

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES AMONG THE  
SELECTED TRIBAL GROUPS  
IN MADHYA PRADESH**

*Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in Partial Fulfillment of the  
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*By*

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## **Chapter-1**

### **Introduction**

Change is a universal phenomenon, a law of nature. Everything in this world changes to some degree and extent. All the institutions of the society from family, marriage, economy, culture, political systems, religion are undergoing a process of slow but a steady change. That is, today shall be different both in context and content tomorrow. So the society is under an ever-changing phenomenon- growing, decaying, renewing and accommodating itself to changing conditions and undergoing modifications in the course of time.

The magnitude of change in one country in our own time is unprecedented, and with a character, which is continuously transforming from a feudal traditional society to a modern industrial society. age old values and norms are dying, new values and norms replacing the old ones. Today we are in a state of transition, which is a state of fusion, or confusion is the influence we need to understand.

The word 'change' denotes a difference in anything observed over some period of time. This could be the difference in a social phenomenon, where it is called the social change or could be in the economic scenario, where it is known as the economic change. Social change is theme that runs like red thread through the fabric of rural society.

The dynamics of social change have recently become the subject of study, especially in the domain of anthropology, where the studies had assumed that any society selected for examination was at that particular moment stable, and in

discovering what had happened to it in the remote past before the present state was reached and what was likely to occur in the equally remote future. Tribal culture in India is passing through a phase of economic change with the rest of the country. Modern technology and concepts have been developed. The tribal economy too is witnessing a continuous impact of the new modern economies which is evident from the fact of the emergence of some new economic typologies among them, viz., labourer type and while-collar job type.

### **1.1 Significance of the Study**

This change could be very volatile especially among the primitive societies which live isolation. Any small change in the society could appear as an aberration or an anomaly, as these societies are homogenous in nature, well knit in composition and are driven by co-operative effort.

The very purpose of this study is based on fact that (1) these tribal societies are isolated and very little is known about them (2) These societies are those which are highly marginalized and exploited by the subjects of the main stream society (3) These societies are the most neglected mainly because of their distinct and very little known cultures.

Any little change in their social composition or their economic composition could never be seen in isolation but has to be seen in a holistic fashion.

The numerical strength of the population of scheduled tribes in 1991 is highly impressive with 67.75 millions, which accounted for 7.95 per cent of the country's population also forms a significant aspect of the study. A population of

67.75 millions distributed over most of the states and remain territories is an immensity in itself.

## **1.2 Area of the Study**

The area taken for the study is the state of Madhya Pradesh. This particular state has a history of tribal republics right from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C when the 16 Mahajanpadas had come into existence out of which nearly 13 were situated in this region, which was known as the Madhyadesa. These evidences can be known from the Buddhist texts out of which the Magadha had emerged victorious. This Madhyadesa encompassed the entire north-central zone of India from the Siwaliks and the Terai in the north to the Vindhyas and the Narmada in the South and from the banks of the Saraswati in Rajasthan in the West and to the Rajmahal hills in the east. Madhyadesa became the heartland of the Ganga Valley civilization, where the local dialects developed with a literary tradition, in certain cases, becoming the repository of folk culture, art, religion and philosophy.

Besides the historical considerations Madhya Pradesh has the highest proportion of the tribal population accounting for 22.7% of the total tribal population of India and also accounts for 24% of its own state population. There are around 56 tribes enlisted in the 1971 census and were further grouped into 43 tribes in the 1991 census.

The time period involved in this study would be of 20 years from 1971 to 1991. In order to make the study feasible all the major tribal groups in the state of Madhya Pradesh with more than one lakh population is taken. There are around nine

such tribal groups which account for more than 85% of the total tribal population of the state, which is shown in Table 1.1.

**Table 1.1 Percentage distribution the major tribal groups in Madhya Pradesh – State Level (1991)**

S.no	Name of the Tribe	Percentage of the Tribes
1.	Baiga	2.06%
2.	Bhil	22.36%
3.	Gonds	43.69%
4.	Halbi	1.78%
5.	Kawar	4.33%
6.	Kol	5.07%
7.	Korku	2.94%
8.	Oraon	3.54%
9.	Sahariya	2.16%
10.	Others	12%

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The following objectives had been framed to infer logically and accordingly, which are:-

1. To understand the concepts of change and its manifestations in the social and economic spheres through exhaustive reading of the available literature.

2. To understand the processes of social change by examining various indicators for 1971 and 1991. The indicators being literacy, which would be, looked both in terms of male and female in the rural and urban areas, and the disparity levels in the literacy rates that exist among the tribal and non-tribal population.
3. To understand the process of economic change by examining the changes associated with the occupational structure and also the changes in different activities that the tribal population all involved based on the nine-fold industrial classification.
4. To develop a holistic understanding of the socio-economic change among these selected tribal groups with the aid of the findings of the study.

#### **1.4 Data Base**

This particular study is based on the secondary data which is often considered as primary as it is the data of the census of India. This includes.

1. Special socio-cultural table on scheduled castes and scheduled tribes – 1971.
2. Socio-cultural tables – c-series– 1971 of the general population.
3. Special socio-cultural tables on scheduled castes and scheduled tribes – 1991.
4. Socio-cultural tables – c-series of the general population 1991.
5. Digitalised data the 1991 census.
6. All the available literature for preparing a theoretical frame work or model.

## **1.5 Research Questions**

1. Where are the major tribal groups of Madhya Pradesh Located?
2. What is their concentration levels in the various districts of Madhya Pradesh?
3. What is their percentage distribution in each of these districts?
4. What is the change in number of literates across 1971 and 1991?
5. What is the level of disparities in respect to the level of literacy among the tribal and the non-tribal population?
6. What are the districts which have high sex-ratio among the various tribal groups taken for study?
7. What is the change involved across 1971 to 1991 on all the their sectors namely Primary, Secondary and Tertiary?
8. What is the change incurred among the tribal groups across all the nine different activities according to the nine fold industrial categorization?
9. What the studies undertaken in respect to the socio-economic change among the tribals and the various theories associated with?
10. What are the different governmental policies adopted towards the welfare of the tribal population?

## **1.6 Methodology**

Methodology plays a vital role in approaching any research where it holds the key to the findings. The methodology used in this study helps in finding the socio-economic changes among the tribal groups across two periods of time i.e., 1971 and 1991. The various socio-economic variables that are taken for study include:

(a) Percentage distribution of the tribes in all the districts of Madhya Pradesh: This helps in identifying the core of the particular tribe population in the state and the patterns of migration that they are involved in, this is expressed as:

$$\Rightarrow \frac{\text{The total population of the particular tribe in the district}}{\text{The total tribal population of the district}}$$

(b) Location Quotient: Location quotient is an index which reveals about the concentration of the particular tribe in the district with respect to the concentration at the state or country level comparing with the state or national average when the value is above one.

This is expressed as:

$$\Rightarrow \frac{\frac{\text{The total population of the particular tribe in the district}}{\text{The total population of the district}}}{\frac{\text{The total population of the particular tribe in the State}}{\text{The total population of the State}}}$$

(c) Percentage of literates of the particular tribe: This helps in identifying the change in the literacy levels of the selected tribal groups of both the male and female population in rural and urban areas across 1971 and 1991. This is expressed as:

$$\Rightarrow \frac{\text{Total number of male/female literates of the particular tribes}}{\text{Total number of male/female of the particular tribe in the State}} \times 100$$

(d) Sopher's Index: This index helps in identifying the disparities in the literacy levels that exists between the tribal population and the non-tribal population.

This is expressed as:

$$\Rightarrow D_s = \log\left(\frac{X_2}{X_1}\right) + \log\left(\frac{(100 - X_1)}{(100 - X_2)}\right)$$

(e) Sex Ratio: The sex ratio of a population may be either is expressed as the number of males per 1000 females or as the number of females per 1000 males. Here, the latter is preferred. The sex-ratio in India in 2001 is 933 females per 1000 males. The low sex ratio of the females can be broadly attributed to the low status of women. This is express as:

$$\Rightarrow \frac{\text{Total number of females of particular tribe in the district}}{\text{Total number of males of particular tribe in the district}} \times 1000$$

(f) Percentage change in all the nine Industrial categories: This helps in identifying the change that the tribals are the engaged in different occupational activities which differ from their traditional activities due to various modernizing factors. This is expressed as:

$$\Rightarrow \frac{\text{Total number of males/females of a tribe engaged in a particular activity}}{\text{Total number of male/female main worker population of a tribe in the state}} \times 100$$

Besides these methods, the various other statistical tools like the bar diagrams and choroplething techniques are used to exemplify the study undertaken.

## 1.7 Organization of Material

Chapter 1 deals with 'Introduction' which introduces the significance of the study, objectives of the study, methodology, used and the organisation of the material.

Chapter 2 deals with the overview of literature which provides the theoretical frame work, which involves the literature dealing with the change in both socio-economic terms and the various theories and studies associated are reviewed in detail.



Chapter 3 deals with the distribution patterns which helps in mapping the tribal population using the methods like location quotient and percentage distribution of the tribes in all the districts of the Madhya Pradesh.

Chapter 4 looks into the social change, that the selected tribal groups had undergone by analysing the variables like the percentage of literates both males and females in rural and urban areas and the disparity levels which exist between the tribal population and the non-tribal population and also their sex-ratios, which are examined through the various districts of Madhya Pradesh.

Chapter 5 deals with the change that the tribals had undergone in the economic sphere by comparing the percentage change in the different sectors namely primary, secondary and tertiary and also the percentage of the main worker population involved in the nine various activities according to the Industrial classification.

Chapter 6 concludes the various findings of the study and summarises with the necessary suggestions in policy measures and also channelises the future research.

This chapter is succeeded by all the data in the form of appendix based on which the study had been undertaken.

## Chapter-2

### Overview of Literature

#### 2.1. Introduction

Everything in this world changes to some degree and extent. All the institutions of the society from family, marriage, economy, culture, political systems, religion are undergoing a process of slow but a steady change. That is, today shall be different both in context and content tomorrow. So the society is under an ever-changing phenomenon- growing, decaying, renewing and accommodating itself to changing conditions and undergoing modifications in the course of time. There are number of theories which had tried to understand the logic and surface the causes of the process of change which could be in social, economic, political and cultural spheres. Some of the theories are discussed in this chapter.

This chapter helps in understanding various theories dealing with change and also the various studies undertaken on specific dimensions of socio-economic change among the tribal population of India. The latter section deals with the Tribal Development in India. Hence it helps in building a theoretical framework for this study.

#### 2.2 Theories of Social Change

So far as the theories of social change is concerned, basically there are two ways to deal with it – liner and cyclical theories. Among the linear theories the most significant are those of Comte, Spencer, Hobhouse and Marx.

Comte's theory<sup>1</sup>, which had been derived from Saint-Simon, and more remotely from Condorcet, explains social changes as the outcome of man's

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<sup>1</sup> Comte. A.,;1874: '*Crisis of Industrial Civilization: Early essays*' London: Heinemann Educational Books.

intellectual development. This intellectual progress is accompanied by moral development, specially the growing predominance of altruism over egoism, and by changes in social institutions.

Spencer's theory<sup>2</sup> of social change is more comprehensive and based upon more empirical data, than that of Comte. His analysis of social change based upon a theory of cosmic evolution, according to which there is a movement from 'an indefinite unstable homogeneity' to a 'definite stable heterogeneity'.

Though Hobhouse<sup>3</sup> was strongly influenced both by Comte and Spencer, yet his theory of social change was worked out in a much more rigorous way and his use of historical and anthropological data was more scholarly and critical. From Comte he took the idea that the development of human mind was the crucial sector in social development. From Spencer, Hobhouse adopted the notion of social development as process of increase in scale, complexity, and internal differentiation. Thus, his conception of social change is that the development of mind brings about social development. Since the mental development includes a development of moral ideas, it can be regarded as progressive.

The Marxian theory<sup>4</sup> of social change, two elements in social life have a pre-eminent place, the development of technology or productive force, and the relation between social classes. The theory states that in the development of productive forces there corresponds a definite mode of production and system of class relation, which is stabilized and maintained by the dominant class. But due to the continuous development of productive force, there occurs change in the relations between

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<sup>2</sup> Spencer, H. 1976-96. '*Principles of Sociology*'. Appleton: New York.

<sup>3</sup> Hobhouse, L.T., 1996: '*Sociology and Philosophy: A centenary collection of essays & articles*', London: School of Economic and Political Science.

<sup>4</sup> Marx, Karl, 1904. '*A contribution to the critique of political economy*'. Charles H. Ken & Co. Chicago.

classes, and the conditions of their conflict. But in course of time the hitherto dominated class is able to overthrow the existing mode of production and system of social relationship. Marx used historical change as a 'guiding thread' or hypothesis for research and analyze the emergence of modern capitalism.

From the above discussion it can be concluded that the Linear theories have the following merits (in dealing with human history): the growth knowledge, the increasing scale and complexity of societies, and in modern time the growing movement towards social and political equality. So in this respect linear theories have got considerable stability and demand in the social science researches.

Now to deal with the cyclical theories of social change, they depict other aspects of human history, but ignore those fundamental facts, which are well defined and explained by the linear theories. The pioneers of cyclical theory are Pareto, Spengler and others. The main motive behind this is that human society goes through certain cycles.

Looking to the cyclical changes of days and nights and of climates some sociologists like Spengler believe that society has a predetermined life cycled and has birth, growth, maturity and decline. Modern society is in the last stage. It is in its old age. But since history repeats itself, society after passing through all the stages, returns to the original stage, whence the cycle again begins. This concept is found in Hindu mythology, according to which Satya Yug again start after Kali Yug is over.

Pareto,<sup>5</sup> in his book "The Mind of Society", presented his theory of the circulation of elite's and interpretation of history according to which social change is

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<sup>5</sup> Pareto, V. 1973 (tans). *The Mind and Society*: A treatise an general Sociology. Dover: New York.

brought about by the struggle between groups for political power, and there are alternating periods of rough rule by a strong elite and of mild rule by a weak elite. This theory is more concerned with biological difference than with historical evidences. Pareto dealt with only one society, that is ancient Rome, and gave the theory of the circulation of elite, but he totally ignored the growth of democratic government of the modern times.

According to Mc Clelland<sup>6</sup> three interpretations of the theory of social and cultural changes have been put forward. They are:

- (a) The Culture Lag Theory: According to this, social change is generally indicative of progress but there are differential rates at which material and non-material aspects of a culture change. The rate of change in the material sphere is fast and it takes some time before the other non-material spheres catch up.
- (b) The Progress Theory: This is advanced by the schools of social behaviouralism and positivistic organicism and includes the cyclical theories of change.
- (c) Functionalism: Due to the concept of society held by the functionalist, they have found it difficult to reconcile it with change and fit it into their definition of society.

But non of these interpretations have dealt satisfactorily with change and this is because all the three have been inadequate in their dealing with the phenomena of social change. There are certain serious objections to the culture lag theory, which still remain unanswered. As regards the cyclical theories they have a certain

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<sup>6</sup> Mc. Clelland, D.C. 1961. ' *The Achieving Society*', Vand Nostrand & Co.: Princeton.

vagueness in their formulation and hence, not convincing enough. “The functionalists have unfortunately due to a combination been placed in an ambiguous position of being unable to accept the one theory of social and cultural change, imminent evolutionism – which would harmonize with their theories, “says McClelland.

Structure functionalism: This theory deals with society as an equilibrium, and contemporary functionalism is considered to be a modified form of organicism. The basic nature of the functionalistic places it towards an evolutionary position. Parsons<sup>7</sup> conceives of society as a system surrounded by three other systems – personality, the organism and culture. A society is said to be in equilibrium when it maintains the boundaries with these three systems, and boundary breaking is social change. He also talked of exogenous and endogenous factors of change. He also talked of exogenous and endogenous factors of change. Exogenous factors are those arising from outside while endogenous tendencies are strains arising from within the system. Parson further adds that, “Exogenous changes are true of contemporary underdeveloped societies...”. He also opines that “That process of functional differentiation is one of the fundamental types of social change and has evolutionary aspects”. In this way it may be concluded that Parsons rehabilitated the social evolution hypothesis.

The structural point of view has a considerable influence in British Social Anthropology and Radcliffe-Brown<sup>8</sup> can be considered as one of its chief advocates. According to him social structure is the net work of social relationships

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<sup>7</sup> Parsons, Talcott. 1961 *Theories of Society* Vol. I, The Free Press: Glencoe.

<sup>8</sup> Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. 1952, *Structure & Function in Primitive Society*, Cohen & West: London.

are operative in the system groups like kinship, sex, rank, occupation etc. He also assumes that normally in every social system the parts are inter-linked in such a manner so as to entail harmonious working of the system. If a society has to exist it must have a certain degree of integration. This condition is according to Radcliffe-Brown 'functional unity and internal consistency'. When social systems lack in this sort of consistencies, conflicts arise and these have to be resolved. If these conflicts are resolved in such a fashion as to produce certain changes in the structure, social change is the result. Godfrey and Monica Wilson<sup>9</sup> have developed Radcliffe-Brown's theory of the linkage between change and imperfect integration.

An ideal society is a fully integrated one and this is the hypothesis they begin with. A new term "opposition" has been introduced by them and this is of two forms – 'ordinary' and 'radical'. Ordinary opposition exists in every society. This is the sort, which is resolved by measures like balance within the social structure. Hence ordinary opposition is a part of well-integrated societies. On the other hand, when radical opposition occurs, the consequence is social disequilibrium and hence changes. They also felt that innovations should be introduced separately and then equilibrium would be achieved.

"Disequilibrium is inherently unstable. It involves pressure to change and so long as it continues there must be change. Disequilibrium would be achieved. Disequilibrium is both a state of society and a force of change. As a force of change, disequilibrium must always press towards its own resolution, towards equilibrium".

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<sup>9</sup> Wilson, Godfrey and Monica Wilson, 1954. '*The Analysis of Social Change*', Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Leach<sup>10</sup> distinguishes between equilibrium and stability. According to him they are not one and the same since a society can be inherently unstable and yet be in equilibrium.

When an anthropologist attempts to describe a social system he necessarily describes only a model of social reality. This model represents in effect the anthropologists' hypothesis about 'how the social system works'. The different parts of the model system therefore necessarily form a coherent whole. On the contrary, the reality system is full of inconsistencies and it is precisely these inconsistencies which can provide us with the understanding of social change... Every individual of a society, each in his own interest, endeavors to exploit the situation as he perceives it and in doing so the collectivity of individuals alter the structure of society itself.

The distinction that Leach draws between stability and equilibrium is important. Equilibrium only implies a balance and this can be temporary or permanent between opposing forces while on the contrary stability is a permanent thing and not likely to be easily changed or effected. At this point special mention of Firth and his study in Tikopian society must be made.

Firth<sup>11</sup> states that any theoretical framework for the analysis of social change must be concerned with what happens to social structures and if it has to be truly dynamic it must allow for individuals action. Firth distinguishes between 'organizational change' and 'structural change'. Organizational change does not alter the basic relations between individuals and hence cannot be termed as change in social structure. Structural change on the contrary occurs when there is a

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<sup>10</sup> Leach Edmund. 1954. '*Political Systems of High land Burma*', Bell & Co.; London.

<sup>11</sup> Firth, Raymond. 1957. '*We the Tikopia*'. Allen and Unwin Ltd.: London.



modification in the basic relationship between members of a society. Structural changes also imply a large-scale shift in the pattern of their activities.

Firth further adds that “when fresh organizational problems are posed the stage is set for further change. The essence of the dynamic process lies in the continuous operation of the individual psyche, with its potential of unsatisfied desires - for more security, more knowledge, more status, more power , more approval -within the universe of its social system. The process of social change can take their indicative from within the society or they may be stimulated by external forces.”

According to Firth<sup>12</sup>, “Discussions on social change are mainly concerned with structural change, that is, with alterations of the principles with which a society is operated, the framework upon which its social relations are constructed.” He further adds “different definitions of social structure have involved differences in the idea of what constitutes structural changes”. Another aspect of social change he has in mind is ‘social movement’ - here individuals or groups alter their position in the social system but the character of the system remains the same. An example of this social replacement is wherein an individual is replaced. The structure of relationship between individual and their values and obligations has not altered but the relations between specific persons involved are altered.

Changes for ordinary purpose can be conceived of as being primarily structural or organizational in character. Structural change itself involves a consideration of different aspects of structure. There is the structure of ideals, which

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<sup>12</sup> Firth, Raymond. 1958. *Social Change in Tikopia*. Allen and Uawin Ltd.: London.

represents what is the optimum character of the society and this includes what the members of a society ought to do. The other, structure of expectation represents the 'anticipated' form of society, what the members of a society are most likely to do and lastly and structure of action, which represents the actual contemporary alignment in the society. Firth, sums up by saying, "The potentials for social change exist in the expansible character of members of the society, the actualities of social change depend on where the control of resources lies and on differential responses to the new opportunities."

Firth has tended to view social change in small-scale communities like Oceania in cyclical form. This cyclical conception has four stages according to him. These stages, initially are of exploration, are followed by attempts at integration (into the social system) without realizing their full consequences. After this are the awareness of resultant difficulties, strains, disappointments and disillusionment, and lastly reintegration at more realistic level. There may be variations so these processes but Firth says that broadly speaking they are cyclical in character. Hence we find that each of the different schools of sociological theory have dealt with social change in different terms.

Social change can be a product of a number of factors like innovations, external and internal influences and contact with a different way of life culminating in economic growth. Hence multiple factors can be held responsible for producing change. This sounds more plausible than designating a single factor as a change agent does. Also change in one sphere leads to concomitant changes in other areas. This is because all the aspects of social structure are so inter-linked that a shift in any one of these is reflected on the other .

Yet another point to note is that it is the values of a society that plays considerable role as far as acceptance or rejection of change is concerned. A society, which is tradition -bound generally, has more difficulties in accepting new ideas and innovations.

Cultures of a majority of tribal societies can be viewed as systems because they have their own mutually adjusted and interdependent parts and they are autonomous because they do not require another system for their continued functioning.

The culture of a peasant community on the other hand is not autonomous. It is an aspect or the dimension of the civilization of which it is a part. As a peasant society is half society, so the peasant culture is a half-culture.

A peasant culture cannot be fully understood from what goes on in the minds of the villagers alone. Moreover, there is a long course of interaction between that community and centers of civilization. It was during this thought, Robert Redfield<sup>13</sup> 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” for the culture of those reflective few in a civilization and “Little Tradition” for the culture of largely unreflective many. In order to understand these concepts, firstly an appraisal of an evolutionary view of the structure of traditions has to be made.

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<sup>13</sup> Redfield, Robert 1955; *The Little Community*, Uppasala, Almqvist and Wiksells Boktryckeri. A.B

The growth of culture and social structure follows a two-stage model. The first one is Orthogenetic Evolution and the second is Heterogenetic or the development with the help of encounters with the other cultures or the civilizations.

The Great Tradition is cultivated in schools or the temples; the Little Tradition works itself out and keeps itself going in the lives of the unlettered in their village communities. The Great Tradition is consciously cultivated and that of the “Little people” is for the most part taken for granted and not submitted to much scrutiny or considered refinement and improvement.

The great and the little traditions are independent and have long affected each other and continued to do so. They can be thought as two currents of thought and action, distinguishable, yet ever flowing into and out of each other. However these two traditions are not distinguishable in very isolated tribes or bands.

Milton Singer and McKim Marriot<sup>14</sup> utilized these concepts of Redfield and have conducted some studies on social changes in India. Marriot came out with two processes called Universalisation and Parochialisation. The Great Tradition of Robert Redfield is corollary to the universalization of Marriot and Little Tradition as 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 the Great and Little traditions is through these processes of Universalization and Parochialisation.

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<sup>14</sup> Marriot, Mckim; 1937 : ‘*The Rengama Nagas*’, London, Macmillan and co.

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 incumbents such as folk artists, medicine men, tellers of riddles, proverbs and stories, poets and dancers etc.

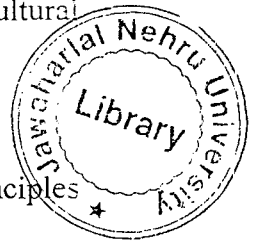
Change in cultural systems occurs through the interaction between the orthogenetic and Heterogenetic processes. The pattern of change generally from Orthogenetic to Heterogenetic forms of differentiation or change in the cultural structure of the traditions.

Hogbin<sup>15</sup> says "The anthropologist viewing change with structural principles in mind is mainly interested in alternations in the network of social relationships". Besides the social values which are important in considering whether a society accepts change or not, there are also other criteria to be taken into account. This is where a society's capacity to accept change i.e., new innovations comes into play. Certain societies are oriented in a particular fashion, which allows them to accept new ways and ideas more readily than others.

Sociologists and anthropologists opine that technological change is always more easily accepted in a society than other types of changes like institutional changes. According to Malinowski<sup>16</sup> the units of transformation are the institutions

<sup>15</sup> Hogbin, IAN. 1958, 'Social Change', Watts and Co.: London.

<sup>16</sup> Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1922. 'Argonauts of The Western Pacific'. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. London.



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in a particular society. Both Linton<sup>17</sup> have independently put forward a theory in connection with social change. They maintain that every society focuses attention on one aspect of its culture at the expense of other aspects and it is here that change occurs more readily than elsewhere.

Herskovits's<sup>18</sup> statement of the fact that the interests of people tend to concentrate on a given phase of their culture has been established by studies reported in many monographs. He cites as examples, the rituals associated with the dairy for the Todas in India, the cattle complex of the East African tribes and the emphasis on kinship by the Australian aborigines. Herskovits says, "We can state that the greatest variation in custom can be looked for in the focal aspects of a culture, and this represents either potential or achieved social change."

The criticism against this theory is that the focal aspect of culture is not so easy to locate and the criteria for such location are not specified. Herskovits does not mention clearly how this is done. The theory might have had some appeal if focal interests had been carefully defined either in terms of values or relationships.

Before concluding the discussion about change it is important to mention that drastic changes in the social structure of a society have always been considered harmful. This is because the social system might not be able to adjust to the drastic changes and its cultural roots would be torn apart. Tradition forms an important part in the maintaining a social system and its values, and a total destruction of these can cause normlessness and anomie.

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<sup>17</sup> Linton, Ralph. (ed.) 1945, '*Science of Man in World Crisis*'. Columbia University Press: New York.

<sup>18</sup> Herskovits, M.J.; 1952: '*Economic Anthropology*', New York.

### 2.3 Studies on Socio-economic change

The Tribal India lives in the forest hills and naturally isolated regions known as a rule by different names meaning either the people of forest and hill or the original inhabitants, and so on. The popular names are: Vanyajati (castes of forest), Vanvasi (inhabitants of forest), Janjati (fold people), Adimjati (primitive people), Anusuchit Janjati (scheduled tribe) and so on. Among all these terms Adivasi is known most extensively, and Anusuchit Janjati Scheduled Tribe is the constitutional name covering all of them.

They have retained their customs and regulations; nearly all marry within their restricted local groups, and are sometimes guided by their own elders or political chiefs in their internal and external affairs. In other words, they form socially distinct communities in contrast to their neighbours. It is these communities which have been designated tribes, and listed in a schedule for special treatment.

Barring a very small fraction, there is little difference between their economic life and that of their neighbouring rural folk. Yet, as the tribes have, more or less, retained their separate social identity and, on the whole, can be regarded as comparatively isolated and economically backward, they have been placed under the category of scheduled tribes.

Social life is the essence of human life. It grows out of constant patterning of social interactions and relationships among human beings as such. In the social life of the Indian tribes though certain common characteristics cut across the four geographical regions, yet there are some strong local variations. The factors, which form the matrix of social life are five: (1) Natural environment, (2) Population, (3)

Human being, (4) Material technology and, (5) Social environment. These go to constitute the parameter for organized social life.

Of these components, the natural environment is often conceived as the basic. All societies depend on it for their basic needs such as food, fuel, shelter, etc. Furthermore, to the extent that we do manage to procure natural products, our social life must be organized to make this effort a success. Next the population provides the raw material for a well-organized society as it is always composed of relationships among people constituting the population.

An individual cannot form social life and at the same time a population explosion in a group disorganizes life. The ethnic composition of a society may likewise influence many aspects of its social life. Sex ratio of a population again can prove itself to be balancing power for the family and some other institutions.

The human being is another factor in this regard and the action of an individual in a group or society is responsible for the patterns and ways of the social life of the said group. All individuals are assumed to meet the requirements of the group by collective means.

Material technology always is inseparably linked with social life. This technique helps in obtaining natural resources, erecting a shelter, making tools, preparing food, etc., and the range of material technology is a parameter for the society to be called advanced or backward and inevitable shapes it.

Apart from these four, another factor of paramount importance is the social environment. An organized social life occurs against a background of innumerable



other social environments as social organization, social interaction, social order, its design, co-operation, the economic construction, etc. Hence the social life is a composite whole or a web of diverse social organizations and phenomena.

Tribals and tribal areas in India have attracted the attention of administrators, anthropologists, economists, social workers etc., in the wake of development programmes in those areas. Anthropologists particularly, did a meticulous job in the field of applied anthropology and tribal welfare by studying the various tribal communities in India.

Studies on tribals originated under the influence of and to save the purpose of the colonial administration of the British. The alien administrators could realise that for an effective and successful administration of the nations they needed the knowledge of their life and culture. The foreign missionaries, too, felt the necessity of knowing about their habits, religious traditions, customs and practices and their languages for the purposes of conversion. According to Vidhyarthi<sup>19</sup> the studies on the tribals fall in three categories: -

1. Formative period (1774- 19190)
2. Constructive period ( 1920 -1949)
3. Analytical period (1950 onwards)

The systematic use of such study for effective administration in India was first as early as in 1807 when the court of directors of the East India company made a formal decision that 'such knowledge would be of a great use in future

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<sup>19</sup> Vidhyarthi, L.P., '*Applied Anthropology & Development in India*', National Publishing House, New Delhi, 1980, pp. (iii).

administration of the country.<sup>20</sup> Since, the anthropologically oriented officers prepared hand books, gazetteers, monograph etc. on the tribe of India. Scholars like Hutton who came out with his view, regarding the evil effects of contract on tribes carried out studies on tribals. He said that 'the solution of the problem would be to create self governing tribal areas with free powers of self-determination in legal to surrounding or adjacent units.'<sup>21</sup>

The systematic and analytical publication about the tribal problems was attended for the first time in tribal issue of the Eastern anthropologist in 1949 to which a number of anthropologists i.e., (Chattopadhyaya, Naik, Dube, Shrivastava, Majumdar) and other and few social workers contributed papers on the various aspects of changing tribes of different parts of India.<sup>22</sup>

Tribal population is traditionally considered marginal to the mainstream of Indian society and civilization by laymen and scholars alike, while its contribution to the formation of the synthetic culture of the country and its role in the creation of different character of areas is significant. The tribes have received scant attention from both social and population geographers. So the geographical studies of the problems of tribes is such that it has to depend substantially on related branches or other disciplines such as anthropology. The Geographers had come with the distribution of the tribal population across the regions and the causes for these distributions through the theories like core-periphery model, spatial segmentation

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<sup>20</sup> Roy Burman, B.K., '*An approach to the Socio-economic Development of tribal communities: Adivasi*', Vol, IX, No.2, 1967-68, pp.24.

<sup>21</sup> Hutton. J.H., '*Census of India*', Vol. Part-III, Ethnographic Notes, Simla, Govt. of India Press, India, 1961, PP.504-507.

<sup>22</sup> Eastern Anthropologist, Vol.III, No. I, Sept. 1949. PP.240-243.

and others. However an interest in these problems is growing and a number of studies are coming up on the geography of tribes of India.

Socio-economic transformation has a wide connotation involving the indicators ranging from measuring the degree of social & economic parameters such as education, religion, language, urbanization, industrialization, occupational structure, and other infrastructural facilities which reflect the transformation of tribal societies opening up a new vista for change. The literature, which has been appeared in the books, journals, articles and other governmental plan documents can be broadly grouped under the following sub-heads:

1. Studies on social change
2. Studies of economic change.

**2.3.1 Studies on social change:** Studies on social change among tribes of Madhya Pradesh have been done extensively by the social scientists, W.G. Grigson<sup>23</sup> who wrote a voluminous monograph on the Maria Gonds of Bastar. Along with the descriptive accounts, the author presents an analytical appraisal of the social and cultural changes that have taken place among the tribes of Bastar. Verrier Elwin<sup>24</sup> who came out with his first monograph on the Baiga tribe in which he formulates his National Parkland Theory. The author's advocacy for a more liberal attitude to Bewar (shifting) cultivation free use of forests and most strict policy for others to settle in the tribal area made him controversial.

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<sup>23</sup> Grigson, W.G.; 1867-70: "Notes on the Bheels of North of the Nerbadda." Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol.9.

<sup>24</sup> Elwin, Verrier; 1939: 'The Baiga', London Johan Murray.

Elwin's next problem oriented book, analyses the acculturative processes among the tribes of Madhya Pradesh. In his book, 'The loss of nerves', he focusses on those Hinduised tribe who have suffered from moral depression and decay and advocates the policy of planned acculturation. T.B. Naik<sup>25</sup> who wrote, 'The changing tribe' in which he discusses the change processes which are observed by the tribals with the introduction of new religious practices and other attributes of change. He also discusses the educational changes brought into the tribals.

Among tribal problems, special attention has been given to the study of educational psychology. Among the studies done an education among tribals, a paper has been written by L. R. N. Srivastava<sup>26</sup> on education for the tribals in which he discusses the types of education, methods of education, contents of education, medium of instruction, the wastage and stagnation in tribal schools and the need for a uniform policy.

The study made by Jaiswal S.K.<sup>27</sup> is an attempt towards analyzing the problem pertaining to tribes of Madhya Pradesh in the overall context of state population. The chapter on the impact of the forces of acculturation is of particular interest as it analyses education, modern occupation and welfare programmes in the state as factors of acculturation of tribal communities.

Sachidananda, who wrote 'Tribal Education in India'<sup>28</sup> and socio- economic aspects of tribal education<sup>29</sup> describes the various measures for the upliftment and

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<sup>25</sup> Naik, T.B., 'The changing tribe' Tribal Research Institute, Chindwara (M.P.) 1965, PP.153-67.

<sup>26</sup> Srivastava, L.R.N., 'Some aspects of integration of Tribal people's problems of Tribal education in India', Tribal education unit, Departments of Adult Education, NCERT, New Delhi, PP.17-22.

<sup>27</sup> Jaiswal, A.K., 'Demographic structure of Tribal Society', Meenakshi Prakashan, New Delhi, 1979, PP.117-140.

<sup>28</sup> Sachidananda, 'Tribal Education in India', Vanyajati, Vol.XII (1), 1964, PP.3-4.

<sup>29</sup> Sachidananda, 'Socio-economic aspects of Tribal education in India – Report of the National seminar on Tribal Education in India', NCERT, New Delhi, 1967, PP.99-108.

betterment of tribals and suggests that if “a generic protection is given and real life is restored their will be happy future for those tribals who are suffering from the loss of the nerves”.<sup>30</sup>

Father Stephan Fuchs<sup>31</sup> wrote a book, which presents a study of the Bhumias and the Gonds in a comparative manner, and brings out the mutual interactions between the two tribes as well as their interactions with the Hindu culture of the region. He presents a dynamic view of culture and brings out the changes that have taken place in the two tribes in the course of time.

Ghurye<sup>32</sup> who traced the natural process of assimilation of the tribes, came out with a book and at one place observes as follows, which selects his stand for encouraging the process of assimilation, ‘some of the tribes are so far Hinduised that they have got assimilated. as different castes in the caste system. This gradual process of assimilation, however during the British regime, owing to the policy of the government as well as activities of the missionary.’”

S.C. Dube<sup>33</sup> who has done extensive work on the changing social conditions among the tribes of Madhya Pradesh describes the changes among the tribals due to the contacts with the non-tribal and modernizing attitudes.

A paper on culture contact and consequences among the gonds of the sagar district was published by K.K. Srivastava<sup>34</sup> in which he describes the cultural

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<sup>30</sup> Elwin, ‘*The loss of nerves*’: A comparative study of the contact of people in the aboriginal areas of Bastar State Central Province of India, 1952, PP.84-94.

<sup>31</sup> Fuchs Stephan, ‘*The Gonds and Bhumias of Eastern Handla*’, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960, PP.115-119.

<sup>32</sup> Ghurye, ‘*The scheduled Tribes*’, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1963, PP.180.

<sup>33</sup> Dube, S.C., and Bhadadur, F., ‘*A study on the tribal people and tribal areas of M.P.*’. Govt. regional press, Indore, 1967, PP.38-39.

<sup>34</sup> Srivastava, K.K. ‘*Culture contact and consequence among the Gonds of Sagar District*’; Published in Vinyajati, Vol.XI, 1963, OO.103-107.

contact of the gonds with the non-tribal population due to which changes have taken place among the tribals.

**2.3.2 Studies on Economic Change:** Economic Organisation consists of the ordering and organisation of human relations and human effort in order to procure as many of the necessities of day-to-day life as possible with the expenditure of minimum effort.<sup>35</sup> This definition holds good for any pre-historic, primitive or modern society. Only the conception of what is regarded as necessary for life and what as a luxury differs.

Tribal culture in India is passing through a phase of economic change with the rest of the country. Modern technology and concepts have been developed. The tribal economy too is witnessing a continuous impact of the new modern economies which is evident from the fact of the emergence of some new economic typologies among them, viz., labourer type and while-collar job type.

It is very difficult to find a simple and precise form or trend of change in tribal economy as it is fast changing on local levels. But the best approach to the identification of the change would be to consider the different new economic activities and developments on one hand and the description of a few resultant forms of economies which have emerged on the other. This would rather reveal the nature and extent of the economic transformation in the present period of opportunities of advancement to every citizen on the basis of common socialism like the tribal markets have been linked to the big markets and this has introduced many innovations in the tribal life. The tribals are buying their so-called fashionable and luxurious articles. At the same time tribal goods are also finding their way into a

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<sup>35</sup> D.N. Majumdar and T. N. Madan, '*An Introduction to Social Anthropology*', Bombay, 197, p.188.

wider markets. This has encouraged tribal economic activity. The agriculturist tribes like the Mundas and Oraons are providing potatoes of new varieties for the weekly markets. The artisan type tribes like the Mahali are producing goods not only for their fellow tribals but for wholesale also to earn money.

The co-operative movement has also introduced a new economic trend. The agriculturist type tribals are accepting new seeds and fertilizers from the co-operatives. Forest labour co-operative societies are adding new dimensions to the forest produce. The commercial banks have just started giving loans to poor tribals. A few of the urban neighborhood are getting loans to improve their economic condition. This has shaken the moneylender's business and thus exploitation. The tribals who have not make themselves open to the Land Mortgage Act are being exploited by outsiders and even by their own fellow big men. The monetary economy and high times have given them a concept of saving for future. They send the savings from the earnings made by labourers to their parental villages especially from Assam to Chotanagpur by the Mundas, the Oraons, and the Santals or from urban areas of Maharashtra and Gujarat to tribal villages of the Bhils. Again a shift in the consumption pattern is there, i.e., from need-base to the impersonal needs. Their mode of dressing is changing from half-clad to full-clad. Now they do not live with what they have but try to obtain what is not locally available from urban and semi-urban centres.

Emergence of a commercial aptitude is directly reflected in their produce like potatoes, green vegetables, etc. Tribals have developed new potato and vegetable varieties to cope with the rising demand of industrial and urban centres in their neighbourhood, viz., Ranchi, Bokaro, Rourkela, etc. In this context the tribals of Bero near Ranchi need mention who have developed a rainy-season potato to earn

money from eastern India. Sale of minor forest produces like firewood, tooth sticks, seasonal fruits, broom-grass, tendu leaves by the tribals and establishment of the forest co-operative federation in Andhra Pradesh and recently in Bihar are good examples to show the growth of a new economy among the tribals. Summing up the discussion, the line of change in tribal economy based on their major typologies may be taken for the time being as: (i) from forest hunting economy to forest hunting and agriculture, (ii) from hill cultivation to settled cultivation, (iii) simple agricultural economy to multicrop agricultural economy, labour and white-collar job and commercial economy, and (iv) from artisan type to artisan-plus-marketing and so on.<sup>36</sup> Thus the tribes present a notable range of economic process and something tribal has finally emerged in the economy.

Industrialization could also bring in its wake a host of problems associated with urbanization. Joshi's paper highlights these maladies in the Bastar region, where due to urbanization the traditional bonds of societies tend to get loosened and says that 'The advanced section of the tribal communities have become keenly conscious of the machines of modern system.'<sup>37</sup>

D.N. Majumdar<sup>38</sup> who describes the role of urban centers in changing the tribal social and economic set up. He says that due to the establishment of urban centers or interaction with the urban population, their needs have increased and started adopting the urban way of life.

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<sup>36</sup> Vidhyarthi, L.P.; 1976: *The Tribal Culture Of India* pg141, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi.

<sup>37</sup> Joshi, R.S. *Impact of Industrialization on Tribals: A case study on Biladila Bastar*, PP.367-380.

<sup>38</sup> Majumdar, D.N. *Social Condition of an Industrial City*: Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960, PP.275-84.



money from eastern India. Sale of minor forest produces like firewood, tooth sticks, seasonal fruits, broom-grass, tendu leaves by the tribals and establishment of the forest co-operative federation in Andhra Pradesh and recently in Bihar are good examples to show the growth of a new economy among the tribals. Summing up the discussion, the line of change in tribal economy based on their major typologies may be taken for the time being as: (i) from forest hunting economy to forest hunting and agriculture, (ii) from hill cultivation to settled cultivation, (iii) simple agricultural economy to multicrop agricultural economy, labour and white-collar job and commercial economy, and (iv) from artisan type to artisan-plus-marketing and so on.<sup>36</sup> Thus the tribes present a notable range of economic process and something tribal has finally emerged in the economy.

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T.B. Naik & L.M Bhaskar<sup>39</sup> also describes the spread of modernizing attributes among the tribes of Madhya Pradesh. The text book. 'The Abuj Marias'<sup>40</sup> which describes the changing socio-economic pattern of the Marias living on the hills & forests of Bastar district.

D.N. Majumdar<sup>41</sup> who wrote a book 'A tribe in transition' describes the changing socio-economic conditions of the tribals with the opening of new roads into tribal areas.

According to K.S Singh.<sup>42</sup> occupational changes among the tribals have been largely due to the frequent communication and contact with the non-tribals. Due to the increase in pressure on land, tribals have adopted new and superior farming practices.

L. P. Vidyarthi,<sup>43</sup> in his paper, describes the various resources taken by the government for the development of the tribals and gives an information about the employment, education, health and related matters.

B.D. Sharma<sup>44</sup> using a framework for understanding problems and prospects of industrial complexes and their hinterlands recommends training for tribal leaders. Local communities as important third partners and consultations with local jati leaders were found essential for solving the problems of industrialization in rural areas. He feels it, "necessary to isolate these areas which can be influenced

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<sup>39</sup> Naik T.B, & Bhaskar K.M. (ed.) 'The Economic Organization & Market', 1964, Tribal Research Institute, Chindwara (M.P.)

<sup>40</sup> Naik K. T.B. (ed.) 'The Abuja Marias Socio-economic aspect of a little known Tribe culture' Tribal Research Institute Chindwara (M.P.), 1963, PP.122-25.

<sup>41</sup> Majumdar D.N. 'A Tribe in Transition', Universal Publishers Ltd., Lucknow, 1950, PP.45-54.

<sup>42</sup> Singh K.S. (ed.), 'Economics of Tribes & their Transformation', New Delhi, 1982, PP.152-173.

<sup>43</sup> Vidyarthi, L.P. 'Tribal Development in Independence India & its Future', Man in India, 54, 1974, PP.45-71.

<sup>44</sup> Sharma B.D., 'Economic Development of Extremely Backward Tribal Regions', Indian Anthropologists, 3, 1, 1973, PP.109-134.

harmonizing the central needs of industrial process and development and welfare of tribal communities”.

According to Roy Burman<sup>45</sup> the Santals were eager to embrace the industrial works to enhance their status. But this status had to be kept up in the eyes of other farmers by heavy borrowing from money lenders and other factory workers. The lure for financial security and social position lead to unwanted features as a result of industrialization.

Vidhyarthi<sup>46</sup> in analysing the position of the labour in the Hatia industrial complex notes that due to loss of arable land people were attracted towards industrial occupations. As a result majorities of them are dependent on the industries rather than on agriculture.

Srivastava, LRN<sup>47</sup> gives an account about what happens to a group of simple people in whose habitat industrial activities are currently at work. He gives ethnographic details about Dandani Maria, their family, marriage, domestic economy, income and expenditure, problems and attitude of tribals towards the project. Discussing the result of imposition of mining complex on tribal people, he says the ecology of south Bastar has deteriorated with pollution of water in the streams and a number of tribals families sucked in by the forces of Industrialization have been reduced to nomadic wage labourers.

Sachchidananda and Mandal<sup>48</sup>, stressed on social disorganization in the tribal society of Bihar as a result of industrialization in and around Hatia and Jamshedpur.

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<sup>45</sup> Ao,A.(ed.)Roy Burman,B.K.;1966: “*Dewas-A Santhal Village*,”Census of India 1961 Monograph,Vol.No.1,Part6.

<sup>46</sup> Vidhyarthi,L.P;1973: ‘*The Dyanamics of Tribal Leadership in Bihar*’,Allahabad,Kitab Mahal.

<sup>47</sup> Srivastava,L.R.N;1962: ‘*The Gallong*’,Shillong,Research Department,Adviser’s Secretariat.

<sup>48</sup> Sachidananda; 1964: ‘*Culture change in Tribal Bihar*’,Calcutta,Bookland Pvt.Ltd.

Increase in population lead to pressure on land holdings, resulting in the breaking of the joint ownership of land and proliferation of small farmers and landless labourers combined with transfer of land from tribals to non- tribals. Education, urban-contacts and industrial employment also lead to the emergence of new agricultural practices, improved seeds, fertilizers and pesticides.

Srivastava<sup>49</sup> observed that due to Bailadila iron ore project in Dantewara, increase in population leads to pressure on land holdings and acceptance of industrial jobs, land alienation being a major factor. He observes a raise in crimes insinuated by disputes pertaining to jobs and lands in the tribal regions of Dantewara.

Kabra<sup>50</sup> studies the villages on the periphery of Udaipur city which were influenced by the contacts of urban environment which offered diverse employment facilities. The interest in industrial jobs was also due to the pressure of population density on limited land holdings. Industrial jobs were preferred due to better wages and regular employment in comparison to limited results and irregular work in cultivation.

## **2.4 Tribal Development In India**

The scheme of tribal development has to be seen in the perspective of the general development programmes. Conceptually, tribal development programmes were not anything different except that more effort was needed to fridge the gulf between the tribal and the rest of the country. So, “the problem of tribal

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<sup>49</sup> Srivastava,S.K.;1958: *The Tharu:A Study in Cultural Dynamics*,Agra,Agra University Press.

<sup>50</sup> Kabra;1958: “*Bhils of Western Khandesh*”,Journal of Anthropological Society of Bombay.

development came to be recognised more of finding additional resources rather than that of a different strategy”.<sup>51</sup>

The first Five Year Plan was stated in 1951, during which a comprehensive programme of community development aiming at all-round development in the rural areas was stated in 1952. This concept was adopted in the tribal areas also. However, since the tribal areas needed higher financial investment because of poor communications and little institutional infrastructure, the community development programme was supplemented by the ‘Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Project’. Accordingly 43 Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Projects were started in 1954.<sup>52</sup>

A review in 1956 brought out that Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Projects were too intensive to be sustained for the entire tribal region. As a result, during the second Five Year Plan, a wider programme of Tribal Development Blocks were formulated for areas having a vary high tribal concentration, i.e., only areas having more than two third tribal population. This programme of Tribal Development Blocks was conceived in two stages of five years each, the second stage of the programme being pursued during the Third Plan period when a third stage of five years was added. the review in the fourth plan showed that much remained to be done even after the second stage was completed.<sup>53</sup> By then, there were about 500 Tribal Development Blocks covering about 40% of the tribal population.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Raizada, Ajit – ‘*Tribal Development in Madhya Pradesh - A planning perspective*’ p.38. Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1984.

<sup>52</sup> Sharma, B.D. – ‘*Planning for Tribal Development*’, p.56, Prachi Prakashan, New Delhi, 1984.

<sup>53</sup> Deoagaonkar, SG – ‘*Tribal Administration and Development*’, p.42, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1994.

<sup>54</sup> Raizada, Ajit – ‘*Tribal Development in Madhya Pradesh – A Planning Perspective*’, p.40, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1984.

The programme of Tribal Development Blocks did not however, have the desired impact. By and large, the areas only with more than two-third tribal population got benefited from it, leaving the remaining dispersed tribal population to be served by the general development programmes. Furthermore, the programme gradually acquired a schematic form which became quite rigid, and the task of tribal development became synonymous with the scheme of Tribal Development Blocks, even though they catered to limited areas, with a few schemes and a limited outlay. The protective measures relating to various facts of the transitional phase in the tribal economy – particularly, the regulation of the transfer of land, marketing and money lending were not linked with the new development system under the Blocks.<sup>55</sup>

The drawbacks of the scheme namely Tribal Development Blocks were pointed out by the Dhebal Commission, which made the first comprehensive review of the tribal scene in 1961. They recommended extension of Tribal Development Blocks to cover all areas with more than 50% tribal population. They also noted the slow pace of development, the meager investments in tribal areas and the inadequacy of the protective measures. Another review of the tribal development programmes was undertaken by Shilu Ao Committee in 1969. It said that the Tribal Development Blocks were inadequate for dealing with the complex problem of tribal development and that they were too small to function effectively as basis unit for planning and implementation. The committee also drew attention to the non-implementation of the recommendations of the Dhebal Commission.

A major problem in the Tribal areas was the “the concerned departments started functioning only in pursuance of the national programmes for various

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<sup>55</sup> Sharma, B.D. – ‘*Planning for Tribal Development*’ p. 37, Pachi Prakashan, New Delhi, 1984.

sectors, for example, mining and industrial projects. In such development projects, the level of investment was generally high and the complementary infrastructure also got built up. All this effort, however did not take the human element into consideration and the Tribal became incidental in the whole process. On the other hand, the presence of a tribal welfare programme in these areas gave an impression as if the problems of the tribal were being taken care of...".<sup>56</sup>

During the fourth plan a series of programmes for rural areas, addressed to specific target groups were conceived, like the Small Farmers Development Agencies (SFDA). A new programme on the pattern of Small Farmers Development Agencies also conceived for tribal areas, known as the Tribal Development Agency. It was taken up on a pilot basis, only in regions experiencing agrarian unrest. Six Tribal Development Agencies were started during the fourth plan. Two of them were started in Dantewara and Kauta in Bastar (Madhya Pradesh). The others focus were in Genupul in Koraput and Baliguda in Phulbania (Orissa); Chaibasa in Singhbhum (Bihar) and Srikakulam (Andhra Pradesh). Later two more Tribal Development Agencies were established towards the end of the fourth plan period in Kaptipada in Mayurbanj and Keonjhar (Orissa).<sup>57</sup> Each Tribal Development Agency covered a group of Tribal Development Blocks. They envisaged a comprehensive frame of development comprising economic development, social services and protective measures. But basically they remained agricultural development programmes, which an additional investment and development of roads. The level of investment in the Tribal Development Agencies was much higher compared to Tribal Development Blocks, but they did not cross the pilot stage.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Raizada, Ajit- '*Tribal Development in Madhya Pradesh – A Planning Perspective*' p.39, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1984.

<sup>57</sup> Sharma, B.D. – '*Planning for Tribal Development*', p.60, Prachi Prakashan, New Delhi, 1984.

<sup>58</sup> Deogaonkar, S.G – '*Tribal Administration and Development*', p.33, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1981.

The situation in the tribal areas was reviewed on the eve of the formulation of the fifth plan (1972) by an Expert Committee which was required to present a concrete plan of action for the fifth five year plan. The short-comings of the Tribal Development Block were clear by now, as these programmes were too small and schematic to lead to an all-round development of these areas. The tribal situation was so complex and varied that no single prescription could have universal applicability for all tribal areas. Each area presented a unique situation in terms of its resources, people, and stage of infrastructural development etc. Therefore, the schematic approach had to be abandoned and to be replaced by a specific programme for each area.

In this context, the fifth plan attempted to present a special policy frame for the development of the tribal areas in the form of a sub-plan. It envisaged a total picture of development. The guidelines of the planning commission clearly stated that all activities of the government and semi-government organization, financing and credit-institutions and special sector programmes must be fully integrated. It further emphasized that the actual conditions of the tribal areas should be the determining factor for the approach to tribal development.

The Tribal Sub-Plan approach consists of three main Components: -

1. Integrated Tribal Development Projects:- composing administrative units like sub-division/Tahsils/Talukas with 50% or more tribal population. The Integrated Tribal Development Programme approach envisaged multi-level planning at all levels – the Development Block constituted the unit of planning at the micro – level. The project area which comprised a number of contiguous blocks was



taken at the meso-level. Two or more tribal development projects taken together formed the highest tier, i.e., the macro level.<sup>59</sup>

2. Primitive Tribal Group Projects: - It was realized in the fifth plan that there were some Tribal communities, which needed very special care both at the stage of planning and implementation of development programmes, four criteria were adopted to identify these primitive communities – (a) Communities at Pre-agricultural stage, at food gathering and hunting stage, (b) Small communities which might find even a minor disturbance in the total system as destabilizing, (c) Degree of isolation (d) Level of literacy, those communities with less than 5% literacy. In the fifth plan, 48 such communities were identified.
3. Projects for pockets of Dispersed Tribal Population: - In any programme of tribal development for the dispersed tribal population, attention had to be focussed on the individual and the group.

A comprehensive programme of development was prepared during the fifth plan. All the areas under fifth schedule qualified for inclusion in the new tribal development scheme. The situation every state was reviewed to ensure that the benefit of the new thrust for tribal development was extended to as large a section of the tribal population as possible. This was the first application of the principle of adopting a flexible approach.

Elimination of exploitation was accorded the highest priority in the new strategy. It was accepted that no development activity could be of any benefit to the

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<sup>59</sup> Tribal Development in the fifth plan – some Basic policy papers'. Vol.I, 1975, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India in RAIZADA. A – 'Tribal Development in Madhya Pradesh – A planning Perspective' p.47. Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1984.

tribals unless their exploitation was prevented. The economic issues got a second priority in the new development strategy, next to the protection measures.

The outlay for Tribal sub-plans during the fifth plan was fixed at Rs.1440 crores. Investments moved up substantially under the tribal sub-plan approach. A sectoral break-up of the outlay for tribal development during the fifth plan, reflects a pattern of investment receiving in favour of high priority programmes and schemes concerning the weaker sections of the society. Agriculture and allied sectors claimed the highest investment amounting to about 26%, followed by education and health services amounting to about 21%, co-operative was given a very high step-up with a total investment of Rs.60 crores, meant for marketing of agriculture and minor forest produce. The credit and marketing structure in the sub-plan areas was re-organized into Large Agricultural Multi-purpose Societies (LAMPS). Transport and communications were kept at a low key claiming only 8% of the total investment. By the end of the fifth plan, it was possible to cover about 63% of the total tribal population under the tribal sub-plan.

However, the tribal sub-plan approach inspite of presenting a comprehensive perspective on tribal development, going beyond the earlier thinking on the subject continued to suffer from certain drawbacks .

Inspite of the critical reviews of the sub-plan approach the priorities of development programmes during the sixth plan broadly, continued to follow the approach adopted in the fifth plan. Education was now accepted as the highest priority programme. The Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) was

adopted to cover smaller areas of tribal concentration having 10,000 or more population, of which 50% or more are tribals.

During the seventh plan, the programme of tribal development under the sub-plan approach was continued but better co-ordination was sought between the various agencies and social services were given priority. During this plan period, clusters of tribal concentration with 5000 or more population, with 50% or more tribal concentration were identified. Moreover, the tribal sub-plan strategy benefits were extended to all the tribals, including the dispersed tribals who were not covered by the Integrated Tribal Development Programme, Modified Area Development Approach, cluster groups and primitive groups. Finally, oriented programmes were extended to them. The same approach more or less continued to be followed in the Eighth five year plan.

The Tribal sub-plan concept evolved and implemented during the fifth plan. Thus continued to be the instrument of development for tribal people. Still lot need to be done in terms of the development of the tribal population especially in the fields of education which is very low as compared to the non-tribal population, measures to prevent marginalisation, land alienation, indebtedness, improving health status and poverty.

## Chapter-3

### Distribution Patterns Among the Tribal Groups

#### 3.1: Introduction

The notion of 'Unity in diversity' could be best visualized, when one examines our country. India displays a very high degree of social and ethnic diversity with a multitude of castes and tribal groups representing the different stages in the social evolution of the human kind. In our country there are two different social orders namely a caste based social order, which is highly stratified into a more or less rigid hierarchy, and a tribal social order, which is less, stratified and egalitarian in both nature and content. In spite of this distinction, there had been an absolute cohesiveness in their living, survival instincts, besides variations in their culture, social organization and economic organization.

The Indian tribes display a high degree of ethnic diversity both in their racial composition, linguistic affinity, and religious practices. There are as many as many as 285 different communities which act as an index of this ethnic diversity. The spatial distribution of these tribes is also very diverse, but besides this variation their clustering had been predominately in and around the forests, rugged topographies which are isolated from the mainstream peasant societies<sup>1</sup>.

The study of any population is concerned not only with its size and characteristics, but also with how it is distributed in various spatial divisions and the changes that occur in the patterns of population distribution over the years.

The importance of studying population distribution by geographic areas becomes evident when it is realized that small, heavily populated areas exist near virtually uninhabited or sparsely inhabited areas. These patterns are not static but undergo changes in response to several factors.

The Multilingual Demographic Dictionary, compiled by the United Nations, explains : "Each population lives in a given area or territory, and a study of the

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<sup>1</sup> Aijazuddin Ahmad.,;1999: '*Social Geography*' Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

geographical or spatial distribution deals with the way in which they are distributed over the territory.”<sup>2</sup>

There are several factors which affect the distribution of population which can be classified as – (i) Physical factors, (ii) Economic and social factors, (iii) Demographic factors. Besides, there are also certain chance factors like the physical and social disasters which also influence the distribution of the population.

The physical factors which include are like –

- (a) Climate where the sub-factors like temperature, precipitation,
- (b) Topography,
- (c) Resource availability which includes soil, energy and mineral resources,
- (d) Space relationships.

The social and economic determinants which influence the distribution patterns are – (a) Types of economic activities. (b) Techniques of Production, (c) Transportation networks, (d) Political ideologies and governmental policies.

There are also various social and physical disasters like floods, storms, wars, and political instability which cause the migration of millions of people. Migration and difference in the natural rates of growth are the two main reasons for the uneven distribution of population.

A population may be distributed into sub-groups, according to each of the foregoing characteristics like, when sex is considered, the entire population may be classified into two groups : males or females when religion is considered the entire population may be divided into different religions groups. The study of population structure and characteristics thus relates to the distribution of one or more of these characteristics or attributes within a population.

The numerical strength of the scheduled tribes according to the 1991 census is around 67.75 millions accounting for 8.08% of the total population where in 1971 accounting for the total population. Among the states of the Indian union Madhya Pradesh has the highest number of scheduled tribe population with 1,53,99,034

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<sup>2</sup> United Nations, Multilingual Demographic Dictionary, ST/SOA/SER. A/29, Population Studies No. 29, New York : 1958, p. 16.

accounting for about 22.7% of the total scheduled tribe population of India, which is around 24% of the total state population.

This Chapter actually deals with the distribution major tribes which have more than one lakh population namely Baiga, Bhils, Gonds, Halbi, Kawars, Kols, Korku, Oraon, Sahariya and all the minor tribes had been clubbed under the category 'others'. The distribution of these tribes had been studied looking through all the 45 districts of Madhya Pradesh. There had been two variables which had been taken for the study namely – (1) the percentage distribution of all the ten categories in all the districts, (2) Concentration of the selected tribal groups in all the districts of Madhya Pradesh by using Location Quotient.

**a. Percentage of Tribal population in the district ⇒**

$$\frac{\text{Total Population of a particular Tribe in the District}}{\text{Total Scheduled Tribe Population in the District}} \times 100$$

**b. Location quotient ⇒**

$$\frac{\frac{\text{Total Tribal Population of a Particular Tribe in the District}}{\text{Total Population in the District}}}{\frac{\text{Total Tribal Population of a Particular Tribe in the State}}{\text{Total Population in the State}}}$$

**3.2 Percentage Distribution of Major Tribes in Madhya Pradesh:**

The distribution of these tribes had been studied among all the 45 districts of Madhya Pradesh at two points of time. 1971 and 1991. This kind of analysis could help in formulating any tribe-centered policies according to their population, for their development and also to undertake any further studies.

The distribution had been further grouped under five categories – (a) 80-100% - dominant, (b) 50-80% - highly important, (c) 20-50% - important, (d) 1-20% - significant, (e) below 1% - low. This analysis had been done tribe wise.

**3.2.1 Gonds:** Gonds form a dominant tribe in whole of Madhya Pradesh.

There are spread in almost all the districts of Madhya Pradesh. They are very dominant with 80-100 percent in 9 districts in 1971 and in 6 districts in 1991. The districts are Bastar, Seoni, Mandla, Mandasaur, Narsimhapur. They inhabit in 7 districts in 1971 and in 8 districts in 1991 as a highly important tribe. While in 10 districts with 20-50 percent of the tribe population in 1971 and in 9 districts in 1991. The remaining districts carry the Gond population in the range of 0-20% in the above stated years, 1971 and 1991 which is shown in the Table 3.1. Among the districts of Mandala, Narsimhapur, Seoni, Bastar the core of the Gonds is located from where they had scattered to various other districts.

**Table :3.1 Percentage Distribution of Gond Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

Category	1971		1991	
	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts
80-100% -- Dominant	9	Mandasaur, Ujjain, Raisen, Hosangabad, Narasimhapur, Mandala, Seoni, Balaghat, Bastar.	6	Narsimhapur, Mandala, Chindwara, Seoni, Bastar, Damoh.
50-80% -- Highly Important	7	Shajapur, Bhopal, Betul, Jabalpur, Chindwara, Durg, Raipur.	8	Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Bilaspur, Raipur, Panna, Sagar.
20-50% -- Important	10	Bhind, Chattarpur, Rauna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Dewas, Sehore, Surguja, Bilaspur.	9	Surguja, Durg, Bhind, Satna, Rajnandgoan, Shahdol, Sidhi, Bhopal, Sehore.
1-20% -- Significant	11	Morena, Gwalior, Guna, Tikamgarh, Satna, Indore, W.Nimar, E.Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Raigarh.	13	Gwalior, Ratia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattargarh, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Rewas, E. Nemar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Raigarh.
Below 1% -- Low	8	Datia, Shivpuri, Sagar, Damoh, Ratlam, Jhabua, Dhar, Rajnandgoan.	8	Balaghat, Morena, Rewa, Mandasuar, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

**3.2.2 Bhils:** The Bhils hold a dominant status with 80-100 percent in 5 districts namely Ratlam, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, West Nimar in 1971 where the core of the tribe is located from where they dispersed to the 7 districts namely Mandasaur, Ratlam, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, West Nimar and Rajgarh in 1991. Bhils occupy two districts in 1991 with 50-80% in Ujjain and Shajapur. They hold an important position in 3 districts in 1991 and one district in 1971, ranging between 20-80 percent. The remaining districts fall under the significant and low categories. Table 3.2 shows the percentage distribution of Bhils across the years.

**Table :3.2 Percentage Distribution of Bhil Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

Category		1971		1991
	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts
80-100% -- Dominant	5	Ratlam, Satna, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar.	7	Mandasur, Ratlam, Satna, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, Rajgarh.
50-80% -- Highly Important	—	nil	2	Ujjain, Shajapur.
20-50% -- Important	1	Sehore	3	Guna, Dewas, E. Nimar.
1-20% -- Significant	4	Panna, Raisen, Bhopal, Vidisha.	10	Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Chattarpur, Damoh, Sehore, Raisea, Hosangabad.
Below 1% -- Low	35	Bastar, Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Sivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, E. Nimar, Rajgarh, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Narsimhapur Mandala, Chindwara, Seoni, Balaghat, Surguja, Bilaspur, Rajnandagoan, Durg, Raipur.	23	Tikamgarh, Panna, Sagar, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Vidisha, Bhopal, Raigarh, Betul, Jabalpur, Narasimhapur, Mandala, Chindarwara, Sidhi, Balaghat, Surguja, Bilaspur, Rajnandagoan, Durg, Raipur, Bastar.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)



**3.2.3 Kol:** Kol is a dominant tribe in the district Rewa with 80-100 percent in 1991 and in Satna ranging between 50-80% while it occupies an important place in Sidhi, Jabalpur districts. In 35 districts in 1971 and in 34 districts in 1991 they are low in numbers with less than 1%. Table 3.3 reveals the percentage distribution of the Kols. Satna, Sidhi could be the districts where the core of the Kols is located while Rewa, which is a mining and quarrying area in which the Kols had dominated the activity. In the rest of the districts the Kols had migrated in search of employment and better opportunities.

**Table :3.3 Percentage Distribution of Kol Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

Category		1971		1991
	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts
80-100% -- Dominant	—	nil	1	Rewa
50-80% -- Highly Important	1	Satna	1	Satna
20-50% -- Important	2	Rewa, Sidhi.	2	Sidhi, Jabalpur.
1-20% -- Significant	7	Tikamgarh, Chatarpur, Panna, Shahdol, Jabalpur, Narsimhapur, Maudla.	7	Gwalior, Panna, Sagar, Shahdol, Bhopal, Narsimhapur, Mandla.
Below 1% -- Low	35	Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Sagar, Damoh, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal, Sehore, Raigarh, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Chindawar, Seoni, Balaghat, Surguja, Bilaspur, Rajnandgoan, Durg, Raipur, Bastar.	34	Morena, Bhind, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Damoh, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Sehore, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Chindawara, Seoni, Balaghat, Surguja, Bilaspur, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Raipur, Bastar, Raigarh.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

**3.2.4 Kavar:** The districts of Raigarh and Bilaspur contain the majority of the Kavar population which act as the core of the tribe while, in 4 districts, the Kawars range between 1-20 percent in 1971 and in 8 districts in 1991. In the remaining 39 districts in 1971 and in 36 districts in 1991 Kavar are below one percent where they were dispersed due to various factors like migration, which can be seen in the Table 3.4.

**Table :3.4 Percentage Distribution of Kavar Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

Category	1971		1991	
	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts
80-100% -- Dominant	—	Nil	—	nil
50-80% -- Highly Important	—	Nil	—	nil
20-50% -- Important	2	Raigarh, Bilaspur.	1	Raigarh.
1-20% -- Significant	4	E. Nimar, Sarguja, Durg, Raipur.	8	Bhind, Bhopal, Sarguja, Bilaspur, Rajanandgoan, Durg, Raipur, E. Nimal.
Below 1% -- Low	39	Morena, Rewa, Vidisha, Bhind, Shahdol, Bhopal, Sehore, Gwalior, Sidhi, Raisen, Datia, Mandasaur, Betul, Shivpuri, Ratlam, Hosangabad, Guna, Ujjain, Jabalpur, Tikamgarh, Shajapur, Narsimhapur, Chattarpur, Dewas, Mandla, Chindwara, Panna, Jhabua, Seoni, Sagar, Dhar, Balaghat, Indore, Rajnandgoan, Damoh, W. Nimar, Bastar, Satna, Rajgarh.	36	Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahadol, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewar, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Sehore, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Narsimhapur, Mandla, Chindwara, Seoni, Balaghat, Sarguja, Bastar.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

**3.2.5 Oraon:** Oraons are present in the districts of Raigarh, Narsimhapur, Surguja, Bilaspur, Bhand, Gwalior in significant numbers with 20-50 percent in which the core could be present. They occupy a low position in 41 districts in 1971 and 38 in 1991 with below one percent which form the migrated areas due to various migration reasons. Table 3.5 shows the distribution of Oraons in all the 45 districts.

**Table :3.5 Percentage Distribution of Oraon Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

Category		1971		1991
	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts
80-100% -- Dominant	—	nil	—	nil
50-80% -- Highly Important	—	nil	—	nil
20-50% -- Important	1	Raigarh		nil
1-20% -- Significant	3	Narsimhapur, Surguja, Bilaspur.	7	Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Bhopal, Narasimhapur, Bilaspur, Rajnandangoan.
Below 1% -- Low	41	Morena, Bhand, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal, Sehore, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Mandla, Chindwara, Seoni, Balaghat, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Raipur, Bastar.	38	Morena, Sivapuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, Satna, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Raigarh, Vidisha, Sehore, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Mandala, Chindwara, Seoni, Balaghat, Durg, Raipur, Bastar.

(Source: Appendix no.1 and 2)

**3.2.6 Korku:** The district of East Nimar carries 80-100 percent of the Korku population while Dewas, Bhopal, Betul, Hosangabad districts also possess a commanding percentage of Korku population ranging from 50-80 percent. In the Table 3.6 there are around 35 districts in 1971 and 1991 where the percentage is below one percent. The korku tribe might have its core in the districts of Dewas, East Nimar and Betul from which they had migrated to various other districts through the process of migration.

**Table :3.6 Percentage Distribution of Korku Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

Category		1971		1991
	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts
80-100% -- Dominant	1	E. Nimar	—	nil
50-80% -- Highly Important	1	Dewas.	—	nil
20-50% -- Important	2	Bhopal, Betul.	4	Dewas, E. Nimar, Betul, Hosangabad.
1-20% -- Significant	6	Bhind, Shajapur, Indore, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Chindwara.	6	Bhind, Guna, Mandasaur, Bhopal, Sehore, Raisen.
Below 1% -- Low	35	Morena, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Jhabua, Dhar, W. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Sehore, Raigarh, Raisen, Narsimhapur, Mandla, Seoni, Balaghat, Surguja, Bilaspur, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Raipur, Bastar.	35	Morena, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nijmar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Sabalpur, Narasimhapur, Mandala, Chindwara, Sconi, Balaghat, Surguja, Bilaspur, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Rajpur, Bastar.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

**3.2.7 Sahariya:** There are around 4 districts namely Morena, Gwalior, Shivpuri, Guna in 1971 and two districts in 1991 with Morena and Shivpuri where the Sahariyas occupy 80-100 percent of the tribe population which could be the core area of the Sahariyas. There are 8 districts in 1971 and 13 districts in 1991 where respectable numbers ranging from 20-80 percent of the Sahariya population could be noticed as in Table 3.7 which could be the areas to which they had migrated.

**Table :3.7 Percentage Distribution of Sahariya Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

Category		1971		1991
	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts
80-100% -- Dominant	4	Morena, Gwalior, Shivpuri, Guna.	2	Morena, Shivpuri
50-80% -- Highly Important	2	Rajgarh, Vidisha	3	Gwalior, Datia, Vidisha
20-50% -- Important	1	Bhind	1	Guna
1-20% -- Significant	5	Datia, Tikamgarh, Bhopal, Sehore, Raisen	9	Bhind, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Ujjain, Rajgarh, Bhopal, Raisen
Below 1% -- Low	33	Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Raigarh, Betul, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Narsimhapur, Mandla, Chindwara, Seoni, Balaghat, Surguja, Bilaspur, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Raipur, Bastar.	30	Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Shajapur, Dewas, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Sehore, Betul, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Narsimhapur, Mandla, Chindwara, Seoni, Balaghat, Surguja, Bilaspur, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Raipur, Bastar, Raigarh.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

**3.2.8 Baiga:** The percentage distribution of the Baiga range from 1-20% which implies a significant number in 9 districts in 1971 namely Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Surguja, Balaghat, Mandla and Jabalpur and in 8 districts in 1991 namely Shahdol, Sidhi, Rajnandgaon, Bilaspur, Surguja, Balaghat, Mandla, Jabalpur. The core of tribe is located in one of these districts. The percentage is low which is below 1% in 36 districts in 1971 and in 37 districts in 1991 where the Baigas were dispersed due to factors like migration. The table 3.8 shows the percentage distribution of Baiga.

**Table :3.8 Percentage Distribution of Baiga Tribe**

Category	1971		1991	
	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts
80-100% -- Dominant	—	nil	—	Nil
50-80% -- Highly Important	—	nil	—	Nil
20-50% -- Important	—	nil	—	Nil
1-20% -- Significant	9	Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Surguja, Balaghat, Mandla, Jabalpur.	8	Shadol, Sidhi, Rajnandgaon, Bilaspur, Sarguja, Balaghat, Mandala, Jabalpur.
Below 1% -- Low	36	Dewas, Raipur, Bastar, Chindwara, Seoni, Bilaspur, Betul, Hosangabad, Narsimhapur, Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Rewa, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandsaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, Surguja, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal, Sehore, Rajgarh, Raisen, Jhabua, Dhar.	37	Seoni, Durg, Raipur, Bastar, Narasimhapur, Chindwara, Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Rauroh, Satna, Rewa, Mandsaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, Shabna Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal, Schore, Raigarh, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad,

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

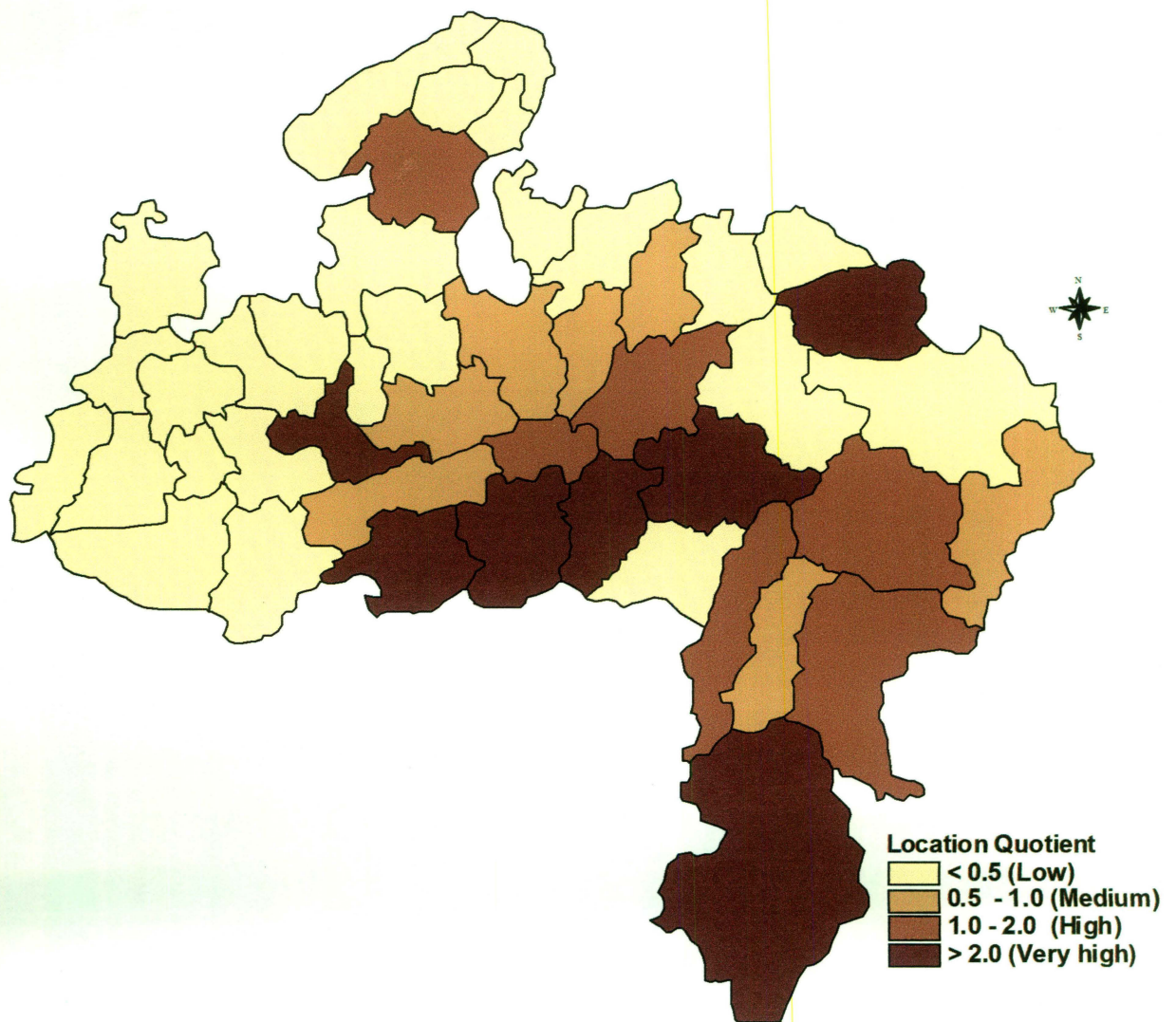
**3.2.9 Halbi:** Halbi occupy a prominent place in the districts of Balaghat and Durg, while significant numbers could be seen in Raipur, Bastar, Rajnandgaon, Bhopal. Among all the other districts they range below 1% of the total tribe population of the district which is shown in the Table 3.9. The core of the Halbi could be in the districts of Durg, Raipur and Bastar but the sudden increase of the Halbi in the district Balaghat could be because of the mining activity that had started especially of the limestone as the Halbi's involvement in this activity had increased during 1971 to 1991.

**Table :3.9 Percentage Distribution of Halbi Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

Category	1971		1991	
	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts
80-100% -- Dominant	—	nil	1	Balaghat.
50-80% -- Highly Important	—	nil	—	nil
20-50% -- Important	1	Durg.	1	Durg.
1-20% -- Significant	2	Raipur, Bastar.	4	Bhopal, Rajnandgoan, Raipur, Bastar.
Below 1% -- Low	42	Bilaspur, Rajnandgoan, Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, Shajapur, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W.Nimar, E. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal, Sehore, Raigarh, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Narasimhapur, Mandala, Chindwara, Seoni, Balaghat, Surguja.	39	Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, Shabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, E.Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Sehore, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Narasimhapur, Mandala, Chindwara, Seoni, Sarguja. Bilaspur.

(Source: Appendix no. 2 and 3)

Madhya Pradesh  
**Concentration of Gond Tribe**  
1991





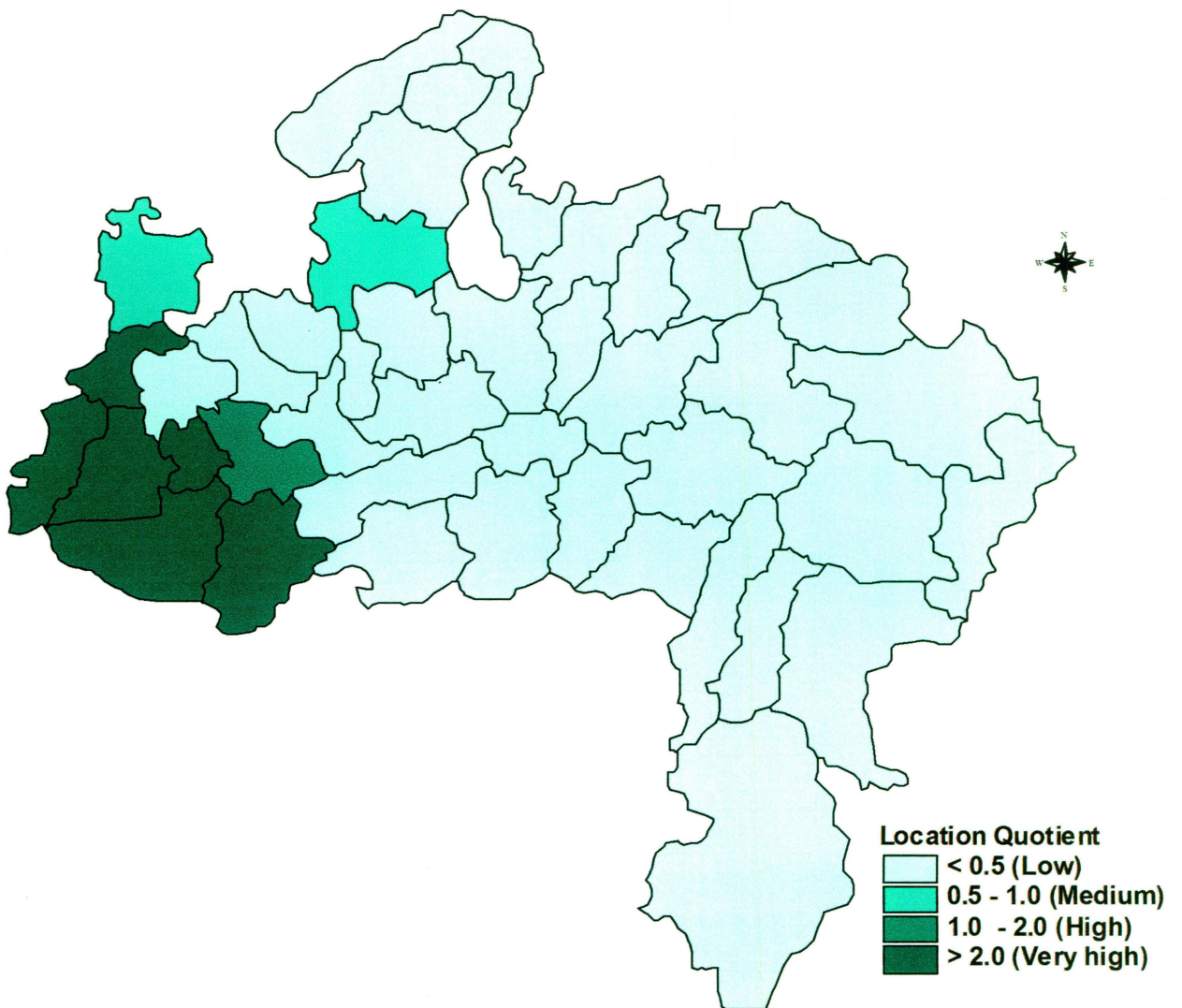
**3.2.10 Others:** All the minor tribes had been clubbed under this category where 3 districts in 1971 with Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna having 80-100 percent population. The Panika tribe, Saur and Korwa occupy a dominant share in the above stated districts respectively. In the remaining 39 districts in 1971 and 35 districts in 1991 they range between 0-20 percent as shown in the Table 3.10.

**Table :3.10 Percentage Distribution of Other Minor Tribes – District wise (1971-91)**

Category		1971		1991
	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts	No. of Dists.	Names of Districts
80-100% -- Dominant	3	Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna	1	Tikamgarh
50-80% -- Highly Important	—	nil	1	Chattarpur
20-50% -- Important	3	Sehore, Raigarh, Surguja	8	Bhind, Gwalior, Panna, Sagar, Bhopal, Raigarh, Surguja, Bilaspur.
1-20% -- Significant	23	Bilaspur, Raipur, Bastar, Morena, Gwalior, Shivpuri, Guna, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Shajapur, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal, Raisen, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Narsimhpur, Mandla, Chindwara, Seoni, Balaghat.	31	Balaghat, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Raipur, Bastar, Morena, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, Indore, E. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Sehore, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Narsimhpur, Mandla, Chindwara, Seoni.
Below 1% -- Low	16	Bhind, Datia, Sagar, Damoh, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Dewas, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Betul, Rajnandgaon, Durg.	4	Ratlam, Jhabua, Dhar, W. Nimar.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

Madhya Pradesh  
**Concentration of Bhil Tribe**  
1991



### 3.3 Concentration of the major tribes in Madhya Pradesh

Concentration of the major tribes is looked across the districts in Madhya Pradesh using location quotient, which is an index that reveals about the concentration of the particular tribe in the district with respect to the concentration at the state or country level comparing with the state or national average when the value is above one.

This is expressed as:

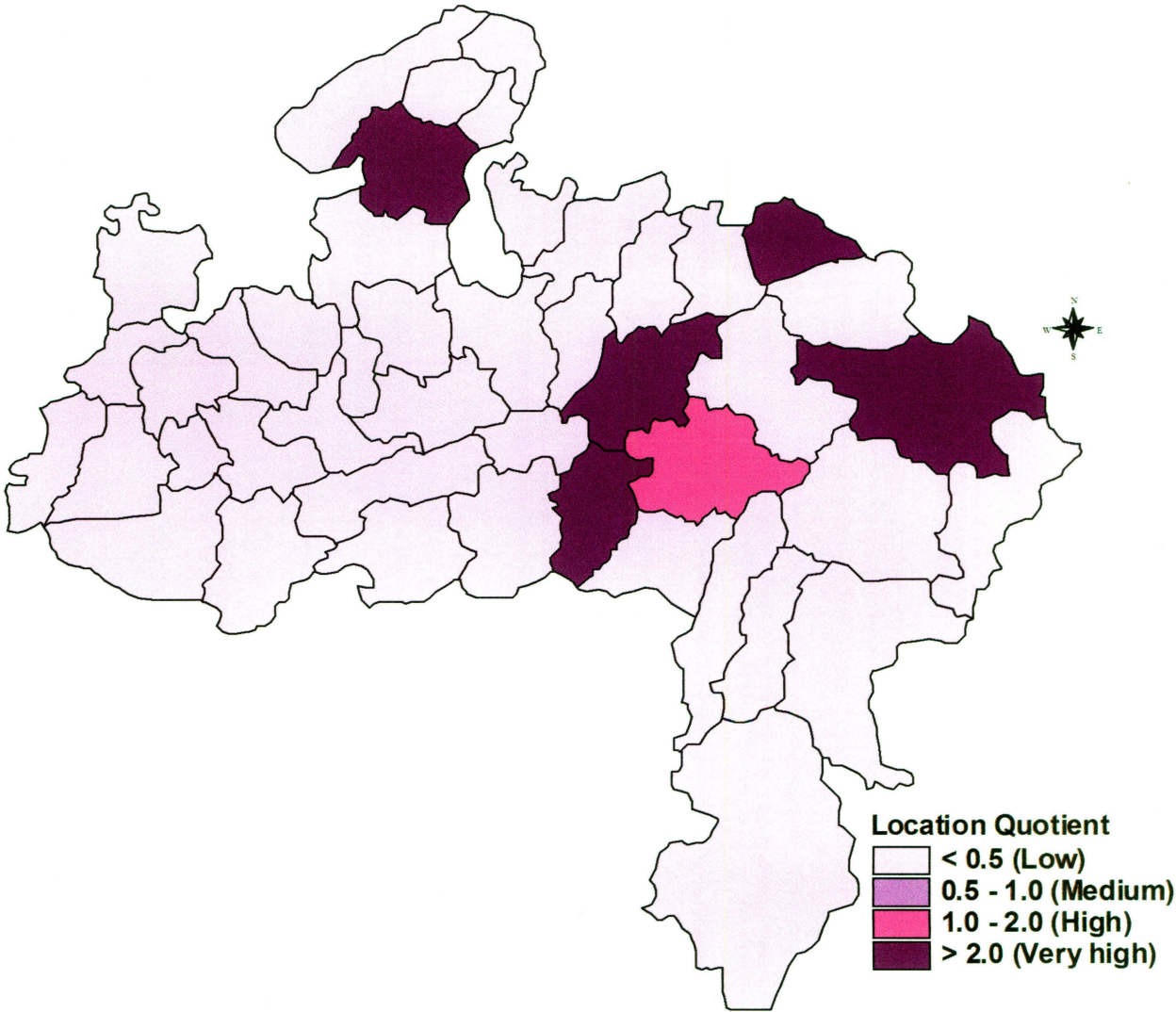
**Location Quotient** ⇒

$$\frac{\frac{\text{Total Tribal Population of a Particular Tribe in the District}}{\text{Total Population in the District}}}{\frac{\text{Total Tribal Population of a Particular Tribe in the State}}{\text{Total Population in the State}}}$$

Here, the Location Quotient is calculated for all the ten tribal groups selected for the study in the year 1991 which are discussed below, and are categorized into two groups- below one and above one since the value one and more than one indicates that the concentration of the particular tribe is equal to or more than their state level concentration.

**3.3.1 Gonds:** Gonds are the predominant tribal group among all the districts in Madhya Pradesh, where in 13 districts it constitutes a significant number with Bastar having 4.52 points above the state average while Mandla with 4.16 points, Sehore and Seoni with 3.68 and 3.22 points respectively. Shivpuri, Bilaspur, Sidhi, Chindwara and Narsimhapur are the other districts. Table no.3.11 shows the location quotient among the Gonds.

Madhya Pradesh  
**Concentration of Kol Tribe**  
1991



**Table:3.11 Concentration of the Gond Tribe – District wise (1971-1991)**

Range	No. of Districts	Name of the District
Above 1	13	Bastar, Betul, Bilaspur, Chindwara, Jabalpur, Mandla, Narsimhapur, Raipur, Rajanandgaon, Sehore, Seoni, Shivpuri, Sidhi
Below 1	32	Balaghat, Bhind, Bhopal, Chattarpur, Damoh, Datia, Dewas, Dhar, Durg, E.Nimar, Guna, Gwalior, Hosangabad, Indore, Jhabua, Mandsaur, Morena, Panna, Raigarh, Raisen, Ratlam, Rewa, Sagar, Surguja, Satna, Shahdol, Shajapur, Tikamgarh, Disha, Ujjain, W.Nimar, Rajgarh

(Source: Appendix no. 3)

**3.3.2 Bhils:** There are seven district where the location quotient is above one which are Dewas, Dhar, East Nimar, Indore, Jhabua, Ratlam, West Nimar. With Jhabua carrying 13.81 points, Dhar 9.00 points, West Nimar 7.80 points above the state average. Table 3.12 shows the location quotient of the Bhils.

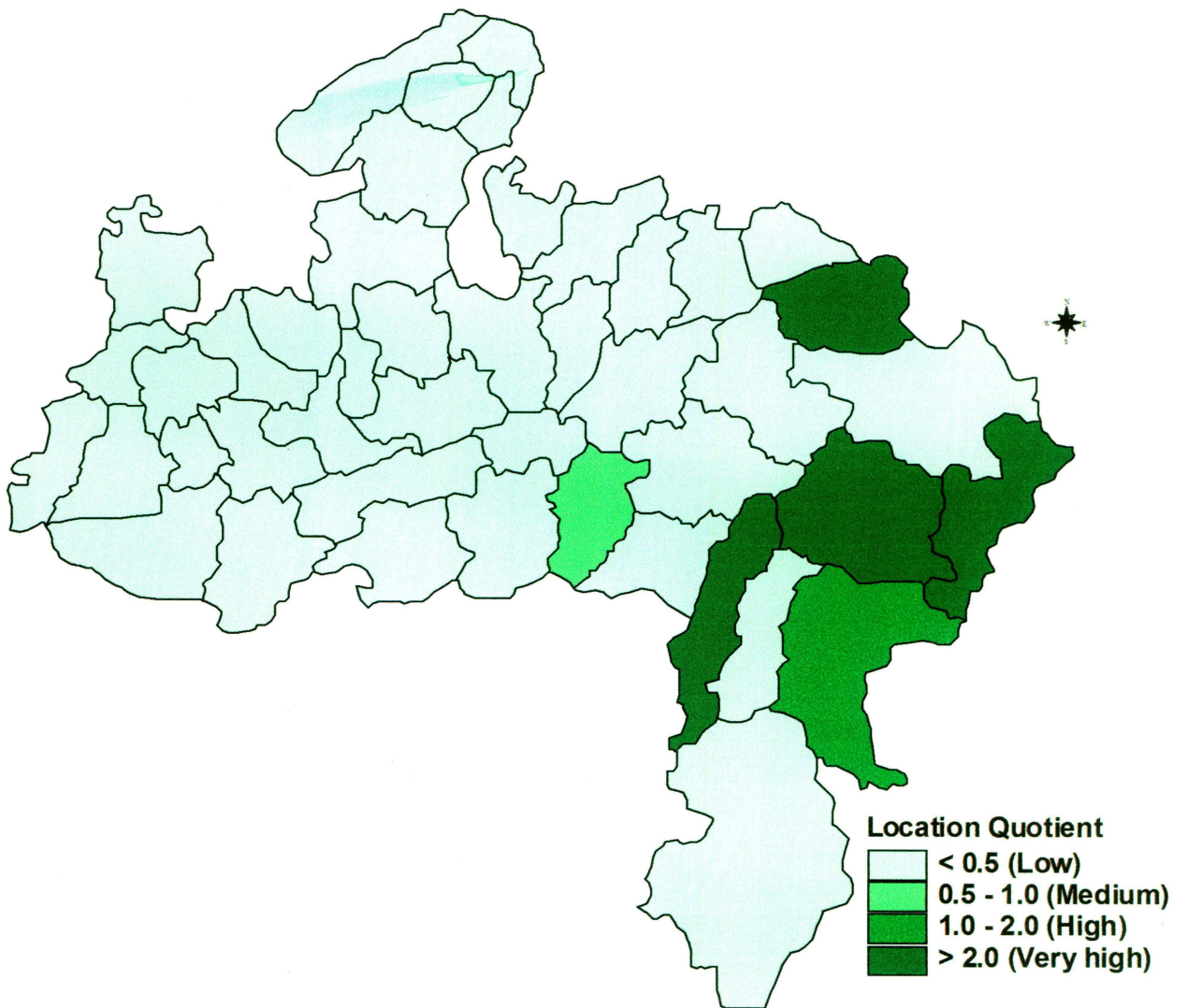
**Table: 3.12 Concentration of the Bhil Tribe – District wise (1971-1991)**

Range	No. of Districts	Name of the Districts
Above 1	7	Dewas, Dhar, E. Nimar, Indore, Jhabua, Ratlam, W. Nimar
Below 1	37	Balaghat, Bastar, Betul, Bhind, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Chattarpur, Chindwara, Damoh, Datia, Durg, Guna, Gwalior, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Mandla, Mandsaur, Morena, Sidhi, Narsimhapur, Panna, Raigarh, Raipur, Raisen, Rajgarh, Rajnandgaon, Rewa, Sagar, Surguja, Satna, Sehore, Seoni, Shahdol, Shajapur, Shivpuri, Tikamgarh, Ujjain, Vidisha

(Source: Appendix no. 3)

**3.3.3 Kol:** The districts of Jabalpur, Mandla, Rewa, Surjguja, Seoni, Shivpuri have the locations quotient above 1 which represents that these districts have a concentration which happens to be above this concentration at the state level. The values that these districts carry are 6.56, 1.46, 8.61, 4.93, 10.80 and 770 respectively. In Seoni district the Kol concentration is equally challenged by the

Madhya Pradesh  
**Concentration of Kavar Tribe**  
1991



Baiga population with 24.05 points above their own average at the state level. Tableno.3.13 shows the location quotient of the Kols in Madhya Pradesh which is shown district wise.

**Table:3.13 Concentration of the Kol Tribe – District wise (1971-1991)**

Range	No. of Districts	Name of the Districts
Above 1	6	Jabalpur, Mandla, Rewa, Surguja, Seoni, Shivpuri
Below 1	39	Balaghat, Bastar, Bhind, Betul, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Chattarpur, Chindwara, Damoh, Datia, Dewas, Dhar, Durg, E. Nimar, Guna, Gwalior, Hosangabad, Indore, Jhabua, Mandsaur, Morena, Narsimhapur, Panna, Raisen, Rajgarh, Raigarh, Raipur, Ratlam, Rajnandgaon, Sagar, Satna, Sehore, Shahdol, Shajapur, Tikamgarh, Vidisha, Ujjain, W. Nimar, Sidhi

(Source: Appendix no. 3)

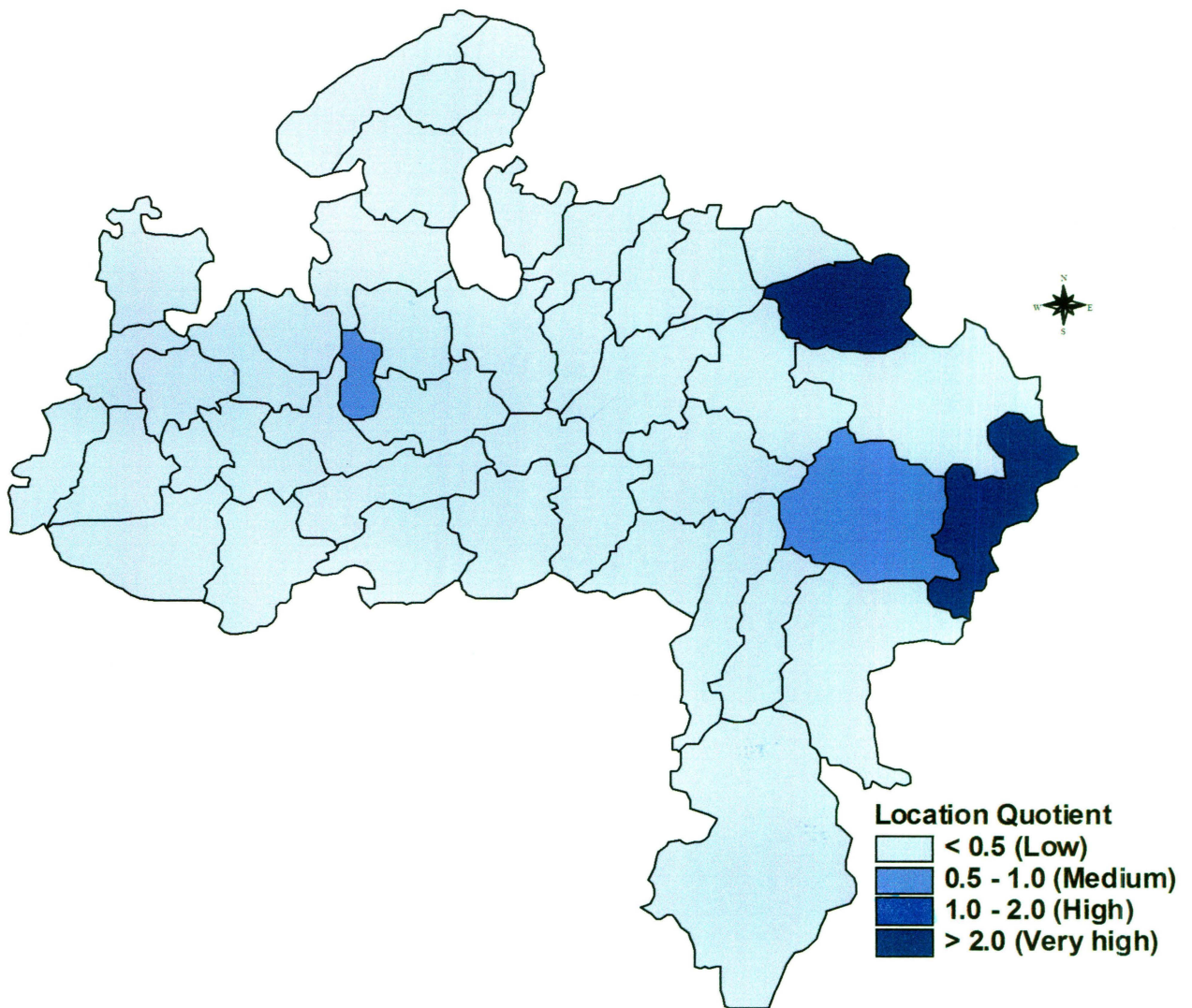
**3.3.4 Kawar:** There are five districts where the Kawars concentrated competing with the state average concentration which are Bilaspur, Raigarh, Raipur, Rajnandgaon, Sidhi with 4.01, 9.47, 1.59, 3.01 and 9.95 points above the state concentration of the Kawars. Table3.14 shows the location quotient of the Kawars in all the districts.

**Table:3.14 Concentration of the Kawar Tribe – District wise (1971-1991)**

Range	No. of Districts	Name of the Districts
Above 1	5	Bilaspur, Raigarh, Raipur, Rajnandgaon, Sidhi
Below 1	40	Balaghat, Bastar, Betul, Bhind, Bhopal, Chattarpur, Chindwara, Damoh, Datia, Dewas, Dhar, Durg, E. Nimar, Guna, Gwalior, Hosangabad, Indore, Jabalpur, Jhabua, Mandla, Mandsaur, Morena, Narsimhapur, Panna, Raisen, Rajgarh, Ratlam, Rewa, Sagar, Surguja, Satna, Sehore, Seoni, Shahdol, Shajpur, Shivpuri, Tikamgarh, Vidisha, Ujjain, W. Nimar.

(Source: Appendix no. 3)

Madhya Pradesh  
**Concentration of Oraon Tribe**  
1991





**3.3.5 Oraon:** There are only two districts namely Raigarh and Sidhi with 16.84 and 15.31 points where this concentration is more than this concentration at the state levels. In the district Raigarh, the Oraons compete with the Kawars which have the 9.47 points as their location quotient in terms of concentration but the Kavar, Gonds, and the Baiga also has high concentration above their state level concentration with 9.95, 2.59, 1.76 respectively. This gives a scope for inter tribal group conflicts because of the competing they face in terms of resources cultural conflicts, for pride, prestige, and power. Table3.15 shows the location quotient among the Oraons.

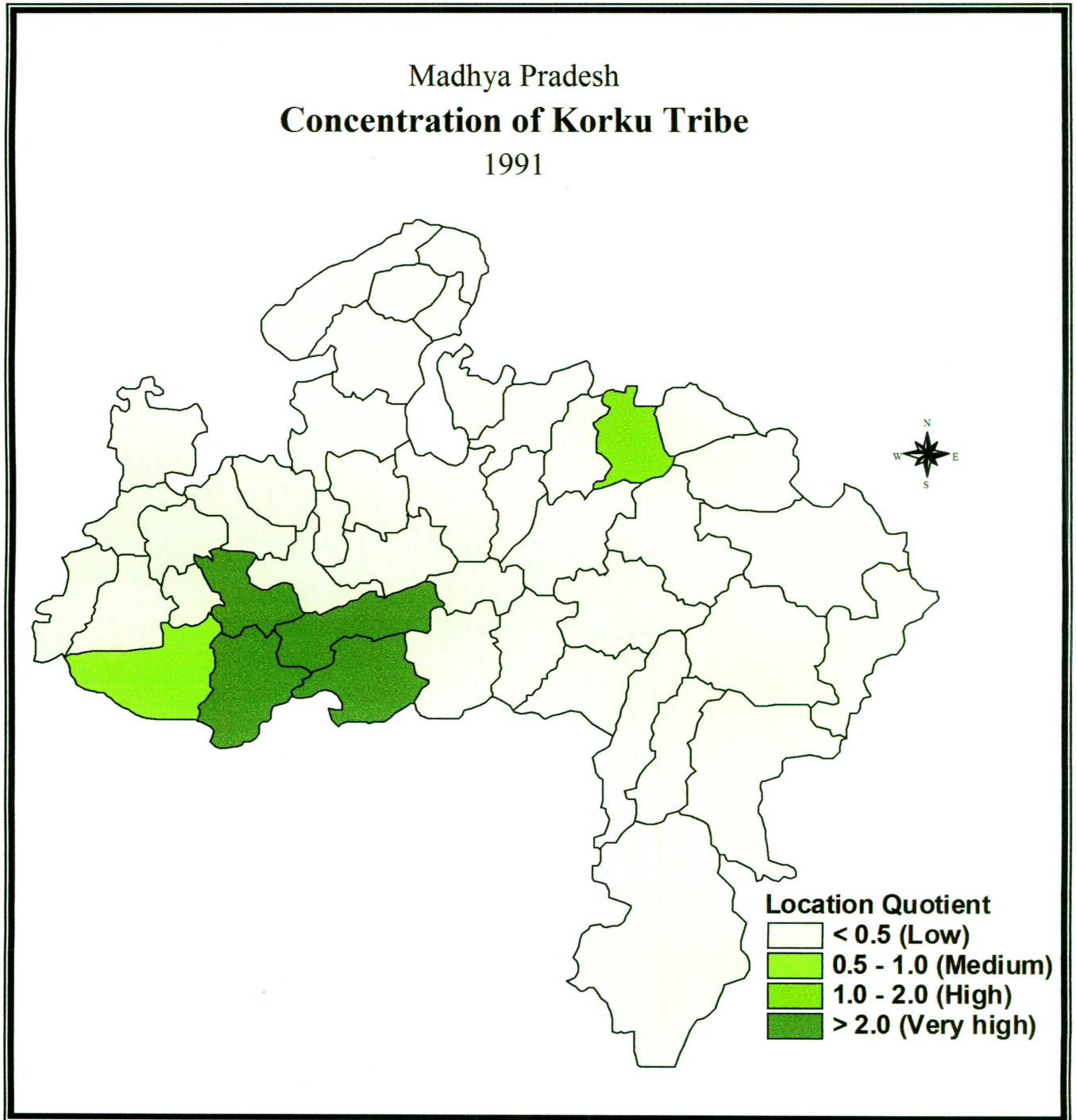
**Table:3.15 Concentration of the Oraon Tribe – District wise (1971-1991)**

Range	No. of Districts	Name of the Districts
Above 1	2	Raigarh, Sidhi
Below 1	43	Balaghat, Bastar, Bhind, Betul, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Chattarpur, Chindwara, Damoh, Datia, Dewas, Dhar, Durg, E. Nimar, Guna, Gwalior, Hosangabad, Indore, Jhabua, Mandsaur, Mandla, Morena, Narsimhapur, Jabalpur, Panna, Raisen, Rajgarh, Raipur, Ratlam, Rewa, Rajnandgaon, Sagar. Satna, Sehore, Shahdol, Shajapur, Surguja, Seoni, Shivpuri, Tikamgarh, Vidisha, Ujjain, W. Nimar

(Source: Appendix no. 3)

**3.3.6 Korku:** Korku population is highly concentrated in the districts of Betul, Dewas, East Nimar, Hosangabad, Satna. Where the locations quotient is above one indicating their concentration superceding their state level concentration with 13.43, 7.23, 18.36, 10.03, 1.22 respectively. The district of East Nimar has an exclusively high Korku concentration and hence, the Korku dominate the politico-social life, economic activities being the location quotient of the Korku. Table no.3.16 shows the concentration of the korku tribe.

Madhya Pradesh  
**Concentration of Korku Tribe**  
1991



**Table:3.16 Concentration of the Korku Tribe – District wise (1971-1991)**

Range	No. of Districts	Name of the Districts
Above 1	5	Betul, Dewas, E. Nimar, Hosangabad, Satna
Below 1	40	Balaghat, Bastar, Bilaspur, Bhind, Bhopal, Chattarpur, Chindwara, Damoh, Datia, Dhar, Durg, Guna, Gwalior, Indore, Jabalpur, Jhabua, Mandla, Mandasaur, Morena, Narsimhapur, Panna, Raisen, Rajgarh, Raipur, Raigarh, Rajnandgaon, Ratlam, Rewa, Sagar, Sidhi, Surguja, Sehore, Seoni, Shahdol, Shajapur, Shivpuri, Tikamgarh, Vidisha, Ujjain, W. Nimar

(Source: Appendix no. 3)

**3.3.7 Sahariya:** There are seven district where the Sahariyas had a concentration above their average at the state level. These district are Bhopal, Datia, Guna, Gwalior, Morena, Vidhisha, Shajapur with 1.62, 2.25, 11.21, 6.21, 8.87. Table no.3.17 shows the concentration of the Sahariyas.

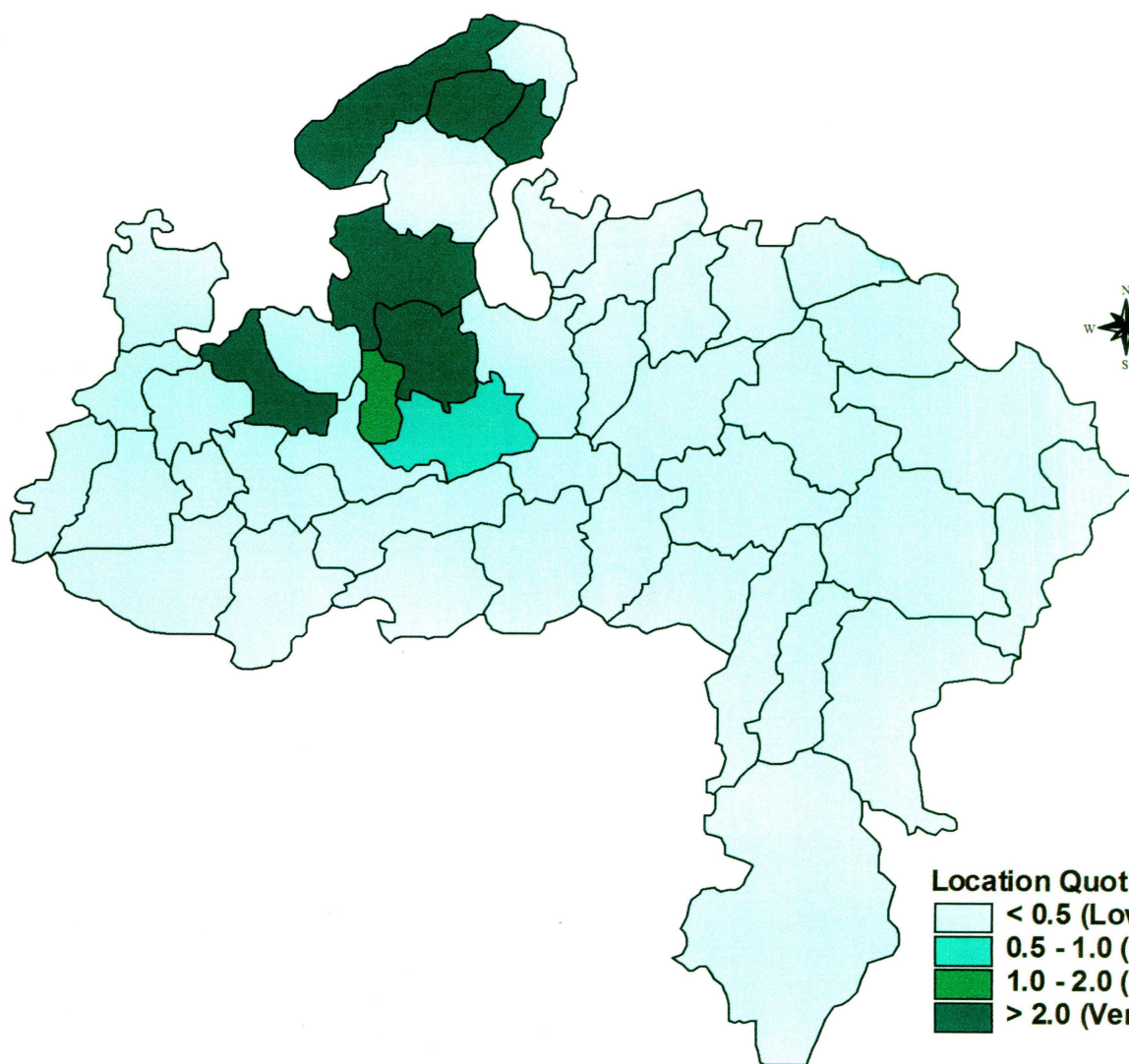
**Table:3.17 Concentration of the Sahariya Tribe – District wise (1971-1991)**

Range	No. of Districts	Name of the Districts
Above 1	7	Bhopal, Datia, Guna, Gwalior, Morena, Vidhisha, Shajapur
Below 1	38	Balaghat, Bastar, Bilaspur, Bhind, Betul, Chattarpur, Chindwara, Damoh, Dewas, Dhar, Durg, Indore, E. Nimar, Jabalpur, Hosangabad, Jhabua, Mandla, Mandasaur, Narsimhapur, Panna, Raisen, Rajgarh, Raigarh, Raipur, Rajnandgaon, Ratlam, Rewa, Sagar, Satna, Sidhi, Surguja, Sehore, Seoni, Shahdol, Shivpuri, Tikamgarh, Ujjain, W. Nimar

(Source: Appendix no. 3)

**3.3.8 Baiga:** Among the Baiga, where the Location Quotient is above one in seven districts namely Balaghat, Bilaspur, Mandla, Rajnandgaon, Seoni, Shivpuri, Sidhi, where Seoni has 24.05 points above the state average, Mandla district has

Madhya Pradesh  
**Concentration of Sahariya Tribe**  
1991



7.97 points, Shivpuri has 7.04 points above the state average. Table 3.18 reveals about the districts in which the Baiga is above and below the state average.

**Table: 3.18 Concentration of the Baiga Tribe – District wise (1971-1991)**

Range	No. of Districts	Name of the Districts
Above 1	7	Balaghat, Bilaspur, Mandla, Rajnandgaon, Seoni, Shivpuri, Sidhi
Below 1	37	Bastar, Betul, Bhind, Bhopal, Chattarpur, Chindwara, Damoh, Datia, Dewas, Dhar, Durg, E.Nimar, Guna, Gwalior, Hosangabad, Indore, Jabalpur, Jhabua, Mandasaur, Morena, Narsinhapur, Panna, Raigarh, Raipur, Raisen, Rajgarh, Ratlam, Rewa, Sagar, Surguja, Satna, Sehore, Shahdol, Shajapur, Tikamgarh, Ujjain, Vidisha, W. Nimar

(Source: Appendix no. 3)

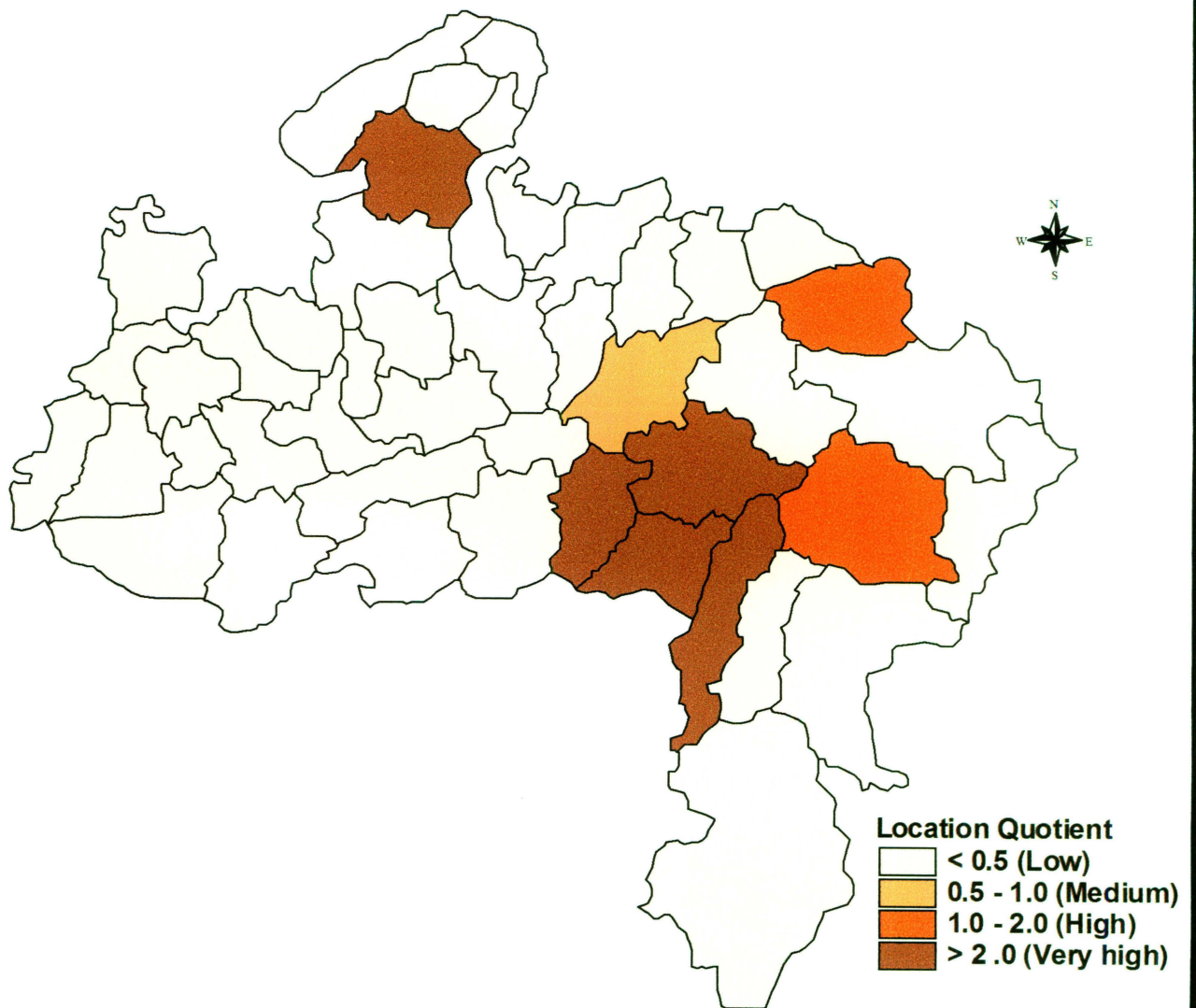
**3.3.9 Halbi:** Halbi is 38.02 points above the state average in the Balaghat district where it forms a dominant group with just Baiga competing with it with 2.26 points and hence, in this district most of the power among the tribal groups rests with the Halbi population, while in the districts of Durg, Rajnandgaon and Bastar it is above the state average by 13.87, 6.99, and 7.53 points respectively. Table 3.19 shows the location quotient among the Halbi.

**Table: 3.19 Concentration of the Halbi Tribe – District wise (1971-1991)**

Range	No. of Districts	Name of the Districts
Above 1	4	Balaghat, Bastar, Durg, Rajnandgaon
Below 1	41	Betul, Bhind, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Chattarpur, Chindwara, Damoh, Datia, Dewas, Dhar, E.Nimar, Guna, Gwalior, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Indore, Jhabua, Mandla, Mandasaur, Morena, Narsinhapur, Panna, Raigarh, Raipur, Raisen, Rajgarh, Ratlam, Rewa, Sagar, Surguja, Satna, Sehore, Seoni, Shahdol, Shajapur, Shivpuri, Sidhi, Tikamgarh, Ujjain, Vidisha, W. Nimar.

(Source: Appendix no. 3)

Madhya Pradesh  
**Concentration of Baiga Tribe**  
1991



**3.3.10 Others:** There are thirteen districts where the other minor tribes are concentrated with their average above their concentration at the state level namely Bastar, Bhopal, Chindwara, Jabalpur, Panna, Raigarh, Raipur, Sagar, Sehore, Shivpuri, Sidhi, Tikamgarh with the minor tribes like Saur, Panika, Korwa, Sao and others. Table no.3.20 shows the concentration of the other minor tribes in the state of Madhya Pradesh.

**Table:3.20 Concentration of the Other Minor Tribes – District wise (1971-1991)**

Range	No. of Districts	Name of the Districts
Above 1	13	Bastar, Bhopal, Chindwara, Jabalpur, Panna, Raigarh, Raipur, Sagar, Sehore, Seoni, Shivpuri, Sidhi, Tikamgarh
Below 1	32	Balaghat, Bilaspur, Bhind, Betul, Chattarpur, Datia, Damoh, Dewas, Dhar, Durg, Indore, E. Nimar, Guna, Gwalior, Hosangabad, Morena, Jhabua, Mandla, Mandsaur, Narsimhapur, Raisen, Rajgarh, Rajnandgaon, Ratlam, Rewa, Satna, Surguja, Shahdol, Shajapur, Ujjain, Vidisha, W. Nimar

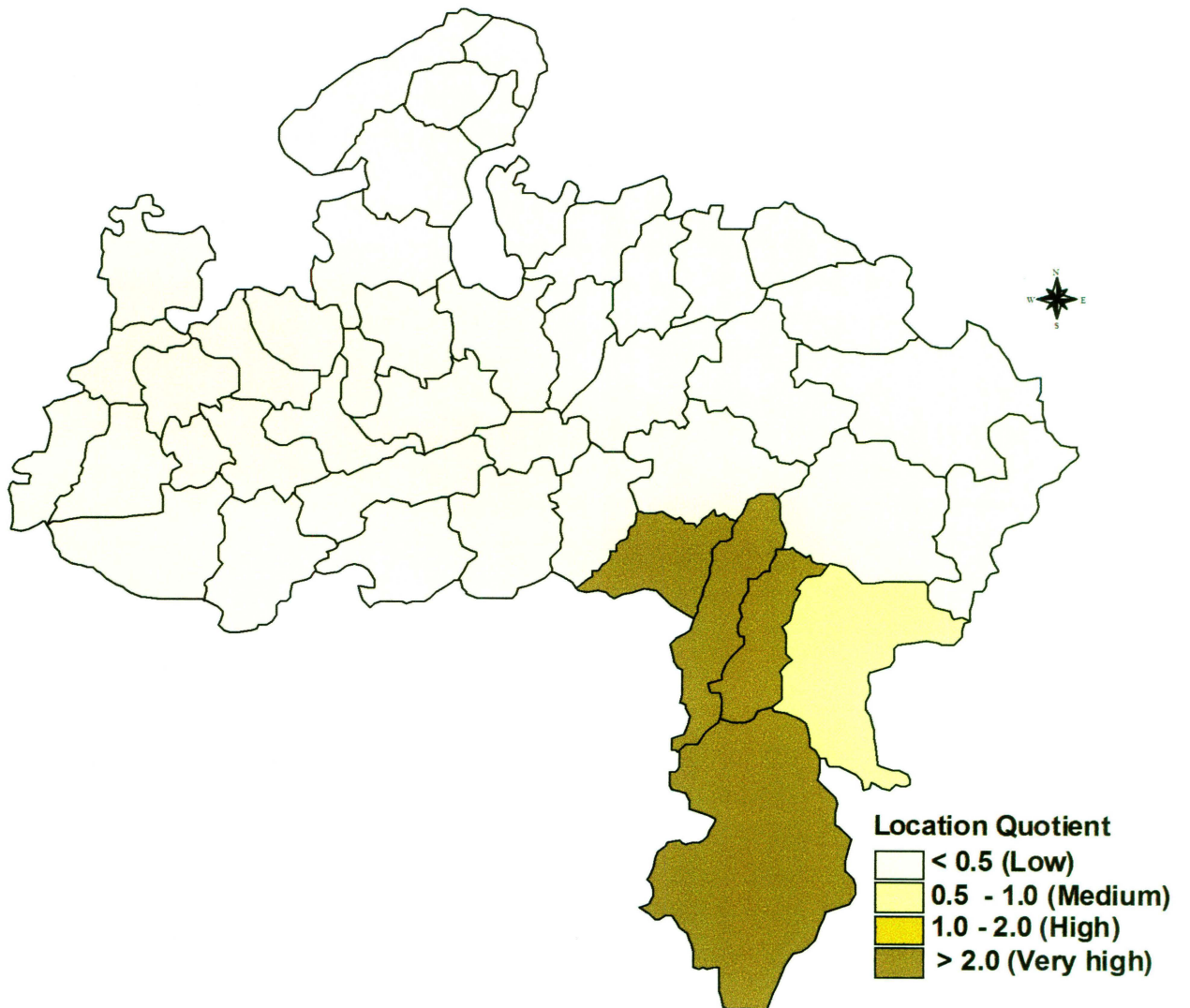
(Source: Appendix no. 3)

In toto, by examining the locations quotient of the various Tribal groups in all the districts of Madhya Pradesh, there could be speculations which are made to understand the tribal dynamics that operate like the inter-tribal conflicts, the concentration of political power s democracy is a game of numbers and various facts of the tribal population.

### **3.4 Conclusion:**

In Bastar district, Gonds dominate the district tribal population and the next dominant group is the Halbi and hence, these two groups could equally compete for the resources, power and any change could be nurtured only through them. In the

Madhya Pradesh  
**Concentration of Halbi Tribe**  
1991





Balaghat district the Halbi hold 38.02 points above the state average and Baiga is no match for them. While in East Nimar district the concentration of the Korku population is 18.36 points above their average at the state level. In the district of Jhabua the Bhils had dominated while the Kols and the Oraons constitute a major portion of the district. In the district of Seoni the Baiga constitute a major portion while the Gonds and Korkus form a considerable proportion of the tribal population. The districts of Mandla, Seoni, Rajnandgaon, Surguja, Bastar, Dewas constitute a major proportion of all the tribal groups in Madhya Pradesh.

## Chapter-4

### Social Change Among the Tribal Groups

#### 4.1 Introduction

No societies are completely static and even the most stable of societies show a tendency to change. Various factors come into play and one of the most important is the fact that the societies are not in complete isolation, but in varying contact with other societies, there is a certain degree of cultural diffusion.

This kind of cultural diffusion would be further enriched with a qualitative flavour with appropriate human resource development. Especially, among the primitive societies which live in a relative degree of isolation which are deprived of this human resource development. The earlier economists recognized this, role of human resource and explicitly included human beings or their acquired abilities and skills as a component of capital. Most of these economists held that human beings should be regarded as a resource for production purposes for three reasons: “(1) the cost of rearing and educating human beings is a real cost (2) the product of this labour adds to the national wealth (3) an expenditure on a human being that increases this product will, for sure, increase the national wealth”.<sup>1</sup>

This expenditure on the human resource development is mainly spent on education, which plays a significant role in the development of the societies and

especially in the pre-literate societies like the tribal groups where the literacy levels are low, education plays a vital role in the process of social transformation.

**4.1.1 Importance of Education:** According to Todaro,<sup>2</sup> education contributes to economic growth in the developed and developing countries in the following ways:

1. It helps in creating a more productive labour force and endowing it with increased knowledge and skills.
2. It helps in providing widespread employment and income earning opportunities for teachers, school and construction, workers etc.
3. It helps in creating a class of educated leaders to fill vacancies left by departing expatriates or otherwise vacant positions in government services, public corporations, private business and professions
4. It helps in providing basic skills and encourages modern attitudes in the diverse segments of the population.

Besides, education helps in reducing the inequalities, helps in rural development, improving the health status, controlling population through family planning measures, helps to foster political stability, generating the spirit of inquiry and research, enhancing and widening the intellectual horizons.

While among the tribal groups, which have their indigenous knowledge systems and are isolated from the mainstream society are mostly influenced by their own distinct culture. Some of these tribes have their own language, which act as a

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<sup>2</sup> Todaro. P. Michael, Economic Development (Harlow, 2000) pp.342-350.

hindrance in imparting knowledge. As the literacy levels among the tribals is very low, they are prone to exploitation, land alienation and indebtedness in the hands of the non-tribal population. The main cause for their illiteracy is due to the lack of access both in terms of infrastructure and also due to the inability of the policy-makers to understand the tribal culture. Most of the children in the tribal areas are engaged in agriculture and as gatherers, where they collect various products like honey, roots, nuts, timber, fruits and other such products of the nature, which is often termed as the 'minor forest produce'. They are also engaged in seeking the knowledge from their elders, which forms a part of their knowledge system that includes, magic, sorcery, totemism and other curative elements for certain, ailments like snakebite, gastric problems, and other diseases. Hence, imparting education would mean to motivate the children to go to schools from their daily routine. Besides, enrolment, to retain them in the schools is another challenging task, as very few teachers would be knowing the natives languages which forms a necessary condition to impart education.

Inorder to improve the well-being of the tribal population the Government of India had initiated various tribal development projects like there are around 194 Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs)<sup>3</sup> in the country where the ST population is more than 50 percent of the total population of the blocks or groups of blocks. 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

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<sup>3</sup> Raizada, Ajit, 'Tribal Development in Madhya Pradesh – A Planning Perspective' p.40. Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1984.

have been identified in the country. The Special Central Assistance (SCA) is given by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, to 21 Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) state governments and two union territories.

Since 1997-98, a part of funds under Article 275 (1) of the constitution is released for setting up 'Ekalavya Model Residential Schools' to provide quality education to the tribal students.

The Government of India had also started a Girls Hostel Scheme in the Third-Five Year plan with the aim of providing residential facilities to tribal girls in pursuit of education. The boys hostel scheme was started in 1989-90.

The government had also started Ashram schools in Tribal sub-plan area in 1990-91 to provide assistance to the states and urban territories on 50 percent and 100 percent respectively. Vocational training is also imparted to tribal people from 1992-93 onwards to develop the skills of the tribal youth in order to gain employment opportunities. A special 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 percent. This scheme was revised in July 1998 and now covers 134 districts having ST women literacy of less than 10 percent in 14 states. The scheme envisages setting up of residential educational complex from first to fifth standard.<sup>4</sup>

Besides, the government had initiated various other programmes to improve the literacy rate among the tribes.

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<sup>4</sup> Deogaonkar, SG, 'Tribal Administration and Development' p.42. Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1994.

This chapter basically deals, with the literacy status separately for the males and females in both the rural and urban areas among the selected tribal groups, besides, it also deals with the disparities in the literacy levels which exist between the selected tribal groups and the non-tribal population by using the Sopher's Index and the sex ratio of the selected tribal groups across all the districts of Madhya Pradesh.

#### **4.2 Changes in the Literacy Status**

Madhya Pradesh is often referred to as '*Madhya Desha*' which is a confluence of the 16 major Mahajanapadas was a place of learning during the third century B.C with centres like Ujjain, Kanauj etc.

The literacy rate of the Madhya Pradesh in 1991 is 44.20 percent with 58.42 percent among the male population and 28.85 percent among the female population, which had increased from 34.23 percent in 1981 and 27.69 percent in 1971.

The literacy rates among the total scheduled tribe population in 1991 was 22.29 percent with 17.94 percentile points among males and 3.60 percentile points among the females while in the rural areas the literacy rate is 10.05 percentile points with 16.91 percent among the male population and 3.19 percentile points among the female population. In the urban areas the literacy rate was 27.62 percent points with 38.64 percent among male population and 15.18 percent among the female population.

**4.2.1 Male Literacy:** In Madhya Pradesh, among all the scheduled tribes, the male literacy had increased by 3 points from 8% in 1971 to 11% in 1991 in rural

areas and by 1 percentile point in urban areas from 14 to 15 in 1971 and 1991 respectively.

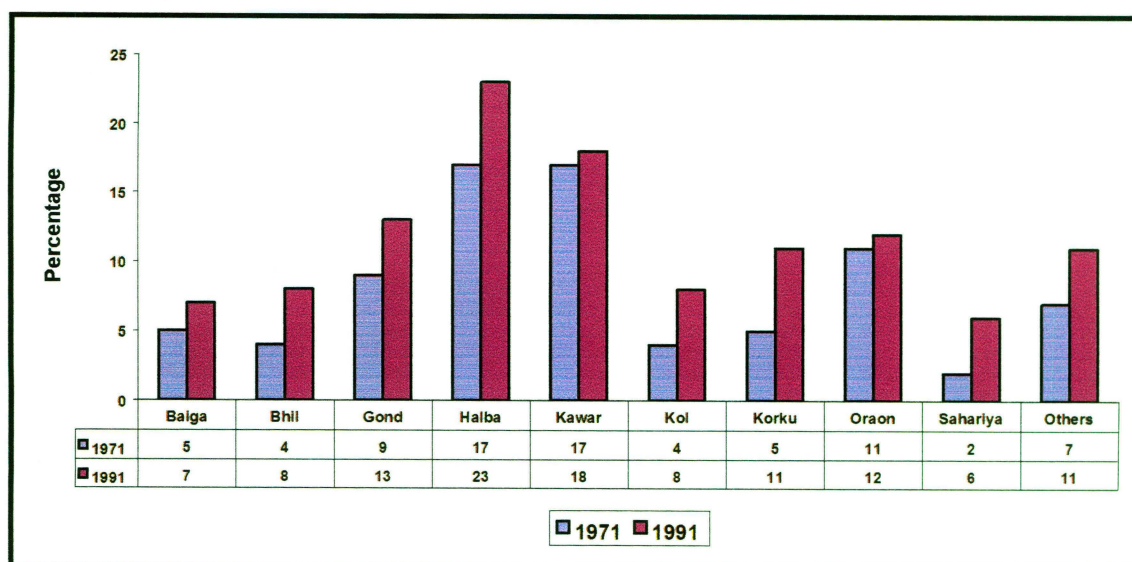
**Table no:4.1 Percentage change among the Male Literates - Rural (1971-1991)**

Positive Change	Tribes	No. of Tribes
Less than 2	Kawar, Oraon	2
2-5	Baiga, Bhil, Gond, Kol, Saharia, Others	6
5-10	Korku	1
10-20	Halba	1

(Source: Appendix No.4)

In the rural areas, Halba and Korku had registered an increase of 6 percentile points from 17% to 23% among Halbi and from 5% to 11% among the Korku in 1971 and 1991 respectively. Between the Halbi and Kawar, which registered 23% and 18% male literates in 1991, is the highest among the selected groups. The Bhils, Gonds, Kols and the Sahariya had registered a 4-percentile point increase. Among the Kawars and the Oraons who had shown a mere increase of 1% during the twenty year period. Table 4.1 shows the literacy rate among male population in rural areas.

**Fig.no.4.1: Percentage Change among the Male Literates among the Tribal Groups in Rural Areas(1971-1991).**



In the urban areas, the Bhils, Kawars, Oraons, Sahariya and the ‘other’ category had shown a negative trend with -1, -5, -4, -1, -1 respectively. This indicates the inadequacy of male literates in proportion to the growth in their population during 1971-1991, while the Kols had registered a positive percentage change of 3% from 9% in 1971 to 12% in 1991. Table 4.2 shows the literacy rate among the urban male population.

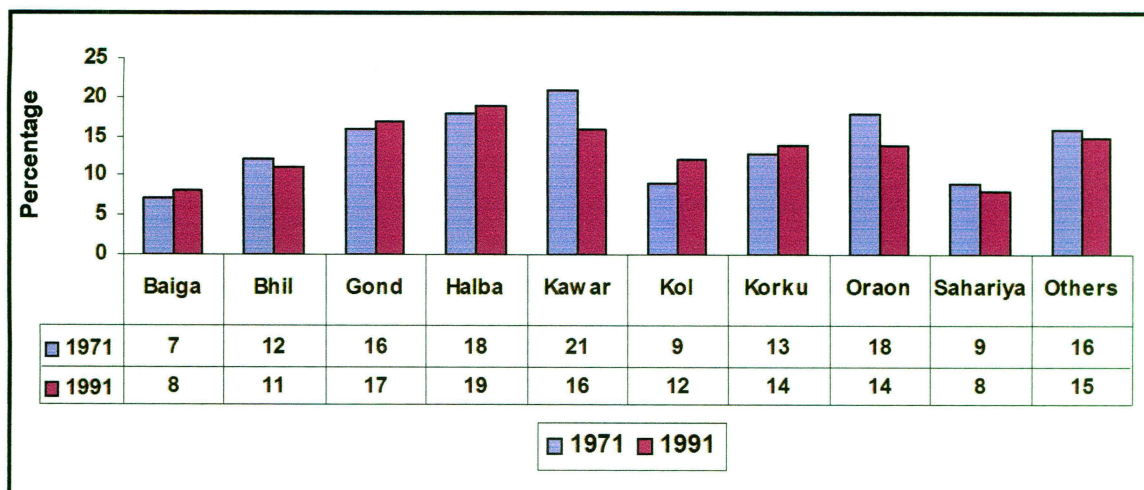
**Table:4.2 Percentage change among the Male Literates – Urban (1971-1991)**

<b>Positive Change</b>	<b>Tribes</b>	<b>No. of Tribes</b>
Less than 2	Baiga, Gond, Halbi, Korku	4
2-5	Kol	1
5-10		
10-20		
<b>Negative Change</b>		
Less Than 5	Bhil, Kawar, Oraon, Saharia, Others	5

(Source: Appendix 4)

Among the non-tribes, there is a significant change in the male literacy rate with 38.62 percentile points in rural areas and 48.85 points in the urban areas while in the female literacy rate, it had shown a positive change of 12.74 in rural areas and 33.34% in urban areas. This change is quite high as compared to the changes among the tribal population.

**Fig. no. 4.2: Percentage change among the Male Literates among the Tribal groups in Urban Areas(1971-1991).**





**4.2.2 Female literacy:** Among all the scheduled tribes in Madhya Pradesh there had been a remarkable increase in the female literacy with 3.6 percent and 5 percent change in the rural and urban areas respectively. This indicates the positive shift in the education of the tribal women. In the rural areas, 1 percent of the tribal female population is literate in 1971 while it increased to 4.6 in 1991, while in urban areas it increased from 5 percent in 1971 to 10 percent in 1991. Table 4.3 shows female literacy level in the rural areas.

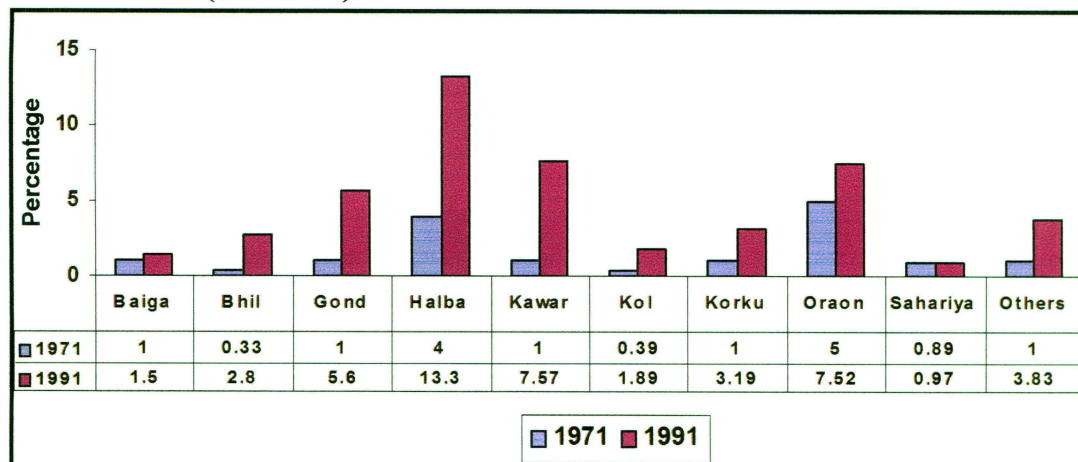
**Table: 4.3 Percentage change among the Female Literates– Rural Areas (1971-1991)**

Positive Change	Tribes	No. of Tribes
Less than 2	Baiga, Kol, Saharia	3
2-5	Bhil, Gond, Korku, Oraon, Others	5
5-10	Halbi, Kawar	2
10-20		

(Source: Appendix no. 4)

In the rural areas a positive changes of as high as 9.3 percent among the Halbi and as low as 0.5 percent change among the Baiga. Bhils, Gonds, Korku, Oraons and other tribes had shown an increase of 2.5 percentile points while Baiga, Kol, Sahariya had less than 2 percentile points as change, while the Halbi and the Kawars had performed well.

**Fig. No. 4.3: Percentage change among the Female Literates among the Tribal groups in Rural Areas(1971-1991).**



In the urban areas, the Gonds, Halbi and the other minor tribes had been ranging from 5 to 10 percentile points in terms of change while the Bhils and the Sahariya show less than 2 points change and the rest of the tribes fall in the 2 to 5 point change category. Table 4.4 shows the literacy rates among the urban female population.

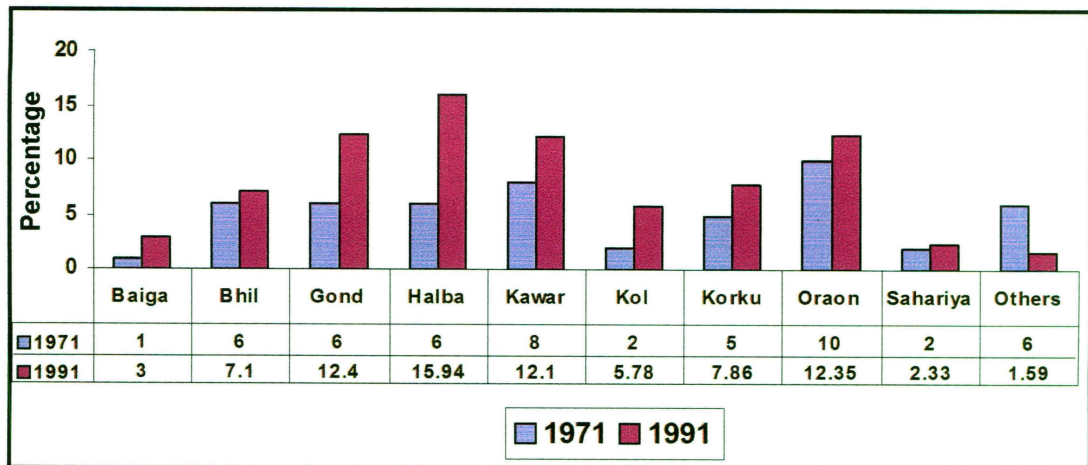
**Table:4.4 Percentage change among the Female Literates– Urban (1971-1991)**

Positive Change	Tribes	No. of Tribes
Less than 2	Bhil, Saharia	4
2-5	Baiga, Kawar, Kol, Korcu, Oraon	5
5-10	Gond, Halbi, Others	3
10-20		

(Source: Appendix no.4)

Among the non-tribes, there is a significant change in both the rural and urban areas with 12.74 and 33.34 percent change, which is quite high as compared to the scheduled tribe population.

**Fig. No. 4.4: Percentage of Female Literates among the Tribal groups in Urban Areas (1971-1991).**



**4.2.3 Disparity in Literacy:** Any change needs to be seen in relative to any different aspect which is distinct and varied from the aspect which is for the study. Literacy is an aspect where it differs in and among a country, society, community, tribe, and a class and even among individuals.

The all India literacy rate of scheduled tribes as per 1991 census was 29.60 percent against the national average of 52.21 percent. The gap between the percentage of literacy of tribal women and general women is still wider. It is only 18.18 percent as against 39.29 percent of general female literacy in the country

Sopher's Index basically helps in finding out the disparity levels that exist between males and females. Since as per the order of the day the male literacy had been a dominant variable that supercedes the female literacy because of the existent patriarchal society. The feature of son-preference which is especially among the developing and the under-developed countries which tends to breed their male race into the literacy horizons. This aspect is not quite different among the tribals where they prefer their sons to schools than their daughters because of their own constraints that the daughter would be helpful in the house-hold activities like cooking and looking after the young ones. Hence, the male literacy always enacts a higher value as compared to the female literacy and so the male literacy is taken as a constant and is been compared with the female literacy of the population taken for the study,

Since this study involves in comparing the literacy levels in the selected tribal groups in Madhya Pradesh and among these tribal groups and the non-tribal population, in a temporal dimension of 20 decades i.e., from 1971-1991.

Therefore, the non-tribal literacy rates among the males and females in rural and urban areas which is generally high is taken as a constant and has been compared with the literacy of the tribal groups taken for the study.

Sopher's Index is expressed as:

$$Ds = \log (x_2/x_1) + \log [(100-x_1)/(100 - x_2)]$$

Where

$x_2$  = Literacy rates among the males and females of non-tribal population.

$x_1$  = literacy rates among the males and females of tribal population.

**4.2.4 Disparity in Literacy Levels Among the Tribal Population and Non-Tribal Population:** In the rural areas among all the scheduled tribes in Madhya Pradesh, the disparity levels had increased from 0.28 points to 0.92 points among the males in 1971 and 1991 respectively. Table 4.5 shows the disparities in the literacy level among the tribes and non-tribes. Among Baiga and the Bhil population the disparity levels had increased from 0.51, 0.61 in 1971 to 1.17, and 1.12 points in 1991 respectively, while, among the Halbi and the Kawars which had shown a negative trend in 1971 with 0.11 which indicates that their literacy rates had predominated the non-tribal literacy by 11 per cent which is a positive aspect. As these tribes are entrepreneur in nature towards literacy and which could be proved of the fact that Halbi's occupy a predominant position in the Industrial classification which occupies the 'others' category comprising of white-coloured jobs etc.

**Table: 4.5 Disparity in Literacy Levels Among the Tribals and Non-Tribals in Rural and Urban Areas 1971-1991**

	Rural				Urban			
	Males SI		Females SI		Males SI		Females SI	
	1971	1991	1971	1991	1971	1991	1971	1991
ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	0.28	0.92	0.78	0.73	0.23	1.14	0.58	0.96
1. Baiga	0.51	1.17	1.06	1.22	0.56	1.41	1.57	1.52
2. Bhil	0.61	1.12	1.39	0.96	0.29	1.29	0.51	1.12
3. Gond	0.22	0.85	0.73	0.64	0.15	1.06	0.52	0.86
4. Halba	-0.11	0.56	0.24	0.23	0.09	0.99	0.53	0.73
5. Kawar	-0.11	0.69	1.04	0.50	0.01	1.08	0.36	0.87
6. Kol	0.52	1.13	1.31	1.13	0.43	1.24	0.96	1.22
7. Korku	0.43	0.95	1.04	0.90	0.27	1.17	0.59	1.08
8. Oraon	0.08	0.90	0.23	0.50	0.08	1.17	0.24	0.86
9. Sahariya	0.96	1.26	1.96	1.42	0.45	1.45	1.10	1.63
10. Others	0.32	0.96	0.91	0.81	0.16	1.12	0.49	0.93

(Source: Appendix no.5)

Among the kols and Sahariya's where the disparity levels has increased from 1971 to 1991 with 0.52 and 0.96 points to 1.13 and 1.26 respectively. The highest level of disparity can be seen in the oraons where it has increased from 0.08 points in 1971 to 0.90 in 1991. Among the females in rural areas in the all scheduled tribes had decreased from 0.78 to 0.73 in 1971 and 1991 respectively. Among the Gonds, Halbi, Kawar, Kol, Korcu, Sahariya where there has been a decrease in the disparity levels from 1.39, 0.73, 0.24, 1.04, 1.31, 1.04, 1.96 points in 1971 to 0.64, 0.23, 0.50, 1.13, 0.90, 1.42 points respectively.

This trend shows that there had been increase in the female tribal literacy as compared to the non-tribal population from 1971 to 1991 where the non-tribal female literacy was 7.54 and 20.58 in 1971 and 1991 respectively. This is because of the developmental projects undertaken by the government of India especially during the 6<sup>th</sup> plan where education had been given the prima-facie for the development of the tribal population with the introduction of Ashram schools in the selected 194 integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDA's) and also with special emphasis was given to Advasi women through a project named 'Adivani Mahila Shashakti Yojana (AMSY).'

Further, in the urban areas the disparity levels among the males had predominantly increased among the Kawars, Oraons and the Halbi with 0.01, 0.08, 0.09 in 1971 and 1.08, 1.17 and 0.99 in 1991 respectively. The whole of the male tribal literate population had shown a declining trend as compared to the non-tribal literates during 1971 and 1991. In the case of the females disparity levels among Bhils and Oraons had varied with 0.51, 0.24 and 1.52 and 0.86 in 1991 respectively.

Even in the urban areas, among the female tribal literates there had been a positive trend or compared to the non tribal female literature which indicates that the urban tribal literacy is unable to cope with the non-tribal literacy rates. This can be attributed to the fact that a large proportion of population had been migrating from their primitive habitats towards urban areas in lure of seeking better opportunities which they are not actually accorded with and hence being categorized as slum population both in term of economic and social well being. This decline had been manifested among the literacy rates of their kith and kin.

### **4.3 Sex Ratio**

The sex ratio of a population may be either is expressed as the number of males per 1000 females or as the number of females per 1000 males. Here, the latter is preferred. The sex-ratio in India in 2001 is 933 females per 1000 males. The low sex ratio of the females can be broadly attributed to the low status of women. The factors which could be associated with this phenomenon are – (a) Differential enumeration of males and females in the Indian census, (b) Unusually high sex ratio of male births in India, (c) Higher mortality of females in India mainly because of sex-preference, (d) male selective migration.

The sex ratio had been studied among all the major groupings of tribes in all the 45 districts in Madhya Pradesh and had been grouped into the following categories namely (a)1000 and above as Very High (b)950 to 1000 as High (c)950-900 as Moderate (d)900-700 as Low (e)Below 700 as Very Low which are discussed tribe-wise.

**4.3.1 Gonds:** Gonds had improved on the sex-ratio, since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century where they used to practice female infanticide in terms of sacrifices. In 1991, there is no single district below 700 females while there are around 22 districts in 1991 which had high sex-ratios. There are 10 districts in 1991 which increased from 4 districts in 1971. Table 4.6 shows in detail the position of Gonds in terms of sex ratio during 1971 and 1991 in all the districts.

**Table:4.6 Sex Ratio Among the Gond Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

		1971		1991
Category	No. of Dist.	Name of Districts	No. of Dist.	Name of the Districts
1000 and Above Very High	13	Morena, Panna, E. Nimar, Raigarh, Jabalpur, Mandala, Chindwara, Sconi, Balaghar, Bilaspur, Durg, Raipur, Bastar.	10	Datia, Betul, Mandala, Chindwara, Sconi, Bilaspur, Rajnandgoan, Durg, Raipur, Bastar, Raigarh.
950-1000-High	17	Gwalior, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Shahdol, Rewa, Sidhi, Mandasuar, Ujjain, Indore, W. Nimar, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Narasimhapur, Surgarja.	12	Damoh, Shahdol, Sidhi, Ratlam, Ujjain, Dewas, E. Nimar, Jabalpur, Narsimhapur, Balaghat, Sarguja.
950-900-Moderate	4	Bhind, Dewas, Bhopal, Sehore.	10	Tikamgarh, Panna, Sagar, Satna, Rewa, Shajapur, Raigarh, Sehore, Raisen, Hosangabad.
900-700-Low	4	Satna, Shajapur, Rajgarh, Vidisha.	13	Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Shivpuri, Guna, Chattarpur, Mandasuar, Jhabua, Indore, W. Nimar, Vidisha, Bhopal.
Below-700 Very Low	7	Datia, Sagar, Damoh, Ratlam, Shabuh, Dhar, Rajnandangoan.	—	Nil

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

**4.3.2 Bhils:** Among the Bhils, there are 7 districts where the female sex ratio is very high and 5 districts in 1971 and 9 districts in 1991 where the sex ratio ranges from 950-1000 females, while there are around 27 districts in 1971 which decreased to just two districts namely Indore and Surguja in 1991 which have below 700 females per 1000 males which is very low. Table 4.7 reveals the sex ratio among the Bhils.

**Table:4.7 Sex Ratio Among the Bhil Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

		1971		1991
Category	No. of Dist.	Name of Districts	No. of Dist.	Name of the Districts
1000 and Above Very High	7	Panna, Rewa, E. Nimar, Betul, Jabalpur, Chidwara, Seoni.	7	Tikamgarh, Shahdol, Sidhi, Betul, Senoni, Raipur. Bastar.
950-1000-High	5	Ratlam, Sabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar	9	Gwalior, Mandsaur, Ratlam, Dewas, Jhabua, Dhar. Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar.
950-900-Moderate	2	Bhopal, Sehore.	11	Ratia, Shivpuri, Guna, Sagar, Rewa, Ujjain, Raigarh, Bhopal, Sehore, Raisen, Bilaspur.
900-700-Low	4	Satna, Vidisha, Raisen, Hosangabad.	15	Morena, Bhind, Chattarpur, Panna, Damoh, Satna, Shajapur, Vidisha, Jabalpur, Narsimhapur, Mandala, Chindawara. Balaghat, Rajnandangaon, Durg.
Below-700 Very Low	27	Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Sagar, Damoh, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandasuar, Ujjain, Shajapur, Rewas, Jhabua, Rajgarh, Raigarh, Narasimhapur, Mandala, Balaghat, Surguja, Bilaspur, Rajnandangaon, Durg, Raipur, Bastar.	2	Indore, Surguja.

(Source: Appendix no. 6)



**4.3.3 Kols:** There are around 19 districts where the Kols had their sex ratio ranging from 950 to 1000 and above in 1991 which had increased from 8 districts in 1971. There are 3 districts in 1971 and 9 districts in 1991 where the sex ratio had been moderate with 900-950 females per 1000 males. The 27 districts which are below 700 further decreased to 7 districts in 1991. The Table 4.8 reveals the district-wise data on sex ratio among Kols.

**Table:4.8 Sex Ratio Among the Kol Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

		1971		1991
Category	No. of Dist.	Name of Districts	No. of Dist.	Name of the Districts
1000 and Above Very High	8	Durg, Balaghat, Chindawara, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Mandla, Tikamgarh, Raigarh.	12	Chindwara, Balaghat, Bilaspur, Rajanandgaon, Raipur, Bastar, Guna, Panna, Mandasaur, E. Nimar, Jhabua, Vidisha.
950-1000-High	6	Bilaspur, Surguja, Satna, Sidhi, Rewa, Shahdol.	7	Shahdol, Jabalpur, Mandla, Surguja, Durg, Sehore, Raigarh.
950-900-Moderate	3	Narsimhapur, Seoni, Panna.	9	Tikamgarh, Sagar, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi, Seoni, Hosangabad, Narsimhapur, Indore.
900-700-Low	1	Raipur	10	Bhind, Gwalior, Chatarpur, Damoh, Betul, Bhopal, Dewas, Shajapur, Ratlam, W. Nimal.
Below-700 Very Low	27	Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Chatarpur, Sagal, Damoh, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimal, E. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal, Sehore, Raisen, Betul, Rajnandgaon, Bastar.	7	Morena, Datia, Shivpuri, Ujjain, Dhar, Raisen, Rajgarh.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

**4.3.4 Kawar:** Kawars had also improvised on their sex ratio terms from 10 districts to 25 districts in 1971 and 1991 respectively which had sex ratio ranging from 900 to 1000 and above. While the number of districts had decreased from 35 in 1971 to 10 in 1991 which had very low female sex ratio with below 700 females.

Table:4.9 gives the data on the sex ratio among the Kawars.

**Table:4.9 Sex Ratio Among the Kawar Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

		1971		1991
Category	No. of Dist.	Name of Districts	No. of Dist.	Name of the Districts
1000 and Above Very High	6	Raigarh, Narsimhapur, Chindawara, Bilaspur, Durg, Raipur.	17	Shivpuri, Guna, Sagar, Bilaspur, Satna, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ujjain, Rajnandgaon, Dewas, Jhabua, W. Nimar, Durg, Sehore, Raisen, Narsimhapur, Raipur.
950-1000-High	4	Indore, E. Nimar, Surguja, Bastar	5	Sahdol, Hosangabad, Sarguja, East Nimar, Raipur.
950-900-Moderate	—	nil	3	Chattarpur, Bastar. Chindwara.
900-700-Low	—	nil	9	Bhind, Ratlam, Shajapur, Indore, Bhopal, Betul, Jabalpur, Mandla, Seoni.
Below-700 Very Low	35	Raisen, Betul, Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dews, Jhabua, Dhar, W. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal, Sehore, Hosangabad, Mandba, Jabalpur, Seoni, Balaghat, Rajnandgaon.	10	Morena, Gwalior, Datia, Panna, Rewa, Dhar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Balaghat, Damoh.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

**4.3.5 Oraons:** Oraons had more or less the same number of districts where the female sex ratio is above 1000 which is eight in number in both 1971 and 1991. There are 35 districts in 1971 where the sex ratio is below 700 which had further decreased to 12 in 1991. There are 20 districts which had their sex ratio between 700-900, while 3 districts have a moderate sex ratio in 1991. The Table 4.10 shows the sex ratio among the oraons in all the 45 districts of Madhya Pradesh.

**Table:4.10 Sex Ratio Among the Oraon Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

		1971		1991
Category	No. of Dist.	Name of Districts	No. of Dist.	Name of the Districts
1000 and Above Very High	8	Raigarh, Jabalpur, Narsimhapur, Chindwara, Seoni, Bilaspur, Raipur, Bastar.	8	Panna, Satna, Ratlam, E. Nimar, Sehore, Chindwara, Balaghat, Raigarh.
950-1000-High	2	Balaghat, Surguja	2	Narsimhapur, Sugguja
950-900-Moderate			3	Shahdol, W.Nimar, Rajnandgaon
900-700-Low	—	Nil	20	Bhind, Datia, Damoh, Sidhi, Mandsaur, Ujjain, Dewas, Jhabua, Indore, Bhopal, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Mandla, Seoni, Bilaspur, Durg, Raipur, Bastar.
Below-700 Very Low	35	Morena, Bhind. Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chatarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, Jhabua, Dhar. Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal, Sehore, Raisen, Betul. Hosangabad, Mandla, Rajnandgaon, Durg.	12	Morena, Gwalior, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chatarpur, Sagar, Rewa, Shajapur, Dhar, Rajgarh, Vidisha.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

**4.3.6 Korku:** Among the Korkus 13 districts in 1991 and 7 districts in 1971 had their sex ratio above 1000 females, while 5 districts in 1971 which had increased to 8 districts in 1991 ranging from 950-1000. The number of districts had decreased which had their sex ratio below 700 from 28 in 1971 to 8 in 1991. The table 4.11 shows the sex ratio among the korkus.

**Table:4.11 Sex Ratio Among the Korku Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

		1971		1991
Category	No. of Dist.	Name of Districts	No. of Dist.	Name of the Districts
1000 and Above Very High	8	Shajapur, W. Nimar, Bhopal, Raigarh, Betul, Jabalpur, Chindwara, Bilaspur.	13	Morena, Chattarpur, Panna, Satna, Sidhi, Mandasur, Jhabua, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Jabalpur, Balaghat, Durg, Raigarh.
950-1000-High	5	Bhind, Dewar, Indore, E. Nimar, Hosangabad.	8	Ujjain, Dewas, E. Nimar, Bhopal, Sehore, Betal, Hosangabad, Mandala.
950-900-Moderate	1	Raipur	3	Guna, W. Nimar, Chindwara.
900-700-Low	3	Gwalior, Rajgarh, Durg.	13	Bhind, Gwalior, Shivpuri, Sagar, Rewa, Shahdol, Ratlam, Indore, Raisen, Seoni, Surguja, Bilaspur, Raipur.
Below-700 Very Low	28	Morena, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Pana, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Jhabua, Dhar, Vidisha, Sehore, Raisen, Narsimhapur, Mandla. Seoni, Balaghat, Surguja, Rajnandgaon, Bastar.	8	Datia, Tikamgarh, Damoh, Shajapur, Narsimhapur, Rajnandagaon, Bastar.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

**4.3.7 Sahariya:** Table 4.12 reveals the sex ratio among the Sahariya where the Sahariya females are dominant with more than 1000 males in 11 districts in 1991 which had increased from 2 in 1971. There had been a decrease in the number of districts in the range of 950-1000 where it decreased from 8 districts in 1971 to 6 districts in 1991. The number of districts where they are below 700 are 28 districts in 1971 which decreased to 11 districts in 1991. There are 17 districts in the range of 700-950 in 1991.

**Table:4.12 Sex Ratio Among the Sahariya Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

		1971		1991
Category	No. of Dist.	Name of Districts	No. of Dist.	Name of the Districts
1000 and Above Very High	2	Satna, W. Nimar	11	Panna, Sidhi, Dewar, E. Nimar, Betul, Jabalpur, Bilaspur, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Raipur, Raigarh.
950-1000-High	8	Shivpuri, Guna, Indore. Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal. Sehore, Raisen.	6	Shivpuri, Guna, Samoh, W. Nimar, Hosangabad, Surguja.
950-900-Moderate	3	Morena, Bhind, Gwalior.	8	Morena, Gwalior, Chattarpur, Dhar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal, Raisen.
900-700-Low	4	Datia, Tikamgarh, Rewa, Ratlam.	9	Bhind, Datia, Tikamgarh, Sagar, Rewa, Shahdol, Indore, Sehore, Bastar.
Below-700 Very Low	28	Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Sahdor, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewar, Jhabua, Dhar, E. Nimar, Raigarh, Betul, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Narsimhapur, Mandla, Chindwara, Seoni. Balaghat, Surguja, Bilaspur, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Raipur, Bastar.	11	Satna, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Jhabua, Narsimhapur, Mandla, Chindwara, Seoni, Balaghat.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

**4.3.8 Baiga:** There is only one district in 1971 where the female sex-ratio is higher than the males which is Balaghat which increased to 11 districts in 1991 which is progressive in terms of the status of women while regressive in terms of the fertility aspects. There are 27 districts in 1991 and 34 districts in 1971 which are below the national average as per 2001 census which is 933 females per 1000 males.

Table 4.13 shows the sex ratio among the Baiga tribe.

**Table:4.13 Sex Ratio Among the Baiga Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

		1971		1991
Category	No. of Dist.	Name of Districts	No. of Dist.	Name of the Districts
1000 and Above Very High	11	Hosangabad, Narsimhapur, Mandala, Chindawara, Seoni, Rajnandgoan, Dewas, W. Nimar, Rajgarh, Sehore, Rajgarh.	1	Balaghat
950-1000-High	6	Jabalpur, Balaghat, Sarguja, Bilaspur, Shahdol, Sidhi.	7	Tikamgarh, Rewa, Shahdol, Sabalpur, Surguja, Bilaspur, Raipur.
950-900-Moderate	1	Durg.	3	Sidhi, Chindwara, Seoni.
900-700-Low	11	Raipur, Bastar, Damoh, Rewa, Mandsaur, Ratlam, Jhabua, Indore, E. Nimar, Vidisha, Bhopal.	2	Chattarpur, Satna.
Below-700 Very Low	16	Raisen, Betul, Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Satna, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dhar.	32	Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Panna, Damoh, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewa, Shabna, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal, Sehore, Raigarh, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Narsimhapur, Mandala, Rajnandgoan, Durg, Bastar.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

**4.3.9 Halbi:** There are 7 districts in 1971 which had more than 1000 females which had increased to 13 districts in 1991 with very high female sex ratio. Betul, Raipur, Bastar and Chindwara had the sex-ratio between 950-1000 females while the number of districts below 700 decreased from 36 to 15 in 1971 and 1991 respectively. The sex ratio among the Halbi is expressed in the Table 4.14.

**Table:4.14 Sex Ratio Among the Halbi Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

		1971		1991
Category	No. of Dist.	Name of Districts	No. of Dist.	Name of the Districts
1000 and Above Very High	7	Raigarh, Jabalpur, Seoni, Balaghat, Durg, Raipur, Bastar.	13	Tikamgarh, Satna, Rewa, Mandasaur, Shajapur, Jhabua, Narasimhapur, Sehore, Mandala, Balaghat, Surguja, Rajnandgaon, Durg.
950-1000-High	1	Chindwara	3	Betul, Raipur, Bastar.
950-900-Moderate	—	nil	5	Gwalior, Shahdol, Ujjain, Bhopal, Seoni.
900-700-Low	1	Bilaspur	8	Morena, Sagar, Ratlam, Dewas, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Bilaspur.
Below-700 Very Low	36	Mandala, Surguja, Rainandgaon, Norena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Rewa, Shahdol, Siddi, Mandasuar, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Rewas, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal, Sehore, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Narshimhapur.	15	Bhind, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Chattarpur, Panna, Damoh, Sidhi, Dhar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Raisen, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Chindwara.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

**4.3.9 Halbi:** There are 7 districts in 1971 which had more than 1000 females which had increased to 13 districts in 1991 with very high female sex ratio. Betul, Raipur, Bastar and Chindwara had the sex-ratio between 950-1000 females while the number of districts below 700 decreased from 36 to 15 in 1971 and 1991 respectively. The sex ratio among the Halbi is expressed in the Table 4.14.

**Table:4.14 Sex Ratio Among the Halbi Tribe – District wise (1971-91)**

		1971		1991
Category	No. of Dist.	Name of Districts	No. of Dist.	Name of the Districts
1000 and Above Very High	7	Raigarh, Jabalpur, Seoni, Balaghat, Durg, Raipur, Bastar.	13	Tikamgarh, Satna, Rewa, Mandsaur, Shajapur, Jhabua, Narasimhapur, Sehore, Mandala, Balaghat, Sarguja, Rajnandgaon, Durg.
950-1000-High	1	Chindwara	3	Betul, Raipur, Bastar.
950-900-Moderate	—	nil	5	Gwalior, Shahdol, Ujjain, Bhopal, Seoni.
900-700-Low	1	Bilaspur	8	Morena, Sagar, Ratlam, Dewas, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Bilaspur.
Below-700 Very Low	36	Mandala, Surguja, Rainandgaon, Norena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Tikamgarh, Chattarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Rewa, Shahdol, Siddi, Mandasuar, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Rewas, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, E. Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Bhopal, Sehore, Raisen, Betul, Hosangabad, Narshimhapur.	15	Bhind, Datia, Shivpuri, Guna, Chattarpur, Panna, Damoh, Sidhi, Dhar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Raisen, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Chindwara.

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)



**4.3.10 Others:** The minor tribes where 6 districts in 1991 had sex ratio of more than 1000 females which decreased from 9 in 1971. There are no districts which are below 700 in 1991 where in 1971 there are 15 districts. Nearly 30 districts in 1991 are in the range of 700-950 while in 1971 there are 9 districts. Among these tribes the Saur, Panika, and Korwa had performed better in terms of the sex ratio. Table 4.15 shows the data among the category of 'others' through 1971 and 1991 in the 45 districts of Madhya Pradesh.

**Table:4.15 Sex Ratio Among the Other Minor Tribes – District wise (1971-91)**

		1971		1991
Category	No. of Dist.	Name of Districts	No. of Dist.	Name of the Districts
1000 and Above Very High	9	Morena, Shivpuri, Shajapur, E. Nimar, Raigarh, Balaghat, Durg, Raipur, Bastar.	6	Betul, Balaghat, Rajnandgaon, Raipur. Bastar, Raigarh.
950-1000-High	12	Gwalior, Chattarpur, Satna, Rewa, Shahdol, Vidisha, Hosangabad, Jabalpur, Chandwara, Seoni, Surguja, Bilaspur.	9	Shahdol, E. Nimar, Jabalpur, Narsimhpur, Mandla, Chindwara, Seoni, Surguja, Bilaspur.
950-900-Moderate	8	Tikamgarh, Panna, Sidhi, Bhopal, Sehore, Raisen, Narsimhpur, Mandla.	14	Shivpuri, Tikamgarh, Chatarpur, Panna, Sagar, Damoh, Satna, Sidhi, Mandasaur, Dewas, Jhabua, Dhar, Bhopal, Hosangabad.
900-700-Low	1	Guna	16	Morena, Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Guna, Rewa, Ratlam, Ujjain, Shajapur, Indore, W.Nimar, Rajgarh, Vidisha, Sehore, Raisen, Durg.
Below-700 Very Low	15	Bhind, Datia, Sagar, Damoh, Mandasaur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Dewar, Jhabua, Dhar, Indore, W. Nimar, Rajgarh, Betul, Rajnandgaon.	—	nil

(Source: Appendix no. 1 and 2)

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

Henceforth, the detailed study of literacy rates shows an increase among the Halbi, Korku in rural areas, Bhils, Gonds, Kawars, Oraons in the urban areas in the category of male literacy and Baiga, Gonds, Bhils, Korku in the rural areas, among Gonds, Halbi in the category of female-literacy. The disparity levels were dominant among Baiga and Bhil in the category of male-literacy, among the female literacy the Gonds, Halbi, Kawar, Kol had shown decline in the disparity levels while it had shown an increase in the urban areas among all the tribal groups as compared to the non tribal areas.

In regard with constitutional special provisions provided to the marginal groups like tribal population under the Article 21(A) which guarantees free and compulsory education to the children below 14 years, and also Article 335 which claims services and posts to sheduled tribe, Article 342 a special provision to sheduled tribes and the whole of the fifth schedule which carries the provisions to the administer and control of the scheduled areas and scheduled tribes. The Government of India had been implementing the tribal developmental projects since the first five-year plan (1951). The aspect of education had been highlighted during the sixth plan with the introduction of Ashram Schools, Bridge schools which carries the precedence from the fifth Plan where the tribal sub-plans, Modified Area Development Agencies, Integrated Tribal Development Agencies had been given the responsibility to impart education among the tribal population. In spite of these tribal development projects, the literacy rates among the tribals had not substantially increased and hence, the aspect of education has to be looked in a holistic fashion with due consideration towards their cultural and economic aspects such as the mode

of economy, their indigenous knowledge system, their religious practices, their outlook towards the non-tribal societies, their pass-time activities like folksongs, their system of beliefs, attitudes and values. Hence, the literacy levels among the scheduled tribes in general and also in specific need to be improved and the change should be competitive enough to match the non-tribe population as education could play vital role in the prosperity of the individual, community, tribe and the nation as a whole.

## Chapter-5

### Economic Change Among The Tribal Groups

#### 5.1 Introduction

Every community has its own way to meet its basic needs for the existence of its members, failing which they are threatened with extinction. Nature comes forward and joins hands with them to fulfil their needs fashioned, of course, in their own way depending on their customs, traditions, demographic structure, etc. Owing to this, people with the same natural surroundings have developed different economic process to meet their ends.

Economic Organization consists of the ordering and organization of human relations and human effort in order to procure as many of the necessities of day-to-day life as possible with the expenditure of minimum effort.<sup>1</sup> This definition holds good for any pre-historic, primitive or modern society. Only the conception of what is regarded as necessary for life and what as a luxury differs.

Economic system is designed to satisfy material wants of the people, to organize production, to control distribution and determine the rights and claims of ownership within the community.”<sup>2</sup>

“Economic organization is a type of social action. It involves the combination of various kinds of human services with one another and with non-human goods in such a way that they serve given ends”.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> D.N. Majumdar and T. N. Madan, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, Bombay, 197, p.188.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph Piddington, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, London, 1952, p.18.

<sup>3</sup> Raymond Firth, *Elements of Social Organization*, London, 1952, Vol.I, p.123.

“All societies have structured arrangements to provide the material means of individual and community life. It is these structured rules that we call an economic system”.<sup>4</sup>

In this connection it has been observed that the primitive economic organizations are of subsistence type and are production-consumption economies and the modern economic organizations are termed as production-consumption-distribution economies.

## **5.2 Nature of Primitive Economies**

The tribal culture is cognate to tribal economies and the economic system of the tribals can be understood in the purview of the cultural factors. In the conventional wisdom of economic science, non-economic factors like social and cultural relations are considered non-essential though they are the tribal reality for the very organization of their economic process. In a community like the tribals where the price system is normally absent and social traditions regulates the economic activities, the general economic theories would hardly be applicable in their original spirit. For an assessment of the tribal economy, special analytic concepts are necessary because social organization and culture – kinship, political organization, religion – affect economic organization and performance so directly and sensitively in tribal communities that only a socio-economic approach which considers explicitly the relationships between economy and society is capable of yielding insights and generalization of any importance.

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<sup>4</sup> George Dalton, *Economic Anthropology and Development*, Basis Books, New York, 1971, p.89.

The nature of the primitive economies are generally characterized by (a) Consumption (b) lack of profit motive (c) shifting and axe cultivation (d) cooperative and collective endeavor (e) absence of regular market as an institution (f) low rate of innovation (g) poor financial institutions and low use of money as a medium.

The economies of Indian tribes could be grouped as (a) agriculturists (c) shifting axe-cultivation (d) handicrafts (e) Pastoralism (f) Industrial labour.

The primitive economies are characterized by three processes (a) Reciprocity (b) Redistribution (c) Market exchange.

**5.2.1 Reciprocity and Distribution:** The process of distribution, in many tribes, is set in a non-economic (non-economizing) matrix which takes the form of gift and ceremonial exchange". Each group, whether a family, a group of kinsmen, communities, villagers, or the tribe as a whole, implies appropriate norms of reciprocity. "... the whole tribal life is permeated by a constant give and take... every ceremony, every legal and customary act is done to the accompaniment of material gift and a counter gift".<sup>5</sup>

Dalton<sup>6</sup> (1971:53) is also of the same view, that the mode of transaction which does exist widely among the tribes is reciprocity, i.e., material gift and counter gift-giving induced by social obligation derived typically from kinship. The degree of reciprocity as suggested by Prof. Service<sup>7</sup> (1966) is of three standards.

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<sup>5</sup> (Malinowski, 1922:Myth in Primitive Psychology,pg 167).

<sup>6</sup> Dalton, George.; 1961: "Economic Theory and Primitive Society", American Anthropologist, Vol.63, no.1, 1961.

<sup>7</sup> Service. E. 1966: The Hunters, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall.

namely, (i) general reciprocity, (ii) balanced reciprocity, and (iii) negative reciprocity.

General reciprocity includes in itself the assistance given and taken back or returned, sharing, hospitality, gifts taken, mutual aid, and generosity. The expectation of reciprocity is left indefinite, unspecified as to quality, quantity and time. Values of return depends on the donor and the recipient and also on what they could afford and when.

Balanced reciprocity is the direct exchange. The return and the goods received should be equal in value. This can be observed at the time of marital transaction between the brides and groom's kinsmen. The barter system of buying or selling is the best example of this degree of reciprocity. This is rather less personal than generalized reciprocity and may be termed a more economic one. This does not mean that value of the give and take is considered only in money but also social value is implied in it.

Negative reciprocity is the attempt to get something for nothing, e.g., bargaining or haggling.

Among the Oraon, Gond and similar agricultural tribes, the generalized type of reciprocity can clearly be seen at the time of transplanting paddy. The close and distant kins come together to help each other. At the end of the work the invitees are offered food and drink as hospitality. Wherever Dhumkuria, the young dormitory, exists in the Oraon area, the members of the dormitory help the villagers and get a token gift which is utilized in the dormitory for buying musical instruments and

other goods. At the time of festivals and different auspicious occasions they pay visits to each other and observe Mehmani (being a guest).

**5.2.2 Role of tribal markets:** In addition to the system of exchange the tribal people have their institution of barter and the tribal periodical markets for their respective areas. They do not have permanent markets. However, these markets – weekly, fortnightly or bi-weekly-locally known as Bazar, Hat, Pithia, Shandies, etc., are widely spread in the tribal areas specially in Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. The tribal villages falling in a radius of about 5 to 10 km. have each a fixed separate weekly market place. In the tribal areas, weekly markets play an important role in the life of the people. All their outer and inter-group economics are channeled through this traders-of-all description flock to sell their goods. The tribal people too come with their produce.

The tribal market brings together people from different ethnic groups for not only economic but also secular and religious activities in the tribal region. Tribesmen and castemen from a region meet on fixed days at the market place or another place to transact their socio-economic business. The mode of economic transaction is barter for native goods, i.e., produced in the region, like foodgrains, local hand-woven clothes, baskets, etc., and cash for the non-native goods produced in the urban region or outside the region, viz., salt, mill clothes, readymade clothes, cosmetics, soaps, etc.

The impact of weekly markets on their traditional life too has shown an attitude of accepting innovation. The market is the most powerful channel of communication in the tribal region. Monetary economy has percolated through the



market. Also the weekly market has obtained a place in the social organization of the tribal people. This proves, for the tribals, the best place of meeting. Any announcement of community interest may be broadcast here and it will get relayed all over the area immediately.

The functional relationship between tribes or within tribes or tribal people and non-tribals of the tribal villages or the region is characterized by an interdependence quite similar to the Jajmani system. Under the system each caste group, within a village, is expected to give certain standardized service to the people of other castes. The family or the family head served by an individual is known as his Jajman while the man who performs the service is known as the Kamin of Jajman. The Jajman pays his Kamin in cash or kind on a daily, monthly or yearly basis prevailing in rural India though it is not called the Jajmani system as such..

*5.2.3 Division of Labour:* The Bhils of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra have empirically chalked out a programme for maximum work from all, men, women and children, by allotting to each the work for which he or she is best fitted.<sup>8</sup> Though the division of labour is not hard and fast, the men attend to more arduous and energetic occupations while the women engage themselves in more sober and somewhat more monotonous jobs. The jobs like preparing the field, taking cattle out of shed, hoeing, ploughing, digging, watching the crop, harvesting, threshing, Kabadu (felling forest trees), collecting honey and fishing are done by men. Women do most of the work connected with the consumption and preparation of food, lifting cowdung, bringing water, grinding, weeding, bringing firewood, buying household

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<sup>8</sup>Naik, T.B. ;1957: The Bhils: A Study, New Delhi, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh.

goods, fishing and singing marriage songs. The children take care of younger brothers and sisters, go with the cattle, and help parents in small field labour and wander after game.

*5.2.4 Economic Change among the Tribals:* Tribal culture in India is passing through a phase of economic change with the rest of the country. Modern technology and concepts have been developed. The tribal economy too is witnessing a continuous impact of the new modern economies which is evident from the fact of the emergence of some new economic typologies among them, viz., labourer type and while-collar job type.

It is very difficult to find a simple and precise form or trend of change in tribal economy as it is fast changing on local levels. But the best approach to the identification of the change would be to consider the different new economic activities and developments on one hand and the description of a few resultant forms of economies which have emerged on the other. This would rather reveal the nature and extent of the economic transformation in the present period of opportunities of advancement to every citizen on the basis of common socialism. It will also be our purpose to refer to some of the economic difficulties which the tribals are facing today.

The modern economic activities are changing the traditional tribal economy. The following modern forces need mention in the changing context of new economy of the tribes, viz.: (a) Education, (b) New link of tribal market with big markets or urban markets, (c) Co-operatives, (d) Commercial Banks, (e) Labour Unions, (f) Land Mortgage Act and its knowledge, (g) Concept of saving, (h) A shift in

consumption pattern from need-base to impersonal need, (i) Changed situation on the international border line and the impact on the frontier tribals, (j) Emergence of commercial aptitude among the tribals like, (i) emergence of tribal money-lenders, (ii) change in cropping pattern from cereals to cash crops, and (iii) open sale of minor forest produce as a means of cash economy and so on, and (k) Reservation in Government and semi-Government establishments.<sup>9</sup>

This chapter deals with the changes in the occupation structure by examining the percentage of population involved in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors during the 20 years from 1971-91 and the percentage change among all the nine activities classified under the industrial classification during 1971 to 1991.

### **5.3 Changes in occupational structure**

In Madhya Pradesh, among the total tribal population, 40% constitutes the total main works in 1971 which had increased to 45% in 1991 in rural areas, and from 38% to 34% with a negative trend of -4 points in the urban areas. This trend in the urban areas shows that the migrating populations from rural areas are not sufficiently accommodated with employment opportunities.

Among the selected nine tribes, the percentage varies from 50% among kols to 31% among the korku in the rural areas in 1971 and from 48% between the Baiga and the Kols in rural areas in 1991 and 42% between Baiga and Kols in urban areas in 1971 and from 38% among Baiga to 28% among the Oraons in 1991.

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<sup>9</sup> Vidhyarthi, L.P., Rai ;1975:Tribal Culture Of India, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, pg, 145.

In the rural areas, all the tribes had shown an increase of 2 to 15 percentile points except the Kols and Sahariya along with the other minor tribes.

In the urban areas, all the tribes had shown a negative trend with a range of – 2 to –7 percentile points among Bhils and Halbi.

**5.3.1 Primary Sector:** All the Scheduled Tribes in Madhya Pradesh had shown a mere increase of 0.17% in the rural areas and –3% in the urban areas. Around 97% of the worker population are engaged in the primary sector in the rural areas.

In the rural areas, there is a negative trend ranging from –2 to –4 percentile points among all the groups except among the Korku which had shown a 3% growth from 95% in 1971 to 98% in 1991 which indicates more population joining agriculture.

In the urban areas, the variation in the percentile points is from 0.60 to 10 and both the negative and positive trends are equally poised. The positive trend ranges from 0.60 to 10 percentile points between Korku and Baiga respectively, and the negative trend ranging from –2 to –10 among the Gonds and Bhils respectively indicating the shift from primary sector to other sectors.

But, still around 97% of the workers are engaged in the primary sector, which shows the rigid occupational structure with very little changes. This needs to undergo change with providing better opportunities in the other sectors and with growth in the literacy levels. Table no:5.1 shows the percentile increase in the Primary sector.

**Table: 5.1 Percentage Change among the Tribals in the Primary Sector (1971-1991)**

Tribes Name		Total			Primary		
		%	%	Change	%	%	Change
		1971	1991		1971	1991	
All Scheduled Tribes	R	40	45	5	96	96	0.17
	U	38	34	-4	42	39	-3.00
1. Baiga	R	43	48	5	95	96	1.00
	U	42	38	-4	53	63	10.00
2. Bhil	R	32	42	10	98	97	-1.00
	U	34	36	2	60	50	-10.00
3. Gond	R	42	47	5	97	96	-1.00
	U	37	33	-4	34	32	-2.00
4. Halba	R	47	49	2	96	93	-3.00
	U	42	35	7	13	10	-3.00
5. Kavar	R	40	44	4	97	96	-1.00
	U	36	31	-5	38	40	2.00
6. Kol	R	50	48	-2	95	94	-1.00
	U	42	37	-5	41	55	14.00
7. Korku	R	31	46	15	95	98	3.00
	U	43	36	-7	54	54	0.60
8. Oraon	R	34	36	2	96	92	-4.00
	U	30	28	-2	25	18	5.37
9. Sahariya	R	43	39	-4	94	94	-0.17
	U	38	36	-2	38	43	5.00
10. Others	R	46	44	-2.00	94	92	-2.00
	U	37	33	-4	36	31	-5.00

(Source: Appendix no. 6 and 7)

**5.3.2 Secondary Sector:** Around 2% of the rural population and 27% of the urban population among the tribes are engaged in this sector. The percentile points vary from -2.91 to 2.83 among the Korku and Halbi respectively in the rural areas and from -10.48 among the Kols to 2.52 among the Baiga in the urban areas. This sector did not show any significant change among the tribal groupings. Table no:5.2 shows the percentage change in the Secondary sector.

**Table 5.2 Percentage Change among the Tribals in the Secondary Sector (1971-1991)**

Tribes Name		Total			Secondary		
		%	%	Change	%	%	Change
		1971	1991		1971	1991	
All Scheduled Tribes	R	40	45	5	2.38	2	0.38
	U	38	34	-4	26.44	28	2.44
1. Baiga	R	43	48	5	4.35	2	-2.35
	U	42	38	-4	23.52	25	2.52
2. Bhil	R	32	42	10	1.19	1	0.19
	U	34	36	2	10.23	19	-1.23
3. Gond	R	42	47	5	2.35	2	-0.35
	U	37	33	-4	32.35	32	-0.35
4. Halba	R	47	49	2	1.83	3	2.83
	U	42	35	-7	54.91	54	-0.91
5. Kavar	R	40	44	4	1.09	1	-0.09
	U	36	31	-5	31.43	26	-5.43
6. Kol	R	50	48	-2	4.13	4	-0.13
	U	42	37	-5	30.48	25	-10.48
7. Korku	R	31	46	15	3.91	1	-2.91
	U	43	36	-7	19.37	20	1.37
8. Oraon	R	34	36	2	1.45	2	0.55
	U	30	28	-2	30.37	28	-2.37
9. Sahariya	R	43	39	-4	2.66	4	1.44
	U	38	36	-2	28.90	25	-3.97
10. Others	R	46	44	-2.00	4	5	1.00
	U	37	33	-4	26.80	28	2.80

(Source: Appendix no. 6 and 7)

**5.3.3 Tertiary Sector And Others:** Among all the scheduled tribes around 0.74% change in the rural areas and 2.32% in the urban areas is noticed in the tertiary sector and 0.64% in rural areas and -0.09% in the urban areas is noticed from 1971 to 1991.

The percentage of people engaged in tertiary sector in rural areas is very negligible in all the groups, which is because of factors like illiteracy, isolation, lack of mobility, and poor infrastructure. Table no:5.3 reveals the percentage change among the tribals in Madhya Pradesh in the Tertiary sector

**Table 5.3 Percentage Change among the Tribals in the Tertiary and Others Sector (1971-1991)**

Tribes Name		Total			Tertiary			Others		
		%	%	Change	%	%	Change	%	%	Change
		1971	1991		1971	1991		1971	1991	
All Scheduled Tribes	R	40	45	5	0.26	1	0.74	0.96	1.60	0.64
	U	38	34	-4	10.68	13	2.32	21.03	20.94	-0.09
1. Baiga	R	43	48	5	0.22	1	0.78	0.84	0.75	-0.09
	U	42	38	-4	3.77	4	0.23	19.47	8.44	-11.03
2. Bhil	R	32	42	10	0.21	1	0.79	0.71	1.21	0.50
	U	34	36	2	3.22	9	5.78	26.74	22.08	-4.66
3. Gond	R	42	47	5	0.26	1	0.74	0.88	1.53	0.65
	U	37	33	-4	13.23	15	1.77	19.54	21.17	1.63
4. Halba	R	47	49	2	0.48	1	0.52	1.50	3.47	1.97
	U	42	35	7	18.80	17	-1.80	13.67	18.51	4.84
5. Kawar	R	40	44	4	0.18	1	0.82	0.72	1.90	1.18
	U	36	31	-5	8.57	11	2.43	21.87	22.36	0.49
6. Kol	R	50	48	-2	0.22	1	0.78	1.08	1.17	0.09
	U	42	37	-5	10.64	9	-1.64	17.58	11.12	-6.46
7. Korku	R	31	46	15	0.19	1	0.81	1.03	0.70	-0.33
	U	43	36	-7	6.69	10	3.31	19.01	15.56	-3.45
8. Oraon	R	34	36	2	0.29	1	0.71	2.35	5.64	3.29
	U	30	28	-2	8.83	12	3.17	35.32	41.79	6.47
9. Sahariya	R	43	39	-4	0.62	1	0.38	1.48	1.20	-0.28
	U	38	36	-2	14.88	11	-3.88	21.57	21.63	0.06
10. Others	R	46	44	-2.00	0.36	1	0.64	1	2.00	1.00
	U	37	33	-4	28.14	17	-11.14	60.18	24.00	3.82

(Source: Appendix 6 and 7)

In the urban areas, the change of 5.78 percentile points is noticed among the Bhils with an increase from 3% to 9% which is a very encouraging, while negative trend of -11.14 percentile points is seen in the 'others' category.

The other services category consists of 20% of the urban population, which includes the white-collared jobs. Among the Oraons, Halbi, there is percentage change of 6.47 and 4.84 respectively which is a positive sign and also -11.03 among the Baiga which indicates a shift of Baiga population to the secondary sector with a change of 2.52 percent in that sector.

The rural areas show a very minor percentage of less the 2, which is very negligible.

#### **5.4 Changes in all the activities under the Industrial classification:**

Classification is a process which helps in easy identification of a group of variables by grouping them into different categories based on their similarities and differences that they share. The different kinds of activities that the individual are involved who are termed as main workers are grouped in nine different categories namely (1) Cultivators, (2) Agricultural Labourers, (3) Livestock, Fishery, Hunting, Forestry, (4) Mining and Quarrying (5) Manufacturing, Processing and Servicing – (a) Household Activities, (b) Other than Household Activities, (6) Construction, (7) Trade and Commerce, (8) Transport, Storage and Communication, (9) Other Services.

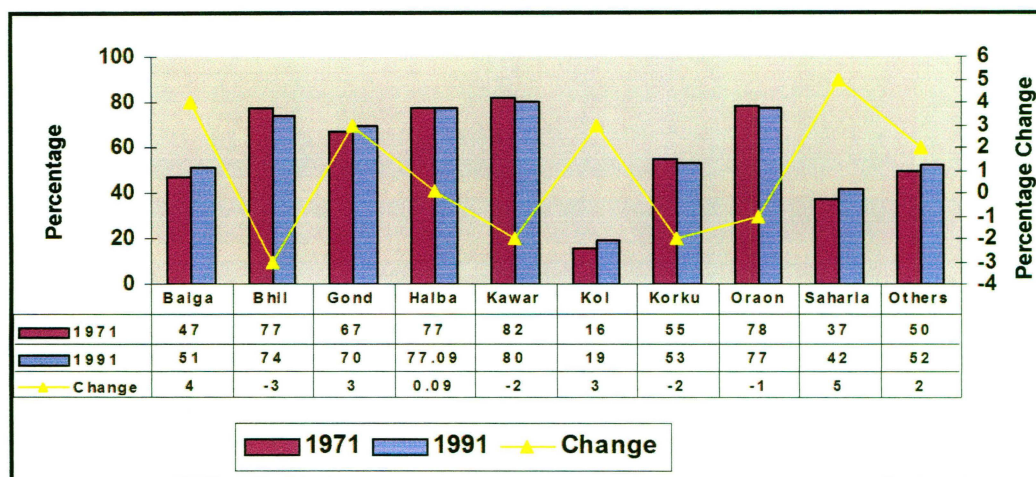
The tribal population who are basically pastoralists, food gatherers, hunters but, due to the diffusion of cultures especially from the non-tribal population, industrialization, education, developmental activities and various other factors which had brought a change in their traditional occupations. This change which is very vital is studied from 1971 to 1991 among the tribal groups across all the nine industrial categories.

**5.4.1 Cultivators:** All those persons who derive a major part of their income by working on their own farms can be designated as cultivators, who for a major part of the year should work on the land of their own.

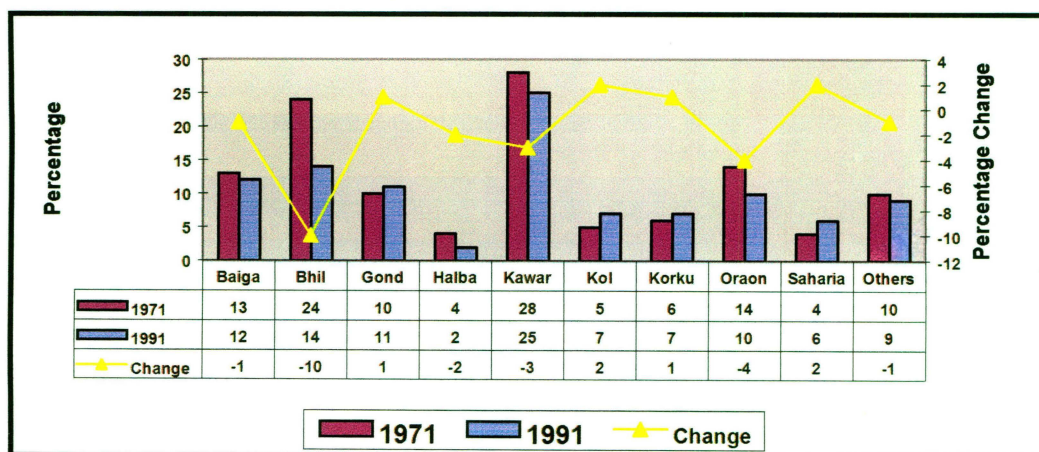
Among all the scheduled tribes in Madhya Pradesh, 63% of the main workers are cultivators in 1971, which rose by 2 percentile points to 65% in 1991 in rural areas and decreased by 1 percentile point from 11% to 10% in urban areas. Fig. No. 1 and 2 shows the total percentage change among the cultivators in rural and urban areas.



**Fig. 1 Total Percentage Change among the cultivators in Rural Areas (1971-1991)**



**Fig. no. 2 Total Percentage Change among the cultivators in Urban Areas (1971-1991)**



Among the selected tribal groups in rural areas, the Kawars hold as high as 82% in 1991 among the cultivators while Kols with 16% in 1971 and 19% in 1991 as cultivators. Bhils, Kawars, Korku and Oraon show a decrease in the percentage share of cultivators with -3, -2, -2, -1 percentile points respectively. This trend shows that the Kawars, Oraons and Halbi hold a major share as cultivators and hence, also land holdings. While in the urban areas, also Kawars and Bhils hold a major share with 28% and 24% in 1971 and with 25% and 14% in 1991

respectively. All the tribal groups had shown a decrease in the number of cultivators in urban areas in the 20 years except Gonds, Kols, Korku and Sahariyas: Among the male population, all the tribal groups show a decrease in the percentage of cultivators from 1971 to 1991 except among the Baiga, Kols, and Sahariya in both rural and urban areas, while among the female population there is a positive trend among the cultivators between these 20 years except among Baiga and Bhil urban female population. This decrease in male cultivators indicates the migration of the tribals and also a shift to other industrial categories. Table 5.4 shows the percentage change among the cultivators.

**Table 5.4 Percentage Change among Cultivators (1971-1991)**

		Total			Male			Female		
		1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change
All Scheduled Tribes	R	63	65	2	70	70.10	0.10	45	57	12
	U	11	10	-1	13	11	-2	6	10	4
1. Baiga	R	47	51	4	54	58	4	32	40	8
	U	13	12	-1	15	16	1	7	4	3
2. Bhil	R	77	74	-3	83	78	5	51	67	16
	U	24	14	-10	28	16	-12	12	11	-1
3. Gond	R	67	70	3	74	74	0	52	62	10
	U	10	11	1	11	10	-1	8	12	4
4. Halba	R	77	77.09	0.09	79	75	-4	75	79	4
	U	4	2	-2	5	2	-3	2	4	2
5. Kavar	R	82	80	-2	21	82	-2	68	74	4
	U	28	25	-3	30	24	-6	19	29	10
6. Kol	R	16	19	3	20	24	4	11	13	2
	U	5	7	2	7	8	1	2	4	2
7. Korku	R	55	53	-2	62	60	-2	35	41	6
	U	6	7	1	9	7	-2	0	4	4
8. Oraon	R	78	77	-1	82	81	-1	64	65	1
	U	14	10	-4	19	9	-10	3	13	10
9. Sahariya	R	37	42	5	47	50	3	10	25	15
	U	4	6	2	5	7	2	3	3.40	0.40
10. Others	R	50	52	2	58	58.87	0.87	33	39	6
	U	10	9	-1	12	9	-3	6	9	3

(Source: Appendix 6 and 7)

**5.4.2 Agricultural Labourers:** All those persons who derive a major part of their income as payment for work performed on the farms of others, can be designated as agricultural workers. For a major part of the year, they should work on the land of others on wages.

Agricultural workers constitute the most neglected class in Indian rural structure. Their income is low and employment irregular. Since, they possess no skill or training they have no alternative employment opportunities either. Socially, a large number of agricultural workers belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Therefore, they are an oppressed class. They are not organized and cannot fight for their rights.

There are different causes which can be attributed to the growth in the number of agricultural labourers like (a) Increase in population (b) Decline in cottage industries and village handicrafts (c) Eviction of small farmers and tenants from land (d) Uneconomic land holdings (e) Increase in indebtedness (f) Spread of the use of money and exchange system (g) capitalist agriculture.

These agricultural labourers face different adverse conditions and problems like (a) Marginalisation (b) Indebtedness (c) Feminization of agricultural labour with low wages (d) High incidence of child labour (e) Increase in migrant labour.

In order to overcome these problems, the government of India had adopted various measures like<sup>10</sup>

- (a) The enactment of minimum Wages Act in 1948
- (b) Abolition of bonded labour in 1976

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<sup>10</sup> Vidhyarthi.L.P. 1973: "Problems and Prospects of Tribal Development in India". Indian Anthropologist, Vol.2, No.2.

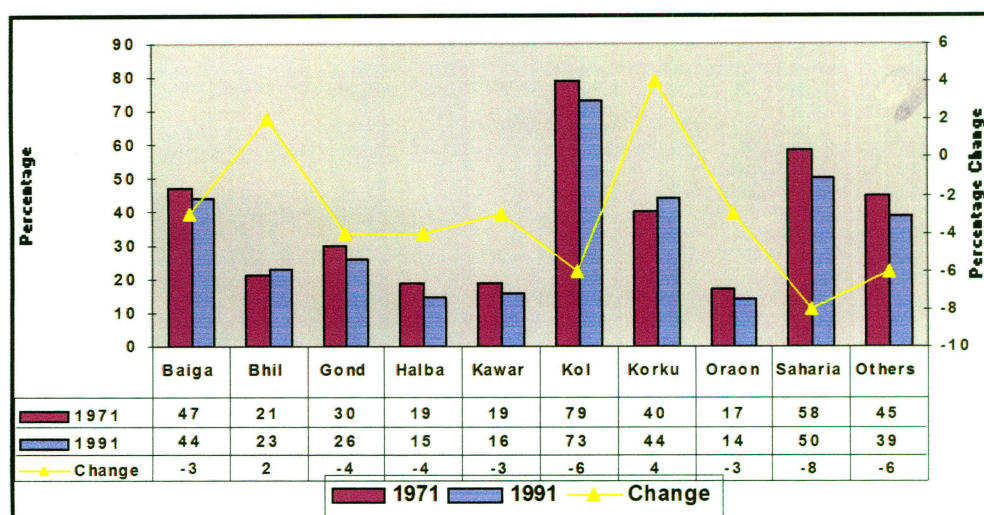
- (c) Providing land to landless labourers especially those donated during the Bhoodan and Gramdan movements. However, most of the land made available to these labourers is not fit for cultivation
- (d) Special schemes for providing employment like Rural works programme (RWP), Employment Guarantee Scheme(EGS), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Rural landless employment guarantee programme(RLEGP), Jawahar Rojgar Yojna (JRY), Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojna (JGSY), Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS), Sampoorna Grameen Rojgar Yojna (SGRY)
- (e) Special agencies for development like Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA), Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Agency (MFAL), National Scheduled Tribes Finance Development Corporation to provide marketing support to minor forest product (MFP) and surplus agricultural produce.

These programmes of regional development had affected the tribal society both positively and negatively. The negative ailments are often because of the little interaction between the tribes and the non-tribes. With the opening of tribal areas, a process that started in the third decade of the twentieth century, the tribal society registered two major impacts (a) Influx of non-tribal peasantry (b) transformation of subsistence tribal agriculture into a cash cropping economy. The tribes were involuntarily drawn into this cash economy which they are alien to and hence, a transformation in the tribal habitat and their tribal way of life.

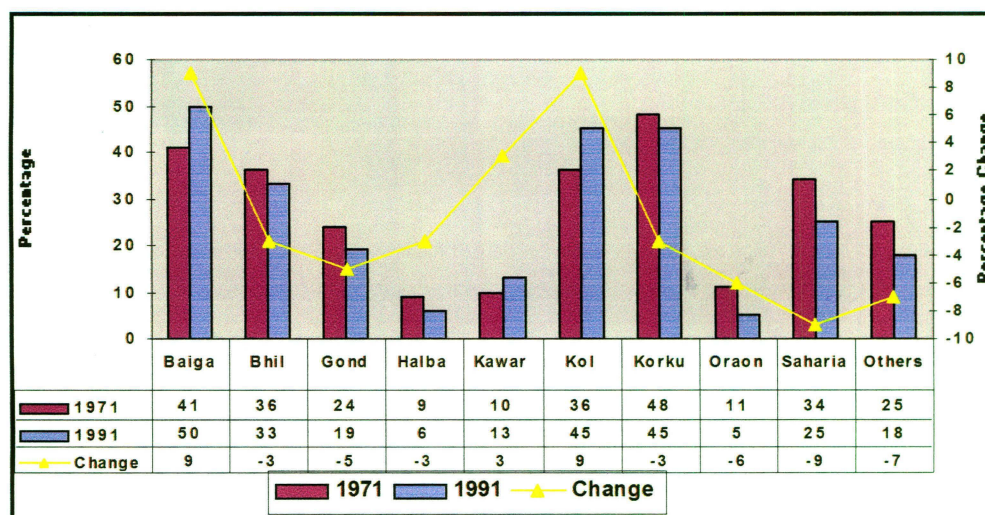
Tribal assimilation into the peasant mode of production is a complicated process. Although the tribal agriculture is of subsistence in character, the art of agriculture is not new to them.

The percentage of workers engaged as agricultural labourers in rural areas had shown a negative trend of 3 percentile points with 33% in 1971 to 30% in 1991 and a reduction of 3% from 28% in 1971 to 25% in 1991 in urban areas. This lowering phenomenon is the number of agricultural labourers is an enterprising finding which indicates the owning of land by the tribals through various programmes initiated by the government and also the shift from the category of occupation to the other sectors.

**Fig. No.5.3 Total Percentage Change among the Agricultural Labourers in Rural Areas (1971-1991 )**



**Fig. No.5.4 Total Percentage Change among the Agricultural Labourers in Urban Areas (1971-1991 )**



Kols hold a dominant share of their worker population, as agricultural labourers with 79 and 73 percent in 1971 and 1991 in rural areas while Baiga and Korcu dominate the share, which ranges from 40-50 percent in the urban areas. The most notable feature is the decrease among the number of agricultural labourers among all the tribal groups except Bhils and Korcu in rural areas and Baiga, Kawar and Kols in urban areas. This decrease can be attributed to the introduction of cash economy among the tribal areas by way of plantations and also because of the tribal development programmes, and shift to the other industrial categories.

Among the female population, who are engaged as agricultural labourers in all the groups had shown a declining trend in both rural and urban areas except among Kawars and the depressing fact is that in urban areas among Baiga and Kols, there is an increase in percent of agricultural labourers. The decrease in percentage of agricultural labourers is coupled with the increase in the female cultivators indicating the female's participation in agriculture and also in the plantations and through programmes like 'Adivasi Mahila Shashaktikaran Yojna'. The male agricultural labourers had also declined except among Kawars, Bhils and Baiga population. There is 13-percentile point decline among the female agricultural labourers from 52.57% in 1971 to 39.57 in 1991 in rural areas.

The decreasing number of agricultural labourers and the increase in the number of cultivators is a positive sign and still lot needs to be done especially among the Kols, Baiga and Bhils through various measures like (a) raising the standard of living (b) creating alternative sources of employment (c) Public works programmes (d) Providing social security (e) Resettlement of agricultural workers

and (f) Better implementation of legislative measures. Table no. 5.5 shows the percentage change the agricultural labourers.

**Table 5.5 Percentage Change among Agricultural Labourers (1971-1991)**

		TOTAL			MALE			FEMALE		
		1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change
All Scheduled Tribes	R	33	30	-3	26	24	-2	52.57	39.57	-13
	U	28	25	-3	23	18	-4	41.92	42.10	0.18
1. Baiga	R	47	44	-3	39	37	-2	64.46	56.15	-8.31
	U	41	50	9	35	40	5	53.39	75.56	22.17
2. Bhil	R	21	23	2	15	18	3	46.70	31.25	-15.45
	U	36	33	-3	31	26	-5	49.56	48.25	-1.31
3. Gond	R	30	26	-4	22	20	-2	46.29	35.32	-10.97
	U	24	19	-5	18	14	-4	40.04	35.83	-4.21
4. Halba	R	19	15	-4	16	12	-4	23.73	19.00	-4.73
	U	9	6	-3	7	3	-4	12.06	12.68	0.62
5. Kavar	R	19	16	-3	12	12	3	29.97	24.56	-5.41
	U	10	13	3	7	9	2	26.26	29.11	2.85
6. Kol	R	79	73	-6	74	67	-7	85.39	82.74	-2.65
	U	36	45	9	30	37	7	48.12	64.05	15.93
7. Korku	R	40	44	4	32	37	5	61.54	57.22	-4.32
	U	48	45	-3	39	38	-1	67.44	66.12	-1.32
8. Oraon	R	17	14	-3	14	10	-4	31.68	26.00	-5.68
	U	11	5	-6	10	4	-6	13.45	8.20	-5.25
9. Sahariya	R	58	50	-8	48	43	-5	82.22	67.85	-14.37
	U	34	25	-9	32	23	-9	37.72	29.27	-8.45
10. Others	R	45	39	-6	38	32	-6	59.10	53.27	-5.83
	U	25	18	-7	19	15	-4	40.82	31.36	-9.46

(Source: Appendix no. 6 and 7)

**5.4.3 Livestock, Fishery, Hunting, Forestry:** The first and foremost characteristic of the tribal economy is the close relationship between their economic life and the natural environment or habitat which is, in general, the forest. The tribals obtain their numerous requirements from the area they inhabit with the help of most simple implements and without any technological aid from outside. Nothing seems to escape them – edible roots, fruits, vegetables, flower and honey, insects, fish, pigeons, cock and other birds, monkeys, hares, pigs, etc. This kind of occupation where, rearing and taming the cattle and hunting are the activities which are very natural to the tribal populations.

Among the Sahariyas in rural areas, where 1.58 percent of the main workers in 1991 and 11.14 percent in 1971 are engaged in this activity with a 0.44 percentile change which is succeeded by the Baiga with 1.34 in 1991 and 1.52 in 1971 which had recorded a negative change of -0.17 points. The 'others' category had also a significant percent with 1.22 percent in 1991 and 1.06 in 1971 with a change of 1.60 Percentile points. In the urban areas the Baiga, Halbi, Korku, Oraon, Sahariya and 'others' had recorded a negative change with -1.88, -0.23, -7.80, -3.28, -0.73 and -5.29 respectively. This shift in this occupation is accompanied by the growth in the other sectors; especially among the female population of Sahariyas which had shown a growth of 1.42 percentile points in the rural areas while among Halbi with 0.74 points among the males, while Korkus had recorded a negative growth rate of -2.09 in the rural areas among males and -1.19 among the female population. Table no. 5.6 shows the percentage change among the activities of livestock, fishery, hunting, forestry.

**Table 5.6 Percentage Change among Livestock, Fishery, Hunting , Forestry (1971-1991)**

		Total			Male			Females		
		1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change
All Scheduled Tribes	R	0.95	0.74	-0.21	1.11	0.91		0.55	0.46	-0.10
	U	2.38	3.02	0.64	2.58	3.23	0.65	1.84	2.40	0.56
1. Baiga	R	1.53	1.35	-0.18	1.96	1.45	-0.51	0.58	1.18	0.60
	U	2.30	0.41	-1.89	2.96	0.54	-2.42	0.73	0.09	-0.65
2. Bhil	R	0.81	0.50	-0.31	0.80	0.63	-0.17	0.85	0.28	-0.57
	U	1.58	2.40	0.82	1.81	2.86	1.05	0.88	1.42	0.55
3. Gond	R	0.99	0.67	-0.32	1.19	0.89	-0.30	0.52	0.34	-0.19
	U	1.73	2.70	0.97	1.94	3.08	1.14	1.12	1.44	0.32
4. Halba	R	0.42	0.84	0.42	0.62	1.37	0.75	0.13	0.24	0.11
	U	2.54	2.31	-0.23	3.54	2.74	-0.80	0.76	1.07	0.31
5. Kwar	R	0.43	0.50	0.07	0.50	0.62	0.12	0.22	0.27	0.05
	U	2.27	2.58	0.32	2.51	2.70	0.19	1.12	2.11	1.00
6. Kol	R	1.24	0.88	-0.36	1.76	1.11	-0.65	0.53	0.54	0.01
	U	1.00	2.60	1.59	1.15	2.31	1.16	0.68	3.27	2.59
7. Korku	R	2.83	0.94	-1.89	3.17	1.08	-2.09	1.90	0.70	-1.20
	U	10.21	2.41	-7.80	13.13	2.97	-10.16	3.49	0.68	-2.81
8. Oraon	R	0.62	0.54	-0.07	0.62	0.59	-0.03	0.60	0.42	-0.18
	U	6.62	3.34	-3.28	4.54	3.64	-0.90	12.44	2.12	-10.32
9. Sahariya	R	1.14	1.59	0.45	1.35	1.40	0.05	0.61	2.03	1.42
	U	12.87	12.14	-0.73	13.92	9.25	-4.66	10.78	19.48	8.70
10. Others	R	1.07	1.23	0.16	1.27	1.35	0.08	0.61	0.97	0.36
	U	9.68	4.39	-5.29	9.94	4.40	-5.54	8.99	4.35	-4.64

(Source: Appendix no. 6 and 7)



**5.4.4 Mining, Quarrying:** Recently, the tribal population had been opting for this occupation as the areas in which they live are very rich in the minerals and very congenial for mining and Quarrying. The Sahariyas and the Kols are a dominant group participating in this activity in the rural areas with 1.98 and 1.33 percentile point change. While all the tribal groups had recorded a positive change ranging from 0.07 among the Bhils to 0.60 among the Oraons in the rural areas while in the urban areas the Sahariyas and the Korkus had dominated the activity with 2.13 and 4.03 percentile point change.

Among the males in the rural areas, this activity had increased among the Halbi with 1.05 percent change and among Kols with 1.49 percent and among Sahariya with 1.78 percent change while among the female population, the Kols and the Sahariyas had opted this activity enterprisingly with 1.21 and 1.38 percent respectively.

While in the urban areas, among the male population the Sahariyas, Korku and the Oraons had increased with 5.78, 4.77 and 2.59 percentile point change while the female population had recorded a negative change among all the tribal groups except among Korkus.

Hence, the Sahariyas, Kols, and the Korku had dominated this activity and increased in numbers during the two points of time, 1971 and 1991. Table 5.7 shows the percentage change among mining, quarrying .

**Table 5.7 Percentage Change among Mining, Quarrying (1971-1991)**

		Total			Male			Female		
		1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change
All Scheduled Tribes	R	0.31	0.57	0.26	0.31	0.73	0.42	0.21	0.31	0.10
	U	14.87	7.72	-7.15	14.56	8.85	-5.72	10.78	4.46	-6.32
1. Baiga	R	0.25	0.41	0.16	0.28	0.62	0.34	0.09	0.07	-0.02
	U	18.65	14.63	-4.03	22.14	18.56	-3.58	4.77	4.70	-0.07
2. Bhil	R	0.04	0.12	0.08	0.03	0.13	0.09	0.06	0.12	0.06
	U	0.04	0.76	0.72	0.02	0.67	0.65	0.10	0.96	0.86
3. Gond	R	0.36	0.46	0.10	0.39	0.63	0.23	0.18	0.20	0.02
	U	18.17	10.01	-8.16	18.29	11.57	-6.72	11.55	4.96	-6.59
4. Halba	R	0.57	0.93	0.35	0.53	1.58	1.05	0.51	0.19	-0.31
	U	44.15	30.16	-13.99	34.17	25.50	-8.67	50.69	43.38	-7.31
5. Kavar	R	0.20	0.63	0.43	0.21	0.90	0.69	0.08	0.09	0.01
	U	19.29	7.50	-11.79	17.46	8.43	-9.04	17.88	3.75	-14.13
6. Kol	R	0.65	1.98	1.33	0.69	2.19	1.50	0.46	1.67	1.22
	U	16.71	8.27	-8.43	16.71	9.83	-6.88	11.88	4.64	-7.24
7. Korku	R	0.42	0.16	-0.25	0.43	0.23	-0.21	0.23	0.06	-0.17
	U	0.39	4.42	4.03	0.51	5.28	4.78	0.00	1.77	1.77
8. Oraon	R	0.14	0.75	0.61	0.15	0.95	0.81	0.06	0.17	0.11
	U	9.42	9.97	0.55	9.54	12.13	2.59	5.84	1.22	-4.62
9. Sahariya	R	0.66	2.64	1.98	0.68	3.01	2.32	0.40	1.78	1.39
	U	8.38	10.52	2.14	6.58	12.36	5.78	9.70	5.83	-3.86
10. Others	R	0.33	0.93	0.59	0.32	1.11	0.79	0.27	0.55	0.28
	U	25.65	5.91	-19.74	23.25	6.80	-16.45	23.50	2.63	-20.87

(Source: Appendix 6 and 7)

**5.4.5 Manufacturing, Processing Servicing:** The mode of production of the tribal people is styled “familial” or “domestic”. The family, in the tribal economy, is a unit of production. It is directly engaged in the economic processes and is largely in control of it. All the members of the family whether husband or wife, parents or children, together form the production unit. The allocation of labour and produce and decisions are for the most part domestic stipulations and production is geared to familial requirements i.e., they produce what they need. Yet it never means that the familial group is self-sufficient. They get the co-operation of individuals of other households too. The family is constituted for production by age-groups and is

equipped to govern production by possession of the necessary tools that are easily made and skills that are common and uncomplicated. The children set out in the jungle with their cattle herd. Some of them accompany their mother or sister to help in digging out the roots or collection of firewood or in picking up the mahua flowers or certain fruits in the nearby jungles. The youth form the axis of familial production. They take part in their agricultural operations, i.e., preparing the fields, sowing harvesting or in some type of forest operation like collection of minor forest produce or in fishing or hunting, etc.

This activity had been further classified into (a) household, (b) other than household activities.

**(a) Household Activities:** Among all the tribal groups there had been a negative change ranging from  $-0.99$  among the Baiga to  $-0.03$  among the Bhils while the Kawars with  $0.19$ , Sahariyas with  $0.31$  had registered a positive change in the rural areas, while the rural males, except among the Sahariyas and the Kawars, the rest of the tribal groups had registered a negative change while among the females, the Kavar. Korku and the Sahariya had registered positive change with  $0.64$ ,  $0.08$  and  $0.72$  respectively. Table 5.8 shows the percentage change among the manufacturing, processing, servicing (Household Activities).

While in the urban areas, the trend had been similar showing a negative trend among all the tribal groups except among the Baigas while among the females, the Kol, Korku and Sahariyas had registered a positive change with  $0.09$ ,  $0.68$  and  $0.51$  percentile points respectively.

**Table 5.8 Percentage Change among Manufacturing, Processing, Servicing (Household Activities) (1971-1991)**

		Total			Male			Female		
		1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change
All Scheduled Tribes	R	0.76	0.60	-0.15	0.76	0.57	-0.19	0.75	0.66	-0.08
	U	1.71	1.21	-0.50	1.71	0.94	-0.77	2.16	1.98	-0.18
1. Baiga	R	2.21	1.21	-0.99	2.21	1.36	-0.85	1.82	0.98	-0.84
	U	0.22	0.68	0.46	0.22	0.78	0.56	0.55	0.43	-0.12
2. Bhil	R	0.14	0.11	-0.03	0.14	0.13	-0.02	0.11	0.09	-0.02
	U	0.77	0.34	-0.43	0.77	0.33	-0.44	0.88	0.36	-0.52
3. Gond	R	0.63	0.44	-0.19	0.63	0.39	-0.24	0.54	0.52	-0.02
	U	2.07	1.64	-0.43	2.07	1.16	-0.90	3.18	3.17	0.00
4. Halba	R	0.43	0.27	-0.16	0.43	0.36	-0.07	0.27	0.17	-0.10
	U	4.08	0.76	-3.32	4.08	0.69	-3.38	3.21	0.96	-2.25
5. Kawar	R	0.19	0.21	0.01	0.19	0.20	0.01	0.15	0.21	0.06
	U	1.38	0.59	-0.79	1.38	0.53	-0.85	3.91	0.86	-3.05
6. Kol	R	0.57	0.20	-0.38	0.57	0.23	-0.34	0.44	0.14	-0.30
	U	0.99	0.72	-0.28	0.99	0.59	-0.40	0.93	1.02	0.09
7. Korku	R	0.35	0.23	-0.12	0.35	0.24	-0.11	0.12	0.21	0.09
	U	0.35	0.33	-0.02	0.35	0.22	-0.13	0.00	0.68	0.68
8. Oraon	R	0.29	0.22	-0.07	0.29	0.18	-0.11	0.59	0.32	-0.27
	U	—	0.35	—	—	0.31	—	—	0.48	—
9. Sahariya	R	0.21	0.53	0.31	0.21	0.37	0.15	0.18	0.90	0.72
	U	2.44	1.38	-1.06	2.44	0.45	-1.99	3.23	3.75	0.52
10. Others	R	2.52	2.61	0.09	2.52	2.34	-0.18	2.57	3.16	0.60
	U	5.45	2.11	-3.35	5.45	1.66	-3.79	6.84	3.75	-3.09

(Source: Appendix 6 and 7)

**(b) Other than Household Activities:** There had been a positive trend among all the tribal groups in the rural areas with Halbi registering 0.61 percentile change while the Korkus with 0.08 change. This indicates a shift in the activity from household to non-household where the cottage industries comprise chiefly in the household sector, while among the male rural population, the Halbi had increased with 0.98 percent change while the Sahariyas with 0.01 percent while among the females. The Sahariyas form the most enterprising class with 0.50 percent change while the Kawars register the least change with 0.02 percentile points.

In the urban areas, except for the Kols with -1.64 negative percent change, all the other tribes had a positive trend with Halbi, dominating the activity with an increase of 10.20 percentile points, then by Kawars with 8.38 percent; Oraons with 7.53 percent; Korku with 4.61 percent and the Baiga with 2.40 percent, among the males the Halbi had dominated with an increase of 12.11 percent while among the

Kols who registered a negative change of -0.94 percent while among the females, the Kawars had a better change with 6.60 percent, Korku with 4.35 percent; Oraon with 4.15 percent change while Kols registered a negative change of -3.48 percent. Table 5.9 shows the change among manufacturing, processing, servicing (Other than Household Activities).

**Table 5.9 Percentage Change among Manufacturing, Processing Servicing (Other than Household Activities) (1971-1991)**

		Total			Male			Female		
		1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change
All Scheduled Tribes	R	0.28	0.66	0.37	0.29	0.76	0.47	0.26	0.48	0.22
	U	8.47	11.19	2.72	9.41	12.72	3.31	6.02	6.81	0.79
1. Baiga	R	0.28	0.44	0.16	0.33	0.47	0.14	0.18	0.39	0.21
	U	3.61	6.02	2.40	4.44	6.84	2.40	1.65	3.93	2.28
2. Bhil	R	0.07	0.48	0.41	0.06	0.54	0.48	0.07	0.36	0.29
	U	4.92	7.97	3.06	4.62	8.76	4.14	5.83	6.31	0.47
3. Gond	R	0.21	0.56	0.35	0.24	0.66	0.42	0.14	0.40	0.26
	U	8.91	12.38	3.47	10.21	13.81	3.60	5.27	7.75	2.48
4. Halba	R	0.34	0.95	0.61	0.47	1.46	0.99	0.16	0.40	0.23
	U	6.95	17.38	10.44	9.49	21.60	12.11	2.44	5.41	2.97
5. Kavar	R	0.15	0.35	0.19	0.17	0.47	0.30	0.09	0.12	0.02
	U	5.42	13.81	8.39	6.10	15.04	8.94	2.23	8.84	6.60
6. Kol	R	1.41	1.74	0.33	1.53	2.11	0.58	1.23	1.18	-0.05
	U	12.16	10.51	-1.65	13.37	12.42	-0.95	9.54	6.05	-3.48
7. Korku	R	0.20	0.26	0.06	0.20	0.33	0.13	0.20	0.16	-0.05
	U	2.82	7.43	4.61	4.04	8.43	4.39	0.00	4.35	4.35
8. Oraon	R	0.18	0.56	0.38	0.14	0.61	0.47	0.34	0.41	0.08
	U	5.22	12.75	7.54	6.81	14.68	7.87	0.76	4.92	4.16
9. Sahariya	R	0.32	0.48	0.16	0.40	0.41	0.02	0.13	0.63	0.50
	U	2.59	5.79	3.20	3.34	6.43	3.08	1.08	4.17	3.09
10. Others	R	0.34	1.16	0.81	0.38	1.24	0.87	0.26	0.98	0.71
	U	30.10	12.46	-17.63	32.39	13.81	-18.59	23.88	7.54	-16.35

(Source: Appendix 6 and 7)

**5.4.6 Construction:** The construction activity is dominated in the rural areas by the Oraons, Sahariya, Halbi, Bhils where they had increased with 0.35, 0.31, 0.36, 0.30 percent change in the 1971 and 1991 while among the male population where the Halbi emerged as an enterprising group with 0.60 percent increase and the Oraons with 0.49 percent increase while all the other tribes had registered a positive change in the rural areas, while among the females the Korku, Oraons had registered a negative change with -0.22 and -0.03 percent respectively while the Sahariyas had a positive with 0.69 percentile point change.

In the urban areas, the Bhils had a 7.07 positive percent change while the Halbi, Gonds, Kol had a percent change ranging in the 4 percent change while the Kawars had registered a negative change of -0.33 percent while, among the males, the Kols, Halbi and Gonds had registered a positive change with 4.96, 4.37, and 4.25 percentile points while the Kawars and the Oraons had a negative trend with -0.63 and -2.06 percent change, among the females the Gonds, Halbi, Kols and Sahariya had a positive change with 4.98, 4.35, 4.10 and 3.65 percentile points while the Korku, Oraons had registered a negative change with -0.52 and -7.98 percent change. Table 5.10 shows the percentage change in the construction activity.

**Table 5.10 Percentage Change among the Construction activity (1971-1991)**

		Total			Male			Female		
		1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change
All Scheduled Tribes	R	0.18	0.41	0.23	0.19	0.53	0.33	0.14	0.19	0.05
	U	2.74	7.53	4.80	2.68	7.49	4.81	2.89	7.66	4.77
1. Baiga	R	0.11	0.39	0.28	0.15	0.50	0.35	0.04	0.22	0.18
	U	0.44	3.59	3.15	0.39	3.59	3.20	0.55	3.59	3.04
2. Bhil	R	0.13	0.44	0.31	0.13	0.56	0.43	0.13	0.22	0.09
	U	2.92	10.00	7.08	2.24	10.36	8.11	5.01	9.24	4.23
3. Gond	R	0.19	0.36	0.17	0.22	0.49	0.27	0.14	0.15	0.01
	U	3.13	7.55	4.42	3.00	7.26	4.26	3.50	8.49	4.99
4. Halba	R	0.12	0.49	0.37	0.17	0.78	0.61	0.05	0.16	0.11
	U	1.21	5.58	4.37	1.21	5.58	4.37	1.22	5.58	4.36
5. Kawar	R	0.13	0.28	0.15	0.14	0.37	0.23	0.10	0.11	0.01
	U	4.83	4.49	-0.33	5.38	4.75	-0.63	2.23	3.46	1.22
6. Kol	R	0.32	0.48	0.16	0.39	0.65	0.26	0.22	0.24	0.02
	U	1.13	5.85	4.71	1.24	6.21	4.97	0.90	5.01	4.11
7. Korku	R	0.15	0.21	0.06	0.10	0.30	0.19	0.29	0.06	-0.23
	U	5.63	8.30	2.67	4.55	8.52	3.98	8.14	7.62	-0.52
8. Oraon	R	0.23	0.59	0.36	0.24	0.73	0.50	0.22	0.19	-0.03
	U	8.56	5.07	-3.49	7.54	5.48	-2.06	11.42	3.44	-7.98
9. Sahariya	R	0.38	0.70	0.32	0.37	0.70	0.33	0.42	0.70	0.28
	U	3.38	7.05	3.67	3.67	7.29	3.62	2.80	6.46	3.66
10. Others	R	0.16	0.49	0.33	0.18	0.59	0.41	0.12	0.29	0.17
	U	8.25	7.54	-0.71	8.61	7.35	-1.27	7.28	8.24	0.96

(Source: Appendix no. 6 and 7)

**5.4.7 Trade and Commerce:** In the rural areas, the Halbi with 0.37 percent change, the Kawars with 0.27 percent change had been noticed while the Sahariya had a negative change of -0.27 percent while the Halbi had increased by 1.07 percentile points while all the other tribal groups had a positive change ranging from 0.37 percent to 0.05 percent among the 'others' category to Baiga respectively.

while among the female population, the Baiga had shown a positive trend with 0.15 percent change while the Bhils, Oraons, Sahariya had registered a negative change of -0.04, -0.18, -0.44 percent change.

In the urban areas, the Gonds, Halbi had increased with 2.45 and 2.36 percent positive change while the Sahariyas had registered a negative change of -2.86 percent while among the male population where the Korku with 4.78 percent, Oraons with 3.24 percent Gonds with 2.73 percent had a positive change while the Sahariya had a negative growth of -2.69 percent, among the female population, where the Korku, Oraos, Sahariya had a negative change with -6.03, -4.35, -3.18 percentile points while the Halbi, Kawars, and Gonds had a positive change with 3.39, 2.82 and 1.45 percentile points. Table 5.11 shows the percentage change involved in the trade and commerce.

**Table 5.11 Percentage Change among the Trade and Commerce (1971-1991)**

		Total			Male			Female		
		1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change
All Scheduled Tribes	R	0.16	0.33	0.17	0.16	0.43	0.27	0.15	0.16	0.00
	U	3.68	6.30	2.62	3.88	7.09	3.21	3.15	4.02	0.88
1. Baiga	R	0.11	0.20	0.09	0.14	0.20	0.06	0.04	0.20	0.16
	U	0.66	1.24	0.58	0.70	1.32	0.62	0.55	1.03	0.48
2. Bhil	R	0.11	0.26	0.15	0.11	0.36	0.25	0.14	0.09	-0.05
	U	2.38	4.23	1.85	2.96	5.56	2.60	0.57	1.39	0.83
3. Gond	R	0.15	0.32	0.17	0.16	0.44	0.27	0.11	0.14	0.03
	U	4.52	6.98	2.45	4.74	7.48	2.73	3.90	5.35	1.45
4. Halba	R	0.27	0.64	0.37	0.39	1.08	0.69	0.09	0.16	0.06
	U	4.80	7.16	2.37	6.56	7.90	1.35	1.68	5.07	3.39
5. Kavar	R	0.13	0.39	0.26	0.15	0.54	0.38	0.04	0.11	0.07
	U	3.65	6.04	2.40	4.19	6.57	2.38	1.12	3.94	2.82
6. Kol	R	0.11	0.26	0.15	0.15	0.35	0.20	0.06	0.13	0.08
	U	1.57	3.20	1.63	1.48	3.42	1.95	1.77	2.69	0.92
7. Korku	R	0.11	0.20	0.09	0.14	0.27	0.13	0.05	0.09	0.05
	U	3.87	5.56	1.68	1.52	6.30	4.79	9.30	3.27	-6.04
8. Oraon	R	0.18	0.27	0.10	0.14	0.33	0.19	0.32	0.13	-0.19
	U	4.15	5.63	1.48	3.09	6.34	3.25	7.11	2.75	-4.36
9. Sahariya	R	0.58	0.30	-0.28	0.50	0.28	-0.21	0.79	0.34	-0.44
	U	10.86	7.99	-2.86	10.68	7.98	-2.70	11.21	8.02	-3.19
10. Others	R	0.25	0.52	0.27	0.21	0.59	0.38	0.34	0.39	0.05
	U	10.89	10.04	-0.85	10.27	10.89	0.62	12.58	6.94	-5.64

(Source: Appendix 6 and 7)

**5.4.8 Transport, Storage and Communication:** In the rural areas, except among the Korku which had a negative change of -0.006 percent all the other tribal groups registered a positive change ranging from 0.008 among the Baiga to 0.26

percent change among the Kols, among the males, where the Kols had a change of 0.41 percentile points while among the females, Gonds and Korku had registered a negative change with -0.009 and -0.0006 percentile points respectively, while the rest of the tribal groups had shown a positive trend in negligible proportions.

In the urban areas, the Bhils, Korku and Kawars had a positive change with 3.83, 1.36 and 0.14 percentile points while other groups had a negative change ranging from -3.91 among the Halbi to -0.45 among the Baiga, while among the male population in urban areas. The Bhils, Korku and the Oraons had a positive change with 5.22, 1.83 and 0.78 percentile points respectively while the Baiga, Gonds, Kol and Sahariya registered a negative trend with -0.54, -1.08, -4.07, -1.85 percentile points respectively, among the urban females, except among the Bhils all the other tribes had registered a negative change ranging from -9.95 percent among the Halbi to -0.01 among the Sahariyas. Table 5.12 shows the percentage change in the transport, storage and communication activity.

**Table 5.12 Percentage change in the Transport, Storage and Communication activity. (1971-1991)**

		Total			Male			Female		
		1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change
All Scheduled Tribes	R	0.10	0.19	0.09	0.14	0.29	0.16	0.02	0.02	0.00
	U	7.01	6.41	-0.60	8.59	8.18	-0.41	2.88	1.30	-1.58
1. Baiga	R	0.11	0.12	0.01	0.16	0.18	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.01
	U	3.12	2.67	-0.45	4.13	3.59	-0.54	0.73	0.34	-0.39
2. Bhil	R	0.10	0.14	0.04	0.12	0.21	0.09	0.00	0.01	0.01
	U	0.85	4.68	3.84	1.12	6.34	5.22	0.00	1.17	1.17
3. Gond	R	0.11	0.19	0.08	0.14	0.29	0.15	0.02	0.01	-0.01
	U	8.70	7.81	-0.89	10.91	9.82	-1.08	2.53	1.30	-1.23
4. Halba	R	0.21	0.31	0.10	0.35	0.57	0.22	0.01	0.02	0.00
	U	14.00	10.09	-3.92	12.60	11.34	-1.26	16.49	6.54	-9.95
5. Kawar	R	0.05	0.21	0.16	0.06	0.30	0.24	0.01	0.01	0.01
	U	4.93	5.07	0.14	5.62	6.02	0.40	1.68	1.25	-0.43
6. Kol	R	0.11	0.38	0.26	0.20	0.61	0.42	0.00	0.03	0.02
	U	9.07	5.50	-3.58	11.54	7.46	-4.08	3.71	0.90	-2.81
7. Korku	R	0.08	0.07	-0.01	0.10	0.11	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00
	U	2.82	4.18	1.37	3.54	5.37	1.84	1.16	0.54	-0.62
8. Oraon	R	0.12	0.32	0.21	0.14	0.43	0.29	0.02	0.03	0.01
	U	—	6.19	—	6.36	7.15	0.79	—	2.33	—
9. Sahariya	R	0.04	0.11	0.07	0.06	0.16	0.10	0.00	0.01	0.00
	U	4.03	2.97	-1.06	5.83	3.97	-1.85	0.43	0.42	-0.01
10. Others	R	0.11	0.21	0.10	0.15	0.30	0.15	0.04	0.03	-0.01
	U	17.25	6.54	-10.71	20.58	8.05	-12.53	8.27	1.05	-7.23

(Source: Appendix no. 6 and 7)



**5.4.9. Other Services:** Some individuals or families of tribal communities of all the regions are working for their livelihood in different offices, hospitals, factories and business enterprises. Some of them are engaged in commercial trade of their own. Apart from their initiation, the seat reservation in different services as laid down in the Constitution has helped a lot in creating this type of economic life among the tribals. In the skilled and white-collar job no particular Indian tribe can be placed. It is observed that mostly the educated tribals are engaged in offices, hospitals, administrative jobs where they are scattered throughout India in different capacities. Table 5.13 shows the percentage change among the other services.

**Table 5.13 Percentage change among the Other Services. (1971-1991)**

		Total			Male			Female		
		1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change	1971	1991	Change
All Scheduled Tribes	R	0.96	1.60	0.64	1.09	2.04	0.94	0.62	0.85	0.23
	U	21.03	20.94	-0.08	20.53	21.50	0.97	22.33	19.35	-2.98
1. Baiga	R	0.84	0.75	-0.09	1.06	0.87	-0.19	0.36	0.57	0.21
	U	19.47	8.44	-11.03	15.12	9.31	-5.81	29.72	6.24	-23.49
2. Bhil	R	0.71	1.21	0.49	0.71	1.50	0.79	0.75	0.70	-0.05
	U	26.74	22.08	-4.65	27.32	23.31	-4.01	24.94	19.48	-5.45
3. Gond	R	0.88	1.53	0.65	1.05	2.04	0.99	0.48	0.71	0.22
	U	19.54	21.17	1.63	18.95	21.66	2.71	21.18	19.60	-1.58
4. Halba	R	1.50	3.47	1.97	2.33	5.76	3.42	0.29	0.91	0.62
	U	13.67	18.51	4.84	15.96	19.70	3.74	9.62	15.15	5.54
5. Kaware	R	0.72	1.90	1.17	0.87	2.53	1.66	0.23	0.66	0.43
	U	21.87	22.36	0.48	21.29	23.50	2.20	24.58	17.77	-6.81
6. Kol	R	1.08	1.17	0.08	1.21	1.65	0.44	0.91	0.45	-0.46
	U	17.58	11.12	-6.46	16.35	12.41	-3.94	20.27	8.10	-12.18
7. Korku	R	1.03	0.70	-0.34	1.12	0.85	-0.27	0.81	0.46	-0.35
	U	19.01	15.56	-3.45	19.19	17.22	-1.97	18.60	10.48	-8.13
8. Oraon	R	2.35	5.64	3.29	2.38	5.10	2.71	2.21	7.14	4.93
	U	35.32	41.79	6.47	31.52	36.95	5.43	45.94	61.43	15.49
9. Sahariya	R	1.48	1.20	-0.28	1.47	1.30	-0.17	1.49	0.95	-0.54
	U	21.57	21.63	0.06	20.60	22.31	1.70	23.49	19.90	-3.60
10. Others	R	1.25	1.88	0.63	1.47	2.26	0.79	0.76	1.10	0.34
	U	60.18	23.96	-36.22	56.50	23.54	-32.97	70.10	25.51	-44.59

(Source: Appendix 6 and 7)

In the rural areas the Oraons, Halbi, Kavar and Gonds had shown a positive trend in the change between 1971 and 1991 with 3.28, 1.96, 1.17, and 0.64 percentile points respectively. While the Baiga, Korku, Sahariya had shown a negative change with -0.08, -0.33, -0.27 percentile points, among the rural males, the Halbi, Oraon, Kavar and the Bhils had a positive change with 3.42, 2.71, 1.66 and 0.79 percentile points respectively while among the females the Bhils, Kols, Korku and Sahariya had registered a negative change of -0.05, -0.45, -0.35, -0.53 percent respectively.

In the urban areas, the Oraons and Halbi had emerged as an enterprising class with a positive increase of 6.46 and 4.84 percentile points while the Baiga and Kols had registered a negative change with -11.03 and -6.46 percentile points. While among the urban males, the Oraons, Halbi and Gonds had a positive change with 5.42, 3.73, and 2.70 percentile points while the Baiga, Bhil, Korku had a negative change with -5.80, -4.01 and -0.27 percentile points, while among the urban females except among the Halbi and the Oraons which had a positive change with 5.53 and 15.48 percent respectively, all the other tribal groupings had a negative change ranging from -23.48 percent among the Baiga to -1.58 among the Gonds in the urban areas.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

Baiga is involved in the activities like, livestock, fishery, hunting, trade and commerce while they had shown an increase in the percentile points of agricultural labourers. Bhils are involved as agricultural labourers, mining and quarrying, construction in rural areas and in transport, storage and communication in urban

areas. The Gonds in the urban areas are engaged in and as cultivators, trade and commerce, construction. Halbi are primarily engaged as cultivators, trade and commerce. Kawars are predominantly engaged in manufacturing, trade, commerce and transport sectors. The Kols are engaged in and as agricultural labourers, mining, quarrying and the manufacturing, servicing sectors. The dominant activities in which the Korkus are involved are agricultural labourers, mining, quarrying, trade and commerce. Oraons dominate the activities of mining, quarrying, construction, transport and other services. Sahariyas are primarily engaged in the livestock, hunting, fishery and forestry, manufacturing in the household activities, mining and quarrying.

The number of tribals engaged as agricultural labourers had decreased across the years from 1971 to 1991 which is a positive sign also with an increase in the number of cultivators. But among the Kols, Gonds, Oraons, and Sahariyas there has been a decrease among the category of cultivators, which needs to be focused as these tribes might be losing the lands, they had previously possessed. There had been an increase in the mining activity among the Kols, Halbi, Oraons where welfare and preventive measures has to be implemented as the risk involved in this hazardous activity is more. While the Halbi, Gonds are engaged in more diverse activities and also in the category of other services which is an enterprising finding. While the Sahariyas are still with their traditional activity of Pastoralism, Hunting, Fishery and there is a need for them to further diversify in their activities.

## Chapter 6

### Summary of Conclusions

This chapter summarises all the findings of the study pertaining to the nine tribal groups namely Baiga, Gond, Halbi, Kwarar, Kol, Korcu, Oraon, and Sahariya across the various indications like percentage distribution, locations quotient, percentage of literates, the disparity level in the literacy level among the tribal and non-tribal population, sex-ratio, the percentage distribution of all the tribal groups in the activities all the nine fold industrial classification.

**6.1.1 Baiga:** The concentration of the Baiga tribe is very high in the districts of Balaghat, Bilaspur, Mandla, Rajnandgaon, Seoni, Shivpuri and Sidhi. While the sex ratio is above 1000 in eleven districts. While Baiga had recorded a positive change of 2 to 5 percentile points in the male literacy and less than 2 points in the female literacy rates. The disparity level in the literacy range between 1.00 to 1.57 and the Baiga is involved in the activities like, livestock, fishery, hunting, trade and commerce while they had shown an increase in the percentile points of agricultural labourers.

**6.1.2 Bhil:** The concentration of Bhil is above the their state level concentration in the districts of Dewas, Dhar, East Nimar, Indore, Jhabua, Ratlam and West Nimar, while their sex ratio is above 1000 in seven districts and the Bhils had noticed a positive change of 2 to 5 among the male literacy in rural areas while a negative change in the female literacy in rural areas while less than 2 in urban areas and the disparity in the literacy levels among the Bils is high in the males population in both the urban and rural areas. They are involved as agricultural labourers, mining

and quarrying, construction in rural areas and in transport, storage and communication in urban areas.

**6.1.3 Gond:** The concentration of Gonds is very high in 13 districts and the sex ratio is above 1000 females in to districts in 1991. The percentage change in the male and female literacy in the rural areas range between 2 to 5 percentile points while less than 2 in urban areas among the male literacy and between 5 to 10 among the female literacy the Gonds in the urban areas are engaged in and as cultivators, trade and commerce, construction.

**6.1.4 Halbi:** The concentration of Halbi is very high in four districts namely Balaghat, Bastar, Durg, Rajnandgaon and their sex ratio is above 1000 females in 13 districts in 1991. The percentage change in literacy level in the rural areas among the male and female population ranges from 10 to 20. In the urban areas the Halbi record less than 2 among the male literacy and 5 to 10 among the female literacy rate. They are primarily engaged as cultivators, trade and commerce.

**6.1.5 Kawars:** The districts of Bilaspur, Raigarh, Raipur, Rajnandgaon have a high concentration of the Kawars while they have a high sex-ratio in 17 districts in 1991. In the rural areas with regards to the percentage change in the literacy levels among the male population it is less than 2 percentage points while between 5 to 10 among the female literate. They are predominantly engaged in manufacturing, trade, commerce and transport sectors.

**6.1.6 Kol:** The districts of Jabalpur, Mandla, Rewa, Surguja, Seoni Shivpuri have a high concentration of the Kols while they have a sex-ratio above 1000 females in 12 districts in 1991. In the rural areas, the percentage change in the

literacy levels among the males is between 2 to 5 percentile points while among the females it is less than 2 points. In the urban areas, the percentage change among the male and female literates is between 2 to 5 percentile points. The Kols are engaged in and as agricultural labourers, mining, quarrying and the manufacturing, servicing sectors.

*6.1.7 Korkus:* The Korkus are dominant in the districts of Betul, Dewas, East Nimar, Hosangabad, Satna, while they have a high sex ratio in 13 districts in 1991. The percentage change among the male literates in rural areas is between 5 to 10 while among the female literates is between 2 to 5 percentile points. In the urban areas, among the male literates, it is less than 2 points while among the female literates it is between 2 to 5 percentile points. The dominant activities in which the Korkus are involved are agricultural labourers, mining, quarrying, trade and commerce.

*6.1.8 Oraons:* The Oraons are dominated in the districts of Raigarh and Sidhi while their sex-ratio is high in eight districts. In the rural areas, among the male literates they record less than 2 percentile points while among the female literates it is between 2 to 5 percentile points and in urban areas, among the male literates they record a negative change while among the female literates they range between 2 to 5 percentile points. They dominate the activities of mining, quarrying, construction, transport and other services.

*6.1.9 Sahariya:* There are seven districts in which their concentration is above their state level concentration namely Bhopal, Datia, Guna, Gwalior, Morena, Vidisha and Shajapur. Their sex-ratio is very high in eleven districts in 1991. In rural

areas among the female literates it is less than 2 percentile points while among the male literates it is between 2 to 5 points in the urban areas among the males it had shown a negative change while among the females it recorded less than 2 percentile points. Sahariyas are primarily engaged in the livestock, hunting, fishery and forestry, manufacturing in the household activities, mining and quarrying.

The Gonds, Bhils, Kols are the dominant tribal groups which have a considerable concentration in almost all the districts. The overall sex-ratio among the selected tribal groups is encouraging which reveals that the concept of low status among the women is rudimentary and there is a equality in status and division of labour. While the sex ratio is low among the Baiga, Halbi and Oraons, which implies the low status of women and has to be improved with women-centered development projects by giving them proper education and their upliftment through income generating schemes.

The overall literacy levels among the tribal population is low especially among the Bhils, Kawars, Oraons, Sahariya which has accounted for negative change among the male literates especially in urban areas, because of the little welfare measures that are available in the cities after their migration. While the female literacy levels need to be improved to match the non-tribal population literacy levels.

The disparities among the tribal and non-tribal population with respect to literacy had increased from 1971 to 1991 and are ranging from 23 per cent to more than 100 percentile points. These disparities had to be reduced with special development measures focusing on tribal education.

The number of tribals engaged as agricultural labourers had decreased across the years from 1971 to 1991 which is a positive sign also with an increase in the number of cultivators. But among the Kols, Gonds, Oraons, and Sahariyas there has been a decrease among the category of cultivators, which needs to be focused as these tribes might be losing the lands, they had previously possessed. There had been an increase in the mining activity among the Kols, Halbi, Oraons where welfare and preventive measures has to be implemented as the risk involved in this hazardous activity is more. While the Halbi, Gonds are engaged in more diverse activities and also in the category of other services which is an enterprising finding. While the Sahariyas are still with their traditional activity of Pastoralism, Hunting, Fishery and there is a need for them to further diversify in their activities.

#### **6.1.Future Research Concerns**

This study could be used in future research by way of mapping the major tribal groups across the districts in Madhya Pradesh. The districts which are identified as districts having low sex ratio could be given special focus especially in terms of welfare measures to women. The tribal groups with low literacy levels could be given special focus and the disparity levels could be decreased by special measures undertaken in terms of literacy aspects. The tribal groups, which are engaged more as agricultural labourer and are engaged in mining activities which could prove to be hazardous needs to given due attention and the tribals which are less diversified in their occupational structures needs to be channelised to new avenues.



A study in future could be undertaken on the selected tribal groups in detail using a primary field data with many more variables which can be used to observe the socio-economic change among the tribals which is very vital as these groups are the primitive societies which are on the verge of assimilation to the main stream society because of factors like industrialization, modernization and other processes and hence, the future research need to be streamlined in these ways in a rigorous and speedy manner before they get assimilated to main stream society.

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**APPENDIX NO. 1**

**Table : Percentage Distribution and Sex Ratio Among the Tribal Groups in Madhya Pradesh 1971**

District	Baiga		Bhil		Gonds		Halbi		Kawar	
	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR
Morena	-	-	-	-	2.56	1035.47	-	-	-	-
Bhind	-	-	-	-	44.02	824.07	-	-	-	-
Gwalior	-	-	0	0	2.16	974.64	-	-	-	-
Datia	-	-	0.02	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shivpuri	-	-	-	-	0.38	965.96	-	-	-	-
Guna	-	-	-	-	4.24	991.68	-	-	-	-
Tikamgarh	4.9	971.03	-	-	8.5	956.94	-	-	-	-
Chhatarpur	1.1	818.18	-	-	22.4	867.03	-	-	-	-
Panna	-	-	0.1	1357.14	39.8	1036.70	-	-	-	-
Sagar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Damoh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Satna	0.15	841.58	0.02	764.70	0.13	559.63	-	-	-	-
Rewa	8.3	959.89	0.006	1214.28	36.1	999.37	-	-	-	-
Shahdol	15.0	965.14	-	-	49.2	994.87	-	-	-	-
Sidhi	0.9	948.07	-	-	49.9	994.62	-	-	-	-
Mandswar	-	-	-	-	98.5	925.71	-	-	-	-

Source: Census of India

Continue Previous Table

District	Kol		Korku		Oraon		Sahariya		Others	
	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR
Morena	-	-	0.01	333.33	-	-	95.73	927.37	1.68	1212.91
Bhind	-	-	10.39	978.72	-	-	44.80	918.66	0.78	0
Gwalior	-	-	0.20	864.48	-	-	95.57	946.77	2.90	994.40
Datia	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.16	741.93	0.06	0
Shivpuri	-	-	-	-	-	-	981.16	952.74	1.29	1016.43
Guna	-	-	-	-	-	-	94.24	966.78	1.5	757.70
Tikamgarh	5.4	1061.09	-	-	-	-	1.0	740.74	80.2	913.57
Chhatarpur	3.3	682.64	-	-	-	-	-	-	73.2	979.44
Panna	17.5	945.16	-	-	-	-	-	-	42.6	939.55
Sagar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Damoh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Satna	66.26	987.92	-	-	-	-	0.03	2000	11.25	953.73
Rewa	38.4	971.80	-	-	-	-	0.02	845.63	17.2	950.97
Shahdol	18.3	996.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	17.6	962.05
Sidhi	29.9	960.11	-	-	-	-	-	-	13.4	940.61
Mandswar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	0

Source: Census of India



**Table : Percentage Distribution and Sex Ratio Among the Tribal Groups in Madhya Pradesh 1971**

District	Baiga		Bhil		Gonds		Halbi		Kawar	
	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR
Ratlam	-	-	98.86	986.53	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ujjain	-	-	-	-	96.62	970.49	-	-	-	-
Shajapur	-	-	-	-	70.57	865.07	-	-	-	-
Dewas	-	-	-	-	36.26	941.92	-	-	-	-
Jhabua	-	-	99.99	977.26	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dhar	-	-	99.99	982.16	0.005	0	-	-	-	-
Indore	-	-	93.10	978.10	2.01	962.38	-	-	0.04	952.94
W. Nimar	-	-	98.71	974.00	1.25	995.63	-	-	-	-
E. Nimar	-	-	0.8	1089.93	15.3	1000	-	-	1.002	952.94
Rajgarh	-	-	-	-	16.24	716.41	-	-	-	-
Vidisha	-	-	8.84	845.73	8.34	830.72	-	-	-	-
Bhopal	-	-	5.12	913.82	62.38	935.48	0.003	333.33	-	-
Sehore	-	-	29.21	910.83	36.55	932.55	-	-	-	-
Raigarh	0.01	0	-	-	14.52	1024.72	0.001	1000	24.51	1011.25

Source: Census of India

Continue Previous Table

District	Kol		Korku		Oraon		Sahariya		Others	
	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR
Ratlam	-	-	0.08	650	-	-	0.56	759.84	0.01	0
Ujjain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shajapur	-	-	11.11	311.11	-	-	0.90	500	17.41	1900
Dewas	-	-	63.28	965.42	-	-	0.44	688.07	0.002	0
Jhabua	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.001	0
Dhar	-	-	0.002	0	-	-	0.0004	0	0.002	0
Indore	-	-	4.76	969.17	-	-	0.07	822.70	0.01	456.64
W. Nimar	-	-	0.02	2439.02	-	-	0.001	1666.66	0.0002	0
E. Nimar	-	-	82.79	969.26	-	-	-	-	0.15	1083.33
Rajgarh	-	-	0.33	0	-	-	74.23	956.97	4.19	534.78
Vidisha	-	-	0.09	578.94	-	-	73.32	972.09	9.36	982.15
Bhopal	0.6	643.94	20.41	1061.27	0.003	500	6.95	953.22	5.98	928.34
Sehore	0.46	575.34	-	-	-	-	4.28	865.85	29.38	944.29
Raigarh	0.01	1000	0.11	1061.16	36.28	1039.85	-	-	24.53	1001.47

Source: Census of India

**Table : Percentage Distribution and Sex Ratio Among the Tribal Groups in Madhya Pradesh 1971**

District	Baiga		Bhil		Gonds		Halbi		Kawar	
	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR
Raisen	-	-	3.47	879.41	80.32	959.53	-	-	-	-
Betul	-	-	0.35	1021.86	61.55	982.97	0.002	0	-	-
Hosangabad	-	-	0.05	823.52	82.53	969.83	0.01	600	-	-
Jabalpur	3.68	970.66	0.003	1625	73.17	1012.99	0.11	1153.6	0.003	594.59
Narsimhapur	-	-	0.03	0	86.57	96.28	-	-	0.02	1333.33
Mandla	9.21	0	-	-	82.20	1022.58	0.2202	0	-	-
Chindawara	0.005	900	0.001	1500	77.61	1035.34	0.17	990.11	0.001	2000
Seoni	0.32	936.01	0.002	1000	90.43	1013.46	0.41	1308.7	0.01	666.66
Balaghat	11.25	1067.64	-	-	85.46	987.56	0.35	1062.8	0.01	222.22
Sarguja	1.35	956.99	0.003	0	41.33	991.45	0.0004	0	15.58	972.86
Bilaspur	0.73	950.31	0.002	325.58	37.47	1005.3	0.003	729.16	21.51	1014.85
Rajnaandgaon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Durg	0.008	0	0.004	0	57.45	1046.92	38.34	1046.47	3.27	1046.60
Raipur	0.002	1421.05	0.004	0	72.79	1032.10	8.86	1017.82	3.66	1051.70
Bastar	0.001	0	-	-	83.04	1017.77	5.51	951.89	0.20	979.66

Source: Census of India

Continue Previous Table

District	Kol		Korku		Oraon		Sahariya		Others	
	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR
Raisen	0.84	430.19	-	-	-	-	6.99	899.31	9.37	911.11
Betul	0.023	500	36.62	1070.34	0.003	166.65	-	-	0.43	633.61
Hosangabad	0.69	1122.34	13.06	966.90	-	-	-	-	3.55	958.96
Jabalpur	10.84	1021.79	2.36	1025.68	0.12	1138.3	-	-	9.64	973.53
Narsimhapur	4.25	916.66	-	-	2.94	1169.	-	-	6.16	915.49
Mandla	3.81	1078.56	-	-	0.02	0	-	-	6.12	926.73
Chindawara	0.35	1079.86	4.53	1025.68	0.003	1500	-	-	10.31	984.24
Seoni	0.08	919.64	-	-	0.01	1461.5	-	-	8.71	962.70
Balaghat	0.11	1101.69	-	-	0.05	969.69	-	-	2.74	1131.26
Sarguja	0.49	960.68	0.03	0	18.69	994.79	-	-	22.46	970.70
Bilaspur	0.64	950.52	0.05	1119.48	17.13	1016.98	-	-	19.34	990.02
Rajnaandgaon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Durg	0.01	1047.61	0.004	714.28	0.004	500	-	-	0.787	1005.73
Raipur	0.003	861.11	0.01	920.63	0.14	1018.01	-	-	14.50	1020.89
Bastar	0.001	0	-	-	0.20	1056.7	-	-	11.02	1020.55

Source: Census of India

## APPENDIX NO. 2

**Table : Percentage Distribution and Sex Ratio Among the Tribal Groups in Madhya Pradesh 1991**

District	Baiga		Bhil		Gonds		Halbi		Kawar	
	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR
Morena	0.01	0.00	5.47	8885.23	5.09	881.12	0.05	793.10	0.04	333.33
Bhind	0.15	250	3.88	882.35	20.17	824.18	0.03	0.00	1.18	772.73
Gwalior	0.05	428.57	5.34	979.19	7.17	762.91	0.06	923.08	0.42	596.33
Datia	-	-	1.47	923.08	12.02	1058.08	-	-	0.28	461.54
Shivpuri	0.006	333.33	3.52	915.67	1.16	821.87	0.004	200	0.03	1052.63
Guna	0.21	458.15	40.43	909.41	3.29	862.32	0.01	55.56	0.41	1245.67
Tikamgarh	0.002	0.00	0.01	1000	1.56	905.96	0.01	1500	-	-
Chhatarpur	0.002	0.00	1.85	834.09	16.77	886.96	0.002	0.00	0.11	923.08
Panna	0.007	600	0.23	788.32	58.38	947.77	0.002	500	0.01	266.67
Sagar	0.01	600	0.22	933.33	57.24	926.93	0.01	714.29	0.06	1133.33
Damoh	0.02	769.23	1.20	850.62	86.05	957.36	0.008	500	0.001	0.00
Satna	0.01	6.8.70	0.15	871.95	21.47	939.14	0.10	1037.04	0.02	1300
Rewa	0.30	869.84	0.09	945.65	6.68	945.87	0.007	1000	0.01	500
Shahdol	16.85	980.33	0.04	1094.74	47.85	981.36	0.005	916.67	0.89	955.76
Sidhi	10.10	951.73	0.03	1228.07	46.97	953.10	0.001	0.00	0.20	9921.99
Mandswar	0.01	769.23	89.09	986.18	5.29	836.26	0.03	1500	0.16	1000

Source: Census of India

Continue Previous Table

District	Kol		Korku		Oraon		Sahariya		Others	
	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR
Morena	0.03	687.50	0.01	1800.00	0.06	261.90	82.94	941.49	6.30	857.01
Bhind	0.57	727.27	13.91	741.44	0.85	807.69	13.3	731.23	43.90	866.93
Gwalior	1.33	891.99	0.45	805.83	1.24	597.48	57.81	927.34	26.13	862.76
Datia	-	-	0.13	500	1.04	738.10	66.75	866.39	18.25	786.44
Shivpuri	0.07	578.95	0.13	835.16	0.07	468.75	82.91	956.72	12.09	939
Guna	0.057	166.67	1.21	949.19	0.09	390.48	49.19	953.10	5.06	886.86
Tikamgarh	0.63	937.01	0.007	500	0.10	695.65	2.48	838.40	95.17	937.08
Chhatarpur	0.81	705.31	0.04	1250	0.16	651.16	2.11	916.67	78.11	926.82
Panna	3.18	1001.84	0.003	1000	0.05	1038.46	1.34	1056.63	36.75	941.37
Sagar	1.07	901.91	0.02	700	0.11	356.52	1.70	886.69	39.51	943.47
Damoh	0.38	825.53	-	-	0.08	851.85	0.34	974.49	11.88	924.93
Satna	68.54	933.14	0.05	1090.91	0.04	1093.02	0.03	645.83	9.53	922.24
Rewa	90.36	910.93	0.03	810.81	0.27	687.50	0.18	775.51	2.29	867.03
Shahdol	18.62	967.39	0.01	857.14	0.24	919.31	0.001	714.29	15.46	973.64
Sidhi	27.28	930.49	0.03	1030.30	0.25	838.31	0.005	3200	15.10	941.44
Mandswar	0.01	1500	3.12	1000	0.25	763.16	0.47	634.15	1.51	908.15

Source: Census of India

**Table : Percentage Distribution and Sex Ratio Among the Tribal Groups in Madhya Pradesh 1991**

District	Baiga		Bhil		Gonds		Halbi		Kawar	
	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR
Ratlam	0.01	720	98.21	972.45	1.26	973.72	0.01	800	0.008	727.27
Ujjain	0.02	600	68.29	922.21	12.66	974.33	0.37	929.82	0.63	1102.27
Shajapur	0.01	333.33	93.85	897.08	1.64	900.94	0.08	1100	0.06	888.89
Dewas	0.03	1000	47.23	964.82	18.49	963.85	0.03	758.62	0.05	1044.44
Jhabua	0.004	769.23	99.78	986.18	0.032	836.26	0.001	1500	0.001	1000
Dhar	0.004	428.57	99.09	978.05	0.13	850.94	0.003	352.94	0.005	583.33
Indore	0.04	730.77	84.15	0.00	3.56	752.68	0.15	872.09	0.31	832.37
W. Nimar	0.02	1057.69	97.08	974.16	0.46	879.24	0.06	809.67	0.07	1038.57
E. Nimar	0.01	892.86	45.55	951.12	6.63	964.32	0.18	813.60	1.61	950.22
Rajgarh	0.009	2000	82.43	924.70	10.70	937.09	0.06	538.46	0.04	555.56
Vidisha	0.02	833.33	11.20	899.16	15.05	877.04	0.06	625	0.06	588.23
Bhopal	0.11	750	18.41	909.15	33.65	861.09	1.73	924.52	1.88	821.59
Sehore	0.04	1000	37.51	947.56	31.86	931.76	0.01	13333.3	0.48	1004.85

Source: Census of India

Continue Previous Table

District	Kol		Korku		Oraon		Sahariya		Others	
	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR
Ratlam	0.02	766.67	0.05	825.40	0.04	1044.4	0.002	250	0.36	861.36
Ujjain	0.01	500	0.17	961.54	0.39	885.2	1.65	571.43	15.76	878.99
Shajapur	0.12	764.71	0.03	600	0.30	574.4	0.05	444.44	3.81	750.47
Dewas	0.02	761.90	31.68	963.65	0.11	803.9	0.02	1666.67	2.31	900.37
Jhabua	0.0005	1500	0.007	1000	0.006	763.16	0.006	634.15	0.15	908.15
Dhar	0.001	555.56	0.06	837.94	0.003	350	0.002	909.09	0.68	937.91
Indore	0.07	925.00	0.34	817.71	0.29	810.98	0.16	744.68	10.88	807.31
W. Nimar	0.06	844.66	0.96	920.08	0.09	913.98	0.001	1000	0.58	889.97
E. Nimar	0.07	1049.65	44.21	974.75	0.05	1121.21	0.001	1500	1.64	980.80
Rajgarh	0.01	666.67	0.11	1642.86	0.14	411.78	3.67	923.44	2.79	871.17
Vidisha	0.41	1237.50	0.07	1214.28	0.17	551.02	55.70	935.38	17.20	899.17
Bhopal	1.16	885.82	1.32	953.57	5.08	862.22	7.00	906.86	29.61	902.11
Sehore	0.20	966.29	14.92	958.47	0.08	1058.82	0.82	893.33	14.03	864.031

Source: Census of India



Table : Percentage Distribution and Sex Ratio Among the Tribal Groups in Madhya Pradesh 1991

District	Baiga		Bhil		Gonds		Halbi		Kawar	
	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR
Raigarh	0.077	1000	0.02	1272.73	13.92	1014.16	0.009	1264.71	23.59	998.88
Raisen	0.01	171.29	6.79	933.27	77.04	940.14	0.02	500	0.02	1058.82
Betul	-	-	0.04	1056.07	72.17	1010.14	0.02	983.33	0.006	866.67
Hosangabad	0.005	2250	3.45	893.77	51.09	927.08	0.10	544.12	0.35	957.82
Jabalpur	1.08	965.32	0.08	846.89	50.83	961.77	0.04	544.12	0.04	803.42
Narsimhapur	0.009	1000	0.13	861.11	90.34	959.29	0.003	3000	0.00005	1000
Mandla	7.55	1014.52	0.03	928	83.54	1014.09	0.01	1088.89	0.01	716.98
Chindawara	0.006	1266.67	0.037	836.36	81.88	1001.00	0.05	770.19	0.01	931.03
Seoni	0.31	1005.22	0.11	1040.00	90.97	1008.59	0.37	925.31	0.005	750
Balaghat	5.85	990.78	0.01	875	0.04	985.92	85.01	1024.70	0.02	625
Sarguja	1.26	991.29	0.01	575.47	39.40	972.99	0.006	1290.32	15.01	967.90
Bilaspur	2.65	998.02	0.07	941.69	51.03	1005.80	0.03	765.63	18.98	1017.15
Rajnaandgaon	4.63	1022.41	0.50	891.89	66.99	1038.30	12.64	1046.28	13.26	1055.12
Durg	0.008	923.08	0.08	869.23	55.56	1009.09	39.02	1042.37	1.70	1025.05
Raipur	0.005	782.61	0.80	1081.02	67.19	1018.88	2.25	938.78	9.21	1025.58
Bastar	0.001	750	0.01	1165.47	82.57	1018.72	5.60	981.39	0.08	909.09

Source: Census of India

Continue Previous Table

District	Kol		Korku		Oraon		Sahariya		Others	
	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR	%	SR
Raigarh	0.24	985.90	0.01	1084.35	34.26	1028.9	0.96	1099.17	27.86	1022.93
Raisen	0.22	677.47	1.96	862.41	0.16	876.1	3.32	929.29	10.40	847.47
Betul	0.04	830	25.92	978.34	0.02	789.4	0.001	1500	1.74	1004.67
Hosangabad	0.39	927.15	37.34	953.99	0.15	898.88	0.01	982.8	7.07	927.53
Jabalpur	30.68	967.05	0.01	1096.77	0.22	879.9	0.01	1076.92	16.97	963.69
Narsimhapur	1.71	907.69	0.007	333.33	1.81	976.34	0.0009	0.00	5.96	959.83
Mandla	3.40	989.38	0.01	986.64	0.11	784.3	0.0003	500	5.30	985.60
Chindawara	0.24	1025.84	0.28	900.49	0.04	1247.7	0.002	454.55	17.42	983.49
Seoni	0.042	902.44	0.003	857.14	0.01	707.32	0.0005	0.00	8.15	9075.44
Balaghat	0.42	1024.19	0.02	1054.05	0.25	1065.75	0.005	600	6.76	1007.75
Sarguja	0.52	966.10	0.05	4891.45	18.64	981.85	0.0001	1000	25.06	979.13
Bilaspur	0.89	1034.88	0.03	870.75	3.86	862.20	0.64	1182.93	22.37	991.86
Rajnaandgaon	0.01	1105.26	0.04	629.63	0.30	908.79	0.002	2000	1.59	1024.12
Durg	0.05	977.01	0.02	1176.47	0.44	861.12	0.01	1250	3.64	878.08
Raipur	0.08	1113.01	0.23	800.44	0.24	855.51	0.03	1433.33	19.91	1059.65
Bastar	0.006	1000	0.004	458.33	0.16	0.02	0.002	826.09	11.52	1013.75

Source: Census of India

**APPENDIX NO. 3**

**Table: Location Quotient of the Tribal Groups in Madhya Pradesh 1991**

DISTRICT	Population	BAIGA		BHIL		GOND		HALBI		KAWAR	
		Population	L. Q.	Population	L. Q.	Population	L. Q.	Population	L. Q.	Population	L. Q.
Balaghat	1236083	17,489	2.2653	45	0.0005	141	0.0009	2,53,909	38.0287	78	0.0048
Bastar	2109431	21	0.0016	301	0.0021	12,63,293	4.5257	85,824	7.5322	1,260	0.0455
Betul	961551	0	0.0000	220	0.0034	3,19,837	2.5137	119	0.0229	28	0.0022
Bhind	967857	5	0.0008	128	0.0020	664	0.0052	1	0.0002	39	0.0031
Bhopal	270677	49	0.0290	7,587	0.4138	13,867	0.3872	714	0.4883	776	0.2184
Bilaspur	3148763	23,223	1.1808	,666	0.0031	4,45,957	1.0703	339	0.0199	1,65,862	4.0137
Chhatarpur	934552	1	0.0002	807	0.0127	7,295	0.0590	1	0.0002	50	0.0041
Chhindwara	1206351	34	0.0045	202	0.0025	4,42,779	2.7737	285	0.0437	56	0.0035
Damoh	735203	23	0.0050	1,338	0.0269	95,621	0.9829	9	0.0023	2	0.0002
Datia	307352	0	0.0000	100	0.0048	815	0.0200	0	0.0000	19	0.0047
Dewas	766147	6	0.0013	73,451	1.4154	28,765	0.2837	51	0.0123	92	0.0091
Dhar	1187702	34	0.0046	7,24,632	9.0073	981	0.0062	23	0.0036	38	0.0024
Durg	1551734	25	0.0026	,243	0.0023	1,65,617	0.8066	1,16,327	13.8785	5,093	0.2501
East nimar	1037491	53	0.0082	1,74,580	2.4842	25,438	0.1853	720	0.1285	6,190	0.4546
Guna	1054741	331	0.0502	63,656	0.8910	5,194	0.0372	19	0.0033	649	0.0469
Gwalior	582163	20	0.0055	2,187	0.0555	2,937	0.0381	25	0.0080	174	0.0228
Hoshangabad	920695	13	0.0023	7,594	0.1218	1,12,422	0.9228	234	0.0471	789	0.0653
Indore	561397	45	0.0128	84,920	2.2332	3,600	0.0485	161	0.0531	317	0.0430
Jabalpur	1443501	5,157	0.5720	386	0.0039	2,41,176	1.2626	210	0.0269	211	0.0111
Jhabua	1032325	46	0.0071	9,66,300	13.8191	314	0.0023	10	0.0018	16	0.0012
Mandla	1192213	59,370	7.9731	241	0.0030	6,56,343	4.1603	94	0.0146	91	0.0058
Mandsaur	1195939	9	0.0012	66,488	0.8208	3,948	0.0249	27	0.0042	126	0.0080

Source: Census of India

Continue Previous Table

Morena	1359632	7	0.0008	5,207	0.0565	4,842	0.0269	52	0.0071	40	0.0022
Narsimhapur	668708	10	0.0024	134	0.0030	91,581	1.0349	4	0.0011	6	0.0007
Panna	598378	8	0.0021	245	0.0060	59,859	0.7560	3	0.0009	19	0.0024
Raigarh	1559232	64	0.0066	,175	0.0017	1,14,364	0.5543	77	0.0091	1,93,821	9.4718
Raipur	3136420	41	0.0021	5,779	0.0272	4,79,822	1.1561	16,106	0.9507	65,793	1.5984
Raisen	738645	19	0.0041	8,576	0.1714	97,269	0.9952	36	0.0090	35	0.0036
Rajgarh	825926	3	0.0006	27,017	0.4829	3,510	0.0321	20	0.0045	14	0.0013
Rajnandgaon	1213184	16,788	2.2156	1,820	0.0221	2,42,759	1.5122	45,806	6.9900	48,057	3.0184
Ratlam	662151	43	0.0104	2,22,129	4.9526	2,854	0.0326	27	0.0075	19	0.0022
Rewa	1318172	589	0.0715	179	0.0020	12,905	0.0740	14	0.0020	24	0.0014
Sagar	1166357	16	0.0022	319	0.0040	79,841	0.5173	24	0.0038	96	0.0063
Sarguja	1831471	37	0.0032	307	0.0025	43,462	0.1793	220	0.0222	46	0.0019
Satna	1176220	38	0.0052	32,129	0.4033	27,290	0.1753	14	0.0022	413	0.0268
Sehore	690025	1,153	0.2675	408	0.0087	3,36,445	3.6847	1,392	0.3735	21	0.0023
Seoni	906024	1,36,114	24.0535	398	0.0065	3,86,521	3.2239	46	0.0094	7,250	0.6097
Shahdol	1375673	4	0.0005	22,949	0.2463	403	0.0022	21	0.0028	17	0.0009
Shajapur	850362	8	0.0015	4,498	0.0781	1,483	0.0132	6	0.0013	39	0.0035
Shivpuri	960907	42,251	7.0400	127	0.0020	1,96,378	1.5444	5	0.0010	853	0.0676
Sidhi	1284586	14,168	1.7659	,167	0.0019	4,40,425	2.5909	71	0.0102	1,67,773	9.9518
Tikamgarh	781815	1	0.0002	6	0.0001	608	0.0059	5	0.0012	0	0.0000
Ujjain	836403	8	0.0015	19,916	0.3515	3,692	0.0334	110	0.0243	185	0.0169
Vidisha	775303	11	0.0023	4,784	0.0911	6,427	0.0626	26	0.0062	27	0.0027
West nimar	1722871	214	0.0199	9,10,383	7.8011	4,326	0.0190	599	0.0644	740	0.0327

Source: Census of India

**Table: Location Quotient of the Tribal Groups in Madhya Pradesh 1991**

District	Population	Kol		Korku		Oraon		Sahariya		Others	
		Population	L. Q.	Population	L. Q.	Population	L. Q.	Population	L. Q.	Population	L. Q.
Balaghat	1236083	1,255	0.0661	76	0.0069	754	0.0569	16	0.0020	20196	0.4473
Bastar	2109431	102	0.0031	70	0.0037	2,587	0.1144	42	0.0030	176388	2.2893
Betul	961551	183	0.0124	1,14,904	13.4371	102	0.0099	5	0.0008	7734	0.2202
Bhind	967857	19	0.0013	458	0.0532	94	0.0091	438	0.0691	1445	0.0409
Bhopal	270677	479	0.1152	547	0.2272	2,095	0.7221	2,887	1.6297	12204	1.2344
Bilaspur	3148763	7,818	0.1616	275	0.0098	33,738	0.9996	358	0.0174	195505	1.6999
Chhatarpur	934552	353	0.0246	18	0.0022	71	0.0071	920	0.1504	33966	0.9950
Chhindwara	1206351	1,333	0.0719	1,566	0.1460	231	0.0179	16	0.0020	94206	2.1380
Damoh	735203	429	0.0380	0	0.0000	100	0.0127	387	0.0804	13205	0.4917
Datia	307352	0	0.0000	9	0.0033	73	0.0222	4,526	2.2500	1238	0.1103
Dewas	766147	37	0.0031	49,270	7.2313	184	0.0224	32	0.0064	3605	0.1288
Dhar	1187702	14	0.0008	465	0.0440	27	0.0021	21	0.0027	5025	0.1158
Durg	1551734	172	0.0072	74	0.0054	1,337	0.0804	36	0.0035	9135	0.1612
East nimar	1037491	289	0.0181	1,69,453	18.3658	210	0.0189	5	0.0007	6293	0.1661
Guna	1054741	91	0.0056	1,918	0.2045	146	0.0129	77,450	11.2198	7972	0.2069
Gwalior	582163	543	0.0607	186	0.0359	508	0.0814	23,687	6.2169	10709	0.5036
Hoshangabad	920695	873	0.0617	82,179	10.0367	338	0.0343	25	0.0041	15571	0.4630
Indore	561397	77	0.0089	349	0.0699	297	0.0494	164	0.0446	10983	0.5356
Jabalpur	1443501	1,45,609	6.5664	65	0.0051	1,073	0.0693	54	0.0057	80525	1.5273
Jhabua	1032325	5	0.0003	72	0.0078	67	0.0061	67	0.0099	1475	0.0391
Mandla	1192213	26,783	1.4624	108	0.0102	910	0.0712	3	0.0004	41,644	0.9563
Mandsaur	1195939	13	0.0007	2,334	0.2195	193	0.0151	357	0.0456	1130	0.0259
Morena	1359632	27	0.0013	14	0.0012	53	0.0036	78,974	8.8751	6000	0.1208
Narsimhapur	668708	1,736	0.1690	8	0.0013	1,838	0.2564	1	0.0002	6050	0.2477

Source: Census of India

Continue Previous Table

Panna	598378	3,265	0.3552	4	0.0008	53	0.0083	1,380	0.3524	37684	1.7242
Raigarh	1559232	1,972	0.0823	106	0.0076	2,81,510	16.8440	508	0.0498	228880	4.0188
Raipur	3136420	598	0.0124	1,651	0.0592	1,785	0.0531	219	0.0107	142233	1.2415
Raisen	738645	285	0.0251	2,477	0.3771	212	0.0268	4,202	0.8692	13143	0.4871
Rajgarh	825926	5	0.0004	37	0.0050	48	0.0054	1,206	0.2231	915	0.0303
Rajnandgaon	1213184	40	0.0021	176	0.0163	1,109	0.0853	9	0.0011	5791	0.1307
Ratlam	662151	53	0.0052	115	0.0195	92	0.0130	5	0.0012	819	0.0339
Rewa	1318172	1,74,502	8.6176	67	0.0057	54	0.0038	348	0.0403	4423	0.0919
Sagar	1166357	1,493	0.0833	34	0.0033	156	0.0125	2,381	0.3119	55107	1.2935
Sarguja	1831471	1,38,749	4.9316	115	0.0071	90	0.0046	79	0.0066	19307	0.2886
Satna	1176220	175	0.0097	12,781	1.2219	70	0.0056	710	0.0922	12023	0.2798
Sehore	690025	156	0.0147	13	0.0021	70	0.0095	2	0.0004	30167	1.1969
Seoni	906024	1,50,427	10.8079	104	0.0129	1,998	0.2057	12	0.0020	124,894	3.7740
Shahdol	1375673	30	0.0014	8	0.0007	74	0.0050	13	0.0014	933	0.0186
Shajapur	850362	90	0.0069	167	0.0221	94	0.0103	1,05,929	19.0336	15448	0.4974
Shivpuri	960907	1,14,038	7.7255	134	0.0157	1,046	0.1016	21	0.0033	63,151	1.7993
Sidhi	1284586	5,916	0.2998	575	0.0503	2,08,340	15.1311	2.00	0.0002	280140	5.9705
Tikamgarh	781815	246	0.0205	3	0.0004	39	0.0047	967	0.1890	36975	1.2948
Ujjain	836403	3	0.0002	51	0.0069	115	0.0128	484	0.0884	4596	0.1504
Vidisha	775303	179	0.0150	31	0.0045	76	0.0091	23,782	4.6869	7346	0.2594
West nimar	1722871	570	0.0215	9,082	0.5928	890	0.0482	18	0.0016	5462	0.0868

Source: Census of India

**APPENDIX No. 4**

**CHANGES IN THE LITERACY LEVEL 1971-1991**

Name of Tribes	Rural/ Urban	Male Literacy Rate			Female Literacy Rate		
		1971	1991	% Change	1971	1991	% Change
All Scheduled Tribes	R	8	11	3	1	4.6	3.6
	U	14	15	1	5	10	5
Baiga	R	5	7	2	1	1.5	0.5
	U	7	8	1	1	3	2
Bhil	R	4	8	4	0.33	2.8	2.8
	U	12	11	-1	6	7.1	1.1
Gond	R	9	13	4	1	5.6	4.6
	U	16	17	1	6	12.4	6.4
Halba	R	17	23	6	4	13.3	9.3
	U	18	19	1	6	15.94	9.94
Kawal	R	17	18	1	1	7.57	8.57
	U	21	16	-5	8	12.1	4.1
Kol	R	4	8	4	0.39	1.89	1.89
	U	9	12	3	2	5.78	3.78
Korku	R	5	11	6	1	3.19	2.19
	U	13	14	1	5	7.86	2.86
Oraon	R	11	12	1	5	7.52	2.52
	U	18	14	4	10	12.35	2.35
Sahariya	R	2	6	4	0.89	0.97	0.97
	U	9	8	-1	2	2.33	0.33
Others	R	7	11	4	1	3.83	2.83
	U	16	15	-1	6	10.59	4.59
Non-tribes	R	13.48	52.1	38.62	7.54	20.28	12.74
	U	21.26	70.11	48.85	16.99	50.33	33.34

Source: Census of India

## Appendix no. 5

Table: Sophor Index 1971

	LITERACY 1971					
	x1	x2	SI	x1	x2	SI
	Male			Female		
ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	7.56	13.48	0.28	1.33	7.54	0.78
1. Baiga	4.56	13.48	0.51	0.71	7.54	1.06
2. Bhil	3.72	13.48	0.61	0.33	7.54	1.39
3. Gond	8.65	13.48	0.22	1.48	7.54	0.73
4. Halba	16.75	13.48	-0.11	4.47	7.54	0.24
5. Kawar	16.56	13.48	-0.11	0.74	7.54	1.04
6. Kol	4.47	13.48	0.52	0.40	7.54	1.31
7. Korku	5.43	13.48	0.43	0.73	7.54	1.04
8. Oraon	11.45	13.48	0.08	4.60	7.54	0.23
9. Sahariya	1.69	13.48	0.96	0.09	7.54	1.96
10. Others	6.91	13.48	0.32	1.00	7.54	0.91
URBAN						
	x1	x2	SI	x1	x2	SI
ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	13.75	21.26	0.23	5.07	16.99	0.58
1. Baiga	6.97	21.26	0.56	0.55	16.99	1.57
2. Bhil	12.11	21.26	0.29	5.97	16.99	0.51
3. Gond	15.91	21.26	0.15	5.79	16.99	0.52
4. Halba	17.95	21.26	0.09	5.73	16.99	0.53
5. Kawar	20.81	21.26	0.01	8.25	16.99	0.36
6. Kol	9.15	21.26	0.43	2.20	16.99	0.96
7. Korku	12.76	21.26	0.27	4.99	16.99	0.59
8. Oraon	18.39	21.26	0.08	10.47	16.99	0.24
9. Sahariya	8.78	21.26	0.45	1.59	16.99	1.10
10. Others	15.83	21.26	0.16	6.23	16.99	0.49

Source: Census of India



**APPENDIX NO. 5 (A)**

**Table: Sopher Index 1991**

RURAL	LITERACY 1991					
	X1	x2	SI	x1	x2	SI
	Male			Female		
<b>ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES</b>	11.46	52.1	<b>0.92</b>	4.6	20.58	<b>0.73</b>
1. Baiga	6.81	52.1	<b>1.17</b>	1.5	20.58	<b>1.22</b>
2. Bhil	7.66	52.1	<b>1.12</b>	2.8	20.58	<b>0.96</b>
3. Gond	13.43	52.1	<b>0.85</b>	5.6	20.58	<b>0.64</b>
4. Halba	23.12	52.1	<b>0.56</b>	13.3	20.58	<b>0.23</b>
5. Kawar	18.30	52.1	<b>0.69</b>	7.57	20.58	<b>0.50</b>
6. Kol	7.53	52.1	<b>1.13</b>	1.89	20.58	<b>1.13</b>
7. Korku	10.81	52.1	<b>0.95</b>	3.19	20.58	<b>0.90</b>
8. Oraon	12.15	52.1	<b>0.90</b>	7.52	20.58	<b>0.50</b>
9. Sahariya	5.67	52.1	<b>1.26</b>	0.97	20.58	<b>1.42</b>
10. Others	10.70	52.1	<b>0.96</b>	3.83	20.58	<b>0.81</b>
URBAN	x1	x2	SI	x1	x2	SI
<b>ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES</b>	14.53	70.11	<b>1.14</b>	10.0	50.33	<b>0.96</b>
1. Baiga	8.39	70.11	<b>1.41</b>	3.0	50.33	<b>1.52</b>
2. Bhil	10.78	70.11	<b>1.29</b>	7.1	50.33	<b>1.12</b>
3. Gond	17.10	70.11	<b>1.06</b>	12.4	50.33	<b>0.86</b>
4. Halba	19.39	70.11	<b>0.99</b>	15.94	50.33	<b>0.73</b>
5. Kawar	16.45	70.11	<b>1.08</b>	12.10	50.33	<b>0.87</b>
6. Kol	11.82	70.11	<b>1.24</b>	5.78	50.33	<b>1.22</b>
7. Korku	13.59	70.11	<b>1.17</b>	7.86	50.33	<b>1.08</b>
8. Oraon	13.74	70.11	<b>1.17</b>	12.35	50.33	<b>0.86</b>
9. Sahariya	7.68	70.11	<b>1.45</b>	2.33	50.33	<b>1.63</b>
10. Others	15.14	70.11	<b>1.12</b>	10.59	50.33	<b>0.93</b>

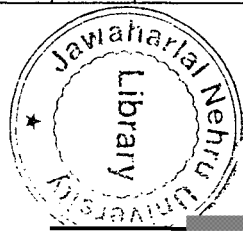
Source: Census of India

APPENDIX NO. 6 and 7

CHANGES IN OCCUPATION STRUCTURE

Tribes Name		Total			Primary			Secondary			Tertiary			Others		
		%	%	Change	%	%	Change	%	%	Change	%	%	Change	%	%	Change
		1971	1991		1971	1991		1971	1991		1971	1991		1971	1991	
<b>ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES</b>	R	40	45	5	96	96	0.17	2.38	2	0.38	0.26	1	0.74	0.96	1.60	0.64
	U	38	34	-4	42	39	-3.00	26.44	28	2.44	10.68	13	2.32	21.03	20.94	-0.09
<b>1. Baiga</b>	R	43	48	5	95	96	1.00	4.35	2	-2.35	0.22	1	0.78	0.84	0.75	-0.09
	U	42	38	-4	53	63	10.00	23.52	25	2.52	3.77	4	0.23	19.47	8.44	-11.03
<b>2. Bhil</b>	R	32	42	10	98	97	-1.00	1.19	1	0.19	0.21	1	0.79	0.71	1.21	0.50
	U	34	36	2	60	50	-10.00	10.23	19	-1.23	3.22	9	5.78	26.74	22.08	-4.66
<b>3. Gond</b>	R	42	47	5	97	96	-1.00	2.35	2	-0.35	0.26	1	0.74	0.88	1.53	0.65
	U	37	33	-4	34	32	-2.00	32.35	32	-0.35	13.23	15	1.77	19.54	21.17	1.63
<b>4. Halba</b>	R	47	49	2	96	93	-3.00	1.83	3	2.83	0.48	1	0.52	1.50	3.47	1.97
	U	42	35	-7	13	10	-3.00	54.91	54	-0.91	18.80	17	-1.80	13.67	18.51	4.84
<b>5. Kawar</b>	R	40	44	4	97	96	-1.00	1.09	1	-0.09	0.18	1	0.82	0.72	1.90	1.18
	U	36	31	-5	38	40	2.00	31.43	26	-5.43	8.57	11	2.43	21.87	22.36	0.49
<b>6. Kol</b>	R	50	48	-2	95	94	-1.00	4.13	4	-0.13	0.22	1	0.78	1.08	1.17	0.09
	U	42	37	-5	41	55	14.00	30.48	25	-10.48	10.64	9	-1.64	17.58	11.12	-6.46
<b>7. Korku</b>	R	31	46	15	95	98	3.00	3.91	1	-2.91	0.19	1	0.81	1.03	0.70	-0.33
	U	43	36	-7	54	54	0.60	19.37	20	1.37	6.69	10	3.31	19.01	15.56	-3.45
<b>8. Oraon</b>	R	34	36	2	96	92	-4.00	1.45	2	0.55	0.29	1	0.71	2.35	5.64	3.29
	U	30	28	-2	25	18	-5.37	30.37	28	-2.37	8.83	12	3.17	35.32	41.79	6.47
<b>9. Sahariya</b>	R	43	39	-4	94	94	-0.17	2.66	4	1.44	0.62	1	0.38	1.48	1.20	-0.28
	U	38	36	-2	38	43	5.00	28.90	25	-3.97	14.88	11	-3.88	21.57	21.63	0.06
<b>10. Others</b>	R	46	44	-2.00	94	92	-2.00	4	5	1.00	0.36	1	0.64	1	2.00	1.00
	U	37	33	-4	36	31	-5.00	26.80	28	2.80	28.14	17	-11.14	60.18	24.00	3.82

Source: Census of India



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