ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (NGOs) IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN ORISSA

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of requirement for
the award of the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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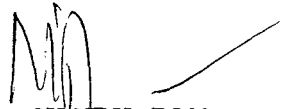## NEW DELHI - 110067

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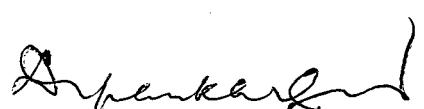CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

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CERTIFICATE

This dissertation entitled **ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN ORISSA**, submitted by **Mr. Santosh Kumar Das**, in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of **Master of Philosophy** degree of this University, has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University and this is an original work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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TRIBALS IN ORISSA

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Santosh Kumar Das.
SANTOSH KUMAR DAS

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Development is usually referred to as an aspect of change that is desirable, largely predicted or planned and administered or at least is influenced by governmental action. That means, the concept of development consists of (a) an aspect of change, (b) an assumption and (c) involvement of the government for the achievement of the planned and predicted goal. The term development is also used for the process of encouraging the community binding together its economic, social, political and administrative aspects for an all round balanced upward change.[1]

In the same sequence, development and modernisation are not interchangeable terms as development results from integration of functional role in a community. The term development can also not be iterchangeably with growth as well because the latter implies an increase in the gross national product. Its stress is mainly on economic aspect rather than on social, political and cultural aspects. In other words, modernisation implies a systematic process

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1. Basu, Ashok Kumar, <u>Tribal Development Programmes and Administration in India</u>, 1978, pp.27-38.

involving changes in the demographic, communicational, economic and political aspects of a society. It also involves change from the existing ethos, mores, values and norms.[2]

Development is never an end in itself. It is a process wherein it is considered as a relative state of mind rather than a fixed goal. It is a rate of change in a particular direction.[3] The fulfilment of certain goal alone cannot be termed as development. In the ultimate analysis, it results in a sense of well-being among the individuals of the society. Although non-materialistic aspects may enter into the picture for a sense of well being, it is the material aspects that have to be given much consideration. The whole well-being of a community is often measured in terms of the facilities that are available. However, this is not to suggest that the socio-cultural aspects can be completely overlooked. Whatever the agency for achieving development, it needs to be aware of that nature of development in order

2. Alfred, Diamont, "European Models of Bureaucracy and Development", International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol.8, No.3, 1967, p.310.

3. Edward, Weidner W., "Development Administration: A New Focus for Research" in Ferrell Heady and Sybil L. Stokes (eds.)

to achieve the same.[4]

The main aim of development is to increase national as well as per capita income to raise the standard of living of the people and to secure justice, freedom and equality for them in the society. The focus of development is now on (a) equitable distribuion of wealth and income, (b) full utilisation of manpower, (c) utilisation of national resources, and (d) protection of the human environment. Thus, the major aspect of development are economic, political and social change among the people of a community or society.[5]

Public administration has been regarded as important instrument for achieving the goals and tasks of development. There is now much pressure on government to enhance national development by making use of relevant technological instruments, adopting and facilitating necessary institutional changes, balancing the growth of national production and

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4. Barnabas, A.P., "Bureaucracy and Development". - Background papers in IIPA 14th Course on Development Administration, New Delhi, 1977, p.1.

5. Sahay, B.N., Pragmatism in Development: Application of Anthropology, 1969, pp.84-87.

improving the standard of living of the people.[6]

In the underdeveloped or developing countries, development requires social and cultural change as well as economic growth, i.e. qualitative transformation has to occur along with quantitative economic growth. There is in fact a give and take relationship between the two and neither process is likely to continue for long without the other. Hence, it includes growth, modernisation, increase in infrastructural facilities, political awareness and change in attitude and behaviour and so forth. In a developing country like India various kinds of developmental programmes have been initiated especially after independence among the different sections of population. In fact, more attention has been given to the development of traditionally disadvantaged groups like backward or Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.[7]

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6.   Sharma, B.D., "Development of Small Community: A Theoretical Framework", <u>Tribal Development</u>, No.6,1976, pp.9-10.

7.   Colm, Gerhard and Thomas Geiger, "Country Programming as a Guide to Development" in <u>Development of the Emerging Countries: An Agenda for Research</u>, p.47.

Tribal Development:

Tribal development consists of deliberate efforts by the indigenous peoples along with the planner and elite groups to motivate them towards the new culture and social ways of life. But mere taking of new cultural and social ways of life by the tribals is no longer tribal development. Thus, when the tribals feel that the quality of life which they want is in fact achieved, then we call it tribal development.[8]

However, the aims of tribal development in India were best understood in Nehru's vision expressed in his foreword to Varrier Elwin's book on NEFA. These visions were as follows:[9]

i) People should develop along with lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should encourage them to preserve their traditional arts and culture.

ii) Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected.

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8. Nagrajan, S. and B. Kumar, "Obstacle to Tribal Development", Mainstream, Vol.22(1), 1983, pp.18-22.

9. Winick, Charles, Dictionary of Anthropology, London, 1957, p.546.

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iii) We should not over-administer these tribals or sched-
uled areas or overwhelm them with multiplicity of
schemes.

Nehru's vision of tribal development has largely been
incororated in the planning for the development of tribals
living in different parts of the country. It is interesting
to note here, that Nehru's idea pertains to reservation of
tribals' art and culture presuming that whatever form of
socio-economic change or development is adopted for tribals,
that should not erode their traditional art, language,
customs, etc. However, in the changed circumstances Nehru's
vision of tribal development is not clearly spelt out and at
the face of it appears to be contradictory because the
ongoing socio-economic development necessarily influences
society and culture of a people. It is undisputed fact that
the tribal development at present in India is to be
conceived of change in their traditional systems or ways of
life. Though the efforts are made not to introduce such
systems which are totally alien to the tribals. We shall
discuss in the following pages the various aspects of devel-
opment among the tribals in different parts of the country.

Tribals were living in self-sufficient economic

condition in the past. Their wealth was the forest product available at their disposal to sustain them. Amidst the process of their development, they have come into contact with a number of development agencies, administrators, landlords and moneylenders who are mostly outsiders and often exploit them. Even the government administration has not taken concrete steps to prevent the outsiders from their such acts. Amidst all this, economic development of tribals aims at increasing the income and strengthening the material aspects of their cultural and social life through better utilization of the environmental resources. Social development refers to bringing about improvement in their social being and as such the provisions for them of health services, education, housing and change in the overall status of their womenfolk.[10]

As stated earlier, the political development implies evolution towards democratic process and forms of government. The political development of the different tribal groups would, however, depends upon their existing social

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10. Mathur, J.S., <u>Tribal Development Administration</u>, 1976, p.166.

organisations and the tribal panchayats.[11] It is true that

with the adoption of the democratic polity and adult fran-

chise tribals also participate equally in the electoral

process. They are facilitated, through the reserve constit-

uencies, to occupy various political positions including

ministership. Yet, their traditional political institutions

continue to exist with greater amount of power and autonomy

which at the face of it may appear contradictory but in

effect that means better management and empowerment of

tribals in the country.

Tribal Development during Five Year Plans:

Since the early time of independence Government of

India have focused on the tribal development through the

various five year plans not only merely making resource

allocation but implementing various programmes for all round

development of the tribal people. For instance, the First

Five Year Plan was launched on the 1st April 1951 and Commu-

nity Development Programme was introduced on 2nd October

1952. This plan emphasised on scheme of health, communica-

tion and housing. In the case of the tribals, the impor-

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11. Rigges, W. Fred, "Bureaucrats and Political Develop-
     ment: A Paradoxical View" in Joseph la Palombara,
     Bureaucracy and Political Development, 1963, p.139.

tance of the Second Plan was their economic development, development of agriculture and setting up multipurpose tribal blocks.

The Third Plan renamed these blocks as Tribal Development Blocks with the priorities for economic uplift, improvement in their education and health. In the Fourth Plan, importance was given on the rural poor as such. Some of the more backward tribal areas were also given attention. Further, the Fifth Five Year Plan is regarded a landmark in the development planning for the tribal people of the country. It will be remembered for the operational concept of a sub-plan for the tribal regions of a state within the over-all frame of the State Plan.

The objective of the tribal sub-plan has been to develop the scheduled or tribal areas with the focus on Scheduled tribe population. The Sixth Five Year Plan concentrated on the strategy of development and laid emphasis on consolidation of the gains of protective measures like programmes of full employment, education and health services, for the tribal people.

Interestingly, the Seventh Five Year Plan highlighted

the features of the vulnerable tribal areas and groups facing special problems but not receiving adequate attention in the past plans. Besides it paid special attention to the primitive tribal groups including those having nomadic traits like shifting cultivation, and those tribals displaced by development project. It also emphasised on the migrant and industrial tribal labourers. The tribal women, on the other hand, been treated all along a special group for extending developmental benefits. Finally, the current Eighth Five Year Plan aims at population control, employment generation, universalisation of education, etc. among the tribals along with rest of the population in the country.[12]

Thus, looking at prolonged isolation, simple way of living and somewhat different socio-economic and political organisations of tribals special attention has been paid, through all Five Year Plans for a little differential type of development of tribes throughout the country. This has been felt necessary becaue of simplistic nature of tribals and their lack of initiative and competitive spirit in modern sense of term, amidst the process of development in the country. Care has also been taken not to overinject

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12. Hasnain, Nadeem, Tribal India, 1992, pp.323-333.

among them numerous developmental programmes and strategies
so as to preserve their traditional arts and culture as
mentioned above.

The Present Study:

The importance of education as an agent of social
change and development as well as a source of employment has
long been realised in India's national plan for tribal
welfare. For instance, 8% of the total State plan funds
have been invested for development of tribals, specially on
improving education among them at primary, pre-matric and
post-matric levels in 1994-95. However, the wastage and
dropouts in tribal education have been equally important.
Owing to this, the desired benefits have been drawn only by
such section of the tribes which have prepared themselves to
take advantages of the various developmental programmes.
Reports of the various committees on tribal welfare high-
light varying degrees of emphasis on two important parts -
economic development and education. In other words, more
emphasis has been given in all these years on economic and
educational development of tribals in the country. It has
been found in this regard that the tribals are largely in
the poverty-ridden condition. As a result, they are also

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backward in educational sphere. Hence, an all round back-
wardness among them which can be done away only by providing
them education at various levels.[13]

We have stated above that since independence the gov-
ernment agencies have been trying to uplift tribals through
different developmental programmes and projects in different
parts of the country. Apart from this a number of non-
governmental agencies or organisations have also come for-
ward to work towards uplift of the neglected and exploited
tribal communities, by helping them in improving their
social and economic conditions. These organisations are
also making them aware of various policies and programmes
evolved their development. So, the question arises here,
how far these non-governmental organisations have succeeded
in playing their roles in bringing and desired kind of
development among tribal groups.

More specifically, we have examined in this disserta-
tion the roles of non-governmental organisations in socio-
economic development in general and educational development

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13. Thaha, L. Abdul, _Planning for Educational Facilities in
     Tribal Areas: A case study of Baster District in M.P._,
     1975, p.217.

in particular among the tribals in Orissa. Since various aspects of development are interrelated, a holistic development economy consisting of cultural and social development has also been examined here. We have stated above that education is the key agent of all aspects of development. Therefore, the main focus of this study is on the educational development among the tribals of Orissa. We have analysed how far the various five year plans have taken note of and evolved strategies for the socio-economic and educational development among the tribals of Orissa.

The present study is based on the secondary sources of data like five year plans documents, besides a number of studies conducted on this problem. In addition to analysing the plan outlays for and targeted achievement of development in particular among the tribals, a number of documents pertaining to the roles of NGOs have also been examined.

The following chapter provides a general socio-economic profile of the tribals in Orissa. This chapter deals with total population, literacy rate, economic position, cultural practices, etc. of various tribes in the state.

Third chapter has analysed nature and role of NGOs in country in general and Orissa in particular. Besides analy-

sing different types of roles of a number of NGOs in social development, this chapter also deals with why the government machinery at present is realising more on their importance and of the NGOs' roles in development process. It also examines why people have more faith in the roles of NGOs rather than that of governmental machinery. The second part of this chapter discusses major objectives and roles of some NGOs in Orissa.

The roles of number of NGOs in development in general and educational development in particular among the tribals in the state of Orissa have been examined in chapter four. This chapter also analyses challenges and problems - limitations of NGOs in playing their role in tribal development as such.

Finally, in the concluding chapter, besides summarising the discussion made in previous chapters, an assessment has been made about future prospects of the NGOs in tribal development in Orissa as well as in the country as a whole.

CHAPTER - II

TRIBES IN ORISSA

TRIBES IN ORISSA

The state of Orissa is situated in the east-coast of India between $17^{\circ}48'$ and $20^{\circ}34'$ north latitude and $81^{\circ}24'$ and $87^{\circ}29'$ east longitude. The state is bounded in the north by Bihar, in the west by Madhya Pradesh, in the north-east by West Bengal and in the south by Andhra Pradesh respectively.[1] Covering the area of 155,782 sq kms, the state consists of extensive plateau in the interior with a foreground of wide coastal plains.[2] The territory of the state may be divided into four distinct regions with distinctive characteristics of each region. The eastern region comprises the districts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Sundergarh. The main river basin comprises the districts of Bolangir, Sambalpur and Dhenkanal. The eastern hilly area lies to the south and south-west of the main river basin, stretching for about 248 kms. in south-west and north-east. This region comprises the districts of Boudh, Phulbani, Ganjam and Koraput. The coastal area comprises the dis-

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1. Panda, P.C., D. Pathy and B.K. Rath (eds.), The Heritage of Orissa, p.1.

2. Ibid., p.1.

tricts of Balasore, Cuttack, Puri and portion of Ganjam. Basically these districts produce paddy and people here are more educated than other districts.[3]

Historically, Orissa has been divided into regions like the former British administered parts and the former prince-ly states. These broadly correspond to the present divisions of Orissa into coastal and western hilly areas respectively.[4] There has been a marked difference between these regions in relation to socio-economic conditions and administration patterns. The former has remained more de-veloped than the latter one. The people in the western region belong to the adivasi (tribal) community who speak a number of tribal dialects and live in utter poverty. On the other hand, people of the coastal area have higher standard of living due to fertility of soil and high yielding crop-pings.

The coastal region had experienced the British adminis-trative systems, while the western region was under the direct, paternal and personal rule in the past as mentioned

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3.   Ibid., pp.1-2.

4.   British administered parts comprised six districts -
      Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Sambalpur, Ganjam and Koraput.

above. This is the reason, why people in the western part
of Orissa could not reconcile to the long bureaucratic proc-
esses. Coupled with this was the uneven economic develop-
ment which made the people's antipathy more intensive.
Apart from the administrative distinctions in the past, lack
of communication also resulted in creating mutual suspicion
and cleavage between people of both the regions. It is in
this sense, people of the western Orissa feel that they are
misgoverned by those of the coastal people.[5]

Demography:

According to 1991 Census, the population of Orissa was
20,281,969 as compared to 888,302,688 of total population of
the country. An important demographic feature of Orissa is
the large concentration of the tribal people in the state.
According to 1991, Orissa has 1,060,822 million tribal
population which constitute about 5.23 per cent of total
population of the state.[6]

The distribution pattern of tribal population in Orissa

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5. Bailey, F.G., Politics and Social Change: Orissa, 1959,
   pp.170-193.

6. Tribal Development: Annual Report 1994-95, Ministry of
   Welfare, Government of India.

is very uneven. In the hilly area of the western Orissa, there is heavy concentration of the tribal population as stated above, while in the coastal districts they have a very low percentage of population. More precisely, sixty per cent of the tribal population is located in the south-western region of the state.

The most important tribes of Orissa are the Kandha, Gond, Santal, Saora, Kotha, Lodha, Munda and Paroja. Some small tribal groups such as Chenchu, Baiga, Birhor and a few other tribes with population of less than thousand persons are also found in the state. In all, there are 62 tribal communities found in Orissa. If it is analysed in numerical terms, it can be seen that Koraput district has got the maximum number of tribes followed by Mayurbhanj, Phulbani, Sambalpur and Sundargarh districts. "Each tribe has a distinct language and culture of its own, and their socio-economic pattern of living varies from tribe to tribe and region to region. Their economic life centres around hunting, food gathering, and shifting and settled cultivation."[7] Although 25 tribes speak their own languages, they do not

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7.   Panda, P.C. et. al. (eds.), op. cit., p.3.

have scripts for their language.[8] However, Santals have

been trying to popularise their script on the plea of its

being most scientific for the purpose of correct phonetic

pronunciation of their language.

The Classification of Tribes in Orissa

On the basis of the cultural development and economic

activities, tribes of Orissa can be divided into three

categories:- (i) Primitive tribes, (ii) Tribes in transition

and (iii) Assimilated tribes.[9] The socio-economic life of

the primitive tribes is very much influenced by their natu-

ral surroundings. They live on isolated life in the remote

hill areas and speak a language/dialect of their own. These

tribal groups still have preserved their traditional reli-

gious practices, material culture, social organisation, etc.

In brief, with their specific life styles they are not

exposed to the outside influences and are, by and large,

confined to their own shells.

Again, the economic life of the tribes in transition is

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8. Das, Nityananda, "The Tribal Situation in Orissa" in
    K.S. Singh (ed.), Tribal Situation in India, 1963,
    p.185.

9. Panda, P.C. et. al. (eds.), op. cit., p.79.

based partly on their natural surroundings and partly on the economy of the settled agriculture. This category of tribes is in a transitional stage in their socio-economic life and cultural patterns. Besides, speaking their own languages, they understand either Oriya or other languages of the `outsiders'. The tribals like Bhuyan, Oraon, Konda, Dora, Santal, Bagata, Bhunja or Bhumij, Dal, Didayi, Dharne, Bathudi, Oramatya and Kharia, etc.[10] are those whose life pattern is very much in the process of transition. Lastly, the assimilated tribes have lost almost all their tribal elements and have been integrated into the Hindu society. Their rank in the caste hierarchy is basically low to Sudra, and they serve to the rest of the above castes people. These tribes are Kuli, Sahara, Binjhal, Bhujan, Hoiva, and Mataja.[11]

The problems of all the tribal groups in the state are not the same. For instance, after four decades of independence, life pattern of the primitive tribes remains more or less the same. All the facilities provided by the government to the tribes have even not reached to them. The
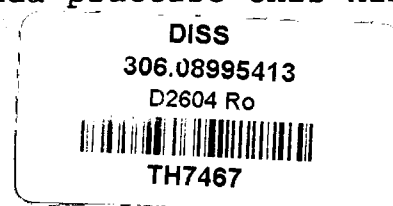
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10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p.79.

tribes in transition like Orans and Santal in Orissa have developed at the faster rate than most of the backward tribes like Saoras, Juangs, Kondhs, etc. Therefore, special attempts have been made through various schemes of tribal and rural development of the state to fasten the socio-economic development of the tribal groups who are most backward.

Tribal Economy

It is generally held that the tribal economy is a self-sufficient subsistance economy. But now-a-days in the complex world tribal people have undergone a lot of socio-economic transformation. Hence, economy or economic life of all the tribal groups in the state of Orissa may be cha-racterised by different types in terms of stages of social and economic growth, among them. These are:

1. Food gathering economy is prevalent among the most primitive tribes like those who are untouched by the forces of modernization and development.

2. Economy of the Cultivation is also practised by the primitive or backward tribes on the hill-tops through slashing, burning trees and vegetation. The backward tribes like Kutia, Kondh, Bonda practise this kind of

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cultivation.[12]

3. The third type of economy of the tribes in the state is the settled agriculture which is generally practised by the Santal, Munda, Oraon and Kisan. Occupationally, around 10 per cent of the tribal population is engaged in agriculture either as cultivators or agricultural labourers. Though clear figure about tribal land holding is not available, it can be assumed that most of the tribal land owners are marginal and small farmers.[13]

4. In the last category of economy or economic activities, are industrial and urban workers. Due to the heavy pressure on land with the growing population some tribals have moved to the industrial workers. Some tribals have also migated to urban areas like Cuttack, Bhubaneswar, Paradeep, etc. where they work as daily labourers on the different construction sites.

12. Patnaik, N., "Shifting Cultivation in Orissa" in K.S. Singh (ed.), Economy of the Tribes and their Transformation, 1982, p.242.

13. Rath, R.N., "Planning for Tribal Development: An Anthropological Approach" in his (ed.), Tribal Development in India, 1982, p.348.

LITERACY AND EDUCATION:

Educationally, Orissa is backward in comparison to other states. In Orissa the literacy rate is higher in the coastal areas of the state than in the districts of western plateau. For instance, there are about 51 per cent of literates are in the districts of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore. This is due to the fact that the modern educational institutions were first established in the coastal districts. Contrary to this, the literacy rate in the western Orissa is much low. It is because of fact that the districts in this region were princely states earlier and now are largely inhabited by the tribal people who have remained less attracted by the importance of modern education.

However, the establishment of residential schools known as Ashram schools with aim of vocational training have helped, to the great extent, henceforth, Scheduled tribes in receiving education. However, provisions of scholarships and other concessions available for the Scheduled tribes at the higher level of educational pursuits have not yet motivated and attracted the backward tribes to achieve education. In regard to literacy, and the pre-matric and post-matric scholarships awarded annually, it has been found that

the Konds which are the most backward tribe in the state have the lowest percentage of literacy though they have availed number of pre-matric and post-matric scholarships. The Santals of Mayurbhanj and other tribes in Sundargarh districts have taken the largest share of the scholarships.[14] Thus, a few advanced tribes in the state have taken advantages of educational facilities meant for the Scheduled tribes as a whole in the state.

Education among the tribes in the past continued to be informal and pragmatic. The formal education with all its con-commitant aspects produces today a significant impact on the tribal's way of life. Once the basic values were made to change in the tribal life through formal education, the core discipline and training got a setback. The institution dormitory which is still prevalent among different tribes in the state may show how well organized and effective this institution has been in providing education and training to the tribal youth.[15]

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14. Palit, S.K., "An Approach to the Fifth Plan for Tribal Welfare", _Adivasi_, Vol.XIV, no.1, 1972-73, p.3.

15. Shashi, S.S. (ed.), _Encyclopedia of Indian Tribes: West Bengal and Orissa_, 1994, p.103.

Socio-Economic Gradation:

The tribes of Orissa are interestingly living in different social, economic and cultural situations. On one hand, there are backward groups like the Kutia, Kandha, Bonda who are engaged in shifting cultivation, as stated above. On the other hand, there are assimilated groups like Kuli, Sahara, Bhujan, etc. who are different from the general rural population in the state. Varieties of industry, mining and hydroelectric projects have influenced various tribal groups to a certain degree. Conversion to Christianity and Hinduisation or Sanskritization have also played effective role in transforming the socio-cultural life of the tribals in the state. Thus, one could come across different stages of social and economic growth and social development of various tribes in Orissa.

It will not be an exaggeration to say that Orissa constitutes larger number of tribal concentration. The Kharjas and Birhors in mountain areas maintain their life, largely by gathering foods from the forests. Contrary to this, the giant steel plant at Rourkela, the mining complex of Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar have transformed the entire life process of the tribes living in these districts

of Orissa.[16]   Thus, the classification of tribes in the

state into three categories largely goes in hand in hand

with three levels or stages of their socio-economic condi-

tions.

Tribal Development in Orissa:

A number of constitutional provisions exist for protec-

tion and promotion of interests of the these weaker sec-

tions.   In conformity with the directive principles of state

policy, social justice has been an award in regard to their

goal development.   As stated in the previous chapter, a

varieties of programmes were launched with the objective of

improving the socio-economic conditions of tribes or

Scheduled castes in the state.   These programmes or measures

have, no doubt, yielded some results but not commensurate

with the efforts made so far or the needs of the target

groups.

Problems of Scheduled tribes and Scheduled castes have

to be tackled by suitable mechanism of planning and imple-

mentation of programmes of special component plan, tribal

sub-plan, and the schemes specifically evolved for their

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16.   Ibid., p.94.

welfare and development. The strategy of special component plan for Scheduled castes and tribal sub-plan needs to be reviewed to make them more effective instruments of planning to ensure real flow of benefits to the target groups both individuals and communities.

Looking at the vitality of the problem and much wider issues involved in the overall development of the tribes in general and tribals in Orissa in particular, and also the limitations of the bureaucratic machinery in full and proper implementation of various schemes for the purpose, the government has relied in recent years on the non-governmental organisations (NGO) for successfully carrying out the development schemes and as such, all round development among the tribals in the state.

Current Status:

A large numbers of Scheduled tribes in the state continue to be socially and educationally backward and are at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. The percentage of Scheduled caste population below the poverty line in rural areas during 1987-88 was 44.7 and that of the Scheduled tribe was 52.6 as compared to the India percentage

of 33.4 for the same period. Thus, while there has been a reduction in the percentage of population below the poverty line in the case of both Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes in recent times, the absolute numbers of people of these sections still are very high.

Most of the Scheduled caste and tribe families do not own land or other productive assets. They constitute bulk of agricultural landless workers, construction workers and workers in other unorganised sectors. They suffer from larger period of unemployment and under-employment, Inequality and exploitation, particularly in rural areas. There is gradual decline of resource base of the tribal people in the form of loss of land, restrictions on collecting forest products and lack of opportunities. The lack of reasonable wage employment and exploitation by money lenders have caused hardship to the tribal people in the State. Consequently, development processes have not only eroded the traditional tribal institutional structure and ethos in many cases, but also have produced negative results. These, in turn, have contributed to the considerable amount of dissatisfacton and unrest amongst the tribal people in many areas in the state.

CHAPTER - III

NATURE AND COMPOSITION OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN ORISSA

NATURE AND COMPOSITION OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL
ORGANISATIONS IN ORISSA

In several countries of Asia if not of the third world
as a whole the crucial task of nation building and
development is generally performed by the government. In
India voluntary organisations (NGOs) have become an integral
part of her people's culture. In Orissa also a great deal
of the task of nation-building and social transformation has
been shared by the voluntary organisations. As a special
type of secular and `non-kinship' oriented association of
free individuals, these organisations have played an
important role both in the matter of nation-building as well
as in the development of the state of Orissa in general and
tribals in particular. As a result, voluntary organisations
have become a part of the total culture of tribal develop-
ment in Orissa. In Orissa there are more than 200 such
organisations. The state has in a way become used to this
sort of set-up and cannot probably live without it.[1]

Since concentration of voluntary organisations (NGOs)

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1. Dasgupta, Sujata, <u>Voluntary Organisations in Rural Development</u>, 1973, p.1.

is more in tribal areas in the state, it is necessary to examine how far the movement for voluntary action initiated by them has succeeded in bringing the tribal development. At the face of it probably they have contributed more than even what the government has done till now in this field. We shall discuss this in detail in the next chapter. Here, we shall analyse the nature and organisation of a number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) working for development of tribals in the state.

Non-Governmental Organisations in Orissa

Historically speaking the real sanction of the leaders for tribal development with the help of non-governmental organisations was derived first from the enthusiasm of the people and later from social mobilisation of the townsmen and the peasantry in the State. In 19th century a large number of reformers and social workers had in course of the management came up and indeed helped to build a basic infrastructure both of educational as well as health services for the entire state in particular and country in general without waiting for the government to do that. Most of the schools, colleges, charitable dispensaries, libraries that came to be established since the end of the 19th century

were thus the result of large scale voluntary efforts. Even the government in the state during the late colonial period concerned only with the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order. Voluntary organisations located either in a far away village or in a remote tribal habitat, had thus stood alone as the only support and aid of a helpless people.[2]

Conceptually, tribal development in Orissa covers a wide spectrum. First of all one sees in it an important aspect of social mobilisation one that had built the social infrastructure for gaining political independence of the country, such social infrastructure was equally consolidated in the state of Orissa. Secondly, the tribal development has at the same time been considered as related with the socio-economic and political development of the numerous tribes in the state. More so, it is the educational development of the tribals which has been emphasised more in the development of the tribals which has been emphasised more in the recent. Therefore, it is in this context we have to see the nature and organisation of a number of NGOs working among the tribals in the state.

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2.   Ibid.

We have mentioned earlier that there are more than 200 non-governmental organisations associated with various socio-cultural development of the indigenous people or tribals in the state. Some of the leading non-governmental organisations are: Sarvodaya Samiti, Agragami, Janakalyana Samiti, Sahara, Ankurarna and Bikash Parishada. These are actively working in Koraput district which is located extreme south of the state. Similarly, there are number of voluntary organisations such as Pallishree, Unnayan, Kalinga and OKMKP in Mayurbhanja district of the state.

These two districts have recently been declared by the government as the tribal districts. This has been done with the view of accelerating the tribal development in particular and social development of the people in general in these districts. Voluntary organisations especially established in these areas rely basically on the state funding system. This funding comes from both the central and state government agencies. More precisely, the fund comes to these organisations from the centre through the state administration. Apart from this there are organisations who get

funding from international agencies directly.[3]

Voluntary Organisations in Orissa:

The evolution and growth of voluntarism in Orissa may be divided mainly into three phases. In the first phase, we see a large number of voluntary organisations in the form of reformist societies coming into existence during the late 19th century with their aim of bringing social and cultural reform in society. Eminents among these voluntary societies include the Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj, the Prathana Samaj, Ramkrishana Mission and the Deccan educational society, while most of them were concerned with specific social and cultural reforms such as abolition of child marriage and promotion of widow remarriage, other worked for educational and cultural development of the nations.

Although such voluntarism with specific aim of bringing social reform had spread throughout the country, its impact had spread in the state of Orissa also. The growth of voluntarism in this period in the state was characterised by certain distinct features for instance, voluntarism in the state was promoted by the British for they helped the mate-

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3. Documents of FAIR, Foundation of Aid for Industrial Recovery, New Delhi, 1994.

rial and social needs of the newly educated classes of Orissa, which the British thought was the best instrument of consolidating their rule in the state. The important characteristic of the voluntary organisations of this phase was not concerned with the 'poverty phenomenon'. At that time due to oppressive role of landlord on agrarian economy, numbers of peasants and artisans were thrown out of their employment, rural handicrafts and small scale industries was also under the adverse influence of the British trade policy.[4]

The second phase of growth of voluntarism and its organisational set up took place in the early 20th century, with the political development among the people in the state. External influence on peasant led to the struggle among them in different forms in different parts of the state. A number of voluntary organisations of the oppressed peasants came up with a conformist attitude towards each other. By this time Mahatma Gandhi emerged on the Indian political scene with the passing of leadership of the Indian National Congress on to him. This time number of Congres

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4. Desai, A.R., _Social Background of Indian Nationalism_, 1969, pp.277-278.

leader cum social worker engaged themselves with in the tribal development. Gandhi also made several visit to Orissa at this time. In Orissa the Congress tried to become mass-based party under his leadership.[5]

The third phase basically began in the late nineteenth sixties witnessing both the qualitaive and quantitative changes in voluntarism. In this phase the voluntary organisation stated working at micro-level with their relief and rehabilitaiton oriented approach. A number of voluntary organisation which were associated till recently with implementation of the developmental programmes got disillusioned from the official strategy of development, while some voluntary organisations resorted to `innovative' or alternative strategies, assumed completely a new role - a role of activizing the people by creating political awareness among the tribals to bargain with the political authority for a better living. The voluntary organisation of the type have opened up greater exposures for the education of large number of illiterate people especially the tribals. Another feature of voluntary organisations in this phase is that they have adopted professionalism or professional spirit, instead of

5.   Desari, A.R. (ed.), <u>Peasant Struggle in India</u>, 1979, pp.4-9.

philanthropic gesture, in their approach. As a result these

obtain appropriate funds. The voluntary sector also sees

from various international development and aid-giving agen-

cies.[6]

Further, these voluntary organisations operate in those

areas in the state, where educational infrastructure is

mostly absent. They do try to create substitute infrastruc-

tural educational services. In other cases they act as an

extension of the government sector, as they have in their

objectives the implementation of governmental programmes in

a democratic society, the welfare activities whether in the

public or private sector are administered through the poli-

cies and programmes adopted in boards and committees con-

sisting either of official or citizens. This element is

essential in social welfare which aims at helping people to

help themselves. By extension the social workers do not

work for the people, but they work with the people.[7]

In the past, the various types of social services in

6. Zurbrigg Shiela, Structure of ill-health and the ✓
   Sourceof Change, 1984, pp.214-31.

7. Chowdhry, D. Paul, Social Welfare Administration, 1979,
   p.23.

Orissa as well as in other states in country, was rendered informally by untrained voluntary workers either individually or in groups, as mentioned above.

The various programmes and activities were relatively small in their area of operations with the complexity of social problems and requirements of social sciences. Today the voluntary organisations are realising the importance of appointment of technically trained staff. A large number of organisations are also expanding in their infrastructural set up. In certain cases the staff personnel of voluntary organisations are now engaged in policy making, planning and supervision rather than working at the field level. They also run a number of programmes except when they work as service volunteers.[8]

Composition of Voluntary Organisations:

Every voluntary organisation is composed of number of like-minded people who work out the major objectives and rules and regulations of the organisation. These are accepted as binding on them in their pursuance of various types of activities within the overall framework of the

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8. Ibid., pp.23-24.

objectives of their organisation. A voluntary organisation always has a Board of management or Governing Body and generally registered under the Registratrion of Societies Act. However, the pattern of the management Boards or Governing Bodies of voluntary organisations may differ from organisation to organisation but their overall membership is based on certain criteria which every member has to fulfill some of the criteria, viz.: (i) age which may or may not be strictly followed depending on the type of voluntary organisation under reference; (ii) interest in the programmes of the organisation; (iii) payment of a nominal annual subscription or membership fee, etc. The payment of membership fee is no doubt, very important as it not only stresses on the responsibility of a member towards the organisation and the welfare of community for which it has been set up but also provides some source of income to the organisation. The membership fee does not necessarily enable a member to be appointed as a member of the Board of Management or the Governing Body though it remains the primary qualification. In fact, to become the head of a voluntary organisation or even a member of the Board of Management or Governing Body, one needs to possess the ability of analysing the objectives of voluntary organisation and runing it in proper fashion.

While selecting members for the Board of Management or Governing Body care is to be taken to see that wholesome representation is given to both laymen and professionals, men and women, rich and poor and so forth.   In principle, the Management Board or the Governing Body of a voluntary organisation is the time representation of cross-sections of the community.[9]   Though it does not always happen in reality.

Since it is neither possible nor desirable for all members of the Board of Management or Governing Body of a voluntary organisation to jointly work after its day-to-day works and since they normally function only as a corporate body, through the joint deliberation there is generally division of labour among the members.   In some voluntary organisation the office bearers are directly elected by the General Body, while in others they are elected or nominated by the Governing Body. Thus, the Governing Body of any voluntary organisation is consisted of President, one or more Vice-Presidents, Secretary/Secretary General, one or more Joint/Assistant/Associate Secretaries, and Treasaurer.

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9.   Ibid., pp.25-26.

An auditor, who is generally not a member of the organisation, keeps vigilance on the expenditure of the organisation and prepares audited statement of account of expenditure for the purposes of official and non-official accountability.

Since the roles of officer bearers of a voluntary organisation are very important in running the organisation in general and translating its objectives into practice in particular, each office-bearer's role is well specified. For instance, being the overall head of the organisation the President or Chairman presides overall its meeting, and assigns roles or jobs to other members of other functionaries from within as well as outside the organisation. Similarly, the Secretary or General Secretary, being under the overall guidance of the President, corresponds with members of organisation and with outside agencies, prepares agenda papers for and minutes of meetings of organisation, arranges their orientation, assigns them duties and supervises their day-to-day works. In fact, it is the Secretary of a voluntary organisation who runs the whole organisation under the overall guidance of its statutory head or President as stated above. One thing is, however, important to mention here that in absence of one or the other office bearer, his or her role is temporarily assigned to the other

members of the executive committee or Board of Management or

Governing Body of the organisation.[10]

The Voluntary Workers:

It is the voluntary workers of a voluntary organisation

who in actuality, runs its programmes of social welfare.

They are instrumental in providing services to the benefici-

aries of social welfare organisation. They have a direct

link between the public and the agency or the organisation

for which they work. Hence, they are required to be well

versed with the would be beneficiaries, needs and the major

aims and objectives of the voluntary organisation for a more

effective and successful execution of their roles. Thus,

the job of a voluntary worker of a voluntary organisation is

not voluntary as it appears from the nomenclature, but it is

a full-time job for which he or she is paid remuneration.[11]

Types of Organisation:

We have mentioned above that there are various types of

voluntary organisation in the country in general and in the

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10.   Ibid, pp.29-32.

11.   Ibid., pp.47-48.

state of Orissa in particular. It may not be possible at this stage to talk about all organisations and their objectives and programmes for development. It is, therefore, necessary to classify them in accordance with their major objectives and programmes. Basically two broad categories of voluntary organisation may identified in the state of Orissa. These are: (i) Voluntary organisations set up by those from outside the state or from outsiders certain areas from within the state; (ii) Those voluntary organisations formed by the indigenous communities, people of an area. The former types of organisations are generally formed by the experts or professionals and well-wishers who are concerned with the development of an area, although they may or may not be well-versed with the problems and needs of the people of a particular region where they concentrate their activities.

These organisations may again be classified into two types: Macro-level organisation which function over a wide territory be the entire state or country, and the Micro-level organisation which may concentrate in a single village or an area. The, the macro organisations can further be divided into two types: (i) the Direct service organisations and (ii) the Coordinating agencies. This former type of

organisation offer direct services to a specific clientele and the second ones provide some kind of federation or platform to the direct agencies for consultation, guidance etc. Contrary to this the voluntary organisations formed by people of indigenous communities concentrate their developmental activities to a single village or multi-villages as mentioned above. They are also formed with the single purpose or multipurposes and are secular or communal in the orientation. Such organisations are, however, formed and run by the democratically, elected or selected representatives of the communities in the state.[12]

In Orissa, there are some voluntary organisations like servants of India Society and `Servants of the People Society' (Lok Sevamandal) which are funded by Central government. In fact, the former established in 1905 and registered in 1928 is a all India organisation with its branch office in Orissa. Its aims and objectives are to train the missionaries for the service of people in the country, and to promote their interests through all constitutional means. The main activities of this organisation are to run the

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12. Dasgupta, Sugata, op. cit., pp.10-11.

educational institutions at junior and senior levels, to run

the children's homes, dispensaries and centre for importing

free education to women. Besides providing free board and

lodging and text books to many Adivasi students living in

hostels run by the society, it promotes works in the field

of tribal welfare. The area of its operation is mainly in

Cuttack district and other tribal districts of the state.

The latter one was established in 1921 with its aims

and objects of enlisting and training the workers for educa-

tional, cultural, social and economic development of the

people in general and voluntary groups of the people in

particular, being specially to the tribal areas in the state

its major activities are to run the adult literacy classes,

nursery schools, dance and craft class of tribal women.

More specifically, this organisation operates in Cuttack

district and also in Sakhigopal block of Puri district of

the state. Its sources of finance are donation, grant in

aid from the central governent, state government, central

social welfare board,, etc.[13]

In Orissa, there is a state controlled agency which has

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13. Encyclopedia of Social Work in India, Vol.3, 1968,
     pp.90-93.

several welfare and departments of the tribes. Besides a separate tribal welfare department, the other state government departments like education, health, relief and rehabilitation which also have made special provisions for welfare and development of tribals in the state for instance, some of these departments have adopted the campaigns for the youth welfare social education, mid-day meals programmes and rehabilitation of displaced persons in the tribal areas.[14]

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14. Ibid., p.105.

CHAPTER - IV

ROLE OF THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN ORISSA

ROLE OF THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS
IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN ORISSA

The recent decision of the Government to involve non-governmental organisations in the task of development of the people in general and weaker sections like tribals in particular, with a view to alleviating conditions of poverty and promoting higher levels of utilization of available infrastructural resources and services is momentous in the history of socio-economic development in the country. This is equally true in the state of Orissa. This decision signals an awareness that in spite of resources being released and agencies being created to carry them, through varius programmes and activities, to the poorer sections the development has remained lop-sided and benefits have accrued to a very small number of the eligible people. As a result, most of the efforts have not only gone waste but even the void between the rich and poor has deepened further. Hence, it is recognised that non-governmental organisations can play a very creative role in motivating the people and supervising the distribution of the resources with a view to ensure their proper utilisation. They can also play a very useful role in matching projects to the local conditions and

supplying local know-how through which a proper and balanced development can be brought about.

The term non-governmental organisation has been used in a broader sense here. While it comprises of organisations registered under various trusts and charitable acts, it also includes unregistered groups and organisations willing to accept the responsibility for some aspects of tribal development with or without the aid of the government agency. Further, various youth organisations, Mahila Mandals, civic organisations, organisations of beneficiaries like farmers' organisations, workers' unions, religious organisations, professional bodies - registered or unregistered are also included in the informal organizations.

Wide Range of Action:

The non-governmental organisations which had shown remarkable initiatives in the fields of education, health, social welfare have shifted their attention from treating the characteristics of the problems to the very causes which give rise to them. The transition from the emotion ladden humanitarian appeals for welfare activities to the task of involvement with nation-building activities basically in the

planning implementation and measurement of the development

programmes is not very easy. However, both Government

organisations and the voluntary organisationjs have to

prepare themselves for a wider partnership and more meaning-

ful participation in the countrywide effort in tribal devel-

opment. Hence, any discussion of the role of voluntary

organisation in the new context would involve issues of new

contents of action, methods of participation, organisation

of efforts, funding relationship with government, etc. The

question of drawing of project, ensuring resources, carry-

ingout focussed evaluations, relevant training of personnel,

monitoring of information and federating the voluntary

efforts are also associated with the issues connected with

exploration of new role contents.[1]

The specific fields in which voluntary organisations

may effectively and meaningfully participate are quite

numerous. In addition to the disaster relief operations

like famine, floods, fire, riots, etc. where the contribu-

tions of voluntary organisations in bringing relief espe-

cially distributing food, doles, rehabilitation, housing and

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1. Jain, S.C., "How Voluntary Agencies can help Rural Development", Kurukshetra (India Journal of Rural Development), Vol.XXX, Nos.103, 1981.

sanitation have been most remarkable. In the new contexts the voluntary organisations may also effectively participate in programmes for development and distribution of social services and income improvement for the tribal poor. Health and nutrition, general (pre-school) education and social welfare institutions for handicapped, destitute and deserted ones have attracted very sizeable donations from the philan-thropic citizens and organisations. It is an overall socio-economic development through the minimum needs programmes for poor which are now engaging the attention of voluntary organisations.[2]

Educational Problems of Tribes in Orissa:

Under the inspiration of the late Thakkar Bapa, new type of schools (Ashram schools) were started in Orissa to attract the tribal students to educate and prepare them for fruitful future life in tribal areas. In residential `Ashram' schools crafts and agriculture were taught along with other subjects. In the Sebashram schools all reading materials and dresses were supplied free of cost to the children studying at the primary level. Even then the

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2. Ibid.

response in the most backward areas were not encouraging.
The value of education was not at all apparent to them.
Rather, the time spent at schol was considered 'lost' for
economic pursuits, judging from the advanced age of the
children at primary level. In some areas notably in Koraput
district, the parents had to be compensated for letting
children go to school with a monthly allowance. Of course,
mistakes were committed in imparting education to the tribal
children through these Ashram type schools. In the Ashram
schools more emphasis and time were spent on crafts and
agriculture as stated above than on other 'subjects of the
studies'. Yet, surprisingly no Adivasi student after leav-
ing school had piled any craft for earning his or her live-
lihood.[3]

Another important lapse was that the medium of instruc-
tion was invariably Oriya, even when the tribal people did
not understand that language. The teacher speaking Oriya
language also hailed from the non-tribal plain areas.
Therefore, it was not at all surprising to find an over-
whelming number of children languishing sometimes for 4

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3. Mohapara, L.K., "Problems and Welfare of Orissa Tribes"
   in L.P. Vidyarthi (ed.), Applied Anthropology in India,
   p.411.

years in Class I compared to the bare promoted to the higher classes. In some known cases, a child could not pass the primary school leaving examinations even after 10 years of schooling. Those who somehow pass out from school would like to work as petty official like office peon, forest gaurd in government offices. A few who are educated in high school are employed as clerk or school teacher. But in all cases, there is a reluctance to go back to the tribal areas where they could serve their own people either as progressive agriculturist or skilled artisan or resource persons in various walks of life. Technical training in industrial schols has been neglected by the authorities. In few cases where some tribals have acquired such training, there are no adequate job opportunities in the industrial undertakings either in their own region or in the neighbouring regions.[4]

Role of Voluntary Organisation in Tribal Development:

We have already mentioned in the previous chapter that the voluntary organisations in the country particularly in Orissa aim to undertake social problems of the people and to review and, whenever possible, to guide on the scientific

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4.   Ibid., p.411.

line the progress of social work made in the state. They also envisage to serve as an information exchange in respect of social work and social service organisations. For the purpose, they organise workshops, conferences and seminars dealing with the subjects of rural and tribal welfare - specially in the educational sector. In addition, they are also involved in promoting various types of activities conducive to the general welfare of poor and needy tribal women and children.

In the above mentioned terms of reference when we look at the roles of voluntary organisations in tribal development in Orissa, we find that there are two different views in this regard. Adherents to one view are happy with the existence of such organisations and plead for their increasing role. To them, these organisations should be given ample scope to serve the people, as the various government agencies associated with programmes implementation are crippled with bureaucratic complication and official rigidity, and have failed to work satisfactory. On the other hand, the voluntary organisations which came up due to the interest of some individuals or groups to serve the people can do well with all their flexibility and dedication. The other view holds that it is undesirable to give

so much importance and authority to voluntary organisations as there is every possibility of rigid institutionalisation of numerous opportunities and resources by them. Also, in course of time the voluntary organisations may also start functioning in the same fashion as the government agencies do. Some are also of the view that there is possibility of politicization of voluntary organisations.

It is, therefore, desirable that the voluntary organisations should be given ample opportunity to work in co-operation with the government agencies and be subjected to strict government scrutiny and monitoring in their mode of operation and accountability to the people. But in that case, these organisations should be non-sectarian both in principle and action and social workers should be above the party politics.[5]

Role of Non-Governmental Organisation in Tribal Development:

Democracy allows scope for individual groups to undertake action in a national society, independent of the state. This leads to voluntary action. Private action, that is to

5. Panigrahi, D.K., "Voluntary Agencies in Tribal Development", Social Change, Vol.23, Nos.2-3, 1993, pp.94-95.

say action not under the direction of any authority wielding power of the state, therefore is called voluntary action. A voluntary organisation. Properly speaking is an organisation which, whether its workers are paid or unpaid, is initiated and governed by its own members without external control.

Thus, voluntary action is a form of organising activities supporting, strengthening and helping to develop work to meet all types of legitimate needs of individuals and groups in a society. The voluntary agencies have the potentials of being more effective agents of development than governmental agencies, at least among the poower and weaker sections in three respects:

(a)   Their workers can be more sincerely devoted to the task of reducing the suffering of the poor than governmental staff.

(b)   They can have a better rapport with the tribals than government employees.

(c)   Since they are not bound by rigid bureaucratic rules and procedures, they can operate with greater flexibility, they can readjust their activities quickly and continuously as they learn from experience.

There are other two more points: (a) efforts of voluntary agencies are more economical than the government departments, and (b) they can motivate more public participation in development efforts than the government department. Voluntarism is the fundamental impulse of change in Indian society. It had brought about the change from imperial rule to political independence. Both the statist and voluntarist populist programmes for development, and nation building emerged during the freedom movement.

The things which inspire the Christians to educate their girls is suitably reflected in the statement of a Lutheran Parent who, when asked about the education of his daughter, gave the following reply, "A son inherits the property of his parents but the 'poor daughter' would go away to her husband's place and won't share the property of the parents. For him sons and daughters both were equal and the least that he can give to his daughters is education so that his daughters may remember that their parents have done at least one important thing for them." This reply also gives us an idea of the extent to which the outlook of the Christians have now changed towards education and become

progressive.[6]

Role of Missionaries in Educational Development among Tribals:

A. Christian Missionaries:

Like Chhotanagpur region in Bihar, a sizeable number of tribals in Orissa also have converted to Christianity. They have enjoyed every sort of educational facilities. Now, they take full advantage of these facilities by sending their children to the schools opened by Mission or Church. This is also happening in the absence of government schools in many tribal areas. A significant change found among the Christian tribals is that the parent are keen to provide education to both boys and girls without any distinction of sex, as is usually found among the non-Christian tribes. The missionaries have opened schools both for boys and girls in which almost equal number of male and female students are enrolled.[7] Contrary to this, the non-Christian parents are of the opinion that "there is no use in educating a girl as she goes to her husband's place after marriage. Hence,

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6. Sahay, K.N., "Christianity as an Agency of Tribal Welfare in India" in L.P. Vidyarthi (ed.), Applied Anthropology in India, p.309.

7. Srivastava, A.R.N., "Education for the Tribes" in L.P. Vidyarthi (ed.), Applied Anthropology in India,

educating a girl does not bring any practical gain to her parents.

Whatever may be the motive behind proselytization of the tribals, the welfare activities of the missionaries have gone a long way in advancing and educating the tribals inhabiting even in the remote areas in the state. Various welfare schemes, such as opening schools for general as well as vocational education as mentioned above and other material comforts to the people have been undertaken by the Christian missionaries for improving their social and economic conditions. This has attracted even non-Christians in the state.

However, missionary activities have been subjected to both criticism and admiration. They have created a strong sense of dissatisfaction among some sections of non-Christians not only in Orissa but elsewhere also in the country. That is why, the Niyogi Committee was set up by the Madhya Pradesh Government as early as in 1954 to investigate the allegation that Christian missionaries were converting the tribals either forcibly or through fraud and temptations of monetary and other gains. It has been said that the opening of the schools, hospitals and other welfare

agencies by the missionaries in the areas where Harijans and tribals live in preponderance, appears to the Hindus as a ploy to convert them into Christianity.

Looking into the various kinds of activities by the Christian missionaries both in Orissa and elsewhere, it has been said that in order to make their development activities more effective in both the spiritual and material spheres they should carry on their welfare services and religious propagation separately. There is nothing wrong in conversion, if it happens out of strong will of the tribals to embrace a new faith.[8]

B. The Ramakrishna Mission Ashrams:

LIke elsewhere in the country, the Ramakrishna mission is engaged in the worship of God in man through carrying out various activities such as relief and rehabilitation, medical services, educational work in tribal areas in Orissa. The Ramakrishna Ashram located in Puri is running a home for the tribal students. Out of its many activities, it provies the inmates the training in typing, special coaching in

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8.   Panigrahi, D.K., op. cit., p.

their subjects of studies, and vocational training through demonstration in cattle rearing, etc. The Ashram has been directing its energies towards the economic progress and educational development of the tribals. The development of the tribal communities in Orissa, social, educational economic and cultural development of the tribals is its main concern. Contrary to the over-bureaucratised and impersonal administrative system in a responsible and responsible democratic government, a voluntary organisation like Ramakrishna Mission provides the personal touch to the people and though this utilizes the latent energies of the masses into their fruitful development.[9]

Non-Governmental Organisations and Infrastructural Development:

Main activities of the non-governmental organisations are generally geared to meeting basic needs of the people. Their such type of endeavour is called `primary development'. Then the specific types of programmes are evolved and implemented followed by evaluation and reformulation if necessary. Almost all the projects or programmes attending to the basic needs of the people ultimately help the NGOs to

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9.   Ibid., pp.94-95.

a better understanding of the situation of the people and prompt them to get engaged in those activities which facilitate them not only to contribute to the people's development but to the development of their own activities.

However, the opposite approach is also found, an NGO works in depth in a village or region for several years encouraging the community members to analyse their development problems and then proposing salvation to the problems which the people themselves have identified. This approach generally depends on the situation of the village or region concerned. This approach generally known as the `conscious-raising' approach seeks to involve the target group or community in identifying their own problems and empowering the people themselves to resolve them. Though it has lasting and efficient effect, it needs to be followed up by concrete and appropriate action. Thus, once the basic needs of the people have been properly understood and addressed to, the process of economic and social development can begin. Also, in the initial stage of formulation of a project the fundamental task of the NGO is to encourage peoples to identify their realistic goals and understand the need for their participation in their process of their

development.[10]

Anyway, more emphasis is given now-a-days to utilize primarily the voluntary organisations for developing social welfare services. Whereas grants-in-aid are given to existing voluntary organisations, new services like welfare extension projects in rural areas and after care services in urban areas are sought to be developed through specially created non-official committees, consisting primarily of voluntary workers. Thus, these organisations and not merely voluntary but are in a way, government-sponsored agencies to utilize the talents and energies of voluntary workers. These are results of the government to create semi-government-non-official committees or organisations to run the newly developed social welfare programmes.[11]

ADVANTAGES AND CONSTRAINTS OF VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

We have already seen in our earlier discussion that the voluntary organisations have produced more desirable results than the government agencies in regard to the welfare and

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10. Schneider, Bertrand, The Barefoot of Revolution, 1988, pp.249-250.

11. Chowdry, Paul D., Voluntary Social Work in India, 1971, pp.278.

development of the vulnerable sections of the people in the country and in the state of Orissa as well. Since the voluntary organisations come into existence spontaneously in the pst because of desires of the members of the community to help their fellow being at the time of need, they had been closest to the beneficiaries. This also ensured the human touch. Today, voluntary organisation is organised on the self-help basis, and is known for flexibility approach to social problems. Generally, the organisation raises its own funds from the community itself and spends these to the best advantages of the community people, without following the rigid rules, regulations and procedures as in the Government. There is no financial limit to a voluntary agency which is not possible in a governmental organisation where the expenditure is limited by the budget provision and financial regulations. However, there is no surety of continuity to work and employment of the staff in the voluntary organisations. Therefore, a voluntary organisation cannot really attract the qualified workers. More often a qualified person seeks employment in the voluntary organisation, if he or she has economic security or is devoted to its aims and objectives.

Talking cognizance of the fact that out-reach of primary health care in remote rural, hilly and tribal areas was generally inadequate, experts today explored the role of Non-Government Organisations in developing region-specific strategies based on local requirements. Several case studies were also presented to highlight the innate advantages and strengths of Non-Governmental Organisations exploited for the betterment of social conditions of the people, particularly in maternal and child health programmes. In remote areas, Non-Governmental Organisations can play an important role by organising programmes of community mobilisation, health education, providing minimal health care and arranging services at the village level. The biggest advantage with Non-Governmental Organisations is that they have highly motivated workers, a high degree of flexibility in operation and an excellent rapport with the communities in which they work. Though a series of five-year plans laid emphasis on the Non-Governmental Organisation movement, not much attention was paid to the role of Non-Governmental Organisations in education, primary health care and provision of basic medical services. If 1907s witnessed a new breed of Non-Governmental Organisations talking on the challenge of community-based, people-oriented programmes,

the 1980s were characterised by a minor change in ideology in the Non-Governmental Organisation sector. Empowerment, conscientisation and participation became key components as the importance of political thinking for addressing questions of social change was realised. Non-Governmental Organisations and Government organisations should supplement and complement each other's work with a common motive of enhancing the health conditions of the community at large. They should coordinate to avoid duplicacy of work, misunderstandings and unnecessary competition. Stating that Non-Governmental Organisations were expected to work as a "watch dog" to ensure gender equity and women's reproductive rights, there was a need for vesting with the panchayats in rural areas and nagarpalikas in urban areas the responsibility for primary health care and allowing Non-Governmental Organisations to work in closer cooperation with them for the success of any programme including reproductive health and family. The last two decades witnessed a substantial fall in post-neonatal mortality component of Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), a similar decline in still birth rates and neonatal mortality rate had not occurred. Over the years there has been a progressive increase in the contribution of neonatal death to the IMR. The realisation that improvement

in antenatal and intrapartum care are essential to achieve further reduction in IMR led to attempts for improvement in maternal care. Every voluntary organisation - irrespective of its agenda of activities, should accept child care and family planning work as an essential component of their activities.

The voluntary organisations are also known for their pioneering role in the field of social welfare, although from the point of view of size of finances needed therefore it is very difficult for a voluntary organisation to engage itself in experimentation on social welfare services at the local community level.[12]

Some constraints or obstacles which often come in their way of proper delivery of services to the people. Although they might have the best intentions, they often lack the basic preparation, familiarity with the environment, technical knowledge and experiences in delivery of services. In many instances they lack an overall strategy and methodology in evolving and implementing programmes or activities in which they are involved. Also, at certain times they fail

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12. Ibid., pp.249-250.

to adapt their strategy or strategies to the changing circumstances in the areas where they work. They enjoy their autonomy or independence and other refuse to co-operate with other non-Governmental organisations or with local officials. The local follow-up of their actions is generally improper and insufficient due to lack of personnel or financial resources.[13]

Very often voluntary organisations work at a very small scale or area and their resources are also meagre which do not meet the widespread social needs of the people for whom they work. For instance, there may be some voluntary organisations working with full concern and sincerity for the crippled children in one place but no such service may be available in another area.

Further, most of the voluntary organisations are unstable as they are set up with lot of enthusiasm and commitment but they go out of existence due to one reason or the other. In such circumstances the voluntary organisations may not easily be relied upon for their continuous work over a number of years. These organisations are also ill-equipped

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13. Schneider, Bertrand, op. cit., p.204.

with the tribal people. If the basic aim of these organisa-
tions is not ingrained in the workers there is every likeli-
hood that the personnel may take their activities as a
profession or as an occupation instead of accepting them-
selves as `an organic factionary' in the process of the
tribal development.

CHAPTER - V

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

Orissa occupies a special position in the tribal map of India. According to 1991 Census, the population of India currently stands at 88.4 millions while that of Orissa is 30 millions. Out of this, as much as 24 per cent population of the state is consisted of the tribes. Tribes in Orissa are the natives, dispersed all over the state and differ from one another in their racial traits, language, social organisatin, etc. The tribal communities of Orissa can be classified into four broad economic categories: Hunters and food gatheres, shifting cultivators, peasant farmers and industrial workers. The tribes which fall under the hunting and food gathering category are very small in number and have somewhat complementory relations with their neighbours. Such a vast variety and diversity both in culture and in economic life of the tribes in the state is not noticed in non-tribal population in Orissa as well as elsewhere in the country. More precisely, variations which are noticed in the tribal communities in the state are in their life style, belief system, economic practices and cultural set up.

The tribal communities particularly the most backward primitive tribes who live in the inaccessible areas of mountainous terrains in the state are subjected to exploitation by the traders and moneylenders. Hence, development of the tribal people through the new strategy of tribal sub-plan has been the major objective of the Government of Orissa. Accordingly, various developmental plans have been implemented for welfare and development of the different sections of the tribal communities in the state. Several measures have been taken within an overall frame of legal protection to improve the status of tribals, have been evolved and implemented so far by the government. All the programmes and satrategies have produced some fruitful results though a lot needs to be done in this regard.

One of the main reasons for failure of most of the programmes introduced by the government for welfare and development of the tribal people in the state is that the government authorities have not been able to convince the would be beneficiaries to get involved in the formulation and implementation of the various development programmes.

It has so happened mainly due to the illiteracy of the people. It is an obvious fact that the effective implementation of any programme needs sound educational background among the tribals. Though the Government has opened required numbers of educational institutions, both at primary and secondary levels for the tribal people. But these schools generally do not function properly. In addition, the tribal people are most conservative, orthodox and superstitious in receiving modern formal education. These impede their growth and development in all spheres of their life. Therefore, what is required to educate the tribals in the state in such a way so that they can easily understand the values of life and get oriented in the direction to tackle the problems of all levels by themselves. It is true that as long as parents remain illiterate, they can neither apply their mind towards developmental aspects nor can they allow their children to be educated. Also, the medium of instruction is another obstacle to their achieving modern education as stated in earlier chapters. Unless their mother tongue is taken as the medium of instruction, their lot cannot be improved. This is a question of sheer pedagocial principle. Hence there is need of evolving a compre-

hensive language and education policy for the tribals in the country and in the state of Orissa as well.

At present we find different voluntary organisations working in various fields, such as education, public health and cultural activities. The government provides them financial assistance to enable them to perform and expand their activities. The importance of non-governmental organisations in promoting welfare of the tribal communities is recognised and the individuals involved are often consulted in the formulation and implementation of tribal development programmes. There are also some limitations in the working of voluntary agencies. There are on the one hand, large voluntary agencies having large establishments with their own headquarters, branches and bureaucracy. Many schemes which are managed by these voluntary agencies do not really benefit the poor mismanagement and bureaucratic delays are mostly responsible for this failure to reach people.

Tribal Development in Orissa: An Overview

No objective and independent evaluation of the various state-run programmes for the welfare and development particularly educational development of the tribals in the state

of Orissa has been made so far by the state government. Nevertheless, some occasional studies done by various researchers indicate that special benefits have created certain inequalities among the tribals in the state. This is so due to variation in the level of development between one tribe and the other and between one tribal area and the other tribal area. It is also marked that the government measures have created small elites among the tribals. Development of the tribes has also been said to be the gambling den of the politicians who take benefits of the situation for their own purpose.

Apart from the official measures taken by the Government of Orissa, the various voluntary or non-governmental organisations have played very crucial role in tribal development in the state as discussed in the previous two chapters. These organisations are devoted to creating awareness and education among the tribal people. This approach is different from the service approach of the government agencies. In most of the cases the non-governmental organisations are engaged in training the tribal people both in traditional and modern skills and thereby empowering them

for taking benefits of the socio-economic development in the state. Some non-governmental organisations have also adopted basically an inter-active approach not only by intermingly and living with the people of a village or area but also drawing out the best of the people by involving them for their own good in the identified activities. However, success of the non-governmental organisations in tribal development depends largely on their capacity to involve people, at the grass roots level, in formulation and implementating the various types of developmental programmes. By doing this, 'development at the door steps' becomes a reality and does not remain a mere slogan to be repeated in seminars and conferences.

The interactive or participatory approach is a great challenge to the non-governmental organisations keeping in view the wide spectrum of their activities, sources of funding, contributory help by the local people, etc. The constraints need be closely looked into before making any suggestions for strengthening them for their best delivery in tribal development in the state and in the country as a whole.

We have already mentioned in the previous chapters that a large number of non-governmental organisations working for tribal development particularly educational development are fincially dependent on government which tries to control them by monitoring their progress. This in a way has limited freedom of their activities. On the other hand, the progress of some non-governmental organisations supported by international agencies in the state has also been unsatisfactory. Thus, it becomes clear that non-governmental organisations are a `divided house'. In this context, the mechanism of control on non-governmental organisations' spending by the government and international agencies has its own logic and rationale. But what is needed is to decentralise the financial assistance and activities of the non-governmental organisations within a centralised monitoring mechanism so that these may not work as appendages to the government efforts for development of these may not work as appendages to the government efforts for development of the tribal people. In the same vein, the size and area of activities of the non-governmental organisations need to be small for their particularly endeavour and successful delivery of services to the tribal people in the state. They

also need to fully distance themselves from taking any political mileages of their endeavours. It is not out of context to mention here that the voluntary organisations more often than not develop a love-hate relationship with government agencies specially in the situation where the latter are concerned with the target approach for achieving social and economic goals against the non-target participatory approach of the former.

To sum up, the present scenario is more confusing than ever. But wherever local people have supported non-governmental organisations working in the state, results have been miraculous and far-reaching. Even the government's initiatives in involving people, especially women to directly run and control the literacy and health programmes have also yielded some desired results.

Therefore, a two-fold approach `share the work and share the facilites' by the workers of non-governmental organisations as well as government functionaries at the village or region level alone may provide the necessary common platform for developmental activities for the tribals. This strategy may ensure a bottom-up approach in

formulation and implementation of the appropriate schemes.

This may also result in the non-governmental organisations'

success and all-round progress at the tribal people of the

village level. With this then reaching out to the tribal

people in the state of Orissa and in the country as a whole

may become a revitalised reality.

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