

## **Tribal Development and Life Pattern A Case Study of Jamalpur Block in the District Of Burdwan**

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**ABSTRACT:** *This study is confined to observation in area of Jamalpur block in the district of Burdwan. Tribals in the block of Burdwan district and development programmes involving them are examples of implementation of directed change. Lack of responsive leadership in the development process widens the gap between the tribes and non-tribes, rich and poor. The beneficiaries of development programmes are not provided with need-based schemes. Development indicators of the tribal people are not well developed. They still live in poverty and morbidity. Tribal economy has become a part of national and local economy. Educational and economic development in this area is very low. The tribals are drowned in illiteracy, ignorance, hoary superstitions, abysmal poverty and unsettled occupations. Human and natural resources are not developed and distribution of income is not equitable. Though they cherish more cash in their hands to improve their living standard, they are unmindful to development programmes. The programmes have not yet brought about better economic life for them. They are less exposed to development programmes and their participation in development programmes is very much low. These people have now imbibed new influences, values, attitudes and beliefs. They now take part in politics and modern political process for pursuing economic needs, for satisfying social needs and for pursuing particular values. Tribal societies are intertwined with both traditional and modern elements and the conflict, compromise and co-operation are the essence of understanding that society.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Development. Economy. Modernization. Panchayati Raj. Participation. Tribal. Life.*

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### **I. INTRODUCTION**

The study has been confined to observation in one area only. Jamalpur block is one of the less developed or underdeveloped blocks in the district of Burdwan. The district of Burdwan, one of the western districts of Burdwan Division, is situated between 22° 56' and 23° 53' north latitude and between 86° 48' and 88° 25' east longitude. Burdwan, the principal town and administrative headquarter, is situated on the north bank of Banka, some 2 miles from Damodar river, in 23° 14' north latitude and 87° 51' east latitude. The district lies mainly between the Ajay, the Bhagirathi or Hooghly and the Damodar rivers. It is bounded on the north by Santal Parganas, Birbhum and Murshidabad; on the east by Nadia; on the south by Hooghly, Midnapore and Bankura; and on the west by Manbhum. The Ajay separates it on the north from the Birbhum and Murshidabad district forming a natural boundary line. On the south the Damodar, running parallel to the Ajay forms the main boundary. On the west the Barakar passes along the north-western boundary for few miles before its junction with the Damodar and divides the district from Manbhum. On the east the Hooghly forms the main boundary with Nadia. The south-eastern boundary marches with the Hooghly district. The natural boundaries formed by the great rivers to the north, east and south are fairly constant. The Damodar, the sacred river of the Santals, rises in the Chota Nagpur water-shed and, after a south-easterly course of about 350 miles, falls into the Hooghly. The river takes a sharp bend to the north-east and after passing close to the town of Burdwan turns due south and eventually leaves the district near the village of Mohanpur. The principal places on its banks are Kasba Gohagram, Gopalpur, Jamalpur and Selimabad, situated at its junction with the Kana River which here flows out of the parent stream. The population is a mixed one, including pure Hindu castes, semi-aboriginals recently admitted in the pale of Hinduism, and pure aboriginal tribes. Living in the same district, and often in the same village, the Hindu and the semi-Hinduized aboriginal nevertheless present differences in their habits and ways of living. They are incapable of forethought and consume their earnings without a thought for the future. Most of them work as agricultural labourers than as cultivators. They drink more. The mass of the Hindu population is dead against drink and drunkenness. In their social and religious ceremonies the semi-Hinduized aborigines are every day being drawn closer to Hinduism.

The more respectable and advanced among them may indeed be said to have adopted Hinduism in all its main features, while even the most backward castes have adopted some Hindu customs. The rainfall being often deficient in total amount or irregular in distribution, artificial irrigation is necessary for almost all the important crops. There is only one protective irrigation work, the Eden Canal, an irrigation channel 22 miles in length from Kanchannagar to Jamalpur. In this area, aus, aman and boro rice are sown. Jute is also sown in few places. Cultivation of potato, onion, sugarcane, vegetables and other valuable crops are made in this area. There are four main tribes in this area — Santal, Kora, Oraon, Bhumij etc. The demographic and socio-economic profiles of the tribes of this district and the block under study are presented below (Table Nos. 1&2). The block includes 22.11 per cent tribals living below poverty line in comparison to total families below poverty line. Out of the total tribals living in this area about 33.52 per cent tribals are below poverty line vis-à-vis 20.88 per cent BPL figure of the total population of this block. Previous figure of the total population below poverty line was 33.22 per cent. Naturally, it is an improvement over the past. Agriculturally the block is improved. Total population in this area depends on agriculture. So, there is continually rising pressure of population on agriculture, has produced few consequences like majority of landholdings are small, getting smaller and smaller. The process of sub-division and fragmentation is encouraged by continuous pressure of population on agriculture. And the small holding may prove to be an uneconomic holding with all other limitations like poor quality of soil, absence of improved technique, absence of the use of better seeds and chemical fertilizers. The irrigation system in this block is not negligible. The tribals who hold lands, cultivate the lands are economically far better than the non-irrigated areas. It is the fact that marginal propensity to save is more in irrigated system and less in non-irrigated system, thus with the increase in income savings have increased. The irrigated system has increased production in agriculture and thereby also the savings. There is an increasing trend towards the consumption pattern among the tribals. Those tribals who do not hold any piece of land for cultivation or hold a very small piece for cultivation and depend mainly on working in agricultural fields as agricultural labourers, save nothing.

## **II. TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT — THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE**

Man is a tribal animal. Tribalism is a two-way sword. The tribal feelings are in themselves neutral, they can be used constructively or destructively. Tribalism cannot be suppressed because they are too basic. Denial of the expression of tribalism may or might cause resistance. Though the primitive mode vanishes with the wider impact of modernism, still tribalism lives on. Modernism denotes larger and more heterogeneity and the larger and more heterogeneous modern societies become, the more people are inclined to recreate the tribe, where a sense of 'belonging' is still prevalent. There are the feelings of homogeneity, heterogeneity, identity and conformity. As urbanization and industrialization grew rapidly in our country the tribals were transformed, but those tribals who did not get into the mainstream of change, naturally got isolated. The basic fact of their culture is that it is an integrated whole. It acts like the life-blood. Members of the tribal society do not consciously feel they belong to it. They accept it. However, in our modern society tribal life has no isolated spots. Everything is related. Following a modern line of approach, we can designate them 'marginal' or 'preliterate' or 'pre-farming' societies to indicate their precise ecological, modern educational and contemporary economic problems. It is to be noted here that there is change. The 'marginal' as termed by Ratzel or 'preliterate' as termed by Gisbert are being transformed. Among the same tribes certain sections may undergo a rapid transformation which acquires characteristics that may disqualify them as 'preliterate' or 'pre-farming' though some of their social customs may persist. Apart from the recommendations for development of primitive tribes that (1) they should be provided with basic necessities of life like health, nutrition, education and employment; (2) they should be assisted with traditional occupation and not sudden structural change in economic base, routinized dealing and doing disposal as we do in Blocks and elsewhere have harmed them and it ought to be stopped. Here, I stress on routinized dealing and doing disposal. The tribals under study in Jamalpur block of Burdwan district and development programmes involving these tribes are examples of implementation of 'directed change' (Danda, 1988) initiated through programmes of community development and Panchayati Raj in West Bengal village. Implementation of community development programmes brought about certain immediate material changes, i.e. social, economic, political and cultural to a limited extent. There are not too much changes in the community power structure and control of economic resources. There are positive changes in the rules of commensality, untouchability, caste order and social distance. There is dismemberment of traditional authority structure and value system. In spite of economic disparities and exploitation of one class by another, people were psychologically united in ceremonial ties before the onset of fast moving changes since the sixties. But on account of the work of modern forces represented by communication facilities, media exposure, growth of literacy and changing political scenes, the village is now a house divided.

The traditional power structure has ceased to function (Bhowmick, 1988). However, the tradition is not an isolated phenomenon in the development efforts. In fact, the tradition is interposed between developmental efforts and the end result of such efforts as a 'screen' (Fig. 1). The traditional forces maintain status quo and neutralize modernizing effects of development efforts. Tradition itself sometimes get changed and modified in the process of interaction. In these development efforts tradition has an important role to play. The community, which has emerged from pre-agricultural technology to settled agricultural practices, is not totally divorced from tradition. The development objectives, goals and strategies or programmatic goals should have to be:

Objective: Development in relation with the mainstream

Prime goal: Development of the community and development of the individual, particularly the 'down-trodden'

Programmatic goals and activities: Improvement of income and income generating assets — improvement of land base, application of improved technology in agriculture, development of subsidiary occupation and creation of additional employment opportunities

Protection from exploitation — institutionalization of credit and marketing facilities, restriction against land alienation, fair wages for labour

Improvement of interaction with other groups and administration — identification of tribal leaders and educating and socializing them for better interaction, representation in social, economic and political institutions

There is the need for comprehensive tribal development model. In this process of tribal development rapid change is undesirable. Hence, cultural evolution and diffusion of culture are the instrumental realities. In these process of cultural evolution and diffusion there is the need to establish cultural equilibrium. Responsive leadership accompanied with the development process would make the development real (Block Development Officer). Lack of this responsive leadership widens the gap between the tribal people and the general people. There is the need for anthropologically trained workers. The tribesmen are suspicious of Government and their agents. They have no faith in any government welfare measures. They generally wish to be left alone. In this welter of suspicion, mistrust and frustration, the tribesmen badly need the services of men who would restore their faith, interpret to them the policies of the governments and also act as a two-way channel of communication between the tribesmen and the local government (Aiyappan, 1988). Therefore, the need is leadership from among them. Recognizing this imperative need Panchayati Raj institutions have provided this opportunity to the tribals and avenues for creation of social and administrative infrastructure, tribal participation in terms of economic benefits flowing from economic schemes, voluntary contributions, and participation in different community activities and in panchayat elections. 'Development plans for the tribals should have a wide range of variability and should be formulated accordingly. There is differential development among the tribals themselves and consequently of their needs.

Plans must be in conformity with classificatory tribal communities.' (Narayan, 1988: 139). But the plans are uniformly formulated, and tribals interests and problems are not taken into account specifically. Development implies integration of social and economic development, includes mainly development of man power, employment opportunities, increase in the level of real income and wages, constructive use of leisure time, development of agriculture, industry, mining, power, transport and communication facilities, water resources etc. (Qureshi, 1971: 12). The comprehensive tribal development model includes three models of social policy — residual welfare model: individual is the unit and instrument of his own welfare. Under this model the individual is provided with temporary help to become self-reliant and confident. The achievement performance model: social needs of the individuals should be provided on the bases of merit, achieved status differentials, work performance and productivity. Institutional redistribution model: the individuals are provided with basic welfare services irrespective of income, education and caste etc. This model is based on the principle of social justice. Not only integration of social and economic development, tribal development also implies integration of the tribal people with the rest of the Indian population. 'It implies policy of "Social Symbiosis" or "Social Commensalism" whereby there might be a sort of "cultural federation" in which people of different cultures and shades of opinion and values may live together "without fusion, having symbiotic or commensal relationship with one another" and without the "necessity of ironing out cultural differences", thus providing a "modus vivendi for cultural miscegenation".' (Majumdar, 1947: 147). In this process of development different sections of the rural populace have been affected differently. The development programmes have benefited the upper middle, middle and richer sections much more than the lower middle and poorer sections.

There is 'growth of inequality' (Dandekar and Rath, 1971: 28) in this process. 'Consequently, the extent of participation in the development process and share in the development gains become a direct function of one's pre-determined resources position. The small and marginal farmers, owing to low and deficient farm level infrastructures, obviously had limited capacity to benefit from the development strategy with its bias for the land factor.' (Jodha, n.f.: 634).

### **III. TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT — PRACTICAL AND FIELD EXPERIENCES**

The tribals have inner strength to develop their socio-economic conditions. This has to be ignited. They are able to generate their income out of the given scheme allotted. Regarding participation, mention may be made here that though strictly nobody followed the actual cycle of participation, care should be taken by the Panchayat functionaries to identify the right beneficiaries and provide them the right scheme so that the expected rate of development can be fulfilled. Though the very few beneficiaries are able to generate income from the given scheme, majority of them did not utilize their loan amount for the actual purpose, who invested their loan amount for other purposes different from the purpose for which the loan was sanctioned like buying lands, bullocks and cart and in some cases for consumption purposes without building asset or running the sanctioned project. The beneficiaries were not provided with need-based scheme. At this point few development indicators involving the tribes in this study area may be cited in Table No. 3.

The development indicators in this block area indicate that the conditions of the tribal people are not well developed, but prospective for further development. The maximum number of households is found in the size group of three to five persons indicating that there is no significant variation in the average size of households. The earners constitute 77.77 per cent and non-earners 22.23 per cent represent economic conditions of average tribal households. The non-earners include aged, disabled and children, contribute nothing to the economic benefit of the family. Only 37.14 per cent are illiterate. Remaining 62.86 per cent range between literate to educate. The average size of landholding in this area is 1.47 acres. Fragmentation of landholdings, population explosion and nucleus family system are the reasons for this low level of landholding. Landholdings in the hands of the tribal people are limited and the lands should be allotted to the landless tribal households. Limited landholdings available with cultivators are uneconomic and should be improved by intensive cultivation and adopting new techniques. Irrigation system in this area is improved. Cent per cent of the lands in possession of the tribals is cultivated, out of this 98.12 per cent are under food crops and 1.88 per cent are under commercial crops. The average size of share-cropping is only 1.49 acres, is a slight improvement over the average landholding pattern, but a much more improvement over the average size of patta land. The average income per household is Rs. 2,258 and expenditure is Rs. 2,550. Income from agriculture accounts for 68 per cent and from wages it is only 32 per cent. Higher percentage of income from agriculture is due to irrigation facilities, improved seeds and application of pesticides and fertilizers and lower percentage of income from wages is due to huge supply of labour force, seasonal unemployment etc. The expenditure pattern among them is also high in respect with their level of income accounting for an average deficit of Rs. 292 per month. Food is a major item of expenditure, which accounts for 50 per cent. Expenditure on clothing and footwear (10.30%) is high, next to expenditure against food. Expenditures against drinks and gambling and against rites and ceremonies account for 9.5 per cent and 8.2 per cent, respectively. Expenditure against consumer durable like radio, cycle, torchlight, wristwatch, utensils etc. is 6.20 per cent. The minimum amount of money is spent on health and education. In fact, they have adapted themselves with the non-tribal society and are in tune with the growing needs of the society. Though these households are not below poverty line as per government criteria, still lead a poor life. Government help is available, which has not been properly utilized. The tribals cannot afford to lead a normal economic and social life. This is the reason why government is now granting loans to the poor. The institutional loan forms 24.08 per cent with an average of Rs. 10,695 per household, when private money-lenders grant Rs. 778 on an average to the tribal households accounting for 11.4 per cent in total. The tribal people are very much aware of the functioning and role of institutions granting loans, of the exorbitant rates of interest of the private money-lenders, of the conditions of bonded labour due to non-repayment of loans to the private money-lenders. They prefer institutional than non-institutional loans.

The tribals are now under the purview of cultural lag, at the stage of transitory level, trying to adjust between modernization and traditional culture. There is also a lag between tribal and non-tribal families in terms of development. Least lessening of distance between the tribal and non-tribal families is a major handicap for further change and development. The tribal people are not capable in absorbing several ideas simultaneously; therefore, concentration on five schemes for tribal development, i.e. agriculture, small-scale industries, education, health and communication should be more readily emphasized. Agricultural and entrepreneurial developments are necessary steps for tribal development.

Agricultural development means better and improved farming with improved agricultural situation not only in terms of agricultural resources and potentials available but also of their deployment and exploitation so as to ensure an optimal production level. Agriculture remains the prime source of income and its improvement is a necessary step for development. In association with this, development of small-scale industries, communication, education and health should be taken into account. Development, in essence, signifies that all tribal people must be ensured with all the means to sustain life, all must have the sense of self-esteem and all should be free from servitude (Todaro, 1985). Therefore,

Tribal development = Economic growth + Social development

Tribal transformation is an on-going process, which involves both spontaneous as well as induced changes, while former emphasizes the process of modernization and the latter highlights the programmes of induced changes for the fulfillment of defined objectives. Both tribal transformation and tribal development can be comprehended in terms of economic, social, cultural and political attributes. The major factor responsible for economic transformation to a large extent appears to be the expansion of modern market mechanism. The tribals are taking interest in participating market exchange. Market exchange is becoming the regular practice. Individual ownership of land, differentiation of profession, specialization of roles and widening up of network of economic relationships are the examples of market economy manifestation or market influence. The tribal economy is steadily losing its distinctiveness and gradually becoming a part of the institutional economic system.

Tribal economy converges mainly on the primary sector, i.e. agriculture and participation of the tribal people in the secondary, tertiary and service sectors is nominal in this block (1991 Census). Majority or most of the tribal people have adapted themselves with mainstream economy. Market plays an important role in improving the standard of living. Generally, the features of the tribal economy are production mainly for consumption, low productive capacity and low level of technology, low per capita income. A marginal quantity of agriculture oozes itself into the market, not because there is marketable surplus, but because of dire necessities of life like repayment of loans and other domestic needs. Development of marketing facilities in tribal economy is important not only in terms of reasonable or remunerative prices for the agricultural produce, but it also provides domestic requirement of the tribal people. By improving the marketing system in tribal economy and integrating the tribal people with the mainstream economy, the Government can have direct access to the rural consumers or so to say tribal consumers and its policies and programmes to improve their living standards can be implemented successfully. This is essential to bring about agricultural development and to enable institutional development. However, there is a lack of well-developed marketing system. Due to this lack, their produce is marketed by the middlemen.

The tribal economy is not fully developed. However, different development activities of the Government have resulted in certain improvements in the tribal economy. Presently, the tribal economy is characterized by settled agriculture, development of marketing surplus and monetization of tribal economy. It is a change towards monetized and marketing system from a subsistence and barter type of primitive tribal economy. The tribal people still live in 'poverty and morbidity. They stand in urgent need of positive intervention. . . ., a large number of tribal communities have been living in close regional proximity to non-tribal people imbibing alien culture and life style. From the perspective of the entire scenario, the approach to technology adoption should be guided by the situational parameters of different groups, as one of the important determining factors. If technology for raising productivity has to be called in, it should be compatible with the pre-existing techno- systems. The other factors of importance are assimilative capacity and ecologic assonance. Intensive search has to be launched for locating relevant technologies for ensuring the basic necessities of adequate food, drinking water, health, shelter etc., which do not cause damage to the underlying philosophy of tribal milieu. Judicious injections of technology are essential, lending the concepts of "appropriate technology" and "upgrade technology" considerable significance.' (Singh, 1990: 102). One of the important functions of market is need-based regulation of flow of goods and services, though; this almost inevitably contributed to unequal accumulation of wealth. Labour has become a marketable commodity and so perhaps has grown the tradition of wage labour. There is a great imbalance in development. It is now generally recognized that there is also a marked imbalance in development among the tribal communities themselves. The disparity between the poor and the rich has increased, and many among the weaker sections actually have not been enlightened with the lights of development. In order to help the poor tribal families a mechanism needs to be developed through which a family in distress can be helped without being deprived of its income generating assets. Quality of their life depends on the availability as well as access to the basic necessities of life such as food, drinking water,

clothing, housing and basic health services. Attributes and per capita quantity of these necessities depend on command over resources, development of human resources, level of technological know-how and educational level. In the quality of life pattern of the tribes propensity to consume is very high. The small and marginal farmers possessing uneconomic holdings consume whatever they produce. Whatever aid is received by them gets diverted to consumption expenditure. As a result, the propensity to consume is raised further and at the same rate the propensity to save declines. The interest free consumption loans are advanced to tribal farmers in the tribal sub-plan area, which is in addition to capital subsidy advanced by the government. Thus, in tribal economy we find —

$$C = Y + S_1 \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

$$I = S + S_1 \dots\dots\dots (2)$$

when C is equal to consumption, I to investment, Y to income and S to savings and S1 to subsidy.

$$S = I - C \dots\dots\dots (3)$$

$$Y = I + C \dots\dots\dots (4)$$

The traditional occupations of the tribes have been changed to a great extent: economy has become a part of the national or local economy, slash and burn cultivation has been replaced with settled agricultural practices, commercialization of the cropping pattern and monetization of the economy have replaced the barter system of the economy, hunting, fishing and collection of minor forest produce have been turned into a subsidiary status. They are mainly settled agriculturists, owner cultivators, share-croppers and landless labourers at present. They are employed also in industries, collieries, educational institutions and tea gardens as daily workers, technical staff, teachers, and office bearer. Therefore, traditional occupations of the tribals now-a-days play a subsidiary role as to the introduction of modern education, commercialization, monetization, industrialization and urbanization, development of transport, and communication and mass media. Therefore, in the tribal economy the secondary and tertiary sectors are very negligible in comparison with the primary so that they have become less mobile, as (i) economic turn-outs from agriculture are low, (ii) most of the owner cultivators own less than three acres of land, (iii) most of them are agricultural labourers, (iv) lands are fragmented, and (v) remunerative prices for the agricultural goods seldom exceed the costs etc.

The tribal people had experienced a lot of migration and entered into the local economy of plough agriculture as agricultural labourers and tenant cultivators. About 60 per cent of the tribal households work as share-croppers in the lands of their neighbouring caste-peasants and 40 per cent as agricultural labourers in the fields of non-tribals. The shifting cultivator tribes have switched over from slash and burn cultivation to settled agriculture and plough cultivation. Most of them have only marginal access to land. The communal ownership of lands, primitive modes of agriculture and non-acquisitive value system as a consequence of the communal ownership of lands and means of production retarding the growth of feudal hierarchy and relations have become the stories of the past. Though the economic conditions of the tribes practicing agriculture is better than that of the tribes with economic pursuits like animal husbandry; fishing, hunting and collection of fruits and tubers; cattle breeding and basket-making; selling of woods and minor forest produce, still many of them live in economic hardships and below the poverty line. Above all, rising demands, over-exploitation of natural and human resources have increased their hardships. The tribes who practised settled cultivation has had developed some patterns of interactions with neighbouring caste-peasants and non-tribals, provided labour, tools and implements to them for their own subsistence. There are unmistakable signs of capitalistic farming but feudal and semi-feudal economy still persists. The incompatible alliance between semi-feudalism and capitalism has restricted and retarded the modernization of agriculture, which demarcates the society in two extremes — those who own the means of production and those who sell their labour for mere subsistence. From the traditional self-sufficient and subsistence economy characterized by non-specialized roles and non-hierarchical relationships they have been turned into specialized and hierarchical relationships: employer-employee, trader-consumer, creditor-debtor, landowner-peasant and overall market economy. The growth of industry, mining and communication system had led to the growth of urban settlements, development of economic freedom of the individuals contributing dispersal of settlements with the breakdown of traditional economic pursuits and also the growth of diversified occupational structure and specialization.

As occupational structure has been diversified, economic freedom of the individuals and dispersal of settlements have developed to a greater extent. Once again, due to diversified occupational structure and growing specialization, the number of factors influencing individual location has been diminished, but the demands and expectations of the individuals have increased with the introduction of cash economy. The possible causes for the dispersal of settlements may be of the following types:

**Push Factor:** Land alienation and insufficient lands for cultivation, seasonal unemployment, need for money to maintain family life and daily family needs and agricultural requirements, very limited scope of progress and prosperity in villages and in agricultural activities; and

**Pull Factor:** Preference for permanent service or occupations other than agriculture, search for status insecurity and economic prosperity, temptations of a new and modern life, money-economy, the need for cash and developed modes of cultivation.

Owing to the proximity of industrial towns, a number of people work in industry in the permanent or casual category and also in the agricultural sector as the main occupation. This gives birth to a proliferation of occupational categories and mixed type of occupational structure consisting of agricultural activities as labourers and share-croppers, services in factories and mines (permanent and contractual), poultry farming, cattle rearing, rice-beer selling, tailoring, business, cycle repairing, teaching etc. Here, it is to be noted that the tribal economy has not been fully monetized as its traditional forces of production have not reached the stage of transformation of a simple non-antagonistic economic system into a complex and antagonistic one, where the main producers become mere appendages to the existing material conditions of production, which is reflected in the tribals' quest for identity and their practice of traditional occupations like fishing and hunting and in the existing semi-feudal relations of production.

However, the traditional tribal economy has changed witnessing development of new economic activities and continuous impact of modern new economies. Specifically, what are the forces responsible for these changing directions? These are: development of new communication, i.e. transport, education, media and others; introduction of cash economy and changing cropping pattern from cereals to cash crops; selling of minor forest produce in local markets; emergence of tribal money-lenders; consumerism and more needs and demands for goods and services; commercialism and tribes' search for money and cash needs; development of Co-operatives and Commercial Banks; reservations in various institutions, government and semi-government establishments, Panchayati Raj and various developmental programmes; land reforms and wage legislation; unionism and labour unity; changed national and international situations; tribals' attitude to consumption-based need than the need-based consumption; and saving-investment aptitude and commercial aptitude of the tribals. What are the impacts of these changing directions? These may be located as such: diversity in occupational structure, differentiation in the abilities to earn and income, higher expectations in improving the living conditions of the tribals below the poverty line, development of educational opportunities, growing interactions with the non-tribals in multiplex, tribals' new aptitude to caste structure and the concept of social hierarchy, decline of intra-family and inter-family solidarity or joint family and the rise of a new family structure, i.e. the nuclear family, economy-determined family status rather than the order of birth and position in society, decline of intra-community and rise of intra-status solidarity, and overall de-tribalization.

Most of the tribes need to change their life styles without sacrificing their identity, but presently they are facing a dilemma: an isolation or compromise with identity, i.e. isolation from the national mainstream or loss of identity. The development measures are not intended to resolve this dilemma, rather are likely to accentuate it. The development efforts must have to ensure equity, sustainability and participation, which would make them culturally autonomous and make possible, the preservation of traditional values and cultural ethos. In this respect the role of tribal education is very important. This education will enhance their development through mobilization of their cultural ethos in an equitable, sustainable and participative society. It will enhance their empowerment in society. 'True education is a basic social force. Present social structures could not survive an educated population, even if only substantial minorities were educated. People are schooled to accept society. They are educated to create or recreate one.' (Reimer, 1971: 137). The educational and economic development in this area is very low. The populace is drowned with illiteracy, ignorance, hoary superstitions, abysmal poverty and unsettled occupations. Natural and human resources are grossly underdeveloped. Income distribution is far from equitable. Literacy, education and economy have a substantial bearing on the receptivity of change and the level of participation in development activities.

Though they cherish more cash in their hands to improve their living standard, they are unmindful to development programmes. Most of the respondents say that the development programmes have not made better economic life for them (Field Survey). The tribals are less exposed to development programmes. The programmes initiated by the government did not produce sufficient good to the extent expected. The participation of the tribals in community affairs is lower, but this is not the case with political participation, where the tribal respondents' rate is higher on the political participation continuum than that of in community affairs. In matters of economic, nutritional and educational betterment and also of increased leisure activities as a consequence of development programmes, the tribals lag far behind the non-tribals. As an example of development programmes or schemes mention here may be made about TSP (Table No. 4).

Under TSP certain beneficiary schemes like paddy processing, bullock and cart, milk cow, goatery, piggery, duckery, utensil shop, pandal business, basket making, van-rickshaw, cycle repairing, vegetable business etc. have been launched, are linked with income and employment generation through the creation of assets. I have selected 59 tribal beneficiaries, who are basically landless agricultural labourers and share-croppers, illiterate and down-trodden section of the society. Most of the beneficiaries have failed to continue the scheme due to lack of working capital, lack of required infrastructure to run the project and operate defective assets. For insufficient working capital they are unable to maintain animals. Most of the beneficiaries have either utilized income generated from the schemes to meet the expenditure of their household or sold the assets for immediate requirement. Income and employment generation from the schemes depend on quality of assets, sufficient availability of working capital, asset retention position of the beneficiaries, marketing and infrastructural facilities etc.

The schemes launched in this locality or area has not been able to create new assets and generate income and employment due to lack of those factors responsible for asset creation and employment generation. Poor repayment or non-repayment by the tribal beneficiaries is also due to low income generation. Schemes under animal husbandry sector have come to a standstill or finished due to supply of diseased and ill-fed animals, high mortality rate of animals, inadequate veterinary facilities, high maintenance cost, insufficient finance, immobilization of assets, lack of adequate marketing and infrastructural facilities and so on and so forth. Business sector has recorded better performance comparatively. Beneficiaries did not significantly improve their income level. However, as per government order or recommendation the beneficiaries were above poverty line during both pre-TSP and post-TSP periods in respect of real income. No significant change has yet cropped up. Selection of beneficiaries is improper. Diversification of occupational structure, increase in wage rates, land reforms, distribution of patta land, operation barga, has raised their level of income. Still they are in poverty. Consumption pattern has increased, but their savings and productive investment do not make any significant progress. Aluminum plates and cooks wares, suitcases, torchlight, lanterns, mosquito nets are possessed by majority of the households. Radio/transistor, wristwatch, bicycle and stainless steel dining plates have substantially been increased in the use of non-traditional consumer articles. The habit of wearing handloom printed sarees and blouses are increasing among women, but the habit of using footwear seems not to be so common. Except the facilities for drinking water and road and transport, facilities for irrigation, medical care, and recreation are not noteworthy. However, in a number of cases wells are out of use. Very little was happened in sanitation and drainage facilities. But food consumption pattern among them has changed or improved a little bit. Improvement in the consumption of clothes, footwear and other consumer durable is mainly due to increase in income and a motivation to imitate modern fashion and fads. Consumption expenditure on non-food items is much higher than that on food items.

The reason is that tribal people come in closer contact with the non-tribals much more in terms of non-food items than the food items. They are trying only to imitate the non-tribals in non-food items in the conditions of scarcity and status insecurity problems. They are in competition with each other in non-food items and not over scarce resources. For that despite rise in income level they consume less proteins and less caloric food items. The per capita consumption of cereals did not increase to a perceptible extent. Even after some increase in the same the level of consumption remains low in absolute terms. There has been some improvement in the consumption standard for the food items and a little change in the consumption of non-food items. There is deterioration in the level of living over time in regard to the availability of living space. It is to be noted here that improvement of housing conditions has taken place among the well-to-do tribes and for the weaker section the housing standard seems to have worsened, but characteristically tribal habitations have been neat and clean. The development programmes launched are devoid of socio-economic development of the tribes and integration of sectoral schemes. The purpose of programme is integration, i.e. integration of various programmes, integration in all policies, integration of social and economic processes, and spatial integration. It is a fact that



'lack of development of infrastructures, like roads, water supply, veterinary services, electricity, regulated markets, primary health centres, school etc. have been frequently mentioned as proper implementation of development programmes in agriculture and allied activities. ..., one would have expected less developed areas to receive greater attention in these matters, ... More land resources could not be made available to the poor. The IRDP experience of giving cattle and other assets has, ..., come to little. ... Eradication of poverty needs a multi-pronged strategy. ... It is time, resources, organization and skill are directed to this end, if poverty is to be tackled in the decade to come.' (Rath, 1985: 246). It is imperative to seek infrastructural facilities and linkages, which are necessary to support programmes, veterinary service and co-operative facilities, availability of raw materials and training facilities are instrumental in the fulfillment of programme objectives. Further, identification of the beneficiaries should be proper. Identification of natural resources and socio-economic activities of the area where the schemes or programmes are proposed to be launched, selection and training of potential entrepreneurs are essential qualifications for making the programmes in the form of entrepreneurial development. The State through Panchayats has to play a key role in the process of inducing entrepreneurship among the tribal people. Rural Jamalpur lacks this entrepreneurial development among the tribes and is now facing the problems like lack of motivation and finance for initial investment, ignorance, lack of awareness, apathy towards government-sponsored programmes on the part of the tribal people, and unrealistic policies and programmes of the government, lack of co-ordination between various departments of the government, bureaucratic red-tapism etc. on the part of the government and its institutions. Furthermore, political lethargy and lack of appreciation of human factors among the party and political leaders are crucial factors making tribal entrepreneurship a handicap. The tribal people are conscious about this political lethargy, not in absolute terms, but in relative sense. They are politically conscious and sensitive to what has happened, is happening and going to happen. They listen to radios and TVs, discuss matters with fellow groups, attend meetings of political parties — all these have made them more news conscious, conscious about political happenings and about the outside world.

Tribals' participation includes voting, canvassing, discussing political matters, attending meetings, contributing to election fund etc. Several factors contributed to this type of political behaviour. These may be stated as decay of traditional panchayats, growing importance of statutory panchayats, industrialization, growth of market economy and the community development programmes through various schemes etc. The tribals have now imbibed new influences, values, attitudes and beliefs. The tribals now take part in politics and modern political process for pursuing economic needs, for satisfying social needs, and for pursuing particular values. Political participation and political awareness influence one another. It is the fact that because of the lack of education and socio-economic and political backwardness tribal people are not fully politically aware. Their level of awareness is low. Their voting behaviour is influenced by money, mobilization activities of the political parties, friends and neighbours. They are less interested in occupying political offices. 'Panchayati Raj, has introduced the politics of opportunity and participation into the Indian village and in this respect has opened the way for significant change' (Madan, 1977: 62); but the tribals have not made any significant change. However, Panchayati Raj seems to have developed a sense of popular participation and political education among the tribals. Continuous orientation of Marxian ideas by the CPI (M) cadres and party workers has become deep seated in the minds of the tribals. Presently, they are class conscious. They are oriented to the campaign of the left parties, particularly the CPI (M) that Panchayats would take over benami lands and its distribution, enable middle and poor peasants secure bank credit, would also administer the food-for-work programme. (Sen Gupta, 1978).

Few general tendencies with regard to tribal development may be stated as (1) most of the beneficiaries are in poverty and ignorance. (2) Few people who are educationally and economically sound may be treated as elites, who are associating themselves with non-tribal elite, power and bureaucratic elite. (3) The tribal society has now begun to witness inequality resulting from massive socio-economic measures undertaken by the government both at the Centre and the States. Out of frustration and despair the tribal people have now understood that unless education is taken up in right earnest and direction, they are bound to be thrown in starvation and ignorance. (4) They have understood that they are down-trodden, and not always the actual beneficiaries of development. 'As a result of the agricultural capitalism introduced through the massive plans most of them have become landless labourers. This new capitalism which has come through the plans has placed a few influential tribal leaders into advantageous positions. The infrastructure created by development agencies has also benefited the well-off segments of tribal society... the situation to-day is that tribal society is economically getting fragmented into a number of classes.' (Rao, 1979: 177). The tribal society has now ceased to be homogeneous. They are divided into a number of groups — rich, medium and poor depending upon the ownership of land, barga, patta or hereditary.

Their level of education and life style also differ. The rich and middle peasants produce a surplus and the condition of the poor has deteriorated and they have become landless labourers. The labourers and poor cultivators are at the bottom of the occupational structure and they constitute the majority. Few white-collared employees among the tribal community earn regular salaries, save some amount from the salary and invest their savings in agricultural development. Due to low income and poverty syndrome the poor tribal families are in the clutches of non-tribal money-lenders and are not able to get benefits from agricultural infrastructure development, such as use of improved seeds and fertilizers, use of pesticides, tractors and others. Huge supply of agricultural labour force from outside also reduces the possible earnings of tribal agricultural labourers in this block (Fig. 2).

The cause-effect relationship produces huge supply of labour force from outside and reduces the possibility of earnings from agriculture as agricultural labourer (Fig. 2). However, the demand of labour force is greater than the supply in agricultural field of this block. Most of the agricultural labourers are landless. Landlessness of the tribals is the function of their indebtedness and these together are generally highly conducive to rural poverty. Land alienation of the tribals, in few cases is incidental to indebtedness, leading to dispossession of tribal land. Economically, tribal indebtedness is the outcome of deficit family income, insufficient to cope up with the farm and family requirements. The most depressed and distressed conditions can be found among the tribal people who work in the agricultural field as single earner from the total members of his family.

The tribal economy is passing through a transitional phase and they are stratified. Their income level has increased. All the changes have not taken place just because of changed occupational structure or pattern and changing levels of income, rather the development of the area in terms of communication, job opportunities, irrigation facilities and agricultural production etc. More job opportunities have been created within the villages of the area and nearby towns. As a result, a demand created in the labour market, which helps the labourer to achieve the bargaining power. However, among them fuller formulation and articulation of class-consciousness are lagging behind. The immediate problems before the labourers and poor peasants are lack of adequate employment throughout the year, adequate food and clothing, shortage of agricultural implement vis-à-vis the rich peasants' better credit facilities and loans, better irrigation and better prices for agricultural produce etc. These two class interests are obviously in conflict. The tribal poor still bear a heavy burden of hardships. The economically powerful group controls the socio-political leverage and does not try to change the rural power structure, semi-feudal and semi-capitalist. In the name of tribal development and through various development programmes the tribal poor have been absorbed into the system and their class interest has been diverted and converged into a common interest: development of the few and distribution of benefits to them. 'Notwithstanding the heterogeneities which hit the eye, it is the presence or otherwise a common set of interests which ought to be considered to be a greater relevance. It should be enough if there is a convergence of the basic interests of the constituents of a class even when its actual formation is still a prospective event.' (Mitra, 1977: 74). Economic hardships, illiteracy and ignorance have dwindled and made them more dependent on privileged few. Children of most of these families have to join their parents to supplement the family income. So, drop-outs, stagnation and retention with regard to the tribal students are major problems. As per census reports there is a steady growth in educational development among the Scheduled Tribes of West Bengal, but the difference with other communities have been widened because of their general preference for tradition and traditional ways of life, economic hardships, lack of awareness and poor motivation among the tribal parents. The percentage of literacy rate among the tribal males has increased more than that for the females during the previous decades. They remain far behind the percentage rate of the general population and are lagging behind the other communities.

Tribal literacy rate in West Bengal has increased from the previous decades. Though female lags behind the male, their literacy percentage has increased by 0.94 per cent from 1951 to 1961, 1.33 per cent from 1961 to 1971, 1.92 per cent from 1971 to 1981 and 9.97 per cent from 1981 to 1991. Male percentage increase in literacy during 1951-61, 1961- 71, 1971-81 and 1981-91 were 4.98 per cent, 3.29 per cent, 6.67 per cent, 18.91 per cent respectively, which largely differ from the female percentage increase. The differences were 4.04 per cent, 1.96 per cent, 4.75 per cent and 8.94 per cent. 1991 experiences larger difference. Besides, tribal literacy rate is also lagging behind the literacy figure in other communities, general and scheduled castes. For economic reasons their parents are not interested to send their children to schools. For a tribal family to send its grown-up boy or girl to school is a non-economic proposition and entails distortion in the traditional pattern of division of labour. 'Girls give every kind of help to their mothers in the work at home. During the agricultural season tribal boys work in the field with their parents.

At other season they are busy in collecting minor forest produce and firewood, grazing, watching the crops, bringing water, hunting and fishing. Many parents just cannot afford to send their children to school.' (Elwin, 1963: 84). The tribal female literacy rate is at the lower level than that of tribal male literacy though the female population (16,501) is more than the male (16,389) counterpart. In terms of socio-economic mobility and diversification tribal females are lagging behind. The male-female differentiation in this block is an interesting phenomenon. Though in total male main workers in number exceeds the female main workers, but in terms of agriculture labour females spent more. The presence of females in cultivation, secondary and tertiary sectors are negligible. As marginal and non-workers female participation is higher than their male counterpart. Literacy figure is too low, but in terms of population figure females rank high. This indicates low socio-economic mobility among tribal women and male-female differentiation and disparity in this block. Though female literacy in this block is low as per 1991 Census report, but recent survey indicates that this low percentage has improved than previous decade. It has improved four times than two times increase in case of male literates (Fig. 3). Tribal women now have become more conscious than the previous decade. The impact of Mass Literacy Programme and National Literacy Mission and needs and effects of modernization have produced positive and incremental effect to tribal consciousness. 32.06 per cent and 18.73 per cent male and female literacy among tribal adults from the survey, 2003 result also indicate upward mobility among them (Fig. 3). The 689 tribal adults from 245 tribal households on average expressed their deep concern to education, interest in sending their children to school on the one hand, and also their inability to continue schooling of their children due to economic conditions on the other. Education and economic upliftment were their prime concern for socio-economic mobility, participation and development. This positive and incremental attitude brings about a new light on tribal development.

Tribals presence in continuing education centres is 30.07 per cent out of total 16,946 learners present. In comparison to total learners' present and total tribal learners present, females percentages are likely 13.81 per cent and 45.94 per cent respectively. Literacy is both the index and agent to modernization (Lerner, 1962). However, formal education among the tribal people is not encouraging and the efforts of the government in this regard are not successful. Educational facilities, i.e. the formal education to tribal children by the government and derivation of benefits from these have been proved wrong. Improvement in the quality of 'human factor' is essential before taking various educational programmes. The improvement in the quality of human factors, such as awareness, perception, motivation and attitude of the tribal children and their parents is a pre-requisite of educational development. Before providing them formal education, an assessment and identification of their levels of income, employment status, asset generation and educational levels should have to be made. The motivational incentives among them should have to be accurately identified and actually determined. The formal education that is being given to the tribal children is in no way meaningful to them as it is not functionally linked to the immediate requirements of people and their socio-cultural and physical environment. The need is appropriate educational strategy. Though they need educational and economic development they are not fully exposed to the mainstream. The educational atmosphere should be in conformity with their socio-cultural imperatives. There is a sense of tribalism among them. He expresses his culture through his dialect or language, religious rituals and mythology, social institutions, art, song, dance, storytelling and so on. They are not much exposed to outside influences as to the undercurrent of their own native culture and acquiring of the superficiality of a uniform way of life (Basu, 1963). Except few, most of the tribal people do not acquire the uniform way of life not only because of their native culture, but also of poverty or economic backwardness, lack of sizeable consciousness etc. The nature of traditional occupations of the tribals and lack of suitable material change in their conditions of living need augmentation of their family income to meet minimum per capita expenditure for their survival and compel the tribal children to join with their parents in outside work or to look after the domestics in their absence instead of encouraging them for formal education (Mahapatra, 1982). But this is not because of social and geographical isolation, and lack of educational institutions in my study area. The deridation of tribal children by non-tribal children and teachers cannot also be found in this area. The tribal people expressed in a positive manner that education is must for their children which makes the people very much conscious, a prerequisite for effective participation and greater involvement (Field Survey).

In general, it may be stated that the communities found to be educationally advanced are also economically better off. But they cover an insignificant fraction of the total Scheduled Tribe population. However, it indicates a positive relation between economic status and educational achievement. ... Therefore, if we want educational progress among the vast mass of the rest of the Scheduled Tribe population during the coming plan periods, much more emphasis should be given on need-based education rather than on the general type of education...' (Das, 1992: 41). Their perceived basic needs are food, clothing, shelter, health, education, land and irrigation.

Though they have positive attitude to education, they are generally less in personal efficacy and highly dependent-prone and are fatalist and pessimist. They are hedonistic. They seem to fulfill the principle 'eat, drink and be merry' and care not for the morrow. But the attributes like lack of personal efficacy, dependent-proneness, fatalism and pessimism are not conducive to educational development. Their motivations to development may be cited as □ they are dissatisfied with their levels of income, they are mainly oriented to primary sector and hence, land seems to them as the only means through which they can improve their level of income, these tribal people do not have many hopes or fears for the future oriented to achievement, aspiration for education of their children is restricted to sons against daughters, i.e. high school education for sons and primary education for daughters. The perceived benefits of education of children among them is in terms of getting a government job, and therefore, those who do not want to take up government job do not think education necessary. They generally prefer the uncertainties of traditional life rather than uncertainties with modern economic ventures. Mass education among the tribals has to be regularized to make the tribal people more literate. Though the literacy programme has to some extent been successful, there are few problems like irregular attendance of learners, problem of rooms, needs for mat carpet, pencil and exercise books, lantern and kerosene, sports implements etc. These problems have to be solved as early as possible with greater rapidity and sincerity. Regular supervision and proper investigation need to be taken for granted. Appropriate programmes and educational strategies: power to get education and willingness to get education are to be evolved and simultaneously operated. Tribal people are to be mobilized more for improving the willingness to get educated, initiating and sustaining the movement for appropriate education. Their ability to get education has to be improved through educational assistance in terms of supply of institutional inputs, financial assistance to learners, and overall economic development. No proper link or access network has been maintained between programme and other developmental activities. No proper mobilization is made to involve the large number of tribal people. The literacy rate has increased than that of the previous decade not only for mass literacy programme, but also for modernization effects, have contributed a greater share in it. The methods and techniques of teaching, the approach to learning and curricula are not able to create any interest among the learners to sustain their interest in attending the centres regularly. Many centres have witnessed a large number of dropouts. Absenteeism is high among the learners due to lack of interest in learning. Most of the learners used to forget what they had learnt earlier. Consumption of liquor also creates absence and disturbance in the centres. There is also the need for setting up of regular adult schools and continuation of classes to be manned by interested full-time educators. The contents of the curricula should be more nearer to the tribal situation. Follow-up programme should have to be made. For cultural and economic development few programmes for raising income, improving life style, cultivating culture has to be initiated in these centres. Everything has to be taken without routine administrative exercise devoid of proper understanding and imagination of the purpose of the programme.

Education brings about modernization effects, formulates motivations towards change and progress in the minds of the people and plays vital role in fulfilling the basic objectives: economy, knowledge and excellence. Apart from formal education curricula vocational and technical education among the tribes is essential for improving their economy and productivity, which is at present low. The more and more scheduled tribe students, who are poor, would be able to make use of the facilities of vocational and technical education as the duration of training is short and the training needs only minimum educational qualification. This would provide employment opportunities in vocational and technical fields to them. However, whatever efforts can be made to change their life style, it cannot be understood or made without their social institutions and traditional mind set-up. For example, 'Santal's life may be understood in terms of their democratic-socialistic-moralistic temperament. Social cohesion, honesty, gentleness, large heartedness, pacifism and hardworking temperament along with patriotic zeal and fervour have adorned the life pattern of the Santals since time immemorial. The family life of the Santals is similar to the Hindus but the role of the Santal father therein is more prominent and dominant. The Santals are traditional in their attitude and behaviour. They always like to lead a life free from all cares and anxieties. They consider social changes and innovations as upsetting to man and his world.' (Singh, 1988: 11). Education of the tribal people must be based on and linked with their socio-economic fabric, their cultural heritage and other local conditions. West Bengal's record on improving basic human capacities and capabilities through health and education is not so dramatic. When West Bengal leads the rest of India, the record on education has been more limited (Lieten, 1992). More generally, Human Development Indicators for West Bengal, confirm that the State is performing slightly well than that of the all-India average, but not dramatically so improved (Dreje and Sen, 1995). Panchayats do not take an active role in the running of schools. Besides the experimentation with alternative avenues through Continuing Education Programme and Mass Literacy Programme for ensuring public accountability and institutional changes, increased financial commitment to education will also be necessary.

West Bengal's budgetary allocation to elementary education in the late 90s was low in absolute term and also low relative to the needs of the State (Roy, et.al., 2000). When the funds become available the programme continues, but when not available the programme is discontinued. No proper environment has been created before enrolling the learners and motivating them to retain. From the point of strategy for faster growth of literacy and to provide for equality of educational opportunity to all groups and communities, the intra-school structural constraints and ecological constraints, such as lack of communication facilities, lack of hostel facilities etc. need to be tackled with immediate effect. The socio-economic structural constraints such as low socio-economic status variables of occupation, number of acres of lands owned, income, educational level and the social status etc. should be tackled quite effectively. It is clear that socio-economic status differentials generate differentials in educability and the latter in turn strengthens the former. A tribal society, which is less stratified than others should be protected and saved from the growth of greater disparities in life chances and life styles before they assume serious proportions. Education of adults not only facilitates their active and large scale participation in social development programmes but also accelerates the process of education of children in the community. Mention here may be made that the constraints for the spread of education among the tribals arise from their low level of motivations and aspirations, should be stratified so far (Rathnaiah, 1977). In fact, differential educational achievement mainly arise from three structural factors □ ecological factors: geographical distribution of schools, accessibility of educational institutions, hostel facilities and forces of modernity; socio-economic factors: occupation, income, education, sex etc.; internal factors: dropouts, absence, absenteeism, medium of instruction, methods of learning and teaching, curricula etc. Here, a + b = external factors, ecology and socio-economic status and c = internal factors. Therefore, differential educational achievement (DEA) = a + b + c.

While studying my block I cannot accept Mohanty and Jena's (1991) formulation that the tribal children are least interested in education and particularly the parent in educating their children. Not only in this block area, but also at the all-India level tribal literacy percentage has been moving up slowly from 11.29 per cent to 29.60 per cent during 1971-91. But the literacy percentage is still at the low level and has been marked with 'disparities' (Singh, 1995: 31) like inter-community, inter-region, urban-rural and male-female. In examining Burdwan, Mishra (1995) finds few consequences with regard to education and health practices (Fig. 4). The demand for enrolment and retention of children in the formal school system has gone up manifold. As a result of demand for education for all, mobilization of community resources is forthcoming on a large scale with construction of school buildings, repair of the existing buildings and opening of new schools. Village education committees have emerged as important local level institutions with full community involvement. Equally strong has been awareness of the impact of immunization of pregnant mothers and children accompanied by a heightened demand for better delivery services. This has produced a direct beneficial impact on the area of reduction in infant mortality and maternal mortality and decline in incidence of communicable diseases, which were affecting the district earlier. The block Jamalpur follows this trend. In this block there are numbers of primary, secondary and higher secondary schools. The numbers may be grouped as follows:

Number of primary school — 165  
Number of secondary school — 22  
Number of higher secondary school — 7  
Number of junior high school — 7  
Number of junior high madrasha — 1  
Number of high madrasha — 1  
Total educational institutions — 203

It is a good sign for educational environment in this block. Continuation of formal education among the tribals has not altogether been achieved. Few of them who have attained the stage of formal education in educational institutions and got services in government, semi-government and non-government institutions become ne-elites. They suffer from the fear of status insecurity like that of non-tribals. 'Formal education has changed the way of life, the social aspirations, the attitudes towards tribal cultures, both material and non-material aspects and has a tendency towards the destruction of norms. Hindu deities and customs too have been invading their ways of life and thought. By imitating their non-tribal teachers the tribal students think that they would gain easy entry into the non-tribal society on terms of equality.' (Ambasht, 2001: 21). Mention here may be made that inspite of 'destruction of norms' the tribals still follow religious and social practices among them. Among them there is feeling of inferiority and from this inferiority complex they urge for equality with non-tribals. There are few problems and emotions associated with tribal education in general, mostly found in common among the tribal parent and children.

**[1] Problems:**

- [2] Like that of 'trickle down' theory of economic planning proper education has not met with success.
- [3] Children become economic assets to them.
- [4] There is economic hardship among them.
- [5] There is lack of teaching through mother tongue.
- [6] Curriculum is divorced from tribal life and their needs.
- [7] Lack of educational atmosphere at home produces dropouts and absenteeism.

**Emotions:**

Tribal parent prefer free hostel facilities. They prefer ashram schools than ordinary schools. The ashram schools have been a success in tribal areas. They are residential. These schools take care of the necessities of the children enrolled and learning. Ashram school is preferable to ordinary school mainly for two reasons □ the need is productive and functional education and huge establishment cost is preferable to educational wastage. However, in this block there is only one ashram school, Ilsara Ashram School under Jaugram Gram panchayat. And the system has to be encouraged and few establishments should have to be made.

Poor socio-economic status is mainly responsible for still low level of literacy, which has to be seen in the context of social and cultural approaches to development. Promotion of literacy in this block is not a continuous success. 'Promotion of literacy for women with reference to tribal communities there should be massive awareness programme. ... Occasional success has come from the pressure that international financial institutions have been exerting on our country to adopt of a policy of structural adjustment in the process of economic restructuring. But inadequate attention to the creation of social and economic opportunities for the underprivileged classes has meant an overall increase in poverty which sometimes caused low level of literacy.' (Bhowmick, 2000: 313). Poor economic conditions compel the tribals to think over future while investing in education. They need immediate return from investment. They think that educational investment among the middle class in urban areas is useful; as there are more employment opportunities and these people have no cultivable land. They concentrate more on other fields of employment than agriculture. But in rural areas the case is opposite. More education in rural areas, they feel, would alienate them from land and there is uncertainty of getting jobs in other fields than agriculture. They do prefer to live in uncertainties of traditional life than uncertainties of modern life (Field Survey). Therefore, the tribals do possess lower level of aspiration than the non-tribals causing lower level of achievement. Damina Choudhary (2000) in this connection points out lower levels of aspiration and achievement, academic and non-academic of the tribal girls than that of non-tribal counterparts.

Tribal girls' lower achievement may be attributed to their lower level of aspiration. The tribals have yet to achieve standards of academic and non-academic achievements pertaining to non-tribal girls. But there are differences — a difference of seriousness and a difference from the non-tribal girls, who do aspire for coming up to equal level with the boys of their social group. It is natural. A community or an individual tries to come up to the equal level next to his or her level, i.e. tribals try to become equal with non-tribals and non-tribals try to cross their own level and reach the higher level next to the previous level. Therefore, serious aspiration (e) and strong determination (f) to reach the higher level act as motivating agents among the non-tribals. In terms of serious and strong determination the tribal girls are lagging behind the non-tribals. The tribals as first generation learners are not exposed to the outside world as non-tribal girls, and for that they become unable to exploit the educational facilities provided by the government. This lower level of aspiration (d) is due to lower socio-economic status (a) and their offshoots of lower self-conception (b) and weaker school adjustment (c) [Fig. 5]. Lower levels of motivating agents (a, b, c, d, e, and f) produce lower achievement, medium levels of motivating agents produce medium level of achievement and higher levels get result into higher. Lower level of socio-economic status as motivating agent gives birth to other agents, tend to be lower. Not only the level of aspiration, but other influencing factors like socio-economic status, strong determination, schooling system, curricula, school adjustment etc. need to be considered in case of achievement orientation of the tribals.

'It is true that the higher level of aspiration may, in turn, lead to higher levels of achievement, both academic and non-academic achievement, but in case of aspiration it loses its influence on the non-academic achievement of both the groups when other factors might prove to be influential than their level of aspiration.' (Choudhary, 2000: 115). Further, it may be mentioned here that the level of literacy has had direct and indirect impact on the motivating agents of factors of academic and non-academic achievement. 'It was found that the level of literacy in the family had direct correlation with the socio-economic status of the tribal family, which had further correlation with the size of the family. Bigger the size of the family, higher has been the socio-

economic status and high level of literacy in the family. The socio-economic status of the family was determined by assigning scores to each household for (a) land holding, (b) annual produce, (c) levy paid, (d) indebtedness, (e) occupational position and (f) literacy level.' (Mutatkar, 1990: 19). The above factors: land, agricultural production, income, occupation, literacy etc. affect the socio-economic status. There is the need for all-round development schemes within a time bound period under strict supervision of government authorities so as to raise the economic status of the tribals. Proper education and better economic status can go a long way in ameliorating and improving the standard of the tribal girls (Rath and Ashraf, 1997). Tribal girls are abused in few cases. To improve their lot they should get more education. Psychologically, they are more flexible to receive educational facilities. They compare their standard with the non-tribal women and thus they come forward for change and modernization (Narain, 1997).

Despite this positive pre-disposition the tribal women are not health conscious with regard to modern beliefs and practices and so is the case with tribal male. However, the new generation is more progressive and follows modern medical facilities and health practices. But the age-old tradition of herbs and onjha has not disappeared totally (Field Survey). Health is a function not only of medical care, but also of the overall integrated development of society — cultural, economic, educational, social and political. Each of these aspects has a deep influence on health, which in turn influences all these aspects. Hence, it is not possible to raise the health status and quality of life of people unless such efforts are integrated with the wider effort to bring about the overall transformation of a society. Some common beliefs and practices connected with health and disease have been found to be intimately related to the treatment of disease. Literacy as a powerful instrument of social change and an important indicator of social development is essential for child development and rearing of children. Female literacy has important correlation with the survival of the children. Infant mortality is found to decrease when the mother is educated. There are several values of child rearing of positive and negative nature, i.e. emotional benefits, economic benefits, security, self-enrichment, identification with children, family cohesiveness, continuity, sibling relationship, child survival, sex preference and emotional cost, economic cost, opportunity cost, physical demand, family cost, maternal health, societal cost (Arnold, 1975). The tribal people perceive these values according to their tradition of uncertainty, hedonism, survival, fatalism, superstition, immediate return and satisfaction, cost-benefit analysis. In cost-benefit analysis they do prefer short-term benefit than the long-term.

The health and nutrition problems of the tribal population are varied as the tribal groups themselves present a bewildering diversity and variety in their socio-economic, socio-cultural and ecological settings. The nutritional problem is a common phenomenon. Malnutrition is common and greatly affects the general physique of the tribals. Maternal malnutrition is quite common among the tribal women is a serious health problem. The average calorie consumption is found to be low and below the recommended level for normal, pregnant as well as lactating mother. Due to low consumption of calcium, iron and vitamins, the tribal populace in general and tribal women in particular suffers from respiratory problems, gastro-intestinal and rheumatic diseases and gynecological complications. However, agricultural ecology and low accessibility to modern medicine due to poor economy must be taken into consideration in this respect. Lower economy, huge burdensome costs of modern medicines, nutritional problems, and low health habits have produced health problems among the tribal people, particularly women in this area. Food and health habits cause many more diseases and produce health hazards before them.

Low food habits produces nutritional problems, low health habits the health problems and these together give birth to diseases, which in turn require treatment. Due to costs of modern medicines and treatment the tribal people naturally take the use of traditional methods of treatment, which may produce health problems and even death, for example the case of snakebite, treatment of jaundice etc. Mention here may be made that with regard to diseases and treatment of diseases few tribal people from old generation also use traditional herbal medicines and practice supernatural treatment based on cosmological speculations, magic in learned oral medicine and religion. The diseases and ailments, which are commonly found among them, are fever, skin disease, dental and gum diseases, diarrhoea and deficiency diseases with anaemia. Cardiovascular diseases and diseases related to nervous system are few. The incidences like abortion and miscarriage are hardly found in this area. Night-blindness, falciparum malaria, haemolytic crisis, mild jaundice, and renal tubular siderosis are commonly found among tribal population in this area. They are not health conscious. The struggle for life is very hard for them. Females are more undernourished or malnourished than the males. Reduction in food intake due to fear of vomiting during pregnancy, low consumption of iron, vitamins and calcium, habit of taking alcohol during pregnancy, regular activities including hard labour during advanced pregnancy cause bad effects on mother and child. The average daily diet may be cited in Table No. 5.

The tribal people are not too much health conscious and even not conscious about immunization and family planning programme. 'The widespread poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, absence of safe drinking water and sanitary living conditions, poor maternal and child health services, ineffective coverage of national health and nutritional services have been traced out in several studies as possible, contributing factors for dismal health conditions among these vulnerable population.' (WHO, 1990: 8). To uplift the socio-economic life of the tribal people, number of plans and programmes were formulated and implemented. Health is an important development sector, is an integral part of community development. The tribal communities in this area have their traditional beliefs and practices. They have their own medicine men or Onjha. Still, they follow modern health practices. The tribal people are ignorant about the causes and characteristics of diseases. Due to lack of knowledge and awareness they do not go regularly for treatment to allopathic doctors or to the primary health centres. The old generation relies on medicine men. The new generation first goes to the retailers of allopathic medicines for buying medicines and if the disease is not cured he goes to homoeopathic doctors, then goes to allopathic doctors and in small number of cases to the traditional medicine men. If they are cured to some extent, then there is a tendency to discontinue the treatment. On advice of the older, they sometimes go to the Onjha (Field Survey). Poor economies, physical distance, lack of awareness do pose major problems for tribal folk to accept modern health measures. Mobile health facilities may prove to be useful. The State government has been undertaking a number of development programmes including health programme in rural areas. The introduction of modern medicine as a part of the modernization process in underdeveloped countries creates the problem of feasibility and a problem of unequal co-existence with the traditional. The tribals in this study area do not totally reject the traditional nor totally accept the modern. For example, the Santal, the dominant tribe in this area traditionally believes in 'bonga'. On the one hand, the performance of religious rites expressed the recognition of the existence of the supernatural powers that can be expressed by the Bongas. On the other hand, the powers of the Bongas are generally invoked to secure the good will of the beneficent ones and to avert the ill will of the maleficent ones (Troisi, 1978). In worshipping 'bongas', the Santals follow two aspects of instrumental and expressive nature.

**Instrumental aspect:** 1. Alliance with benevolent 'bongas'

2. Control of the harmful spirits

**Expressive aspect:** 1. Symbolization and manifestation of 'bongas'

2. Promotion of wealth and prosperity through them in various seasonal rites and festivals

Health is a function of all developments — social, educational, cultural, economic and political or integrated development and vice versa. Health and integrated development □ these two must be mutually self supporting with the possible improvement in nutrition, environment and education. In this respect a sketch of health plan (Fig. 6) may be presented. Maternal and child health care practices are found to be largely neglected among the tribal groups in this area. Expectant mothers to a large extent were not inoculated against tetanus. Poor nutritional status with its concomitant problems of poor body weight, poor weight gain during pregnancy, low haemoglobin levels may cause maternal mortality. Nutritional problems or nutritional anaemia is a serious problem among tribal mothers. However, vaccination and immunization of infants and children are not inadequate in these tribal areas. Family planning is not a pressing problem (Block Medical Officer). The tribal groups generally differ from the non-tribal mainstream in terms of human ecology, habitats, life style and culture, social organization, socio-religious beliefs and practices. In comparison to mainstream population, who are more exposed to modernization showing a higher fertility rate, the less exposed tribal populace to modernization are expected to show relatively high fertility rate. The less modernized tribal people are less exposed to modern health practices, are likely to show a relatively high mortality level compared to the mainstream population.

Their life style is characterized by less crowding and less pollution. There is a closer correspondence and a distinct balancing point between the two as resultant effects of their natural habitation and style of life. A distinction can be pointed out in Fig. 7. Mention here may be made that tribal fertility is partly shaped by regional circumstances. There is fertility variability. The co-efficient of variation of total fertility rate as per National Family Health Survey report across states are found to be 0.31, 0.29 and 0.25 respectively for SCs, STs and Others. The inter-region differentials reflect the variation of tribals' assimilation and integration with the mainstream economy and population. The fertility differentials among the tribals and non-tribals may be due to tribals' relatively low adolescent sterility or greater pre-marital sex or lower fecundity. A study on Kora, a tribal



group of Midnapur district, West Bengal reflects that they have a mean of 3.30 surviving children in their completed age of fertility, crude birth rate of 41.81 per thousand populations and total fertility rate of 4.42 per thousand Kora women (Datta, 1990). As per National Family Health Survey report, 1992 the fertility rate and crude death rate among the tribals of West Bengal may be presented as

$$\text{TFR} = 4.5 < 4.6 < 4.7 \text{ (ST} < \text{Others} < \text{SC)}$$

$$\text{TCDR} = 107.1 > 96.8 > 77.3 \text{ (ST} > \text{SC} > \text{Others)}$$

From another study (Das and Banerjee, 1964) it is evident that TFR (4.8) is lower than mainstream population in West Bengal. Compared to the general population, mortality and morbidity rate among tribals is generally relatively high. This is mainly because of their drinking and eating habits, type of occupation and socio-ecological conditions. They do not have easy access to modern health care system. The major factors responsible for infant mortality among them may be superstitions of scientific causes of sickness like wind, ghost, evil spirits etc., prematurity, malnutrition, delivery problems, congenital malinformation about consanguineous marriages and sickness. Tribals believe that most of these diseases can be cured by using medicines and also propitiating gods for certain diseases. Traditional medicines still remain the source of care. In the absence of medical doctors and non-availability of required medicines in Primary Health Centre one has to opt for indigenous medicines, which are available on time. Tribal people believe that traditional medicines have greater effectiveness in curing certain diseases like jaundice, skin infections, dental and gum problems, rheumatism, bone setting, asthma, diabetics etc. For chronic diseases, for example cholitis, arthritis, diabetics, eczema etc. herbal medicines produce more effective results. Tribals' traditional health care system and treatment are connected with their tradition, environment and ecology (Field Survey).

#### **IV. CONCLUSION**

The major problem with governmental programmes is that they have not been involved with the people, who in their day to day experience interact with biological and natural resources. They are alienated from the natural resources as to increasing take over by the state of the natural resources in the name of conservation and development, increasing commercialization of resources, cultural changes due to integration, which has come to mean wasteful life style and clothing habits. Wasteful life style here means more expenditure on consumption than investment, very low or no investment. They are not health conscious mainly due to illiteracy, where poor economic condition is sole factor. Both tribal males and females participate more in field activities than the non-tribals do. Females participate more in agricultural activities than the non-agricultural. Development programmes have increased workload for tribal women, forced them to migrate to other areas as labourers, and marginalized them in restricting the exploitation of forests. The tribal woman is illiterate, not healthy, suffers from malnutrition, and works harder than the male counterpart. Haria drinking is a common incidence. There is the need for proper understanding of their problems specific to time and space so that relevant programmes can be made and implemented in order to boost their life pattern but not to make a total direction. Socio-culturally they have their own identity. Emphasis should be laid on education, economic development and health: nutritional problems, complications of pregnancy and childbirth, mental mortality, childhood/infant mortality, family planning etc. These positive pre-dispositions should have to be properly made and implemented. But the weak impact of the development measures has given birth to the dominance of the outsiders and also the indigenous elite from among the tribes. Contractors, businessmen, government officials have taken deep inroads into the tribal society. Infrastructural facilities like roads, electricity and other means of communication have been made available in tribal areas keeping in view of the needs of outsiders and elite. Education, employment, and representation in Panchayats through the policy of protective discrimination have brought about new elite among the tribes. Modernization has brought about negative impact of politico-economic change in independent India is the accentuation of social inequalities in tribal society (Sachidananda, 1990).

‘At the conceptual level, the patterns of change caused by various processes and factors; may be looked upon from several angles. ... one ... identifies the genius of the tribal style of life with simplicity, self-reliance, homogeneity, co-operation, distinctiveness, optimism, honesty and the like. ... these values of tribal culture are being first replaced by complexity, heterogeneity, competition, individualization, conflict, frustration and hypocrisy, one feels ethically disturbed, and terms this pattern of change negatively as detribalization. ... De-sanskritization has now come in use in Indian Social Anthropology to indicate the process of change from the Brahmanical traditional style of life to the more secular and degraded way of life.’ (Vidyarthi and Rai, 1977: 472). I designate the process as disorganization dissociation process. The tribals have not been absorbed into the

modern life process totally, nor are they in the most traditional ways of living. They are at the crossroad. Generally, they live in mud house, is constructed primarily with the help of members of the family. They generally sleep on the enclosed corridor and the house is used mainly for the purpose of storing household articles. Few of them above subsistence level use one or more rooms for the purpose of both storing household articles and sleeping. They also use modern consumer articles like aluminum utensils, fountain pens, torches, sun-glasses, shirts and trousers, toothpaste, soaps, blades, shoes, knives, combs, handkerchiefs, sarees, dhuties, blouses, shorts, water bottles etc. They also drink tea and offer the same to the visitors. They put on ornaments on their necks, ears and feet. Lungi is a new addition. Married women put on vermilion in the parting of their hair and a dotted mark (tip) on the forehead as a mark of sanctity. They are now colour-conscious too while marrying. A young tribal male always favours light-skinned wife and does cherish that the children may have like this. They consume minimum quantity of vegetables. Rice is the main dish. The tribal people are less conscious about modern health beliefs and practices. We do not find any agricultural breakthrough in this area. However, people now have the idea about the rotation of crops. Tribals have now started using few modern agricultural implements like paddy thrasher, straw-cutter etc. These people go to the market for buying and selling goods.

The traders, who come to the market, are the bearers of alien culture and the goods they sell affect the life pattern of the tribal buyers. The tribal sellers bring about cash, which is needed for repayment of debts, agricultural production and other basic needs of life. The changing economic environment has forced tribal and backward people to new moorings and superseded the age-old leanings to agriculture and the sedentary life. However, the tribal villages or hamlets still continue the headman ship, is also recognized as authority in their society. Except the few, the standard of living on average has not increased to an appreciable extent. The tribals when adopts and imitates non-tribal ways of life think that they are equal to those whom they imitate, but they are not considered as equal by the non-tribals whose style of life they try to adopt or imitate. The superiority complex of the non-tribals has also resulted into an inferiority complex and a sense of reviving traditional beliefs and practices in the minds of the tribals. Further, it has produced animosity and rivalry between the tribals and non-tribals, mutual suspicion and distrust towards the non-tribals. Yet there is a set of new hopes, a set of aspirations and desires among the tribals. There is another tendency. The educated persons of the tribal society who leave or set aside tribal moorings after getting jobs, and securing economic rehabilitation and education do join hands with the non-tribals for their own socio-economic and political benefits. The majority of the populace remains out of these benefits. They neither remain tribals as such nor do they become machine men.

The sudden and unplanned process of industrialization has brought about a social conflict, conflict between the traditional and modern, between tribals and non-tribals. The tribals solely depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Hence, their living conditions are more or less the same. 'The tribal economy depends heavily on utilization of resources, which are locally and easily available. As land in tribal area is less productive, the cultivation with primitive technology is less productive and therefore tribal economy has remained at a low level. The livelihood is supplemented by forest produce and other activities. Thus, in tribal society, all the able-bodied persons, including men, women, young and old, work for the maintenance of the household.' (Sinha, 1996: 159). The tribal societies are intertwined with both traditional and modern elements and the conflict, compromise and co-operation are the essence of understanding that society. Following this logical standpoint it may be stated that tribal development cannot be possible in uprooting the tribals from forests through industrialization and in destroying their culture systematically through de-tribalization. In fact, they have to be developed on modern lines, but not in uprooting themselves from common property resources and in destroying their tradition and culture. The need is change, i.e. modernization of tradition. In this development process it is necessary to understand the actual trend of the tribal society, the social institutions within it, the problems of the members of the society and their necessities. The tribal development programmes basically are not intended to take into account the culture and economy of the tribes. These development programmes are planned and framed by the outsiders who rarely consult with the tribal people concerned about their needs and necessities. The expenditure on infrastructure and administration is disproportionately high without taking into account the basic needs of the target groups and the structure and institutions of the tribal society. However, tribals should manage their development through their own efforts. The planners and programme implementers should thrust upon local needs and target groups' requirements and regional imperatives. High administrative cost for development purposes has to be reduced and avoided so far.

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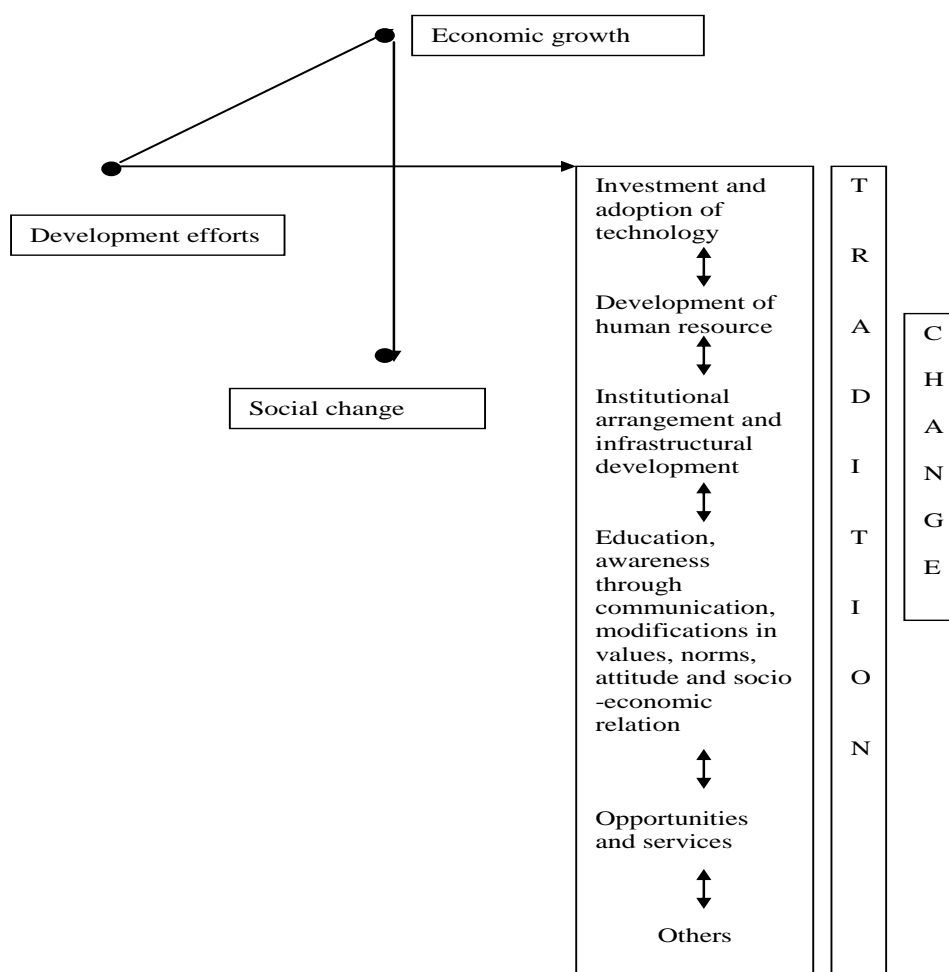


Fig. 1 Sketching social and economic changes along with development efforts

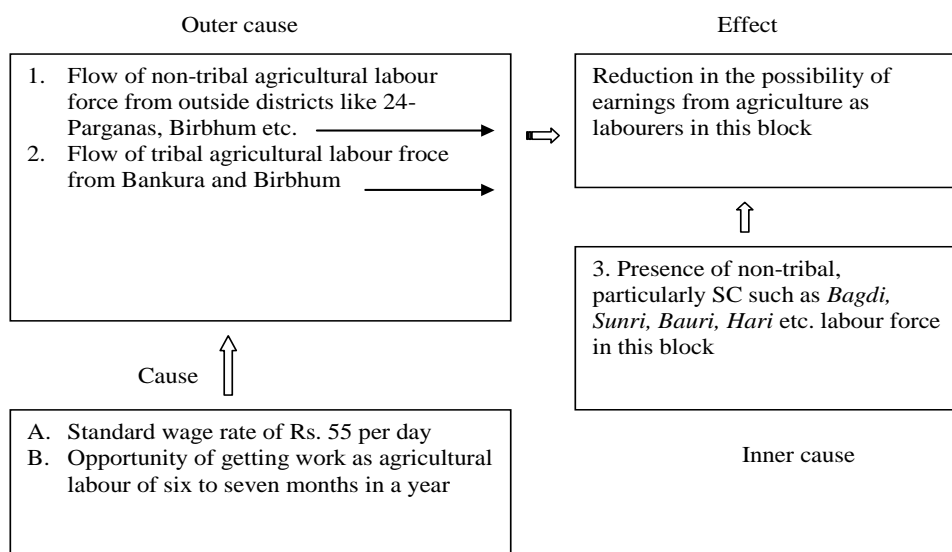


Fig. 2 Cause-effect relationship producing supply of labour force from outside

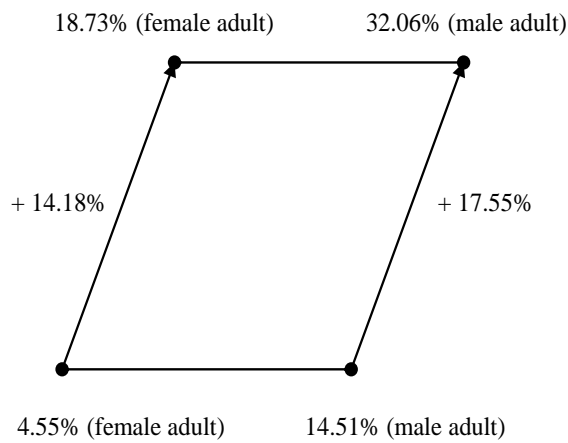


Fig. 3 Impact of Mass Literacy Programme and National Literacy Mission in the Block area

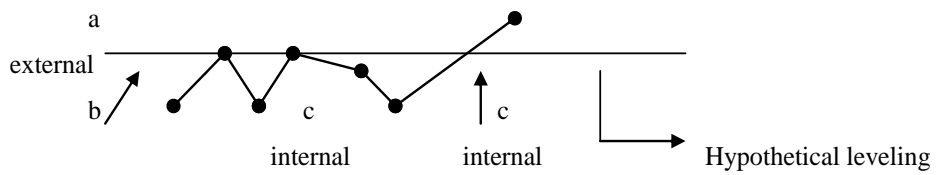


Fig. 4 Differential educational achievements or attainments

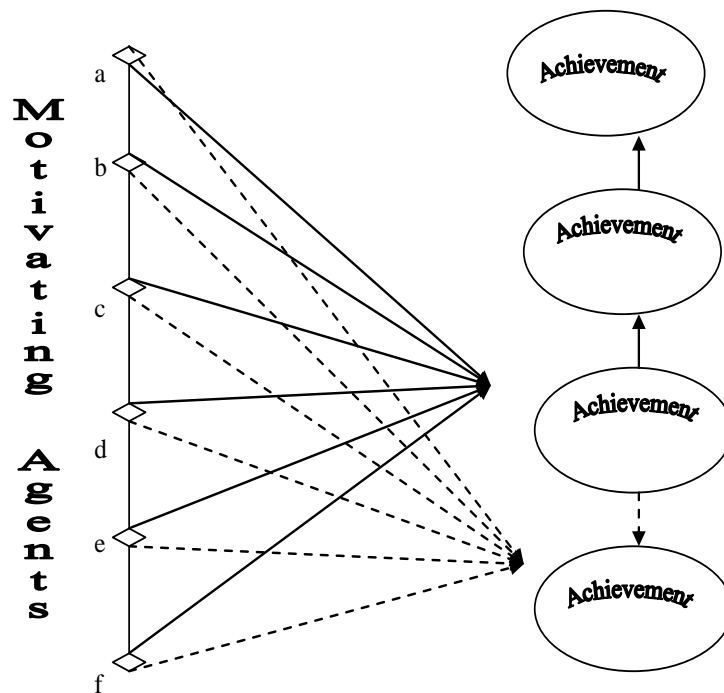
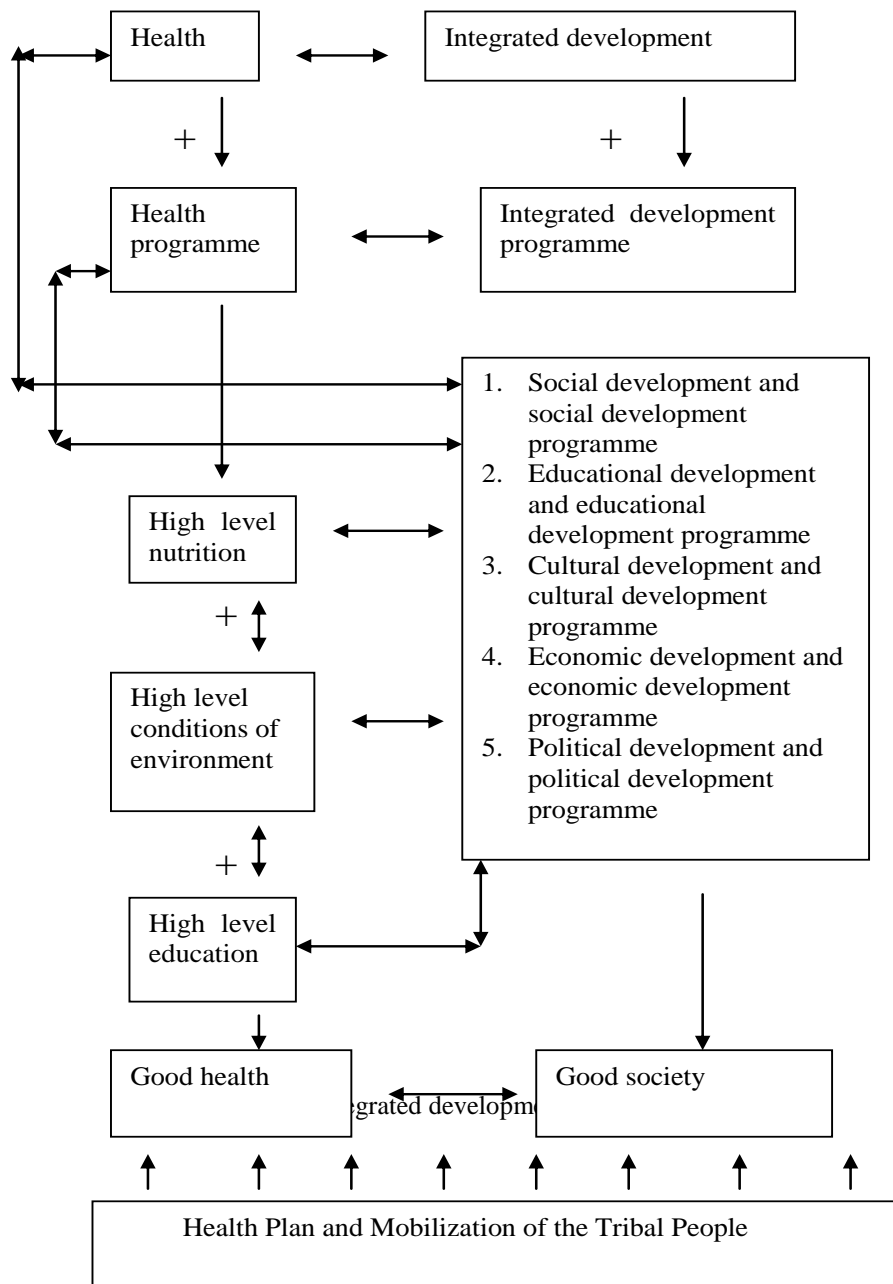


Fig. 5 Modernization of the tribal people



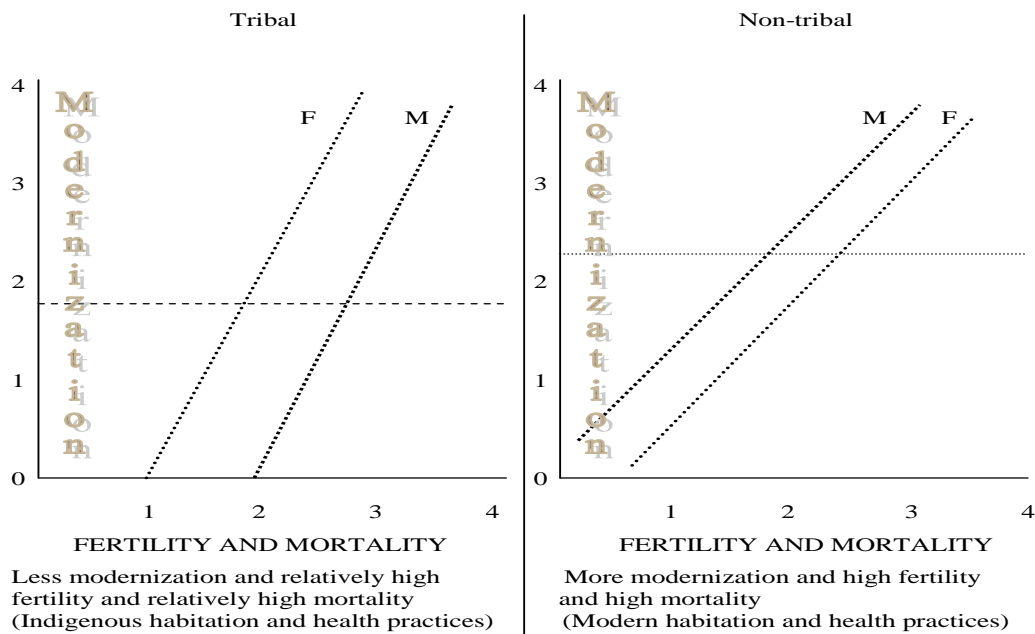


Fig. 7 Effects of modernization

TABLE 1-A  
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF THE TRIBES IN THE DISTRICT AND BLOCK

	<i>Block</i>	<i>District</i>
Total population – 2,11,957		
Total male population – 1,08,435		
Total female population – 1,03,522		
Total ST population – 32,890 (15% in comparison with total population)		3,76,033
Total ST male population – 16,389		1,90,969
Total ST female population – 16,501		1,85,064
No. of ST households – 6,793 (All rural)		
Total ST population in the age group (0-6) – 7,108		78,088
Total ST male population in the age group (0-6) – 3,511		39,092
Total ST female population in the age group (0-6) – 3,597		38,996
Total ST literate – 5,436		77,404
Total ST male literate – 4,263		55,737
<b>Total ST female literate – 1,173</b>		<b>21,667</b>

SOURCE: CENSUS OF INDIA

Table 1-B

## Socio-Economic Profiles Of The Tribes In The District And Block

Total ST main workers – 17,167	1,67,394
Total ST male main workers – 8,628	97,745
Total ST female main workers – 8,539	69,649
Total ST cultivators – 1,507	16,899
Total ST male cultivators – 1,019	12,222
Total ST female cultivators – 488	4,677
Total ST agricultural labourers – 15,186	1,21,873
Total ST male agricultural labourers – 7,214	63,564
Total ST female agricultural labourers – 7,972	58,309
Total ST engaged in livestock, forestry, fishing, housing etc. – 26	409
Total ST male engaged in livestock, forestry, fishing, housing etc. – 25	347
Total ST female engaged in livestock, forestry, fishing, housing etc. – 1	62
Total ST engaged in minning and quarring etc. – 1	10,926
Total ST male engaged in minning and quarring etc. – 1	9,107
Total ST female engaged in minning and quarring etc. – 0	1,821
Total ST engaged in manufacturing and processing in household industry etc. – 20	1,364
Total ST male engaged in manufacturing and processing in household industry etc. – 13	461
Total ST female engaged in manufacturing and processing in household industry etc. – 7	903
Total ST engaged in manufacturing and processing in other than household industry etc. – 86	6,818
Total ST male engaged in manufacturing and processing in other than household industry etc. – 41	4,468
Total ST female engaged in manufacturing and processing in other than household industry etc. – 45	2,350
Total ST engaged in construction – 31	1,056
Total ST male engaged in construction – 22	789
Total ST female engaged in construction – 9	267
Total ST engaged in trade and commerce – 51	860
Total ST male engaged in trade and commerce – 41	712
Total ST female engaged in trade and commerce – 10	148
Total ST engaged in transport, storage and communication – 177	2,242
Total ST male engaged in transport, storage and communication – 176	2,153
Total ST female engaged in transport, storage and communication – 1	89
Total ST engaged in other services – 82	4,945
Total ST male engaged in other services – 76	3,922
Total ST female engaged in other services – 6	1,023
Total ST as marginal workers – 244	7,382
Total ST male as marginal workers – 104	2,123
Total ST female as marginal workers – 140	5,259
Total ST as non-workers – 15,479	2,05,257
Total ST male as non-workers – 7,657	91,101
Total ST female as non-workers – 7,822	1,10,156

SOURCE: CENSUS OF INDIA



TABLE 2-A  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILES OF THE TRIBES IN THE BLOCK

Parameter	Number/Percentage
Total geographical area	259.89 square kilometers
Total households	39,564 (1991)
Parameter	Number/Percentage
Total ST households	6,793 (All rural)
ST fertility rate	Relatively high or medium
ST mortality rate	Relatively high
ST landholding pattern ( <i>patta</i> and <i>barga</i> )	474.80 acres of land distributed to 506 STs and 2200.95 acres of land under <i>barga</i> operation among 2248 STs
Number of hospitals, dispensaries, clinics, health centres and family welfare centres	Hospitals: 2, Dispensaries: 5, Clinics: 38, Health Centres: 5, Family Welfare Centres: 38
Common diseases among STs	Skin diseases, respiratory problems, diarrhoea, anemia, inter-intestinal diseases, malaria, illness etc
Number of primary schools	165
Number of secondary schools	22
Number of higher secondary schools	7
Number of junior high schools	7
Number of junior high madrasha	1
Number of high madrasha	1
Number of <i>shishu shikha kendra</i>	22
Number of continuing education centres	70
Number of ICDS Centres	244
Number of STs under ICDS	Pregnant mother: 230, Nursing mother: 331, Child from 7 months to 1 year: 346, Child from 1 year to 3 years: 1474, Children from 3 years to 6 years: 1966 (upto Nov. 2002)
Number of <i>anganwadi</i> centres	244
Number of STs in <i>anganwadi</i> centres	Pregnant mother: 181, Nursing mother: 261, Child from 7 months to 1 year: 240, Child from 1 year to 3 years: 1058, Children from 3 years to 6 years: 1408 (upto Nov. 2002)
Number of public libraries	8
Number of villages or mouzas electrified	122
Number of villages having drinking water facilities	123
Total agricultural land	21,200 hectares
Total irrigated area	19,747.6 hectares
<b>Cultivable waste land</b>	<b>Nil</b>
Homestead land	267 hectares
<b>Forest land</b>	<b>Nil</b>
Area where more than one crops grown	19,200 hectares
Main source of income of the majority	Agriculture

Sources: Field Survey, Block Development Office, Land And Land Reforms Office,  
Block Hospital, Jamalpur Block, Burdwan

TABLE 2-B  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILES OF THE TRIBES IN THE BLOCK

Main source of income of ST population	Agriculture
Main crops of the area	Paddy, Potato and Vegetables
Quantity of crop production per year	Rice: Aman: 17,200 hectares/3866 kg. (Approx.), Aus: 4025 hectares/4423 kg. (Approx.), Boro: 10,500 hectares/3880 kg. (Approx.), Potato: 10,500 hectares/27,400 kg. (Approx.)
Number of seed store	1
Number of fertilizer depots	26
Number of co-operatives	52
Number of shallow tube wells/areas	2740/2847.88hectares
Number of banks operating	12
Number of <i>hats</i>	8
Number of local markets	7
	<i>Number/Percentage</i>
Number of post office	Sub-post office: 4, ED-post office: 28
Number of <i>pucca</i> roads	Surface (PWD) metalloid in Kms.: 45, Non- surface (PWD) metalloid in Kms.: 16
Number of bus routes	4
Number of nearest railway stations covering the area	4
Number of ferry <i>ghat</i>	11
Number of small industries	130
Number of rice mills	3
Number of cold storages	9 (Approx.)
<b>Number of agro-based industry</b>	<b>Nil</b> (there is scope for further improvement)
<b>Number of ST student hostel</b>	<b>1</b> (there is scope for further improvement)

Sources: Field Survey, Block Development Office, Land And Land Reforms Office, Block Hospital, Jamalpur  
Block, Burdwan

Table 2-C  
Socio-Economic Profiles Of The Tribes In The Block

Sources of drinking water	Tube wells
Number of recreation centres	Vedio: 7, Cinema: 1
Number of telephone exchanges	6
Number of stadium	Nil
Number of police station	1
Number of ration shops	66
Mandays created in agricultural fields per year	180 days to 210 days
ST life expectancy	57 to 62 years
ST male life expectancy	55 to 60 years
ST female life expectancy	60 to 65 years
ST adult literacy rate	9.53% on average as per 1991 census 25.39% on average as per survey result
ST CEC enrolled presence	30.07%
Percentage of STs of not surviving more than 60 years	84.7%
Percentage of STs of not surviving at the age of 60	57%
Percentage of ST people living below the income poverty line	33.52% in comparison to total ST households 8.38% in comparison to total ST population as per Block Report dt. 16.11.01 under Memo No. 1147(31)PAN to Second State Finance Commission 4.61% in comparison to total households
Long-term (12 month or more) unemployment among ST people	0
Estimated earned income or GDP per capita as single wage labourer	Rs. 10,725 per annum as agricultural labourers who constitute about 80% of the tribal population
Men's (ST) percentage of shares in panchayat seats	10.24% in comparison to total representation
Women's (ST) percentage of shares in panchayat seats	5.11% in comparison to total representation
STs percentage of shares in panchayat seats	15.35% ST male-female combined
Men's (ST) estimated earned income as single wage labourer	Rs. 9,900
Women's (ST) estimated earned income as single wage labourer	Rs. 11,550

Sources: Field Survey, Block Development Office, Land And Land Reforms Office, Block Hospital, Jamalpur Block, Burdwan

TABLE 3  
DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS IN THE BLOCK

<i>Indicators or Parameters</i>	<i>Index</i>
1. Total number of households surveyed	245 on an average
2. Average size of the households	4.50%
3. Earners	77.77%
4. Non-earners	22.23%
5. Illiterate	37.14%
6. Literate	36.33%
7. Class I-IV	20.82%
8. Class IV-X	4.90%
9. Class X-XII	0.81%
10. Average size of holding	1.47 acres
11. Landless	80.82%
12. Less than 1 acre	11.02%
13. 1-3 acres	6.94%
14. 3 > acres	1.22%
15. Percentage of land cultivated	Cent per cent
16. Percentage of area under food crops	98.12%
17. Percentage of area under commercial crops	1.88%
18. Percentage of area irrigated	Cent per cent
19. Average size of share-cropping	1.49 acres
20. Less than 1 acre	41.93%
21. 1-3 acres	46.45%
22. 3 > acres	11.61%
23. Average size of <i>patta</i> lands	0.63 acres
24. Less than 1 acre	88.37%
25. 1-3 acres	11.63%
26. 3 > acres	Nil
27. Percentage of area irrigated	93.15%
28. Average income per household (per month)	Rs. 2,258
29. Income from agriculture	68%
30. Income from wages	32%
31. Average expenditure per household (per month)	Rs. 2,550
32. Expenditure against food	50%
33. Expenditure against drinks and gambling	9.50%
34. Expenditure against clothing and footwear	10.30%
35. Expenditure against rites and ceremonies	8.20%
36. Expenditure against tobacco	5.88%
37. Expenditure against consumer durable	6.20%
38. Expenditure against health	5.37%
39. Expenditure against education	4.55%
40. Household below poverty line as per govt. rule (Rs. 274.35 per head per month)	Nil
41. Average loan per household (institutional)	Rs. 10,695
42. Percentage of household institutional loan borrowed	24.08%
43. Average loan per household (traditional)	Rs. 778
44. Percentage of household traditional loan borrowed	11.4%

SOURCE: FIELD SURVEY AND BLOCK DEVELOPMENT OFFICE

TABLE 4  
Schemes Under Tsp Provided To The Beneficiaries

Schemes	No. of beneficiary	No. of beneficiary retained assets and operated	No. of beneficiary sold or consumed assets	No. of beneficiary reported death of animals	Income Group			Income Group (increased their income*)		
					Rs. 25,000	Rs. 30,000	Rs. 35,000	Rs. 25,000	Rs. 30,000	Rs. 35,000
					Per annum/ Pre-TSP	Per annum/ Pre-TSP	Per annum/ Pre-TSP	Per annum/ Post-TSP	Per annum/ Post-TSP	Per annum/ Post-TSP
Paddy processing	34 (57.62%)	15 (44.12%)	19 (55.88%)	...	13 (38.24%)	17 (50.00%)	4 (11.76%)	6 (17.65%)	3 (8.82%)	1 (2.94%)
Vegetable vending	4 (6.78%)	2 (50.00%)	2 (50.00%)	...	4 (100%)	...	...	1 (25.00%)	...	...
Van-rickshaw	2 (3.39%)	1 (50.00%)	1 (50.00%)	...	2 (100%)	...	...	2 (100%)	...	...
Bullock and cart	3 (5.08%)	1 (33.33%)	1 (33.33%)	1 (33.33%)	2 (66.67%)	1 (33.33%)	...	...	1 (33.33%)	...
Piggery	2 (3.39%)	2 (100%)	...	1 (50.00%)	2 (100%)	...	...	2 (100%)	...	...
Goatery	3 (5.08%)	2 (66.67%)	1 (33.33%)	1 (50.00%)	2 (66.67%)	1 (33.33%)	...	1 (33.33%)	...	...
Cycle repairing	2 (3.39%)	2 (100%)	...	...	2 (100%)	...	...	1 (50.00%)	...	...
Utensil shop	1 (1.70%)	1 (100%)	...	...	...	...	1 (100%)	...	...	1 (100%)
Milk cow	3 (5.08%)	1 (33.33%)	2 (66.67%)	...	1 (33.33%)	2 (66.67%)	...	...	1 (33.33%)	...
Poultry	2 (3.39%)	1 (50.00%)	1 (50.00%)	1 (50.00%)	1 (50.00%)	1 (50.00%)	...	...	...	...
Pandal business	1 (1.70%)	...	1 (100%)	...	...	...	1 (100%)	...	...	...
Bamboo and Talkari	1 (1.70%)	...	1 (100%)	...	...	1 (100%)	...	...	...	...
Stationary	1 (1.70%)	1 (100%)	...	...	...	...	1 (100%)	...	...	1 (100%)

Source: Field Survey

\* This group of people increased their income from TSP projects.

Note: Figures in the parenthesis indicate percentage.

Note: Most important progress in terms of income generation can be found in the projects like van-rickshaw, piggery stationary, utensil shop, cycle repairing. Most of the projects were in the paddy processing sector. Poultry, pandal business and bamboo and talkari works—these projects are bad patches in TSP.

SOURCE: FIELD SURVEY

Table 5  
Food Habits Among Tribals In The Study Area

<i>Food item</i>	<i>Average daily intake of an adult (Gms.)</i>	<i>ICMR recommendation</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Cereals (Rice)	650	400	Overdose (250)
Pulse ( <i>Dal</i> )	7	85	Deficiency (78)
Leaf vegetable	65	116	Deficiency (51)
Vegetable (Others)	10	85	Deficiency (75)
<i>Food item</i>	<i>Average daily intake of an adult (Gms.)</i>	<i>ICMR recommendation</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Tuber ( <i>Alu</i> )	100	...	Deficiency (100)
Fat	20	28	Deficiency (8)
Milk and milk products	10	170	Deficiency (160)
Meat, fish and egg	14	28	Deficiency (14)
Fruits	...	57	Deficiency (57)

SOURCE: FIELD SURVEY