CHAPTER - II

A SYNOPTIC VIEW OF TRIBES AND TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

2.1 Introduction
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Roads are everywhere urging their way into places, which have hitherto been virtually inaccessible. From the centuries old isolation, the tribal folk in the secluded pockets of hills and forests are in the process of awakening with the fusion of aspirations to be a part and parcel of the scores of developmental endeavors in the eco-socio-political sphere of India.

The word 'Tribe', believed to have a Latin root ('tribus' meaning 'community') does not have a single equivalent word in Indian connotation. The near equivalent; is 'Janas' meaning; communities of people. They are commonly designated as Adivasi (early settlers), Girijan (hill-dwellers) Adima Jati (primitive castes) Vanya Jati (forest caste), Jana Jati (folk communities) Anusuchit Jan Jati (Scheduled Tribes).

The term "Adivasi" is commonly used for the tribals in Orissa.

The constitution of India, directs in Article 342 that the Scheduled Tribes are 'the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or...

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52 Elwin, Verrier; A New Deal for Tribal India, Government of India, New Delhi (1963) P.135
groups within tribes or tribal communities; which the President may notify by public notification in consultation with the Governors of the States/Union Territories. Hence, scheduling is performed State/Union territory-wise. In the absence of concrete parameters for categorizing Scheduled Tribes, there are certain tribes which are scheduled in one state and are not so in another. Identified tribes are the corpus of special treatment on the scheduled areas and are eligible to avail the opportunities in non-scheduled areas. The scheduling of areas are done under the Fifth Schedule of the constitution. With a vivacity of social ethos and cultural bonding, the tribals of India are an integral part of the country.

An attempt has been made in this chapter to focus the importance of the tribals and explicit threading of tribal economy through different plans with a reference to Orissa.

2.7 TRIBAL MOSAIC OF INDIA

The indigenous, as classified by International Labour Organisation, the tribals constitute the second largest concentration in India next to Africa, in the world. Numbering over 67 millions

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According to the 1991 census, the tribals in India account for about one-fourth of the total tribal population of the world, about one-twelfth of the total population of India and occupy about one-fifth of the total geographical area of the country lying in the most unapproachable and inhospitable terrain in the hills and plateaux. They present a varied picture in race, language, culture, life style and level of development as well as in personality.

There are 258 recognized tribal communities in the country speaking about 105 kinds of languages and another 225 subsidiary dialects. As far as numerical strength is concerned, they range from diminutive groups numbering around 100 (the Onges of Andaman & Nicobar Islands and Chenchu of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa) to as large as more than six million heads (the Bhils and the Gonds). Seventy-five of these tribes have been classified as 'Primitive Tribes', residing in 15 States/Union Territories and characterised by extremely low literacy and pre-agricultural level of technology. The level of literacy of this section of Indian society is only 29.60 per cent in comparison to the national average of 57.21 per cent as per 1991 census.

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Considering the demographic profile of scheduled tribes in India, of the total tribal population, 22.73 per cent are in Madhya Pradesh, 10.80 per cent in Maharastra, 10.38 per cent in Orissa and 10.23 per cent in Bihar; collectively more than half of the lot reside in these four states only. In tribal population of '5 Million Plus' category, the two other states besides the above four, are Gujarat and Rajasthan. The States of Haryana, Punjab and Union Territories of Chandigarh, Delhi and Pondicherry have absolutely no scheduled tribes. On the other hand, the four North-Eastern states, Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh have a percentage of 94.75, 87.70, 85.53 and 63.66 tribal population respectively to total, though numerically they are not very large. Appendix – II, brings out the State and Union Territory wise scheduled tribe figures as per 1991 census.

The varied tribal communities possess a ‘Well-knit socio-cultural system, strong kinship bonds, a stable village organization, strong supernaturalism’ and infectious folk traditions; rich in arts, crafts, dance, song and music. From the angle of divergence and uniqueness in them, no other country can compare with India with this respect.

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Considering the state of Orissa, it has the third largest tribal population (7.03 Millions) and the percentage to total population is 22.21, nearly one-fourth. There are as many as 62 Scheduled Tribes (details in Appendix - III) including 13 Primitive tribes Viz. The Bonda, the Didayi, the Dongria Kondh, the Langia Saura, the Kutia Kondh, the Chukitia Bhunjia, the Hill Khadia, the Mankirdia, the Lodha, the Juang, the Paudi Bhuiyan, the Saura, the Birhor.

The communities like Santhal, Munda, Kolha, Gond, Kondh, Oraon, Bhuiyan etc. have a population of more than a lakh. The areas with more than 50 per cent tribal concentration are: the districts of Koraput, Mayurbhanj and Sundergarh; the tahasils of Kuchinda (Sambalpur), Keonjhar, Kanjipani, Barbil (Keonjhar), Kondhamal, Baliguda, G. Udayagiri (Phulbani) and R. Udaygiri (Ganjam); and tribal development blocks of Gumma, Rayagada (Gajapati) Nilagiri (Balasore), Lanjigarh and Thuamul-Rampur (Kalahandi). The region of Northern plateaus (25.5%) and the uplands of the Eastern Ghats (29.2%) are virtually the abode of tribals in Orissa.

2.7 TRIBAL ECONOMY

Economic poverty and indigence are abysmal in tribal areas. But, by inheritance, the tribal possess an attitude of
rational yearning towards materials accumulations. From a micro angle, the tribal economy has dual dimensions: one for the satisfaction of individual/family material needs and the other fulfillment of uncompromising societal needs, that 'override the economic prudence'\textsuperscript{58} but captivate the tribals to slide down unknowingly to the dungeon of perpetual indebtedness, in many cases rolling for generations.

At the present juncture, the tribes are at various stages of socio-economic development. At one extreme, there are small, secluded, pre-agricultural and pre-literate primitive communities leading an archaic life at the threshold of subsistence level, far from the mainstream at the incommunicado hills and highlands. At the other, there are advanced agricultural, industrial and urbanite groups, more or less, acculturated, assimilated and integrated in the mainstream. In between the grid, there are different levels of permutations and combinations, vulnerable to myriad of interested groups in the process of upswing.

Concentrating on the undeveloped and underdeveloped category their occupational structure relates to the following.

\textsuperscript{58} Baily, F.G.; Caste and The Economic frontier: A village in highland Orissa; Oxford, (1958), P.62
1. Forest hunting and food gathering type
2. Shifting cultivation type
3. Settled cultivation type
4. Agricultural labour type
5. Simple artisan type
6. Industrial and non-industrial labour type

Depending on one or more of the above modes some just manage to maintain a steady subsistence level and some truly destitute are often without any means of livelihood, feasible and available, for reservation as well as denudation of forests, unrecorded or bonded, for sold out patrimony.\(^59\)

The tribals' economic mainstay is forest and land. Tribals have been pushed into the hilly, undulating and infertile lands gradually and with the primitive modes of cultivation the infertile lands are converted to ultra- infertile lands. Still their preference to cultivate on the difficult hill slopes may be due to the fact that 'this is the only kind of land which they can sure that others will not try to take away from them'\(^60\). The tribes are mainly a land holding community. However, the incidence of landlessness is encountered among them and almost the

\(^59\) Reducing poverty in India, Options for more effective Public Services; A World Bank Country Study; The World Bank, Washington DC,(1998),P.5

\(^60\) Elwin, V.; A new deal for Tribal India; Government of India,(1963),P.3
entire tribal economy is in the vortex of market forces and all are dependent on market and middle man.\(^{61}\)

Tribal economy is based, shaped and fashioned on the prevalent social habits, physical conditions and even ancestral beliefs. Their production process is centered on the venture to feed himself, his family and to entertain a few relatives and friends, but never to sell, earn and accumulate wealth for future. The self-sufficient, non-specialised, non-moneyed and unorganised tribal economy is an 'easy-go' system where the pecuniary factor play a dormant role giving berth to face to face relationship for bartering products. This choice of exchange or barter is based on securing a few much-needed necessaries of life and occasionally a few glass beads, coloured threads, a few brass utensils and in some cases to meet the festive requirements. The given environment conditions the Tribal economy. Provision for the future appears to be quite alien to their mentality. Their world is confined to the present. The trait; of 'enough for the day' is deep-rooted in their life-style. Aversion to commercial production is more inclined to their ancient, ancestral and spiritual tradition and culture than to the lack of marketing facilities and inaccessible habitat. The invasion of the cunning traders and liquor vendors in the region of the simple and single-minded folks has made the economy cracking from within. In many occasions products are

sold before they are sown in the fields or collected from the forests.\textsuperscript{62}
The indigenous weight and measures and simplicity of the tribal are instrumentalised by the unscrupulous traders, middlemen and contractors, throwing these aboriginal producers to the vicious circle of poverty. 'In the absence of pecuniary mechanism and the element of profit in the transactions', evaluation in whatever terms being 'administered by custom' the supply-demand relationship 'takes on unexpected turns'.\textsuperscript{63}

There is nothing more difficult to accept than a standard of living incapable of providing 'invigorating food'.\textsuperscript{64} Even in the tribal areas, with abundant resources the prevailing impoverishment is a threat to economic prosperity and is a challenge to institutional propriety.

2.7 APPROACHES AND STRATEGY FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT.

Development is generally taken to mean progression towards higher consumption and a better quality of life.\textsuperscript{65} The tribes are traditionally intertwined with their age-old system (leisure and love-based) and the locus of their lives are oriented with minimum needs. They succumb to change only when get

\textsuperscript{62} Satapathy, S.K, Rural Agricultural Marketing in the district of Kalahandi of Orissa, Paper presented in All India Commerce conference at Jaipur, Rajasthan, 1996.
\textsuperscript{63} Horskovits, M.J.; Economic Anthropology, Borzoi Books, New York, (1952), P.15-16.
\textsuperscript{64} Quote from Mahatma Gandhi, Elwin V.; A Philosophy of NEFA, Govt. of Assam(1960), P.61.
\textsuperscript{65} Sharma B.D., Tribal Development : The concept and the frame, Prachi Prakashan, New Delhi (1978) P.4
convinced through faith and reason that change is necessary and will beget a life of betterment.

Scanders views tribal development as:

a) a movement emphasizing on building upon organisational structures
b) a Programme emphasizing on activities.
c) a method emphasizing on certain achievable ends.
d) a process emphasizing upon what happens to people not only economically and socially but also psychologically; and
e) Institutionalisation of newly discovered skills and procedures leading to social change without completely breaking away from the past.66

However, concern for them and their development in India has led to the approaches of 'Isolation', 'Assimilation' and 'Integration and Development' in the British Period, Transitional Phase and Planning Era respectively. The last approach is the best because it aims at the development of tribals along with their integration with the national mainstream.67

2.4.1 British Approach for Tribal Development:

The tribal areas were the last to be enveloped in the British regime because of their difficult terrain and inaccessibility. The tribal people also resisted wildly with rebellions to any invasion to their

system of self-governance and unitary right over land and forests. Being encountered with the inherent hazards and cost factor the 'Policy of isolation' was practised, by declaring some tribal areas as 'Excluded' and some as 'Partially Excluded Areas' under sections 91 and 92 of the Government of India Act, 1935. On the whole, the list of excluded areas or partially excluded areas largely left the situation as it was in 1874, barring only certain areas on the then frontiers. In fact, the area-wise isolation by specifying some tracts as Scheduled Tracts was started with the enactment of Government of India Act of 1870 and 'Scheduled District Act' 1874 gave effect to the provisions. It was presumed that the aboriginal human society would be preserved in pristine form. However, the policy of isolation did not leave them isolated. The resource rich scheduled region gradually forced to get the taste of monetised economy and commercial adventures. Foreign rulers, zamindars, moneylenders, traders, contractors, middlemen and non-tribal neighbours exploited the simple and faithful folks and their resources in various ways and the missionaries made a strategic break-through in the Region resulting in a cultural dualism. The system of Goti, Bethi and Begari emerged as the tools of exploitation and the cheap tribal labour was often uprooted from their native cultural community to be transported either to factory sites, mining belts, tea

gardens or as army persons or serfs. Barring a few welfare programmes there was no strategy to strengthen the economic and infrastructural base of the tribal populace.

2.4.2 Planned Approach for Tribal Development:

After Independence, when the nation resolved to progress on a fast pace of development, the thrust on developing tribal areas had to begin almost from a scratch. The task was basically that of streaming a path of change in such a manner that the tribal sub-system would not be at a discount when interface with the macro system for the intrinsic deficiencies and conservation s. The policy of assimilation and policy of integration and development were the twin choices and Prime Minister Nehru opted for the later. Opting for a psychological Integration and approaching the tribal people with affection, friendliness and as a liberating force, the core of the 'Tribal Development' in Modern India; was capsuled within five fundamental principles by Nehru and popular as 'Panchasheel' of Tribal Transformation. The principles were:

1. People should develop along with lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them.

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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 persons 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.

2.4.3 Strategy for Tribal Development:

The welfare state promulgated different strategies giving due recognition to the status and suffering of the tribal folk, for a planned change balancing their distinctive natural talent, cultural fabric, value system and personality traits with the imperatives of modernization and growth. Special provision were incorporated in Part III of Fundamental Rights, Part IV of Directive Principles of State Policy, Part X on Schedule and Tribal Areas, Part XII on finance and property etc. Part XVI on special provisions relating to certain classes and Fifth and Sixth-schedule in Indian Constitution. This multi-pronged strategy can be grouped under following three broad planks.
a) **Protective Measures:**

The protective measures comprised important constitutional safeguards like educational safeguards (Article-15 (4) and 29), safeguard of employment (Article – 16 (4), 320 (4), 333), social safeguards (Articles 17 & 25), economic safeguards (Article 19), abolition of forced labour (Article 23), protection from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Article 46) and administration of scheduled and tribal areas (Article 244 and 339).

b) **Welfare Measures:**

Some of the important welfare measure like promotion of educational and economic interests (Article 46), provision for free legal aid (Article 39(A)) and grants from central Government to the state for welfare of scheduled tribes and raising the level of administration of scheduled Areas [Article 275] etc. were specified in the constitution. Various developmental measures were also formulated and implemented to improve their quality of life covering their health, family development and infrastructural development etc.

c) **Legislative Measures:**

Legislative measures included reservation of seats in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha (Article -330, 332 & 334), appointment of a
Minister in charge of Tribal Welfare in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa (Art.164), special provisions in respect of Nagaland, Assam and Manipur (Articles 371(A), 371(C)] and administration of scheduled and tribal Areas (Article 244, fifth and sixth schedules).

In pursuance of, the pile of policies and provisions, the planning and execution of different developmental programmes were in the process to be made easier and streamlined.

Besides these constitutional safeguards to prevent the exploitations inflicted upon the tribes of Orissa, some Central Acts and some are specific for Orissa, worth mentioning, were the following:

2.7 TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES DURING FIVE-YEAR PLANS:

Tribal development was taken as a concurrent issue with planning at the national level as well as at the state level. The growth-oriented dimension to rear the tribals to occupy their rightful place in Indian society in the planning era, were three inter-connected phases:

- a) Formative phase
- b) Experimental Phase
- c) Acceleration phase

The formative phase was attributable to the period of First Five Year Plan (1951-56) and Second Five Year Plan (1956-61), the experimental phase to Third Five Year Plan (1961-66), Three Annual Plans (1966-69) Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74) and Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) and the acceleration phase; to the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) onwards.

2.5.1 Development in the formative phase:

For uprooting rural poverty and ushering in progressive transformation of rural India, on the cardinal principle of
people's participation and self-help the community development programme was launched in Oct 2, 1952. When blocks were created under this programme they focused on development of people in general, particularly in rural and tribal areas. According to Jawaharlal Nehru, the programme was a 'silent revolution'. Arnold J. Toynbee distinguished this Indian Experiment from that of China and Russia and; expressed "Go to India ....... You will see.... New hope and purposefulness and energy breaking into flower....... this world revolution of the peasantry is the most glorious revolution that there has been in the world's history so far".71 But this plan did not pay any persistent attention towards the development of tribal areas, because only certain piece-meal attempts on development of education, communication systems, provision of medical and housing facilities were the major programmes introduced during this plan.72 These schemes left a scanty impact on the tribal community in the country. However, the Government of India spent an amount of Rs.3.6 crores for economic upliftment and Rs. 6.5 crores towards development of roads and communications in Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Assam and Andhra Pradesh and established 4000 schools, 453 forest labour co-operatives, 111 cottage industries and 312 multipurpose co-

72 First Five-Year Plan, Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi (1953), P.245.
operatives during this plan. A positive approach actually crystallized which was put into operation from the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan through the instrumentality of Multi-purpose Projects\textsuperscript{73} and a massive programme of integrated development was initiated in 43 Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks all over the country in the areas of thick tribal concentration. Some of the important ventures of the integrated programme were settled cultivation in the place of shifting cultivation called ‘jhuming’, ‘dahi’ or ‘podu’; medical and health services; development of tribal art and crafts; establishment of community welfare schemes; digging of drinking water wells; development of cottage industries; organization of co-operatives and imparting vocational and local training to tribals. Besides this, marketing co-operatives were organized in Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh following the steps of Andhra Pradesh, who established a Girijan Co-operative Corporation for the first time for organized marketing of minor forest produce. During this plan the 43 blocks received Rs. 50.53 crores as special economic assistance from the centre exclusively for tribal concentrated areas. The average coverage for each block worked out at 182 villages, each with a population of 39,193 spread over an area of 547.45 miles. In

\textsuperscript{73} Pratap, D.R.; Planning for Tribal Development Occasional papers on Tribal development, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi(1980), P.35.
Orissa 4 such Blocks namely, Bhunya Pirh, Kashipur, Narayanpatna and Roruan were in operation, within the special 43 development blocks. 74

2.5.2 Development in Experimental Phase:

The community development approach was multi-sectoral and rural blocks as well as tribal blocks were administered with almost equal parameters. This led to lack of appropriate thrust and unimpressive progress of tribal areas. To evolve a realistic approach, Government of India appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Verrier Elwin in 1959 to assess the grey areas of these Multi-purpose Projects and suggest measures for plugging loopholes in programme formulation and implementation. Pointing out the dangers of rigid schematic budget, the committee suggested, a flexible system of budgeting so that the functionary finds the necessary freedom to operate upon the funds keeping in view the local needs and specific problems to be tackled, instead of the previous practice of spending on the budgeted programme whether it is relevant or not, simply because funds were provided in the budget. According to the recommendations of the committee tribal development block system operated in the place of Special Multi-purpose Tribal Development Blocks during the Third Five Year Plan. A tribal Development Block usually covered an

74 Second Five Year Plan, Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi 1956, P.590
area of 150 to 200 square miles with a population coverage of about 25,000. By the end of Third Five Year Plan, there were about 489 tribal development blocks covering about 40 per cent of the total tribal population and utilization of about Rs. 50.53 crores on Tribal Development Programmes. 71 Tribal Development Blocks were opened and continued to function in Orissa. The economic programmes initiated in addition to the programmes of Second Plan were: land reclamation, forest conservation, minor irrigation, supply of agricultural inputs and development of animal husbandry. As regards educational infrastructure, the plan stressed the provision of free schools, stipends and hostels at middle and secondary stages.

This experiment of Tribal Development Blocks to improve the tribal areas and to involve the tribal people in the process of development with the aid of Panchayatraj Institution did not work magics to shape their economic frontiers. Though there was a toning up of tribal economy, certain areas and groups remained conspicuously backward, while others recorded a sluggish growth. Against this background the Fourth Five Year Plan document enunciated that the problem of scheduled tribes living in compact
areas is essentially that of economic development of their areas and of integrating their economy with that of the rest of the country.\(^7^5\)

Another experiment started with implementation of a bunch of new programmes like Small Farmers' Development Agency (SFDA), Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labours Development Agency (MFALDA), Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP), targeting identified individual's in place of Area Development besides the intensification of the popular programmes existing during the Fourth Plan period. Six pilot projects known as Tribal Development Agencies were launched as centrally sponsored Schemes basically for placating tribal unrest and institutionally develop the tribal areas by integrating the development of agriculture, horticulture, minor irrigation, land, promotion of animal husbandry, control of shifting cultivation and construction of arterial roads in the districts of Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh, Singhbhum in Bihar, Bastar (2 projects) in Madhya Pradesh, Koraput and Ganjam in Orissa. But Tribal Development Agency again could not account for a substantial change and the effectiveness were only noticed to some extent in the sectors of Agricultural Development and construction of roads. In addition to the Tribal Development block outlay, an outlay of Rs. 2 Crores were provided for each project. The

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provision of 50 to 75 per cent subsidization in different programmes and the rest to be arranged by the tribal beneficiaries from institutional/personal sources could not materialize because of the inability of the tribals to understand the equation and to arrange their share. However, by the end of Fourth Plan, 504 Tribal Development Blocks had been established in the country and the governmental investment in the tribal areas had touched Rs. 75 crores.

In this experiment, like the previous one, no attempt was made to prepare human and natural resources based plans. The twin shortcomings of inadequacy of involvement and slower pace of implementation proved to be a kind of futile exercise incapable of fulfilling the dreams. The centralized planning, it was felt, could not fit into the varied local situations.

Realising this, a fresh approach to the tribal development with the new strategy known as 'Integrated Area Development Strategy' was put in to operation in Fifth Plan period. The concept of 'Sub-plan' as per the recommendation of the task force appointed by the Planning Commission under the Chairmanship of Prof. L.P. Vidyarthi gave a new orientation to the Tribal Development Strategy. Under this strategy, identification of major tribal concentration areas larger than those of tribal development blocks were made and separate 'Sub-plan'
for them within the State Plan were formulated. About two-thirds of the tribal population in the country was estimated to be covered by the sub-plans as were in operation in the Fifth Plan.\textsuperscript{76} A three-tier developmental structure i.e. the community development block at the micro-level, a number of such blocks in contiguity with forming an Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP) at meso-level; and two or more projects at macro-level was suggested by the Task Force for convenience of administration and implementation for need based community-specific programmes suitable for individual Sub-plan Area. The thrust of the Sub-plan strategy was to achieve economic growth with social justice, implying:

\begin{itemize}
  \item[a)] Improvement of the quality of life of the poorest of the poor.
  \item[b)] Reduction in inequities in asset distribution.
  \item[c)] Reduction of regional imbalance in respect of the relative levels of development.
\end{itemize}

In 17 States and 2 Union Territories sixteen (later seventeen) tribal Sub-plans were formulated covering about 63 per cent of the tribal population. The tribal Sub-plan areas were divided into 191 Integrated Tribal Development Projects for operational flexibility. Hence, for the effective implementation of the Sub-plan Programme a four-fold integration process i.e. geographical, financial, organisational

\textsuperscript{76} Draft Sixth Five Year Plan, Government of India, Planning Commission, New Delhi (1979), PP. 303-304.
and programme integration; was pronounced. Substantial tribal population was covered under the tribal Sub-plan in Bihar (77%), Himachal Pradesh (59%) Gujrat (73%) Madhya Pradesh (75%) Orissa (68%) Manipur (94%) Rajasthan (44%) Andaman & Nicobar Islands (99%) Goa, Daman & Diu (100%). These norms were relaxed in the states where the tribal population was more dispersed, to cover a reasonable proportion of tribal population. For bringing the tribals into a single-window system and eliminating the ropes of the moneylenders, middle men and forest contractors Large-sized Agricultural Multipurpose Societies (LAMPS) made a constructive break through during this plan.

In Orissa, the Sub-plan area was spread over 118 blocks and 21 ITDAs covering portions of six districts (Kalahandi, Keonjhar, Ganjam, Phulbani, Balasore and Sambalpur) and entirely three districts (Koraput, Mayurbhanj and Sundargarh).

This Sub-plan experiment proved its worth because of its vitality and became the base for the succeeding plans.

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2.5.3 Development in acceleration phase.

Integrated approach initiated in the Fifth Plan were accelerated in the different plans with accentuation of protective shield and concomitant stress on the basic obstacles like illiteracy, disease, squalor, and ethnocentrism. To give an impetus to the socio-economic activity, the basic infrastructure was strengthened by creation of employment opportunities, gearing up of growth centres, health centres and health education, rural electrification, manpower resource development etc.

In the Sixth Plan period development programmes were entwined with the Tribal Sub-plan approach to bring into the fold the tribals in the pockets of tribal concentration, dispersed in other areas and primitive tribal communities. Modified area development Approach [MADA], covering an area having a population of 10,000 of which 50 per cent or more were tribals; Cluster Approach covering smaller population clusters of 5,000 with at least 50 per cent tribal concentration and Special Micro Project Approach for isolated primitive groups were supplemented. Low level of skills, lack of training, limited world-view and ethnocentrism obstructed the tribals to take the full advantages of these opportunities.
Considering the economic development of the ethnic groups not commensurate with investments, 'Target Group' or 'Individual Beneficiary Oriented Approach' was popularised in addition to the Area Development Approach. A definite target of assisting 50 per cent of scheduled tribe families to cross the poverty line was adopted during this plan for the first time. The resettlement of tribals engaged in shifting cultivation in 233 tribal blocks in 62 districts by providing a package of services was another benignant approach. The over-all approach was a three-dimensional one, namely: a) Area Approach b) Target Group Approach c) Economic Approach. While the first approach envisaged development of natural resources and social infrastructure, the second one touched the left out targeted groups and the third channelised to enrich the economy to be self-reliant without endangering the traditional culture.

Infrastructural development in this period marked a plaudable record of soil conservation measures in 2 lakh hectares, electrification in about 9000 villages and more than 80,000 villages provided with drinking water supply. After the inclusion of the state of Sikkim in the territory as well as programmes and identification of 20 more primitive tribes by the end of the fourth years of Six Five Year Plan, 181 ITDPs, 245 MADA pockets and 72 Primitive Tribal Projects were in operation.

in the country. The coverage of scheduled tribe population was increased to about 75 per cent during this plan.\textsuperscript{79} In Orissa, 21 ITDP / ITDAs, 37 MADA pockets, and 12 (PTG) Micro Projects became operative in congruence with the national move. As regards LAMPS, about 2000 LAMPS with about 58 per cent tribal membership gathered a fair reception but lacked appropriate managerial expertise.

In the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90), without any change of strategy the objective has remained to be a balanced-mix of Area-cum-family Development, with prioritisation of developing skills and technology and exploitation of natural resources under Area Development and upliftment of about 40 lakh Scheduled Tribe Families below the poverty line under TSP programme. ITDPs and MADAs covered about 75 per cent of the total tribal population of the country. To cover the remaining 25 per cent Cluster Approach was advocated to the states to be adopted during Seventh Five Year Plan.\textsuperscript{80} The strategy was further refined to cover the entire gamut of tribal population with special central assistance to dispersed tribal groups under beneficiary oriented scheme.

Identical in spirit with the Sixth Plan version "Tribal identity and the tribal way of life will be preserved in a manner consistent with their aspirations for development", the approach to the Seventh Five Year Plan stated "In tribal areas, where the tribal economy revolves around forests and forest based produce, the forestry based programmes have to be so devised as to in consonance with the socio-economic fabric of tribal culture and others". Besides, The Twenty Point Programme -1986 emphasized specially the protection of interest of tribals.

In this plan, 3 new ITDPs of Sikkim were added to the existing list and raised the tribal population coverage under ITDPs to 313.21 lakhs. For hundred per cent coverage of tribals under T&P approach, the Cluster Approach was intensified. By the end of the plan, 191 ITDPs, 268 MADAs, 74 Clusters and 74 Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) were in operation. Assessing the importance of the LAMPS and their inability to substitute the moneylenders stress was given for strengthening them. Tribal Co-operative Marketing Development Federation of India (TRIFED) was established in 1987 for providing market support and proper pricing for minor forest produce collected by tribals. National Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Co-operation (NSCSTFDC) was another national level body formed to act
as a catalytic agency, in developing schemes for employment
generation and financing pilot projects.

The Eight Five Year Plan provided continuation to the 'Sub-plan'
structure and stressed on the prioritisation of tribal needs for yielding
better results. For an in-depth study of various issues involved in the
development of scheduled tribes and their areas, five sub-groups were
set up. The issues were: identification of special thrust areas for raising
the quality of life; protective measures implementation; administrative
structure in ST Areas; involvement of tribals in programme
implementation and voluntary organisations, and review of economic,
infrastructural and human resource development of ST areas. All the
sub-groups while analyzing the issues focused on providing special
attention on vulnerable groups especially the tribal women.

The plan also envisaged more coordinated effort by TRIFFED,
activation of LAMPS to meet the genuine needs of tribal people in
Credit Operations and Marketing of minor forest produce and supply of
essential commodities and formation of co-operatives for different
occupational groups.
2.6 DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK IN SCHEDULED AREA OF ORISSA:

The Scheduled Area is nearly co-terminous with the Tribal Sub-plan area of Orissa except Suruda Tahasil (excluding Gazalbadi and Gochha Gram Panchayat) of Ganjam district which are included in the Scheduled Area, does not came under Tribal Sub-plan area. Since the beginning of the Fifth Five Year Plan, the Sub-plan approach for tribal development is being followed in the state. The development strategy has included family based income generating schemes, development of infrastructure, both social and economic, and human resource development.

2.6.1 Financial Framework:

The Tribal Sub-plan was a holistic approach in which all Development Departments operate in unison to achieve a common goal. It is being implemented with resources drawn from the State Plan, Special Central Assistance and Central and Centrally Sponsored Plan. The flow of funds to the TSP area for 1997-98 is given in Table 2.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Sources of Funding</th>
<th>1997-98</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>State Plan</td>
<td>61403.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Central &amp; Centrally Sponsored Plan</td>
<td>15232.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Special Central Assistance</td>
<td>3788.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>80424.63</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As per guidelines issued by the Government of India the quantum of budgetary allocation from State Plan earmarked for tribal development must not fall short of the percentage of tribal population and could not be diverted to non-TSP area.

2.6.2 Institutional Framework:

1. Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDA)

21 ITDAs covering 118 Blocks were in operation in tune with the national policies and programmes. The agency has assisted the STs on the programmes on Agriculture, Horticulture, Soil Conservation, Animal Husbandry, Fisheries, Irrigation, Supply of Bullock, Rural Industries, Family Oriented Poverty Eradication Programme, Small Business, Training, Sericulture, Bee-keeping, Enrolment in Co-operative Societies, besides, infrastructural development.

2. Micro Projects:

Micro projects were set up in the State for exclusive focus on primitive tribes. 13 out of 17 micro projects are located in the scheduled areas and tribes residing in the micro project areas get
100 per cent assistance under family based income generating schemes.

A micro project named Kutia Kondh development Agency is in operation at Lanjigarh of Kalahandi.

3. Orissa Tribal Development Project (OTDP)

A project for all round development of the tribal population of Kashipur of Rayagada district was established in 1988-89 with joint assistance of IFAD, Government of India and the State Government. Development of the area including development of natural resources, communication and human resources were the objectives of the project. Rs.59.41 crores were utilized under the project till 1996-97.

4. Tribal Development Co-operative Co-operation of Orissa Ltd. (TDCCOL):

TDCCOL was registered under the Orissa Co-operative Societies Act 1962 and has been functioning with effect from 4th October, 1967 as an apex co-operative organisation for Tribal Development. The main objectives of the corporation are as follows:

i) To procure Minor Forest Produce (MFP) and Surplus Agricultural Produce (SAP) collected by the tribal at fair and remunerative prices and to arrange their marketing.
ii) To supply essential commodities and other consumer goods to tribals at fair prices.

iii) To arrange for the processing of procured commodities with a view to adding value and creating employment opportunities.

iv) To advance consumption-cum-production loans to the tribals in order to protect them from moneylenders.

LAMPS worked as the nodal agency of TDCC. The institutional linkages with LAMPS has given in Appendix - IV.

5. **The Orissa State Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Development Finance Co-operative Corporation (OSCSTDFCC):**

The Orissa State Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Development Finance Co-operative Corporation (OSCSTDFCC) has been established from 1979-80 for providing financial assistance to the SC & ST families below poverty line by arranging institutional credits for various income generating activities in agriculture, animal husbandry, fishery, Small and Cottage Industries, Vocational Trade and Small Business.

2.7 **ROLE OF LAMPS IN DEVELOPING TRIBAL ECONOMY:**

In the post-Independence era, the co-operative societies were assigned the role of change agents in furthering socio-economic
activities in rural-India. Service Co-operative societies made irrefutable expansion in the sphere of lending cash and inputs, but exploitation of farmers by traders and middlemen particularly of itinerant type did not cease. Due to the absence of competitive marketing/procurement agencies the surplus agricultural produce are continued to be sold at lower prices.

The PACS (Primary Agricultural Credit Societies) had limited functions relating to disbursal of agricultural credit (cash and inputs), for improvement of land (including irrigation) and allied purposes as also procurement of surplus produce by linking credit with marketing and distribution of consumer articles including on system of barter. The state Government provided package assistance such as (i) share capital assistance (ii) risk fund contribution (iii) price fluctuation compensation (iv) managerial subsidy etc. for strengthening the co-operative structure and making them viable. In the tribal areas, the PACS failed to make easy impact due to the following factors:

(i) The PACS were meant to provide traditional credit support for farmers while in tribal areas the land was mostly non-irrigated and resorted to unscientific farming practices (slash and burn type) leading to low and
fluctuating incomes, rendering traditional credit business non-viable.

(ii) Erratic monsoon and drought conditions often resulted in low recovery of loans. In view of minimum loan collection stipulation for eligibility of fresh finance, sale proceeds of marketing and consumer business was siphoned away for loan repayment due to pressure from District level Central Co-operative Banks, resulting in non-availability of funds for procurement/marketing of consumer operation in tribal areas.

(iii) The management of PACS in tribal areas was dominated by non-tribals and vested interests who did not have any stake in empowering the tribals. In most cases, the president and other office bearers were non-tribals, either moneylender or traders who exploited the tribals.

(iv) The observance of ‘barter-trade’ by providing consumer goods and cash advances at festive moments, the procurement/marketing of tribal products was unreasonably priced. This led to the spiral effect of debt trap by cunning traders and middlemen axing the potential tribal economy.
To free the tribals from the grip of moneylenders, traders, middle men and to avoid regional imbalance, the service Co-operative Societies were reorganised to serve the tribal needs. The Bawa Committee (1971) recommended for LAMPS which should be Large-Sized Adivasi Multi-Purpose Co-operative Societies. The thrust area was procurement of minor forest produce and surplus agricultural produce of tribals, provision of term loan and consumption loans and supply of inputs and consumer goods.

LAMPS were organised at the grass root level to free the tribals from economic evils.