

**IMPLEMENTATION OF INTEGRATED
TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN:
CASE STUDY OF A TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT
BLOCK IN KORAPUT DISTRICT (ORISSA)**

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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1995**



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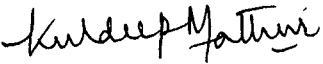
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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled "**IMPLEMENTATION OF INTEGRATED TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN: CASE STUDY OF A TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT BLOCK IN KORAPUT DISTRICT (ORISSA)**", submitted by Mr. **RAMANATH NAYAK**, is in partial fulfilment of Master of Philosophy degree of this University. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree to any other University and is his own work.

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- In loving memory of my elder brother -

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Ramanath Nayak
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ADWO	Additional District Welfare Officer.
BDO	Block Development Officer.
C.D(Programme)	Community Development (Programme)
DWO	District Welfare Officer.
HRD	Human Resource Development.
IRDA	Integrated Rural Development Agency.
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Project.
ITDA	Integrated Tribal Development Agency.
ITDP	Integrated Tribal Development Project.
MADA	Modified Area Development Approach.
NALCO	National Aluminium Company Limited.
PA	Project Administrator.
SA & ST (Committe)	Scheduled Area and Scheduled Tribe (Committee).
SBI	State Bank of India.
SC	Scheduled Caste.
SMPT (Block)	Special Multi-Purpose Tribal Development (Block).
ST	Scheduled Tribe.
TDB	Tribal Development Block.
TDCC	Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation.
TSP	Tribal Sub-Plan.

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CHAPTER -I

INTRODUCTION AND SOME ASPECTS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT.

1.1. Introduction Development has entered our world with two accomplices, modern science and colonialism. From science, development has inherited the belief that we can go on increasing the power of the human beings over the non human cosmos, for the world has enough resources to meet only the needs but also the greed of all humans. From colonialism, development has inherited the faith that those on the higher rungs of history have the right to shape the ways of life of those on the lower.

The trinity accounts for the four responses to development that have emerged in the recent years. The first response affirms that development like modern science is universal. It changes shape when crossing cultures only because it adjusts to local politics but history in other words, development is the fate of all societies. The best that the underdeveloped can do is to pay the costs of the development as quickly as possible. For every thing said, development cannot come free, the developed have all paid their price earlier in their history. Also through the powerless and the poor pay a heavier cost for development, their pain can be

reduced by building into development some principle of social welfare. However, these principle should not be absolutised, otherwise they go against the long term interests of the victims themselves.

The second response assumes development to a healthy concept, distorted by the political and cultural forces in a society. The response admits that the external factors such as the rapacity of the first world and global capitalism can link up with the internal forces of inequity and justice in the name of development, but it assumes that the link can be snapped. The response assumes that the major pathologies of development unbridled consumerism, ecological insensitivity, and the crudities of the middle class mass culture can be correct once the state is captured by progressive forces.

The third response faults the dominant concept of development for being dismissive towards human potentialities and cultural diversities and for absolutising the experience of the developed region . It redefines, development to include in it ideas borrowed from a wide range of sources from humanistic psychology to holistic ecology, Gandhian practice to liberate if from straight jacket of economism. The response does not give up the idea of the development re-locates in voluntarism, alternative life styles and

techniques. Grass root movements guided by intellectual currents like alternative or sustainable development, economic development and ethno development are the instances of the third response. They all are attempts to enrich and widen the idea of development.

Finally, there is the response to development that believes that the idea and the reality of the development are fundamentally flawed. Development is contaminated by its origin in the model of repression built by colonialism and the systematic de-scientification of nature by Baconian sciences. The response recognises that, where as the older form of oppression have weakened due to changes in human consciousness and institutions. New justification for dominance and exploitation have been built on contemporary key words like security, socialism, science and development, some of which could be considered emancipatory.

This response also sees development as partly in compatible with democracy and as a potential legitimiser of police states. The fourth response, therefore, insist that when development clashes with culture, the latter should have priority. Not because such cultures are never perfect but because, they are closer to elite people and are more assessible to and restrained by democratic politics.

Obviously, the last two responses are more sensitive to the issue of cultural survival. Culture is also a concern of those who consider development universal. But theirs is the concern of cultural engineers, working to create a single, homogenous, developed world with some cultural diversity thrown in for entertainment of variety. Whereas the third and fourth response ask the basic question of relationship between development and culture. These responses admit that development even when it values culture, must underwrite the psychological demands of modernity: hard individualism, aggressive competitiveness and a mechanistic view of nature. These traits were not unknown in earlier times. However, there were cultural checks on them. By removing these checks, development does not turn the spiritual East materialistic but converts the soft imperialism of every day life into a hard materialism that outcrack the life support system depend on the tacit environmentalism of the older culture.

Development Administration in a simpler language would be public administration with a special purpose. The strategies and goals of change may vary but there are always generic processes through which agreement on goals is reached and plans, policies, Programmes and projects (four 'P's) are formulated and implemented.

Development administration is primarily concerned with the tasks and processes of formulating and implementing the four 'P's in respect to whatever mixture of goals and objectives may be determined.

There is no agreement on one, single, universal meaning of development, but rather the approach, recommended by theorists or governmental policy makers in any country may be seen as determined by their adherence to one or another model of development. Any explanation of development appears to be related to a particular focus, a set of values, goal priorities, system constraints or ideological differences.

// "No man is an island entire of itself". "Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main."¹ Indeed, no society is an island either. Even in the variform multiplicity of today's social integration, when the bell tolls for one society, it tolls for many others as well. Communities of various types must, therefore, go hand in hand down the road of development.

In her forty eight years of independence, India has tremendously advanced in the fields of economic,

1. N. Pattnaik, Tribes and Their Development: A case study of Two blocks of Orissa, NICD, Hyderabad, 1974, P-preface.

political, cultural and science and technologies. But, still a certain sections of the society are neglected. Tribes are the aboriginal or indigenous people of this country, who live on the outskirts of forest and the modern technologies are beyond their reach. They are reeling under the yoke of hunger, poverty, illiteracy etc. The major part of this population remain cut-off from the worth-while contact with the society at large. Their vital needs for land and freedom of forest have remained far from being solved. Depriving the tribals of "the produce of forest, their major source of livelihood" and their land, which in some states runs into vast proportions, is one of the most heinous crimes.

✓The government of India has failed to provide basic needs/rights and to solve the problems of the most ancient inhabitants of this land. If the tribal problems continue to be ignored or routinely handled any further, they are likely to be acquire awesome proportions and pose grave threats to the cohesion and integrity of the country.

In the past, several panaceas were offered for the solution of the so-called tribal problem. The rapid assimilation of the tribes into the "mainstream" of society was one. The protagonists of this view failed

2. Forward by S.C. Dube in S.N. Mishra and Bhupinder Singh (ed) Tribal Area Development, S.S.R.D., New Delhi, 1983.

to offer a detailed blueprint of action, or explain what the mainstream was. The other extreme suggested their isolation and segregation. Such a policy, in the past, had only perpetuated the misery and suffering of the tribals and contributed to their further degradation. Isolation could be a temporary expedient, it is no³ solution. Clearly the need is to go beyond segregation.

↓ Tribals are an integral part of the Indian civilization, whereas they are debarred from the decision making process which is also exclusively for them. They are kept isolated, which is detrimental to the national economy and ecology.

✓ 1.2. Definition The major questions arise in our mind are-who are the tribes? what are the qualities one tribe possesses ?

The tribes of India are described as nomadic herdsmen and agriculturists, accustomed to shifting cultivation. They also gather food from the forest. As Dr. Elwin aptly puts it, "for centuries the environment has been the real ruler of the tribal".

A tribe is generally defined as 'a social group' usually with a definite area of living, dialect,

3. Ibid.

cultural homogeneity and unifying social organizations.⁴
It may include several sub-groups as sibs or villages.

The tribal as a specific type of society is nationally based upon kinship, where social stratification is absent. However, Hinduised or christianised tribes have become a part of social stratification.

With a view to dealing with certain features of a tribe in Indian situation, T.B. Naik⁵ gives the following ideal-typical criteria for a tribe. There are comparative geographical isolation, psychological conservatism, politically organized, customary laws, economically backwardness, the least functional interdependence and culturally adoption of a common dialect.

Interestingly but sadly the anthropologists, sociologists, social workers, administrators and other

4. P.K. Bhowmick, Reports on STs : An Appraisal, in L.P. Vidyarthi (ed) Tribal Development and its Administration, Concept publ. Co., New Delhi, 1981, P-47.

5. T.B. Naik, what is a Tribe, Conflicting Definition in L.P. Vidyarthi (ed) Applied Anthropology in India, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1968, PP-85-86.

people who are involved with the tribes and their problems are still not on the same wave length regarding the concept and definition of their subject matter.⁶ The term tribe has a wide variety of meanings like - aboriginal, indigenous, ancient, primitive, sub-human, primordial, non-specialized, under-developed and so on. But most of the modern writers like Dr Verrier Elwin reject the term primitive and sub-human as they (tribes) are essentially equal to ourselves and as such belong to the "Brotherhood of Man".

The imperial Gazetteer of India defines tribe as 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.

Robert Redfield defines tribe as 'little communities'. According to G.W.B. Huntingford, a tribe is a group united by a common name in which the members take a pride by a common language, by a common territory, and by feeling that all who do not share this name are outsiders, 'enemies' in fact.

6. Nadeem Hasnain's Tribal India Today, Harnam Publication, New Delhi, 1983, P-12.

According to I.M. Lewis, ideally, tribal societies are small in scale, are restricted in the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal and political relations, and possess a morality, a religion and world view of corresponding dimensions. Characteristically too, tribal languages are unwritten, and hence, the extent of communication both in time and space is inevitably narrow. At the same time, tribal societies exhibit a remarkable economy of design and have a compactness and self-sufficiency lacking in modern society.

Lucy Mair defines a tribe as an independent political division of a population with a common culture.

According to Oxford Dictionary, a tribe is a group of people in a Primitive or barbarous stage of development acknowledging the authority of a chief and usually regarding themselves as having a common ancestor.

But practically speaking, tribes are culturally heterogeneous, speak separate dialects, economically backward and profess the primitive type of occupation like shifting cultivation and food gathering due to lack of opportunity and proper communication.

1.3 Tribal Demography in India : Tribal demography is a rather neglected field of population studies in India, inspite of the rich material we have on India's tribal population in the Anthropological Survey of India and also the census of India. That tribal communities have their special problems has been recognized by Planners and Policy-makers and yet there has been no continuous dialogue between scholars and administrators on the critical issue of demography and development in the contact of the tribal population. In view of the very great diversity in the social, economic and demographic characteristics of various tribes in India, it is not possible to treat the tribal population as a homogenous group of people.

There have been numerous studies from the anthropological point of view, however, purely demographic studies on tribal population are still rare. The census of India does present separate tables on the population of Scheduled Tribes. The census tabulation scheme does not permit a detailed study of individual tribal communities. Nevertheless, it is possible to have a demographic picture of the tribal population even on the basis of existing limited data in the census.

In terms of tribal population, India comes next to Africa, constituting a sizable proportion of the

Country's population, i.e. 7.95 percent (64.88 Million, 1991 Census). Tribal concentration in North-Eastern part is very high. There are no tribes in Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab and Haryana. Their concentration is very less in U.P., Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

The Agarias, Baigas, Binjhvars, Dhanvars, Gonds, Halwas, Khairvars, Kodakus, Karwas, Majhvars, Nagesia, Oraons, Pandos, Pradhans etc. are the important tribes seen in Madhya Pradesh, especially in Chatisgarh area. Nagas in Nagaland, Sherdukpens (Mahayana) and Khamptis (Hinayana) in Arunachal Pradesh and Gaddi tribes in Himachal Pradesh. The major tribes of Orissa are:- Savaras, Kondhs, Parajas, Gadabas, Koyas, Kharias, Santhals etc. Kurichyas in Kerala, Khasis in Meghalaya, Mahadev Kolis in Maharashtra, Santhals in Bihar and West Bengal, Chenchus in Andhra Pradesh, Todas in Tamil Nadu, Lepachas in Mizoram, and Lodhas in West Bengal are the major tribal groups in India.

Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa come next to North-East states, in terms of tribal population, where state governments take special care of the tribal people, appointing a separate Minister in charge of tribal welfare programmes.

1.4. Tribal Situation in India :

(a) Human Resource Development in Tribals :-

One of the much neglected sections of population in the country are the tribal communities both in terms of modern indicators of human resource development like literary level, school enrollment figures at various levels, etc. and in providing basic skills in talking the day to day problems as well as in earning their livelihood. They have remained cut-off from the mainstream of Indian culture and society. These original inhabitants have been steadily pushed to the interior areas and today they mostly live in the forests and even feed on forest produce. But day by day, they are loosing the control over the forests, water and land, which they once enjoyed. In the name of progress through industrialization, the post colonial regimes developed mines, dams and factories in tribal areas.

No doubt, tribals are living in isolated forest and hilly areas, agriculture is the main source of livelihood and naturally land is the most important basic resource for these population. Though there is an urgent need for improving the skills of cultivation among these people, the greater need "is to put an end" to the large scale land alienation taking place among them. The percentage of landless labourer is increasing while the percentage of cultivators to the total tribal population is decreasing. Almost all State Government have passed Land Transfer Regulation Acts to prevent

land alienation among tribals, but unfortunately these regulations have failed to put an end to this sorry state of affairs.⁷

Loss and alienation of tribal land takes place not only due to the unscrupulous action of landlords, money lenders and traders but also due to the policies of the government both at Central and State levels, mining corporations and industrialists.

It is mindboggling to think how many thousands of tribal families have lost their lands and villages under these developmental schemes, which mostly benefit the non-tribals. Benefits to the tribals from these Projects is not even marginal. Even today thousands of tribals have yet to receive their meagre compensation and many of them yet to be rehabilitated. All these industrial establishments, major and minor irrigation and hydroelectric projects, mining projects have been undertaken, in the name of the national interest.

Human resource development in any country is "balancing the interests of individuals and groups with that of the state and society," whereas in India that national interest is synonymous with the interests of the elite and the rich.⁸ From independence to

7. G, Prakash Reddy, HRD in the Tribals, Social Change, June 1991, Vol. 21 No.2, P-19.

8. Ibid. P-22.

till day the achievement in tribal education even at the elementary level, not to speak of at higher levels, is miserable. Moreover, what is required is immediate human resource development measures among these communities rather than long term measures which may take a few decades or even few centuries to come to fruition.

All the tribals in the country today need building-up of confidence - to fight the injustices perpetrated against them by the traders, businessmen, forest contractors, industrialists and the institution of government and confidence also to face life's new situations as they are being pushed more and more into unfamiliar occupations, environment and avenues of life.

Secondly, a kind of pride in their own culture has to be created. Due to influence of various external and internal factors they are losing their own culture. So, human resource development programmes should aim at the fulfillment of the above points.

(b) **Forest and Forest Policy** : Since time immemorial tribes have enjoyed the freedom to use the forests, their source of livelihood, in whatever manner they like to such extent that they have developed a conviction that they belong to the forests and the forests belong to them. They get food, fruits, edible

roots, herbs, honey and leafy vegetables from the forests.

Realizing the importance of expensive timber, wild life and botanical wealth, British Government passed the first Forest Policy in 1894. As a result, the tribals lost the control over the forests. The valuable timbers were supplied for commercial purpose and only tax-payers were allowed to use the forests. After independence, Government of India in 1952, revised the 1894 Policy taking into consideration, (i) the population growth resulting in relentless pressure on forest and wasteland to secure more & more land for agriculture, (ii) the importance of forest in mitigating the rigours of climatic conditions, (iii) the importance of forest in the economic field, such as the development of agriculture, industry and communications and (iv) the two great world wars brought to the fore the hitherto unsuspected dependence of national defence on forests.

The traditional rights of the tribals were no longer recognized as rights. "In 1894 they became 'rights and privileges' and in 1952 they became 'right and concession' only. The new policy has shattered and disturbed the tribals' lives

9. Nadeem Hasnain, Op. Cit, P-92.

depriving them even some of the privileges hitherto untouched in the former policy.

Certain concessions like-right to take water for agriculture purposes, free grazing in open forests, collection of dead wood for domestic uses were given to the tribals. But these "concessions" vary from state to state and there is no uniformity in the grant of these concessions. On the other hand, the harassment and exploitation of the tribals by the forest officials, revenue officials and private contractors, has created a sense of dismay, frustration and alienation among the affected tribals. Forest Contractors, Forest Department wood based industries like paper and plywood and fast coming-up urban centres in forest and tribal areas should take the major blame for destroying the forests in the country. Another major culprit of deforestation are both state and central governments with their massive irrigation and hydroelectric projects and major industries. For instance, under the Narmada Sagar Project 10 Lakh population, most of them tribals would be displaced and an estimated 3.5 lakh hectares of forest land will be submerged. Also, the forest areas earmarked as biosphere reserves and animal sanctuaries and national parks are also lost as resource bases to

10. Ibid, P-93

the tribals. They have not only lost agricultural land and villages but also the forest habitats as a resource base. The tribals in the country are becoming victims of Progress, and this process perhaps can be called human resource degradation.¹¹ Unable to stop this process of alienation from their lands and habitat the tribals are frustrated and their economic situation had deteriorated to such an extent that even starvation deaths had been reported among the tribes in state like Orissa. A number of them are now living in industrial slums.

The Forest Department throughout India are summarily evicting the tribals practicing shifting cultivation without providing them any alternative source of livelihood. The result is that the people are either withdrawing more and more into the interior for the same purpose or becoming fire-wood cutter and sellers in the Urban centres that have come-up in the tribal areas causing perhaps more deforestation and destruction to the forest.

The concept of land in the tribal mind is vaster than is usually understood, and includes the Forests, and hills. They often say - "These hills are ours". Their hill means more to them than houses to non-

11. G. Prakash Reddy, Op. Cit. P-20.

tribals. The landscape included streams, and the tribals had the rights to fish and hunt. One can thus see how deep was the loss for these people when they first got pushed by an alien regime and later by insensitive and avaracious non-tribals. The tribal economy was, at one time, part of the then prevailing forest economy, that too got changed as forest produce came to be 'protected'.

1.5. The Need of Special Development Programmes When and Why it arises ? The intellectuals and the general mass of India have been holding and perpetuating somewhat confusing and amazing and sometimes fantastic myths about this section of the society. Their image of primitive, simple cheerful and colorful people having exotic dances and music is based on several myths. Behind this myths lie a bitter reality - heart-breaking poverty, ignorance, disease and exploitation.¹²

Equality before law is our 'fundamental right' given by the constitution of India. The question/issue of special developmental programme comes when there is inequality in the society, where a certain sections are neglected. Unless they are given some extra Privilege/attention, they cannot come in par with

12. Nadeem Hasnain, OP. Cit. P-145.

the privileged few.

For the overall development of the society, plans should be made best suited to the people. The social scientists talk about the 'Welfare State' theory for the betterment of the people.

(a) Welfare State : The state comes into being for the sake of life and continues for the sake of good life, says Aristotle.¹³ Every state is an association, and that every association is formed with some good in view, for an apparent good is the spring of all human activity. Consequently, the state or political association, which is supreme and¹⁴ allembicing, must aim at the sovereign good.

The idea of welfare state came when the doctrine of Laissez-faire was at the peak of popularity. In the other words, the Maxim was 'let people look after their own business' as being immediately interested in it, they are likely to attend it best,¹⁵ let the

13. Edited by B.B. Mazumdar, Gandhian Concept of State, 1957, P-172.

14. Edited and Translated by John Warrington, Aristotle's Politics and Athenian Constitution, 1959, P-5.

15. Earnest Banker, Principles of Social and Political Theory, reproduced in 1953, P-269.

government intervene only in the interest of the community in general and as seldom as possible. There must be state control to a certain extent¹⁶ but state interference in the business of the community should be restricted to the narrowest compass. Individual free agency, personal liberty and spontaneity, must be protected with the utmost possible rigor.¹⁷ J.S. Mill, the powerful defender of individual liberty, favours individual development according to the inherent qualities of each individual.¹⁸ But in the economic field Mill is not a bigoted individualist.¹⁹ He permits extension of state functions in the interests of social welfare.

Herbert Spencer says that government is essentially immoral, it exists because crime exists and must cease when crime ceases. The right of the individual is equal freedom with everybody else,²⁰ and the only duty of the state is to protect the right from

16. Ibid, P-269.

17. Charles Gide and Charles Rist, A History of Economic Doctrines, 1932 edition, P-322.

18. Margaret Spahr, Readings in Recent Political Philosophy, 1949, P-210.

19. Ibid, P-222.

20. Ibid, P-- 250-51.



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violation. So, the state is a "Joint Protection Company
21
for Mutual Assistance".

The second stage of welfare state began with new thoughts and schemes for the education of the poor people, were brought into light by men like Gifford Dalton, Cartwright, Thomas Spence, Lovett, Hudgskin and Thompson.

The third stage began with the chartist movement of 1848, which sought to undo the political division of society between privileged and the unprivileged, which was the fore-runner to social division between the advanced and the retarded.

The fourth stage began in the second half of the nineteenth century when a number of political theories - utilitarianism, idealism, collectivism, Guild socialism, syndicalism, communism, fascism, gandhism etc, came as if in a chain reaction, widening the scope of state
22
functions to cover almost everything under the sky .

According to the historians, the concept of welfare state in India is very old, and was laid down in the Shanti-Parva of the Mahabharat. But, it is not true

21. Ibid, P-256

22. B.B. Gupta,
Welfare State in India, Central Book Deptt. Allahabad,
1966, P-4.

because, in that society, Shudras were deprived of education and property rights. They were exploited by the upper three castes. During Imperial Mourya period, special attention was given for the development of tribes by appointing 'Ant Mahamatya', a special Minister to look after them (Tribes). Vinobha Bhave aims at the welfare state in terms of the voluntary redistribution of one-sixth of land or property for the benefit of those, who have none of it, and the orthodox Gandhites envisage the welfare state in terms of a decentralized economy and the revivification of village life in a self-reliant basis. Jag Parvesh Chandra seeks to build-up a truly democratic welfare state through a process of decentralization. Decentralization of power is such an article of faith with the country that idealizing this objective, it was specifically laid down in the constitution, that "that state shall take steps to organize village Panchayats, as units of self-government".²³ The welfare state also implies the idea of social equality and also involves suppression of all distinctions based on caste, colour, creed and community.

The framers of our constitution embodied the welfare state ideal in the new constitution. This ideal

23. Jag Parvesh Chandra, India's Socialistic Pattern of Society, 1950, P-188.

in the Resolution on Aims & Objective moved by Nehru on 13th December 1946 in the Constituent Assembly. The relevant part of the Resolution as adopted on 22nd January 1947 reads as follows : (i) Wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social, economic and political, equality of status of opportunity, and before law, freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality and (ii) Wherein adequate safe-guards should be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes.

Later this ' aims and objectives ' have been accepted in the Constitution by way of a 'Preamble'.

Government of India gave more importance to the welfare of people. As early as 1938, the first National Planning Committee²⁶ was appointed by the President of the Indian National Congress and functioned through various vicissitudes for eleven years. It was recognized as Planning Commission in accordance with the

24. N. Srinivasan, Democratic Government in India, first edition, 1954, P-134.

25. The Constitution of India, 1949, P-1.

26. Edited by K.T. Shah, Report; National Planning Committee, First edition, June 1949, P-254.

congress working committee resolution of 19th January 1950 with the Prime Minister as its Chairman.

✓ The Government of India set-up the Central Social Welfare Board under the chairmanship of Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh on 12th August, 1953. In order to achieve decentralization, by August 1954, social welfare Advisory Boards had been set-up by all State Governments. Social welfare Board with the assistance of voluntary organizations, takes up the issues of the welfare of the Child, women, handicapped persons and other downtrodden people. Planning Commission continues to allocate some extra funds for the development of tribes on each plan.

(b) Human Rights : The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights contains an Article (Art 25) which runs : Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. Motherhood and child are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out-of-the wedlock shall enjoy, the same social protection.

Whereas, in India, unemployment, the problem of food, clothing, housing and health care is a common phenomena. When tribes are harassed, exploited, it's not the violation of Human Rights. The worst sufferers are the tribals. Due to the industrialization, rapid displacement is taking place, where they loose their land and villages. Even do not get proper compensation, leave about the rehabilitation, as a result they settle in the forest area, which are not recognized as villages, so, no developmental programmes have reached there. Since they cannot pay the tax to the forest department, they are deprived of using the forest.

1.6. The Constitutional Safeguards : The founding fathers of Indian constitution had striven to strike a balance between efficiently and distributive justice.²⁷ For the consideration of distribution justice, the, state owes its responsibility to provide additional statutory safeguard to certain ethnic groups categorizing them as "Scheduled Tribes".

In terms of development, various tribes are not equally developed. The conditions of the North-Eastern tribal areas are entirely different from those prevailing in Central Tribal areas.

27. Report of the Commissioner for SC/ST Part-1, 1979-81, PP-52-60.

In the context of this diversity, special arrangements have been made for the administration and development of Scheduled Tribes. In order to exempt tribal societies from several complex formalities of our legal system, provisions have been incorporated in the fifth schedule of the constitution. Under this schedule, the Governor of a State has authority to modify certain given central and state laws in the interest of tribals. Thus the state can mould their policies to suit the specific requirements of various Scheduled Tribes residing in their areas. The sixth Schedule deals with the states of Assam, Meghalaya and Manipur.

Special Provisions relating to Scheduled Tribes are :- Article-15 (4) - Nothing in this article or clause(2) of Article 29 prevent the state from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

But in practice, it is subject to conditional. This is on the basis that the general right to equality guaranteed by Article-14, would override the special provision under Article-15 (4), in such circumstances. Hence, reservation of an excessively high percentage of seats in technical institution of such class would be void.

Article-16 (4) -- Nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making any provision for the reservation of appointment or posts in favour of any backward class of citizen which in the opinion of the state, is not adequately represented in the services under the state.

Courts have insisted that Article-16 (4) must be read with Art. 335 - which directs that in taking into considerations the claims of members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the state should bear in mind that the claim should be consistent with the maintenance of efficiency of administration. So, this sections are deprived appointment in higher posts in the name of skill and efficiency.

Article-46 directs the state to take special care for the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the society, especially of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Article-164 says that in the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, there shall be a Minister In-charge of Tribal welfare who may in addition be in charge of the welfare of the SCs and backward classes. The above states themselves are poor. So, appointing

Ministers without any special fund allocation from Centre is meaningless.

Article-244, empowers that President to declare any area, where there is a substantial population of tribal people, as a 'Scheduled Areas' under fifth schedule or in Assam, Meghalaya and Mizoram as 'Tribal Area' under the 6th Schedule. What is the main reason behind various movements and uprising ? People of Jharkhand, Uttarkhand etc. one deprived of their share. So, under this provision, these areas should be taken special care.

Article-244(A) talks about the formation of an autonomous state comprising certain tribal areas in Assam and creation of local legislature or council of Ministers or both therefore.

Article-275 excludes the subject of tribal development from the purview of Finance Commission. The state government may present to the Central Government such plans which it deems important for the development of tribal areas on the approval of these plans by the Central Government, the state receives assistance from the consolidated fund of India.

Article-330 - Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of People. But this reservation of seats are not

proportionate to the Caste and Tribe people of the states, it is decided on all India basis.

Article-332 -Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assemblies of the states.

Article-335 - the claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a state Article-335 is to be read with Article-46.

Article-338 (1) -- There shall be a commission for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be known as the National commission for the SCs and STs. (2) The commission shall consist of a Chairman, Vice-chairman and five other members and the conditions of service and tenure of office of the chairman, vice-chairman and other members so appointed shall be such as the president may by rule determine. (3) The Chair-person, Vice-Chairperson and other Members of the Commission shall be appointed by the President by Warrant under his hand and seal. (4) The commission shall have the power to regulate its own procedure.

Article-339 -- Control of the Union over the administration of Scheduled Areas and the Welfare of the Scheduled Tribes - (1) The President may at any time and shall at the expiration of ten years from the commencement of this constitution by order appoint a commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. (2) The executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to (a state) as to the drawing up and execution of schemes specified in the direction to be essential for the Welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the state.

Article-342 (1) - The President may with respect to any state or Union territory, after consultation with the Government thereof by public notification. Specify the tribes or tribal communities or part of or group within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this constitution to 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. But immigrants (from other states) are sometimes denied the facilities of reservation.

CHAPTER-II

APPROACHES, PLANNING AND PROGRAMMES FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA.

2.1) APPROACHES TO TRIBALS: A historical overview:

The British Government came in contact with the tribals only with the entry of some missionaries in the beginning of the 19th century. Later the tribals were approached by Indian national leaders who were fighting for the freedom of the country, regarded them as integral part of the Indian population. British tactfully tackled the situation and in order to ensure the restoration of law and order as well as extraction of forest Wealth and exploitation of resources available in tribal regions, declared as prohibited areas to the tribal habitats. In the post independence era, a series of welfare programmes were augmented to promote sectional interest of the tribal peoples so that they would not fall behind the people of plains. The evolution of the strategy of tribal development can be -----

1. L.P. Vidyarthi and B. K. Rai, The Tribal culture of India, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985, P-412

perceived at three levels; at the levels of (i) Colonial administration, (ii) tribal welfare and (iii) Tribal development leading towards tribal intergration.

(a) **British Policy of Segregation:** After realizing the potentiality of tribal people in any national movements, British government created 'excluded' and 'partially excluded' areas. The policy of isolation by British government was largely effected by their deliberate efforts not to develop communication in the tribal areas which, as a result, remained cut off from the rest of the population. The tribal people were segregated and their places of habitation were maintained as prohibited areas. The colonial administration allowed to its staff, some contractors, few business men and Christian missionaries to function in tribal areas .² The leading figures of tribal communities were taken into confidence to suppress all possible tribal revolts. The leaders were granted special benefits for their habitual obedience to British rule. The hereditary tribal chiefs were restored to the position of judges for the jurisdiction of tribal people.³

2. K.S. Singh (ed), Tribal Movements in India, vol. 1 Manohar, New Delhi, 1982, PP.1-25.

3. Nadeem Hasnain, Tribal India Today, Harnam Publ, New Delhi, 1983, PP. 145-147.

British brought out the policy of land and forest and other policies which caused widespread discontent were forced labour, tax collection, violation of assertion of ethnic identity, customary laws and the rights of the tribals. The act of 1874 notified tribal areas as 'scheduled districts' and were centrally administered by the British Govt.

The main objective of British policy of segregation was to establish a wide gulf between the tribals on the one hand and the plains men on the other to suppress all types of united fight for the freedom .

b)The policy of Isolation : at the initial phase of Independence :

Jawaharlal Nehru was in favour of corporal and communal life among the tribals. He wanted a gradual change which is to be worked out by the tribals themselves. He was against the interference of plainsmen in the planning which is exclusively for tribes.

The theory of isolation is popularly known as 'National park Theory', Popounded by Verrier Elwin. However this approach has been attacked by the nationalists and social workers. According to them ,tribals should not be kept isolated from the rest of

the society like domestic cattle or zoo exhibits. They are equal citizen of India. They have contributed towards the country's advancement and they are entitled to share the fruits of development.⁴ A.V Thakkar criticised the anthropologists for trying to keep the tribals confined to and isolated in their inaccessible hills and jungles.

The declaration of 'a few particular areas of tribal concentration as scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas' is an example of isolation. The tribals living outside these areas were not duly protected. The progress of these scattered tribals population was presumed as by-product of general development strategy of Indian planning. In different five year plans, the general fund was not utilised for the developmental work among the tribes, rather the fund for 'Tribal Welfare' was kept reserved, it reveals the trend of financial segregation.⁵

c) The policy of Assimilation :

The assimilation of the tribal people with the rest of the population is another approach and is a continuous process and the cultural contact with the neighbouring population is held responsible for it. The policy followed by various religious organisations in order to spread values of -----

4. Ibid, P.76.

5. L.P. Vidyarthi & B.K. Rai, op. cit, P.416.

their respective religions .The missionaries tried to understand the culture of tribals and learnt their languages in order to work in those areas. While working in these areas, social workers try to adjust with the tribal culture in order to create confidence among the tribal people. Commercialisation of tribal socio-economic conditions, acculturation under the framework of Hinduism , imposition of christian values and the excessive politicisation of tribal people along the lines of regional chauvinism and separatism, are the various dominant trends of assimilation.

Instead of detribalising them, they should be given enough scope to create a political culture of their own. Tribals do not constitute a single nationality, for which the concept of self-determination can be propagated. In order to establish the right of the tribal people, state must acclaim that the fate of the tribal masses does not depend upon the mercy or sympathy of the planners, administrators ,social workers and politicians nor even the decision of the government.

d) The policy of Integration

Another school of thought believed in the rapid integration of the tribal community with the general population . The intention was to assist them to progress, both economically and socially, and reach a

standard of development such as would fit them to take place as useful citizens in the life of the general community on a footing of equality⁶. The main concern of social anthropologists in India is to find out a national strategy of nation-building activities. They deal with the words 'Social Integration' and 'Cultural assimilation'. Social integration means acceptance of common goals and symbols by different parts of a whole, while retaining a dimension of political relationship. It is presumed that people having diverse cultural traits may foster common goals and symbols.⁷ L.P Vidyarthi recommends the integration of the tribe in regional and national settings⁸. The notion of 'unity in diversity' is to be constituted as the base of the Indian culture for the purpose of national setting. There are varieties of tribal cultures in terms of tribal customs, traditions and religions. The integration of the tribals must be taken at regional levels before the integration takes place at national setting.

Jagannath Pathy noted that the policy of integration is to absorb the smaller and different nationalities, groups or communities into the broader

6. Nadeem Hasnain, op.cit, P. 155.

7. B.K. Roy Burman, Perspective for Administration and Development of the STs, In Vidyarthi (ed) Tribal Development and Administration, NICD. Hyderabad, 1975, PP-31-60.

8. L.P. Vidyarthi & B.K. Rai, op.cit, PP.-419-420.

7 social spectrum by forcing them to retain the lowest
9 rank and position in the social system. This is how the
dominant classes of dominant nationalities and
linguistic perpetuate their cultural hegemony. As a result
, the advanced sections of smaller nationalities, groups
and communities, either become a subordinate partner or
10 pushed back to the fold of subject class.

2.2 Approaches to Tribal Welfare

Tribal development consists of deliberate
efforts by the tribals along with the
planners, anthropologist and the elite groups to orient
them towards the new cultural and social ways of life
and action. But, mere adoption of new cultural and social
ways of life and action by the tribals is no longer
tribal development when the tribals feel that the
quality of life which they aspire is in fact achieved,
11 we may call it tribal development.

Tribals in India are neglected, isolated and
exploited and live at various stages of economic,
technical and cultural development. Their development
is always determined by the implementation of programmes
and policies considering the socio-economic conditions

9. J. Pathy. An outline of modes of production in Tribal
India, in Buddhodev Choudhary (ed) Tribal development in
India, Inter India publication, Delhi, 1982, PP-28-29.

10. Ibid.

11. S. Narayan and B. Kumar, Obstacles to tribal
Development, Mainstream, vol. 22 (1), 1983, PP.-18-22.

of the tribals, geographical location of tribal areas, and keeping in mind socio-political issues of the state, various approaches by the religious missionaries, social reformers, academicians and planners have been involved to develop the tribal people in India.

(a). Religious Approach:

Tribals live in their own religious world, practising some distinct and a typical religious rituals and are considered having a separate religious identity. Their religion is perceived as animism.

The objective of the religious approach was to assimilate the tribals into a religious culture and to bring to them to the mainstream culture by breaking the old practice. In the name of reformation in the tribal societies, various missionaries are involved in the activities of conversion. The religious agencies involved are-the Arya Samaj, the Ramkrishna Mission, the Luther Mission, the Catholic Mission and other local religious institutions, who have been carrying out massive conversion activities in the central India and

12

North-eastern India. The Hindu religious bodies have attempted to assimilate tribals into a Hindu framework. And the missionaries have tried to understand tribal culture and language for the sake of its assimilation to the culture of the Christian Church.

12. S.N.Dubey, Inter-Ethnic Alliance, Tribal Movements and Integration in N-E-India, in K.S.Singh (ed), op.cit, pp-1-25.

This conversion activity has formed groups among the tribals. Further, although the advantages flowing from the social welfare measures introduced by the missionaries have been of tremendous help to the tribals, they would be greatly discounted when viewed in the context of the feeling of Christian Tribals and the Non-Christian Tribals in middle India and the separatist move given birth to in the north-eastern Himalayas.¹³

The conversion of tribes by religious agencies generates crisis of their identity and ethnicity, and it has often disrupted tribal cultural fabric or social solidarity. This approach has further escalated the heterogeneity among the tribals in terms of cultural position.

(b) Voluntary Agency Approach:

Under the voluntary agencies approach, social workers, Social welfare agencies, social movement agencies, social reformers etc. are working for the upliftment of the tribals and to bring social awareness among them. While rendering their services they claim that they do not have any vested interest. They function in both official and non-official spheres.¹⁴ The mediatory

13. K.N. Sahay, Christianity as an agency of tribal welfare in India, In Vidyarthi (ed) Applied Anthropology in India, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1986, P-345.

14. Vidyarthi and Rai, op.cit, 1977, PP-428-29.

roles of these organisations were considered essential for the implementation of tribal welfare programmes. Most of these voluntary organisations have confirmed state patronage for their pious, benevolent activities. These organisations play salient role in transferring the tribal societies from traditional to modern, however, their well-intentioned reform may be injurious to the tribe in terms of their (tribal) cultural life.

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(C) Anthropological Approach

The Anthropologists happened to be concerned with the problem of integration and isolation of tribals. The Anthropological approach tries to understand the organisation of tribals and values through sustained scientific studies and to identify the problems of tribes of different levels of technological, economic and cultural development. They always set the example of colonial role, where for the sake of law and order, tribal areas were declared prohibited areas. They want that, tribals should be kept separately.

Critising the Anthropologists, A.V. Thakkar, told, "to keep these people confined to and isolated in their inaccessible hills and jungles is something like keeping them in glass cases of museum for the curiosity of purely academic persons." ¹⁶ To him, 'separation' and

15. Ibid, 1985, P-429.

16. Ibid.

'isolationism' seemed to be dangerous theories as they
17
struck at the root of national solidarity.

Verrier Elwin in his book on Baigas (1939) gives the
idea of a 'National Park' and complete isolation. Social
workers say that, Elwin has changed his idea of cultural
segregation in his later writings. But in his two later
works - A philosophy for NEFA, 1950 and tribal world of
Verrier Elwin, 1964, he maintains the same version and
clarifies the misconception created in the minds of the
social workers regarding his approach to the tribal
culture and emphasises the need for a careful planning
18
for tribal development.

Applied Anthropology in India seeks the cooperation
of social welfare workers, applied anthropologists and
administrative staff for the effective implementation of
plans and programmes for the development of the tribals.
They hold the view that no meaningful development
projects can be formulated without a thorough knowledge
of socio-cultural base and the physical environment of
the people concerned. Above all, this approach generates
a feeling of national integration.

17. G.S. Ghurye, The scheduled Tribes, popular prakashan,
Bombay, 1963, PP-149-50.

18. Verrier Elwin, A philosophy for NEFA, North East
Frontier Agency, Shillong, 1957, PP-7-38.

d) Political Approach :

The political approach for the tribal welfare may be understood in the context of the pre and post-independence, periods. The colonial rule created " excluded" and 'partially excluded areas' and gave separate political representation to the tribes.¹⁹

British kept tribals isolated from the mainstream of national life, declaring as law and order problem. But, nationalists opposed this kind of separation.

Political approach was considered significant to improve the administrative situation in the country. It also emphasises the participatory role of tribals in various levels of politics, administration and nation-building. This approach was not only included policy making and providing suitable constitutional safeguards for the tribal people, but also a vast administrative structure for tribal welfare.

The constitution of India visualised a policy of progressive assimilation of the tribal people in the national mainstream. In the report of the commissioner for SCs and STs, 1973-74 it is strongly recommended that a fresh legislation for amendment of the scheduled tribes is needed to give concession to such tribes who deserve to be scheduled. The controversial question of -----

19. L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai, op.cit. 1985, P-421.

the status of scheduled tribe persons converted to
Christianity and Islam be solved.²⁰

To promote the integration of tribals with the rest of India, the constitution provided special safeguards and facilities to this weaker section by way of protective discrimination for a period of ten years. This time period has been extended subsequently.

2.3 Community Development (C.D) Programme.

Community Development Programme in India is primarily the result of Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement signed in 1951, when USA was to assist India in starting and running fifty five pilot projects in order to develop the areas and communities covered by these projects and also to give some ideas and experience in organising and working out village development programmes. These programmes were started on the 2nd Oct, 1952.²¹

The problem of economic and social development of the masses lagging behind is thus pressing, and brooks

20. Report of the commissioner for SCs and STs, 1973-74, the controller of publication, Delhi, 1976, p-267.

21. K.K. Panikkar, Community Development Administration in Kerala, S. Chand & Co, New Delhi, 1974-P-1.

no delay. It can be tackled effectively by the active involvement of the people. The method of native involvement of the people is generally known as 'extension'.²² The Government of India initiated the National Extension Schemes (NES) Blocks in 1951, with the intention of intensifying block level development activities to raise the general standard of living of the weaker sections. 'Extension' defined in simple terms is to educate and motivate people for their betterment and to lead them to clearly conceived and refined objectives - a task arduous and exacting none-the-less self-rewarding, a task in which one is sustained only through sublimity of purpose and heroic endurance,²³ a task which suits only the equipped ones.

The democratic decentralisation of administrative agencies attempted in India through the Panchayati Raj system is widely implemented in the Indian states. The three tiers of the administrative system beginning from village level is a good step in public administration. Members of different bodies were elected represent-

22. M.S. Haq, Community Development through Extension, Chugh Publ. Allahabad, 1979, P-3.

23. Ibid.

tatives of the people. These are not wholly democratic institutions, but they do influence administration in their respective spheres.²⁴

States in India are mainly responsible for the implementation of, various programmes. The Central Government and the Planning Commission decide the basic policies and provide the guidelines for administration. Each state has an administrative organisation for the purpose of, implementing community development programmes, formed under the instructions from the central government.²⁵

Community Development is the method and Rural Extension the agency through which the First Plan seeks to initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the villages.²⁶ The greatest stress in Community Development has laid on rural areas. The intensive development of agriculture, the extension of irrigation, rural electrification and the revival of village industries, wherever possible, with the help of improved techniques accompanied by land reform and a revitalised co-operative movements, are programmes

24. K.K. Panikkar, op.cit, P-4.

25. See, Parliamentary Debates, Appendix-II, Annexure-I, Parliament Secretariate, New Delhi, 1952.

26. The First Five Year Plan, P-223.

closely related to change the face of the rural economy²⁷ Five year plan has become more popular and common word. But very few people in our country know what planning is all about, and still fewer are involved in actual planning. For India, being a democratic country, one would have expected to see the widest possible participation of the people in planning for the country. In a pluralistic and caste-ridden society like ours, lack of wider participation can mean domination and exploitation by a few.

Speaking to the members of the First Planning Commission in 1950, Nehru said that the aim of planning in our country should be 'growth with justice'. 44 years of planning has taught us that no growth and no justice is possible until those who are kept away from the growth process and those who are denied justice themselves become part of that, no planning for the poor and weaker section can be effective and lasting, if they themselves are not included in the planning and implementation at every level.²⁸

27. Ibid, P-225.

28. Jose Kananaikil (ed), Seventh Plan and Development of Weaker Sections, ISI, New Delhi, 1985, P-XII.

This means that the trickle down theory, according to which, development at the top will gradually flow down to the bottom is not only an elitist theory, but also an ineffective one. We have to ensure that the weaker sections, the people at the bottom of society, the weaker minority groups, the SCs and STs, the 50 percent of the people who live below the poverty line are taken seriously in our country, that their views and their needs get sufficient attention in the planning, that what is due to them is not passed out as charity but becomes part of the constructive action programme for growth and justice for all.

By the end of Second Five Year Plan, the entire country was covered by Community Development Blocks, which applied equally to the tribal areas. Later it was found that advantage was utilised by the non-tribals living in the tribal areas who had more contact with concerned officials. It also became clear that the tribal areas needed special treatment and hence the existing efforts were sought to be strengthened in 1954 by launching a few special multipurpose tribal development projects covering a few blocks.

2.4 Special Multi-Purpose Tribal Development (SMPT) Blocks.

The Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks were introduced in 1954, where the blocks were

jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Home Affairs and Community Development, and implementation charge was given to state governments. The SMPT was later converted into Tribal Development Block (TDB) as to relate the programme and the way of doing things to the tribal background. Agriculture and allied subjects, like irrigation and soil conservation were given top priority.

The purpose of launching the special projects was to evolve a more satisfying concept of tribal development to be made applicable to the tribal areas in the country in general. A review of this programme pointed to the need of constituting tribal development blocks with an area of about 150 to 200 sq miles and with a population coverage of about 25,000.

The object of TDB in Second Five Year Plan was to bring about a rapid improvement in the economic and social standards of tribal people by supplementing the provisions available under the normal C.D budget, in specially underdeveloped but compact areas. There were 43 SMPT Blocks by the end of Second Five Year Plan.

During the Third Five Year Plan (1961-66), TDBs were originated on the general pattern of community development blocks, aiming at rapid improvement in -----
29.9th Report of the Commission for SC/St, 1969-70, P-33.

socio-economic standard of the tribals. By the end of the Third Plan, the TDBs multiplied and about 40 percent of the tribal population in the country were covered by 500 such blocks.

Here the priorities were made for economic upliftment, education, health, housing and communication. The guideline prescribed for 60 percent funds for economic development, 25% for communication and 15% for social services. It did not reflect the need of tribals properly. The main reason of the shortcoming of the programme was the relatively small size of the tribal blocks which can not accommodate schemes like soil conservation, major and medium irrigation, secondary and technical education.

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Both the Community Development Blocks and Tribal Development Blocks were multi-sectoral in approach and both were mainly developmental in outlook, lacking in specific administrative perspective and organisation to take care of the special needs of the tribal population. Both neglected the protective aspects of the tribals' requirement. While in general terms, education and economic prosperity made progress,

30. L.M. Prasad, A Survey of Administration in Tribal Areas, In L.P. Vidyarthi, op.cit., P-226.

31. Bhupinder Singh, Tribal Development: Strategy and Approach, in Vidyarthi (ed) op.cit., P-129.

the gap between the general community and the tribal community became wider than before. The T.D Block approach was an improvement over the general block development approach in that it attempted to focus was diffused so far as specific problems of tribal population and groups was concerned.

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In a T.D. Block, the Block Development Officer (BDO) is given all the power to implement the programmes. The promotion and demotion of a BDO was able to achieve the targets fixed for different sectors of tribal development projects. An integrated schematic budget for Rupees 27 lakhs was provided for each TDB to be spent in a period of five years. It was not an easy task to spend all this money in five years in an inaccessible tribal area. So, the BDOs always worried about expenditure. The easy way of spending most of it was by constructing buildings and roads which were not of immediate benefit to the tribals. So, the T.D. Blocks became more a construction programme and less an extension programme. BDO did not get time to motivate tribals and disseminated improved ideas among them. The result had been that throughout the

32. Premanand Tripathy, Administration for Tribal Development-An Analytical Review, IJPA, Vol-31, No3, Jul-September, 1985, P-871.

implementation of the tribal development programme great emphasis was laid on spending money and achieving physical targets and relatively little emphasis on evolution of quality of character and human development.

The main aim of the development programmes for tribals was to integrate them with the rest of the country. In effect what happened was that, instead of the benefits going to the tribal communities this attempt strengthened the exploitative elements. Even after the introduction of Panchayati Raj, tribals were denied from taking leadership. Elwin Committee found that even in tribal majority areas also non-tribals got elected as sarapanchas. So, the committee were so doubtful about the safety of tribal interests under Panchayati Raj. It was also observed that either funds were diverted for other purpose as not utilised in time.³³ Increased investment and change induced by tribal development programmes did not help the tribes because of improper planning and defective implementation of the programmes. The special programmes had only a limited impact on them. The programmes were rigid and followed a uniform pattern although varied conditions demanded special approaches

33. Report of the Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes, 1969, P-1.

to their problems and different plans for solving them. The areas of tribal development blocks were delineated without any rational and scientific basis.

2.5 Dhebar Commission & Shilu AO Committee:

Important observations were made by the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes (S.A. & S.T.) Commission (Dhebar Commission) 1961 and the Shilu A O Committee, 1969 on planning, implementation and Administration of programmes for tribal development.

Important findings and recommendations of S.A & S.T Commission were:

1. Simplifying the procedure to ensure prompt disposal of applications for loans from Co-operative Societies.
2. Reserve Bank should set up a separate department to deal with the problem of tribal economy on the lines of Agricultural Credit Departments.
3. Need for advancing loans on the security of the produce and the importance of linking credit with marketing.
4. A small committee of officials from the Tribal Welfare, Agriculture, Veterinary, Forest, Irrigation and Roads and Medical and Public Health Department should be set up at the State level for coordination and effective implementation of tribal welfare programmes.

5. State governments should undertake general legislation applicable to both the scheduled and non-scheduled areas for the protection of the rights of tribals in land and forests and to prevent exploitation of tribals by money lenders, and

6. Tribes Advisory Council should have a staff of its own with a Secretary who could do the follow-up work.

The Government of India did not give any attention to the recommendations made by Dhebar Commission. So, Planning Commission constituted a study team on 26th October, 1966, consisting of Shri P. Shilu AO as chairman and Sarvashri L.M. Srikant and B. Mehta as members. However, B. Mehta resigned in February 1967 and T. Sivashankar was appointed as member in his place.

The team was required to :

(a) study the problems and needs of the tribal communities in each state;

(b) appraise the working of tribal development programmes, specially during the Third Five Year Plan;

(c) ascertain how far the schemes formulated so far have enabled the tribal communities to secure an adequate share in the benefits accruing from the general development programmes;

(d) make detailed recommendations regarding the lines on which the schemes should be oriented in the Fourth Plan to accelerate progress; and

(e) suggest measures for strengthening the administrative machinery and harnessing tribal leadership and institutions so as to ensure their fullest participation in the tasks of economic and social development.

34

In its report, the Study Team supported the important recommendations of S.A. & S.T. Commission and went on adding few more recommendations like :-

1. The schemes for the upliftment of tribes should be treated as central schemes;

2. Effective measures should be taken to safeguard the rights of the tribals in land and forests, in restoring to them the lands from which they have, for whatever reason, been illegally dispossessed;

3. For re-orientation of the programmes undertaken by the T.D. Blocks, the State Governments may consider appointing small committees consisting of officers of the various departments to draw up, in consultation with the local tribal leaders and Block officers;

4. Agriculture should ordinarily be given the highest priority;

34. Ibid.

5. The control of T.D. Blocks should vest in the Tribal Welfare Department which had an intimate knowledge of the tribal areas and of the needs of the tribal people.

Shilu AO Committee observed that main drawbacks of TDBs are : (i) the tribal development blocks failed to get any significant support from the general development programmes including the CD programmes, (ii) these schemes formulated for these blocks were not adopted to the felt needs of the specific areas, and (iii) the benefits had mostly accrued to the more advanced among the tribals.

CHAPTER-III

THE TRIBAL SUB-PLAN

The tribal situation in the country presents a varied picture. Some areas have high tribal concentration, while in other areas the tribal people form only a small proportion of the total population. There are some tribal groups which are still at the food-gathering stage. Some others practice shifting cultivation, yet others may be pursuing primitive forms of agriculture. Some areas are still inaccessible, while in others modern industry has created a crisis situation in the primitive life. The programmes for the welfare and development of the tribal people so far have had a limited coverage. Tribal development blocks have been started in areas with more than two-third tribal concentration. These programmes, in practice, became too rigid although varying conditions demanded different approaches to their problems. The T.D Block area also proved to be too small a unit for large investments in infrastructures, economic development and social services.¹

A total and comprehensive view of the tribal problem was first taken on the eve of the Fifth Plan,

1. Tribal Development in the 5th plan: Basic Policy Papers, Vol 1, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1973, P. 5.

latest strategy known as tribal subplan strategy was evolved. Besides the task force on Development of Tribal areas headed by Vidyarthi in 1972, the Planning Commission constituted during the same year a working group on personnel policy for the Tribal Areas under the chairmanship of R.N. Haldipur. Several other groups and teams were to go into problems of tribal area co-operatives, rural indebtedness, land-alienation, excise policy etc. The result of these deliberations was the birth of a new strategy of tribal sub-plan within the broad framework of the state and the central plans.²

✓The new tribal sub-plan strategy conceived in 1974-75, took note of the fact that an incisive approach to the tribal problems was necessary in terms of their geographic and demographic concentration of a faster development of this community is to take place. The approach envisaged tackling the tribal problem by categorising them under three identifiable areas and groups:

(a) In regions of substantial tribal concentration, an area development approach is to be combined with a focus on the tribal population and their problems;

2. Premananda Tripathy, Administration for Tribal Development- An analytical review, Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol-XXXI, No. 3, July-September-1985 P-872.

In smaller areas of dispersed tribal population where the scheduled tribes live merged with the general population, a modified area approach on account of the truncated nature of the habitat but with similar focus on the tribes would be called for, and

(c) Certain extremely backward and smaller tribal groups living generally in pre-agricultural level of technology in accessible areas and facing the problem of their very survival would be treated as a special category both within the areas of tribal concentration and outside and special group-oriented programmes would be formulated for them.

These three categories were brought respectively under Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP), Modified Area Development Approach (MADA),³ pockets and Primitive Tribe Project.

In the light of the above approach, it was decided that tribal majority states like Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Lakshadweep and Dadra and Nagar Haveli may not need a tribal sub-plan, as the entire plan of these states, Union Territories was primarily meant to the scheduled Tribes population constituting the majority.⁴

3. Ibid. PP-872-73.

4. Mani Prasad Lal, Social Change, March 1988, Vol.18 No. 1, P-56.

3.1. OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY

The long term objectives of sub-plan are :

- (a) To narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribal and other areas; and
- (b) To improve the quality of life of the tribal communities.

Among the immediate objectives will be elimination of exploitation in all forms, speeding up the processes for social and economic development, building up inner strength of the people and improving their organisational capabilities.

Keeping in view the special problems of the tribal region in each state, a general strategy to achieve these objectives will have to be evolved in the sub-plan. In its legal, administrative and institutional frame, primary focus should be on the welfare and development of the people. Full utilisation of the existing investments under different heads should be ensured and treated as the starting point of the new plan efforts. Some of the elements of this strategy are as follows:

Prevention of Exploitation. No developmental activity for benefiting the tribal population can be successful unless exploitation in various form is prevented. Integrated credit-cum-marketing services covering marketing of agricultural and minor forest produce, supply of inputs

and essential consumer commodities, credit for production purposes as also for consumption and social needs etc will have to be set up. Programme for prevention of land alienation, restoration of lands already alienated, termination of practices like bonded labour, solution of the problems created in the zones of influence of modern industrial areas and review of excise and forest policies would need special attention.

Development of Tribal Economy. Tribals, by and large, depend on agriculture and forests for their livelihood. Hence, highest priority should be given to agricultural development. The important components for development of agriculture are land ownership and its development, provision of irrigation and improved methods of cultivation. Shifting cultivators, forest villagers and forest labourers should get special attention.

Generation of Employment Opportunities. Opportunities for better utilisation of available manpower should be created through programmes of horticulture, animal husbandry, piggery and allied occupations. Cottage industries based on the local raw materials should be developed with a view that the proportion of semi-processed and processed goods is maximised in the export-mix of the region.

Provision of Basic Infra-structure. To speed up the socio-economic development, basic infra-structure, legal, institutional and physical, will require to be developed on a priority basis. Growth centres, communication net-work, schools, rural health centres, marketing and credit organisations, rural electrification, manpower resources and training will have to be planned in an integrated fashion keeping in view the special conditions of the tribal areas.

Special Groups and problems. As the sub-plan will focus its attention on the welfare and development of the people, special attention will have to be given to areas and groups facing special problems. These will include primitive tribal groups in extremely backward pockets, shifting cultivators and tribals affected by major projects. Those communities, which have not received the benefits of development so far and are more backward amongst the tribal communities themselves, will need to be identified. Special assistance may be provided for such groups.

3.2. PREPARATION OF SUB-PLANS.

The planning commission laid down the following steps in the formulation of the sub-plans :

(a) Identification and Demarcation of Areas of Tribal concentration,

(b) Identification of socio-cultural barriers and promoters of change and development;

(c) Assessment of potentialities, special problems and felt needs of tribal areas.

(d) Assessing the resource availability for the sub-plan;

(e) Formulation of programmes; and

(f) Devising a suitable administrative set-up.

In view of the difficult conditions in the tribal areas, personnel policies will need reformation. It will be essential for raising the level of administration of these areas. Special incentives such as educational allowances and accommodation will have to be provided. Services rendered in tribal areas should be specially recognised. Mechanism for periodical review of these policies at different levels should be clearly worked out.

3.3A NOTE ON THE PREPARATION OF THE INTEGRATED TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS (ITDP).

The Fifth Five Year Plan envisaged preparation of sub-plans for areas of tribal concentration. The Planning commission had given some suggestions regarding

5. K.P. Singh (ed) Tribal Development in India, Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi, 1988, PP-19-20.

6. Tribal Development in Fifth Plan op.ct. P-10.

the preparation for these regions in a note circulated by them early in the December, 1973. The sub-plans were to be presented to the planning commission by the middle of January 1974. The note of the planning commission envisaged that "the sub plan area in each state would comprise a number of viable project areas. For each project, an integrated area development programme focussing attention on the specific problems of the area and the people in that region would have to be formulated; preparation of sub-plan and project formulation would be two distinct exercises, although preliminary steps for preparation of projects will have to be taken concurrently".

3.4. SELECTION OF PROJECT AREAS AND ITS GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES.

The first exercise which states have to do is the demarcation of tribal areas and project areas and to pass it on to central Government. Difference of opinion may arise only in marginal cases needing a discussion for inclusion or exclusion of a specific area since areas having highest tribal concentration have to be taken up first for the purpose of project formulation there can not be any difference of opinion about the areas chosen for the first few projects. Therefore, preparation of one project in each macro-region can be taken up straitaway with certainty.

A tentative demarcation of the project areas and macro areas has been made by the state government in the sub-plans. The same blocks which were existing earlier are the lowest unit of administration. A second look at the boundaries of these blocks, however, may be necessary in some lowest unit of administration. A second look at the boundaries of these blocks, however may be necessary in some cases when detailed project formulation is taken up. While delineating the project area, it will be necessary to take into account the physical features, the level of development of different tribal communities and the natural resources of the area. As far as possible, people at widely different levels of development should not be included in the same project. Physical features are extremely important and this opportunity could be used to rationalise the existing anomalies in the administrative boundaries also, if any.

Policy Frame. The state sub-plan will define the general strategy for achieving the basic objectives in tribal areas as a whole. The legal, administrative and institutional frame as also inter-sectoral priorities are expected to be reviewed in the sub-plan keeping the primary focus on the welfare and

development of the people. However, that review will be in the nature of general enunciation and broad acceptance of a policy frame.

The problem of the tribal people in that region must be presented in full relief. The special problems of the project area will have to be identified. It will not be sufficient to state these problems in general terms. Whatever information, documented or oral, is available on each aspect has to be put at one place. Thus, preparation of projects will be a rather detailed exercise and will require some more data base than stipulated for the sub-plan.

Special Sub-Region. Some special groups or areas within the project may require a distinct approach for their development. Four specific points may arise, viz (i) a distinct economic level of a group, (ii) a special problem, (iii) emergence of a new economic activity in the region, and (iv) a distinct resource configuration. The following will be illustrative special groups/areas.

(a) Isolated small groups living at pre-agricultural level of technology;

(b) Zones of influence of a big mining or industrial enterprise.

(c) Hinterland of a big urban centre; and

(d) A sparsely populated forest sub-region.

Some regions may have a mixed character which could be a class by themselves. These are just illustrative. It may be useful to carve out these areas as special sub-regions in the project area for special attention.

Linkages with Other Areas. It will also be necessary here to identify the linkages of the local economy with the surrounding regions so that attention may be given to their implications for socio-economic development in project formulation. For example, the population in a particular region may be depending on a neighbouring region for seasonal labour in agriculture or forestry. Similarly, the undifferentiated tribal society in an area may be depending on some skills like, say, brick laying, of people in an other region. Unless this interdependence is clearly identified, programme formulation may not be realistic and some critical areas may be left uncovered.

3.5. PRELIMINARY STEPS

Suitable steps should be taken with a view to gain the confidence of the tribal communities so that there is a positive response to the new effort. For example, there may be complaints of non-receipt of loans or non-adjustment of accounts even though the tribal may have actually paid back the loan. It will be necessary that these points are carefully noted and

remedial measures are incorporated in the project report. No constructive liability should remain with the tribals and they should be explained the circumstances leading to the situation. This will be the best starting point of the project.

The developmental efforts in tribal areas, in many cases, has been uncoordinated. There is overlapping of organisational and personnel structure in a number of fields. Many a facility provided on a model evolved for the state may remain unutilised; even buildings may have remained vacant for long time. In some areas a building constructed for one purpose may have remained unused because the programme *might have been* changed in character. Hence, a realistic appraisal should be made about their actual use. In case *these* are not being put to full use their alternative use in the new frame should be examined. The state Governments may reach a working arrangement with all authorities and the technical issues regarding the ownership etc could be deferred to a later date and full utilisation of all buildings in the project area must begin immediately.

Similarly, the total number of personnel working under various organisations, government, semi-government and cooperatives, may be assessed in the first instance. It will be necessary that the work

load is examined in the actual field conditions and rationalised so as to ensure full utilisation of available manpower before augmenting the strength of personnel in any region. Attention is invited to the recommendations of the working groups on personnel policy which has recommended that in tribal areas finer specialisation is not necessary in many fields, broad-based structures are required which can attend to the simpler needs covering a wide spectrum.

With reference to the resource potential of the region, it will be necessary to identify the following two aspects :-

- (a) The central problems of the region, and
- (b) The core sector of Development.

These two aspects are complementary in nature and basic to the project formulation.

CENTRAL PROBLEMS OF THE REGION

Exploitation is usually getting intensified and, therefore, in the new approach, prevention of exploitation has been given the highest priority. The project, therefore, must lay bare all the practices which may be leading to exploitation or situation leading to exploitation. The more important aspects needing special attention are:

Land Alienation. There are quite a few laws prohibiting transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals, or sometimes banning all transfers unless permitted by an appropriate authority. It is also seen that there may also be some other practices, such as. (a) benami transactions in the name of servants who may be tribals; (b) transfer or actual possession of land without any paper record, (c) owner himself cultivating the land as a crop-sharer in lieu of loan, or (d) transfer in the name of concubines who may have been enticed for facilitating the transfer and ownership of property.

Some of the other problems with reference to ownership of land, which may be noted are :-

(a) Unrecorded sub-tenancy on the lands of absentee landlords and ex-zamindars;

(b) Cultivation of revenue lands for long without patta; and

(c) Cultivation of forest land without any formal record of rights

Bonded Labour. Even though the practice of bonded labour is abolished by law, still it may be in vogue in some areas in one or another form. The practice as it obtains in an area should be recorded.

The servant-master relationship continues for an indefinite period on the basis of money advanced. So, it may not be possible to assess the total problem

immediately. A survey may, therefore, be initiated so that adequate measures can be taken. The target of new approach was to eradicate it in all forms by the end of fifth plan.

Marketing. There are numerous malpractices in the marketing of agricultural and minor forest produce, which will need to be documented. In many areas advance sale of crops at prices 50 percent or even 25 percent of the market price is prevalent. Support price operations of government may extend to regulated mandies only which are very few.

In some areas, goldsmiths extract the money from tribal by selling imitation goods where the tribals are fond of gold and silver ornaments.

In many cases, tribals are unaware of the new weights and measures, are unfamiliar with weighing and do not have sufficient arithmetical skills to master the new methods of exchange. Tribals should be thought about the new weights and means and relaxation may be given, wherever necessary, for continuing. The use of traditional measures for a period of 5 to 10 years.

Indebtedness. The problem of indebtedness will need special attention. A number of laws have been passed to scale down the debts. However, in the absence of an alternative line of credit for non-

production and social purposes, the hold of moneylender continues. Even for the productive/agricultural purposes also tribals prefer money-lender because the Banking system is very complex and time taking.

Excise Policy. The excise policy for tribal areas is being formulated at the national level. The policy frame for the state will be laid down as a part of the sub-plan. It will be necessary that this policy is reflected in the plan of the project as well. The present system of excise in the area and revenue there from may be noted.

Forest Policy. The main sources of tribal economy is from forest and agriculture. Forestry programmes should be reviewed in the context of its impact on the tribal economy. The various rights of the people in the forests and its produce should be documented and the procedure for making those benefits available may be reviewed to see whether the concessions are in fact available. The practice of collection of minor forest produce should be documented. The working of the Forest Department should fall in line with the general policy of working through the cooperatives. The middleman has to be removed in all sectors of economic activity of the region.

In the forest rich regions, forest-based economy could be visualised for a group of villages.

This could include suitable horticultural programmes, plantations and a complementary small scale or medium industry. The planning of man-made forests has to be done with great caution and after taking the people in confidence. Experience in some areas has been that plantation of exotic varieties have disturbed the local economy. For example, tribal may be deprived of his right to collect minor forest produce.

The problem of forest labourers may also be discussed. In case there are intermediaries and contractors between the Forest Department and the forest labourers, steps will have to be taken to ensure a fair deal and eliminate them finally. Forest department may also take suitable steps to give forest labourer regular employment.

CORE SECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT

The core sector of development for the project will be defined with reference to (a) the resource potential of the area, (b) the technological skills of the local population and (c) the likely benefit which is likely to accrue to the tribal communities.

The Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs) will be area development programme but with special concern for the development of the people.

7. Tribal Development in the Fifth Plan, op.cit, P-20.

Therefore, each programme must be evolved keeping in view its likely benefits to the tribal communities and even amongst them to the weaker groups. No one will be excluded from the benefits of development programme but the project formulation must take note of the likely accrual.

Review of Procedure A tribe can not differentiate between a government and a semi-government organisation. To him, even a plain city man is a representative of the authority. There are many cases in which this situation is exploited by the articulate. In this context, therefore, to expect tribal to distinguish between various organisation for the purpose of contractual liability is not correct. For example, in the lift irrigation programmes there are generally three parties, viz, the Electricity Board, the marketing organisation and the agricultural extension agency. In some cases, electricity line may reach the field of the tribal while the irrigation pumps may not have supplied, to him or he may have been supplied a pump though the electricity line may not have reached his field. Here, he becomes liable for payment of interest and the loan. With the unified administrative structure being evolved for the project area, such cases should not arise.

Principle of Subsidy While formulating the agricultural programmes another principle could be useful, viz, subsidising the improvement subsidy should normally support only change and must not aim at replacing any of the existing commitments of an individual. In meeting expenditure of existing commitments he should be helped with adequate loan finance with interest. If it can be ensured that loan reaches the tribal without any cuts and at a reasonable interest that itself will be a great achievement considering the high rate of interest which he is now being required to pay. No subsidy should be made available for ordinary normal routine agricultural operations unless there is additional risk and an element of improvement.

Programmes for Wide Coverage. Experience so far has been that the programmes start from the top and slowly reach a select group by which time the initial motive force is lost and yet another set of programmes may travel the same path.

The new programmes, therefore, should start from below and the extent of a coverage by each programme should be the main concern of the project. A different strategy will emerge if this universal coverage aspect, particularly amongst the weaker sections, is taken into consideration from the very beginning.

Agricultural Programmes. Most of the tribals are not aware of the benefits of irrigation. They follow the traditional methods of irrigation system, where water to spill gradually from the higher fields to the lower. The schematic pattern in these projects also tends to reflect priorities of the planners rather than that of the people. For example, in more remote areas housing is not a problem yet large sums are sanctioned for housing, though for essential items like purchase of bullocks, money allowed in the scheme may be inadequate. If priorities could be carefully fixed and only essentials provided, the whole assistance programme would be cheaper and attuned to the need of the people. The first effort should be to give the tribal the bare minimum assistance so that largest number of people can be benefitted.

Animal husbandry piggery and poultry programme which has suffered a long neglect also should be planned keeping in view the tradition of the local community.⁸ The problem of shifting cultivators in these areas has to be viewed in its totality.

One of the major problem in agricultural extension work is the communication gap between extension agency and the tribal people. Many a time,

8. N. Pattnaik and S. Bose, An ITDP for Keonjhar District, Orissa, NICD, Hyderabad, 1976, p-161.

the extension officers do not know local dialects and have little understanding of the local agricultural practices. Special training institutions under the experts supervision should take initiative to train the cultivators. The experts should get interested in the specific problems of trainees' own agriculture and assist them in preparing agricultural plans in actual field conditions.

Cooperation. The special features of cooperative movement in the project areas may be noted. The quantum of benefit to the members of the tribal community may be identified. It may also be clearly noted whether the level of cooperative credit is uniform in the project. The present structure of all types of cooperative societies should be clearly brought out in a map and their relationship indicated.

Irrigation and Power. Medium and major irrigation works were not included in the Fifth Plan Period. Major irrigation schemes can not be included in the Integrated Tribal Development Projects. However, note should be taken of major irrigation schemes within the project area or outside with their likely benefits or adverse effects on the tribal economy. The traditional approach of giving compensation for rehabilitation of tribals uprooted by major projects is not satisfactory. The project must take care of the

total problem of rehabilitation of the tribals so affected.

Rural electrification in the tribal areas has to be planned carefully as the first result of rural electrification is likely to provide a more congenial living condition to the stronger groups which in a way, will help the process of exploitation. In these areas first priority should be given to electricity for irrigation purposes particularly along the rivers.

Communication. The immediate objective of the road building activity should be to connect these centres with the district roads network so as to make them approachable throughout the year. The weakly market and growth centres should be marked. In case of bridges in the rivers, priority should be given according to the interests of the area as a whole. Small, wooden bridges should be made in order to connect the village roads with the district roads.

Education. First of all the available educational facilities should be reviewed in details and gaps in the educational structure should be identified. It may be that in some areas even primary schools may not be available for long distances. Areas which are most sparsely populated in the region should be identified & ashram schools network may be planned for those areas.

The ashram schools and the primary schools, taken together, should generally take care of the entire children population in 6-11 age group. The single teacher schools should be attached to the central school, where may have two or more teachers.

Special attention will have to be given to girls education. Those areas, where education among girl is far below the general level will have to be given preference.

The high school or upgraded Ashram school will not only serve as the highest educational centres in the study area but also provide the venue for get-together of the teachers, parents and public of its hinterland for cultural, recreational and intellectual activities.

In the tribal areas it will be useful to integrate pre-primary and primary education and plan combined institutions for the age group of 3-9 or 3-11. There should be in each village a lower primary school providing education upto class III. This school should have a nursery (Balwadi) section to take care of the child population in 2-5 age group. Husband wife teams could be recruited for these institutions, which will be a great help in a number of ways. Schools in

9. Tribal Development in Fifth Plan, op.cit P-24.

10. N. Patnaik and S. Bose, op. cit, P-198.

inaccessible and interior tribal areas face the problem of personnel. Generally lady teachers are not readily available, and if they are at all available, they find it difficult to go alone to the interior areas. The husband wife team of teachers can establish rapport with the tribals more readily than the single teachers and may not find or feel the tribal villages inconvenient for their stay and work as the single teachers do. ¹¹

Citizen education should be given to 14-25 age group. It's urgency to make them aware of the local authorities in charge of developmental administration, power of the panchayats, protective legislations and constitutional safeguards meant for them, legal assistance available to them for their right in the court of law, duties of police, pricing policy, approved weights and measures, and availability of co-operative credit, etc. ¹² In tribal areas traditional youth organisations are strong, which can be utilised with advantage for promoting citizen education particularly in the more remote and sparsely populated areas. ¹³

The school timings and vacations also need to be fixed keeping the local conditions in view particularly in the primary schools. And as far as

11. Ibid, PP-196-197.

12. Ibid, P-198.

13. Tribal Development in Fifth Plan, op.cit, P-24.

possible, tribal dialects should be used for imparting instruction in the first two classes in elementary schools.¹⁴ Teachers should be also appointed having the knowledge of local dialects.

Health Services. Health is the expression of harmony with the universe, and in tribal society throughout the world, man is continuous with his environment. Public health is an integral part of the social system and cultural pattern. A person in tribal society is not healthy unless his environment is healthy, and that, which causes disease and illness, may also cause failure of crops, ill-luck in hunting, mishap in family and misfortune to village.¹⁵

In the tribal areas, school health programme should claim special attention. The medical personnel posted to these areas should be involved in the total health programme of the community including that of the children. A new concept of primary health centre should be evolved in these areas with the broad objectives.

Industries and Mines. Many of the tribal areas have rich industrial and mineral resource and big industries are being established the I.T.D. project by its very nature, will not be in a position to counter the influences of the big industries established in these

14. Ibid. P-25.

15. N. Patnaik and S. Bose, op.cit, P-210.

areas. However, It will be necessary to identify the zones of influences of the existing industries as also the areas of likely establishment of other major industries.

Due to these industries and mining in tribal areas, rapid displacement takes place. The project should take care of the displaced persons and proper compensation and rehabilitation facilities should be provided.

(Xi) Voluntary Organisations. The role of voluntary organisations in the developmental efforts in the project area also needs to be clearly brought out which should include all activities whether formally aided by the government or not. Voluntary organisations in many areas play pioneering role in the educational field. However, many areas are extremely backward in women's education which calls for a similar pioneering effort of voluntary organisations.

The above issues are very essential for the development of tribals. Other than this, the project also look after some other important issues for the future development like-Rural water supply, integrated child care programme, employment opportunity, law and order administration, post and telegraph, Telephone, Administrative structure for tribal areas, format for project formulation, etc. Though the objective of the

project is the overall development of tribals, the above issues are very essential.

3.6 Evaluating The ITDP

The ITDPs were introduced in the Fifth Plan to make tribal development more effective. The ITDP team has been regarded as deliberative, advisory and supervisory. The operational unit is the development block, vertically below the ITDP. In other words, the development block authorities function as the executive arm of the ITDP. While the B D O and his band of extension officers may be considered as an executive team. Implementation of development lies even more with the lower departmental functionaries like overseers, agricultural fieldmen animal husbandry stockmen, health technician, cooperative inspectors; the village level worker is supposed to be nodal functionary. In its totality, the development blocks can be seen as an administrative and executive adjunct of the ITDP¹⁶

To assess the impact of new developmental efforts on various sections of the tribals, we try to study these impacts in various spheres like, education, representation in services and educational institutions and tribals' right on forests. Some inherent defects in -----

16. Bhupinder Singh, Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. XXXI, No.3, July-Sept-1985, P-884.

the tribal development administration are (a) paternalistic nature of the administration, (b) Absence of Co-ordination in development efforts, and (c) Lack of monitoring and evaluation.

17

The development administration needs urgent reform, motivation and strengthening. Reform of the superstructure will be meaningful only with improvement of the infrastructure. A close scrutiny is required to make the grassroot functionaries purposeful and emphatic. Interlinkages and interpersonal relations also need to be worked out with a good deals of circumspection.

18

Till the end of the sixth plan, a minimum administrative set-up for all the identified primitive tribal groups in the country could not be grounded in all the states. A suitable mechanism of development for a vast mass of tribal forest villagers and shifting cultivators has yet to be perfected.

19

The working of the Tribal Sub-plan highlighted the absence of vocal dedicated leadership among the tribals, which accounted for the lack of articulation of their felt needs and the failure to press their demands into the decision-making process at the TSP

17. Lal Mani Prasad, op.cit. PP-59-60.

18. Bhupinder singh. op. cit. PP-884-85.

19. Premanand Tripathy, op.cit, P.878.

implementation level. The lower officials have also to be in constant contact with the tribals so that their felt needs could be filtered and channelised into planning and implementaion mechanism.

20

In the past, the tribal areas did not receive their share of financial resources. Even when funds were allocated, they could not be utilised fully and, to avoid their lapse at the end of the year, they had to be diverted to areas where the risk of non-utilisation was comparatively less. The tribal Sub-plan earmarked quantified financial resources to tribal areas and ensured that these financial resources do not lapse in a plan period or are not diverted.

21

The tribal sub-plan gives more importance to the participation of beneficiaries, There has to be closer and more vigorous interaction between the people's institutions and offical bodies.

Tribal areas are generally devoid of normal facilities like health, education, accommodation, communications, recreation etc. In some cases, the officials posted to tribal areas have to maintain double establishments. It is also seen that the staff posted to the tribal division were as punishment transfer, where

20. K.P. Singh (ed) op.cit., P-26.

21. Bhupinder Singh, op. cit., PP-885-86.

7 they will show their unwillingness in working. so, posts in district cadres should, as far as possible, be filled up locally. The Maheshwar Prasad committee (1979) recommended that there should be special screening to ensure that the right type of personnel find placements in tribal areas.

22

The Indian Institute of Public Administration made an evaluation of administrative structure in ITDPs. In their report of Augst 1981, they set out results of comparative study of the administrative structure in the two states of Madhya Pradesh and Gujrat.

7 In Gujrat, they pointed out that, in planning lack of approximate financial indicators has made it impossible for the different development depatments of plan for the area according to the local requirements, making planning a futile exercise. A bigger flaw was found in the absence of any way to judge the felt needs of the tribal population. Although the ITDPs are exepected to bring in integrated development, the executive machinery is only an extension machinery.

In Madhya Pradesh, they found that the project officer only compiles the plans of the various development depatments, although he is expected to play an important role in plan formulation. Important

22. Ibid. P-891.

dysfunctionality observed was that there is no means of assessment of the level of development of tribals of the project area. Only 50-60 percent of the grants were being utilised.²³

The working Group on Tribal Development during the seventh plan which debated the matter at length was of the view that some vital components in the administrative design for advancement of tribals contained in the Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Constitution have remained largely unoperational. The working Group recommended that the elements of the two schedules should be properly blended and operationalised so that an appropriate infrastructure is available for the socio-economic growth of the tribal people in the country in consonance with their genius.²⁴

The tribal sub-plan programmes can become vibrant and popular if the traditional and elective bodies at various echelons of plan formulation and implementation own them.

3.7. CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

In the sub-plan approach, State Governments were given enough freedom of framing the sub-plans for the tribal areas and to identify or demarcate the tribal areas based on the tribal population. Here, the idea of

23. Ibid. PP-891-92

24. Ibid, PP-899-900

planning from the below is welcomed but without consulting the tribals or taking them into confidence, plan cannot be formulated. If not, the problems of tribals should be studied properly and the plan-makers should also know more and more about the tribal problem and their culture.

It is needless to say that the success of tribal welfare programmes depends largely on effective developmental administration. The administration of tribal development programmes should be guided by certain fundamental principles like-(I) the preservation of the basic structure of tribal life and authority, (II) their participation and gradual integration in the general life of the country without the loss of their individuality.

The administrative structure meant for the administration of tribal development programmes should be a simple one. Multiplicity and complexity of the administrative machinery makes them confusing, where the tribal can not derive their benefits. So, the tribals should be trained and skilled for deriving direct benefits from them.

Keeping in view the peculiar ecology of the tribal areas and varied cultural features, suitable officers and workers should be selected, as far as

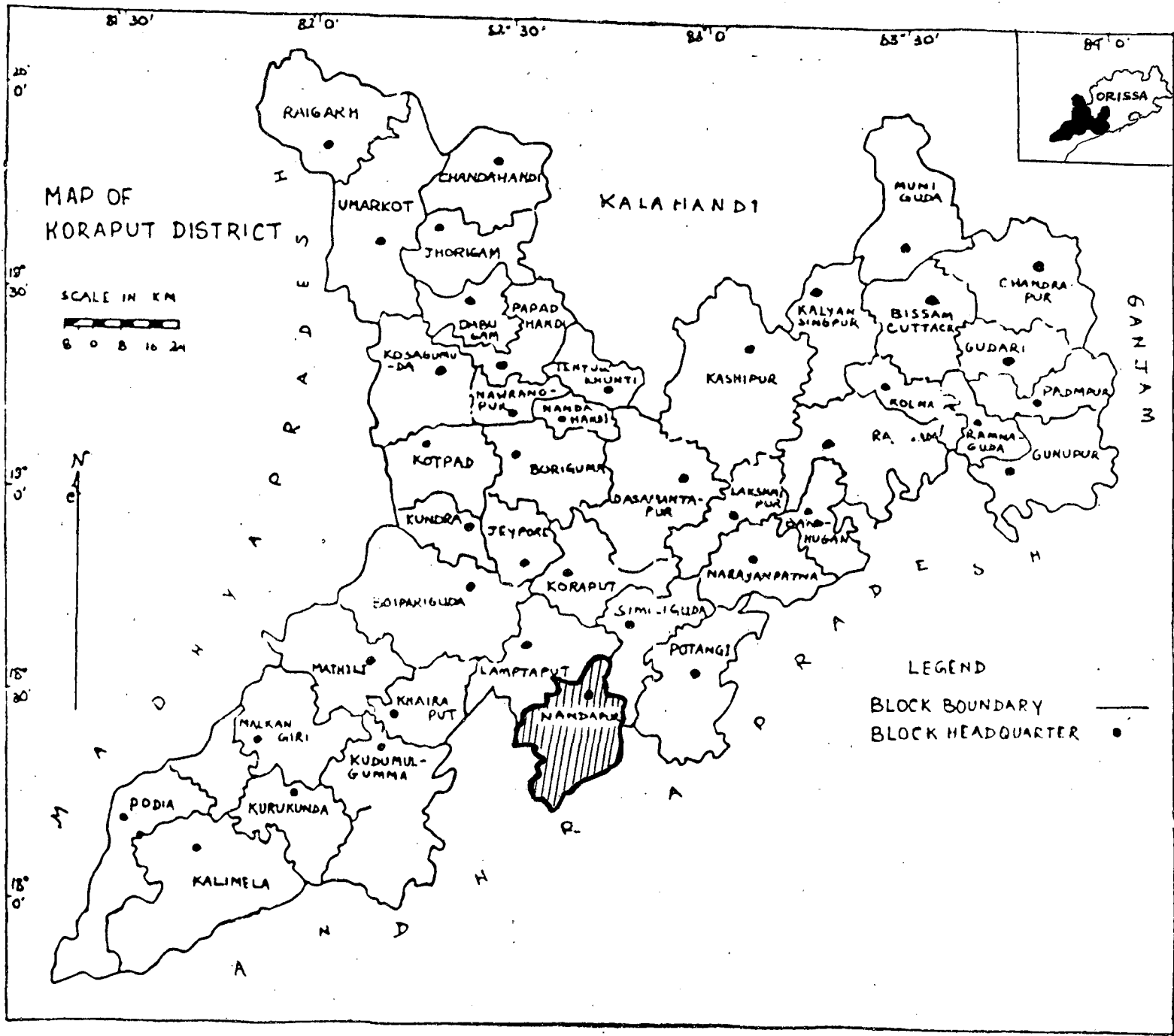
possible, from the tribal community and the same locality, who can study the mind and understand the heart of tribals and solve their problems. If one regards his posting to tribal areas as a punishment posting is a misfit in the administrative machinery specially for tribal development. Posting of willing, experienced and high level official to development stations in tribal areas will solve many administrative and developmental problems. They should also learn the local dialect.

ITDA differs from the traditional TDB only on the plan-implementing level. In the former, state government would identify the project area, so it is a plan, which is formulated in the bottom. During the traditional TDB period, the promotion and demotion of BDO was determined with the work done by him for the development of tribal areas. Here in the ITDA, block would receive the grants from the ITDA and the BDO does not have time to go to the tribal areas and contact them and find out the problems faced by them, because he has to look after the general community development programmes also. He was more responsible in TDB and now he is not accountable to ITDA. So, ITDA should directly contact the tribals or better to give the grants to the NGOs rather the Community Development blocks. ITDA

should not work merely as a donor agency. It should also monitor time to time and study teams should be appointed.

The tribals suffer a great loss in the business transactions with the traders and merchants. The traders and merchants should be forbidden to carry on business in tribal areas, and in their place the Tribal Development Co-operative Society, Multipurpose Co-operative Society and Regional Marketing Co-operative Society, which procure some amount of agricultural product from the tribals at their respective depots. should also try to procure such things at the door step of the tribals at remunerative prices. In addition, these societies should provide to the tribals their daily necessities at a fair price.

Since last 20 years ITDP is working, but it could not guarantee the tribal interest in order to eliminate the exploitation at all levels and alleviate the poverty. Beneficiary participation should be given top priority.



MAP OF
KORAPUT DISTRICT

SCALE IN KM



0 4 8 12 16 20 24



LEGEND

- BLOCK BOUNDARY ———
- BLOCK HEADQUARTER •

CHAPTER - IV

PROFILE OF THE KORAPUT DISTRICT

Location: Till recently, Koraput was the largest district of Orissa and one of the largest districts in India (now divided into four districts- koraput, Nowrangpur, Malkangiri and Rayagada). It is situated in the southern part of Orissa and lies between 20.3° and $17-50'$ north latitudes and $81-27'$ and $84-1'$ east longitudes.

General Boundaries: The district is bounded on the north by the districts of Kalahandi of Orissa and Raipur of Madhya Pradesh, on the west by the district of Bastar of Madhya Pradesh, on the east by the the district of Srikakulam of Andhra Pradesh and Ganjam of Orissa and on the south by the districts East Godavari and Visakha Patnam of Andhra Pradesh.

Area and Population: Koraput is a land locked district and its population in 1991 census was 30,12,546 and an area of 26,961.0 sq. Km. The district accounts for 9.52 percent of the total population of the state. The density of population per sq.km. is 122 in the district.

Historical Background: The story of koraput will be un-finished unless Jeypore and Nandapur is studied properly, Koraput is famous for the above two places.

Nandapur was the capital under the Siva Vansi Kings in medieval period. Nalas were ruling in ancient period and pushkari near Umerkote (Koraput) was the capital. In 17th century, Vira Vikram Dev of solar dynasty shifted to Jeypore. Koraput was chosen by the British in 1870 for its suitable climate.

The Jeypore territory came under the British occupation as a result of the military campaign of captain Richard Mathews in 1775 after which large parts of the estates was placed under the control of Raja of Vizianagaram who helped the British during the campaign. In 1776 Madras Government appointed a circuit committee to enquire into the landrevenue system of the Northen circars. A committee in 1783 recommended for a separate zamindari of Jeypore independent of Vizianagaram subject to the payment of an annual peshkash of Rs. 35,000, but government of Madras did not consider the recommendation. In 1793 Vizianagaram Raja rose in rebellion against British and was defeated and killed in the Battle of Padmanabham in july 1794. Though, Rama Chandra -II of Jeypore remained neutral, so, British appreciated and recognised Jeypore as separate estate.

Permanent Zamindari of Jeypore was made in 1803 with Raja Rama Chandra Deo-II, and the annual peshkash being fixed at Rs 16,000

Ramachandra Deo-II died in 1825, succeeded by his son Vikram Deo-II who held the estate till his death, i.e., 1860. Then British assumed direct administration of the Jeypore territory in 1863 and annexed to its estates of Gunupur, Rayagada, Almonda, Narayanapatna, K. Singpur, Bissamcuttack and other local estates, which had been placed under attachment since 1859. These territories were placed under the jurisdiction of the Assistant Agent stationed at Parvatipuram. The special Assistant Agent was first stationed at Jeypore, but due to virulence of malaria of the place it moved to Koraput in 1870.

The Scheduled District Act 1874, declared Jeypore, Madgol, among other areas as scheduled District. The Government of India Act, 1935, repealed the Scheduled District Act 1874 and to safeguard the tribal interest, made a distinction between "Excluded Areas" and "partially excluded Areas".

In 1936, Koraput district came into being and certain changes took place. The district was in charge of collector, Magistrate, also known as the Agent to the

Governor. Koraput and Rayagada, two sub-divisions were created, each under a Deputy collector, designated as special Assistant Agent. Koraput was comprised of 5 taluks and Rayagada 3, each taluk under a Sub-deputy Collector, who were magistrates and with the exception of the taluk officer at Koraput, each of them were in charge of a sub-treasury and sub-jail. The District Treasury at Koraput was in charge of Deputy collector.

Population Composition: Koraput is the land of tribals, surrounded with a variety of tribals, who make the major portion. As per the 1991 census, Scheduled Tribes constitute 54.31% and Scheduled Castes 15.01% of the total population of the district. About 25% are the Scheduled caste converted Christians and other backward castes. And all the rests are upper caste people, who have migrated from South India and coastal parts of Orissa for the purpose of employment and business. Now they got settled there and major part of economy is in their hands.

Occupation of the People: In Koraput, most of the people are agriculturists. They also practice the shifting and jhumming cultivation. Due to the development of projects, factories and industries many people are displaced and become landless, who work as

labourers in these industries and factories. 1991 census shows that, there are 603,000 cultivators, 11,90,000 main workers, 392,000 Agricultural labourers, and 260,000 marginal workers in this district.

During the year 1992-93, the net area sown was 344,000 hectares, area sown more than once was 23,000 hectares and total cropped areas was 367,000 hectares. All the surplus lands in the project areas are occupied by the outside contractors and politicians for the purpose of plantation and so on.

Climate and Rainfall: The climate of the district is characterised by an oppressive hot summer, high humidity and well distributed rainfall during monsoon months, winters are characterised by fall of temperature of 40 F. Hot season starts from the beginning of march when temperature begins to rise rapidly. May is the hottest month in the year.

Koraput receives rain during south west monsoon period. Maximum rainfall is in July. The average rain fall in Koraput is 1441 m.m. and actual rainfall in 1993 is recorded to 1416 m.m.

Major Produces (crops): Generally, it is accepted that Koraput is the first region to produce rice in the state. Other than rice other produces are-

maize, ragi, jowar, small millets, mung, biri, kulthi, arhar, groundnut, rape-seed and mustard, til, castor, jute, cotton mesta, sun hemp, potato, sugar cane and tobacco.

Forest: Most of the people are settled down in outskirts of forests . Earlier they were practicing jhum and shifting cultivation. They depend on forest for wood, timber. roots, fruits, and leaves. However, now-a-days, they are deprived of this due to the control by forest departments.

Area covered by forests is 8,867 sq,kms, and percentage of forest area to total geographical area of district is 32.9%. The important wood available in Koraput forest is shal, teak, shishua, sandal and many others. Bamboo is available abundantly. There are two paper mills in this district-J.K. paper mill in Rayagada and Sewa paper mill in Jeypore. Both the paper mill get bamboo and sobei grass from the forests of Koraput.

Natural Resources (mines): Koraput has adequate reserves of minerals, and therefore, there are prospects for development of basic metal industries and metal based industries. But the reserves of mineral in some places is very less, so, no initiative has been taken for establishing industries. The important minerals available in the district are china clay near Koraput

head quarter, pacer gold in Govind pally, Kyang and Kollar regions of Malkan giri, iron in Hirapur Hill, Gunnayga Pada, and Siraguda, Limonite in Punji patna and Ambadivi, Limestone in Gupteswar, Kotpad, Malkan giri and Umpavalli, Manganese in Kuttinga, Khal kona and Dumuriput and mica in Boipari guda.

A list of working mines and number of workers employed are given below. Table 4.1

Mine	No of working Mines	Area Cov. in Hectors	Workers Employed	Output in M/T	Value in Rs. Lac.
Manganese	3	626	69	951	3
Graphite	1	12	20	2	-
Quartz	3	53.617	13	2016,000	2.01
Mica	1	27,560	17	1.415	0.25
Limestone	1	1,300,790	14	1300,000	2.6
China Clay	1(1987)	27	-	50	-
Tin ore	-	-	24	23	15
Bauxite	1	4,692.050	364	2267.320	3104.4
All minerals	11	6,715	529	18,53,917	2,852

source: Dist Statistical Handbook, Koraput, 1993

Factories: National Aluminium Company Limited (NALCO) Damonjodi is the largest Bauxite Factory in

Asia. The other factories in Koraput are-MIG factory (Hindustan Aeronautics Limited) in sunabeda, pherocrome in Therubali, Suar and paper mill in Rayagada, Sewa paper mill in Jeypore and ply wood mill in Nowrangpur.

During the year of 1988, there were report of 73 registered factories, giving employment to 6,626 people and value added by manufacture is-Rs 4396 lakhs. During 1989-90, there were 2,396 Small Scale Industry units in the district.

Power: There are three hydro-electric projects in Koraput. Indravati project's dam is in Koraput but power House is in Kalahandi district. Electricity of Machkund is being shared by Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. Andhra Pradesh takes 71 percent of the Machkund project. The installed capacity of the above projects' are as follows:-

s.l.no	Project	Installed Capacity (in m.w.)	Firm Power (in m.w)
1.	Balimela	360.00	135
2.	Mach kund (Orissa Share)	34.00	24
3.	Upper Kolab	240.00	95
4.	Indravati	600.00	-

Total consumption of electricity in the district is 4,96.779 kw.h. number of villages

electrified is 2,315 which is 40.7 percent to the total village of the district. Per capita consumption of electricity is 168 kw.H. Electricity used for agricultural purposes in lift irrigation points is 2,239 kW.H.

Displacement and Rehabilitation: Due to the emergence of projects and factories, many people were displaced. In a study funded by Union Ministry of Welfare, Mr. Walter Fernandes and Mr. Anthony S Raj of the Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, note that in Koraput, "around 100,000 tribal houses been deprived of their land, including 1, 60,000 hectares of forests on which they had till then depended for their livelihood.... More than 6 percent of the district population, a majority of them tribals have been displaced by the projects. This trend seems to continue even today".

Number of families affected by the projects and rehabilitated is given below.

Table 4.2

Sl.no.	Name of the project	No of families displaced	No of families rehabilitated
1.	Balimala Hydro-electric project	2,500 (152 villages)	Nil
2.	Mach kund Hydro-electric project	2,938	600

1.P. Sainath, Times of India, 10th Feb, 1994, New Delhi.

3.	Upper kolab Hydro- electric project	3,067	Nil
4.	Indravati Hydro- electric Project	2,073 (31 villages)	Nil
5.	NALCO(Damonjodi)	2,500	Nil
6.	MIG Factory (Sunabeda)	1,000(approximately)	Nil

Other than this, many people were displaced by Pateru dam, Sano river dam, Satiguda dam and recently Naval Ammunition Depot, Sunabeda.

Except some financial compensation (which is very meagre), no rehabilitaion provision was taken up. Where as, so many East Pakistani refugees were rehabilitated in the district. Starting from 1958 till 1984, 25, 156 East Pakistani families were rehabilitated in Umerkote and Malkan giri regions. 926 families in sunabeda, 220 families in Therubali and 296 families in Padwa. Thousands of Tamil rebels of Sri Lanka were kept for some time in Malkan giri in early nineties. Pathans of Kabul are staying illegally in Nowrangpur regions and exploiting to the local people, they also threaten to the innocent local people.

Education: Koraput is the most backward district of the state. As per the data of 1991 census, the literacy rate of koraput is 25.2 percent. Literacy rate among male is 34.8 percent and female 15.5 percent.

According to a recent survey by the NGOs, literacy rate among female is only 2%.

According to the statistical data of 1992-93, number of educational institutins, teachers and students were as follows.

Name of Inst.	No of Instiution	No of Teachers	No of Students	Teacher-Pupil ratio
Primary School	4,875	9,103	2,87,000	32
Middle School	559	2,286	43,000	19
Seco. School	156	1,510	40,000	26
College	18	518	9,556	18

Source: Statistical Hand book, Koraput, 1993.

It's seen that, some of the schools are only in the paper. In many places, in the absense of teachers, peons are teaching to the students. (admitted by ex-Chief Minister of Orissa. Mr Biju Patnaik)

Medical and Public Health: Even though a number of primary health centres, hospitals and dispensaries are located at various places in the district, the rural people particularly the tribals seldom take advantage of the preventive and curative services available in such centres. They rather resort to supernatural and magical

2. Times of India, 10th Feb., 1994, New Delhi.

cure and are contented with the services of quacks and sorceres.

The common diseases prevalent in the district are malaria, influenza, dysentery, diarrhoea, respiratory diseases: cough and cold, vitamin deficiency and malnutrition.

As per the statistics furnished by the Chief District Medical Officer, Koraput, there were 51 Allopathic Hospital and dispensaries, 103 Public Health Centres and Additional PHCs, 35 Ayurvedic hospital and dispensaries, and 25 Homeopathic hospitals as in 1993.

Drinking water is a great problem in rural areas. People use the water from rivers, streams and chuas. Villages having the facilities of drinking water are numbered to 4,718 and having no source of drinking water are 494 villages.

Transport and communication: Of the 2,565 km. road in the district upto the end of the year 1993, 157 km. are National Highway, 385 km. State Highway, 880 km. Major district Roads and 1,143 other P.W.D. Roads. Most of the roads are seasonal and no culverts and bridges are provided.

The National Highway No-43 (Raipur-

Vizianagaram) passes through Koraput and Jeypore. The State Highway no-4 also passes through Koraput town.

Bailadila-Visakhapatnam railway route passes through koraput. Rayagada is connected with Bhubaneswar through Vizianagaram. Rayagada is also connected with Delhi via Raipur.

CHAPTER-V

IMPLEMENTATION AND FUNCTIONING OF ITDA KORAPUT: Study of NANDAPUR Tribal Development Block

5.1 Introduction: Koraput is the land of tribals, surrounded with a variety of tribes, with different tribal dialects. These tribals are culturally not homogenous. Tribes constitute 54.31 percent of the district population. The culture and language (dialect) of one tribe is different from another. Though Koraput is sharing the border with Madhya Pradesh as well as Andhra Pradesh, people in border area of Madhya Pradesh speak chhatish garhi or halwi and in Andhra border Telugu. People in the border area of Ganjam speak oriya as well as Desia. The common culture of Koraput district is known as Desia culture and common language is Desia language.

The antonym of the word Desia (indigenous) is Bideshia (foreigner). Tribes, scheduled caste and other backward castes call themselves as Desia. Many of them are converted into Christianity for name sake, but believe in natureworshipping and supernaturalism. There is not much difference between the tribals and scheduled caste and backward castes. In the tribal majority villages, the non-tribals also celebrate the festivals which are being celebrated by the tribals. There are

many people, even if they understand , can not speak Oriya. A large part of the tribes can speak and understand or use Desia language, as their first or second language. Population of the tribes in the district with their break up in the year of 1981 is given below with the language (dialect) spoken by them
(Table no 5.1)

Sl.no	Tribes	Population 1981	Language Spoken	2nd Language Spoken/Understand
1.	Kondha	9,89,342	Kondha,kui	Desia
2.	Kotia	19,136	Kondha	Desia
3.	Kondadora	17,435	Kondha	-
4.	Kondha Gauda	15,190	Kondha	Desia
5.	Paraja	2,67,183	Parji,Pengo	Desia
6.	Bhattoda	2,47,709	Parji	Desia
7.	Soura	3,70,061	Soura	Desia
8.	Halba	3,29,207	Saora	
9.	Dharua	8,610	Gondi	Desia
10.	Gondo	6,02,749	Gondi	Desia
11.	Koya	87,261	Jatapu/Koya	
12.	Jatapu	18,457	Koya	Desia
13.	Gadaba	56,913	Gadaba	Desia
14.	Didayi	1,977	Gota	Desia
15.	Parenga	9,621	Gorum	Desia

16.	Bonda	5,896	Remu	Desia
17	Pentia	7,909	Desia	
18.	Holva	8,881	"	-
19.	Omanatya	19,464	"	-
20.	Bhumia	75,221	"	-
21.	Banjari	10,925	"	-
22.	Bhumijia	9,075	"	-
23.	Dal	18,165	"	-
24.	Matia	12,124	"	-
25.	Unspecified	23,775	"	-

Source : Report by Folk Music Unit, All India Radio, Jeypore (Koraput), 1994

5.2 WELFARE PROGRAMMES IN KORAPUT

A number of protective measures have been taken by the Government of Orissa. These consist of legislative measures like the Orissa Scheduled area (Transfer or immovable property by S.T) Regulation -1956, the Orissa Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation 1948, the Orissa Scheduled Areas Debt Relief Regulation -1967 and the Orissa (Scheduled Areas) Money lenders Regulation -1967. These Provisions aim at preventing land alienation, liquidation of indebtedness, abolition of bonded labour, etc. The Government of Orissa has established the Tribal Development Cooperative

Corporation (TDCC) to produce and market the minor forest Produce where the tribal people are reported to have been engaged productively.

Koraput has been divided into two welfare districts -Koraput and Rayagada. There is one District Welfare officer (DWO) in each welfare district and one Additional District Welfare officer (ADWO) in each sub-divisional headquarter . Welfare department looks after the over all development of the SC and ST people of the district.

The major sources of different Developmental Programmes are Panchayati Raj and Rural Development. Different developmental programmes presently functioning in the district are : - Employment and Rural Rehabilitation Programme (ERRP), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Rural Landless People's Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP), Jawahar Rojagar Yojna (JRY), Indira Awas Yojna (IAY), Integrated Rural Development Project (IRDP), Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) etc.

The unit of ITDP is Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA). ITDP is the developmental scheme exclusively for the tribals. There are six ITDAs in Koraput district, one in each sub-division. ITDP was introduced in the district in the year of 1979. Other

than the ITDP, there is one more Central Government Project working for the development of the ' Bonda Tribe' , the most backward tribal of the country.

The ITDA Koraput covers nine blocks namely -Koraput, Semiliguda , Pattangi, Nanda Pur, Lamta Put, Dasmanth Pur, Laxmi Pur, Narayan Patna and Bandhu gan . The jurisdiction of ITDA Koraput is equal to the sub-division of Koraput , having three tehsils - Koraput , Mach Kund and Nanda Pur, and two urban local bodies - Koraput and Sunabeda.

5.3OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY : My study can be divided into two parts. In the first step. the study is to (I) study the local needs of the Koraput tribals, (II) How the ITDA implemented and ,its response to the local problem , (III) Grants received , (IV) Personnel policies and (V) attitudes of the personnels towards the tribal people.

In the second step of my study , I directly contacted the tribals to study their awareness towards the developmental programmes and their participation in the plan formulation.

5.4FINDINGS: There is not much differnce between the problem of Koraput tribals and other tribals of the country. The main problems of tribals are :- poverty , illiteracy , disease, exploitation, land alienation etc. Even after the introduction of ITDA in Koraput in

the year of 1979, no significant change has taken place. Out of the total grants received , 25 percent are spent for infrastructure development and 75 percent for Income Generating Schemes (IGS). ITDA gets resource from various components :- State Plan, Central Scheme and Special Central Assistance. Sanction of grants-in-aid from the year of 1979-80 to 1994-95 are given below. (Table no 5.2)

Report showing the position of Submission of Utilisation Certificate of ITDA, Koraput, from the year 1979-80 to 1994-95

Year	Sanction of Grants in aid	Amount Utilised by the end of the year under report	Amount Utilisation certificate submitted by end of the month
1979-80	13,05,120	13,05,120	13,05,120
1980-81	13,28,000	13,28,000	13,28,000
1981-82	22,18,000	20,27,820.	18,91,1313.36
1982-83	36,16,700	34,06,132.96	30,81,864.39
1983-84	43,34,365	43,12,278.56	35,52,440.32
1984-85	53,30,760	52,85,020.54	36,53,949.51
1985-86	69,30,340	69,28,040.21	4,68,678.90
1986-87	1,10,19,970	1,05,94,760.90	29,95,476.15
1987-88	96,95,199	89,85,363.17	18,96,852.00

1988-89	1,39,40,313	1,38,31,758.61	86,50,2970.00
1989-90	1,24,04,751	1,20,28,609.85	41,84,628.00
1990-91	1,00,94,861	1,00,00,804.15	85,12,475.20
1991-92	1,31,16,009	98,23,634.82	33,03,568.19
1992-93	1,59,70,865	1,39,24,095.30	98,97,885.75
1993-94	2,13,68,050	1,94,10,776.00	1,20,21,995.00
1994-95	77,44,680	95,23,958	- - - - -

14,04,17,893 13,28,01,173.00 6.68,44,643.77

source: proforma, part-I-A, ITDA, Koraput 1995.

While implementing its plan , for the benefit of the Tribals , ITDA , divides the grants into as many as 17 differnt heads. Given below is the sector-wise abstract of the action plan of the Koraput ITDA, for year of 1994 -95. (Table no:5.3)

Sector-wise Abstract of the action plan of ITDA, Koraput for the year of 1994-95

1.	Agriculture	-	5,43,000/-
2.	Horticulture-	-	8,43,000/-
3.	Land Reforms	-	Nil
4.	Minor Irrigation	-	1,41,14,000/-
5.	Forest	-	Nil
6.	Fisheries	-	56,000/-
7.	Soil Conservation	-	22,61,800/-

8.	Village and Small		
	Industry	-	Nil
8.(a)	Co-operative	-	2,49,000/-
9.	Drinking Water	-	14,35,000/-
10.	Communication	-	1,08,64,000/-
11.	Training for Tribal Women	-	3,78,850/-
12.	Training to Tribals	-	2,91,200/-
13.	Critical support of vol. org	-	1,41,500/-
14.	Educational Development		
	(Building)	-	66,23,500/-
15.	Educational Development		
	(Electrification)	-	3,00,000/-
16.	Elec. of Tribal bastis	-	8,50,000/-
17.	Family oriented eradication	-	36,00,000/-

Total -	4,25,29,600/-		
	Income Generating Scheme	-2,24,57,100/-	
	Infrastructure	-2,00,72,500/-	

Total -4,25,29,600/-

Source :-ITDA Koraput (Orissa).1995 .

The ITDA staff are not recruited directly. They have come from the other offices of the district on the basis of transfer or deputation . The general assumption is that , staff usually come on the basis of punishment

transfer to the tribal departments, where they will show their unwillingness in working. But in Koraput ITDA , most of the staff have come willingly or voluntarily . Here also, one can not rule out the possibility of corruption or money-making intention of the staff coming willingly. It is also true that it becomes competition to get posted in these departments.

As a part of my study I interviewed the ITDA staff, the result reveals that the staff are not very much aware of all the problems of the tribals, because they directly do not contact the tribal people. ITDA allocates the grants to blocks and block with the help of extension staff and Village Level Workers (VLWs) spend the money for the development of tribals in major heads like, agriculture, health, education, roads etc. They neglect the issues like socio-cultural problems which are also related and important. For example, there is no provision of loans other than agricultural and business purposes. So, a poor tribal youth has to borrow the money from the moneylender to pay the bride price and has to work as bonded labour for so many years . In case he can not pay the bride price by any means then for an amount of Rs 500 to 1000, he has to work in bride's house for atleast five years.

The VLWs posted in the Gram Panchayats usually stay

in the block headquarter or nearby towns due to communication and other problems. During their visits, they meet the influential people or the Village heads and instead of selecting the poorest among poor for the grant of loan, grant in the names of the influential people , is the complaints of the tribals.

Koraput ITDA is headed by a senior Orissa Administrative service (OAS) officer as Project Administrator (PA). District Collector is the Chairman. Presently there is no special officer in charge of ITDA, so the DWO Koraput, has given the additional charge to look after the ITDA . There is also no sufficient subordinate staff. The local MLAs, MPs and officers of all the departments, who are working for the development of tribals are the members of the ITDA.

While implementing the schemes, the staff do not consult the gramsobha or sarpanch or traditional tribal chiefs or the voluntary organisations, working in those areas , who are aware of the tribal problems . No doubt, the MLAs and MPs are also members in the implementation process, but they also do not keep contact with the people , except during the election period. It is the complaint of tribals that , the staff are not cooperative at all and do not treat in friendly-manner.

5.5 THE STUDY AREA : NANDAPUR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT BLOCK

There are 9 blocks in ITDA Koraput , so , it was not possible on my part to visit all the blocks due to many reasons. To study the tribal people's behaviour and their awareness towards the development programme, I selected Nandapur Tribal Development Block (TDB) as my study area due to its historical importance and communication facilities . It is the biggest block with an area of 685.60 sq km., among the 9 blocks under Koraput ITDA. Here, tribals constitute 54.03% of the block's population.

Nandapur is situated in the south of the district headquarter. It is in the border of Andhra Pradesh. The study area covers 20 Gram Panchayats(GP), namely - Nandapur Khemunduguda, Belgaon, Hikim put , Khurjee, Bheja, Balda, Badel , Bila put , Padwa, Kulabir, Kular Sing, Panthlung , Raising , Thuba, Attanda, Kosandi, Golur, Hatibari and Chatwa. I tried my level best to cover all the corners of the block. I covered one or in some cases more than one villages in each GP .I covered 18 villages of 11 GPs. Due to shortage of time , financial cruch , virulence of malaria and communication problem, I could not visit all the GPs . In the areas of Andhra Pradesh border , language is also a great problem, because they speak Telugu .

While visiting the villages, I had gone with questionnaire. Subjects included in the questionnaire are:- the person's Home Structure , Socio - Infrastructure facilities , Transportation and Communication , Agriculture, Industry , Power , Administration etc.

5.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Income :- There are 227 villages with 17,690 house holds in Nandapur block . I took a sample of 100 individuals , including male and female. I wanted to take the interview of the people having different income group . But , in few villages I could not find any people having more than Rs 11000/- annual income , which is being fixed as below the poverty line. Out of the 100 samples , I found 25 people in the income group of below 5000/-, 57 people between 5 to 8 thousand , 16 in between 8 to 11 thousand and only 2 people are having more than 11 thousand income annually. There are 9,634 tribal families below poverty line in this block.

OCCUPATION:- Most of the people are agricultural farmers in this region. Though , the production is not sufficient and do not get work in the field whole year, they work as labourer for the rest of time or do some

business. The occupation of maximum people as agriculture are having subsidiary occupation as business or labourer. Out of the hundred sample , I found only 23 people , who fully concentrate in their cultivation, 14 are non-agricultural labourers or business men, 8 are doing agriculture as well as business, 22 are landless agricultural labourers , who work in other's field and 33 people, who for few months work in their agricultural field and rest of period work as labourer in the road and building works, available in that region.

Though, there is no land reform, many people are deprived of land. Due to non-facilities of irrigation , it is also very difficult to cultivate the dry land. So people prefer to work as labourer. Money also attracts them to work as labourer even if they have land, where they would get more profit.

EDUCATION:- Koraput is very backward, with 18.69 percent literacy, Whereas the literacy rate of Nanda pur block is 14.8 percent .Failure of all types of plans and programmes are due to the people's ignorance and illiteracy. The administration also does not give stress to the development of primary education. It is also seen that , in some villages there is school building, but no teacher and student. In some cases teacher is there but

the people do not send their children to school. And some of the schools are only in the paper , do not exist in the villages. Many villages do not have primary schools . So , the students have to go more than one kilometer or so to attend the school . In my study I covered 18 villages , out of which only 11 villages are having primary schools with single teachers. There are four high schools and 139 primary schools with 284 teachers. Recently one private college has been established in Nandapur.

In my study I found that the number of entrants to the primary schools are very less, whereas the drop out rate is very high. Children of the age group of 6-11 do not go to the school, because they have to help their parents in agriculture. And the children are also engaged in cow-herding etc. Even if children are interested in studying , their parents can not offer a pair of dress and books and notes.

Other than poverty, other factors which are responsible for the high rate of drop outs are - general availability, lack of initiative from parents side , language problem etc.

When tribals were asked about their awareness of government schemes in one of questions, about the national literacy mission 63 people out of 100 are aware

of, that to in the name of adult education. No one is aware of the schemes like - free education till 14 years special provisions for education among tribals , loan for higher education to the poor students , pre-matric and post-matric scholarship , free books and uniforms in the tribal areas, which means these are not prevailing in this area.

Public Health and Drinking Water:- There is only one dispensary in the block, with a subsidiary health centre. Numbers of bed available are only 16 . During the year of 1992-93, 1,076 indoor patients were treated, whereas the number of outdoor patients were 39,486 . The rural area people face difficulty to go to the town for any type of treatment. The major diseases prevailing all the times in this region are malaria and dysentery. People do not get medicine in free of cost except some tablets for malaria. There is on mobile dispensaries or special clinic, nor the doctors visit to the villages regularly . Only few health workers are posted to some gram panchayats. For major diseases people have to go to the sub-divisional or district hospitals. When the tribals were asked about their capabilities of paying for major diseases, 50 percent say yes ,but by selling their ornaments or land.

In many villages , tube well and well are

installed, but the tribals donot know their use. They use the water from streams and rivers. Number of villages having the facility of drinking water are 213 and having no facility are 14.

Transport and Communication:- Many villages of Nandapur block are having no road facilities . Few GPs are connected with panchayat roads. However, the areas of the Andhra Pradesh border remained cut-off from the block headquarter, due to the Patal river. Jalapüt dam has blocked the Patal river's water, for which people have to cross by the wooden boat used for fishing . People of that region speak Telugu and are very much intrested to mix with Andhra. They donot identify themselves as Oriyas. The half constructed bridge over Patal river remained unfinished since early eighties.

The Major District Roads(MDR) number -55, from Semiliguda to Chatwa, passess through Nandapur . Its length is of 64 kms only.

There are two telephone exchanges ,4 public call offices and two post and telegraph offices in the block. There are two sub-post offices and 21 Branch post offices , with 32 post boxes. Four of the 20 GPs are connected with telephones.

Agriculture:- In this block, about 55 percent people are engaged in agricultural activities. Many

poepole work as labourer or crop-sharer in other's field, because they do not possess the land of their own

In my study, out of 100 samples, I found 30 people landless, 25 individuals have land of 2 acres or below and 36 are having land of 2 to 5 acres of land, and 9 have more than 5 acres of land. These land are also dry and have to depend on monsoon .

Many of the cultivators own less than 5 acres of land , so their earning from the agricultural source is not sufficient. The land quality is also of not so good. In the dry land , people cultivate at the gap of one or two years. In the forest region people practice jhum cultivation by burning the forest.

Still the people are practising the primitive methods of cultivation . There is no provision of training for the young farmers. The seed they use also of not good quality.

According to the statistical record the net area sown in the block is 25, 685 hectors, whereas total irrigated area is 1,910 hectors. In my study , I found 23 people who are solely involved in agriculture , among whom only two farmers have their personal motor and well for the purpose of irrigation . The farmers are also not acquainted with the use of fertilisers. They use cow dung.

One more problem faced by the farmers is the disposal of the surplus production . There are six co-operative societies in the block but they do not take interest . The farmers usually buy or sell their goods in the weekly market , which is known as 'hat'.

The tribals complain that they do not get loan from the bank or agricultural co-operative societies for productive purpose. It is a long and complex process . They do not get the loan in time, so can not invest for productive purposes . If they would get the loan after long time and at that time actually they do not need money, in that case they spend the money for other purposes like festivals and they can not return in due course of time . To apply for loan they have to get the certificate from the Sarpancha , village level worker and Revenue officer, stating that the concerned person belongs to that village and belongs to tribal community, which is a long and very complex process, so people prefer to the moneylander.

Small scale agricultural based industry can be started in the block, but the administration also does not take initiative nor the tribals are interested. Many people work as labourer in the nearest factory and industry during the off season of cultivation.

No major projects are there in this block . So no case of displacement is found and no special programme of rehabilitaion is launched. However, in the fifties , Jalaput Dam water covered the low land , where some people lost their land and did not get any compensation. This water keeps few GPs totally isolated as there is no communication facility.

Electricity:- According to the stastical data, by the end of 1993, only 65 villages had been electrified, which is 29.9 percent of the total villages in the block. Electricity in the villages are used for the domestic purposes only. Only 4 lift irrigation points have been installed in the block. A scheme namely Kutir Jyoti scheme was confident of providing electricity to 906 families by the end of 1994 . In this scheme electricity is provided to the households in subsidised rate.

In my visit , I covered 18 villages , out of which only 5 villages are electified. In some electrified villages, only pole and wire has reached to the end of villages but the people are unable to deposit the money to get the connection to their houses.

Administration and Tribal Awareness:- The tribals are no way related to the local administration. However , they are very much aware of the different developmental plans. Out of the 100 sample, 74 people are aware of the different plans, particularly IRDP because ITDA does not

function directly . It gives the grants to the block . Block gives very less interest for the development of tribals. Block is busy in its other rural developmental programmes including tribal area development. It does not have time to propagate the ITDP. The tribals are not at all satisfied with the functioning of the ITDP. They are not satisfied with the services rendered by BDO and other block staff, because these staff do not keep contact with the tribals . Only village level worker visits the villages sometimes.

Tribals are ignorant of their problem and do not know the way of solution nor the ITDA takes initiative to bring the tribals for the plan formulation. The plans are being formulated by the officials without consulting the tribal chiefs or leaders. The tribals allege that , the polices are not at all tribal- friendly.

Suggestion:- Nandapur is very big block where some part is totally neglectd. Due to communication problem, it's not possible to look after the entire block . So, for a better administration, Padwa should be made a block . The people residing in the Andhra Pradesh border have to walk , about 15 to 20 km to reach Padwa, from there block headqurater is again 32 kilometers .

Nandapur is a Tehsil but the office is in Pottangi which is 38 km away . The people in the other side of the Patal river solely depend on Andhra Pradesh

for all purposes .But for official work they have to come to the block or disritct , for which there is no communication. The bridge over the Patal river started in early eighties, but work stopped after few months, For them , the nearest town in Andhra Pradesh is Paida bali . Special attention should be given to these people without delaying further and bridge should be constructed over the Patal river.

For the development of the primary education , schools should be established in every villages. Though, language is a major problem , local female candidates should be appointed as teachers in primary schools. No doubt , there are no educated females, but for primary education , under matric candidates should be taken. The village head and Sarpanchas should be given power to inspect the schools . Mid-day meal, free books and uniform, scholarship etc should be introduced in the educational field. School timing should be fixed as per the convenience of the local people. Syllabus should be made easier for the tribal students.

Saving is very less among tribals.If health is a problem then it is very difficult on their part to survive as their income is just hand to mouth . More and more public health centers should be created . Steps should be taken to eradicate the prevailing disease like malaria. Medicine should be distributed freely ,by

mobile dispensaries .

For safe drinking water , well and bore well should be installed in every villages. They should be taught about the use of the well and bore well.

For the development of agriculture , land reform is unavoidable . The act of land transfer of tribal people should be made more and more rigid . Young farmers should be trained and modern equipments should be used for more production. The irrigation facilities should be extended to every farmers. The agricultural co-operative societies should ensure the people to buy the produce in a good price. The process of banking system should be made easier for getting loans . Banks should be made mandatory in granting loans . Loans should be given whenever the people need. As per the availability of the raw materials , agricultural based industries should be established .

The issues of road transport , post and telegraph , electricity etc also should be taken seriously. Special attention should be given to the people displaced or affected by major projects.

Different developmental plans should be intensified, in order to make reach to the people. Suggestion of local people should be taken , while formulating the plan . As far as possible, local candidates should be recruited. Educated among the SCs\STs should be given appointment

in different offices related to the tribal development. All the policies should be in the interest of tribals and tribal-friendly. The functioning of the programmes should be monitored regularly. Unless the consent of the local people are taken, the plans can not be implemented in fair manner. People's participation is must.

The administration should also take the issues of related importance like banning the free sale of local made liquer and mohuli . Because tribals are very much fond of these things and spend their major portion of income in amusements.

CHAPTER-VI

CONCLUSION

Tribes are the original inhabitants of India, but have been steadily pushed to the interior areas and today they mostly live in the forests and even feed on forest produce. They are not able to derive benefits from, or make contribution to the national developmental programmes, proportionate to their number. They are the most oppressed sections of the mankind. Their contribution to the civilisation can not be simply undermined.

Tribes in India have remained cut-off from the mainstream of Indian culture and society. Their isolation may be considered as detrimental to the national economy as well as ecology. So, all possible steps should be taken to bring them to the mainstream.

Indian tribes are known as nomadic herdsmen and agriculture is their main source of occupation. They practice the primitive methods of cultivation. They are defined as aboriginal, indigenous, ancient, primitive, primordial, non-specialised, under-developed and even sub-human and so on.

Tribes are culturally heterogeneous, speak different dialects, economically backward, due to lack of opportunity and many other reasons.

The major source of tribal economy is forest

produce and agriculture. They are being neglected in terms of education and deprived of any training for basic skills for earning their daily bread. Before government took initiative to bring the tribals to the mainstream, forest was their parents and more than that. But the Forest Policy of 1894 and 1952 deprived them from using the forest freely. They are facing the problem of land alienation and the government act on land transfer is not able to check the illegal transfer of land.

Development is increasingly concerned with raising the standard of living of the people, and to secure justice, freedom and equitable distribution of wealth and income. But the concept of special development programme is wider than the concept of development programmes, and the former arises, when it is felt that a certain sections of people are not at the same level of development. Development programme refers to the overall development of the general mass.

The inclusion of ideals of the welfare theory in our constitution, made more stronger to the idea of special development programme. Human Rights Commission is also there to protect the rights of the individuals from any discriminatory policies, but no Human Rights Commission comes to rescue the tribals, when they loose their land and home for the sake of national interests

in the name of development.

In order to check the exploitation of tribals by non-tribals and to make them in par with the plainsmen, Constitutional safeguards and special provisions are provided.

British was not able to acquire tribal areas in the initial period so, took the help of Christian Missionaries to enter into these areas. Their areas were declared as excluded or prohibited areas and they were kept isolated. Nehru also supported the policy of isolation, but nationalists and social workers were in support of their assimilation or integration with the general mass.

Considering the socio-economic conditions of tribals, geographical location of tribal areas, and keeping in mind socio-political issues of the state, four different approaches-Religious, Voluntary Agency, Political and Anthropological approaches were evolved to develop the tribals.

Immediately after the independence, the planned development (1951-56) of the tribal areas started with greater emphasis on economic and educational development, improvement of roads and public health facilities. Community Development (C.D.) Programme introduced in 1952 with the objectives to raise the general standard of living of the weaker sections.

C.D. programme could not give special attention to the tribal area development, so, it was overtaken by the Special Multipurpose Tribal Development (SMPT) blocks in 1954, jointly sponsored by Ministry of Home Affairs and C.D. Department. Later the SMPT blocks changed into Tribal Development Blocks (TDBs). TDBs were introduced where the tribal concentration is more than 50 percent with the objectives of taking special care for the tribals and priorities were made for economic upliftment, education, health, housing and communication. But due to its small size, could not accommodate schemes like soil conservation, major and medium irrigation, secondary and technical education etc. By the end of third Five Year Plan, 500 such TDBs were introduced. Though the BDOs were given full responsibility of spending 27 lakhs within 5 years. In order to show their target, they were spending all the money on roads and buildings, which became more a construction programme and less an extension programme.

Dhewar Commission, 1961, recommended for certain changes in the style of functioning in cooperative societies and urged the Reserve Bank to set-up separate department to deal the problem of tribal economy. Government of India did not consider the report and appointed Shilu Ao Committee to go into the functioning of TDB and tribal problem, which submitted

its report in 1969.

In its report, Shilu Ao Committee supported the Dhewar Commission report and added few more things like-treating the programmes as central schemes, land reform and forest policy, constitution of a committee comprising the local leaders and the officers of all the departments, who are concerned of tribal development and the formulation of plan at the district level, adopting the felt needs of the specific areas, which gave birth to the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) on the eve of 5th Five Year Plan.

The entire issue of tribal development was critically reviewed on the eve of the fifth plan and the sub-plan approach was evolved. The sub-plan is not a scheme, it represents a new approach. The basic approach was to identify areas of tribal concentration including scheduled Areas, contiguous T.D. blocks areas are to be prepared under a state plan. However, the States and Union Territories having pre-dominant tribal population were not prepared under a separate sub-plan, because the entire state plan in these cases was basically for the tribal welfare.

The immediate objectives of TSP are:-to eliminate exploitation in all forms, to speed up the processes of social and economic development, to build the inner strength of the people, and to improve their

organisational capabilities. Among the long term objectives are:- narrowing the gap between the levels of development of tribal and other areas, and improving their quality of life.

In relation to the developmental programmes, the TSP represents the totality of public sector efforts in that areas. The resource comprises of 4 different sources- (a) State Plan outlays, (b) Sectoral outlays in the Central Ministries, (c) Special Central Assistance and (d) Institutional Finance. The programmes undertaken under the sub-plan include agriculture and allied sectors, irrigation, marketing, cooperation, education, health and other related programmes. The unit for the planning and implementation in the tribal sub-plan has been taken as an ITDA.

In order to ensure effective implementation of the TSP till the recent time, 194 ITDPs, 250 MADA Pockets, 74 Micro Projects for primitive tribal groups and 74 Clusters have been identified. Various committees and Study Groups were appointed in order to see the effective implementation of the ITDPs. These were -The Maheswar Prasad Committee of 1978 on Administrative arrangements and personnel policies, National committee on Development of Backward Areas to study the Administrative and financial structure for Backward Areas Development (1980), Working Group appointed by

Ministry of Home Affairs in 1978, recommended for a 3 tier monitoring at block, ITDP and State levels.

The working Group on Tribal Development during the Seventh Plan, recommended for the proper operationalisation of the fifth and sixth Schedules of the Constituion.

Development can not be achieved if majority of the population does not participate in the process. The problems in the ways of development, varies from place to place, time to time and person to person and mostly consist of purposive efforts by a group of people led by public figures and planners to organise themselves in suitable ways.

(The basic objective of the developmental efforts has been to increase the per capita income and strengthen the material aspects of tribal culture through better utilisation of the environmental resources. The programmes are normally designed to suit the needs of the people.)

(All the tribals are not always same due to economic disparity and cultural divergence as generally assumed by the planners. Regional inequality and the dominant laws of uneven development taking place in political and economic spheres. The advanced sections among the tribal communities take the movement for their own interests by forging alliance with the ruling

parties. Tribals are generally backward than the non-tribals, so the development of a group of tribals would create disparity and tension in the region.)

(Adopting area development approach in the fifth plan and family-oriented and poverty eradication programmes in the sixth plan, the strategy incorporated in the preparation of the TSP for the seventh plan is area-based planning with focus on the allround development of tribal community. It is a meaningful mix of beneficiary oriented, infra-structure and human resource development programme. The tribals and their representatives are going to be increasingly involved in implementation of programmes. the evolution of planned effort in the last 40 years is a story of rising expectations and comparatively lower investments with the result that there is a continuing gap between promises and performance.)

(Man is a product of environment and skills and talents cannot be solely based on heredity. Training and orientation certainly can upgrade the desired merit or efficiency in any social or production system. As far as possible, local candidates should be recruited in the tribal areas. The planners and administrators are not aware of the traditions, economic system, history and ethnic compositions of the region.)

In my field study, I found that, in Nandapur Block, all the tribals are either agriculturists or labour as a subsidiary occupation with agriculture. Out of 17,690 households in the block, 9,634 tribal families are below the poverty line. IRDP gives loan for business purpose, but tribes allege that the officials manipulate the things while buying the material, because tribes do not get loan in cash.

Many tribes do not possess land. It is also found that cultivable lands, which are in the name of tribals, are taken on lease for 7 to 8 years by the contractors for different types of plantation.

In education, Koraput is very backward. Official record shows that, ~~there is~~ ~~an~~ there is one school for one village or in some cases for 2 to 3 villages. But in practice, schools do not exist in villages. Due to communication problem and lack of inspections, teachers do not go to school and stay in nearby towns. People allege that, these teachers are from the urban areas and the people have to visit frequently to the urban centres for many purposes, where the teachers threaten the rural people if they are going to complain against them (teachers) to the higher authority.

There is provision of one Ashram school in each panchayat and one Upgraded Ashram school in each block. In Ashram schools, one resident gets Rs. 150/-

per month for fooding, clothing and medical purposes, which is not sufficient, so many a times, the teachers have no other way but to tell the students to vacate the hostel. In Nandapur, I found many people/age group of 10 to 25 are dropouts of Ashram schools.

In primary education, children face the problem of language. As I said earlier the rural area people can not speak oriya even if they understand so, language is a great problem for the small school going children. Hence for the development of primary education attention should be given to appoint the local female condidates as teachers.

All the rural villages are very much disease prone. Tribals usually stay in same room or adjacent room with the cattle and other domestic animals. Malaria is a common disease in Nandapur. Though many people are not in touch with the health workers or any public health centres, they go to the village kaviraj or believe in supernaturalism. Due to incapability of paying capacity, many tribal people neglect the old age people who suffer from major diseases. To take the patients to sub-divisional or district hospital, for the treatment of major diseases, a tribe has to sell his land or ornaments.

Even if there is well or tube well, tribals would not use it for the purpose of drinking. They used

to say that, cooked in stream water is very tasty. So, these people should be taught about the use of safe drinking water.

Tribes, still practice the primitive method of agriculture. There is no irrigation facility. They are not aware of high yielding variety seeds and fertilizer. They only use cowdung. Tribals in Nandapur allege that, the Cooperative Societies and Banks directly refuse to give loan saying that they can not return in due course of time.

{Road transportaion, electricity and many allied subjects are totally neglected in these areas. All the developmental works should, taken up consulting with the traditional village panchayats or youth organisations.}

In the days of planning, tribal economy plays an important role in the reconstruction of the contry. In the tribal economy, different topics need deep consideration and deliberations like-

(1) Land reform and distribution of land to landless tribals.

(2) Mobilisation of tribal labour in cooperative organisations in order to prevent the tribal labour from being exploited and wasted.

(3) Establishment of cooperative societies for procuring, storing and marketing of the minor forest produce.

(4) Organisation of credit co-operative societies under SBI to eliminate the present moneylenders.

(5) Taking steps for the active participation of tribes in all economic programmes of the country.

(6) Giving free legal aid.

(7) Checking benami transaction of the tribal land by non-tribals.

(8) And exemption of civic taxes in urban, sales and allied taxes for petty tribal traders and tax on tobacco in tribal areas.

In Koraput the district administration organises various functions by spending lots of money in the name of tribals, without a single participation of tribals. The best example is the recently concluded Dangar-95 (Forest-95), which was celebrated in March end in the name of tribals where science and technology, engineering subjects were discussed as if tribals were very much well informed and educated. What was the necessity of conducting these types (Dangar-95) of temporary adjustment festival, when the tribals of

Koraput were crying for their own as well as the district's self-identity, dignity and prestige. By giving the plea in the name of economic development, the Orissa Administration and the so-called champion of the poorest among the poor, a few non-tribal people are deliberately acting as stumbling blocks for the development of Koraput.

Having being the second largest district in India till recently, Koraput enjoys the distinction of the preservatory of tribal culture and native innocence. If Kalahandi, the neighbouring district, had hit the headlines of only half- a decade ago for selling the babies, perhaps the tribal district of Koraput has gone a step ahead by mortgaging young girls out of necessity and survival.

In what seems to be the gross negligence on the parts of the successive government so far, the native population of Koraput district have unfortunately sunk down to the lowest pits interms of socio-economic exploitation and political emotional blackmailing. Incidentally, this is despite the fact that some of the major industrial establishments like the National Aluminium Company (NALCO) and its allied concern, which were exepcted to have improved theirs a lot, the native tribal population proved to be just reversal. Thus, thanks to the manipulations of the migrant plainsmen and

their in connivance local politicians and some of the officaldoms.

The irony of the fact is that, distant immigrants thus as far from Kabul who came as the refugees in this regions have established themselves as the power brokers from behind the scenes. And the starkling revelations of the local tribal populace that, this so called foreign moneylenders have successfully, forced the unwilling natives into a sort of legalised prostitution in the name of wedluck. Interestingly, this has the obvious approval of the local politicians and the choosenly closed eyes of the officaldoms.

(Thus, in the long run, an integrated tribal development approach, which should be based on an alround development of tribal areas and groups with suitable institutions in consonance with specific requirement of particular tribal politico-cultural setting with a committed participation of catalysts like a dedicated voluntary body may well being the model and strategy for the success of tribal development programmes.)

(So, at last, I can invoke the intellectuals, academicians, students, administrators and politicians to realise the gravity of the situation of the tribals. And tribal district like Koraput should be built in such a way which can see the light of progress, development, in due course of time.)

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