

## A STUDY ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL STATUS OF GUJJARS AND BAKARWALS IN KASHMIR

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### **Abstract**

*In 1991 the Gujjar-Bakarwals were granted tribal status in Jammu and Kashmir by the Indian government after conducting a study. The study revealed that Bakarwal is another name of Gujjars entered in revenue records which is why both the names (Gujjars and Bakarwals) were included while the community was enlisted in tribal category in Indian constitutions. Bakarwals belong to the same ethnic stock as the Gujjars, and inter-marriages freely take place among them. The Gujjars of Kashmir reside in far-flung areas and are suffering from various socio-economic problems like as, having no road links, child labour, low percentage of literacy among Gujjar woman, unemployment in educated Gujjar youths, less opportunities of coaching for admission in professional and technical institutions, poor economic conditions etc. So, the present study will focus on current socio-economic and cultural status among Gujjar'S and Bakarwals in Kashmir. Based on findings of the study, the multiple suggestions and recommendations will be helpful for policy makers for framing several policies in order to uplift of their condition.*

**Keywords:** Society, Economy, Bakerwals, Gujjers, Kashmir

### **INTRODUCTION**

The history of various tribes and cultural groups settled in Jammu and Kashmir are immigrants from the northwest, east and south. Gujjar and Bakerwals are two ethnic groups living in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. They are wandering peasantry living on grazing land near mountains and in high altitude valleys. The customs and traditions of Gujjar and Bakerwals and their economic activities are different from other ethnic groups of the state. The Gujjar and Bakerwals are usually tied to the flocks of sheep and goats and its products. The basic means of production of this tribal society (Gujjar and bakerwals) is the rearing of sheep and goats. Gujjar and Bakerwals fulfil their basic requirements from this production. The constitution of Jammu and Kashmir has notified twelve tribal communities as the scheduled tribes. Among them Bakerwals and Gujjars were notified as the scheduled tribes vide the constitution (scheduled tribes) order (amendment) Act, 1991. These scheduled tribes of Jammu and Kashmir records the population of 1, 493, 299, comprising 11.90% of the total population of Jammu And Kashmir State. Ladakh region of the Jammu and Kashmir state constitute the most of these tribes. The Gujjar and Bakerwal tribes are much greater number in Kashmir valley. However these tribes are distributed in almost all districts but the districts of Anantnag, Budgam, Pulwama and Kupwara are mostly concentrated. The Jammu and Kashmir Gujjars have no reliable historical story of their migration. It is true that the main reason of their migration were relentless drought, non- availability of pastures, over population; they assembled in the areas where pleasing opportunities are available for them. The families of Gujjars are living in the areas of Kutha, Poonch, Rajouri, Reasi, Jammu and Udhampur. The Gujjars have migrated in those

regions after a sudden violent spontaneous occurrence of a serious famine. They also settled in the Pir Panjal ranges of Kashmir. The occupations of the Gujjars of Jammu and Kashmir are arranged into classes as (1) cultivators; (2) the Dodhi Gujjars (milkman) and Bakerwal Gujjars (rearing of Sheep and Goats). The slopes and mountains of the Kashmir valley are dotted or adorned by the Gujar settlements in the areas of Uri, Baramullah, Kupwara, Ganderbal, Kangan, Daksum, Kulgam, Pahalgam and Anantnag divisions. During the summers these people reaches the Pir Panchal and greater Himalayas of Kashmir.

### **WHO ARE GUJJARS AND BAKARWALS**

The Gujar-Bakarwals claim a common ancestry from the Gujjars and Bakarwals are one tribe popularly known as Gujar or Gurjars in South Asia. Gujjars have many names like Ajjadh, Dohdhi, Banhara, and Vanvasi. Gujjars who rear goats and sheep are called Bakarwals. Gujjars and Bakarwals share the same history, culture, language, sub-castes and racial identity. Even all anthropological and genetic studies conducted on Gujjars-Bakarwals say that they are not separate identities in any way. In 1991 the Gujar-Bakarwals were granted tribal status in Jammu and Kashmir by the Indian government after conducting a study. The study revealed that Bakarwal is another name of Gujjars entered in revenue records which is why both the names (Gujjars and Bakarwals) were included while the community was enlisted in tribal category in Indian constitutions. Bakarwals belong to the same ethnic stock as the Gujjars, and inter-marriages freely take place among them. There are a number of examples where one brother's name was entered in revenue record as Bakarwal and other's as Gujar.

### **IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY**

The present study will attempt to focus on socio-economic and culture of Gujjars in Jammu and Kashmir. The study will focus on available sources of their income. Further, the role of government in uplift of their socio-economic condition. With this background, the study will conduct at macro level in the study area. Based on findings of the study, the multiple suggestions and recommendations will be helpful for policy makers for framing several policies in order to uplift of their condition.

### **SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF GUJJARS AND BAKARWALS IN SOUTH KASHMIR**

A large number of Gujjars reside in the Kashmir. The percentage of literacy among Gujjars in the study area is very low. The Gujjars of this area reside in far-flung areas and are suffering from various socio-economic problems like as, having no road links, Child labour, Low percentage of literacy among Gujar woman, Unemployment in educated Gujar youths, less opportunities of coaching for admission in professional and technical institutions, Poor economic conditions, Shortage of educational institutions in Gujar localities, Malfunctioning of mobile schools, Lack of proper marketing facilities of wood, milk and matter, Lack of financial resources, Non availability of work to Gujar labourers, unavailability of hospitals and other health centers, Lack of proper transport system, lack

of proper irrigation facility, improper functioning of animal husbandry department and unavailability of modern agricultural tools.

Gujjar and Bakrwals of Jammu and Kashmir are socially much backward in comparison to other communities of state. The Gujjar and Bakerwals of Jammu and Kashmir state lives a simple life are settled in houses made of wood and mud with paddy and forest grass roof. The social life of Gujjar and Bakerwals are mostly linked to their religious life. They perform their important task such as marriage, death, etc. in simple manners on the basis of religion in service of Maulvi (priest). They are indeed colourful people and are free from evil or guilt. The community have faced all kinds of modifications of nature but the government of state have taken no step to amend their politico-economic and socio-culture life. The community revolve under the flagellum of poverty and backwardness. The Gujjar and Bakerwal people are tall with conservatic mind inhabited in the mountainous area. The Gujjar and Bakerwals are also called 'nature's own children' and 'lords of forest'. The Gujjar and Bakerwal community are socially backward as compared to other communities of Jammu And Kashmir State. The Gujjar and Bakerwals of Jammu and Kashmir are still living in houses made of mud with paddy and forest grass roof. However some houses in villages are now made of bricks and stones. During winters they move towards the plain areas and in summers they reach the areas were pastures are available. In winters they are concerned with problems of food for cattle and their livelihood. The livening conditions of Bakerwals are different from those of Gujjars. They carry their baggage and other trade goods by horses and reach the mountains on foot with their sheep and goats.

The Gujjars of south Kashmir are facing so many challenges in there day today life. Government has not provided them the basic facilities for the upliftment of social as well as economic status of people. Large number of population is still facing so many deprivations by the government and other private organizations. Educational organizations are not functioning properly which keeps them away from this field. Schools are not located at proper location which is a big burden for the present Gujjar population. The people are not aware about the tribal schemes or any other government implemented schemes which also keep them away from the development. There is not any proper irrigation facility when the whole population is dependent on agricultural activities and also they have to bring the drinking water from a long distance which becomes a heavy load on women folk. Most of the places are still suffering due to lack of electricity and government has not provided them any subsidy based gas connections, which makes their life so miserable. Besides, the literacy rate among the Gujjar and Bakarwals is too low as compare to other inhabitants of the state. In the hard and harsh climate for the teaching in the schools resulting in teacher shortages and poorly motivated teachers in schools leads to the poor education. A visit to some schools during the field work found as 50 students per teacher. In some cases teachers do not attend schools due to poor monitoring mechanism in such schools. Lowe income of the parents which makes difficult for them to pay tuition fee, uniform and other contributions to schools. Parents tends to use their children for their domestic as well as rearing livestock activities because of which poor attendance of students was noticed in schools. One of the serious issue of the transhumance mobility of the Gujjars and Bakarwals as they take more along with their families including children

which lasts 3-4 months in a year, during this time childrens remain absent from the schools. Due to terrorist activities mobile schools were seriously affected and many of them being shut down. This has seriously effected the schools education and hence there are a huge illiterates or lower level of education among the Gujjars and Bakarwals.

### **CULTURE OF GUJJAR AND BAKERWALS IN KASHMIR**

Due to climatic conditions, which vary from place to place in Jammu and Kashmir, Gujjars and Bakarwals have adjusted themselves to different patterns of life and adjustment. No doubt, Gujjar and Bakarwal in Jammu and Kashmir have taken to the Islamic faith and according to their dress, way of life, marriage and kinship, all are different as compared to their counterparts settled in other parts of the state. Their Gojri language is almost linked with the Rajasthani language and dialect. The Gujjars and Bakarwals settled in the Jammu and Kashmir possess tall personality with the Jewish features. Their dress is conventionally which is more nearer to the Pushto peoples of Pakistan. Gujjar and Bakarwal community have their own cultural and linguistic identity. This section deals with the Society and culture of Gujjars and Bakarwals and the varied geographical settings in which the tribes live. Naturally the different aspects of their culture have to be explained in terms of their geographical settings. Since the Gujjar and Bakarwals live in the isolation for centuries. They have developed a culture of their own adjusting with their local environment. But from the past few years the tribal indigenous culture has been changed with the introduction of Industrialisation, urbanization and several other factors like disturbed condition in the state during the last twenty years. The cultural characteristics of the Gujjars and Bakarwals are given under the following headings.

Before we touch the cultural aspects of Gujjar and Bakerwals, it is suitable to know the concept of culture. Taylor has defined as, "culture is the complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." The cultural aspects of Gujjar and Bakerwals are same as well are varies in many aspects of his life. The Bakerwals migrate to the high altitudes during summers but in Gujjars are not. It is required by the rule for Bakerwals to put on warm woollen clothes. But both the Gujjars and Bakerwals are wearing a typical head wear called "lungi," with shirt and shawlar. The Gujjars also wears a colourful turban with unique style of wrapping. The aged Gujjar man wears a top called as Afgani hat. Culturally Gujjar and Bakerwals are very much depicting able by dancing, religious rites and customs etc. The life style of Gujjar and Bakerwal community is quite different from other community of Jammu and Kashmir State, their requirements and problems are also different from others. The way of talking of the community is different from other community and is educationally, economically, politically and socially backward.

### **LANGUAGE**

The Gojri language is the language of all the Gujjar and Bakarwal. The Gujjar and Bakarwal of Jammu and Kashmir have managed to retain their language which continues to be akin to Rajasthani rather than Pahari. Grierson was of the opinion that the Gojri spoken

by the Gujjars of the submontane districts of the Punjab and Kashmir was allied to Rajasthani. Grierson opined, "One of the two things is quite certain. Either Gojri is a form of Rajasthani and conversely, Rajasthani is a form of Gojri and resemblance of Gojri to Mewari is very striking. But still closer is the resemblance of Gojri to Mewari dialect of Rajasthani spoken in Alwar, some distance to the north of Mewar and separated from that state by the territory of Jaipur". Gojri speakers constitute the third largest group in Jammu and Kashmir State after Kashmiri and Dogri speakers being at first and second position respectively. The Gujjar and Bakerwal community of Jammu and Kashmir state speaks the Gujari (Gojri) language comes from the Rajasthan, having influence of other languages such as Punjabi, Urdu, Hindi and Phari. The Gujjar and bakerwal people interacts with each other because of the language Gojri. The Gujjar and Bakerwals of Jammu and Kashmir State demanding inclusion of Gojri in the 8th scheduled of the Indian constitution because of widespread speaking language throughout the Indian sub continent. As a popular language (Gojri) ten radio and television stations of India and Pakistan broadcasts and telecasts programmes in Gojri language. The Jammu and Kashmir state constitute the Gojri speaking people as the third largest linguistic group after Kashmiri constitutes the first and Dogri constitutes the second position respectively.

### **FESTIVALS**

Festivals have special appearance among Gujjar and Bakerwals. Gujjar and Bakerwals have special faith on religion and celebrate their festivals with great faith, charm and prosperity. They praise all the celebrations with unbelievable celebration and energy. Gujjar and Bakerwals celebrate these festivals with unique songs and food, traditions and culture. Many festivals celebrated by the Gujjars and Bakarwals are common among the Muslim brothers from Kashmir but few of them are celebrated by the Gujjars and Bakarwals only like Baiskahi, lighting lamps on the graves and shrines which are very close to the Hindus of north India. Festivals are of part and parcel for Gujjar and Bakarwal Tribal Community. They celebrate all the festivals of national significance apart from these Gujjar and Bakarwal too have incorporated their religious beliefs and customs. These are the important festivals for their society which they celebrate with great festivity and enthusiasm. The main religious activities and festivals observed by the Gujjar and Bakarwal community are five times prayers, fasting in the month of Ramdhan, IdulFitar, Idul-Zaha, Naoroz and Baisakhi. They start their upward journey after the celebration of Baisakhi festival in April. But since most of them left the seasonal migration, so importance of the Baisakhi festival is declined in the community. This Baisakhi festival has a great significance in the Gujjar and Bakarwal life and in particular for the start of seasonal migration in April. During the course of annual migration, they pass from many shrines and graves of the pirs (holy men). If a death occurs during the migration, the dead is buried somewhere somewhere along the route. They heap up stones on the grave and every year as they pass through the route they pay respect to the departed soul and light a lamp on the grave. Most of the Gujjars and Bakarwal have a joint family system (Sharma, Anita, 2009).



### **RELIGIOUS PRACTICES**

Religion underlines the integrity of the family as the foundation of the faith, and recognizes that the key to family integrity is maintaining traditional roles for women. Most native Kashmiris hold the Gujjar and Bakarwal to be strict Muslims of a deeply religious nature. During the field work, I found that a larger number of the Gujjar and Bakarwal grow their symbolic beard and moustache as compared to other Kashmiris. They seem to be rather proud of these external statements, caressing their beards lovingly or decisively every now and then (Sharma, Anita 2009). The establishment of the shrine and of Babaji Larvi as a key religious figure in the Kashmir in 21st century is the corner stone of the formation of the Gujjar and Bakarwal identity and roots in the valley. So deep was the influence of the pirs on the religious fabric of the valley that his peoples prevailed in the region and secured a permanent place within its land and society (Sharma, Anita 2009). Interestingly, the Gujjar and Bakarwal also observe some Hindu festivals like Baisakhi and Lori and perform certain rituals on these occasions on these festivals. The Gujjar and Bakarwal profess practicing their faith with an attitude of tolerance towards other religions. Their interaction with the other communities shows that they remain committed to this ethos.

### **CUSTOMS AND RITUALS**

Customs and ritual is another important element of Gujjar and Bakerwals. Custom has self-generated coming forth. Davis defines it as practices that have been off repeated by a multitude of generation. These practices are followed simply because they have been followed in past. Majority of the Gujjar and bakerwals follows these customs and rituals strictly.

### **MARRIAGE CEREMONIES**

Different communities have different cultures of their marriage ceremonies. Marriage constitutes an important picture of the society. Marriages among the Gujjar and Bakerwals are fixed at an age of 17-18 years among boys and 14-15 years among girls. The Gujjar and Bakerwals hold their marriages in simple manners with old traditions. The relatives and neighbours send curd as a mark of gift to the household celebrating the wedding. The wedding household uses a lot of curd i.e. Dahi and salt in their meals. The bride is decorated with silver ornaments like silver chain, silver earrings, bangles, silver rings and silver necklaces. The bridegroom wears head wear like lungi, waist coat, and shirt and shawl besides red handkerchief in his hands and "SHERA" on forehead which adds to his grace and glory.

### **FOLK GAMES**

Gujjar and Bakerwals are mostly play the games according to their manners. They play numerous games like Stone lifting, Arm Holding, Pan Geet and so forth.

### **DRESS PATTERN**

Even though the society has changed due to modernization and developments, the dress pattern of Gujjar and bakerwals have not changed and remain constant. Gujjar wear

mostly their traditional customs and jewellery. Women folk wear shirt dotted with varieties of buttons and embroidery on it with black shawlar, duppata with multiple colours and round cap with a trial of course over thread. Women wear necklace with a triangular pendant, dotted with a beautiful stone in the centre. It has religious importance, represents evil eye and mainly uses to prevent bad luck. BakarwalGujjar mostly wear ShalwarQamiaz, Vaskat, Angoo and Pagheri (Headgear) while their Women folk Wear long Gown called Jubo, Pheerni, Shawl, Cap and Jotti, Jora. Dodhi Gujjar wear “Pagh” Qameiz and Tehmad while their ladies wear Shirt with strips Choridarshalwar and Jotti. The dress of the Gujjars and Bakarwals is quite different from the Kashmiris and Dogras. Gujjar and Bakarwal men and women wear salwarkameez. The salwar worn by both men and women is known as suthan and the kameez as peherni or kurti. Gujjar and Bakarwalmen also wear a jacket known as basket on the kameez, their turban is known as turban is known as patka or lungi. In the winter men also wear a coat, and shawl known as chadri, to keep warm in the bitter cold. Women wear a chuuni known as chipri with their salwarkameez. A smaller triangular scarf mainly worn by the younger women is kasawa. The embroided cap worn by the Gujjar and Bakarwalwomen is aptly called as lachka (Sharma, Anita 2009). According to field work many of the community members have left the wearing of traditional dresses. Male clothing usually includes a salwarkameez upto knees (dress), lunge (turban),fortypercent of the male have already left the turban wearing culture

### **FOOD HABITS**

Gujjar and bakerwals are mostly dependent on milk products, cereals, wheat and maize. They are vegetarians and non vegetarians. Maki ki roti, ganhar, sarsoon ka sag, lassi, kalari, etc are favourite dishes of Gujjars. Since the Gujjar and Bakarwals live in the secluded conditions, their livelihood pattern, food and dietary practices and their attitude to various aspects of life, may often differ from those of the non-tribal population. This is reflected in their dietary habits (Sharma, Anita, 2009). Due to changing agricultural system in the cropping pattern food habits for many of the communities undergone some changes and it was noticed in the Gujjar and Bakarwal community too. Maize is the staple food of the mountainous peoples particularly Gujjar and Bakarwal as it gives the warmth and strength which the body is needed especially in winter. Maize is grown in the hilly and mountainous areas and it is a tropical crop in this region. The cultivation of the maize is done by the Gujjar and Bakarwal community as it is grown in mountainous areas and majority of the nomads are settled in these areas. Other crops like rice, wheat etc need irrigation which is not so much developed in the tribal areas of Jammu and Kashmir. So they left the only option to cultivate the maize. Mostly they depend on milk products as their staple food besides cereals, wheat and maize. They may be vegetarians and non-vegetarians as well. The favourite dishes of Gujjar and Bakarwal are "Maki ki Roti" Ganhar / Sarsoonko Sag, Lassi, Kalari, Karan, etc. It is surprising that Gujjar and Bakarwal are mostly vegetarians. From the below table, it is clear that the staple diet of the Bakarwals is maize roti, noon cha and goat milk. 91 percent of the households take maize roti, 100 percent of them are addicted of noon cha, an interested thing about them only

13.5 percent of them take lipton tea. The Bakarwal to eat bread cooked from both maize and wheat flour. Some of them take rice too. They simply cannot do any work without daily doses of Noon Cha or the salt tea. The shopkeepers in the Heerpura of Pulwama district told that about a decade ago the Gujjar and Bakarwal drunk only Noon Cha and not tea with the sugar (called lipton cha by the Gujjar and Bakarwal) but now there is a small but growing demand for the regular tea with sugar. However, while for the majority of the Gujjar and Bakarwal favourite tea as remains noon cha some of them have started to enjoy the occasional pleasure of sweetened tea.

### **OCCUPATION**

Gujjar and Bakerwals herd animals like sheep, goats and buffalo. They migrated to upper parts of Himalayas with their cattle during summer season and came back to plains during the winters. There is a lack of skilled worker who practices some trade or handicraft. Gujjar and Bakerwal are mostly dependent on the rearing of cattle and their products. This community has preserved and maintained its originality from end-to-end.

### **EDUCATION**

Education is regarded as one of the most important tool for the advancement of the country. Present society can't perform its effort of economic development, technological improvement and social movement without entirely manipulating the capacities of its nationals. Educationists are trying to pay special attention towards the levels of education to develop the standard of the scheduled tribe students. Education plays a significant role in the development of children, communities and countries. Free and compulsory education up to standard level to all children, especially girls, will help us to break the chains of poverty and discrimination. Education level among the Gujjar and Bakerwals is too low as compared to other communities of the state. The tribal communities are already backward in education. The Gujjar and Bakerwal parents are totally failed to motivate their children to send them to schools. The literacy rate among Gujjar and Bakerwals is meaningless and insufficient. The non availability of schools, parental attitude towards education and migration makes it more difficult to send their children to schools. The government should take special care towards the education of Gujjar and Bakerwals with the establishment of mobile schools. These mobile schools are very important and are required when they move to their respective Dhokes. The overall literacy rate of the STs is 37.5 per cent at 2001 census. This is much lower than the national average of 47.1 per cent aggregated for all scheduled tribes. Male and female literacy rates (48.2 per cent and 25.5 per cent) are much below as compared to those recorded by all STs at the national level (59.2 per cent and 34.8 per cent). According to census report 2011 India constitutes of about 58.96 per cent scheduled tribe's literates of the total population of 72.99 per cent.

### **ECONOMIC**

The Gujjar and Bakerwals of Jammu And Kashmir State also called roaming tribe is economically dependent upon cultivation and rearing of cattle. They heard animals like sheep, goats and buffalos. The Gujjar and bakerwals may use the buffalos for the purpose



of cultivation. They rear cattle for commercial purpose and make it their livelihood. The community lives under the pastoral economy. The Gujjars and Bakerwals are not leading a permanent life due to climatic conditions, serve as nomadic life move with their cattle to plains during winters and migrates mountainous regions during hot spell of the year. The majority of Gujjar deals with milk production as their livestock. According to integrated sample survey (ISS) the production of milk in Jammu and Kashmir state for the year 2007-08 was estimated at 1515.29 thousands metric tonnes. Animal husbandry is the main source of Gujjar and bakerwal livelihood in lower, middle and the higher mountain regions. Animals like sheep, cow and goat are kept for commercial purposes. The economy of the state is heavily dependent upon the animal husbandry sector of state. The government of India as well as government of Jammu And Kashmir State has established various income generating programmes for the rural and tribal people. These income generating programmes are meant to increase the income of these people. The programmes are made or performed with the purpose and intent that they provide an invariant source of income to the beneficiaries.

### **SUGGESTIONS**

- Road connectivity and Transport system should be provided so that they remain connected with nearby towns.
- Agricultural tools and proper use of fertilizers should be provided by the government.
- Gas chulaas should be provided by the government on subsidy basis.
- Availability of water, electricity and other basic facilities to their families is strongly recommended.
- Establishment of centers for sale of wool, dairy and mutton products with an aim of strengthening their economic condition.
- Providing high breed sheep, goats, buffaloes and horses to Gujjar and bakerwal tribes.
- Making new empowerment schemes and making them accessible to everyone.
- Providing of fertile agriculture land and feed and fodder to gujjar and bakerwals on
- Enhancement of seats in technical / professional institutions for gujjar and bakerwal candidates.

### **CONCLUSION**

Gujjar and Bakerwals of Jammu and Kashmir are mostly engaged with rearing of cattle. The economic conditions of the community are very poor and are dependent on cattle. Socially Gujjar and Bakerwals of Jammu and Kashmir are very backward. They are serving their life uncomfortable due to the ignorance of governments. Governments should take necessary steps for the upliftment of Gujjar and Bakerwals. It is concluded by saying that socioeconomic and educational status of Gujjar and Bakarwal in the state of Jammu and Kashmir is not satisfactory. No doubt a few families have good achievement in education but majority of tribal still suffer due to their illiteracy and poverty. There is a

wide spread poverty, illiteracy and backwardness among the tribal people which is evident from the census report.

As per 2001 census 31.65 percent literacy among Gujjar community and 22.51 percent literacy among Bakarwal community. If we compare it to the General population, the general population has 55.52 percent of the literacy rate. Majority of the Gujjars and Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir depend on their agricultural productivities and cattle for their livelihood in lower, middle and the higher mountain regions. Some of the challenges in the provision of educational services to transhumant's areas are similar to those faced by other rural and marginalized households in the region, although often more severe. These include nomadism, poor infrastructure as well as poorly motivated teachers. So, there is a lack of awareness among the tribal community. To make effort to generate educational awareness and attitudinal changes among the masses regarding tribal, the role of tribal's families, community leaders and media deserves special attention here. Little has been achieved in the area of tribal development by the efforts of both government and civil society but more improvement is required.

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