

ANANTAM IAS • OPTIONAL NOTES

# Anthropology Optional Tribal Development — Safeguards, Policies and the Role of Anthropology

**Paper 2 • Unit 6**

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The whole machinery of tribal development in one place: the policy argument that decided it, the constitutional apparatus that delivers it, and the discipline that was meant to guide it.

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## UPSC SYLLABUS

8.1 Problems of exploitation and deprivation of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. Constitutional safeguards for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. 8.2 Social change and contemporary tribal societies: impact of modern democratic institutions, development programmes and welfare measures on tribals and weaker sections. 8.3 The concept of ethnicity; Ethnic conflicts and political developments; regionalism and demand for autonomy. 10.1 History of administration of tribal areas, tribal policies, plans, programmes of tribal development and their implementation. The concept of PTGs (Primitive Tribal Groups), their distribution, special programmes for their development. Role of N.G.O.s in tribal development. 10.2 Role of anthropology in tribal and rural development. 10.3 Contributions of anthropology to the understanding of regionalism, communalism, and ethnic and political movements.

## The Policy Debate: Isolation, Assimilation, Integration

Every question on tribal development starts here, because the approach chosen at independence determines what all the later law is trying to do. The three positions are an anthropological argument before they are an administrative one, and the attributions get swapped constantly, so fix them first.

- Isolation, associated with Verrier Elwin's early work ('The Baiga', 1939; 'The Aborigines', 1943): contact with plains society had brought the tribe land loss, debt, disease and cultural collapse, so the answer was the 'National Park', protected zones with controlled entry where tribes could meet the mainstream slowly and on their own terms. The charge against it is that it freezes living societies as museum specimens and echoes the colonial Excluded Areas.
- The correction most candidates miss: Elwin abandoned isolation. By 'A Philosophy for NEFA' (1957) he argued for development along the tribes' own lines, run by their own people. The real debate is early Elwin against late Elwin, and Ghurye was attacking a position Elwin had already left.
- Assimilation, argued by G.S. Ghurye in 'The Aborigines So-Called and Their Future' (1943, reissued as 'The Scheduled Tribes', 1959): tribes are 'backward Hindus', imperfectly integrated classes of Hindu society who differ from the Hindu poor in degree, not in kind. The problem is poverty, not difference, so the remedy is absorption through education, land and development. Ghurye's political charge was that isolationism served the colonial state by manufacturing a separateness that could be used to argue tribes were not part of the Indian nation.
- Integration, the position the Indian state actually adopted, is Nehru's. His 'Tribal Panchsheel' appears in his foreword to the second edition of Elwin's 'A Philosophy for NEFA' (1959). Neither museum nor forced assimilation: the tribe joins the national economy and polity while keeping its cultural distinctiveness. This is why the Fifth and Sixth Schedules sit inside the Constitution rather than outside it.
- Nehru's five principles, in order: (1) people should develop along the lines of their own genius, and tribal arts and culture should be encouraged; (2) tribal rights in land and forest should be respected; (3) a team of their own people should be trained for administration and development, avoiding too many outsiders in tribal territory; (4) do not over-administer or swamp them with schemes, but work through, not in rivalry with, their own social and cultural institutions; (5) judge results by the quality of human character evolved, not by statistics or money spent.
- The honest verdict for the exam: the doctrine is Nehru's, the practice has been Ghurye's. Principles 2 and 5 are the least observed, which is why displacement and forest rights dominate the unit today. The Xaxa Committee (2014) confirmed this officially.

- Anthropology sat on every side of this. Elwin and later N.K. Bose were practising anthropologists advising the state; the debate is where the discipline's applied and academic wings first met over policy.

The three approaches to tribal development

| Approach     | Chief exponent                               | Diagnosis                                                                                                 | Prescription                                                                                                                             | Standard criticism                                                                                                                            |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Isolation    | Verrier Elwin, early work (1939-43)          | Contact means land loss, debt, disease, cultural collapse                                                 | National Parks: protected zones, controlled entry, slow exposure on the tribes' own terms                                                | Freezes living societies as specimens; economically impossible; politically echoes the colonial Excluded Areas. Elwin himself dropped it.     |
| Assimilation | G.S. Ghurye (1943)                           | Tribes are 'backward Hindus', already partly inside Hindu society; the problem is poverty, not difference | Absorb into the mainstream through education, land and development, like any backward class                                              | Treats a distinct culture as a deficit to be cured; assumes the mainstream is neutral; ignores who gains from the land that absorption frees. |
| Integration  | Nehru's Tribal Panchsheel (1959); late Elwin | Neither isolation nor absorption; the tribe must join the nation without ceasing to be itself             | Development along their own genius, land and forest rights respected, tribal personnel, minimal administration, judged by human outcomes | The most quoted and least implemented; no enforcement mechanism, and the protective powers have stayed largely unused.                        |

#### KEY TERMS

**Tribal Panchsheel** — Nehru's five principles for tribal development, set out in his 1959 foreword to Elwin's 'A Philosophy for NEFA'; the charter of the integration approach.

**NEFA** — North-East Frontier Agency, the administrative unit (now Arunachal Pradesh) where Elwin's late 'development along their own lines' philosophy was actually tried.

## Constitutional Safeguards: The Architecture

The Constitution translates integration into a set of articles. Learn them as a system, grouped by what they do, protective, political, developmental and definitional, rather than as a list of numbers.

- Definitional. Article 342 empowers the President, by public notification and after consulting the Governor, to specify the Scheduled Tribes for a state or Union Territory; only Parliament may thereafter include or exclude a tribe by law. Article 366(25) says an ST is one deemed so under Article 342, which is circular by design: an ST is whoever is notified. The Constitution nowhere defines 'tribe'.
- The criteria actually used to schedule a tribe are administrative, not constitutional: the Lokur Committee (1965) tests of primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographical isolation, shyness of contact with the community at large, and backwardness. None of the five is in the Constitution.
- Administrative. Article 244 governs the administration of Scheduled and Tribal Areas: 244(1) applies the Fifth Schedule to Scheduled Areas in states other than the four named, and 244(2) applies the Sixth Schedule to the tribal areas of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.

- Definition of 'Scheduled Areas'. Paragraph 6 of the Fifth Schedule says only that these are areas the President declares to be Scheduled Areas; the working criteria come from the Dhebar Commission (Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, 1960-61): preponderance of tribal population, compactness and reasonable size, underdeveloped nature of the area, and marked disparity in economic standard from adjoining areas.
- Developmental funding. Article 275(1), first proviso, provides grants-in-aid from the Consolidated Fund of India to states for promoting the welfare of STs and raising the level of administration of Scheduled Areas. This is the constitutional source of central tribal-development money, distinct from ordinary plan grants.
- Political representation. Article 330 reserves seats for STs in the Lok Sabha, and Article 332 reserves seats for STs in the State Legislative Assemblies, in proportion to population. Article 164(1) provides that in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha there shall be a Minister in charge of tribal welfare.
- Directive and oversight. Article 46 (a Directive Principle) directs the state to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections, particularly SCs and STs, and to protect them from social injustice and exploitation. Article 338A, inserted by the 89th Amendment (2003) and operative from 2004, creates a separate National Commission for Scheduled Tribes, bifurcated from the earlier combined SC/ST commission, with the power to investigate and monitor all constitutional and legal safeguards for STs.
- Read the set as three jobs: protect land and autonomy (Fifth and Sixth Schedules, Articles 244, 275(1)), guarantee political voice (Articles 330, 332), and mandate uplift and watch over it (Articles 46, 338A). The definitional articles (342, 366(25)) decide who all of this applies to.

#### KEY TERMS

**Article 342** — The President specifies STs by notification after consulting the Governor; only Parliament may then add or remove tribes by law. The gateway to every other safeguard.

**Scheduled Area (Fifth Schedule, para 6)** — An area the President declares as such; the Dhebar criteria (tribal preponderance, compactness, underdevelopment, economic disparity) guide the declaration but are not in the Constitution.

**Article 338A** — The 89th Amendment (2003) separated the National Commission for STs from the SC commission; its remit is to monitor safeguards, not to run development.

## Fifth Schedule versus Sixth Schedule

This is the single most examined distinction in the unit, and the commonest factual error is to conflate the two. Hold one sentence: the Fifth Schedule protects, the Sixth Schedule governs. Everything else follows from that difference.

- Fifth Schedule, Article 244(1): Scheduled Areas currently exist in ten states, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha and Rajasthan. Its logic is protective and top-down.
- In a Fifth Schedule area the Governor is the pivot: the Governor may direct that a particular Act of Parliament or the state legislature shall not apply, or shall apply with modifications, and may make regulations prohibiting or restricting the transfer of land from tribals and regulating moneylending. The Governor reports annually to the President on the administration of these areas.
- Each Fifth Schedule state has a Tribes Advisory Council (Fifth Schedule, para 4), up to twenty members, three-quarters of them ST MLAs, to advise on tribal welfare and advancement. It advises; it does not

legislate, and it has been widely criticised as moribund.

- Sixth Schedule, Articles 244(2) and 275(1): the tribal areas of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram, administered through Autonomous District Councils and Regional Councils. Its logic is self-government, not protection.
- The District Councils hold real legislative, executive, judicial and financial power: they can make laws on land, forest (other than reserved forests), shifting cultivation, inheritance, marriage, divorce and social custom, run village and district council courts, collect certain taxes and land revenue, and manage markets and ferries. This is genuine devolved autonomy.
- The constitutional purpose differs. The Fifth Schedule assumes tribes inside a mainstream state that must be shielded from encroachment; the Sixth Schedule assumes distinct polities of the Northeast that were never inside the caste-peasant order and are allowed to govern themselves within the Union.
- PESA (1996) exists precisely to inject a measure of self-government into Fifth Schedule areas, which otherwise have only protection; the Sixth Schedule already had self-government and so lies outside PESA's scope.

Fifth Schedule versus Sixth Schedule at a glance

| Feature              | Fifth Schedule                                                                                                          | Sixth Schedule                                                                            |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Constitutional basis | Article 244(1)                                                                                                          | Article 244(2) and Article 275(1)                                                         |
| Coverage             | Scheduled Areas in ten states (AP, Telangana, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, HP, Jharkhand, MP, Maharashtra, Odisha, Rajasthan) | Tribal areas of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram                                        |
| Guiding logic        | Protection of tribes and their land                                                                                     | Self-government / autonomy                                                                |
| Key institution      | Governor + Tribes Advisory Council (advisory)                                                                           | Autonomous District and Regional Councils (law-making)                                    |
| Powers               | Governor may bar/modify laws and regulate land transfer and moneylending                                                | Councils legislate on land, forest, custom, inheritance; run their own courts; levy taxes |
| Self-rule            | None; the area is administered protectively                                                                             | Yes; devolved legislative, executive, judicial, financial power                           |

#### KEY TERMS

**Autonomous District Council** — The Sixth Schedule's law-making tribal body; distinguishes autonomy (Sixth) from mere protection (Fifth).

**Tribes Advisory Council** — The Fifth Schedule advisory body (mostly ST MLAs); it can only advise, which is why it is often called toothless.

## Protective Legislation: PESA 1996 and the Forest Rights Act 2006

Two statutes carry most of the litigation and most of the exam weight, because both promise the Gram Sabha real power and both are undercut in one crucial word. Learn exactly what each grants and where it stops.

- PESA 1996, the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, followed the Dileep Singh Bhuria Committee (1995) and extends Part IX of the Constitution (Panchayati Raj) to Fifth Schedule areas, which the 73rd Amendment had otherwise left out.
- PESA makes the Gram Sabha the competent authority: it must be consulted before land acquisition and before resettlement of persons affected by projects, it recommends on the grant of prospecting licences and leases for minor minerals, it owns and manages minor forest produce, it controls moneylending and the sale of intoxicants, and it can prevent and restore unlawful alienation of tribal land.
- The load-bearing word is 'consulted'. PESA requires consultation, not consent, before acquisition, and only a recommendation on minor minerals. That gap between consultation and consent is where most PESA disputes live and is the standard reason the Act is said to underdeliver.
- The Forest Rights Act 2006, formally the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, recognises rights the colonial forest laws had extinguished. Its preamble is unusual in Indian law: it states that the Act corrects a 'historical injustice' done to forest dwellers.
- The FRA recognises: individual forest rights (occupation up to four hectares of land under cultivation), community rights (grazing, minor forest produce, traditional access), and Community Forest Resource rights under Section 3(1)(i), the right of the Gram Sabha to protect, regenerate, conserve and manage the forest it has traditionally used. The Gram Sabha is the authority that initiates and verifies claims.
- The Act covers both STs and 'Other Traditional Forest Dwellers', but OTFDs must show residence and dependence for three generations, taken as 75 years, before 2005. STs need not.
- The Community Forest Resource right (Section 3(1)(i)) is the Act's most radical and least implemented provision: it hands forest management to the village assembly, and its poor recognition is the standard indicator that the FRA has favoured individual titles over community power.
- Two judgments frame tribal land against mining. *Samatha v State of Andhra Pradesh* (1997) held that government and forest land in Scheduled Areas cannot be leased to non-tribals or private companies for mining, only to tribals, state undertakings or tribal cooperatives; it has been narrowed by later state amendment. *Orissa Mining Corporation v Ministry of Environment and Forests* (2013), the Niyamgiri case, referred the question of the Dongria Kondh's religious and community rights to the affected Gram Sabhas, and all twelve villages rejected bauxite mining, the only time the Gram Sabha's veto over a mining project has actually operated.

#### KEY TERMS

**Consultation, not consent** — PESA requires the Gram Sabha to be consulted before acquisition and to recommend on minor minerals; it does not require its consent. The distinction is the heart of every PESA answer.

**Community Forest Resource right** — FRA Section 3(1)(i): the Gram Sabha's right to manage its traditional forest; the Act's most transformative and least granted clause.

**Other Traditional Forest Dweller** — A non-ST forest dweller who must prove three generations (75 years) of dependence to claim under the FRA; STs face no such test.

## Development Approaches and Programmes

Once integration was chosen, the state had to build delivery machinery. The sequence, from scattered schemes to the Tribal Sub-Plan to area-based projects, is what the syllabus means by plans and programmes of tribal development, and anthropology helped design it.

- The first three Five Year Plans worked through scattered, multipurpose tribal blocks with little integration and little money reaching tribals, so the strategy was overhauled for the Fifth Plan.
- The Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) strategy was adopted in the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79). It rested on two principles: earmark plan funds for tribal areas at least in proportion to the ST share of the population, and protect tribals from exploitation. The TSP framework was worked out by an expert committee that the anthropologist S.C. Dube chaired (1972), a direct instance of the discipline shaping policy.
- The delivery unit was the Integrated Tribal Development Project, later the Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDP / ITDA), covering contiguous areas of tribal concentration. For smaller pockets came the Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) and clusters, and for the most vulnerable groups, dedicated micro-projects.
- The category structure of TSP delivery: ITDPs for areas of over 50 per cent tribal concentration, MADA pockets for smaller concentrations, clusters for still smaller ones, and PVTG micro-projects for the most vulnerable. Dispersed tribals outside these areas were the acknowledged gap.
- Institutionally, the Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation (TRIFED, 1987) was set up to give minor forest produce and tribal handicrafts a market and to run Minimum Support Price operations for MFP; the Ministry of Tribal Affairs was carved out as a separate ministry in 1999, before which tribal welfare sat under other ministries.
- The chronic weakness is diversion and dilution: TSP funds have repeatedly been under-provided or spent on general schemes labelled as tribal, and the benefits have been captured disproportionately by the better-placed tribes, the internal creamy layer, leaving PVTGs and dispersed tribals behind.
- NGOs occupy the space the state administration cannot reach: literacy and health among dispersed and PVTG populations, legal aid on land alienation and FRA claims, and cooperative marketing of forest produce. The syllabus flags their role explicitly. The critique is dependence on external funding, uneven quality, and occasional displacement of the state's own responsibility rather than supplementing it.

#### KEY TERMS

**Tribal Sub-Plan** — The Fifth Plan (1974-75) strategy of earmarking plan funds for tribal areas in proportion to ST population and shielding tribals from exploitation; framed by an expert committee chaired by the anthropologist S.C. Dube.

**ITDP / ITDA** — Integrated Tribal Development Project / Agency, the area-based unit of TSP delivery in zones of high tribal concentration.

**MADA** — Modified Area Development Approach, the TSP mechanism for smaller pockets of tribal concentration that were too small for a full ITDP.

## Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs)

Within the ST list there is a list of the most fragile, and the exam wants three things exactly: the criteria, the number, and the renaming. Get the criteria right and you have half the answer.

- The category began on the recommendation of the Dhebar Commission (1960-61), which noted that some tribes were far more backward than the general ST population and needed separate attention. Identification started in the Fourth and Fifth Plans, with 52 groups identified in 1975 and 23 more added in 1993, giving the current total.
- There are 75 PVTGs. They are spread across 18 states and one Union Territory (Andaman and Nicobar Islands). Odisha has the largest number of PVTGs of any state (13).

- The four identification criteria, all of which weigh toward extreme vulnerability: a pre-agricultural level of technology (hunting, gathering, shifting cultivation rather than settled plough farming); a stagnant or declining population; an extremely low level of literacy; and a subsistence-level economy.
- The renaming carries an argument. They were called 'Primitive Tribal Groups' (PTGs) until 2006, when the Government of India renamed them 'Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups'. 'Primitive' was a judgement about their stage of evolution; 'vulnerable' names their relation to the state and the market. The change of word is itself an exam point about how anthropology's vocabulary shifted from evolutionary ranking to structural exposure.
- Examples: the Great Andamanese, Onge, Jarawa and Sentinelese of the Andaman Islands; the Sahariya of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan; the Baiga of central India; the Birhor of Chotanagpur; the Cholanai of Kerala (among the smallest); the Toda of the Nilgiris; the Chenchu of Andhra Pradesh.
- The dedicated instrument is a PVTG-specific micro-project or Conservation-cum-Development plan under the TSP, with a scheme for the Development of PVTGs funded from central grants, focused on habitat, health, food security and livelihood rather than mainstreaming.
- The standing criticism is that a 'declining population' criterion can justify a hands-off, conservationist stance (leave them alone) that shades back into the isolation approach, while the groups actually need protection of habitat plus voluntary, calibrated services, the late-Elwin position rather than the early one.

#### KEY TERMS

**PVTG criteria** — Pre-agricultural technology, stagnant or declining population, extremely low literacy, subsistence economy. All four tilt toward vulnerability, not mere backwardness.

**PTG to PVTG (2006)** — The renaming from 'Primitive' to 'Particularly Vulnerable' Tribal Groups; a shift from an evolutionary judgement to a structural description of exposure.

## The Role of Anthropology in Tribal and Rural Development

This is a section the syllabus names directly, and it rewards a clear distinction between kinds of applied work and a clear line of Indian anthropologists who did it. The organising idea is the anthropologist as adviser: the discipline turned from describing tribes to counselling the state that governs them.

- Start with the distinction. Applied anthropology puts the anthropologist at the service of an external client, usually the administrator, as an expert who supplies knowledge for a programme the client has already decided on. Action anthropology, coined by Sol Tax through the Fox Project among the Meskwaki (Fox) of Iowa from 1948, makes the community itself the client: the anthropologist helps the group clarify and pursue goals it sets, imposing no external plan and accepting that learning and helping proceed together. Advocacy anthropology goes further and takes the community's side politically.
- The colonial precedent is the administrator-anthropologist: Risley, Dalton, Thurston and others produced ethnographies that served census, revenue and control. Post-independence applied anthropology inherited the method but reversed the client, working for tribal welfare rather than tribal management. Naming this reversal is the key analytical move for this section.
- Sarat Chandra Roy (S.C. Roy), the pioneer of Indian ethnography, was a Ranchi lawyer who studied the Oraon, Munda and Birhor and founded the journal 'Man in India' (1921). He used ethnographic authority to argue in court and in print for tribal land rights, an early Indian model of the scholar as advocate.
- Verrier Elwin is the clearest case of the anthropologist as state adviser. He became adviser on tribal affairs to the NEFA administration and, through 'A Philosophy for NEFA' and Nehru's foreword to it, effectively wrote

the intellectual charter of the integration approach for the Northeast.

- Nirmal Kumar (N.K.) Bose served as Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (1959-64) and as Director of the Anthropological Survey of India; his 'The Hindu Method of Tribal Absorption' (1941) shaped how the state understood tribe-caste change. He is the anthropologist inside the machinery of safeguards.
- L.P. Vidyarthi was the leading Indian champion of action and applied anthropology; his 'Applied Anthropology in India' (1968) argued the discipline must serve development, and his concepts of the 'sacred complex' and the 'Nature-Man-Spirit complex' were meant to make planners see tribal life as an integrated whole rather than a set of deficits.
- S.C. Dube linked anthropology to rural, not only tribal, development: 'India's Changing Villages' (1958) came out of his evaluation of the Community Development Programme, and he chaired the expert committee (1972) that designed the Tribal Sub-Plan. He is the bridge between village studies and national planning.
- What anthropology contributes concretely: baseline ethnography before a project (so schemes fit the community), culturally appropriate design (crops, calendars, kinship, local institutions), social-impact assessment of displacement, evaluation of whether programmes reached tribals, and translation between the administrator's categories and the community's own. The recurring lesson from Bailey to Beteille is that development imposed without this knowledge deepens the very exploitation it claims to cure.
- The critical caution the best answers include: applied anthropology can become a technology of control, smoothing the delivery of projects the community never chose. Action anthropology is the discipline's answer to that risk, and the Xaxa Committee (2014), chaired by the tribal sociologist Virginius Xaxa, is its recent institutional expression, an official audit finding protective law unimplemented, Tribes Advisory Councils moribund, and displacement without rehabilitation routine.

#### KEY TERMS

**Action anthropology** — Sol Tax's approach (Fox Project, 1948): the community is the client and sets its own goals; the anthropologist helps and learns simultaneously, imposing no external plan. Championed in India by L.P. Vidyarthi.

**Applied anthropology** — The anthropologist as expert adviser to an external client (usually the administrator), supplying knowledge for a programme the client has decided on.

**Administrator-anthropologist** — The colonial scholar-official (Risley, Dalton, Thurston) whose ethnography served control; post-independence applied work kept the method but reversed the client to tribal welfare.

**Nature-Man-Spirit complex** — L.P. Vidyarthi's frame for seeing tribal ecology, society and religion as one integrated system, meant to correct piecemeal, deficit-led development planning.

## Ethnicity, Ethnic Conflict and Regionalism

The syllabus asks anthropology to explain regionalism and ethnic and political movements, so this section supplies the theory of ethnicity and then applies it to tribal autonomy demands. The key is to treat ethnicity as a relation and a resource, not a fixed cultural essence.

- The foundational shift is Fredrik Barth, 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries' (1969): an ethnic group is defined not by the cultural content it carries but by the boundary it maintains against others, and by self-ascription and ascription by others. Ethnicity can persist even as culture is exchanged across the boundary, which is why 'losing' customs does not dissolve a group's identity.
- The two classic camps. Primordialism (Edward Shils; Clifford Geertz on 'primordial attachments') treats ethnic bonds of blood, language and territory as deep, given and affectively powerful. Instrumentalism or

circumstantialism (Abner Cohen; in South Asia, Paul Brass) treats ethnicity as a resource that elites mobilise for political and economic ends, activated by competition. Most Indian cases need both: the sentiment is real and the mobilisation is strategic.

- Ethnicity becomes salient at the boundary and under competition for scarce resources, land, jobs, forest, political office, which is why tribal ethnic assertion tracks development pressure and in-migration rather than isolation.
- In India the tribal ethnic movements cluster in two belts. In the Northeast, distinct polities that were never inside the caste order have pressed for autonomy and, at the edge, sovereignty: the Naga movement, the Mizo movement, Bodoland. In the central tribal belt, the demand has been for statehood and control over land and resources: the long Jharkhand movement, which culminated in the state of Jharkhand in 2000.
- The 'sons of the soil' dynamic is the recurrent mechanism: an in-migrant or dominant outside population (the diku, the trader, the plains settler) competes with tribal residents for land and jobs, and ethnic mobilisation is the tribal response. Regionalism and demand for autonomy are its constitutional-arena form.
- The autonomy demands map onto the constitutional apparatus already learned: the Sixth Schedule's Autonomous Councils are one settlement of Northeast ethnic autonomy, and later territorial councils (for instance Bodoland) extend the model. The Fifth Schedule and PESA are the central belt's weaker equivalent, which is part of why central-belt movements escalated toward statehood.
- The exam framing: anthropology's contribution is to show that these movements are neither irrational atavism (against the primordialist caricature) nor mere elite manipulation (against the crude instrumentalist), but boundary politics driven by real competition, in which cultural identity is both felt and deployed. That is what 8.3 and 10.3 are asking you to demonstrate.

#### KEY TERMS

**Ethnic boundary (Barth)** — The socially maintained line between 'us' and 'them' that defines an ethnic group; identity is the boundary, not the cultural stuff inside it.

**Primordialism vs instrumentalism** — Ethnic ties as deep given attachments (Shils, Geertz) versus ethnicity as a political resource elites mobilise (Cohen, Brass); Indian cases usually need both.

**Sons of the soil** — The claim of an indigenous or resident group to prior right over land and jobs against in-migrants; the engine of much tribal ethnic and regional assertion.

## Last-mile revision

- Three approaches: early Elwin isolated (National Parks), Ghurye assimilated ('backward Hindus', 1943), Nehru integrated (Tribal Panchsheel, 1959 foreword to 'A Philosophy for NEFA'). Late Elwin agreed with Nehru. India chose integration; practice has been Ghurye's.
- Panchsheel in order: own genius; land and forest rights; their own personnel; do not over-administer; judge by human character, not statistics.
- Definitional articles: 342 (President notifies STs) and 366(25) (circular definition). Lokur Committee (1965) criteria are administrative, not constitutional.
- Safeguards by job: protection (Fifth/Sixth Schedules, 244, 275(1)); political voice (330 Lok Sabha, 332 Assemblies); uplift and oversight (46 DPSP, 338A NCST from the 89th Amendment, 2003).
- Fifth Schedule protects (Governor + advisory council, 10 states); Sixth Schedule governs (Autonomous District Councils that legislate and adjudicate, in Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram). Never conflate them.
- PESA 1996 (after the Bhuria Committee) gives the Gram Sabha consultation, not consent, on acquisition, and only a recommendation on minor minerals. That word is the whole argument.
- FRA 2006 recognises individual (up to 4 ha), community, and Community Forest Resource rights (Section 3(1)(i), least implemented). Preamble calls colonial forest law a 'historical injustice'. OTFDs need 75 years; STs do not.
- Samatha (1997) barred non-tribal mining leases in Scheduled Areas; Niyamgiri (2013) let twelve Gram Sabhas veto bauxite mining, the only time the veto worked.
- Tribal Sub-Plan (Fifth Plan, 1974-75), framed by an expert committee under the anthropologist S.C. Dube; delivered through ITDP/ITDA, MADA pockets, clusters and PVTG micro-projects. TRIFED (1987); Ministry of Tribal Affairs (1999).
- PVTGs: 75 groups, 18 states plus A&N; Odisha has the most (13). Four criteria: pre-agricultural technology, stagnant/declining population, extremely low literacy, subsistence economy. Renamed from PTG in 2006.
- Role of anthropology: applied (adviser to the state) versus action (community as client, Sol Tax's Fox Project, 1948; Vidyarthi in India). Line of advisers: S.C. Roy, Elwin (NEFA), N.K. Bose (SC/ST Commissioner), Vidyarthi, S.C. Dube (TSP). Xaxa Committee (2014) is the recent audit.
- Ethnicity: Barth's boundary and self-ascription; primordialism (Shils, Geertz) versus instrumentalism (Cohen, Brass). Tribal movements as boundary politics under resource competition: Northeast autonomy (Sixth Schedule, Bodoland), central-belt statehood (Jharkhand, 2000).

### Common errors to avoid

- Making Elwin a lifelong isolationist. He proposed National Parks in the early 1940s and had moved to 'development along their own lines' by 'A Philosophy for NEFA' (1957). Saying so is a cheap mark.
- Attributing the Tribal Panchsheel to a policy document or committee. It is Nehru's foreword to the second edition of Elwin's 'A Philosophy for NEFA' (1959).
- Swapping the Fifth and Sixth Schedules. Sixth Schedule councils legislate and adjudicate; Fifth Schedule areas have a Governor and an advisory council and no self-government. PESA exists to add self-rule to the Fifth Schedule, which is why the Sixth Schedule lies outside it.
- Claiming PESA requires Gram Sabha consent for land acquisition. It requires consultation, and a recommendation on minor minerals. The difference is why the Act underdelivers.
- Saying the Constitution defines 'tribe' or 'Scheduled Area'. Article 366(25) is circular, and a Scheduled Area is simply what the President declares; the working criteria (Lokur, Dhebar) are administrative.
- Getting the PVTG facts loose. It is 75 groups across 18 states and one UT, Odisha has the most (13), and the four criteria all point to vulnerability. Do not say 'primitive'; the term was dropped in 2006.
- Collapsing applied and action anthropology. Applied work serves an external client (the administrator); action anthropology (Sol Tax, Fox Project) makes the community the client. Vidyarthi brought action anthropology to India.
- Treating tribal ethnic movements as either pure primordial sentiment or pure elite manipulation. They are boundary politics under resource competition; the strong answer uses Barth plus both camps.
- Listing Articles 244, 275(1), 330, 332, 46, 338A, 342 without grouping them. Grouping by function (protection, representation, oversight, definition) is what turns a list into an answer.
- Forgetting that anthropology sat inside the machinery: Dube designed the TSP, Bose was SC/ST Commissioner, Elwin advised NEFA. 'Role of anthropology in tribal development' is not abstract; name the people and the posts.