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REPORT
OF THE
STUDY GROUP FOR
TRIBAL LABOUR
(Agricultural and Industrial)



NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR

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FOREWORD

The National Commission on Labour appointed the Study Group for Tribal Labour in its attempt to understand the changes in conditions of tribal labour in the country since Independence. This was one of the series of Study Groups set up by the Commission to study the conditions of some categories of labour to be covered by its "terms of reference". The Study Group was required to analyse available information and project its thinking on problems relating to tribal labour in the years to come taking into account the possible developments in the economy of the country.

The views expressed in the report are the views of the Study Group. In examining them for framing its final recommendations the Commission will attach due importance to these views coming as they do from knowledgeable persons. In the meanwhile, the report is being published by the Commission with a view to seeking comments on it from persons/institutions interested in the subject.

The Commission is grateful to the Chairman and Members of the Study Group individually for completing their work within the time limit fixed for them. The Commission is also grateful to all persons/institutions who may have helped the Study Group in reaching conclusions.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The National Commission on Labour, vide their letter No. 3 (64)68-NCL and dated 20th April, 1968, appointed the following persons to constitute the Study Group for Tribal Labour (Agricultural and Industrial) in and around Ranchi district with headquarters at Ranchi :—

1. Dr. L.P. Vidyarthi—Chairman
2. Rev. Father M.V.D. Bogaert—Co-Chairman
3. Rev. Father J. Boel
4. Dr. B.N. Sahay
5. Director, Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi
6. Mr. Aroon Bose
7. Mr. T.R. Sharma—Member-Secretary
8. Mr. T.S. Rao—Associate Member-Secretary

1.2 Subsequently Shri Bhaiya Ram Munda was appointed a member of the Study Group in place of Rev. Father J. Boel who resigned on personal grounds. As the Director, Bihar Tribal Welfare Research Institute, did not attend any meeting of this Study Group, Sri S. K Chand of Administrative Training School, Ranchi, who was already attending meetings of this Study Group as a special invitee, was appointed a member in her place vide Commission's letter No. 3 (64) 68-NCL dated the 13th August, 1968.

1.3 The Study Group was required to undertake a study of tribal labour—both industrial and agricultural—to highlight the problems and attitudes of this ethnic group as distinguished from, and parallel to, those of non-tribal agricultural and industrial labour in terms of the objectives of the National Commission on Labour.

1.4 The Study Group was required to ascertain facts and formulate recommendations for the amelioration of the conditions of the tribal labour on the basis of existing materials and information available to the Study Group. Amongst

manv, the two large-scale survey reports on Ranchi¹ and Hatia² conducted by Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi were of immense help to this Study Group. Subsequently the Study Group was asked to review the problem of tribal labour, including the problem of land alienation, in the background of the wider canvas of other underprivileged sections of the rural communities. The Commission also desired the Group to note the impact of recent industrial and agricultural developments on the problem. These have been dealt with at appropriate places.

However, the Group felt that in view of the extremely dynamic character of tribal labour problems and also on account of the paucity of documentary information regarding them, it was necessary to gather field data which would throw further light on the problem. Rev. Father M.V.D. Bogaert and Mr. T.S. Rao collected relevant information with the help of a questionnaire and a proforma from the management of industrial enterprises in and around Ranchi, tribal factory and casual workers, trade unionists, social workers and local officials of the Labour Department. Dr. B.N. Sahay collected relevant field data regarding forest labour.

1.5 The Study Group made use of a number of books, reports, monographs and unpublished studies.

A list of references of such materials is given in Appendix IA.

This report is divided into eight chapters. In Chapter 2, we discuss the basic issues regarding the approach to tribal labour problems.

In Chapter 3, we present the setting, highlighting the emergence of paid tribal labour in a historical perspective.

In Chapters 4,5,6 and 7 we discuss the problems of tribal agricultural, forest, casual non-agricultural and industrial labourers respectively. The last Chapter contains a summary of our conclusions and recommendations.

1.6 The Study Group held fourteen sittings at Ranchi before finalising the report. Initially various members worked

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1. Vidyarthi, L. P. The Cultural Configuration of Ranchi : Study of a pre-industrial city of Tribal Bihar, Bookland Pvt. Ltd., Calcutta (in press)
 2. Vidyarthi, L.P. From Simpler Economy to Industrialisation : Techno-Cultural Implications of Changes in Hatia (in press).

and reported on chapters allotted to them. Sri Chand prepared a draft report on this basis which was considered and finalised by the Group. Details regarding attendance of members at these meetings are given in Appendix IB.

1.7 The views expressed in this report are those of the Study Group as a whole. Without claiming complete unanimity, the Study Group is satisfied that the individual members are in broad agreement with the recommendations made in the report.

CHAPTER II

APPROACH TO TRIBAL LABOUR PROBLEMS

2.1 A study of tribal labour in and around Ranchi district justifies itself on two counts :—

- (1) Ranchi is the only district of Bihar in which the tribals are in clear majority. The total tribal population in this district is 1³ million (61.6%).
- (2) Ranchi which is rich in mineral and forest resources, has been for the last decade in the grip of an industrial revolution. Within about a period of eight years or so, a number of private and public enterprises have sprung up all around Ranchi, including the giant Heavy Engineering Corporation complex at Ranchi and the Bokaro and the Patratu industrial complexes.* As a result, Ranchi has been experiencing a very rapid phase of industrial urbanisation. Almost all the communities living in Ranchi or near about have been affected by this process. So have been the tribal. A study of tribal labour problems in and around Ranchi would, therefore, give a fair idea of how the members of a primitive community face the challenge of industrialisation and are affected by it and what can be done to ameliorate their conditions.

2.2 The size, composition and quality of a labour force and also its overall capacity to meet the demands of an industrial society is generally influenced by the economic and social life of the community to which it belongs. Communities differ from each other in respect of their social structure and village organisation, ethics and "styles of life". Where differences are marginal, it is possible to ignore their effect on the labour problems of that community. This is not the case with scheduled tribes in India. As an ethnic group they have distinctive features. Not only their culture has one distinctiveness of its own but it also pervades every aspect of the tribal people's thought ways and work-

*Vidyarthi, L.P.—Culture Change in the Tribes of Modern India in Journal of Social Research, Vol.XI, No. 1, Ranchi, 1968, pp. 24-26

ways. As we shall see later in this report, most of the problems which a tribal labour is facing to-day can be ultimately traced to one or the other traits of tribal culture such as deep sense of attachments and folk ways, addiction to drinks, simple and trusting nature and gay and carefree attitude towards life. It is, therefore, very necessary to understand and appreciate some of the features of tribal culture in order to have a correct appreciation of the problems facing the tribal labour. Then alone integrated and satisfactory recommendations can be made for amelioration of their conditions. To treat the tribal labour just as any other group of labour would be a folly and recommendations based on such treatment would be superficial and would not touch the heart of the matter.

2.3 The entire fabric of tribal society is woven around the principles of reciprocity and mutual obligations. Every tribal is naturally disposed towards group solidarity and co-operation. This is also reinforced by their religious beliefs and practices; whether it is a birth event or marriage or death or just religious festive occasions, the tribal people have an instinctive drive for enjoying the occasion in the company of their kinsmen. The tribals as a community have not only a deep sense of solidarity among themselves but also a very close identification and affinity with 'nature' and 'spirits'.¹ Centuries of living in natural habitat like hills and forests has made them veritably the children of nature. It has also isolated them physically and mentally from the life and living in the plains. Even the tribesmen who have for very long lived in the plains have an inner feeling of isolation from the non-tribals and a feeling of kinship and nearness with the tribals. The plains tribesmen also carry in their memory their unfortunate experiences in dealing with the non-tribal people. Simple and trusting as they are, they have been in the past, by and large, exploited by the local non-tribal people. This has generated in them a spirit of avoidance of anything alien to their culture.

2.4 In their approach to life and to the acquisition of material possessions, a tribal worker is different from that of the other communities. It is apparent that the tribal ethics is free from the greed for accumulation of wealth which is

¹Vidyarthi, L.P.—The Maler: A study in Nature-Man-Spirit Complex, Bookland Private Ltd., Calcutta, 1963.

het case with the modern communities. Tribal approach to material acquisition is moral and rational.

2.5 In short, a tribal society is essentially a pre-industrial society. When such a society is suddenly exposed to powerful forces operating in an industrialising society, it is natural for the members of such a society to be swept off their feet. The gulf between the pre-industrial society and the modern urban-industrial society as emerging in Ranchi and elsewhere in this country is wider and deeper. When the process of transition from the traditional society to the modern society is slow and properly graduated to be made bearable, the traumatic effects of change are reduced. The industrial urban change is always a challenge to the isolated homogeneous folk and primitive communities. From an initial attitude of avoidance, gradually these communities change over to an attitude of acceptance but all this requires time. The tribal people, if they are given time, will undergo a process of 'cultural evolution' and would work out a synthesis of traditional culture and the modern culture. When, however, the pace of challenge is rapid and overwhelming, these communities do not get a chance to work out the synthesis of elements of value of both cultures. Such a change causes cultural crisis, economic disorganisation and social disintegration. Not only the individual in the society has to lead a life of cultural disequilibrium, but the tribal society as a whole becomes a victim of misunderstanding. The modern society is not prepared to give allowance for their distinctiveness and treats them just as any other group of human beings. It is therefore, not able to understand and appreciate their behaviour which is a product of 'gradualism and conservatism'. On the other hand, the tribal is also unable to comprehend the moves of the industrialising society. He finds it difficult to carve out a place for himself in this society which would not ensure his dignity and independence. Faced with such a prospect it is inevitable that sometimes an attitude of aggression may develop in the tribes, partly as a result of frustration arising out of their inability to adjust in the new circumstances and partly due to the behaviour of the non-tribals towards the tribals. This aspect has also been studied in the five industrial townships (H.E.C. Ranchi, Patratu, Bokaro, Rourkela and Jamshedpur) which brings out the fact that "although these 'industrial complexes herald an

economic and industrial growth of the country, they have caused great deal of social disruption among the tribals living in the areas of industrialisation.' 'The large-scale industrialisation, though operating in the tribal areas, is geared to the general economic development without much of conscious efforts to benefit the tribal communities'. This approach has obviously led to unexpected consequences of social disruption among the tribal communities and by and large, instead of being benefited, their economy and culture, so far, have been adversely affected." The net result, in due course, is the loss of traditional occupation, land, house, the traditional way of life, unemployment, keen and unfair competition with the immigrants in the labour market, high aspiration and great frustration.*

Therefore, we feel that such an undesirable situation of social disruption of the tribal communities should not be allowed to develop.

2.6 A section of the tribals, particularly the educated and christian tribals, try to keep pace with the modern, urban and industrial forces. In this process they not only detribalise themselves but also develop discontentment in life owing to rising level of aspiration. There are others who continue to insist on isolation and segregation. We are, however, of the view that the correct approach to the tribal problem in general and the tribal labour problem in particular is neither their isolation as museum pieces nor their complete assimilation with the non-tribal modern industrial culture, but a gradual process of integration of the values of traditional tribal culture with that of the modern industrial ones. Integration implies meeting together of divergent cultures without loss of identity and individuality. In some large public and private undertakings we come across compact and sizeable labour groups from the north and the south, the east and the west of the country working together, but still maintaining their cultural identity. Our view is that the tribal labour force is not only willing but also competent to integrate itself into the industrial urban complex, provided the Government and the management of the industrial enterprises appreciate their efforts and encourage and help them in all possible ways. Even though it means meeting of values which are very much different

*Vidyarthi, L.P.—Culture Change in the Tribes of Modern India, in Journal of Social Research Vol. XI, No. 1, 1968. Ranchi, pp. 20-31

from each other, we feel that the management has the scope to make adequate allowance for tribal values without detriment to productivity.

2.7 Tribal labour policy in the past has been either non-existent or inconsistent. For instance, there is a policy to reserve a certain percentage of posts belonging to scheduled castes and tribes in government offices and industrial undertakings. But mere reservation does not help them, because tribals are at different levels of socio-cultural development, belong to varied geographical and economic settings and have various historical backgrounds which, naturally, lead to their differential preparedness to change. Besides, their educational standard, by and large, has also been poor because in the past adequate steps for their improvement were not taken. The policy of reservation which is meant to help the tribal can bear some practical results and go to the deserving tribals only when it is accompanied by systematic policy of intensive education and training for prospective tribal candidates. It is not necessary that the education and training may be entirely pre-entry (except the skilled jobs where it is necessary). It may be necessary to continue the process of training even after a tribal has been selected for appointment. We, therefore, feel that labour policies including that of recruitment, training, promotion, condition of service, wages, etc., should be reviewed and reassessed from the point of view of the actual effects that they produce on tribal labour situation and a consistent and integrated labour policy should be evolved.

It has also been found that the deserving tribal workers fail to get the desired benefit from the governmental policies and measures for amelioration of their conditions, partly because they are ignorant of the provisions, and partly because of their varied preparedness. Thus, they fail to come forward and insist for the fulfilment of their rights. We are of the view that the government's responsibility does not end merely with framing of policies and passing of necessary legislation. It should extend to the point of actual implementation of policy to ensure achievement of desired results. It should be the duty of the government to ensure that none of its policies regarding tribal labour, in their process of implementation, either unwillingly or willfully gets circumvented or in any way modified to the detriment of the interests of the tribal labour.

CHAPTER III

TRIBAL LABOUR PROBLEM—THE BACKGROUND

General

3.1 Scheduled Tribes in India form 6.9% of the total population. In Bihar they number 4.2 million and constitute about one per cent of the total population of the country. They form 14.07% of the tribal population of India. Only two States i.e., Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, have a tribal population larger than that of Bihar.

3.2 In Bihar the tribal population is heavily concentrated in the Chotanagpur belt and the Santhal Parganas district of Bhagalpur Division. Out of every 100 tribals in the State, Ranchi has 31, Singhbhum 23, Hazaribagh 6, Palamau 5 and Dhanbad 4. Thus, the five districts of Chotanagpur account for 68% of the tribal population. Along with Santhal Parganas they account for 82% of the total tribal population.

3.3 In the districts of Chotanagpur the tribal population forms an important segment of the population. The proportion of tribal population is the highest in Ranchi where the tribals constitute 61.6% of the total population. This is followed by Singhbhum with 47.3%, Palamau 19.2%, Hazaribagh 11.3% and Dhanbad 11.1%.

3.4 There are about 30 tribes in Bihar, but only five of them account for 82% of the total tribal population. The Santhals are most numerous. They constitute 36.6% of the total tribal population. The Oraon constitute 17.5%, the Munda 14.9%, Ho 10.8% and Kherwar 2.6%. In Ranchi the tribal population consists of mainly the Munda and the Oraon. 74% of the Munda population and 78.8% of the Oraon live in Ranchi district. These tribes belong to the 'Plain Agriculture type'. During the last three decades certain sections of these

1. Vidyarthi, L.P.—Cultural types in Tribal Bihar, in Cultural Contours of Tribal Bihar, Punthi Pustak 1964, pp. 18-24 & 64-80.

A four fold classification of the cultural types of the tribes of Bihar by Vidyarthi does not only help to the understanding of culture, but also takes into account the economic environment as well as the economic occupations of the tribals and further stresses the importance

tribes, under the impact of modern forces, have taken up unskilled and mining jobs. The tribes belonging to this group have also taken up modern education and a section of it has emerged as 'educated elite' and has also taken up 'white collar' jobs as well as provided regional leadership.

This group of tribals, except the Ho of Singhbhum district, have ordinarily been influenced by Christianity. According to 1961 census, out of 5.02 lakhs returned as christians in Bihar, 4.44 lakhs are tribals and of them 3.65 lakhs or over 82% are concentrated in Ranchi district alone. Among this section of the tribal, the rate of literacy is relatively higher. The following table brings out a correlation between Christianity and higher incidence of literacy.

	Number per 1000	Literates	Christians
Munda	138	138	263
Kharia	132	132	614
Oraon	127	127	238
Ho	96	96	5
Santal	61	61	18

3.5 Between 1951 and 1961 the population of scheduled tribes in India increased by only 9.7% as compared to the increase in general population of the State by 19.7%. This comparatively smaller rate of growth may be attributed to many factors; one of the factors may be the migration of tribals to other states. But for want of figures regarding migration to other States no definite statement can be made on this point.

of understanding the processes of adaptation to ecological environments. This classification, therefore, has a unique combination of both economic and cultural types. It is as follows :

- (i) **Forest Hunting Types** :—The Birhor and the Korwa who are in the stage of hunting and food collection are the examples of this type.
- (ii) **Hill-Cultivation Type**:—The Maler, the Hill Kharia and the Asur who live in the hills are the examples of this type. While the first two practise 'Slash and Burn' type of shifting cultivation, the Asur were the iron-smelters who after leaving their traditional occupation have eventually taken up simple cultivation. All the three tribes depend on the forest for their subsidiary means of livelihood.
- (iii) **Simple-Artisan Type**:—The Karmali, the Iohra, the Mahli and the Chickbraik are the examples of this type. The Karmali and the Lohras are the iron-smiths, whereas the Mahli and the Chikbaraik are the basketmakers and drummers and weavers respectively.
- (iv) **Plain Agricultural Type** :—The Santal, the Munda, the Ho, the Oraon and many others are the examples of this type. Generally they live in the undulating areas on the plateau and are predominantly dependent upon plough cultivation.

3.6 As compared to the general population, the scheduled tribes in Bihar have a significantly higher proportion of workers. Whereas the proportion of workers per 1,000 population in Bihar is 414, that of scheduled tribes is 589. The large difference in the proportion of workers in population is partly explained by the greater participation of tribal women. Whereas the proportion of female workers per 1000 of total population is only 271 in case of total population of Bihar, that in the case of scheduled tribes is 560. The scheduled tribes, it appears, are not only free from the various inhibitions regarding the employment of female workers but find it necessary on account of acute poverty.

3.7 We may now take note of the pattern of employment of the working population. Here also the pattern is distinctively different from that of the total population. The tribal working population is heavily concentrated in the primary sector, that is, category I (as cultivators), category II (as agricultural labour) and category III (in mining, quarrying, livestock, etc). Out of every 1,000 scheduled tribe population, 919 are in the primary sector. Of this, 781 have been recorded as cultivators, 96 as agricultural labourers and 42 as workers in mining, quarrying, livestock etc. Comparing this with the pattern of employment of the population of the Bihar State, 802 persons are in the primary sector, of which only 539 work as cultivators, 230 as agricultural labourers and 34 in mining, quarrying, livestock etc. We can, thus, note another important point of difference and that is the very small percentage of tribal working population which has been recorded as agricultural labour. We find that more than $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the workers amongst the scheduled tribes work as cultivators and only about 10% work as agricultural labourers. The percentage of the total state is over 23%. The low percentage of agricultural labour and high percentage of cultivators among the tribals may be partly explained to be the result of enforcement of various laws and regulations for preserving the rights of the members of the scheduled tribes in the lands owned by them. It should not, however, lead us to the conclusion that a small percentage of agricultural labour generally indicates the healthy and progressive character of the agricultural economy. In fact the reverse is true. The agricultural economy of Chotanagpur is extremely weak and the fact that the majority of the tribal working population are cultivators does not necessarily mean that

their economic condition is satisfactory. Among the regions of Bihar, Chotanagpur is the least productive and its agricultural economy has, therefore, the lowest capacity to support population. In Chotanagpur, on account of its rugged terrain, cultivated areas constitute less than 30% of the total area against about 60% in north and south Bihar. Further, not only the soil of Chotanagpur is poor in quality but its unrelenting surface and presence of hard rock below the surface have limited the scope of extension of irrigation facilities. On account of the inadequacy of irrigation facilities the agricultural economy of this region suffers from weakness as well as insecurity. Moreover, the size of holdings is not markedly larger to compensate for the poor quality of soil. By and large, the tribal population have been practising subsistence cultivation and have been carrying on unrelenting struggle to eke out the barest living from infertile soil.

Genesis of paid tribal labour

3.8 In primitive non-monetized societies generally human labour is not offered for sale but used for co-operative production and exchange. The problem of paid labour emerges when the primitive economy is unable to meet even the most elementary needs of the growing population and when some imposition in cash or kind is made by outsiders over the primitive population. When this imposition is in cash or when for any other purpose, such as litigation or purchase of modern consumption goods, the tribals require cash they have to enter the labour market for getting it. When such things happen, a transition from free communal labour to paid or exploited individual labour takes place. This transition has been taking place in the Chotanagpur belt for well over one and half centuries. When the outside element entered the Chotanagpur plateau, they snatched not only the lands which were brought under the plough by the tribals, but also imposed many obligations in cash and kind over the tribals. In the beginning this imposition was in the form of labour rent, better known as *Begaries*. This system was abused so much and the tribals were exploited to such an extent that government had to take steps in passing the Chotanagpur Commutation Act in 1897 for complete commutation of labour rent. But inspite of the various steps taken by the government the exploitation of the tribal population continued to take place in various forms. This is because of two reasons: (1) the tribal economy, whether

it be hunting or food gathering or settled agriculture, has not been able to meet the pressure of growing population. As a result, the tribals had to enter into debts mainly with the non-tribals to maintain themselves. (2) To a certain extent debts were also caused by their own improvident habits and excessive drinking on festive occasions or even otherwise. Taking advantage of their simplicity and their trusting nature the crafty outsiders have all through exploited them. Loans were given to the tribals on very high rates of interest so much so that they were consistently in debt and ultimately they were forced to sell their lands and again go on hunting for new loans. This process continued in Chotanagpur so long as fresh lands could be brought under cultivation. When the scope for bringing new lands under cultivation got restricted partly due to the geographical reasons and partly due to the government policy of protecting the forests, the tribal people had no alternative but to enter the labour market. As early as the beginning of the 19th century, we find evidences of large-scale migrations of tribals from Chotanagpur districts in search of employment not only to the other parts of the State and the country, but abroad also. A sizeable number of tribal population went to Mauritius and other places. When the tea industry was established about the middle of 19th century, the tribal labour from Chotanagpur migrated in very large number to take up plantation work. Tribal labour from Chotanagpur was liked for cheapness and regularity in work. By and large, they were a peaceful community and the tea plantation work suited them well, because it was very much similar to the hilly agricultural work in Chotanagpur. Migration to Assam and North Bengal districts for tea plantation work were originally annual business, but subsequently a large number of them settled and accepted permanent settlement in those districts. The Labour Enquiry Commission of 1896 mentions that "in the 10 years which elapsed between the two censuses a total of 1,19,000 people with an average of over 19,000 per annum migrated to Assam from the Chotanagpur division alone, while 27,000 people at least went to Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling from the same division and Santhal parganas district. Out of these, 75,000 people migrated from Lohardanga district alone to Assam". Incidentally the whole process of migration of Bihar tribals to tea gardens through the indenture system is one sordid tale of ruthless exploitation of simple and honest people. But that is another story.

3.9 At the time of Royal Commission on Labour (1931), the tribal tea labourers of Bihar working outside Bihar were reported to number 1,26,000. Subsequently there has been a decline in the number of such tribal migration to Assam, but the tribals driven by the need to make a living have found out alternative avenues of employment in and outside Bihar. Collieries in Bihar were opened towards the end of 19th century and the tribal workers found employment in coal mines. The male workers were reported to be excellent coal cutters, while head load work was taken up by the female. After legislative action regarding total exclusion of women workers from underground work in 1937, the number of female labourers in collieries have dropped considerably, but the male labour still continues to be employed in large numbers not only in the coal mines, but also in the mica mines in Hazaribagh and Gaya districts and manganese mines in the district of Singhbhum. In addition to employment in plantation and mines, tribal labour has found work also in the forest. The forest labour in Ranchi district is reported to be around 35,000. Thus, we find that well over a century, the tribal labour strived to make an honest living in the State or outside, but while the hostile forces of nature drove them from their habitat, the unkind fellow human beings prevented them from collecting their dues for honest labour.

3.10 Thus, prior to Independence, the tribal labour has passed through four phases. The early phase, in which for the first time the tribals left their natural habitat in search of living. In this phase their migration was by and large internal to Bihar, most of them going in to North Bihar for indigo plantation. This was followed by the overseas phase in which the tribal labour migrated to foreign countries. The third phase may be termed as the plantation phase in which the tribal labour moved in sizeable numbers to the tea plantations in Assam. The fourth phase represents the phase of internal migration to mines and quarries and to growing towns and cities like Ranchi and Jamshedpur in search of employment. Some of the Chotanagpur towns, particularly Ranchi, Dhanbad and Jamshedpur, have experienced very rapid urbanisation. With urbanisation, the demand for various types of labour such as construction workers, domestic servants, etc., came up. In this phase, the tribal population seasonally or permanently migrated from rural areas to urban centres. Those who migrated permanently settled down on the fringes of the town in slums. Among those who did not,

there were a very large proportion of daily commuters living in places as far as 6 to 8 miles outside the town. Such workers started going to the towns in search of employment every morning and returning to their homes in the evening. Most of them got unskilled jobs of casual nature. This development represents an attempt on the part of the tribal population to bolster up their earnings by combining permanent agricultural occupation with casual industrial/urban employment. During this phase there was also a marked trend of some of the tribal labour leaning more and more towards industrial employment. Further, among commuters we find a very sizeable proportion of women labour force. Adivasi women who have had no inhibitions in working with men accepted employment mainly as contract labour in towns. Thus, we can find the evidence that the folk and peasant tribal community were making an attempt, albeit a slow one, in responding to the new challenge of urbanisation. According to a study on urbanisation in Ranchi town conducted by Dr. Vidyarthi in 1959, it was evident that with the passage of time and continued contact with the external forces, there was considerable change in the traditions-oriented attitudes and styles of life of the tribal people.

3.11 The urbanisation phase was supplemented by, and intensified with, an intensive industrialisation phase with the decision to locate the Heavy Engineering Corporation complex at Ranchi. As a result of that decision, not only the Heavy Engineering Corporation complex has come up in Hatia about 8 miles from Ranchi, but also a large number of private sector undertakings have set up their factories around Ranchi. Besides Ranchi, some other places in Chotanagpur, where the impact of industrialisation has been significant, are Patratu in Hazaribagh district where Patratu Thermal Power Station is located, and Bokaro in Dhanbad district where the 4th Steel Plant in the Public Sector has come up. The effect of industrialisation in and around Ranchi has been intensively surveyed by Dr. Vidyarthi through a research project entitled "From Simpler Economy to Industrialisation: Techno-Cultural Implications of Changes in Hatia".

3.12 Other studies have been made by the Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University, in respect of the impact of industrialisation in Patratu and Bokaro. Through these studies very important facts regarding the effect of industrialisation on tribal labour has been brought out. Some of the important findings are given in the next few pages.

3.13 In Ranchi the industrial revolution caught the tribal community unprepared for the challenge of changing over from a folk-agricultural economy to an industrial economy. As a result, the social and cultural organisation of the tribal society has been disturbed. The immediate form of disturbance was the up-rooting of the tribal population from the villages, where the factory site was located. Tribals suffered the most as they were numerically the largest single group forming 77.5% of the families. Though these affected families were given reasonable compensation, they had to face numerous social problems, cultural crisis, economic disorganisation and social disintegration. The majority of them however were resettled in the colonies which are situated in the vicinity of the factory. In general, with the passage of time, these uprooted families are getting adjusted to the emerging industrial-life. Only a few families who preferred to settle in rural surroundings purchased lands elsewhere and settled down. It was also noticed that a considerable number had taken up landless labour and small farmers had taken up quarry work and other miscellaneous construction jobs.

3.14 The effect of the construction of Heavy Engineering Corporation factories on the tribal economy and tribal labour has been felt not only in the core villages, but also in villages as far as 20 miles from the factory site. In these villages, people continued with the traditional occupation of agriculture, but there is a marked trend among the youngmen to accept industrial work as their subsidiary occupation. It was found that the tribal youth was prepared to go in not only for industrial jobs, but those among them who had some education preferred other urban white collar occupations also. By and large, the non-converted tribal male and female went in for unskilled industrial jobs while the educated ones, among which the converted tribals were the majority, went in for industrial urban occupation. The tribals have got employment opportunities not only in the new factories, but also in many subsidiary industries like stone quarries, brick kiln and other building industries. The tribal women labour have responded to urbanisation and industrialisation by accepting unskilled jobs in construction work.

3.15 During the formulatory and construction phase, it can be safely stated on the basis of the studies mentioned above that in and around Ranchi district, the tribal employment situation improved considerably and as a result their

incomes also improved and their living styles changed to a certain extent.

3.16 It would not be out of place to think a little about the future. As the construction phase has now very nearly ended and as the urbanisation process has also reached a plateau, the tribal labour population will face the problem of growing unemployment. All through the decade, the tribal labour worked as unskilled labour. Very few of them managed to become skilled workers either due to paucity of opportunities or due to their inability to take advantage of these opportunities. Now, for want of skills, they are finding difficulty in getting absorbed in industrial work. This has caused frustration among those who are attracted to industrial work to raise their living standards. It was rather unfortunate that advance planning for necessary training to the tribal labour to equip them with skill and technical know-how was not made. As a result, the tribal labour appears to have once again missed the bus. It is also known that the migration of tribal workers to places outside the State is not going to be as easy as before. Once their migration was welcomed in those States, particularly Assam, but for various reasons, the local population in all the neighbouring States where the tribal population used to migrate is clamouring for local employment. As such, the migratory tribal labour will also be seeking employment within Chotanagpur when it finds the door closed outside. This is likely to aggravate the employment situation further.

3.17 According to the survey conducted by Dr. Vidyarthi, most of the unemployed tribals are uneducated and very few of them have got technical qualifications. Apart from the lack of sufficient general and technical education, other reasons for unemployment are retrenchment and lack of sufficient agricultural land to support the family.

Conclusions and Recommendations

3.18 There is no doubt that the tribal population, particularly the younger generation of tribals, have shown a marked degree of adaptation to the industrial way of life. It is important that this welcome change in the attitude of the tribals should not be allowed to be frustrated by denial of legitimate opportunities for industrial employment. The most important reason which stands in the way of their getting employment is lack of technical training. Some steps were taken by the government to reserve a certain percentage

of seats for scheduled castes and tribes in technical training institutes in Chotanagpur. It is, however, intriguing to find that some of the reserved seats do not get filled up. It is necessary to investigate the reasons for this.

The Government should evolve suitable employment policy for the tribals in industrial jobs in and around Ranchi district and should see that this policy is implemented not only by the Public Sector undertakings but also by the Private Sector undertakings.

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CHAPTER IV

TRIBAL AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

General Background

4.1 According to 1961 census, out of a total scheduled tribal population of 42.1 lakhs in Bihar, 24.7 lakhs persons were listed as workers. Among the workers, a total of 21.8 lakhs were engaged in agricultural work, 19.3 lakhs as cultivators and 2.5 lakhs as agricultural labourers. Out of every 1,000 workers of scheduled tribes in Bihar, a total of 877 were engaged in agriculture, 781 as cultivators and only 96 as agricultural labourers. As compared to this, out of every 1,000 scheduled caste workers, 239 were cultivators and 549 were agricultural labourers making a total of 788. For the residuary population, out of every 1,000 workers, there were 769 workers engaged in agriculture, out of which 565 were cultivators and 179 agricultural labourers. These figures confirm the observed fact that tribal economy is still primarily agricultural.

4.2 A point of much greater significance, which emerges from the above figures, is the extremely low percentage of agricultural labourers among the tribals. Whereas in Bihar, agricultural labourers constitute 23% of total workers, among the scheduled tribes, the percentage of agricultural labourers to total workers is barely 10%. This low percentage needs some explanation. In the 1961 census, agricultural labourers have been defined as "those who would toil in the field merely for wages in cash or kind without having any right or interest in the land or produce thereof." Even share croppers, or tenants cultivating lands taken on lease from others, have been classified as cultivator. It has been suggested in the census report that the very large number of cultivators among the scheduled tribes "bear testimony to the efficacy of various laws and regulations which have been in force for preserving the rights of members of the scheduled tribes in the lands owned by them". This may be one of the causes, though it may be pointed out that despite these laws and regulations considerable alienation of land has taken place. An important reason which appears

to us to be responsible for the low percentage of agricultural labour is that a very large percentage of agricultural labour belonging to Chotanagpur have been enumerated in other States. In Chotanagpur, very large percentage of tribal population do not depend exclusively upon agricultural labour for their living. With one main rice crop, agricultural season is very short and opportunities for agricultural employment are limited; it is the usual practice for tribals to leave the village en masse and go out for employment for about six months in a year. Generally, the exodus begins shortly after the harvesting season is over, i.e., end of November, and the return journey is made round about April-May. It is, therefore, very likely that a good percentage of the seasonal agricultural tribal workers missed being counted as agricultural labourers in Chotanagpur. Secondly, large percentage of share croppers and tenants in Chotanagpur, who also do agricultural labour work to supplement their meagre income, may have been counted as cultivators and not as agricultural labourers.

4.3 Be that as it may, it is necessary to point out that there is not much of a difference between the income and standard of living of a tribal cultivator and a tribal agricultural labourer. According to 1961 census, in Chotanagpur, about 6% of the holdings of cultivators (owners as well as share croppers) are in the range of 1 acre to 4.9 acres, while 6.5% of lands are below one acre. Thus, about 2/3rd of the holdings are below 5 acres. However, in Chotanagpur, over 5 acre holdings do not mean much in terms of value of output, as 60% are up-lands (Tanr) and only 40% are rich low lands (Don). The up-lands are not only poor in productivity, but production from these lands is extremely uncertain. It all depends upon satisfactory rainfall. On account of these reasons, the gross value of output per acre in Chotanagpur districts is much lower as compared to districts of South and North Bihar. For instance, the gross value of output per acre in Ranchi is Rs. 145.9, in Hazaribagh Rs. 115.79 and in Palamau Rs. 111.6 as compared to Rs. 211 in Patna and Rs. 156 for Bihar as a whole.* Thus, it is the precarious nature of the agricultural economy of Chotanagpur that compels a fair percentage of tribals owners, share croppers, tenants and agricultural labourers to seek agricultural employment on a part-time or casual basis in Chotanagpur or

*Census Atlas for Bihar—P.380

outside. In Chotanagpur, at least, on account of the reasons stated above, agricultural labour ceases to be an exclusive category.

Level of Employment

4.4 The first Agricultural Labour Enquiry, 1950-51 and the second Agricultural Labour Enquiry 1956-57 have made estimates for the nature and extent of employment of agricultural labourers in various States. In these estimates, calculations have not been made for the sub-region of Chotanagpur, nor for tribal agricultural labour as a category. But, we can very well say that employment of agricultural labour for wages in case of tribal labour of Chotanagpur is much less, as compared to that for Bihar. According to first Agricultural Labour Enquiry, adult male casual labourers were employed for wages for 198 days and self-employed for 82 days in a year. According to the second Enquiry, they were employed for wages for 218 days and self-employed for 28 days in a year.

4.5 In Chotanagpur, where we have only one main Kharif rice crop and another catch-crop during the rainy season, we cannot expect the same intensity of employment as it is in the case of rest of Bihar. Both direct as well as indirect evidences suggest that employment for wages does not exceed 150 days in a year in Chotanagpur. To fill up the gap, the tribals have three alternatives open to them : (a) self-employment in the village or near it, (b) commute to towns or temporary migration to towns in Chotanagpur for employment of casual nature ; and (c) permanent or seasonal migration to distant places in Bihar and outside. The tribals have taken all the three alternatives in their stride. We have reasons to believe that the tribals in Chotanagpur practice self-employment to an appreciably greater degree than agricultural labour of other Bihar districts. The proximity of forests gives them opportunity for self-employment in such occupations like collection of wood, fuel, herbs, grass and various products and engage themselves in such household industries as rope-making, mat-making etc. We have already noticed in another chapter the great popularity of casual labour among tribals.

Migration

4.6 As regards tribal migration, even though no reliable estimate of its extent is available to us, there is no doubt about it that the tribals do migrate on a very large-

scale. According to an estimate, the flow of emigration from Bihar to other States was of the order of 1.5 million. *Of this 20% were permanent migrants, 45% semi-permanent and the rest seasonal. Though no separate estimate is available for Chotanagpur, we can take it that at least half a million of the migrants from Bihar are from Chotanagpur. Further, emigration by tribes from Chotanagpur, which is mostly seasonal emigration, is a very longstanding phenomenon. As employment opportunities for such emigration to such outside States is shrinking on account of political and economic reasons, we apprehend that it will create further pressures on the weak agricultural economy of Chotanagpur unless steps are taken to vitalise agriculture and to create new sources of non-agricultural employment.

Wage Structure

4.7 Wage differentials and diversity in the mode of payment is a feature of agricultural wage structure of backward agricultural economies. On account of this, analysis as well as reporting of wage structure in respect of agricultural labour is not an easy task. Further, not only the wages in agriculture differ as between men, women and children and from one region to other, in some cases even within districts also, but the wage rates also go on changing in the same place as a result of working of various forces both of long-term and short-term nature. In a general way, the level of agricultural wages should be determined by the demand and supply for agricultural labour. But in folk-economies, the labour fails to get that amount as wages which should have normally been received on the basis of demand and supply considerations. In such economies, every aspect of life and relationship are to a certain extent influenced by or dominated by tradition and customs. The employer-employee relationship is normally an economic relationship and its character should be determined by purely economic considerations. But in folk-economies this is not so. As a result, the payment of wages which is to a certain extent influenced by the nature of employer-employee relationship is also materially influenced. It may, however, be noted that, by and large, the influence of tradition and custom works out in favour of the employer. In case of tribal agricultural labour the relationship between the employer and the employee and its wage level which is a bye-

product of this relationship is not only influenced by tradition and customs, but also by some hard economic realities.

Tribal Indebtedness

4.8 Among the hard economic realities, the most important is the 'fact of tribal indebtedness. Indebtedness is common to all rural communities. In the All-India Rural Credit Survey of 1951-52, eight villages each of the two Chotanagpur districts outside Chotanagpur, namely, Bhagalpur and Monghyr, were included. In Hazaribagh, indebted families were 29.8% of all families in village Lingua and 78.2% in village Bagro. In Palamau the percentage ranged from 65.5% in village Babaldumni to 100% in Oriya. In Bhagalpur, while studying the proportion of indebtedness in two Oraon villages in Ranchi district, Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi found that all the 130 families surveyed were indebted. In a survey of tribal development block of Bhandaria (Palamau) conducted by the Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi, it was found that out of 190 families surveyed, 67 were free from debt while 123 were found under debt. Thus, 64.7% of the families were indebted.

Indebtedness is not bad in itself—whether it is good or bad depends upon the purpose for which the debt is taken, the form in which it is taken and the consequence that it leads to. In the survey of Bhandaria block referred to above, it was found that 70% of the families had taken loan for their maintenance and agricultural purposes. In the villages surveyed by Dr. Vidyarthi, the percentage of borrowing for agricultural purposes was 73.07. Thus, we find that one of the principal reasons for borrowing is to meet the capital needs of agriculture and the consumption needs of the cultivating families. This is a clear indication of the deficit character of the tribal agricultural economy which produces both poverty and indebtedness.

If the debts are within the repaying capacity of the borrower and are available on easy terms, it helps to set a tottering economy on its feet, but, more often than not, we find that in economically weak and socially backward folk economies, unless institutional sources of finances are provided, the private agencies ruthlessly exploit the people. The tribal economy of Chotanagpur is no exception to this rule. The

activities of the money-lender in charging very high rate of interest and other questionable practices, instead of contributing to the agricultural prosperity of the area, has become the most serious impediment to it.

Land Alienation

4.9 One of the direct effects of indebtedness is that it leads to land alienation. Land alienation in its turn has two-fold effects on the problems of agricultural labour. The first effect is that it increases the size of agricultural labour-force by converting land-owning cultivators into landless agricultural labour through alienation of land to money-lenders in repayment of debts. The other effect of indebtedness and land alienation is that the bargaining position of indebted person becomes almost non-existent and as such the rates of wages which such a person is able to secure is much less than what he would have been able to secure if he was a completely free person. An extreme form of this is the case of bonded labour.

4.10 Since we are dealing with the problem of agricultural labour in Chotanagpur, it is not our purpose to go into details about the question of land alienation. Our purpose will be served if we briefly refer to the extent of land alienation in Chotanagpur and the relative ineffectiveness of various Governmental measures to curb it. This will help us to conclude that, if even now, effective steps are not taken to check the process of land alienation, the problems of tribals in general and the tribal labour in particular will become more and more complicated.

4.11 There have been two phases of the loss of land by the tribals to the non-tribals. In the first phase, about 2 to 3 centuries ago, the tribals lost their lands when the Raja of Chotanagpur settled some areas to his relatives for their maintenance and the latter granted similar tenures to their dependents. These Jagirdars and Zamindars were granted leases of lands in consideration of their civil and military services to the Raja. By the end of the 19th century, the authority of the aboriginals over their land was completely affected by that of the Hindu farmers introduced by the superior landlords. In some of the villages, the aboriginals completely lost their proprietary rights and were reduced to the position of farm labourers. The newcomers, on the strength of the *Patta* issued by the Raja or his relatives, evicted the aboriginals by brutal force. Bhuinhani lands were converted into personal cultivating lands. They were successful in imposing the

concept of Ryot-landlord relationship on the Mundas by imposing on them rents in cash or kind to be paid individually and not collectively. The imposition of rent was in kind and was abused and converted into a form of forced labour of which we have noted earlier. The worsening agrarian conditions of the tribals led to severe dissatisfaction and violent movements. Unfortunately these were treated as law and order problems and no attempt was made to investigate the root cause of this dissatisfaction. It is only in the first decade of the 20th century that government appear to have realised the gravity of the problem. The Tenancy Amendment Act of 1903 gave the first legal recognition of the *Mundari Khut Katti* system. It stopped all forms of mortgage except *Bhugatbandha* (complete usufructuary mortgage), invested the Deputy Commissioner with powers to give effect to the prohibition on sale, imposed certain other restrictions on transfer and put the record of right on a surer footing. It soon became clear that the agrarian law of Chotanagpur required thorough revision and as such the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act was passed in 1908. The intention of the government was to prohibit alienation of land by the tribals to the non-tribals. The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act prohibited alienation by gift or contract or agreement in respect of Ryot except (a) purchase and lease for any periods less than 5 years, (b) Bhugatbandha mortgage for any period less than 7 years, (c) purchase to registered co-operative societies for 15 years and (d) transfers were permitted subject to official sanction, the condition being that such transfer should not be from aboriginals to non-aboriginals, The Act has been amended several times, i.e., in 1938, 1947 and in 1954. Every time, the government has tried to remove the deficiencies of the Act, it has been outwitted by the wily money-lender and/or Zamindars. A detailed account of the methods employed by the persons has been given by the Dhebar Commission (pages 112-113)*. According to the Dhebar Commission, the "main reasons for the continued land alienation despite legal restrictions are (I) the lacuna in the laws, (II) ignorance of the tribal people and (III) complicated legal procedures to be followed. Their shrewd opponents have hitherto had a clear field, for they know that tribals are no match for them in monetary, legal and technical matters". We would like to add a few more reasons to those suggested by the Dhebar Commission. We feel that the entire approach of the government to the problem has been of a negative character. Government policies since the beginning failed to reali-

se that in a deficit agricultural economy there is bound to be a demand for credit for maintenance, as well as for investment. In such a circumstance, mere restrictions on transfer of land creates more problems than it solves and instead of helping the tribals, it actually harms them. A positive approach would have been to find an alternative source of finance which would be institutional in character and hence non-exploitative. About the time when restrictions on transfer of land were imposed by the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act, similar acts were passed in several other States where the non-tribal peasantry were involved, but failed to achieve the results because they ignored the basic realities of the situation. For various reasons, the institutional finance by governmental or semi-governmental agencies like the co-operatives have not been successful in completely meeting the needs of the rural people.

4.12 In Chotanagpur the various agencies for supply of credit are, besides the private moneylenders, friends, kinsmen, government (mainly through blocks), co-operatives, *Grain Golas and Dhan Golas*. It was found that the tribals have a preference for internal agencies such as the kinsmen and friends but, as these sources could often prove inadequate, they go in for other sources. Among these the practice of borrowing in kind from the *Grain Golas* is not only very old, but still liked by the tribals. The usual administrative deficiencies like corruption and red-tapism have crept in this system with the result that the tribals have to go to the various types of money lenders for meeting their credit needs. As such, we feel that government's efforts should be directed more towards devising an institutional agency for supply of finance to the tribal people in rural areas rather than concentrating attention only on legislative measures for protection against land alienation. The money lender's grip on the tribal economy is so vicious that there is no other way to secure freedom except by replacing them. Legislation fails to serve the purpose as not only the tribal is ignorant of the various provisions of law meant for his protection but, even if he is knowledgeable about these, he does not co-operate with the law-enforcing agencies in bringing the money lender to book for fear of losing his only source of credit. Instances have come to light in which the tribal is working as share-cropper on his own land or just as an agricultural labourer on the land on which his position is *de jure* and the

*Rerort of the Scheduled Area and Scheduled Tribes Commission

position of the money lender is *de facto*. In such cases, unless persuaded to disclose the position, the tribals do not disclose the real fact. It is obvious that legislation cannot be of much help in this matter. Even if measures are taken to restore the lands to the tribals taken away by force or fraud, the economic realities will again lead to the old position.

4.13 In recent years there has been considerable land alienation in and around Ranchi. Anticipating the tremendous rise in land value on account of location of industrial projects, non-tribals have been successful in luring the tribals to sell a considerable portion of their land at relatively cheaper rates. The payments received by the tribals not only from the private persons purchasing land from the tribals, but also in shape of compensation paid by the government for land acquired from the tribals for industrial purposes, have in very large number of cases been quickly dissipated by them. As a result, these erstwhile owners of land have joined the ranks of labour, agricultural or industrial.

Our reference to the problem of land alienation was incidental in that it has some bearing on the problem of landless labour. We now come to discuss some of the basic problems of tribal agricultural labour.

Wages—Casual Labour

4.14 The average wage of a casual agricultural worker employed on daily basis in areas round about Ranchi varies from Rs. 1.25 to Rs. 1.50 per day. Generally, the male workers are paid at the higher rate and the female workers at the lower rate. Wages received by the agricultural labourer is thus much lower than what is received by a non-agricultural casual labourer in Ranchi city and its vicinity. The average daily wage of a casual labourer in Ranchi is Rs. 2.25. The low wage rate in agriculture is explained not only by the lower paying capacity of agriculture, but also by the fact that in Chotanagpur districts there is preponderance of the old and the female workers among the agricultural labour. The tribals are not stay-at-home people. The young among them move out for a variety of reasons such as economic necessity, lure of higher earnings outside, and a spirit of adventure to go round and see places.* By and large, it is the older persons who stay behind in the villages to look after the homestead and a few pieces of land. It is

*It is reported that large number of agricultural labourers go to West Bengal where wage rates for similar work are decidedly better than in Chotanagpur.

these people who are primarily available for agricultural labour work.

4.15 The minimum rates of wages payable to agricultural labourers in the districts of Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Singhbhum and Dhanbad has been fixed by the Government of Bihar at the following rates* :—

(a) For the whole of Dhanbad district and Giridih sub-division of Hazaribagh district—

3 seers 12 chattacks paddy and 4 chattacks rice or chuda or Muri or Satu per day.

(b) For the whole of Ranchi, Singhbhum and Hazaribagh districts except Giridih sub-division—

3 seers 4 chattacks paddy and 4 chattacks rice or Chuda or Muri or Satu per day.

In the notification fixing the minimum wages, its has been mentioned that men and women shall get the same wages, but in actual practice we have found that men and women get different rates in Chotanagpur. Invariably the wages received by women are less than that received by men. In interior places the differentials between the rates received by men and women is much more pronounced.

In the notification fixing wage rates, agricultural operations like ploughing, harrowing, manuring, weeding, irrigating, thrashing, up-rooting, transplanting and harvesting have been lumped together and the same rates as stated above has been prescribed for all these operations. This is, however, not in accord with the actual practice regarding wage payment and the notification has not perhaps taken note of some of the tribal customs and practices. For some of the agricultural operations, such as transplantation, the tribals help each other with their labour for which whatever payment is received is treated more as a gesture rather than as a form of payment. This system is popularly known as *Maddati* which means helping each other. We also find that the rates for various operations differ and in almost all cases it is lower than the minimum wage fixed. For instance, female labour gets 2 *Pailas*** of paddy for weeding and 3 *Pailas* for harvesting.

* Government of Bihar notification No. VI/W3-103/61-L & E-8731 dated the 25th November 1968.

** Paila is a measure which is equivalent to about one seer.

Wages—Attached Labour

4.16 We may now turn over to the case of attached agricultural labour. In the notification fixing the minimum wages, the attached worker has been defined as "a worker who is under a contract written or verbal with his employer to work for him for a specified period". The notification specifies that in addition to the rates of wages fixed for casual workers, an attached worker shall get 7 maunds of paddy in a year. Actually the position is different. The wages received by an attached worker depends upon the degree to which he is attached to his master. On the one end of this spectrum of relationship will be an attached worker who is not much different from a casual labourer under contract to work for a year or season at the prevailing market rates. On the other end will be those attached workers who are not much distinguishable from the bonded labour, where they have neither the freedom to move out nor the cheek to demand wages at the prevailing market rates. In Chotanagpur the attached agricultural labourer is known as a *Dhangar*. A *Dhangar* is a servant to look after the agricultural operations of the master and receives about Rs. 100 or Rs. 150 in cash or kind besides his daily food and few pieces of cloth in a year. *Dhangars* may be of two categories. Some of them have a certain measure of freedom, i.e. they can change their master if they so like from year to year. The other category of *Dhangar* would be one who is not in such a position. The most important reason for his not being in a position to leave the service of one and take up the service of another is that of his indebtedness to his master. When a tribal becomes indebted or he is trapped into indebtedness, in the first stage he loses his land but, as if that is not enough, he also loses his freedom to sell his labour. When a tribal is not able to offer land as a security for the loan, the moneylender advances loan on personal security. In such cases the debtor has to work for the master and his wages are adjusted towards payment of interest and the principal. The Dhebar Commission noted the practice of bond labour among the tribals in various parts of the country. We have observed that in Chotanagpur district, even though a few cases of bond labour have been observed, the practice is more or less on the decline. In one of the cases reported in the survey of Bhandaria development block, the landless labourer concerned was receiving one meal a day and Rs. 30 in cash paid over a period once in three months. Thus, the indebted landless labourer receives

almost a nominal wage as compared to the casual labourer. We feel that one of the reasons for the low incidence of this practice near about Ranchi is the possibility of employment as casual labourer and earning higher rates of wages. This reduces the dependence on money-lender credit and also increases the possibility of repayment through alternative means.

Unions

4.17 Till lately, there was no evidence of unionisation of tribal agricultural labour. Trade Unions had not given thought to the possibility of organising agricultural labourers due to the greater difficulties in organising agricultural labour as compared to industrial labour. Recently, however, it has been noted that some leaders of C.P.I. (Left) are making efforts to bring about political awareness among the tribal agricultural labour which may lead to agrarian demonstrations, movement and unionisation.

Conclusions and Recommendations

4.18 (1) Almost all the problems of tribal agricultural labour, whether it is inadequate employment or unjust service conditions or low wages, can be ultimately traced to the basic weakness of the tribal economy. That the tribals are by and large simple and trusting and their opponents crafty and greedy only adds to the severity of the problems.

We, therefore, feel that an intensive programme for strengthening and diversification of tribal economy will go a long way to alleviate if not solve the problems of the agricultural labour. And as such it should be given the highest priority.

(2) The policy of tribal development through Tribal Development Blocks has failed to improve the tribal economy to the desired extent for various reasons. Such blocks are set up in areas in which tribal population accounts for two third or more of the total population. Tribals inhabiting areas where the tribal population is less than the prescribed percentage are left out, and their number is considerable. The entire approach of the T. D. Blocks is aggressive. T. D. Blocks are far too large and the tribal population relatively too small for proper attention to the problems of tribal economy. In our view the correct approach will be one in which it will be possible to give attention to the problems of groups of tribal villages. This is necessary because problems of different tribal pockets and tribal groups differ very much. We,

therefore, suggest that plan should be prepared for a number of contiguous villages grouped together for this purpose. In preparation of these plans, tribals should be more closely associated than they have been with the development programmes at the block level so far.

(3) In order to improve the tribal economy and help the tribal labour, these plans should have the following elements :—

- (a) A programme for agricultural development aiming at improvement of productivity and diversification of production. Cash crops may be introduced wherever feasible.
- (b) A programme for cottage industry for which the tribals have special aptitude. These may be industries processing agricultural, animal husbandry and forest produce.
- (c) A programme for development of infra-structure, mainly communication and irrigation. Considerable scope is there for providing employment to the tribal labour through a programme for small works of productive nature such as minor irrigation, soil conservation, rural roads etc. We recommend that such programmes should be planned and implemented as rural works programme. We recommend that an agency should be created with adequate funds for supervision of the preparation of such plans and their implementation.

(4) We recommend that the minimum wages should be fixed in the tribal areas on more realistic basis. We should take into account the various practices in tribal areas in regard to the payment of wages in cash or in kind. The fixation of minimum wages may be done on a district or sub-division basis, and not done by lumping together a number of districts together as is the case at the moment.

(5) Stricter enforcement of minimum wages for agricultural labour is necessary. At present enforcement is not effective on account of under-staffing of Labour Department personnel for taking up violation of minimum wages regulations. The Labour Inspectors have not been given power for starting prosecution against those who are violating the regulations. These powers may be given to them. We also recommend that there should be a greater publicity of the minimum wage rates fixed by the government. We have

found that in many cases the panchayat Mukhiya either do not know the rates or do not deliberately give them publicity.

(6) We recommend that a special study of the problems of tribal indebtedness should be made in depth to find out its causes, forms, consequences and suggest solutions. Meanwhile, a special fund should be created for providing credit to the rural people.

CHAPTER V

TRIBAL FOREST LABOUR

Introduction

5.1 By and large, forest plays an important role in the life and economy of the tribals. This is because the tribals in general have lived in the hills and forests of our country for ages. While some almost completely depend upon the forest, i. e., the food gatherers and shifting cultivators, others (settled agriculturists) partially depend upon it. But there is hardly any tribal community which is not connected with forest in some form or the other. The tribal community derives important benefits from the forests.

5.2 Forest provides land for shifting or 'slash-and-burn' type of shifting cultivation to the communities which practise them. It provides ground for hunting, fishing and grazing. It also provides raw materials for house-building, handicrafts, manufacturing agricultural implements, hunting, fishing and musical instruments, and for many house-hold articles. Besides, it provides Mahua flower for brewing liquor and various kinds of edible roots, fruits, flowers, vegetables, creepers, fire-wood, medicinal herbs, etc. Above all, a number of good and evil spirits have their abode in the various trees, stones, streams, springs, etc., of the forest which the tribals propitiate either regularly, occasionally or ceremonially.

5.3 Thus the forest not only satisfies deep-rooted tribal sentiments, it also provides essential food. They have lived for hundreds of years in the forest and in the past have enjoyed considerable freedom to use it as they like. Although the larger and many progressive tribes are mainly cultivators and partially dependent on it (as stated earlier), many of the smaller groups have an essentially forest-economy.

Forest Policy and Tribals

5.4 We do not propose to recount in detail the Forest policy of the government and the changes that have taken

place in recent years. Our main purpose is to show how the change in forest policy has affected the tribals in general and the tribal labour in particular.

5.5 The tribals continued to enjoy their freedom with regard to the forests until about the middle of the 19th century. Thereafter people from outside began to move into the forests and conditions began to change. The gradual extension of the authority of the government and the natural desire of the forest officials to exercise over closer control over the use of forest products deeply disturbed the tribal folk and their economy. The tribals have always felt rightly or wrongly that the forest belongs to them. This belief was shattered when during the British regime, the Forest Department was started. The tribals were not at all happy that their freedom in respect of the forests should in any way be restricted. For the first time a forest policy was enunciated in 1894. According to this policy it was necessary to regulate the rights and privileges of the dwellers in forest area in the interest of the larger public benefit. For the implementation of the said policy, forests were classified into various categories. In case of those forests, whose preservation was essential on climatic and physical grounds, it was laid down that "lesser interests must not be allowed to stand in the way". Regarding those forests which were commercially important, it was laid down that "every reasonable facility should be afforded to the people concerned for full and easy satisfaction of their needs". The minor forests which produce timber of inferior species were to be managed in such a way that the "people were protected against their own improvidence". Finally, in respect of pasture lands and grazing grounds, the same principle was to be applied as in the case of minor forests. The policy also granted limited recognition of the right to convert some forest areas into agricultural lands.

5.6 This policy was revised in 1952. The new policy introduced great changes. They are epitomised in the following official statement :

"Village communities in the neighbourhood of a forest will naturally make greater use of its products for the satisfaction of their domestic and agricultural needs. Such use, however, should in no event be permitted at the cost of national interests. The accident of a village being situated close to a forest does not prejudice the right of the country as a whole to receive the benefits of a national asset. The scientific

conservation of a forest inevitably involved the regulation of rights and the restriction of the privilege of user depending upon the value and importance of the forest, however irksome such restraint may be to the neighbouring areas..... while, therefore, the needs of the local population must be met to a reasonable extent, national interests should not be sacrificed because they are not directly discernable, nor should the rights and interests of future generations be subordinated to the improvidence of the present generation.”*

5.7 Although it is claimed that the policy of 1952 was a continuation of the old policy of 1894, it was in fact different in at least the following points of great concern to the tribals :—

- (i) The old policy envisaged the release of forest land for cultivation, subject to certain safeguards. The new policy withdrew this concession.
- (ii) The old policy had left a margin for the supply of the villagers' needs from the outlying areas in the reserved forests. The new policy decided that there should be village forests for this purpose.
- (iii) The old policy did not touch the private forests for the tribals. The new policy applied the same controls to them.
- (iv) The old policy did not touch free grazing in forests. The new policy sought to bring it under control. Fees were introduced and grazing was to be kept to the minimum.
- (v) The new policy made one important concession. It admitted that while it was emphatically opposed to shifting cultivation, persuasive and not coercive measures should be used in a sort of missionary rather than in an authoritarian, manner to attempt to wean the tribals from their traditional methods.

Thus the tribals who formerly regarded themselves as the lords of the forest, were through a deliberate process reduced to the state of subjects and placed under the forest department. Tribal villages were no longer an essential part of the forest but were there, merely on sufferance. The traditional rights of the tribals were no longer recognized as rights. In 1894 they became 'rights and privileges', and in 1952 they became

* Report of the Scheduled Area and Scheduled Tribes Commission, Delhi, pp.—125-142.

'rights and concessions'. Now they are regarded as 'concessions'.

Forest Policy and Tribal Labour

5.8 The implementation of the forest policies of 1894 and 1952 produced direct and indirect effects on the tribal people. A systematic policy of forest development (afforestation and deforestation) necessarily created larger demands for labour. In afforestation there are various operations which are essentially for the development of forests. These operations include silviculture or cleaning operations, climber cutting, thinning, protection from the forest fires and fencing. Thus, both for general development and afforestation, a large number of labourers are required. Similarly, the process of deforestation (exploitation of the forest resources) requires large number of people for felling of trees and various other operations associated with it. Thus, the new forest policy created a demand for a vast army of forest labour. An idea of employment created by the forest policy can be had from the fact that the Ranchi West Forest Division which has an area of 400 sq. miles gave employment to about 17,000 labourers per month for nine months in a year. Taking the East and West Divisions together the employment in Ranchi alone would come to about 35,000 workers.

5.9 The forest policies brought about changes in the relative importance of the various categories of forest labour. These categories were (a) self-employed labourers, (b) labourers employed by the Forest Deptt., (c) labourers employed by the contractors and (d) labourers employed by the Forest Co-operatives.

(a) *Self-employed labour* : Prior to the formulation of the forest policy and its implementation, self-employed forest labourers were perhaps the only and most important category. Under this category come those labourers who generally live amidst forests and entirely dependent upon it for their livelihood. They exploit forest resources themselves and use them for their own consumption and sell in the market for meeting other needs. Even now we can find such people in a tribal Heat (weekly market); but with greater and greater restrictions being imposed by the Forest Department in respect of the use of forests, their number and importance seems to be declining. It is, however, very difficult to make any estimate regarding their number.

(b) *Labour employed by the Forest Department* : They

are engaged in the various forest operations on muster roll 'daily wages' basis. They have to work for a minimum period of 8 hours a day and are paid at the rate of Rs. 1.75 as fixed by the government. They work under the supervision of the Mate appointed from amongst the labourers. Forest guards and forest managers also supervise their work. We came to learn that supervisory staff in the Forest Department take advantage of the ignorance and illiteracy of the tribal forest labourers and pay less than the approved wages and take overtime work without payment. The tribal labour are adverse to bringing this matter to the notice of the higher authorities, although when a few such complaints were lodged in the past, some of the supervisory staff were sacked.

(c) *Labour employed by the contractors*: This category of forest labour is the most exploited. Their working hours are manipulated to suit the interests of the contractors and invariably the wages are less than the rates approved by the government. They also manage to bring labour including females from distant places, giving them high hopes and taking work mercilessly without giving what is due to them. Overtime payments are also not made.

(d) *Labour employed by the Forest Co-operatives*: The forest co-operatives can take a Forest Coup on a reserve price to the tune of Rs. 10,000/- only and for which they have to furnish a security, the amount of which is 10% of the total reserve price. After this initial payment, subsequent payments are made in suitable instalments.

As members of the society can also employ themselves as labour, we have two categories: (a) member labour and (b) paid labour. In forest co-operatives the chances for exploitation of the forest tribal labour is the minimum as compared to other groups.

Women Labour

5.10 It was found that in the district of Ranchi, a large number of women and even adolescents join as active forest labour. Their number on an average is half of the total number of labour. Women forest labour were employed in both the exploitation and afforestation operations. It was reported that women labourers were very active, sincere and efficient in afforestation work. It was found that there was a category of migrating forest workers who were very skilled in their work, particularly in felling trees. In the category of migratory workers, women constitute about 30% of the total number. The rate of wages of such labour ranges from Rs. 1.50 (unskilled) to Rs. 4/-(skilled) per day per head.

Earnings of Forest Labour

5.11 As already stated, the minimum wage for forest labour in Bihar is fixed at the rate of Rs. 1.75 per day, but it was found that both in cases of employment by Forest Department and by the contractors they fail to get the wages fixed by the government. But skilled workers working on contract and not on daily wage basis were in a position to earn more than that. Besides the money wage, the forest tribal labour also get some real wages in the shape of various concessions by their employers. These concessions include : (i) collection of fire-wood, (ii) collection of flowers, fruits and leaves (except *Tendu* Bidi leaves), (iii) collection of roots, tubers, lac, gum, honey, medicinal herbs, etc., (iv) grazing except in afforestation area or the area which is being developed by the Forest Department and (v) free passage and communication facilities, etc.

Employer-Employee Relationship

5.12 We have already noted that the forest labour were not getting their dues. In the past the tribal labour used to accept whatever was handed down to him. In recent years, there is a growing tendency to protest against the unscrupulous activities of the contractors in shape of irregularity in payment of wages, delayed payments and other types of exploitation. So far, no legislation except the fixation of minimum wages has been passed to protect the interests of the tribal forest labour. There is a provision for making an enquiry (to be undertaken by the Forest Department) whenever a complaint is made against the government official or the contractor, but such complaints are few or far between for fear of the consequences that may follow.

Welfare of Forest Labour

5.13 There does not appear to be any specific programme for the welfare of the forest labour. Whatever benefit they derive from the point of view of welfare, these come under the general programmes of welfare and community development departments. Thus, the health programme under community development also covers a large section of forest labour. These facilities are better in relation to the First Aid Box which used to be supplied by the Forest Department to their field staff.

Conclusions and Recommendations

5.14 On the basis of the information available with us, we recommend that :

(1) Steps should be immediately taken for the effective enforcement of Minimum Wages Act both in relation to labour employed by the Forest Department and those employed by the contractors.

(2) Forest Labour Inspectors should be appointed to go round and investigate cases of under-payment of wages and overtime by the Forest Department and the contractors. The present procedure of enquiry by an officer of the Forest Department, which itself is one of the employers, is not conducive to the protection of the interests of the tribal forest labour.

(3) As far as possible, wage rates may also be prescribed according to the kind of operations undertaken.

(4) Steps should be taken for the protection of female forest labour. Only women who are accompanied by their husbands or parents should be given work.

(5) All those contractors against whom several complaints regarding non-payment or under-payment of wages and other types of complaints might have been lodged, should be blacklisted for purpose of grant of further contracts.

(6) More and more opportunities for employment should be provided to tribals in the service of the Forest Department as *Mate, Fire Watchers, Forest Guards and even Rangers*, if they qualify. This will provide incentives. Tribals residing in and around the forests should be given preference in employment.

(7) The Forest Department should draw up a plan of work for each year in such a way that as far as possible, it does not interfere with the schedule of agricultural operations and gives maximum employment to tribals in agricultural off-seasons.

(8) A real and long-term solution to end exploitation of forest labour and to improvement of their conditions would be to organise the forest tribal labour into co-operatives. Such co-operatives were started in Maharashtra and few other States much earlier. In Bihar they have been started only recently. These co-operatives are of two types : (i) Forest Co-operatives and (ii) Forest Labourers' Co-operatives. A forest co-operative should have at least ten members, who can buy a forest coup at the reserve price (price fixed by the Forest Department) on suitable instalments. Naturally, all the benefits will go to them as the middlemen, the contractor

would no longer come in the picture. But very often, the poor forest labourers do not have the capacity to buy such forest coups which is quite obvious from the fact that out of 350 villages under West Division, Ranchi (forest division which includes Lohardaga—117, Burmu—130, Bishunpur—68. Banari—35 villages) only 16 villages have such co-operatives.

(9) In order to remove some of the shortcomings and ensuring maximum benefits to the tribals, the idea with regard to the formation of Forest Labourers' Co-operative was mooted. In such co-operatives, there is provision for government subsidy at the rate of Rs. 3,500 per co-operative. Besides this subsidy, such societies have also the benefit of buying a forest coup at 10% less than the reserve price. In these societies all the members must necessarily be tribals. In West Division of Ranchi five such co-operatives have been organised so far, but only one of them known as Nawadih Co-operative has received a sum of Rs. 3,500/- as subsidy. The other four have not received the subsidy, so far. We recommend that it should be the policy of the government to set up expeditiously as many labour co-operatives as possible and to give them all possible assistance. If necessary, voluntary organisations should be encouraged to work in this field. Necessary administrative steps should be taken to ensure speedy grant of subsidies to the co-operatives. We also recommend that problems, if any, faced by such co-operatives should be reviewed from time to time and solutions for their difficulties found out. This can be ensured only when there is effective co-ordination amongst the Welfare, the Co-operative and the Forest Departments.

CHAPTER VI

TRIBAL CASUAL NON-AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

6.1 Casual labour is an important category of tribal labour from the point of view of the number employed. Unfortunately, very little published material is available on this subject. The Study Group undertook a survey at some of the important project sites like Bokaro and Gettlesuod, a few settled villages near the industrial complex in Ranchi and one colliery area in Bhurkunda of Hazaribagh district. The information gathered from the survey was supplemented with observation and personal knowledge of the members, as well as discussion with trade unionists, social workers and tribal associations.

Casual Workers—the Situation

6.2 The fact that very large number of tribal workers seek casual employment and get it can be explained by the following reasons :—

- (a) The tribal people have not yet got over their liking for agricultural occupation and living. Acceptance of full-fledged industrial employment implies a hard decision to break away from their traditional culture. Casual employment as construction worker or even as industrial worker of unskilled category does not force this unpleasant decision. Further, casual work of the nature of earth work is not far removed from the pattern of work they are used to in agriculture. The traditional division of labour of men doing the digging and women carrying headloads is also possible in such employment.
- (b) We have already noted that the one-crop agricultural economy of Chotanagpur is not able to provide either enough income or employment through the year. At the maximum they can provide

employment to cultivators and agricultural labourers for about six months. For the rest of the year the tribal workers have the alternative of sitting idle and wallowing in misery or to move out and get some income from casual employment. The income received from casual employment does not only see them through the lean agricultural months, but also helps them to improve their standard of living.

- (c) A large number of casual workers are daily commuters. From their point of view, casual employment is most suitable as it allows them to make a perfect working combination of agricultural and urban occupations. The growth of casual labour may be taken as another instance of the effort of the tribal labour to work out a synthesis between his own culture and the new urban culture.
- (d) From the point of view of employers, tribals are welcome as casual labour for their good health, stamina, capacity for hard work and by and large, peaceful nature. In comparison to non-tribal labour, the tribal labour do not agitate so vigorously for higher wages nor do they protest very much against bad treatment.
- (e) A number of casual workers used to offer themselves for employment even before the intensive construction phase started in Ranchi and other Chotanagpur districts. But, during that phase, the employment was very uncertain and also very small. Some of the casual workers used to turn themselves into part-time domestic servants or did odd jobs on daily or piece rates. A distinct change came about when the H.E. complex was taken up for construction. Simultaneously there was a very big boom in building construction by private persons. Some of the public sector undertakings like N.C.D.C., whose offices were already located here, decided to build up large residential colonies. All these construction activities created immense opportunities for casual workers. During this period which commenced roughly about 1958 and which is now coming to a close in Ranchi, but is still on in some other places like Bokaro, where the

construction work is still continuing, the tribals had little difficulty in securing employment as casual workers. The overwhelming majority of workers engaged in construction are tribals. The usual pattern is that they accept employment on a daily basis under a contractor. At most projects there is usually a chain of contractors starting with the major contractor, usually a registered construction company, going down to the contractors and sub-contractors.

Categories of Casual Workers

6.3 Casual construction workers can be classified in two categories. The first category is the daily commuters and second is the category of shanty dweller. The shanty dwellers are those who come from interior villages in the district. In both these cases it has been found that unlike the committed industrial workers, the tribal workers continue to maintain their strong ties with their land in the villages. The survey revealed that 92% of the casual workers possessed land, but the holdings were either very small or consisted of low productive up-lands, locally called "tanr" land. It was also found that some people had taken to casual employment only to earn some quick money for a specific purpose such as meeting expense on account of social obligations, repayment of debt, purchase of bullock etc. In some cases, failure of crop also has driven them out in search of casual employment. During the recent drought in Palamau, a case of a person owning 115 acres was recorded as a casual labour.

6.4 A distinctive feature of casual labour is their lack of commitment to urban industrial life. Their main aim is to make some money, meet the exigencies and again go back to their lands. On account of this lack of commitment, or in other words, their strong attachment to the land, these tribal workers have not responded well to the opportunities to become skilled workers even when they were exposed to work of a skilled nature for a long period. They come as unskilled workers and invariably remain so, making little effort to acquire new skills and adopt themselves to a new life. The tribals, it seems, prefer to stay on the fringe of industrial life; their links with industry are tenuous and at heart they remain farmers. This attachment to the land becomes evident when we recall the fact that many Adivasis

who went to the Andamans and to Assam to work in the plantations, stayed on there, many of them acquiring land and cultivating it during the off-season. (*)

6.5 As the tribal worker is not wholly committed to industrial life, he is not readily susceptible to organisation. This makes it possible for the employers to take undue advantage regarding wage and overtime payments at the cost of the casual workers.

Wages

6.6 The wage rates for casual workers vary from one site to another. Differences are also found on account of the nature of work done by the casual workers. Wage rates at Bhurkunda were found to be the highest, the average wage for male was Rs. 5.18 and the average wage for female Rs. 3.58. As compared to this, the average daily wage for men was Rs. 3.03 and for women Rs. 2.42 per day, for all the project sites which were surveyed by the Study Group.

The high wages among the casual workers in Bhurkunda can be explained by the fact that a large portion of the casual workers there are engaged on a piece-work basis in the collieries. Also the proximity to the permanent workers of the collieries doing similar work who get a minimum of Rs. 5.00 per day, has an effect on the wage of the casual workers.

Both Bokaro and Getelsud are project sites, but wage rates vary markedly. The daily average wage at Bokaro is Rs. 2.79 per day and at Gestelsud it is Rs. 2.19 per day. The male workers at Bokaro get Rs. 3.00, while at Getelsud they get Rs. 2.25; the corresponding figures for females are Rs. 2.50 and Rs. 2.16 respectively. The higher wages at Bokaro may be attributed to factors such as the presence of active and vigilant trade unions, a large, stable and responsible principal employer, competition among and awareness about minimum wage regulations on the part of major contractors and proximity to better paid factory workers.

It has also been found that casual workers are prepared to accept less when they get employment opportunities around their villages. This explains the relatively lower rates paid to casual workers near about Ranchi and Chandwa. This is because they continue to enjoy an intangible benefit of living in their own villages with their own kinsmen and

(*) The Royal Commission on Labour in India reported that this method was also used to attract tribal labour to the collieries, ref. P. 115.

also the tangible benefit of being able to work on their lands or on their crafts.

Overtime

6.7 Under the law* the casual workers can be made to work a maximum of 9 hours, but it has been observed that this regulation is not strictly followed in case of casual labour working at construction sites. Usually the work begins at 8 A. M. and ends at about 6 P. M. But the tribal workers, coming as they do from an agricultural background, have been used to work in order to complete a set task rather than being used to work for a definite period of time. Taking advantage of their ignorance and also of their habit to respond to the challenge of finishing a piece of work before going out, the employers found it easy to make them work overtime and not paying for it. Another method employed for extracting unpaid overtime work is to offer drinks. Thus, in practice, among casual workers, there is a lot of overtime work, but most of the workers do not know that they are doing overtime work for which they have to be paid at compensatory rates.

69% of the workers interviewed stated that they had not done overtime work when they had in all probability done some overtime work. 28% of the workers reported awareness of doing overtime work, but these workers did not receive overtime wages or received them much below the scheduled rates.

Practice in Regard to Payment

6.8 The law** specifies that where a casual labourer has worked for six days, he is entitled to a paid holiday on the seventh day. However, 98% of the workers interviewed reported and all informed observations indicate that casual labourers do not get paid for the rest day. For them it is only six days of work and six days of pay. As if this is not bad enough, it was further found that 98% of the workers received their wages for the week on the rest day. As such, a good part of their rest day is spent in queuing up for their wages. At large project sites, due to the large number of workers involved, this must be quite irksome. This again is an infringement of law.***

*Minimum Wages (Central Rules) Rule 25 and corresponding Bihar Rules.

**Minimum Wages (Central Rules) Rule 23 and corresponding Bihar Rules.

***The Payment of Wages Act 33 (4) and corresponding Bihar Rules.

6.9 It has also been observed that in order to keep a hold on the labour and to ensure that they do not quit after a week's work, employers who need labour for longer spells very often do not pay their workers in full. This is especially true at project sites. There, most workers come from other parts of the region and because working conditions and treatment are often harsh many would want to quit, but employers find it easy to virtually hold them hostages by withholding payment. 77% of the workers at Bokaro reported that they do not receive their payment in full. Of these 6% reported that their payment is in arrears by a week.

Women Workers

6.10 There is a fair percentage of women among casual workers. In a large number of cases, the casual workers move in families. No doubt, to a certain extent, economic necessity accounts for the presence of women in the work force. This is proved by the fact that a fair percentage of women workers were unmarried, but it may also be true that men and women among tribals are used to work together whether in agriculture or in other occupations. It has also been noted that there is some degree of specialisation between men and women in doing certain jobs. As for instance, tribal men are averse to carry headloads which is done by women, while the digging is marked out for men workers.

Standard of Living

6.11 Income through casual work not only supplements income from agriculture, but is often helpful to improve the standard of living. But it was found that the casual worker has not been able to improve his lot very much for which, to a certain extent, he himself has to be blamed. We have already noted elsewhere the improvident habits of the tribals and their severe addiction to drinks. It has been found that in the large number of cases a casual worker spends a very large proportion of his income on drinks and he is not able to bring about a substantial and permanent improvement in his standard of living. Very few of the casual workers save some amount for meeting various liabilities and productive investment. It was also found that indebtedness, though prevalent among casual labourers, was not as rampant as it was thought to be. 78% of the workers interviewed were not in debt. Of the 22%

of the workers who were in debt, 75% had taken loan in order to meet consumption needs and 17% to meet social obligations. The low level of indebtedness among casual workers might not be due to their improved economic position, but more due to the fact that a casual worker was not considered credit-worthy by his prospective creditors. It is much easier for a permanent factory worker to get credit but more difficult for a casual worker on account of the uncertain nature of his employment and movement.

Trade Unionism

6.12 Among casual labourers, there is hardly any unionisation for the reasons stated in the para above. But it is necessary to point out that the trade unions have not shown any keenness or effectiveness in organising casual workers.

Conclusions and Recommendations

6.13 (1) The tribal casual labour is still uncommitted to industrial life and deeply attached to agricultural economy. It is neither necessary nor desirable to tempt or force him out of this situation so long as it is not possible to provide enough employment for casual workers.

(2) However, the casual labourers do require to be protected against exploitation by unscrupulous employers. Their exploitation is made easy by their simplicity, ignorance and unawareness of law and difficulties of organisation. Since these things cannot change overnight, the government must take adequate steps to protect them.

(3) While factory labour in India are covered by various labour laws and regulations of the Centre and the States, casual labourers are comparatively a neglected lot. Very few pieces of legislation are applicable; enforcement and implementation of the laws leave much to be desired.

(4) There is urgent need to tone up existing legislative measures and introduce new measures to protect the interests of casual labour. Enforcement of labour laws applicable to casual labour, viz., Payment of Wages Act, Minimum Wages Act etc., is decidedly weak. As it has been established from the data collected, violation of the laws in regard to overtime payment, rest-day pay, withholding of wages are not, to put it mildly, uncommon. Various reasons put forward to account for these lapses include understaffing in the labour department, multiplicity of duties and

insufficient delegation of authority to Enforcement Officers etc.

(5) Sometimes effective enforcement of an Act is obstructed by administrative deficiencies. For instance, under the Workmen's Compensation Act, in the districts of Singhbhum and Ranchi, the Deputy Commissioners have been appointed as Commissioners for deciding uncontested compensation cases. Most of the compensation cases are contested by the employers. On account of the fact that the Deputy Commissioner is already overburdened with work of varied nature, the cases are neither taken up early nor expeditiously disposed of. When the cases are taken up eventually, the employers usually contest the cases. This causes further delay. We are of the view that a Deputy Commissioner should not be appointed as Commissioner under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

(6) Modern methods of building construction, dam and road works involve certain element of risk to the workers. It is necessary that some provision should be made regarding safety provisions more or less on the pattern of one existing in England.*

(7) Some schemes for insurance of workers against accident may be devised. The Study Group is aware of the difficulties in evolving a satisfactory scheme. If a scheme like this is implemented, then only it would be possible to do away with the cumbersome processes of granting compensation. In any case, we strongly feel that safety measures should be strengthened and compensation procedures simplified without delay.

(8) Whenever workers' camps are constructed or to put it more accurately, allowed to grow, health and sanitary regulations must be strictly enforced. Contracts may be drawn up in a form similar to that of the Railways' general condition of contract which specifies measures in regard to health, sanitation, and housing at labour camps.

* Report of the Committee on Contract Labour, Bihar, 1965.P/13.

CHAPTER VII

TRIBAL INDUSTRIAL LABOUR

71 In this chapter we do not propose to discuss the impact of recent phase of industrialisation on the tribal labour population in and around Ranchi. We have already discussed it in chapter III. In this chapter we intend to limit our discussions to some aspects of tribal labour situation and some problems facing the tribal industrial labour. On account of inadequacy of documentary sources available on the present day problems of tribal factory workers, the members of the Study Group gathered relevant field data with the help of a questionnaire and a proforma (copies appended) and through interviews with the management of industrial enterprises in and around Ranchi, local officers of the Labour Department, trade unionists and heads of technical training institutes. Some homogenous groups of tribal factory workers were also interviewed.

Size of Tribal Labour Force Employed in Manufacturing Industries

7.2 According to 1961 census, only 11 per 1,000 tribal workers were engaged in manufacturing industries other than household industries in Bihar. In Chotanagpur, out of 16,70,000 rural workers, 16,600 were employed in manufacturing industries. This gives a proportion of about 1 in 100. In urban areas of Chotanagpur, out of 39,500 workers, 7,500 were engaged in manufacturing industries other than households. Again among the districts of Chotanagpur, Singhbhum has relatively the highest concentration of tribal workers engaged in manufacturing industries. This is quite natural as before 1961, Ranchi was not as important from the point of view of industrial employment as Jamshedpur in Singhbhum has been. In absence of documentary sources indicating the present strength of employment of tribal factory workers in Ranchi and near-about districts, it is not possible to make an estimate of the total tribal labour employed. However, the Study Group made an attempt to collect some information on this point which appears in an appendix to this chapter. Only in a general way we can say, on the various studies and

surveys made so far, that employment of tribal labour as factory workers has gone up substantially since 1961. We could also say that the position regarding employment of tribal workers would have been still better if some steps had been taken in advance for the purpose of making the tribal candidates employable.

Employment and Technical Training

7.3 In the public sector undertakings, a certain percentage of posts is reserved for persons belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes. Candidates who fulfil the prescribed job specifications and are found fit for employment are recruited within the reserved quota. When suitable candidates for the reserved posts do not come forward, the posts are declared open. The point to consider here is that mere reservation of posts has not helped the tribal labour in the past nor would it help in the future if steps are not taken in the direction of making the tribal labour fit for the jobs for which they apply. Even those who are sympathetic to the cause of tribal employment find it difficult to accept the proposition that tribal labour should be employed irrespective of the fact whether they are qualified for the job or not. For instance, the Study Group on Iron and Steel Industry appointed by the National Commission on Labour remarked that "it is reasonable that candidates belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes as well as persons displaced from land acquired for steel plants should get preference in employment. Care should be taken to see that the quality of personnel is not diluted." Most of the industries in the public sector which have been established in and around Ranchi are industries which are capital-intensive and require persons possessing a minimum level of skills. The number of unskilled workers employed in Tata Iron & Steel on 31-3-67 was only 993 as compared to the total employment of about 38,000 persons.* Thus, if the tribal workers do not become, or are not helped to become skilled workers, their employment will remain restricted to the unskilled categories, for which, as we have seen, there are limited employment opportunities. As already mentioned, the tribal workers have failed to draw the maximum benefit because advance steps were not taken to improve their technical qualifications. We, therefore, recommend that whenever basic industries are established in

1. Report of the Study Group on Iron & Steel Industry, N. C. L., Delhi, 1968, pp. 10-16.

predominantly tribal areas, every step should be taken to ensure that local tribal workers, especially the displaced persons, get reasonable opportunities for recruitment to unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. It is necessary to arrange for the training of tribal workers for more skilled jobs even before employment opportunities are available. Otherwise, to start the schemes for training when the job opportunities are available, will be too late in the day. This is because technical training takes some time and by the time trained scheduled tribe candidates are available, most of the available jobs would already get filled up by non-tribal candidates and scheduled tribe candidates will remain unemployed, even after training. This will be far worse and we are afraid that some thing of this nature is going to happen in and around Ranchi for the reasons stated above.

7.4 There are several pre-requisites for early acquisition of skills. The most basic requirement is that the person or group concerned must be literate. Unfortunately, the percentage of literacy among scheduled tribes is extremely poor in Bihar. In spite of the efforts made for improvement of the education of scheduled tribes during the previous plans, the literacy rate has not made any significant improvement. We recommend that steps should be taken for intensification of efforts for the maximum enrolment of scheduled tribe children at the primary stage. It has been noticed that even though the enrolment of scheduled tribe children to the total enrolment at the primary stage is more or less proportional to the scheduled caste population, there is a sharp decline at the middle and the secondary stages. The percentage of scheduled tribe population to the total population of Bihar is 9.1%, but the percentage of scheduled tribes enrolment to the total enrolment at the primary stage is 9.7%, at the middle stage 7.9% and at secondary stage only 3.4%. These suggest very heavy percentage of drop-outs at these levels. The most important factor behind this is, of course, the poverty of the scheduled tribes. Since Independence, several steps have been taken for grant of scholarships and other facilities but it appears they have not been adequate. We feel that it is only by improving the educational qualifications of the scheduled tribe candidates that a permanent solution of their higher employment in industries can be found. In this connection, we also note that the percentage of scheduled tribes enrolment to the total enrolment at the higher education level is

only 3.2%. Enrolment in engineering schools and colleges and polytechnics is pitifully low. The percentage of scheduled tribes enrolled to the total enrolled is only 1.3%. It is obvious that with such a low level of enrolment in the technical training institutions, it would be idle to expect that the position of employment of scheduled tribes would improve to any satisfactory degree in future.

7.5 In this connection it may be pertinent to point out that sometimes an attempt is made to explain the low level of enrolment in technical training institutions by suggesting that the tribals are excellent for hard manual outdoor work but not for other work. It is pointed out that the tribal candidates do not fare well in mathematics and sciences at the school and college levels, though they do quite well in the arts and humanities. We feel that this stereotype conviction about the tribal students is not justified. It may be, that on account of their essentially rural background they are a little slow in the comprehension of abstract sciences. But once they are given adequate time for this purpose and suitable methods are adopted to teach mathematics and other science subjects, the tribal students do not lag behind non-tribal students. The experience of industrialists who employ tribal workers confirms this view. According to them the tribal workers, if given enough time, have been found to be suitable for any kind of job whether technical, mechanical, machine-work or maintenance. They also found that the tribal workers do pick up a lot of technical know-how on the shop floor and become capable craftsmen. In Ranchi one can find good electricians, lathe operators, printers and mechanics among the tribals. Thus, the real difference between the tribal and non-tribal worker in respect of acquisition of skills is not that one is totally incapable of acquisition of skills while the other is. But it is entirely a question of creating adequate facilities for training and giving time for this purpose.

Tribal Labour in Industries

7.6 As reported by the industrialists who employ tribal labour, tribal workers in general possess certain qualities which many others perhaps do not. According to them, the tribals are very sincere. They need little supervision, and are much more disciplined. They are not prone to raise grievances on flimsy issues, but at the same time they resent over-supervision. They like to set their own speed of work.

Unlike non-tribal workers, they do not change their way of work to please the management. However, when suitable production incentives are given to them, they respond well; but not so well to time-rated wages. Thus, we find that there is nothing inherently wrong with the tribal workers. There is nothing which hinders them to respond to demands of industry.

7.7 On the other hand, we find from the surveys of Patratu and Bokaro that it is the high-caste Hindus who have not responded well to the challenge of industrialisation. They are, however, keen for white collar jobs but not for jobs involving manual work in factory or outside it. Also, while the tribal women have taken up the challenge of industrialisation, the non-tribal women are not coming forward to seek industrial employment. This is due to the tradition for which the non-tribals hesitate to see their women-folk working outside their home. The tribals do not suffer from such inhibitions.

Procedure of Recruitment

7.8 Ordinarily, if tribal labour possess the necessary qualifications for the job, they should be selected on the basis of merit and according to the provisions for the reservation of seats for tribes. But, in real life, the entire procedure of recruitment may be gone through in such a way that the tribal candidates may not get a fair chance to get the job. The formalities of the recruitment may be observed alright, but behind the observance of formalities there might be a deliberate attempt to keep out the tribal candidate from the job. When such a thing happens with the non-tribal candidates, they do not allow such thing to happen without protesting or bringing it to the notice of the higher authorities. But, in case of tribal candidates, on account of their simple and trusting nature, they accept whatever they are told and neither protest nor bring in complaints to the higher authorities. For instance, if he is told that there is no vacancy for anybody in the office or undertaking where he is seeking employment, quite often he does not take the trouble of verifying the statement from senior officers. As a result, very often he loses the opportunity of getting the job which should have been his. Further, even at the time of selection, his rural background and inborn shyness prevent him from facing the interview with a certain degree of confidence. Due to poor performance, the tribals get easily disqualified as

being unfit though they are really not so. It is, therefore, necessary to impress upon the selecting authorities that when interviewing tribal candidates they should take these characteristics of tribal people into account. We also recommend that managerial staff of the private and public sector undertakings in and around Ranchi should receive a brief orientation in social anthropology and tribal culture. We feel that with this orientation they would have a proper appreciation of the tribals' cultural background and they would have better understanding in matters of recruitment of tribal candidates. We also recommend that an officer, preferably of the Labour Department, should be given the specific duty of going round the industrial undertakings and keeping a vigilant eye on their recruitment practices with a view to check any deliberate attempt to keep out the tribal candidates. Wherever large-scale recruitments are advertised, the officer may be associated with the processing of applications from tribal candidates and may also sit in as an observer on the Selection Boards.

Employment Exchange

7.9 Employment Exchanges have an important role in helping tribal candidates to secure employment. We have noted with satisfaction, that in Ranchi the tribals rely heavily on the local employment exchange for obtaining work. This is perhaps due to their lack of initiative in using other methods to get employment. The Regional Employment Exchange at Ranchi has undoubtedly done its part in bringing the tribals into effective contact with the labour market.* It has sent large number of workers for projects, such as, the border road building scheme. There are, however, certain weaknesses under which the present set-up is labouring :

(i) Many private enterprises report vacancies, as a mere formality to observe the Employment Exchanges (Compulsory Notification of Vacancies) Act 1959. They also report them too late, appointing in the meantime persons of their own choice. It was alleged that vacancies are at times reported when, in fact, they have already been filled in.

(ii) The time-span between the arrival of call-cards to job-seekers in the villages, and the date on which they are called

* A note on registration and placement of tribals through Regional Employment Exchange, Ranchi is appended at the end of this chapter.

for interview is far too short, with the result that tribal and other candidates from interior places arrive either too late or do not report at all. Keeping in view the slowness with which tribal job-seekers react to employment information, more time should be provided for this purpose.

(iii) The manner in which records are at present kept by the exchange offices makes the detailed statistical analysis (according to different skills and trades) of the behaviour of tribals in the employment market over a number of years practically impossible. Such information would, on the other hand, be valuable for employment and manpower studies and for vocational guidance programmes in tribal areas.

We therefore recommend that—

(a) employment exchanges in tribal areas should ensure that there is a longer time span between the arrival of the call-cards at the job-seekers' address and the date of interview;

(b) a study should be made regarding the possibility of simplification of registration and placement procedures in the employment exchanges, particularly in the case of tribal candidates who are illiterate or possess very low educational qualifications;

(c) the method of record keeping should be overhauled so as to make possible the statistical studies on labour market behaviour of tribals and other communities over a long period of time ;

(d) a liaison may be established between the employment exchanges and voluntary organisations interested in tribal welfare to secure the help of the latter in spreading employment information and assisting job seekers in filling in application forms etc.

Earning of Tribal Workers

7.10 Tribal factory workers earn the same wages as their non-tribal colleagues. But the tribal workers seem to supplement their income with income from land (in kind) to a greater extent than others do. Apart from the fact that the tribals are very much attached to the land, there are economic reasons also behind this. The combination of agricultural and industrial occupation and income provides the tribals not only with an adequate income, but also a sense of social security and *mooring* which the possession of land has traditionally given to the tribes of Chotanagpur. It is

true that this dependence on land stands in the way of a total commitment to industry. But any attempt to force the tribal labour to cut off their connections with the land will not be a desirable proposition. We would prefer that the tribal workers are allowed full freedom to commute to their work place from their homes outside the city rather than be asked to live in quarters provided by the employers. We are aware that in certain cases the refusal to live in quarters near the place of work may create problems where their services may be required for repair work in emergencies. Barring such exceptional cases, we recommend that those who intend to commute should be encouraged to do so. We would even suggest that communications between the factory site and the neighbouring villages be improved for the facility of the commuters.

Standard of Living and Welfare Amenities

7.11 The important problem with the tribal workers is not so much the level of their income as its judicious use. We have noted that the educated tribal workers show greater sense in the use of their income and in fact they are not distinguishable from members of other communities. But those who are uneducated do waste much of their income in an improvident way. Among these workers the habit of drinking is quite common and in many cases it leads to indebtedness also. In fact there is almost a stereotype image of tribal industrial worker that he drinks too much, too often, that he is heavily indebted and he is prone to brief spells of absenteeism. In fairness to the tribal workers we would try, partially, to correct this image. Firstly, drinking is almost an integral part of their festivals and culture. While the non-tribals indulge in drink in private, drinking propensities of the tribal labour has got much more publicised than what it deserves. But this is also correct that the drinking propensities get accelerated as a result of industrial employment. It has also been noticed that they switch over from the nutritious rice-beer (Handia) prepared at home to the distilled liquor available in shops. The white collar tribal workers even go in for costly wines. Absenteeism on account of drinking immediately following the pay day or festive occasions is often found among the tribal workers. We would, therefore, suggest that measures to wean away the workers from the habit of drinking such as education of workers and publicity of the ill-effects of drinking should be

intensified. We would also recommend that no licence for opening liquor shop within three miles of an industrial establishment should be issued.

7.12 Similarly, indebtedness is also a problem common to industrial workers. Indebtedness is very common among the colliery workers and is in others due to drinking and other improvident habits. From the information gathered by us on this point, no clear pattern emerges. The tribal workers do not seem to be more indebted than others except in a few cases of confirmed alcoholics. But we have found that wherever a tribal worker is found to be indebted he is subjected to far greater exploitation by money lenders, e.g. *Kabulis* and even moneylenders amongs tworkers themselves. We also found that where the factories have developed an efficient system of credit co-operatives and schemes for the easy advancement of loans, the exploitation was almost non-existent. In such credit co-operatives tribals participate as much as other non-tribals do. We, therefore, recommend that facilities for credit co-operatives should be extended to as many factories as possible. In any case, the factory should evolve some schemes for easy advancement of loans for fulfilling social and religious obligations.

Industrial Relations and Trade Unions

7.13 Tribal workers do join trade unions, but they remain very much in the background, and have to be coaxed to assume the responsibility of office-bearers. They pay their dues and take part in general strikes called by the union, but limit their participation to a rather passive role. The fact of their living on the fringe of industrial complexes does not help towards a more intensive participation.

Where the unions have been organised on a truly universal basis and have paid attention to the problems of tribal workers (e.g., casual workers employed by the factory or within its vicinity), the latter have responded more positively and their performance may be termed as good.*

Where on the contrary, the unions are led by self-interested leaders or are divided along caste-lines, there the tribals do not feel at home and have stayed away from the unions altogether. It has also come to our notice that in such cases the tribals were making attempts to organise separate unions.

*In this respect the suggestion made by the Royal Commission on Labour seems to be as actual now as it was in 1931, see Report pp. 327-28.

In our view such a development is against the idea of national integration and we would recommend that effective steps should be taken against the formation of trade unions on caste or ethnic lines. In the past the labour had been, by and large, peaceful. When other sections of the labour community resort to violent means to settle their grievances, it is likely that the tribal labour may also adopt the same means. We recommend that sincere attempts should be made to revive the faith of workers in general, and tribal workers in particular, in the effectiveness of ordinary channels to settle demands and grievances. In some cases it might be found that the tribals had to take recourse to extreme measures in cases where the management had failed and where the unions had not taken care of their grievances. It is, therefore, necessary that both the management as well as unions should give greater consideration to the genuine grievances of the tribal workers.

Labour Legislation and Tribal Workers

7.14 Tribal workers in general are less conscious than others of their rights and privileges under different labour laws. It is for this reason in many cases their interests go by default. For instance, the Workmen's Compensation Act has been ineffective in forcing the contractors to pay compensation to workers who suffered from accidents. It is here that the trade unions have to play an important role in disseminating knowledge of labour laws among the tribal workers as well. Where the trade unions have lived up to the role, the tribals have become as conscious as others of their rights and their participation in the labour movement is in direct proportion to this consciousness. We also recommend that the labour officers in factories should see to it that the knowledge of labour laws reaches the tribal workers and that they can make an effective use of it.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

General

8.1 Since Independence a number of large-scale industries have been set up in the tribal areas of Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Wherever it takes place, the process of industrialisation has vital impact on the economy and society of the people of the region. The impact is far more serious for folk societies like that of scheduled tribes. When the phase of change is rapid and overwhelming, it causes cultural crisis, economic disorganisation and social disintegration. This fact has been brought out by the several field studies made on this subject. They have pin-pointed the diverse and complex processes that are now operating on tribal life in these areas. There is a danger that if we do not make an honest attempt to understand the working of these processes and their effects on tribal culture from the unsettling effects, the tribal society may not be able to withstand these forces and may eventually disintegrate and disappear. This will be a great loss as we believe that development at the cost of human values is not worth it.

(Para 2.5)

We believe that tribal people, if they are given time, will undergo a process of culturale volution and would themselves work out a synthesis of traditional culture and modern culture.

We suggest that :

(a) Whenever a large industrial project is located in a tribal area, a study should be made of the possible consequences on the tribal life and culture;

(b) As far as possible, the resultant social change should be a planned process which should take into account the capacity of the tribal community to absorb change without losing the fundamental values of their own culture;

(c) Till this process works itself out, the tribal community should receive the necessary protection. Then alone the values of the traditional tribal culture will be satisfactorily integrated with modern culture.

The responsibility for helping this process of integration is that of the government and management of the industrial enterprises. Our view is that tribal labour force is not only willing but also competent to integrate itself into the industrial urban complex, provided it receives help and encouragement from the government and the management of industrial enterprises.

We are satisfied that the management has the scope to make adequate allowance for tribal values without detriment to productivity.

(Para. 2.6)

Tribal labour policy in the past has been either non-existent or inconsistent. We suggest that labour policies including that of recruitment, training, promotion, wages, etc., should be reviewed and reassessed from the point of view of the actual effects that they produce on tribal labour situation and a consistent and integrated labour policy should be evolved. It would be desirable for the government and the industrial concerns to consult the experts on these points.

(Para 2.7)

We feel that it should be the duty of the government to ensure that none of its policies in respect to tribal labour gets circumvented or modified unwittingly or wilfully in the process of implementation to the detriment of the interests of the tribal labour.

The government should evolve a suitable employment policy for the tribals in industrial jobs and see that this policy is implemented not only by public sector undertakings but also by private sector undertakings.

The most important reason which stands in the way of tribal people getting employment is lack of technical training. It is necessary that the government should provide suitable opportunities and encouragement for training.

Agricultural Labour

8.2 Almost all the problems of the tribal agricultural labour, whether it is inadequate employment or unjust service

conditions or low wages, can be ultimately traced to the basic weaknesses of the tribal economy. Tribal indebtedness and agrarian insecurity add to the complexity of the problem. We, therefore, feel that an intensive programme for strengthening and diversification of tribal economy will go a long way to alleviate, if not solve, the problems of agricultural labour. As such it should be given the highest priority.

(Paras 4.2, 4.3 & 4.8)

There should be adequate publicity of minimum wage rates fixed by government. A special study of the problem of agricultural indebtedness should be made to find out its causes, consequences and suggest solutions.

(Paras 4.8, 4.9 & 4.18)

The policy of tribal development through the Tribal Development blocks has failed to improve the tribal economy to the desired extent for various reasons. The T.D. blocks are far too large and the tribal population is relatively too small for proper attention to the tribal economy. In our view, the correct approach will be to prepare plans for smaller areas, preferably a group of tribal villages. Plans for these tribal pockets should aim at the development and diversification of tribal agricultural improvement, of tribal cottage industries and extension of communication and irrigation facilities. In preparation of these plans, tribals should be more closely associated. There is considerable scope for providing more employment to tribal labour through rural works programmes in tribal areas. We recommend that an agency should be created with adequate funds for planning, implementing, co-ordinating and supervising tribal development plans.

(Para 4.18)

We recommend that minimum wages should be fixed in tribal areas on a more realistic basis. In fixing up the wages, the various practices in tribal areas, in regard to payment of wages in cash or kind, should be taken into account.

(Para 4.15 & 4.18)

Strict enforcement of minimum wages for tribal agricultural labour is necessary. If necessary, Labour Department personnel should be strengthened and necessary delegation of powers to field staff may be made.

(Para 4.15, 4.16 & 4.18)

Tribal Forest Labour

83 Forest satisfies deep-rooted tribal sentiments and helps them to meet some of their basic needs.

(Paras 5.2 & 5.3)

Changes in the forest policy have affected the tribals in general and the tribal labour in particular. Their rights in respect of the use of forest have been restricted and it has produced adverse effects on the tribal economy. On the other hand, intensive forest development has created employment for tribal labour for afforestation and exploitation of forest resources. In Ranchi alone, the employment is estimated to be about 35,000 workers.

(Paras 5.4, 5.5, 5.6, 5.7 & 5.8)

There are several categories of forest labourers : (a) self-employed labour, (b) labour employed by the Forest Department, (c) labour employed by the contractors and (d) labour employed by co-operatives. The number and importance of self-employed forest labour is declining on account of the greater and greater restrictions being imposed by the forest department in respect of use of forest.

(Para 5.9)

We came to know that supervisory staff of the Forest Department take advantage of the illiteracy of the tribal forest labour and pay less than the approved wages and take overtime work without payment.

(Para 5.9)

Labour employed by contractors is exploited to a far greater extent. We recommend that (a) steps should be immediately taken for effective enforcement of Minimum Wages Act both in relation to labour employed by Forest Department and those employed by the contractors.

(Para 5.9 & 5.14)

(b) Forest Labour Inspectors should be appointed to go round and investigate cases of under-payment of wages and overtime by the Forest Department and the contractors. The present procedure of enquiry by an officer of the Forest Department, which itself is one of the employers, is not conducive to the protection of the interests of the tribal labour.

(Para 5.9, 5.11 & 5.14)

(c) As far as possible, wage rates may also be prescribed according to the kind of operations undertaken.

(d) All those contractors against whom several complaints regarding non-payment or under-payment of wages and other types of complaints might have been lodged, should be blacklisted for purposes of grant of further contracts.

(Para 5.14)

(e) More and more opportunities for employment should be provided to tribals in the service of the Forest Department as Mates, Fire watchers, Forest Guards and even Rangers if they qualify. This will provide incentives. Tribals residing in and around the forests should be given preference in employment.

(Para 5.14)

(f) The Forest Department should draw up a plan of work for each year in such a way that as far as possible it does not interfere with the schedule of agricultural operations and gives maximum employment to tribals in agricultural off-seasons.

(Para 5.14)

(g) A real and long-term solution to end exploitation of forest labour and improvement of their condition would be to organise the forest tribal labour into co-operatives. Both the types of co-operatives—(a) Forest Co-operatives and (b) Forest Labour Co-operatives should be given all the necessary assistance and guidance. Voluntary organisations may be associated in organising such co-operatives. In dealing with these co-operatives there should be effective co-ordination between the Welfare, Co-operative and Forest Departments.

(Para 5.14)

Casual Labour

8.4 Casual labour is an important category of tribal labour from the point of view of the number employed. Such work is popular among the tribals on account of its affinity to agricultural occupations and the income that it brings, which sees them through the lean agricultural months and helps them to improve their standard of living.

(Para 6.1 & 6.2)

There are two categories of casual workers—(a) daily commuters and (b) shanty dwellers. In both the cases the tribal workers continue to maintain their strong ties on the land in the villages. Their main aim in taking up casual employment is to make some money to meet exigency and again go back to their lands. There is, thus, a lack of commitment to industrial-life. They have not responded well to the opportunities to become skilled workers even when they were exposed to the work of skilled nature for long period.

(Para 6.3)

On account of this lack of commitment to industrial-life, casual labour is not susceptible to organisation, and undue advantage regarding wages and overtime payment is taken by the employer. It has been found that casual workers are prepared to accept less wages when they get employment opportunities around their villages. Considerable diversity in wage-rates was found from one project site to another.

(Para 6.4, 6.5 & 6.6)

Overtime regulations are not strictly followed in respect of casual labour in construction sites. Overtime work is taken from casual workers, but they are not paid overtime wages or are given much below the scheduled rates.

(Para 6.7)

Casual labour is deprived of a paid holiday on the seventh day of the week, which according to law he is entitled, if he has continuously worked for previous six days.

(Para 6.8)

Casual workers are not given full payment of wages. Arrears are deliberately kept by the employers to prevent them from leaving their employment.

(Para 6.9)

There is a fair percentage of women workers among the casual labour.

(Para 6.10)

Indebtedness though prevalent among casual workers is not as rampant as it is thought to be. 78% of the workers interviewed were not indebted.

(Para. 6.11)

Among casual workers there is hardly any unionisation. The trade unions have not shown any keenness or effectiveness in organising casual workers.

(Para. 6.12)

The tribal casual labour is still uncommitted to industrial-life and deeply attached to agricultural economy. It is neither necessary nor desirable to tempt or force them out of this situation, so long as it is not possible to provide enough employment for casual workers.

(Para 6.13)

However, the casual labourers do require to be protected against exploitation by unscrupulous employers and the government must take adequate steps to protect them.

Very few pieces of legislation are applicable to them and even when they are applicable, enforcement and implementation of the laws leave much to be desired.

There is an urgent need to tone up the existing legislative measures and introduce new measures to protect the interests of casual labour. Enforcement of labour laws applicable to casual labour, viz., Payment of Wages Act, Minimum Wages Act, is decidedly weak. As it has been established from the data collected, violation of the laws in regard to overtime payment, rest-day pay, withholding of wages are not, to put it mildly, uncommon. Various reasons put forward to account for these lapses include understaffing in the Labour Department, multiplicity of duties and insufficient delegation of authority to Enforcement Officers, etc.

Sometimes, effective enforcement of an Act is obstructed by administrative deficiencies. We are of the view that a Deputy Commissioner should not be appointed as Commissioner under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

Modern methods of building construction, dam and road works involve certain element of risk to the workers. It is necessary that some provision should be made regarding safety provisions more or less on the pattern of one existing in England.

Some schemes for insurance of workers against accident may be devised. The Study Group is aware of the difficulties in evolving a satisfactory scheme. If scheme like this is implemented, then only it would be possible to do away with

the cumbersome processes of granting compensation. In any case, we strongly feel that safety measures should be strengthened and compensation procedures simplified without delay.

Whenever workers' camps are constructed or to put it more accurately, allowed to grow, health and sanitary regulations must be strictly enforced. Contracts may be drawn up in a form similar to that of the Railways general condition of contract which specifies measures in regard to health, sanitation and housing at labour camps.

(Para 6.13)

Industrial Labour

8.5 Employment of tribal labour as factory workers has gone up as a result of setting up of a number of factories in and around Ranchi district. The position regarding their employment would have been still better if some steps were taken in advance for the purposes of making the tribal candidates employable. Mere reservation of posts have not helped the tribal labour in the past nor would it help in the future, if steps are not taken to make tribal labour fit for the jobs for which they apply.

We, therefore, recommend that whenever basic industries are established in predominantly tribal areas, every step should be taken to ensure that local tribal workers, especially the displaced persons, get reasonable opportunities for recruitment to unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. It is necessary to arrange for the training of tribal workers for more skilled jobs even before employment opportunities are available.

(Paras 7.2, 7.3 & 7.4)

The percentage of enrolment of scheduled tribe children at the primary, middle and secondary stages shows a progressive decline. This suggests heavy percentage of drop-outs. The percentage of enrolment at higher educational levels and in engineering schools and colleges is also pityfully low. With such a low level of enrolment in the technical training institutions, it would be idle to expect that the position of employment of scheduled tribes would improve to any satisfactory degree in future.

We, therefore, recommend that steps should be taken for intensification of efforts for tribal education and training at all stages.

(Paras 7.4 & 7.5)

It has been noted that the tribal students are a little slow in comprehension of abstract sciences and as such find difficulty in matters of technical training. But when provided with adequate facilities for technical training and given time for acquisition of skill, the tribals do as good as other non-tribal workers. There is nothing which hinders them to respond to the demands of industrial-way of life. On the other hand, it should not be taken for granted that the non-tribals only are capable of such response. Studies on Patratu and Bokaro show that the high caste Hindus are lagging behind the tribal in their response to industrialisation. Even the tribal women have taken up the challenge, whereas the high caste Hindu women do not come out for industrial employment on account of restrictions imposed by traditions.

(Paras 7.6 & 7.7)

It has been found that the procedures of recruitment are not faithfully gone through in some cases. Sometimes the tribal candidates fail to impress at the selection interviews on account of their rural background and inborn shyness. It is, therefore, necessary to impress upon the selecting authorities that while interviewing tribal candidates they should take these characteristics of tribal people into account. We recommend that managerial staff of the private and public sector undertakings in and around Ranchi should receive a brief orientation in social anthropology and tribal culture. We feel that with this orientation they would have a proper appreciation of the tribal's psychology and there would be more understanding in matters of recruitment of tribal candidates.

(Para 7.8)

We recommend that an officer, preferably of the Labour Department, should be given the specific duty of going round the industrial undertakings and keeping a vigilant eye on their recruitment practices with a view to check any deliberate attempt to keep out the tribal candidates. Wherever large-scale recruitments are advertised, the officer may be associated with the processing of applications from tribal candidates and may also sit in as an observer on the Selection Boards.

(Para 7.8)

We recommend that

(a) Employment exchanges in tribal areas should ensure that there is a longer time span between the arrival of

the call-cards at the job-seekers' address and the date of interview.

(b) A study should be made regarding the possibility of simplification of registration and placement procedures in the employment exchanges, particularly in the case of tribal candidates who are illiterate or possess very low educational qualifications.

(c) The method of record-keeping should be overhauled so as to make possible the statistical studies on labour-market behaviour of tribals and other communities over a longer period of time.

(d) A liaison may be established between the employment exchanges and the voluntary organisations interested in tribal welfare to secure the help of the latter in spreading employment information and assisting job-seekers in filling in application forms etc.

(Para 7.9)

There is a fair percentage of commuters among the tribal industrial workers. Any attempt to force the tribal labour to cut off their connection with the land will not be a desirable proposition. We recommend that those who intend to commute, should be encouraged to do so. We would even suggest, that communications between the factory site and the neighbouring villages be improved for the facility of the commuters.

(Para 7.10)

The habit of drinking is quite common among the tribal workers. The pre-existing drinking habits which has the sanction of the tribal culture gets accelerated with a change from the traditional rice-beer to distilled liquor. This leads to undesirable consequences like indebtedness and absenteeism. We recommend that no licence for opening liquor shops within three miles of an industrial establishment should be issued.

(Para 7.11)

Indebtedness is common among the tribal workers, particularly the colliery workers. We recommend that facilities for credit co-operatives should be extended to as many factories as possible. In any case the factory should evolve some schemes for easy advancement of loans for fulfilling social and religious obligations.

(Para 7.12)

Tribal workers do join trade unions but remain very much in the background. Where the unions have been organised on a truly universal basis and have paid attention to the problems of tribal workers, the latter have responded more positively. Where the unions are organised on caste or ethnic lines, the tribals have stayed away and have been making attempts to organise separate unions.

(Para 7.15)

APPENDIX—1A

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APPENDIX—IB

DETAILS OF MEETING ATTENDED BY THE VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE STUDY GROUP

Dates of Meeting—29-4-68 ; 7-5-68 ; 6-6-68 ; 11-7-68 ;
5-8-68 ; 26/27-8-68 ; 2-9-68 ; 7-9-68 ;
13-9-68 ; 14-9-68 ; 15-9-68 ; 17-9-68 ;
19-9-68 & 21-9-68.

Total number of meetings held—14:

<i>Name of the Member</i>	<i>No. of meetings attended</i>
1. Dr. L.P. Vidyarthi ...	9
2. Rev. Father M.V.D. Bogaert ...	11
3. Shri B. R. Munda ...	4
4. Dr. B.N. Sahay ...	10
5. Prof. S.K. Chand ...	12
6. Shri Aroon Bose ...	3
7. Shri T.S. Rao ...	11
8. Shri T.R. Sharma ...	14

APPENDIX—IC

**NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR
STUDY GROUP ON TRIBAL LABOUR**

Department of Anthropology,
Ranchi University,
Ranchi—1.

Questionnaire for Trade Unions, Co-operatives, Voluntary Organisations and their leaders :

Name of the Trade Union/Co-operative/Voluntary Organisation :

Place :

- Does your organisation consist :
- (i) exclusively of tribal members ?
 - (ii) cater to all workers ?
 - (iii) cater to non-tribals exclusively ?

What is the percentage of tribal members in your organisation :

I. PARTICIPATION FOR TRIBAL MEMBERS IN THE ORGANISATION

- (1) Do your tribal members take an active part in the activities of the organisation on a regular basis ? If not, why is this so ?
- (2) Is there a tendency amongst the tribal members to become active at the time of crisis, such as on the occasion of a strike, or when they have a grievance, or when they expect a sudden benefit ?
- (3) Have any steps been taken to encourage tribal members to become active in your organisation ? If yes, kindly describe these efforts and their results :
- (4) Do you have any tribals amongst your office-bearers ? If yes, what functions do they fulfil ?
- (5) Are tribal members regular in paying their dues to the organisation ? Are they in this respect any different from other members of your organisation ?

- (6) When your trade union organises a strike, do tribal workers participate in it and in other forms of protest, or is their pattern of behaviour different from that of other workers ?
- (7) Which according to you is the best means to promote the interests of tribal workers :
- (i) separate organisations for tribals ?
 - (ii) common organisations for all workers ?

Please give reasons for your choice :

II. EMPLOYMENT OF TRIBAL WORKERS

- (8) What are the difficulties, which tribal workers meet, to get jobs in industrial enterprises and other places of employment ?
- (9) Do tribals, in this respect, meet greater difficulties than other workers ?
If yes, which are those difficulties :
- (i) On the part of employers :
 - (ii) On the part of tribals themselves :
 - (iii) On the part of others :
- (10) Do tribal workers enjoy any official benefits or privileges in obtaining employment, such as their being members of the scheduled tribes, or displaced persons ?
- (11) Please mention the **persons and organisations** which have helped the tribals most to obtain employment in factories and other places of employment.
- (12) Please mention also the **methods** which have proved most effective to tribals to obtain employment.
- (13) Do tribal workers move up in the ranks of the factories as fast as others ? If not, what are the reasons for this :
- (i) On the part of employers :
 - (ii) On the part of tribal workers themselves :
 - (iii) On the part of others :
- (14) What do you think of the Government Policy to reserve a certain number of jobs for tribals in Government and semi-Government enterprises ? How has this policy been implemented ?
- (15) What means would you suggest to promote the

employment of tribal workers in private enterprises ?

III. ATTITUDES AND WORK HABITS

- (16) Are there any jobs or kinds of employment, for which tribal workers are particularly well suited, and which they perform indeed very well ?
- (17) Are the work habits and attitudes to work of tribal worker (viz. problems of discipline, absenteeism, etc.) different from those of other workers ?
- (18) Do tribal workers experience any special difficulties in adapting themselves to the industrial way of life ? Illustrate your reply with facts.
- (19) Do tribal workers in times of difficulty tend to give up their job more easily than others ?
- (20) Do tribal workers experience any difficulties in being integrated into the industrial community ? Illustrate your reply by evaluating their participation in the following activities of factories :
 - (i) Cultural and recreational activities :
 - (ii) Workers' Committees, Canteen Committees, Suggestion Schemes :
 - (iii) Housing Colonies :
 - (iv) Workers' Co-operative :
 - (v) Other associations :

IV. TRAINING AND MOBILITY

- (21) Is the attitude of tribal workers towards training opportunities and further promotion any different from that of other workers ?
- (22) Do tribal workers want to move upward or to other jobs, for factories (vertical and horizontal mobility) as strongly as other workers, i.e., are they as ambitious as others ?

V. HEALTH

- (23) Are there any diseases from which tribal workers suffer more than other workers ?

VI. LABOUR LEGISLATION

- (24) Are tribal workers as conscious as other workers of the rights given to them through various labour laws ?
- (25) Do tribal workers make equal use of this protective legislation, when compared to other workers ? If not, why is this so ?

- (26) Do you think that tribal casual workers (coolies and rejas) are unduly exploited ? If yes, what measures do you suggest to set this abuse right ?

VII. SUGGESTIONS

- (27) Feel free to make suggestions to the Study Group on how the lot of tribal workers in industry could be improved.

Signature :

Name of respondent :

Designation :

Many thanks in the name
of the Study Group on
Tribal Labour.

Date :

Michael V.D. Bogaert S.J.

APPENDIX-2.
NATIONAL COMMISSION ON
LABOUR
STUDY GROUP ON TRIBAL
LABOUR

Department of Anthropology,
Ranchi University,
RANCHI - 1, Tel. 695.

Questionnaire for Industrial Undertakings :
Special Problems of Tribal Labourers

Name of the Enterprise :

A. EMPLOYMENT POSITION AND EARNINGS

(1) Does your enterprise have a definite policy as regards the employment of tribals ?

—If yes, briefly state this policy :

—If not, would it be useful and desirable to have such a policy ?

(2) How do the income levels of tribal workers compare with that of other workers of your enterprise as a whole, i.e., is there any marked concentration of tribals in the lower/middle/higher income levels ?

(3) Has there been any change in this matter since the beginning of your enterprise ? If yes, specify briefly.

(4) What is the percentage of tribals employed in each of the following cadres :

	1958	1963	1968
--	------	------	------

—Supervisory

—Technical

—Professional

—Managerial

(5) Are there any officers in your enterprise, specially assigned to look after tribal labourers ?

—If yes, what is the designation of these officers :

—If not, would such an appointment be useful or desirable ?

- (6) Do you think that tribal labourers depend on income from land, besides their regular earnings, to a greater extent than do the other workers in your enterprise ?
- (7) Is the average number of dependent members in the families of the tribals, employed by your enterprise, higher or lower, than amongst the non-tribal workers ?
- (8) Is the problem of indebtedness more acute amongst your tribal workers than amongst the other workers ?

B. PROBLEMS OF ATTITUDES, WORK HABITS AND DISCIPLINE

- (9) What are the main problems which you are experiencing with tribal workers, as distinct from other workers ?
- (10) Are your tribal workers strongly identified as a group (manifested by the existence of tribal associations—the celebration of tribal feasts, holding on to tribal names, customs, dress etc.)? Are they in this respect any different from other workers ?
- (11) Are there any particular types of jobs for which tribal workers show a preference, and in which, in fact, they perform well ?
- (12) Do you notice any preference amongst tribals to work in gangs ? Are they in this respect any different from other workers ?
- (13) Is there a problem of discipline amongst tribal workers, as distinguished from other workers, especially regarding absenteeism, late attendance, unauthorised extension of leave ?
- (14) How do tribal workers compare with others as regards commitment to industry ?
- (15) What is the general attitude of tribal workers towards factory work ? How would you differentiate this attitude from that of other workers ?
- (16) To what extent do tribal workers respond to incentive schemes, payment by results, and efforts to promote productivity ? Are their reactions different from those of other workers ?

- (17) Do you experience any special difficulty regarding the attitudes of tribal workers towards safety and the enforcement of safety measures ?

C. INTEGRATION INTO THE INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

- (18) Are tribal workers accepted by others, or is there any discrimination on the part of others, (covered or overt) ? If yes, kindly specify.
- (19) How do tribal workers participate in the following :
- Community life :
 - Cultural and Recreational Activities :
 - Trade Unions :
 - Workers Committees, Canteen Committees, Suggestions Schemes :
- (20) What are the reactions of tribal workers with regard to living in quarters provided in the company's housing colony :
- Number of tribals entitled to quarters :
 - Number of tribals to whom quarters have been offered :
 - Number of tribals who have refused to stay in company quarters :
- (21) Is the response of tribals to Family Planning Programme in any way different from that of other workers ? If yes, kindly specify :
- (22) What are the special problems of women tribal workers, employed in your enterprise ?

D. TRAINING AND MOBILITY

- (23) Are tribal workers willing to undergo further training, so as to improve their employment position and qualify for promotions ? Are they in this respect different from other workers ?
- (24) Is the labour mobility amongst tribal workers (vertical and horizontal) in any way different from the mobility of other workers ?

E. HEALTH

- (25) Are there any special diseases or physical weaknesses from which tribal workers suffer more than other workers ?

F. LABOUR LEGISLATION

- (26) Do you feel that the tribal workers, as a whole, are conscious of their rights and privileges under various labour enactments? Are they in this respect different from other workers?
- (27) To what extent do tribal workers make use of labour law for making different types of claims? Are they, in this respect, different from other workers?

G. SUGGESTIONS

- (28) Are there any suggestions which you would like to make to the Study Group on Tribal Labour, regarding the way in which tribal labourers could receive a fair deal, and be better integrated into the industrial community?

Signature :

Date :

Name of Respondent :

Designation :

APPENDIX 3
NATIONAL COMMISSION ON
LABOUR
STUDY GROUP ON TRIBAL
LABOUR

Department of Anthropology,
Ranchi University,
RANCHI -1, Tel : 695

Proforma for Industrial Undertakings : Employment of Tribals

1. Total Labour Force :

Year	Ministe- rial	Skilled	Male		Unskilled Class IV	Total
			Semi-skil- led	led		
1958						
1963						
1968						

Year	Ministe- rial	Skilled	Female		Unskilled Class IV	Total
			Semi-skil- led	led		
1958						
1963						
1968						

2. Total Number of Tribals Employed :

Year	Ministe- rial	Skilled	Male		Unskilled Class IV	Total
			Semi-skil- led	led		
1958						
1963						
1968						

Female

Year	Ministe- rial	Skilled	Semi-skil- led	Unskilled	Class IV	Total
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1958

1963

1968

3. Total Number of Displaced Persons

Displaced Persons	Number of Displaced Persons Employed					
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Year	Trib. Non Tr.	Minis- terial Trib. Non Tr.	Skilled Trib. Non Tr.	Semi- skilled Trib. Non Tr.	Unskil- led Trib. Non Tr.	Class IV Trib. Non Tr.	Total Trib. Non Tr.
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1958

1963

1968

4. Number of Casual Labour absorbed into Permanent Cadres :

Total No.

of casual Total number of casual workers absorbed
workers.

Year	Trib. Non Tr.	Minis- terial Tri. N.	Skilled Tri. N.	Semi- skil. Tri. N.	Unskil- led Tri. N.	Class IV Tri. N.	Total Tri. N.
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1958

1963

1968

5. Training

Year	Total No. of Workers trained	Total Number of Tribal Workers trained
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1958

1963

1968

6. Number of workers trained in various Trades :

Trades	1958		1963		1968	
	Trib.	Non Trib.	Trib.	Non Trib.	Trib.	Non Trib.

Supervisory
 Ministerial
 Moulders
 Machinists
 Wiremen
 Fitters
 Others

7. Number of Apprentices trained under Apprenticeship Act :

Year	Number of Tribals Trained	Number of Non-Tribals Trained	Total
1958			
1963			
1968			

APPENDIX—4

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR STUDY GROUP ON TRIBAL LABOUR

Department of Anthropology,
Ranchi University,
Ranchi—1. Tel. 695

Interview Schedule for Casual Tribal Labourers (Coolies & Rejas)

Instructions

A representative village, tola or workers' camp (temporary colony) should be selected, where a sizable number of adivasi coolies and rejas are living.

A total of 50 men and 50 women should be interviewed, and their replies to the different questions of this schedule should be noted down on separate sheets of paper or in a copy book (separate sheet for each person interviewed). These sheets or copy books should be handed in to Mr. T.S. Rao, Xavier Institute, St. *Xavier's College, Box 9, Ranchi, as soon as possible.

Thanks,
Fr. Michael V.d. Bogaert
S.J. Co-chairman.

Name of village, tola or worker's camp :

Name of interviewer :

Name of person interviewed : Male/Female*

Date and place of interview :

SECTION ONE : SOCIAL BACKGROUND

1. Landownership

How many Kathas ?

- (a) Do you own and cultivate your own land ?
- (b) Do you cultivate land, which you do not own ?
- (c) Do you work as an agricultural labourer (without owning or cultivating land by yourself ?)
- (d) Do you only work as coolies/reja

N.R.

* Strike out what is not relevant.

- (e) Do you cultivate your land or that of somebody else, during 1/2 years, and work as a coolie during the other 1/2 ?
2. Family
- (a) Do you live in a nuclear family ?
(man, wife children only) ?
- (b) Do you believe in a joint family ?
(with others)
3. Employment of Family Members :
- (a) Is the man working only ?
- (b) Are both, man and wife working ?
- (c) Is the wife working only ?
4. Standard of Living :
- (a) Do you own the house in which you live ?
- (b) Do you have a radio/transistor ?
- (c) Do you have a cycle ?
- (d) Do you have brass utensils ?
- (e) Do you have a cot, table and chairs ?
5. Food Habits :
- (a) Do you eat rice every day ?
- (b) Do you eat meat, once in a month, once in a week/several times per week ?
6. Indebtedness :
- (a) Do you have debts ?
If yes, how much ?
- (b) From whom do you take loans ?
- (c) For what purpose have you taken loans ?
(Production, i.e. to buy bullocks, tiles, land etc.)
(Consumption, i.e. to buy rice, clothes, medicine, etc.).
(Social purpose, i.e. marriage, burial, journey, etc.)
- (d) To what extent was the loan given in kind ?
- (e) How much interest have you to pay (i.e. paise per rupee borrowed, per month) ?
7. Education :
- (a) How many children of school-age (above 6 years) have you ?
- (b) How many of your children go to school ?
- (c) How many of your children go to college, or for Technical Training ?

SECTION TWO : TERMS & CONDITIONS OF WORK

8. Wage :

(a) How much do you earn per day ?

9. Over-time :

(a) Are you paid for over-time work ?

(b) How much ?

10. Mode of payment of wage :

(a) Do you have to work in rest days ?

(b) Are you paid for rest days, when you do not work ?

(c) When is the wage paid to you, during or after working hours ?

(d) Do you get your full wage, or does the employer withhold part of your wage ? If yes, how much does he withhold ?

11. Compensation for Injuries :

(a) Have you ever suffered a serious injury as a result of your employment ?

(b) Did you claim compensation for this injury ?

(c) Do you obtain compensation ?

(d) How did you obtain this compensation ?

12. Co-operatives and Unions :

(a) Do you know of any co-operative for the benefit of workers or villagers ?

(b) Are you in know of any trade or labour leader who works for the benefit of workers?

(c) Are you a member of such a co-operative ?

(d) Are you a member of such a trade union or have you ever approached such labour leaders ?

13. Awareness of Labour Legislation :

(a) Do you know of the existence of a law regarding the payment of minimum wage ?*

I. * The main provision of the MINIMUM WAGES ACT 1948 are:

(1) Payment of Minimum Wage as determined by the State Govt. At present the Minimum Wage laid down for coolies and Rejas is Rs. 1.75/- per day.

(2) Payment of overtime wages for every extra hour at $1\frac{1}{2}$ the normal hourly rate, when a person works overtime; the working hours laid down under the Act are 9 hours.

(3) Payment of Wages for the rest day.

- (b) Do you know of that there exists a Law (Payment Wages Act) prescribing how wages have to be paid ? **

SECTION THREE : SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF COOLIES AND REJAS

At the end of the survey of the villages, tola or workers' camp, the interviewer should write a brief note on the problems of drink, gambling and prostitution (with members of other communities) among the coolies and rejas of the place, which has been surveyed.

In case they survey a worker's Camp, they should also write a short note on the housing conditions and provisions for drinking water at the site, where the people work.

II. ** The main provisions of the PAYMENT OF WAGES ACT is applicable to the construction industry are :

- (1) Payment of wages before the expiry of the 7th day of the month, where 1000 persons are employed.

N. B. The interviewer should check whether the persons interviewed are aware of any of these Provisions, and whether the employers under whom they work in fact are implementing them.

- (2) Where more than 1000 persons are employed, payment of wages before expiry of the 10th day of the month.
- (3) Payment of wages in a working day (not a rest day) and during a working hours.
- (4) Payment of wages in cash unless specifically allowed by Government order to be paid partly in kind.
- (5) Deduction only as authorised under the Act.

APPENDIX 5

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR STUDY GROUP ON TRIBAL LABOUR

Department of Anthropology,
Ranchi University,
Ranchi-I. Tele : 695

Interview Guide for Informed Persons on Building and Road Workers and Brickkiln Workers.

Name of Interviewee : _____

Name of Interviewer : _____

Place :

Date :

Area Covered :

I. PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

How many of these people :

1. Own and cultivate their own land.
2. Cultivate un-owned land.
3. Work as agricultural labour.
4. Work only as casual labour.
5. Are displaced persons (people who have lost their land)

II. TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF WORK : (In historical perspective)

1. Wages, amount, mode of payment, differential men/women.
2. Overtime :
3. Hours of work :
4. Rest day pay :
5. Any other conditions attached to employment :
6. Housing :
7. Drinking water and other facilities .

III. EXTENT OF UNIONISATION/CO-OPERATIVES

IV. INSPECTION AND ENFORCEMENT BY GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

V. EXTENT OF DEPENDENCE ON LAND (Use Census Classification)

VI. COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS : Effectiveness and Functions

VII. FORMS OF EXPLOITATION : (In historical perspective)

VIII. SOCIAL PROBLEMS :

1. Health
2. Drinking
3. Indebtedness
4. Prostitution.

Участие групп, а также в Кв.	514	535	438	313	310	300	281
Английск.	Group V	Group B	Group C	Group D	Group E	Group F	Group G
Участие Кв' 2'00 (bet. кв.)	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
bet. кв.	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Кв' 3'01 to Кв' 2'00	—	—	30	—	—	—	—
bet. кв.	—	—	0	1	—	—	—
Кв' 0'01 to Кв' 3'00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
bet. кв.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Кв' 2'01 to Кв' 0'00	—	1	5	—	—	—	—
bet. кв.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Кв' 4'01 to Кв' 2'00	3	5	11	0	2	—	—
bet. кв.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Кв' 3'01 to Кв' 4'00	38	40	15	01	12	0	512
bet. кв.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Кв' 5'01 to Кв' 3'00	01	45	3	—	00	0	133
bet. кв.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Кв' 1'32 to Кв' 5'00	8	12	34	—	3	3	20
bet. кв.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Группы Кв' 1'32	100	100	100	100	100	100	281
участие—							
Тотал number of betious							

СВЕДЕНИЯ ГИДРОСТАТИЧЕСКОМУ РАЙОНУ
УЛЬЯНОВСКО-КАМЫШЕНСКОМУ

APPENDIX—6 (i)
CASUAL LABOUR'S DAILY WAGE

Variables	Unit A	Unit B	Unit C	Unit D	Unit E	Unit F	Total	Percentage
Total Number of persons interviewed—	100	100	100	100	100	21	521	—
Less than Rs. 1.75 per day—	8	15	24	—	3	3	53	10
Rs. 1.75 to Rs. 2.00 per day—	61	42	3	—	60	6	173	33
Rs. 2.01 to Rs. 3.00 per day—	28	40	12	91	35	9	215	41
Rs. 3.01 to Rs. 4.00 per day—	3	2	11	9	2	2	28	5
Rs. 4.01 to Rs. 5.00 per day—	—	1	2	—	—	—	3	1
Rs. 5.01 to Rs. 6.00 per day—	—	—	9	1	—	—	10	2
Rs. 6.01 to Rs. 7.00 per day—	—	—	29	—	—	—	29	6
Rs. 7.01 to Rs. 8.00 per day—	—	—	7	—	—	—	7	1
Above Rs. 8.00 per day—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3	1
Average daily wage in Rs.—	2.14	2.22	4.38	2.79	2.19	2.26	2.72	

APPENDIX—6 (ii)

OVERTIME EARNING OF THE CASUAL LABOURERS

Variables	Unit A	Unit B	Unit C	Unit D	Unit E	Unit F	Total	Percentage
Total Number of persons interviewed—	100	100	100	100	100	21	521	
No Overtime work—	97	38	93	37	100	9	374	72
Overtime work—	3	62	7	63	—	12	147	28
Overtime work without payment—	—	28	5	—	—	1	34	23
Overtime work with occasional payments—	—	—	—	8	—	—	8	5
Overtime work with regular payment—	3	34	2	55	—	11	105	71
Rs. 00.25 per hour—	1	14	—	—	—	1	16	14.16
Rs. 00.31 per hour—	—	—	—	24	—	—	24	21.24
Rs. 00.37 per hour—	1	1	—	31	—	—	33	29.20
Rs. 00.40 per hour—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	.89
Rs. 00.50 per hour—	—	7	2	—	—	10	19	16.89
1½ time of daily wage—	1	—	—	8	—	—	9	7.96
Overtime at piece rates—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	1.77
Rs. 3.00 per trip of truck to be divided between 8 rejas—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	.89
Rs. 5.00 per trip of truck to be divided between 8 rejas—	—	7	—	—	—	—	7	6.19
Rs. 5.00 per trip of truck to be divided between 9 rejas—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	.89

APPENDIX—6 (iii)

AWARENESS OF LABOUR LEGISLATION AMONG CASUAL LABOURERS.

Variables	Unit A	Unit B	Unit C	Unit D	Unit E	Unit F	Total	Percentage
Total number of persons interviewed—	100	100	100	100	100	21	521	
Having no knowledge about labour legislation—	100	99	100	100	100	19	518	99
Know about labour legislation—	—	1	—	—	—	2	3	1
Minimum Wages Act—	—	1	—	—	—	1	2	4
Payment of Wages Act—	—	1	—	—	—	2	3	1
Other Labour Legislation—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Unit A — Chandwa
 B — Arra
 C — Bhurkunda
 D — Bokaro
 E — Getelsud
 F — Bhara-Ghara

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APPENDIX—7 (i)

Appendix to Chapter for Industrial Labour

EMPLOYMENT OF TRIBALS IN INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS
(MALE AND FEMALE)

1. LARGE SCALE NEW PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS

Name of Enterprises & year	Managerial			Professional			Technical			Supervisory		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
H.E.C. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—	383	2	.5	2098	36	1.7	6002	198	3.3	2215	14	.6
Average —	383	2	.5	2098	36	1.7	6002	198	3.3	2215	14	.6
H.S.L. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Bokaro 1958—												
Steel 1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Patratu 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Grand Total 1958—												
1963—												
1968—	383	2	.5	2098	36	1.7	6002	198	3.3	2215	14	.6
Average 1968—	191.5	1	.5	1049	18	1.7	3001	99	3.3	1107.5	7	.6
per Factory per year.												

APPENDIX—7 (ii)

Name of Enterprises & year	Clerical (Ministerial)			Skilled			Semi-skilled			Unskilled		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
H.E.C. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
H.S.L. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Bokaro 1958—												
Steel 1963—												
1968—	754	4	.5	1052	18	1.7	336	9	2.7	1218	67	5.5
Average —	754	4	.5	1052	18	1.7	336	9	2.7	1218	67	5.5
Patratu 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Grand 1958—												
Total 1963—												
1968—	754	4		1052	18		336	9		1218	67	
Average 1968—	377	2	.5	526	9	1.7	168	4.5	2.7	609	33.5	
per Factory per year.												

APPENDIX—7 (iii)

Name of Enterprises & year	Class IV			Total Managerial & Super- visory.			Total workers			Total work force		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
H.E.C. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—	5550	743	13	10698	250	2.3	5550	743	33.4	16248	993	6.1
Average —	5550	743	13	10698	250	2.3	5550	743	33.4	16248	993	6.1
H.S.L. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Bokaro Steel 1958—												
1963—												
1968—	3360	98	2.9	3360	98	2.9	3360	98	2.9	3360	98	2.9
Average —	3360	98	2.9	3360	98	2.9	3360	98	2.9	3360	98	2.9
Patratu 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Grand Total 1958—												
1963—												
1968—	5550	743		10698	250	2.1	9810	841	9.3	20608	1091	5.2
Average 1968—	2775	371.5	13									
per Factory per year.												

APPENDIX—7 (iv)

2. MEDIUM SCALE NEW UNDERTAKINGS OUTSIDE RANCHI

Name of Enterprises & year.	Clerical (Ministerial)			Skilled			Semi-skilled			Unskilled		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
H.T.I.F. 1958—												
1963—	23	2	9	111	18	16	73	22	30	102	90	88
1968—	39	1	3	161	28	17	112	35	31	143	82	57
Average —	31	1.5	5	136	23	17	142.5	28.5	20	122.5	86	70
S.R.B. 1958—												
1963—	25	3	12	21	20	95	232	20	9	30	12	40
1968—	46	3	7	153	25	16	100	25	25	291	17	6
Average —	35.3	3	8	87	22.5	26	166	22.5	14	160.5	14.5	9
U.M.B. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Waxpol 1958—												
1963—	9	0	0	7	3	43	11	0	0	38	0	0
1968—	16	0	0	20	3	15	45	30	67	73	15	21
Average —	12.5	0	0	13.5	3	22	28	15	54	45.5	7.5	16
Grand Total. 1958—												
1963—	48	5		139	41		316	42		170	102	
1968—	101	4		334	56		257	90		507	114	
Average per 1958—												
1963—	19	1.7	9	46.3	13.7	30	105.3	14	13	56.7	34	60
1968—	33.7	1.3	4	111.3	18.7	17	85.7	30	35	169.0	38	22
Factory per year.												

APPENDIX-7 (v)

Name of Enterprises & year.	Class IV			Total Managerial & Super- visory.			Total Workers			Total work force		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
H.T.I.F. 1958—												
1963—	29	6	20				338	138	4.8	338	138	4.8
1968—	46	8	17				501	154	30.7	501	154	30.7
Average —	37.5	7	19									
S.R.B. 1958—												
1963—	3	0					311	55	17.68	311	55	17.68
1968—	5	0					595	70	11.7	595	70	11.7
Average —	4	0					453.0	50.5	11.1	453.0	50.5	11.1
U.M.B. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Waxpol 1958—												
1963—	6	0	0				71	3	4.2			
1968—	12	2	17				166	50	30.1			
Average —	9	1	11									
Grand total. 1958—												
1963—	38	6					720	196	27.5			
1968—	63	10					1262	274	21.7			
Average 1958—												
per 1963—	12.7	2	16				240	65	27.4			
Factory 1968—	21.0	3.3	16				420	91	21.6			
per year.												

APPENDIX-8 (i)

3. MEDIUM SCALE OLD UNDERTAKINGS

Name of Enterprises & year	Managerial			Professional			Technical			Supervisory		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
INDAL 1958—												
MURI & 1958—												
LOHAR- 1963—												
DAGA 1963—												
1968—												
1968—												
Average —												
Average —												
A.C.C. 1958—												
Khalari 1963—										46	6	13
1968—										46	6	13
Average —										46	6	13
Gomia 1958—												
Explosives 1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Grand 1958—												
Total 1963—										46	6	
1968—										46	6	
Average —												
Average 1958—												
per factory 1963—										15.3	3	13
per year. 1968—										15.3	2	13

APPENDIX—8 (ii)

3. MEDIUM SCALE OLD UNDERTAKINGS

Name of Enterprises & year	Clerical (Ministerial)			Skilled			Semi-skilled			Unskilled		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
INDAL 1958—	68	4	6	148	36	24	61	7	11	178	9	5
MURI & 1958—	10	3	30	39	32	82	13	12	92	118	98	83
LOHAR- DAGA 1963—	95	4	4	168	36	21	72	10	14	179	11	6
1663—	12	3	25	48	32	66	15	12	80	109	93	85
1968—	120	8	7	177	38	21	99	12	12	208	12	6
1968—	11	3	27	57	42	74	20	12	60	92	75	82
Average —	94.3	5.3	6	164.3	36.7	22	77.3	9.7	13	188.3	10.7	6
Average —	11	3	27	48	35.3	74	16	12	75	106.3	88.7	83
A.C.C. 1958—												
Khalari 1963—	189	54	29	313	23	7	272	58	21	502	255	51
1968—	189	54	29	313	23	7	272	58	21	502	255	51
Average —	189	54	29	313	23	7	272	58	21	502	255	51
Gomia 1958—												
Explosives 1963—												
1968—												
Average												
Grand 1958—	78	7	—	187	68		74	19		296	107	
Total 1963—	296	61	—	527	91		359	80		90	359	
1968—	320	65	—	547	103		391	82		802	342	
Average —												
Average 1958—	26	2.3	9	62.3	22.7	36	24.7	6.3	26	98.7	35.7	
per factory 1963—	98.7	20.3	21	176.3	30.3	17	119.7	26.7	22	263.3	119.7	
per year 1968—	106.7	21.7	20	182.3	34.3	19	130.3	27.3	21	267.3	114.0	

APPENDIX—8 (iii)

3. MEDIUM SCALE OLD UNDERTAKINGS

Name of Enterprises & year	Class IV			Total Managerial & Super- visory			Total Workers			Total work force		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
INDAL 1958—	113	19	17				568	75	13.2	568	75	13.4
MURI & 1958—	—	—	—				180	145	80.5	180	145	79.2
LOHAR- 1963—	104	19	18				618	80	10.9	618	80	10.9
DAGA 1963—	—	—	—				194	140	62.8	194	140	62.8
1968—	91	15	16				695	85	12.2	695	85	12.2
1968—	—	—	—				180	132	73.3	180	132	73.3
Average —	102.7	14.3	14									
Average —	—	—	—									
A.C.C. 1958—												
Khalari 1963—							1341	396	29.5	1341	396	29.5
Average —							1341	396	29.5	1341	396	29.5
Gomia 1958—												
Explosives 1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Grand 1958—	113	19					748	220	29.4			
Total 1963—	104	19					2078	610	29.3			
1968—	91	15					2151	607	28.1			
Average —												
Average 1958—	37.7	6.3	17				374	110		374	110	
per factory 1963—	34.7	6.3	18	23	3	—	1039	305		1062	308	
per year. 1968—	303	5.0	16	23	3	—	1075.5	303.5		1098.5	306.5	

APPENDIX—9 & 10 (i)

5. PRESSES WITH PREDOMINANCE OF TRIBAL WORKERS

Name of Enterprises & year	Clerical (Ministerial)			Skilled			Semi-skilled			Unskilled		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
C.P.R. 1958—	11	9	82	36	34	94	30	30	100	40	40	100
1963—	14	12	86	38	36	95	31	31	100	30	30	100
1968—	13	12	92	47	44	94	40	40	100	27	26	96
Average —	12.7	11	87	40.3	38	94	33.7	33.7	100	32.3	32	99
G.E.L. 1958—	2	2	100	10	10	100	4	4	100	1	1	100
1963—	2	2	100	10	10	100	4	4	100	1	1	100
1968—	6	6	100	20	20	100	6	6	100	3	3	100
Average —	3.3	3.3	100	13.3	13.3	100	4.7	4.7	100	1.7	1.7	100
Grand Total 1958—	13	11		46	44		34	34		41	41	
1963—	16	14		48	46		35	35		31	31	
1968—	19	18		67	64		46	46		30	29	
Average —												
Average per Factory per year 1958—	6.5	5.5		23	22	96	17	17	100	20.5	20.5	100
1963—	8	7		24	23	96	17.5	17.5	100	15.5	15.5	100
1968—	9.5	9		33.5	32	96	23	23	100	15	14.5	97
Average—												

APPENDIX—9 & 10 (ii)

Name of Enterprises & year	Class IV			Total Managerial Super- visory			Total workers			Total		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
C.P.R. 1958—							117	113	96	—	—	96
1963—							113	109	96			96
1968—							127	122	96			96
Average —												
G.E.L. 1958—	1	1	100				28	28	100			
1963—	1	1	100				28	28	100			
1968—	2	2	100				37	37	100			
Average —	1.3	1.3	100									
Grand Total 1958—	1	1	88				135	131	97.03			97.03
1963—	1	1	85				131	127	96.8			
1968—	2	2					164	159	96.9			
Average —												
Average 1958—	.5	.5	100				67	65				
per Fac- 1963—	.5	.5	100				65	63				
tory per 1968—	1	1	100				82	79				
year												
Average —												

APPENDIX—9 & 10 (iii)

6. COLLERIES—EMPLOYMENT POSITION

Name of Enterprises & year	Clerical (Ministerial)			Skilled			Semi-skilled			Unskilled		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
N.C.D.C. 1958—	58	6	10	408	17	4	687	35	5	1636	264	16
Bhurkunda 1963—	187	5	3	533	24	5	757	69	9	1793	336	12
1968—	193	5	3	527	19	4	736	63	9	1637	306	12
Average —	146	5.3	4	489.3	20	4	726.7	55.7	8	2355.3	302	13
West 1958—	112	10	9	46	12	26	212	95	45	1798	1055	59
Bokaro												
Basta Cola 1963—	112	10	9	46	12	26	212	95	45	1681	1036	62
Colliery 1968—	113	11	10	46	12	26	212	95	45	1657	1004	61
Average —	112.3	10.3	9	46	12	26	212	95	45	1705.3	1031.7	60
Grand 1958—	170	16		454	29		899	130		3414	1319	
Total 1963—	299	15		579	36		969	164		4474	1372	
1968—	306	16		573	31		948	158		4294	1310	
Average —												
Average 1958—	85	8	9	227	14.5	6	449.5	65	14	1707	659.5	39
per Fac- 1963—	149.5	7.5	5	289.5	18.0	7	484.5	82	17	2237	686	31
tory per 1968—	153	8	5	286.5	15.5	5	474	79	17	2147	655	31
year												
Average —												

APPENDIX-9 & 10 (iv)

Name of Enterprises & year	Class IV			Total Managerial Super- visory			Total workers			Total		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
N.C.D.C. 1958—	45	11	24				2834	333	11.7			
Bhurkunda 1963—	93	18	19				4463	452	10.1			
1968—	113	23	20				4206	416	9.8			
Average —												
West 1958—							2148	1172	54.56			
Bokaro 1963—							2051	1153	56.2			
Basta 1968—												
Cola 1968—							2028	1122	55.3			
Colliery 1968—												
Average —												
Grand 1958—	45	11	24				4982	1505	30.6			
Total 1963—	93	18	19				6414	1605	24.8			
1968—	113	23	20				6284	1548	24.6			
Average —												
Average 1958—	22.5	5.5	24				2491	752				
per Fac- 1963—	46.5	9	19				3207	802				
tory per 1968—	56.5	11.5	20				3142	774				
year.												
Average —												

APPENDIX—11 (i)
EMPLOYMENT OF TRIBALS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICES

1. Quasi — Industries

Name of Enterprises & year	Managerial			Professional			Technical			Supervisory		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
B.S.E.B. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Rly. Station 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
L.I.C. 1958—												
1963—	2	—	—	14	1	7	—	—	—	4	1	25
1968—	3	—	—	21	1	5	—	—	—	4	1	25
Average —	2.5	—	—	17.5	1	6	—	—	—	4	1	25
P.W.D. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
B.R.S.T.C. 1958—												
1963—	1	—	—	12						50	2	4
1968—	1	—	—	12						51	2	3.9
Average —												

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Postal Deptt. 1958—											27	1	4
1963—											39	1	3
1968—											36	2	6
Average —											34	1.3	4
Grand Total 1958—											27	1	
1963—		2	—	—	14	1	—	—	—	—	43	2	
1968—		3	—	—	21	1	—	—	—	—	40	3	
Average per 1958—											13.5	.5	4
undertaking 1963—		1	—	—	7	0.5		7	—	—	21.5	1.0	5
per year. 1968—		1.5			10.5	.5		5			20.0	1.5	8

(1) EMPLOYMENT OF LABOUR IN COMMERCIAL SERVICES
 ANNEXURE - I

APPENDIX—11 (ii)

1. Quasi — Industries (contd.)

Name of Enterprises & year	Clerical (Ministerial)			Skilled			Semi-skilled			Unskilled		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
B.S.E.B. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Rly. Station 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
L.I.C. 1958—												
1963—	21	3	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1968—	23	3	14									
Average —	22	3	14									
P.W.D. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
B.R.S.T.C. 1958—												
1963—	117	3	2.5	356	17	4.7	123	45	36.5	433	61	14
1968—	127			352	21	5.9	117	49	41	397	83	20.9
Average —												

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Postal	1958—	525	130	25									
Deptt.	1963—	733	152	21									
	1968—	593	163	27									
Average	—	617	148.3	24									
Grand	1958—	525	130										
Total	1963—	754	155										
	1968—	616	166										
Average per	1958—	262.5	65	25									
Undertaking	1963—	377.0	77.5	21									
per year.	1968—	308	83	27									

(ii) 11-12-11 (ii)
 (iii) 11-12-11 (iii)

APPENDIX—11 (iii)

1. Quasi - Industries (contd.)

Name of Enterprises & year	Class IV			Managerial Supervisory			Workers			Total		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
B.S.E.B. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
Rly. Station 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
L.I.C. 1958—												
1963—	835	481	20	20	2	10	226	334	15.3	1146	6	13.4
1968—	1335	75	20	28	2	17.1	2128	313	10.7	10156	5	8.9
Average —	815	36.5	10									
P.W.D. 1958—	182	36		138	6		1868	35	33.08	3373	482	31.3
1963—	341	84		155	2		3333	424	33.8	500	428	33.8
1968—	183	38		31	1		371	101	30.8	334	308	38.4
Average —	301.3	36.1										
B.R.S.T.C. 1958—	180	33	22	36	3	3.2	112	303	33.8	808	304	17.3
1963—	242	89	36.7	63	2	3.1	1271	215	16.9	1334	217	16.2
1968—	195	61	31.3	64	2	3.1	1198	215	17.8	1262	216	17.1
Average —	30	31	38	36	30	31	35	33	34	32	30	31

	1	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
Postal	1958—	182	78	43	27	1	3.6	707	208	29.4	734	209	28.4
Deptt.	1963—	242	83	34	39	1	2.5	975	235	24.1	1014	236	20.7
	1968—	180	99	55	36	2	5.5	773	262	33.8	806	264	7.9
	Average —	201.3	86.7	43									
Grand	1958—	182	78		27	1	3.7	707	208	29.4	734	209	28.4
total	1963—	247	84		122	5	5.8	2272	454	23.8	206	459	22.8
	1968—	185	99		128	6	6.25	1999	72	33.08	2322	485	31.9
Average per	1958—	91	39	43	27	1		707	208		734	209	
Undertaking	1963—	123.5	42	34	61	2.5		1136	227		1034	229	
per year.	1968—	92.5	49.5	54	64	3		999	239		1161	242	

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1958—
1963—
1968—
Average —
1958—
1963—
1968—
Average per
1958—
1963—
1968—

	1	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37

APPENDIX-II (B)

APPENDIX—11 (i)
EMPLOYMENT OF TRIBALS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICES
II Non-Industries

Name of Enterprises & year	Managerial			Professional			Technical			Supervisory		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
H.M.D. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
M.A.S. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
R.M.C. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—		2		122	16	13						
Average —		2		122	16	13						
A.G. Bihar 1958—												
1963—										328	11	3
1968—										328	11	3
Average —												
Blocks— 1958—												
Kamke 1963—												
1968—												
Average —												

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Namkum 1958—													
1963—													
1968—													
Average —													
Ratu 1958—													
1963—													
1968—													
Average —											358	11	3
Grand Total 1958—											358	11	3
1963—													
1968—		2			122	133	16	19	13				
Average —						133	16	19	13		328	11	
Average per under-taking per year 1958—													
1963—													
1968—													

NAME OF UNDERTAKING	1958		1963		1968		AVERAGE		TOTAL		AVERAGE	
	NO.	AMOUNT	NO.	AMOUNT	NO.	AMOUNT	NO.	AMOUNT	NO.	AMOUNT	NO.	AMOUNT

APPENDIX—11 (II)

II. Non - Industries

Name of Enterprises & year	Managerial			Skilled			Semi-skilled			Unskilled		
	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
H.M.D. 1958—	17	2	12	31	3	10						
1963—	20	2	10	36	3	8						
1968—	25	1	4	67	20	30						
Average —	20.7	1.7	8	44.7	8.7	19						
M.A.S. 1958—	25	5	20	16	4	25						
1963—	29	5	17	16	4	25						
1968—	33	9	27	31	4	13						
Average —	29	6.3	22	21	4	19						
R.M.C. 1958—												
1963—												
1968—	19	6	32	6	6	100				430	171	40
Average —	19	6	32	6	6	100				430	171	40
A.G. Bihar 1958—												
1963—												
1968—	1642	174	11									
Average —	1642	174	11									
Blocks— 1958—												
Kanke 1963—												
1968—												
Average —												
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25

	1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Namkum 1958—													
1963—													
1968—													
Average —													
Ratu 1958—		1043	114	11									
1963—		1043	114	11									
1968—													
Average —													
Grand 1958—		42	7	25	47	7	100			430	131	40	
Total 1963—		49	7	25	52	7	100			430	131	40	
1968—													
Average —		1719	190		104	30					430	171	
Average per 1958—		10.5	1.8	17	11.8	1.8	15						
undertaking 1963—		12.3	1.8	15	13.0	1.8	14						
per year 1968—		429.8	47.5	11	26.0	7.5	29				107.5	42.8	

APPENDIX—11 (iii)

II. Non - Industries (contd.)

Name of Enterprises & year		Class IV			Managerial & Super- visory			Workers			Total		
		Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%	Total	Tribal	%
1		26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
H.M.D.	1958—	335	195	58				383	200	52.2			
	1963—	334	191	57				390	196	51.2			
	1968—	337	177	53				429	198	46			
	Average —	335.3	187.7	56									
M.A.S.	1958—	514	182	35				555	191	34.4			
	1963—	515	186	36				560	195	34.8			
	1968—	723	272	38				787	285	36.1			
	Average —												
R.M.C.	1958—												
	1963—												
	1968—				124	16	12.9	455	183	44	579	199	34.3
	Average —				124	16	12.9	455	183	44	579	199	34.3
A.G. Bihar	1958—												
	1963—												
	1968—	209	63	30	328	11	3.3	1851	237	12.8	2179	248	11.3
	Average —	209	63	30	328	11	3.3	1851	237	12.8	2179	248	11.3
Blocks— Kanke	1958—												
	1963—												
	1968—												
	Average —												

	1	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
Namkum 1958—													
1963—													
1968—													
Average —													
Ratu 1958—													
1963—													
1968—													
Average —													
Grand 1958—		849	277		134	10	173	938	391	41	213	100	203
Total 1963—		849	377		134	10	173	950	391	41	213	100	203
1968—													
Average —		1269	512			425	27	3422	903	2.7			
Average 1958—		212.3	69.3	33				469	195				
per under- 1963—		212.3	94.3	44				475	195				
taking per 1968—		317.3	128.0	40	216	13		880	225				
year													

II. Milk - Industries (cont'd)

APPENDIX-II (H)