



Tharu And Buksa Tribes' Attitudes Toward Child And Maternal Health And Educational Services In Uttarakhand: A Qualitative Study

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Abstract: Despite the government of India's admirable efforts to assist tribal people and help them develop, they are unable to resolve their problems. Even today, many tribal problems persist in India. The aim of this paper is to explore attitudes and barriers toward child health, maternal health, and educational services in two tribal populations, i.e., the Tharu and the Buksa, in Uttarakhand. In March 2016, qualitative research was conducted through a self-developed questionnaire. This interview schedule is being used to assess the concept and usage of child and maternal healthcare services and educational services with samples aged 25 to 50 years from the Tharu (50) and the Buksa (50) tribes of Uttarakhand. The study found that the primary barriers to utilizing healthcare facilities are direct and indirect financial barriers; travel distances to medical facilities; subpar public transportation; hospital staff members perceived to act negatively toward patients; and inadequate infrastructure. The location of schools, weak economic conditions, lack of awareness, medium of language, geographical conditions, and discrimination were found to be the barriers to utilizing educational services. The study's conclusion draws attention to the obstacles that patients face in using healthcare facilities; these obstacles are not always caused by the patient's socioeconomic situation but also heavily dependent on other contextual factors and the standard of the medical care being provided. The difficulties in using educational services are also highlighted.

Key Words: Tribes • Tharu • Buksa • Attitude • Barriers

Introduction

Uttarakhand accounts for 2.89% of India's total number of Scheduled Tribes (Uttarakhand State Council for Science and Technology [UCOST], 2022). As per the 2011 census, the percentage of Scheduled Tribes in the population of Uttarakhand is 0.6%. The largest number of Gond tribes have been found in Uttarakhand. As per the President's Constitution Order (Scheduled Tribes), 1967, Buksa, Jansari, Bhotia, Tharu, and Raji have been given the status of Scheduled Tribes. But in 2003, 10 more tribes were included in it. The Tharu tribe is an indigenous community that lives in the Terai plains on the Nepal-India

border (Krauskopff, 1995). The majority of them live in Udham Singh Nagar (43. %), Dehradun (38%), Pithoragarh (7 %), and Chamoli (4 %).

Until recently, the prevailing belief was that individuals in tribal regions faced challenges primarily related to communicable diseases such as malaria and malnutrition. However, a recent report has brought to light a concerning trend, indicating the emergence of non-communicable diseases like hypertension, heart disease, and diabetes within tribal communities (Shriraam, Mahadevan, & Arumugam, 2021). At present, many commendable works are being done by the Government of India to solve the problems of



tribals and for their development, but still, they are not able to solve the tribal problems. In fact, many of the problems of tribals in India persist even today.

Facts About Tharu Tribe

1. The people of the Tharu tribe belong to the “Kirat” dynasty.
2. The people of this tribe are small in stature, with pale skin and broad faces.
3. The main food of the people of this tribe is rice.
4. These people build their houses with wooden logs.
5. These people still live in joint families.
6. The most surprising thing is that these people celebrate Deepawali as a mourning festival.
7. Badla marriage practices are prevalent in this tribe.

Facts About Buksa Tribe

1. This tribe is believed to be related to the "Patwar" Rajput family.
2. These people use the Hindi language in common parlance.
3. The highest person of the Panchayat of this tribe is called "Takht".
4. These people worship Chamunda Devi.
5. Their main source of income is agriculture.
6. The Buksa Tribal Development Project in Uttarakhand was started in 1983-84.

Review of Literature

A community-based cross-sectional study was carried out by (Gopinath, Logaraj, & John, 2018) in a tribal region of the Jawadhu Hills, Puthurnadu PHC sub-center. The study involved a total of 316 children. As a whole, 26.9% of people were undernourished. Stunting was more prevalent overall (55.4%), exceeding the World Health Organization's threshold for determining the severity of malnutrition.

From 1961 to 2011, it is evident that both India's literacy rate and the literacy rate of Scheduled

Tribes greatly rose. However, the fact that there was still a 14.03 percent discrepancy between these two groups in 2011 is cause for worry.

Table 1. The literacy rate of scheduled tribes compared to the total population (in percent)

| Census | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 |
|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| All social groups | 28.3 | 34.45 | 43.57 | 52.21 | 64.84 | 72.99 |
| STs | 8.53 | 11.30 | 16.35 | 29.60 | 47.10 | 58.96 |
| Gap | 19.77 | 18.15 | 19.88 | 21.61 | 18.28 | 14.03 |

Source: Statistics of school education: 2010-2011

The enrollment of students from various social groups was facilitated and promoted after independence by several government initiatives in the shape of various programs and an increase in the funding for education.

Research Objective

To explore the Tharu and Buksa tribes' attitudes and barriers toward child health, maternal health, and educational services in Uttarakhand.

Design of the Study

The purpose of the present research paper was to explore the Tharu and Buksa tribes' attitudes and barriers toward child health, maternal health, and educational services in Uttarakhand. Data was collected using an interview schedule. There were 50 Tharu and 50 Buksa participants. Their age range varied from 25 to 50 years. Ex-post facto research with an exploratory orientation was used. Incidental sampling was used to collect the data. The interviews were recorded after taking the participants' prior consent. The schedule was in the local language. There were 10 questions in two parts (Child and Maternal Health and Educational Services) to understand



the perceptions of the Tharu and the Buksa Tribes. The responses were recorded verbatim.

Results and Discussion

With reference to the results, each question is discussed in detail with reference to the various responses given by the interviewee.

1. Attitude Toward Child And Maternal Health

Reason For Child Deaths

(What is the reason for child deaths in your community?)

| Categories | Tharu (50) | Buksa(50) |
|-----------------------------|------------|-----------|
| Separation from the land | 40(80%) | 6(12%) |
| Illiteracy | 10(20%) | 40(80%) |
| No technological facilities | - | 4 (8%) |

80% of the Tharu tribe reported that the main reason for the child deaths was "separation from the land". Many tribes continue to live in forests and mountains far from civilization. The facilities are not available on time due to the distance. In comparison, 80% of the Buksa tribe reported "illiteracy" as the primary cause of child deaths. When a person experiences any illness or accident, the tribe members believe more in witchcraft and exorcisms. They don't value physicians and other medical aids. Instead of using the services offered, they prefer the traditional methods of healing. Because of this, despite the government of India's numerous efforts, this society still lacks literacy.

Narrative Of Tharu: On the one hand, there are many facilities available in society and the people living in those facilities. On the other hand, we have a wild society that stays away from this civilized society... Either the facility has not been

provided by the government or it has not reached us. Now, whose fault is it? Either ours, that we could not live in the society or the society has not adopted us till date. For this reason, we have a high child mortality rate even today because facilities are not available on time.

Narrative Of Buksa- The main cause of the high child death rate in the Buksa tribe is illiteracy since our tribe still practices exorcisms and witchcraft. The spirit is seen as the primary cause of any problems, illnesses, or accidents that take place. Goats and chickens are offered as sacrifices to the demon. In our tribe, those who value faith and tradition are more prevalent, and as a result, they do not value professionals like doctors and nurses.

2. Process Of Maternal Health

(What Is The Process Followed In Your Community For Maternal Health Or How Do You Care?)

| Categories | Tharu (50) | Buksa(50) |
|--|------------|-----------|
| Prenatal Care and care of baby and mother both | 30(60%) | 40(80%) |
| Proper Facilities | 10(20%) | 6(12%) |
| Good Food | 5(10%) | 2 (4%) |
| Don't know | 5(10%) | 2 (4%) |

The Tharu tribe(60%) and the Buksa tribe(80%) both reported "prenatal care and care of baby and mother both" as the primary causes of maternal health. According to the Tharu tribe narratives, they give a controlled amount of food during pregnancy to ensure a normal delivery without the baby getting overweight. They recover after giving birth using traditional methods, which are thought to be healthy by them, but scientifically, this could lead to infection. They make the mothers work in the prenatal period to make them



healthy, while the doctors suggest resting. On the other hand, the Buksa tribe considers the first thick yellow milk dirty for the child, which is said to be the healthiest by the doctors. Good food and proper facilities are considered secondary factors in the process of maternal health.

Narrative Of Tharu: Maternal health means prenatal care. Under this, the mother should be given food in a controlled quantity because giving more food increases the weight of the child and there are problems with normal delivery. It is important to apply oil and turmeric to it for quick recovery. Other methods are included in antenatal care so that both the mother and the baby remain healthy.

Narrative Of Buksa: According to the Buksa tribe, during the process of maternal health, the newborn should not be fed the mother's first thick yellow milk because it is dirty milk and it is advisable to throw it out. It should save both the child and the mother. The first milk should be given to the newborn by the aunt(Bua). Apart from mother's milk, other means like honey, ghutti, etc. should be taken for the first one or two days.

**3. Reason Of Maternal Deaths
 (What is the main reason for “Maternal Deaths” in your community?)**

| Categories | Tharu (50) | Buksa(50) |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------|
| Bleeding, infection, BP | 35(70%) | - |
| Inappropriate facilities | 15(30%) | 5(10%) |
| Alcohol | - | 45(90%) |
| Don't know | - | 5 (10%) |

The Tharu tribe(70%) respondents claim the leading causes of maternal deaths are excessive bleeding (postpartum in most cases), infection (usually postpartum), high blood pressure during

pregnancy (preeclampsia and eclampsia), complications related to childbirth, and unsafe abortion. The practice of alcohol, bidi, tobacco, etc. is found in abundance among the **Buksa tribe(90%)**. The tribe's members have a custom of offering and receiving country liquor as prasad from the Gods. Not only men, but women also consume **alcohol** addictively among the tribals. There is also a risk of death because of the inappropriate facilities and the lack of any appropriate treatment at the time.

Narrative Of Tharu: In our tribe, the biggest cause of maternal death is excessive bleeding during and after delivery, and due to the non-availability of any suitable treatment at that time, there is a danger of death. At that time, many types of coatings are used, but they do not get any relief, and we do not have the capacity to go to the city for treatment there. We don't even have the means of daily living. Neither the women nor the children get any fresh food to eat.

Narrative Of Buksa: Many women in our tribe's society drink alcohol when they are in pain out of habit, and this habit is harmful to them when they are pregnant.

At first, we didn't even know that it was harmful, but later, when we saw with our own eyes, some people who literately said that alcohol is harmful to both the newborn and the mother, we understood the main reason why. Our tribe's women, however, are still unable to leave it.

**4. Age Of Marriage
 (At what age do people in your tribe generally get married?)**

| Categories | Tharu (50) | Buksa(50) |
|------------|------------|-----------|
| 15-17 | 45(80%) | 44(88%) |
| 20-25 | 5(10%) | 2(12%) |
| 25-30 | - | 2 (4%) |
| 12-15 | - | 2 (4%) |



80% of the Tharu tribe and 88% of the Buksa tribe reported that most of them marry young, between the ages of 15 and 17. These tribes, however, use the fact that there aren't many suitable marriage proposals for girls in their communities to defend the marriage-at-a-young age policy. Since the bodies of teenage girls are still developing, they are at a higher risk of complications during pregnancy, which leads to an increase in the rate of maternal deaths. In addition, child brides are less likely than adult brides to receive adequate prenatal care or give birth in a medical facility.

Narrative Of Tharu: In our Tharu tribe society, marriages are done only in 15-17 years, but it does not mean that we bid them adieu early... Sometimes girls stay in their maternal house for a year, and sometimes, according to the circumstances, the girls are sent off immediately. It is not right to delay for a long time when we get a good marriage proposal. Because generally, we don't get any good proposals in our tribe, and if we do get any, we don't want to lose them at any cost.

Narrative Of Buksa: In our society, marriages are fixed in childhood so that when you grow up you don't have to find a groom for marriage. As you grow up, marriage proposals are not easily found. Marriages must then be performed only within our tribe because no one will come from the city with a proposal, so you must wander in search of one. We marry at 15, 16, or 17 to avoid worrying about the future, and by doing so, the children mature quickly and gain an understanding of life.

5. Semantic Of Antenatal Care (What do you understand by the term "Antenatal Care"?)

| Categories | Tharu (50) | Buksa(50) |
|-------------------|------------|-----------|
| Care before birth | 40(80%) | 45(90%) |
| Don't Know | 10(20%) | 5(10%) |

Most of the respondents—Tharu tribe(80%) and Buksa tribe(90%)—said that "Care Before Birth" is a semantic term for antenatal care. The mothers are expected to work in terms of prenatal care so that they can stay healthy and active. To ensure the healthy progression of their pregnancy and the prompt identification of high risks, all expectant mothers should register for antenatal care at the closest medical facility as soon as they become aware of their pregnancy.

Narrative Of Tharu: In prenatal care, both the mother and the unborn child should be given good rest. She should not have any physical pain, but knowing all this, we also know that it is very important for the mother to remain active during this time so that the child remains fit, so women are very active here anyway, because a woman has to cook for eight people. The women in our house take care of all the work behind us while we are outside.

Narrative Of Buksa: We try to provide as many facilities to pregnant women as possible, but our living conditions are such that the women here have to work hard, unwillingly. There are no special facilities here; people have molded themselves around what they have. One has to walk miles away, then the needs of one day are fulfilled. Then we also believe that the more work you do with the child in the stomach, the stronger the child becomes. There is no harm in this, then gradually it becomes a habit, then neither the pain is remembered, nor the swelling of the feet.

6. Ease In Receiving Monthly Ration (How do you receive your monthly ration?)

| Categories | Tharu (50) | Buksa(50) |
|-------------------|------------|-----------|
| 12-13 Km Distance | 40(80%) | 35(70%) |
| No Ration Card | 10(20%) | 15(30%) |

The Tharu tribe respondents(80%) and the Buksa tribe respondents(70%) face the problem of



receiving a monthly ration due to the **12-13** km distance from the place of availability, whereas some don't even have a ration card. They claim that despite the fact that the majority of people have health issues, their ration does not reach them properly.

According to a 2018 report by the Ministry of Health, the daily intake of nutrients by tribal groups is below the recommended daily level and reflects increasing food insecurity among the tribal population.

Narrative Of Tharu: One has to walk more than 12-13 km to get a ration, and many times, even after standing in line, the ration is not available. When you leave the house, the children look at you with a lot of hope; when you come home empty-handed, the children become indifferent and weep. That's why sometimes we feel angry at the government about why we do not get a good quantity of rations regularly.

Narrative Of Buksa: In our society, due to economic backwardness, there is a great need for rations. In the absence of rations, our children and the people of this society feel insecure, and most of us are victims of malnutrition. 80% of people are facing health problems, but despite all this, the ration is not being provided to us properly. We do not have enough strength to walk 12-13 km and come home empty-handed from there.

7. Attitude Towards Educational Services Semantic Of Education (What comes to your mind after listening to the word "Education"?)

| Categories | THARU (50) | BUKSA(50) |
|------------------------|------------|-----------|
| Waste Of Money | 40(80%) | 40(80%) |
| Provided By Government | 10(20%) | 6(12%) |
| Books, Paper, Pen Etc | - | 2 (4%) |
| Don't Know | - | 2 (4%) |

The first question tried to explore the semantics of the word "education." For the majority of the Tharu and Buksa tribes, the word "education" refers to a **waste of money** with a hopeless attitude. These individuals believe that studying is unnecessary if one must work for an income by ultimately becoming a servant. Some of them also want the government to offer better educational facilities.

Narrative Of Tharu; Education will be a lot for you educated people. For us, it is a waste of money. It is of no use to sacrifice our basic needs to teach children to write. What do you get then? Zero! Nothing else. A person of our acquaintance taught his child very hard, but the child did not get a job in the city, so it became a waste of money.

Narrative Of Buksa: Education is all about wasting time and money. Nothing happens by studying. No matter how educated you are, no one will give that respect and love to our society and children. People think of us as animals. They wonder what will happen to the children of our tribe if they start studying. Who will pick up the garbage? Who will clean their houses? When they have to become a servant by reading and writing, then it is better to remain illiterate and remain a servant. Why waste money?

8. Studies Drop Out Reason (What do you believe is the main cause of school abandonment in your community?)

| Categories | Tharu (50) | Buksa(50) |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------|
| Location of School | 40(80%) | 5(10%) |
| Weak economic conditions | 10(20%) | 40(80%) |
| No need of studies | - | 2 (4%) |

Tharu respondents(80%) reported the 'location of school' as the distance between home and school and the associated cost, especially for secondary



education, discourages parents from sending their children to school. Thus, the dropout rate of children is high. On the other hand, the Buksa tribe(80%) faces financial problems and considers ‘Weak economic condition’ as the reason for dropping out of school, as most of the tribal communities lack financial resources to access quality education and related educational resources.

Narrative Of Tharu: Whenever we think of sending our children to school, it also comes to our mind how to send them to school. Good schools are far away from our homes, or it can be said that our homes are far away from the school itself. Even if we wanted to, we are not able to send our children to school. And children cannot cross the path on foot alone for so many kilometers every day.

Narrative Of Buksa: Who doesn't want to teach kids? Even if you ignore many things and needs, who will fulfill the lack of money? The school takes money. We sent our children as long as we could to primary school. When they went to the higher class, there was no money to pay the school fees, so they dropped out. There are also some other government schools that are far away. We need money to pick up and drop off children, to buy tiffins; books; etc., which we do not have. What would you eat if you spent everything studying?

9. Parental Perspective

(As a parent, what do you think about the education of the children in your tribe?)

| Categories | Tharu (50) | Buksa(50) |
|--|------------|-----------|
| Lack of Awareness | 45(90%) | 5(10%) |
| Medium of language | 5(10%) | 40(80%) |
| Lack of understanding of tribal culture among teachers | - | 2 (4%) |

Tharu respondents(90%) believe that there is a lack of awareness regarding the long-term value of formal education. Tribal parents prefer to place their children in lucrative employment that regularly raises the family's income because education does not yield an immediate economic return. On the other hand, Buksa respondents(80%) stated that the slow development of bilingual entrance textbooks containing text in regional and tribal languages hinders learning outcomes (reading and writing) in schools located in tribal areas. There is a lack of a comprehensive understanding of the ecological, cultural, and psychological characteristics of tribal culture among local teachers. This makes education inconsistent with the needs of the tribes.

Narrative Of Tharu: What will the children of our tribe do after studying and writing? Ultimately, they will be working. They should also know how to do household work. All the children in our tribe are taught to work from childhood so that they do not face any inconvenience in growing up to live their lives and can help reduce the problems of the household by earning some money. Anyway, when children go to study, there is no good behavior in school. Better than that, they are at home.

Narrative Of Buksa: We want to teach our children, but the medium of study is very different. Our children only know their own language. Nowadays, schools are taught in the English language like in cities, due to which children are afraid to go to school. He doesn't want to be ridiculous in school. They say that the rest of the children make fun of themselves for speaking their language in school. Because of this, there has been a hesitation in the children going to school. When the children were admitted to the school 2 years ago, they failed. Madam used to



say that the child is weak. Send them to school to study and listen to things too.

10. Lack Of Adequate Monitoring Reason (What do you feel are the reasons behind the lack of adequate monitoring?)

| Categories | Tharu(50) | Buksa(50) |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Geographical conditions | 40(80%) | 5(10%) |
| Discrimination | 10(20%) | 40(80%) |
| Lack of interest in the department | - | 5 (10%) |

Tharu respondents(80%) said that due to the remote geographical conditions of different tribal areas and a lack of proper coordination between different departments, proper monitoring is hampered. The government has taken several initiatives to uplift the status of tribal education. These first ensure compliance with Articles 14, 15(4), 16, and 21 of the Constitution. On the other hand, Buksa respondents(80%) think that discrimination is the main reason why there isn't enough oversight.

Narrative Of Tharu: No officer comes here to investigate us. No one cares whether the facilities provided by the government are reaching us or not. If someone asks once a year, then it is another matter. No one wants to come to where we are staying, probably because the route is very difficult. No one wants to bear this pain, yet we live here. No one can even think of what kind of problems we go through. There is no way or medium of conveyance to get here.

Narrative Of Buksa: People of this civilized society consider us to be different from themselves. Many people think of us as wild. They don't want to talk to us. If any facility or scheme comes from the government, then they have trouble giving it to us people because perhaps they do not consider us their equal. Many big officers scold and banish us, behaving like animals to us. No one cares. The government

makes many schemes for our tribes, but nothing reaches us.

Findings

The study found that the primary barriers to utilizing healthcare facilities are direct and indirect financial barriers; travel distances to medical facilities; subpar public transportation; hospital staff members perceived to act negatively toward patients; and inadequate infrastructure. The location of schools, weak economic conditions, lack of awareness, medium of language, geographical conditions, and discrimination is found to be the barriers to utilizing educational services.

Conclusion

Tribes in present society face formidable challenges to their existence, prompting the Indian government to implement measures aimed at their upliftment. While reliance on traditional healers is diminishing, some tribes persist in practices like witchcraft and exorcisms. Tribal areas grapple with high rates of malnutrition, infectious diseases, and maternal and child health issues, exacerbated by a lack of adequate healthcare services. Recognizing this, the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MoHFW) collaborates with the Ministry of Women and Child Development, NITI Aayog, and state governments to strengthen health systems in tribal regions. The focus is on enhancing the capabilities of health managers for effective maternal healthcare, particularly in remote and socially disadvantaged areas, addressing the escalating health burdens faced by tribal populations. The following interventions by the Indian government are implemented with assistance from UNICEF:

- Reaching every mother: UNICEF backs the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare's stance that every delivery should be carried out



by a qualified healthcare professional in a healthcare facility.

- **Continuity of Care:** Using a continuous care strategy, improving pregnant women's health and nutrition while also offering high-quality services for maternal and child health. Family planning, antenatal care throughout the pregnancy, better management of a normal delivery by trained professionals, and prompt postpartum care for both mother and child are included in this.
- **Antenatal care:** Upon learning of a pregnancy, expectant mothers should immediately register with the nearest health facility for antenatal care, so as to be assured of a healthy pregnancy and to be notified of high risks that can pose a risk to their health and that of their unborn child.
- **Pradhan Mantri Surakshit Matritvat Abhiyan (PMSMA):** Under this campaign launched by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, quality, comprehensive, and assured antenatal care is provided free of charge every 9th of the month. It strengthens antenatal care, detects and follows up on high-risk pregnancies, and contributes to a decline in maternal mortality in India.
- **The Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakram (JSSK):** program includes free maternal services for women and children, a nationwide emergency referral system, a maternal mortality audit, and better governance and management of health services at all levels.

The global goal of improving maternal health and saving women's lives can only be achieved if we reach out to those most vulnerable - women living in rural areas, urban slums, and poor households; teenage mothers; and women belonging to minorities, tribals, scheduled castes, and scheduled tribes.

Many of the problems of tribals in India persist even today. Concerted efforts are needed to solve

them. The following suggestions could be more important in this direction:

1. Expanding self-employment opportunities is necessary to address the issue of economic backwardness alongside expanding employment opportunities. The tribal groups continue to be well known for their handicrafts and diverse forms of art. The tribal people's economic issues can be greatly alleviated if appropriate arrangements are made to buy and sell the goods they produce locally. Their economic conditions can be improved by establishing cooperative societies in tribal villages, paying fair wages to the workers, preventing their exploitation by contractors and forest officials, and also providing loans for agriculture at low interest. It can be beneficial to promote innovative, affordable agricultural practices in tribal areas.
2. The solution to cultural problems is possible only if the outside groups are not given opportunities to impose their religion on the tribes. Elwin has suggested that it is necessary to protect tribal culture. Only those officers should be appointed in tribal areas who are familiar with their language and culture. Education should be such as to bring about a gradual change in their superstitions and traditional practices.
3. In order to solve the social problems of the tribes, it is necessary that, with the help of tribal leaders, changes be made in the thoughts and attitudes of the people. This work can be done by establishing Tribal Councils in each village. It is necessary to implement new laws that are fully compatible with the tribal culture and traditions. Some of the more aware people will be able to encourage other people to change their behavior.
4. There is a critical need for practical education in tribal communities to address the tribes' educational issues. Agriculture, handicrafts, and the production of farm equipment and handicrafts should be the focus of



this practical instruction. Numerous studies have demonstrated that providing scholarships to indigenous children is ineffective because it maintains their parents' focus on the size of the grant. Giving the kids in the classroom wholesome food and literature in exchange would be more beneficial. Animal husbandry, fishing, poultry, and bee-keeping can also be encouraged through education. Additionally, the tribal areas' primary educational institutions need to be expanded.

5. Making plans for mobile hospitals in the tribal areas is necessary to address the tribes' health-related issues. These hospitals, which are housed within the buses, can reach settlements within 10-15 square kilometers and offer first aid services. The distribution of essential immunizations and vitamin tablets will benefit more from their involvement. It is also necessary to make arrangements for clean drinking water, to make people familiar with the rules of health, to manage the disposal of dirty water, and to give training in the rules of cleanliness.

6. It is necessary to solve the problems arising out of development programs among the tribes. It has become clear from many studies that a large part of the amount given by the development officers to the villagers in the form of grants or subsidies, they themselves grab. In this situation, there is no justification for the provision of such grants or subsidies. The entire amount of assistance should be distributed through the Tribal Council in the form of agricultural or handicraft equipment. This will stop the misuse of funds and the real benefits of the schemes will reach the tribals.

7. In order to reduce political unrest among the tribes, a thorough and practical strategy is now required. First and foremost, they must receive the proportion of positions in various services designated for the tribes. In regions with a significant tribal population, tribal officials should be appointed with priority. Political

parties should adhere to a code of behavior to prevent them from agitating the tribes to further their own agendas. Laws pertaining to forests should be changed so that tribal members can obtain the items they want from them without endangering the woods.

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