

CHAPTER 10

'Tribal' Development in Sikkim : A Tale of Unused Experiences

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Introduction

Sikkim, before the establishment of Namgyal dynasty in 1642, was an obscure Himalayan territory ruled by 'tribal' chiefs. The Lepchas, Limbus and the Mangars, who lived in and ruled different parts of it often fought amongst themselves, which paved the way for the non-Sikkimese to establish a formal political structure there. Though the Lepchas were also later given high administrative posts like *dzongpens* or district chiefs, they usually played the second fiddle. There is no record of the Mangars and the Limbus being placed in such high positions. In fact, they were identified with the later Nepalese 'immigrants' and even granting of headmenships of the revenue blocks was normally denied to them.

When the Nepalese immigration grew prominent around the mid-nineteenth century, the lands which earlier belonged to the Lepchas were found passing into the hands of the Nepalese. No wonder the authors like Waddell, Gorer and Risley believed that the Lepchas were a dying race. Such a belief was a result of their submerging into the Buddhist social frame-work and intercommunity marriages with the Bhutias and the Nepalis including especially the Limbus. And to Waddell :

“The real reason for their disappearance in British Sikkim, is the disappearance or “conservation” of their forests, which by cutting off in great measure their sources of food, forces them into the unreserved tracts of Bhotan and Nepal (1979:293)”.

The clearing of the forests which sustained their life took place due mainly to the British policy of settling of the Nepalis in Sikkim. Thus if any party is to be held responsible for the Lepchas' 'dying out', it is the British. There were number of reasons for this. The Nepalese were considered not only the best soldiers in the world but were also found equally good as peasants in the hills and terrains of Sikkim (Basnet, 1974:42). So by settling them there the British would have soldiers within their territory (there were some difficulties in their recruiting the soldiers from Nepal for quite some time) and at the same time they would get some revenue out of this unproductive region. The need for cheap labour in their highly useful Indo-Tibet trade through Sikkim was another factor. One more reason was the erosion of goodwill and friendship between the rulers of Sikkim and the British after 1949 when Captain Lloyd and Joseph Hooker were imprisoned in Sikkim (Karan & Jenkins, 1963 : 59). The Nepalese population was expected to neutralize the anti-British feelings of the Tibetans.

It has also been recorded that the simple Lepcha peasants were exploited by the dominant Bhutias earlier. Under the Bhutia rule, many Lepchas left Sikkim and settled in Darjeeling and east Nepal. Most of the Lepchas who came to Darjeeling embraced Christianity while those who were left back remained intertwined with the Bhutia socio-cultural fabric. The Lepcha identity was therefore affected by many factors, leading many people to think that they were a 'dying race' (Basnet, 1974:68).

A brief political history of Sikkim

The first instance of the contact between the Sikkimese rulers and the British took place when the Raja of Sikkim (Chungphod Namgyal) sought the help of the British to restore the lands (comprising the whole of the present Darjeeling district excluding Kalimpong). Under the Treaty of Titaliya (1817), the British obliged the Raja of Sikkim but made it obligatory on him 'to refer to the arbitration of the British Government all disputes between his subjects and those of neighbouring States'.

The granting of 138 square miles of Darjeeling by the Raja of Sikkim to the East India Company in 1835 soured the relationship between Sikkim and Tibet. The offence was retaliated in the forms of restrictions on the Raja to visit Lhasa for 8 years and the grazing rights of the Sikkimese on Tibetan land. But by then, Sikkim had lost the confidence of the British too. This provoked the British to carry out a number of military expeditions to Sikkim between 1850 and 1860. Finally, following a peace treaty signed at Tumlong (the previous capital of Sikkim) on 28th March 1861, Sikkim became a British dependency (Sinha, 1975:16-17). In 1888, J.C. White was appointed the first political officer to Sikkim, and following the Anglo-Chinese Convention at Calcutta in March 1890 Sikkim lost all ties with Tibet and confirmed its dependency on the British. Sikkim remained a British protectorate from 1890 to 1947 and thenceforth an Indian protectorate till April 1975 when it was declared the 22nd State of India.

'Tribal' demography

Early accounts on the 'tribal' demography of Sikkim are not much authentic but give a rough picture anyway. The population of the Lepchas, according to Campbell's estimate was, 3,000 and that of the Bhutias, 2,000 in 1840 (Risley, 1972:259). Though Silliguri was still under Sikkim then (it was annexed only in 1850) we cannot expect the Lepchas to have settled in such a malarial terai, as it was then. Even if the strip of land annexed in 1835 is included, the difference would be negligible because when it was annexed in 1835 it had only 100 heads.

The first ever reliable Census of 1891 shows that the Lepcha population was 5,762 or 18.92 per cent, the Bhutias 4,894 or 18.07 per cent, the

Limbus 3,356 or 11.02 per cent and the Mangars 901 or 2.96 per cent (*ibid*: 27). The rest of the population comprised other Nepalese castes and 'tribes' including the troops. According to the 1931 census, the last with ethnic categories, shows that the figures on the Lepchas to be 13,060 or 11.89 per cent and 11,955 or 10.89 per cent for the Bhutias. The 1951 census recorded the total population of Bhudhists as 39,397 out of which the Lepchas were 13,625 or 9.89 per cent and the Bhutias 15,626 or 11.35 per cent (Sinha, 1975 : 10).

The steady fall in the percentage of the Lepchas to total population does not mean a fall in their absolute number as it does in the case of the Onges of Andaman islands. The fall in their percentage can be easily attributed to the factors pointed out above. The slight increase in the percentage of the Bhutias is probably due to the net decline in the number of 'immigrants from Nepal' after the Indian independence.

The total percentage of the Scheduled Tribes (referred to as STs henceforth) in Sikkim, according to 1981 Census, is 23.27%. The distribution of the STs population in the four districts of Sikkim is shown in the following table (Table 1).

Table 1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE STs IN SIKKIM, 1981

<i>State/District</i>	<i>Total STs Population</i>	<i>% age of the STs to total population in the State/District</i>
Sikkim	73,623	23.27
North	14,702	55.57
East	30,540	22.01
South	13,310	17.52
West	15,071	20.04

Source : Census of India 1981, Sikkim : 114

The above table shows that the total percentage of the STs in Sikkim is 23.27. It also shows that more than 50 per cent of the population in the North are STs. The STs population in the South are 17.52 per cent only while the East and West have 22.01 and 20.04 per cent STs population respectively.

Though Sikkim is predominantly an agricultural area its urban region is fast sprawling, especially after 1950. Therefore, it is worth-

while to show the distribution of the ST population in urban and rural areas of Sikkim, with the help of the following table.

Table 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE STs IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS TO THE TOTAL POPULATION OF STs, 1981

<i>State/District</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
Sikkim	85.06	14.94
North	98.35	1.65
East	66.76	33.24
South	97.14	2.86
West	98.49	1.51

Source : Census of India 1981, Sikkim : 113

It is clear from above that 85.06 per cent of the ST population in Sikkim is in the rural areas. Districtwise, the percentages of the ST population in urban areas are rather insignificant in the north, south and west but the east has quite a significant urban ST population (33.24). Though the census records do not show who among the STs dominate this percentage, it is observed that almost the whole of it is represented by the Bhutias and the Tibetans, who have taken to trade and business as their livelihood. That this high percentage of the ST population in the urban areas of the east is mainly due to Gangtok, and Rangpo and Singtam to a smaller extent, will be clearer from the following table (Table 3).

Table 3

TOWNWISE DISTRIBUTION OF STs IN SIKKIM

<i>Town</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Total ST Population</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Mangan	780	243	31.15
Gangtok, M.C.	36,747	9,731	26.48
Singtam	4,043	287	7.10
Rangpo	2,452	133	5.42
Namchi	1,444	168	11.63
Jorethang	3,921	213	5.43
Gyalshing	745	161	21.61
Nayabazaar	952	66	6.93
Total	51,084	11,002	21.54

Source : Census of India 1981, Sikkim : 134

It is seen from above that the percentage of the urban ST population is 21.54 and townwise, the highest (31.15) in Mangan, followed by Gangtok Municipal Corporation (26.48) and Gyalshing (21.61). The share of the urban ST population of other towns is negligible. But while the percentage of the urban ST population is lower in Gangtok than in Mangan, the absolute figures clearly establish that the urban ST population is as high as 9,731; the next town to follow the order being Singtam but with 287 heads only. Therefore the earlier statement about Gangtok is firmly established.

An anomaly regarding the percentage of different communities is seen recently. The Nepalis, for instance, claim to form 75 per cent of the population in Sikkim. The administration, on the other hand says on the basis of voters' list that the Nepalis constitute about 53 per cent, the Lepcha-Bhutias 36 per cent, and the people from the plains 11 per cent of the voters of the States. This is quite possible because 30,000 Nepalis are reported not to have been granted voting right in Sikkim as yet. The following passage is interesting in this context:

“The percentage issue is as complicated as all the other issues in this state. Although census operations were carried out in Sikkim every 10 years, as in India, these do not have any legal validity because they were not said to have been conducted in accordance with the 1948 Census Act. Apparently, the operations were carried out by the Chogyal's men in a perfunctory manner. A record of sorts was kept, however, and this showed that the Nepalese formed 62% of the population and the Lepcha Bhutias 38%. The distinction between the two communities was made on the basis of language and since it is not uncommon in Sikkim for a Nepali to speak a Bhutia Lepcha dialect and vice versa, the percentage is not accepted by all (Ganguli, 1979)”

The Scheduled Tribes : a rationale

The STs as listed in the Constitution (Sikkim) Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order, 1978¹ are:

1. *Bhutia* (including Chumbipa, Dophapa, Dukpa, Kagatey, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tromopa, Yolmo), and

2. Lepcha.

The above list of the STs is subject to a few comments. Ethnically, the Bhutias do not include the Kagatey, Sherpa and the Yolmo though religionwise most of them are Buddhists. Historically, the 'Bhutias' are referred to as the earlier settlers of Sikkim and with a mixture of the Lepcha 'blood'; the 'Tibetans' as the recent immigrants from Tibet; the 'Dukpas' are said to hail from Bhutan, and the 'Sherpas' from Nepal. Socially, the 'Kagatey' and the 'Yolmo' are synonyms of the same group of people in the way the 'Subba' and the 'Limbu' or the 'Pradhan' and the 'Newar' are. And the names like the Chumbipa, Dophapa and the Trimopa are the different sections of the Tibetan Bhutias hailing from different places of Tibet.

It may also be added that the names like 'Kagatey', 'Subba' and the 'Pradhan' initially referred to occupational or status groups and not castes as such. The 'Kagatey', for example, referred to those who made their living out of handmade paper; the 'Subbas' were headman and tax-collectors and the same is true of 'Pradhans'.

Before taking the discussion further, the Constitutional provisions regarding the STs may be seen. Article 342 of the Indian Constitution lays down :

1. The President (may with respect to any State or Union Territory, and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor thereof) by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State (or Union Territory, as the case may be).
2. Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within any tribe or tribal community, but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.²

An article 371 F on the special provisions with respect to the State of Sikkim, notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, provides in sub-clause (g) (1976:154):

“The Governor of Sikkim shall have special responsibility for peace and for an equitable arrangement for ensuring the social and economic advancement of different sections of the population of Sikkim and in the discharge of his responsibility under this clause, the Governor of Sikkim shall, subject to such directions as the President may from, time to time, deem fit to issue, act in his discretion”

Incidentally, the various groups of the Nepalese community like the Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Mangar, Gurung, Bhujel, Sunuwar and the Thami are not included in the list of the STs though, as we can see from above. And there is no logic why these communities are not included in the list of the various communities mentioned above, the Limbus are recognized as a ‘Backward Class’. If the criterion for being included as an ST is the ‘chronology’ of settlement in Sikkim the Limbus and the Mangars should have been included too. On the other hand, the Tibetans and the Dukpas should not have got the ST status on this ground. Nor can there be any socio-economic ground for the discrepancy as far as I can see.

The intra-tribe socio-economic differences are true of all ‘tribes’ whether scheduled or non-scheduled. If their being ‘Hinduised’ is a silent disadvantage (for the STs are all Buddhists, at least officially) for them, at least the Tamangs should have been recognized as an ST. If the experts-in-charge had any valid reason to call the Lepchas and the Bhutias as ‘tribes’, I do not see any reason why they could not include the above mentioned ‘tribes’. After all, the word ‘tribe’ has no unanimous meaning and the debate on this problem is on for the last couple of decades. Even the anthropologists to whom ‘tribes’ have remained the focus of attention for so many years have failed to convince the word what ‘tribe’ means exactly (Fried, 1975).

The only answer that I can visualize on behalf of the experts-in-charge is that they followed the example of the hill areas of West Bengal where the Lepchas, Bhutias and the Sherpas are STs. or in other words, it was repetition of the Indian experience on Sikkim, without taking into consideration the local conditions.

Socio-economic profiles of ‘tribals’ in Sikkim

The socio-economic status of the ‘tribes’ or ‘castes’ is very important ground for including them in the list of the STs or SCs. Therefore, in

any development plan, it is imperative to have a fair idea of the socio-economic profile of the target people and place. Unfortunately, data covering all the socioeconomic aspects of the STs in Sikkim are not available. What follows is an assessment of the same with the help of a few indicators like education, class, occupation and landholding. All these taken together is expected to give a fair, *albeit* not total, picture of the STs in Sikkim.

To start with, the following table (Table 4) on literacy of the ST population in Sikkim is presented.

Table 4

SCHEDULED TRIBES AND LITERACY IN SIKKIM

State/ District	Total ST Population	Literates	%	Male	%	Female	%
Sikkim	73,623	24,389	33.13	16,469	67.53	7,920	32.47
North	14,702	4,455	30.30	3,172	71.20	1,283	28.80
East	30,540	12,272	40.18	7,938	64.68	4,334	35.32
South	13,310	4,157	31.23	2,808	67.55	1,349	32.45
West	15,071	3,505	23.26	2,551	72.78	954	27.22

Source : Census of India 1981, Sikkim : 132-133

This table reveals some interesting points. It is seen that literacy among the STs in Sikkim is 33.13 per cent which is quite satisfactory compared with all Indian standard, leave alone the State standard. The only district which has a poor literacy rate among the STs is the west but the same is true of this district's non-Scheduled Caste peoples. Sikkim has only one degree college and one law college (recently opened), which may lead many people to think that the Sikkimese, including the STs, have a lower percentage (compared to other states of India) of people with college and above education. The absence of adequate facilities for higher education has certainly lowered the percentage of people with higher education but quite a number of the Sikkimese students are found studying in Darjeeling district, Calcutta, Delhi, Chandigarh, Bombay, and other places. And, among those who are studying outside the State of Sikkim, not a few are STs.

The following table (Table 5) is also significant here.

Table 5

ETHNIC AFFILIATION OF THE SIKKIMESE ELITES

<i>Ethnic Stock</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1. Lepchas	18	14.10
2. Bhutias	25	19.10
3. Nepalesae	54	42.20
4. Tsongs	3	2.34
5. Others	27	21.06
6. No information	1	0.78
	128	99.58

Source : Sinha, 1975 : 65

Table 1 has shown that the total percentage of the STs in Sikkim is only 23.27 but the above table shows that the Lepcha-Bhutias alone constitute 33.20 per cent of the elites in Sikkim. The criterion of being elites here is the high positions in bureaucracy, trade and commerce and the sample is rather small for the State as a whole. It is also difficult to say if Sinha has included all the groups mentioned in the ST list. However, the percentage of their population at least analytically shows that their class position is satisfactory. On the other hand, the Nepalis who constitute (including the Tsongs) about 70 per cent of the total population, have only 44.54 per cent elites. The next in the row are the Lepcha-Bhutias, followed by the Nepalis.

In this context it is desirable to furnish the following table (Table 6) on the occupational distribution of the STs.

Table 6

STs AND OCCUPATION DISTRIBUTION IN SIKKIM
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES 3

<i>State/District</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>	<i>VII</i>
Sikkim	73,623	32,773	21,777	638	238	10,075	1,885
%	23.27	22.22	24.58	13.06	17.84	19.24	35.05
North	14,702	6,355	3,993	159	25	2,178	1,173
%	19.97	19.39	18.34	24.92	8.83	21.62	62.23
East	30,540	12,348	6,143	207	224	5,774	327
%	41.48	37.68	28.21	32.45	79.15	57.31	17.35
South	13,310	6,290	4,857	85	12	1,336	289
%	18.08	19.19	22.30	13.32	4.24	13.26	15.33
West	15,071	7,780	6,784	187	22	787	96
%	20.47	23.74	31.15	29.31	7.77	7.81	5.09

Source : Census of India 1981, Sikkim : 132-133.

This table shows that the percentage of total main workers among the STs in Sikkim is slightly lower (22.22) than the percentage of their population (23.27). But the same is very high among them in the East due again, mainly to the urban/industrial centre, Gangtok and partly Rangpo and Singtam in this district. For example, the percentage of the STs in category V in the East is 79.15. The percentage of the STs in the categories IV, V, VI are also less than their percentages of population. While this in the context of category IV can be as favourable picture, their lower percent age in categories V and VI cannot probably be taken as a positive sign. It shows that they have taken to non-agricultural occupations less than other communities. This may also be due to a relative abundance of land among them, which automatically inhibits them to go for non-agricultural occupations. It should be noted at the same time that the non-agricultural occupations fetch more than the agricultural occupations, especially in an ecological milieu like that of Sikkim. So it is quite plausible that despite their relative land abundance their income is lower than that of the non-scheduled communities.

The records of the Land Revenue Department, Government of Sikkim (1979) shows that the following variations in the number of holdings and the excess land likely to be acquired amongst the Lepchas, Bhutias and the Nepalis. The total number of excess holdings among the Lepchas is 60 and the excess land likely to be acquired is 645.40 acres; the Bhutias have 187 excess holdings and the excess land likely to be acquired is 2795.01 acres; and the Nepalis have 201 excess holding with 1352.83 acres excess lands. Thus the excess land per excess holding is 14.9 acres among the Bhutias, 10.8 acres among the Lepchas and only 6.7 acres among the Nepalis. This shows that the position of the STs regarding landholding is much better than that of the Nepalis.

Now, I shall present some of the findings of a socio-economic survey on the 'Lepchas of Dzongu' conducted during December 1981 - January 1982 and published by the Bureau of Economics & Statistics, Planning and Development, Government of Sikkim.

Dzongu is a 'reserved area' for the Lepchas, meaning that there is restriction on other tribes and communities to settle there. The percentage of Lepcha population there is 56. Educationally : the illiterates (excluding - 4 aged) among them constitute 51.51 per cent ; the literates 17.58 per cent ; the primary-level educated 21.25; the junior high school

6.18; the high schools 2.25; and the higher secondary and above 0.94 per cent. Among the illiterates, the bulk of them or 64.40 per cent are females 40.31 per cent males. Occupationally : 95 per cent of the households were found engaged in agriculture, 3.5 percent in government services and 1.5 in other works like construction(as contractors) etc. and priesthood(as *lamas*).

The average size of operational holding per cultivating household is 9.34 hectares whereas the State average is only 2.56 hectares as per 1976-77 Agricultural Census, and the district(north) average is 7.22 hectares. About 47 per cent of the population was found economically active in the age-group above 10. 38.67 per cent of the households have tin roofs, 58.62 per cent have thatched roofs and only 2.71 per cent have roofs of other materials such as tiles.

The average expenditure of a household with about 6 persons is Rs. 1053.46 per month, which shows affluence. But 73.13 per cent of the households had taken one or more loans : 41.25 per cent had one loan and 31.81 per cent had more than one loan. 64.30 per cent of the total loan is from the landlords, traders and money-lenders and the government loan constitute only 34.22 per cent of all loans. It was also found that in some cases, the rates of interest were as high as 60 per cent per year.

The statistics given above shows that the Lepchas have quite a satisfactory socio-economic status on the whole. But it should be remembered that Dzongu is a 'reserved area' for the Lepchas and even being so, they are not immune from the landlords, traders and money-lenders. Moreover, statistics and reality do not always correspond. Though statistically they have a satisfactory position, a close observation does create some doubts. Such doubts may be partly due to their 'cultural lag' and partly on account of economic backwardness itself.

Steps for 'tribal' development

This is perhaps why the British had adopted some 'protective' measures for the Lepchas and the Bhutias. The collection of rent in Sikkim used to be in kind till 1915 when Sir Charles Bell introduced a cash rent system. There were separate rates of interest for the Lepcha-Bhutias and the Nepalis. For example, the rent for the Nepalis for Class

I paddy field was Rs. 2.00 per acre but for the Lepcha-Bhutias, it was only Rs. 1.48 paise per acre; and for Class II paddy field the Nepalis had to pay Re. 1.48 paise per acre but the Lepcha-Bhutias only Re. 1.12 paise per acre⁴. It is clear therefore that the rent for paddy for both the classes lower for the Lepcha-Bhutias. However, this rate was in application only till the 1st Settlement Operation and proclamation of the Maharaja of Sikkim, 1956.

Later, Sikkim also came under the Five Year Plans of India but there was no separate notification for the STs in this State. The need for identifying a ST was emphasized soon after Sikkim became a part of India and the few 'tribes' mentioned above were declared STs in June 1978. A tribal sub-Plan was also prepared. But since the identified 'tribes' were scattered all over the State, there were chances of the plans not actually reaching the target people. Thus, certain areas such as the north district where the concentration of the STs was more, were selected for the purpose of the tribal sub-Plan (1979 : 1).

Like elsewhere in India, the Planning and Development Department, Government of Sikkim, has identified a number of sectors for development of the STs and allotted amounts for each sector, depending on the priority of development. A detailed picture of this is shown in the following table (Table 7).

Table 7

TRIBAL SUB-PLAN OUTLAY (RS. IN LAKHS) IN SIKKIM

Sector	Divisible Out lay	%	Year 1980-85 Flow to Tribal sub-plan	%
Agriculture	561.68	26.11	69.70	21.66
Animal Husbandry	229.35	10.66	60.25	18.72
Fisheries	9.00	0.42	2.25	0.70
Forests	39.00	1.81	28.50	8.86
Cooperation	76.05	3.54	8.69	2.70
Industries	93.00	4.32	30.28	9.40
Education	520.00	24.17	48.00	14.91
Medical & Public Health	312.00	14.50	33.00	10.25
Housing	130.00	6.04	18.02	5.60
Nutrition	181.00	8.41	23.15	7.19
	2,151.08		321.84	14.96

Source : Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85, Draft Proposals from Govt. of Sikkim, Deptt. of Planning and Development, Govt. of Sikkim, Gangtok.

This table shows that the percentage of flow to tribal sub-Plan to the divisible outlay is 14.96. The sectors which have been more emphasized in the tribal sub-Plan are: animal husbandry, fisheries, forests and industries. These sectors are certainly vital to them but it is difficult to show, at this juncture, to what extent the sub-Plan is really going to help them. Animal husbandry among the north Sikkimese has as such been badly affected since the Sino-Indian disputes began in 1835, following the granting of Darjeeling to the East India Company by the Raja of Sikkim. Unless some viable alternative sources of fodder are brought in there is little hope in this front. The same is true about the industrial sector.

Conclusion

It is true that 'tribal' development programmes are not even a decade old in Sikkim and no evaluation of their impact is possible at this stage. However, the tribal sub-Plan does not appear that promising. By and large, it seems in some cases the same experiments which failed elsewhere, are being repeated. There is no adequate consideration of the historical, social and cultural/religious aspects of the Sikkimese society.

The 'tribes' of Sikkim have had certain psychological shocks during the last couple of centuries such as the fear of being completely swamped by the non-tribals, the change in the mode of economy due to demographic change and political developments. The problem of Sikkim does not end in developing her 'tribal' communities in the projected manner of the tribal sub-Plan but also includes the tricky question of instilling in them a 'sense of security' without aggravating the ethnic bitterness.

Notes

1. Census of India, 1981, Sikkim series 19, Part IIA and IIB, General Population Tables and Primary Census Abstract (Gangtok : Director of Census Operation). The above list does not take any cognizance of the religious background of the STs.
2. The Above list does not take any cognizance of the religious background of the STs.
3. Category I = Total ST Population
 Category II = Total Main Workers
 Category III = Cultivators
 Category IV = Agricultural Labourers
 Category V = Household industry, processing, manufacturing, servicing and repairs.

Category VI = Other Workers

Category VII = Marginal Workers

The above categories are defined in the Census only.

4. State Report on Agricultural Census 1976-77, Sikkim (Gangtok: Agricultural Census Unit, Govt. of Sikkim).

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