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Social Exclusion, Inclusion and Integration of Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh: An Anthropological Holistic Research Study

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Abstract: Tribal communities are still considered as under developed, living in most economic backward condition and experiencing with the problems of social exclusion, marginalization impoverishment and deprivation. Tribes are classified as one of the socially excluded communities and human groups in Indian society. Scheduled tribes in India is primarily excluded from the mainstream population, so called civilized people due to geographical isolation and segregation. In addition to these two factors, the aboriginal communities in India are experiencing with the severity of social exclusion due to poverty, illiteracy and food insecurity. Large majority of the tribal people in general are not access to many public welfare facilities infrastructural facilities and they are not availing all the development programmes fully due to their illiteracy, innocence and ignorance. Moreover, they are unable to participate fully in the ongoing development process of nation and society mainly due to the problem of social exclusion. The inclusive policy measures of constitutionally extended

Key Words: Tribe, Social Exclusion, Inclusion Policy, Isolation, Integration, Tribal Sub-Plan Areas, Holistic Approach

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concessions and provisions by the central and state governments are also not much elevated their economic status and driven out them from the clux of social exclusion. India represents 635 tribes with the population of 10,42,81034 (8.6%) as per 2001 census. Large chunk of tribal population in India is concentrated in high altitude forest zones like Eastern Ghats, Western Ghats, North- Eastern, Central and Himalayan mountains. The tribal people have established symbiotic relationship with forests since age immemorial. In general forests and tribals are in separable. They are referred as Adivasis (aboriginals, primitives) and Vanavasis (forest dwellers). The state Andhra Pradesh represents 34 tribes with the population of 27,39,919 (5.53%) as per 2011 census. Majority of the tribal population in Andhra Pradesh state in concentrated in Tribal sub-plan areas of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Kurnool, Prakasam, Guntur and Nellore districts. Based on the geographical and ecological background, tribes in Andhra Pradesh has been broadly classified into categories Viz (1) Hill tribes and (2) Plain tribes, out of the total 34 tribes, 31 are hill tribes and 3 are plain tribes. The hill tribes population is mainly found in the forest eco system of Eastern Ghats. In Andhra Pradesh, Eastern Ghats is considered as abode for tribal population, it is otherwise referred as scheduled area of Andhra Pradesh. The research investigations were carried out among the hill tribes who are at different stages of economies Anthropological ethnographic methodological procedure was strictly followed in collection of empirical data and heavily dwell up on field work, observation, holistic etic and emic approaches. This research paper is prepared on the basis of both secondary and primary data which consists of semantic and scientific explanations with anthropological relevance. This research paper deals with the aspect of social exclusion, its forms, mechanisms, inclusive policies, factors associated with isolation and integration of aboriginal people.

I. Introduction

Tribes in India constitute the second largest population next to Africa. India represents 635 tribes with the population of 10,42,81034 (8.6%) as per 2011 census. Large chunk of tribal population in India is concentrated in high altitude forested zones like Eastern Ghats, Western Ghats, North-Eastern, Central and Himalayan mountains. In Andhra Pradesh state, Eastern Ghats is considered as the abode for tribal population and their habitat. The flora and fauna of Eastern Ghats are the main sources of livelihood to many hill tribes in

Andhra Pradesh. The tribal people have established symbiotic relationship with forests since age immemorial. In general forests and tribals are inseparable and referred them as *Vanavasis* (forest dwellers) and *Adivasis* (aboriginals, primitives). Otherwise they are known as indigenous people. The newly carved Andhra Pradesh state consists of 34 tribes with the population of 27,39,919 (5.53%) as per 2011 census. The tribal population in Andhra Pradesh state is distributed in all the thirteen districts with varied in number. Majority of the tribal population in A.P state is concentrated in the tribal sub-plan areas (Scheduled areas) of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Kurnool, Prakasam, Guntur and Nellore districts. The tribes are still living in most economic backward condition and experiencing with the problems of social exclusion, marginalization, deprivation and impoverishment. The aboriginal people (tribes) are unable to avail fully all the development programmes which are meant for them due to their innocence and ignorance. They are denial of equal opportunity to participate fully in the ongoing development process of the nation and state. Moreover, they are experiencing with the vulnerability of social exclusion which is a major constraint or huddle for their progress and development. In general the tribes in Andhra Pradesh are much prone to the problem of social exclusion because of economic and political deprivations, in addition to geographical isolation and segregation.

Based on the geographical and ecological background of tribes in Andhra Pradesh has been broadly classified in to two categories, Viz 1) Hill tribes 2) Plain tribes. The hill tribes are, Andh, Bagata, Bhil, Chenchu, Gadaba, Gond/ Nai podu, Agency Goudu, Hill Reddy, Jatapu, Konda Kammara, Kattunayakan, Kolam, Konda Dora, Konda Kapu, Konda Reddy, Kondh, Kotia, Koya, Kulia / Mulia, Mali, Manne Dora, Mukha Dora / Nooka dora, Nayak, Pardhan, Porja, Reddi dora, Rona / Rena, Savara, Valmiki, Nakkala and Dhulia. All these tribes habitats, are located in the inaccessible areas of hills and forests of Eastern Ghats ecosystem. The people of hill tribes forcefully directly interact with the physical environment of forest flora and fauna in order to meet their subsistence requirement. The plain tribes are Lambada/ Sugali, Yerukula and Yanadi, its population predominantly found in rural villages, maintaining symbiotic relationship with the castes and very well integrated into the rural economy. There is a lot of social and economic gulf exists in between the hill tribes and plain tribes. Among the plain tribes, Yanadis are considered as economically backward and experiencing with livelihood problems due to scanty of food resources in their habitats. It is a numerically dominant tribe and majority of its population found in Nellore district. Lambada / Sugali is economically and politically dominant group and benefited much with education and employment. Yerukula tribe is also educationally and economically better than other tribes in Andhra Pradesh. These three tribes are very well integrated into the mainstream population of so called civilized caste communities inhabiting in rural villages, towns and cities.

In Andhra Pradesh among the 31 hill tribes six tribes namely Chenchu, Gadaba, Kondh, Konda Reddy, Konda Savara and Porja have been classified as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) based on the criteria of pre-agricultural stage of economy, low literacy, stagnant or diminishing population and living in most economic backward condition. The habitats of these tribes mostly found in inaccessible areas of interior forests hill slopes and tops. Majority of its population is starving for food and their settlements are small in size due to scanty of food resources in the ecosystem in which they dwell since age immemorial. The levels of social exclusion varies from one tribe to another tribe and also one group to another group. For instance the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups are experiencing the severity of social exclusion due to illiteracy, poverty, food insecurity and geographical isolation whereas the other hill tribes are also facing the similar problems but relatively economically better than the PVTGs. In the case of plain tribes, physical and geographical isolation are totally absent and majority of its population is very well integrated into the main stream population and access to many public facilities and utilities when compared to other two tribal categories.

In general the economy of tribes in Andhra Pradesh is agro-forest based and largely considered as subsistence economy. The aboriginals in Andhra Pradesh state are at different stages of economies, such as 1) food gatherers and hunters (foragers) 2) pastoralists 3) shifting cultivators 4) settled cultivators 5) horticulturists and 6) artisans. For instance Chenchus in Nallamalai, forests are foragers, Agency Goudus, Lambadas are pastoralists, Kondhs, Konda Doras, Konda Reddy, Gadabas, Porjas, Hill Reddis, and Kotias are shifting cultivators, Bagatas, Jatapus, Konda Kapus and Valmikis are settled cultivators, Malis and Konda Savaras are horticulturists and Konda Kammaras and Yerukulas are the Artisans. Almost all the hill tribes including PVTGs invariably collect the seasonally available minor forest produce items or Non-Timber Forest Produce (NTFP) items and sell it to Girijan Cooperative Corporation (G.C.C) or in weekly markets (shandies). It is one of the economic resources to large majority of the hill tribes families dwelling in Eastern Ghats forest environment. The natural resources available to the hill tribes in Eastern Ghats forest ecosystem are not meeting the subsistence requirement of entire population throughout the calendar year. Some of its population is starving for food at least three to four months in a calendar year and facing the problem of food insecurity that is why the incidence of malnutrition, morbidity and mortality rates are very high among the tribal population when compared to caste population of plain area (non-scheduled area). Vulnerability of social exclusion among tribal

population in Andhra Pradesh is very much associated with their natural habitat, geographical and ecological conditions.

II. Tribal population in Andhra Pradesh

The state Andhra Pradesh is known for tribal population and represents 34 tribes of different social categories with the feature of tribal hierarchy. The table 1 shows district wise population of scheduled tribes in Andhra Pradesh as per 2011 census. From the table it is noted that the total general population of A.P state was 4,95,75,771, out of which, 2.73,9919 are tribal people, constitutes around 5.53% to total population of the state.out of the total tribal population 1,36,1597 are males (49.69%) and 1,378322 (50.31%) are females. The tribal females are slightly higher than the tribal males. Sex ratio is imbalanced but gender bias not exists in tribal society. The tribal population in A.P state is distributed in all the 13 districts with varied in number. The district Visakhapatnam represents highest number of tribal population (14.42%), followed by Vizianagaram (10.05%), Nellore (9.65%), Srikakulam (6.15%), East Godavari (5.62%), Guntur (5.06%), Prakasam (4.45%), Chittoor (3.81%), Ananthapur(3.78%), West Godavari (3.35%), Krishna(2.93%), Kadapa (2.63%) and Kurnool (2.04%) respectively. It is noted that around 51.14% of tribal population in A.p state is concentrated in the scheduled areas of Eastern Ghats forest environment; Which falls under the tribal sub-plan areas of the ITDAs Paderu (Visakhapatnam), Parvathipuram (Vizianagaram), Seethampeta (Srikakulam), Rampachodavaram(East Godavari), Kota Ramachandrapuram (West Godavari), Srisailam (Kurnool) and Nellore (SPSR Nellore).

Table -1 District wise tribal population in Andhra Prades	n as per 2011 census	,
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S.	Name of the	Total	Total	ST	ST	% to ST	% to ST	% of tribal
No	District	population	tribal	males	Females	males to	Females to	population
			population			total	total	to total
						population	population	population
1	Srikakulam	270314	166118	81382	84736	3.01	3.13	6.15
2	Vizianagaram	2344474	235556	114687	120869	4.89	5.16	10.05
3	Visakhapatnam	4290589	618500	302905	315595	7.06	7.36	14.12
4	East Godavari	5285824	297044	144548	152496	2.73	2.88	5.62
5	West Godavari	3994410	133997	65439	68558	1.64	1.72	3.35
6	Krishna	4517398	132464	66734	65730	1.48	1.46	2.93
7	Guntur	4887813	247089	125105	121984	2.56	2.50	5.06
8	Prakasam	3397448	151145	76677	74468	2.26	2.19	4.45
9	Nellore	2963557	285997	145168	140829	4.90	4.75	9.65
10	Kadapa	2882469	75886	38571	37315	1.34	1.29	2.63
11	Kurnool	4053463	82831	42052	40779	1.04	1.01	2.04
12	Ananthapur	4081148	154127	78573	75554	1.93	1.85	3.78
13	Chittoor	4174064	159165	79756	79409	1.91	1.90	3.81
	A.P. State Total	49575771	2739919	1361597	1378322	2.75	2.78	5.53

^{*}Data includes S.T population of submergence of scheduled villages of seven mandals from Khammam district to the A.P state (as per reorganization Act 2014).

Table -2 District wise Rural, Urban schedule tribal population as per 2011 census

S.No	Name of the	Rural tribal	Urban	Total tribal	% of Rural tribal	% of Urban
	District	population	tribal	population	population to	tribal
			population		total S.T	population to
					population	total S.T
						population
1	Srikakulam	160438	5680	166118	96.58	3.42
2	Vizianagaram	226130	9426	235556	96.00	4.00
3	Visakhapatnam	579968	38532	618500	93.77	6.23
4	East Godavari	282547	14497	297044	93.20	6.80
5	West Godavari	124584	9413	133997	91.37	8.63
6	Krishna	93915	38549	132464	70.90	29.10
7	Guntur	190905	56184	247089	77.26	22.74

8	Prakasam	124386	26759	151145	82.30	17.70
9	Nellore	240972	45025	288997	84.26	15.74
10	Kurnool	64735	18096	82831	78.15	21.85
11	Ananthapur	126362	27765	154127	81.99	18.01
12	Kadapa	58181	17705	75886	76.67	23.33
13	Chittoor	128753	30412	159165	80.89	19.11
	A.P. State Total	2401876	338043	2739919	87.66	12.34

^{*}Data includes S.T population of submergence of scheduled villages of seven mandals from Khammam district to the A.P state (as per reorganization Act 2014).

Table-3 District wise tribes and its population distribution in Andhra Pradesh as per 2011 census

S.	Name of the	T								Tribes	and its po	pulati	on							-7
N 0	district	Andh	Bagata	Bhill	Cheach	Gada ba	Gon d/Na ik podu	Agenc y Goud u	Hill Redd Y	Jatapu	Konda Kamma ra		Kola m	Konda Dora	Konda Kapu	Kond a Redd y	Kondh	Kotia	Koya	Kulia
1	Srikakulam	4	71	35	209	1311	123	1	6	27455	160	1		5507	132	30	2564	14869	112	15
2	Vizianagaram	1	174):	287	20962	13	255	9	98718	195	1		53892	116	64	673	186	750	3
3	Visakhapatnam	42	129772	11	493	14943	245	6533	14	205	22771	-	83	1135583	2392	1983	97899	29961	2892	332
4	East Godavari	9	849	2	1187	487	22	196	9	59	20963	2	4	12563	4693	77937	816	77	45193	17
5	West Godavari	10	33	2	2045	15	5522	6	6	43	391	4	2	1257	202	8218	85	47	50133	7
б	Krishna	23	41	13	2466	9	216	2	19	131	1299	-	2	1434	1655	843	39	63	1807	3
7	Guntur	3	22	5	13501	32	190	2	12	17	1154	্	8	130	49	563	40	20	1179	2
8	Prakasam	2	8	2	15245	4	12	12	100	13	493	ः	2	22	63	186	11	3	1330	3
9	Nellore	2	13	:	458	22	31	9	2	2	501	1	0	61	23	206	83	7	146	2
10	Kadapa	5	21	:	1636	10	17	8	6	3	92		1	11	123	142	45	4	307	2
11	Kurnool	1	1	्र	9266	2	23	8	4	2	389	1	0	2	135	432	16	15	405	4
12	Ananthapur	4	29	38	80		182	9	34	-	306	3	6	3	323	68	14	18	50	1
13	Chittoor	219	13	्र	442	1	95	8	36	11	198	44	5	44	148	265	93	21	344	2
	Total	315	131047	69	47315	37798	6691	6997	157	126659	48912	57	107	210509	10054	90937	102378	45291	104348	385

^{*}Data excludes S.T population of submergence of scheduled villages of seven mandals from Khammam district to the A.P state as per reorganization Act 2014

SN	Name of the									Tribes	and its po	pulation	8						
0	district	Mali	Manne Dora	Mukha Dora	Naya k	Par	Poŋa	Reddi Dora	Rona Rena	Sarara	Sugali Lambad	Valmi ki	Yanadi	Yerukul 2	Nakka la	Dhu lia	Generi c tribes	S.T population	Total
1	Snkakulam	61	427	74	48		4	7.5%	64	104625	173	77	468	3692	121	500	3681	166118	169799
2	Vizianagaram	100	4546	6806	8	-	201	3	225	31290	71	1452	257	7704	92	162	4813	23556	240369
3	Visakhapatnam	2986	5344	35342	185	11	33626	858	437	338	1122	54641	569	7455	19	503	28929	618500	647429
4	East Godavani	33	3123	59	51	1	2282	23	70	379	582	14177	3941	20345	4	990	3040	213195	216235
5	West Godavari	176	32	3	1578	-	18	23	55	181	8595	166	8159	20388	83		1591	109072	110663
6	Krishna	20	13	10	:4	21	2	4	116	208	60611	39	1823	38649	103		4429	132464	136893
7	Guntur	41	29	13	**	1	5	4	38	176	85429	15	63032	77615	73	150	3701	247089	250790
8	Prakasan	21	2	4	352	1	8	7.52	2	131	21183		73469	36822	89		2025	151145	153170
9	Nellore	17	22	13	:2	1	2	9	1	96	710	39	243001	34094	1291	100	5182	285997	291179
10	Kadapa	25	2	2	(i+	1	4	1	1	8	21172	18	27859	21259	126	30	3005	75886	78891
11	Kumool	623	1	8	325	-	8	7.52	4	15	35442		607	31437	15		4289	82831	\$7120
12	Ananthapur	1014	10	27	:2	5	2	7.5	12	10	100182	39	1370	458929	92	340	4429	154127	158556
13	Chittoce	127	87	4.		4	3	5	1	129	26248	8	92781	29920	2679	162	5036	159165	164201
· ·	Total	5244	13636	42357	1870	47	36145	930	1012	137613	361520	71883	578205	329472	4584	665	74498	2631145	2705643

Table-4 Tribe wise population in Andhra Pradesh as per 2011 census

The table 2 shows district wise rural and urban scheduled tribe population as per 2011 census. It is noted from the table that out of the total scheduled tribes population in A.P, 2,40,1876 (87.66%) are inhabiting in rural / tribal areas and 338043 (12.34%) are inhabiting in urban towns and cities. It is very interesting to note that the tribal urban dwellers are mostly found in Krishna, Kadapa, Guntur, Kurnool, Chittoor, Ananthapur, Prakasam and Nellore districts. Majority of the urban tribal population belongs to the plain tribes like Lambada / Sugali, Yanadi and Yerukula, very less number urban tribal population found in the districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari and West Godavari districts. Large majority of the hill tribes population is concentrated in these districts and in principle consider it as scheduled districts in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

The table 3 presents districts wise tribes and its population distribution in Andhra Pradesh as per 2011 census. From the table it is noted that certain tribes population is found in all the 13 districts and certain tribes population is found only in some districts but not in all the districts. For instance the tribes like Bagata, Chenchu, Gond / Naik Podu, Konda Kammara, Konda Dora, Konda Kapu, Konda Reddy, Kondh, Kotia, Koya, Mali, Manne Dora, Savara, Sugali / Lambada, Yanadi and Yerukula are found in all the thirteen districts with varied in number. In general the plain tribes population is concentrated in all the thirteen districts. Its population is found in majority of multi caste villages and occupying a specific social position in the local and regional caste hierarchy. They have symbiotic relationship with the peasant, artisan and service castes of A.P. Once the plain tribes have functional role in the Jajmani system as well as service relationship with some of the castes in rural villages of A.P. The tribe wise population data clearly reveals that certain tribes are numerically dominant and certain tribes are minor with less population. For instance, Yanadi is numerically dominant, followed by Sugali / Lambadi and Yerukula specifically among plain tribes. Whereas among hill tribes Konda Dora is numerically dominant followed by Savara, Bagata, Jatapu, Koya and Kondh. Among the hill tribes, the minor tribes are Kattu Nayakan, Bhil, Pardhan, Hill Reddy, Reddy Dora, Rona / Rena, Kulia and Dhulia. A considerable number of population found among the hill tribes are Valmiki, Konda Reddy, Konda Kammara, Chenchu, Kotia, Mukha Dora, Porja, Mali and Nakkala. The percentage of hill tribes population in the state of A.P is 51.76% whereas the plain tribes population is 48.24%. It is interesting to note that the three plain tribes represents 48.24% population whereas 31 tribes constitute 51.76% of population out of the total tribal population in A.P state. The recent empirical field work data in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh state clearly

^{*}Data includes S.T population of submergence of scheduled villages of seven mandals from Khammam district to the A.P state as per reorganization Act 2014

indicates that the population declining trend found especially among the minor tribes and particularly vulnerable tribes inhabiting in the scheduled areas mainly due to high incidence of malnutrition, morbidity and mortality, this kind of trend is also Which are much associated with the problems of poverty and food insecurity.

The following chart shows about district wise predominant tribes found in Andhra Pradesh state.

S.No	Name of the district	Predominant tribes inhabits
1	Srikakulam	Savara, Jatapu, Konda Dora, Kotia, Kondh
2	Vizianagaram	Gadaba, Jatapu, Konda Dora, Savara
3	Visakhapatnam	Bagata, Gadaba, Agency Goudu, Konda Kammara, Konda Dora, Konda Kapu, Kondh, Kulia / Dulia/ Mulia, Mali, Manne Dora, Mukha Dora, Porja, Rena / Rona, Valmiki
4	East Godavari	Konda Kammara, Konda Dora, Kaonda Kapu, Konda Reddy, Koya, Valmiki, Yerukula
5	West Godavari	Gond / Naik Podu, Konda Reddy, Koya, Sugali / Lambada, Yanadi, Yerukula
6	Krishna	Sugali / Lambda, Yanadi, Yerukula
7	Guntur	Chenchu, Sugali/ Lambada, Yanadi, Yerukula
8	Prakasam	Chenchu, Sugali / Lambada, Yanadi, Yerukula
9	Nellore	Yanadi, Yerukula, Nakkala
10	Kadapa	Sugali / Lambada, Yanadi, Yerukula
11	Kurnool	Chenchu, Sugali / Lambada, Yerukula
12	Ananthapur	Sugali / Lambada, Yerukula, Mali
13	Chittoor	Sugali / Lambada, Yandi, Yerukala, Nakkala

From the chart it is noted that about 16 tribes found to live in Visakhapatnam district all these tribes falls under hill tribes category. The large extent of geographical areas in the district forms the scheduled area and considered it as the habitat of tribes and endowed with forest coverage.

III. The concept of tribe

Conceptualizing what is a 'Tribe' Hasain (1991) explains the term tribe according to western writers, generally means it is an ethnic group, geographically isolated or semi isolated, identified with particular territory and having distinct social, economic and cultural traditions and practices. Further, as per Article 336(25) of the Indian constitution, the scheduled tribes means such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be scheduled tribes for the purpose of this constitution. The scheduled tribes may be specified by the president under Article 342 by a public notification. The parliament may, by law include and exclude from the list of scheduled tribes, any tribal community or part there of in any state or union territory. There is no religious bar for specifying a person as member of a schedule tribe, unlike in case of scheduled castes. A tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous though originally it might have been so.

The main criteria adopted for specifying communities as the scheduled tribes include: 1) traditional occupation 2) Distinctive culture which includes whole spectrum of tribal way of life i.e language, customs, traditions, religious beliefs, arts and crafts etc, 3) primitive traits depicting occupational pattern, economy etc and 4) lack of educational and techno-economic development. Initially there was lot of debate on the use of term 'Adivasi' instead of 'scheduled tribe' but it was not accepted. The reason for non-acceptance of the term 'Adivasi' as explained by Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, chairman drafting committee of the constitution, is the word 'Adivasi' is really a general term which has no specific legal dejure connotation whereas the word 'scheduled tribe' has a fixed meaning, because it enumerates the tribes. In the event of the matter being taken to a court of law there should be a precise definition as to who these 'Adivasis' are it was therefore decided to enumerate the 'Adivasis' under the term to be called 'scheduled tribe'.

D.N.Majundar (1958) defined 'tribe as a special group with territorial affiliation and endogamous with no specialization of functions, ruled by tribal officers hereditary or otherwise united hereditary or otherwise united language or dialect recognizing social distance with other tribes or castes, without any social obloquy attaching to them as it does in the caste structure, following tribal traditions, beliefs and customs, illiberal naturalization of ideas from alien of ideas from alien source above all conscious of homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration.

In Anthropological literature the main characteristic features of a tribe are kinship ties, common territory, one language, joint ownership, one political organization and absence of intercine tribe. The essential characteristic features of scheduled tribes as per Lokur Committee a) primitive traits b) distinctive culture c) shyness of contact with the public at large d) geographical isolation and e) Backwardness - social and economic.

Anthropological literature characterises a tribe as: a) habitat in hilly or clad areas and forest or forest clad areas b) isolated or semi-isolated from the wider community c) having economic self- sufficiency i.e subsistence economy, with no surplus production, d) backward technology, e) lack of division of labour f) having in mechanical solidarity g) economic exchange based on reciprocity or on barter, h) political autonomy or having their own political system i) egalitarian values j) having their own religious faith in animism, animatism, naturism, totemism or magic and witch craft and finally k) a sense of belongingness to the community (S.K.Chaudhury, 2004).

Verma (2002) explains how the concept of tribe has under gone a change from that of a political unit of olden days to a group of people identified with poverty and backwardness. Historically they were exploited and oppression has resulted in a complete loss of their nerves. It is difficult to reconcile their glorious past with the present state of misery. However, they are gradually waking up from centuries old slumber. The young generation particularly, the educated class have now come to realize their potentiality and positive that they are equal with other groups.

IV. The Concept Social Exclusion

Social exclusion is a process by which individuals or household experience deprivation either of resources or of social links to the wider community or society. Since the seminal work of Rene Lenoir (1974) of France on social exclusion, it become the central theme of social policy in many European countries. Amartya Sen (1998) explained very simply that "social exclusion emphasises the role of relational features in deprivation". The French establishment defined social exclusion as a "rupture of social bonds". A broader framework of the understanding of social exclusion suggests that it is the process that excludes individuals, groups and aggregates from full participation in the society where they live. According to silver (1995) exclusion must include the following; a livelihood, secure permanent employment, earnings, property, credit or land minimal or prevailing consumption levels, education, skills and cultural capital, the welfare state, citizenship and legal equality, democratic participation, public goods, the nation or the dominant race family and sociability, humanity, respect fulfilment and understanding.

Amartya Sen (2000) holds that exclusion from social relations can lead to other deprivation that further limit our living opportunities. It can thus constitutively a part of capability deprivation as well as instrumentally a cause of diverse capability failures. In the Indian context exclusion revolves around institutions that discriminates isolate, shame and deprive subordinate groups on the basis of identities like caste, tribe, religion and gender.

V. Forms and Mechanisms of Social Exclusion among Tribes in A.P

The tribes of Andhra Pradesh has been classified as two categories of tribal groups based on geographical ecological and economic conditions namely 1) Hill tribes including Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups and 2) Plain tribes. The form and level of exclusion varies from one category of tribal group to another category of tribal group. For instance geographical isolation and segregation are the common features for hill tribes and Particularly Vulnerable tribal Groups (PVTGs) whereas the plain tribes are very much integrated into the caste system of plateu region of A.P. The feature of caste based social exclusion and its form is very much seen among the plain tribes like Lambada / Sugali, Yanadi and Yerukula. Once the feature of egalitarianism was very much prevailed among the aboriginal groups but now such feature not found in many tribes in Andhra Pradesh. This kind of feature still we found among the foragers of Chenchus who inhabits in Nallamali forests of Andhra Pradesh. The hill tribes which are inhabiting nearby Orissa border are experiencing with the linguistic exclusion because of Oriya origin, for instance the tribes like Dhulia, Kotia, Kulia / Mulia, Kondh and Jatapu, Porja, similarly certain tribes like Konda Dora, Savara and Khond have their own dialects and experiencing with linguistic exclusion at local and regional levels.

Exclusion as a social phenomenon is expressed in different forms all over the world. In India unique forms of exclusion are observed, where certain groups like the *Dalits*, Backward classes women, *Adivasis* (Tribes) and religious minorities experience systemic exclusion in regard to accruing the advantages of development and institutional inequality and discrimination have been pervasive features of the society. the study of different aspects of social exclusion and framing inclusive policies. According to Sen (1998), social exclusion emphasizes the role of relational features in deprivation. Marginalization and deprivation are very much associated with the social exclusion of tribes in India and the state of Andhra Pradesh. Narayan (1999) calls it the norm and process that prevents certain groups from equal and effective participation in the social, economic, cultural and political lives of societies. It is clearly both a process and a product which involves at

least four factors. The excluded institutions from which they are excluded, the agents whose actions result in the exclusion and the process through which exclusion occurs. Power holds the key in the process of exclusion and those with power are implicated and those without it are affected. Majority of the tribal people in A.P are denial of economic and political power and they are excluded from the ongoing development process of nation and state. In course of exclusion, power asymmetries are observed resulting in the exclusion of certain tribal groups and individuals. For instance Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) and its people, living in most economic backward condition with geographical isolation of hill and forests. Social exclusion of deprived communities like tribes can lead to economic poverty as social exclusion and poverty are deeply interconnected (Subramanayam.V, 2017). According Bradley (1994) there are five mechanisms of exclusion in-order of increasing severity such as geography, entry barriers, corruption, intimidation and physical violence. The tribal communities in Andhra Pradesh are experiencing with the severity of exclusion through the mechanisms of geographical isolation, corruption, violence, exploitation and unrest. All these are considered as major constraints for tribals participation fully in the ongoing development process of nation, state and community. The particularly vulnerable tribals groups like Chenchu, Gadaba, Kondh, Konda Reddy, Konda Savara, and Porja are worst affected with the severity and vulnerability of social exclusion, when compared to other tribes in Andhra Pradesh

VI. Process and Factors Responsible for Exclusion of PVTGs

There are so many factors that are responsible for exclusion to take place among PVTGs. In general the people in tribal communities (including PVTGS) are excluded in all the social aspects like politics, economics, education, civil service in process has been developing, Not only for poverty that indigenous knowledge is disappearing but the capability deprivation and the exclusionary policies imposed on them responsible for their further marginalization and they are on the verge of extinction. Social exclusion is due to some of the important causes, such as social cultural practices, legal reality, poverty and illiteracy, state mechanism and national and so on, in which socio-cultural, political and economic exclusion are of serious type. In fact, this exclusion follows certain development process. There is a close relationship between social exclusion and development especially in respect to tribal communities of Andhra Pradesh state.

The process of social exclusion in tribes is closely associated with the factors like geographical isolation, high level of poverty, economical exclusion, socio-cultural exclusion, socially least aware, educationally poor, (illiteracy), lack of political participation, in access to health and education, and other development and welfare programmes, less exposure to media and outside. There is a close linkage between status and social exclusion in respect to tribals which reflects by means of low income level, low education level, low political participation, least aware about laws, policies and new technologies, unemployment, male domination (in some spheres), traditional socio-cultural practices (superstitions beliefs), dependency in decision making and relative thinking of own.

VII. Poverty and Social Exclusion

Poverty is one of the causative factors s for social exclusion of tribal communities in Andhra Pradesh, about 60% of tribal population in A.P stand at below poverty line. Sen (2000) associates idea of social exclusion to capability perspective on poverty. He further says that "Development requires the removal of major sources of un freedom; poverty as well as oppression, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as tolerance or over activity or repressive states,' social exclusion can be constitutively a part of capability deprivation as well as instrumentally a cause of diverse capability failure. Exclusion of tribal people from the different social structures and facilities such as education, lead indigenous knowledge to more vulnerable and fragile. Poverty also resulted to low level of educational attainment which consequently have resulted lower level of mental development and so did social awareness level. Reasons for educational backwardness among tribes of A.P are poverty, lack of social awareness of the families, some general trends, child labour, inaccessibility to school facility to interior tribal habitats. Teacher and student absenteeism and poor monitoring system.

VIII. Anthropological perspective of tribal development: Policies of isolation, assimilation and integration

Tribes in A.P is considered as under developed communities living in most economic backward condition, still the problems of poverty, illiteracy, indebtedness, marginalization and deprivation persists. In general under development treated as social exclusion in both administrative and academic perspectives. Under development in a broadly sense is a synonym for the process that constitute social exclusion. The socially excluded tribal communities are those who have been actively underdeveloped. Contemporary debates and discussions about social exclusion began in the domain of political discourse (administrative) and only then entered the discourses of academic social sciences including Anthropology. The pioneer Anthropologists

debated the issue of social exclusion in tribal development perspective and still continuing this debate how to bring them to mainstream under the clux of exclusion due to geographical isolation and segregation. This peace of research work try to provide certain solutions for it through empirical field work observations over a period of thirty years in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh.

The concept mainstream came into Indian Anthropology visibly in the post-independence era specifically in relation to the integration of tribes. The term used was also national culture which was meant to denote the industrialized, democratic, secular and universalistic post-colonial culture, self consciously adopted by our national leaders. However, the concept 'mainstream which developed as a synonym to the national culture which was ideally meant to be universalistic and non-specific, raised questions casting doubt on its very assertion of universalism. The modern mass media educational and transportation communication are currently playing a vital role in bringing the isolated communities (including tribes) into the mainstream and facilitating such communities to participate in the ongoing development process of nation and state. But still large majority of interior tribals including PVTGs are not access to such facilities, even if it is available they are unable to avail it due to impoverishment, illiteracy and ignorance.

For the purpose of administration and development of tribes several policies were laid down. The first was the policy of isolation. It was implemented for the first time before the 1935 reforms, proposed by J.H.Hutton, when the government had declared four tracts as excluded areas. This policy of isolation received vehement criticism. Elwin believed that the tribal should be kept outside some time from debasing and impoverishing contact. In his words "the aboriginal cannot remain as he is but it is necessary for him to pass through degradation before he emerged as civilized man in future (Elwin 1960). This policy was criticised by many Anthropologists and expressed their views that how long we can keep the aboriginal people in dark and isolation condition when the world is marching towards globalization, modernization and scientific advancement.

Later came the policy of assimilation, proposed by the social worker A.V.Thakkar and sociologist G.S.Ghurye. they believed that tribals should not kept in isolation, rather they should be assimilated with the mainstream society. had it became successful, it would have again became fatal for the tribals because then the mainstream meant a Hindu mainstream. Further, the tribals would have lost their culture, tradition, beliefs and values. Finally came the policy of integration proposed by Jawaharlal Nehru. It is known as tribal panchsheel' where Nehru gave five principles (Panchsheel). They are 1) people should be allowed to develop on the lines of their own genius and nothing should be imposed on them 2) tribal rights on land and forest should be respected 3) induction of too many outsiders in to the tribal areas should be avoided 4) there should be no over administration of tribal areas and work should be done through their own institution as far as possible and 5) the results should be judged not by the amount of money spent but by quality of human character that is involved. The above principles implied three goals; a) culture specific and need based development programmes for the tribals b) participation of people in both planning implementation and c) empowerment leading to the formation of self—identity and self-esteem.

Considering the view of Nehru and his vision towards tribal development on the line of policy of integration, several planned development programmes were implemented for the development of tribals. Different five year plans provided different programmes which were implemented through different agencies. In the third five year plan period (1961-66) small multipurpose tribal blocks were created, later on renamed as tribal development blocks. There are 504 such blocks operating in the country (including Andhra Pradesh) today. In the Further five year plan period (1969-74) Area Development Approach was followed, which later on became Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDS) since 1975 (fifth five year plan) A number of ITDAs were established in the tribal pockets of India under tribal sub-plan strategy and it is considered as a landmark in the history of tribal development in India. The fifth five year plan saw a major boost for the up-liftment of tribals and tribal sub-plan approach, which has possessed the following components; 1) Integrated Tribal Development Projects to be opened up in tribal concentrated districts 2) Modified area Development Approach (MADA) to be implemented in less concentrated areas and 3) Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) now termed as particularly vulnerable tribal groups (PVTGs) were classified and categorized with a view to implement special need based programmes. In the seventh five year plan another programme called cluster approach was implemented in areas where tribals were found in a scattered manner. At present the tribal sub-plan is implemented in twenty one states and two union territories where 194 ITDAs, 259 MADAs 75 PVTGs and 82 clusters are under operation. (Ministry of tribal affairs 2003). The integrated tribal development approach under tribal sub-plan strategy is continuing currently in all the scheduled areas of our country for the benefit of tribal people. Apart from this, since tenth five plan period onwards the government of India is focusing its attention towards the inclusive growth and development of marginalized and excluded communities (including tribes of A.P) across the country it is possible in the case of tribes in A.P and other states only when these communities very well integrated in to the mainstream of Indian society, without losing its cultural identity. The process of acculturation (culture contact with the castes) definitely pay way for the integration of aboriginal people in the mainstream of the society.

IX. Social inclusion and inclusive policies for tribal development

Social inclusion of certain social groups including tribes need to be understood as contextual and situational in its daily life. In consonance of the idea of social upliftment through directive principles, the government formulates an inclusive policy. Constitutional safeguards ad provisions extended to weaker sections (Including tribes) by the government are also considered as inclusive policy in this context. Development policies and programmes are another kind of measurement in order to achieve inclusive growth and development among the excluded social categories in India. Reservation policy to weaker sections (Scheduled castes, Scheduled tribes, Backward classes, religious minorities and women) in education and employment is another strategy of government for social inclusion of excluded social groups including tribes in Indian society. The Indian constitution provides equality to all citizens irrespective of caste, creed, religion and gender. It also directs the state to take various measures to remove the different forms of discrimination and inequality and thereby helps to eradicate social exclusion. The state should ensure social justice to all the deprived communities such as scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes, religious and linguistic minorities, women, poor and disabled.

X. Constitutional Provisions for Scheduled Tribes

The British policy of isolation and the sporadic tribal uprisings in different pasts of the country has been duly taken note of by the policy makers in the formulation of policy for tribal welfare and development soon after independence, a sub-committee was appointed with A.V.Thakkar Bapa as Chairman for suggesting measures for the welfare and development of tribes living in the excluded and partially excluded areas. Based on the recommendations of the committee, The Constitution of India has incorporated provisions for the welfare and upliftment of the tribal people.

There are as many as 20 articles and two scheduleds in the constitution of India concerning the welfare of tribals. The most important one is Article 46, which states that the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. In pursuance of the spirit of this Article several enactments were made to protect the interests of the tribes through their efficacy is debatable.

Article 244 of the Indian Constitution empowers the president of India to declare any area where there is a substantial tribal population as a scheduled area and to include or exclude a tribe in the list of scheduled tribes in the Vth schedule on the recommendations of the state government concerned and with the approval of the Governor of the state. The scheduled areas has been constituted with two major objectives. One is to protect and facilitate the tribals in enjoying their rights, and secondly to develop the scheduled areas to promote economic, educational and social progress of the scheduled tribes.

Similarly Article 275 for assistance to the states for the implementation of the provisions of the constitution and grants-in-aid from the consolidated fund of India to states for implementation of tribal development programmes; Articles 330,332 and 334 provides for reservation of seats for scheduled tribes Lok Sabha and the state Legislative Assemblies, Article 385 provides for reservation in the services and Articles 14,15,16 and 19 ensure equality all these aforesaid provisions and inclusive policies are applicable to the tribes Andhra Pradesh too. The situation of social exclusion, inclusion and integration of tribes in A.P. State is almost a kin to that of the tribes in other tribal pockets of India, but the cultural practices, social exclusion and inclusion process varies from one tribe to another tribe, one tribal habit to another tribal habitat and one tribal geographical area to another tribal geographical area of within the State of Andhra Pradesh. The following two paragraphs clearly explains about the exact situation of hill tribes, particularly vulnerable tribes and plain tribes of A.P State in the context of its levels of social exclusion, inclusion, integration and development based on secondary and empirical research sources of information. The author provides the situational analysis on the problem of the research work in a nutshell with Anthropological significance.

XI. Situation of Tribes in Andhra Pradesh

Tribes in Andhra Pradesh constituties 5.53% population to the total general population of state represents 34 tribes. Tribal population in the state distributed in all the thirteen districts with varied in number. Large chunk of tribal population in A.P State is concentrated in tribal sub-plan areas of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Kurnool, Prakasam, Guntur and Nellore districts. Tribes of Andhra Pradesh has been broadly classified into two categories i.e 1) Hill tribes and 2) Plain tribes on the basis of ecological and geographical background. The hill tribes population is concentrated in the Eastern Ghats forest environment whereas the plain tribes population mostly found in platen region of A.P

state specifically rural caste villages. Among hill tribes are classified as particularly vulnerable tribal groups (PVTGs) which exhibits the characteristic features of pre-agricultural stage of economy, low literacy, stagnant or diminishing population and living in most economic backward condition. The feature of tribal hierarchy also seen among the tribes of Andhra Pradesh, which is a very recent phenomenon borrowed from the caste communities of the region through the process of acculturation (culture contact). Social inequality and discrimination exists in between the hill tribes and plain tribes especially in economic and political spheres. In regards tribal hierarchy among hill tribes, the Bagata occupying top most position whereas the Valmiki stand at bottom, whereas among plain tribes lambada occupying highest position and Yanadi enjoying the lowest position. In general Lambada or Sugali tribe considered as numerically economically and politically dominant tribal group in Andhra Pradesh. Once tribal society was known for the feature of egalitarianism and almost all the aboriginals had equal social status. But now such situation not prevails in almost all the tribal communities in A.P State, social exclusion of tribes in Andhra Pradesh is now very much associated with the presence of the features of inequality and discrimination social inequality and social tribal hierarchy exhibiting discrimination are not in practice among the tribal communities alike that of the caste communities of the region. But inequality and discrimination found among the tribal communities especially in the spheres of economic, political, educational and employment spheres. Gender discrimination is totally absent in the tribal communities of A.P. Moreover, the tribal parents prefer to have more number of female children rather than male children why because the females contributes more income to their families. In general the tribal communities in Andhra Pradesh is experiencing with the problem of social exclusion due to poverty, exploitation, unrest, indebtedness, malnutrition, morbidity and mortality. Some section of tribals victimised by non-tribals exploitation and Naxalites activities in interior tribal habitats literally creating unrest among aboriginals, which resulted to agitations and movements during pre and post independence periods. Tribal people in A.P are encountered with the problems of land alienation, illiteracy and unemployment. Tribals migration to urban towns and cities is a recent trend in A.P for seeking employment for their livelihood.

Tribes of Andhra Pradesh are at different stages of economies, from food gathering to food production. The food gathering tribe Chenchu, inhabiting in Nallamalai forests lacking permanent livelihood sources and forced it to depend directly on the physical environment of forest flora and fauna. Once the Lambadas and Agency Goudu tribes were traditional pasatralist, but now the Lambadas became sedentary cultivators, whereas the other tribal group Agency Goudu is not totally depending on pastoralism but partially depend on it. Konda Kammara is an artisan tribe in A.P and its people are known as black smiths and carpenters. At present this tribal community people are not totally depending on its traditional occupation, only few of them are continuing with traditional occupation and majority of them became shifting (podu) cultivators and settled cultivators. The Malis and Konda Savaras are the traditional horticulturists, still considerable number of them are continuing with their hereditary calling but not totally depending on it by the entire community. At present occupational mobility and change observed among the tribal communities of A.P. In general tribal economy is considered as Agro-forest based and subsistence economy. Certain number of tribal families were displaced, rehabilitated and resulted due to the construction of medium, minor and major irrigation projects like Bhupathipalem, Musurimilli, Peddagedda and Polavaram, in the tribal areas of A.P. because of their displacement they are literally excluded from their cultural milien. Establishment of public institutions, mining operations and other industrial activities also resulting to displacement of certain tribal families / people from their original habitats and the ultimate result of it is ecological and cultural exclusion.

The government initiated inclusive policies by constitutionally and in the form of welfare and development programmes are also not reaching to all aboriginal people uniforminly and equally due to varied reasons, such as lapses at implementation level, poor monitoring system, unsuitable programmes, lack of awareness and non-participation. Many interior tribal settlements still lack of proper infrastructural facilities like road communication, electricity, clean drinking water, housing, sanitation, marketing, education and health. Majority of the people among PVTGs are not access and availing many public facilities and they are denial of equal opportunity to participate fully in the ongoing development process of the nation and state. The empirical observations through field work studies among the tribal communities in Andhra Pradesh clearly indicates that the hill tribes, especially particularly vulnerable tribes are still experiencing severity of social exclusion and vulnerability mainly due to poverty, illiteracy, food insecurity, ill health and unemployment along with the universal tribal exclusion problems of geographical isolation and segregation.

XII. Conclusions

Tribes in Andhra Pradesh largely considered as undeveloped, relatively isolated, deprived and marginalized communities. In general tribal communities are experiencing with the problem of social exclusion due to geographical isolation, and segregation in addition to impoverishment. The history of tribal development at national level and Andhra Pradesh state level clearly indicates that the progress among different tribal communities taking place in a slow pace manner due to varied reasons, of which corruption and pilferage are

very significant and non-participation of some section of tribal people fully in the ongoing development process because severity of social exclusion. Among the tribes of Andhra Pradesh, most of the hill tribes, specifically particularly vulnerable tribal groups like Chenchu, Gadaba, Kondh, Konda Reddy, Konda Savara and Porja are still living in most economic backward condition. The tribes inhabiting nearby Orissa border are experiencing with the problem of linguistic exclusion and cultural identity. Oriya speaking Andhra tribes are mostly found in Arakuvalley, Dumbriguda, Munchingiput, mandals of Visakhapatnam district, Parvathipuram, Pachipenta and Gummalaxmipuram mandals of Vizianagaram district, Donbai and Seethampet mandlas of Srikakulam districts. The tribes like Kondh, Gaadaba, Porja, Konda Dora, Savara, lambada / Sugali, Yerukula and Koya have their own dialect and all these tribes invariably prone to linguistic exclusion at local and regional levels. The tribal people who have very recently converted in to Christianity are experiencing with religious exclusion both internally and externally at tribe, outside tribe and regional levels. In tradition each and every tribe used to have certain exclusion and inclusion practices, the aboriginal people customarily follow it in their day to day life compulsorily in certain context and situation. In almost all human groups including tribes, social exclusion and inclusion practices are mostly contextual and situational. It is a felt need to record all these practices among aboriginal people in Anthropological holistic, etic and emic perspectives with empiricism, in order to plan or design more appropriate and meaningful inclusive policies for their progress, upliftment and development.

In sum culturally acceptable need based welfare programmes to be initiated in future for achieving inclusive growth and development among the excluded tribal communities in Andhra Pradesh specific and other tribes of nation in general. In presumption still concerted effort is very much needful from tribal development administrators, planner's, policy makers, academics, social activities and researchers for the removal of social exclusion problem among the aboriginal people who live in different tribal pockets of India, including Andhra Pradesh state. There is an urgent need to ensure accessibility and availability of education, health, nutrition, employment and other economic programmes to all the aboriginal people who stand at below poverty level. Poverty alleviation programmes need to be intensified in the geographically excluded tribal areas where in the people experiencing with livelihood problems accompanied food insecurity high incidence of malnutrition, morbidity and mortality. The aboriginal people in particularly vulnerable tribes are still needs much attention from the concerned authorities in-order to rescue them from the clux of social exclusion and vulnerability.

Education definitely play a vital role to elevate social, economic and political statuses among the downtrodden, marginalized, deprived and excluded social groups including *Adivasis*. The inclusive education policies in the form of Right to Education Act 2009, national education Policy 1986, 1992 and the recent New national Educational Policy 2020 are more appropriate and relevant for education development among socially excluded social groups including the tribes. Participatory development approached along with need and right based approaches should be strictly followed in implementing all welfare and development programmes among the tribes of A.P in specific and other parts of the nation in general.

The investigations clearly indicates that the levels of social exclusion varies from one tribe to another tribe, but the tribes of a specific category stand at a similar social scale, for instance the plain tribes like Lambada / Sugali, Yerukula and Yanadi very well integrated into the mainstream of civilized caste society but whereas the hill tribes are excluded from the mainstream due to geographical isolation. Even among the hill tribes, PVTGs are experiencing the severity of social exclusion due to several factors like geographical isolation, segregation, illiteracy, poverty, economic deprivation, morbidity low fertility and high mortality rates, moreover inaccessibility and unavailability of many development initiations of government and non-government agencies. Very low population growth rate observed among the minor tribal groups like Kattu Nayakan, Bhil, Andh, Rena / Rona, Hill Reddy, Kulia, Pardhan and Dhulia. A few tribes in this category are on the verge of extinction for instance Pardhan, Bhil and Kattu Nayakan. Tribal hierarchy, inequality and discrimination are considered as hall marks for social exclusion, which are also embodied in the tribal society too. Now certain elements of caste seen in almost all the tribes of A.P due to the process of acculturation (culture contact). Finally at the end the author of this research article emphasizes the relevance of Anthropological ethnographic methodological procedure, holistic, etic and emic approaches for carrying out research investigations on the issues of social exclusion, inclusion, integration and development among different social groups including tribes.

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