OCCASSIONAL PAPER

2011, No. 2

Tribes and Social Exclusion

By

Virginius Xaxa

Department of Sociology, Delhi School of Economics,

Delhi University

Tribes and Social Exclusion

By

Virginius Xaxa[1]

One of the marked features in terms of which tribes in India came to be conceptualized is geographical and social isolation from the larger Indian society. This meant they were conceptualized in relation to the larger Indian society and not in relation to stage of their social formation. That explains as to why wide ranges of groups/communities at different level of social formation have all come to be identified and defined as tribes.

By virtue of the fact that tribes lived in isolation from the larger Indian society they enjoyed autonomy of governance over the territory they occupied. They held control over the land, forest and other resources and governed themselves in terms of their own laws, traditions and customs. Notwithstanding that they were not without interaction with the outside world. This interaction has been differently conceptualized among the scholars. Sinha, for example, has viewed tribes as a dimension of little tradition which cannot be adequately understood unless it is seen in relation to the great tradition (Sinha 1958). As against this, Béteille sees tribes more as a matter of remaining outside of state and civilization ((Béteille 1986). But even when tribes have been living outside of state and civilization, they were not outside the influence of the civilization. Hence at this stage of their social and political formation it would not be appropriate to discuss tribes in social exclusion terms in relation to the larger Indian society.

The advent of the British rule was however different. There was, to begin with, incorporation of tribes into colonial state structure through war, conquest and annexation. This was followed by introduction of new and uniform civil and criminal laws as well as setting up of administrative structure that was alien to tribal tradition and ethos. Like in many other parts of India, the British also imposed upon them the notion of the private property and landlordism in place of lineage or community based ownership. The revenue collectors/ administrative

[1] Virginius Xaxa is Professor of Sociology at the Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi, and is currently holding the Rajiv Gandhi Chair for Contemporary Studies at North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong.

officials were converted into owner and landlords, which they were not. All these developments led to large-scale eviction of tribes from their land and installation of non-tribes in their place. In places where tribes had still control over land, massive transfer of land took place from tribes to non-tribes through such measures as fraud, deceit, mortgage etc. Since tribes had no practice of record keeping, as they did not have the knowledge of reading and writing, non-tribes took advantage of it forging evidence and documents in their favour. The local administration, which was manned by the non-tribes, worked hand in hand with their ethnic kinder men to ensure smooth transfer of land from tribes to non-tribes. The court language was alien to tribes and they had absolutely no idea of what was going in the court. Over and above, the colonial state took upon itself the right over the forest, thereby denying tribes the right to collect fuel and other daily necessities of life for which they were so heavily dependent on forest (Singh 2002; Bosu Mullick 1993). Such processes at work continued all through the colonial period in different scale causing havoc in tribal society. Tribes lost autonomy over their control over land and forest. They lost autonomy over the way they governed and regulated themselves as a society.The response of the tribes to this loss of self-rule/swaraj invariably took the form of armed struggle. In fact, almost everywhere in tribal territory, the entry of the colonial rule met with stiff resistance. In fact, the early encounter of the British with groups/communities, which later came to be described as tribes, was characterized by series of revolt and rebellion all through the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Raghavaiah 1979, Bosu Mullick 1993)[i].

The British rule thus brought tribes and non-tribes under one single political and administrative authority. With some exceptions here and there, they were subjected to same laws, rules, regulations and administrations. The same was the case in economic sphere. Through land, labour, credit and commodity market they were all brought under single economic order. Tribes thus came to be part of same political and economic system that the larger India society was. However, the position tribes came to occupy in the new politico-administrative system was one characterized by steady erosion of their control and access to land, forest and other resources. In this, both colonial administration and non tribal population especially traders, merchants and money-lenders were responsible. Tribes have thus to go through the process of twin colonialism, one of the British rule and administration and the other of the non-tribal

population. Tribes who had control over land, forest and other resources and enjoyed autonomy of governance got pushed to the margin of the new political and economic system. There was thus the process of integration/ inclusion of tribes into the larger system under colonial rule but a process of inclusion that came to be intertwined with the process of exclusion in the form of loss of access and control over livelihood (economic rights) as well as control over decision-making process in determination of their own life.

The Post colonial Indian State

Though tribes had been integrated/included into the larger political and economic system, integration/inclusion was from complete. Tribes still lived in relative geographical and social isolation. Indeed, much of the problem of the tribals was still thought to do with the phenomenon of isolation.

To draw tribals from their existing isolation and social backwardness and to integrate them in the larger Indian society many provisions were made for the tribal people in the Indian constitution. As a part of the process to ensure their integration and thus build up an inclusive society, tribals were to begin with, given the same rights and status as those accorded to members of the larger Indian society in the form of citizenship right. The citizenship is a status, which entitles an individual full membership of a community. It confers on individuals an array of rights and obligations. In this sense the status of an individual as a citizen is contrary the general notion of status, which is invariably associated with the notion of hierarchy and inequality (Beteille1996). The citizenship rights in the words of Marshall comprise of three components, that is, civil, political and social rights. The civil rights are composed of rights necessary for individual freedom. It entails right to liberty of the person and right to freedom of speech, thought and faith. The right to own property and right to justice are other important components. Right to justice means right to be treated in terms of equality with others in regard to defense and assertion of one's own rights. It means that right to be subjected to the same as well as the same processes of law. Political rights mean right to participate in the exercise of political power as a member of a body vested with political authority such as the parliament or their counterparts at the regional and local levels. It also

means right to participate in the process whereby members exercising the political authority are elected. Social rights mean right to modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to the full in the social heritage, which means right to live a life of a civilized being according to the standard prevailing in the society (Marshall 1977: 78-91). Heater describes this tradition of the nature of citizenship as 'the Liberal Tradition' as against the other which he calls 'the Civic Republican tradition'. The former places its emphasis on rights, the latter on duties (Heater1999: 4).

Of the civil rights, the most vulnerable as far as tribes are concerned has been one of property and justice. A large number of tribal groups in India have been dependent mainly on agriculture for their livelihood. They enjoyed proprietary rights over their land. Besides they also held usufruct rights over forests and other kind of common property resources. However the history of the last two hundred years including the years of the post-independence era has been marked by rampant alienation of land from tribes to non-tribes especially in regions other than the northeast India. In the post-independence era the alienation has been justified on ground of right to make property and right to settlement in anywhere in the country. The right to property of one has been the right to dispossession of property by another. The paradox is that dispossession has invariably been of tribes. The enjoyment of civil rights on the part of some sections has been the root cause of the loss of civil and social rights by another. Of course tribes were provided with security to this effect in terms of legislation. Yet violation of such rights through means legal and illegal have gone on unabated. Tribes of course could go to court of law for restoration of justice. But it is a long drawn process and one requires resources and assistance, which the state did not make available. The right to justice was closed in the absence of legal and social support from the state. The tribes could not enjoy civil rights as they had little social rights at their disposal.

Rather tribals along with dalits were given certain special rights, which the other citizens were not entitled to. The special rights granted to them was meant to compensate for the disability they suffered for centuries either due to systemic discrimination (in case of the dalits) or historical isolation (case of tribes) and thereby ensure their effective enjoyment of citizenship rights enshrined in the constitution. The special rights so enshrined in the constitutions come

closer to what may be termed in social science literature as social rights. The special rights meant for the tribals have been of various kinds. There have been to begin with rights, which were protective in the sense that they aimed at safeguarding and protecting the interest of the tribal people. Then there were rights which aimed at providing them certain share of participation in state institutions. Towards fulfillment of these rights a certain percentage of seats were reserved for them in state institutions such as parliament/ state legislatures, governments and institutions of higher leaning. The rights so provided in the constitution are more popularly known or described as the reservation facilities. Finally there are provisions in the constitution which aims to uplift the tribal people from their existing social backwardness and underdevelopment. The special treatment given to certain category of people in order to protect their welfare and interest and promote their development may be broadly termed as the affirmative action programme in India.

Affirmative Action Programmes

Affirmative action programmes are interventions that aim primarily to address the issues faced by disadvantaged groups. Possible interventions according to Myron Weiner are broadly of four types. One is wide range of policies, which aim to reverse social inequality but which are racially/ethnically neutral. The second concerns policies directed at eliminating barriers to entry to jobs, universities etc by ending legal and official barriers. The third type of interventions is one which aims to improve the quality of pool (creating abilities) from which individuals are recruited. Reservation or quota fixation for the disadvantaged is the other possible interventions.

All of these possible interventions in different measures have been at work in the context of India. However what has received wide attention and generated public debate is the reservation. However, the debate on reservation has not so much been on the political reservation but on reservation in government employment and admission to institutions of higher learning especially medical and technological institutions. Reservation in employment and educational institutions has been has been at work for about 50 years. Tribes have no doubt

taken advantage of these provisions. This is evident from the fact that they are now found at all levels of government service. It is a different story that in terms of their share or quota, the position is far from adequate especially at the upper echelon of government service. In fact, even by 1999 the share of the tribes in classes I & II central government services, for example, stood at mere 3.39 and 3.35 per cent respectively. Even in case of Class III (6.07%) and IV (7%) services, the percentage fell short of stipulated 7.5 per cent. What is important to note here is that the tribals are yet to approximate the quota stipulated for them. The scenario is the same in the sphere of higher educational institutions as well. It is to be noted that the concern and urgency to fill in the stipulated quota is much strong at the central government services. The same concern and urgency in general is lacking at the state levels. Unfortunately data at state levels are not easily forthcoming.

Notwithstanding such state, the inability of the state to fill in the quota is not considered as the violation of the rights enshrined in the constitution. This is so because firstly necessary measures have been taken in pursuit of the rights enshrined in the constitution. Secondly, the extension of reservation to the candidates from the category is not automatic. Rather it is contingent upon certain conditions or prerequisites, which are in general principles stipulated in the constitution itself (Article 335). Thirdly even though such rights have been given to the tribes, they can avail it only as an individual. As an individual one can secure access to it only on certain conditions. There is hence an inherent difficulty in challenging the negligence or indifference of the state in the court of law.

The debate in India on reservation has been so intense that the attention to other forms of affirmative policies/interventions pursued by the Indian State has been completely glossed over both by the critics as well as protagonists of the reservation. Critics have always been arguing that rather than pursuing the system of reservation, the state must target at capacity and capability building of the disadvantaged section of the population such as the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe. Indeed in the argument against reservation, reference to these is again and again made in the debate on the reservation policy. Indeed those opposed to the reservation policy do not altogether rule out affirmative policy that is aimed at enabling the

disadvantaged to acquire the required skills and abilities. Needless to say that the filling in of quota in job and educational institutions is itself contingent upon acquiring of certain qualification and skills for which special programmes for the disadvantaged do exist. Some of such programmes are provisions of scholarship, freeship, book grants, hostel facilities, remedial classes in additions to host of other facilities. Yet no serious attempt has been made to understand the way these measures have worked and the difference/impact they have made on the disadvantaged. Now the question is how effective and adequate have been these affirmative action programmes?

Since the tenth five year plan, the schemes of Post Matric Scholarship, Book Bank and Upgradation of Merit (remedial and special coaching) have been combined. In the tenth five year plan, fund allocation for the same stood at Rs. 383.19 crores. For upgradation of merit, against the revised allocation of Rs. 0.83 crores, Rs.0.77 crores have been released to state/UT governments. The number of students who benefited from it was mere 512 in the year 2003-04. The grants in aid released under scheme of book bank were 72 lakhs in 2001-02, 139.9837 in 2002-03 and 63.43 in 2003-04. The number of beneficiaries was 3492 in 2001-02, 10177 in 2002-03 and 7426 in 2003-04 respectively (GOI 2003-04: 134). As for the post matric scholarship, the grants in aid released were 667.82 lakhs in 2001-02, 515.86 in 2002-03 and 657.95 lakh in 2003-04. The actual beneficiaries were 601759 in 2001-02, 637241 in 2002-03 and 735019 in 2003-04. (ibid. 135)

In addition to the above, there have been other forms of affirmative action programme. These programmes are geared towards improving the economic and social condition of the tribal people. The assumption was that the improvement in their economic and social well being would help them to take advantage of the benefits extended for them by the state. To this end, special considerations were made for the welfare and development of the tribal people and special allocation of resources were set aside in the plan outlay. As a first step to developmental initiatives, special multipurpose development projects as supplement to the community development projects were introduced in the tribal areas. It is to be noted that the general development programmes in case of tribes were so designed as to adequately address their special needs and that special provisions were used for securing their additional and more

intensified development. Accordingly, community development programme approach – the general approach to development in India was reoriented keeping in mind the special problems of the tribal people. This approach continued till the fourth five year plan. Since the approach failed to serve the interests of the tribal people, a new approach in the form of tribal sub plan was adopted in the fifth five year plan, which continues till this day.

The fifth plan is taken as a landmark in the task of tribal development. Not only it made shift in policy perspective from welfare to development but also introduced new concept of tribal sub plan and integrated tribal development projects. The plan entailed a separate budgetary head for the purpose .The immediate objective of this strategy was to eliminate the forms of exploitation that existed in the tribal areas and accelerate the process of development. The tribal sub plan thus primarily focused on the area development with focus on improving the quality of life of the tribal communities and its main components were the integrated tribal development project (ITDP), Modified area development approach (MADA), and pockets and primitive tribal group projects. Over and above 74 primitive tribes were identified who required special care for their development both at the level of planning and implementation.

Under the broad strategy of tribal sub plan a number of schemes have been introduced from time to time with a view to uplift the condition of the tribal people. Broadly the schemes fall under two categories - economic and social. Social development has been pursued along two lines- education and health which take up the issue of women and children as well. For promotion of education, in addition to introduction of schools of various levels, various schemes have been worked out to give boost to education among tribal children. Some of the key schemes have been residential school, vocational education, scholarships, book grants, free uniforms, mid day meals etc. In the sphere of health, emphasis has been laid on extending and improving health infrastructure such as PHC, CHC etc. as well as prevention and control of communicable and non-communicable diseases. Many of the schemes under health and education exclusively deal with women and children issues. In case of economic development, the issues taken up include mainly activities such as employment and income generation, credit and market support mechanism, skill and vocational training etc Under such activities important schemes have been Integrated Tribal development Projects (ITDP), Employment

Guarantee Scheme (EGS), Food for Work Programme (FWP), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP), Employment Assurance Scheme(EAS), Jawahar Rojgar Yojna (JRY) Sampurna Gramin Rojgar Yojna (SGRY) and Swanjayanti Gram Swayrojgar Yojna (SGSY). National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme is latest addition to address the problem of employment and poverty in rural areas including tribal areas. All of such programmes in a way constituted affirmative action programme for the tribal people.

The development schemes under the TSP have been at work for about 36 years by now. Yet the results are still very depressing. . In 1993–94, the proportion of the tribal population falling below the poverty line was 51.14 per cent, as compared with 35.97 per cent for the country as whole. By 2004–05 the share of the tribal population living below the poverty line had declined to 46.5 per cent, as compared with 27.6 per cent for the population as a whole (Mathur 2008). Thus, although there has been a decline, the level of poverty in the tribal population is still much higher than the national average and the gap between the two continues to be one of the major issues of concern in poverty discourse in India. The same is the case in the in regard to other indicators of social development such education and health. In 1991 the literacy rate of the scheduled tribes was 29.60 per cent as compared to 52.21 per cent for the general population. The gap between the two was as high as 28.09 per cent. By 2001 the literacy rate for the general population had jumped to 65.38 per cent as compared to 47.1 per cent for tribal population. The gap between the two has been somewhat bridged but the difference of 21.71 per cent is still very large Govt. of India 2007). The picture is no different in respect of health of the tribal population. The percentage of institutional deliveries was mere 17.1 in case of tribes as compared to 33.6 for the general population. As for ANC checkup, the figure was 56.5 for tribal population, the same being 65.4 per cent in case of the general population. Anaemia too is more among tribal women than other women (ibid.).

A number of factors seem to account for this shoddy state of affairs. Firstly, the resources earmarked for tribal development, though undergone increase, had been far from adequate. At no point of time the plan allocation has gone beyond 3.7 per cent. The only exception was the eighth plan period when the allocation was the highest at 5.2 per cent of the total outlay. Given

the inadequate fund earmarked for tribal development could anything tangible be expected in tribal regions? In fact, in the first four five-year plan periods, the allocation was just around 1 per cent of the total plan outlays. That explains partly as to why lack of infrastructure such as schools, health centres as well as personnel to man them are so inadequate in tribal regions.

The ineffective implementation of the programmes is seen as another line of argument by which the issue of social development among tribals is explained. In this discourse, the thrust of the solution lies in accelerated and effective implementation of state-sponsored development programmes and schemes, whether these pertain to livelihood/income-generation activities or education or health or communication facilities.

The third set of argument is built around traditional socio-cultural aspects of tribal life. That is, if tribals suffer from low income and poor educational and health status as well as various kinds of diseases, these are often attributed to their tradition and style of life. A way out to this problem is discussed in terms of adoption of new ideas, knowledge and values. This is the modernization perspective, which has been in currency world over in discussion of modernization of traditional societies. This is an argument, which is applicable for the whole of the Indian society. However, this has been sharply problematized in the context of the tribal society as if the rest of the Indian society has already become modernized. While there is some relationship between the lack of development and traditional social structure and culture, this aspects needs to be further probed and carefully examined.

While there is no denying the truth that certain aspects of traditional social structure and culture do constraint development programme, it is equally pertinent to ask as to why even after over sixty years of national reconstruction process there has still been a large tribal population, which has not been connected with social infrastructure or why there has still been poor implementation programme or delivery mechanism in tribal areas. This is a question which needs to be problematized and explained. Much of the answer to this lies in the relation between tribes and the larger society especially in the regional context. The larger society has always viewed tribes as those who are alien to their society and hence there is over all

indifference towards their cause and development. Rather the relation between the two historically and even today is one of appropriation of resources of the tribal community by the larger society. The state administration too is not untouched by such attitude and that explains as to why there is problem of implementation as well as failure of extending programme in tribal areas.

The issue is however not so much of failure to push development programmes in tribal areas due to inadequate resource or ineffective implementation or even tribal tradition and social structure but the larger question of development in the form large-scale development projects such as dams, irrigation, power plants, roads, railways, industry and mineral exploitation etc. The latter invariably took the form of appropriation of tribal land, forest and other resources that begun under colonial rule and has continued in post-independence era except that in post-independence era this has gone under the garb of national and regional development. The benefits of this development, which Jawaharlal Nehru, the country's first prime minister, described as the temples of modern India, did not accrue to the tribal people. These were interventions detrimental to the interest of the tribal people and in the process affected their access to affirmative action programme. After all no fault of their own, they were steadily being thrown away from their control over and access to land, forest and other resources due to state sponsored projects of national development on the one side and alienation of land from tribes to non-tribes on the other. Between 1951-1990, a little over 21 million are estimated to have been displaced by development projects (dams, mines, industries and wildlife sanctuaries) in India. Of the total displaced population, over 16 million have been displaced by dams, about 2.6 and 1.3 million by mines and industries respectively. A little over 1 million has been displaced by other projects, wild life sanctuaries being the most important among them. Of the total displaced, as large as 8.54 million have been enumerated as the tribals. Tribals have thus come to constitute as large as 40 percent of the displaced population though they comprise less than 8 per cent of the total population. Their share in the displacement from projects such as mines, wildlife sanctuaries and dams has been to the tune of over 52, 75 and 38 per cent respectively. It is only in respect of industrial and other unspecified projects that the size of their share does not exceed 25 per cent. And yet even here the proportion is much higher than the proportion of their population to the total population of the country. Of over

21 million displaced, only 5.4 million have been resettled out of which 2.12 million are stated to be tribals. This means that only about 24.8 per cent of displaced tribals had been rehabilitated. For a very large chunk of the population, rehabilitation still remains an elusive phenomenon. Further, land alienation from tribes to non-tribes, an endemic phenomenon for centuries, continues on a wide scale even to this day.

Tribes underwent change not only in their relationship to land but also in their relationship to forest. Tribes were greatly dependent on the forest for their day-to-day needs. They were dependent on the forest for their food, shelter, instruments, medicine and even clothing in some cases. But as long as tribes were in control of forest in the sense of unrestricted use of forest and its produce they had no difficulty meeting these needs. The entry of the British however drastically altered this relationship. To the British the forest was an important source of revenue and the commercial exploitation. Hence the forest policy that was enunciated by the British introduced state control over forest resource and imposed curtailment of rights and privileges over the forest resources. The policy pursued by the British was continued in the post-independence era of economic development with even stricter regulation and enforcement. All these were justified on the ground that these were necessary for wider and national public interest. However, this had/has serious consequences on access to basic necessities of life such as food, shelter etc. for the tribals. Not only that but forest law had also turned them into encroachers under constant threat of eviction and violence.

The large-scale development projects and policy of denial of access to forest resources were interventions of greater magnitude and scale than reservation and other affirmative action programmes developed for the welfare of the tribal people. Such intervention offset all that was desired to be achieved by affirmative action programme. The latter, the state has displayed as a post-sign of tribal development. In close introspection, however, affirmative action in case of tribes tends to be no longer affirmative action, as it does not tend to lift them from the given social base in which they were traditionally located. Rather, affirmative action has been pushed through along side the processes that further deteriorated their existing social base and further exposing their vulnerability. Hence there is nothing affirmative about affirmative action programme in case of tribes in India. Rather, there is inbuilt depressor in the way development

13

has been pursued in tribal India other than the North-East. Unless this is corrected, development will continue to perpetuate social exclusion.

Nature and Terms of Exchange

A lot of provisions have been made for the protection and welfare of the tribal people. In correspondence to these provisions policies and programmes have been worked out for the tribal people. Prominent among them are affirmative action programmes, on which crore of rupees have been spent by the government since independence. The rest of the population sees tribals as one dependent solely on the state patronage. They along with the dalits are seen as emptying the state exchequer. On close introspection however this far from true. Justification of development projects that have been destined to displace millions from their homes and sources of livelihood have been made on the ground that the projects are going to be of immense benefit to the country or region or locality. The generation of power, extension of irrigation facilities, opportunities for employment, development of infrastructure etc. is some of the things that are invoked in support of such projects. There is hardly any doubt that such projects of development do bring about development and contribute to economic growth. The irony is that benefits of such developments have hardly accrued to people, who have made possible these projects by their sacrifice. In Jharkhand by 1996, for example, 8 major and 55 medium hydraulic projects along with many more minor projects had come up. Needless to say these had displaced a large number of households. Yet the area under irrigation in Jharkhand constituted only 7.68 per cent of the net sown area and households electrified was mere 9.04 per cent. As large as 201 large and medium scale industries have come up in Jharkhand, displacing a large number of families on the one hand and providing employment to lakh of people on the other. Yet the benefits of these did not go to tribal people of Jharkhand or to the displaced tribals. This can be vividly illustrated by citing the case of coal mine industries. Between 1981-1985, the industry had displaced 32,750 families but had provided job to only 11, 901 heads of households. The gravity of this situation is compounded by the fact, the displaced until very recent years were hardly thought in terms of rehabilitation. They were summarily dismissed by cash compensation. Yet even here the state has been found

faltering in its responsibility. It was found out in 1988 that after 30 years of filling in of Hirakund reservoir, the compensation amounting to 15 crore rupees was due for payment to 9,913 claimant who had lost their land. In the case of Machkund Hydroelectric project even when they have been rehabilitated, benefits of the project in general had hardly accrued to the displaced. In terms of irrigation, electric power, tourism, pisci culture and other schemes for economic development, the government, for example, justified the Upper Kolab project. However, rehabilitated displaced had none of these benefits. In the process of the development of these projects, a large number of tribal people have been displaced from their land and other sources of livelihood. Neither have they been given adequate compensation nor have they been provided proper rehabilitation.

What has been the net result of the two kinds of interventions? One kind of result is the gap between tribes and the rest of population in respect of fruits of development is widening. There is no doubt that there has been increase in literacy rate, decrease in the size of people below poverty line, decrease in school drop outs rate etc. Yet the gap between tribes and general population is widening. Since the affirmative action programmes address in especially manner the problems of the disadvantage, the least it could be expected from the programme is to bridge the gap that has been existing. Yet efforts in direction have not borne the result. Either the gap remains at where it had been or it had even been widened. This has already been referred earlier in the discussion.

Much of the reasons as to why the gap has remained intact or even widening are inherent in the way the tribal problems have been articulated by the state and state apparatus. Tribal problem has primarily been couched in terms of social and economic backwardness arising from their geographical and social isolation. Hence the whole discourse on tribes has been around the question of integration through extension of civil, political and social rights. Yet economic rights which tribes enjoyed and which was their critical asset has been usurped by the state in exchange of the above mentioned rights. In fact, the extension of civil, political and kind of social rights has become the arena of legitimizing the expropriation of resources of the tribal people. Hence there have been terms of exchange between the state and tribals in India, an exchange that has been steeped in expropriation, domination and discrimination. In fact,

integration of tribes as such has been seen as the panacea of the problems and this obsession with integration have diverted our attention from looking at the nature and types of integration that tribes have been undergoing. However if one looks at the nature of integration one finds that relation between tribes and non-tribes and even the state has been overwhelmingly interspersed with exploitation, domination and discrimination, which is conveniently overlooked. This largely explains as to why tribes have remained excluded from fair share of access to the fruits of development.

---

[i] The early revolts were the revolt of Pahariya Sirdars (1778), Tamar revolt (1789, 1794-5), tribal revolt (1807-08), agrarian tribal revolts (1811, 1817, 1820). However, it is the revolts that took place after the Great Kol Insurrection of 1831-32 that has received wide attention. The prominent among these revolts are the Bhumij revolt (1832-33), the Santhal rebellion (1855-57), the kherwar /sardari movement (1858-95), the Birsa Munda movement (1895-1990) etc

Reference

1. Béteille, André.1986. 'The Concept of Tribe with Special Reference to India', Journal of European Sociology, 27(2): 297–318.

2. Béteille, Andre.1996. "The Mismatch between Class and Status", The British Journal of Sociology, 47(3).

3. Bosu Mullick, S. 1993. Jharkhand Movement: A Historical Analysis in M. Miri (Ed.), Continuity and Change in Tribal Society, IIAS, Shimla.

4. R.D. and Bosu Mullick, S. (Ed.), 2003. Introduction in Munda, The Jharkhand Movement - Indigenous Peoples' Struggle for Autonomy in India, IWGIA, Copenhagen.

5. Government of India. Planning Commission. 2001. Report of the Steering Committee on Empowering the Scheduled Tribes for the Tenth Five Year Plan (2002–2007), New Delhi, Planning Commission.

6. Govt. of India. Ministry of Tribal Affairs. 2007. Report of the Working Group on Empowerment of Scheduled Tribes for the Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007–2012).New Delhi, Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

7. Heater, Derek .1999. What is Citizenship? Polity Press, Cambridge.

8. Marshall, T.H. 1977. Class, Citizenship and Social Development. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

9. Mathur, Ashok 2008. 'An Overview of the Jharkhand Economy and Perspectives for Human Development.' Background Paper read at the National Seminar on Growth and Human Development in Jharkhand – Perspectives and Policies, Ranchi, India, 4–5 July.

10. Raghavaiah, V.R.1979. 'Tribal Revolts in Chronological Order: 1778-1971' in A.R. Desai (ed.), Peasant Struggles in India. OUP.Bombay

11. Singh, K.S. 2002. Birsa Munda and His Movement 1872-1901. A Study of a Millenarian Movement in Chotanagpur, Seagull Books, Kolkata

12. Sinha, Surajit.1958. 'Tribal Culture of Peninsular India as a Dimension of Little Tradition in the Study of Indian Civilization: A preliminary Statement.' Journal of American Folklore 71:504-18.

13. Verma, R.C. 1990. Indian Tribes- Through the Ages. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, N.Delhi.