

AGENCIES OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT
A Case Study of Integrated Tribal
Development Agency, Paralakhemundi(ORISSA)

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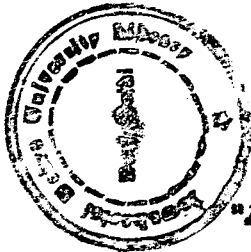
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION



Certified that the dissertation entitled "Agencies of Tribal Development: A Case Study of Integrated Tribal Development Agency, Paralakhemundi, Orissa", submitted by Sunil Kumar Pattanayak, is in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy of this University. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other University. We recommend that this dissertation should be placed before the examiners for their consideration for the award of degree of Master of Philosophy.

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

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Sunil Kumar Pattanayak
(Sunil Kumar Pattanayak)

Dated: 20th July 1987

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.H.	Animal Husbandry
A.D.W.O.	Additional District Welfare Officer
B.D.O.	Block Development Officer
C.D.	Community Development
D.R.D.A.	District Rural Development Agency
H & T.W.	Harijan and Tribal Welfare
I.T.D.A.	Integrated Tribal Development Agency
I.T.D.P.	Integrated Tribal Development Project
L.A.M.P.	Larger Agricultural Multipurpose Co-operative Society
M.I.P.	Minor Irrigation Project
M.L.A.	Member of Legislative Assembly
M.P.	Member of Parliament
P.A.	Project Administrator
P.A.S.	Poverty Amelioration Scheme
P.L.C.	Project Level Committee
S.C.	Scheduled Caste
S.T.	Scheduled Tribe
S.D.O.	Sub-Divisional Officer
<hr/>	
S.M.P.T. Block	Systematic Multipurpose Tribal Block
R.D.C.	Revenue Divisional Commissioner
T.A.C.	Tribes Advisory Council
T.D.A.	Tribal Development Agency
T.D.C.C.	Tribal Development Cooperative Corporation

Introduction

The present study is a modest attempt to critically examine the on-going development efforts in Paralakhemundi sub-plan area by different agencies with special reference to Paralakhemundi Integrated Tribal Development Agency and their impact on the tribal life. The tribals of the area under study, like other tribal communities of this country present a pitiable picture of poverty, ruthless exploitation and socio-political backwardness. An all-round development of such communities has been one of the major concerns of Indian Government since independence. As we find, a number of communities constituting a sizeable section of the Indian population are differentiated from the rest of the people mainly on the grounds of the evolutionary sequence in their cultural complexity. These social groups are considered as aboriginals and called tribes. India, having largest concentration of tribal population, which spread all over the country in various diversified and culturally differentiated groups, presents a wide spectrum of tribal life in a series of spatial, cultural and ecological continuum.

Tribal people with a population of 7% constitute a significant segment of Indian society. The tribals, who are distributed in different parts of India, belong

to different ethnic stocks and are having different socio-political cultures and economic activities. On the basis of their integration to and interaction with the non-tribals and their exposure to the national socio-political life, they are at different stages of development. Their diversities, associated with different ethnic and cultural traits, ecological setting and economic pursuits, indicate the complexity of the problem of transformation that the development agencies face. This complexity and multiplicity of problems demand a better and clearer appreciation of tribal life and culture, and a proper understanding of their problems. India, which has adopted socialism as her goal and democracy as the means, is committed to welfarism and social justice. Her march towards an egalitarian and advanced society finds a stumbling block in a segment of the society. While the concept of social justice calls for a relative equity in the society, the ethics of democracy demands that no section of the population should have the right and opportunity of deciding the destiny of another, particularly of a section like tribes, whose voice has been remained unheard so far. Hence, the prime concern of the larger Indian society is to bring the tribals at par with the non-tribals.

Several measures have been taken for the development of tribal communities. The Constitution of India not only

protects the interests of the tribals but also provides adequate safeguards by making elaborate provisions for protective discrimination in the favour of them. Precisely for that purpose only, the tribal groups have been defined and scheduled.

The term tribe has been defined with a variety of meanings. To some it denotes a stage in political and social evolution. In the literature of anthropology it is understood as a social group, speaking different language, possessing a distinct culture and leading more or less a secluded life. Max Webber tries to define them in terms of their territory, occupational specialization, social ranking and socio-political institutions, while D.N. Majumdar gives a religious connotation, G.S. Ghurye, in contrary, calls them as backward Hindus. Robert Redfield rather prefers to refer them as little community. Since these definitions do not speak of economic traits, some scholars tried to define them on the basis of primitiveness of technology and economic activities.

However, these definitions do not serve the purpose of the constitution as no single definition is perfectly applicable to all the tribal groups. Rather, some of them are contradictory. The Constitution has

defined such groups and scheduled some of them. Article 366 defines scheduled tribes as such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be scheduled tribes for the purpose of this Constitution.

After scheduling the tribal groups, the government has made several arrangements for their development. Despite of all such efforts and a massive input, the results have fallen short of expectation as only a nominal benefits have reached the tribals. Thus, development of the tribals has remained a main concern of the Indian government and society.

The failure of the programmes necessitate a re-thinking of tribal affairs, a close insight into their problems and a critical appreciation of all development efforts. While talking of tribal development one has to redefine the concept of development in the light of the specificities of the tribal society. Superimposition of ideas, priorities and any value frame may frustrate the very purpose of an effort. Development cannot be brought about without proper understanding of the tribal life, culture and values. No single social science can provide all information or conceptual apparatus necessary to identify and analyse the tribal problems. Thus, a

pragmatic approach to tribal development requires an inter-disciplinary explanation of the problems.

The Present Study and Its Importance

This work is an attempt to study the process of tribal development with its various dimensions. It intends to examine the carriers and barriers of tribal development and the impact of all such efforts on the tribals. Moreover, the political implication of the developmental activities is to be highlighted. The importance of the study lies in the very fact that there is a scarcity of detail work on the development of the tribals of the area under study. Moreover, a study on political dimension of development activities is seriously lacking. Besides, the tribals of Paralakhemundi belong to one of the most backward tribal communities of Orissa. A study on development of such a community is of vital importance.

As said earlier, tribal development administration is relatively a neglected area of study. Volumes of literature are available on the tribes. But most of them are anthropological quests or sociological descriptions. Some scholars present a very romantic picture of tribal life, full of songs and dances. But a few have touched upon glaring problems that the tribals face. For a study on tribal life we have a good number of works. The works

of N.K. Bose (Some Indian Tribes, 1973); K. Chattopadhyay (Tribalism in India, 1978); P. Gisbert (Tribal India - A Synthetic View of Primitive Man, 1978); L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai (Tribal Culture of India, 1985) etc. give a good account of various tribes in India and their culture. Some scholars have also made significant contributions to the study of tribal development. The studies made by some of the scholars like B.D. Sharma (Planning for Tribal Development, 1984); A. Aiyappan (Development of Tribal Areas, 1965); L.P. Vidyarthi (Problems and Prospects of Tribal Development in India, 1973) are of most academic and practical importance. Besides, specific area studies have also been done by several scholars.

✓ The administrative aspects of tribal development have been highlighted by S.N. Dubey (Tribal Welfare Programmes: An Analysis of Their Organization and Administration, 1971); S.K. Sharma (Development Administration: Theory and Practice, 1971); and some other scholars.

The Paralakhemundi area has received little attention by the scholars. There are very little references to this tribe in matters of ethnological account. Besides the earlier gazetteers and census studies, significant references are also found in the studies of R.C.S. Bell's Orissa District Gazetteers (1945) and different studies

made by V. Elwin and G.V. Sitapati. In addition to this, there are some studies on the socio-cultural aspect of the tribals by some recent scholars. B. Singh's study on tribal development and leadership is most important. Most of the studies mentioned above are descriptive in nature. While some of them are useful for this study, most of them have a little bearing on the present study. The present study is an objective assessment of various aspects of tribal development.

Objectives of the Study

In this study, an attempt is made to present a systematic account of various development programmes undertaken by Integrated Tribal Development Agency of Paralakhemundi and to assess them in the context of various approaches and national policy frame. An attempt is also made to evaluate the performance of the said ITDA, its different programmes and the problems it faces. Again, this study intends to examine the existing administrative structures, their effectiveness and shortcomings.

Further, an attempt is made to examine the general problems of tribal administration, and also the impact of different developmental efforts on the tribal life with its various dimensions. Finally this work intends to present different malaises of tribal development and

to make suggestions.

Scope of the Study

As mentioned earlier, this work is undertaken in the sub-plan area of Paralakhemundi sub-division, consisting of five blocks which come under the jurisdiction of the ITDA, Paralakhemundi. The study of the programmes is confined to the programmes of ITDA, Paralakhemundi. The performance of the ITDA is evaluated on the basis of the implementation of poverty ameliorating schemes undertaken by the ITDA itself. The time period of five years starting from 1980-81 to 1984-85 is taken. To study the impact of the development efforts on people, focus is given on occupational diversities, education, and political administrative awareness of the people as different dimensions of development.

Limitations of the Study

As several agencies are working in the area under study, the extent of changes ITDA has brought about can not be assessed precisely. Its performance is evaluated on the basis of some of the schemes. There may be many factors influencing policy making and its implementation. Some of them might not be covered in this study because of lack of time and other limitations. Controversial and sensitive issues relating to exploitation are

deliberately avoided. As the tribal economy is altogether different in nature, it is found difficult to present the change in income and economic surplus or deficit in quantitative terms.

Methodology

The first attempt of this work has been the study of different strategies, policies and schemes. This is done on the basis of official records and available literature.

In the field study an empirical investigation is conducted. A sample of sixty beneficiaries, covering three villages are taken for the study. The selection of the villages is made on the basis of their accessibility and proximity to the headquarters and also the nature of coverage of schemes. For some specific issues a sample of ten extension officers covering five blocks and some tribal leaders are taken for the study. Techniques like interview, both scheduled and unscheduled, observation and questionnaire are followed. Since a scheduled and written questionnaire is of no use in this area, an unscheduled questionnaire and open ended discussion method is adopted.

Chapterization

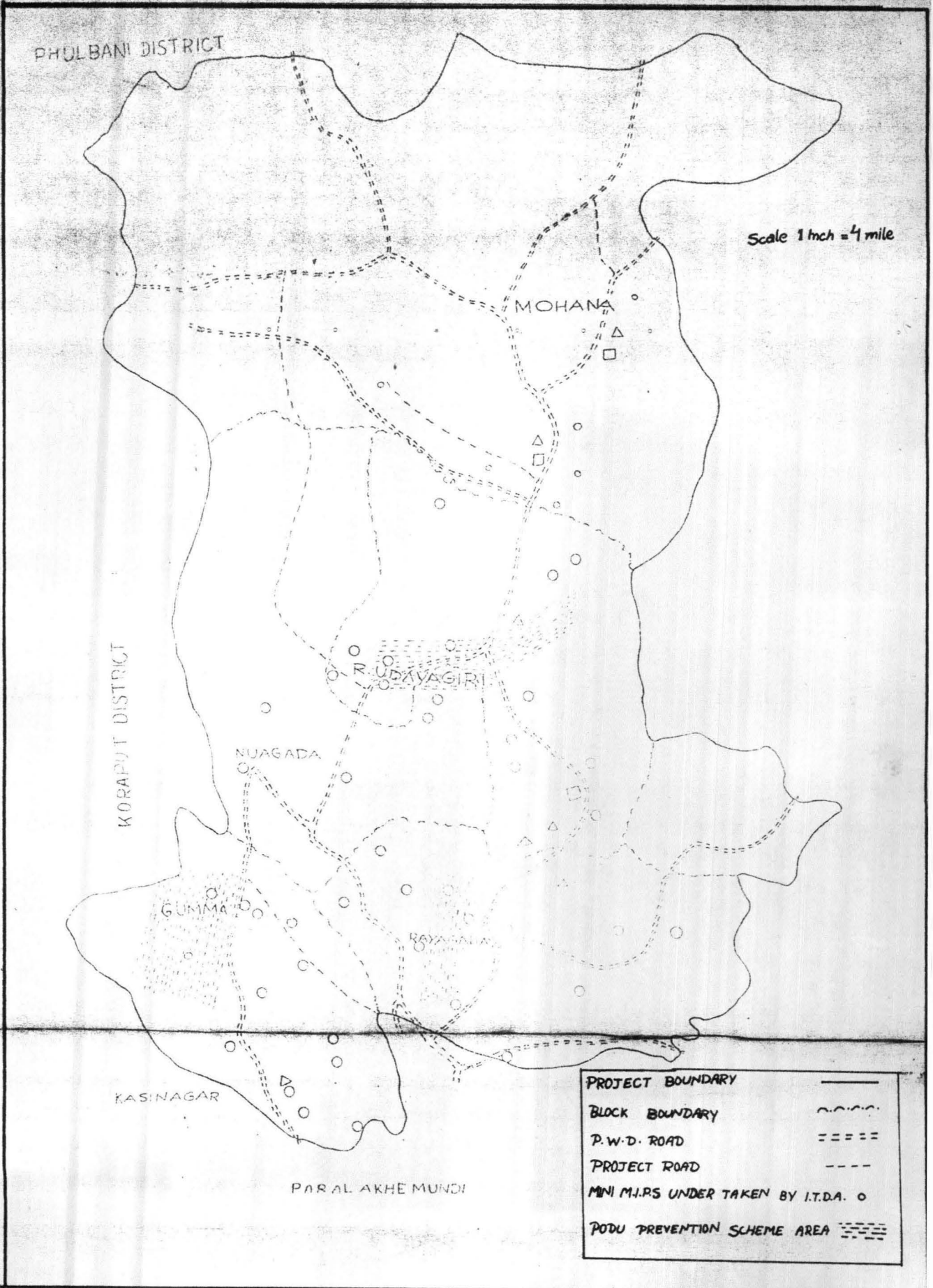
The study is presented in five chapters. In the

first chapter an attempt is made to focus light on different concepts, approaches and strategies of tribal development, available till date. The process of tribal developmental administration is also studied.

In the second chapter different agencies are discussed with special reference to Integrated Tribal Development Agency. Different problems of administration are also examined.

A profile of the area under study is made in the third chapter. In the fourth chapter an attempt is made to evaluate the role of ITDA in tribal development. The impact of development efforts on the people is also carefully observed.

In the last chapter an analysis of different observations is made and in the way of conclusion findings are presented.



Scale 1 inch = 4 mile

PROJECT BOUNDARY	—————
BLOCK BOUNDARY	- - - - -
P.W.D. ROAD	—+—+—+—+—
PROJECT ROAD	- - - - -
MINI M.I.R.S UNDER TAKEN BY I.T.D.A.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
PODU PREVENTION SCHEME AREA	- - - - -

Chapter I

DEVELOPMENT, TRIBAL DEVELOPMENTAL ADMINISTRATION
CONCEPTS, APPROACHES AND PRACTICE

The term development denotes progress in the welfare of the society, both material and social. Until very recently the term has been regarded as synonymous with economic development and in turn, with the growth of total material product. The emphasis on economic development reflects the economists monopoly of the developmental field. For a longer period of time the term development has been treated purely with economic connotations and it has been the concern of economists only. For the economist the task of making development plans is made easier by the fact that he usually limits the study to measurable economic phenomena. The use of highly sophisticated techniques permits him to study a larger universe.¹ The process and degree of development is determined in quantitative terms. But, the fact remains that the course of development as indicated by statistical data differs from economic reality. Moreover, though economic growth is an indicator of development, the concept development implies changes in several other sectors such as political, social,

1 H.M. Mathur, Introduction in H.M. Mathur (ed.), Anthropology in the Development Process, Vikas Pub. House, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 1-16.

cultural, technological etc. which in a composite form mean the overall social development of a community. Hence purely economic analysis of development is bound to overlook the role of other factors which also determine the development process. It does not also fulfil our objective of raising the standard of living of the people, specially the poor, as raising in standard of living in communal life is dependent on the all round development of the individuals, and the society as a whole and not merely on economic growth. Of late it has been recognized that development does not mean economic growth only. Growth implies an increase in the gross national product and emphasizes mainly on economic aspect rather than social, political, and cultural aspects. But it is desirable that quantitative changes must occur concurrently with qualitative changes. Hence, it has, most recently, been established that development does not mean growth only but growth plus change and involves both material and human factors. Taking a strong departure from the economists and bureaucrats, the anthropologists and sociologists view the concept of development in its totality. They emphasize that socio-cultural factors are an integral part of the dynamics of growth and social change is not simply a non-functional or a dysfunctional side effect of development planning, as put by some

bureaucrats and economists.

Development of either a nation or of a community has been a primary concern for national leaders, administrators and social scientists. It has successfully drawn the attention of social scientists and after the Second World War several attempts have been made to bring about certain models or approaches for understanding the developmental problems and processes of third world nations.²

In general the following approaches are available to the concept of development.

1. The Formalist Approach

The formalists derive their inspiration from classical economics and try to extent deductive methods of analysis of non-western people. They hold that non-western indogenous people are economic men in one sense ✓ or other and some of the apparently non-economic characteristics of their economic behaviour are explainable by viewing that behaviour as ultimately economic, balancing costs against benefits. This approach to development is found in the writings of some famous scholars like Epistein^{3, #}

2. Rajendra Jayaswal, Tribal Development in India: A Strategic Appraisal, The Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 1, Jan.-Mar., 1985, pp. 61-73.

3 T.S. Epistein, Economic Development and Social Change in South India, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1962.

✓ Salisbury⁴ etc. They reject the attempt by development economists to apply a general model to all cross cultural situations. In stead, he believes that each local situation is different and must be analysed on its own terms.

Substantivists Approach

The substantivists reject the cross cultural applicability of formal economic model asserting that they are ✓ relevant only to industrial capitalism because economics historically has grown out of subsistence village communities by a process of increasing social differentiation and division of labour. Hence, substantivists see development as a process of promoting institutional development which ✓ brings increased control of density and progressive decline in starvation and other undesirable effects of economic helplessness. They emphasize on gradual differentiation ✓ and competition of institutions. It is essentially an inductive approach. However, this approach seems to lack an operational programme for development as it does not spell out the process by which society can achieve differentiation.

Marxist Approach

This approach accepts the substantivists view that

4 R.S. Salisbury, Anthropology and Economics, in E.E. Le Clair and H.K. Schneider (eds.), Economic Anthropology: Reading in Theory and Analysis, New York, 1968, pp. 477-85.

society evolves through a process of increasing differentiation but at the same time firmly holds that each new level progressively deteriorates as mode of production grow out of phase with the relation of production, leading to a exploitation of the masses by the ruling elite. In other words, the process of evolution from one to another is spelled out as one of exploitation. The solution, the Marxists offer to this situation is revolution and thus, their development policy is one of revolution.

The Neo-Marxists, such as Frank⁵, Paul Baran⁶, Samir Amin⁷ etc. concentrate on dependency theory.⁸ According to them, the economic backwardness of third world countries is the result of their dependent status in an international market system. Similarly the satellites or underdeveloped areas (backward areas or backward commu-

5 A.G. Frank, Critique and Anti Critique: Essays on Dependence and Reformism, Macmillan, London, 1984.

6 Paul A. Baran, Political Economy of Growth, Ed. 2, Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, 1962.

7 Samir Amin, Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formation of Peripheral Capitalism, Monthly Review Press, New York-London, 1976.

8 Also see, Peter Linqucco and Bruce Mc Ferlane, Neo-Marxist Theories of Development, Croom Helm, London, 1983.

nities) of any State are dependent on the metropolis or on advanced areas (also advanced communities). The close economic and political ties bind the satellites to metropolis which expropriate their economic surplus for their own development. In this process the backward areas become increasingly backward and dependent.

Besides, all the available models and approaches can be classified into three broad categories - psychological approach; social structure approach and diffusionist approach.⁹ Further, there is another approach of recent origin which has grown out of the criticism of the aforesaid approaches and is called dependency theory approach. This approach has already been discussed in the context of Neo-Marxists approach. In general, these approaches are found insufficient and on reference to the development of backward communities, they seem to be more or less inconsistent with the requirements. An objective viewpoint of the issue calls for adopting a sort of confluent approach which should emphasize on development through self-initiation and activation. It should also assert on removing alienation and on replacing the illusion of participation in social affairs, created by ruling elite, with effective participation.

9 Rajendra Jayaswal, op. cit.

The concept of social development, which emerged out of the realization of the social dimension of economic development - has come to prominence in these days. Obviously, with the gaining currency of social development there arise certain questions relating to the conceptual differentiation of social change and development and modernization. Development is usually conceived as an aspect of change that is desirable, broadly predicted or planned and administered or at least influenced by government action.¹⁰ Change in a society is bound to happen. It may be of evolutionary type or a planned change. Change may also be desirable or undesirable. A desired and planned change always mean the transformation of a given society, which is considered as traditional, to a modern society. Development as a concept, thus, consists of an aspect of change, which is planned, predicted and seeks the involvement of the State. It must relate to transforming the entire society enmeshing together its economic, social, political and administrative aspects for an allround balanced upward change.¹¹ Similarly, modernization and development should not be used inter-

10 John D. Montgomery, cited in A.R. Basu, Tribal Development Programmes and Administration in India, National Book Organization, New Delhi, 1985, p. 27.

11 S.K. Sharma, Development Administration in India, Theory and Practice, International Book Company, Jullunder, 1971, p. 4.

changeably. The former is a particular case of the later.

While dealing with the phenomenon of development, it is necessary to realize that, development of people is certainly a different phenomenon from development of nation. In case of the later quantitative measure can be applied to quantify the production, distribution and exchange of material goods. But in case of former, quantification of abstract gains of happiness and attainment of spiritual faculty is impossible.¹² So far, the phenomenon of development has been discussed in the light of national development. The idea of peoples development can be conceived in terms of the living standard of the people, their life pattern, mental happiness and also development of their personality. In fine, development is never complete, it is a relative state of mind and a rate of change in a particular direction. It has broadly three dimensions - economic, social and political.¹³ So, what is needed is to strike a happy balance among its various dimensions. Hence it is also necessary to develop an approach which would strike a right balance between social

12 M.L. Patel, Planning Strategy for Tribal Development, Inter India Publications, New Delhi, 1984, p. 4.

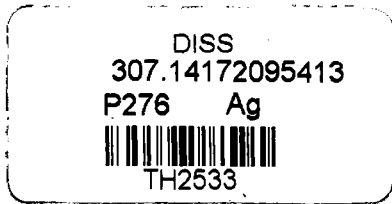
13 A.R. Basu, op. cit.

and economic development.¹⁴ Social development includes the development of manpower, employment opportunities, level of real income and wages, more equitable distribution of incomes and wages, education, health, housing, social welfare, constructive use of leisure time etc. Economic development includes development of agriculture, industry, mining, power, transport and communication facilities, water resources etc.¹⁵ It is found that economic development does not necessarily lead to social development. There should be required efforts for social development and a right balance is to be maintained. In other words the policy objectives of a society should provide a social purpose for economic development. It is the prime duty of a welfare state to adopt a suitable policy of development. The following three models of social policy, advanced by Richard Titmus summarises the predominant trends and approaches of social policy in the world -

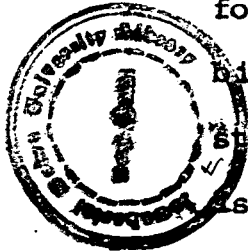
1. Residual welfare
2. Achievement performance
3. Institutional redistribution

14 Social Development is meant here in a broader sense including all other non-economic variables of development like cultural, political etc.

15 M.L. Qureshi, cited in S.N. Dubey and R. Mundia, Administration of Policy and Programmes for Backward Classes in India, Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1976, p. 1.



In the residual welfare model individual is viewed as the most important unit, and instrument of his own welfare. This model holds that there are ample opportunities available to each individual which he can utilize for his welfare. Any failure in it is due to the incapability of the individual and not because of the opportunity structure or monitoring institution. So, what is needed is temporary help to the distressed individual to enable him to use the existing opportunities and to become self-sufficient.¹⁶



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Achievement performance model emphasizes on the merit and achievement. According to this model, social needs should be met on the basis of merit achievement, status differentials, performance and productivity. The community or state with its wider access to and hold on resources should take the responsibility to promote social welfare. However, the beneficiaries should pay for the services they get. Thus the access to these services is dependant on the ability of the people to pay.

✓ Institutional redistribution model is based on the moral concept of social justice which recognizes the right of the individual to obtain the basic social and welfare services irrespective of his ability to pay or not.

16 S.N. Dubey and R. Murdia, op.cit.

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As an welfare state India pursue a social policy, aimed at providing social justice and achieving all-round development of the people. A developing society like India, which has rightly chosen socialism as its goal and democracy as the means, is faced with the tremendous task of transforming a feudal-agrarian colonial structure into a democratic-industrial open class society.¹⁷ So her efforts to ensure high rate of economic growth is combined with social justice. The philosophy of welfare state cast heavy responsibility with regards to the protection and advancement of interests of the backward and weaker sections of the society.¹⁸

Among the myriad problems with which India is confronted, none is more urgent and knotty than that of the development of weaker sections, more specifically the tribals. The backwardness of a sizeable section of Indian population poses a stumbling block in her march towards progress. Unless this vast multitude of people come at par with their civilized and relatively advanced brothers, India's efforts to transfer the traditional society into a modern one would be a futile exercise. Hence tribal

17 J.S. Mathur, Tribal Development Administration, Perspectives on Tribal Development, Proceedings of the workshop held at NICD, Hyderabad, 1974, pp. 163-72.

18 A.R. Basu, op. cit., p. 14.

development is one of the most ticklish problems for Indian government and society today. The problem of tribal development has taken such an acute dimension because of the complexities and diversities of tribal problems which baffle both the planners and administrators. Again, the wide hiatus in the level of development of tribals and non-tribals pose an immediate problem as the gap is too wide to bridge up. What is needed in the context of tribal development is adoption of a suitable approach, viable planning and effective implementation.

Considering the socio-economic conditions of the tribals, ecology of tribal areas and keeping socio-political values of the state, in mind, different approaches have been evolved for the welfare of tribal people. The orientation and vision of these approaches depend largely on the understanding of tribal problems, culture and ingenuity. Different zones have different problems and a suitable approach to their development should have necessary insight into the specificity of the community. Majumdar identified two types of efforts being involved in the welfare works; (a) reform approach, (b) administrative approach. He specified social reforms to the first category and government sponsored activities, backed by social scientists, to the second category. Vidyarthi and Dubey speak of four approaches. They are - (1) social service approach or

voluntary agency approach, (ii) the political approach, and (iv) the religious approach. (iii) the anthropological approach. Besides, Vidyarthi adds one more approach, called administrative approach.

A brief discussion on various approaches would provide an insight to have a proper evaluation of the planning and strategy for tribal development.

1. The Religious Approach:

The tribal religion is perceived as 'animism' in its various degrees of manifestation within the tribal community. Tribals live in their own religious world, practising some distinct and typical religious rituals and are considered as having a separate religious identity. Till the present days they were kept outside the pale of Hinduism. Gradually as the tribal community started occupying the attention of leaders of both the State and of different sects, various religious bodies started spreading their religious virtues in tribal areas. Christian missionaries were the first among others to enter into the isolated and secluded tribal belts to carry on their welfare activities and evangelization. Subsequently other religious bodies entered into the scene. It was felt among some sections of Hindu community that the tribals should be prevented from being converted into any other religion. Keeping this view in mind, some altruistic services

were started in the tribal belt.

The initial motive of the Christian missionaries in the time of the colonial rule was to propagate the culture of silence and the politics of submission to the exploitative design of its masters.¹⁹ In the following periods they worked hard to assimilate the tribals with the culture of Christianity. At present they render a valuable service to this community. In the following chapters more discussion would be made on their role in the field of tribal development.

Other religious agencies like Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Luther Mission and another Catholic Mission have also been carrying out massive conversion activities. Attempts are being made by several religious organisations to assimilate tribals into the political culture of casteism and communalism. The basic thrust of this approach is to assimilate tribals into a religious culture which in turn help breaking their isolation and passivity and joining with the mainstream. This approach, obviously creates a feeling of inferiority and generates a crisis of identity among the tribals. It also breaks social solidarity and destroys the progressive values of tribal cultural fabric.

19 Nadeem Hasnain, Tribal India Today, Hamam Publications, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 198-202.

2. Anthropological Approach:

Anthropologists have tried to understand the tribal problems from a different perspective and to find out tangible solutions to them. The colonial anthropologists were mainly concerned with law and order problem in tribal areas. Subsequently there has been a rising trend in anthropological studies to trace out the root causes of the tribal problems emanating from cultural contact and social change. The anthropologists became concerned about the problems of integration and isolation. Elwin's concept of "Parkland" brought about a breakthrough and initiated a debate. His view soon was refuted by Ghurey and others who stressed on the assimilation of tribals in the Hindu fold. Other anthropologists are also concerned with tribal welfare and development.²⁰ They are of the view that the knowledge in anthropology will considerably help both in policy formulation and developmental administration. This approach views development as a multi-dimensional process which would bring about improvements in all sectors of the community leading towards a balanced

20 For details, see, H.M. Mathur (ed.), Anthropology in the Development Process, op. cit., Also see, H.M. Mathur, Anthropology and Public Administration, in L.P. Vidyarthi and B.N. Sahay (eds.), Applied Anthropology and Development in India, National, 1980, pp. 3-12; B.N. Sahay, Pragmatism in Development; Application of Anthropology, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 76-156.

growth of the society. Here, anthropologists emphasize upon the proper understanding of tribal man and community, social organizations and tribal culture. It also asserts that planning only in economic and technical perspective would hamper the progress of cultural and social development. So it is important to recognize various facets of tribal cultural life in planning and policy formulation. It stands for the meaningful application of social science knowledge in development activities. Furthermore, this approach stresses on the specificities of tribal culture and tribal ingenuity. At the same time it looks for a composite culture and greater area of integration.

This approach, too, has some fundamental weakness. The most significant shortcoming of this approach is its inability to trace out as to what are the progressive aspects of tribal culture and its economy. The political potentiality of the tribals has been reduced to the level of passive subjects in the political process. The political culture has been unfortunately depicted as one of passive subjective political culture and hence the tribals have been denied any dynamic and radical role to perform in the political system.

3. The Voluntary Agency Approach:

This approach has acquired considerable signifi-

cance with the increase in the nature and dimension of voluntary works, undertaken by social workers, reformers and other social movement agencies. Soon after the independence, the social workers found a favourable political and administrative set-up to carry on their social services. The government too sought all cooperation from the social workers in framing tribal policies and delegated some power to them in executing welfare schemes.²¹ It was felt that the participation of non-official agencies would quicken and strengthen the process of socio-economic transition. Thus voluntary organizations continue to play a salient role in transforming the tribal societies, from traditional to modernity. While recognizing the pivotal role of voluntary organizations the Planning Commission holds that they have an important role to play in the mobilization of support to various programmes and their effective implementation.²² In brief the objectives of voluntary organizations may be set in as follows:²³ (i) to create an awareness about participating in socio-economic development, (ii) to create an able

21 L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai, The Tribal Culture of India, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 411-54.

22 Sixth Five Year Plan: 1980-85, Government of India, Planning Commission, New Delhi, p. 419.

23 O.D. Heggade, Role of VSOs in Tribal Development, Kurukshetra, Vol. XXX, No. 13, April 1, 1982, pp. 12-15.

and efficient local leadership, (iii) to assist the planned efforts to create socio-economic infrastructural facilities, (iv) to facilitate the process of expanding employment opportunities, (v) to induce appropriate persons to set up small scale productions, (vi) to induce the tribals to give up the pre-agricultural technology and to seek more and more education.

Most serious problem with this approach is that the role of voluntary organizations in changing a tradition-ridden society to a modern one is a herculean task. The distrust and suspicion among the tribals, resulting in poor response, limited number of voluntary organisations, paucity of financial resources and lack of coordination among voluntary organisations and government agencies are some of the problems associated with this approach.

4. The Political Approach:

The political approach is considered significant as this approach is very much manifested in policy making and providing suitable constitutional safeguards for the tribals. This approach to tribal welfare can be understood in the context of pre-independence and post-independence period. The British administration created excluded and partially excluded areas and gave separate representation

for the tribals against stiff opposition of the nationalist leaders. It virtually turned the tribal areas into ethnological parks, protected and maintained by different tenurial steps and executive actions. The tribal areas were excluded from the purview of legislature. After independence attempts were taken to provide adequate safeguards and facilities to this weaker segment of the population. The Constitution safeguards tribal interests. Initially a period of ten years was fixed to achieve the desired development of this community by providing protective discrimination to these people. But it continued to be in vogue even today as the problems are found more complicated to be solved in the prescribed time period. This approach emphasizes on the participatory role of tribals in various levels of politics, administration or nation building.

Administrative approach, as pointed out by Vidyanthi is more or less close to political approach and highlights on the administrative machinery, for tribal welfare.

Each approach, despite of all shortcomings, intends tribal upliftment. But at the same time no single approach per se is sufficient to meet the problems of tribal development. So what is needed is a coherent, comprehensive and confluent approach to tribal welfare.

Having discussed various approaches to tribal development, emerged till these days, it is desirable to examine the goals of developmental efforts, specifically in the context of integrated area planning, which has been the latest development in the field of planned tribal welfare. The five point formula of Nehru epitomises the government policy. The main thrust of Nehru's * Panchashila is that tribal development should be done along the lines of their own genius with full recognition of tribal rights, avoiding over administration. Another striking feature of it is that tribals should form majority of personnel in tribal developmental administration and the result of such efforts should be judged by the quality of human character. Briefly, different approaches to tribal development should be considered only in the light of the goals of the development and all the efforts should be directed accordingly. In general, the goals of tribal development may be given as follows.

Economic Goal:

Economic development is a process whereby country's real natural income increases over a longer period of time. It implies both more output and change in the technical and institutional arrangement by which it is

produced.²⁴ In the context of tribal development it aims at increasing income and strengthening of material aspects of tribal culture through better and proper utilization of the environmental resources. The subsistence economy of the tribal society should be turned into a viable economy and each tribal should be self-sufficient and free from economic exploitation by outsiders.

Political Goal:

" Political development refers to the process of politicization i.e. increasing participation or involvement of the citizens in the state activities and in power calculations and consequences.²⁵ So political goal of development means a move towards evolving a democratic process. In the context of tribal society the approach must largely depend on the existing socio-political organizations. As pointed out by Dhebar Commission, the pattern of power structure in tribal communities ranges from highly authoritative to highly democratic. Hence the goal should be the acceptance of democracy and democratic norms as a way of life and the tribal organizations should ultimately be linked with the larger

24 Charles P. Kindleberger, cited in A.R. Basu, op. cit., p. 39.

25 F.W. Riggs, Bureaucrats and Political Development: A Paradoxical View, in Joseph La Palombara (ed.), Bureaucracy and Political Development, Princeton, 1963, p. 139.

framework of power politics of Indian society. On the one hand the traditional political institutions should be reorganised and on the other hand more and more tribals should be involved in the new political and administrative institutions of the country. Several scholars agree with Shilu Ao study teams' observations that tribal areas should be excluded from the operation of Panchayati Raj legislation. In that case the traditional institutions having democratic spirits, norms and practices would have to be revived. But the feasibility of such a step is doubted as it might create duplicacy and destroy uniformity. Whatever the case may be, it is necessary to politicize the tribal scene. The emerging and existing political parties or pressure groups should render a key service by articulating and communicating tribal interests and also by politicizing the tribal scene rather than exploiting the tribals politically.

Social and Cultural Goals:

Social development, as mentioned earlier, implies bringing about improvement in the social being of the people. It is as important as economic development. The tribal groups are in different stages of socio-economic development. On the basis of their socio-economic condition, they can be broadly divided into four groups. It is

generally agreed that sufficient attention should be given to the tribals who are still in a primitive stage. The important aspects of tribal culture must be retained. There should be suitable criteria of socio-cultural development for the different groups of tribals on the basis of differential approach.

✓ The basic purpose of all the efforts in the direction of socio-cultural development of the tribals is to transform tribal society to a kind of society to what we call developed, civilized and advanced. In fine, the tribal society should come in terms with larger Indian society. While moving towards a larger Indian society, the value framework of such society should clearly be comprehended. The tribal communities should ✓ not be encouraged to develop some undesirable elements of the existing larger Indian society,²⁶ and likewise they should not give up some of the best features of their own. The question of assimilation and integration ✓ must be viewed in the light of the desirable and undesirable elements of both the societies. The value orientation of tribal development is also inextricably linked

26 Indian society is stratified on the basis of caste. Again, untouchability, backwardness of the women etc. are some of the unhealthy and undesirable elements of Indian society which are not found in tribal society. The tribals must be discouraged to cultivate these practices.

with the value framework of the emergent society. The value orientation of tribal development, hence, should be shaped and guided by the desirable and healthy socio-political and cultural values of the greater society. Otherwise, there would arise serious problems of adjustment and integration.^{27✓}

Thus, the goals of tribal development can be said to have a long-term and a short term objectives. The long-term objectives are to - (i) transform tribal society and to bring it at par with the larger Indian society while preserving the cultural ethos of the tribals, (ii) to improve the quality of life of the tribals. Short-term objectives consist of elimination of exploitation and amelioration of poverty.

✓ The State, being the primary agent of development of the society in general and weaker sections in particular, launches several schemes to promote tribal upliftment. Planning, therefore, has acquired utmost significance in achieving the desired goal. Planning presumes that the course of events can be changed in a systematic way. In the context of tribal development proper planning and suitable strategy have pivotal role to bring about

✓ the desirable transformation of tribal society. Planning for tribal development or developmental strategy has to be linked up with the national planning. On the other hand it needs some special treatment so as to meet the local conditions. Another fundamental problem of planning for tribal development may be the existence of an wide gulf between the spirit of the plan and the nature of its execution. A conceptually flexible plan at the national level may get expressed in terms of rigid local programmes.²⁸ The programmes, furthermore, may not meet the felt needs of the people. The tribals are inarticulate. They are unfamiliar with the extricate planning and administrative processes. It may give rise to a gap between planners and administrators in one side and the tribal people on the other. Therefore, it is necessary for the planners and administrators to take cognizance of the felt needs of the tribals and their specific problems.

In the present context it is required to know how the tribal people have been approached so far by the administrators and also, what are the basic thrusts of planning, and objectives of different strategies

28 B.D. Shanna, Economic Development of Extremely Backward Tribal Regions, Indian Anthropologists, Vol. 3, No. 2, Dec. 1973, p. 118.

adopted for tribal development. In the event of the far-reaching changes in the national scene, the change in the socio-political fabric and the consequent changes in the thinking process and orientation, the approaches to the tribals may be considered in the light of pre-independence and post-independence periods. Broadly, there has been three main approaches and historically, all the planning and strategies have been revolving around them. They are - (i) policy of segregation which emerged during British rule and continued to exist even after independence, (ii) policy of assimilation, which was adopted to do away with the anomalies which emerged as a product of the policy of segregation, (iii) finally, there is a policy of integration of tribes in regional and national setting. In brief, the policy of segregation was deliberately adopted by the British rulers to separate the tribal areas from the purview of normal administration. The Britishers were aware of the revolutionary potentials of the tribals and hence all attempts were taken to cut them off from the mainstream.²⁹ Unfortunately the government of India too adopted the same policy of isolation though in a slightly modified form even after independence. This isolation led to much exploitation

29 A.B. Bardhan, Unsolved Tribal Problems, Communist Party of India, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 4-8

by non-tribal money-lenders, zamindars and created a sense of separateness in them.³⁰ The approach of assimilation ensured a process of culture contact. This contact generated some problems too, partly because of the long prevailing sense of isolation and limited world view of the tribals. However, this contact gave rise to new categories of tribals on the basis of the degree of acculturation. It was held by some scholars that tribals were backward Hindus and any attempt to isolate them from the mainstream would be a futile exercise.³¹ Finally, a mid-way approach was adopted. This approach, known as integrated approach, became acceptable to social reformers, politicians, social scientists and the administrators to deal with the problems of the previous two policies. Recent approaches, being experimented by the administration like - single line administration, area development approach and finally the sub-plan approach, are the products of the broader policy of integration.

Thus, the history of tribal development and administration is conditioned by the different approaches adopted since pre-independence period. As mentioned earlier the British government had the policy of isolation with

30 L.P. Vidyarthi, and B.N. Rai, op. cit., p. 413.

31 G.S. Ghurye, Scheduled Tribes, Popular Prakashan, New Delhi, 1963, p. 19.

regards to the tribals. Obviously, there was little effort by the government to bring them at par with others. Hence, no substantial and significant development policy was adopted. The Government of India Act, 1935, provided some opportunities to give a new lease in tribal administration. In 1937, after the induction of Congress Ministries, the provinces of Bihar, Orissa, Bombay and Madras framed committees to look into the condition of tribals. Unfortunately this opportunity could not be availed because of an abrupt change in the political situation.³² After independence, the nation witnessed a considerable awakening about the welfare of the tribals which was reflected in various provisions of the Constitution and expressed in several welfare measures. As for the Constitutional arrangements, articles 15, 16, 17, 19, 23, 25, 45, 164, 244, 275, 328, 330, 332, 334, 335, 338, 339, 340 and 342, the preamble itself and 5th and 6th schedule of the Constitution are relevant.

With the commencement of the first five year plan, the government efforts started. In the early fifties there took place some important structural changes in the administrative system. Previously, the general

32 The Congress ministries in all the provinces resigned in the wake of the Second World War. See, B.N. Sahay, op. cit., p. 36.

administration itself was assigned developmental tasks. Gradually, the volumes and importance of developmental works demanded a separate institutional machinery. Therefore, in some States separate development administration machinery got established. In 1952, community development programme was started. As per the programme numbers of community development (C.D.) blocks were opened throughout the country. The block became the unit of implementation of programmes and lower level planning. Public participation was ensured. Special efforts were made with regards to tribal areas. The first systematic efforts with a specially evolved strategy and administrative set-up in the direction of tribal development was the introduction of systematic multi-purpose tribal blocks. In 1956, 43 such blocks were opened in different States in the areas of the greatest tribal concentration. An effort was, thus, made to gain foothold for the establishment of a number of institutions and initiation of extension activities with a view to feel the pulse of the tribals and study socio-cultural barriers and tribal problems. The SMPT blocks were jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Home Affairs and community development and were placed under the charge of the state governments. A SMPT block differed from the normal community development block

with respect to its objectives, population criteria, allocation of funds etc. A modified version of this programme was adopted on a larger scale during the end of Second Five Year Plan when tribal development blocks were started.

A committee under the chairmanship of Elwin was appointed to study their working and to recommend the government on how to implement programmes intensively with a tribal bias. On the basis of the recommendation ✓ of the committee, the tribal development programme was further revised during Third Five Year Plan. 469 Tribal ✓ Development (T.D.) blocks were started functioning under Community Development Programme. It was decided that all areas having at least 2/3 tribal concentration were to be covered by this programme during this period. By the end of the third plan about 500 tribal development blocks covered barely about 40 per cent of the tribal population.³³ The tribal development blocks were more or less like normal community development blocks with an ✓ additional fund of one million rupees during the first stage and half a million during the second stage.³⁴

33 B.D. Sharma, Administration for Tribal Development, Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 23, No. 3, July-Sept., 1977, p. 621.

34 B.N. Sahay, op. cit., pp. 39-47.

Tribal development became synonymous with community development block. Hence attempt was made to expand and consolidate this programme. However, this programme could not be extended geographically during the Fourth Plan, rather their period of operation was extended. Apart from the usual operation of tribal development blocks, tribal welfare departments in some States took up some additional responsibility of tribal development.

In the mean time the programme was reviewed on many occasions. A study team was appointed under the chairmanship of Shri Shilu Ao, by the Planning Commission to assess the working of the tribal development blocks and suggest accordingly. The committee was of the opinion that the tribal development block was too small an area for comprehensive planning, effective implementation and also large investment on infrastructural development.

The tribal development blocks, made in the line of community development blocks, were expected to cover all aspects of community life. But gradually they became circumscribed by the schematic budgetary constraints.³⁵

¶ The Shilu Ao Committee observed the following notable limitations of tribal development blocks:

35 B.D. Shama, op. cit.

- ✓ 1. Fragmented approach to development planning,
2. Application of large number of standardised schemes in tribal areas,
3. Neglect in employment aspect of development,
4. Failure to take up settlement of land disputes in the pre-extension stage,
5. Investment of as much as 20 per cent in productive schemes in agriculture, animal husbandry etc.

The other two significant shortcomings of tribal development blocks were - (i) there were in most cases the exclusive efforts of the tribal sector and the programmes of general sectors failed to reach the tribal areas; and (ii) the benefits of development did not percolate beyond the upper crust of the tribal community in most of the areas.³⁶

The aforesaid lacuna of tribal development blocks and the consequent shortfalls in tribal development was seriously considered. It was also felt that specific attention should be focussed on the specific problems of each identifiable groups. Taking all these considerations into account a major policy decision was taken by the

36 B.K. Roy Burman, Perspective for Administration and Development of the Scheduled Tribes, Perspective on Tribal Development and Administration, op. cit., pp. 31-60.

Government of India that henceforth the major thrust for development of the tribal areas and tribal communities has to be provided by the concerned sectoral authorities. Since every department is responsible, within its functional jurisdiction, for the even development of the State, the problems of tribal areas should be given special attention in the normal programme.³⁷ The central ministries also assumed special responsibility with regard to tribal development.³⁸ Besides, different approaches were adopted for the development of tribal concentrated area and for sparsely distributed tribals. The concept of sub-plan was evolved. It is not a scheme rather it represents a new approach.

For a clearly defined strategy, policy on programme of development, the problems of tribal development was broadly divided into two parts - (i) area of tribal concentration, (ii) dispersed tribal communities prior to that the tribal scene was comprehensively reviewed and all the States and Union Territories having tribal population were divided broadly into two categories - (a) states and union territories having more than 80 per cent

37 B.D. Sharma, op. cit., p. 525.

38 In the new arrangements the central ministries are required to take administrative decisions for tribal areas with regards to some items which belong to the State list.

tribal population e.g. Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Laksha Dweep, (b) the remaining states and union territories.

The plan in the states or union territories of first category was obviously expected to be addressed to the tribals because of their thick concentration. Therefore, no specific efforts were required. In the remaining states and union territories tribal development needed special attention.³⁸ It is in these remaining states and union territories that the problem of tribal development is to be divided into the aforesaid two parts. The approach and strategy in both the cases are different in that in case of tribal concentrated areas it would be possible to undertake community oriented and large scale infrastructural development programmes. In case of dispersed tribals there would not be any separate scheme and the tribals are to be benefitted by the general development schemes in the region. Besides, in the former case programmes could be for area development with focus on the development of tribal communities. While in the latter case, community or family based

38 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Twentyfifth Report (1977-78), Government of India, New Delhi, p. 124.

programmes had to be taken up,³⁹ but these programmes are to be drawn and implemented by general departments. In this new strategy enough care was taken to focus attention on the specific problems of each identifiable group and areas. Thus a concept of area development with focus on the development of tribal communities was evolved in relation to development in the tribal areas.⁴⁰

After this major policy decision, the next step was to identify sub-plan areas and to delineate them. The regions of tribal concentration were demarcated as sub-plan area. The sub-plan area was further made up of a number of viable projects, known as ITDPs. For each project an integrated area development programme with special attention on the problems of the area and people was formulated. ITDP was made an unit of planning at project level and arrangements were also made for popular participation. The long-term objectives of the sub-plan are:

1. To narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribal and other areas.
2. To improve the quality of life of the tribal communities.

39 Ibid.

40 B.D. Sharma, Planning for Tribal Development, Prachi Prakashan, New Delhi, 1984, p. 63.

That apart, the main objectives of the sub-plan strategy are elimination of exploitation in all forms, speeding up the process of socio-economic development, building up inner strength of the people and improving organizational capabilities.

With the above objectives a general scheme was evolved which among other things necessitated an integration of institutional frames and financial allocations. In relation to the development programmes, the tribal sub-plan represent the totality of public sector efforts in that area. The resources comprise of four elements -

1. Outlay from state plan
2. Investment by the central ministries
3. Special central assistance
4. Institutional finance

The concept of tribal sub-plan itself was kept flexible and adoptive to local situations in each state.

The sub-plan strategy which is a landmark in tribal development planning has been operating since then. Several committees specially the reports of Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, have on different occasions referred to various anomalies and shortfalls in the functioning of the projects. The

ITDPs are confronted with several problems which would be discussed in the following chapters.

It has been felt that development administration is confronted with a lot of problems. The problems could be viewed mainly from two angles : (i) structural, and (ii) behavioural.⁴¹ Structurally, there should be an appropriate type of organizational set up to translate the objectives into reality. The organization should be modernised and well equipped with new administrative technologies. Behaviourally, the administration should develop a set of new values and attitudes which are conducive to push through the programmes. In other words what is needed is a well structured administrative machinery with a set of values, goals and priorities which would not be incompatible with the tribal ethos.

It has been observed very often that the non-tribal officers go to the tribal areas with their own cultural values and consider tribal culture inferior, their tradition, absurd their rituals exotic and their behaviour full of mystery.⁴² This attitude creates an wide gulf between the administration and the mass and frustrates

41 A.R. Basu, op. cit.

42 S.N. Mishra, L.M. Prasad and K. Sharma, Tribal Voting Behaviour : A Study of Bihar Tribes, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1982, p.31

the very philosophy of development. As the implementation of programmes depends on the quality of the personnel, the officers working in tribal areas are expected to be persons of good calibre and competence. Besides, Myrdal's ³ law of cumulative causation⁴³ holds good in case of tribal development. Those who have advanced already undergo accelerated advancement while the backward people continue to lag behind. The vicious circle of cumulative backwardness poses a challenge to the basic purpose of administration. The benefits of such programmes are being absorbed by economically better off people also to some extent by some sections of the tribal community in varying measures, which is resulting in large inter-tribal and intra-tribal inequalities.⁴⁴ The inequality presents an indirect problem to the administration.

④ The other vital problems of tribal administration are tribal indifference to modern institutions and the low participation in development works. While the traditional institutions lack legality and modern perspective, the new institutions are almost alien to the tribal thinking and generally lack effective appli-

43 See, Gunnar Myrdal, The Economic Theories and Underdeveloped Regions, London, 1969.

44 Report of the Working Group on Tribal Development during medium term plan, 1978-83, July 1978, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, p. 23

cability.⁴⁵ There should be a proper fusion of the two sets of institutions. Sometimes tribal development faces challenges from environment. The tribal culture, its economy, social custom and political system also influences the administrative set-up. The set-up has to be suitably changed so as to suit the tribal areas.

It is true that despite of all the efforts the gross result falls short of the expectation. The tribals have not been able to keep pace with other communities and other areas in every field. Isolation, inaccessibility, low productivity, poor communication facilities, weak marketing infrastructure and the ruthless exploitations of the money lenders are some of the common features of tribal areas even today. The half-hearted implementation of programmes have made the situation worse^e.

⑤ Closely related to the problems mentioned above, there also exists a wide gap between elite and the masses. Relatively only a small section has been politicised and among them some motivated persons influence the political and administrative elite. The result has been the emergence of various forms of corruption, conflict

45 R.K. Mishra, Some Problems of Developmental Administration of Tribal Areas in India, Perspectives on Tribal Development and Administration, op. cit., pp. 92-95.

between people's rising tide of expectation and public policy. The situation finally leads to the enstrangement of the tribals. Which it is the primary objective of the state to avoid.

The aforesaid problems point out the need of paying a close look at the broader framework of development. The task of development administration, which is a special and pivotal branch of public administration is to be genuinely concerned with plans, policies, programmes and projects in respect to the accepted goals and adopted objectives for tribal development.

Chapter II

AGENCIES OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

Since independence, development of tribes has occupied the attention of union and state governments in India. Even prior to independence, the miserable plight of the tribal communities could draw the attention of many individuals and organisations who had rendered valuable services to their cause. After independence, the government is turning more and more towards development of these aboriginal people. Several organisations and institutions are also engaged in the welfare activities for the tribals. Broadly, all the agencies, working in the field of tribal development, can be divided into two categories; government and semi-governmental agencies, voluntary organisations. Besides, political institutions like party and other social cultural organisations are also associated with tribal affairs in one way or other. In this chapter an attempt has been made to focus some light on different types of agencies with special treatment to the Integrated Tribal Development Agencies.

It is assumed that political parties both the ruling party and the opposition parties, specially the left, will take take on the causes of the poor and down-trodden people. They are to see how the system

is working and delivering goods to the people. A political party can be an instrument of development of the society and in case of tribal development, it can be more effective, as the tribal society is, in these days, in a process of transition and transformation. A political party can be an effective agent of tribal development in that it can articulate and aggregate tribal interests, channelize them upto the government and can politically educate the people to demand their due share in the system. It has already been discussed earlier that the all round development of the tribal society includes the politicization of the tribal scene. Tribals should develop political awareness and from a subjective-passive political culture, which has been found so far, they should move towards a participant political culture. This can, along with other things, help in bringing them at par with the comparatively more civilized brothers of the plains. For the politicization of tribal scene the most important necessity is political education. By coming in contact with government officials, availing the benefits given by the government agencies, the tribals have come to a position to feel the existence of the state machinery and its various apparatus, meant for their betterment. However, much is left for the political parties. They can provide political education which in turn help the

tribals to get themselves mixed with the mainstream. Apart from that, articulation of interests, aggregation of them, providing a communication bridge between the government and the people are some of the important functions of the political party and in tribal area they have an additional responsibility of breaking the passivity of the people.

✧ But it is found in many parts of the country that the political parties in their struggle for achieving power by any means, do not have time or concern for the poor, specifically the backward section of the society.

✧ They are increasingly reduced to electoral and legislative politics and there is an erosion in their mass base.¹

Voluntary Organizations

Voluntarism is the fundamental impulse of change in Indian society. It has brought about the change from imperial rule to political independence. Both the statist and voluntarist-populist approach for development and nation building emerged during the Freedom movement.²

1 Rajni Kothari, "Role of Voluntary Organizations", in Jose Kannaike (ed.), Seventh Plan and Development of Weaker Sections, I.S.I, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 143-49.

2 K. Saint, The State, Voluntary bodies and Peoples' Institutions in Rural Development, Voluntary Action, AVARD, Vol. XXI, No. 3, March, 1979, pp. 22-26. Also see, Bunker Roy, Indian Express, 1.11.1986.

After independence voluntary organisations continued to play a significant role in the field of rural development and nation building. Most of the efforts for rural development were initiated by great individuals and organisations including missionaries and other religious bodies. These organisations are at present performing a key role in the field of development. Until the time that a genuinely democratic machinery of governance comes into being, there will remain a need for organisations which can perform the mediating role between the state and the people.³ We find today that in some states these non-party, non-governmental organisations are engaged in different welfare activities.

As early as 1971 Bhil Seva Mandal was formed in Gujarat. During those days A.V. Thakkar was the moving spirit behind voluntary organisations committed for tribal development. By the time India got independence he could establish more than 20 voluntary institutions in different parts of the country. Some other leaders in the Congress were also involved in tribal development activities. Dr. Rajendra Prasad's Bharatiya Adimjati Seva Sangha had helped a lot in shaping the tribal policy at the stage of preparation of the Constitution.⁴

3 Ibid.

4 Nadeem Hasnain, Tribal India Today, Hamam Publication, New Delhi, 1983, p. 200.

Today we have a whole spectrum of different voluntary organisations. Most of these agencies are working in various fields, starting from education, public health to cultural activities. To enable them to expand their activities, the government provides them financial assistance. Thus, the importance of enlisting the support of non-official agencies in promoting welfare of the tribal communities has been recognised and the individuals, involved, are often consulted in the formulation and implementation of tribal development programmes.

But there are also some shortfalls 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 that are given to these voluntary agencies do not really reach the poor. They suffer from the same hardships of the ordinary bureaucracy and political parties.⁵ There are other organisations who came up mostly in late 60s and 70s by some individuals with a mission to serve the weaker section of the society. Such type of organisations despite of their size, are found working satisfactorily. However, these organisations often fail to play the expected role and usually their competence is doubted

5 R. Kothari, op. cit., p. 146.

by the official agencies. The emergence of fake and corrupt voluntary organisations aggravates the situation.

However, the voluntary agencies are expected to render valuable services to the society with the experience they gain spirit they have and the financial support they get from the government. Regarding the role and nature of voluntary organisations there are two different views. Some are happy with the existence of such organisations and advocate for their increasing role. According to them these organisations should be given ample scope to serve the people, as the government agencies, crippled with bureaucratic complicity and official rigidity, have failed to work satisfactorily. On the other hand, voluntary organisations which came out of the zest of some individuals to serve the people can do well with all flexibility and dedication. There are still others who opine that it is undesirable to give so much of importance and authority to voluntary agencies as there is a possibility of the misutilisation of this opportunity. In this regard, the suggestion could be that the voluntary organisations should be given ample opportunity but at the same time should work in collaboration and cooperation with the government agencies and should be subject to strict government scrutiny and monitoring.

Nadeem Hasnain feels that it is necessary in any democratic framework that a measure of constructive activities of the nation should be done under non-official auspices.⁶ Kothari is also optimistic about the role of voluntary organisations when he says that with the decline of the state as a liberating force, with the decay in the party system, with the corrupts and commercialization of the public and the police, with all these and when the whole world looks like crumbling it is the voluntary section of the struggle oriented groups of the weaker section that shows some sight of hope.⁷ He strongly supports the idea of politicization of voluntary organisations. But some other scholars have cautioned that these agencies should be non-sectarian in principle and actions and social workers have to divorce themselves from party politics.⁸ Whatever the nature of voluntary agencies may be, it is beyond any doubt that they play a key role in the upliftment of the weaker sections of the society.

Of the various agencies responsible for the development of tribals, Christian missionaries would claim to

6 N. Hasnain, op. cit., p. 201.

7 Kothari, op. cit., p. 148.

8 Gunada Majumdar, National Development and Voluntary Agencies, Voluntary Action, AVARD, Vol. XVIII, No. 384, March-April, 1976, p. 53.

be the oldest. It is true that after the entry of the missionaries into the isolated and inaccessible tribal areas in the remote hills, a cultural contact between the primitive people and the plainsmen could be established and the government started paying some attention to these tribals.

Missionaries, after coming to this country, started evangelize the people specially that of the lower range, but their work in the field of conversion remained localised.⁹ They faced stiff opposition from a formidable section of the society. Even their welfare activities were looked with fear and suspicion by the Hindus. Soon, the missionaries realized that the untouchables and aboriginals could provide a better field for their philanthropic activities. They anticipated less or no opposition from the caste Hindus who were not in a position to accept anything from outside and who regarded the tribals as outside the pale of Hinduism. Thus, the philanthropic activities of the missionaries was followed by their attempt to convert the people into Christianity. Panikar holds that when their failure with the higher classes of the people became more and more evident, they

9 K.N. Sahay, Christianity as an Agency of Tribal Welfare in India, in L.P. Vidyarthi (ed.), Applied Anthropology in India, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1984, pp. 289-319.

diverted their activities to the conversion of these low communities of the Indian population.¹⁰ However, the missionaries claim that since the tribals, unlike the non-tribals, were ignorant of Christ, it was their duty to convey the Goodnews" to them. Whatever may be the motive behind proselytization of the Indian-tribals, it is true that welfare activities of the missionaries have gone a long way in advancing and educating the mountain and forest dwellers or one-time forgotten people. The intensity of their voluntary services can be very well felt in the tribal belts of Assam, Orissa, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.

Whenever and wherever Christian missionaries came out to work for the people, their attempt for the spiritual upliftment of the people is being followed by their commendable welfare services. Various welfare schemes such as opening of schools, dispensaries, hospitals, orphanages, vocational centres and other measures for eradicating miseries, and providing material comforts to the people are being undertaken. Briefly speaking, missionaries have been responsible for introducing various welfare measures in the tribal community and thus improving their social and economic conditions. Sahay

10 K.M. Panikar, cited in K.N. Sahay, op. cit., p. 291.

holds that such welfare activities, popularly known as the 'work of mercy' are considered as inseparable part of the evangelization and they must be carried together though this approach of missionaries has attracted criticism from different sections of the non-Christians.¹¹ Their activities have become a subject of both criticism and admiration. It roused a strong sense of dissatisfaction in some sections of the non-Christians. In its report, Niyogi Committee¹², which was created out of such increasing dissatisfaction, while condemning the attempt of conversion by applying force or fraud, made some suggestions and prescribed some guidelines regarding the working of the missionaries. Srinivas has also mentioned that the opening of schools, hospitals and other welfare agencies by the missionaries in the areas where Harijans and other tribals live, appear to the Hindus as only baits in the trap of conversion. The linking up of humanitarianism with proselytization has made the former suspect.¹³

11 K.N. Sahay, op. cit., p. 315.

12 Niyogi Committee was set-up by the Madhya Pradesh Government in 1954 to investigate the allegation that Christian missionaries convert the tribals either forcibly or through fraud and temptations of monetary and other gain.

13 M.N. Srinivas, Caste in Modern India and Other Essays, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962, p. 107.

Since we are concerned with the developmental and welfare activities of the missionaries, it is necessary to examine as to how this adverse situation which is being developed out of the suspicion and dissatisfaction of non-Christians affect the philanthropic activities of the missionaries. It is true that the institution of proselytization has unfortunately vitiated the value of the welfare works in the eyes of many. As Debur Commission report¹⁴ puts it, at many places the effect of their teaching has been to break up families and divide villages. It splits into Christian hamlet and non-Christian hamlet. Also, the attitude of some missionaries have been negative. To them every thing which is not Christian is 'heathen' and some of the finest aspects of tribal life have been abandoned in this process. The tribals have been taught to despise their past as a result of which a strong inferior complex has been created among them. The non-Christians develop antagonistic attitudes towards the activities of the missionaries. The problem is distinctly visible in some tribal areas where the non-tribals from the plains (mostly caste Hindus) constitute a sizeable portion of the population. They harass the missionaries and create a sense of suspicion in the minds

14 Cited in N. Hasnain, op. cit., p. 199.

of the tribals. The non-Christian tribals are being persuaded not to avail the benefits given by the Christians.¹⁵ Some other organisations are also engaged in checking the missionaries attempt to convert the tribals into Christianity.

Whatever the motives of the Christian missionaries may be, it is beyond any doubt that they are rendering a valuable service. In order to make their developmental activities effective they should carry on their welfare services and religious propagation separately. It should be realized that there is nothing wrong in conversion but it should happen out of strong desire of the tribals to embrace a new faith.

Government Agencies

After achieving independence India promised a new deal to its tribal population which was leading so far an isolated and secluded life. The object of the Indian government was to level up the underdeveloped tribal folks and to bring them at par with the non-tribals with the help of special safeguards. The Constitution of India also provides ample scope for a special treatment to this down-trodden sections of Indian community. Article 45 of the Indian Constitution lays down as a

¹⁵ This observation was made during the field study.

Directive Principles of the State policy that "the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Article 275 provides grants from the union to the states for meeting the cost of development schemes for the tribes undertaken by the states with the approval of the Centre and also developing the administrative set up of the scheduled areas. State governments have also made provisions for special allocation of funds for the welfare of the tribes. In brief, state machinery happens to be the most responsible instrument and viable agency of tribal development. State as a liberator of the underdeveloped people, makes necessary arrangements, formulates policies, allots funds and implements schemes for the upliftment of such people. For that purpose, a well conceived and expert policy making body, a well-organised administrative set-up and an efficient instrument to implement these policies, are of vital importance. State fulfills this necessity by creating different institutions with different areas of work and responsibility and also a viable administrative apparatus. As per the provision of the Constitution and practice adopted after independence

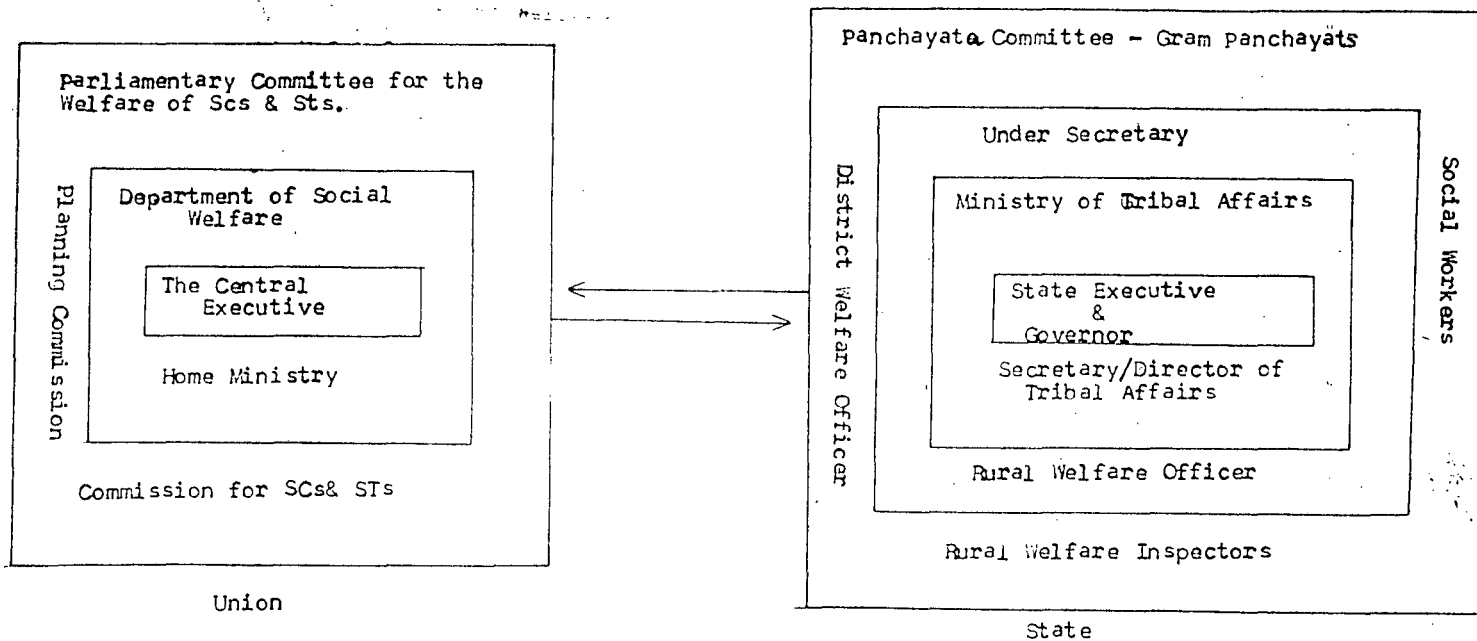
the tribal affairs present an unique amalgam of responsibility of the union government and the states.¹⁶ The Constitution formula has been formed in such a way that the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has become a joint responsibility of both union and state government. The two levels of governments are constitutionally empowered to participate in making laws and administering them. The interaction between the two levels of the structure is one of cooperation, coordination and sharing.¹⁷

Earlier we have discussed the evolution and development of tribal administrative structure. Here an attempt is made to highlight some of the official institutions and semiofficial agencies, responsible for tribal development. Presently the department of social welfare which was, most recently, separated from Home Ministry and made a separate ministry i.e. Ministry of Social Welfare at the Centre takes the overall responsibility for policy formulation, implementation and coordination of all programmes relating to the eradication of social injustice and exploitation of minorities as well as for their welfare.

16 Report on Development of Tribal Areas, National Committee on the Development of Backward Areas, Planning Commission, Govt. of India, New Delhi, June, 1981, pp. 27-38.

17 S. Rath, Federalism Today, Approaches, Issues and Trends, Sterling Publishers Pvt Ltd., New Delhi, 1984, pp. 104-20.

4/ An organizational Matrix of the Institutional Actors in the field of welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.



This matrix indicates organizational and institutional arrangements in general, applicable to different states with suitable modifications and adjustments. At the union level most recently the department of Social Welfare has been made a separate Ministry. At the state level Collector will be place with District Welfare Officer.

Source : S.Rath : Federalism To-day.

The Office of the Commissioner for
Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

Under Article 338 of the Constitution the offices of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was created in November 1950. A special officer, known as Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was appointed. The functions of the Commissioner, as given in Article 338, are to investigate and report on the working of the safeguards, provided by the Constitution and union legislation, by means of an annual report which is to be submitted to the President of India and subsequently discussed in the Parliament. The office of the Commissioner has been so designed to provide a link between the Constitution on the one hand and the union government and the state governments on the other. It is the medium through which the union government and parliament are kept informed of the progress in the implementation of the safeguards for the scheduled tribes and of schemes for their welfare.¹⁸

The Commission for Scheduled Castes
and Scheduled Tribes

The Commission for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes was set-up with the Ministry of Home Affairs,

¹⁸ Nadeem Hasnain, op. cit., p. 185.

Government of India, resolution no. 13 in July 1978. Keeping in view the magnitude of the problems relating to the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes, the government had to set up this high level commission so that the problems of these weaker sections of the community received adequate attention at appropriate levels.¹⁹ Amendment of Article 338 was made and previous office of Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes was merged with the new Commission. The Commission acquired wide range of authority and responsibility while the day to day affairs relating to the welfare of scheduled communities were left to the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Government of India Resolution setting up the Commission mentions that the function of the Commission will broadly correspond with the functions that were entrusted to the Commissioner for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. As per the resolution, the Commission has the following functions:²⁰

1. To investigate all matters relating to safeguards provided for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the Constitution.

19 Report of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1st Report (1978-79), Govt. of India, New Delhi, p. 5.

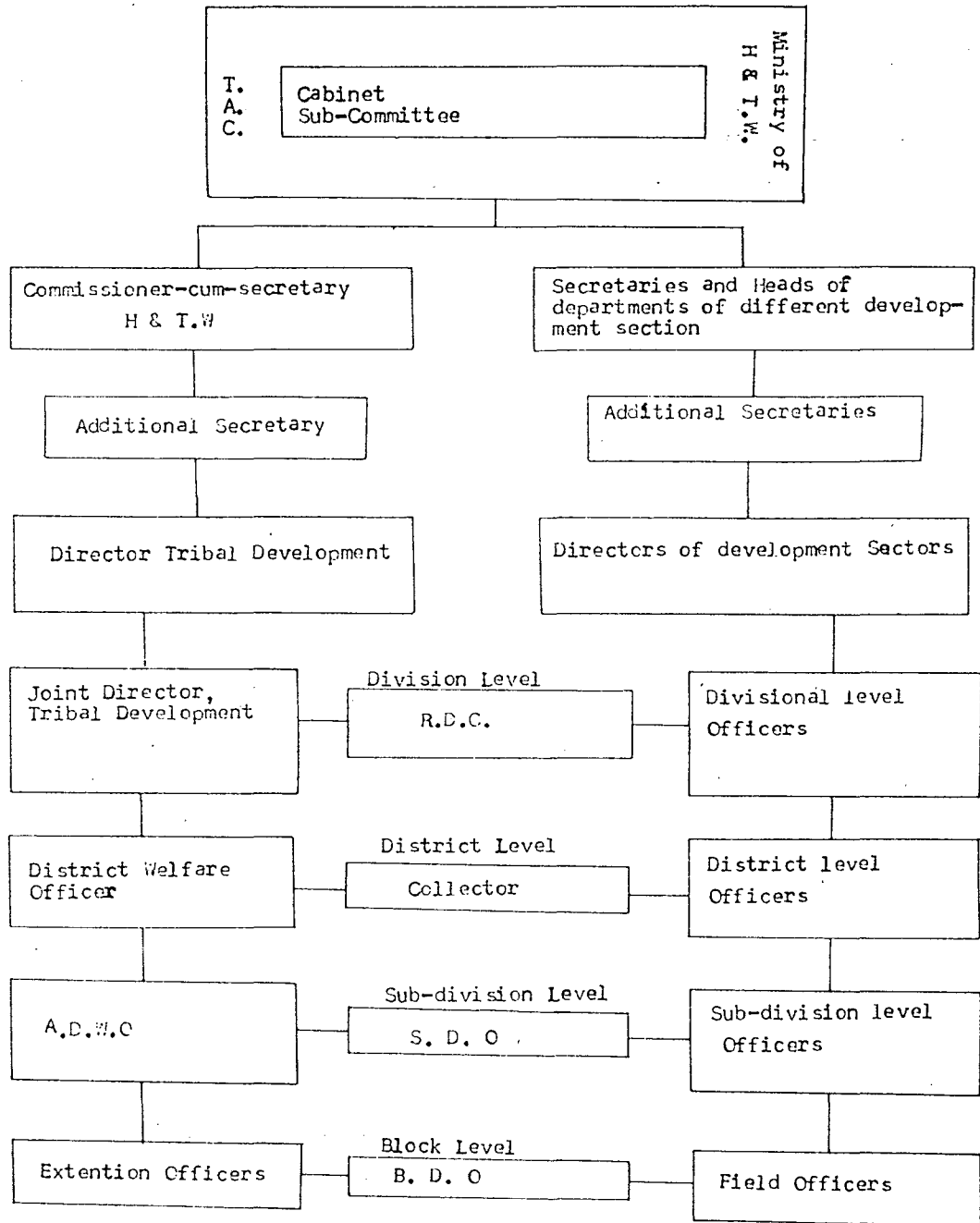
20 ibid., p. 1.

2. To study the implementation of the protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, with particular reference to the objective of removal of untouchability and invidious discrimination arising therefrom within a period of 5 years.
3. To ascertain the socio-economic and other related circumstances, to recommend appropriate remedial measures.
4. To investigate into individual complaints regarding denial of any safeguards provided to any person claiming to belong to scheduled caste and scheduled tribe.

The Commission is playing a significant role in the field of tribal developmental administration and tribal welfare. In its various reports it has suggested valuable guidelines for the welfare administration of the weaker sections. Its recommendations to make the investments for sub-plan areas in the 6th plan, non-divertible and non-lapsable, to make weighted allocations for sub-plan areas, to strengthen adequately the local administration machinery and monitoring system, to provide incentive to the personnel working in tribal belt, etc., have provided a very viable guideline for pursuing tribal developmental activities by different official

Going by the Annual Administrative Report of Government of Orissa 1980 - 81, the organizational arrangement may be presented in the following matrix.

...



agencies.²¹

Different Ministries:

Other ministries, apart from the Ministry of Social Welfare and the Ministry of Home Affairs, are also concerned with the welfare of scheduled tribes in one way or the other. The ministry of education, ministry of food, agriculture, community development, health and family welfare, etc. have their separate schemes for the tribal area and tribal community. The Planning Commission is also associated with tribal affairs. Besides, there is one Parliamentary Committee to go through the implementation of different programmes and to see how the constitutional provision are being made available to the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe communities.

Coming to the State organisation, the institutional actor is the Director of Tribal Affairs charged with the responsibility of looking after the welfare activities relating to tribals and other backward people.²²

However the administrative set-up, dealing with tribal administration varies from state to state. In Orissa there exists a Ministry of Harijan and Tribal Welfare

21 For details see, ibid., p. 32; Report of the Commission for scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes, 27th, 25th and 24th Reports, Govt. of India, New Delhi.

22 S. Rath, op. cit., pp. 104-20.

in the charge of a Cabinet Minister and also a Tribal and Rural Welfare (T & RW) department to look after tribal developmental affairs. As per the provision made in the 5th schedule, there are Tribes Advisory Councils (TAC) in the states having 'scheduled areas' also in any state having a sizeable tribal population. In Orissa there exist a TAC having 20 members. It was constituted by the Governor of Orissa in 1950 and reconstituted during 1980-81. The Council has the Chief Minister of the State as Chairman, the Minister for Harijan and Tribal Welfare and eighteen other members among whom most members belong to tribal community.

As mentioned in the Annual Administration Report, 1980-81, Government of Orissa, the Harijan and Tribal Welfare Department continued to function as a composite office of both secretariat and heads of departments. So far as the headquarters set up of the departments is concerned it functions under the supervision of a Commissioner-cum-Secretary, assisted by an Additional Secretary, a Director-cum-Joint Secretary and other subordinate officers and staff. The field organisations of the departments continue to present a four tier system of administration at the Divisional, District, sub-divisional and block levels. Joint Directors are working at the Divisional level to assist R.D.C. in the matter

of proper supervision of welfare activities for the scheduled communities. District Welfare Officer, Assistant District Welfare Officer and welfare extension officers have been posted at district, sub-division and block levels to assist the collectors, SDOs and BDOs respectively for the execution of welfare programmes.²³

In 1952 the Government of Orissa constituted the Tribal Research Bureau, Orissa, in order to conduct regular and systematic investigation into tribal problems.²⁴

Another training institute was set-up in 1961, and in 1972 both the Research Bureau and training institution were reinstated into an integrated Institute which is known as Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute. The Government depends on it for a planned advancement of the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes.²⁵ Among other research activities the THRTI investigates into the functioning of Integrated Tribal Development Agencies in the State.

As elimination of exploitation has been considered as the most important object of tribal development strategy, various Commissions and study team groups have,

23 Annual Administrative Report, 1980-81, H & T.W. Dept., Government of Orissa, 1981, p. 11.

24 Sub-plan, Orissa, 1980-85, H & T.W. Dept. Govt. of Orissa, April 1981, p. 190.

25 Ibid.

at different times, suggested to open a credit-cum-marketing machinery. On the basis of the recommendations of Bawa Committee in 1971, the Government of India started large size multi-purpose cooperatives as a general approach under the tribal sub-plan programme.²⁶ The Government of Orissa created Tribal Development Co-operative Cooperations (TDCC) of Orissa Limited to arrest the exploitation of the tribals by middlemen. It is an apex cooperative organisation with the LAMPS (Larger ^{Agricultural} Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies) and other primary societies as its associates. It has three divisions and 115²⁷ branches and 233 LAMPS and a number of procurement centres to accelerate its activities in the tribal concentrated areas with the organisations of LAMPS, the tribal societies, forest marketing co-operative societies and the local primary co-operative societies were amalgamated. As per the norms Orissa should have 415 LAMPS. 223 LAMPS have been organised till 1981 with an actual average of tribal membership of 1350.²⁸ The objectives of LAMPS

26 A study team under the Chairmanship of Sri S.K. Bawa was set up by the Govt. of India in 1971 to examine the working of cooperatives in the project area of TDAs. Although the Committee recommendations were intended for the 8 TDAs, the Govt. of India decided to adopt this approach as general approach under sub-plan programme. See, Report on Development of Tribal Areas, op. cit., p. 67.

27 Annual Administration Report, op. cit., p. 5.

28 Report on Development of Tribal Areas, op. cit., (Annexure).

are as follows:

1. Supply of credit
2. Procurement of surplus agricultural produce and minor forest produce.
3. Supply of essential commodities, consumer goods.²⁹

The government of Orissa decided for integration of LAMPS with TDCC in pursuance of which all the fair price shops and procurement centres hitherto ran by TDCC in the sub-plan areas were transferred to the control and management of LAMPS.³⁰

The LAMPS has a managing board consisting of 11 members out of which 9 are tribals.

Integrated Tribal Development Agency

The tribal sub-plan strategy introduced since the beginning of the 5th plan (1974-79) and continued since,

29 As per the Annual Administration Report of Orissa, 1980-81, LAMPS have the above mentioned objectives. However, the Planning Commission Report on Development of Tribal Areas 1980-81, mentions 3 more activities of LAMPS of Orissa. They are - (i) provision of storage facility, (ii) development of cottage industries, and (iii) to provide employment. See, Report on Development of Tribal Areas, op. cit. (Annexure XXX), p. 17.

30 Annual Administration Report, 1980-81, op. cit., p. 5.

created a fresh ground for implementing and executing integrated development programmes for the tribals. Earlier the tribal areas and tribal people were in receipt of inadequate share of financial resources from various sources. The developmental administration was suffering from multiplicity of agencies which were more or less in a chaotic form. A comprehensive view of tribal problem was taken at the beginning of the 5th plan and a new strategy of tribal sub-plan within the broad framework of the state and central plan came into being, which aimed at harmonising the conflicting situations and ensuring development of tribal areas.³¹ Thus, Integrated Tribal Development Projects were made and Integrated Tribal Development Agencies came into existence in the thickly tribal populated areas. Earlier, we have discussed the circumstances and deliberations since first five year plan which resulted in evolving ITDPs. Here an attempt is made to assess ITDAs as an agency of tribal development and also its structural arrangement and administrative set-up designed to that end. The unit for planning and implementation in the tribal sub-plan has been taken as an ITDP. One of the distinguished features of the sub-plan is that the programmes have to be prepared with reference to the

31 Report of the Commissioner for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, 27th Report, Part I, op. cit., 1979-81, p. 238.

specific needs of each area. A flexible framework was, therefore, adopted. The entire sub-plan was divided into 180 ITDPs.³² Thus, the ITDP has emerged as a concept rather than as a programme.³³ It is primarily responsible for the overall tribal development and for that purpose it has been so designated. As a concept it is a recurring theme in the developmental literature as also in the plan programmes. Integration has, as a basic element in the new strategy, become an important feature of ITDP. It basically requires rearranging the on-going activities. While formulating sub-plan strategy, different aspects of tribal development and their impact on tribal life were examined. The new tribal development frame was therefore envisaged as all inclusive and no aspect of the tribal life and no issue relating to the tribal areas could be outside it.

As stated earlier, integration, being the core element of the new strategy, has acquired numerous facets and became a multi-dimensional affair. There are four major facets of integration which were taken into consideration while preparing an integrated plan of

32 Report of the Commissioner for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, 25th Report, 1977-78, op. cit., p. 525.

33 B.D. Shama, Planning for Tribal Development, Prachi Prakashan, New Delhi, 1984, p. 233.

action for development of tribal regions.³⁴

1. Synchronisation of the areas of operation of different programmes
2. Integration of programmes with a clear tribal perspective
3. Organisational integration
4. Financial integration

Synchronisation of Geographical Area

Delineation of the tribal sub-plan areas was based on the proportion of tribal population. The intention was to initiate a process so that an increasing coverage of tribal population could be feasible. Earlier, block was established as an unit for developmental administration. However, district was, and presently continues to be, a crucial unit in the developmental administration. Naturally the choice was between a block and a district and either of them might be adopted as the unit for planning of various programmes and implementing them in the new strategy. District could not be accepted as an unit for delineation of the tribal sub-plan area, since in some cases it would include a sizeable non-tribal areas and also some tribals in non-tribal districts

34 ibid., p. 215.

would have to be excluded as the non-tribal district could not be made a sub-plan area. Again, since planning from below is the central theme of the tribal sub-plan programme, a block was the natural choice. But blocks being too small in size could not be taken ipso facto as units for planning and implementation.³⁵

Under the new approach planning in the tribal areas is envisaged at three levels. The state tribal sub-plan is expected to provide a broad policy frame at the macro level covering the total administrative efforts in these areas. The block, working as smaller unit is taken as the micro unit for planning and are supposed to serve as the building blocks for a meso-level structure which, in turn, serves as the primary unit for planning and implementation.³⁶ Hence it was envisaged that an ITDP should comprise a group of blocks taking due note of the natural resources, physical features, level of development of tribal communities living in the area and other socio-economic conditions having relevance for planning functions at the meso-level.³⁷ Some of the projects are co-terminus with the district in case

35 Shilu Ao Committee, 1969, pointed out that block was too small area for the implementation of some of the area based programmes. It suggested to adopt area based programmes.

36 B.D. Sharma, op. cit., p. 217.

37 Ibid.

of small districts. In most cases, the projects are co-terminus with sub-divisions or tehsils.³⁸ Even in some cases, the project covers only one block or an area smaller than a block.

Further, an ITDP with more than one block is described as a meso project and those having only one block and some portions of different blocks are treated as micro projects. In brief, ITDPs have been established with due consideration of geography and the existing administrative units with suitable adjustments wherever necessary and deemed feasible.

Synchronization of Development Programmes

So far, different organisations were at work in a tribal area with different programmes. Most of the developmental programmes were sectoral in nature. Synchronisation of all the programmes was felt necessary for the proper execution. Synchronisation of those programmes in which the primary unit of execution is a block offered no problem since the block is the constituent unit of ITDP. But in case of district based or

38 B.D. Sharma, Administration for Tribal Development, Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 23, No. 3, 1977, p. 534.

'departmental district'³⁹ based programmes the situation was found different. In some cases the entire district could be included in the sub-plan and the programme could be sub-divided project wise. The administrative system of the ITDP would assume the responsibility of its implementation. In case the entire district was not covered in the sub-plan, it became necessary to set-up one or more sub-units corresponding to the number of ITDPs in the districts. The ITDPs of a district will be involved in the implementation of the programmes in the project areas, whereas the sponsoring departments will look after the implementation in the entire district in general. Arrangements have been made to earmark the outlays for tribal areas out of the total outlays sanctioned to a department for a district. The developmental outlays for tribal areas have to be shown separately both in the plan as well as in the budget of each development sector (department).

Thus, in a project area, different programmes of various departments like agriculture, animal husbandry, rural welfare, health and family welfare are synchronised.

39 For the purpose of efficient administration some departments have their own districts which may be co-terminus with the revenue district or with a sub-division or may sometimes be bigger than the revenue district. They are called as 'Departmental Districts'. Example: Police District, Education District etc.

While different departments implement their programmes in the project area, the project authority coordinates and supervises them. Again some of the schemes of the project are being implemented by the project authority through different departments.

Financial Integration

Upto the end of the 4th Five Year Plan the burden of development of tribal areas was on state plan tribal welfare funds and funds from central government. The general departments had no specific schemes and arrangements in the budget for the tribal areas. From 5th plan onwards, the general developmental sectors too started financing tribal welfare schemes. Each department fixes its district-wise and year-wise allocations for the tribal areas and also the physical targets. The resources of general sectors become a supplement to the state tribal welfare funds. Besides, special central government assistance, financial assistance from central government continued to exist. During the formation of projects, it was felt that all the development programmes taken up in a project area by different sectors should be presentable in the form of a viable package of services to the common man. Now we find that the principal investment flows in tribal sub-plan from four main sources.

1. Outlays from the State Government plans
2. Sectoral outlays from the Central ministry or development outlays
3. Institutional Finance
4. Special central assistance.

Integration of the total financial investments for the tribal areas was felt necessary. It was realized that the acceptance of this principle could not be a sufficient condition for accomplishing the difficult task of organic fusion. As per the present provision, the first three sources are further sub-divided according to the sponsoring departments, ministries and institutions. Further, the programmes of each organisation may be fragmented into substreams each of which reach the executing authority independently through an indirect budgetary mechanism. The integration is achieved on that the outlay for tribal area is earmarked in the total departmental outlays and spent in the knowledge of the project authority. As per the financial sanction, schemes and programmes are fixed at the project level and the project authority coordinates them. The special central assistance funds are released to the ITDA directly.

The pooling together of funds at the state level provides the backdrop for financial integration removing

the procedural hurdles but it could still flow to the fields in the form of numerous streams through various departments. But the entire process of implementation is done in the knowledge and under the supervision of the project authority. Each ITDP is planning for its areas with a particular financial parameters. The intersectoral priorities and allocations are worked out by the project authority as per the overall plan and policy guidance provided by the state and union government. The operationalization of this scheme has a little variance in different states.

Organisational Integration

So far, considerable duplicacy was marked in the tribal areas as there were a multiplicity of organisations working independently. Most of them were the same types of organisations which were established in non-tribal and plains areas and hence could not meet the needs of tribal people. To rationalize the situation, ITDP was envisaged, in the new strategy as comprising the entire administrative apparatus already existing in the fields with arrangements for horizontal coordination for all institutions and organisations through a focal point at the project level. As the Collector heads the regulatory administration of the district, also heads the project level administration unit. Technical officers in various departments are

made members of the project authority. The team together, is supposed to work out the inter-linkages and the priorities for a particular scheme keeping in view the resource potential of the area and the socio-economic situation of the community.

Administrative Structure

The new strategy, which gave birth to ITDAs, intended to achieve a balance between economic development, infra-structural development, educational advancement and anti-exploitative protective measures and also to reduce the disparity between the tribals and the rest of the community. To translate all these objectives into reality was required a right type of administrative inputs and an administrative set-up that performed.⁴⁰ So the next step after adopting the strategy was to provide an administrative structure. The question of administrative structure has to be looked at from the point of view of vertical and horizontal linkages related mainly with three structural tiers i.e. the block, the ITDP, the district and the state.⁴¹ The project authority has been constituted for each ITDP with Collector as the

40 P. Tripathy, Administration for Tribal Development: An Analytical Review, I.J.P.A., Vol.3(No.2), July-Sept., 1985, pp. 871-77.

41 B. Singh, Tribal Administration: A Critique, I.J.P.A., ibid., pp. 878-93.

Chairman; Collector being the key development arbitrator of the Indian Administration hierarchy, enjoys authority over the entire district administration. Hence, to ensure the guiding touch of the Collector and to facilitate the process of coordination among different departments, he has been made the Chairman of the implementation and review committee at the project level. All the district level technical officers and officers of different development departments are the members of the project level committee (PLC). The pivotal link is provided by the project administrator who is the chief project executive and its member-secretary.⁴² To ensure peoples participation, the local M.P./M.Ps and MLAs and Panchayat Samiti Chairmen are also made members of the P.L.C. The authority brings in an element of collective leadership. This group becomes responsible for the around development of the area under the leadership of the Collector; the project administrator providing necessary administrative support.⁴³

It was felt that a purposive administrative system in the tribal areas should have operational units which

42 B. Singh, Tribal Development at Cross-Roads, in P. Mohapatra and D. Panda (ed.), Tribal Problems of Today and Tomorrow,^{MOP} Bhubaneswar, Section 2, 1980, pp. 6-13.

43 B.D. Sharma, Administration for Tribal Development, op. cit.

have adequate administrative and financial delegation to take decisions with efficiency and despatch, in the light of the felt needs of the people whom it served.⁴⁴ As programmes implemented by individual departments of the State were liable to miss the tribal perspective in their general thrust on the sectoral development, the post of the project administrator was designed to be a coordinating officer. The departments are responsible for their own functional activities in their jurisdiction and the P.A. is relieved of the day-to-day responsibility in respect of specific schemes. Its main task is to establish contact with the people and coordinate different schemes and supervise them. It is clear that the project authority has been regarded as a deliberative advisory and supervisory body and the role of the P.A. is one of a coordinator and supervisor. He has to coordinate all activities and programmes including rural development, national rural employment etc. The interpersonal relationship between the P.A. and members of other organisations is of utmost significance. In fact in most of the cases the ITDP tier is somewhat below the district and above the sub-divisional level having no exact horizontal correspondence with any pre-existing tier, in the

44 P. Tripathy, op. cit.

district. In many states the P.A. happens to be a Class-I senior officer of Indian Administrative Service. He has been ranked below the Collector but above district level functionaries of other departments.

Development block which is the lowest operational unit, lies vertically below the ITDA. The block authorities function as the executive arm of ITDA. Block Development Officer, and a team of officers, some of them are field officers of different departments and are linked to the block administration, constitute the executive team. The block administration presents an example of duality of command. Moreover, the block staff, particularly the B.D.O. and the extension officers, responsible for the tribal welfare, are also to an extent controlled by the P.A., ITDA, apart from the usual departmental supervisor.

Financial Administration:

As discussed earlier, the tribal sub-plan earmarks quantified financial resources for tribal areas. The allocation has been made non-divertable and non-lapsable. According to the present system various development departments are allotted an earmarked quantum of finance as per the proposal in the State plan, approved at the national level. At the project level, the

project authority, as per the provision, is required to know the total quantum of funds allotted to different departments working in the project area. On the basis of the allocation, guidelines from state and central plan and priority ^{the} and felt needs of the people, programmes are chalked out in P.L.C. Special central assistance is directly placed at the disposal of the ITDA, and the project authority implements the programmes. The financial institution provide loans to the beneficiaries who are selected and recommended by the block authority for availing the schemes undertaken by ITDA. The bank after examining the feasibility of sanction of money to an individual beneficiary, places demand for subsidy to the project authority. Thus the beneficiary gets loan from the bank and the subsidy portion is recovered from the project authority.

Beneficiary Participation:

Recently participation of tribals in development activities has been considered as most vital. Provisions have already been made to involve tribals in different levels of developmental administration and policy formulation. ITDA, being a primary unit of policy making and implementation should ensure peoples participation. At the project level, political representatives of the

people like MP, MLAs and Panchayat Samithi chairman are made members of PLC. Besides arrangements have been made to involve individual beneficiaries in the implementation of different schemes undertaken by the Agency to make the programme more need-based.⁴⁵

Monitoring And Evaluation:

The need for adequate monitoring and evaluation was felt to facilitate the process of a regular feedback from the field with a view to suitably reorienting programmes and policies. Ministry of Home Affairs constituted a working group on monitoring and evaluation of tribal development programmes in July 1978.⁴⁶ It recommended a three tier monitoring at block, ITDP and state levels with overall monitoring at the level of Ministry of Home Affairs. That apart, ITDA is expected to prepare and submit an annual project report which is subject to strict evaluation. Research institutes also examine and evaluate the working of ITDPs.

45 The tribals are involved in the process of selection of beneficiaries and also the individual beneficiaries are involved in purchasing and other official business. In Orissa a purchasing committee is made in each block consisting of the block officers, MLA or his representative and the beneficiary himself.

46 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 27th Report, Part I, 1979-81, op. cit., p. 287.

Problems and Shortcomings:

Various commissions for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and study teams have touched upon different structural and functional loopholes in the ITDAs.

∴ The basic problems related to ITDAs are -

1. Disaggregation of the state plan outlays
2. Inadequate assessment of the results of the post programmers.
3. Identification of major problem and priority.
4. Administrative structure.⁴⁷

Besides, a number of disfunctionalities have crept up in the system largely due to structural deficiency. The shortcomings mainly relate to coordination, linkage, ∴ involvement of beneficiaries and organisational inadequacy in certain spheres.⁴⁸ It is found in most states that the P.A. is not entrusted with the sole coordinating charge of all items of developmental administration within his jurisdiction. Such a step has been considered to be detrimental to effective hierarchical control as it may adversely affect the departmental responsibility. Closely linked to it is the problem of control and

47 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 24th Report, op. cit., p.117.

48 P. Tripathy, op. cit.

supervision of sub-ordinate officers and field officers working under the jurisdiction of the ITDA. As mentioned earlier, the field officers and block extension staff are subject to dual command. The P.A. has, in most cases, no direct command over them. Similarly in the matter of the allocation of the state outlays and in implementation of schemes by different departments, the P.A. has little delegated authority. Moreover the irregularity of sanctions of allotment to different departments affect in formulating annual programmes at the project level and getting them passed in PLC meeting. The Indian Institute of Public Administration made an evaluation of the administrative structure of ITDPs after observing the ITDPs in Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat. The report observed that clear-cut demarcation of functions and responsibilities and the line of hierarchy help the smooth process of policy execution. It is also pointed out that in planning, lack of approximate financial indicators has made it impossible for the different development departments to plan for the area according to the local requirements, making plan a futile exercise. Lack of suitable machinery to judge the felt needs of the people, the less significant role of P.A. with respect to plan formulation and delay in release of grants badly affect the working of the

ITDPs. The report made some suggestions in this regard which will be discussed later on.

Apart from these shortcomings, various reports of commissions for SCs and STs have pointed out several other hinderances that the agency face. 27th report highlights on the weak administration, unpreparedness in taking up development programmes, lack of adequate support from financial institutions, etc. It has also been pointed out that the existence of multitude of exploitative processes in the tribal areas and limited absorption capacity of the people are responsible for ineffective delivery system of the agency. The subsequent reports have also touched upon other problems like staffing, motivation, involvement of the tribals, etc. and suggestions have also been made.

In Orissa the sub-plan area is divided into 21 ITDAs. As per the norm the proposed ITDPs in Orissa are 23 and till now 21 ITDPs have been organised. The ITDA continues to function under the supervision of Project Administrator who is a class-1 (senior) officer of Indian Administrative Service. The structural arrangement is same as the general pattern discussed above. Unlike some other states⁴⁹, the ITDA in Orissa is

49 In the States like Gujarat, Maharashtra, M.P., ITDA functions purely like a govt. agency. In Orissa and A.P, ITDAs have achieved some autonomy as they are registered organizations.

given some autonomy by making it a private body like an agency registered under the society registration act. Out of 21 ITDAs, 15 ITDA are managed by wholetime P.As 4 by S.D.O.-cum-P.A. and one by the P.A. of D.P.A.P. and the remaining are by the dual charge of the P.A. of an other ITDA.⁵⁰ The P.A, is associated by special officers and other staff.

The duties and authorities of the P.A. can be put specifically as follows:

1. coordinating among different programmes undertaken by different development sectors or departments
2. supervision of the implementation of the schemes
3. takes a key role in formulating programmes for the area and deciding priorities.

Besides, some other authorities which have been entrusted to the P.A., ITDAs in Andhra Pradesh, have partially been given to the P.As. in Orissa.

In Andhra Pradesh all the institutions financed by tribal welfare departments along with staff are brought under the control of the P.A. This provision is not found in Orissa. However, the tribal development blocks of Orissa are brought under some regulatory control of the P.A. of the concerned sub-plan area.

50 Annual Administrative Report, op. cit.

Thus, P.A. is the executive head of the project authority and a connective link between collector and different departments. Block is the lowest unit of execution. One additional welfare extension officer is posted to deal tribal affairs and is attached to ITDA.

The ITDAs in Orissa face the same types of problems discussed above. The problem of coordination is found to be more vexing. Coordination pre-supposes some degree of control and it does mean certain amount of subordination of the agencies whose work is being coordinated. But the project authority does not enjoy direct control over different field officials of different departments. Again delay in allocation of funds from state outlay makes it difficult to chalk out an estimated programme and get it approved in PLC in time. The project authority finds itself helpless in coordinating all the programmes. These deficiencies combined together pose a major problem for the policy formulation and implementation in the project area.

Thus, ITDA has emerged as the most primary and vital agency of tribal development in the sub-plan area. In the following chapters the functioning of the ITDA of the area under study is discussed in detail.

Chapter III

A SOCIO ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROFILE
OF THE TRIBALS OF PARALAKHEMUNDI AGENCY

Orissa which claims a special position in the tribal map of India, has a sizeable concentration of tribal population, which is 22.7 per cent of the total population.¹ In the President's Order of 1956, 62 groups have been scheduled as tribes. Among those sixty two groups nine groups have been identified as most primitive and backward tribal groups.² 22095 square miles out of total area of 617.79 square miles are scheduled areas, which is 46.8 per cent of the area of the State.³ Tribals are distributed in almost all the districts including even the coastal belt. The analysis of Census data shows that Juang, Godaba, Poraja, Bond, Koya etc. live in compact area and Saora, Kondha, Bhuinya have prolific distribution in different districts. Table No. 1 shows the tribal population in Orissa and male-female classification of the tribals as recorded

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- 1 As per 1981 Census.
 - 2 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 27th Report, (1979-81), Part-I, Govt. of India, New Delhi, p. 256.
 - 3 N. Das, Tribal Situation in Orissa, in K.S. Singh, ed., Tribal Situation in India, Simla, 1972, p. 185.

in 1981 Census Report.

Table 1

	Persons	Rural	Urban
Total	5915067	5642376	272691
Male	2939863	2799779	140089
Female	2975204	2842602	132602

Source: Census of India, 1981, Series 16(0), Part 2.

The tribes of Orissa are in different socio-economic and cultural situation. On the one hand there are backward shifting cultivating groups, on the other there are assimilated groups who are indistinguishable from the general population. Between these two extreme points, there are various groups of tribals who are in transitional phase. From the stand point of economic development the tribals of Orissa can be categorized into four classes: primitive, tribals in transition, assimilated and economically developed.⁴

⁴ Sub-plan for Tribal Regions of Orissa, 1974-79 (Draft), Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar, Jan. 1975, p. 136.

Area and Demographic Features

In Ganjam district, Paralakhemundi is the only sub-division, out of four sub-divisions, where tribals are thickly populated. Paralakhemundi sub-division is comprised of two tehsils and seven blocks. Out of the seven blocks, five blocks, R. Udauagiri, Rayagada, Nuagada, Mohona and Gumma are scheduled blocks. This highly agency area is the permanent abode of the Saoras. Of course there are some Kondhas living in this area. As per 1971 census, out of total Saora population of 3,42,757 in the State the highest number of 1,19,262 live in this area. In all these five blocks Saora concentration varies from 68.41 per cent to 79.70 per cent.⁵

Environment and Ecology:

The climate of the region is like that of the Deccan region but due to elevation and its situation in the north-east corner of Deccan, it is comparatively milder. The year may be divided into four seasons, the hot season from March to May, the monsoon from June to October, the post-monsoon cooler months of October and November

5 Bhupendra Singh, The Saora Highlander: Leadership and Development, Somaiya Publication Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, 1984, p. 68.

Table No. 2

Demographic Figures of the Area Under Study

	Area in sq. km.	Total Population	Scheduled Tribe Population	Scheduled Caste Population	
R. Udayagiri Tehsil*	23593	144861	95124	9036	
Paralakhemundi Tehsil					
Gumma block	4940	46984	33401	2981	66
Rayagada block	1228	53867	42631	2420	

* R. Udayagiri tehsil consists of Mohona block, R. Udayagiri block and Nuagada block

Source: Report on the Annual Administration of Scheduled Areas on Orissa, for 1980-81, 1981.

and winter from December to February. The climate of the area is variable as it comprises of hill ranges and lower valleys. 79 per cent of the rainfall occur during the monsoon.⁶ The entire area is full of moderately dense forests and an observer would rarely come across dense forests.

Society:

The Saora society can be broadly differentiated into three groups - Lanjia, Sudha and Christian. In fact, this tribe has several sub-divisions based on social status, degree of acculturation and occupational adoption. Several scholars have attempted to classify the community on the basis of above characteristics.⁷ The Lanjias are those who live in the hills and have not been converted and retain more or less traditional culture. The Sudha Saora live in the plains and have become acculturated in varying degrees. The other group is

6 Nilemani Senapati, Orissa District Gazetteer Koraput and Ganjam, Orissa Government Press, Cuttack, 1966.

7 Thurston divided Saoras into two broad classes. Sitapati found as many as seven sub-divisions. Bell and Elwin have also made distinguished categories of Saoras. See, E. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of the Southern India, Delhi, 1975, pp. 304-47; G.V. Sitapati, Religion of Savaras, Journal of Andhra Pradesh Historical Research Society, Vol. XIII, Part 3 and 4, Dec. 1940 and April 1941; R.C.S. Bell, Orissa District Gazetteer, Koraput, Cuttack, 1945.

Christian Saora. The demographic structure of the area under study shows that it is composed of both tribals and non-tribals. The Kondhas, the other tribes inhabiting in the same area, are numerically small and are to be found mostly in Mohona block. In the heartland of Saora country, the Kondha population has hardly any numerical significance. The Saora and the non-Saora live in symbiotic relationship with each other and leaders of the one group influence the other.

Paralakhemundi agency forms a natural geographic unit comprising fertile valleys and mountain ranges of eastern ghat. In contrast to other major tribal groups of Orissa the Saoras are permanently settled cultivators. However, among the Kondha community, we find some people still living on forest products and some other similar type of occupations. Even in the case of Saoras there are various occupational groups. But all these different groups lead more or less a similar way of life and frequently live mixed up with others. It has been stated by Elwin that the groups are vaguely endogamous. It is also significant to note that Saoras have somehow taken up some features of the Hindu-caste system, although they have not done so fully and the caste division is absent in Saora society. Besides, the Saoras can also be divided into an aristocracy consisting of Gamango,

the village chief and Buya, the priest and their family members on the one hand and the commoners on the other.

Culture:

The tribes of Paralakhemundi agency have a distinct culture of their own. N. Patnaik⁸ has made a very interesting observation on Saora culture. Saoras like other tribal communities are not entirely guided by ritualism and superstition, nor are they wholly prelogical and irrational. Within the traditional world of their culture there is a conservative mind, deeply interested in ceremonialism in order to keep themselves on touch with the supernatural reality which helps them to maintain the traditional ethical system. There is also to be found the empirical and national knowledge about land and soil, mind and animal etc., based on keen observation and experience. Both the domains, though structurally and functionally distinguishable, are integrated part of their culture. It is the rough recognition of both beliefs and experiences which makes their life meaningful and which is fundamental in preparing various developmental programmes. Before coming to the socio-economic life of Saoras, a

8 N. Patnaik, Changing a Community's Culture, Man in India, Vol. L, No. 2, April-June 1970, p. 139.

reference should be made to the cultural life of Kondhas. In Kondha community we find various groups. There are some Kondhas known as Kutia Kondhas who still retain their primitive tribal customs. They prefer to live in dense jungles as against plain dwelling Kondhas who have partially been assimilated with the Hindus.⁹ Lieut. Frye has made an interesting study on Kondha society. The assimilated groups among the Kondhas are more developed as they are more exposed to the civilised world.

Social Life:

So far as social life is concerned, both the Saoras and Kondhas have strong community feeling. Family is the basic unit of their social organization. Patnaik finds that the Saora is carefree. According to him the individual Saora is mentally pre-occupied with his or her own affairs and had little time for the strangers.¹⁰ This partly explains their secluded way of living. Some scholars have pointed out that the Saoras do not possess a clan organization. Birinda which is taken as the equivalent of a lineage, seems

9 G.S. Ghurye, Scheduled Tribes, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1963, p. 225.

10 U.N. Patnaik, The Saoras of Ganjam Hills, Adibasi, Vol. 6, No. 1, Bhubaneswar, 1964, pp. 6-13.

to be all important.¹¹ The Birinda sometimes takes major and very important decisions and regulates the social and communal life of the tribes. Birinda as well as the village unit which is a political organization are more important in the life of the Saora than other forms of social organization. Indeed, the village itself can be regarded as a 'political unit' with its chief Gamango and Priest Buya. Earlier, villages were unilineal and exogamous. With the increase in population, they have become multilineal. Politically the Saoras have a well-organised system at the village level which regulates the entire socio-political life of the people. Polygamy is common among the Saoras.

Regarding the social organization of Kondhas, Col. Dalton observes that the social organization which is very akin to the political organization or government of the Kondhas are closely resembling the tribal polity of Munda. The headman is called 'Obbaye' and the office is hereditary.¹² O'Malley, however, has called headman of the village as Mallika and has added the further information that for administrative purposes there is, generally,

11 N.K. Bose, Some Indian Tribes, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1973, p. 59; also see, B. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

12 Cited in G.S. Ghurye, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

one Mutha-Mallik called Saradar. So far as the tribes of this area are concerned, these traditional institutions have great socio-political importance.

Religion and Its Impact
on Economy:

Commenting on Saora religion, Bhupendra Singh says that the Saora live in the world of spirit and deities which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and human life.¹³ N.K. Bose has also made the same observation. According to him Saoras believe that spirits are responsible for different kinds of diseases from which either men or their crops suffer.¹⁴ As a result of these deep rooted, inherent ideas and beliefs, they devoted a good part of their time, energy and money to please the spirits. Religion of the Saora happens to be a heavy drain of Saora economy. The sacrifices made on the occasion of disease or death or at the time of other adversities are too expensive, and a Saora is usually not in a position to meet the expense in cash. Hence he has to go to the doorstep of local Pano or dom,¹⁵

13 B. Singh, op. cit., p. 26.

14 N.K. Bose, op. cit., p. 63.

15 Pano or doms are a section of scheduled caste people, who have migrated from the plains to this agency area. Both the words are being used interchangeably. They have converted to Christianity and lost their cash status.

to buy an animal or to loan some money for that purpose on the promise to pay in kind at the rate prescribed by the pano himself at the time of next harvest. Sometimes Saoras or Kondhas ask for loan from the petty-traders, available in that locality. Besides, each and every agricultural operation needs a ceremonial offering. Thus consequent ceremonies bear heavy pressure on the Saora economy. This is an important cause of their indebtedness. So one can come to a conclusion that so long as the Saoras are not made free from the superstition, the desired economic growth of the community can never be attained. On the other hand, while formulating and implementing various schemes, the religious practice of the Saoras and their sentimental attachment to some beliefs must be taken note of. It also holds good in case of Kondhas. However religion does not pose acute economic difficulties of such extent for the Kondhas as it happens in case of Saoras.

Economic Life:

Normally tribes are peace loving people who are not accustomed to any kind of outside interference. The political and administrative changes in the recent past have had certain impact on their way of life and also resulted in loss of landed property and frequent

change of their habital place. The Kondhas of the area under study, can be, as discussed earlier, divided into two groups. One group, staying in the dense jungle, practise podu cultivation and live on forest produces and hunting. The nomadic form of life has practically disappeared but the hill man has not yet acquired the passion of ownership of land. For generations, they have accustomed to do only the minimum work that will bring them food sufficient for the day. However, the plain dwelling Kondhas who are more exposed to non-tribal people have started cultivating on hilly slopes. The hilly Saoras are practising shifting cultivation and terrace cultivation for which Gumma block is by far the most typical. The area is also rich in forest produce which the Saora collects and sales either at cooperative society or to the petty-traders and businessmen. It is also used for the repayment of loans advanced by the local dom or pano money-lenders. In most cases, the Saoras are subservient to the advanced sections of the neighbouring non-tribal communities. They provide labour to the non-tribal landowners; money-lenders at low cost or sometimes even freely. The Saoras are skilled in terrace cultivation. In skill ingenuity and hard labour, as Bhupendra Singh has pointed out, they can be compared with Apa Tani tribe of Arunachal

Pradesh.¹⁶

As mentioned earlier, Saoras do not have a distinct and viable economy. They are always in need of cash to meet the expenditure towards ceremonies and sacrifices. Most of them are burdened with debt. Usually tribals of the area cultivate paddy, maize in their terrace fields. But these crops are not sufficient to sustain a family. Moreover, they cultivate some special kind of millets and pulses which can only be produced in hilly slopes, particularly in the ash field. So they are not satisfied with wet or terrace cultivation only. They also practise shifting cultivation. They have tremendous passion for podu cultivation.

The Changing Nature of
the Economy:

In recent days the tribal economy has undergone rapid change. Previously they were self-sufficient. They were struggling hard to earn their livelihood which were sufficient to manage themselves as they were having limited wants like collecting some foods to sustain themselves. But subsequently, after the infiltration of non-tribals, introduction of money economy, new trade and commerce, etc. their economic life has remar-

kably changed. Besides, a number of restrictions and prohibitions on certain types of earnings, particularly restriction on shifting cultivation and prohibition on forest exploration, have created new problems for the tribes of this area.

Shifting cultivation has the demerits of its own. Steps have already been taken to check this practice.¹⁷ But such an attempt is associated with many issues. As pointed out earlier, shifting cultivation, for various reasons, has become a necessity of the tribals. In a report, Elwin observed the issues involved, notably the following -

1. So long as a tribe was at the stage where axe cultivation is a religio-cultural and economic necessity, prohibition would not only be difficult but also might destroy or injure the morale of the people.
2. Before the practice is stopped, compensatory substitutes and alternative means of livelihood must be provided.

¹⁷ Shifting cultivation affects the ecology and leads to soil erosion and destruction of forest. See, B.K. Roy Burman, Forests and Tribals in India, in L.P. Vidyarthi (ed.), Applied Anthropology in India, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1984, pp. 148-83; Also see, Ratish Srivastava, Shifting Cultivation in India, Man in India, Vol. 57, No. 4, 1977, pp. 331-43.

3. It must be remembered that for Saora, terrace and irrigated fields were not enough. There must be rough soil for their beloved millets, pulses, etc.
4. Further, Elwin suggests that there should be only one authority to undertake the entire settlement of tribal life.

To discourage Saoras and Kondhas to practise shifting cultivation state government is encouraging them to adopt horticulture as a means of livelihood. R. Udayagiri and Ramgiri have an abundance of orange harvest. In some areas coconuts and bannanas are also grown successfully. Thus, the introduction of horticulture has brought certain change in their economy.

Apart from the prohibition on shifting cultivation, there are also a number of restrictions on the tribals for exploring the forest produces. So far and even till now tribals consider the forests, the hills and the rivers as their own - as gift from the spirit. Now they feel themselves alien in their own land. Those who live on forest produces now find it difficult to earn their livelihood. They fail to understand the restrictions and are least interested to go through the legal complicity to pursue their small business.

Land alienation is another major problem of the tribals. In southern Orissa Swidden land is individually owned. So it is easier to alienate it. Land alienation has also been rampant in this area. The Madras Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, framed as early as 1919, was meant to protect aboriginal's land from alienation to non-tribal people in Ganjam and Koraput districts.¹⁸ Subsequently various land reform acts have been passed by the State government to protect tribal interests.¹⁹ But these acts have failed to be helpful. Many tribals have had to hypothecate their land against various debts contracted by them with the Panos or other non-tribal traders or they have had their land transferred and become tenants. One characteristic of Saora settlement is that the Saora whether living in the hills or hill-slopes seems to be completely under the grip of landlords, money-lenders and traders. They lend the tribals money or goods at a high rate, whenever the tribals have to incur heavy expenses on sacrifice and other ceremonies or to meet other needs. The products of the land or sometimes the land itself is handed over to the money-lender as the repayment of loans. N.K.

18. L.K. Mohapatra, Problems and Welfare of Orissa Tribes, in L.P. Vidyarthi (ed.), Applied Anthropology in India, op. cit., p. 371.

19. Notably, Orissa Scheduled areas transfer of immovable property (Scheduled Tribe) Regulation, 1956.

Bose has rightly pointed out that "the more industrious the people are as peasants, the more they are deprived of the fruits of their labour by those who either merely own the land or give them certain meagre service when they are in want."²⁰

Exploitation:

Exploitation of the tribals by non-tribals, who have migrated from the plains and settled down in that area is the most pertinent problem of this area. As discussed above, they are engaged in trade and money-lending and drain the "life and blood" of the tribals. They live on what the tribals produce for themselves. Das has characterized these clever neighbours, mostly Panos and Doms as Parasites.²¹ This official and non-official agencies have not been successful in eradicating these parasites. The simple reason being "the relationship is not one of parasitism but one of symbiosis."²² The money-lenders have become necessary for the tribals, because at the time of actual adversities they turn into good helpers. In course of time they exploit the poor

20 N.K. Bose, op. cit., p. 51.

21 N. Das, "Saoras and Panos of Ganjam Agency, A Study into Social Inter-relationship, Adibasi, Vol. 9, No. 3, Bhubaneswar, 1967-68, pp. 45-52.

22 N. Das, Tribal Situation in Orissa, op. cit., p. 189.

tribals. They readily step in a tribe's hut with money when he is in a critical state, requiring money to meet his needs. The principal of the debt is never recovered and all the payments are adjusted towards the interest. Most of the money lenders are from pano community. Many scholars have observed that the predominant relationship between the tribals and panos has been that of exploited and exploiter. Originally the panos after having settled down in tribal areas, were engaged in different specialized occupations like weaving, pottery etc. In course of time, however, they found the vocation of money lending and mediation as middlemen in trade between the tribals and the plainmen, more profitable. Since then they have been exploiting the tribals. Sometimes they notoriously cheat them. Much before the fruit season they approach to the tribals and take the possession of their mango or other trees for 3 or 4 months only and give them some money. Tribals become satisfied by getting money for losing nothing except some trees for three or four months only. But in this way they loose their hold on the trees and during the season the money-lender comes to collect the fruits. He collects the fruits and sales them, with the help of the tribals, in the cooperative store, meant for the tribals. The money is pocketed by the money-lender

and the tribal gets some tips only. Commenting on panos Bhupendra Singh says, "on account of contacts with the outside world, a relatively higher percentage of literacy, conversion to Christianity and sharpest wits, they have been exploiting Saoras".²³

Besides the panos, there are small and petty traders who are also migrants from the plains. They too advance money to the tribals before the harvest season and at the time of harvest, collect the food-grains. They also fix the price for transaction. The tribals largely depend on these traders for their ration, loan etc. Virtually these traders regulate the tribal economy. By virtue of having economic dominance, they exercise their authority and influence on the tribal society. They are both feared and respected. At the time of election they turn into political agents and try to persuade the people to vote for a particular candidate. Interestingly and surprisingly a major chunk of welfare facilities are being sabotaged by these people. Sometimes they control and influence

the government officials and many a times developmental schemes are being implemented in such a manner so that it would serve the interest of these middlemen. The

23 B. Singh, op. cit., p. 16.

State Government has introduced a purchase-sale scheme²⁴, the object of which is to effect economic development. It also procures foodgrains from the tribals in a reasonable rate, provides essential commodities like food stuff, clothes etc. in cheaper price. A study conducted by tribal research bureau in the area of study has shown that after some certain amount of initial success, the scheme has dragged into bureaucratic trap and has been sabotaged by the middlemen.

In some cases the field officials get themselves involved in small business with the tribals and harass them in many ways. In this way the tribes emerge as the worst sufferers. As a result of this ruthless exploitation many Saoras have found service in the tea-garden of Assam, some seek other forms of employment which includes agricultural labourers, domestic servants and low paid employment in different organizations.

It is evident from the above discussion that economic exploitation is rampant in the area. Even though the tribals of the area of study are found practising different occupations, the opportunity and scope for them to embrace different types of services

24 Tribal Development Cooperative Corporation Limited, Orissa.

Table No. 3

Occupational Classification of the People of the
Area Under Study

Classified Occupation	Nuagada Block	Gumma Block	R. Udayagiri Block	Rayagada Block	Mohona Block
Cultivators	4397	15708	5045	5963	11333
Agricultural labourers and allied activities	2709	3880	20000	5348	30200
Cottage Industry	1089	25	141	550	2
Other industry	22	-	19	10	50
Trade and commerce	416	601	442	1540	-
Others	1194	1238	789	6693	40

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Source: Annual Action Plan, Ganjam District, published by Andhra Bank, Berhampur, 1986.

is very limited. Most of them are not good in skilled labour and also they are not used to other kinds of occupation. However, as pressure on land and agricultural occupation increases due to population growth, new occupations have become a very welcome avenue of earning one's livelihood.²⁵ Table 3 shows the occupational classification of the people, mostly tribals, of the area under study.

Table no. 3 clearly indicates a majority of the inhabitants of the area under study are engaged in agriculture and allied activities. A few of them are engaged in trade and commerce or industrial activities. However the table speaks of the entire population of the project area which also includes non-tribal residents. Since the classified occupations of the tribals are not available, a broader classification of occupations of the tribals, made by the Census Report, taking tehsils as units, are given in Table No. 4.

Sometimes economic frustration creates fituries or similar violent disturbances. V. Elwin, in his article "Saora Fituries" wrote that the Saora disturbance of Ganjam agency were of two kinds, one economic and

Table No. 4

Occupational Division of the Tribals as per 1981 Census

Tehsils	Total no. of workers	Cultivators	Agricultural Labourers	House- hold Indus.	Other Workers	Marginal Workers	Non- Workers
R. Udayagiri tehsil	40,109	28,518	10,644	120	727	4,047	43,649
Paralakhemundi* tehsil							
Seranga Police station portion	16,905	11,640	4,856	145	264	5,005	21,589
Ramgiri police station	9,804	6,099	3,212	101	342	2,951	8,754

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* R. Udayagiri Tehsil and Seranga police station and Ramagiri police station portion of Paralakhemundi tehsil comprise the total sub-plan area of Paralakhemundi sub-division i.e. the area under study.

Source: Census of India, 1981, Series 16.

excited by the exploitation of the panos and two, as reaction against the attempt of forest department to check axe-cultivation. There are more than one instances of tribal uprising in the area under study. Most of them were the outcome of unbearable economic pressure and exploitation.

Political Life:

All the above discussed socio-economic factors are very closely related to one another and they have tremendous impact on the political life of the tribals. Tribals are not politically conscious and their political life is not well-distinct.

However, the study of political culture and leadership system of tribal community are of great academic and administrative significance in the context of the strategies of development and increasing politicization of the community. As Bhupendra Singh observes²⁶, "empirical investigation of micro politics and leadership pattern in tribal societies and their interaction and linkage with the macro politics of the country has been scanty."

26 B. Singh, op. cit., p. 55.

This partially explains why programmes of tribal development are becoming unable to grapple with the realities of the social system and cultural patterns.


However the study of political structure and the leadership pattern among the tribes of the area under study shows the nature of the political system among them, how it was functioning in the past and what changes it has been undergoing as the result of the impact of non-tribal political domination and other external forces.

Political Structure

The Saora villages are as much political entities as they are social, with good deal of cohesion and continuity. It is remarkable to note that Saora had developed an advanced political organization which we hardly find among other tribes of Orissa. There were traditional village councils which are still in existence. As the evidence shows, the Saora villages were under the overall control of the Gamangos of the village. The Gamango used to maintain the law and order in the village. The important duties performed by the Gamango were:

1. Attending the marriage functions and settling bride price.
2. Settling quarrels in the village

3. Organising economic activities.
4. Organizing the village festivals along with the Buya.



Gamango is assisted by Buya who is the priest and religious head. In the sphere of religion he takes a prominent role. The presence of a secular and a religious chief is absolutely necessary in almost all the village activities. These officers, though discharge such responsibility, are regarded as in no superior to others in social position. They enjoy no special privileges. In this way Saora society conforms the characteristics of an egalitarian society. But on the other hand it can be also treated as a ranked society due to the presence of two important hereditary posts. Although the Gomango and Buya are men of great influence and authority, they are not authoritarian in their decision. Every decision is taken at a village meeting democratically, in consultation with the elders.

G.V. Sitapati and A.C. Munro, while discussing the Saora political organization wrote in 1931 Census report, "organizations in the past was in all probability democratic. There are indications in the folklore of a free discussion of any matters of importance at open air meetings". Regarding the historic evolution of this

village government G.V. Sitapati wrote that some of the rulers of the Paralakhemundi and others raided this area about 180 years back and brought them under their control. The disturbances in the political structure started since then. The Raja divided the entire area into Muthas and each of these Muthas was in charge of a Muthadar. The Muthadars were to look after the administration and tax collection. During British control, the position of Muthadars gained legal recognition. The political structure in the villages, however, remained the same. The Imperial Gazetteer of India records that for administrative purpose Ganjam was divided into five sub-divisions. Paralakhemundi agency was included in Chicalol sub-division. The Muthadars were taken as village officer under section five of Act 111 of 1885 and the emoluments were recoverable from land revenue. In 1936, the Koraput district was created and Paralakhemundi taluk was included in it but again restored to Ganjam district. In 1935 the agency area of Ganjam (Paralakhemundi agency) was clearly demarcated. Till blocks were formed, all development activities were conducted through the Collector, SDOs and Tahasildars. After the formation of blocks the developmental activities and programmes were transferred to BDOs.

After the introduction of Panchayati Raj the political and administrative structure has changed a lot. But the traditional village councils continued to exist. The Estate Abolition Act, 1952, was a death blow to the intermediaries like Bissoyies. In the present days the Panchayati Raj institutions and community development programmes have brought about an effervescence. The elite of the area, the political class of Mosca comprised of the traditional village leaders, Bissoyies etc. have now turned their attention to the new institutions that have opened up new political and economic vistas.

By and large, the Saoras have not made much use of the opportunities, given by the new set-up. Often Bissoyies and Panos or other non-tribals have captured positions of power at different levels. The deteriorating economic condition, exploitation and harassment from others discourage the Saoras and Kondhas to take part in political activities. Again, tribals are innocent and illiterate. They hardly understand the nature and role of political institutions. On the other hand Christian influence on
 Pano people has made them little bit advanced. Moreover, they are clever and they have the wits and education. Thus the Pano people together with other petty traders who are politically motivated always try to prevent the tribals from getting any power and position.

Leadership:

In the area under study both tribals and non-tribals live together. The leader of one community affect the other community. In one way of classification leaders may be either mono-morphic or poly-morphic.²⁷ It is believed that in the traditional society, leadership is more polymorphic. It has been found that in present tribal society leadership tends to be more monomorphic.²⁸ There may be a further two sets of leadership - one set consisting of achieved or elected leaders, and the other of traditional leaders.

Traditional Leaders:

There is evidence of the existence of village councils and Mutha administration. Even though the intermediary system was abolished long back and village councils have no official status, the Saora continue to regard them as their traditional leaders.

Functional Leaders:

Functional leaders come under the category of

27 Robert K. Merton has made the classification of leadership into two types: monomorphic and poly-morphic and discussed their spheres of influence in the locality. The study can suitably be applied in studying the leadership pattern of tribal society. See, Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, New Delhi, 1968, pp. 467-74.

28 B. Singh, op. cit., pp. 72-93.

achieved type of leadership. They attain leadership in different functional fields by virtue of their own qualities of leadership. Elective representatives may also be suitably treated as functional leaders. In both Kondha and Saora society, while some traditional leaders continue to maintain their original traditional identity and position, many others have taken new role as elective leaders. In the following chapters, this point would be highlighted.

The common tribal folks are now undergoing a peculiar phase of political development as they have to shift their loyalty from traditional council to the new political institutions. Bhupendra Singh²⁹ has made an extensive study on tribal leaders of the area under study and his observation reveals that in the mind of the people the most cherished attributes of a leader are good personality and good man. A big chunk of the respondents were found ignorant of the new leaders and some opted in favour of government officers as good leaders. It has also been observed that most of the people fail to grasp over political affairs. Majority of them find the problem too complex to be understood, some people complain that those in power do not help them to understand the

29 B. Singh, op. cit.

the issues and there are also some other factors like lack of communication and low literacy rate which do not help in increasing the political awareness of the people.

Thus the tribals of the area under study are in a greater degree of isolation. Tribal isolation and apathy may also be partially because of the ruthless exploitation of the non-tribals and middlemen.

Different Developmental Agencies Working in the Area under Study:

In this area of study, different agencies both voluntary and government are at work. Of the voluntary organizations missionaries rank an important position. At present the missionaries, both Catholic and Baptists are engaged in varieties of altruistic and welfare activities. They could manage to convert almost all the panos of the locality and a number of tribals into Christianity. Even these days they hold religious propagation and campaigning. That apart, they are also playing a commendable role in tribal upliftment. A number of mission schools, hospitals, orphanage etc. are being run by them. The missionaries are helped by the government with financial assistance. However, their efforts in the direction of tribal welfare receive some set backs. The first and foremost is the distrust and suspicion among the non-

Christians which often creates tension in this area. Parallel to this religious campaigning of the missionaries, there is also another similar attempt by some individuals to keep the tribals in the Hindu fold.³⁰ Chaitanya Majhi the chairman of Nuagada Panchayat Samiti takes a leading role. Sometimes the situation becomes unfavourable for the missionaries to carry out welfare services. Moreover, lack of education among tribals to utilize the services properly and mischivious role of some Panos, who are Christians themselves and are engaged in different works by the missions create problems for the missionaries.³¹

AWARE

Among other non-official organisations "Aware" an Andhra based voluntary organisation needs special mention. It is working in Andhra Pradesh since 1975. It started its activities in Orissa in consultation with the Harijan and Tribal welfare department, Government of Orissa in May 1980. Paralakhemundi agency area was its first choice to extend welfare services in Orissa. Aware started working in the 13 villages of Gumma and Rayagada blocks and gradually it expanded to other areas.

30 Observation made out of the discussion with some local leaders including, chairman, Nuagada Panchayat Samiti.

31 Observation made out of the discussion with some sisters of Khajuripada Christian Mission

Now it covers 234 villages of different blocks including Nuagada and Kasinagar. The entire area has been divided into 9 clusters and an special officer has been stationed in each cluster. He is assisted by a team of workers.³² It undertakes various welfare programmes.

Another action project plan programme is also being implemented by a New Delhi based organisation called Jigyashu Tribal Research Centre. This Centre has started as action project being sponsored by Tribal Development Department, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India for one year initially. It started in 1980 and report was presented in 1982 and finally a development project started in 1983. Besides all these non-governmental and voluntary organisations, three micro projects are working in different clusters of areas in Paralakhemundi Agency. They are small multi-purpose family oriented projects, started in 70s in Seranga, Chandragiri and Thumba to ameliorate the conditions of the tribals and to bring about their alround transformation.

The Saora Development Agency Chandragiri was started functioning from 1st April 1973 and subsequently in December 29, 1973, it was registered under society registration act 1860. The area for S.D.A. comprises of

32 Aware, Aware publication, Paralakhemundi (Oriya),
p. 1.

18 villages. From March 31, 1978, it has been working as a micro-project.³³ The schemes undertaken by these agencies include Landshaping, irrigation, agriculture, animal husbandry, communication, horticulture, drinking water, etc.

Integrated Tribal Development Agency happens to be the most important agency of Tribal development in the area of study. It came into existence in August 1979. Previously there was a Tribal Development Agency in Paralakhemundi covering 7 blocks of Paralakhemundi subdivision and agency areas of Thumba Agency of Patrapur block of Berhampur subdivision. As per the provision made in 4th Plan, six pilot projects were started in 1971-72³⁴ and Paralakhemundi T.D.A. was one among them. Further as a special policy was formed in Fifth Five Year Plan for the development of tribal areas in the form of sub-plan within the State plan, the entire sub-plan area was demarcated. The sub-plan area of Orissa, initially, was composed of 4 TDAs and 19 ITDAs.³⁵ Paralakhemundi TDA which was created and

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- 33 Information Sheet of Saora Development Agency, Chandragiri, Ganjam, prepared on the occasion of the visit of sub-committee (1) of Public accounts Committee, p. 1.
- 34 Report of the Commissioner for SCs and STs, 21st Report (1971-72 - 1972-73), op. cit., p. 197.
- 35 Sub-Plan, 1977-78, Orissa, Govt. of Orissa, Annexure 4, Chapter 1, pp. 10-11.

registered on 13th March 1972 with an outlay of Rs. 1.5 crores continued to work till 1974. The total population it covered as per 1971 census was 3,55,691 of which the tribal population constituted 47,691. The activities it undertook were landshaping, irrigation, agriculture, and horticulture. It was receiving funds both from the central government and state government. In August, 1979 an ITDA was formed in the area of study comprising of five blocks of Paralakhemundi subdivision. Since then the Paralakhemundi ITDA is in operation with various programmes of development in this tribal belt.

The administrative mechanism of Paralakhemundi ITDA is same as described in the previous chapter. Collector of the Ganjam is the chairman of the Project Level Committee and there is one Project Administrator who is virtually in the charge of the agency and also the member-secretary of the PLC. He is assisted by a special officer, two junior engineers, one statistical assistant, ministerial staff and others. All the district level technical officers, two MLAs, local MP and five Panchayat Samiti Chairmen are the members of PLC. The PLC meets at least thrice a year. The duties and authorities of P.A. are the same as described earlier with special reference to Orissa.

It is remarkable to note that tribal life is undergoing a rapid change. The isolation is breaking. Since independence a number of steps have been taken, many programmes have been launched for their socio-economic upliftment. Introduction of Panchayati raj, election system, community development programme, integrated tribal development programmes, welfare activities of voluntary agencies have brought a remarkable change in the tribal community. Tribals have started taking part in the political affairs and they have developed a tendency to rest their reliance on government agencies. In the following chapters an assessment of their attitudinal change would be made. But it is noteworthy to mention here that the tribal scene has become politicized. According to S.C. Dube the politicization of the tribal in a sense is natural and logical culmination of the democratic process. The political culture of the tribals is undergoing a radical transformation. Here the government officials have an important role to play in fulfilling the felt needs of the tribes. In the context of tradition and modernity in developing nations of today, T.B. Bottomore, emphasizes the role of government officials in the field of economic and social planning as important.³⁶

36 T.B. Bottomore, cited in B. Singh, op. cit.

Much of the responsibility of transforming the tribal society rest on the planners and administrators along with the government agencies.

Chapter IV

TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT: POLICIES AND IMPLEMENTATION

In addition to the statutory privileges and constitutional safeguards provided to the tribals, a number of development programmes are being launched in the tribal areas since the beginning of the First Five Year Plan. In the previous chapter various plans, programmes and strategies of tribal development have been discussed at length. Implementation of these programmes and various problems associated with it, have already been touched upon. So, here, it would suffice to say that a critical examination of the programmes in general shows that most of them are not yielding the expected results due to improper planning and defective implementation. Introduction of planned change on tribal areas is logically associated with a persistent question as to what extent the tribal communities are benefitted due to all these development efforts or to what extent the desired goals are being achieved by such carefully planned programmes, which are implemented both by government and voluntary agencies? In the present chapter attempts are made to make an objective assessment of the implementation of different development programmes in the area of study.

An extensive study of the role of voluntary agencies in the area of study is beyond our scope and here, we are primarily concerned with the examination of the implementation of different programmes with the help of case studies. ITDA, Paralakhemundi, the prime agency of tribal welfare, is taken as an institutional case and apart from examining the structure and functions of ITDA, its role as an instrument of tribal upliftment has been evaluated, with the help of empirical studies, conducted in three scheduled villages.¹ The observations which have been made in the field study and its analysis which would be presented in the following pages may be divided into two parts. In the first part the structural and functional aspects of ITDA, Paralakhemundi is examined and in the second, implementation of some of its schemes and results achieved thereof are evaluated.

I

As pointed out earlier Paralakhemundi ITDA in its present form was constituted on 1st August, 1979. The

1 For a similar study see S.K. Pachuri, Dynamics of Rural Development in Tribal Areas, A Study of Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1984. Also see, M.G. Kulkarni, Problems of Tribal Development, Parimal Prakashan, Aurangabad, 1974; N. Patnaik, Tribals and Their Development: A Study of Two Tribal Development Blocks in Orissa, NICD, Hyderabad, 1972.

sub-plan area was demarcated and the agency came into being with five scheduled blocks under its functional jurisdiction. Since inception it has chalked out a number of programmes in accordance with the national strategy of tribal development. Furthermore, keeping in view the ecology and specific socio-cultural features of the tribals of the area and problems thereof, the PLC has, during these past few years decided its own programmes and priorities. The entire spectrum of welfare activities in different sectors which Paralakhemundi ITDA undertakes, may be broadly categorized as follows:

1. Agricultural sector;
2. Business sector;
3. Animal Husbandry sector; and
4. Industrial sector.²

Besides those schemes under the abovementioned sectors which aim at providing financial assistance directly to the beneficiary so as to enable him to increase his income and to improve the standard of living, combined together, are treated as income-generated scheme. These are family oriented programmes, the basic purpose of which is amelioration of poverty. In agriculture sector schemes like land development, terracing, dugwell, land reclamation,

2 Collected from the Official Records of Nuaqada Block Office.

lift irrigation etc. are undertaken. In animal husbandry sector there are various schemes among which poultry, gottery, milk cow, piggery are important. While in industrial sector schemes are undertaken primarily to promote minor crafts, cottage industry etc., business sector covers a maximum number of schemes which include grocery shop, mobile vendor, hawkking, beattle shop³ etc. Among the aforementioned schemes, those which provide direct help, in the form of monetary or material help are called income-generating schemes. It includes a wide-range of programmes. Apart from that the ITDA undertakes some special programmes like construction of roads, MIPs etc. in collaboration with DRDA. In that case both the agencies share the expenditure and the work is conducted by the normal executive agency.

Among the four sources wherefrom the sub-plan area gets its fund, only the money received as special central assistance are placed under ITDA. The amount is spent by the agency towards the subsidy for the loans and in other developmental activities. The programmes are implemented both by ITDA itself and other executing departments. The financial institutions provide loans to the beneficiaries under different schemes and while the subsidy portion is claimed and recovered from the

3 Ibid.

ITDA, the rest amount is collected from the beneficiaries. As per the procedure, the executing agency (Block) selects the beneficiaries for a particular scheme and sponsors the loan, which is sanctioned by the bank or other financial institutions.

The following table shows the expenditure in different sectors made out of the total allotment received by ITDA from 1979-80 to 1985-86.

Table 1
Abstract Figures of Allotment And
Expenditure

Year	Allotment	Expenditure	Balance
1979-80	11,22,700	11,22,700	-
1980-81	8,87,600	8,87,600	-
1981-82	16,36,000	16,36,000	-
1982-83	23,65,040	21,90,279.32	1,74,760.68
1983-84	24,78,790	23,06,672.60	1,72,117.40
1984-85	38,07,920	33,80,782.32	4,27,137.68
1985-86	37,75,960	20,72,928.14	17,03,031.86
Total	150,74,010	135,96,962.38	24,77,047.62

Source: Statement Showing Physical and Financial Achievements made out of funds received from 1979-80, ITDA, Paralakhemundi, unpublished. Also, Information Sheet on ITDA Paralakhemundi, Ganjam, Orissa, prepared on the occasion of visit of Public Accounts Committee.

A close look into the statements showing the yearly allocation and expenditure pattern of the ITDA from 1979-80 to 1985-86 gives the following observations.⁴

1. Since inception the inflow of monetary assistance made available by the state government under the head of special central assistance is consistently increasing with a variation in 1980-81.
2. The amount, allotted as per the proposal made by the PLC and the availability of fund in the sub-plan of the government, has been spent in all the five major sectors. The lumpsum amount was broken-up into pockets of allocations for different schemes and the money made available under the nucleus budget was mostly spent in providing educational and vocational training to the tribal youths and in irrigation, agriculture and construction.
3. It seems that more emphasis has been given to the agricultural sector. A considerable amount has been sanctioned and utilized for this sector in every year. In 1979-80 and 1980-81, other sectors like animal husbandry and income generating sectors were given equal importance. But in the following

4 The observations have been made on the basis of the statements showing the allocation and expenditure of the ITDA and the break-up expenditure figures.

years more money was spent on agriculture and plantation. Even a huge portion of the nucleus budget has been spent for plantation scheme. The project authority has paid considerable attention on agriculture, considering the specific needs of the area. The occupational classification shows that nearly 46,357 tribals are cultivators and 18,712 are engaged in allied agricultural practices.⁵ The size of land holding of the people of the area of study is as follows:

Table 2
Size of Land Holdings in Different Blocks

Size of the Holding	Nuagada Block	Gunma Block	R.Udayagiri Block	Rayagada Block	Mohona Block
Less than 1 hect.	2615	3193	2630	2015	7133
Between 1 to 2 hect.	1550	2218	2415	2512	5842
Between 2 to 4 hect.	97	1564	70	900	712
Between 4 to 10 hect.	83	830	-	26	576
Above 10 hect.	52	42	-	3	290

Source: Annual Action Plan, published by Andhra Bank, Berhampur, 1986.

⁵ Annual Action Plan, published by Andhra Bank Berhampur, 1986.

The number of land-holders of course includes some non-tribals but it has been reported that their number being very small, most of the holders are tribals. It is significant to note that the tribals of this area are not good in skilled occupation, as mentioned elsewhere, and they easily take up cultivation or allied agricultural activities when they get an access to it. Hence no tangible development of tribal life can be achieved unless agriculture sector is given due importance. The project authority seems to have realised this.

4. The money provided for agricultural sector has been further sub-divided into various streams and the break-up expenditure statements reveal that schemes like plantation, vegetable cultivation, land reclamation have been given more attention. Irrigation has not received due attention. During these years only 32 Minor Irrigation Projects have been constructed and some of them have been repaired.⁶ The comparative study of the coverage of irrigation in 1985 and 1986 shows that irrigation facilities, being provided to the tribals fall behind the need as compared to the importance of agriculture as an occupation and magnitude of

6 Collected from Information Sheet on I.T.D.A., op. cit., p. 2.

problems of cultivation in this hilly and unfer-
tile land (see Table 3). Even though the irri-
gation facilities are being provided by different
agencies like ITDA, DRDA and also by the concerned
department, the ITDA is seemed to have done a
little progress in this score. However insuffi-
cient allocation of money, technical infeasibility
of construction of reservoirs in the area and other
problems could be some of the major factors which
cause slow progress in irrigation.

5. In the last two years a huge amount has been spent
in income generating schemes and also during this
time period more care has been taken for infra-
structural development. Obviously, only some
schemes of agriculture sector, which are income
generating, have been undertaken, ignoring other
schemes like land reclamation and plantation.

Out of the total amount of Rs. 23,12,500 sanctioned
for income-generating schemes in 1984-85 only Rs. 17,82,391.50
was utilized and a balance of Rs. 5,30,108.50 was lying
with ITDA. Similarly in 1985-86 Rs. 23,75,000 was sanc-
tioned for the same scheme and only Rs. 14,99,752.80 was
utilized. In both the years a sum of Rs. 23,20,000 was
allotted for infrastructural development and only
Rs. 15,58,196.93 was utilized.

TABLE - 3

A Comparative Picture of the Coverage of Irrigation in the Area Under Study in 1985 & 1986

Name of the Block	1985			1986		
	Total Reporting Area (in hec)	Net Irrigated Area (in hec)	Percentage shown	Total Reporting Area (in hec)	Net Irrigated Area (in hec)	Percentage shown
Gumma	49,408	1,016.90	45.8%	49,408	1,016.90	45.8%
Mohana	1,30,307	325	7.8%	1,30,307	377 ^K +130 ^R	8% + 2%
Naugada	54,815	700	15%	54,815	832	12.80%
Rayagada	12,283	1,050.00	12%	12,283	1,050.00	12%
R.Udayagiri	51,200.32	820	14%	57,179	1,061	8%

K - Kharif

R - Ravi

Source: Annual Action Plan, Ganjam District, Andhra Bank Publication.

The table further shows that a sizeable amount of the total allocation has remained unspent in every year, starting from 1982-83 to 1985-86. The ITDA has been left with a huge unspent balance in each year. This unutilized amount is lying with both ITDA and the other executing departments. This inescapably points out the existence of some barriers in the way of implementation.

All the foresaid observations speak of the priorities of ITDA, Paralakhemundi, and its pattern of policy formulation and implementation. However, a true analysis can only be made taking the gross achievements of ITDA into consideration. The physical achievements of income generating schemes or poverty-amelioration programmes can reflect the quantum of help ITDA has been able to provide in the direction of tribal upliftment (see Table 4).

Besides various usual programmes, Paralakhemundi ITDA has adopted some specific schemes to dissuade the tribals from shifting cultivation. Podu cultivation or shifting cultivation is an usual practice of most of the Sauras and Kandhas of this area. A survey undertaken in ITDA blocks to identify Podu cultivation indicates that about 4759 families are involved in this practice. An area of about 7660 hectares or 19150 acres are put under

TABLE - 4

Statement showing coverage of S.T. & S.C. families under Poverty Amerlioration Programme under I.T.D.A. from 1980-81 to 1984-85

Year	No. of beneficiaries benefited under different sectors				Amount of Subsidy realised in favour of				Amount of Institutional finance availed of belong to			
	ST	SC	Other	Total	ST	SC	Other	Total	ST	SC	Other	Total
1980-81	317	2	-	319	223085	300	-	223385	223455	300	-	223755
1981-82	1647	48	-	1695	1241244.50	20724.08	-	1261338.58	654516.50	66675.92	-	721192.42
1982-83	1458	81	-	1539	989964.50	49275.92	-	1039240.42	895809.50	111227.00	-	1007086.50
1983-84	1594	60	-	1674	1270000	50000	-	1320000	1060002	122700	-	1182702
1984-85	2131	28	-	2159	1812500	24036	-	1836536	1565333	48264	-	1613597

Source: Information Sheet, ITDA, Paralakhemundi

shifting cultivation every year.⁷ The environmental and socio-economic conditions of the locality induce the tribals to take-up Podu cultivation. The land available for agriculture which includes some terraced patches is quite small and does not give adequate yield. The un-economic size of the holdings coupled with lack of awareness on the part of the tribals of the improved agricultural practice lead to low production. In order to supplement their economy, they practise Podu cultivation. Moreover, the terrains and hilly slopes provide better scope for it. The landless families are found fully dependant on it. It is also seen that in most of the cases the income derived by the tribals from the Podu area is more than their agricultural holdings.⁸

Taking notice of the above background, the ITDA has formulated a Podu Prevention Scheme. This strategy includes large scale plantation of cash crops and fruit bearing trees, adoption of improved techniques, to take up water conservation methods, to provide proper education, to divert the attention of tribal women to some other income generating professions etc.⁹ Thus the whole

7 Podu Prevention Scheme (Special Scheme) Undertaken by ITDA, ITDA, Paralakhemundi, unpublished, p. 1.

8 Ibid., p. 2.

9 Ibid.

programme of Podu Prevention in an integrated one taking care of all aspects of the tribal family and the group as a whole of the programmed area. For the successful implementation of the programmes, it has been decided to cover about 100 families with a Podu area of 200 acres spreading over 5 to 6 villages. The programme is being implemented in 3 of the 5 blocks.

Table 5
Coverage Under Podu Prevention Scheme
(PPS)

Name of the Block	Approximate area of Podu Cultivation	No. of Families Involved	Total Podu area undertaken by PPS	Total No. of families undertaken by PPS
Rayagada	2592.5 acres	956	232.50 acres	123
Gunma	12835.0 acres	1603	220.75 acres	106
R. Udayagiri	919.5 acres	748	174.50 acres	133

Source: Podu Prevention Scheme undertaken by ITDA, ITDA Paralakhemundi.

The programme envisages different sectoral activities in the aforesaid area to wean away the Podu families from shifting cultivation.

On the basis of the official records and explanations, recorded from different executing officers including the project administrator, the following analysis could be made.

A considerable expenditure has been incurred for the welfare of the scheduled tribes under various welfare programmes, but as compared to the magnitude of the problems of tribal development and total size of the plans, the amount provided are meagre. Special scheme like Podu Prevention scheme has a very little coverage compared to the magnitude and dimension of this practice which makes the economy stagnant and also is an alarm to the ecology.

Most notably the programmes of ITDA are target-oriented. It has fixed an yearly target of 1250 families for the poverty-amelioration programme. Efforts have been made to fulfill this target. Even it is found that the coverage has been more than the target. Emphasis on the fulfillment of the targets makes the executing officials very enthusiastic for achieving the target. They are under constant pressure to achieve a quantitative coverage. Obviously, their attention is diverted and other developmental activities are being ignored. Likewise some other schemes specially pump¹⁰, under central assistance,

10 Prime Minister's Massive Programme and other centrally sponsored schemes.

receives maximum attention. The officers seem to be in a hurry to implement these schemes within a fixed time period. On account of the unsystematic nature of the implementation and also inproportionate importance attached to these schemes, the officers concentrate more upon such schemes thereby ignoring other usual and normal activities.

Closely associated with the craze of the officers for achieving the target within a fixed time period, there is the problem of selection of beneficiaries. Some officers admit that there is a great deal of duplicacy and improper assessment. A single person, in some cases is selected for different schemes of different agencies like ITDA, DRDA, and LAMP. Since block is the lowest executing unit of all the agencies, it is the duty of the block officers to make a proper assessment of the rationality of selecting a beneficiary for a particular scheme avoiding duplicacy.

There are also procedural hurdles. The process of selection of beneficiaries, disbursement of goods or loan is a cumbersome one. As per the provision, the block is required to select beneficiaries considering the needs of the people and feasibility of the scheme in that particular situation and also keeping the target and area in mind. The concerned block officers visit different

villages and hold village meetings wherein all the villagers including the headmen, M.L.A. or his representative take part. The meeting proposes the names of the beneficiaries, to whom different loans are sanctioned as per their need.

But in practice it is found that the selection is done usually unsystematically. The provision of involvement of the political representative (MLA) is not being genuinely practised. Proper assessment of the economic condition of the people is hardly done with sincerity. Virtually the officers select beneficiaries randomly and the villagers role is limited to that of suggesting and supporting the official selection.¹¹

In the second stage the selected names are sponsored by the block and placed before the financial institution, which in turn, examines the feasibility of sanctioning the loan and the possibility of recovery. The subsidy amount is claimed from ITDA and the loan is sanctioned in the favour of the beneficiaries. Sometimes the financial institutions refuse to finance certain proposed beneficiaries on one plea or the other. The official transaction between the block, bank and ITDA takes much of the time.

¹¹ This observation is made on the basis of the responses of extension officers and village heads.

In the third stage, after the loan is sanctioned it is delivered to the beneficiary in kind. Cash is given usually when needed. A purchase committee is instituted consisting of the block staff and the beneficiary himself. The goods are purchased by this committee and TDCC or cooperative society is involved when necessary. Thus, a person selected for grocery scheme is given grocery goods and some block capital for his shop and a beneficiary selected for gottery scheme is given goats only.

In fine, the whole procedure is very much cumbersome and time consuming. It is found that no follow-up action is being taken after the disbursement of the goods which might be partially responsible for the failure of the schemes.

In case of other schemes, the ITDA directly implements some of them through the blocks under its direct supervision and some other schemes are entrusted to the concerned general development departments, which in turn implement them under the guidance of the ITDA.

So far as the state finance is concerned, different development departments receive their yearly allocation separately. Out of the total allocation a substantial portion is earmarked for the sub-plan area. That amount is spent in the tribal areas mostly for the benefit of

the tribals. The programmes of each department with regard to the tribals of the sub-plan area (project area) are discussed and approved in the PLC. The project authority is kept informed about the allocation and details of implementation of the schemes of a department by the department itself. Here, the most pertinent problem is the irregularity in allocation. Different departments get their allocations at different points of time throughout the year. So a well considered and well accepted programme cannot be adopted in the PLC which meets thrice in a year. Furthermore, the departments hardly care to keep constant touch with the project authority. It generates a serious problem of co-ordination. Both the problem of coordination and irregular allocation are closely related to each other and the magnitude of such problems are again increased due to the insufficient powers and authority of the project administrator. The project administrator finds himself helpless in ensuring coordination among different executing streams and to bring them under his administrative control.

That apart, lack of motivation and inadequate experience among the officers cause great harm in the functioning of the agency. More than 70% of the block level officers studied for that purpose are found disinterested in their work and dissatisfied with their very

posting in that area.¹² The provision of providing compensatory allowances and other facilities to the personnel working in the sub-plan area, however, has succeeded in pacifying their resentment, but it has failed to induce them to work with genuine interest. In doing their work these officials emphasize more on the statistics and targets than the quality of the work.¹³ It is unfortunately still considered that posting into an agency area is made only in case of punishment, promotion or fresh recruitment.

∞ In a zest to examine the shortfalls of administrative system and planning more critically, one should not overlook the apathy and passivity of the people themselves. Lack of enthusiasm among the tribals for such developmental efforts causes great harm to themselves and jeopardises the ethos and spirit of all these programmes. It is their involvement, interest or participation which serve as a feedback mechanism and ultimately promote the true transformation of welfare philosophy into a reality.

12 The observation is made out of the responses of the block level officers, belonging to different administrative and development departments like, agriculture, cooperative community development and education.

13 For a similar observation see, B.L. Sah, Importance of Administrative Coordination, Kurukshetra, Vol. XXX, No. 6, Dec. 16-31, 1981, pp. 16-19.

It is found that most of the beneficiaries are not serious about the schemes for which they are selected. They hardly care about the nature and purpose of the scheme and also fail to realize as to in what way they are going to be benefitted. Going by the statements of some of the extension officers, in most cases the beneficiaries misutilize the services, given to them. Sometimes the cash amount, sanctioned for some purpose are spent towards the payment of loan previously incurred from the traders. It is also found that some beneficiaries even sell the animals like goat, cow etc. which they receive on loan basis to the middlemen. Even the goods for grocery shop or other types of business are again sold to the trader in a much lower price by the beneficiaries themselves. All the blocks of the ITDA have a number of cases of such misutilization.¹⁴

The Paralakhemundi ITDA like other ITDAs of the State has ensured popular participation in its functioning. The P.L.C. include, among others the Member of Parliament of Berhampur, M.L.A. of Mohona and Ramagiri and chairmen of all the five blocks. Apart from that there are five co-opted members, all belonging to the tribal community. The project authority claims that the attendance of the

14 Information collected from the Office of ITDA, Paralakhemundi.

peoples' representatives with the exception of Member of Parliament and MLAs are normal and due respect is given to their 'valuable' suggestions. It is observed that the local Member of Parliament and MLAs are never keen on attending PLC meeting. The degree of participation of Panchayat Samiti Presidents and other representatives are low. The reason of this low participation is attributed to their lack of technical and practical knowledge and administrative experience. It is also alleged that these representatives fail to reflect the popular mind and they are overpowered by the wit of the officers.¹⁵

II

For a clearer and better appreciation of different programmes and an evaluation of their implementation and also their impact on the people, three selected villages in Nuagada block were taken as case study. The socio-economic and political profile of the area under study has already been discussed (Chapter II). It has been conveniently assumed that the three selected villages taken as sample are representative of other tribal villages

15 B.L. Sah, Popular Participation and Rural Development, Kurukshetra, Vol. XXX, No. 20, July 10, 1982, pp. 4-9. Also see, V. Sivalinga Prasad, What Prevents Peoples Participation, Kurukshetra, Vol. XXVIII, No. 20, July 16, 1980, pp. 4-6.

of the area. A total number of 60 beneficiaries, covering all the three villages have been selected.¹⁶ The focii of the observation are; the process of the implementation of some of the programmes of the ITDA and the nature of the interaction between the people and the said agency, their acceptance or rejection of a programme and the gross benefits derived by tribal families out of the welfare schemes. An attempt has also been made to study the leadership factor and political implication of developmental efforts in brief.

Demographic and economic aspects of the respondents like - (i) population, (ii) age-group, (iii) occupation, (iv) administrative and political awareness were examined to find out their bearings on development process.

The three selected villages selected for the study, namely, Borial, Gaur and Luhangar, are under Nuagada block. Nuagada block extends over 122.83 sq. kilometers with a population of 50,586 out of which ST population is 38,586. The block headquarter is situated at Nuagada. Out of the three villages Borial is situated far away from the headquarters, compared to the two other villages.

16 For a similar study see, P.K. Bhowmick, Carriers and Barriers of Tribal Development; Three Scheduled Tribe Villages in Mednapore District, West Bengal, Eastern Anthropologist, published by Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, Lucknow, India, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, 1984, pp. 81-88.

Table 6
Demographic Figures of Three Selected Villages

Name of the Village	Total Population as per 1981 Census				Total Population upto 1984-85				Total no. of Households
	SC	ST	Others	Total	SC	ST	Others	Total	
Borial	-	139	-	139	-	159	-	159	55
Gaur	-	189	-	189	-	209	-	209	67
Luhangar	-	235	-	235	-	265	-	265	79
									156

Source: From Nuagada Block Office Records.

Both Gaur and Luhangar are nearer to the headquarter and both of them are connected with it by block roads. Borial does not have an approach road. The demographic features of three villages are given below (Table 6).

The demographic figures show that all the three villages are purely tribal villages with a 100% of tribal population. All the villages are having primary schools. Other facilities like health care, drinking water, minor irrigation have been made available to them. Depending on the degree of accessibility to and contact with the headquarters, the villages are at different levels of development. Luhangar seems to be more advanced and Borial is comparatively backward. On the basis of the responses collected from the beneficiaries and the analysis made out of that, the following observations could be made.

1. Economic Activities and Income

(i) Agriculture is the main occupation of the tribals.

86.7% of the respondents are engaged in agriculture and allied practices. Out of them around 60% have land possession. There is a great variation in land holdings.

(ii) The outcome from the agriculture is not sufficient to the tribals and hence they are compelled to take up Bagada cultivation to supplement their subsistence

economy. 48 tribals out of the tribals interviewed for the study have Bagada of their own. All the respondents of Borial and Gaur are engaged in Podu cultivation. However, 30% of the respondents of Luhangar village have taken up other occupations which include skilled labour, business and domestic or other services. Other two villages have a little opportunity in this field of activities. Most of the tribals serve as agriculture labourers. Unlike the tribals of other areas, these tribals have not been so far attracted to collection of minor forest products as an occupation. In general, the agriculture sector is sustaining the largest number of tribals. However, it is also found that most of them do not have a surplus and they are in constant need of money.

- (iii) Terrace and Podu cultivation is the chief source of income. The tribals do not find skilled works as profitable. Moreover, they are not good in skilled labour and hence are less attracted to works like leaf knitting, pottery, matting etc. It was not possible to get the per capita income and expenditure pattern of the tribals in quantitative terms. So it was found on the basis of personal impression drawn out of the responses of the tribals,

that a major portion of their income is spent in food, alcohol and religious practices.

2. Education

Various studies reveal that education in tribal areas mainly suffer from the triple problems of absenteeism, wastage and stagnation.¹⁷

More enrolments in primary level shows that - (i) attraction for education is of recent origin. The boys and girls ratio clearly indicates that the input ratio of girls are less only in case of higher education and more or less equal in the lower level; (ii) heavy drop-out after each level is found; (iii) Borial does not have an U.P. school, hence three students taking education in other U.P. schools. The responses of the selected tribals reveal that most of them do not want to afford their children for education because the children happen to be economic assets for their families. The children work in the Bagada and help in earning. Again the tribals are not serious about education as they believe that it would provide no immediate help. They cannot think of sending their boys and girls for higher education. However, those who are in comparatively good economic condition and are having a good contact with people outside, are tempted for providing education to their children. The indifference

17 See, S.K. Pachuri, op. cit., pp. 147-62.

Table 7

Educational Enrolment Pattern in Three Villages

Name of the Village	Students at							
	Lower Primary Level		Upper Primary level		Secondary level		Getting Higher Education	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Borial	11	26	2	1	-	-	-	-
Gaur	13	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
Luhangar	22	17	27	30	7	-	1	-

Source: Collected from the records of Schools, Nuagada Block

of parents is accompanied by the problem of low receptivity of the students. Furthermore, the educational facilities given by different agencies fail to attract the people. The teachers are expected to mobilize the people. But in tribal villages, a teacher, a non-tribal in most cases takes little interest in motivating the parents. Rather, he is respected and feared but not taken into confidence. It is also found that some of the teachers are engaged in petty business, very often taking the role of the middlemen.

3. Business Transaction

The tribals continue to maintain their business relations with the traders. Almost all the respondents purchase their daily requirements either from the traders or in the weekly market (Hat), which is also dominated by petty traders and middlemen. The statistical analysis shows that 98% of the respondents have business relations with the local traders and 80% of them take the services of both.¹⁸ Their transaction with the cooperative, a purchase-cum-selling centre, is limited to selling some of the scheduled forest products. On the basis of the responses to a question as to why the tribals do not

¹⁸ It is remarkable to note that those who have land possession are having business relations with TDCC.

prefer TDCC for their day-to-day purchasing, the following loopholes in the organisation and functioning of this cooperative agency are found;

1. Inferior quality of the goods
2. It fails to provide goods in time
3. In many cases its sale centres are distantly located.

Besides, the tribal respondents complain that TDCC never gives anything in credit nor it allows barter system. The staff are not cooperative.

4. Exploitation And Middlemen

The economic nature of the contacts and non-tribals give rise to exploitation. The tribals are dependent on the petty traders, Pano middlemen and others. They are always running short of money and so when in need, they borrow loan from traders at high interest. They exhaust their little surplus in paying the loan. Most of the times all the payments are adjusted towards the interest and the loan still continue to exist. The advance the tribal peasant takes to meet the expenditure make him obliged to sell the produce to the 'Sahukar' or traders. What is more awesome in the tribal scene is the 'role of some persons mostly non-tribal caste Hindus or Panos who middle in their economic activities. These middlemen live on the

✓ ignorance and helplessness of the tribals. They are engaged in different notorious activities and exploit the tribals in many ways. They lend money frequently, collect their forest and agricultural products by compelling the tribals to sell their products to them. Thus the annual harvest ✓ of the tribals are grabbed by these unscrupulous persons. Some of them act as the agents of the traders and some others are traders themselves. They create an artificial ✓ gap between the officials and the people. Sometimes, they ✓ provide a link between the block authority and the tribals and manipulate the services in their favour. They often interfere in the selection of beneficiaries, induce the tribals to misutilize the help. As a result, the tribal beneficiaries suffer a lot, the schemes fail to achieve its goal and the benefits are sabotaged.

✓ Most of the respondents admit that they are being harassed by the Pano middlemen, but their economic condition compels them to seek their help at the time of distress. ✓ It seems that there is an unholy cooperation between executive authority (officials), petty traders or middlemen. Apart from economic sphere, the middlemen also interfere in political activities. It is strange to find that some of the tribals which includes some ward members and sarpanches are in good terms with these exploiters. In other words the vast majority of ignorant tribals are

being exploited by a minority which constitute of officials, traders or middlemen and some affluent and comparatively well off tribals.

5. ITDA and Development

ITDA has extended its services in all the 3 villages. They have been covered by the poverty amelioration programme of the ITDA. The agency is yet to undertake any other major developmental activities like infrastructural development, large-scale plantation or construction works in these villages. However, DRDA has an extensive coverage of plantation, particularly in Luhangar village. Table 8A shows the coverage of ITDA under P.A.S.

Block is the lowest unit of implementation. Each year it selects a number of beneficiaries in different villages^v adjust them for different schemes. It has been observed that the beneficiaries are selected randomly and some of them are sponsored for the schemes under DRDA and the rest are included under ITDA schemes. It seems that the block authority does not have any rationality in selecting beneficiaries and allotting them different schemes. Borial which is more backward has less coverage. While DRDA has not taken it for its P.A.S. ITDA has not provided extensive services too. Even in the other two villages the ITDA has insignificant coverage as compared to the

TABLE - 8

The coverage of I.T.D.A., Paralakhemundi in Three selected villages under poverty amelioration scheme

Year	Gaur		Luhangar		Borial	
	No. of	Particulars of the scheme	No. of Beneficiaries	Particulars of the scheme	No. of Beneficiaries	Particulars of the scheme
1980 - 81	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981 - 82	One	Dugwell	-	-	-	-
1982 - 83	-	-	2	Bullock (2)	5	All Bullocks
1983-84	6	4, Goattery, 2 Bullock	8	5 Animal Husbandry 2 small business 1 Carpentry	2	All A.H.
1984 - 85	2	1, A.H; 1 Land Development	2	1 A.H; 1 Small business	1	A.H.
1985 - 86	x	Not available		x	x	x
Total	9	2 Agrl.Sector; 7 A.H.	12	8 A.H.; 4 Business sector	8	All in A.H.

The Block office has not prepared the villagewise beneficiary distribution statements for 1985 - 86 till the date were collected.

Source : Block Office Records.

population, the economic condition of the people and also the targets of the ITDA. Probably, DRDA has covered a lot and out of the rest of the people, a few were selected for ITDA schemes.

6. Set-backs

Among the various problems that the tribal beneficiaries face, the most important are procedural complicity, uncertainty in marketing and economic hardships.

It is learnt that the official formalities which is a very complicated process specially for ignorant tribals virtually put the beneficiaries in much trouble. They fail to comprehend the procedure & nature of the scheme, its spirit and purpose. In fact they act according to the dictact of the concerned officers. Again a number of officers from different agencies like block, bank and technical departments are involved in the process, and very often the poor beneficiaries have to run from post to pillar to get things done. Another vital problem is the uncertain nature of the market. There is no fixed and reliable market for the new products that the tribals are supposed to produce. In fact, they have to depend on the vagaries of the market. For example, a person benefitted under gottary scheme under income generating programme, is supposed to produce milk and sell it to get an additional income to subsistence

economy. After receiving the animal and other facilities, the beneficiary finds it very difficult to sell the produce. There is no fixed market for it. A product like milk is not in much demand in that area. Moreover the tribals are not used to an occupation of this sort. Thus, the uncertainty of the market discourages the tribals to avail the facilities of a scheme in true spirit. Similarly the persons who are given loan in kind for small business or grocery shops loose interest in it soon after they enter into this new occupation. The prime cause of it is the unfamiliarity of the tribals with such types of jobs and their characteristic disinterest for business activities.

Nearly 50% beneficiaries expressed that their consent was not taken while selecting them for different schemes. Only 20% of them admit that they were consulted and the rest 30% did not give any reply.

The economic hardship of the tribals deprive them of taking the advantages of government help. As their economic condition keeps them dependent on some unscrupulous money lenders, they are bound to come in terms with these exploiters. The exploiters mislead the tribals and sometimes instigate them to misutilize the help in the favour of the former.

Precisely because of the reasons mentioned above, the tribals dispose off the commodities and spend the

money for some domestic or other purposes including social ceremonies.

7. Development and Leadership

It is widely accepted that proper leadership is an indispensable factor for development. Assuredly, planning and development are responsibility of the government. But government or its agencies have their own limitations. They are often bureaucratic and subject to political and procedural limitations. Hence, the participation of people in general or involvement of popular representatives has become essential in rural development. Moreover, leaders play a key role in organising the people for certain ends. In the context of tribal development too, the role of the leaders is of pivotal importance.¹⁹ There is an accepted assumption that leadership provides dynamism to developmental efforts. The Planning Commission also affirms the necessity of developing leadership at different levels so that peoples' urge for betterment is constantly sustained.²⁰ Different studies conducted in different tribal areas also confirm

19 See B.N. Sahay, Leaders for a Development Programme, in L.P. Vidyarthi (ed.), Leadership in India, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1967, pp. 177-84.

20 Sixth Five Year Plan, 1980-85, Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi, p. 419.

the assumption that leadership is an important variable of development.²¹

From the observation, we have already made, it is clear that the tribals of this area are left unorganised and to a certain extent their present plight is the product of the problems of improper mobilization and crisis of leadership. On the basis of the popularly accepted assumption on leadership and the findings of some of the works done on this, the leadership factors of development in the area of study was examined. Attempt was made to ascertain the dependence of tribals on their leaders and also the role played by the leaders in development activities, as perceived by the tribals themselves. Even though a peculiar situation has been developed as a result of the emergence of new elective leaders vis-a-vis traditional leaders²², the observation reveals that most of the tribals still rely on traditional leaders. Nearly 100% of the respondents expressed that they contact, consult and rely on their leaders which include both tradition and elective leaders. 90% of the respondents hold that both the elective

21 See, B. Singh, The Saora Highlanders, Leadership and Development, Somaiya Publication, New Delhi, 1984; S.K. Pachuri, op. cit., similar views are presented by Renuka Pamecha, Elite in a Tribal Society, Printwell Publishers, Jaipur, 1985.

22 A brief discussion on the leadership pattern in the area of study has already been done in chapter-II.

leaders and official leaders²³ are responsible for development in their villages. Only 10% of them described officers as the agents of development.

It implies that people bank heavily upon their leaders. The villagers of Gaur and Borial still hold traditional leaders with great respect. In Luhangar which is politically very active, the new elective leaders and a few affluent tribals, having good terms with officers, are involved in village affairs. But it has been found that for official transactions people depend mostly on elective leaders. Among them the Sarpanch takes care of the village development, suggests the names of the beneficiaries and takes interest in getting the things done. The ward members also represent the village people in official contacts. It has been found that there are some influential and better off tribals who also interfere in different developmental works (as in case of Luhangar). To a question as to who are responsible for development works and how much, the following responses were recorded (Table 9).

23 In a study on leadership and development, done in the area of study, Bhupendra Singh observes that the tribals consider Government officers as agents of their development and sometimes confuse them with their leaders. The term 'official leader' has been used by him. See B. Singh, The Soora Highlander: Leadership and Development, op. cit., pp. 72-94.

Table 9
(Total no. of respondents: 60)

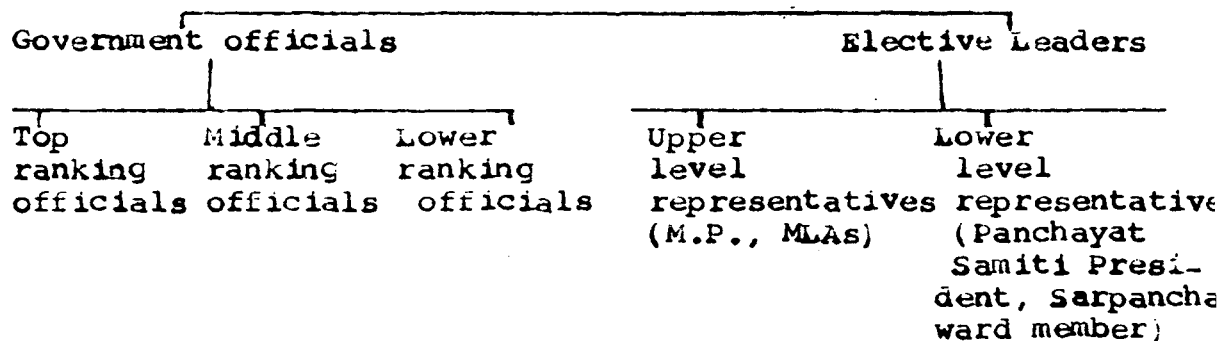
Popular Leaders	Score
Member of Parliament	Nil
M.L.A.	07
P.S. Chairman	36
Cooperative Society President	11
Sarpancha	55
Ward Member	57

The observation gives an impression that gradually people are getting acquainted with the new institutions like Panchayati Raj. Leaders like Members of Parliament and MLAs have little personal contact with the people. Most of the respondents fail to identify the role, a cooperative president plays. However, Sarpanchas, ward members and to a little extent block chairman are in constant touch with the people. People largely acknowledge their involvement in the development works which is in agreement with our earlier assumption.

Another remarkable feature in tribal behaviour is that they mostly rely on and trust in the members of their own community. Now, as leadership happens to be a vital factor of development, it is desirable that

there should be maximum number of tribals in different political and administrative posts. For the purpose of the study, leadership can be divided into two categories - (i) official leaders, (ii) elective leaders. Both the leaders are the agents of development.

Agents of Tribal Development



It can be logically put that tribals are effective instruments in the development process. So far as the official leaders are concerned, it is very likely that most of the occupants of higher posts would be from non-tribal community. But in case of lower ranks, tribals should be posted as far as possible.²⁴ Similarly coming to political leaders it is expected that Member of Parliament should be a non-tribal and it is also very much likely

24 For a similar observation in the context of tribal development in this area, see B. Singh, Tribal Development at cross-roads, A Critique and a Plea, in P.C. Mohapatra and D. Panda (ed.), Tribal Problems of Today and Tomorrow, Suban Cultural Society, Bhubaneswar and MBD, Bhubaneswar, 1980, pp. 6-13.

that a non-tribal would be elected as M.L.A from unreserved constituency like Mohona which covers a sizeable non-tribal population. Ramgiri is a reserved constituency. In the lower level the occupants of different political posts in tribal concentrated areas should be from tribal community. But it is found that in some tribal villages a few non-tribals can manage to get elected. It implies that tribals are yet to develop genuine interests in political activities and are being influenced by non-tribals whom they, in reality, rely least.

Again it is also found that in some Panchayats the new elective leaders are none but the previously traditional leaders. It gives an impression that common villagers lack the spirit of participation in the electoral process of Panchayati Raj. The traditional leaders turn into new leaders in this new system and continue to hold authority. The table 10 clearly gives a testimony of these facts mentioned above (see Tables 10A and 10B). However, the comparative picture of two successive elections leaves an impression that the tribal political scene is undergoing a change. In the previous election for Panchayat Samiti 25% of the elected Sarapanchas were from non-tribal community. But in the recent election of 1983 their percentage reduced down to 10%. However, the percentage of ward members from other community in both the elections

TABLE - 10 'A'

Particulars of Gram Panchayata Election of Naugada Block, December 1983 (Recent Position)

Sl No.	Name of Gram Panchayat	No. of Villages	Total No. of wards	Total Ward Members	SC Ward Member	Ward Member from other community	Traditional leader turned into new leader	(Recent Position)		
								ST	SC	Others
1	Naugada	29	14	9	x	5	6	1	x	x
2	Khajuripada	23	11	5	x	6	4	1	x	x
3	Titl Singh	19	11	6	x	5	4	1	x	x
4	Tabarada	18	11	9	x	2	8	x	x	1
5	Patarpada	16	11	11	x	x	11	1	x	x
6	Bitaragunda	15	11	10	x	1	9	1	x	x
7	Sambalpur	10	11	10	x	1	10	1	x	x
8	Parimal	16	11	9	x	2	8	1	x	x
9	Anguru	25	11	8	x	3	8	1	x	x
10	Keradanga	14	11	9	x	2	7	1	x	x
Total		185	113	86	x	27	75	9		1

Source : Collected from the Office of Gram Panchayata Officer, Naugada Block.

TABLE - 10 'B'

Particulars of last Gram Panchayat Election (Before December, 1983)

Sl.No. & Name of the Gram Panchayatas	No. of villages	Total No. of wards	Tribal ward members	S.C. ward members	General ward members (Other Community)	Traditional Tribal village leaders turned into ward members	Sarapanchs		
							ST	SC	Others
1. Nuagada	26	14	9	-	5	7	1	-	-
2. Khajuripada	40	14	6	-	8	5	-	-	1
3. Tabarada	14	11	8	-	3	8	1	-	-
4. Puturupada	28	11	11	-	-	11	1	-	-
5. Sambalpur	9	11	10	-	1	10	1	-	-
6. Parimal	16	11	11	-	-	11	1	-	-
7. Anguru	26	11	11	-	-	11	-	-	1
8. Keridanga	16	11	11	-	-	10	1	-	-
Total :	175	94	77	-	17	73	6	-	2

Source : Office of the Gram Panchayata Officer, Nuagada Block.

are 18% and 24% respectively. The increase could be explained in terms of the increase of non-tribal settlement in some accessible tribal villages. Secondly, in the previous election approximately 99% of the ward members were traditional leaders whereas in 1983 election their number came down to 87%. It indicates that common tribals are gradually coming into the fray of electoral politics.

Impact of Development Activities

Since the concept development means a process of all round development of tribal life the success of it or failure of the developmental efforts can also be assessed on the basis of the impact of such efforts on the socio-economic and political life of the tribals. As socio-economic and political variables affect and regulate the process of development, similarly the development activities make some impact on socio-political life. It is true that there are a number of agencies at work and any change in tribal scene cannot solely be attributed to any single agency. But the theoretical assumption holds that if the trend of development and change confirms to the aims and objectives of the programme, it is being considered as successful. The trend of change in the tribal life can be observed in the light of the objectives of ITDA.

A significant change is visible in the economic life of the tribals. Many of the villagers avail loan under different schemes. It has resulted in occupational diversities. Tribals are gradually getting involved with different kinds of jobs. In the selected villages, recently, tea shops, grocery shops, tailoring shops, carpentary workshop, all manned by tribals, have come up. The financial assistance also has helped the tribes in developing their terrace land which has strengthened their economy. Inflow of money into the tribal society has increased their purchasing capacity and barter system is fast fading. Schemes like plantation have successfully engaged the tribals in profitable occupations. It is observed that tribals have taken up plantation readily and are getting benefits out of it. The project authority also claims that its special schemes for tribal settlement²⁵ a similar type of which was met with total failure in 70s, has been a great success. The concerned officers and also some selected tribal respondents admit that there has been a considerable improvement in economic activities in the last few years. But the diversification of economic activities does not register an appreciable

25 The view was expressed by the Project Administrator, ITDA, Paralakhemundi.

change in their living standard. Because the elevation level falls short of expected economic upliftment.

Socially the tribals have improved a lot. Communication facility, education, contact with officials, electoral campaign, etc., have exposed them to the outside world. The change is clearly visible in their social organization and degree of interaction with non-tribal officials. In political field, most significant changes have taken place. As mentioned in the foregoing pages the tribals are gradually getting acquainted with Panchayati Raj institution. The authority and jurisdiction of traditional leaders have been confined to some socio-ritual problems. In case of official transaction the tribals consult new elective leaders. They now consider the capacity of the leader in getting the things done and getting more help for developmental works in the village. The leaders also think that their capability and power lies with the contact with and knowledge in administrative machinery and official procedures which would help in getting themselves involved in the development efforts, done by the government agencies. Their degree of involvement and achievement would bring them obedience and fellowship of their fellow men.

The electoral participation of the people of three selected villages shows that in both assembly

and Panchayata election there was massive turn out.²⁶ Prior to the polling the village meeting decides as to whom they should vote. In the last election they as per the village decision, voted for the Congress nominee. Besides, the tribals have developed considerable administrative awareness. The following table reveals that many of them are in contact with different units and centres of administration.

Table 11A

Tribals Contact with Administration
(Total No. of Respondents: 60)

Department/office	Score
Block	56
Tehsil/Revenue Department	36
Forest Department	49
Police Station	06
Bank	49
Cooperative Society	48

The tables indicate that the tribal beneficiaries are in good contact with different units of administration.

²⁶ All the respondents have participated in the 1981 assembly and Panchayat elections.

Table 11B

**Tribals Awareness of Different Centres of
Administration
(Total No. of Respondents ; 60)**

Centres	Score
Block	58
Sub-division	12
District	14
State	2

They are in constant touch with the block administration and bank. Most of the tribals who have Bagada are having direct liasion with forest department. However the tribal contact with cooperative society is limited to their business relations with the TDCC. Only 3 tribals have got loan from L.A.M.P.s.

To conclude, there has been a change in the previously stagnant economy of the tribals. Considerable improvements have also taken place in their socio-political life. But unfortunately there has not been any substantial or tangible development in their standard of living. Still now there has not been a viable economy and all the developmental efforts have not so far touched the core of the tribal life. Thus, to an extent, different agencies have failed to yield the desired goal.

Chapter V

ANALYSIS, CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

Despite of all sincere efforts by the government and other organizations, the tribal situation in India still presents a complex and baffling problem. It gives an impression that there exists a number of anomalies in both policy-making and developmental administration. This study examines the process of tribal development and its carriers and barriers.

Even though the results of tribal development have fallen short of expectation, tribal society has moved ahead and it is bound to come out of stagnation. According to Marx and Engels, the chief indicator of backwardness is the stagnation of the social structure. The tribal society is characterized by precisely such social stagnation.¹ But admittedly, the recent efforts of various agencies and change in the socio-political scene have allowed the process of modernization to make an inroad into tribal community. Yet, the problem that puzzles both the statesmen and the administrators is how to modernize a traditional society giving full effect to the plans and policies and

1 A.B. Bardhan, Unsolved Tribal Problems, Communist Party of India Publication, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 8-12.

to harmonize numerous efforts of development, values and forms of disparity between different sectors of national economy.

On the basis of our observations that have been done in the foregoing chapters, we can explain the problem of tribal development administration into two broad categories:

1. Structural-functional; and
2. Attitudinal or Behavioural

Structurally the entire set-up of tribal development administration, with its administrative machinery and numerous staff, itself presents some anomalies and inconsistencies. During the past years several experiments have been done with regard to the administrative structure. The Commissions for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, various teams, committees or commissions have gone into the problem and made recommendations from time to time. The fundamental problems associated with the tribal administration, as discussed earlier are: formulation of judicious policies, coordination, integration, evaluation, etc.

Apart from having a right kind of approach it is necessary to have a clearer understanding of tribal problems, needs and also the specific features of a

community. There has been a tendency to ignore subtle tribal differences and to underplay the diverse needs of different tribal groups.² As we find in case of Paralakhemundi ITDA, the felt needs of the people and the feasibility of the scheme are often not taken into consideration. Implementation of programmes, however vigorous that may be, is bound to fail if they are not based on the scientific understanding of the needs of the people. This problem has happened with the bureaucracy. An unimaginative bureaucracy has worked for the solution of what it sees as the tribal problem, without taking into account the individual needs of different tribal groups.³

A study on the administrative structure, particularly the functioning of ITDA, Paralakhemundi, unambiguously points out the problem of coordination and integration. Similarly, as various agencies and departments are at work in the field of tribal development, proper synchronization and integration is necessary. In practice different agencies and units of administration, as found in case of Paralakhemundi sub-plan area lack effective mechanism of coordination, integration and synchronization. Rather

2 S.C. Dube, Forward in B.D. Shama, Tribal Development; The Concept and Frame, Prachi Prakashan, New Delhi, 1978, p. ii.

3. Ibid.

the multiplicity of agencies creates confusion in peoples mind. The Planning Commission has critically observed the complex pattern of administration. It has pointed out that a multiplicity of government departments advising beneficiaries for development activities and separation of revenue, judicial and development administration has caused confusion and resulted in lack of confidence.⁴ It suggests an integration of administrative functions in the project area and for a single line of command.

It has been earlier observed that usually no follow-up actions are taken after the implementation of different schemes. There is also considerable laxity in evaluation system. It was found in all the three selected villages that no efforts have been made to see that government services are not being misused. Even at the block level or project level a practice of continuous evaluation of the development process is not being followed. In the way of suggestion it can be said that there must be a continuous evaluation process at different levels of administration i.e., starting from block to the apex body of the organization. Besides, the personnel policy of tribal development

⁴ Sixth Five Year Plan, 1980-85, Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi, p. 420.

administration is to be tuned in accordance with the suggestion of different committees.

More specifically, the Paralakhemundi ITDA suffers from the same problems discussed above. The problem is both structural and functional. Apart from the problems associated with the administrative apparatus, certain problems are also found in the functioning of agencies and delivering the services. The weakest link in the chain in the entire gamut of tribal development process is implementation in the field. The uneven and haphazard implementation of certain schemes, as we find in the working of ITDA and other agencies in the area under study, are the crux of the problem of tribal administration in the entire country.

Another fundamental weakness lies in the fact that the tribals for whom development is intended are not involved. The study of Paralakhemundi ITDA reveals that on the one hand the officers are not serious about the involvement of the tribals in different levels of administration. On the other hand the mechanism provided for peoples involvement seems to be dysfunctional.

Another complex problem which draws our attention is more behavioural or attitudinal than structural. It includes on the one hand the zeal, motivation and genuine

interest of the officials to carry out their responsibility, on the other hand, the attitude and enthusiasm of the people who are at the receiving end. Admittedly, commitment to the profession among the officers is of vital importance. The present study adequately speaks of the lack of zeal and motivation among the officers and its repercussion on administration. But at the same time the attitude of the people must be taken into consideration. The people should be keenly interested in their affairs. They should be in a position to appreciate or depreciate the ongoing development activities and to steer the developmental efforts. The tribal situation today is far away from this ideal situation. The inert tribal mass is not in a position to comprehend the government measures. They neither participate in goal setting nor in implementation process. The characteristic features of tribal community today, as mentioned elsewhere in this work, can be broadly said to be : (i) passivity, and (ii) distrust.

In the present study much has been spoken about the tribal passivity which is a product of the secluded life that the tribals have been leading since remote past. Moreover, their incapability in understanding the motive of government agencies and various laws associated with them, further magnifies their apathetic

attitude. The nationally accepted legal and written form of laws and procedures are formalized and to an extent rigid. The tribal's frame constitute of unwritten and traditional set of norms and practices. The social norms derived from these two situations are entirely different.⁵ The tribals tend to rely more on traditional pattern and accept unhesitantly the existing pattern of relationship in their socio-political and economic life. They look the official moves with suspicion. This could explain as to why tribals of the area under study never feel comfortable to seek official help first. Rather, they still prefer non-official agencies or some private individuals with whom they have some familiarity.

The present study finds that most of the tribal beneficiaries fail to understand the complex procedure of the schemes. Some of them feel that whatever benefit they are getting from the government, it is because of the mercy of the officer and goodwill of their leaders. In such a situation it is quite natural to find their indifference towards the entire efforts of development.

The gap between traditional frame and modern legal frame contributes to the stock of tribal passivity.

5 B.D. Sharma, Economic Development of Extremely Tribal Regions, Indian Anthropologist, Vol. 3, No. 2, Dec. 1973, pp. 109-34.

Making the situation more damaging, it also generates distrust among the tribals towards various units of administration. Another factor which adds substantially to the feeling of distrust is the non-communicative nature of the two different communities i.e. tribal and non-tribal communities. Earlier, the non-tribal migrants got tribalized and integrated themselves with the local social milieu. But now they keep their distinct identity and consolidate their position. Taking advantage of their position and understanding of the new frame, they exploit the innocent tribals. It creates a gulf between these two communities. What the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes had held in its annual report in 1970-71 is still held good even today. The Commission pointed out that these tribal communities have not been generally able to derive benefits of the socio-economic progress to any appreciable extent with the result that gap between the Scheduled and non-Scheduled classes has been wider and wider. It is owing to the same feeling of distrust that the officials are often not acceptable for the tribals and they do not enjoy confidence of the tribals. There can be a psychological explanation of this fact. As Bose observes that starting from 18th century the interference between the tribal and non-tribal communities has been mainly economic in which

the tribal has been subjected to exploitation.⁶ Hence the tribals have developed insularity and xenophobia. The officials are treated as outsiders. Even the field officers and workers, who are normally in close contact with and comparatively more accessible to the tribal people, are not taken into confidence as they, having come from plain areas in most cases, remarkably differ from the tribals in their attitude and life style. This distrust and fear adversely affect the development process.

Much of the malaises in the tribal development administration can be eradicated if the tribals are elevated to a position so as to be aware of their miserable plight, its causes and various agencies and efforts to provide a solution. They have to shed distrust and break-up passivity. While it is not advised to keep them insulated, cut off from outsiders, it is certainly desirable that the nature of interaction should be such that they would not emerge as a weak partner. The interaction should be more cultural and social than economic. But such a change precisely amounts to a change in the attitude and behaviour. This change can be brought about by several ways. As suggested earlier,

6 N.K. Bose, *Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes: Their Present Condition*, Man in India, vol. 50, No. 4, 1909, pp. 319-47.

the administrative machinery must be tuned accordingly. But the most important necessity is that of educating the tribal mass, generating political consciousness and effective leadership. Education is vital to make the tribals socially and politically more conscious. Thus, it helps in developing political consciousness and emergence of local leadership. But education should not be only of elementary type which normally receives the attention of the government agencies. In this study it is found that whatever effort is being made for promoting education, is confined to promoting literacy and formal education. But it alone, will not serve the purpose. It should be followed by an all pervassive system of delivering education which would touch different aspects of life. Radio , community, television, newspaper, mass meeting propaganda, campaigning, etc. have educative value. It would be definitely an appreciable effort if the prime tribal development agency takes care of providing informal education. Much can be done by voluntary agencies too.

Traditional leadership is a product of social organizations and institutions. With change in socio-economic and political scene, the leadership has undergone a change. Bose has observed that the changes have come about in two directions. The institutions which

were responsible for the regulation of people's lives have altered their character and secondly they have now become progressively subjected to democratic control.⁷ But the problem, as the present study reveals, is that the tribals are relatively slow to respond to these changes. The concepts of traditional leadership and competitive leadership are antithetical. Since the tribals are still in the clutches of traditionalism, they take little interest in the election system. In most of the villages ward members are elected unanimously, traditional leaders manage to become new leaders. Second problem is related to the emergence of genuine leadership. Aiyapan has rightly pointed out that administration of welfare programmes on a nation-wide scale are confronted with the task of locating genuine leadership and enlisting in it the service of tribal and rural reconstruction.⁸ The same problem is visible in Paralakhemundi project area. It has been observed that most of the ward members are not well conversant with modern ideas and are still sticking to old ideas and values. They fail to exert any significant influence on officials.

7 N.K. Bose, Changing Nature of Leadership in India, in L.P. Vidyarthi (ed.), Leadership in India, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1967, pp. 177-84.

8 A. Aiyapan, Patterns of Tribal Leadership, in L.P. Vidyarthi (ed.), Leadership in India, op. cit., pp. 120-26.

The views recorded from Panchayat Samiti Chairman of Nuagada block and some Sarapanchas confirm this observation. In the other dimension of the same problem, we find that some emergent leaders, acting in the capacity of new elective leader under a democratic system fail to reconcile between traditional and emerging values. Again, the people of Borial complain against the M.L.A. for not keeping any contact with them after election. It is also found that, as in the case of Luhangar, sometimes the government officials give much importance to some influential individuals vis-a-vis real leaders even though the former is not the elected leader nor even the traditional leader of the village. To sum up, these are some of the basic problems associated with tribal leadership which should be seriously taken into consideration while striving for generating effective leadership.

Much of the remedial measures for tribal problems depend on the political awareness of the tribals. The present study leaves the following two impressions. Firstly, even though the tribals are gradually developing some consciousness, the process is very slow; secondly, there has been no conscious and sincere efforts by different agencies including the government agency to make this community politically more conscious. An increase in political awareness could result in corresponding

increase in peoples participation. The Paralakhemundi sub-plan area is rather marked with a sort of political inactivity. No significant political activities in the form of campaigning, propaganda, demonstration etc., are found. Even the activities during the polls also present a gloomy picture. It seems that different political parties are not active in this area. The presence of some political parties like Janata, B.J.P. is felt particularly in Nuagada, Gunma and Rayagada blocks. It is only the Communist Party (CPI) which sometimes takes some mass activities like demonstration and public meeting on some specific issues. Even then, this party does not have a good following. Congress party enjoys good popularity in this area. In some areas this is the only known political party. The tribal respondents of the three villages admitted that they have voted for Congress party in accordance with the decision of village committee meeting. They have a strange feeling that whatever benefits they get, it is because of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. During interview two old village Mandals who have served during British Raj expressed that Congress is responsible for the abolition of repressive Mutthadari system. However in the recent election an independent educated candidate could manage to come from Ramagiri reserve constituency whereas the

Congress retained its Mohona seat.

Moreover, local influential persons exert their influence during election as in other times. No political party worker takes pains to go to the people. The people do not understand party ideology and programme. Thus it is found that various political parties are maintaining a pitiable indifference. Obviously the rate of people's participation does not tend to rise.

Development activities cannot be carried out exclusively by administrators, technicians or some elites. Conscious involvement of the people is needed. Hence, participation, as held by Seshadri⁹ may be of antagonistic activities intended to change the system or of supporting activities for the growth and preservation of the system. In the context of tribal development, it has a pivotal role in transforming the tribal society.

There are several constraints of participation. Socially, factors like fatalism and traditional views result in inaction. Economic inequalities lead to the concentration of political power in the hands of a few giving rise to a cumulative unequal social structure.

9 Cited in V. Sivalinga Prasad, What Prevents People's Participation, Kurukshetra, Vol. XXVIII, No. 20, July 10, 1980, pp. 4-6.

The alienation of majority leads to political indifference. In tribal situation all these constraints are predominantly found.

We find some mechanism for ensuring people's participation. But it has been observed by different scholars including Ashok Mehta Committee that oligarchic tendencies have developed in Panchayat Raj system. Institutions like Panchayati Raj or cooperatives are not enthusiastic in mass participation. Hence there exists a need to revitalize Panchayati Raj system and the authoritative outlook of the bureaucracy must be changed immediately. Organising the poor provides a ground for peoples' participation. Political parties, administration, academicians and others can and should make a valuable contribution in organising and serving the tribals.

Much has been spoken about the need of leadership and politicization of the tribal scene. But the present study reveals some other interesting factors which, if unchecked would frustrate the very purpose of generating tribal leadership. It is found that there has been an emergence of a group of elites among the tribals who are more close to the non-tribal exploitators than the tribal fellow-men. The situation becomes more dis-

heartening as the officials try to maintain good relations with both the groups. It creates an imbalance in the power structure. Gradually with the change in socio-economic scene a subtle class structure is emerging. It has already been mentioned elsewhere in this work that a major chunk of benefits are grabbed by a selected few persons which include mostly non-tribals and a few tribals also. Oommen speaks of the emergence of new prosperous class among the tribals.¹⁰ Some other studies adequately refer to the emergence of a new class structure.¹¹ However, as the process of the formation of a class and power structure could not be established in the present study because of the limitation of the scope of the study itself, several inferences could be made to examine the imbalance in power structure and the process of exploitation in the area under study.

If the benefits are unevenly distributed, a particular section of the people is bound to acquire economic dominance. This section is constituting of both non-tribal exploitators and a few tribals. They can be referred to as middlemen. All non-tribals are not

10 T.K. Oommen, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in S.C. Dube (ed.), India Since Independence, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1979, p. 188.

11 See, J. Pathy, Politics of Tribal Welfare: Some Reflections, The Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 35, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1982, pp. 285-301.

exploiters. Only those who have established economic dominance exploit the tribals.¹² Similarly among tribals some are economically better off and influential. These tribals, by virtue of having a dominant position in the society, exert considerable influence in the economic and political activities, along with the non-tribal elite. Some of the tribal leaders also belong to this category. The only difference between these tribal leaders and others of this elite groups is that the former's position is legitimised. This group is in good terms with the officials. The only outcome of such a situation is that the poor tribals are harassed and exploited. So, even if a sincere attempt is made to generate tribal leadership right from the below, the leadership could be made effective only when the link among tribal elite, non-tribal exploiters and officials is broken. This task is, however, difficult in so far as it needs a restructuring of the power structure.

We find that all the factors discussed above are closely related with each other. On the basis of our analysis it would be suffice to say that much efforts should be given in developing political consciousness of the people and organizing them.

12 J. Pathy, Tribal Studies in India, An Appraisal, The Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 29, No. 4, 1970, pp. 401-17.

While a complete replacement of the existing administrative set-up cannot be suggested, it is certainly desirable to restructure it so as to meet the needs of the people. Again it is utopian to think that in an exploitative society there would be equal distribution of government benefits and a corresponding equal distribution of power and status. But an altogether replacement of the existing socio-political order would be a, too, idealistic suggestion. Rather efforts should be made to make this social order a non-exploitative one which would respond to the needs and aspirations of the people and would provide social justice to one and all.

Summary

The analysis and observations which have been made in this work can be summarised and put in an abstract form.

It is found that the concept, nature and process of tribal development, as studied in the first chapter, have undergone several changes. It has been realized to adopt a more comprehensive and systematic approach. The sub-plan strategy and integrated tribal development approach has been envisaged as an integrated approach consisting of a twin strategy of area development and problem solving. So far it is the most remarkable development in the history

of developmental planning for the tribals. The prime concern of the tribal development administration today is to integrate the tribals in the mainstream and to bring them at par with the non-tribals. Different strategies and institutional devices, made to implement the policies of tribal development, suffer from several loopholes and a gap exists between the spirit of the policies and nature of implementation.

In the context of the national framework of tribal development and different strategies, various organizations, responsible for tribal upliftment are studied in the second chapter. It reveals that ITDA is the nodal agency of tribal development in the sub-plan areas. The agency suffers from certain amount of structural deficiency and inconsistency.

A close look at the tribal situation of the area under study, as we find in chapter three, speaks of the ruthless exploitation of the tribals by the middlemen and their economic dependency on others. In the light of the new approach to tribal development and also the agencies available for executing policies, an evaluation of the role of ITDA, Paralakhemundi, is made in the fourth chapter which reveals that all the sincere efforts in the direction of tribal development has not been able to

leave any substantial impact on the lives of the tribals. However, the tribal society is undergoing a basic transformation. The activities of the government are vitally influencing and affecting on wider area of tribal life. But this change fall short of expectation. Different agencies have failed to bring about the desired transformation. On the basis of the observation, the following findings can be presented -

1. Some of the policies are not based on the proper understanding of the needs and characteristics of a community. There is no feed-back mechanism. A gap exists between the planner-administrators on the one hand and the tribals on the other.
2. Even though IDDA is the most vital agency of tribal development in sub-plan areas, it suffers from some structural deficiency. There is a considerable diffusion of authority, confusion, inadequate control, lack of coordination and financial support.
3. Half-hearted and haphazard implementation of schemes, some of which are not need based or feasible in a particular locality, along with no systematic effort for follow-up action frustrates the purpose of the schemes.

4. Besides, there are procedural hurdles and bureaucratic complicacy that puzzles the tribal mind.
5. There exist a ruthless exploitation by the middlemen and also a nexus among tribal elites, non-tribal exploiters and officers. The people being passive, inert and suspicious of outsiders, are indifferent towards administration.
6. The people are unorganised and have no political awareness. Hence their participation in different activities of the government is less. That makes the development activities ineffective.
7. There has been signs of change. But the tribals are always slow to respond to it. Hence it has been suggested in this work for restructuring the administrative set-up, organizing the tribals and for politicizing the tribal scene.

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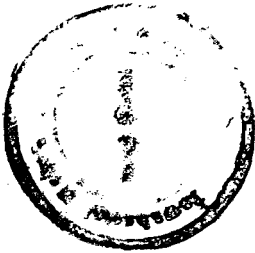
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**WORK FORCE PARTICIPATION AMONG TRIBALS
IN THE NORTH - EASTERN REGION OF INDIA
1981-1991**

ABSTRACT

**Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in fulfilment
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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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INTRODUCTION:

North-Eastern Region of India comprising of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura which has a large tribal population. The major tribal groups in the region are Naga tribes of Nagaland; Mizo, Chakma, Hmar of Mizoram; Naga tribes and Kuki-Chin of Manipur; Bodo, Deori, Kachari of Assam; Tripuri, Reang, Jamatia of Tripura; Apatani, Adi, Nissi, Monpa, Tangsa, Nocte, Wancho of Arunachal Pradesh. Apart from these, there are several minor ethnic groups in the region. The tribal groups of North-Eastern Region belong to Mongoloid stock. These tribals possess distinct socio-cultural and linguistic identities. But at the same time they share many common economic activities. Their main economic activities are subsistence cultivation.

According to B.K. Roy Burman (1971), Saha (1978) and Majumdar (1978) classified the tribal occupation of the North-Eastern Region on the basis of the following criteria. (i) Jhumming (shifting cultivation), (ii) terraced cultivation (settled cultivation), (iii) dry farming, (iv) husbandry, forestry and food-gathering. However, their economic activities are highly diversified ranging from cultivation, forestry and hunting, traditional handicrafts, blacksmith and a small proportion in manufacturing and service sectors.

Objectives:

In this study, we examine the pattern and changes in tribal work force participation rate (TWPR) of main workers across sex (males-females) and area (Rural-Urban). We investigate the changes in the pattern of the nine industrial categories as classified by census of India. And also, we analyse the factors that contribute to tribal work force participation.

Data Used and Methodology:

The present study of TWPR in the North-Eastern Region is based on population census data of 1981 and 1991. A quantitative technique of correlation coefficients is used to analyse the factors contributing work force participation.

Findings:

In the North-Eastern Region, TWPR has declined during 1981-1991. The decline is contributed by both males and females in all the states. A decline in TWPR is seen more in rural areas than in urban areas. Nevertheless, a marginal increase of TWPR in urban areas has been recorded in the state of Mizoram and Tripura.

Among the districts, TWPR is observed highest where the proportion of the tribal population is high. However, in female work force participation,

a sharp decline is recorded in tribal dominant districts of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and hill districts of Manipur. This has contributed to the fall of female work force at the regional level. The male-female differentials in work force participation is found to have narrowed in tribal dominant districts as mentioned above.

Tribal workers participating in the primary sector is very high. This is because a considerable proportion of tribal workers are concentrated in the cultivation activity. Tribal workers in the secondary sector are negligible and more or less stagnant. In the tertiary sector, the proportion has marginally increased. This is largely contributed by service workers. This indicates that diversification of employment is only taking place in the administrative institutions and the increase has not shown any specific change during the inter-censal period.

In the North-Eastern Region, the correlation analysis shows that the main factors which influence TWPR are tribal engaged in cultivation, sex ratio and proportion of tribal in rural areas during the two census years. The similarity in the relationship between TWPR and the factors contributing to work force even after 10 year suggests that economic development among tribals is rather poor. Also it indicates that there is not much change in the work force structure of tribals even after 10 year period.