STATE INTERVENTION AND TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT: SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ORISSA

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled **"STATE INTERVENTION AND TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT : SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ORISSA"** Submitted by Mr. PANKAJ DEEP, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of philosophy, has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university. This is his own work.

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Dedicated

To

My Parents

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Last but not the least, I would like to declare that, I will be solely responsible for any kind of error and mistakes.

Place: JNU, New Delhi

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ABBREVIATION

BDO	=	Block Development Officer
CD	=	Community Development
DRDA	=	District Rural Development Agency
DTDP	=	Dispersed Tribal Area Development Project
IEO	=	Indicators of Economic Development
IRDP	=	Integrated Rural Development Project
ITDA	=	Integrated Tribal Development Agency
ITDP	=	Integrated Tribal Development Project
LAMPS	=	Large Size Multi-Purpose Cooperative Society
MADA	=	Modified Area Development Approach
NES	=	National Extension Services
NREP	=	National Rural Employment Programme
RDTA	=	Report on Development of Tribal Areas
SA & ST Commission	=	Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission
SC	=	Scheduled Caste
SMPT Blocks	=	Special Multi-Purpose Tribal Blocks
ST	=	Scheduled Tribe
TAC	=	Tribes Advisory Council
TD	=	Tribal Development
TDBs	=	Tribal Development Blocks
TDCC	=	Tribal Development Cooperative Corporation
TISCO	=	Tata Iron and Steel Company
TSP	=	Tribal Sub Plan
UT	=	Union Territory
WGR	=	Working Group Report

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Preface

Tribal people constitute an important segment of the Indian society. The state of tribals have been a subject of research for variety of people for a variety of reasons. Some had a highly colourful and romantic views of the tribal's exotic customs and traditions. Earlier the tribal question was mainly conceived at cultural anthropological level as how much cultural assimilation was desirable. Some had argued for strategy and plans to absorb them in to the "mainstream" so that time lag in their development was bridged. Others had a romantic approach to pursue tribal culture. The first group almost imposed a modernist frame on them while the latter denied the tribals the right to choose their path of development. Slowly issues of economic exploitation and deprivation entered the debate and plans were designed to cater to them.

The complexity and multiplicity of problem facing the tribal people of India demands a better understanding and clear appreciation of their life and problems.

There has been a great paucity of works that present a multi-dimensional picture of the tribes in India. The present work is a modest attempt to understand the dynamics of tribal development in India with special reference to Orissa.

It makes an assessment of various strategies, programmes and interventions of the state and its performance to uplift the condition of the tribals.

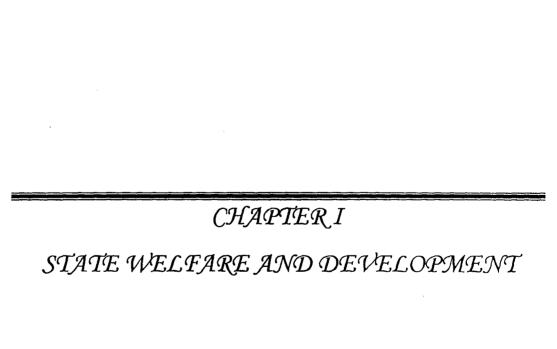I hope that this dissertation will be able to give a better insight into the tribal problems and their developments as well as government intervention in solving tribal problems.

Date: 20th July, 2002   Pankaj Deep

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CHAPTER I

STATE WELFARE AND DEVELOPMENT

THE CONCEPT OF STATE AND ITS ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT

"The state or apparatus of 'Government' appears to be every where, regulating the conditions of our lives from birth registration to death certification. Yet, the nature of the state is hard to grasp. This may seem peculiar for some thing so pervasiveness which makes it difficult to understand. There is nothing more central to political and social theory then the nature of the state, and nothing more contested" (Held, 1998: 1).

In Western political thought, the idea of the state is often linked to the notion of an impersonal and privileged legal or constitutional order with the capability of administering and controlling a given territory. (Ibid, p.1). This notion found its earliest expression in the ancient world (especially in Rome) but it did not become a major object of the European state system from the Sixteenth century onwards. It was not an element of medieval political thinking. The idea of an impersonal and sovereign political order, that is a legally circumscribed structure of power with supreme jurisdiction over a territory, could not predominate while political rights. obligations and duties were closely tied to property rights and religious traditions.

"The Word 'State' has been originated from the Latin word 'status', a natural word meaning condition or way of existence". Status was considered equivalent to prosperity. well-being. sound order of a particular community, church, empire or kingdom. (D'Entreves, 1967:30).

The word status is used to describe a particular social or economic condition, and hence a particular category or class of people. In more specific it is used to describe the particular legal structure of a given community. What we call it now is a constitutional component. The gradual fining down of the term 'state' to the sense in which it is used today is here clearly apparent. The fact, however, that the word was still used indiscriminately to indicate the actual exercise of power or government, and the people or territory on which a particular power or government is exerted (e.g. the 'state' of the church, the mainland state or Venice, etc.). It shows that we are still considerably remote from a precise used of it. (Ibid. p.30).

If we keep all these different usages in mind, we are not surprised that Machiavelli should not always be coherent in his use of the word 'state'. All the different meanings we have listed so far can be traced in his works, some times even within the same context. According to some very authoritative scholars, Machiavelli's language and style are more plain and direct in the prince, less hampered by literacy tradition, than in any other of his writings. It is certainly there that we find the most decisive evidence of a new meaning of 'state' appears to be used to indicate a collective unit whose shape and form of government may very, but which, in one essential feature, remains the same through out and it is proper object of politics.

Though some sort of political organization has existed since ancient times, such as, Greek city-states and the Roman-empire, yet the concept of the 'state' as such is comparatively modern. The contemporary concept of the state owes its origin to Machiaavelli who expressed this idea in the early Sixteenth century as 'the power, which has authority over man.' (The prince).

Harold J. Laski, in his book "An Introduction to Politics" points out (about the meaning of state): whereas all other associations are voluntary in character, and can bind the individual only as he choose membership of them, once he is a resident of some given state, legally he has no choice but to obey its commands. The state, so to say, is the crowning point of the modern social edifice, and it is in its supremacy over all other forms of social grouping that its special nature is to be found. (Harold, 1961: 9)

Frederick M. Watkins defines the state as "a geographically delimited segment of human society united by common obedience to a single sovereign" (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences Vol.15, p.150).

ORGANIZATIONAL DIFINITION OF STATE

Organizational definitions regard the state as a set of governmental institutions of relatively recent historical origin. Government is the process of making rules, controlling, guiding or regulating. More loosely, especially in Western Europe, government is synonymous with the elected ministers who are formally in charge of departments; some form of government is intrinsic to human society,

because a society, which is totally uncontrolled, unguided and unregulated, is a contradiction in terms. By contrast, the state-defined organizationally is not intrinsic to human society. There have been, and still are according to anthropologists, some stateless societies, such as seminary tribal systems or small, isolated bonds, in which rules and decisions are made collectively, or through implicit negotiation with no specialization of government in the hands of one set of persons (Dunleavy and O' Leary, 1987:1)

Frequently the basis of these rules may be traditional or religious. By contrast, a modern state is a very special type of government, marked by the following five characteristics:

1. The state is a recognizably separate institution, so differentiated from the rest of its society as to create identifiable public and private sphere.

2. The state is sovereign, or the supreme power with in its territory, and by definition the ultimate authority for all law, i.e. binding rules supported by coercive sanctions. Public law is made by state officials and backed by a formal monopoly of force.

3. The state's sovereignty extends to all the individuals within a given territory, and applies equally, even to those in formal positions of government or rule making. Thus, sovereignty is distinct from the personnel who at any given time occupy a particular role within the state.

4. The modern state's personnel are mostly recruited and trained for management in a bureaucratic manner.

5. The state has the capacity to extract monetary revenues (taxation) to finance its activities from its subject population (ibid.p.2)

These characteristics are abstractions, which are not equally applicable to all modern state. However, they do represent the features, which most social scientists and historians would say, distinguish the modern state from pre-modern governing systems. There is nothing obviously democratic about the state in the organizational definition, despite the formal requirement that subjection to sovereignty applies to

all individuals. Equally this approach leaves open the question of whether the state should be treated as a single, unified actor, or as the sum total of the roles and activities of the individuals in state organizations, or as a conglomerate of sub-organizations. The organizational definition suggests a continuum of regimes, running from societies with a well-developed state where government is highly centralized, hierarchical and bureaucratic, has a powerful executive, and has a special status in law through to 'stateless' societies- where these characteristics are not highly developed. The organizational definition also leaves undecided whether the population of a society regards the state as legitimate.

FUNCTIONAL DEFINITION

Functional definitions of the state can take two forms: one, ex ante approach defines the state as that set of institutions, which carries out particular goals, purposes or objectives. An obvious contrast with the organizational approach is that 'the state' may be empirically identified with a range of institutions not normally classified as part of the 'public' sphere. Any organization whose goals or purposes overlap with 'state' functions' automatically becomes part of the state. The second ex post approach defines the state by its consequences, e.g. the maintenance of social order. The state is identified with those institutions or patterns of behavior that have stabilizing effects. Again, this approach enlarges what can count as a component of 'the state'. For instance, if we say that a key function of the state is to produce social cohesion, and believe that family life achieves much the same result, we may be driven to conclude that the family as an institution is part of the state (Ibid.p.4). Both forms of functional definition invariably conceptualize the state as a unitary actor, excluding any possibility of understanding the state as a network of individuals. Functional definitions of the state are especially prominent in Marxist approach but also occur in some pluralist accounts. (Ibid.p.4)

Liberal democracy is the key, context in which we analyze the role of the state. The concept democracy is best understood through its Greek roots: demos, meaning the 'citizen body' and cracy, meaning the 'rule of'. Originally democracy meant the rule of the citizen body as opposed to the rule of the aristocracy or the monarchy. The 'liberal' component in liberal democracy derives from liberalism, a pre-democratic political ideology that asserts that there should be as much individual

freedom in any society as is compatible with the freedom of others. Liberalism is an individualist creed, which mushroomed in the seventeenth and eighteenth century mainly as a philosophical reaction against Catholic dogmatism and against unrestricted absolute monarchies in Europe. Traditionally, Liberals have wanted freedom from the state, demanding that some individual freedoms, or rights, should be protected both from the state and from majority decisions. State is a corporate agent of society, and as such can have no will apart from the will of the society whose agent it is and whose will it has come to serve.

For the preservation and promotion of public morality, public order, and general welfare a suitable agent, a general Supervisor is needed for society and when this need is urgently felt there appears the morality oriented legal order, or the State. It is ultimately the product of the will of society for a social supervision. If we analyze we find that,

(i)   The state is a justice promoting association that it must pursue moral ends and hence the ends limit its authority it pursues.

(ii)   It is an agent of society and hence its authority is delegated and derivative (not original or inherent).

(iii)   Its legal supremacy is conditional, that is, it is conditioned by its moral ends or by the requirements of morality and social welfare (Mukerji, 1952:156).

Even amongst those persuade that some form of state is now indispensable, there are passionate disagreements about its origins, characters, and appropriate activities. Those intellectuals, who see the greatest potential for good in the state, regard it as a mechanism for realizing 'the common good', 'the public interest', or the 'general will'. Hegel even hailed the state, rather obscurely as the 'idea mode actual' part and parcel of God's journey towards self-realization. Others are more cautious in their estimations. Even mindful of the state's capacity to be manipulated and transferred for oppressive purposes, they would 'bind', 'tame' and control what Hobbes called Leviathan. On this view constitutional devices should be used to make the state accountable institutional and social pluralism to divide and fragment in organizations and capacities; and extensive popular participation in policy formulation and implementation to dissolve the state in citizenry. Still others

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High intervention favoured

Y

Communism

New Right

Conservatism

X = Second sphere of intervention: organizing production, redistribution and welfare

High
intervention
favoured

X

Little
intervention
favoured

Social Democracy

Anarchism

Little intervention favoured

Y = First sphere of intervention: law, order, defence, and maintaining traditional values

FIGURE 1.1
Ideological perspectives on state intervention

(SOURCES, Dunleavy & O'Leary, 1987, London Macmillan Education, p. 8).

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advocate a minimal state, allowed to intervene only if private markets cannot provide a particular benefit efficiently or in appropriate quantities (Dunleavy and O' Leary. 1987:6-7).

In practical political terms some contemporary ideologies make a sharp distinction between different spheres of state intervention. The first concerns the state's role in providing a legal framework for society, ensuring that law and order prevail, protecting the national territory from external aggression, and upholding certain traditional moral values. The second sphere of state activity concerns intervention in the economic system, to regulate or manage production directly, to remove some or all of the bundle of property rights morally conveyed by private ownership to provide goods or services on basis distinct from the market principle what you pay for is what you get 'New Right' political movements in the USA and Western Europe are often strongly in favour of more intervention in the first sphere of state activity (for example, by spending more on defence, or by taking a dogmatic stand on moral usage). While simultaneously proposing to ' roll back the state' in the fields of social welfare and economic management. Some forms of democratic socialism adopt a reverse position favoring the liberalization of moral issues and a lower profile for the state in the first sphere but an extension of government activities in the second. In Figure (1.1) illustrates how some major ideologies have adopted varying attitudes towards these two dimensions of state intervention.

For the over all development of the society, plans should be made best suitable to the people. The social scientists talk about the 'welfare state' theory for the betterment of the people.

The state comes into being for the sake of life and continues for the sake of good life, says Aristotle (Mazumdar, 1957, p.172). Every association is formed with some good in view, for an apparent good is the spring of all human activity. Consequently, the state or political association which is supreme and all embracing. must aim at the sovereign good (Warrington, 1959: 5). The idea of welfare state came when the doctrine of laissez-faire was at the peak of popularity. In other words, the maxim was 'let people look after their own business' as being immediately interested in it: they are likely to attend it best, (Barker, 1953: 269). Let the government intervene only in the interest of the community in general and as

seldom as possible. There must be state control to a certain extent (ibid, p.269) but the state interference in the business of the community should be restricted to the narrowest compass. Individual free agency, personnel liberty and spontaneity, must be protected with the utmost possible rigor. J. S. Mill, the powerful defender of individual liberty, favours individual development according to the inherent qualities of each individual (Spahr, 1949: 210). But in the economic field Mill is not a bigoted individualist (ibid, 222). He permits extension of state functions in the interests of social welfare.

Herbert Spencer says that government is essentially immoral; it exists because crime exists and must cease when crime ceases. The right of the individual is equal freedom with every body else, (ibid, p.250-51) and the only duty of the state is to protect the right from violation. So, the state is a "joint protection company for Mutual Assistance"(ibid, p.256).

The framers of our constitution embody the welfare state ideal in the constitution. This ideal in the resolution on aims and objectives was moved by Nehru on 13th Dec. 1946 in the name of objectives Resolution in the constituent Assembly (Srinivasan, 1954:134). The relevant part of the Resolutions adopted on 22nd Jan. 1947 reads as follows: -

1). Where in shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social economic and political, and before law, freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality and

2). Where in adequate safeguards should be provided for minorities, back ward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes.

Later these 'aims and objectives' have been accepted in the constitution by way of a 'Preamble' (The Constitution of India, 1949:1).

Government of India gave importance to the welfare of people. As early as 1938, the first National Planning Committee (Shah, 1949: 254) was appointed by the President of the Indian National Congress and functioned through various vicissitudes for eleven years. It was recognized as planning commission in

accordance with the congress working committee resolution of 19th Jan. 1950 with the Prime Minister as its chairman.

The Government of India set-up the central social welfare Board under the chairmanship of Smt. Durgabai Deshmukh on 12th August 1954, social welfare Advisory Boards had been set up by all state Governments. Social welfare Board with the assistance of voluntary organizations, takes up the issues of the welfare of the child, women, handicapped persons and other downtrodden people. Planning commission continues to allocate some extra funds for the development of tribes in each plan.

CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

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

Development is nearly a household word in the present society; common objectives to the world development include community, social, economic, area, regional and the like. Attempts to evolve a comprehensive and convincing definition of development have failed mainly due to persistent inadequacy of comprehension about its ever-expanding role and subtleties of related specialization and March of multi disciplinary intricacies in the midst of changing political and systematic realities. Development is a widely participatory process of directed change in society, intended to bring about social, economic, political and cultural advancement for the people through greater control over their environment. Development in any particular nation consist of a synergy of such developmental goals as promoting literacy, improving nutrition and health, limiting family size, increasing productivity and material advancements including greater equality freedom, and other valued qualities. Clearly there is no agreed definition of development. It is inescapably a normative term, which at various times has meant economic growth, structural

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economic change, autonomous industrialization capitalism or socialism, self actualization, and individual, national, regional and cultural self reliance. (Srivastava, 1998:40).

The dictionary meaning of the word 'develop' is to expand, to bring out the potentialities, capabilities, or to cause to come to completeness or perfection, and 'development' gradual evolution or completion and the result of such an evolution or completion.

J.D. Montgomery says that development is conceived as an aspect of change that is desirable, broadly predicted or planned and administered or at least influenced by governmental action. The term is not used synonymously with 'growth'. In the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, development requires social and cultural change as well as economic growth, which have reciprocal relationship. Hence development means change plus growth. (Deogaonkar, 1994: 25).

Development has become keyword in the contemporary dialogue on human conditions. Though the dialogues on development contain different intellectual and theoretical concepts of models and approaches. All these share three references points. First, these refer to the state of societies underdeveloped, developing, and developed. Second, All the developmental theories and concepts articulate a set of goals in the sense that the ideal of development provide an agenda for actions. Third, these concepts, and theories refer to a movement from underdevelopment to development. The criteria that determine the state of society and the level of development are value loaded in as much as they take into account the different ideological and conceptual contexts.

Developmental criteria and goals are also determined in accordance with cultural, societal, economic, and political determinants and situations. With the knowledge and experience available during the last three decades a great degree of objective realism and logical rationality have been introduced into the analysis and realization of the developmental models and strategies. Now development does not merely mean the economic growth and a substantial increase in the GNP, rather,

development is something, which takes into account the other aspects of human life, especially the quality of life, in addition to economic growth.

The notion of development in the early economics was simple. It meant the capacity of national economics to generate and sustain an annual increase in their GNP at a significant rate. Another indicator used by economists was the relationship between the growth of per capita GNP and ability of an economy to expend its output at a rate faster than the growth rate of its populations. Such a notion of development aimed at a planned alteration of the structure of production and employment. The size and share of traditional sectors were to decline, and the modern industrial sectors involving growth of manufacturing and service sectors were assumed to expand progressively. The non-economic social indicators of development were not given much importance. As a result, things in the developing countries did not work out the way the economists predicted. The social benefits of growth remained confined to a small section of the population without reaching the common man. It was increasingly fact that economic growth alone was not enough. Hence, economic development was redefined and related to the objectives of the eliminations of poverty, inequality and unemployment with in the framework of a growing economy. In the process, redistribution was inevitably linked to growth. Three core values were gradually incorporated in the notion of the development. Those are life sustenance, self-esteem and freedom of choice.

Social development according to Paiva has two inter related dimensions. The first is the development of the capacity of the people to work continuously for their welfare and that of the society, the second is the alteration or development of society's institutions so that human needs are meet at all levels, especially at the lowest level through a process of improving the relationships between the people and socio-economic institutions recognizing that human and natural forces are constantly intervening between the expression of needs and the means to attain them. ∫

In this process, a balance between quantitative and qualitative meeting of needs is sought through changes in societal institutions and in the use of the resources. An essential concern for social development is, therefore with social justice and in the equitable distribution of the fruits of development. The aims of

social development are ultimately to achieve a more humanistic society with institutions and organizations that may respond more appropriately to human needs.

Huntington has identified the generally accepted characteristics of developmental processes, which are as follows:

(i).   Developmental processes are complex and multidimensional and involve a series of cognitive, behavioral and institutional modifications and restructuring;

(ii)   They are systematic;

(iii)   They are revolutionary in nature;

(iv)   They are global, lengthy, phased and harmonizing;

(v) They are irreversible; and

(vi) They are progressive (Huntington, 1991:33-34)

Development is an elusive concept and involves mobilization of trained manpower, capital and technical know-how and their utilization for attainment of constantly rising national goals, higher living standards and the change over from a traditional to modern society. Development is usually conceived as an aspect of change that is desirable, broadly predicted or planned and administered or at least influenced by Governmental action. Thus the concept of development consist of:

(a)   An aspect of change.

(b)   A plan or prediction and

(c)   Involvement of the government for the achievements of that planned or predicted goal

The term 'development is also used for the process of allowing and encouraging people to meet their own aspiration. It therefore, must relate to transforming the entire society enmeshing together its economic, social, political, and administrative aspects for an all round balanced upward change.

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Development is thus, never complete, it is relative, a state of mind, a tendency, a direction rather than a fixed goal; it is a rate of change in particular direction. Therefore, the fulfillment of a certain goal alone cannot be termed as development. In the ultimate analysis, it results in a sense of well being among the members of the society.

The main aim of development is to increase national as well as per-capita income and to raise the standard of living of the people and to secure justice, freedom, equality and security for them in the society. The focus of development administration is now increasing on: -

- Equitable distribution of wealth and income.

- Full utilization of manpower.

- Better utilization of natural resources.

- Protection of the human environment etc.

Development is now a widely accepted goal and is enunciated in policy declarations of national government. Therefore in all pervasive definition of development has been attempted which involved in the process of development an increase of GNP, a rise in standard of living, the adoption of new technology, the acquisitions of new skills and capacities, changes in the way of thought and behavior of the people, occupational diversity, socio economic structural adjustment, establishment of new institutions and broader participation of the masses in the processes of development. However, it has been difficult to put all these together into a single coherent conceptual   Model. Therefore, the dynamics of development have to be viewed as a multifaceted process of political strategy involving economic development, social advocacy and planned intervention to improve the capacity of the existing social system and institutions to cope with the demands of the change and growth. All this was found essential to put the human elements back into the development process. Development therefore, is generally defined as a strategy of the promotion of welfare of the people.

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The main achievement of the development decade of 1990s has been to put people at the center of the development discourse. The two summits implicitly (The earth summit-1992, and world summit for social development, UNO. 1995), rejected the 'economic' theories that make financial and economic growth the central if not the only goal. It is now fully acknowledge that sustainable human development generation but also participation in decision making, equal opportunity, equal access to resources and adherence to international human rights (World Summit, 1995, p.vii).

In this context, the role of the state cannot be overemphasized. The state being the most important and the initiator of policy action has over time emerged as the pivotal agency of social transformation although the active intervention of the political instance and the state in social and economic development has had a long lineage. But the current development, problematic new aspects to the state's responsibilities by focusing sharply on a wide variety of political issues such as democracy, social integration, human rights, human security and survival. The so-called "crisis of govern ability" afflicting many post colonial states in the present era of globalization, as also the debate over structural adjustment process has also raised the issue of political and structural imperatives of governance.

The development problem has been traditionally seized of the question of state intervention in economic growth and development. Apart from the various dimensions of economic intervention by state, the conjectural preponderance of public ownership has long been acknowledged (Sen, 1991: 2089-90). That the state has a corrective role to play in market economy in the social interest was the theme of the first book entitled "Political Economy" by Sir James Stuart, may back in 1767. Similarly in the first half of the 18th century the German economist Freidrich list argued strongly in favor of a large role for the state in economic development. And not with standing Adam Smith (Wealth of Nation: 1776) and his follower's impressive advocacy for Laissez Faire and invisible system, which precluded any role of the state's economic growth, there were significant theorizing, which followed the lead of Stuart. Most significant of these were of course by Karl Marx who in the Ist quarter of the 19th century who established the imperative of state

ownership of means of production against the market economy as the panacea for removing inequalities and injustice.

As a result of the long drawn battle between the followers of Adam Smith and Marx, a middle path of " mixed economy" had conceptualized by scholars like Keynes, Lerner and Mrydal in the first half of the 19th centuries calling for a qualified state intervention to facilitate socio-economic transformation. Joseph Schum Peter (Captalism, Socialism and Democracy: 1942) offered critical dimensions, which integrate the economy and polity. By the 1950s the advocacy for the economic intervention by the state ushered in a new discipline of "development economics". Led by the similar contribution of Arthar Lewis, developmental economics has, in many ways, an extension of the surplus based theories propounded by Marx and Schum Petre. These development theories provided the fundamental foundation for widespread government intervention, restriction of market mechanism, and government controlled allocation of investment funds in accordance with a comprehensive economy (Mundle, 1993:1879).

Thus, for the past one century, the concept of a welfare state permitting governmental intervention for social and economic growth has taken roots and proliferated in a variety of forms in a host of countries in Europe (particularly in Scandinavia) and also in the post-colonial world, including India. The capitalist countries too witnessed the growing role of the government in subsiding, regulating, and promoting the "free economy" (Holt, 1985: 478).

Scholars such as Ralph Miliband highlighted the crucially important ways in which the economic life of capitalist society is being regulated and transformed by state intervention. Studies in the post- colonial world also indicate the increasingly dominant role played by the state in the process of capitalist development (Sobhan, 1989: 147-58).

The state or government has been lately constructed as a critical factor in intervening, regulating and mediating not only the allocation of resources as also in reforming political, legal and social institution causing underdevelopment. Such enhanced role for the state is conceptualized among others by the Protagonists of new Institutional Economics (NIE) who stress the interplay between the state and

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development policies by highlighting the multiple ways in which the state can thwart or advance the process of socio-economic change depending on the access of different classes to state power (Roy, 1995: 65-72). The proponents of the present role of globalization or what has been proclaimed and the "new political economy" too insist on a "neo liberal statism" which prescribes the key role state must play in the structural adjustment process. In this scheme, "the (state) apparatus has to achieve a fairly high degree of technical and administrative ability to wrest considerable autonomy from the society which it is embedded," (Veix and Patres, 1992: PE-1832).

Closely impinging on the dynamics of state intervention in the development process had been the issue of democratic governance and its linkages with development. The Copenhagen Summit for Social Development highlighted the intrinsic relationship between development, democracy and human rights in its programme of action;" Governments should promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development, bearing in mind the interdependent and mutually reinforcing relationship between democracy, development and respect for human rights and should make public institutions more responsive to peoples needs.........(world summit, 1995, P-97). For the poor and the exploited, the state represents the forces of modernization and progress, and offers possibilities for improving the living standard and of the population at large (Nayak, 196, PE-20).

Samir Amin says, "Democracy is not a 'Luxury' whose introduction would conflict with accelerating the material development of society. The historical experience of post capitalist societies show the opposite: That popular democracy is, on the contrary, the condition for any such acceleration"(Amin, 1990: 179).

Thus the alternative strategy for multidimensional and sustainable development in countries like India essentially relate to human resource development and infrastructures which could facilitate the social integration of marginalized and disadvantaged groups including women, scheduled caste and scheduled tribes and Backward classes in to the main stream of Indian society.

NOTES

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CHAPTER II

APPROACHES TOWARDS TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

Development administration in a simple language would be public administration with a special purpose. The strategies and goals of change may very but there are always generic process through which agreement on goals is reached and plans, policies, programmes and projects (four 'P's) formulated and implemented. Development administration is primarily concerned with the tasks and process of formulating and implementing the four 'P's in respect to whatever mixture of goals and objectives may be determined.

As a concept, development administration consists of two notions: 'Administrative development' and 'Administration of development.' Here the first one refers to the structural aspect of development administration, which implies the enhancement of the capacity and capability of an administrative system to achieve the progressive socio-economic goals. In brief, development administration refers to the administration of development programmes, plans and projects for speedy and accelerated socio-economic development of the people. It implies administration not merely for the development of the people, but working with the people. It signifies decentralization of administration and administration by participation. It is a goal oriented, participative and a highly integrated administrative system with substantial coping ability.

Tribal development administration thus refers to the administration of tribal development programmes for the all round development of the tribal people. It also includes development of administrative machinery in the tribal areas and its capacity to administer development in the face of specific environmental and geographical constraints.

"No man is an island entire of itself." Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main (Pattanaik, 1974, P-preface). In deed, no society is an island either. Even in the very form multiplicity of today's social integration, when the bell tools for one society, it tools for many others as well. Communities of various types must, therefore, go hand and hand down the road of development.

So far as tribal development is concerned, the goal of tribal development can be group into following two objectives:

    (a) Long term objectives, and

    (b) Short-term objectives.

The long-term objectives are: -

    (a) To narrow the gap between the levels of development of the tribals and others.

    (b) To improve the quality of life of the tribal community.

The short-term objectives are: -

    (a) Elimination of exploitation in all forms.

    (b) Speeding of the process of socio-economic development.

    (c) Improving organization capabilities.

    (d) Building up inner strength of the people

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

The welfare measures for improving the living and working conditions of the tribes were pre-independence days, the tribal people themselves attracted the attention of a large number of anthropologists, folklorists, writers, artists, social workers and individual administrators who, charmed with their way of life and the picturesque surrounding of their habitat, made detailed socio-economic and cultural studies. As a result of these studies and exchange of views, a number of viewpoints regarding our attitudes towards the tribes, have cropped up. As the tribal people themselves have not actively participated or have been involved in formulation of these views, most of them are conflicting, contradictory and diametrically oppose to one another. However they can be broadly and loosely classified into three categories (School).

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(1) Isolation

(2) Assimilation

(3) Integration

ISOLATION

There is a group of thinkers who advocates that the tribes should remain isolated from the rest of the Indian people and maintain their separate identity. That this is the oldest view is proved by the fact that most of the tribal groups remained out side the social structure of the Aryans who in their efforts to maintain racial purity, kept them at a distance (Hasan, 1971: 3). This concept is accepted by several old time administrators still wedded to British concept of administration, by some anthropologists who treat tribals as museum pieces and non tribal cultures and by the vested interests, for instance, money lenders, contractors and businessman operating among tribal people with to sole intention of keeping the tribal ones as `exploiters` exclusive preserve. (ibid, p.4-5). Thus these people are keen to maintain the statuesque and exclude the tribal people from progress and development as well as political consciousness.

This theory of isolation is popularly known as 'National Park Theory` propounded by Verrier Elwin. However, this approach has been attacked by the nationalists and social workers. According to them tribals should not be kept isolated from the rest of the society like domestic cattle or zoo exhibits. They are equal citizen of India. They have contributed towards the country's advancement and they are entitled to share the fruits of development (Hasnain, 1983: 145-47). A.V. Thakkar criticized the anthropologists for trying to keep the tribals continues to isolated in their in accessible hills and jungles.

The declaration of a few particular areas as tribal concentration as scheduled areas and tribal areas is an example of isolation. The tribals living out side these areas were not duly protected. The progress of these scattered tribals population was presumed as by product of general development strategy of Indian planning. In different five year plan and the general fund been not utilized for the developmental

work among the tribes, rather the fund for 'tribal welfare was kept reserved. It reveals the trends of financial segregation. (Vidyarthi & Rai, 1985: 416)

During the colonial period, the British Government came in contact with the tribals only with the entry of some missionaries in the beginning of the 19th century. Later the tribals were approached by Indian National Leaders who were fighting for the freedom of the country regarded them as integral part of the Indian population. (Vidyarthi & Rai, 1985: 412).

British tactfully tackled the situation and in order to ensure the restoration of law and order as well as extraction of forest wealth and exploitation of resources available in tribal regions declared as prohibited areas to the tribal habitats. After realizing the potentiality of tribal people in many national movement. British government created 'exclude' and 'partially excluded' areas. The policy of isolation by British government was largely affected by their deliberate efforts not to developed communication in the tribal areas, which, as result, remained cut off from the rest of the population. The tribal people were segregated and their places of habitation were maintained as prohibited areas. (Singh, 1982:1-25).

However, this concept proved out of date and retrograde even during the British period. For instance the British Government themselves followed a policy of industrialization in Chhota-Nagpur area, the habitat of the Santhal, Munda, Ho and many other tribal areas, on discovery of rich mineral deposits. As a Result of this, the tribal people found themselves exposed the divers contacts and influences, hitherto unknown to them, in the midst of a developing industrial economy, which directly affected their isolated living and resulted in the Santhal Revolt in 1885. Thus under force of circumstances and in the interest of their industrial policy, the British were forced to revise their policy of complete isolation and adopt a policy of limited isolation (Hasan, 1971: 4). The result was that the policy of isolation was severely criticized and condemned by national leaders during the British rule and has not found favour with the enlightened public opinion often independence.

POLICY OF ASSIMILATION

The second school of thought believes in complete assimilation of the tribes with the rest of Indian people. It rules out any special treatment to the tribals, and

advocated complete absorption of the tribal culture, customs and traditions in mainstream and suggests abolition of constitutional safeguards and end of special measures for their welfare.

The adherents of this viewpoint assert that emphasis on development of tribals according to their own traditions and culture will only promote separatist tendencies among them and will impair country's unity and integrity. Many political thinkers, social reformers and administrators having experience of tribal affairs, subscribe to this view. Their hands have been specially strengthened often the unrest in Nagaland and Mijo Hills and trouble in Baster (M.P.). Such people also decry tribal institutions and customs and are always ready with their suggestions and schemes to civilize, the 'savage'. Verrier Elwin, who all along opposed the policy of assimilation, has criticized the attitude of reformers in the following words: -

"There are many people, greatly admired by society, who have devoted their entire lives to robbing the tribal folk of what little they have. They turn them into vegetarians and give nothing in its place. By introducing prohibition among them. they rob them of a much-needed tonic...

By suggesting their simple natural way of dress is indecent, they lay on them a new economic burden. They cost a shadow on the sweet delights of young love. To steal colure, beauty and freedom from poor people, is just as bad as to exploit them in more obvious ways" (Hasan, 1971: 5).

The theory of isolation is based on a fallacious concept of superiority of modern civilization over primitive civilization. That we are living in blissful ignorance and presupposing many thing, will be evident from what Nehru said, four decades ago: "We must cease to think ourselves as different from the so called tribal people. This is a vicious idea. It is due to a superiority complex, which has no basis in reality. I can say with complete honesty that some of the tribal people have reached a high degree of development. In fact, I have found in some places they are highly educated and disciplined and lead a corporate communal life which, I think, is far better than the caste ridden society from which we suffer." (Ibld-p-6).

Therefore the policy of isolation or theory of detribalization is conceptually wrong and in practice disastrous. It is neither in the interest of tribals nor the Indian

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people at large. This policy, if carried through, will make the tribal feel alien in his homeland. May be he, grudgingly, accepts cultural and social values imposed on him under force of circumstances but instead of developing a feeling of integration with rest of the people, he will groan under their burden.

POLICY OF INTEGRATION

The third school of thinkers, which includes renowned social scientist, prominent public men and political thinkers, projects the idea of integration of the tribal people in the Indian society. They opposed to both isolation and complete assimilation of tribes, considering both views injurious to tribal and national interests. (Ibld-p-7). It believed in the rapid integration of the tribal community with the general population. The intention was to assist them to progress, both economically and socially, and reach a standard of development such as would fit them to take place as useful citizens in the life of the general community on a footing of equality (Hasnain, op.cit: 155). The main concern of social anthropologists in India is to find out a national strategy of nation building activities. They deal with words, such as social integration and cultural assimilation. Social integration means acceptance of common goals and symbols by different parts of a whole, while retaining a dimension of political relationship. It is presumed that people having diverse cultural traits may foster common goals and symbols. (Burman, 1975: 31-60). L.P. Vidyarthi recommends the integration of the tribe in regional and national settings (Vidyarthi and Rai: 420). Exponents of this school advocates that different tribal communities should grow and develop according to their genius, because India is a land of heterogeneous cultures with no recognized or standard culture, which the tribes may be made it adopt. The unity of India, they maintain, lies in its divers cultures whole harmonious development and blending will ultimately lead to emergence of a composite national culture (Hasan, 1971: 7).

Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the main architects of the integration theory, sums up his views on the subject succinctly in the following words:

"We must approach the tribal people with affection and friendliness and come to them is a liberating force. We must let them feel that we come to give and not to take something away from them. This is the kind of psychological integrating India

needs. It on the other hand, they feel you have come to impose yourselves upon them or that we go to them in order to try and change their methods of living, to take away their land and to encourage our businessmen to exploit them, then the fault is ours, for it only means, that our approach to the tribal people is wholly wrong" (ibid, p-7).

TRIBAL PANCHSHEEL OF NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime Minister of independent India, in his foreword to the second edition of 'A Philosophy for NEFA' by Dr. Elwin, Nehru added (in Oct.9, 1958) that these avenues of development should be pursued within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles:

(1) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.

(2) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.

(3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

(4) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

(5) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

These five principles have since come to be known as tribal Panchsheel (Bhandari, 1997:119-120).

Verrier Elwin has given a practical shape to this new-point and crystallized our thinking on the subject by suggesting the following five fundamental principles:

(1) We must help the tribes to come to terms with their own past so that their present and feature will not be a denial of it but a natural evolution from it.

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(2) We must fight the danger of pauperization; the creation of a special class called 'tribal' that will want to be labeled 'backward' in order to get material benefits from government. Unintelligent benevolence can be as great danger as intelligent exploitation.

(3) It is essential to avoid creating a sense of inferiority in the tribal people. This means that we must not impose our own idea upon them. We must not create a sense of guilt by forcing on them laws and customs they do not understand and cannot observe. We must not make them feel ashamed of their own natural ways.

(4) We should lay much greater stress on the possibility of the tribal people helping us. At present the emphasis in on our helping them. Let us teach them that their own culture, their own arts are previous things that we respect and need. When they feel they can make a contribution to their country, they will feel part of it; this is therefore an important aspect of their integration.

(5) We must try to ensure that the people do not lose their freedom and their jest for living. (Hasan, 1971: 4-8).

The above three views essentially reflect non-tribal out look on tribals. While the third view is likely to be widely acceptable among the tribals. It would be erroneous to attempt to impose our own views on them. The tribes must necessarily, be left free to determine their course of action and evolve schemes for their development. Any interference with their way of life or imposition of our idea is found to cause bitter resentment among them. It is, however, not suggested, not even hinted, that the tribal can or should remain immune from the influence of their neighbours. No one can stop the process of acculturation as a result of which the tribal people are gradually accepting "elements of social value" from non-tribal communities coming in their contact. Ideas spread despite racial, geographical or cultural barriers but the trouble starts when they are sought to be thrust upon unwilling people. That the tribal people should be allowed to mould their destiny with their own hands, has been strongly advocated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, our first president who said:

"There can be and should be no idea or intention of forcing anything on them either by way of religion, language, or even mode of living and customs. Even where we feel that the religion or the life that is offered is better than theirs. There is no justification for forcing it upon them against their will. My own idea is that facilities for education and for general improvement in their economic life should be provided for them and it should be left to them the choose whether they would like to be assimilated with and absorbed by the surrounding society or would like to maintain their own separate tribal existence." (ibid, p-9-10).

Therefore, whatever be our view-point regarding the place of the primitive people in our midst or about their well-being, we must learn to honour and appreciate the tribal angle and stand points. So, the social scientists, voluntary agencies and social workers as well as government servants who have assignments among the tribal people, have to conduct themselves with care. Unless they possess the correct attitude, have a respect for the tribal culture, traditions and customs and, above all, approach the tribal people with sympathy and understanding as well as with a sense of humility, they will fail to gain their confidence and fulfill the task entrusted to them. A wrong approach, a biased view, an attitude of condescension or a sense of superiority may not only respect in generating a feeling of bitterness among the primitive people but may put national integration it self in jeopardy.

PROBLEMS OF TRIBAL PEOPLE

Problems of any social group can be understood under two heads, one at economic and other at cultural level. This discussion also spells out tribal issues in these terms.

With regard to the problems of the tribals. One school of thought believes that these problems are primarily economic where as the others think that these are primarily cultural. Except the few, scholars belonging to both the schools accept the importance of both the aspects. The culturists grant the importance of economic problems and vice versa. They differ in their emphasis and approach, which results into different sets of strategies for resolving them. Concerned scholars from both the

schools of thought are bothered with one question: as how to bring economic development among the tribals and at the same time maintaining their culture.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

All the tribes do not enjoy similar economic status. This was also true in the past. There were different tribes at the different economic stages. Some were at the food-gathering stage, some were following shifting or jhum cultivation and many others were settled agriculturists like the non-tribals. There are a few tribes in the frontier and non-frontier areas who are still at that stage of course, their number may not be very large, but at the same time their problems can not be ignored. Many of the tribals, those who are still living in mountain and hilly areas of Assam, Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharastra and Orissa, are practicing shifting cultivation known as Jhum, or Penda or Bewar in different region (Deogaonkar, 1994: 117). One of the reasons for not following plough cultivation was absence of agricultural equipment and modern technological know how.

LAND ALIENATION

Land holding pattern is another major factor in tribal development. Unscrupulous moneylenders and traders grabbed and misappropriated tribal's lands and either made them landless or labourers on their lands. Thus the tribals who were traditional farmers were turned into farm labourers and at a time in to bonded labourers. Later, though legislation followed declaring all transfers of land from tribals to non-tribals illegal, whether for a consideration or other wise, the loopholes were skilfully manipulated by the rich defeating the very purpose of legislation.

Landless tribals who had their habitat in forests often encroached upon patches of cultivable land available in the forest in the vicinity of their villages. As a part of its social policy, the Government declared that all such encroachments, in which FIR's had been filed would be regularized and Pattas (rights in land) issued. But the Forest Department delayed it and even failed in producing the encroachment warrants thus the tribals could not get the benefit.

DISPLACEMENT AND REHABILITATION

Though by law the sale of land of tribals to non-tribals is prohibited, yet, large tracts of land belonging to the tribals have been alienated. The so-called development projects dams and industrial complexes are the major source of land alienation of the tribals. Dams are constructed higher up in river valley in the tribal areas. Land is acquired by the government to construct the reservoirs. Rehabilitation Policy of the government is a British legacy. No major change has bee made in the Rehabilitation Act of 1894. The displaced families are not only uprooted from their natural environment, but more often than, they are not given adequate fertile land. They were given compensation in the form of cash from which they can hardly buy the land equal in size to the land they lost. (Menkodi, 1983: 89).

They lack articulation and entrepreneurial skills for taking advantage of the competitive market. In course of time, they spend the amount they received in compensation and join the army of the land less labourers. No accurate figures are available regarding the number of displaced families under big and small dams. A report of the Home Ministry gives information regarding the displaced families by the dams in Orissa is gives in table 2.1.

TABLE. 2.1

DISPLACEMENT OF TRIBALS DUE TO DIFFERENT PROJECTS IN ORISSA

SL.NO	NAME OF THE PROJECT	EXTENT OF SUBVERSION/ DISPLACEMENT				
		Area (in Hectares	No. of Villages	Total No. of families	No. of ST Families	% of ST families to total families
1.	Balimela & Hydro electric project	17516	91	1200	1174	98
2.	Upper and Indravati Project	NA	99	1363	3000	89
3.	Upper Kolan Dam Project	9067	40	1630	4567	96

Sources: Report of the committee On Rehabilitation For Displaced Tribals Due to Development Project. 1985.

The industrial development in the country does not provide even satisfactory employment to the tribals. In Chhotanagpur area, though the tribals constitute more than 50 percent of the total population, there is not even 5 percent of them is representing in industrial work force. In some of the large firms like TISCO, Jamshedpur and Bharat Coking Coal Ltd. Dhanbad, the tribal employments are less then 5 percent. Thus, in the development projects, the tribals not only lost their land and got uprooted from their cultural milieu, but they also have not got absorbed in the job market. (Roy, 1982: 34)

Darkness, in the midst of light in Jharkhand and Orissa. The areas contain at most all the steel plants, Bokaro, Rourkela, Jamshedpur, all the power plants of the Damodar valley projects and the Hirakund Dam of Orissa. There is no darts of development, but only at the cost of the people there. Industries displace them, dams drown them, and afforestation starves them.

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FOREST AND THE TRIBALS

The original habitat or home of the tribals is forest since times immemorial and they had been the real forest guards before this function was taken over by Zamindars and later by the government. In order to survival they exploit forest resources but not for the commercial purpose. Government made overenthusiastic, unrealistic policies irrespective of its pious objectives, the tribals was rendered an 'outsider', in his own traditional home, the forest. He became completely dependent on the forest officials. Particularly the forest guards, foresters, etc. and eventually get exploited. This has been discussed in detail in third chapter.

ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION

Since times immemorial the tribals are exploited by moneylenders, traders, roving Merchants, and also by Britisher. With the help of barter system the above stated classes exploited the tribals. This system has been curbed but not fully eliminated even by the help of new public banking system. The system lacks flexibility, cumbersome and inconvenient for the tribals, so they once again caught in trap of the traditional Sahukar, whom they know very closely. In terms of social and cultural exploitation the tribal women/girls are victims of this exploitation. Tribal culture and their traditional dress and free behaviour are wrongly conceived, the outsiders such as contractors, truck driver, government employes, etc. belittle their culture and consider it cheap and vulnerable. On the other hand, the development administration has added a new dimension to tribal exploitation. Those who are sent to ameliorate their poverty and misery join the bandwagon of exploiters, at times joining hands with the traditional exploiters, such as patwaris, forest guards and foresters, rangers, some village level workers and police constables who have given rise to a new class creating more complicated problems.

TRIBAL UNEMPLOYMENT

Prior to administrative intervention, tribal economy was self-supporting subsistence economy and the tribal people were complacent, could satisfy their meager wants and mainly depended on hunting, food-gathering, picking up of minor forest produce, primitive or traditional methods of cultivation wherein they worked on

their own land and had some cattle, etc. With development, rights in forest were reduced, hunting, picking of forest produce controlled and during past years land was also alienated thus rendering many tribals landless laboures. They had to work as wage earners under forest contractors or building contractors either in their own area or as migrants to other areas. Bonded labour also became common. This reduced them to such a low social and economic status, as they had never experienced. Unemployment increased because those who never depended upon others for their livelihood were reduced to a dependent status. A few in the primitive areas reverted to shifting cultivation while some left the forest habitat and shifted to urban areas for jobs and became slum-dwellers facing all the miseries and agonies of the urban poor.

POVERTY, BONDAGE AND TRIBES

Nearly 90 percent of the tribal population depends on agriculture for their livelihood of these as many as 30percent do not own any land of their own. In the absent of any alternative sources of income they work as daily labourers in the fields of the landlords, many of them as bonded labours. It is estimated that there are 3.5 lakhs bonded labours in Orissa (March 1981). The incidents are above 20,000 in Balasore, Keonjhar, Cuttack, Balangir, Dhenkanal, Kalahandi, Mayurbhanj and Sambalpur district.

Rural and particularly tribal indebt ness is the main reason for the emergence of this system, locally known as 'Halia', once a tribal is indebted his children are born in debt, live in debt, and die in debt. A planning commission survey of Koraput district (1969) revealed that 55 percent of the household survived indebted and the rate interest charged range between 25 and 100 percent per year.

CULTURAL PROBLEMS

Culture is a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning, but also in institutions and behaviour. (William 1981: 43-44). The analysis of culture, from such definition is the clarification of the meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life, a particular culture. Thus the culture includes norms and values, and social institutions like family, which shape the way of life.

Culture is closely related with material conditions – not only the mode of production, but also the stage in technological development, and availability of physical resources. Though culture changes with the change in material conditions, the relationship between the two is not simply mathematical, of one to one.

Culture shapes the life style and values, which are transmitted from generation to generation through socialization. In course of time, culture acquires autonomy of its own, shaping the way of life of the people, determining goals and guiding people to make choices between 'good' and 'bad', 'right' and 'wrong', 'just' and 'unjust', and so on. Similar cultural heritage creates solidarity among the members and develops the sense of identity. At the same time cultural ethos and way of life of the people do not continue to function for long in the same form and content without the support of meaningful material conditions. Culture resists change in certain material conditions, which is incongruent with its ethos; and disturbing the way of life and creating tension. Slowly new norms are evolved and new institutions emerge.

Capitalist development and various regulations of the government as well as the spread of Hinduism and Christianity have affected the cultures of different tribes. For example religious beliefs and practices of the Mishing tribe of Asam have been influenced by the local Hindu population. R.N. Pareek (1977) observes similar pattern among the Mandasa Jatapus of Orrisa.

The importance of culture having crucial role for economic development has been recognized both the classical economists and sociologists like Smith. and Weber. Weber believed that protestant ethics favour capitalism to emerge while Hinduism adversely effected economic development. Thus, culture is an influential factor for development. should give proper importance of rapidly changing scenario both on the part of culture as other aspect of development. (Chatterjee and Ghosh. 1998: 156-157).

PROBLEM OF EDUCATION

Education is a prerequisite for the Socio-economic development of any community. So, tribal community is no exception of it. Because it is only through education that their attitudes can be developed, hidden potentialities explored and talents exploited. So as to enable them to perceive the schemes critically of their

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development. There are certain Socio-cultural constraints in a tribal society, which render the spread of formal education difficult among the tribes. Tribal ecosystem their habitat and home atmosphere constitute a major constraint that prevents generation of any zeal for formal education. The home culture of the tribal child and the school culture run almost parallel to each other. Therefore, the tribal child looks normal composure in the school atmosphere.

Language is a part, product and vehicle of culture and as such, it is very crucial for education. A child's informal education and the process of enculturisation are accomplished through his mother tongue. A child's cognitive system is in perfect correlation with its language system and hence, his receptivity is higher when he is taught in his mother tongue.

A tribal child, coming to the school for the first time, finds all the activities of the school conducted in a language, which he can't follow. The difference between home language and school language acts as a major barrier for the tribal children.

As the instruction media is in regional language and the teaching methods are urban based, the tribal child feels alienated from his native dialect, which eventually reduces his participation in studies. Textbooks used in tribal schools are largely the same as in other areas and the contents of the books do not take into account the socio-cultural environment of the area and the people. The books based on urban middle class culture, contain ideas, concepts and themes alien to the tribal children which not only create problems in learning, they also create in tribal learners a negative attitude toward themselves and their culture. Further, the school curricula lacks the items of entertainment like singing, dancing and practicing bow and arrow etc. that could attract the tribal children.

When countries all over the world have special educational programmes for their ethnic minorities, in India, we hardly have any special educational programmes for the tribals. Of course in Orissa and some other states like Maharashtra, there are separate schools for tribal children. But these schools have nothing special to offer or cater to the special educational needs of tribal students except that they are residential schools where the expenses are borne by the government.

Thus, by ignoring the language and culture of the tribals, the present system of education creates inferiority complex and a low self-image in him, which nips in bud his interest for learning. For any sort of development literacy is main factor but it lack in the tribals by which they are underdeveloped.

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CHAPTER III

TRIBAL SITUATION IN INDIA AND IN THE STATE OF ORISSA

CONCEPT AND DEFINITION OF TRIBE

The Tribal population is found in almost all parts of the world. India has the largest concentration of tribal population. The tribes are the autochthonous people of the land who are believed to be the earliest settlers in Indian peninsula. They are generally called the 'ADIVASIS' implying original inhabitants. The ancient and medieval sources of information including the Vedic and the epic literature mention about various tribes like the Bharatas, the Bhils, and the Kolas etc. Prior to the introduction of the caste system during Brahminic age people were divided into various tribes. A tribe was a homogeneous and self-contained unit without any hierarchical discrimination. Each tribe enjoyed equal status. With the growing need of protection each tribe was organized under a chief. The most capable person was elected the chief of the members of the tribe. Gradually, the chief started wielding power over his people and assumed certain privileges for himself.

The tribes in India broadly belong to three stocks namely: - Negrites, the Mongoloids and Mediterranean. The Negrites are believed to be the earliest inhabitants of the Indian peninsula; the tribal people of the sub-Himalayan region represent The Mongoloid race. The Mediterranean people form a bulk of the tribal population and are generally know as the Dravidians. Dravidian is, however, the name of the language spoken by these people and has no ethnic significance.

The word 'TRIBE' is derived from the Latin term 'tribus' it originally meant a community of persons claiming descent from a common ancestor pattern, gradually it stood for aboriginal, native realist stereo- types.

So far as the concept and definition of 'tribe' is concerned the anthropologists, academicians and people who are involved with the tribes and their problem are not able to reach in a common conclusion. Strictly speaking, many social scientists have given no precise or specific definition of a tribe but some of them are universally accepted. Here some definition may be examined for clarification.

The international Encyclopedia of the social sciences defines 'tribe' as a primary aggregate of people living in a primitive or barbarous condition under a

headman or chief. 'The tribal society' denotes to the primitive, pre-literate, simple, pre-industrial or folk society. Distinguishing between the tribal and modern society, the evolutionary writers found that the tribal society is having social but no political organization. Actually, tribal societies are small, possess a morality, religion and worldview of corresponding dimension, their language are unwritten they exhibit a remarkable economy of compactness and self-sufficient and they are supremely ethnocentric (Sills: 146-148).

Winick's dictionary of anthropology (1956) has defined tribe as a "social group usually with a define area, dialect, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organization". There is however, hardly any community anywhere in the world, which could be considered as tribals in terms of the foregoing criteria. Sahalins considered the tribe to be an ethnographic heritage from Neolithic times. Tribal peoples and cultures are, according to him, evolutionary advances beyond the cultural capacity of hunters.

The imperial Gazetteer of India defines a 'tribe' as a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous, though originally it might have been so.

D. N. Mujumdar is of the view that a tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous with no specialization of functions, ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognizing social distance with other tribes or castes, without any social obloquy attaching to them, as it does on the caste structure, following tribal traditions belief and customs illiberal of naturalization of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration (Hasnain, 1983: 13).

The tribes of India are described as nomadic herdsman and agriculturists accustomed to shifting cultivation; they also gather food from the forest. As Dr. Elwin aptly puts it "for centuries the environment has been the real ruler of the tribal" (Bhowmick, 1981: 47).

A tribe is generally defining as 'a social group' usually with a definite area of living, dialect, cultural homogencity area unifying social organization; it may

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include several sub- groups as Sib or Villages. The tribal as a specific type of society are nationally based upon kinship. where social stratification is absent. However, Hinduised or Christianized tribes have become a part of social stratification.

The tribal India lives in the forest hills and naturally isolated regions known by different names meaning either the people of forest and hill or the original inhabitants, and so on. The popular names are Vanyajati (castes of forest), Vanvasi (inhabitants of forest), Prahari (hill dwellers), Adimjati (original communities), Adivasi first settlers, Janjati (folk people), Anusuchit Janjati (schedule tribe), and so on. Among these the term Adivasi is known most extensively, and Anusuchit Janjati (scheduled tribe) is the constitutional name covering all of them (Vidyarthi and Rai, 1985: 25). The tribes are socially distinct communities in contrast to their neighbours. It is these communities, which have been designated as tribes and listed in a schedule for special treatment.

Piddington however. defines the tribe in a different way. According to him, the term tribe represents "a group of people speaking a common dialect, inhabiting in a common territory, and displaying certain homogeneity in these cultures. The tribe is exogamous, infact, its members marry fellow members more often then they marry outsiders. The tribe is not primarily or usually a kinship group, but in certain cases all members of a tribe claim descent from a common ancestor." This definition has been criticized by Mamata Chaudhury in the tribes of Ancient India, (1977, Indian Museum Calcutta) that first, it is very difficult to define or describe a tribe on the basis of homogeneity of culture, which is always ever changeable and variable. Secondly, the marriage limitation, such as, exogamy, endogamy and ogamy are applicable to unilateral descent group as well. All the unilateral descendants of a known common ancestor or ancestress form a 'lineage'. A particular kinship group only assumes a common hypothetical ancestor (Chaudhury, 1977: 7).

From definitions and descriptions of tribe, as given above by different scholars. it is indeed very difficult to arrive at a precise meaning of the term 'tribe'. We have before us certain characteristic features of a tribe such as, a group of people bearing a common name. occupying a territory, claiming a common ancestry and speaking a common language, observing common socio-religious rites and practices. following common manners and custom etc. These characteristic features of tribe

may be profitable utilized for a proper understanding of the nature of a group of people constituting a tribe, as described in the early Indian literary documents.

The word tribe like the term 'native' now seems to be derogatory. This is because the expressions such as primitive tribe, saverage tribes were presumed to be lowdown in an imaginary hierarchy of social evolution. The difference was believes to be physical as well as mental.

While defining the term tribe and dealing with certain features of tribe in Indian situation, T.B. Naik gives the following ideal typical criteria for a tribe. These are: -

(i)   Comparative geographical isolation,

(ii)   Psychological conservation,

(iii)   Politically organized,

(iv)   Customary laws,

(v)   Economically backwardness,

(vi)   The least functional interdependence and

(vii)   Culturally adoption of a common dialect (Naik, 1968: 85-86).

The above discussion shows that, it is very difficult to define a tribe or tribal society and obtain a standard or universally accepted definition. Keeping in view the regional connotation of the concept of tribe, it is appropriate to define a tribe, which suits to the characteristics of a particular tribe of that particular region. So one has to accept that tribe or tribal society cannot be defined in one word or even in a sentence.

Before defining tribe, one should be well aware of the characteristics of the tribes. Usually a tribal group is isolated from other group of the society. They are economically backward and use primitive means of exploiting natural resources, having common dialect, ruled by their own customary laws. They do not fall under

the Hindu caste hierarchy. These simple-minded people wanted to be isolated because they are exploited by the outsiders whom they treat as their enemies.

During British rule in the 1931census, the nomenclature referring to tribes were used as aborigine or deprived classes. However, these adjectives were dropped in the 1941census and these communities were termed as scheduled Tribes or popularly called as Adivasis.

Even after that the ambiguity could not be removed. With the passage of time the differences on the concept and definition of a tribe have certainly narrowed down to an appreciable extent, but a technical discussion seems imperatives to understand this problem in its proper perspectives.

The constitution neither defines nor lays down any criteria for specifying the scheduled tribes. As per Article 366 of the constitution, the scheduled tribes means such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups with in such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under art. 342 to be scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this constitution. The President under article 342 may specify the scheduled Tribe by a public notification. The parliament may, by law include or exclude from the list of scheduled Tribes any tribal community or part there of in any state or union territory (Bakshi. 1997: 267-68).

There is no religious ban for specifying a person as members of a Scheduled Tribe. However, in case of Scheduled Caste the position is different. The main criteria adopted for specifying communities as the scheduled Tribes include: -

(I)   Traditional occupation of a definite geographical area,

(II)   As a culturally and ethnically distinct group, lives in an isolated area

(III)   It originates from one of the oldest ethnological section of population.

(IV)   They are not Hindus and although they are treated as Hindus. the do not exactly fit in the Hindu caste hierarchy, and

(V)   Usually this group is economically and educationally backward

In India we have different tribal groups; it is not easy to classify them because of the multiplicity of factors and complexity of problems involved. However, various state Governments and the commissions for Schedule castes and Schedule tribes tried to suggest some characteristics to distinguish the 'aboriginals' from the rest of population. Taking this characteristic into consideration, the tribes of India maybe classified on the basis of their –

(a). Territorial distribution

(b). Linguistic affiliation

(c). Physical and racial characteristics

(d). Occupation

(e). Cultural Contact

(f). Religious beliefs, etc.

TRIBAL DEMOGRAPHY IN INDIA:

Tribal demography is a rather neglected field of population studies in India. in spite of the rich materials we have on India's tribal population in the anthropological survey of India and also the Census of India. The tribal communities have their special problems. These have been recognized by planners and policy-makers and yet there has been no continuous dialogue between scholars and administrators on the critical issue of Demography and development in the contact of the tribal population. In view of the very great diversity in the social, economic and demographic characteristics of various tribes in India, it is not possible to take the tribal population as a homogenous group of people. There have been numerous studies from the anthropological point of view; however, purely demographic studies on tribal population are still runs. The census of India does present separate table on the population of scheduled tribes. The census tabulation scheme does not permit a detailed study of individual tribal communities. Nevertheless, it is possible to have a demographic picture of the tribal population even on the basis of existing limited data in the census.

India has one of the largest concentrations of tribal population in the world. According to 1941 census, there were 2.97 crores tribal population which was reduced to 1.79 crores in 1947, until the partition of the country. As per the census report of 1951, the tribal population was about 1.91 crores, which was 5.36 percent of the total population of the country. In 1961 it rose to 2.99 crores (6.87 percent); in 1971, 3.8 crores (6.94 percent), and in 1981, 5.38 crores (7.58percent). As per 1991 census, scheduled tribe population was about 6.78 crores in different states and union territories in India (excluding Jammu and Kashmir), constituting 8.08 percent of the total population of about 83.86 crores. The percentage of the scheduled tribes has originally increased from 7.58 in 1981 to 8.08 percent in 1991. The scheduled tribe population has increased by 25.67 percent during the decade 1981-91. This growth rate is more than the growth of the total population of the country, which lies about 23.79 percent (Verma, 1995: 1-2).

There are about 550 tribes and sub-tribes in different parts of India. Ethnologists have classified tribes of India into four major groups-

(1) The tribes of North-Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA) and Eastern India belong to Mongolite ethnic stock.

(2) The tribes of Bihar and Orissa are Proto-Australoids

(3) The tribes of western and Central Himalayas are Mediterranean Nordic and

(4) The tribes of south India have strain of Australoid, Negroid, and Alpine.

The Scheduled tribe's population in some of the states and union territories is predominant. In Mizoram tribal population constitute 94.75% of the total population. Lakshadweep 93.5%, Nagaland 87.70%, Meghalaya 85.53%, Dadar and Nagar Havali 79.99 %, Arunachal Pradesh 63.66%, Manipur 34.41%, Tripura 30.95%, Chhattisgarh 32.47%, Orissa 22.21%, Gujarat 14.92%, Assam 12.82% and Rajasthan 12.44%. In terms of absolute numbers the schedule tribe population has 153.99 lakhs in undivided Madhya Pradesh, 73.18 Lakhs in Maharashtra, 70.32 lakhs in Rajasthan, 42.00 lakhs in Andhra Pradesh, 38.09 lakhs in West Bengal, 28.74 lakhs in Assam, 19.16 lakhs in Karnataka, 15.18 lakhs in Meghalaya and 10.16 lakhs in Nagaland. All other states and Union territories together had a little

over 40.00 lakhs scheduled tribe population. There has been absolutely no ST population recognized in Haryana, Punjab, Chandigarh, Delhi and Pondicherry (Verma, 1995: 1-2).

According to the anthropological survey of India under the "population of India Project' the tribal areas in India may be divided in to four broad categories –

(1) Tribal majorities Areas- State like Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, where tribal population constitute 87.70 %, 94.75%, 85.53%, and 63.66% of the total population respectively.

(2) The second category comprises States which have large concentration of tribal population which however constitute a minority example Undivided Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa more than 20 % of total population,

(3) In the third category, states which have a substantial population but are in a small minority as in the state of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh. Himachal Pradesh and Gujarat

(4) State in which there are no tribal concentrations but which have scattered population as in Tamil Nadu. Kerala, and fall in the last category.

Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa came next to North Eastern States, in terms of tribal population, where State Government takes special care of the tribal people, appointing a separate minister in charge of tribal welfare programmes.

Among the scheduled tribes the most numerically populated are the Gonds of Madhya Pradesh, Mahrashtra and Andhra Pradesh who constitute 74.48 lakhs (as per 1981 census), The Bhills of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh (55.27 lakhs), and the Santhalls of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Tripura (42.61 lakhs). The smallest tribal community, which is being receiving considerable attention at the National Level. is Andamans, with the strength of only 27 (Mehta. 1991: 17).

The Agaries. Baiges. Binjhwars. Halwes, Kodakus. Majhwars, Dhanwars. Gonds, Khairwars, Karwas, Negesies, Oraons. Pondes, Pradhans etc. are the important tribal groups in Chattisgarh region. Nagas are seen in Nagaland.

Sherdukepens (Mahayana) and Khamtis (Himayana) in Arunachal Pradesh and Gaddi tribes in Himchal Pradesh. The major tribes figures in Orissa are: Savaras, Kandhas, Bhuyans, Parajas, Godabas, Koyas, Gonds, Kharias, Santhal, Bondas etc. Kurichyas in Kerala, Khasis in Meghalaya, Mahadev Kolis in Maharashtra, Santhal in Bihar and West Bengal, Chenchus in Andhra Pradesh, Todas in Tamil Nadu, Lepachas in Mizoram and Lodhas in West Bengal are the major tribal group in India.

TRIBAL SITUATION IN INDIA:

Human Resource development of the Tribals:

In India the Scheduled caste, Scheduled tribes and backward classes constitute a majority. However, the assets and resources possessed by this majority is proportionately less than the minority. Among them the tribes are the most neglected and in vulnerable position. From the days of British rule, they were kept isolated from the mainstream society. Even after independence in the name of culture they were kept isolated with so many restrictions, as a result they developed a feeling of difference and inferior complexity. The effort of Indian Government for the development of the tribals made them rather more dependent on Government programmes. They are lacking self-confidence to compete with the mainstream people. They were taught to eat the fish but not taught how to catch the fish.

One of the much neglected sections of the population in the country is the tribal community, in terms of modern indicators of human resource development like literacy level, school enrolment figures at various levels etc. and in providing basic skills in dealing with the day to day problems as well as in earning their livelihood. They have remained cut off from the mainstream of Indian Culture and Society. These original inhabitants have been steadily pushed to the interior areas and today they mostly live in the forest and even feed on forest produce. But day-by-day they are loosing the control over the forest, water and land, which they once enjoyed. in the name of progress through industrialization and construction of dams tribals are being displaced.

No doubt, tribals are living in isolated forest and hilly areas, agriculture is the main source of livelihood and naturally land is the most important basic resource

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for this population. Though there is an urgent need for improving the skills of cultivation among these people the greater need "is to put and end" to the large-scale land alienations taking place among them. The percentage of landless labourers is increasing while the percentage of cultivator to the total tribal population is decreasing. Almost all state Government has passed land transfer Regulation Acts to prevent land alienation among tribals. But unfortunately have failed to put an end to this sorry state of affairs (ibid: 19).

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

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

Human resource development in any country is balancing the interests of individuals and groups with that of the state and society, where as in India that national interest is synonymous with the interest of the elite and the rich (ibid: 22). From independence till today the achievement in tribal education even at the elementary level, not to speak of at higher levels, is miserable. Moreover, what is required are immediate human resource development measures among these communities rather than long term measures which may take a few decades or even few centuries to come to fruition.

All the tribes in the country today need building-up of confidence to fight the injustice perpetrated against them by the traders, businessman, forest contractors, industrialists and the institution of government and confidence also to face life is new situations as they are being pushed more and more into unfamiliar occupations, environment and avenues of life. A kind of pride in their own culture has to be created. Due to influence of various external and internal factors they love their own

culture. So, human resource development programmes should aims at the fulfillment of the above points.

TRIBES, FOREST AND FOREST POLICY:

For the mankind forest has been a unique gift since time immemorial. From the very beginning of civilization man has been fully dependent upon forest for his livelihood and survival. The basic needs like food, shelter and clothes for man were met with forest. Man satisfied his hunger with fruits, roots, flowers, leaves etc, available in this forest. He took shelter in caves situated amidst the forest or open branches of trees or under the shadow of big trees. He wore leaves or tree bark to cover his body. In this way man survived for million of years.

The relationship between the tribal people and the forest goes back to the times immemorial. Forests have been sufficiently sustaining their inhabitants. They enjoyed the freedom of using the forests in whatever way they liked, in such an extent that they have developed a conviction that they belong to the forests and forests belong to them. Hence, any more to restrict this freedom has always been resented by the tribal people (Hasnain, 1983: 80).

Today the term 'jungali' is being used for uncouth or uncivilized; however, the real meaning is forest dweller. Traditionally, the tribes were closely associated with forests and even today some of them spend the greater part of their lives in the proximity of trees (Haimandorf, 1982: 70-73).

There has been a symbiotic relationship between the forest ecosystem and the tribals living within that, so that both are interdependent to each other to a great extent. The anthropologists and the social researchers have often proved that the tribal economy, material culture, values, belief systems, and social organizations are oriented neatly so as to suit to their forest environment completely and perfectly. The tribal culture and forest ecosystem are so intensely knit together that one of them is in conceivable without the other (Mishra, 1989: 63).

Realizing the importance of expensive timber, wildlife and botanical wealth, British Government passed the first forest policy in 1894. As a result, the tribals lost the control over the forests. The valuable timbers were supplied for commercial

purpose and only taxpayers were allowed to use the forest. After independence, Government of India in 1952 revised the 1894 policy taking into consideration.

(1) Growth of population put relentless pressure on forests and wasteland to secure more land for agriculture;

(2) The importance of forests in mitigating the rigours of climatic conditions had come to be better understood;

(3) The importance of forests in the economic field, such as the development of agriculture, industry and communications was better understood; and

(4) The two world wars brought to the fore the hitherto unsuspected dependence of national defense on forests (Hasnain, op. cit: 91-92).

The tribal economy was badly affected by the forest rules, collection of fuel, fodder, and bamboos for baskets, jhum cultivation etc, were all declared illegal. The tribals were deprived completely from their traditional rights and ownership over the forests and their rights were considered not as rights but as privileges (Singh, 1989: 151).

The traditional rights of the tribals were not recognized as rights in 1894 it became 'right and privileges' and in 1952 they became right and concession only which disturbed and shattered the tribal life depriving them even some of the privileges hitherto untouched in the former policy.

Certain concessions like right to take water for agriculture purposes, free grazing in open forests, collections of dead wood for domestic uses were given to the tribes. But these 'concession' vary from state to state and this is no uniformity in the grant of these concessions. On the other hand, the harassment and exploitation of the tribes by the forest officials, revenue officials and private contractors, has created a sense of dismay, frustration and alienation among the affected tribes (Hasnain, op. cit: 93).

Forest contractors, forest development wood based industries like paper and plywood and first coming up urban centers in forest and tribal areas should take the major blame for destroying the forests in the country. Another major culprit of

deforestation is both state and central Governments with their massive irrigation and hydroelectric projects and major industries. For instance, under the Narmada Sagar Project 10 lakhs population would be displaced, most of them are tribes and an estimated 3.5 lakh hectors of forestland will be submerged.

Also, the forest areas earmarked as biosphere reserves and animal sanctuaries and national parks are also lost as resource bases to the tribes. They have not only lost agricultural land and villages but also the forest habitats as a resource base. "The tribals in the country are becoming victims of progress and these processes perhaps can be called human resources degradation" (Reddy, op. cit: 20). Unable to stop this process of alienation from their lands and habitat the tribals are frustrated and their economic situation had deteriorated to such an extent that even starvation death had been reported among the tribes in state like Orissa people are eating mango kernel and dieing because of starvation (Samaj, Nov. 4, 2001).

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

Tribes are always blamed for the deforestation, where as the real enemies of forest and tribals are the contractors. The poor tribal do not have trucks not even a bullock cart to carry the logs home clandestinely or to the market for sale. Always the contractors do this type of commercial activities and are destroying the forest indiscriminately and making the tribal the scapegoats by their manipulation and influence, thus making them victims.

In order to ameliorate the economic conditions of the forest based communities; developmental programmes like social forestry, farm forestry, and forest villages are being implemented. However, in social forestry, plants having commercial value are being planted, where forest dwellers do not get minor forest produce. One major problem today is that there in no land ceiling for plantation. And these are taking place in agricultural lands. And all these commercial

plantations by the contractors in the tribal lands are in no way going to help the tribes. Therefore, there is the need of a rational forest policy, which should be more national and humane so as to cater adequately to the needs of the tribal population.

A PROFILE OF ORISSA:

Orissa is a maritime state on the East coast of India .It has an area of about 1,55,707 sq k.m. It is surrounded by West Bengal and Jharkhand on the North. Andhra Pradesh on the south, the Bay of Bengal on the East and Chhattisgarh on the West side. It obtained statehood after its separation from Bihar and came into existence on 1st April 1936. The state can be roughly divided on the basis of its physical features and agro-climatic conditions, into four zones: -

(I)   The Northern plateau. constituting 23 percent of the total agricultural area.

(II)   The central tableland. constitution 23 percent of its landmass.

(III)   The Eastern Ghat Region. constituting 36 percent of the area and

(IV)   The coastal plains making up of the remaining 18 percent (Asthana. 1988: 29 and Mishra. 1989: 13).

Orissa has tropical monsoon climate with erratic distribution of rainfall. often resulting in floods. droughts and cyclones, which affect its predominantly agricultural economy and consequently it, sate domestic products.

DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES IN ORISSA:

In India. Orissa has the largest tribal population after Chhattisgarh. Leaving aside the North Eastern states. the proportion of tribal population is highest in Orissa. "The social, political and geographical situation of the tribal people in North-Eastern states is very distinct." But Orissa's tribal population situation is comparable with that of central Indian regions (Mohanty. 1994: '63). The tribal population of Orissa is (6.07millions) constitutes 22.21 percent of the total state population. (1991census).

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The scheduled areas constitute one third of the total areas of the state and comprise underdeveloped, inaccessible hilly and mountains terrain in the districts of (i) Koraput (undivided) excluding Kashipur Tahasil, (ii)Mayurbhanj, (iii)Sundargarh, (iv) the up lands of the district of Ganjam excluding a small portion of the Soroda Taluk, (v) Baliguda sub-division of Phulbani district excluding Chakapad block (Mishra, 1984: 124). The tribals' accounts for 56.85 percent of the total population of the scheduled area, which covers 56,553 sq km (ibid: 124).

The distribution of tribal population in Orissa is uneven. Three districts are taken to be tribal concentrated zones having more than50 percent of its population being tribal. These three districts in Orissa are Mayurbhanj, Koraput and Sundargarh. But often the reorganization of the old districts and creation of 17 new districts out of previous 13 in 1991, four new districts have acquired a tribal population of more than 50 percent. They are Rayagada, Malkangiri, Kandhamal and Nabarangpur district. The six coastal districts have only a small percentage of tribal population. The tribals are mainly living in the areas adjacent to the inland forest region. Balasore with 10.57 percent, Bhadrak with 1.69 percent, Kendrapara with 0.4 percent, Puri with 0.27 percent, Jagatsinghpur with 0.61 percent and Ganjam with 2.93 percent (1992-93 Districts statistical year book). Barring the six coastal districts and district of Khurda, which was, carved out of the old district of Puri and Cuttack district all the remaining districts are inhabited by sizeable proportions of tribal population. Extending from northern Balasore bordering West Bengal, the tribal populations live covering the Eastern Ghat ranges bordering Jharkand, Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh right down to the Malkangiri in the south. District wise distribution of the tribal population is given in the appendix-(ii).

TRIBAL COMMUNITIES:

"There are as many as 62 tribal communities (given in appendix-(i)) which, have been recognized as scheduled Tribes in Orissa under Article 342, of the constitution, including (13 primitive tribal groups) in the state mostly confined in the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) area" (Sen, 2000: 102). There may be a principal tribe inhabiting a particular area but in reality every district and every tribal block has more than one tribe with in it. According to one survey more than one community practically live in every village (Mohanty, op. cit: 66).

Fifty percent or more of the communities out of 62 communities speak a tribal language other than the Oriya. The Santhal, Kolha, Munda, Bhuyan and Oraon are the major tribes of the districts of Sundargarh, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj. All these tribes are central Indian Tribes which are some times commonly referred to as Kols and speak a dialect of the Mundari group of language and culture and claim to have migrated from Chhota Nagpur, Singhbhum and their neighbouring places in Bihar. Thus, claiming a regional identity in matters of their origin, mythology, culture and tradition (Mishra, op. cit: 125-126). The other tribes found in the North-East belt are Bhumija, Bhatundi, Bhuiya, Ho, Gond, Sounti and Khand.

The major tribes of the southern Orissa coming under the tribal region are Bhottada, Bhumla, Godaba, Gond, Khond, Soras, Porojas and Koyas. "The tribes which are seen in this part of the state are the original settlers or the tribes of the Dravidian origin and have little affiliation to the tribes of northern Orissa. They have their own distinctive tradition, mythology and culture and are influenced by the Dravidian tribes (ibid: 126).

The Khonds numbering 9,89,342 are the dominant tribes of the region. They live mostly in the district of Koraput, Kolahandi and Phulbani, in fact, 90percent of the Khonds of India live in Orissa and they form 16.72 percent of Orissa tribal population (Mohanty, op. cit: 67).

TRIBAL SITUATION IN ORISSA:

The Adivasis of Orissa are politically, economically and socially backward according to the standard of development today. Because of this, special attention has been given to their development. For instance, Koraput district is designated as 'excluded' by the Government of India Act 1935 and there by came under the direct administration of the Governor Koraput is legally described as a scheduled district because of the same features. Nearby 2 lakhs tribes remain unaffected by 'modern civilization' even to day.

The tribal of Orissa share different social economic and cultural situation. On the one hand there are backward groups practicing shifting cultivation, they are the Kutia Kondh, Bonda, Hill Juang and Paudi Bhuiya. On the other hand, there are "assimilated" groups who are indistinguishable from the general rural population of

the country. Between these two-extreme situations there are various groups of tribals who are in traditional stages.

The problems and ills of the tribals may be grouped under two categories. The first category is formed by those problems which, like those of 'new habits', language, and shifting cultivation', Once peculiar to some or many of them, and are not common to other classes of Indian population. In the second category are comprised such problems as arise from the in roads of the British system of law and revenue on their solidarity, from the forest laws, and from the laws of their land as the combined result of the British system and the capacity of the money-landing classes (problems of tribal people and its development is discussed in detail in Chapter II).

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CHAPTER IV

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS AND DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMMES FOR TRIBES: AN OVERVIEW

TRIBES AND COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

In Mourya days special attention was paid to Tribes by the crown prince and there was a separate minister in the cabinet known as "Ant Mahatya" (Sinha, 1981:65) to deal with them. The Rock Edicts of Ashoka the Great are witness to this and so are the large number of epigraphical and literary evidences. During the medieval period the Mughals followed tolerant policy towards the tribals, because of certain auxiliary constraints, their geographical isolation and inadequate means of communication (Rajeeva, 1989: 75). There was a separate minister in the cabinet of Vikramaditya who was exclusively in charge of the tribals. He was known as 'Goptaries'. The same attention was also paid by King Harsha Vardhana who occupied a very important position in an ancient history of India as an administrator of high caliber. Thus, overall development of tribals in India during Gupta period remains satisfactory. (Mehta, 1991: 71)

The British Government came in contact with the tribals only with the entry of some missionaries in the beginning of the 19th Century (Vidyarthi, 1985: 412). Many of the Christian missionaries and individuals ventured upon the tribal territories and met with different fates. Williamson and Gargson were killed together with 42 of their followers in 1911 by Adivasis. Even before, father Crick was killed in 1854. H.M. Grove, an early tea planter went to the hills of Apa Tani in 1889 and got along very well with the tribals, but was driven out of Apa Tani after few years. In 1894 J.F. Needham was appointed to study the language and politics of the tribals and also tried to have their goodwill by sympathy and contact. Later on the works of Mari Mission in Northern Subansari in 1911 and the expeditors of Dr. C. Von Furer Haimandorf in 1944 to the upper kamala valley and beyond helped to win their good will. Gradually the tribal people realized that the aliens and missionaries were not hostile to them (Rajeeva, 1989: 83-84).

Realizing the explosive potentialities of the tribals in any national movements, British initiated the policy of segregation. British tactfully tackled the situation and in order to ensure the restoration of law and order as well as extraction of forest wealth and exploitation of resources available in tribal regions, tribal habitats were declared as prohibited areas. The problems of tribes were considered as law and order problem for the government. The colonial power sought to have the

knowledge of tribal culture for the perpetuation of domination, required cheap labour power for the plantations and soldiers for its army. The colonial policy towards land and forest disturbed the lifelong bond of the tribals and engendered widespread revolts in these areas. Some of them like the Khond rebellion of 1846, Santel revolt of 1885, the powerful movement by the Zeliangs (living in Manipur and the North Cachar hills of Assam and Nagaland) in 1931 and Kuki rebellion (1917-19) are worth mentioning (Kabui, 1982: 53)

The policy of isolation by British government was largely affected by their deliberate efforts not to developed communication in the tribal areas, which as a result, remained cut off from rest of the population. The tribal people were segregated and their places of habitation were maintained as prohibited areas. The colonial administration allowed to ties staff, some contractors, few businessmen and Christian missionaries to function in tribal areas (Singh, 1982: 1-25).

The leading figures of tribal communities were taken into confidence to suppress all possible tribal revolts. The leaders were granted special benefits for their habitual obedience to British rule. The hereditary tribal chiefs were restored to the position of judges for the jurisdictions of tribal people (Hasnain, 1983: 145-147).

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

The main objectives of British policy of segregation were to establish a wide gulf between the tribals on the one hand and the plainsmen on the other to suppress all types of united fight for the freedom. British policy regarding tribals remained always unsatisfactory; it was a policy of neglect and a saga of exploitation. The British policy of totally neglecting and isolating the tribals led to their exploitation by zamindars, landlords, contractors, money landlords and various other agencies and consequently they had to remain at their Marcy. Their land and forest were slowly and gradually grabbed by the rich people leading them to a life of poverty

and misery. The excessive encroachment on their rights in land and forest led to the expression of anger in the form of risings (Mehta, 1991: 155-157).

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS TO SCHEDULED TRIBES

The framers of Indian constitution were really great social engineers and the constitution is an excellent piece of social engineering. It is an instrument of peaceful political and socio-economic revolution with a view to balance the conflicting interests in Indian society securing the satisfaction of the maximum of wants with less friction. In order to maintain proper balance in society, they provided social safeguard to Scheduled Tribes and other down-trodden classes of the society. This was infact to cherish the goal of economic democracy because political democracy itself does not represent very much to a person who is starving or hungry (Mehta, 1991:157 & Kashyap, 2000: 132-133).

The philosophy of our constitution is found in the objectives resolution moved by J. Nehru and adopted by the constituent Assembly on 22 January, 1947 which reads wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all people of India . Justice social economic and political: equality of status and of opportunity before the law and freedom of thought expression belief faith worship vacation and wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities backward and tribal areas and depressed and backward classes. It was a declaration pledge and undertaking and a dedication of Indian people. The objective resolution which later took the form of the preamble of the constitution laid down the basic ideas or the fundamental principles and the general outlines on which the edifice of entire constitution was to be built (Basu: 2001: 20-21).

The sentiments expressed in the preamble were those described by Jawaharlal Nehru in the Objective Resolution. But Nehru's resolution itself had taken shape out of what has been already said many times by Mahatma Gandhi. The resolution envisaged the Indian Union as an Independent Sovereign Republic based on the will of people and comprising autonomous units with residuary powers, with the ideals of social political and economic justice equality of opportunity and freedom of expression, belief and faith guaranteed to all sections of the people and

adequate safe guards provided for backward communities and areas. It enshrined the philosophy that was to per mate its task of constitution making.

It aims at feeding the starving people, to clothe the needed masses, and to give every Indian the fullest opportunity to develop himself according to his capacity. Nehru, while speaking about the philosophy of our constitution, said: "The Constitution itself will lead us to the real freedom that we have clamored for and that real freedom in turn will bring food to our starving people, clothing for them, housing for them and all manners of opportunities for them. At present the greatest and most important question in India is how to solve the problem of the poor and the starving. Wherever we turn, we are confronted with this problem if we cannot solve this problem soon, all our paper constitution will become useless and purposeless" (Mehta, 1991: 129).

The constituent assembly, while accepting the first objective resolution, made it very clear that every care should be taken in protecting the tribal areas, those unfortunate brethren of ours who are backward though no fault of theirs, through the fault of social customs, land may be ourselves or our forefathers or others, that it is in our intention and it is our fixed desire to help them as such as possible, in as efficient a way as possible, to protect them possible their rapacious neighbours occasionally and to make them advance (Constitutional Assembly Debate, vol.-II: 316-17).

There is a clear commitment in the preamble to the constitution to the effect that it assures to each individual liberty of thought and expression, belief, faith and worship equality of status and opportunity, promoting through such liberty, equality and fraternity among all, leading ultimately to the unity of all of them. Assurance given in the preamble is then translated into specific provisions. The rights of the scheduled tribes are sought to be preserved first through the fundamental rights. These rights apply generally to all citizens as well as to Scheduled Tribes. But this is not all: numbers of specific provisions have also been made in the constitution safeguarding specifically the social, economic, educational and political rights of the Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution of India. These can be discussed under two heads:

1. Constitutional provisions which apply generally to all citizens including the people belonging to Schedules Tribes, and

2. Special provision for Schedules Tribes for their developments.

In other words it can be categorized as

1. Protection

2. Development

1. The protective provision are contained in Article-15(4), 16(4), 19(5), 23, 29, 46, 164, 330, 332, 334, 335, 338, 339(1), 371-a, b, c, Fifth Schedules and Sixth Schedules,

2. Provisions relating to development of STs are contained mainly in Article 275(1), 339(2).

PROTECTIVE PROVISONS

Prohibitions of Discrimination against Scheduled Tribes

Tribes in India have been brought at equal footing with the rest of the society. Equality is the key-note of democratic systems like India. Part III of the Constitution deals with a series of fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizens. The first and foremost of these is "equality before law". Article 14 states: The state shall not deny to any person equality before the law within the territory of India". To interpret the meaning of the phrase "equality before the law" means that the state should not differentiate between the citizens either in the promulgation or application of law. In short it means justice, it is the negation of different treatment impartiality at the alter of justice. The principle of equality before the law has been beautifully explained by D.D. Basu in his book "An Introduction to the constitution of India," Equality before the law means that among equals the law should be equal and should be equally administered that like should be treated alike" (Basu, 2001: 87-88).

Article 17 has been designed for materializing Gandhiji's dream of doing away with untouchability. The provision has been incorporated with an object to

abolish some inequalities social customs and disabilities from our country. As is evident from the preamble to our constitution, the constitution resolves, among other things to secure to all the citizens of India "social Justice" and "equality of status" and also to promote among them all "fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. People belonging to tribes are no longer wider serfdom. They have been granted equal status in the society. It proclaims: "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden.

The effect of the inclusion of Article 17 in the constitution of India is that it has given diverse to the old philosophy of untouchability which had generated the evil of inequality in the society. Under the constitution, justice political, economic. and social and equality aim at cutting the very root of caste and working towards a classless society. Down-trodden classes like tribes have been brought on equal footing with the rest section of the society. Article 15 prohibits any discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. But clause 4 of this Article provides an exception to this. It empowers the State to make any special provision for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes of the citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This provision is in accordance with the policy envisaged in Article 46.

SPECIAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION FOR SCHEDULED TRIBES

Special safeguards given by the constitution to promote the welfare of the STs People to secure a social order based on social, economic and political justice this can be discussed under these heads

A. RESERVATION IN PARLIAMENT AND STATE LEGISLATURE, (ART. 330, 332)

Indian Constitution provides political protection to Scheduled Tribes for their election to Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas. Art. 330, 332 and 33A of the constitution provide for reservation of seats in parliament and state legislatures for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Art. 330 of the constitution provides for reservation of seats in the House of people (Lok Sabha). It also provides that the number of seats reserved shall be in proportion to the percentage of the population of the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes to the total population in the State.

According to provisions of the delimitation of parliamentary and Assembly constituency order, 1976 the total number of seats reserved in favour of scheduled tribes within the total strength of 543 is 46. In Orissa Vidhan Sabha, out of 147 seats 34 seats are reserved for Scheduled Tribes (Art.332), (Bakshi, 1997: 261-262).

B.   RESERVATION IN SERVICES Art.16-(4)

Reservation in services for weaker sections particularly Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been adopted for ensuring their participation in national administration in proportion to their population in the country (ibid; 15, ibid 263). According to Art. 16(4) and 335 of the constitution reservation is provided for SCs and STs in public services as per Article 16(4) the state shall make reservation for appointments of posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which is not adequately represented in the service under the state (ibid-15). Art. 335 provide that the claims of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration on the making of appointments to services and posts (Bakshi, 1997: 263). The basic difference between these two articles is that the Art. 335 provides for reservation subject to the condition of "the maintenance of efficiency of administration" but the Art. 16(4) lay down no such condition or limitation. However, as per judicial interpretation the provisions under Art. 16(4) are controlled by Art. 335 (Verma, 1995: 118).

C.   PROMOTION OF EDUCATIONAL INTEREST OF THE TRIBES (Art.46)

Education plays a vital role in the overall development of tribal life. In view of the importance of the education it has been made a constitutional guarantee. Pre-matric stipends, post-matric scholarships, national overseas scholarships etc. are few educational schemes which have been introduced by the Government of India to raise the standard of candidates with an object to overcome the poor state of affairs in the field of higher education. In order to strengthen the educational base for scheduled tribes many new schemes such as hostel facilities, books, stationary, mid-day meals, uniform etc. are being adequately provided for. Despite these alluring

educational schemes most of the states enrollment among the STs was behind the target of universal enrollment (Mehta, 1991; 350-351).

Art.19 (5): Safeguard of Tribal Interest in Property

While the rights of free movement and residence throughout the territory of India and of acquisition and disposition of property are guaranteed to every citizen, special restrictions may be imposed by the State for protection of the interests of the members of the Scheduled Tribes.

Art. (29) Cultural Rights

According to Article 29 a cultural or linguistic minority has right to conserve its language or culture. This Article provides protection to Scheduled Tribe communities to preserve their languages, dialects and cultures. The State would not by law enforce upon it any other culture 'or language.

Article 164

This Article provides for a Minister in charge of tribal welfare in the state of Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Where states have substantial tribal population and special provision of a Minister looking after tribal welfare is an evidence of the concern of the framers of the Constitution for safeguarding the interest of Scheduled Tribes.

Art.338 Special Officer

There shall be a special officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be appointed by the President. It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution.

PROMOTION OF ECONOMICS INTERESTS OF THE SCHEDULED TRIBES (DEVELOPEMENTAL ACTIVITIES), (ART. 275(1), 339(2))

The promotion of economic interest of the Scheduled Tribes is also a notable feature of our constitution. Since the dawn of independence several steps have been initiated by the center and state governments to improve the economic life of the

Scheduled Tribes by way of allocating sizeable amounts for development programmes in tribal areas. Attention has been concentrated on land and agriculture. shifting cultivation, sericulture, cottage-industries, irrigation housing, payments of minimum wages etc. There is an obligation on the Union Government for payment of grants-in-aid to enable the state governments to meet the cost of such schemes as may be undertaken for their development it may be suggested here that the need of the remote tribal areas and grass root workers like village level workers, teachers, nurses etc. should be given priority. Lack of information like roads, residential buildings, health facilities discourages the flow of administrative talent into tribal areas. Thus, there is a need to pay attention to their problems. Criteria for allocating grants in tribal areas should be on the basis of the level of development reached. There is a strong need to amend Article 275 so that strong machinery is evolved for ensuring that funds given have been properly spent.

POLICIES, PLANS AND PROGRAMMES FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT SINCE INEEPENDENCE

In India, the scheduled caste, tribes and backward classes constitute the majority of the population. However, the assets and resources possessed by the majority is proportionately less than the minority. Among them the tribes are the most neglected and is a vulnerable position. From the days of the British rule they were kept isolated from the mainstream society. Even after Independence, in the name of culture, they were kept isolated with so many restrictions; as a result they developed a feeling of difference and inferior complexity. The effort of Indian government for the development of the tribes made them rather more dependent on government programmes. They are lacking the self-confidence to compete with the mainstream people.

In the process of development, racially culturally and linguistically, the mankind is proceeding towards greater homogeneity. Day by day, the old culture is dying or getting exterminated and a great segment of humanity known by various names primitive, tribal, indigenous, aboriginal, natives and so on also constitute in the broader society. Some major characteristics of these groups have been simple, premachine economy, unsophisticated rituals and social customs, small local community organization and homogeneity. However, today the so called ˙progress˙

is destroying the environment as well as other peoples and cultures and that modern civilization may become victims of its own progress. (Hasnain, 1983:85-90).

After Independence our national leaders were very eager to help and uplift the tribes. Framers of our constitution embodied 'the welfare state' ideal in the constitution. This ideal is reflected in the preamble of our constitution which, includes justice, equality, freedom and provides adequate safeguards for minorities, backwards and the tribals. After 1947, many all India organizations of the tribals were formed. "The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh" was also established to help the tribes. In the constitution of India the tribes are given all special care in the name of protective discrimination (Art.46). The isolation policy was rejected and instead policy of Integration of the tribals with rest of the people was adopted. Huge amount of money have been earmarked in different five-year plans and yearly plans for the welfare of the tribals. As a result the tribals were now passing through a phase of development with rest of the country.

In terms of development, various tribes are not equally developed. The conditions of the North-Eastern tribal areas are entirely different from those prevailing in central tribal areas. In the context of this diversity, special arrangement has been made for their administration and development of scheduled tribes. In order to exempt tribal societies from several complex formalities of our legal system, provisions have been incorporated in the fifth schedule of the constitution. Under this schedule, the state government has the authority to modify certain given central and state laws in the interest of the tribals. Thus the state can mould their policies to suit the specific requirements of various scheduled tribes residing in their areas. The sixth schedule deals with the state of Assam, Meghalaya and Manipur.

The tribal development programmes can be divided into two phases, the first phase started from the Independence and continued till the end of the fourth five year plan and second phase started with introduction of 'Tribal Sub-Plan' in 1974 on wards.

During the first phase of tribal development starting from 1951 to 1974, a series of programmes initiated from time to time. The significant among them were Community Development Programme (C.D.), National Extension Services (NES).

Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks (SMPT). SMPT later converted into Tribal Development Blocks, and Tribal Development Agencies etc.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (CD) PROGRAMMES 1952:

Community Development Programme in India is primarily the result of Indo-American Technical co-operation Agreement signed in 1951, when USA was to assist India in this regard running fifty five pilot projects in order to develop the areas and communities covered by these projects and also to give some ideas and experience in organizing and working out village development programmes. These programmes were started on the 2nd Oct. 1952. (Panikkar, 1974: 1). The problem of economic and social development of the masses lagging behind is thus pressing and brooks no delay. It can tackle effectively by the active involvement of the people. The method of native involvement of the people is generally known as 'extension'. (Haq 1979: 3). The Government of India initiated the National Extension Schemes (NES) Blocks in 1951, with the intention of intensifying block level development activities to raise the general standard of living of the weaker sections. 'Extension' defined in simple terms is to educate and motivate people for their betterment and to lead them to clearly conceived and refined objectives a task arduous and none-the-less self- rewarding. a task in which one is sustained only through sublimity of purpose and heroic endurance a task which suits only the equipped ones (ibid.p.3-4).

The democratic decentralization of administrative agencies attempted in India through the Panchayati Raj system is widely implemented in the Indian states. The three tiers of the administrative system beginning from village level is a good step in public administration. Members of different bodies were elected representatives of the people. These are not only wholly democratic institutions, but they do. influence administration in their respective sphere (Panikkar, 1974: 4).

States in India are mainly responsible for the implementation of various programmes. The central Government and the Planning Commission decide the basic policies and provide the guidelines for administration. Each state has an administrative organization for the purpose of implementing community development programmes. formed under the institutions from the central government (Parliamentary Debates, Appendix-ii, 1952). The Planning Commission

was established in March 1950, which based its entire programme of village development by specifying that 'Community Development' is the method and Rural Extension the agency through which the five year plan seeks to initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the village.

National Extension Service Scheme (NES) was started in Oct. 1953, on the recommendation of the "Grow More Food Enquiry Committee 1952" (Madan and Madan,1983:10). In 1954 opening of new C.D. Blocks were given up and was decided that those NES blocks where people shown some interest in their own work would be converted into C.D. Blocks. The entire country was covered by the C.D., which applied equally to the tribal areas as well. However, the tribals have not been able to keep pace with other communities and other areas, especially in matters of economic development.

Community Development is the method and Rural Extension is the agency through which the first plan seeks to initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the village. (The First Five Year Plan 1951, p.223). The greatest stress in community development has laid on rural areas. The intensive development of agriculture, the extension of irrigation, rural electrification and the revival of village industries, where ever possible, with the help of improved techniques accompanied by land reform and a revitalized co-operative movements, are programmes closely related to change the face of the rural economy, (ibid,p.225). Five-year plan has become more popular and common word. But very few people in our country know what planning is all about, and still fewer are involved in actual planning. For India, being a democratic country, one would have expected to see the widest possible participation of the people in planning for the country. In a pluralistic and caste-ridden society like ours, lack of wider participation can mean domination and exploitation by a few.

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

implementation at every level (Kananaikil, 1985. p.xii). This means that the trickle down theory, according to which, development at the top will gradually flow down to the bottom is not only an elitist theory, but also an ineffective one. We have to ensure that the weaker sections, the people at the bottom of society, the weaker minority groups, the SCs anf STs, the 50 percent of the people who live below the poverty line are taken seriously in our country, that their views and their needs get sufficient attention in the planning, that what is due to them is not passed out as charity but becomes part of the constructive action programme for growth and justice for all.

By the end of second five year plan, the entire country was covered by Community Development Blocks, which applied equally to the tribal areas later it was found that advantage was utilized by the non-tribals living in the tribal areas who had more contact with concerned officials. It also became clear that the tribal areas needed special treatment and hence the existing efforts were sought to the strengthened in 1954 by launching a few special multipurpose tribal development projects covering a few blocks. The level of development among the tribals varies from community to community depending on their degree of isolation and the inaccessible nature of the areas. As the tribal areas needed special treatment a few Special Multipurpose Tribal Development (SMPT) Blocks were launched in 1954.

SPECIAL MULTI-PURPOSE TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT (SMPT) BLOCKS-1954

The Special Multipurpose tribal Development Blocks were introduced in 1954, where the blocks were jointly sponsored by the ministry of Home Affairs and Community Development, and implementation charge was given to state governments. SMPT was the first systematic effort for the development of tribal areas. 43 such blocks were opened in different states for the first time in 1956, to speed up the process of development in the areas of the largest tribal concentration (Tripathy 1985:870). The SMPT was later converted into Tribal Development Block (TDB) as to relate the programme and the way of doing things to the tribal background. Agriculture and allied subjects like irrigation and soil conservation were given top priority.

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

The object of TDB in second five-year plan was to bring about a rapid improvement in the economic and social standards of tribal people by supplementing the provisions available under the normal C.D budget, in specially underdeveloped but compact areas (9th report of the commission for SC/ST, 1969-70, p. 33). There were 43 SMPT Blocks by the end of second five year plan. During the third five year plan (1961-66), TDBs were originated on the general pattern of community development blocks, aiming at rapid improvement in socio-economic standard of the tribals (Prasad. op.cit, p.226). By the end of the third plan, the TDBs multiplied and about 40 percent of the tribal populations in the country were covered by 504 such blocks. State wise List of TDBs is given below:

Table 4:1 : Tribal Development Blocks

State/Union Territory	No. of TD Blocks
Andhra Pradesh	24
Assam, Meghalaya,& Mizoram	49
Bihar	63
Gujarat	53
Himachal Pradesh	7
Kerala	1
Madhya Pradesh	126
Maharastra	44
Manipur	20(all sub-blocks)
Nagaland	15
Orissa	75
Rajastan	18
Tamilnadu	2
Tripura	5
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	2
Total	504

Sources: Vidyarthi and Rai, 1985, The Tribal Culture of India Concept, New Delhi, p.434.

Here the priorities were made for economic upliftment, education, health, housing, and communication. The guideline prescribed, 60 per cent funds for

economic development, 25 percent for communication and 15 percent for social services. It did not reflect the need of tribals properly. The main reason of the shortcoming of the programme was the relatively small size of the tribal blocks. which cannot accommodate schemes like soil conservation, major and medium irrigation. Secondary and technical education (Singh, op. cit. p. 129).

Both the community Development Blocks and Tribal Development Blocks were multi sectoral in approach and both were mainly developmental in out look but lacking in specific administrative perspective and organisation to take care of the special needs of the tribal population. Both neglected the protective aspects of the tribal's requirement. In general terms, while education and economic prosperity made progress, the gap between the general community and the tribal community became wider than before. The TD Block approach was an improvement over the general block development approach in that it attempted to focus was diffused so far as specific problems of tribal population and groups was concerned (Tripathy, 1985: 871).

In a TD Block, the Block Development Officer (BDO) is given all the power to implement the programmes. The promotion and demotion of a B.D.O. was based on his ability to achieve the targets fixed for different sectors of Tribal Development Projects. An integrated schematic budget for Rs.27 lakhs was provided for each TDB to be spent in a period of five years. It was not an easy task to spend all this money in five years in inaccessible tribal areas. So, the BDOs always worried about expenditure. The easy way of spending most of it was by constructing buildings and roads. which were not of immediate, benefit to the tribals. So, the T D Blocks became more a construction programme and less an extension programme. BDO did not get time to motivate tribals and disseminated improved ideas among them. The result had been that throughout the implementation of the tribal development programme great emphasis was laid on spending money achieving physical targets and relatively little emphasis on evolution of quality of character and human development. (Vidyarthi and Rai.1985:431-433).

The main aim of the development programmes for tribals was to integrate them with the rest of the country. In fact what happened was that, instead of the benefits going to the tribal communities this attempt strengthened the exploitative

elements. Even after the introduction of Panchayati Raj, tribals were denied from taking leadership. Elwin committee found that even in tribal majority areas also non-tribals got elected as Sarapanchas. So, the committees were so doubtful about the safety of tribal interests under Panchayati Raj. It was also observed that either fund was diverted for other purpose or not utilized in time (Govt. of India Report 1969,p.1). Increased investment and change induced by tribal development programmes did not help the tribes because of improper planning and defective implementation of the programme. The special programmes had only a limited impact on them .The programmes were regid and followed a uniform pattern although varied conditions demanded special approaches to their problems adnd different plans for solving them. The areas of tribal development blocks were delineated without any rational and scientific basis.

THE BALVANTRAY MEHTA COMMITTEE 1957

The Mehta Committee stresses the people's participation and asked the government to release adequate grants in aid for the backward tribal regions. The committee suggested for the setting up of three tiers governing system at village, blocks, and districts level. and this panchayats be constituted on elective basis ensuring adequate representation from women and SCs and STs members.

VERRIER ELWIN COMMITTEE 1957

Another committee was constructed under Verrier Elwin in 1957 to go into various aspects of the programmes under SMPT blocks. Based on the Elwin reports and recommendations the SMPT blocks were converted into tribal development blocks (TDBs) from Third Plan onwards. In addition to these were also started to cover many tribal areas.

DHEBAR COMMISSION:

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

1. Simplifying the procedure to ensure prompt disposal of applications for loans from co-operative societies.

2. Reserve Bank should set up a separate department to deal with the problem of tribal economy on the lines of agricultural credit departments.

3. Need for advancing loans on the security of the produce and the importance of linking credit with marketing.

4. A small committee of officials from the tribal welfare, Agriculture, Veternary, Forest, Irrigation and Roads and Medical and public health department should be set up at the state level for coordination and effective implementation of tribal welfare programmes.

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

6. Tribal advisory council should have a staff of its own with a secretary who could do the follow-up work.

SHILU AO COMMITTEE (1966-69)

The Government of India did not give any attention to the recommendation made by Dhebar Commission. So, Planning Commission constituted a study team on 26th Oct 66 consisting of Shri. P. Shilu AO as Chairman and Sarvashri L.M. Srikant and B.Mehta as members. However, B.Mehta resigned in Feb. 1967 and T. Sivashankar was appointed as member in his place

The team was required to:

a) Study the problem and needs of the tribal communities in each state;

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

c) Ascertain how far the schemes formulated so far have enabled the tribal communities to secure an adequate share in the benefits occurring from the general development programmes.

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

e) Suggest measures for strengthening the administrative machinery and harnessing tribal leadership and institutions so as to ensure their fullest participation in the tasks of economic and social development (Tripathy, 1985: 872)

In its report, the study team supported the important recommendations of S.A. and S.T. commission and went on adding few more recommendations like:

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

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

3. For reorientation of the programmes undertaken by the T.D Blocks the state Governments may consider appointing small committees consisting of officers of the various departments to draw up, in consultation with the local tribal leaders and Block officers;4. Agriculture should ordinarily be given the highest priority;5. The control of T.D.Blocks should vest in the tribal welfare department which had an intimate knowledge of the tribal areas and of the needs of the tribal people.

Shilu AO Committee observed that main drawbacks of TDBs are :

1. The tribal development blocks failed to get any significant support from the general development programmes including the CD programmes.

2. These schemes formulated for these blocks were not adopted to the felt needs of the specific areas, and

3. The benefits had mostly accrued to the more advanced among the tribals.

In between the above two committees, the Planning Commission constituted the Task Force in 1972, headed by L.P.Vidyarthy to study the development of tribal areas. The same year a working group on Personal Policy for the tribal areas under the chairmanship of R.N.Haldipur was constituted. Several other groups and teams were to go into problems of tribal areas, cooperatives, rural indebtedness and land alienations excise policy etc. As a result, a new strategy of tribal development took birth as "TRIBAL SUB-PLAN"(TSP) within the broad framework of the state and central plan. The main schemes for the tribals, in the First Plan (during 1951-56) were undertaken for economic and educational development, improving of roads and communication and the provisions for medical and public health facilities. Though economic development attracted the highest financial assistance, "Health, Housing and Communication" got the highest percapita expenditure. In the second plan i.e (1956-61)the emphasis was on economic development, agriculture, cottage industries, forest, co-operatives and also on a new programme of setting up of special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks. During 1961-66, i.e. in the Third Plan, which was marked by an extension of the Multipurpose Tribal Blocks, renamed Tribal Development Blocks. The priority was again given to economic upliftment, education and health, housing and communication schemes. The tribes also have benefited by the general funds but the study team 1969 noted with regret that no conscientious attempt had been made by any of the state government, with the exception of Andhra Pradesh, to ensure that tribals receive a reasonable share in the general development programme.

Important programmes like Special Tribal Development Agency (TDA), Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA), and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Agencies (MFALA) were launched during the Fourth Plan.

Eight special pilot projects were stared in Andhra Pradesh:- one, Bihar-one, Madhya Pradesh –one, and Orissa –four, covering the activities of agriculture and allied sectors, communication and counter exploitative endeavour of the anti-social elements. However this programme failed because of the deficiencies in planning and administration, both organizational and financial and lack of coordinated approach to ensure the flow of funds in to several sectors (Vidyarthy and Rai : 1985: 411-445).

Both the SFDA (Small Farmers Development Aencies) and Marginal Farmer and Agricultural Labourers Agency (MFALA) merged into SFDA in 1975 and Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) replaced the SFDA during 1978-79 (Sharma,1977: 8)

The informal expert committee set up by the government of India in 1972 which was to go into the question of tribal development provided the basic frame for further policy formulation. Meanwhile, the Planning Commission set up a Task Force on welfare of Backward Classes for suggesting programmes for the Fifth Five Year Plan. This Task Force considered various aspects of tribal development and spelt out some further details for the new effort. Based on the Reports of Shilu AO Committee, Export Committee and Task Force, approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan was prepared. This broad frame was formally accepted in 1973 by the National Development Council as a part of the Draft for Fifth Five Year Plan (Sharma:1977. p.9).

The Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) was introduced within the state plan on the eve of Fifth Five Year Plan. The tribal development programmes took a new turn, a complete shift from the earlier programmes, from the fifth plan. The Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) brought a new hope for the tribal development. The device of TSP for tackling the socio economic development of the tribals and tribal areas has been adopted by the planners. It is different from the earlier programmes, because the TSP believes in "Planning from the Below" catering to the local needs. As the tribal communities are not homogeneous and not at the same levels of development, different programmes and approach neded for different tribes. TSP is not developmental package provided by the centre, rather it is a plan made by the people

for the over all development of the tribals and sent to the state and then to centre for financial grants. The local needs and aspirations of the people reflect in the TSP.

TRIBAL SUB-PLAN

On the eve of the Fifth Five Year Plan, the second phase of tribal development begins with a review in depth of the tribal scene in the country. According to the report of Shilu AO Committee of 1969, the T.D. Block was too small unit for comprehensive planning and effective implementation. The local needs did not reflect in the schematic programme, significantly, what was expected to the supplemental investment in tribal areas though TD Blocks tended to become the exclusive investment. The benefit of normal programmes hardly reached many of the areas. The difference in the level of development in the tribal areas and communities and the general areas and the other communities therefore, tended to increase (Govt of India 1969,p.24). The new tribal sub plan conceived in 1974-75, took note of the fact that an incisive approach to the tribal problems was necessary in terms of their geographic and demographic concentration of a faster development of this community is to take place. The approach envisaged tackling the tribal problem by categorizing them under three Identifiable areas and groups.

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

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

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

These three categories were brought respectively under integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP), Modified Area Development Approach (MADA), pockets and primitive tribe projects (PTP).

In the light of the above approach, it was decided that tribal majority states like Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Lakshadweep and Dadra adnd Nagar Havali may not need a tribal Sub-Plan, as the entire plan of these states and Union territories was primarily meant to the Scheduled Tribe population constituting the majority. (Prasad,1988:56). For the secular category of states and union territory TSP approach was adopted after delireating area of tribal concentration. A similar approach was also adopted in case of state and union territory having dispersed tribal population by paying special attention to patches of tribal concentration, keeping in view their terror of dispersed. (Ibid.56-58)

OBJECTIVE OF TSP

The TSP has kept before itself both the long term and short term development objectives. The long term objectives of the sub-plan are: (i) to narrow the gap between the level of development of tribal and other areas and (ii) to improve the quality of the tribal communities. Among the short term or the immediate objectives are: accelerating the process of social and economic development of the tribal, elimination of exploitation in all forms, improving their organizational capabilities and building up inner strength or the spirit of self help among them. It was agreed that a general strategy for achieving these objectives has to be evolved, reviewing the entire legal, administrative and institutional frame, as also the inter-sectoral and intra- sectoral priorities, keeping the primary focus on the welfare and development of the people. In relation to the developmental programmes, the tribal sub-plans represent a totality of public sector effort in that area. The resources comprise the following elements:

a) State Plan Outlays;

b) Sectoral Outlays in the Central Ministries;

c) Special Central Assistance; and

d) Institutional Finance (Sharma, 1977:529)

The TSP approach consisted of a twin approach of area development and the problem solving. The objective is to achieve a balance between economic development, infrastructure and educational advancement and anti-exploitative measures. It also visualised progressive obligationn of the disparity between the tribals and rest of the community over a period of time with a view to put the tribal population in the mainstream of national life at par with others.(Ibid.530)

In order to gain the confidence of the tribal communities, suitable step are to be taken so that there is a positive response to the renewed effort. While performing the immense task, resource constraint should be kept in mind. Full utilisation of the existing investment under different heads should be ensured and treated as the starting point of the new plan efforts. The major elements of the strategy are as follows:(Goverments of India, 1974: 5).

(a) **Prevention of Exploitation:** Any kind of developmental programmes for the tribals would be meaningless unless exploitation in various forms is prevented. All programmes, which help in minimizing incidence of exploitation, such as those in the fields of marketing, credit supply of consumer goods, and even informal rationing ensuring commodities at resonable prices should get the highest priority. The sub-plan should take legislativ and executive measures for redemption of past debts. Programmes for prevention of land alienation, restoration of lands already alienated, termination of practices like bonded labour, solution of the problems created in the tones of influence of modern industrial areas and review of excise and forest policies need special attention in the sub-plan strategy.

b) **Development of Tribal Economy:** The main source of income of the tribals is agriculture and forests. So, agriculture would be the highest priority in sub-plan strategy. The most important components of development of agriculture are land ownership and its development, provision of irrigation and improved methods of cultivation. Shifting cultivators, forest villagers and forest labourers should get special attention.

c) **Generation of Employment Opportunities:** As the level of economic activity in tribal areas is very low, the potential of their resource endowment is only partially utilised. Opportunities for better utilization of available manpower should be created through programmes of horticulture, animal husbandry, piggery and allied occupations. Cottage industries based on the local raw materials should be developed.

d) **Provision of Basic Infrastructure:** In order to speed up the socio-economic development, the basic infrastructure, legal, institutional and physical, has to be developed on a priority basis. Growth centres, communication network, schools, rural health centres, marketing and credit organizations, rural electrification, manpower resources and training have to be planned in an integrated fashion keeping in view the special conditions of the tribal areas.

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

TABLE 4.2

TSP STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES	
Andhra Pradesh	Maharastra
Assam	Manipur
Bihar	Orissa
Chhattisgarh	Rajasthan
Gujarat	Sikkem
Himachal Pradesh	Tamil Nadu

Jammu& Kashmir	Tripura
Jharkhand	Uttar Pradesh
Karnataka	Uttaranchal
Kerala	West Bengal
Madhya Pradesh	Andaman & Nicobar Island
	Daman & Diu

(Sources: Report of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India, 2002:9)

Funding of Tribal Development Programmes:

Funds for tribal development are sourced from

1. State Plan

2. Special Central Assistance

3.Sectoral Programmes of Central Ministries/ Departments and

4. Institutional Finance.

The flow of fund to tribal sub plan of various central ministries along with their total plan outlay for the year 2001-2002 is furnished in the table 4.3 given below:

TABLE 4.3

(Rupees in Crores)

S.No. Ministry/Department	Total Outlay	Flow to Tribal-subplan	%
1. Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment	272.5	21.45	7.88
2. Department of Telecommunication	NA	97.5	
3. Department of Posts	NA	3.9	
4. Ministry of Information & Broadcasting	270.0	31.0	11.5
5. Department of Commerce	186.5	14.4	7.7
6. Department of Indian System of Medicine & Homeopathy	10000.0	184.7	1.8
7. Ministry of Environment & Forests	242.4	151.8	62.6
8. Department of Drinking Water Supply (Ministry of Rural Development) SC &ST	3000.0	300.0	10.0
9. Ministry of Textiles	6500.0	4.90	0.1
10. Ministry of Non Conventional Sources of Energy	7270.0	4.90	0.1
11. Ministry of Science and Technology	NA	0.8	
12. Department of Culture	NA	6.0	
13. Ministry of Agriculture	107.6	72.5	67.3
14. Ministry of SSI & Rural Industries	775.0	38.3	4.9
15. Ministry of Power (Kutir Jyoti Scheme)	NA	44.5	
16. Ministry of Human Resource Development Department of Education	5450.0	436.5	8.0
17. Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports	215.0	1.4	0.7
20. Ministry of Coal	NA	4.7	
21. Ministry of Health and Family Welfare	NA	21.5	

(Sources: - Govt. of India Report, 02: 10-11)

SCHEMES OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMET

The major programmes implemented by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs for the welfare and development of scheduled tribes are as follows:

Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub-Plan.

This is an additive provided to TSP by the Ministry to ensure adequate flow of funds uin the tribal areas. It is implemented through 194 Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs), 259 Approach (MADA) and 82 Clusters in 23 Tribal Sub-Plan State/Union Territories. Special central assistance is an important component of flow of funds for tribal sub plan that is made available to States on the basis of a set criterion. It is provided by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs to the 23 Tribal Sub-Plan States/UT Administrators including north eastern states of Assam. Manipur and Tripura as an additive to their own outlay to fill in the gaps. These grants are basically meant for family oriented income generating schemes in the sectors of agriculture. horticulture. minor irrigation, soil conservation, animal husbandry. forests. education. cooperatives, fisheries, village and small scale industries and minimum needs programme. SCA is to be utilized in conjenction with TSP flow to meet the gaps that have not otherwise been taken care of by the State plan.

Grants Under First Proviso to Article 275(1) of the Constitution:

The Ministry of Tribal Affairs provide grants to 21 Tribal Sub-Plan and 4 tribal majority states under First Proviso to article 275(1) of the Constitution to meet the cost of such projects for tribal development as may be undertaken by the state Governments for raising the level of administration of the scheduled areas therein to that of the rest of the state.

Grant in aid for Voluntary Organizations working for the welfare of STs: (Central Sector Scheme):

This scheme was started in 1953-54. Numerous important projects are being implemented by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs through voluntary organizations. which are working for the welfare of the scheduled tribes. The projects include

residential schools, hostels, medical mobile dispensaries, computer training units, shorthand and typing training units, balwadies/ crèches (in areas not covered by the ICDS programme) libraries and audio-visual units for dissemination of vital information relevant to the welfare of scheduled tribes. The grant is generally restricted to 90% of the approved total cost of the project; the balance 10% is borne by the voluntary organizations.

Educational Complex in Low Literacy Pockets for Development of ST Girls in Tribal Areas. (Central Sector Scheme):

The scheme was introduced in 1993-94 for improving literacy among ST women in districts with less than 10% female ST literacy. It is implemented through Non-Government Organisations or Institutes set up by Government as autonomous bodies/ educational and other institutions like Local Bodies and Cooperative Societies. A total of 136 Districts in 11 states covered under the scheme. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs provides full assistance for running of the educational complexes. A complex is meant for girls studying in class 1 to V with a strength of 30 girls in every class with a provision for training in craft/ vocational educaion. Food and loaging is free for the students. There is a provision for supply of two sets of uniforms per year per student, free periodical medical checkups for the children and adult education for the parents of the girls in the evening . An incentive of Rs. 50 per month is to be paid to the parents for sending their daughters to these educational complexes.

Vocational Training in Tribal Areas:

Started in 1992-93, the main aim of this scheme is to develop the skill of the tribal youth in order to gain employment/self employment opportunities. This scheme is implemented through the state Governments/ UT Administrations, institutions or organizations set up by government as autonomous body, educational and other institutions like local bodies and cooperative societies and non-governmental organizations. Each centre may cater to five vocational course in traditional skills depending upon the employment potential of the area. Each tribal boy/girl will be trained in two trades of his/her choice, the course in each trade being for a duration of three months. Each trainee will be attached at the end of six months

to a Master Craftsman in a semi-urban/urban area for a period of six months to learn his skill by practical experience. There is provision for monthly stipend and grant for a raw material for the trainees.

Village Grain Bank:

As a part of Government efforts to prevent deaths of children in remote and backward tribal areas due to fall in nutrition standards, a scheme of Village Grain Banks has been launched during 1996-97. A one time grant towards purchase of grains, at the rate of one quintal per family of tribals in such areas, storage facilities for the grains is provided by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs through TRIFED, as the canalizing agency. The grain bank is to be managed by a village committee electd by the beneficiaries themselves who as members of the bank can borrow grains from the grain banks at times of scarcity and repay subsequently with a small interest.

Development of Primitive Tribal Groups:

There are certain tribal communities who are having a low level of literacy, declining or stagnant population, pre-agricultural level of technology and are economically backward. 75 such groups have been identified and have been categorized as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). Their problems and needs are different from other scheduled tribes. As Primitive Tribal Groups constitute the most vulnerable among the STs, so priority needs to be accorded for their protection and development. It was observed that the schemes for scheduled tribe development were not really reaching them. Therefore in 1998-99 a 100% centrally funded scheme for exclusive development of scheduled tribes was initiated. The scheme is flexible and covers any activity not exclusively covered by other schemes.

Post-Matric Scholarship for Scheduled Tribes Students:

The objective of the scheme is to provide financial assistance to students belonging to scheduled tribes pursuing post-matriculation recognized courses in recognized institutions. The scheme covers professional, technical as well as non-professional and non-technical courses at various levels and the scheme also includes correspondence courses including distance and continuing education. The scheme is implemented by the state governments and UT administrations, which

receive 100% central assistance over and above the committed liability of the state governments. The committed liability is equal to the expenditure reached in the last year of the preceeding plan period. The requirement of committed liability of north eastern states has been dispensed with from 1997-98.

The value of the existing scholarship includes maintenance allowance, reader charges for blind students, study tour charges, thesis typing/printing charges, book allowance to students pursuing correspondence courses and compulsory non-refundable fees changed by the educational institutions.

National Overseas Scholarship Scheme for Scheduled Tribes.(Non-Plan)

This scheme was introduced in 1954-55. It provides financial assistance to meritorious students for pursuing higher studies abroad in specified fields at Master level. PhD and Post-Doctoral research programmes. in the fields of engineering . technology and science for scheduled tribes, de-notified. nomadic and seminomadic tribes. The selected candidates are provided the cost of tuition and other educational fees charged by the foreign University etc., maintenance and other grants along with travel expenses. Those in receipt of merit scholarship for post graduate studies. research or training abroad (excluding attending seminars, workshops. conferences) from a foreign government/organization or under any other scheme where cost of passage is not provided can avail passage grant under the scheme.

Grants under second proviso to Article 275 (1) of the Constitution:

Fixed grant is provided to the government of Assam in respect of the administration of tribal areas in hill districts of Borth Cachar and Karbi Anglong.

Coaching & Allied Scheme for STs:

The scheme was introduced during fourth five year plan. Under the scheme. free coaching facilities are provided to ST students through Pre-Examination training centres, to help them compete in various competitive examinations having all-India recruitment character. The Pre-Examination Training course for STs run by the state governments/universities/private coaching institutes are eligible for assistance under the scheme. The scheme provides for stipends up to Rs. 500/- per

month to the outstation students and Rs. 150/- per month for local students for taking coaching at the pre-examination training centres. The fees for the coaching are also covered.

Up gradation of Merit of ST Students:

The scheme was introduced during seventh five year plan. The objective of the scheme is to upgrade the merit of ST students by providing them remedial and special coaching classes IX to XII. While the remedial coaching aims at removing deficiencies in various subjects, the special coaching is provided with a view to prepare the students for competitive examinations for seeking entry into professional courses like engineering and medical disciplines. The scheme provides for 100% central assistance to the states/Uts. A package grant of Rs. 15.000/- per student per year is provided and the state/Uts are not required to bear any financial burden.

Share Capital Contribution to TRIFED:

This scheme was started in 1987. Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Limited (TRIFED) was set up by the Government of India, in the year 1987, with the prime objective of providing marketing assistance and remunerative prices to scheduled tribes communities for their minor forest produce and surplus agricultural produce and to prevent their exploitation by private traders.

The authorized share capital of TRIFED is Rs. 100.00 crores and the paid up capital has gone up to Rs.99.98 crores of which Government of India's contribution is Rs.99.75 crores.

Price Support to TRIFED:

The price of Minor Forest Produce (MFP) and surplus agriculture produce (SAP) are subject to fluctuations. For meeting the unforeseen contingencies of losses because of such fluctuations in the prices and to ensure remunerative prices to the tribal farmers for their produce, the Ministry has been providing financial assistance to the TRIFED to set off part of such losses.

Grant in aid to State Tribal Development Cooperative Corporations for Minor Forest Produce:

This scheme was started in 1978-79. Minor Forest Produce (MFP) or Non-Timber Forest Produce (NTFP) is an important source of earning for tribals. Most of the states have set up Tribal Development Cooperative Corporations, Minor Forest Produce Trade and Development Federations or Forest Development Corporation for dealing with minor forest produce items. 100% grants are provided to state governments under this scheme for (i) strenghthening the share capital base of TDCCS for increasing the volume of procurement of MFPs; (ii) constructions of scientific warehouses;(iii) establishing process industries for value addition to MFP items: and (iv) research and development activities by the state cooperative.

State Tribal Development Finance Corporation:

Eight states have exclusive scheduled tribes Finance and Development Corporations, while others have accompanied SC/ST Finance and Development Corporations. These corporations provide loan cum subsidy to ST beneficiaries having income up to double the poverty line, for various economic activities to increase their income generation. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs provides equity capital to these state corporations to enhance their capital base. The equity ratio between central and state government is generally 49.51. In addition these corporations are provided finance by the National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation for advancing loans to beneficiaries. The state corporations mainly fund employment-oriented schemes in the areas of:

(i) Agriculture and allied sector'

(ii) Minor Irrigation,

(iii) Trades and Services,

(iv) Transport and

(v) Other self-employment schemes.

The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment were operating schemes of Post-Matric scholarship for Scheduled Tribes, National Overseas scholarship scheme for Scheduled Tribes, Coaching and Allied scheme for STs, VP gradation of merit of ST students. These schemes were bifurcated in November 2000, and the Ministry has been implementing the schemes for scheduled tribes independently since then.

Exchange of Visits by Tribals:

This is a new scheme launched in 2001-02. The aim is to provide an opportunity to scheduled tribes (living below poverty line) from one state to visit other states to get a greater exposure to developmental activities and improve their awareness. It provides for a tour of about ten days excluding journey time, and with one official as escort. Three Tier AC train fare and daily allowance is provided for the visit.

Girls' Hostels for Scheduled Tribes:

The scheme of Girls Hostels, started during 1962-63, is a useful instrument for spreading education among ST Girls. Under the scheme, Central assistance is provided to states/Uts for construction of new hostel buildings and /or extension of existing hostels. This is a centrally sponsored scheme where the cost of the construction of the hostels, building and or extension of existing hostels is equally shared between the center and the state in ratio of 50:50. In case of UTs, the central government bears the entire cost of the building. Maintenance of the hostel is the responsibility of the concerned states/Uts. It covers both school and university/college level hostels.

Boys' Hostels for Scheduled Tribes:

Started in 1989-90, the objectives, terms and conditions as well as the pattern of assistance of this scheme are same as that of the scheme for Girls' Hostels.

Establishment of Ashram Schools in Tribal Sub-Plan Area:

The scheme of Ashram School was launched in 1990-91. It provides for establishment of residential schools with staff quarters for scheduled tribes to enable

them to study in an environment conducive to learning. The cost of construction is shared 50:50 with the State Governments, while cent percent assistance is provided to UTs. The concerned state/UT meets the expenditure on the maintenance. The scheme covers primary, secondary and senior secondary level of education.

Book Bank for Scheduled Tribes Students:

The scheme was introduced in 1973-74. The objective of the scheme is to provide books to deserving ST students pursuing medical, engineering, agriculture, veterinary, polytechnics, law, chartered accountancy, MBA and bio-science courses. The scheme provides for sharing of text books by two students in respect of graduate level courses and separate set of books at post-Graduate level and for those pursuing chartered accountancy course. The books are provided to the universities or colleges recommended by state governments/UTs. The states/UTs implement the scheme and expenditure is co-shared on 50:50 basis between the center and the state governments. The UT administrations receive 100% central assistance.

RESEARCH AND TRAINING:

Grant to Tribal Research Institute: This scheme was started in 1951. Tribal Research Institutes have been set up in 14 states. These Institutes are involved in conducting research and evaluation studies, seminars, workshops on various subjects relevant to tribals, provide training and orientation to state government officials and provide support to state governments for preparation of Tribal Sub-Plans. Most of the institutes are also having tribal museums for exhibition of tribal artefacts. Under this scheme, grants are provided on 50:50 basis to states for running and maintaining these Institutes.

Supporting Project of All-India or Inter-State Nature (Scheduled Tribes): This scheme, started in 1979-80, relates to grants for research and evaluation projects. Grants up to Rs.2.50 lakhs per project for a period of 8-12 months are provided to non-governmental organizations, government institutions and universities who conduct research/evaluation studies on various aspects of issues pertaining to scheduled tribes.

Award Of Research Fellowship in various aspects of Tribal Development (Doctoral/Post Doctoral Fellowship): Research fellowship as 100% grant is provided to students/scholars, who are registered with a University for working on tribal development programmes/problems. The rates of fellowship for doctoral and post-doctoral courses are Rs.1800/- and Rs.3200/-per month respectively. In addition an annual contingency grant of Rs.10000/- is provided (ibid, 11-17).

IMPLEMENTATION OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

The approach for development of the tribal people along the lines of their own genius without anything imposed on them from outside is contained in the first principle of Panchasheel evolved by Nehru. It was later supported by the Dhebar Commission and Shilu AO Committee. These two bodies recommended gradual socio-economic development of tribals with a view to integrating them with the rest of the community on an equal footing within a reasonable period of time (Singh, 1994:27).

The area of cooperation is vital for social integration. The institutions functioning in the tribal areas should be related to the social structure, cultural factors, productive forces and productive relations existing in the tribal communities concerned and in the areas inhabited by them. The formulation of the five-year plans is strongly concerned with the consolidation of the forces of integration in the wide spectrum of India society. The policy was to strive to the formation of egalitarian social order, where tribals would play the role in constructing a society based on equality, justice and freedom.

The first effort at socio-economic development commenced with Community Development Programmes. CD Programmes envisaged united efforts of governmental authorities and the people with a view to improvement of the economic, social and cultural conditions of the community. The concept was extended to the tribal areas in the belief that the benefits of social-economic development would accrue to the bottom layers of the people in a trickle down effect. But it was realized that the tribals in tribal areas needed special care and protection and their coverage by CD Blocks would not serve the purpose. Hence,

SMPT Blocks were established in some tribal parts of the country in 1954(Singh, 1994: 27-28).

As the tribal people were lagging behind the non-tribals ht efruit of CD Blocks could not reach to them. So, SMPT Blocks were started to cater the specific needs of the tribals. The Elwin Committee found that the programme did not yield desired results. However, the committee felt that it could be improved. So, pit made some recommendations as per it s observations, as follows:

(a) Though the programme suffered from the defects of all pilot projects, it was sufficiently successful to justify it s extension.

(b) In tribal areas top priority should be given to agriculture and allied subjects like irrigation, reclamation and soil conservation.

(c) There should be serious attempt to relate the programme and the way of doing things to the tribal background, etc.

The report elaborately discussed the detail of the staffing pattern and made the suggestion for appointment of a forest extension officer and more tribal representation in such schemes and not to make frequent transfers of staff. After examining the problems of land and agriculture, it suggested to distribute the land to tribals and to find out some alternatives to shifting cultivation. It also suggested improving the basic infrastructure facilities like communication, health, services, drinking water education, social education and establishment of Ashram type of schools. The committee critically evaluated the women's programme and suggested the appointment of sensitive Mukhya Sevika and Gram Sevikas for implementation of social and educative programmes for the tribal women and their greater involvement of rural arts and crafts among the tribal folk and setting up of colonies for tribes. After looking after the problems of indebtedness, bondage vis-a vis moneylenders, it suggested to establish cooperative societies for providing them with loans and agricultural inputs in times of need. The Elwin Committee strongly felt the necessity of introducing the Panchayati Raj bodies. The Committee suggested the state governments to take care of the tribals for their upliftment and proper rehabilitation by adopting appropriate administrative measures. It also

recommended to teach the tribal dialect to the Block Development Officers for easy understanding of their problem(Bhowmick, 1981:55).

After evaluating the functioning of CD Blocks and NES, the Study Team headed by Shri Balvantray Mehta suggested the following measures for the tribal areas:

(i) Like other blocks, budget for developmet work in tribal areas should be for 6 years.

(b) Right type of personnel with sympathy and understanding for the tribal people should be selected, preferably local people.

(iii) The recruited personnel should acquire knowledge of the dialect, customs and ways of life of the people and way s of life of the people among whom they work.

(iv) The community development staff in the tribal areas should work in an atmosphere and in a manner consonant with the tribal traditions.

(v). Efforts should be made to induce the people in tribal areas to take up settled cultivation wherever possible.

(vi) Subsidies for housing, supplying necessary agricultural credit should be stressed.

(vii)Prograammes like irrigation, reclamation, communication and soil conservation should be taken up to provide employnent to the unemployed or under-employed tribals.

(viii) Starting training centers for rural arts and crfts with necessary modifications to suit local conditions. indigenous talent and raw materials available in the area.

(ix) Giving priority to communication improving the existing bridle paths and approach roads, constructing small bridges and culverts etc.

(x) In order to narrow the gulf between the educated and uneducated, the system of education should be of basic type.

(xi) As regards people's participation the matching contribution should be reduced below the normally prevalent in non-tribal areas.

(xii) There should be a proper coordination between various departments working for tribal development (Government of India, 1957:53-56).

An integrated schematic budget for Rs. 27 lakhs was provided for each SMPT block to be spent in a period of five years. The promotion and demotion of a Block Development Officer was determined to what extent he was able to achieve the targets fixed for different sectors of the tribal development projects. Most of the funds were utilized in constructing buildings and roads which were not of immediate benefit to the tribals. Thus, the SMPT blocks became more a construction programme and less and extension programme. Book keeping and management of funds and materials took most of the time of the BDOs and there was hardly any time left to devote to motivate the tribals and disseminate improved idea among them. The result has been that through out the implementation of the SMPT development programme. great emphasis was laid on spending money and achieving physical targets and relatively little emphasis on evolution of quality of character and human development (Patnaik and Bose, 1976: 6).

As per the recommendations of the Elwin Report, SMPT Blocks were converted to Tribal Development Blocks(TDBs), however, it did not reflect the need of tribals properly. The main reason of the shortcoming of the programme was the relatively small size of the tribal blocks which could not accommodate schemes like soil conservation, major and medium irrigation, secondary and technical education (Singh. 1981: 129)

Both the CD and TD blocks were multi-sectoral in approach and both were mainly developmental in outlook lacking in specific administrative perspective and organization to take care of the special needs of the tribal population. Both neglected the protective aspect of the tribals requirement. No doubt, education and economic prosperity made progress, the gap between the general community and the tribal community became wider than before. The TD Block approach was an improvement over the general block development approach in that it attempted to focus was diffused so far as specific problems of tribal population and groups was concerned

(Tripathy, 1985:871). Both the programmes gave importance to the area development. However, area development by itself will not be sufficient; it should have proceeded in consonance with the development of the people of those regions so that benefits of the development would have diffused as widely as possible.

The SC and ST Commission observed that the comprehensive provisions under the Fifth Schedule and other articles were not adequately utilized for tribal development. It recommended for extension of coverage by tribal development blocks and to take urgent measures for protection particularly in relation to land, forest, excise and market. It called for comprehensive legislation to cover all tribals living within the scheduled areas and outside, and a simple administrative system for tribal areas (Sharma, 1977:522).

However, the government did not take any interest to implement the recommendations, and constituted another study team under P Shilu AO in 1966, which submitted its report in 1969. Even after this, government hardly paid any attention. It was during the Fourth Plan, six pilot projects were started in 1971-72 in four districts. These were (1) one in Srikakulam (Andhra Pradesh), (2) one in Singhbhum (Bihar), (3) 2 in Bastar (Madhya Pradesh) and 4) one in Koraput and one in Ganjam (Both in Orissa). Later on two more projects were included in Keonjhar and Phulbani Orissa.

The Pilot experiment with the tribal development agency was not a cent-percent success as the agencies confined to agricultural programmes and development of arterial roads; however, they provided valuable insight in to deficiencies on planning and administration both organizational and financial. They suggested that mere grounding of a special administrative frame was not enough unless a coordinated approach to the tribal programmes at a sufficiently high level is taken and methodologies are devised to ensure flow of funds in to several sectors, both regulatory and development, concerning tribes and not merely to a few specialized sectors under a fragmented sectoral approach (Tripathy, 1985:872).

The success of tribal welfare programmes depend largely on effective developmental administration. The administration of tribal development programmes should be guided by certain fundamental principles such as the

preservation of hthe basic structure of tribal life and authority; and their participation and gradual integration in the general life of the country without the loss of their individuality.

The working of the TSP highlighted the absence of vocal dedicated leadership among the tribals, which accounted for hthe lack of articulation of their felt needs and the failure to press their demands into the decision making process at the TSP implementation level. The lower level officials have to be in constant contact with the tribals, so that their felt needs could be filtered and chanalised into planning and implementation mechanism (Inamdar, 1988:26).

Some state governments have adopted some of the incentives. The Seventh and Eighth Finance Commission also included provision for payment of compensatory allowance and construction of residential accommodation for the officials serving in the tribal areas. It was found that a large number of vacancies exist in the tribal areas on account of reluctance of government servants to serve there. It should be made compulsory for the officials to serve in the tribal areas for a certain minimum number of years. And, it should be ensured that posts in the district cadres are filled up locally as far as possible.

In its report of 1981, Indian Institute of public Administration made an evaluation of administrative structure of ITDPs in Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat. In Madhya Pradesh, they found that a number of organizations have been created without adequate justification. It was found that the Project Officer only compiles the plans of the various development departments, although he/she is expected to play an important role in plan formulation. There was delay in release of grants and only 50-60 percent of the grants were being utilized. In case of Gujarat, they found a clear-cut demarcation of functions and responsibilities and clear line of hierarchy from top to bottom. On the contrary, in Gujarat the physical and financial achievements were to the tune of 90-95 per cent for the year 1980-81 in the ITDP under study (ibid:891-92)

The Tribal Sub-Plan represented an attempt at a harmonious blend of infrastructure supporting schemens, family-oriented economic schemes and social service schemes. The introduction of Integrated Rural Development Programme

(IRDP) and the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) of the Ministry of Rural Development added impetus to family-oriented programmes. Besides infrastructure development and family oriented economic programmes. it was felt that human resources should be developed and the quality of life in tribal areas should improve.

The Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Constitution prescribe for the administrative design of the tribal areas. The working group on Tribal Development during the *Seventh* plan recommended that the elements of the two schedules should be properly blended and operationalised so that an appropriate infrastructure is available the socio-economic growth of the tribal people in the country in consonance with their genius.

The TSP is supposed to take care of the individual welfare of the tribes and pay greater attention to the inaccessible regions. The TSP covered 15°₀ of tohe ST population through ITDPs by the sixth plan. The Planning process of TSP is a mix of beneficiary oriented infrastructure and human resource development programme. with the objective of assisting to 50% of ST families to enable them to cross the poverty line. No doubt, the Tsp approach has brought a significant change in the living standard of the tribes. but in comparison to non-tribes, tribes are much behind. This is because the ITDPs/ITDAs (Orissa and Andhra Pradesh) are just funding agency and the block agencies are to implement and execute the programmes for the STs. The Blocks agency has no time or little time to go in to the tribal problem. because it has to look after the general rural development as well.

The Eighth Plan recognizes the essential need to involve people in the process of development people must 'operate' and Govt. must 'cooperate'. Therefore for the first time a new dimension was given to achieve these objectives by the adaptation of institutional approach. The Planning Commission worked out institutional strategies to strengthen various people's institutions at the district. blocks and village level in order to synthesize the purpose of investment. envisaged in the central plan with optimization of benefits at the grass roots level by reacting these programmes to the need of people.

Extension of Panchayat Provisions to the Scheduled Areas (73rd Constitutional Amendment): The Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India constituted a committee comprising Tribal members of Parliament and Experts under the chairmanship of Shri. Dileep Singh Bhuria in july, 1994 to make recommendations for extending provisions of the 73rd constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 to Scheduled Areas. The committee (known as Bhuria Committee) submitted a report in January 1995 often assessing the existing state of Panchayat Raj institutions in the Scheduled Areas and recommended extensions of Panchayat provisions to the Scheduled Areas with certain modifications keeping in view the special provisions for administration of these areas under 5th and 6th scheduled of the constitution. This Act seeks to reserve above 50% seats of Panchayat at all levels in addition to heading the Scheduled Tribes in the Scheduled Areas ignoring that in large number of Blocks in the Scheduled areas tribal communities of not account for the majority of population

It will be wrong to assume that all the programmes of tribal development have failed but this cannot be denied that there has not been any substantial impact on the economy and life of some sections of tribal population. In the last 25 years of working of ITDP, it could not guarantee the tribals to eliminate the exploitation at all levels and alleviate the poverty. It failed to mobilize the tribal population at large to participate in their development process

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CHAPTER V

TRIBAL DEVELOPMENTAL POLICIES AND ITS PERFORMANCE IN ORISSA SINCE 1947

Among the major states under the union of India Orissa has the highest. Percentage of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population taken together The tribal population of Orissa is (6.07 millions) constitutes 22.21 percent of the total population (1991 census). There are as many as 62 tribal communities. Which have been recognised as scheduled tribes in Orissa. (as given in appendix-1). The scheduled tribes had not been integrated fully with the main stream of the society. The development interventions initiated after in dependence have not been inadequate to place these communities on a par with their non-tribal counter parts. The strategy adopted for the development of tribal in the state has been the same as elsewhere in the country.

SCHEDULED AREAS IN ORISSA:

The term 'scheduled areas' has been defined in the Indian constitution. Paragraph 6 of the fifth scheduled of the constitution prescribes procedure for scheduling, descheduing and alteration of scheduled Areas. According to the Fifth scheduled of the constitution. specifies the following scheduled areas in the state of orissa:

1. Mayurbhanj district.

2. Sundargarh district

3. Koraput district. (now divided into four district, Nabarangpur. Raya gada. Koraput. and Malkangir)

4. Kuchinda tahsil in sambalpur district.

5. Keonjhar and Telkoi tahsil of Keionjhar sub-division, and champua and Barbil tahsils of champua sub division in Keonjhar district.

6. Kandhamal tahsil of Kandhamal sub-division, and Baliguda and G.Udayagiri tahsil of Baliguda sub-division in Boudh-kandhamal district (now the whole of phulbani/ Kandhamal district

7. R. Udayagiri tahsil and Guma and Rayageda Blocks of paralakhemundi tahsil of parlakhemundi sub division (now the Gajapati district except Kashipur and Gosani Blocks) and suruda tansil excluding Gazalbadi and Gocha Gram Panchayat in Ghumsur sub division of Ganjam district.

8. Thuamul Ramapur Block of Kala handi tahsil and Lanjigarh Blocks falling in Lanjigarh and Kahalandi tahsils is Bhawamipatna sub division of Kalahandi district.

9. Nilgiri block of Nilgiri tahsil in subdivision, Balasore district.

(Sources, Scheduled Tribes, scheduled areas and tribal areas in India, Govt. of India, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (Tribal Development Division) New Delhi. 1998, p.67).

The tribal development programmes in Orissa can be discussed under two phases (like the tribal development programmes in centre), the first phase started from 1951 and continued till the end of the fourth five year plan (1974), and second phases started with introduced of 'Tribal Sub- Plan' in 1974 onwards.

During the first phase of tribal development starting from 1951 to 1974, series of programmes were initiated from time to time, among those were Community Development Programme (CD), Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks (SMPT), SMPT later converted in to Tribal Development Blocks (TDB), and Tribal Development Agency (TDAs). During the fist five year plan, though some efforts were made for the development of the tribal communities and the tribal areas through the community development programmes, in practice, the first area through the community development programmes, in practice, the first phase of tribal development started during the second plan. It was during this period that with a specially evolved strategy some Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks (SMTB) were introduced in selected areas of tribal concentration. Of the three their administrative structure set up by the Government of India for implementing its tribal development programmes, while the job of chalking out special schemes, finding funds for them and their evaluation were retained at the centre under the ministry of home and law (Now Ministry of Tribal Affairs), the actual implementation of the programmes was done by the states through their 'Tribal welfare Departments' which worked through the usual channels of community development blocks and special multipurpose tribal blocks in cooperation with the three tier panchayti Raj institutions (PRIs). Same development works were also entrusted to voluntary organizations which were provided financial grants from the centre. (Panikkar, 1974: 4-60

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During the third five year plan (1961-66), Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks (SMPT) were converted to Tribal Development Blocks (TDBs) (Prased, 1988: P- 226-227) and such during this five year plan there went 75 (seventy five) TDBs, in Orrisa, in the underdeveloped areas of tribal concentration. Each Tribal Development Block was made to cover about 25,000 population living in an area of 150-200 square miles (Menon 2000:36). The aim of these tribal development blocks was to bring about a rapid improvement in the social economic standards of tribal people, by selecting specially under developed but compact areas for multi sided development. (Prasad 1988: 226-227)

The responsibility for the implementation of tribal development block programmes revolved on the collector of the district and the respective Block Development Officers (BDOs). With the introduction of PRJs, the administration .of some of the tribal development programmes was transferred to the panchayets with an aim to ensure better participation of the tribals in development programmes. During the fourth plan, two tribal Development Agencies (TDAs) were setup in the sensitive area of Koraput and Ganjam District. Later on during the Fifth Plan Period, two more TDAs were established in the Keonjhar and Phalbani districts.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN ORISSA, BEFORE 1974

Thus till the adoption of the Tribal Sub-plan (1974) under fith five year plan, administration of tribal development programmes in Orissa was carried out through an administrative machinery with the Department of Harijan and Tribal welfare at the top (now Directorate of tribal welfare under the Department of welfare), headed by a cabinet minsiter. Below the minister, the hierarchy consisted of the secretaries and so on. At the field level, the institutions and organizations that worked for tribal development consisted of District Harijan and Tribal Welfare Boards, District welfare office, Tribal Development Blocks, Tribal Development Agencies of Koraput and Ganjam and the three-tire panchayati Rai Institutions.

In addition to the Tribes Advisory Council Constituted in accordance with the provision of the fifth schedule to the constitutions, the standing committee on employment of scheduled casts and schedule tribes and the academy of Tribal dialect and culture, a Tribal and Harijan Research Cum-Training institute was

established at Bhubaneswar with a Director in the status of an Ex- officio Deputy Secretary to manage the research and training programmes.

Figure 5.1

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN STATE LEVEL (ORISSA) (Sources: Govt. of India 2001-2002)

ADMINISTRATION

Ministry of Tribal Welfare
(At the Central Level)

Commissioner for SCs and STs
and
Parliamentary Committees on SCs & STs

Directorate of Tribal Welfare
Under Department of Welfare
(At the State Level)

Tribal Advisory Councils
and
Legislative Committees for SCs & STs

District Welfare Office
(At the District Level)

District Welfare Board
(With Collector as Chairperson)

Tribal Development Blocks & Community Development Blocks
(In cooperation with the Panchayati Raj Institutions)

SPECIALISED AGENCIES AT THE FIELD LEVEL
(Created after the Fifth Plan under the New Strategy)

ITDA   MADA   CLUSTER POCKETS   MICRO PROJECTS   OSCSTDFCC

Source: Govt. of India, 2001-2002.

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Figure 5(2)

TRIBAL ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE AT CENTRE (Sources – Govt. of India 2001-2002 Tribal Affairs Reports)

The Organisation

Ministry of Tribal Affairs

Minister

Minister of State

Secretary

Addl Secretary & Financial Advisor

Joint Secretary

CCA [I&B]

Director Adm, Sch	Director NGO	Director SG&C	Director PC&V, S&M	Joint Director C&LM	Joint Director R&P, CP&R

Adm – Administration
Sch – Schemes
NGO – Non-Governmental Organisations
SG&C – State Grants & Communication

PC&V – Parliament, Coordination & Vigilance
S&M – States and Ministries
C&LM – Constitutional and Legislative Matters
R&P – Research and Planning
CP&R – Cooperative Marketing & Regulation

Source: Govt. of India, 2001-2002.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN O. RISA, AFTER 1974 (INTRODUCTION OF TRIBAL SUB PLAN)

The administrative machinery for tribal development has undergone a lot of change right from the introduction of the first five year plan. The diagram (figure 5.1) presents the structural framework of administrative set up for tribal development administration in Orissa. (Figure 5.2) shown at the centre.

All the ITDAs (21), in the state are headed by project administrators and they are assisted by subject matter specialists from different departments. The project administrators, who one drawn from among the senior officers of the Orissa Administrative service, have jurisdiction over all blocks, pockets, clusters and micro projects which are corrected under the ITDA. Project administrators play a key role in a co-ordinating and supervising the implementation of review development programmes through BDOs and other officers working under state government. PRIs and voluntary agencies recessing grant-in-aid from the government. Even the offices in the departments like forest, soil conservation, and medium irrigation have been made responsible to the project administrator so far as their activities in the tribal area sub plan is concerned.

ITDAs one multi disciplinary in nature and they functions as model agencies in terms of plan formulation, implementation of development programmes and monitoring of progress. Different developments of the ITDA level have also been made responsible for tribal development. Each department formulates its programmes for the ITDA as per the specific needs of that area. ITDA is, thus, the instrument which translates all the plans of different departments in to action. For each ITDA, a project level committee (PLC) is consisted with the collective of the District as chair person and the local MLAs/MPs and the chair persons of the panchayat samities concerned and all district level offices of different departments as its members. The project Administrators is the member secretary and is fully responsible for formulation and implementation of various programmes at the ITDA level. The periodic review of the progress of implementation of various programmes is done by the PLC.

There is also a project level committee (PLC) for each MADA pocket with the sub-collector concerned as chairperson to look after the MADA programmes. The MADA funds are released to the concerned Block Development Officers (BDO). However, the programmes are over sees by a MADA level Advisory Board headed by the concerned sub collector. An additional welfare Extension officer is given to each MADA Block. There are also MADA special officers to oversee the implementation of the MADA programmes.

The BDO with the assistance of the welfare Extension officers implements the cluster income generating schemes and community oriented infrastructure development programmes. There is a cluster level Advisory Committee in the pattern of MADA pockets of Plan, review and oversee the implementation of the programmes in cluster pockets.

The collector of the district is the chairperson of the Micro project located outside the sub plan area, where as the concerned project administrator ITDA acts as the chairperson of the Micro projects inside the sub plan area. The district level officers involved in tribal development and people's suspension are taken in as members of the Governing Body of the micro project.

In the first phase of tribal development from 1951-1974, priorities were given for economic uplifment, education, health, housing and communication. The guidelines prescribed for 60 percent funds for economic development, 25 percent for communication and 15 percent for social services. It did not reflect the need of tribals properly. The main reason of the shortcomming of the programme was the relatively small size of the tribal blocks which can not accommodate schemes like soil conservation, major and medium irrigation. Secondary and technical education (Singh op.cit. 129).

Both the Community Development Block and Tribal Development Blocks were multi-sectoral in approach and both were mainly development in out look, lacking in specific administrative perspective and organization to take care of the special needs of the tribal population. Both neglected protective aspects of the tribals requirement. While in general terms, education and economic prosperity made progress the gap between the general community and the tribal community became

wider than before. The TD block approach was an improvement over the general block development approach in that it attempted to focus on specific problems of tribals population and groups. (Tripathy, 1985: 871)

In a TD. Block, the Block Development Officer (BDO) is given all the power to implement the programmes. The promotion and demotion of a BDO was based on his ability to achieve the targets fixed for different sector of Tribal Development Projects. An integrated schematic budget for Rs. 27 lakhs was provided for each TDB to be spent in a period of five years. It was not an easy task to spend all this money in five years in an inaccessible tribal areas. So, the BDOs always worried about expenditure. The easy way of spending most of it was by constructing buildings and roads which were not of immediate benefit to the tribals. So the TD blocks became more a construction programme and less an extension programme. BDO did not get time to motivate tirbals and disseminated improved ideas among them. The result had been that throughout the implementation of the tribal development programme great emphasis was laid on spending money achieving physical targets and relatively little emphasis on evaluation of quality of character and human development.

The main aim of the development programmes of tribals was to integrate them with the rest of the country. In effect what happened was that, instead of the benefits going to the tribal communities, tribals were denied from taking leadership. Elwin committee found that even in tribal majority areas non-tribals got elected as sarapanchas. So, the committee found that even in tribal majority area tribals interest was undermined under panchayati Raj. It was also observed that either funds were diverted for other purpose or not utilized in time (Govt. of India Report 1969, p.1) Increased investment and change induced by tribal development programmes did not help the tribes because of improper planning and defective implementation of the programmes. The special programmes had only a limited impact on them. the programmes were rigid and followed a uniform pattern although varied conditions demanded special approaches to their problem and different plans for solving them. The areas of tribal development blocks were delineated without any rational and scientific basis.

On the eve of the Fifth five year plan the second phase of tribal development begins with a review in depth of the tribal scare in the country as well as in the state. Considering the widespread diversities among different tribal groups, their culture, geographic distribution, linguistic and racial affiliation and the problems they face, the new strategy was tailored to suit the specific needs of different tribal groups. Based on the new strategy, areas having more than 50 per cent of tribal population were identified and accordingly the tribes were categorised into three different identifiable areas and groups like:

(a) Tribes-residing in areas of traditional tribal concentration;

(b) Dispersed Tribal Population-where the scheduled tribes live merged with the general population;

(c) Primitive Tribes-wherever they resided whether in areas of tribal concentration or outside.

These three categories of tribes were brought under the specially created agencies like Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDA), Modified Area Development Agency (MADA) and the Micro Projects.

About 45 per cent of the state's geographical area has been specified as Scheduled Areas. The Tribal Sub Plan Blocks identified for the socio-economic uplift of the tribal communities under the TSP Approach are coterminus with the Scheduled Areas except Suruda tahsil of Ganjam district. Considering the areas covered under ITDPs. Micro Projects. MADA Pockets and Clusters taken together, tribal population accounts for majority in about 50 per cent of the State 's geographical area.

With the adoption of the Sub-Plan Approach for integrated tribal area development in the fifth five year plan, certain innovations were made in the administrative machinery for effective implementation of various tribal development programmes. A system was, thus, evolved within the existing administrative framework to approximate to the condition of single line administration . While the existing administrative arrangements were kept more or less unchanged, special agencies like ITDAs, MADA Pockets and the Micro Projects for Primitive Tribes

were constituted at the field level for tribal areas and groups identified on the basis of distribution of scheduled tribe population.

During the sixth plan a new dimension was added to the sub plan approach by the incorporation of a number of poverty alleviation programmes. In the seventh plan, with a circular issued by the Ministry of Welfare in 1986, all the tribal population of the state were brought within the ambit of the integrated approach. Cluster Pockets were formed taking contiguous areas having a population of 5,000 or more with 50 per cent tribal concentration. This was done by relaxing the norms for creation of MADA Pockets. During the same plan period, dispersed tribal development programmes were also introduced for the tribal living outside the umbrella of special projects like ITDA, MADA, Cluster Pockets and Micro Projects. In Orissa, the implementation of these programmes have been entrusted to the Orissa Scheduled Caste Scheduled Tribe Development Finance Cooperative Corporation. Both family oriented income generating schemes and infrastructure development programmes are implemented with special central assistance under this programme.

In the Eighth Five Year Plan, while tribal development works are being carried out through some additional programmes giving importance to the involvement of the scheduled tribes themselves in the light of their own order of priorities, the broad framework of the tribal sub-plan has remained unchanged. In addition to the 75 TDBs and 4 TDAs at present, in Orissa, there are 21 ITDAs, 45 MADA pockets, 13 Cluster Pockets, 15 Micro Projects and one Orissa Tribal Development Project at Kashipur, operating at the field level in different parts of the state having tribal concentration.

As explained earlier, the TSP approach conceived during the 5th Five-Year Plan was a well planned strategy to deal with the socio-economic backwardness of tribal people. This was supplemented by introducing 21 Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDPs). The ITDPs, which took agency from subsequently, covered all the 118 tribal majority blocks (out of 314 Blocks) in the State. The details of ITDPs/ITDAs and TSP Blocks are shown in the tables below (5.1)

TABLE 5.1

ITDPs/ITD in Orissa

Name of the District		Name of the ITDP/ITDA	
1	Balasor	1	Nilgiri
2	Mayurbhanj	1	Baripada
		2	Rairangpur
		3	Karanjia
		4	Kaptipada
3	Sundargarh	1	Sundargarh
		2	Panposh
		3	Bonai
4	Sambalpur	1	Kuchinda
5	Keonjhar	1	Keonjhar
		2	Champua
6	Gajapati	1	Parlakhemundi
7	Phulbani	1	Phulbani
		2	Balliiguda
8	Kalahandi	1	Th.Rampur
9	Koraput	1	Koraput
		2	Jeypur
10	Malkangiri	1	Malkangiri
11	Nawarangpur	1	Nawarangpur
12	Rayagada	1	Rayagada
		2	Gunupur

TABLE 5.2

TSP Blocks in Orissa

Sl.No	District	I.T.D.P./ITDA	Block under
1.	Balasore	Nilgiri	Nilgiri
2.	Boudha Kandhamal	Baliguda	BaligudaNuagaon Daringbadi Tikabali G.Udayagiri Raikia Chakapada
3.	Phulbani		Phulbani Phiringia Khapuripada
4.	Ganjam	Paralakhemundi	R.Udayagiri Rayanguda Mohana Gumma Nuagada
5.	Kalahandi	Th. Rampur	Th. Rampur Lanjigarh
6.	Keonjhar	Keonjhar Champua	Patna Ghatagaon Keonijhar Saharpada Harichandanpur Telkoi Bansapal Champua Jhumpura Joda

7.	Koraput	Koraput	Koraput
			Laximipur
			Lamptapur
			Dasmanthpur
			Narayanpatan
			Bondhugaon
			Simliguda
			Pottangi
			Nandapur
		Rayagada	Rayagada
			Kalanara
			Kalyansinghpur
			Kanshipur
		Malkangiri	Malkangiri
			Balimela
			Govindapalli
			Kudumuliguma
			Mathili
			Kalimela-1
			Kalimela11
		Jeypore	Jeypore
			Boriguma
			Kotpad
			Boipariguda
			Kundra
		Nowrangpur	Nowrangpur
			Tintalkhunti
			Papadahandi
			Kosagumuda
			Raighar
			Umerkota
			Chandahandi
			Jharigaon
			Dabugaon
			Nandahandi
			Gunupur
		Gunupur	Gudari
			Padmapur
			Ramanaguda
			Bissumcuttack
			Muniguda
			Chandrapur
8.	Mayurbhanj	Baripada	Baripada
			Badasahi
			Samakhunta
			Betanati
			Rasagovindapur

			Murda
			Bangiriposi-I
			Bangiriposi-II
			(Sarskama)
			Kuliana
			Sulipada
			Bisoi-I
			Bijatola
		Rairangpur	Kusumi
			Rairangpur
			Tiringi
			Bahalda
		Karanjia	Jamada
			Karanjia
			Raruan
			Joshipur
			Thakumunda
			Sukuruli
		Kaptipada	Khunti-I
			Khunti-II
			Kaptipada
			Udala
9.	Sambalpur	Kuchinda	Kuchnda
			Govindapur
			Jamankira
10.	Sundergarh	Sundergarh	Sundergarh
			Sabdega
			Balisankara
			Lefripada
			Baragach
			Tangarpali
			Hemagiri
			Kutna
			Rajgangpur
		Panposh	Kurrmunda
			Birra
			Nuagaon
			Bathiketa
		Bonai	Bonaigarh
			Lahunipada
			Gurunida
			Koira

Modified Area Development Approach (MADA)

Considering that a significant section of the tribal population remained in pockets outside the tribal sub-plan Blocks, a special programme was drawn to cover the contiguous villages having ten thousand population and above in the non-TSP Blocks with tribals accounting for 50 per cent or more. A programme known as the Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) was drawn for tribal families of such pockets. Accordingly, 46 MADA pockets have been identified in the in the non-TSP Blocks of the State as shown in table below.

TABLE 5.3

MADA Pockets

Name of the district	Name of the MADA Pocket
1. Jaipur	1. Sukinda-I 2. Sukinda-II 3. Sukinda-III
2. Khurda	1. Danagadi
3. Nayagarh	1. Banapur Renapur 2. Nuaga 3. Gania Daspalla
4. Baleswar	1. Jaleswar
5. Keonijhar	1. Anandpur-I 2. Anandpur-II 3. Hatadihi 4. Ghasipura
6. Angul	1. Pallahara 2. Athamallick
7. Dhenkenal	1. Kankadahad
8. Ganjam	1. Turubudi
9. Gajapati	1. Kashinagar
10. Boudh	1. Boudh
11. Bolangir	1. Khaprakhole 2. Tureikela 3. Tentulikhunti 4. Deogaon Patnagarh 5. Saintala Muribahal
12. Sambalpur	1. Dhanakauda 2. Jujumura
13. Jharsuguda	1. Kolabira-Rengali 2. Lakhanpur

		3.	Jharsuguda Lakhanpur
		4.	Laikera-Kirmira
14.	Bargarh	1.	Paikamal
		2.	Paikamal-Jharbandh
15.	Deogarh	1.	Barkote
		2.	Tileibani
16.	Kalahandi	1.	Bhawanipatna
		2.	Kesinga
		3.	Junagarh
		4.	Madanpur-Rampur
		5.	Jayapatna
		6.	Narla
17.	Nuapara	1.	Komna
		2.	Boden
		3.	Nawapara-I
		4.	Nawapara-II
		5.	Khariar-I
		6.	Khariar-II
		7.	Sinapalli

Culsters

Smaller groups of villages in the non-TSP Blocks with a population of 5000 and above with the tribal population of 50 per cent or more have been identified as 'Clusters' and a programme similar to that of MADA was drawn focussing on the economic upliftment of tribal families residing in those clusters. Fourteen such clusters as mentioned in Table have been identified in the non-TSP Blocks.

TABLE 5.4

CLUSTERS

Name of district	Name of the Cluster
1. Dhenkanal	1. Dhenkanal
2. Angul	1. Angul
3. Sambalpur	1. Naktideul
4. Bargarh	1. Padmapur
5. Bolangir	1. Belapada
6. Boudh	1. Kantamal
7. Ganjam	1. Suruda 2. Sanakhemundi
8. Nuapada	1. Nuapada
9. Kalahandi	1. Koksara-I 2. Koksara-II 3. Jayapatna-II 4. Bhawanipatna
10. Jajpur	1. Barachana

Primitive Tribal Groups (PTG)

Another significant intervention towards the tribal development in the State was identification of the most Primitive Tribal Groups and implementing special schemes for their socio-economic development keeping in view their specific needs. Thirteen Micro Projects as shown in the Table have accordingly been set up in the State.

TABLE 5.5

Most Primitive Tribal Groups

Name of the district	Name of the PTGs
Sundergarh	1. Birhor
Malkangiri	2. Bonda Poraja
Malkangiri	3. Didayi
Malkangiri	4. Dongria Khond
Keonijhar	5. Juangs
Mayurbhanj	6. Kharias
Phulbani, Kalahandi	7. Kutia Khond
Gajapate	8. Lanjia Souras
Mayurbhanj	9. Lodhas
Mayurbhanj	10. Mankidias
Anugool	11. Paudi Bhuyans
Gajapati	12. Soura
Nuapada	13. Chuktia Bhunjiya

The tribal families living in scattered villages and in urban areas are not covered under the aforesaid programmes. They have been covered under the Dispersed Tribal Development Projects (DTDP).

It will be desirable to mention here that the programmes discussed above are over and above the normal plans and schemes wherein Scheduled Areas and

Scheduled Tribes are expected to receive allocations for developmental programmes in proportion to the tribal population and considering the existing imbalance in tribal *vis-à-vis* non-tribal areas.

IMPLEMENTATION OF TRIBAL POLICIES AND ITS PERFORMANCE IN ORISSA

Development is a value-loaded concept. Though it connotes varied things to different people, it is undisputed that 'growth', 'progress', 'improvement', 'betterment', 'upliftment', and 'advancement' are in one way or the other tied to the concept of development. If the people are impoverished because of development, its spirit and ethos are subjected to criticism. No one would call this as 'development', (Chaudhary, 1993: 143), development refers to the over all improvement in the quality of life. Historically, most of the attempts for the promotion of development have been along the economic lines. The term 'development' received a wider meaning in the terminology of the United Nation in 1970, when the ultimate purpose of development because equitable distribution of income and wealth by promoting social justice, along with the efficiency of production. The emphasis laid on the human elements of development resulted in the conceptual emergence of 'Social Development' with greater meaning and implication. Social Development till 1960s. was understood more in a social welfare and social service sense and was seen as the social dimension to more dominant economic basis of development. During the 1970s it referred to the process of planned institutional change going about a better correspondence between human needs on the one hand and social policies and programmes on the other.

"Development Interventions" are considered to be the means of rapid social change to the benefit of tribal population, introduction of new ideas not only improve living standards through improved methods of production. but also facilitates transformation of the traditional society into a progressive one.

Though each of the tribal groups in Orissa are culturally different and have their own identities, the problems faced by them are more or less same. Whatever may be the variation in their social structure and culture, geographic distribution and

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linguistic and social affiliation, the problems which haunt them all in common are poverty, illiteracy exploitation and social degradation. (Mathur, 1995: 150)

The formulation of the five year and yearly plans are strongly concerned with the consolidation of the forces of integration in the wide spectrum of Indian society. The policy was to strive to the formation of egalitarian social order, where tribals would play the role in constructing a society based on equality, justice and freedom.

Keeping in mind the above mentioned tribal problems government makes various policies to achieve a balance economic development, and to narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribal and non-tribal areas and to improve the quality of life of the tribal communities, in different five year plans. Huge amount of money have been spent for tribal development, through different plan and polices. The manifestation of development interventions in tribal sector may be classified in the following heads:

(a) Income Generating programmes.

(b) Employment Generation Programme and

(c) Social welfare programme.

(a)   **Income generation programmes**: As per the title of the programmes these are meant to provide income to the beneficiaries. The programmes are planned in consonance with the existing income level of the beneficiaries. The programmes are so designed that they would prove to be a constant source of income to the beneficiaries. There are many specific programmes under this category. They are as follows:

(i)   Integrated Rural development programme (IRDP),

(ii)   Economic Rehabilitation of the Rural Poor (EREP),

(iii)   Integrated Tribal Development Programme (ITDP),

(iv)   Programmes of Orissa Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Development Finance cooperative society.

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(v)   Programmes for Small and Marginal Farmers,

(vi)   Bonded Labour Rehabilitation Programme,

(vii)   Dugwell and Energisation Scheme. (Chaudhury, 1993: 89-90)

(b)   **Employment Generation Programmes**: While the above category of programmes are meant to enhance the income level of the beneficiaries by providing them feasible assets, these programmes are meant to provide employment to the needy beneficiaries, so that they get a constant source of income. The programmes under this category are mainly community oriented ones. The beneficiaries are given employment for specific days under these programmes which are mainly of non-skilled labour works. Some of these programmes also provide the remuneration through kinds such as foodgrains to the beneficiaries. The specific programmes under this category are as follows:

(i)   National Rural Employment Programme (NREP)

(ii)   Rural landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP)

(iii)   Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY)

(iv)   Self Employment for Educated Unemployed Youth (SEEUY)

(v)   Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM)

(vi)   Programmes of Execution of Lift Irrigation Works,

(vii)   Sericulture Programmes.

(c)   **Social Welfare Programmes**: This category of Programmes aims to help the different section of the Society to improve their standard of living. The different programmes under this category are as follows:

(1) Nutrition and Food Suply Programme,

(2) Old Age and widow Pension Schemes,

(3) Disabled Pension Scheme,

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(4) Disabled Student Scholarship Scheme,

(5) Pre-matric Student Scholarship Scheme,

(6) Small Savings Schemes,

(7) Family Planning Scheme,

(8) Public Distribution System

Overall Performance of above mention all Plan and policies for tribal development can be discussed broadly under three heads, such as:

(1) Education

(2) Socio-Economic and Infrastructure Development

(3) Health, Housing and Nutrition.

EDUCATION

Education is fundamental for Social development. Illiteracy is invariably associated with deprivation and Socio-economic under-development. Realization of this basic truth with ultimately found expression in the resolution at the World Conference on education held in March, 1990, at Jontien, Thailand. Education is the most important co-relate of development. Education enriches life and helps an individual to develop his personality. It is of special significance for tribals who are facing a new situation in the development process to adjust themselves to the changing conditions. One detrimental effect of an illiterate home begins in pre-school years, the formative stage of life, when attitudes are shaped and that would tend to persist. The educational programmes help to train the people to place responsibilities before rights. Education has also a determining influence on the rate at which economic progress is achieved and benefits, which can be derived from it.

For the tribal communities, who at a very critical stage of their history are facing a new situation to adjust themselves to the changes, education is of special significance. Due to lack of access to education in the past, tribals are in a position of handicap in dealing with the present day administrative system. Theoretically,

Governmental efforts in the field of tribal education have been towards removal of disparity between tribals and non-tribals. In practice however, educational development has been given a low priority. Table 5.6 gives, a comparison of progress in literary percentage during the last few decades.

Table 5.6

GROWTH IN TRIBAL AND NON-TRIBAL LITERARY

Sl.No.	Cenus Year	Total Literary	Tribal Literary
1	1931 Census	7.5%	0.75%
2	1961 -do-	29.29%	8.54%
3	1971 –do-	34.5%	11.29%
4	1981 –do-	36.20%	16.35%
5	1991 –do-	52.2%	29.60

Sources: Census Abstract, 1991, Part.II (B), Govt. of India

The rates of drop-outs and forced outs is very high among the school going children of tribal communities as the sublings start helping their parents subsistence from the formative stage it self. Besides, there is no conducive atmosphere at home. The other problems in the promotion of education in tribal areas are: Sparseness of Population, small Size of habitation and difficulties of communication. Although some residential school. Know as "Ashram School" have been established in the tribal areas, in addition to providing stipends to the tribal day scholars, the available educational infrastructure in tribal areas is grossing in adequate to meet the requirement of elementary education (Samal, 1998: 390-91).

The problem of infrastructural weakness in respect of the educational administration in the tribal regions has been admitted by the state education Department of Orissa in the discussion Paper prepared for the UNDP sponsored workshop to consider the project 'universal outreach of literacy by 2000 AD'.

Table : 5.7

COMPARATIVE LITERARY IN ORISSA (UNDIVIDED DISTRICTS)

(1991 CENSUS)

Sl No.	District	Literacy Percent	ST Population%	Overall Literacy Percent		ST Literacy Percent.	
				Male	Female	Male	Female
1	Cuttuk	63.28	3.30	75.74	50.38	29.02	6.89
2	Balasore	58.78	7.06	72.55	44.57	29.14	7.14
3	Puri	63.82	3.52	76.82	49.94	45.6	13.83
4	M.Bhanj	37.88	58.37	51.84	23.68	37.74	10.50
5	Sundergera	52.97	52.35	64.41	39.60	50.13	24.52
6	Sambalpur	49.38	27.81	64.64	33.55	47.24	16.09
7	Balangir	39.74	18.79	57.26	21.88	41.49	9.03
8	Keojhar	44.73	45.07	58.00	30.00	38.01	11.74
9	Dhenkanal	53.22	12.31	68.23	37.34	37.41	10.17
10	Ganjam	44.26	9.52	60.77	28.09	27.64	6.82
11	Kolehandi	30.05	31.36	45.54	14.56	32.00	5.38
12	Koraput	22.66	54.87	32.15	13.09	15.68	2.39
13	Phulgari	38.64	37.86	56.92	20.26	44.54	11.26
	TOTAL	49.09	22.31	63.09	34.68	34.44	10.21

Sources: Census of India, 1991 (Orissa)

Added to this is the problem of modern education, alien to the tribal communities, which is being imported in the language unknown to them. The situation is similar in other states with the exception of the northeastern tribal majority states. The literacy growth among tribals continues to be lower due to lack of infrastructure in the tribal areas is evident from the fact the 1991 census report. (Shown in table 5.7).

The educational backwardness among the tribals is the result of non-availability of suitable infrastructure and conducive atmosphere at home. the two key components of modern formal education. The immediate need is therefore for the opening of a large number of residential schools in the remote tribal areas.

Another defect in the field of educational administration is the multiplicity of Governmental organizations running educational institutions in tribal areas. Although the limited number of Ashram schools are producing better results, the direct interventions by the Tribal Welfare Department in the field of education has a discouraging effect on the State Education Department, which tends to concentrate on the non-tribal areas assuming that the Tribal Welfare Department is responsible for the promotion of education in the tribal areas.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

Developmental without the motivation and full participation of the rural people, downtrodden people like STs, SCs has no foundation and no prospect of success, in the long run. The inter relation between participation and socio-economic development is always important. Participatory development, it fostered both in planning and implementation, would result in sustainability and empowerment which are the key indicators of social development.

Social development in the form of empowerment, equitable distribution of income and wealth is a far cry without creating a conductive atmosphere through awareness generation and skill development. Awareness, mobilization and skill training not only inculcate sense of protection and confidence in the rural women and other weaker sections, but also given an opportunity to assert and play an important role in the socio-economic sphere.

So far as the tribal economy is concerned, in most cases, it is below the subsistence level. Economic pursuits of tribals are merely struggles for survival in which all members of the family are engaged. Even the small children of school going age do not remain idle in tribal societies. They assist their parents in a variety of ways. Because of their family structure, which is in most cases nuclear. they take care of their younger brothers and sisters in the absence of their parents. Their poor economic conditions and the nature of their subsistence economy function as deterrents for the spread of formal education among them. As a result of this most of the tribal remain illiterate. There exists a vicious circle of illiteracy and underdevelopment in most of the tribal communities of Orissa. In fact, tribal

economy comparison to non tribal economy, most of the tribals in Orisa are living below poverty line. Chronic poverty and hunger remain serious problem in tribal belt. (Samal, 1998: 846). Even people are not getting food twice daily and dying because of starvation. Even after 55 years of independence people died after eating mango Kernal because of starvation in October 2001 in Kashipur Block of Rayageda district in Orissa.   (The Samaj, 2001)

In Orissa, various measures and programmes to eradicate chronic poverty and hunger have also been implemented, like, in agriculture through consolidation of holdings, supply of inputs, marketing of agricultural products and extension of irrigation etc. and in allied sector through plantation, diary, poultry, piggery, horticulture and vital infrastructure such as milk chilling plants and collection and marketing of milk and milk products. In rural non-form sector through PMRY, DPAP etc. But, its result is not upto the expectation (Samal, 1998:1847)

Development of Agriculture

Ninety eight percent of the tribals live in the rural areas and agriculture and allied activities constitute the mainstay for 93% of them. By and large they live in the inhospitable terrains with depleted resources and submarginal land. Very little of fertile valley and plain lands are in their possession. The chief crops grown by them on the sloppy and undulating land are millet, oil seeds and pulses. The level of irrigation is very low. Most of the precipitation wastes away in run-off because of poor quality of soil, lacking water conservation capacity. Shifting cultivation and dry upland farming are traditionally the most important sources of livelihood for some tribal communities even today, though overwhelming majority has taken to terraced and settled cultivation as the primary source of their livelihood.

The overall efforts for the development of agriculture in tribal areas have been based upon the patterns of more developed area without recognizing the needs of the tribals, agro-climatic conditions, traditional agronomic practices and cultural constraints. Instead of subjecting new technology and agricultural practices of tribals to adoptive research and scrutiny with reference to acceptability and assimilation, the agricultural extension services of the government seem to have tried to apply the ways and means adopted elsewhere, to the tribal areas also, in effectively and half

heartedly. The training and visit (T&V) system is yet to benefit the tribal farmers in the same way as others. The research and development work in the field of agriculture brought Green Revolution and self sufficiency in respect of food grains production, but made little impact on the rain fed area and cultivated by less advanced tribal farmers. No attention worth mentioning was paid to develop and popularize the high yielding varieties of the traditional tribal crops.

Most of the efforts towards development of marketing infrastructure including the minimum support price for agricultural produces have remained directed at the non-tribal farmers of fertile areas. The tribal farmers have little options but to sell their produce at low prices due to lack of storage facilities. The use of fertilizers and chemical is minimum in the tribal areas even under irrigated conditions on account of poor transport and communication system and lack of access to the institutional credit. Lack of servicing centers in the tribal areas act as a disincentive to tribal farmers to take to improved agricultural implements.

Soil conservation measures have not received attention in the tribal areas to the desired extent; land management improvements have a direct and immediate bearing on productivity in addition to their long term significance in establishing the natural resource base. Despite existence of longer number of perennial and semi-perennial streams and water sheds in the tribal areas, systematic attempts are yet to be made to utilize them.

Despite considerable potential, the irrigation programme has not picked up in tribal areas. Due to hilly and undulating nature of land, tribal regions are suitable for minor irrigation projects, whereas major and medium irrigation projects normally get priority in the plan programmes. Although some provisions have been made to settle the displaced families in the command area of the proposed irrigation projects, yet due to lack of on-farm development and primitive methods of subsistence-agriculture followed by tribals, they hardly get any advantage of the rehabilitation package offered to them. Irrigated agriculture being capital intensive, tribal farmers are unable to take up cultivation of high yielding varieties due to lack of resources. The land under irrigation in tribal areas is extremely low, despite some conscious efforts after the introduction of tribal sub-plan approach.

Control over Exploitation

The TSP approach was conceived to achieve the twin objectives of socio-economic development of tribals and termination of exploitation. As exploits by money lenders leading to chronic debt and bondage of tribals could not be eliminated only by passing laws and regulations without being backed by strong and sustained measures, credit and marketing had to be given high priority, both as protective as well as developmental measures.

More than 2500 large sized multi purpose Cooperative Societies (LAMPS) had been set up in tribal areas to perform the three-fold functions at

(i)   purchase of surplus farm and forest produce;

(ii)   sale of consumer necessities and farm inputs; and

(iii)   provision of consumption and production credits.

In addition to cooperatives commercial Banks, Regional Rural Banks also started opening their branches in the tribal areas to extend credit under various Government sponsored priority sector schemes at a differential rate of interest. (WGR, 1985-90, p.110).

The introduction of the formal finance, however, did not deliver results to the desired extent. The mismanagement of cooperatives which were superimposed by the Government without studying the ground realities, became obvious often erosion of their initial capital base. The bureaucratic functioning of commercial and Rural Banks gave little relief to the poor tribals except under the poverty alleviation schemes. (ibid. p.110-111)

Infrastructure Development

It is a hard fact that tribal areas are deficient in the field if infrastructure development composed to non-tribal areas. Villages in the TSP areas are widely dispersed and lack in all weather road communication system. This is one of the reasons for the socio-economic isolation of tribals. Development of infrastructure determines the effectiveness of public and public utility services. It also influences

outlets in tribal areas, the reality in practice does not conform to the objectives due to lack of supporting infrastructure. The net result is bound to be far from satisfactory.

HEALTH AND NUTRITION

One of the major problems of the tribal communities is lack of adequate nutrition. There had been a time when the tribal areas had plenty of vegetables, fruits and animal resources. The tribal communities were able to meet their needs through communal farming and shifting cultivation as the 'land-men ratio' was not unfavorable in their areas. As a result of population growth, industrialization and encroachment by outsiders, not only the traditional resource base of tribals has depleted. but they have also been exposed to the unknown people. Besides, they have been losing hold over indigenous medicines and techniques of preventive as well as curative treatments.

No systematic study has been conducted to understand the dimensions of health hazards faced by tribals despite accepting the prevalence of diseases such as malaria. anemia etc. in the tribal areas. Neither any initiative has been taken to know the medical herbs and plants traditionally used by tribals. In so far as coverage by health institutions in tribal areas is concerned. national norms have been relaxed for establishment of Primary Health Centres (PHC) and sub Centres during the Seventh Plan (1985-90). A PHC can be established in tribal areas to cover a population of 20.000 as against 30,000 in the non-tribal areas. Similarly, a sub Centre can be set up for a population of 3,000 in the tribal areas as against 5,000 in other areas. According to the figure available (Working Group Report, 1990-95), the average population coverage by PHC, and sub centers in the tribal vis-à-vis non-tribal areas during 1988-89 as shown in table below.

Table 5.8

Primary Health Centres (PHCs) and Sub Centre in TSP and non-TSP areas

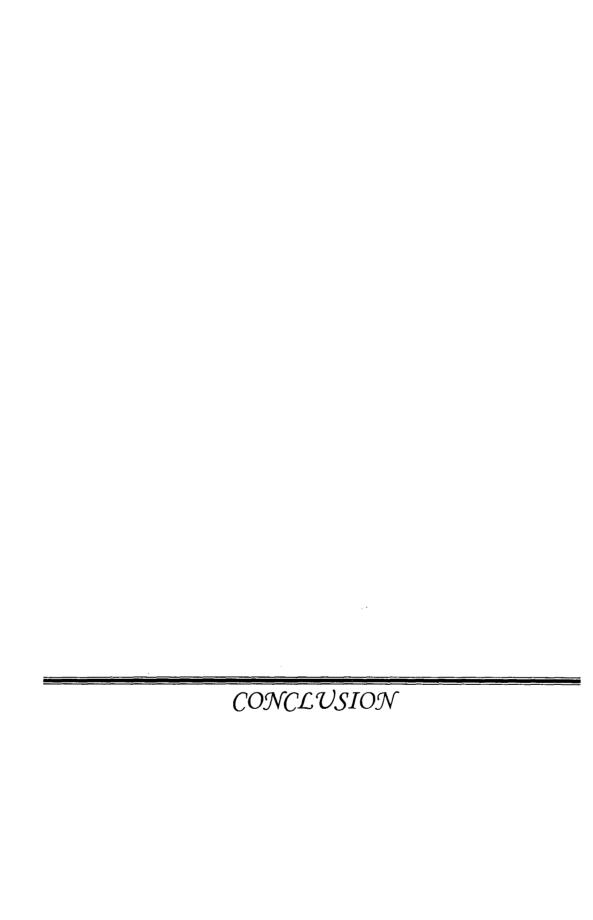| Sl.No.	Name of the Area	Population Coverage per PHC	Population Coverage per Sub-Centre
1	TSP Area	37,000	5300
2	Non TSP Area	53,000	6500

(Source: WGR Report – 1990-95)

Although this average favours the tribal areas, but it ignores the facts of low population density, long distances and difficult terrains in TSP areas due to which large number of health institutions remain inadequately staffed. The poor coverage of services is one of the factors influencing the Infant Mortality Rates (IMRs) in tribal areas. (WGR, 1990-95).

In the case of million well scheme for the tribals, it has been not fully success because of the uniformity in plan formulation and standardized nature of the scheme. Tribal development consists of deliberate efforts by the tribals along with planners, administrations and the voluntary organizations to orient them towards the new cultural and social ways of life and actions. It is the system of social relations and cultural understandings which is crucial to the success or failure of tribal development programmes. All plan and programmes have greater chances of success if the relevant cultural and social factors are integrated into the planning and administration. Development programmes prepared in disregard of socio cultural matrices of the tribals and their value system not only result in failure but also take revenge.

Notes

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CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

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

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

Development Administration in a welfare state has been considered as an important instrument to expedite the process of change through planned development and positive actions. The process of development is always incomplete and relative. The main aim of development is to increase the per capita income, to raise the standards of living of the people and to secure Justice, freedom, equality, and security for them in the society. The total well-being is measured in terms of the facilities and services that one available to the people.

The objectives and strategy as outlined in the constitution regarding the development of the scheduled Tribe, have been translated into action. The wishes of the people as reflected in the constitution are transformed to realities in the five years plans. In tune with the objectives and paradigms of development and constructive role of the welfare states, the five-year plans were launched in India after independence with some special priorities to eradicates different handicaps and disabilities of the under-privileged groups such as scheduled tribes. Distinctive constitutional provisions were envisaged in keeping with the spirit of time and adequate provisions were made for continuous readjustments amongst various elements. The focus shifted form the earlier "isolationist" approach to assimilation with necessary safeguards for transitional period so that their interest were not adversely affected.

However the constitution is not a blue-print for ameliorating their conditions. It has nearly enjoined the state to do it. So the major task before the Government was to devise ways and means for their rapid development. The nation in a way was in search of a policy that would fulfill the constitutional obligation.

The basic objective of the developmental efforts has been to increase the per capita income and strengthen the material aspects of tribal culture through better utilization of the environmental resources. The programmes are normally designed to suit the needs of the people. In this regard various plan and policies have been made by the Government from time to time.

Community Development (C.D) programme was the first systematic development programme in Independent India. National Extension service programme again widened the scope of the rural development. The main objective of these programmes was to achieve the people's participation in development process. However, it could not influence the most backward among the backwards. The tribal people needed special attention. So, to cater their needs SMPT blocks were introduced in 1954. Based on the report of Elwin Committee, SMPT blocks were converted into TD blocks, which spread all over the country covering 2/3rd of the tribal population by the end of third plan. However, it also did not bring change in the lives of tribes. It became an area approach rather than people's approach. Since it was a target achievement programme, the concerned officials like BDOs spend most of the grants on construction of road and buildings, which were not the immediate needs of the tribals. Because of communication facilities, the non-tribal contractors and business men entered into the tribal areas and exploited them. The reports of Dhebar Commission, shilu Ao Committee and the Task Force proposed to initiate sub-plan and small plans, catering the special needs of those particular regions.

On the eve of the Fifth Five Year Plan, tribal development took a new shift. The Tribal sub-plan (TSP), a plan within the broad framework of state and central plan, was introduced in 1974. As the problems of all the tribal communities were not homogenous and all were not at the same level of development, the TSP approach was to concentrate on the specific problems of the area. ITDPs and ITDAs were opened in the block/sub-division/ district level as the case may be. Where tribal

concentration was more than 50 per cent. The patches of tribal concentration has been taken care by the MADA pockets and the most primitive tribal groups were included in the primitive Tribal Projects. The TSP approach consisted of a twin approach of area development and problem solving. the objective is to achieve a balance between economic development, infrastructure and educational advancement and anti-exploitative measures. the long term objectives of the sub-plan were to narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribal and other areas and to improve the quality of life of the tribal communities. The immediate objectives were to accelerate the process of social and economic of exploitation in all forms, improving their organizational capabilities and building up inner strength or the spirit of-self-help among them.

The central problems of the tribals where the exploitation is high were identified as land alienation, bonded labour, indebtedness, sale of agricultural and minor forest produce and supply of essential consumer commodities. The new approach is to start from the below and to be sent to the state and then to center for the approval of financial grants. The resource of the TSP comprises of State Plan outlays, Sectoral Outlay of the Central Ministries' Special Central Assistance and Institutional Finance.

The TSP did not bring that much of result as it was expected while starting it. If we see the level of education, representation in government services etc, then tribals are much behind the non-tribals. The paternalistic nature of the administration, absence of co-ordination in development efforts , lack of monitoring, corruption and evaluation are some of the inherent defects in the administration for tribal development.

TSP failed to produce vocal, dedicated leaders among the tribals and to highlight their demands at the TSP implementation level. The tribal leaders do not serve the interest of their community, because they themselves are also not aware of their rights and duties. The TSP approach neither could ensure a good life for tribals nor could eliminate the exploitation. It could not help the tribals to realise their rights., the tribal people are not aware of their claims. They think that they are getting the little benefit out of government's mercy.

The BDO and his team of Extension Officers treat the tribal programmes as secondary and the general development is given priority. The step motherly treatment to the tribes have pushed them again to the lower rung of the society. 27 years of working of TSP is not a small period, which could have brought a total change in the tribal life, if it was properly implemented. The only thing the tribals of India provided with are illiteracy, poverty, hunger and unemployment. It is high time that the tribal areas should get effective development administration, preserving the basic structure of tribal life and authority. Development programmes should be undertaken by involving them and gradually integrating them in the general life of the country. It should be a two-way process, the tribal people should treat the development programmes as their own programme and co-operate the officials concerned to carry out the programmes.

It was in the sixth and seventh five year plans that besides the Tribal-sub-plan approach, launching a large number of family oriented income generating schemes and infrastructure development projects were launched. The fact that 1.26 million tribal families were assisted under different poverty alleviation schemes out of the total tribal population of 5.9 million in orissa state alone, during the 6th and 7th plan period (TSP orissa, 1992-98:55) indicates the serious concern of the state towards tribal development on a preferential footing. However, it would be far from reality to say that all the tribal communities in the country have reached the level of development, comparable with the non-tribals.

The programmes under 'family-oriented anti-poverty schemes' and 'family' oriented schemes of economic assistance' have suffered badly at the hands of officials who were responsible for their implementation. The aim of the schemes was two fold-first , to provide financial and necessary help and second to make the family utilize them to become economically viable and maintain the family income above the poverty line. Neither of the two could be achieved in majority of the cases due to rampant corruption among the officials who siphoned off the money but officially fulfilled the targets. Another major reason for the nonviability of these income generation schemes was a lack of fit between the capabilities and aptitude of the beneficiary and the emphasis on commodity production. Basically 'income generation' meant for commodity production except in cash of wage employment or

self employment. Thus , for instance, the programme for distributing milch cattle could never get off in most of the areas, because of no marketability of the commodity, or lack of expertise in dealing with it. Similarly other schemes of introducing industry, tracing of artisans etc. have been useful only in those areas that are exposed to towns and markets.

Despite special provisions and a plethora of development programmes the development of tribal societies in India in general and Orissa in particular have not been up to the expectations for a variety of reasons. A major factor contributing to this, among others, is the insensibility to and ignorance of socio-cultural factor by planners and administrators. Ignorance in the part of the planners and administrators about tribal social structure, their economy, culture, and more particularly the way of life contribute largely towards the failure of development programmes. Often the background of the planners and administrators (who are mostly non-tribals) and the background of the people they work for are not similar. The two live in worlds poles apart. One harmful consequence of the dissimilarity in background is that the development programmes are influenced more by what the planners think the people need, than by what the people think they need for themselves.

The quality and quantum of development that we have achieved so far is far from being satisfactory, when we compare it with the amount of money spent over the years, the difficulties have been in the field of programme implementation, corruption and leakeges in the delivery process among others, have largely contributed to the failure of most of the development programmes meant for tribals.

Leakage and corruption in the delivery process, to some extend, can be checked by improving the awareness and active participation of the tribals in the implementation of development programmes. This could be achieved by providing tribals the education and access to information.

In addition to this, there is a need to have a fool proof delivery system and honest personnel who have love for tribals and their way of life, who have a understanding of tribal culture and their society, and are committed to their development. Then only these can be a improvement in the administrative efficiency which will ultimately help in bringing development to the tribals.

Socio-economic development of tribals and scheduled areas has been slow due to infrastructure weaknesses. The results of family oriented poverty alleviation schemes have not been commensurate with the financial investment and physical efforts because of lack of forward and backward linkages. The field functionaries of key development departments do not respond to their posting to the remote tribal areas lacking basic amenities, which weakens the delivery system at the cutting edge of administration. The successful implementation of social welfare schemes, essential services and regulatory implementation of social welfare schemes, essential services and regulatory administration is dependent upon the existence of effective communication system. Priorities should therefore be given to the development of a communication system with greater emphasis on the area development approach.

Emphasis should be given to land based schemes like land development, smaller irrigation projects, soil and water conservation measures. Tribal regions are the origins of large number of perennial and semi perennial streams on which low cost environment friendly irrigation systems can be developed for durable gains of tribals. Fortunately, despite problems of land alienation, tribals at large are not affected by landlessness. Development of land and creation or irrigation potential may improve the quality of their cultivable land.

Highest priority should be given to education in a comprehensive sense of the term so that the community is enabled to stand on its own through building its inner strength and understanding intricacies of the new system. The investment in education should be much more and residential institutions should be opened in tribal areas to compensate the lack of parental awareness towards education among the tribals.

As far as possible, officers belonging to tribal communities should be associated in the process of planning and implementation of the schemes.

Multiplicity of administration has invariable resulted in the diffusion of accountability in addition to confusing the simple minded tribals. The concept of Single Line Administration for both-protective as well as developmental works, should be introduced in tribal areas.

SUGGESTION

Some more corrective measures for further refinement in the strategy of tribal development can be suggested as follows:

1) Establishment of co-operative societies for procuring, storing and marketing of the minor forest produce.

2) Organization of credit co-operative societies under SBI to eliminate the present money landers.

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

4) While selecting the beneficiaries, the authority should consult the Gram Sabha. There should be a better co-ordination between the block staff and bank and other concerned departments. Other than agriculture and business, loans or financial benefit be given to tribals for social cause, to save them from indebtedness and bonded labour.

5) Tribal people should be well informed about the welfare schemes and other developmental programmes through their village committee meetings. While identifying the problems, the villagers or the village committee should be involved, but in case of formulation and execution of plan the technocrats and professionals should be involved. If the implementation work is left on the village committee then the elite and influential will hijack the entire things. As a result, the poor will not get the benefit. The government agency should carry out the developmental programmes in consultation with the village committee.

6) There should be an Extension Officer in the Block, other than WEO, to see the Tribal Development Programmes exclusively. He should be answerable to ITDA.

It is true that a lot needs to be done. The authority has to follow up the programmes. Proper monitoring and evaluation at every level is essential. Well

planned organized awareness campaigns and mechanism to disseminate information to the people for their greater involvement are the need of the hour.

Thus, it seems to us that in the long run, an integrated tribal development approach, which should be based on an all round development of tribal areas and groups with suitable institutions in consonance with specific requirements of particular tribal politico-cultural setting with a committed participation of catalysts like a dedicated voluntary body may well being the model and strategy for the success of tribal development programmes not only in Orissa, but in almost all part of the country as well.

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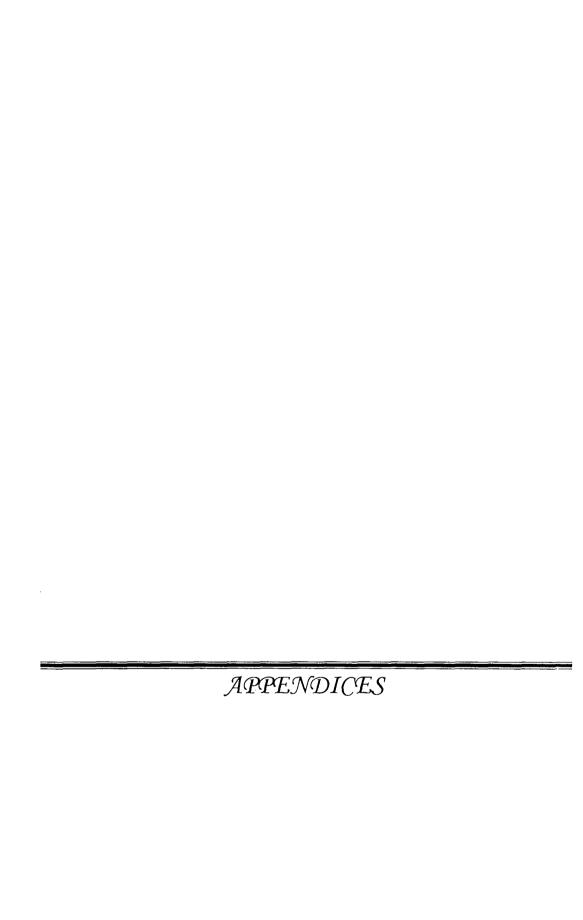**Dubhashi, P.R.** 1987. "Grammar of Planning: A Serialisation" Yojana, 28(9), pp. 16-19.

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APPENDICES

District wise Distribution of Schedule Tribe Population

Districts	Total Populations	ST population	% of ST to Total District population
Sambalpur	809,017	2,83,801	35.08
Sundargarh	15,73,617	40,762	79.06
Malkangirei	4,21,917	2,46,214	58.36
Deogarh	234,238	78,032	33.31
Bargarh	1,207,172	236,072	19.56
Nuapada	4,64,482	1,68,777	35.95
Kandhamal	5,46,482	2,81,386	51.51
Boudh	317,622	41,022	12.92
Rayagada	713,984	4,00,097	56.04
Sonepur	4,76,815	45,286	9.5
Koraput	10,29,986	5,21,849	50.67
Nabarangapur	8,46,659	4,67,919	55.27
Jharsuguda	4,46,726	1,42,418	31.88
Angul	9,61,037	1,12,293	11.68
Kalahandi	11,30,907	8,26,648	28.88
Bolangir	1,230,938	2,71,511	22.06
Dhenkanal	9,47,870	1,20,226	12.68
Gajapati	4,54,708	2,17,725	47.88
Kendapara	11,49,501	4,552	0.4
Khurda	1,502,014	77,242	5.14
Puri	13,05,365	3,481	0.27
Mayurbhaj	18,84,580	1,090,626	57.87
Jaipur	13,86,177	1,02,546	7.4
Ganjam	2,704,056	79,120	2.93
Balasore	1,696,583	179,289	10.57
Bhadrak	11,05,834	18,703	1.69
Nayagarh	7,82,647	46,624	5.96
Jagatsingpur	1,014,242	6,232	0.61
Cuttak	19,72,739	68,858	3.49
Keonjhar	13,37,026	5,95,184	44.52

List of tribal communities in Orrisa

1. Bagata	32. Kisan
2. Baiga	33. Kol
3. Banjara, Banjara	34. Kolah Loharas, Kol Loharas
4.Bathudi	35. Kolha
5. Bhattoda, dhotada	36. Koli, Malhar
6. Bhuiya, Bhuyan	37. Kondadora
7. Bhumia	38. Kora
8. Bhumji	39. Korua
9. Bhunijia	40. Kotia
10. Binjhal	41. Koya
11. Binjhia, Binjhoa	42. Koils
12. Birhor	43.Lodha
13. Bondo Poraja	44. madia
14. Chenchu	45. Mahali
15. Dal	46.. Mankidi
16.Desua Bhumij	47. Mankirdia
17. Dharua	48. Matya
18. Didayi	49. Mirdhas
19. Gadaba	50. Munda, Munda Lonara, Munda Mahalis
20. Gandia	51.Mundari
21. Ghara	52.Omanatya
22. gonda, Gondo	53.Oraoan
23. Ho	54.Parenga
24. Holva	55.Paroja
25. Jatapu	56.Pentia
26. Juang	57.Rajuar
27. Kandha Gauda	58.Santal
28. Kawar	59.Saora,savar, saira. Shara
29. kharia, kharian	60.Shabar, Lodha
30. Kharwar	61.Sounti
31. Khond, Konda, Kandha, Nanguli Kandh. sitha Kandhan	62.Tharua.