Social Exclusion, Inclusion, Integration and Development of Tribes in India: Anthropological Holistic Perspective

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Abstract: *Tribal communities in India is still considered as most backward large majority of its population living in hills and forests, experiencing with the problems of social exclusion, marginalization, deprivation and impoverishment. They are excluded from the mainstream population mainly due to geographical isolation and segregation. The inclusive policy measures of government in the form of constitutional safeguards and provisions as well as development initiatives since India's independence are also not much elevated their educational, economic, and health statuses till date.Tribes in India have been excluded in many spheres of their day to day life. Their exclusion is multifaceted. Certain of the parameters are commonly used to indicate the dimension of tribals exclusion in national development process. Those are social, economic and political in nature and which includes poverty, land alienation, displacement, rehabilitation and resettlement, education, health, nutrition, hygiene and disempowerment. This research paper is prepared on the basis of empirical research carried out by the author among the tribes of Andhra Pradesh over a period of 30 years and also with the secondary source material of research project reports, published research articles and books by the scholars of Anthropology discipline. It is mostly descriptive in nature provides qualitative information and also comprises of both semantic and scientific explanations with Anthropological relevance.*

Key words: *Tribe, Social Exclusion, Inclusive Policy, Isolation, Deprivation, Development.*

I.   INTRODUCTION

Tribes in India constitute the second largest population, next to Africa. India consists of 635 tribes (461 principle tribes 174 sub-tribes) as per people of India project report (2003). As per 2011 census of our country represents tribal population of 10,42,81,034   which constitute 8.6% to total population. Tribal population in India is distributed in almost all the states except Haryana and Punjab. Large chunk of tribal population in India is concentrated in high altitude forested zones like Eastern Ghats, Western Ghats, North Eastern, central and Himalayan Mountains.

Taking into consideration of their distinct way of life, there were different perspectives on their identity and their inclusion in main stream society was debated while preparing the policies for their upliftment. Though there has been political integration, psychological, has not been fully achieved over these years. In the Indian context tribes are experiencing the severity of social exclusion, next to the scheduled castes. In Indian society, the schedules tribes and scheduled castes have very low economic, social, political and educational statuses when compared with many castes. In general, the scheduled tribes, Scheduled castes, other backward classes and women are considered as weaker sections and all these social groups invariably experiencing with the problem of social exclusion in their day-to-day life. Social exclusion of certain categories of the people in our

society is contextual and situational. For instance, Dalits, Adivasis and Bahujans as well as women in all social groups. The levels of social exlusion also vary from one social group to another based on its social position and status in the society at large and region in specific. The distribution of tribal population in India itself shows the geographical isolation and segregation features which are closely associated with the character of social exclusion.

While tracing out long history of Indian tribes and their significant contribution towards national interest, Fernandes (2002, 2008) present the current situation on how a large number of progressive minded Activists.(whose ideology is based on integrated and inclusive society) have been viewing the tribes as communities whose livelihood i.e the natural resources, is threatened by modern development which is proposed by the dominant classes as national interest. Thus, while speaking about the tribes, one refers to the communities that are waking up to the reality of their ongoing impoverishment and marginalization to the communities that demanding their right to be fully human, and to be an integral part of the country. They realise that, together with other impoverishment communities, they are playing the price of what is called national development. Not only do these tribes not get the benefits of these developmental activities which are mainly targeted to other population under the guise of national development, they also silently suffer from this situation. In many parts of the country, these communities protest to continue with this situation. In general the tribal people are denial of equal opportunity to participate fully in the ongoing development process, with the result they prone to the problem of social exclusion. Because of it the tribal communities in Indian society are excluded from the development process even though certain constitutional safeguards and provisions provided as inclusive policy measures.

All tribal socities across the country continue to preserve their ethos, despite some cultural contacts with the outsiders. The unique feature of these communities is that their life is preoccupied with their cultural systems. Due to sustained efforts by the government and voluntary agencies working in tribal areas, the communities are slowly realizing their place in the general syatem and also realising the loss incurred during these years in the name of developmental projects targeted towards non-tribal communities, where much of their own resources are depleting. In many parts of the country, tribes assert their right to claim their natural resources. They wanted to participate in the natural developmental process but not at their cost of losing their original identity.

The issues of social exclusion and inclusion are attracted much attention of social scientists, activists, academics, development administrators, policy makers and researchers all over the world to debate at length and find out solutions for the upliftment of socialley excluded communities under the clux of the social problem of exclusion practices in different social groups and societies . Currently a lot of debate is going on the issues of social exclusion, inclusion and integration in both academic and non academic arenas.

II.   The concept Social Exclusion

The term social exclusion first appeared in 1974 in Rene Lenoirs book entitled 'Le exclus' in which he tried to explain the situation that existed in France as a result of ever increasing crisis of indutrial captilism in the contact of a welfare state. He identified ten categories or groups who came under the 'uninsured' umbrella. These were the physically and mentally handicapped, those who were suicidal aged invalids, abicised children, substance abusers, delinquents, single parents(notably sole mothers) multi problem households(where more than one of the factors existed at any one time), 'marginals' 'asocials' and social 'misfits'(Silver, 1995).

Social exclusion is a process by which individuals or households experience deprivation either of resources or of social links to the wider community or society since the several works of Renc Lenoir(1974) of France on Social exclusion, it became the central theme of social policy in many European countries.

The French establishment defined social exclusion as a "rupture of social bands". A broader frame work of the understanding of social exclusion suggests that it is the process that excludes individuals groups and aggregates from full participation in the society where they live. According to Silver(1995) exclusion must

include the following. A livelihood secure permanent employment, earnings, property, creditor, land, minimal or prevailing consumption levels, education, skills and cultural capital, the welfare state, citizenship, and legal equality, democratic participation, public goods, the nation or the dominant race, family and sociability, humanity, respect fulfilment and understanding.

According to Sen, Amartya (1998) "Social Exclusion, emphasizes the role of relational features in deprivation", Narayan (1999) calls it the norm and process that prevents certain groups from equal and effective participation in the social, economic, cultural and political lives of socities. It is clearly both a process and product which involves at least four factors. The excluded, the institutions from which they are excluded, the agents whose actions result in the exclusion and the process through which exclusion occurs.

Amartya Sen(2000) holds that exclusion from social relations can lead to their deprivations that further limit our living opportunities. It can thus, be constitutively a part of capability deprivation as well as instrumentally a cause of diverse capability failures. In India context, exclusion revolves around institutions that discriminate, isolate, shame and deprive subordinate groups on the basis of identities like caste, religions and gender(Thorat and New Man 2010) succinctly put, in India exclusion not only practice the most pungent form of exclusion but also regulate economic life. Inequality is the organizing principle of the caste based hierarchy, which spews discrimination and kept numerous groups outside the gamut of Hindu social life. Tribal hierarchy also observed and noted in many tribal pocket of India, which is similar to caste hierarchy, exhibit the features of inequality and discrimination in between different tribal communities in a locality and a region.

The inability of an individual to participate in the basic political, economic and social functioning of society involves the denial of equal access to opportunities imposed by certain groups in society upon others(Buvinic 2005), exclusion between them, and results in deprivation or low income for those excluded(De Haan 1997, Sen 2000). Hence, social exclusion leads to various kinds of deprivation . Sen(2002) mentioned that "it leads to the impoverishment of human life through their casual consequences". The consequences of macro-economic policies such as poverty, unemployement and involuntary migration, exclude the victims from economic, cultural and political activities.

III. Mechanisms and Forms of Social exclusion

In the social process of any human society certain individuals and groups has excluded through some mechanism in different forms. According to Bradley (1994), there are five main mechanisms of Exclusion in order of increasing severity such as geography, entry barriers, corruption, intimidation and physical violence.

IV. Geography

Social exclusion can be a function of geography and direct correlation between rural isolation and poverty are often found(Ravallion 1995). In general, the poor live in the most marginal area, which compound the cycles of poverty and Exclusion. In India, most of the tribes inhabit in hills and forests and are thus excluded from mainstream population. The tribes are excluded through geographical isolation and segregation. It is one of the forms of social exclusion in respect to tribal communities in India.

V. Barrier to Entry

Transaction costs and documentation requirements are the two most common barriers to entry (Ravallion 1995). Transaction costs are those costs that are involved in acquiring a good or service above and beyond its actual price. Barriers to entry involving the state breach bureaucracy mostly related to documentation requirements. The state, which is often inflexible in helping the excluded, denies those accesses to resources. Documentation is also held responsible for the inability for the poor to gain access to resources. Documentation requirements represent only a part of the barrier. Other barriers to entry include hostility and in fairness confronted by excluded people while dealing with bureaucracy. Documentation therefore allows the state to humiliate and denies services to the excluded. In villages, the dalits entry into Hindu temples and pure and high

castes houses is barred due to the social stigma of untouchability very much attached to them. Such kind of situation not prevails among the *Adivasis* of India

VI.   Corruption

Corruption as a social evil is a common problem in all parts of the world. In general, the poor people emphasize the importance of connections in obtaining goods and services such as social security, pensions, jobs, health care, admission to higher educational institutions, and business licenses. Corruption not only makes access harder for the poor in financial terms but also destroys the trust that a society needs function effectively. Corruption makes equal access and fair treatment from the state impossible for the poor and the excluded and accelerates their disengagement from wider society thus corruption has become a central reason, because of which societies grow social exclusion and further societal fragmentation. Tribal people too invariably excluded with it in availing various development schemes fully which are meant for them.

VII.   Intimidation

Verbal abuse is not an uncommon means of isolating individuals and groups. In general, those with power use the threat of harm to maintain their dominance over those without power. Intimidation is observed at every level by society. As a mechanism of social exclusion, it is often used to reinforce social stereotypes and power relations. For instance, in India, there is still deeply entrenched caste exclusion. The threat of violence is reported to be the major form of control by men over women.

VIII.   Physical violence

Social exclusion can result in physical violence. Fear of repercussion imposes a pull of silence around the subject of violence and the violence perpetuated by the state, community, group and individuals. Violence against women in the household is the direct consequence of patriarchy. Violence against dalits and service castes is a common feature in many rural areas of India. Domestic violence is noted in the norms of the gender inequality and identity and is often linked to alcohol and drug abuse.

IX.   Kinds of exclusion

In development process peace (1997) identifies 15 kinds of exclusion. These include: social marginalization, new poverty, democratic legal political exclusion, non-material disadvantages, exclusion from the "minimal acceptable way of life; cultural exclusion (including race and gender), exclusion from the family and the community, exclusion from the welfare state. Long term poverty, exclusion from mainstream political and economical life, state of deprivation, detachment from work relations, economic exclusion from the labour market. Broadly we can put them under social, political, economic, and cultural exclusion. For example state of deprivation, exclusion from the labour market, poverty etc., are exclusions in economic sense. To these kinds we can also add religious exclusion where people of the same religion are excluded from some privileges which others enjoy. Denial of access to untouchables to enter in a hindu temple of village is an example of religious exclusion. Percy Smith (2000:9) has also provided a scheme of kinds of exclusion. She suggests that there are economic, social, political, neighbourhood, individual, spatial and group dimensions to social exclusion. For instance neighbourhood or spatial exclusion is a type of social exclusion. Space for a group or individual is essentially a social space. As exclusion pervades through all aspects of life it is a multifaceted phenomenon. The most common categories of excluded groups in Indian society consists of 1. Women, 2. Children, 3. The poor, 4. The elderly, 5. Ethnic groups(castes), 6. People with HIV/AIDS/COVID-19, 7. The disabled and 8. Widows. The levels of social exclusion varies from one category to another category, moreover it is situational and contextual. All the above said categories of people found in tribal society too. In tradition gender discrimination is not much prevailed in tribal societies when compared to caste society. Among the plain tribes all over India including Andhra Pradesh, the women treated as subordinates to men. It is a recent phenomenon due to the culture contact of plain tribal people with the neighbouring castes people. It is a borrowed cultural element among the plain tribes of India.

X.   Tribes as Excluded communities

Tribes in India are one of the socially excluded social groups or ethnic groups and very badly affected with the problem of social exclusion along vulnerability. The spatial exclusion of scheduled tribes in India is a major concern in the frame work of inclusive policies targeted for all communities. Geographical isolation is one of the mechanisms for exclusion of tribes in many parts of India. The tribes least position on the developmental index is linked with several issues and concerns across the country, as they have remained isolated for a long time from the mainstream society.

Understanding the scheduled tribes spatial exclusion from other communities, as large majority of the tribal population found to live in the forested zones like Eastern Ghats, Westen Ghats, North-Eastern, Central and Himalayan Mountains. Tribes relatively live in isolation of hills and forests eking out their livelihoods in extreme poverty condition with scanty of resources. With in the tribal groups, some of the groups like the particularly vulnerable tribes who are still at the pre-agricultural stage of economy, exhibiting the other features of low literacy, stagnant or diminishing population, geographical isolation, most economic backwardness and subsistence level of economy.

Tribes due to their geographical isolation have remained excluded from the main stream population as well as with the severity of poverty and food insecurity. The non-participation of these groups in any ongoing development programmes coupled with administrative bottlenecks had also contributed to the slow development among them over the years. The snail's pace development in many tribal areas toward formal education, health services, protected drinking water and other infrastructural facilities like roads, electricity, postal, mass media and other modes of communication networks. Many PVTGs settlements lacking proper infrastructural facilities and the people in such habitats neither access nor avail of many welfare and development programmes which are specifically meant for them. Spatial discrimination prevails in between the aboriginals and the main stream population who are assured with all kinds of amenities and facilities designated them and most civilized people belong to elite group habitual to urban life.

Exclusion is understood interms of their location as most of the tribal settlements are small and scattered homesteads, not connected well to the mandal and district head quarters as well as to the so called civilized urban towns and cities. Self imposed isolation to maintain their identity and segregation features of social exclusion are much concern to the tribal communities, which inhabit in hills, forests, deserts and few in islands. Some of the features of caste system are found among these groups penetrated through culture contact with the neighbouring caste communities, who live in the tribal areas along with them. Geographical isolation and segregation are the main mechanisms of social exclusion in respect to scheduled tribes of India.

Tribes in India have been excluded in many spheres of their day to day life. Their exclusion is multifaceted. However, certain of the following parameters are commonly used to indicate the dimension of exclusion in national development process. These are social, economic and political in nature and which includes poverty, land alienation, displacement, rehabilitation and resettlement, education, health nutrition, hygiene and disempowerment.

XI.   Poverty

Many tribal communities in India is experiencing with the poverty in turn invariably prone to social exclusion. The tribal people suffering with this problem are literally excluded from the development process of the state and they are unable to contribute for it and not participating in it. At present more than 45% of tribal population stand at below poverty line. In certain tribes the percentage of poverty is very high. For instance among particularly vulnerable tribal groups around 60% of its population stand of below poverty line. The development fruits of government is not reaching them fully due to geographical and ecological constraints.

Poverty is the major root causes for under development among many tribal communities, moreover still considerable number of tribal people are not access to various kinds of public utilities like protected drinking water, education and health. They are unable to avail the public facilities fully due to the problem of social exclusion mainly through the severity of poverty.

XII.   Land alienation

It is the most common problem in many tribal pockets of India. Around 40% of tribal households had been affected by land alienation. High incidence of indebtedness among the tribal communities is the major cause for land alienation. The non-tribal moneylenders and traders usually advance crop loans to the poor tribals with high rates of interest. In a tribal family the problem of indebtedness   perpetuates generations together and ultimately it leads to land alienation and in due course it lost the ownership rightover the land and forced to clear it debt amount. This kind of exploitation of tribals by non-tribal moneylenders and traders is very common, even though 1/70 land transfer Act came into existence and operation in many tribal areas of India. This problem is very rampant once in the tribal areas of East Godavari, West Godavari, Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and Vizianagaram districts of Andhra Pradesh. It is considered as one of the causative factors for Naxallite movement in the tribal pocket of Gummalakshmipuram in Andhra Pradesh state once. This problem is also creating unrest among the tribals in India, and barrier to lead a harmonions life by them, in turn resulting for their exclusion from the development process of nation.

XIII.   Development induced displacement

The government initiated mega-development projects are the models of economic development recognized across the world. For instance the hydro-power project like Sardar sarovar in Gujarat, Hiraku Hydro-power dam project in Orissa, polavaram irrigation project, Nagarjuna Sagar Project, Sileru nad Machkund power generations projects, medium and minor irrigation projects like Bhupathipalem, Musirimilli and Pedagedda in Andhra Pradesh, Bhilai steel plant in Chhattisgarh or BHEL in AP, mining projects in Orissa, as well as in other sates which exploit ores like dolomite, iron, bauxite by both private and public sector campaigns, caused for displacement and rehabilitation of several tribal families. Inturn it resulted for the exclusion of tribal from their original habitats where they lived centuries together. Displacement of tribes from their original habitats on the name of nation development, literally resulted to marginalization, deprivation, impoverishment and social exclusion. Tribal exclusion is both relative and absolute, along all the indicators like poverty, helath, literacy, access to basic amenities and so on. The gap that exists between rural-urban and male-female divides within the group, and between STs and other social groups or all social groups' measures relative exclusion. This trend holds for level of poverty and access level to amenities. The absolute exclusion is marked by the devotion from 100 percentage achievement.

XIV.   Education and Literacy

Low level of literacy, education and high level of illiteracy rates were recorded especially among the tribal population of India in general. The level of education and literacy are relatively very low among the particularly vulnerable tribes groups added with high percentage of poverty. These tribal groups are affected with the severity of social exclusion due to economic, education, isolation and linguistic communication. Illiteracy is one of the constraints for social exclusion and development of tribes in India. The 2011 census records a gap of literacy average of 14.3 percentage points between S.T and all social groups. This gap is 12.36 percentage point and 15.29 percentage points for corresponding male and female groups. Between S.T male and S.T female the gap of literacy stands at 19.18 percentage point. It is very clear that the incidence of S.T exclusion is more than national figures in all categories. The tribals who are still experiencing with the problems of geographical isolation and segregation, literally in access to many welfare schemes of government including education and health.

XV.   Health and Hygiene

The incidence of Malnutrition, morbidity and mortality is still very high among the tribals when compared to other social groups or ethnic groups in India. The habitat and environment of tribal people are very much associated with poor health and hygienic condition of these vulnerable people. Large majority of the PVTGs people are not meeting their minimum required calories of food per day due to living in degraded forest environment. Most of the interior tribals are not access to public health facilities and also unable to avail it due to ecological and geographical constraints and forcefully depend on their own medicine without any other alternative medicine to cure various ailments through which they affected.The incidence of malaria, sickle cell anemia, Goitre and Anthrax is also very high in the tribal areas. Many tribal habitats are lacking protected drinking water and affected with diarrhoea and amebiasis. Many tribal habitats are lack of proper sanitation facilities. The hygienic condition of tribes is reflected in terms of their access to basic amenities like latrine, bathing and drinking water facilities, the condition is also not encouraging like the health indicator. The ecology and environment in which they live is not meeting the food requirement of entire population due to its low carrying capacity. Due to their prolonged morbidity condition they are unable to contribute for the overall national development and unable to participate fully in the ongoing development process of the nation.

XVI.   Tribal Hierarchy, discrimination, inequality and Social Exclusion

Social stratification in Indian society is based on the caste system. There are several ethnic groups in India. Tribe is also one such ethnic group ascribed with certain social position in Indian society. In tribal society the social order of different tribes are also noted by some of the Anthropologists in their empirical research studies in different tribal pockets of India. Once tribal society is egalitarian in nature. Over a period of time the caste elements entered into tribal society due to the process of acculturation. At present hierarchy in a multi tribal village or a local or a region is present and which is in practice by the tribals in their day to day life. On the nature of hierarchies perceived and practiced by different ethnic/social groups. Dumont(1970) narration of caste hierarchy at local level, where the hierarchial principle is clear in the fact that the groups own self definition is almost identical with the proclamation of the order of preference. In general the ranking order of the castes/tribes or ethnic groups is classified the basis of the endogamy, purity, pollution, occupation, commensal and connubial relations in addition to power and wealth. The criterion of purity and pollution is strictly followed by the members of a caste but not the members of a tribe, but the other criteria are observing by the tribals also in recent times. The tribal hierarchy clearly denotes about the existing discrimination and inequality in between the different tribes in a locality and region. Physical isolation, Hegemony, discrimination and inequality are the hallmarks of social exclusion. Tribal hierarchy is also considered as one of the factors for social exclusion of aboriginals in India.

XVII.   Deprivation, Marginalization and Impoverishment

Tribals are mainly facing the problem of economic deprivation. They are deprived of many modern amenities and facilities when compared with that of the elite and advanced caste communities. They do not have access to own agricultural land and access to make profit from valuable forest wealth, even though they inhabit in the natural forest environment where fertile soils and valuable timber and herbal medicine are available. The construction of minor, medium and major irrigation projects in tribal areas, resulting to displacement and rehabilitiation of project affected people of different tribes. For instance, Polavaram irrigation project in Andhra Pradesh, and Hirakud dam in Orissa. They are experiencing with the problem of marginalization due to displacement and rehabilitation, which resulting to further impoverishment among them. The tribes live in interior villages do not avail themselves free education and health facilities due to geographical and ecological constraints. Large majority of the tribal habitats in interior areas are lack of proper infrastructural faciliies like road, school, electricity, clean drinking water, sanitation, market, media and postal services. They are unabe to participate effectively and fully in the ongoing development process of the state and nation sponsored development programmes. The problem of social exclusion is the root cause for hence large

majority of tribal population in India still experiencing with the problem of economic deprivation due to impoverishment.

XVIII.   Social Exclusion in Development Process

The discussions made on the above issues of tribal social exclusion clearly indicate that there is a close relationship in between the tribal development and social exclusion of tribes in specific to India. There are certain forces of exclusion in development process such as a) differentiatd treatment to undifferentiated groups b) undifferentiated treatment to differential groups and c) power dynamics. Differentiated treatment to certain tribes in development perspective also observed and noted. It is a fact that due to livelihood requirements, a number of denotified and nomadic tribes, has been moving from place to place across various regions in the country and could not be found for enumeration. It is not therefore a surprise that the existence of the category known as denotified, nomadic and semi nomadic tribes got acknowledgment only in eleventh five year plan. Undifferentiated treatment of particularly vulnerable tribal groups in development perspective, observed by the Anthropologists through their empirical research. Still these groups are much denial of equal opportunity to participate fully in the ongoing development process of states and nation. The unequal power relations reflect in development policy planning, by placing one group in a advantage position than the other groups. The uniform development prorammes to the tribal communities are not reaching to all equally. Only certain elite and advanced tribal families and groups are benefiting much with such programmes. That is why still economic gulf prevails in between the different tribes inhabiting different tribal pockets of India. The tribes inhabiting in NEHU region benefiting much when compared with the tribes inhabiting in Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The geographical isolation is still very much attached with the tribes of Andaman and Nicobar Islands as well as other hill tribes of India.

XIX.   Social Inclusion and Inclusive policy of Government

Social inclusion means including much of all the excluded communities or social groups in the ongoing social and development process of society and nation. Social exclusion of certain social groups is also to be understood as contextual and situational. In consonance of the idea of social upliftment through directive principles, the government formulates an inclusive policy. Constitutional safeguards and provisions extended to weaker sections by the government are also considered as inclusive policy in this context. Development policies and programmes are another kind of measurement in order to achieve inclusive growth and development among the excluded categories of India. Since Xth five year plan period the priority of Indian Government is to promote inclusive growth and development among the weaker sectioins, experiencing with the problem of social exclusion. The Indian constitution provides equality to all citizens, irrespective of caste, creed, religion and gender. It also directs the state to take various measures to remove the different forms of discriminatin and inequality and there by helps to eradicate social exclusion. The state should ensure social justice to all the deprived communities such as scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, other backward classes *(castes),* religious minorities, women and disabled.

XX.   Constitutional provisions for scheduled tribes and its inclusion

The Constitutional provisions and affirmative action programmes extended to the scheduled tribes as a measure of social inclusion and development of these vulnerable social groups in India.   There are as many 20 articles and two schedules in the constitution of India, concerning the welfare of tribals. The most important one is article 46, which states that "the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people in particular to the scheduled castes and tribes and shall protect them from social justice and all forms of exploitation. Article 244 of the Indian constitution empowers the president of India to declare any area, where there is a substantial population of the tribal people as a scheduled area, and to include or exclude a tribe in the list of scheduled tribes in the Vth schedule on the recommendations of the concerned state government with due approval by the Governor of the state.

Article 275 of the constitution provides for assistance to the states for the implementation of the provisions   of   the   constitution   and   provides   for   Grant-in-Aid   from   the

consolidated fund of India to states for implementation of tribal development programmes. Articles 330, 332 and 334 provides for reservation of seats for scheduled tribes in the house of the people and state legislatives. Article 385 provides for reservation in the services. Articles 15, 16, and 19 are provisions facilitating measures for ensuring equality. Actually the Government extended reservation facilities are mostly availed by only the advanced and dominant plain tribes experiencing the less severity of social exclusion. Majority of the particularly vulnerable tribal groups population and other hill tribes are still not access to many welfare programmes of the government due to geographical and ecological constraints. A section of tribal population is not fully participating in the ongoing development process of states and nation due to the severe problem of social exclusion. Tribal development through the tribal sub-plan strategy is also not eevated the economic status (progress) of all the tribes equally, only certain, tribes benefited much with it, which resulted for the presence of economic gulf in between advanced tribes and most vulnerable tribes. Further, it leads to discrimination and inequality among the tribes of India. The existence of class system is also observed and noted among the scheduled tribes of India by certain pioneer Anthropologists.

XXI. Integration and Development of tribes as Inclusive Policy Measure

Two diametrically opposite views are expressed in regard to the policy formulation for the development of scheduled tribes in India. On one hand, it is suggested that since the tribal identity and heritage should not be disturbed they ought to be left alone with minimal interventions (policy of segregation or isolation), while the other view point calls for their integration into the mainstream of the national life (policy of assimilation / integration). Verrier Elwin (1960)was the votary of the former approach and Ghurye(1943) of latter. Elwin pleaded for the protection of their cultural identity and heritage from the impact of change so that the tribal communities are not forced into a state of loss of nerve.

Ultimately a middle path has been adopted in consonance with the views expressed by Nehru. He observed we cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas. In the world of today that is not possible or desirable. At the same time we should avoid over administration in these areas. It is between these two extreme positions that we have to function. He desired that people should be allowed to develop along the lines of their own genius. Govind Ballabh Pant concurred with the view of Nehru and stated that the tribes should develop their own culture and make contribution to the cultural richness of the country. The present policy is the development process while making efforts for preserving their identity and heritage. Tribals' integration into mainstream through various development and welfare programmes considered as a inclusive policy measures of government which definitely pay way for the inclusion of tribes in the development process. The Government concerted effort in this direction also definitely pay way for the inclusive growth and development among tribes in India.

XXII. Relevance of Anthropological Methodology for social exclusion and Development Research studies

Anthropological holistic, *etic* and *emic* approach as well as ethnographic methodological procedures considered as most applicable and relevant for carrying out empirical research in multi disciplinary mode, on the issues of social exclusion, inclusive policy and human development. Anthropology offers methods and theoretical perspectives enabling the practitioner to explore, compare and understand the varied expressions of the human condition as well as problems. In other words the discipline Anthropology offers both things to think, about things to think with. The conventional Anthropological methods, approaches and techniques are much useful to trace out the problem of social exclusion at gross root level through macro and micro levels of investigations. Such kinds of investigations are definitely helpful for formulation of inclusive policies to the socially excluded social groups including tribes and caste communities.

The Anthropologists invariably and compulsorily collect the empirical material on any human problem through field work. Moreover, the central activity in Anthropological Research method is field work accompanied with participant observation. It is an useful research tool and technique for Anthropologist to find facts in a face-to-face interaction situation and record to resolve the human problems (including social

exclusion) in both etic and emic perspectives.   The contributions of pioneer Anthropologists towards the field work and ethnographic methodological procedures definitely gained much importance in multi disciplinary research. Still Anthropologists insist on giving priority of place to local life worlds and on a methodological openness intended to prevent ethnocentric misjudgements. For as Clifford Geerz has put it if all you crave is home truths, you might as well as stay at home. The Anthropological ethnographic methodological procedures are much relevant and useful for formulation of inclusive policies and inturm its application definitely brings inclusive growth and development among socially excluded groups including tribes in India.

XXIII.   Standard Assessment Tools

Anthropological tools and techniques are very much useful to assess the level of social exclusion among different tribes in India through empirical research. Comparative accounts and case studies are available on the issues of Displacement, marginalization and social exclusion, process of social exclusion and inclusion among scheduled tribes, children in school education system, tribal hierarchy and social exclusion in a multi tribal village, (PasuvulaBanda) Andhra Pradesh by the writer of this research article.

XXIV.   CONCLUSIONS

Scheduled tribes are considered as one of the socially excluded social group in India; the exclusion of tribes is mainly based on the criteria of geographical isolation and segregation. The social exclusion of tribes discussed here in the context of poverty, land alienation, displacement, education, health and hyegine. The problem of social exclusion in regard to tribes also associated with economic deprivation, marginalization and impoverishment. Discrimination and inequality of tribes clearly discussed in terms of tribal hierarchy. The problem of social exclusion in the case of tribes also discussed in the context of development process. Social inclusion and inclusive policy in the case of tribes discussed in the perspective of constitutional safeguards provisions, and affirmative action programmes and also in terms of policy of isolation, assimilation and integration. The problem of social exclusion, inclusion, integration and development of tribes in India discussed and presented in this module with etic and emic classifications along with semantic and scientific explanation.

Tribes are considered as one of the socially excluded communities in India. The problem of social exclusion is one of the causes for the slow pace of development among the tribes in general and particularly vulnerable tribes in specific. Tribal people are experiencing this problem in the forms of geograhical isolation, segregation, marginalization, poverty, illiteracy and economic deprivation.   The government initiated affirmative action programmes are also not yet rescued them from the clux of social exclusion. They are denial of equal opportunity to participate fully in the ongoing development process of nation due to the probem of social exclusion. There are certain forces of exclusion operating in development process of India. It is very essential to understand the role of social exclusion problem in the development process of tribes at national level in general and particularly vulnerable tribal Groups in specific to different pockets of India. Since Xth five Plan period onwards the priority of the Indian government is to focus more on the inclusive growth and development of weaker sections (including tribes) and excluded social groups. Based on it several welfare and development programmes are initiating by both the states and central governments for the upliftment of tribes But the fruits of which are not fully availed by the tribal people, due to the problem of social exclusion added with marginalization.

In India the problem of social exclusion is very deeply rooted in the institutions of caste, tribe and ethnicity. It can be eradicated only through creation of awareness, sensitizing among public and academic bodies of higher learning institution by advocacy. This problem can be examined in Anthropological **holistic**, **etic** and **emic** perspectives in order to provide amicable solutions for it. In conclusion that the problem of social exclusion is very much associated with the tribal development. The tribal development administrators need to think about the issue of social exclusion in different tribal communities in order to eliminate it through intervention, and make the tribal people to participate fully in the ongoing development process of nation. There is a felt need to promote empirical research and participatory action research on the issues of social exclusion and tribal development in future, in order to achive inclusive growth and development among the

aboriginals *(Adivasis),* out of the results through the aforesaid research strategy and intervention. Need based and right based approaches of community participatory development strategy to be strictly followed in Tribal Development Policy Planning and its implementation by the concerned tribal development administration and its authority of development personnel or extension agents. The material presented in this research paper definitely has both theoretical and applied value which is useful for students, research scholars, academics, administrators and social activists.

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