and religious communities has contributed to the growth of communal politics. The pre-condition for the smooth functioning of liberal democratic system is secularization of social life and liberation of individuals from the hold of corporate groups like caste, family, state or religion as is manifested in the ideology of individualism. In India, the democratic political system was adopted because of the preferences of the westernized political elite represented by Nehru, without a corresponding modernization of social life as manifested in the principles of individualism and secularism and the growth of political parties based on secular ideology and participatory civic culture. The competitive electoral politics forms the legitimate means for access to political power in a democratic system. However, in the absence of effective party machinery for the political mobilization of the masses, the political leadership has often appealed to the caste and religious sentiments of the people to gain electoral support. Thus, religion and caste have become new means for political mobilization and has acquired a new lease of life. As can be seen from the politicization of Shri Ram Janma Bhumi Vs. Babri Masjid issue or the policy of reservation for Backward Classes. Moreover, rapid and uneven economic development and disproportionate growth of cities has led to the growth of religious fundamentalism among all religious communities. The uneven development of cities had led to growth of mass poverty on one hand and unprecedented affluence among a small section of the elite. Often, the economic grievances of the poorer sections of the majority communities are given a communal interpretation by political leadership to further their own political interests. Thus, compulsions of electoral politics in an unevenly grown economy and traditional society have contributed to the continuation of communalism among various religious and caste communities.

Communalism Vs Secularism: Secularism implies two things - A secular state and a secular society. A secular state, according to Donald Smith is one "which guarantees the individual corporate freedom of religion, deals with the individual as a citizen irrespective of his religion, is not constitutionally connected to a particular religion, nor does it seek to promote or interfere with the religion".

On the other hand, a secular society is the one which has undergone a process of religious secularisation whereby religious thinking, practises and institutions lose social significance. Thus secularism involves a thorough going psychological transformation and a change of attitudes accompanied with change in the nature of belief systems and institutions.

Emergence of secular society in the west has been a consequence of the growth of modern industrial mode of production and advancement of scientific knowledge. While growth of scientific knowledge leads to a decline of cognitive functions of religion and the scientific world, rise of modern industrial societies have been accompanied with a process of structural differentiation whereby various parts of the society and their functions become increasingly specialised being based on esoteric knowledge. As a result of this, religious ideas and norms can no longer serve as the fountain of all embracing knowledge to govern the functioning of these parts nor can the religious norms serve as a means of social control. Thus religion looses its hold over various fields of social activities such as politics, economy, education,

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medicine and law etc. The civil authority based on secular and scientific knowledge comes to replace religion, as an agency for social regulation and control.

However, this trend towards decline of the hold of religion on social affairs does not imply disappearance of religion. Religion survives and even grows, but, its role and the nature of religious organization undergoes change. As Peter Berger says, the extreme complexity of the social structure of the industrial society renders the religious beliefs implausible so far as social relations between individuals and groups are concerned. But, given the problem of anomie and alienation in modern society and inability of science to answer the fundamental questions of human existence, the need for religion continues to be felt. Religion continues to be the means to answer the imponderables of human existence and thus satisfies the personal needs of the individual. This process of religious transformation has been termed as privatization of religion whereby religion becomes a purely private or personal affair. While in the social realm, religion ceases to be the main source from which social values, goals and norms of social action emanate. By adopting rational and scientific procedures, a secular society chalks out alternative paths of social action.

The situation in third world societies is however different. In the course of modernization they are being transformed from `sacred society' to `secular society'. However, in most third world societies the process of the modernization has taken place in an uneven manner leading to a state of anomie due to polynormativism. These societies represent a social situation characteristic of what Fred Riggs has termed as `prismatic societies'. Uneven growth of modern industries and scientific, secular education has led to the continuation of religious belief and practices and the hold of religion on social life continues to be strong especially in the rural areas and among the migrant population in the urban areas. On the other hand, the political elite have sought to establish secularization largely through legislative fiats without a corresponding change in the social life. Given the state of anomie as manifested in the coexistence of economic prosperity and backwardness, widening economic inequalities, increasing political corruption, and rise in the crime rate, especially in the urban areas due to over urbanization etc., has led to the rise of religious fundamentalism.

Further, increasing recourse to religion for political mobilization has also strengthened religious institutions and fundamentalist beliefs. Thus, while the institutional norms governing the state and society preach secularism, the existential reality is characterized by the growth of religious fundamentalism and inter-religious conflict. A similar situation is to be found in Indian society too.

Secularism in India: Historically, India has been a land of plurality of powerful religious sects. So religious tolerance has been one of the traditional social values in India, since without it, the existence of an ordered society would have been impossible. The secular tradition as manifested in the religious tolerance can be traced back to the time of Ashoka. Even the Muslim rulers did not intervene in the religious life of people except for the occasional imposition of Jajiya by Mughal emperors like Aurangzeb.

Even the East India Company pursued the same policy of religious tolerance and non-interference in religious conflicts, although, some Christian missionaries did start proselyting activities. However, later on, the British administrators did initiate measures of socio-religious reforms like abolition of sati, introduction of secular education through English medium, legislations regarding widow re-marriage and inter-caste marriage etc. Number of Indians influenced by western education also propagated these socio-religious reforms.

The new political elite, which emerged as a result of western education, acquired a secular outlook. However, some of the important leaders of Indian National Congress like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin

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Chahdra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh and later on, Lala Lajpat Rai and Madan Mohan Malaviya remained staunch Hindu and o..en used Hindu religious symbols, (like popularization of Ganesh worship by Tilak), for the purpose of political mobilization. Similarly, certain activities of revivalist Hindu sects like the Suddhi movement by Arya Samaj etc., contributed to mutual fear and suspicion among Hindus and Muslims which was further accentuated by the British policy of `Divide and Rule' where by Muslim communalist leaders belonging to Muslim League, were encouraged to demand the separate electorate. Thus the introduction of electoral politics in India led to the strengthening of the religious identities and decline of religious tolerance, which finally culminated into partition of the country, accompanied with the communal carnage.

In post independent India the new state was created on secular principles. Thus the Constitution guarantees individual and corporate freedom of religion (articles 25, 26 and 30). It deals with the individual as a citizen irrespective of his religion (articles 14, 15 and 16). Further, it is not constitutionally connected with any particular religion nor does it seek to promote or interfere with any particular religion. (Although, abolition of untouchability under article 17, prohibition of cow slaughter under article 48 and rules passed by the state governments banning the slaughter of animal and the sale of meat on certain days looked upon as sacred by Hindus, and prohibiting the playing of the band while a procession passes by a mosque are not really secular). Similarly, state sponsored celebration of religious occasions like centenary celebrations of various religious saints and broadcasting devotional songs of Hinduism and other religion by AIR and transmission of epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata through Television are not strictly secular activities according to the definition given by Donald Smith. Moreover, legislations like Hindu Marriage Act and Civil Rights Act etc., have also been attacked by some as state interference in religion. However, Justice Gajendra Gadkar has justified these legal enactments on the basis that in a secular society personal law has to be based on rational and secular considerations. Thus it is argued that even minorities like Muslims should also recognize the importance of having uniform civil code for the whole country. On the whole, it can be said that the Indian state is based on secular principles and its policies are guided by liberal, egalitarian and humanitarian principles as can be seen from the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of the state policy. Further, the citizens enjoy complete freedom of religion.

However, at the societal level, secularization of social life leading to decline in the hold of religion in social affairs, growth of rational, scientific outlook and development of `this worldly outlook' to replace the religious `other worldliness' and the decline of the notions of the purity and pollution etc., have not become a characteristic of the society as a whole. Growth of these modern secular attitudes is confined largely to the urban areas and only among the Western educated middle classes. Otherwise, Indian society remains deeply steeped in religion.

Given the compulsions of competitive electoral politics in an immature democracy, lacking a stable party system, religion has come to be frequently used as a means for political mobilization, thus strengthening the religious identities and outlooks.

Anomic situation obtaining due to uneven development and perpetuation of inequalities have also strengthened the fundamentalist forces. Thus with the process of modernization the traditional institutions like religion are being increasingly strengthened and secularism in social life is increasingly becoming a distant goal. Just as modern political system strives to modernize the traditional society, so also the traditional social system tries to traditionalize the modern political system. Thus religion is increasingly becoming inseparable from politics whereby political leaders, including those occupying constitutional offices, freely lend support to growth of religious consciousness leading to communal

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divide and communal conflict. The communal riots in Meerut, Muradabad, Aligarh, Hyderabad, Bombay, Delhi and continuing religious terrorism in Punjab over last 10 years are the manifestations of the growth of religious consciousness and decline of secularism in society. The recent politicization of "Babri Masjid Vs. Rama Janma Bhoomi" issue and spread of religious terrorism to Jammu and Kashmir are further indicators of growing communalism as a result of religion based politics and they are the pointers to a gloomy future for the growth of secularism in Indian society. Thus, Indian secularism has come to mean the freedom of religion in society, but, not freeing of society from religion.

Ethnic and Political Movements

Ethnicity refers to the interrelationships between ethnic groups. Ethnic group is a cultural group whose members either share some or all of the following features - a common language, region, religion, race, customs and beliefs. Ethnicity also refers to the interaction between culture groups operating within common social contexts.

Ethnic identity reflects both "likeness" and "Uniqueness". On the one hand, it reflects on what the members of an ethnic group hold in common, at the same time differentiation them from other ethnic group.

Clifford Geertz, an American Anthropologist has stated that there is a need to build a nation where essence of unity overrides all the loyalties. If there is problem even in the sub division of a country, there would be civil discontent which will lead to revolution and the downfall of the Governments themselves. This discontent, according to Geertz, comes from the "Primordial Sentiments" of the people. The people employ these ethnic sentiments to raise a political movement, which shows the discontent among them. Primordial sentiments are all those which come to an individual through birth. These are the phenomena like caste, language, religion, etc.

Primordial discontent is caused by ethnic conflicts like regional conflict, language conflict etc. The actual foci around which these discontents tend to get crystallized are many. Most important of them are discussed here.

1. **Assumed Blood Ties:** Here the defining element is "quasi" kinship, because the kin relations are formed around unknown biological relationship. These units are most tradition bound and regard them as having more than limited significance, and the referent is, consequently to a notion of untraceable but yet sociologically real kinship as in a tribe. Nigeria, the Congo, and the greater part of sub-Saharan Africa are characterized by this kind of primordialism. So also the nomads of Middle East, the Khurds, Baluchis, the Pathans and so on. The Nagas, the Mundas, and Santhals of India and most of the Hill tribes of South East Asia, also reveal this sentiment.

2. **Race:** Race is similar to assumed kinship, in that it involves the ethno-biological theory. But it is not quite the same thing. Here, the reference is to the phenotypical physical features especially the skin colour, facial form, stature and so on, rather than any very definite sense of common descent as such.

3. **Language:** Linguism is particularly intense in the Indian Sub-continent and also Malaya, Indonesian Islands etc. As already mentioned, the separation of the states into linguistic regions is a case of a cultural frontier being translated as a political frontier.

4. **Region:** Regionalism naturally tends to be especially trouble some in geographically heterogeneous areas. For example, Vietnam, East and West Pakistan, Indonesia etc. The tension involves differences in languages and culture, but the geographic element is of great prominence owing to territorial discontinuity of the country.

5. **Religion:** Indian partition is the outstanding case of the operation of this kind. Burma, Indonesia, Philippines, Pakistan are the other countries which suffer from the religion oriented conflicts.

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6. **Custom**: Differences in custom form a basis for a certain amount of national disunity almost every where and are of a special significance in those cases where an intellectually and artificially rather sophisticated group sees itself as the bearer of a civilization amid a largely barbarian population that could be well advised to model itself upon.

Primordial sentiments come to an individual by birth. Once an individual is born all the sentiments are attributed to him through socialization. People coming from the same language, religion and region are not bound by any personal affection or by common interests, but by some absolute and unaccountable inputs which tie them together. The corporate sentiment results when a particular group fells politically discriminated and this political suffocation will result in a revolt under the banner of caste and they fight for a separate nation or a state. This is what is referred to as a Ethno-Political Movement.

Certain general features can be observed from the study of Ethno-political movements in India. The Ethno-political movements are a consequence of organized bodies. For the conflict to become a public issue, usually the organized bodies, which are backed by political parties, have to come to the fore. Thus communal bodies become institutionalized.

Ethnic movements indicate that whatever be the manifest cause - language, region or religion - the latent cause is not rooted in cultural disparity. Conflicting economic and political interests form the basis of the latent cause. The tensions generally arise when a minority group feels deprived of an equal position in either the economic or political sphere as compared to the majority group uses the primary ties to motivate and activate their ethnic group against the dominant group. For instance, the Hindu-Sikh conflict is between peoples who are not culturally different, but rather are well-assimilated groups. Thus, we may say, that ethnic conflicts or movements arise not because of common goals but because of conflicting interests.

The allegiance or the basis of group loyalty depends on the principle of mutual interest. For instance, during the 1972 Assam riots, the Bengali Muslims, who share cultural similarities with Bengali Hindus did not side with them, instead they supported the Assamese exchange of not being ousted form their land, by the politically active Assamese.

A coherent and effective response to ethnic conflicts has to keep in mind, the common as well as the unique factors, which account for clashes between groups of people. Some insist that so long as economic inequalities exist, such clashes are bound to persist. Since it is not easy to end economic disparities between people, ethnic conflicts will also not be easy to stop.

More about ethnic and political movement can be found in the relevant chapter elsewhere in this volume.

National Integration

National integration is a state of accommodation among different groups: ethnic, caste, linguistic and regional. It is a state in which group identity is in harmony with national identity Pluralism with cohesiveness is an indicator of national integration. In the early stage of post-independent history, political consolidation was considered an effective step towards national integration. The government initiated various measures like reform and welfare legislation, abolition of untouchability and land reforms, abolition of privy purses and bank nationalisation to subserve the interests of all, territorial reorganisation of states in 1956, protective and positive discrimination to minorities etc.

Thus, national integration was understood not simply in terms of avoidance or resolution of conflict but as a process of development and egalitarianism. Both political and socio-economic measures were taken to neutralise cleavages of various sorts between different sections.

The constitutional provisions providing various safeguards for different ethnic and regional groups, protection of cultural, religious and customary practices by constitution, the provisions for amity and harmony, establishment of Planning Commission to secure balanced regional development, National

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Development Council and even the National Integration Council are efforts made to achieve national unity and harmony.

The other measures taken are the three language formula, setting up of the inter-state council, special administrative procedures for tribal and scheduled areas like the north-east, a centralised media network, uniform system of secular education, development of integrative defence forces as against British policy to have Gurkha, Sikh regiments, N.S.S. and N.C.C. and decentralisation of power. Thus, the strategy is economic development and distributive justice, besides secularisation of the society.

Suggestions: Though there are centrifugal forces that tend to promote regionalism, the centripetal forces, which stress the unity of the country, like our cultural heritage and broad cultural unity should be emphasised. The concept of nationhood, the elements of culture that are our common heritage should be constantly defined and identified. The elements, which weave these concepts into a multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-ethnic society, are: secular education; inculcation of reverence towards nation's geography and history and the national flag. The mass media and political leaders/parties should reinforce these values.

1. We have to assume protection to various minorities and their cultural identities apart from various minority religious faiths. The crux of the problem of minorities is to identify minorities not only in terms of numbers and ethnic background, but also in terms of the socio-economic position of the people and their political and social aspirations. This should be followed by application of the principle of distributive justice to reduce the inequalities and discriminations and to bring about egalitarianism.

2. A little more emotion should be put in the study of history and geography in our schools so that every Indian can be made proud of his identity and Indian history. Nothing should come in the way of imbibing the constitution right from schools.

3. Certain uniformity in the system of education with a curriculum on India's past written with greater imagination can do wonders.

4. Public sector units and big industrial houses (private) should follow a policy of all India selection.

5. Expansion of employment opportunities across states with very little emphasis on "sons of soil" thesis. Reservation policy should not be carried beyond absurdity.

6. Composite police forces in communally disturbed areas to install a sense of confidence among minorities.

7. Code of conduct for political parties ensuring that they do not aggravate existing differences or create hatred between castes and communities.

8. The problems of ethnic groups/minorities should be tackled on a priority basis.

Thus "National Integration" is a composite concept having several dimensions: social, cultural, economic, political and religious. It also depends upon the contextual position of a particular group in the national or regional setting. India has a long history of continuity of specific traditions, religious and cultural attitudes, values and ideas. In spite of the differences among people, a certain level of unity, harmony and cohesion among different sections of the society can be achieved by ensuring certain minimum institutional mechanisms and infrastructural facilities for the less advantaged and the weaker sections.

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